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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 Wake County, North Carolina (ca. 1770-1941)

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

Context 1: British and Africans Shape an Agrarian Society (Colonial Period to 1860)
Context 2: Civil War, Reconstruction, and a Shift to Commercial Agriculture (1861-1885)
Context 3: Populism to Progressivism (1885-1918)
Context 4: Boom, Bust, and Recovery Between World Wars (1919-1941)

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Kelly A. Lally, Preservation Planner and Todd Johnson, Consultant

organization Wake County Planning Department **date** 3-18-93

street & number P.O. Box 550 **telephone** 919-856-6310

city or town Raleigh **state** North Carolina **zip code** 27602

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. 5-3-93

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.

for Beth M. Savage 7/2/93

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:

_____

HISTORIC AND ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES OF WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA (ca. 1770-1941)

INTRODUCTION

The comprehensive survey of Wake County's historic and architectural resources took place between October 1988 and May 1991. During this time 2008 properties were documented individually and in groups in Wake County's rural areas, small communities, and municipalities outside the 1988 Raleigh city limits. The vast majority of properties surveyed were houses and farm complexes dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although a number of earlier houses and farms, churches, schools, lodges, commercial and transportation-related buildings, industrial buildings and structures, and recreational sites and structures were recorded as well.

Below are historic properties in Wake County outside of Raleigh that have been placed in the National Register and on the National Register Study List as of September 1991.

National Register Properties: Twenty-eight individual properties have been listed in the National Register.

Apex Town Hall (WA 185)
Apex Union Depot (WA 222)
Beaver Dam (WA 201)
Bennett Bunn Plantation (WA 190)
J. S. Dorton Arena (WA 124)
Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company (WA 189)
Forestville Baptist Church (WA 182)
Fuquay Mineral Spring (WA 200)
Glen Royall Cotton Mill Store (WA 1648)
Green-Hartsfield House (WA 1298)
James Beale Johnson House (WA 556)
Alpheus Jones House (WA 24)
Nancy Jones House (WA 187)
Henry H. & Bettie S. Knight Farm (WA 220)
Lane-Bennett House (WA 4)
Lea Laboratory (WA 27)

James Mangum House (WA 30)
Midway Plantation (WA 32)
North Carolina State Fair Commercial and Educational Buildings (WA 202)
Oak View (WA 1502)
Page-Walker Hotel (WA 37)
Powell House (WA 40)
Purefoy-Dunn Plantation (WA 221)
Rogers-Whitaker-Haywood House (WA 181)
Wakefields (WA 47)
Wakelon School (WA 48)
Walnut Hill Plantation Cotton Gin (WA 199)
Yates Mill (WA 50)

National Register Districts: Three districts have been listed in the National Register.

Downtown Garner Historic District (WA 1194)
Jones-Johnson-Ballentine Historic District (WA 570)
Varina Commercial Historic District (WA 1195)

National Register Study List Properties: One hundred nineteen individual properties are on the Study List. Most were added to the list at the State Professional Review Committee Meetings in July 1990 and July 1991, although a few were added at the owners' requests before or after these meetings. Additional properties may be added to the list after further evaluation.

Adams Farm (WA 612)
John William Adams House (WA 1158)
John C. Adcock House and Store (WA 547)
Frank Aiken House (WA 1373)
Allen Farm (WA 1376)
Antioch School (WA 1834)
Aspen Grove (WA 1951)
Atkinson-Whitted House (WA 565)
Avera-Winston House (WA 1952)
Bailey Dairy Farm (WA 1324)
Bailey-Estes House (WA 1406)
Battle-Purnell House (WA 1664)
Baucom-Stallings House (WA 287)

G. H. Baucom House (WA 767)
Dr. G. M. Bell House (WA 2110)
Dr. Nathan Blalock House (WA 1172)
Cannady-Brogden Farm (WA 1363)
Carver School (WA 2125)
Chappell House (WA 1501)
Collins Grove Baptist Church (WA 1027)
Crenshaw Hall (WA 1446)
Thomas R. Debnam House (WA 1960)
George Washington Duke Complex (WA 1855)
Edenwood (WA 1258)
(former) Edgemont Store (WA 2022)
B. N. Ferrell House and Store (WA 1214)
Fleming-Rogers House (WA 1769)
E. C. Fowler House (WA 1843)
(former) Fuquay Springs Consolidated School (WA 590)
Fuquay-Varina Middle School (WA 485)
(former) Garner Consolidated School (WA 324)
Henry R. Goodson Farm (WA 279)
Herman Green House (WA 1277)
Green Level Baptist Church (1005)
Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (WA 1832)
Hephzibah Baptist Church (WA 2024
Hickory View Farm (WA 288)
Hicks-Wilkins House (WA 1388)
Samuel Bartley Holleman House (WA 1026)
Holly Springs Masonic Lodge (WA 642)
Holt House (WA 779)
Honeycutt-Bailey Farm (WA 1305)
Hood-Anderson Farm (WA 2021)
Horton-Kimball House (WA 2114)
Horton-Upchurch Farm (WA 764)
Charles H. Horton Farm (WA 1929)
House--Wakefield (WA 2121)
Starkey Hoyle House (WA 2117)
Rufus J. Ivey House (WA 1718)
Ivey-Ellington House (WA 892)
James Robert Jeffreys Farm (WA 1791)

Jewell-Middleton House (WA 345)
John Johns House (WA 331)
K. B. Johnson House (WA 567)
Calvin Jones House (WA 1529)
James A. Jones House (WA 527)
Keith Farm (WA 1374)
John Kemp House (WA 2113)
C. J. Lassiter House (WA 1302)
Allie Lawrence Farm (WA 1097)
H. T. Lawrence Farm (WA 1047)
Lockhart School (WA 1917)
Charles Marriott House (WA 1940)
Alious Mills House and Store (WA 1004)
Montague-Jones Farm (WA 1926)
(former) Morrisville Church of Christ (WA 695)
Mount Auburn School (WA 302)
(former) Mount Pleasant Lodge Building (WA 1339)
Mount Vernon Goodwin School (WA 946)
Nash-Weathers House (WA 1029)
New Hill First Missionary Baptist Church (WA 1110)
J. R. Nowell House (WA 2160)
Bill O'Briant Farm (WA 1368)
Oak Forest (WA 1488)
Oak Grove Primitive Baptist Church (WA 677)
Oaky Grove (WA 267)
Williamson Page House (WA 708)
Page-Hamilton House (WA 699)
Marshall Partin House (WA 1131)
Pearce Farm (WA 1798)
Jesse Penny House (WA 1283)
John Perry House (WA 1943)
Walter Perry Complex (WA 1835)
Perry Farm (WA 1941)
Wayland Poole House (WA 315)
William R. Poole House (WA 350)
Pugh House (WA 712)
Ray Complex (WA 1337)
Charles Ray House (WA 1338)

Riley Hill School (WA 1936)
Sion Rogers House (WA 1716)
Saint Mary A.M.E. Church (WA 843)
Sandling Complex (WA 1369)
George W. Scarborough Farm (WA 1958)
John H. Seagroves Farm (WA 676)
Frank Smith House (WA 1155)
Turner Smith House (WA 1153)
South Brick House (WA 1503)
Stell-Perry House (WA 1757)
Jeff Stephens Farm (WA 613)
Col. L. D. Stephenson House (WA 1271)
John Strain House (WA 1736)
Strickland-Dunn-Broughton Farm (WA 1842)
Stringfield-Massey House (WA 2122)
Stringfield-Pippin House (WA 2116)
William Thompson House (WA 1447)
William Turner Farm (WA 1178)
Turner House (WA 340)
George Upchurch Farm (WA 772)
Merriman Upchurch Farm (WA 773)
(former Dubois School (WA 1657)
Wall Plantation Outbuildings (WA 1666)
Walnut Hill Complex (WA 273-WA 275, WA 277)
Watts Store and Residence (WA 314)
R. B. Whitley Historic District (WA 2127)
J. M. Williams Farm (WA 992)
Bartley Yates Farm (WA 988)
Dr. Lawrence Branch Young House (WA 1777)
Zebulon Middle School (WA 2241)

National Register Study List Districts: Twenty potential historic districts were added to the Study List at the July 1990 and July 1991 meetings of the State Professional Review Committee. These districts have not been assigned survey numbers yet.

Academy Street/Dry Street Historic District--Cary
Apex Historic District

Carpenter Historic District
Forestville Historic District
Fuquay Springs Historic District
Green Level Historic District
Holly Springs Historic District
Hopkins Crossroads Historic District
Juniper Level Historic District
Knightdale Historic District
North Arendell Avenue & Gannon Avenue Historic District--Zebulon
Royall Cotton Mill and Mill Village Historic District--Wake Forest
Sandy Plain Rural Historic District
Sycamore and Horton Streets Historic District--Zebulon
Third Street Historic District--Wendell
Wake Forest College Campus Historic District
Wendell Commercial Historic District
Williams Crossroads-Hollands Historic District
Wilson Avenue Historic District--Wendell
Zebulon Commercial Historic District

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS: WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA FROM BRITISH AND AFRICAN SETTLEMENT TO 1941

Introduction

Created in 1771 from Johnston, Cumberland, and Orange counties, Wake County lies in central North Carolina along the border of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain regions. It is drained by the Neuse and Little rivers and numerous creeks. Consisting of 867 square miles, Wake is seventh in size and second in population among North Carolina's one hundred counties. Farmers have found its three major soil types well adapted to cotton, tobacco, corn, sweet potatoes, and other important food and cash crops. Much of the southeastern and extreme southern portion of the county is within the Coastal Plain, having finer sandy soils formed by sedimentary deposits. The eastern and central sections are in the rich Piedmont Plateau, with soils being formed by the weathering of underlying rock formations. The county's western section lies in the Triassic basin, consisting mainly of red and gray sandstones and shales. There are numerous rock outcroppings in the latter two areas which have hindered or even prevented crop cultivation in some cases.[1]

The county was inhabited thousands of years before the early eighteenth century by Indians who traveled, hunted, fished, farmed, and raised families along rivers and creeks. Few cultural remains of these longtime residents have survived over the last two and a half centuries, except some tools, weapons, pottery, and a trail-blazing tree in northcentral Wake believed to have been used to point travellers toward a Neuse River crossing.[2] English yeoman and planter families, a few Scotch-Irish, and African slaves began settling in what is now Wake County in the 1730s. Because of the county's geographic position and much politicking by local residents, state leaders decided to locate North Carolina's capital there in 1792. Raleigh, though the seat of state and

county government, remained a sleepy southern town until the 1920s, and the surrounding countryside remained primarily rural and agriculturally based until after World War II.

The county's socio-economic development before World War II can be divided into four periods. The first, lasting from the eighteenth century to about the time of the Civil War, was characterized by slow population growth and predominantly subsistence farming, with some limited expansion in commercial productions of cotton and tobacco spurred by railroad construction in the 1840s and 1850s. The second phase, a transitional period that began after the war and lasted into the 1880s, involved a sudden shift to cotton production throughout the county at a time when world cotton prices were steadily declining, eventually causing widespread indebtedness and farm tenancy. The third phase, from the 1880s to the time of World War I, was marked by rural growth and prosperity as more railroads were built and an increasing number of farmers turned to more lucrative crops, chiefly bright leaf tobacco. The fourth phase, beginning with the boom years immediately after World War I and ending with recovery from a postwar agricultural depression in the 1920s and the Great Depression of the 1930s, brought a movement away from farming altogether for a growing segment of the population.

CONTEXT 1: BRITISH AND AFRICANS SHAPE AN AGRARIAN SOCIETY (Colonial Period to 1860)

From early settlement to the 1840s, Wake County closely resembled the rest of North Carolina with its scattered farms and sparsely populated communities. Local districts, each usually containing a one-room school, church, store, gristmill, and (by the early nineteenth century) cotton gin, were the hub of human activity. Farming families raised and produced most, if not all, of their food and apparel, and few ventured far from home to market their surplus goods. Population growth in the county was slow, particularly in the 1820s and 1830s when many residents moved farther south and west out of Wake County where fresh land was plentiful and cheap and opportunities better for commercial farming. Railroad construction in the 1840s and 1850s curtailed outmigration somewhat by providing commercial farmers with links to important northern markets. However, while market-oriented agriculture was gaining a foothold, subsistence farming was still the rule.

Transportation Before and After Railroads

The Neuse River and Indian trade routes such as Green's Path, a main interregional thoroughfare in the early 1700s, allowed the first British explorers and settlers to move into what is now Wake County from Virginia, coastal North Carolina, and Great Britain. Settlers soon cleared timber and laid out local roads and farm paths that connected them to Petersburg, Virginia or to waterways leading to Fayetteville, Wilmington, New Bern, and Norfolk. There were a few local ferries, such as Rogers Ferry near Wake Crossroads (operating from 1772 to about 1800), where travelers could pay a toll and cross the Neuse River in early years of settlement before bridges were built. Local roads were usually muddy and rutted, particularly in winter. Where soils were poor and settlement sparse they were few and scattered. The federal government developed mail and stage routes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, including the Fayetteville (now called Old Stage) Road, still a much traveled local thoroughfare in southeastern Wake County, but these roads were often knee-deep in mud. Farmers and merchants doing business in New Bern and Norfolk had to haul products by wagon to and from the Neuse River landing at Smithfield, despite concerted efforts in the early nineteenth century to navigate the Neuse River past the Johnston County town to eastern Wake. In the days before railroads, therefore, commercial farmers and merchants were totally dependent on the undependable roads and paths that they and their neighbors laid out and maintained, as required by state law.[3]

The 1830s marked a turning point in transportation for Wake County. As population growth slowed down, with many leaving North Carolina for land in the lower south and northwest, opponents of Jacksonian Democracy organized the Whig Party to bring about internal improvements and reform in government and education. One of the first steps was the amending of the state constitution in 1835, followed by the construction of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, begun in 1836 and completed in 1840. The railroad led north from the capital through the northeastern Wake villages of Forestville and Wake Forest; at the Virginia line it linked with routes north to Petersburg and Baltimore, where steamboat connections were available to points as far north as Boston. A Raleigh newspaper editor hailed it as "the first link in the Chain of Internal Improvements in this State." The same editor predicted the road would "double the value of all Real Estate in the town [of Raleigh, and] add essentially to the prosperity of the adjoining country," while preventing "the removal of your farming neighbors to the South West."[4] Wake County's population did increase by a few thousand in the 1840s, but the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad apparently failed to curtail outmigration to any large degree. In November 1845, a Greensboro newspaper reported, "On last Tuesday morning nineteen carts, with about one hundred persons, passed this place, from Wake county, on their way to the West. And thus they have been going

every day from the lower counties."[5]

Transportation improvements in the next decade had more far-reaching results, evidenced by rises in commercial cotton, tobacco, and turpentine production between 1850 and 1860. In 1853 the Raleigh and Gaston's strap-iron rails were replaced by U-iron ones, enabling trains to increase their rate of speed from 15 to 25 miles per hour. Then in 1856 the state-sponsored North Carolina Railroad was completed, running 223 miles from Goldsboro to Charlotte and passing through Wake County with stopping points at Raleigh and Morrisville. This railroad transported cotton to piedmont North Carolina's infant textile factories, while most of the fiber was still being sent on the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad to northern mills. Plank roads, first developed in the 1840s between Fayetteville and Bethania, gained attention in the 1850s in sections of Wake County not served by railroads. Though few are known to have traversed the county, those plank roads in adjacent counties aided in the transport of goods to and from Fayetteville and other eastern cities until lumber costs and competition from railroads brought their demise by about 1860.[6]

As the number of roads increased with the county's growing population (from 10,192 in 1790 to 28,627 by 1860), travelers still found local transportation greatly impeded by flooded bridges over rivers and creeks and by muddy, often impassable, roadways. Local resident Rev. R. H. Whitaker pointed out that "the old-time wagons that hauled the heavy groceries from Fayetteville to Raleigh, generally tore up the road beds, during the winter, and the streets of Raleigh were often as bad as the country roads."[7] Frederick Law Olmsted of New York, on his sojourn through the Cotton Kingdom, complained that when he set out on foot down Fayetteville Stage Road south of Raleigh in January 1853, he found it better to walk "through the woods on either side" rather than miring down in the muddy road.[8]

Agriculture: A Subsistence Farming Culture

Early Wake County farmers raised a variety of livestock and poultry, including horses, cattle, swine, sheep, ducks, geese, and chickens.[9] They allowed their swine, cattle, and sheep to roam freely, foraging on acorns and other mast in the forests and on reeds along creeks and rivers. Free-ranging livestock were rounded up in the spring to be fattened on corn, oats, or fodder and then slaughtered or sold to herdsmen who drove them to Virginia. Colonial farmers identified hogs by cropping the animals' ears, and they were required to register the ear marks with the county court. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, cattle were often penned up in unused fields to help

fertilize depleted soils. Milk cows were rounded up periodically for milking.[10]

Indian corn, consumed by humans and livestock, and pork were the leading staples on farms in early Wake County. Hence, "corn-shuckings" and "hog-killings" were main social events, and "hogmeat and hoecake" were important in each person's diet. Unlike wheat and other small grains brought over from Europe, corn would grow wherever planted--even among stumps and trees killed by girdling. It could be harvested without the use of tools or implements and had a higher average yield than other grains.[11] On the eve of the Civil War, Wake County farmers produced about 700,000 bushels of corn and 50,000 swine for fewer than 30,000 people. Sweet potatoes were also produced in considerable quantities (over 200,000 bushels in 1860).[12]

Water-powered gristmills were common on Wake County's early landscape, providing the important service of grinding corn and wheat into meal and flour and serving as public gathering places for neighboring farmers. The mill's dual function persisted well into the twentieth century. Millponds also became popular spots for such recreation as fishing, swimming, picnicking, and even cockfighting.[13] By the 1750s, there were several gristmills in what is now Wake County, including one at the site of present-day Yates Mill (WA 50) in Swift Creek Township. A colonial North Carolina law of 1758 made all mills accessible to the public and required a license from the county court before damming a watercourse for a mill. From earliest settlement, millers customarily received a percentage of the grain for their services.[14] A censustaker in northeastern Wake County reported in 1860 that eleven grist and flour mills in his area ground corn and wheat "only for toll & do not buy & sell but very little, and with one or Two exceptions the owners could give me no correct information concerning the Amount annually realized from the investment."[15]

Due in part to inadequate transportation to key markets, many landholders before the 1840s raised only enough to feed and clothe their families and provide a little cash for paying taxes and buying goods such as sugar, salt, and coffee. Rev. R. H. Whitaker, who was born in 1828 in the Swift Creek vicinity south of Raleigh, recalled,

> . . . in the olden times we made what we lived upon, at home, and always had plenty . . . and it was a sort of disgrace for a farmer to have to buy meat. I learned that when I was a very small boy; the cholera killed my father's hogs in the fall, and he did not have enough to go through to beef-killing time, so he bought a side of

> bacon somewhere and brought it home after dark, and tried to get it into the smoke-house without its being seen by us children or the servants, but I happened to see the smuggling in process and mother called me into her room and explained to me how it happened that father had to buy meat, saying that people would talk about it and think less of us if they were to hear of it . . . Yes, we made all we used, and wore home-made shoes, of leather tanned at home, so that we were emphatically independent.[16]

The county's small urban population and lack of sufficient marketing facilities discouraged farmers from growing extra food crops to sell. A market house in Raleigh constructed in 1840 was later described as "about the size of an ordinary wagon shelter."[17]

The fact that most farm families were not seeking cash profits from their labors, however, does not mean they fared badly. The county's subsistence-farming economic structure shaped an interdependence among close-knit communities and kinship networks that provided almost everyone with at least the basic necessities of life. Neighbors--who were often kin to one another--cooperated in building homes, barns, schools, and churches; in maintaining roads near their homes, as required by law; in shucking corn, rolling logs, quilting, and cutting wood. They worshipped in the same one-room churches, and their children learned to read, write, and figure in the same small schools and academies. They visited each other on non-work days. Men and boys went hunting together and met in local gristmills, stores, and blacksmith shops. They often traveled together in caravans when taking wagonloads of farm products or driving livestock to market. In the Civil War, they would frequently enlist together and fight in the same companies, a practice that sometimes proved disastrous for their families and communities when an entire company was wiped out in battle.[18]

Strong family ties in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Wake County have carried over into the twentieth century, as many descendants of the county's early families can still be found inhabiting the same territory as their pioneering ancestors in spite of great outmigration in recent decades. The Joneses, Pooles, and Smiths of St. Mary's; the Upchurches and Yateses of White Oak; the Bunns, Chamblees, Hortons, Masseys, Perrys, and Privettes of Little River; the Edwardses, Franklins, and Joneses of Swift Creek; and the Stells, Walls, and Watkinses around Wake Crossroads are but a few

of the longstanding kinship groups left in the county. Cousins frequently intermarried, particularly in remote, sparsely settled areas. Extended families were commonplace, as people provided homes for orphans of relatives or for widowed parents and other aged kinfolk. Farm labor shortages due to sickness and bad crop years were undoubtedly compensated by nearby family members.

This interdependence also characterized neighborhood networks, sometimes crossing class and racial barriers. Writing in 1905, Rev. Whitaker recalled,

> In the old-time South there were rich people and poor people, slave owners and non-slave owners, but not that exclusiveness seen and felt now. Neighbors were neighbors; and a rich man's neighbors, who helped him to shuck corn or to roll logs, were invited to his feasts, and made to feel that they were as welcome as if they owned land and negroes, however poor they might be.[19]

Former Wake County slave Haywood Smith, born about 1829 and interviewed at age 108, remembered growing up in a social environment where "all worked for one an[oth]er."[20] Essex Henry, another former slave interviewed in the 1930s, revealed that when his master would allow slaves to go hungry, a lady on a neighboring plantation would bring them food.[21]

Commercial Farming

A few farmers in the pre-railroad age entered the market economy by using slave or hired labor to raise cash crops such as tobacco and cotton, or, in many cases, large surplus quantities of livestock, corn, and other food crops. They hauled them by wagon to such distant markets as Petersburg, Fayetteville, and New Bern. There were undoubtedly others producing small surpluses to sell with strictly family labor. Commercial tobacco production in Wake County probably dates to about 1770, when a warehouse was constructed in Smithfield for storing the leaf prior to shipping it down the Neuse River to New Bern.[22] Modest increases in cotton production came after Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793. Tax lists show that by 1804 there were nine cotton gins in the county.[23]

A gradual shift toward market-oriented agriculture occurred with rising prices

and railroad construction in the 1840s and 1850s. Still, fewer than half of the county's farms were producing any cotton or tobacco at all on the eve of the Civil War. Of those who did, half took only minimal risks by limiting their productions to one or two bales of cotton or no more than a thousand pounds of tobacco (not over five acres for either crop).[24] The largest cotton producers were naturally on the richer soils of eastern Wake. Most tobacco was grown in the northwestern corner adjoining Orange and Granville counties where a new "bright leaf" tobacco was becoming popular by the 1850s.

Commercial farmers promoted improved methods and scientific farming for greater profits in the antebellum period. Beginning in the 1840s, they began organizing agricultural societies and publishing almanacs and periodicals to educate farmers on new technology. In 1853 they helped organize the first state fair in Raleigh, where young eastern Wake lawyer-farmer Alpheus Jones won a prize for an improved cotton press (he also gained attention for inventing a more efficient cotton plow and for developing a new method for treating seed before planting).[25]

Notwithstanding the efforts of progressive men such as Jones, most Wake County farmers before the late nineteenth century employed the same methods and practices as their pioneering ancestors. In 1905 Whitaker recalled being initiated at age twelve (about 1840) to a mule-driven shaft plow. It was so lightweight, he said, "my father would put a big rock on the beam of the plow between the shafts, and my work was simply to guide the plow." In a few years he was promoted to a trace plow, pulled by one mule, which still did most of the work.[26] Olmsted wrote in 1853 that in a field just outside Raleigh he observed "a most absurd little plough, with a share not more than six inches in depth, and eight in length on the sole, fastened by a socket to a stake, to which was fitted a short beam and stilts. It was drawn by one mule, and its work among the stumps could only be called scratching."[27] To keep free-ranging livestock from destroying crops, farmers built fences around their fields, a centuries-old practice of their European ancestors. During the winter months, they cut trees, cleared "new grounds" when old fields were worn out, and used the timber for firewood and fence-building. Large-scale farmers often hosted "log-rollings," inviting neighborhood men (white and black) to roll unused timber into "heaps" to be burned. By the mid-nineteenth century some thrifty farmers and planters began mixing the ashes with manure to make compost.[28]

Distribution of Wealth and Social Stratification

Lists for eleven of the county's twenty-one tax districts in 1809 (five in the east and six in the western and southern sections) reveal that early nineteenth-century Wake County was characterized by medium and large farms and small slaveholdings. Over a quarter of the 938 persons listed for property and poll taxes in these districts had no land, although some of these landless citizens had a few slaves. Of those who owned land, three-fifths had at least 200 acres, while another one-fifth held from 100 to 200 acres.[29]

While landholdings were fairly evenly distributed throughout the county in terms of acreage per farm, there were recognizable differences between land values in eastern Wake County compared to those in the west and south. Tax lists for 1830 show that land in eastern districts had an average assessment of about $3 per acre, while western districts averaged $2. There were even greater contrasts between the rich lowlands of St. Matthews district just east of Raleigh, averaging $3.82 per acre, and the fine sandy Coastal Plain soils in southern Wake's Middle Creek district, which averaged $1.16 per acre.[30]

Eastern Wake also had a greater concentration of slave labor to cultivate the area's superior soils, and most slaves worked in small units rather than on large plantations. African slavery was introduced to Wake County as soon as British settlers began occupying its territory in the 1730s. By the time of the first federal census in 1790, slaves made up a fourth of the total population, and slaveowners numbered 390 out of 1,291 free heads of households. Only twenty slaveowners in 1790 would be classified as planters, or those owning twenty or more slaves and substantial acreage.[31]

Fifty years later the picture had changed somewhat, as slaves increased at almost twice the rate of whites. In 1840, before railroad transportation had gained a foothold, the county's 8,000 slaves made up almost two-fifths of its total population. There were over 1,000 slaveowners (over two-fifths of the county's free households), 80 with holdings of at least twenty slaves.[32] Soaring cotton (and consequently slave) prices in the 1850s made African slave labor less affordable for many of the state's would-be planters. Many were still leaving for fresh and more productive soils in the lower south, taking their slaves with them. Moreover, domestic slave traders were constantly rounding up droves of slaves they either purchased or abducted in the upper South to meet the demand for labor in such burgeoning cotton states as Alabama and Mississippi. Whereas nearly half of Wake County's free heads of households were slaveholders before the advent of railroads, by 1860 only a third were in that class. The overwhelming

majority had holdings of fewer than ten slaves. Compared to the rest of North Carolina, nonetheless, Wake was a leading "plantation" area, being one of only five counties in the state with slave populations of over 10,000 (Granville, Halifax, Edgecombe, and Warren were the others, each with slave populations of 10,000 to 11,000).[33]

If Wake County was considered plantation country, such a characterization did not apply to its western and southern sections. A western Wake youth who attended school in northeastern Wake in 1839 revealed the contrast:

> The neighborhood in which I was raised was illiterate, the people generally poor but honest and moral. The people in the district of Wake Forest were generally well educated, and many of them wealthy. The state of society was quite different from that I had been accustomed to. Indeed, this part of Wake county was noted at that time as surpassing any other neighborhood in refinement, good society and wealth. I felt somewhat embarrassed for awhile, but soon became familiar with the customs and fashions of the neighborhood.[34]

A 1930s interview with John Fleming, a Wake County planter's son, adds further insights into the county's antebellum social stratification: "In those days people who believed in education at all also believed in social class distinction. . . . My brothers and I attended school where we met only the same class of boys and girls we were brought up to consider our equals. We never went to free school."[35] Members of different socio-economic groups were often connected to each other by kinship ties, so distinctions based on wealth and education alone could be fairly insignificant in many cases. While such ambiguities preclude a definite delineation of Wake County's antebellum social structure, there seem to have been at least four main groups among whites--planters, middle class slaveowners, yeomen, and tenants/laborers. Although most blacks were slaves, there was a small population of free negroes living in the county before the Civil War.

Planters

Planters composed no more than 5 percent of all antebellum Wake County

families, but they controlled county governmental and business affairs for the most part. Planters comprised the bulk of justices of the peace, the county's administrative and judicial ruling body, and their tenure was generally for life. Among the largest plantation operations in the state was the Cameron-Mordecai family's 7,000-acre Fishdam plantation on Neuse River in northwestern Wake (present Falls Lake vicinity), with 237 slaves and almost 200 bales of cotton produced in 1860. John Smith of eastern Wake, who first appeared in the county in the early 1840s, had three plantations and over 200 slaves by 1860.[36] One of his homes is still standing (WA 1959) between present Knightdale and Wendell, though heavily altered. Smith was reputed to have started out with two slave women named Long Peggy and Short Peggy, the former being "boss of the plantation" as well as the mother of about twenty-five of the slaves.[37] There were in 1860 three other planters whose slaveholdings were greater than one hundred--Charles L. Hinton, Jacob Mordecai, and Dr. John H. Jones, all of whose lands lay mainly in eastern Wake County. Over 120 planters had from twenty to one hundred slaves in the late antebellum years.[38]

Three of five Hinton family plantations in eastern Wake County (Beaver Dam, the Oaks, and Midway) have structures still remaining. Midway, dating from about 1848, is probably the best preserved. In its heyday, it resembled a small village, with a central main house, detached kitchen, nine slave houses, a school, carriage house, play house, office, loom house, storage house, smoke house, two long stables, a well house, ice house, potato house, and cotton gin. Charles L. Hinton, member of one of Wake County's oldest and wealthiest families and also North Carolina's state treasurer from 1839-1843 and again from 1845-1851, had a simple two-story, Greek-Revival style dwelling built on part of his extensive landholdings as a wedding gift for his son David in 1848.[39] By 1850 David Hinton's real estate totalled some 3,000 acres, valued at $15,000 (this was a lot when compared to the average Wake County farm which at this time was usually worth no more than $1,000). He owned fifty-one slaves--three over seventy years of age, thirty-three between twelve and sixty, and the rest under twelve. He had farming implements and machinery valued at $750 and livestock valued at $3,360 (twenty horses, eight mules, thirty milch cows, four working oxen, one hundred other cattle, thirty sheep, and three hundred swine). Additional livestock worth $1,200 had been slaughtered during the year. The major crops were cotton (ninety bales) and corn (7,200 bushels) but also included wheat, oats, peas, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, and hay in considerable quantities. Homemade manufactures (probably shoes and clothing for slaves) were valued at $1,100.[40]

Middle Class Slaveowners

Over a quarter of Wake County's families in 1860 were moderately wealthy slaveowners whose holdings included fewer than twenty slaves. Some of these had dwellings and agricultural complexes comparable to those of the planter class, while others had farmsteads more closely resembling those of their yeoman neighbors. They generally owned at least several hundred acres of land and, depending on soil quality and the size of their labor force, could vary from the fiercely independent subsistence-level producer to the profit-driven commercial farmer with considerable stake in the market economy.[41]

Benton S. D. Williams, son of a tenant farmer in the Wake Forest vicinity, and his wife Burchet Powell Williams, member of a prominent slaveholding family acquired two slaves soon after their their marriage in 1826. However, they depended mainly on four sons and two daughters to help with farm work. In 1850 the Williamses had one female slave and produced five bales of cotton on their 350-acre farm. After railroad expansion and the resulting economic growth in the 1850s, they purchased two additional tracts of land totalling 580 acres about six miles east of Raleigh and acquired nine additional slaves. These acquisitions allowed an increase in cotton production to ten bales a year. On one of the new tracts the Williamses built a two-story, Greek Revival-style dwelling in about 1855 [WA 1502]. As their children reached adulthood and married, they settled on these tracts of land and began their own small cotton-farming operations.[42]

Bennett and Nancy O'Neal Bunn were prosperous farmers and members of two of the oldest families in eastern Wake and northwestern Johnston counties. With some 300 acres of their 1,000-acre estate under cultivation and sixteen slaves to work the land in 1850, the Bunns produced 1,000 bushels of corn and raised sizeable herds of swine, cattle, and sheep. Although not large commercial farmers, they had managed in the 1830s to build a substantial two-story, Federal-style dwelling (WA 190) for their family of seven children, perhaps with proceeds from corn and other surplus farm products marketed locally or in the larger interstate market. The family began using their former dwelling, a log house thought to date to the 1790s, as a kitchen. By 1848, Bunn had a gristmill on Beaver Dam Branch (off Little River), and his farm complex included at least two log barns, a dairy, corncrib, smokehouse, livestock shelter, and several slave houses. Except for the mill and slave dwellings, all of these structures are still standing (WA 190).[43]

The Henry Wall family lived in a handsome transitional Federal/Greek Revival-style dwelling situated on a 400-acre farm in the Wake Forest area on the eve of the

Civil War. Wall owned fifteen slaves (housed in four dwellings), and his chief farm product was Indian corn. Improvements in the nearby Raleigh and Gaston Railroad were no doubt inducement for him to increase his annual cotton productions from 1 to 6 bales between 1850 and 1860. Most of his slave labor was engaged in tending livestock and cultivating food crops. In the decade of the 1850s, the value of his farm jumped from $2,500 to $4,000.[44] In addition to the main house (which burned in 1988), the Wall farm complex has a number of outbuildings dating from antebellum times, including wellhouse, barn, smokehouse, dairy, and a one-room dwelling which may have been a kitchen or slavehouse (WA 1666). Buildings no longer standing are said to have included a granary, blacksmith shop, weaving room, and school.[45]

John and wife Talitha Watkins Honeycutt owned a 350-acre farm near Falls of the Neuse, part of which Mr. Honeycutt purchased a few years prior to their marriage in 1843. In 1850 it was valued at $1,000 and produced only 2 bales of cotton. The farm's value doubled by 1860, probably because it was located only a few miles from the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He also owned six slaves (two females aged 28 and 26, a 17-year-old male, and three small children), for whom he provided three dwellings. With this small slave labor force, a wife, and eight children, he increased his cotton production to 12 bales. They also raised subsistence levels of cattle, sheep, swine, corn, wheat, peas, sweet and Irish potatoes, and hay. Prior to 1850, he and his wife took in his widowed mother Susan, who was born in 1760. They sent all eight children (ranging in age from 6 to 17) to school.[46] Honeycutt emphasized in his will in 1864 that his wife Talitha's inheritance should be used "to ra[i]se and educate my children."[47] Their eldest son became a school teacher and later a justice of the peace.[48] The Honeycutts lived in a small one-and-a-half-story log house covered with weatherboards, which still stands (WA 1305). It was apparently enlarged as the family grew by adding shed rooms on both front and rear.

Yeoman Families

By 1860, two-thirds of the county's families were non-slaveowners.[49] In this large group of non-slaveowners, which included a number of citydwellers, about one-quarter (some five hundred families) were of the independent yeoman class. Those owning fewer than 50 acres had little to do with state and county government and did not have the right to vote for state senators until after the Civil War.

Rev. William Cullen Nowell (1837-1914), a Baptist minister who grew up in eastern Wake County near present Wendell, gives a characterization of his yeoman

father, whom he termed a "poor farmer":

> He was an humble, unpretentious man, and was never known, perhaps, but slightly outside of his own county. His education was limited to simple reading, poor writing, and a slight knowledge of figures. Yet he was a man of good, sound mind and fair judgment. . . . [He] and his bride . . . concluded to settle down and go to work, as all the honest and industrious young men did. . . . So he bought about one hundred acres of land in the piney woods, selected a suitable place on a slight ridge, between two small brooklets, or branches, and proceeded to build a house, or rather two houses. For in those primitive times, people had a living house, or, more correctly, a bed-house, and a kitchen, some thirty or fifty feet apart. These houses, that is, my father's houses, were very simple and unpretentious buildings. They were built of logs and covered with boards, four or five feet long, rived from the long-leaf yellow pine, that was so common at that time and place. The chimneys were of the stick-and-dirt style, but, answered every purpose, and were comfortable with their wide fireplaces, wherein oaken logs in winter burned and crackled so merrily.
>
> The women and children in those days spent the day generally in the kitchen. At night, all the family gathered in the "other," or the "great," or the "bedhouse," as it was variously called. There a fire was made in winter and in summer. In winter for light and warmth; in summer for light only, as lamps were then unknown to the simple people in the country, and tallow candles were allowed only on rare occasions.[50]

Another member of this antebellum farm class was Henry B. Wilson (ca. 1820-1890), who in 1850 had one slave (a twelve-year-old female) and a 70-acre farm valued at $250 in the sparsely settled New Light section of northwestern Wake County. He raised 500 pounds of tobacco probably on no more than 2 acres, as well as twelve swine, six sheep, four milk cows, two horses, 300 bushels of corn, and modest quantities of wheat, sweet and Irish potatoes, and hay.[51] By 1860 he no longer owned a slave, although with a wife and three teen-aged children (and perhaps hired workers) to help out, he more than doubled his tobacco production and cleared an additional 15 acres for

cultivation.[52] For his growing family he built a four-room log house covered with weatherboards, still standing and owned by a descendant (WA 1359). The house has two front shed rooms and a large back room downstairs with an upper room directly above it. According to the current owner, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson and the boys slept downstairs, and the girls slept in the upstairs room, designed so that they could slip out to the kitchen in early morning to prepare breakfast without waking the others.[53]

Tenants and Farm Laborers

The remainder of white families were individuals who, because of bad health, mismanagement, or other reasons, were unable to accumulate much more than a few personal items and made their living on someone else's land. They also included sons and daughters of yeoman families who in their younger years found real estate ownership unattainable. The dwellings of this class have for the most part disappeared from the landscape.

John Alexander, a small farmer in the Rhamkatte section just south of Raleigh, owned the house in which his family of nine lived during the late antebellum period, but he rented a piece of land to raise a few food crops such as potatoes, corn, cabbage, carrots, collard greens, peas, and beans. His daughter later recalled, "We always tried to keep a hog and a few chickens, too. Pa was a man who could do almost anything in the way of work and he didn't depend on farming for his living. He worked as a carpenter, gunsmith, blacksmith and quarryman all of his life."[54]

James and Sabrina Medlin were young farm laborers in northwestern Wake County on the eve of the Civil War, owning no real estate and personal property valued at only $50.[55] They raised their family in a one-room log cabin and carried water from a spring a quarter of a mile away. In winter they and their children slept on two beds and a cot, and in summer some of the children slept on pallets on the floor. Their regular activities were similar to those of many of their landowning contemporaries. As his son later recounted, James "did not believe in education beyond reading, writing, and figuring, but he did believe in hard work," especially in summertime when his family worked from daylight to daybreak cultivating and harvesting crops. They spent most of their time raising food and fiber on stony hills described as almost barren. In addition to summer field work, Sabrina canned fruit and dried apples and peaches to put away for the winter months. She cooked in a wide stone fireplace and spun and wove every piece of the family's clothing from cotton and wool they raised. She (and eventually several daughters) washed clothes in the spring, beating them on a rock before rinsing

and hanging them on bushes to dry. James made everyone's shoes. The whole family spent the early morning hours and the hour before dark picking berries when they were in season. In addition to farm products and berries, they also enjoyed occasional game killed in the woods. The customary summer dinner consisted of boiled cabbage (with peas or beans substituting), Irish potatoes, cornpone, honey, milk, and sometimes a ham or pig shoulder bone boiled with the vegetables. In winter there was either rabbit or squirrel stew and sometimes baked possum, corn dumplings, collards, roasted sweet potatoes, and apple pie with fresh cream. While not enjoying the lifestyle of planters and middle-class farmers, such landless families as the Medlins were able to have the basic necessities.[56]

African-American Freedmen

Wake County's "free persons of colour" (a term used to classify both free Africans and Indians) were a small minority in the antebellum period, though numerous in comparison to most other areas of the state (Wake, Halifax, Hertford, and Robeson were the only counties with free black populations of more than 1,000 in 1860).[57] There were seventeen farmers and thirty-seven other members of Wake's free black population who owned real estate in 1860. Four farmers in this class had holdings ranging in value from $2,500 to over $20,000, while seventeen were small-scale slaveowners. Most in this class worked as farmhands. Others were blacksmiths, millers, shoemakers, or carpenters, with a few women listed as seamstresses.[58] A late nineteenth-century historian of free blacks in North Carolina described their houses as "flimsy log huts, travesties in every respect of the rude dwellings of the earliest white settlers."[59] Hence, none of their impermanent dwellings have been found to be standing.

There is at least one rural section in Wake County where a community of free blacks and Indians developed prior to the Civil War. In the mid-nineteenth century, several families of Indian descent migrated to southwestern Wake County from near Wheeling, West Virginia. One by the name of Tommy Stewart operated a saloon at the intersection of Old Smithfield and Haywood roads. Strong local tradition has it that several families of whites and free blacks met together with these Native Americans "in traditional Indian peace-making fashion and vowed to live as neighbors and to call their community Friendship in evidence of this mutual goal." These families intermarried and assumed active roles as small farmowners, merchants, and millers. Some of them joined the local Olive Chapel Baptist Church but later organized churches of their own, including Christian Chapel (WA 1068) and Mount Zion Baptist (WA 1069). A number of their descendants still call Friendship home.[60]

William Scott of Raleigh was born a free black in 1860. He told in a 1930s interview that his father William lived in Raleigh and worked as a "ditcher and slave gitter" (perhaps one hired to catch runaways). Scott traced his free status to a grandfather who was born to a white woman. Some of his relatives inherited property from their white progenitors, as he related, and were still in possession of it in the 1930s.[61]

Slaves

Numerous former Wake County slaves were interviewed in the 1930s, revealing a variety of living standards and patterns of family life, socializing, and work in antebellum times. Governor Charles Manly's washerwoman at his Raleigh residence lived in a plank house with shed porch, two rooms downstairs, and one upstairs; and her children had trundle beds. Other slaves lived in one-room log houses with "stick-and-dirt" chimneys and either plank or dirt floors--in many cases, comparable to the dwellings of poor whites (in style and in the fact that few have survived). Rations of food and clothing were sometimes scant but most often adequate.[62]

Families were sometimes separated when owners sold slaves to speculators, gave them to adult children, or when estates were divided, though a few slaveowners made efforts to keep families together. Ophelia Whitley, who was born in 1841 on the A. J. Foster Plantation at Wakefield (WA 1807), recalled that her master lost "a heap of money" when speculators passing through on the Tarboro Stage Road stole some of his slave children. Mothers hardly knew their children anyway, she remarked, because they all stayed at "A[u]nt Hannah's house" while their mothers worked.[63] Sam T. Stewart, born in 1853 in southern Wake, never knew his father, who was sold to speculators and sent to Mississippi. He did, however, remember a great deal about practices in the domestic slave trade. Speculators who lived in Raleigh would hire local men as "Negro drivers" to round up droves of about thirty slaves. The drivers would then line up the slaves in double file with a long chain running between them and a small chain attached to each slave. The slaves walked to their destination (usually Mississippi or Alabama), and covered wagons carried provisions.[64]

Slaves were sometimes allowed to have annual "frolicks" in early August after crops were "laid by" prior to harvest. One eastern Wake planter's daughter recalled that cider was prepared in large quantities ahead of time for such an occasion on her father's plantation. On the day of the celebration slave men rose early to barbecue

pigs, and women prepared such special dishes as fried and baked chicken, chicken pie, vegetables from their own small patches, a big pot of cabbage, dumplings, and apple and peach pie for dessert. All the tables from the slave houses were lined up and covered with white cloths.[65] Former slaves who worked on both large and small farms and plantations recalled annual corn shuckings, which provided opportunities to socialize while serving a utilitarian function as well. After the work was done, the day ended with a big dinner where there was generally "a lot of whiskey . . . and good things to eat," followed by dancing to banjo and fiddle music and popping corn. Others recalled such occasional diversions as wrestling matches, watermelon slicings, and candy pullings.[66]

Planters generally hired overseers to superintend their work, while famers with a smaller number of slaves, together with their families, often worked alongside slaves. Large- and small-scale slaveowners alike would sometimes appoint one or more of their trusted slaves as foremen, and the master or mistress would simply make the foremen responsible for carrying out orders for each day's work. Henrietta McCullers, born about 1850, grew up with her mother on the southern Wake Betsy Adams farm where there were six or seven slaves. Her father belonged to a nearby planter. "I plowed an' dug ditches an' cleared new groun'," she recalled. "Dey only had one man, Uncle Mose, an' so, of course, he had to have some help ter ten' 'bout a hundert acres. Most of our lan' was planted in feed stuff fer us an' de cattle. An'so we raised ever'thing but de coffee." If work was particularly pressing, the Adams slaves worked from sunup to dark, "an' Mis' Betsy wucked too." They went fishing and swimming when there was less work to do around the farm.[67]

Slaves were often hired out to neighboring planters and farmers if they knew a trade such as blacksmithing or shoemaking or if their owner had died and the estate settlement was pending. Alonzo Haywood, who had a blacksmith shop on Cabarrus Street in Raleigh as late as the 1930s, learned his trade from his father, a slave on the plantation of justice of the peace and later county commissioner William R. Pool. "Mr. Pool liked father because he was quick and obedient so he determined to give him a trade," the younger Haywood recalled being told. "Wilson Morgan run the blacksmith shop at Falls of the Neuse and it was him that taught my father the trade at Mr. Pool's insistence."[68]

Slave and free laboring classes shared the same basic work schedule--sunup to sundown with a midday break of an hour or two. At night or in early morning, slaves often tended to vegetable gardens, potato patches, or livestock and some raised their

own produce for consumption or trade. Women had such night-time duties as carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing. Disobedience or merely failing to work hard enough to please one's master or mistress often resulted in cruel beatings, but slaves could escape such treatment by running away and hiding for several days. Parker Pool, who was born in the 1840s on the Aufy Pool plantation in southeastern Wake, remembered being well provided for with food, clothing, and sleeping quarters. He and the other slaves on the plantation performed in addition to cultivating crops such tasks as making "blind ditches" to drain fields, tanning leather, raising flax, driving cows home to be milked, and building and maintaining wood rail fences around fields.[69]

Commerce and Industry

There were few commercial and manufacturing interests in the county until the post-Civil War era, and such establishments were usually of, by, and for farmers. The county's scattered stores usually functioned as post offices, polling stations, and stopping places for travelers. At such a store, indicated by a ledger of Rev. Bennett Blake's eastern Wake mercantile establishment in 1836, a local farmer could purchase such merchandise as clothing (hats, shoes, boots, laces, gloves, bonnets, handkerchiefs, scarves, hose, collars, "fancy pant stuff," and shirting), writing and wrapping paper, ink, pipes, tobacco, ivory pocket combs, soap, palm leaf fans, knives, looking glasses, lamps, a wide assortment of cloth material (cotton, calico, gingham, muslin, taffeta, and burlap, to name a few), table cloths, sewing items (needles, thread, buttons, and patterns), hammers, nails, and such food items as sugar, salt, and coffee. Blake purchased most of his merchandise in Petersburg in the spring and evidently hired teamsters to transport it to his Oaky Grove plantation (WA 267). Most of his customers, some of whom paid in cotton, purchased only sugar, salt, coffee, cloth (mainly cotton), sewing materials, shoes, tobacco, hammers, and nails--a clear indication of the limited opportunities for local merchants in subsistence-farming areas such as Wake County.[70] The William H. Hood store at Eagle Rock in eastern Wake is the only antebellum commercial building known to survive in Wake County (WA 2021). Built to replace an earlier structure that burned in 1854, the Hood store also served as the Eagle Rock post office.[71]

Also limited were jobs in manufacturing and other industrial trades. The 1820 Census shows that house carpenters (there were 128, half of whom were listed in the city of Raleigh) and blacksmiths (numbering 88, three quarters of them outside the city) were in greatest demand, while a few Wake Countians were engaged in the manufacture of wagons, wheels, coaches, bricks, cut stone, furniture, clothing, leather, guns, chewing

and pipe tobacco, whiskey, candy, saddles, harnesses, bridles, cotton gins, and paper (for writing, wrapping, and printing). There were also a few individuals listed as tin, copper, gold, or silversmiths in the 1820s.[72] Raleigh newspaper editor Joseph Gales, a native of England, had encouraged Wake Countians and other fellow North Carolinians since 1810 to establish cotton mills, buy domestic goods, and utilize the latest technology in machinery for locally producing such goods (as northerners were beginning to do). However, as Blake's store ledger suggests, an overwhelming majority of Wake County's independent farmers and planters saw little or no need for industries that did not directly relate to agriculture. The county's few planters had lucrative foreign markets for their cotton, and yeomen were content with their relative independence from both commercial agriculture and urban industry. Hence, of those gainfully employed in the county in 1840, 24 worked in commercial firms, another 24 in "learned professions" and engineering, 380 in manufactures and trades, and 5,694 in agriculture.[73] By the eve of the Civil War, there were few significant changes in the county's occupational composition.

There was one exception to this general lack of large-scale industry in Wake County. In 1854 a paper mill was built at the falls of the Neuse River that, under various owners became one of the largest producers of high quality cotton rag paper in the state of North Carolina. The Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company supplied paper to state government and to most printers in eastern North Carolina until the 1890s, when it was converted to a cotton mill.[73a] The original three story, granite block mill building still stands on its original site, although it is now divided into condominiums (WA 189).

Religion

Reaching people at all levels of society, churches provided a community center for spiritual sustenance and socializing, especially after organized religion became more widespread in the early nineteenth century. In colonial times, the Church of England established parishes in the county and gave them names such as St. Mary's and St. Matthew's (present township names), but there is little evidence of much religious activity in those parishes. The first active churches on record in Wake County were those of dissenting backwoods Baptists, such as Three Creeks (by 1761, Middle Creek) Church, organized by 1756 and accepted into the Charleston (South Carolina) Baptist Association. A separate group of Baptists called New Lights broke away from New England Congregationalists in Connecticut, moved southward into present Randolph

County, North Carolina, in the 1750s, and helped to establish New Light Church in northwestern Wake County around 1775 (the name was also given to a nearby creek and later to a township).[74]

A strong emphasis on congregational autonomy has helped to give Baptists the lead in popularity throughout Wake County's history. Individual congregations joined together to form associations (such as the Raleigh Association, formed in 1805 and composed of churches in Wake and surrounding counties), but such alliances were designed only for inter-congregational fellowship. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, most churches in the county expanded the association's role to include financing for theological schools (such as Wake Forest College, established in 1834), foreign and domestic missions, and Sunday Schools in local churches. A few older Baptists raised strong objections to such untraditional measures and withdrew from mission-supporting associations in the 1820s and 1830s, forming their own loose alliances and calling themselves "Primitive Baptists." The anti-missionists in the Raleigh Baptist Association also disapproved of preachers and church members belonging to masonic lodges.[75]

Methodist-Episcopal preachers, under the leadership of Bishop Francis Asbury, also enjoyed considerable success among Wake County families beginning around the Revolutionary War period. The county's earliest Methodist church on record is said to have been Pope's Chapel, a log meeting house in the Barton's Creek area where Asbury preached during his first visit to North Carolina in the summer of 1780. (Asbury noted in his journal that there was "great comfort in the chapel in spite of ticks, chiggers and insects.") The bishop also mentioned five other preaching places in Wake County in the 1780s.[76]

In addition to the predominant Baptists and Methodists, Wake County had a considerable following in the "Christian" denomination. Its leader was James O'Kelly, a Methodist preacher from Chatham County who, along with about thirty other ministers, left the Methodist Church in 1792 because he objected to Asbury's power over ministerial appointments. A group of O'Kellyites organized Pleasant Spring (later merged with Catawba Springs) Church in southern Wake County in about 1803, and by 1821 there were at least three other such congregations in the county. This group experienced further division in about 1810 over the mode of baptism. Wake County Christian ministers generally believed in baptism by immersion and joined forces with like-minded Baptists to become known as Christian Baptists, or Ironside Baptists, though still retaining a separate identity as "Christians".[77]

Presbyterians and Episcopalians were worshipping in northern Wake County as early as 1791, when the two groups shared a meeting house with Baptists and Methodists. All but Baptists deserted this interdenominational meeting place, called Wake Union, by about 1805.[78] It is still standing, though considerably altered (WA 1429). Presbyterians in Raleigh organized a church in the capital city in 1816, and they met in the state house before building an elaborate brick edifice in 1818. Episcopalians established Raleigh's Christ Church in 1821 and contracted with state architect William Nichols to build a frame structure. These denominations, appealing mainly to more wealthy and educated planters, businessmen, and politicians, had no other locations in Wake County until almost a century later.

Wake Countians in the first decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant revival movement. This movement began in Kentucky, where many Virginians and Carolinians had migrated, and spread across the country, north and south. Called the Great Revival, or Second Great Awakening, this evangelical movement brought into being many new churches, a new interest in missionary work (such as that eventually causing division among Baptists), and an increased awareness in the north of the evils of slavery. Another result was the institutionalization of the camp meeting that was popular among Methodists and some Baptists until the late antebellum period. The plantation of prominent Methodists John Whitaker and his son Samuel (county sheriff 1819-1821 and later state senator for several terms) was the scene of an annual October camp meeting in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Both of their homes are still standing, though much altered (WA 1264 and WA 1259). At a meeting in 1821, the Whitaker campground had forty tents, seventeen ministers, and about forty converts, as one of the preachers reported.[79] Camp meetings and revivals, usually held in late summer and early fall when crops were laid by, were times of intense emotionalism. Such a highly charged meeting in Wake County's Hephzibah Baptist Church in 1855 was said to have lasted about three weeks, day and night. An eyewitness related, "There were at times as many as forty or more mourners at the front at one time. The deep wailing and praying of the penitents could be heard for nearly a quarter of a mile. The singing, though as loud as possible, could not drown the solemn, sad crying of those at the 'anxious seats.'"[80]

Preachers serving most of Wake County's early churches were generally unlettered men (especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) who served at least two or three churches at one time, with each congregation having preaching services once a month (some had Sabbath Schools that met weekly). Baptist and Christian preachers were typically farmers on weekdays and preachers on Sundays--

sometimes local natives who served in the community where they grew up. The Methodist itinerant was somewhat more cosmopolitan, generally serving only a year in one circuit before the bishop appointed him to another group of churches. One of these Methodist circuit riders, Virginia native Bennett T. Blake, married an eastern Wake planter's daughter and settled down as a "local preacher," small planter, and merchant at Oaky Grove (WA 267) in the 1830s.[81] The circuit rider often had only what belongings he carried in his saddlebags and depended on the charity of church members to compensate for his meager salary (often no more than $100 a year if church members could raise that much) with free lodging and meals.[82] Blake recalled in 1878 that "in days when there was no railroads we had many cir[cui]ts, and often entertained five and six [preachers] at one time."[83]

Education

Wake County's earliest schools were quite simple, but they were perhaps more numerous than churches prior to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In fact, some of the county's early churches were organized in schoolhouses.[86] The first schools in the county were private and often housed in one-room log structures. Rev. Johnson Olive recalled that the custom in his neighborhood near the Chatham-Wake line in the early 1820s was to have a school three months in the fall of each year to teach children (usually beginning at age five or six) spelling, reading, writing, and the "primary principles of arithmetic."[87]

By the early nineteenth century, private academies were established in Raleigh, as well as in rural communities (mostly in eastern Wake County), for children of planters and others who could afford the costs. The academy became the major vehicle for educating and preparing Wake County's children for college through most of the nineteenth century. One of Wake County's most prominent academy instructors from about 1808 to 1838 was a free black Presbyterian minister, John Chavis, who taught whites and free blacks in Wake, Granville, Chatham, and Cumberland counties. His pupils included future Governor Charles Manly and future United States Senator Willie P. Mangum.[88] In the 1850s, the Raleigh Baptist Association established a college preparatory school in the Holly Springs Masonic Lodge in southwestern Wake County (WA 642) for the benefit of youngsters aspiring to attend Wake Forest College.[89]

Physicians and lawyers usually attended a northern college or university for professional training, although some doctors and lawyers studied under eminent local physicians and attorneys. (In 1823 Wake was noted as one of North Carolina's five

counties with ten or more resident physicians; the others were Halifax, Caswell, Warren, and Orange.[90]) After 1795 young white men could attend the state university at Chapel Hill, where the curriculum included mathematics, science, history, and moral philosophy, although these subjects were subordinant to the classics and religious instruction in the university's early years.[91] Many of the university's graduates became state and local politicians or school teachers.

Wake Forest College, founded in 1834 on the northeastern Wake County plantation of Dr. Calvin Jones, was the first institution of higher learning in Wake County. Originally known as the Wake Forest Institute, the college required early students, who were studying for the Baptist ministry, to work on the school's farms as well as take classes. Hillsborough builder John Berry erected a four-story brick main building and two brick faculty houses in 1835, only one of which, the South Brick House [WA 1503], survives. Wake Forest College remained in the town of Wake Forest (incorporated in 1880) until 1956, when it was moved to Winston-Salem and became Wake Forest University; the campus is now used by the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.[91a]

A part of North Carolina's reform movement in the 1830s was a state law of 1839 allowing counties to levy taxes for public schools for whites. Though Wake County's citizens approved the measure by a vote of 848 to 656, Raleigh's 311 affirmative votes were the decisive ones. Many poor whites did not initially support public (also called common or free) schools because they saw them as charity--perhaps with good reason, since the first county Board of Superintendents was composed chiefly of wealthier men who no doubt sent their children to private academies. By the eve of the Civil War, notwithstanding, there were sixty-four free schools with over 2,000 pupils. Even in Wake's sparsely-settled New Light district, forty-nine out of fifty-nine farmers with school-age children were sending their youngsters to some school, whether private or public.[92] None of the public school buildings used in this period can be found today.

CONTEXT 2: CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, AND A SHIFT TO COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE (1861-1885)

Four years of war and its immediate aftermath set the stage for a transformation in Wake County's old subsistence-based economy. According to historians

Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, two major developments precipitated similar changes across the South. The first involved the "demise of the plantation" and the "reconstruction of agriculture" (i. e., labor), a process in which the laborlord elite of the antebellum period became a landlord elite in the postwar years.[93] The withdrawal of African slave labor following emancipation had a significant impact on postwar farm production. Similarly, in some nonplantation areas, such as western and southern Wake County, the loss of white labor during the war by death or physical disability also greatly affected production. Planters and small farmers alike suffered tremendous losses in terms of food crops, livestock, money, and capital invested in slaves. Many soldiers' wives, children, and elderly parents were forced to work the farms with little or no outside help or rely on the limited charity of neighbors and relatives. Others became indebted for goods they previously would have produced themselves. Some even lost their land and were forced to become tenants when debts could not be satisfied by any other means. Slaves had their freedom, but most of them lacked land or money on which to live, a situation that meant dependence on either white landowners or, for a few years, the Freedmen's Bureau, for survival.

The second major postwar economic development was the rebuilding of southern financial and merchandizing networks. Southern banks failed during and immediately after the war, and Confederate currency became worthless. Moreover, cotton producers and other farmers and planters still needed to market their crops to buy provisions and equipment and pay employees. The urban-based "cotton factor," who served as middleman in antebellum times, gave way to the local "furnishing merchant," who was able to keep a closer watch on the growing number of farmers (especially tenants) requiring purchases on credit and loans to pay laborers. Since landless farmers had virtually no collateral except perhaps a mule or a few personal items, state legislatures across the South enacted "crop lien" laws allowing needy families to use a future cash crop as collateral for goods purchased on credit. The result in Wake County was a fairly sudden shift to cotton production, a trend that would eventually cause a steady rise in indebtedness and farm tenancy throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Raleigh merchants and bankers organized in 1868 to establish the capital as a major cotton market for central North Carolina, attracting unprecedented numbers of new farming families (both white and black) to the county. The number of farms jumped from about 2,200 in 1860 to almost 4,400 in 1880. Population increased from some 29,000 to 48,000 in that twenty years. About a quarter of the growth was attributed to Raleigh, where new schools and colleges for both whites and blacks attracted newcomers in the postwar period.

The Civil War and Reconstruction

The war's immediate affects in Wake County were a decline in agricultural production and loss of men. The Confederate Congress had imposed a tax-in-kind on farmers, requiring the payment of one-tenth of most food crops (much of which rotted in warehouses when rail facilities were out of service or tied up transporting soldiers) and also allowed armies to impress provisions with only a promise of payment. Wake County farms in the path of Sherman's Union troops in the spring of 1865 suffered additional losses in livestock and provisions. Between 1860 and 1870, the number of horses in the county dropped by 2,000, milk cows by 1,700, working oxen by 400, sheep by 4,000, and swine by 23,000. Over 60,000 acres of previously cleared land suffered neglect and grew up in brush and new timber, with a corresponding decline of about one-half the production of corn, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. Cotton, oats, and mules were the only agricultural products to exceed prewar levels, suggesting a growing dependence on the fleecy white staple in the immediate postwar years.[94]

Containing only one-ninth of the Confederacy's white population, North Carolina furnished one-sixth (120,000) of its fighting men, with some 40,000 North Carolinians dying in service. Nearly one-fourth of the southern army's conscripts came from North Carolina, though many of them deserted in the latter part of the war after hearing of difficulties their families were experiencing back at home.[95] Thomas Lawrence of southwestern Wake was one yeoman farmer who deserted, refusing to fight in what he considered a rich man's war. To avoid being apprehended and possibly executed by the home guard, he hid in the woods and swamps and went home only to replenish his food supply.[96] While most Wake soldiers stayed in the army, many no doubt shared Lawrence's disillusionment. As one historian asserted, most North Carolinians in the war period could be seen as "a suffering people trying to deal with problems they never sought under burdens that few could carry."[97]

In order to be readmitted to the Union, North Carolina was required to adopt a new constitution. Since many of the old ruling elite were barred from the convention, control of the constitution fell to members of the Republican Party, organized in North Carolina in 1867, who numbered 107 out of 120 delegates. They gave all free men over 21 the right to vote, replaced the old county court squirearchy with commissioners elected by the people, allowed for popular election of judges, and abolished property requirements for governors and legislators. One black and three white Republicans (including the previously mentioned Benton Williams) were Wake County's delegates to the state's 1868 Constitutional Convention.[98] Republicans in the state legislature

began raising taxes to finance programs for governmental and educational reform, as well as internal improvements such as new railroads and a state penitentiary. One of these improvements was the Chatham Railroad (renamed Raleigh and Augusta in 1871 and Seaboard Air Line later), which was completed in 1869 and fostered development of new towns in western Wake County--Cary, Apex, and New Hill.

Agriculture: Restructuring of Labor

After slaves were emancipated in 1865, many left their owners and went to work for other planters and farmers or sought a limited number of nonagricultural jobs available in Raleigh and elsewhere. Others remained with former masters and worked for wages. Research conducted by Ransom and Sutch shows that blacks in the postwar South began refusing to work from sunrise to sunset six days a week as they had been coerced to do as slaves. Moreover, women and children's labor was being shifted from field to household duties--no doubt an attempt to share in the domestic and maternal privileges affluent whites enjoyed. The main economic consequences of these actions and others were a general decline in agricultural production and a drop in land values in the late 1860s.[99]

The records of the Alonzo T. Mial plantation in eastern Wake provide one example of the arrangements between planters and former slaves in the immediate postwar years. From the surrender until the end of 1865, Mial paid his laborers (numbering 25 to 30) 35 cents per day. In January, 1866, he drew up a contract in which he agreed to give them monthly rations of bacon and cornmeal, along with monthly wages of $10 for adult males, $5 for women, and $2 to $3 for children, half of which he withheld until the end of the year to be forfeited if the contract was violated. He also agreed to furnish land for a small crop, with the necessary teams and tools, and to sell them provisions at "retail shop price in the City of Raleigh." Since no provision was made for housing, it may be assumed that slave cabins continued in use at least for a few years. In exchange for these payments and services, he expected each laborer to work Monday through Saturday from sunrise to sunset, "and when ever necessary eaven after Sun Set to Secure the crop from frost, or taking up fodder or housing cotton in picking Season after the days work is over, or any other Small jobs liable to loss by not being attended to the night before." He gave workers half a day off every other Saturday between March and August, with no compensation for work missed due to sickness. The contract also demanded that employees show respect to Mial, his family, and superintendents. Most of the parties signed with an "X," so they probably had to rely on Mial or else a Freedmen's Bureau worker in Raleigh to explain the terms of the

contract.[100]

Since such agreements too much resembled their former status, many freedmen began to demand more independence. In an effort to keep workers, landlords allowed each tenant family to farm a certain plot of land (usually 20 to 50 acres), in exchange for cash or a share (a third, fourth, or half) of the crop, the amount of rent depending on the tenant's personal investment in workstock, tools, and fertilizers. The old slave houses were moved away from the "great house," as Ophelia Whitley recalled, or else a new house was constructed.[101] As early as 1867, A. T. Mial entered into such an agreement with Henry Cooper, to whom he rented a "fresh field" on Marks Creek in exchange for a third of all corn, fodder, shucks, peas, and cotton cultivated and housed from it. Mial required Cooper to plant at least 8 acres in cotton, and he agreed to build a dwelling house on or near the field, with Cooper's assistance.[102] Former slave Addy Gill, born in 1863 in eastern Wake County, was a sharecropper from the 1880s until he moved to Raleigh in the 1920s. Describing some of his early experiences in the 1930s, he said,

> I had no larnin. I had to depend on white folks I farmed wid to look atter my business. Some of em cheated me out of what I made. I am tellin you de truth 'bout some of de landlords, dey got mighty nigh all I made. . . . I members payin' fur a middlin of meat twice. Some of de white folks looked out fur me an prospered. . . . I never owned a farm, I never owned horses or mules to farm with. I worked de landlords stock and farmed his land on shares.[102a]

His early farming experiences included two profitless years near Raleigh where a dishonest landlord-merchant charged him three times for the same items. Notwithstanding, he remembered a more prosperous six years under another landlord who was more sensitive to his family's needs.

Landless whites were parties to similar rental agreements, as young farmers coming up found land unaffordable or unavailable and small landowners lost their land to creditors when they could not pay debts. While sharecropping and other tenant arrangements were a step toward greater independence for former slaves, they were often a step in the opposite direction for white farmers. Mr. and Mrs. John Hundley became "live-in" tenants (a somewhat unique arrangement) of the aging widower Rev.

Bennett T. Blake of Oaky Grove in 1870 . Entering into a contract in early January, as was customary, Blake rented out certain portions of his farm on "equal" shares--15 acres around the stables for cotton, and "so many acres [6 or 8] in low grounds of poplar meadow as will be sufficient to make a crop for one horse and also suitable lots for potatoes, melons & other vegetables." Blake also provided the use of "a good sound horse or mule and provender for the same, "an ox, ox cart, horse cart, "two good milch cows," as well as "all that part of the garden that lies east of the apple trees," and necessary farming implements and tools. The contract even outlined living arrangements. Hundley and wife were to occupy the dining room and adjoining bed chamber, and to have use of a small upper chamber, kitchen, kitchen furniture, smokehouse, meal room, and "so much of the table ware as he may need, to be accounted for hereafter." Blake would use the parlor as his bedroom and take meals at Hundley's table. The Hundleys would be responsible for building fires, drawing water, and washing clothes to cover boarding expenses. Since he apparently had no children to help him work the land, Hundley had to hire wage laborers and was responsible for furnishing them with bacon and corn as part of their pay. Blake assigned his interest in the contract to his stepson A. T. Mial as collateral for advances needed to cultivate the land in 1870, an indication that cash was still in short supply. Nonetheless, as a former planter and large landowner, Blake's financial condition was no doubt superior to that of most of his neighbors.[103]

Farm tenancy was a temporary status for some whites, but it became a way of life for others, just as it did for blacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nancy Gill told how her husband David, a Confederate veteran with constant health problems from the war, "rented a small place and we farmed [in the Rhamkatte vicinity] until 1880 when we moved to Raleigh, as we simply could not make a living on the farm. He got a job driving a team of horses for a lumber company."[104] On the other hand, Mattie Medlin of Cary declared that her father, who was very poor and uneducated, "always was a tenant farmer. . . . The farm on which I was raised was hard red clay, and the eroded hillsides took a great deal of work and gave back little in return." She was nonetheless proud of her father, adding, "He was a member of the Baptist Church and always voted the straight Republican ticket."[105]

The Crop Lien System, King Cotton, and a Rise in Farm Tenancy

The North Carolina General Assembly of March 1867 passed a crop lien law entitled, "Act to Secure Advances for Agricultural Purposes," while Conservative Democrats from the antebellum ruling elite were still in power.[106] Soon blacks and

whites alike became entrapped by this system that consumed most of the small producer's profits when settlement time came in late fall. As stated earlier, small landowners sometimes lost their property when they could not pay creditors or tax collectors. Tenants often fell into a condition of quasi-enslavement when their landlord was also their creditor.

To capitalize on opportunities created by this law and make the state capital a major cotton market, Raleigh merchants formed a "Cotton Exchange" in 1868, encouraging farmers to buy fertilizers, farming equipment, groceries, and other goods on credit and settle their accounts when crops were sold in the fall. Many farmers from outside the county used railroads or hauled their product by cart or wagon to the city. A considerable number established residences on farms they bought or rented closer to the market. In 1870 a combination market, city hall, and auditorium was completed on Fayetteville Street to attract diversified farmers and to serve Raleigh's growing population. In 1871 a Raleigh Board of Trade superceded the Cotton Exchange and employed an official cotton weigher. In spite of a local newspaper editor's lamentation that there was too much brokerage and commission business and not enough manufacturing in the city, plans to build a cotton factory that same year failed. It would be almost two decades later that the first textile mill opened its doors in Wake County.[107]

Also in response to the crop lien law, there was a proliferation of general stores in Wake County's rural areas--over eighty outside Raleigh by 1872, up from only eleven in 1867-68, according to Levi Branson's state business directory.[108] A few of these postwar store buildings still remain. Prior to 1880, brothers Samuel and William Watts, immigrants from England, built a store at Auburn near the North Carolina Railroad depot (WA 314). Wake native George B. Alford bought property in the southwestern Wake village of Holly Springs and built a store there in about 1870 (WA 634). C. J. Bright built a store at New Hill in 1873 (WA 1103). As Bright's son later recalled,

> He [C. J. Bright] sold all sorts of goods from toothpicks to bedsteads, and he supplied people for a radius of 15 to 20 miles of New Hill. . . . My father carried such a variety of goods that a newly married couple could, with but one visit to the store, purchase everything to set up housekeeping. . . . In the latter part of the 1800s the barter system was the chief medium of exchange in these parts, and in fact just about all of it. When someone needed something, they came to the store with rabbit skins, tallow,

beeswax and cowhides instead of money for trading.[109]

He provided chairs inside and benches outside to give customers who walked long distances a chance to rest before starting back home with the supplies they carried in a sack. In summertime, he gave them a palm-leaf fan to cool themselves and shoo flies. "People then did not congregate at the store or tarry for long periods of gossip unless some excitable talk of the day was at hand," as the younger Bright recounted.[110]

Railroads allowed such country merchants to offer a wide selection of goods. One of the most important items to farmers was commercial fertilizer, especially to planters whose labor forces had dropped in size since the emancipation of slaves. Fertilizers fell dramatically in price after the war and were thereafter shipped into Wake County in increasing quantities from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other northern points. By 1891 the Caraleigh Phosphate Mill near Raleigh could fill some of the local needs for fertilizer. Bright stored bulk quantities of fertilizer and flour in a long building with two sections located between his store and the railroad tracks at New Hill. A farmer without cash or items to barter could get these and other goods by merely signing an agreement to plant cotton and give a certain amount of the crop to the merchant after it was picked and ginned in the fall. Therefore, cotton soon replaced corn as the county's leading crop. Whether seen by landless families as a way to provide food, clothing, and shelter, or by yeomen as a way to get out of debt and avoid losing their land, it was produced on 93 percent of Wake County's farms by 1879, making Wake North Carolina's leading cotton-producing county at that time.[111]

The initial impact of the crop lien system and the resulting shift to cotton-growing was more marked in eastern Wake than in southern and western sections. For instance, cotton farmers in Wake Forest Township in the northeast had a 39 percent rate of tenancy among 157 whites and 95 percent among 188 blacks in 1880, whereas only 12 percent of 211 white and 32 percent of 76 black cotton producers in southwestern Wake's Buckhorn Township (including those around New Hill) were tenants that year. Wake Forest area farmers, with richer, more valuable soils and a higher concentration of non-landowning former slaves, tended to take greater financial risks and produced larger crops (generally at least 10 to 20 bales per farm and often as many as 50 to 60 bales). Meanwhile, in Buckhorn Township described (in the early twentieth century) as a place where people neither starved nor became rich, the majority raised only 1 or 2 wo bales each, while all but nine produced no more than 10 bales each. Hence, as this correlation between cotton, soil fertility, labor source, and rates of

tenancy suggests, profit-driven agricultural production was eroding the county's old subsistence-farming culture, although old ways still persisted in some places.[112]

Sharecropping arrangements provided neither management skills nor opportunities for advancement, particularly for blacks, as store accounts drained most capital they might have invested in homes or farms. Moreover, competition from India following the Civil War gradually drove down cotton prices from 25 cents per pound in 1868 to only 5 cents by 1894, with no corresponding decreases in costs of fertilizer, bagging, machinery, and railroad transportation.[113] As more and more farmers in Wake County and elsewhere in the South came to depend on cotton to pay their bills, the deeper they fell into debt and tenant farming.

Stock Law Deals Crushing Blow to Subsistence-Farming

After commercial agriculture gained importance and cotton and tobacco fields were continually enlarged in an effort to bring greater profits, large farmowners sought to reverse the centuries-old practice of fencing crops and allowing open range for livestock. Beginning in 1873, their representatives in the state legislature introduced "stock" or "no-fence" laws to force all farmers to keep livestock fenced at all times. These laws were usually subject to approval by a majority in each township. Wake County politicians succeeded in getting such a law passed by the legislature in 1879, yet, because of strong opposition from small landowners, it took six years (and an 1885 act to dispense with township elections) before the law went into effect countywide. Since adjacent counties had not adopted stock laws, county commissioners appropriated taxes to erect and maintain a fence (with road gates) around the entire county border.[114]

Small farmers in southern and western Wake who lacked sufficient pasture or access to rivers and creeks were up in arms after the law was forced upon the entire county in 1885. They circulated petitions and presented them to the next legislature in 1887, calling for repeal of the Wake stock law or else reverting to township level voting. Landowners in western Wake's White Oak Township were the most outspoken, declaring the law to be

> apressive to 9-10th of ower citizans thare not being 1/4 of ower Township under cultivation[.] therfor the Stock Law is of no benafit but an Ingerey Except a few that has cut thar timber and

> sold it to the Rail Road and now wish to force others to keep up thar stock to acomidate them[.] Perpetuites and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free State and aught not to be alowd. . . . [115]

Though opponents of the stock law actually collected more names on petitions than those supporting it (1,144 to 593), their efforts to stop this measure were to no avail. Those in control of government saw it as a way to eliminate unnecessary costs of building and maintaining crop fences for most landowning farmers. By the early twentieth century, practically every county and township in North Carolina and the rest of the South had adopted the new practice of fencing livestock, and the zig-zagging wood rail crop fences once so common on the landscape had largely disappeared.

A major consequence of the law was the decline in livestock production, as renters and small landowners without adequate pasture or access to rivers and creeks were forced to either move out of stock law territory or begin buying meat instead of raising it themselves, thus adding to their already mounting debts. Wake County's livestock losses between 1880 and 1890 were even greater than those of the Civil War period. This trend further eroded the county's old community and family-based interdependence and helped to create a dependence on unpredictable national and world markets whereby cotton and tobacco were shipped out and consumer goods shipped in instead of being produced locally.[116]

Growth of Local Institutions

One way Wake County people in town and country responded to changes taking place in the postwar years was by organizing and building new churches, schools, and lodges where persons within both old and new neighborhood and family networks could associate regularly on a personal level. The shift to cotton production in the 1870s (before market prices began to fall sharply in the 1880s) enabled more farmers and merchants to contribute to building projects, although architecture for the most part remained simple in style and small in scale. Intended to be focal points in each community, these rural religious, fraternal, and educational institutions were often built adjacent to each other, with some complexes also having nearby stores.

As racial segregation became the norm in churches and schools, distinctively black rural community centers developed throughout the county. Twentieth-century

remnants of one of these can be found in southeastern Wake's Juniper Level section. By the mid 1870s there was a Baptist church and public school for blacks at the site. The present structures all date from the 1910s and 1920s and include a masonic lodge established in the early twentieth century in addition to the church and school (WA 1201, WA 1202, and WA 1203). Riley Hill in eastern Wake is another black community dating to the postwar years, with a church, school, and lodge all dating from the early to mid twentieth century (WA 1936, WA 1938, and WA 1939). Unlike Juniper Level, the Riley Hill vicinity is still inhabited primarily by descendants of former slaves.

There were also numerous white community centers that developed around crossroads and rural churches in the postbellum years. Green Level in western Wake was originally a stop on the Pittsboro Stage Road in the early nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, it was the site of several stores, a post office, a Baptist church, and lodge. Today only a turn-of-the-century Baptist church and store, together with several farms, remain (WA 1006). Wakefield in eastern Wake was another stage coach stop dating from the early nineteenth century. Located on the old Tarboro Road, it grew up around the A. J. Foster Plantation with a store, post office, gristmill, and private school in operation by the late antebellum period. After the Fosters sold their property and moved to Louisburg following the Civil War, the crossroads area was divided into smaller parcels, with streets laid off.[116a] The village became known best for its Wakefield Classical and Mathematical School, in operation from 1882 until 1900.

A number of villages which sprang up around railroad stops were incorporated as towns in the 1870s and 1880s. Cary was the first (1871), followed by Apex (1873), Morrisville (1875), Forestville (1879), "Wake Forest College" (1880), and "Garner's Station" (1883). Though not served by a railroad until the early twentieth century, Holly Springs acquired a charter in 1877 at the behest of its leading merchant-farmer-politician G. B. Alford. Forestville is the only one of these that did not survive as an incorporated town. The Raleigh and Gaston Railroad located a depot there in 1839-1840, but residents of nearby Wake Forest College thought they instead should have the convenience of the station, since students and faculty had to walk or ride a mile from the campus to board a train. In 1874 the railroad company finally decided to relocate the depot after college trustees agreed to cover costs for moving the building. By that time, Forestville boasted several general stores, a liquor store, a shoemaker, a manufacturer of agricultural implements, a masonic lodge, and two Baptist congregations. However, with the depot in Wake Forest, business activity shifted to the college town. Forestville's charter was finally repealed in 1915.[116b]

Religion

Emancipation of slaves, revivals in the postwar years, and unprecedented population increases brought at least 55 new churches into being between 1865 and 1885 (most of which were, not surprisingly, Baptist--18 white and 21 black). Histories of both Anglo- and African-American congregations speak of meetings under brush arbors, in schools, homes, or one-room log buildings erected by members to suffice until they could afford more well-built frame structures.[117]

Collins Grove Baptist Church in the Buckhorn area of southwestern Wake was organized in 1870 with 59 members who met for about a year in a dwelling which also served as a school. The congregation some years later built a frame, simple Gothic Revival-style sanctuary which is still in use (WA 1027). By 1880 the church's membership had almost doubled, staying at about 100 through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[118]

Friendship Baptist Church (WA 1493) near Forestville was organized in 1866 by a "prayer band" of former slaves who for many years before emancipation had held secret meetings in a cave formed by two converging hills. Ligon and other recently freed slaves became so emotional that the congregation was soon dismissed. This incident is said to have given rise to Friendship Church, which was formed soon afterward. Whether by accident or by particular request, white members of Forestville Baptist Church gave the new congregation the two-acre spot where they had met secretly, and there they built a log structure with a fireplace and one window which could be closed with boarded slabs. Within six years, they were able to build a frame churchhouse with stove heat and ten small windows. By 1890 they purchased adjacent land and built yet another building with belfry, steeple, and arched windows. The present gable-front, brick veneered structure was constructed in 1929. The cave site, situated near a spring branch, is the original section of the church cemetery.[119]

A number of new Methodist churches were founded in the postwar period, though none of their original buildings are known to survive. At least one older Methodist congregation, however, built a meeting house in this period which is still standing. The simple Gothic Revival-style sanctuary of Oaky Grove Church, founded in the 1840s by Rev. Bennett Blake, was completed in 1877 (WA 271). Whereas less affluent congregations probably would have required members to donate labor for building projects, Oaky Grove members hired Raleigh builder W. S. Walden to do the job for $600. The following contract between Walden and a church committee provides one

example of building practices in this period:

> This agreement made & Entered into the 7 Day of September 1876 between W. S. Walden contractor of the first part, of Raleigh, N. C. and A. T. Mial[,] Joseph Blake[,] J. D. Powell & W. P. Jones & L. L. Doub committee, of Oak[y] Grove church of the second part, all of the county of Wake and state of N. C. W. S. Walden contractor of Raleigh[,] NC, Witnesseth W. S. Walden agrees to build a new church Thirty by fifty feet on the site selected by the committee according to the plan drawn by Mr. Moseley, with the hood & niche projections in front & rear[.] The inside of the church to be finished ready for plastering with pews[,] altar[,] speakers stand of pulpit and gallery & two flights of steps all to be done in a plain neat workmanlike manner. The Steeple to be built according to the plan drawn by Moseley or according to the plan of the Steeple on the Person Street Church of Raleigh N. C. Thee Building Committee agree to furnish to Said Walden, on the site Selected, all necessary Material in the raw state except the flooring, which is to be furnished dressed in and tongued and grooved, and all necessary moulding[.] Said Walden agrees to build the outer door of the hood. The Committee agree to furnish, the Sash & Blinds, the windows to be hung by weights, and the blinds to be hung by said Walden. For building said church the committee agree to pay said Walden the sum of Six hundred dollar[s] in installments as follows, two hundred dollar[s] when the church is framed and raised, two hundred dollars when it is enclosed, and two hundred dollars when it is finished according to plan and specifications. . . .[120]

Blake praised the new facility as being "very easy for the speaker[.] It does not require loud speaking to be heard in every part of the house. . . ."[121] In 1885, Mial purchased an organ for the church from a Richmond firm at a cost of $147.[122] Musical accompaniment in churches, a distinctively urban attribute prior to the late nineteenth century, was being introduced in many of Wake's country churches during this period. This innovation sometimes caused controversy but was eventually adopted in most churches, with the exception of those of the Primitive Baptists.[123]

The Christian denomination gained at least three churches in Wake County in the 1870s and 1880s with the help of Wake native William G. Clements (1840 -1924). Having lost an arm during the early part of the Civil War, he decided to go to school and devote his life to educational and religious pursuits. In 1868 he married a descendant of Rev. James O'Kelly, founder of the Christian denomination, and in the same year was granted a license to preach by the North Carolina and Virginia Christian Conference. He and his bride built one of the first homes in the village of Morrisville, and he established both an academy and a Christian church (WA 695) there prior to 1875. He led in establishing Auburn (WA 313) and Mount Herman churches in southeastern Wake within the next decade, also serving as editor of his denomination's organ, the Christian Sun, published in Raleigh. He would become best known in Wake County as Superintendent of Public Schools at the turn of the century.[123a]

Lodges

As the local church provided to both sexes temporary escape from the rigors of daily living, so did the lodge offer men such a place. A masonic historian states, "In a lodge [one] meets with men from every walk of life, with men of every religious and political persuasion." Promoting a particular religion, political party, candidate, business, or product was (and still is) prohibited at meetings.[124] For both white and black men, there were several fraternal orders, particularly Freemasons and Odd Fellows, whose members built a number of lodges in the postwar years. Most of these were in areas of southern and western Wake, where less time was devoted to commercial agriculture and, hence, more time was available for active membership in such organizations.

William T. Bain Lodge Number 231 in southeastern Wake's Panther Branch Township, chartered in 1865, met in Holland's Methodist Church's old "Red meeting house" until the early twentieth century, adding two ante-rooms and replacing all the weatherboarding and windows in 1882. They shared a building with the local school district until the 1920s. The lodge's membership, numbering fewer than twenty in the nineteenth century, met at 10 A. M. on Saturday before the third Sunday in each month except June and December, when sessions were held on the anniversaries of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Divine. One of the main social events for members and their families was an annual barbecue dinner held in August. The lodge is still active and meets in a two-story building constructed as a combination lodge and school during World War I (WA 1211).[125]

In 1870 blacks organized the Grand Lodge of Free Accepted Ancient York Masons for the State of North Carolina, a separate order from the "blue" lodges to which most whites belonged. Wake County men soon chartered lodges in their neighborhoods, such as Masonic Hall Lodge Number 31 in Holly Springs, which had over thirty members by 1880, many of whom were small landowners. They held meetings at 8 p.m. on Saturday before the first Sunday in each month.[126]

Another popular order in the 1870s and 1880s was the Patrons of Husbandry (Grange), which opened membership to men and women. Wake County had fifteen local Granges by 1874. Some built their own meeting halls, while others shared facilities with masons (as members at Panther Branch did with the Bain Lodge) and other groups. Their main programs involved educating farmers on the best methods for producing more profitable crops and cooperative buying to reduce costs on salt, fertilizers, and other necessities.[127] A. T. Mial, a state officer and Master of the Raleigh Grange, had begun an informal cooperative as early as 1870, when he ordered "Long Peruvian" guano from Baltimore for farmers in eastern Wake and western Johnston counties, shipped by rail to Raleigh and Clayton.[128] The Grange, and later the Farmers' Alliance and Farmers' Union, attracted large numbers of Wake County farmers in the difficult years of agricultural depression in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Education

For both whites and blacks after the Civil War, Republicans in the state legislature of 1869 sought to improve educational opportunities by providing state aid for public schools and expanding their curriculum. Although such a plan was virtually ineffective until the early twentieth century, there was considerable construction of new public schools in Wake County during the 1870s and 1880s. At least forty-six public schoolhouses for whites and forty-two for blacks were built in the county in those decades. While county and state assistance was available, local school districts were largely responsible for financing and constructing schools. They built mostly frame structures of 400 to 600 square feet in size, heated with stoves and furnished with benches (usually without desks). Each township had from three to six school districts, and, although not every district had a school, a few had two schools.[129] One of these small buildings, Sandy Plain School in New Light Township, constructed in 1885, is still standing and has been used as a dwelling since the 1920s (WA 1371). Several postwar schools were of log, such as the Juniper Level school for blacks in Panther Branch Township, described by its teacher in the mid-1870s:

> Here the school house was a one room log hut without any windows. We got light and ventilation by means of the open door and a ten foot board, one foot wide in the north end of the room. This was fastened at the top by hinges with sticks attacked by cords to support the flap when open. This afforded an aperture of forty-five degrees when the weather was not too cold. Our heat was furnished in winter by a fire place in the opposite end about eight feet wide and of ample depth. The boys would cut the wood and pile it on. Four always occupied seats on the ends of the logs--two in each corner. The chimney was of sticks and dirt and frequently caught fire. To guard against this I always kept a boy on watch on the outside. When we had to shut down the flap and close the door it was quite dark in the room save such light as crept in through the cracks and the blaze of lightwood knots on the fire. With all these handicaps those children learned. They were eager to "get their lessons."[130]

The public school curriculum included mainly spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic prior to 1869, when Republicans in the state legislature passed a law adding English grammar and geography. Psychology and hygiene were added in 1885. Since many could not afford textbooks, they were often taught to read from the Bible. The foundations for a grading system were laid during the Civil War, but the state's numerous one-teacher schools with their three- and four-month terms and irregular attendance kept such a system from being implemented in many schools until the early twentieth century.[131]

For more affluent children, the private academy was still the main form of education throughout the nineteenth century. The two-room Frog Pond Academy (WA 272), built in about 1863 near the later site of Oaky Grove Church at Walnut Hill in eastern Wake and opened to both sexes, was by 1870 offering such diverse subjects as geography, algebra, philosophy, modern history, and book-keeping, as well as the basic "three R's" in its junior department. Fees for younger students ran $20 per term, which generally lasted from September to June. Older students learned Latin, Greek, and Spanish; history and literature; "Higher Mathematics" (including surveying); chemistry; and advanced English for $30 a term. Principal John J. Fray, a graduate of the University of Virginia who came to Wake County during or shortly after the Civil War to tutor the A. T. Mial children, was assisted by his wife, who also gave music lessons

for an additional $15 per term.[132] Several other academies from this period are still standing, including Mount Moriah (WA 299) in southeastern Wake (converted into a church parsonage in the 1920s) and Mount Pleasant Lodge and Academy (WA 1339) in the north central Wake community of Bayleaf. After finishing courses at one of these schools, a student could advance to Wake Forest, Peace, or St. Mary's Colleges in Wake County, or the state university in Chapel Hill. Medical students still had to go to more distant colleges and universities, the most popular for Wake Countians being Baltimore's College of Physicians and Surgeons.[133]

For black children who could afford to miss work to attend school past their elementary years, there were in Raleigh the Baptist-supported Shaw Collegiate Institute and the Episcopal-supported St. Augustine's Institute, both established shortly after the war by northern missionaries. There were also several church-sponsored elementary schools. These schools attracted a number of blacks to the city in the postwar years, many becoming teachers, preachers, and other influential leaders of local black communities across the county and state. However, as one former slave recalled in the 1930s, freedmen were so busy "scramblin' roun' makin' a livin'" that most had no time to go to school.[134]

CONTEXT 3: POPULISM TO PROGRESSIVISM (1885-1918)

By the 1880s, Wake had become North Carolina's leading county in both population and agricultural production, no doubt because it contained, in addition to the seat of state government, markets and congenial soils for the state's two main cash crops, cotton and tobacco. However, from that time until the first decade of the twentieth century, rural population growth was quite slow compared to that of developing industrial centers, where wages in cotton and tobacco factories attracted increasing numbers of struggling small farmers and others seeking economic stability. In fact, seven of Wake County's sixteen townships (mainly in the more thoroughly cotton-dependent eastern section) lost population in the decade of the 1880s.[135]

Despite accelerated industrialization and urbanization, rural people, mostly farmers, comprised 70 percent of Wake County's population in 1890. Yet, they were among the nation's poorest citizens, especially those who had become indebted through the crop lien system and were forced to invest most of their time and labor in cotton. As one historian points out, the farmer believed that "he worked longer hours, under

more adverse conditions, and with smaller compensation for his labor than any other variety of man on earth."[136]

Cotton prices bottomed out at 5 cents a pound in 1894 and never rose much higher than 10 cents in the next decade, causing a steady rise in farm tenancy in Wake County. Farmers in search of a more lucrative alternative began turning to bright leaf tobacco, although it required more work and constant attention during the warmest months of the year. The result was renewed growth and prosperity for many Wake Countians, although the county's farm tenancy rate continued to climb.

Farmers Organize for Reform

Farmers started a third party movement under the name of Populism in the late 1880s and early 1890s in an attempt to bring political and economic reform. It began in Wake County when Grangers and other economically embattled farmers flocked to meetings of the Farmers' Alliance and Cooperative Union. This organization was founded in Texas and quickly spread through the South, primarily because its recruiters promoted cooperative stores. These stores helped to alleviate costs for such things as the cotton bagging and fertilizers vital to farming operations. There were forty-eight suballiances in Wake County, more than in any other county in the state, by the spring of 1888. Members of the Auburn branch built their own Alliance meeting hall, which is no longer standing. In 1890, all but one county in North Carolina had a Farmers' Alliance.[137]

By 1892 leaders of the Alliance's national and state organizations had formed a People's (Populist) Party and had nominated gubernatorial and presidential candidates. Though defeated, Populist candidates won over a third of Wake County's votes, including those of many Republicans who "fused" with them in order to defeat Democratic candidates. Alliance members in North Carolina were more successful in the state legislature, where they held a majority of the seats between 1895 and 1898. They contributed much to agricultural education in North Carolina by encouraging the establishment in 1889 of the State College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts in Raleigh (now North Carolina State University) under the federal Morrill Land Grant Act. They also led in establishing a "normal and industrial school for white girls" (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) and appropriated a small sum for a teacher training school for blacks at Elizabeth City. They created a state Railroad Commission to correct rate discrimination and other abuses of railway companies against farmers. Their partisans on the national level enacted anti-trust laws to curb unfair practices of

large corporations.[138]

Despite the accomplishments of the Farmer's Alliance in the late nineteenth century, farmers were still plagued by high rates of tenancy and low profits from cotton and tobacco. In 1902, consequently, another national organization called the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union (generally known as "Farmers' Union") emerged in Texas, spreading to North Carolina in 1905. Dr. James M. Templeton of Cary was vice-president of the state body and president of the Wake County Farmers' Union from 1908 until his death in 1932. He promoted the Union's cause through numerous speeches to men and women in stores, schools, churches, and meeting halls throughout the county and state. A two-story frame warehouse (WA 756) across from the Carpenter Store was one of their many meeting places in Wake County. By 1912 there were 38 locals with 844 members in the county.[139] The Farmer's Union did not involve itself in politics but sought reform through education and cooperative buying and selling. They helped to introduce vocational agriculture into public schools, and they opened plants near key tobacco markets in Piedmont and eastern North Carolina for redrying and storing tobacco in an effort to cut marketing costs. As with the Alliance, one of their main cooperative endeavors was purchasing fertilizers.[140]

Developments in Transportation

Economic depression in the closing years of the nineteenth century left an indelible mark on Wake County farmers and businessmen. Determined to overcome hard times and make a better life for their families and neighbors, they turned to internal improvements, particularly new rail lines. Railroad construction from 1899 to 1907 brought three new towns to Wake County--Wendell, Zebulon, and Fuquay Springs. Apex was placed at the junction of two important rail lines, the Seaboard Air Line and Durham and Southern, connecting practically every area of the county to burgeoning textile and tobacco factories in the North Carolina piedmont. A major outcome of this turn-of-the-century railroad construction was the localization of cotton and tobacco marketing, whereas Raleigh had been the main market up to that time. It sometimes meant easier transportation to the city for residents in remote farming communities. For instance, people in southern Wake after about 1900 could ride horses and hitch them at a depot at Willow Springs, Fuquay Springs, or Varina, all located on the Norfolk and Southern Railroad, and board a train to Raleigh to attend to business, instead of risking damage to wagons and buggies by traveling over the county's poor roads.[141]

Two major developments underway by World War I began to compete with

railroads, particularly for local passenger transportation. The first was a move in the 1880s to allow townships to finance road maintenance and improvements with taxation. Raleigh Township adopted the new system in 1890 and began employing convict labor to build macadamized (tar and gravel) and stone streets and roads, as well as truss bridges.[142] In 1905 a state law allowing countywide taxation for roads went into effect in Wake County, resulting in improved sand-clay roads across the county. Although most of the county's rural roads remained unpaved until World War II, maintenance was much better after 1905 than it had been under the old system. In 1911 a road project was begun in North Carolina to connect the coast and the mountains through the center of Wake County from Auburn to Garner, Raleigh, Cary and Morrisville, and then on to Durham, running parallel to the North Carolina Railroad (leased by the Southern Railway Company in 1895). This "Central Highway" was completed through Wake County and paved by local taxation between 1918 and 1920. The portion between Garner and Raleigh was eventually designated as U. S. Highway 70A; Raleigh-to-Cary and Raleigh-to-Morrisville portions eventually formed, after numerous renumberings, sections of NC 54, U. S. 1, and U. S. 64.[143]

The second development was the automobile, though few Wake County residents had the inclination or cash to buy cars until after World War I. About 1910, S. A. "Rat" Cannady of northwestern Wake became the first person in his tobacco-farming community of Sandy Plain to have one. His daughter recalls that he bought the new machine mainly because of a severe asthmatic condition aggravated by the scent of horses.[144] Cannady belonged to a small minority of rural Americans at that time, considering that the total number of motor vehicles registered in the United States was fewer than 500,000 in 1910 (up from 8,000 at the turn of the century). Ford Motor Company, which produced the most affordable models of passenger cars, had an annual output of fewer than 20,000 in 1910, though it climbed rapidly during World War I, reaching over 800,000 by 1917.[145]

Bright Leaf Tobacco Brings Limited Prosperity

Expanding railroad transportation in the early twentieth century resulted in even greater dependence on consumer goods shipped in and cash crops shipped out. Most Wake County farmers still relied on cotton to pull them out of debt or to help them get needed supplies of food and clothing for their families. However, beginning in the 1880s and accelerating in the first decade of the twentieth century, a growing number of Wake farmers were turning to more lucrative bright leaf tobacco, since it could bring three times more money than cotton. As early as 1883, a number of Wake farmers were

making plans to try tobacco in addition to cotton in the next growing season, and a couple of Granville County farmers were called down to examine the soils at the Oaks Plantation (WA 1972) in eastern Wake for adaptability to the weed. So bright were the prospects by 1884 that the Pioneer Tobacco Warehouse was opened in Raleigh at the corner of Davie and Wilmington streets, attracting growers from Franklin, Durham, Orange, Chatham, Johnston, Harnett, and Moore counties. Within a few years, Raleigh boasted three additional warehouses, with camping facilities, as well as plug tobacco manufacturers (one was taken over by the Farmers' Alliance in the late 1880s). Ambitious Raleigh merchants began advertising campaigns to sell farmers on the advantages of tobacco (and using the curing flues they had for sale), but most farmers in the county lacked the initiative or knowledge to grow the leaf until the cotton boll weevil forced many to do so in the 1920s. Local businessmen also hesitated to invest in cigarette factories that would compete with such corporate giants as the Dukes of Durham and the Reynoldses of Winston-Salem, so Raleigh never became the major market and industrial center many of its late nineteenth-century leaders hoped for.[146]

The "wilt," a bacterial disease that stunted the growth of bright leaf tobacco on southern Granville County's Triassic coarse sandy soils, forced many Granville farmers to relocate beginning in the early 1880s. Scores of these farm families moved to the northwestern Wake community of Sandy Plain because of its prized tobacco soils and its close proximity to their home county. Hence, while most other areas in the county failed to grow in population in the 1880s, New Light Township gained about 120 families that decade. Both native families and newcomers in this remote area enjoyed a period of relative prosperity and self-sufficiency until about the time of World War I, when the wilt finally spread to their tobacco fields. A tenant farmer's daughter recalls that the disease made tobacco plants so small she often had to bend over to "top" them (remove their flowers). Instead of diversifying, most farmers moved farther east, while some cut cord wood and dug ditches to make up for their losses.[147] Some who stayed eventually lost their property.[148]

The wilt also sent a few Granville County tobacco farmers to western Wake in the 1880s, where they immediately began demonstrating to their cotton-farming neighbors that the meticulous methods of bright leaf production paid off. Within a few years, as the News and Observer stated in 1890, these Granvilleites had helped a number of Apex-area men convert to tobacco-growing, and soon they had "paid off their debts [and were] much more prosperous than some of their wealthier neighbors."[149] One of these cotton-turned-tobacco farmers was William B. Upchurch, whose farm between Morrisville and Apex is still virtually intact, with a mid-ninteenth-century dwelling,

three log tobacco barns said to date from the late nineteenth century, three late nineteenth/early twentieth century tenant houses, and numerous outbuildings (WA 764). Upchurch became president of the Capital Alliance Tobacco Warehouse in Raleigh prior to 1893, and in 1907 he became president of the Golden Leaf Warehouse in Apex, which had been, three years earlier, the first warehouse in the county. An early twentieth-century railroad stop near his farm became known as "Upchurch Station."[150]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, a significant number of Granville tobacco farmers had filtered into Wake County, many settling in extreme eastern Wake around Rolesville, Zebulon, and Wendell, and on the sandy Coastal Plain soils of southern Wake around Fuquay Springs, where land values soon rose from $10 to $75 per acre as an increasing number of native farmers learned how to grow the profitable yellow leaf.[151] Four townships where tobacco production was concentrated--Little River, Mark's Creek, Middle Creek, and White Oak--accounted for 80 percent of the county's rural population growth between 1900 and 1920 (see Appendix B).

The growth of small towns such as Apex, Fuquay Springs, Varina, Wendell, and Zebulon was a direct result of railroad and tobacco expansion. By 1907 there was at least one tobacco warehouse (and two by 1916) in each town. Because many farmers still produced cotton (some growing both cash crops), there were also cotton gins (such as the Zebulon Cotton Gin Company, WA 2195) and buyers in these towns, as well as in Wake Forest, Cary, Holly Springs, and Garner. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, a dramatic shift of commercial activity occurred from rural areas to Raleigh and these small towns. The number of rural merchants dropped from 152 to 84 between 1905 and 1916, with the number of cotton gins declining overall from 126 to 43. During the same period the number of sawmills increased from 43 to 59, as more wooded lands were cleared to make way for the county's new towns, and to furnish lumber for new homes and business in them.[152]

The Decline of Plantations and the Rise of Small Farms

With large tracts of land continually being subdivided and sold, Wake County's large and medium-sized farms grew increasingly smaller. From 1880 to 1920, the proportion of farms containing over 100 acres (owned and rented) dropped from over one-third to fewer than one-fifth. The number of farms over 500 acres in size fell from 114 to 27 during the same four decades, with plummeting cotton prices and a general agricultural depression in the 1890s bringing the most rapid decline in large farms. The spread of tobacco-growing was no doubt one reason for the rise of smaller farms, since tobacco was more labor intensive, requiring less acreage than cotton.[153]

"Tenant Plantations"

In 1910 the federal Census Bureau began distinguishing between farms and plantations in the South. Instead of defining a plantation by acreage alone, Bureau officials adopted the following definition: "A tenant plantation is a continuous tract of land of considerable area under the general supervision or control of a single individual or firm, all or a part of such tract being divided into at least five smaller tracts, which are leased to tenants." A survey of 1,775 plantations in twenty-one North Carolina counties, including Wake, showed that over four-fifths contained five to nine tenants. The average landlord among this group tended about half of his or her land (with hired hands or family labor) and rented the other half to tenants.[153a]

The A. T. Mial family of Walnut Hill, owning about 2,700 acres, probably had the largest farming operation in Wake County at the turn of the century. In the late 1880s, Mial had at least twelve tenant families growing cotton and corn on his Wake and Johnston County lands, eight of whom were sharecroppers farming on halves, using Mial's mules and implements and paying half the fertilizer bill in exchange for half the crops. One farmed on fourths, paying for three-quarters of the fertilizers and furnishing his own work stock and tools. The remaining three were long-time black tenants (one a former Mial slave) who paid 1,000 pounds of lint cotton for the use of a house and a piece of land and $20 for using a mule. Two tenants raised 4 to 6 acres of tobacco, in addition to 30 acres of cotton and 25 acres of corn, agreeing to furnish labor to build tobacco barns.[154]

Census records indicate the Mials also had about six households of wage laborers living on their property--mainly younger black couples whose children were too young for field work--to run the cotton gin and plant and harvest 75 acres of cotton, 150 acres of grains (wheat, oats, and rye), and 25 acres of corn. There were 4 acres of potatoes, a 6-acre apple orchard, 2-acre peach orchard, half-acre vineyard, as well as sizeable numbers of swine, sheep, cows, poultry, and work stock (horses, mules, and oxen) to be tended to. Mrs. Mial had domestic servants (white and black) to help with cooking and cleaning.[155]

Mial died in 1897, and his widow and two sons were left in charge of the farming operations. When Mrs. Mial died in 1901, the family real estate holdings (including land in Wake, Johnston, and Beaufort counties as well as in Texas) were divided among six heirs, thus shrinking yet another antebellum plantation. Son Millard Mial received about 1,000 acres, including the home and cotton gin tracts in Wake County, and he bought a

brother's interest. Although cotton ginning operations were shifting to towns at the turn of the century, he kept his father's antebellum gin at Walnut Hill in service, updating equipment as new technology developed, just as his father had done. Apparently prior to his death in 1897, the elder Mial and several other Wake County farmers and planters had begun acquiring new labor-saving harrows and cultivators for cotton and corn, reducing the need for workers. By 1901 Millard Mial had only two full-time farm hands and an extra eight to ten workers (mainly women, perhaps belonging to local tenant families) when his cotton and corn needed planting, chopping, or picking. Even so, this was still one of the county's largest agricultural operations. The gin, which had processed over 300 bales in the early 1890s, turned out only 134 bales in 1913-14, an indication of both the decline in cotton productions in eastern Wake and the consolidation of ginning operations prior to World War I.[156] The Walnut Hill Gin House, complete with several generations of ginning machinery, is listed in the National Register (WA 199).

Some large landowners acquired their holdings through means other than inheritance. Confederate veteran Henry H. Knight (1842-1904) worked on his parents' farm until he was over forty years old and then began buying land east of Raleigh during the 1880s. By the time of his death in 1904, he had over 2,500 acres of land, a general store next to his house, a cotton gin and sawmill across the road, and a gristmill. In about 1900, he set aside part of his land for a combination school and church building, which his neighbors helped to construct, and teachers boarded at the Knight home. Knight also made attempts to get a railroad to come through his property, although he died before the project came to fruition. Mrs. Knight, in order to follow through with her husband's wishes and provide better means of support for her children, sold 1,700 acres of the large family holdings in 1905, part to the Raleigh and Pamlico Sound Railroad for a depot and freight warehouses, with the rest laid off in lots for a town eventually chartered as Knightdale.[157]

Middling Farmers

Besides a small group of large landholders, there was a class of prosperous farmowners in Wake County who managed to be fairly self-sufficient by balancing food crops with cotton or tobacco. Many relied on farmhands and at least one tenant family to supplement their family labor source.

Henry T. Lawrence (1863-1941), a western Wake farmer of yeoman stock, was described as someone who had limited education but "studied, prayed, and thought a lot,

so that he was more advanced than many of his contemporaries." Unlike most of his neighbors, he practiced crop rotation and diversified farming, growing tobacco and sweet potatoes for cash and corn, wheat, peas, oats, and rye to feed the family and livestock. He and wife Katy also kept a good vegetable garden. Their children helped with the farm work, including tobacco cultivation and harvesting, but they also had time for hunting, fishing, swimming, and family picnics at a local gristmill. They were active members of Olive Chapel Baptist Church, where Mr. Lawrence taught Sunday School and Mrs. Lawrence was active in the Women's Missionary Union. They took advantage of educational opportunities by ordering books through the state library and by sending eight children through high school, six earning college degrees. The Lawrence farm is still in the family, with a number of its late nineteenth and early twentieth century structures virtually intact (WA 1047).[158]

Serathiner A. and Mary Frances Cannady bought a 122-acre farm in 1899 in the highly prized tobacco section of Sandy Plain and lived in a three-room house with small detached kitchen until they could afford to add a two-story, four-room section to the front in 1904 (WA 1363). They assumed active roles of leadership in the community, and were members of Fellowship Baptist Church just over the line in Granville County, where many of their relatives were also members. Local elementary school teachers boarded in their home. Mr. Cannady, in addition to having the first automobile in the neighborhood, was instrumental in having a road constructed from Raleigh to Creedmoor (Highway 50). When a local woman died, Mrs. Cannady was usually called on to prepare the body for burial. They raised tobacco with the help of one hired hand, usually a young black man who slept in the "strip room" and took meals at their table. Later deciding a tenant family would help bring extra income for their growing family, they tore down an old smokehouse and built a small tenant house on the site, making the old kitchen their new smokehouse. While the Cannadys depended on tobacco to provide cash for clothes and certain household and farming items, they raised their own food for the most part and managed to stay out of debt until the tobacco wilt ruined their means of livelihood. Nonetheless, they were able to keep their farm and send five daughters through high school by buying part interest in a Durham mercantile firm, later opening a hardware store in Creedmoor.[159]

Small Farmers

Thus, it appears that a farm-owning family with enough unused land for at least one tenant family (generally 20 to 50 acres) could remain relatively self-sustaining. By the early twentieth century, only about a quarter of Wake's farmers were in that

position. Because census statistics after 1890 fail to distinguish between farm sizes of owners and tenants, it is difficult to measure the proportion of farmowners with holdings of fewer than 100 acres. If most tenant-operated farms were in the 10-to-50 acre range, then the yeoman with 50 to 100 acres would have belonged to a small minority (about one-sixth of the county's 6,000 farms in 1910). One example of such small units is the Tom Woolard farm in southeastern Wake (WA 1183), which had a three-room house when Woolard purchased it just after the turn of the century. He usually planted about 15 acres in tobacco and also had one tenant dwelling, later occupied by his son and daughter-in-law.[160]

Small farmowners, together with tenants, often supplemented their incomes by hiring out their teen-aged children to larger farmers, as a number of white and black Wake Countians testified. Charlie Merritt, born in 1882 in the Sandy Plain vicinity, was sent by his parents to work on a nearby farm in the late nineteenth century. To prolong the financial benefit, they allowed him to work past age eighteen without telling him his true age. He was twenty years old by the time neighbors began questioning him about the matter. He soon married and became a tenant farmer.[161]

Tenants

The family owning a small farm of fewer than 100 acres and depending on cotton to pay all the bills was, in most cases, only one step away from tenancy. Others already trapped in the sharecropping and crop lien systems allowed merchants (and bankers backing them) to drain capital they might otherwise have invested in farmland. Consequently, tenants increased at a more rapid rate than owners. A 45 percent rate of tenancy in 1880 climbed to 56 percent by 1920, with the most rapid jump occurring in the 1890s. While cotton prices and other economic factors had a bearing on this trend, the county's increasing population (native included) meant limited access to landownership for those coming up. Population increased from 47,939 in 1880 to 75,155 in 1920, despite losing population and territory to Durham County in 1881 and 1911. The number of owner-operated farms grew during that time from 2,406 to 2,979, while the number of tenant operations rose from 1,975 to 3,777. Tenants made up almost half of the county's white and three-quarters of its black farm operators.[162]

As census records and personal recollections indicate, many young farmers either continued living with their parents or moved into family tenant houses after marriage.[163] Others went out on their own after marriage, if they had not already been hired out as a teen-ager. A black tenant farmer's son recalled:

> I worked on my daddy's rented farm for a few years, but when I was seventeen he hired me out by the month to a white neighbor. I made $5.00 a month and board. I dug ditches, plowed, hauled out manure, and did other jobs like cutting wood, gathering crops, and such.[164]

Though not ideal, this practice was deemed a necessity in many cases, as another black Wake Countian testified:

> My oldest brother went to work on a farm by the month and helped out, but still we didn't have much. The year I was sixteen we didn't make enough to feed us and Daddy told me that I'd have to try to find a job. I looked and looked, and finally I got a job in a blacksmith shop.[165]

The reasons for prolonged tenancy varied greatly among individual farmers. Yet one was much more likely to overcome the downfalls of sharecropping and crop liens by diversifying their crop productions to include both cotton and tobacco, as well as foodstuffs. Of course, the more extensive the farming operation, the more hands a farmer needed to do the work. Charlie and Lizzie Massey (white) of southeastern Wake remained tenant farmers practically all their adult lives. They had only one son and two daughters to help with the work and depended primarily on cotton and corn to pay the bills and feed the family and livestock, since they lacked the know-how and inclination to grow tobacco. A daughter recounts, "My daddy. . .would go to the field and plow his field of cotton and corn. . . . Mother she'd stay at the house, and if there was any chopping that needed to be done, we children done it." In the fall, the entire family picked cotton together: "Mama would go home about 5 o'clock and get supper ready. . . . Papa got our cotton all tied up and carried it home every night on the wagon,. . . Mama, she'd milk the old cow and fix supper. . . ." They still managed to send their children to public school on a regular basis, and the entire family were faithful church-goers. In the course of their child-rearing and farming years from the 1890s to the 1920s, they had several landlords but stayed in the same general vicinity around New Bethel Church and Williams Crossroads. They lived directly across from Holland's Church on the George Williams farm (WA 1212) prior to World War I,

eventually retiring and moving to Garner.[166]

Black tenant farmers John and Jane Landis lived and worked on the Vada Keith farm (WA 1374) at Sandy Plain from about 1907 to 1920. Since they had their own team of mules, they were able to farm on fourths. Keith paid a fourth of the fertilizer bill and received a fourth of the tobacco and corn. The Landises raised their family of three girls and two boys in a three-room house, with two bedrooms, "sitting room," and rear shed for a kitchen. They heated the house with a large fireplace and used kerosene lamps for lighting. They remained fairly self-sufficient by raising their own hogs, chickens, and two milk cows, and by keeping a garden patch near the house for raising vegetables, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, and cane for molasses. Daughter Margie remembers that rice, kerosene for lighting, snuff, sewing thread, and sugar were about the only items the family had to buy. There was little time for the children to attend school on weekdays, but when Sunday came the family was usually in attendance at nearby Ledge Rock Baptist Church, where John Landis was a deacon. The tobacco wilt eventually forced the Landises to relocate on better soil following World War I.[166a]

Black Farmowners

Though the overwhelming majority of rural blacks were tenants and wage laborers, a significant minority--434 by 1900 and 684 by 1920--owned the land they worked. A list of 289 black landowners outside Raleigh in 1890 shows that only 27 had as much as 100 acres, while the largest individual holdings totalled 331 acres. Almost half owned under 20 acres, many having bought lots as small as a quarter of an acre in the postwar black communities of Method and Oberlin near Raleigh.[167] An assessment of black property owners in the state in 1910 shows Wake County blacks in the lead, with holdings collectively valued at over $1 million (Halifax was second with $844,000). Raleigh's large black population (comprising about a third of some 25,000 in the county), with better-than-average educational opportunities to attract many of the state's leading blacks, accounted for most of the valuation.[168]

Henry Rufus Goodson (1854-1932) of eastern Wake was one of the largest black landowners in the county in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with 141 acres in Wake by 1890 and additional land in the nearby Clayton vicinity in Johnston County. He gained much prominence among blacks on local and state levels for his work as a rural schoolteacher, leader in both Wake and Johnston Baptist associations, president of the Negro State Fair, stockholder in a black-owned paper called the Union Reformer, donor of land for a public school for blacks in Clayton, and the only black jail

warden in Wake County in the nineteenth century before blacks were disfranchised from voting and officeholding. He also sold land to a large cotton mill in Clayton. He was married twice, having nine children by his first wife and ten by his second, all of whom lived to reach adulthood. His home, an early twentieth-century foursquare dwelling, is still standing and owned by a descendant (WA 279).[169]

Toney and Lydia Young of eastern Wake were also among this group. In the late 1880s, they inherited about 25 acres from Mrs. Young's father, Isaac Dunn, who had somehow managed to pay off a mortgage on 140 acres during the Reconstruction years. They raised their children in an antebellum two-room dwelling said to have been a slave house (WA 1811). After Mr. Young's death in 1900, a son built two identical houses (WA 1810) on the property for his mother and his own family, and they eventually converted their farming operations to tobacco production (no doubt, after the Wendell and Zebulon markets opened in 1907). The farm is now owned by a grandson.[170]

Diversified Agriculture Attracts Attention of a Few

While most Wake County farmers between the post-Civil War years and World War I chose cotton or tobacco for their livelihoods, there were a few willing to diversify. Truck farming and commercial livestock production prior to automobiles were generally limited to the few farmers who lived near towns.[171] Many rural and city folk alike relied on store-bought goods (including cornmeal, flour, and bacon) shipped into the county from the midwest on railroads.[172] Per capita production of corn fell from 25 bushels in 1860 to 11 in 1910, while that for swine decreased from two to a quarter. Wheat, oats, potatoes, hay, cattle, and sheep also dropped significantly in per capita production. The grist and flour mills which had been vital to every community in the old subsistence-farming culture were gradually being phased out. Whereas there were said to be at least 70 in operation in the 1880s, only 21 were counted around the turn of the century, with a further decline to 10 by the time of the World War I.[173]

There were numerous small-scale dairy operations scattered across the county prior to World War I. One of them was carried on at the James and Lillian Yates Ballentine farm in southern Wake County (WA 571). The Ballentines began supplementing their farm income in the 1890s with a small creamery business, which Mrs. Ballentine expanded to a sizeable dairy farming, milk bottling, and commercial egg operation a number of years after her husband's death in 1906. By the 1920s, this family business competed with Pine State Creamery as a supplier of Raleigh's whole milk, with a market extending as far away as Florida.[174]

Wake County's limited diversified agriculture was often attributed to a lack of adequate market facilities. As one contemporary stated, a farmer could have cotton and tobacco "turned into instant cash the minute he gets into town. Not so with the food products. . . . When a farmer brings his produce to Raleigh he is forced either to peddle it from door to door, or to stand idle in the market place waiting for customers."[175] This problem was solved to some extent when a new City Market, still standing, was erected in 1914 on Martin Street, though Raleigh housewives still often waited for farmers to come to their doors instead of going to the market. Bankers and merchants still did not accept food crops as collateral for loans and purchases, so cotton and tobacco continued to predominate, while truck farming, livestock raising, and dairying were often sources of supplemental income.

Industrialization and Urbanization Provide Alternatives to Farm Life

Three cotton mills--Raleigh, Caraleigh, and Pilot--were established in and around Raleigh in the early 1890s. Later in the decade, the Martin and Melrose Knitting Mills were opened. By the time of World War I, there were also spinning and weaving plants at Falls of the Neuse, Wake Forest, and Wendell, with additional knitting mills located in Morrisville, Wendell, and Zebulon. Since they were promoted as a means of economic salvation for poor whites, textile mills limited employment for blacks to opening bales of cotton or sweeping floors, while whites held all "production jobs" (spinning and weaving). Historians cite other reasons for white domination of the textile job market, including "the taboo against bringing black men into association with white women, the desire to tie blacks to agricultural labor, the substitution of whites for blacks in a range of skilled and semiskilled jobs," and "the deepening of segregation in every walk of life" following the black political disfranchisement at the turn of the century.[176] According to a 1904 report, average daily wages for local textile workers ranged from 71 cents to $2.29 for adult males, 55 cents to $1.32 for adult females, and 52 cents for children--fairly low compared to industrial wages elsewhere in the nation, but often double what one received for farm labor.[177] In 1899 three members of the Royall family of Wake Forest organized the Royall Cotton Mill and contracted with builder M. A. Moser for the construction of a large brick mill building (WA 1647) and a brick commissary and office (WA 1648). They hired B. T. Hicks of Franklin County to build about 30 frame double-occupancy dwellings for workers on the outskirts of the college town, all completed within about two years (WA 1633-WA 1641). Between 1906 and 1908 the mill was enlarged to expand production capacity, with over 40 new dwellings being built for operatives. It was not until 1916 that Carolina Power and Light Company installed an electric generator for lighting and running machinery, with hydroelectric power added in

1919. Prior to that time, numerous large windows were the plant's main source of lighting, and steam power was used to operate machinery.[178]

In 1901 a local preacher assisted millworkers in organizing Glen Royall Baptist Church, whose congregation (numbering 130 in 1910) met on the second floor of the commissary until 1911. Millowners then donated a lot and building, including an auditorium with seating capacity of 350 and nine Sunday School rooms.[179] In later years mill villagers organized a Holiness church.

Mary Branch, born about 1878 and interviewed at Royall Mill in the 1930s, said she had worked in cotton factories since she was eight years old. "Papa set me free when I was nineteen and after that what I made was mine," she stated. "But I've never married, and most of the time I've had the expense of home on my shoulders. I looked after both Ma and Pa in their old age." As she and other workers revealed, textile mill life was difficult at best. In the early twentieth century, most employees worked ten or eleven hours a day. Many had hog pens and garden plots to reduce living costs, while others accumulated bills at the company store or in town. As Branch wrote in a nine-verse poem, "Our troubles and trials are many/Our dollars and cents are few/The Butcher, the Doctor, the Merchant we owe/And sometimes the undertaker too."[180]

In addition to textile factories, Wake County had a number of other manufacturing concerns offering competitive wages for both races, particularly after railroad expansion and growth in small towns in the early twentieth century. Sawmills were most prevalent, as census records show that over 36,000 acres of timber were cleared in the decade following 1910 alone.[181] By the 1890s, the county also had scores of firms manufacturing wagons, buggies, carriages, railroad cars, ice, candy, paper, record books, agricultural implements and machinery, fertilizers, tobacco flues, bedding, building supplies, furniture, and leather. Raleigh had one of the first mills in the state for processing cotton by-products. The North Carolina Cotton Seed Oil Company purchased seed from commission merchants, who gave "seed money" to cotton farmers as the first proceeds from their crops in the fall prior to final settlement. The seeds were crushed for oil to be used in making lard, soap, candles, and table oil. Cottonseed oil was also used to pack sardines, as a lubricant, and even as fuel for lanterns. The hulls were compressed for stock feed, and the meal was used primarily in manufacturing fertilizers.[182]

Service industries, including insurance, railroad, telephone, and electric companies, provided employment off the farm for some Wake Countians. State

government jobs became increasingly plentiful, especially after progressive politicians after 1900 adopted programs to improve agriculture, education, and transportation.

Religion

As the post-Civil War period was a time of great expansion for the Missionary Baptist, Methodist, and Christian denominations in Wake County, the period of the 1880s to World War I was a time in which old and new churches adjusted to the many changes taking place outside their doors. Rev. William Cullen Nowell, a Wake County native and Baptist minister pastoring and teaching in Wake, Johnston, and Nash counties from the postbellum period to the early twentieth century, described contrasts between the methods of worship and church polity before and after the 1880s:

> About that time a very perceptible change began to come over everything religious, or at least everything pertaining to the methods of conducting revival meetings. I presume this was caused in a large measure by the appearance about that time, of what were called evangelists. These men would hold great meetings in towns and cities, and use new and strange methods to get people to make an open profession of religion . . . So a great many pastors of churches in all denominations, wanting likewise to be considered popular revivalists, began to imitate the claptrap methods of these peripatetic evangelists.[183]

Revivalism contributed to a dramatic growth in church membership. Wake County had some 20,000 church members in 1890, comprising about 42 percent of the total population. By 1916 there were over 34,000 church members, or 54 percent of the county's population.[184] Many belonged to newly-organized churches in railroad towns and villages and near textile mills. Others joined older rural churches which were continually adding to their numbers and building larger meeting houses. Though an exact count is difficult for each denomination in the county, it is known that white Missionary Baptists organized fifteen new churches between 1898 and 1915, ten of which were in incorporated areas. The Wake Baptist Association (black) accepted only four new congregations between 1895 and 1913, but its scattered post-Civil War churches were constantly expanding and replacing earlier structures.[185]

Building and improving church facilities was important in the missionary work of both white and black Baptists. In 1889 blacks in the Wake Association began a Minister's and Deacon's Union, with nine districts throughout Wake and surrounding counties holding meetings every fifth Sunday to take collections for building new churches and aiding weak ones. They also supported the "Colored Orphanage Asylum of North Carolina" in Oxford which Wake Association leaders helped to begin in 1883.[186]

Pastors and laymen in churches of both races, seeing the need for better education on the grassroots level, attracted many families by promoting Sunday Schools and planning social activities that catered to the young. At least by the 1880s and 1890s, Sunday School associations were formed by groups of churches within communities (even those of different denominations). Picnics, ice cream socials, and Sunday School conventions became popular events in rural communities. Most rural churches did not have separate educational buildings (mainly for lack of funds) but simply "curtained off" their one-room meeting houses to accommodate classes of different age levels. Lydia Franks recalls that Sunday School at Holland's Methodist Church lasted practically all afternoon every Sunday. Curtains were used to divide the sanctuary into three or four classes for adults, teen-agers, and young children. After the crowd dispersed, the younger folks would reconvene at a neighborhood home for singing and socializing.[187]

Rural preachers still served several churches at one time. Each church, consequently, held preaching services once a month, usually having business conferences on the preceding Saturday night. Revivals were customarily held in August after the crops were laid by. New Hill Baptist Church (WA 1100), organized in 1888, sometimes received ten or fifteen new members each year during revival week in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The preacher baptized new converts in traditional Baptist style in a local mill pond or creek. As was typical of Wake County's rural Baptist churches, pastors were generally inclined to resign after a few years, particularly since many were ministerial students at Wake Forest College who left the county after graduation. In the difficult depression years following 1893, pastors were fortunate if they received their entire annual salary of $50 to $100 from each church. The New Hill congregation struggled just to pay a bill for painting the church in 1896, still owing $10 nineteen months after the project was completed.[188] A member of Samaria Baptist Church in eastern Wake remembered from the early twentieth century "a fine dedicated preacher, that took what the people gave him. It was surprising what he had as he got on the train to go back home--canned fruit, hams, live chickens and everything else."[189]

Education

Progressive-minded women across North Carolina launched a movement for better public school facilities in 1902 by organizing a "Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina" (a forerunner of Home Demonstration Clubs). By 1906 there were fourteen local associations in eastern and southern Wake school districts. A report that year revealed that the county's schoolhouses ranged "from the one-roomed, unplastered, ill-lighted school, without desks, and where the children sit on the floor to write, to the newest school buildings, well-built and well-furnished." The county association made a checklist for each district to use as a guideline for improving equipment and surroundings. It included the following items:

> Interior Improvements: library books, papers and magazines, unframed pictures, framed pictures, curtains and shades, wash basins, towels, door mats, brooms, square feet of kalsomining [white-wash], square feet of interior painting.
> Exterior Improvements: Building, square feet of exterior painting, windows washed, window panes put in, window blinds hung, wells dug or cleaned out, buckets, water-stands, wash-stands, closets, stumps removed, rubbish removed, walks laid out, ditches or drains made, grass-plots laid off, trees planted, shrubs planted, flowers planted.[190]

The state legislature of 1907 appropriated funding for public schools and enacted a law allowing counties and school districts to order the compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of eight and sixteen. The state Supreme Court ruled, moreover, that county commissioners should provide schools of a minimum four months' duration to every school-age child. The result was that, beginning in 1907 and continuing for several years, a large number of two- and three-room schools were constructed all across rural North Carolina. Among the best surviving examples of early twentieth-century rural schools in Wake County are Antioch School (WA 1834) and Clements Academy (WA 1795), both near Rolesville, and Southern Side School (WA 1146) and Plymouth School (WA 1177), both in southern Wake County near Fuquay-Varina.

Lydia Massey Franks attended Holland School in southeastern Wake County between about 1904 and 1911. At that time, Hollands Methodist Church's early nineteenth-century "Red Meeting House" was used as the public school and masonic lodge (the present structure was completed a few years later). She remembers that every morning "when some of the bigger boys got to school," they would fill a bucket with water from a nearby spring, and everyone drank from a single dipper. Since there was one teacher with all seven grades in one room, she "called classes" to the front one at a time to review lessons. Small classes sat on short benches along the side of the room. Larger groups sat in front of the teacher's desk. To raise money for operating expenses, pupils held "box parties" once or twice a year. At these special events, each girl brought a meal for two, and it was auctioned to the boy giving the highest bid. The rule was that each girl had to eat with the one who bought her box. Mrs. Franks recalls, "Some might not bring much over a dollar, but sometimes they'd pay four or five dollars apiece." After 1907 these one-room schools were gradually replaced by two- and three-room structures, such as the Antioch School near Rolesville (WA 1834).[191]

In addition to adopting educational improvements on the elementary level, the state legislature of 1907 established public high schools in each county. Wake County was allowed four, which, after a brief period of competition among communities, were located in Cary, Holly Springs, Bayleaf, and Zebulon. Cary High School, originally a private academy established in 1870, became the first public high school in the state, offering dormitories for both sexes. In 1913 and 1914, a new brick building was constructed to house a "farm-life" department, which taught improved agricultural practices and home economics.[192] The other schools had boarding facilities as well. Like Cary, Wakelon High School at Zebulon included vocational agriculture in its curriculum.

Higher education in Wake County also received a boost in the progressive era. North Carolina Baptists began to improve and expand the programs and facilities of Wake Forest College as early as the 1880s. One of their most notable achievements came in 1887-1888 with the construction of Lea Laboratory (WA 27), one of the first chemical laboratories in the South. Architect John Appleton Wilson of Baltimore designed the building under the direction of Wake Forest chemistry professor James R. Duggan; and Ellington, Royster, and Company of Raleigh were the builders.[193] Wake Forest continued in its important role of training Baptist ministers and educators as well. In 1891 leaders of the Baptist State Convention, including Wake County's O. L. Stringfield, established Meredith College in Raleigh for women.

CONTEXT 4: BOOM, BUST, AND RECOVERY BETWEEN WORLD WARS (1919-1941)

The United States was emerging as the world's leading economic power when it entered the war in Europe in 1917. The nation's commercial and industrial interests were boosted by wartime demand and rising prices for exported commodities, including cotton textiles. By the time American soldiers returned home in 1919, considerable changes had taken place. An influenza epidemic had brought tragedy to numerous families, but, on the other hand, high cotton and tobacco prices had brought prosperity to many impoverished farmers.

Rural prosperity was interrupted for many as an agricultural depression set in during the early 1920s. Then, as Wake County farmers and townspeople encountered the disastrous Great Depression of the 1930s, traditional ways of life changed significantly. More automobiles and better roads gave rise to a more mobile population. Federal government limits on cotton and tobacco production levels meant less acreage under cultivation and fewer laborers in the fields. By the time of World War II, a county that was once predominantly rural and agricultural was becoming increasingly urban and oriented toward commercial and industrial interests.

Transportation: Automobiles and "Good Roads"

Two of the most significant outcomes of post-World War I prosperity were the widespread purchasing of cars and the state's subsequent road improvement program. State politicians, farmers, and businessmen had realized for years that better roads were the key to economic development, even before the advent of the automobile. By the early 1920s, a Revaluation Act of 1919 had provided a means to increase county revenues for improving old roads and constructing new ones. Through the State Highway Commission, established in 1921, the state assumed control of some 5,000 miles of main roads, including the Central Highway and others, such as highways 42, 50, and 55 through southern Wake county and 59, 91, 90, and 98 in the northern part of the county, which connected rural areas to small towns and eventually to Raleigh. (Many of these highway numbers have been changed as new highways have been built.) State roads would be maintained through the sale of bonds, a gasoline tax, and licensing fees for automobiles, and the counties would continue maintaining their secondary roads with property tax revenues. In 1926 the United States highway system began taking over some of the state networks, such as the Central Highway. The federal transportation

department established such main highways as 1, 15A, 64, 264, and 70A during the Great Depression to help alleviate unemployment and further stimulate both interstate and intrastate commerce. When counties were unable to collect enough taxes during the Depression years to meet budget requirements, the state assumed authority over secondary roads.[194]

Wake County's primary roads were paved in the 1920s, and the secondary roads were resurfaced with sand and clay. These improvements, together with the increased use of automobiles, allowed farmers to haul their products greater distances to such places that might fetch higher prices. C. L. Horton of the Knightdale vicinity recalls that his father sold tobacco in Wendell and Zebulon until he bought a motor truck, which allowed him to try a half dozen markets across central North Carolina.[195] Durham became the most popular market for Wake County farmers (particularly those in the western sections) in the 1920s and 1930s, since buyers there tended to pay more for tobacco, sweet potatoes, and other produce. One farmer in the Morrisville area was able to build a brick bungalow (WA 763) on his family farm with a year's proceeds from sweet potatoes sold in Durham.[196]

State and federally funded highways and the increasing number of cars and trucks traveling on them gave rise to numerous automobile dealerships and roadside gas-and-grocery stores throughout the county in the decades of the twenties and thirties. Many structures associated with these businesses are still standing throughout rural and small town Wake County. A few representative examples include former car dealerships in Carpenter (WA 759), Fuquay-Varina (WA 499 & WA 519), Wendell (WA 2144) and Zebulon (WA 2224), the B. P. Daniels store (WA 1731) on Highway 98 between Wake Forest and Rolesville, the Sandling Brothers' store (WA 1369) on Highway 50 at Sandy Plain, and the Edgemont Store (WA 2022) on U. S. 64 Business near Wendell. In addition to his store, W. T. Roundy of New Hill operated a restaurant and motel cottages for motorists traveling through New Hill on what is now Old U. S. 1 (WA 1102). Several of the cottages still stand, although the restaurant is no longer there. Maynard Tunstall recalled starting out with hand operated gas pumps when he opened a store on U. S. Highway 1 near Friendship in about 1936. He added that "sometimes we made tire repairs, but not many. Most people in those days just wanted to borrow my tools and equipment and fix their own flats. We gave them water for their radiators and free air for their tires, and that was about all."[197] Such small businesses often carried grocery items bought from a local wholesaler. Hence, country stores not on major roads had to offer the same goods and services in order to compete for the patronage of local folk.

Wake County's increasingly mobile, urban population gave a few farmers opportunities to make a living on the farm without cotton, tobacco, or truck crops. Doc Richards of the Six Forks Crossroads vicinity of northeastern Wake began renting part of his farm land to local tobacco farmers and built a lake for swimming near his home in 1932, naming it "Lake Mirl" for his daughter Myrtle (WA 1911). He also built a dance hall and restaurant nearby. As his daughter recalls, cars sometimes lined both sides of the road for a considerable distance on warm days.[197a] Panther Lake in southeastern Wake (WA 1139) and Lake Myra (WA 1997) near Wendell, both sites of turn-of-the-century gristmills, became popular spots for swimming and fishing. Private fishing and social clubs, such as the Beaver Dam Fishing Club and the Tar Heel Club, were established on the Neuse River. These recreational sites generally included picnic facilities, rustic clubhouses, and possibly camping areas as well. The Beaver Dam Fishing Clubhouse (WA 1680) includes a collection of log structures which date from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s. The Tar Heel Clubhouse (WA 1681) is a particularly large and impressive 1920s Craftsman-style stone building originally used for weekend parties and retreats.

Farmers Get a Foretaste of Depression, Seek Work in the City

Post-World War I agricultural prosperity was short-lived--it would take yet another world war to revive it. In 1920, as Wake County tobacco farmer Luther Liles wrote in his diary, "when [the] tobacco market opens in Eastern Carolina the bottom drops out." Prices for both cotton and tobacco plummeted, and farmers once again found themselves in trouble. Liles had purchased a 42-acre farm and would have lost it if a relative had not bailed him out:

> I could not meet my land payment and I worked 2 or 3 months everywhere and every way trying to borrow money. Tice Liles offered to give me off one thousand dollars if I could raise three thousand dollars. Finally Coz Bob Horton the best friend in world to me at that time hope [helped] me to get the money. May God bless him for it. Well I lost more sleep in three or four [months] over this money and ev[e]ry thi[n]g coming down than I hope to loose in a life time over money.[198]

The number of farms in the county peaked at 6,804 in 1920, but the cotton and

tobacco price declines in the fall of that year compelled many to abandon agricultural employment, launching a permanent trend away from farm to industrially-based employment. Some moved to urban areas or commuted from the country to jobs in the city. The South's urban areas began booming after 1920, with Raleigh's population increasing from 24,418 to 37,379 between 1920 and 1930. A promotional booklet published in 1923 by the city's Chamber of Commerce estimated that four to five thousand people had moved into the city in the first two years of the decade alone. As poor families filled the inner city, wealthy families moved to streetcar suburbs such as Hayes Barton. The city's water reservoir was enlarged to increase its storage capacity four-fold in 1922.[199]

A few Raleigh residents were farm laborers, although most worked in manufacturing, mechanical industries, sales, and domestic and personal service. A 1930 survey of the city's "gainful" workers (those employed outside the home) reveals the leading occupations for males were those of salesmen, retail dealers, general laborers, clerks (not in stores), truck drivers, chauffeurs, domestic servants, and bookkeepers. The most common jobs outside the home for females included those of domestic servants, domestic laundresses, and teachers, with numerous stenographers, typists and clerks in county, state, and federal offices.[200]

In addition to the increasing number of people in Wake County who both lived and worked in Raleigh, there was also a growing number of rural and small-town residents working in the city or in non-agricultural jobs elsewhere. Wake County's rural non-farm population increased from 11,620 in 1920 (15 percent of the total population) to 19,339 in 1930 (20 percent of the population). By 1940 the number climbed further to 27,686 (25 percent of the county's population). It is significant that in 1920 over two-thirds of those classified as "rural non-farm" residents lived in incorporated towns. But by 1930 the tables were turned, and only two-fifths of this group were townspeople. By 1940 fewer than a third of the rural non-farm population lived in towns. Farming was on its way out as the county's leading occupation.[201] While the kinds of jobs held by most of these people are not known, it may be assumed that state government, textile, and (in the 1930s) federal relief jobs were most prevalent.

The Rise of Cooperative Marketing

Some of the farmers who continued in their traditional occupations sought to bring reforms in the marketing process by eliminating roles of commission merchants and warehousemen, thus enhancing profits. The North Carolina Cotton Growers'

Cooperative Association, headquartered in the two upper floors of Raleigh's Academy of Music Building, constructed a fireproof warehouse in Raleigh in 1923 with a 12,000-bale storage capacity, as well as warehouses in other locations in the state. The organization had handled only about 16 percent of the state's total crop for the year 1922.[202]

Southern and western Wake tobacco farmers allied with the Farmers' Union organized a short-lived cooperative association in Apex in 1919, headed by local men and offering shares at $100 each.[203] In 1922 the Tri-State Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Association of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina was formed, but almost half of the tobacco growers declined to join because they distrusted the new schemes or were persuaded by those benefitting from the auction sales system. Tobacco warehouses in Apex "went co-op," but those in Fuquay Springs and Durham did not. Tobacco was sold in Fuquay and Durham by auctioneers to the highest tobacco company bidder, and prices were determined by demand and the quality of the leaf. In Apex and other cooperative markets (there was at least one cooperative warehouse in Wendell), the warehouse set a single price for each lot of tobacco, and the price was often higher than what buyers had been instructed to bid. Therefore, the tobacco was not sold, and farmers had to try other markets. The co-op had a detrimental effect on commercial activity in Apex, as many farmers were forced to shift to the Fuquay or Durham market in order to support their families--even those owning shares in the town's cooperative warehouses. Within a few years, the cooperative scheme fell through, and by 1925 only 408 Wake County farmers (out of a total of 6,604) reported having sold products through cooperatives.[204]

A Look at Farm Life in the 1920s

From 1920 to 1925, the county's farm tenancy rate climbed from 56 to 59 percent. The countywide production of corn, small grains, sweet potatoes, and swine fell to all-time lows, while farmers increased their cotton acreage by over 21,000 to offset low market prices. During this short time, over 400 small farms (from 20 to 100 acres in size) were either subdivided or sold, and over 12,000 acres of farmland was taken out of production. Nearly three hundred owner-operated farms experienced status changes, as small farmers moved away or were forced into tenancy. Since one-quarter of the county's farmowners had mortgaged property, the results of depending solely on cash crops were proving to be disastrous, especially for the small farmer who could lose everything from the house and land to the plows and mules in just one bad year.[205] When farmers were forced out of the owner class, they usually hoped to soon have

enough money to buy another small farm, and often they did. Many tenants, however, came to see themselves as permanently entrenched in the share-cropping or share-renting way of life.

A rural sociologist at North Carolina State College discovered considerable differences between owners and tenants when he conducted a study of Wake County's white farmers in 1926. His sample included over 10 percent of the farms in each township. Most farmowners surveyed were in their 40s and 50s and had been farming on their own at least 25 years. Over three-quarters were Wake County natives, and the remainder were born primarily in other North Carolina counties. Almost half began farming as tenants or else lived in family tenant houses and worked on family farms, taking an average of about ten years to become owners.[206] The Mayton and Annie Bell Woolard farm in Panther Branch Township (WA 1183) is one example of such an arrangement. Woolard and his young bride lived in the only tenant house on his father's 50-acre tobacco farm in the early years of their marriage. He later inherited the property and moved into the main farmhouse, a one-story, frame, triple-A-roofed dwelling with rear ell, similar to houses on countless other Wake County farms. Frank Aiken of Sandy Plain was able to provide his son Harold and daughter-in-law Annie with a home on the family farm after he bought and remodelled the old Sandy Plain Elementary School in the early 1920s (WA 1371, WA 1373).

A Wake County farmowner's wife was likely to have completed seven grades in school, and the husband would have at least finished the sixth grade. Practically all the farmowners in the survey were church members, and over half were enrolled in Sunday School. They each contributed about $40 annually to the treasury of a local church. Very few farmowners' wives and school-age children did field work (although they had vegetable gardens, potato patches, milk cows, barnyard chickens, and innumerable household chores to tend to). Apparently many owners hired their field laborers. The average owned farm consisted of some 16 acres of cotton, 11 acres of corn, and (if produced) 9 acres of tobacco. The gross proceeds from these crops might be as high as $2,500, with the net profits usually spent on household maintenance and improvement, automobiles, health care, food, fuel, and clothing, and any extra cash sometimes being invested in banks or real estate. Farmowners were more prone than tenants to spend more than their gross income, perhaps because they had real estate to use as collateral.[207]

Farm tenancy was still a legacy passed down to the young, who often lacked land or capital to begin farming as owners. If a tenant did not buy land by age 35, he usually

remained a tenant for the rest of his life, as 44 percent of the tenants surveyed were over 35. Over two-thirds of the tenants were croppers who received half of what they produced on their allotted acreages, furnishing only their labor and that of their families and in some cases part of the fertilizer and seed. About one-quarter were share tenants, who received three fourths of what they raised, since they furnished most of the farm necessities, such as labor, fertilizer, seed, and work animals. Only a few were cash renters, those receiving the entire crop and paying cash for the use of the land and buildings.[208]

Tenant farm wives generally had gone no farther than the second grade in school, and their husbands typically had no more than a fourth grade education. Very few tenants reported being church or Sunday School members, and those who were each contributed in a year only about $9 to a church treasury. Most tenant farm wives and school-age children did field work. Wives worked in the fields an average of 53 days a year, and their children worked 32 or 33 days.[209]

Owners and tenants had a few common characteristics. Both classes typically lived in one-story houses, although owners' homes were somewhat larger (usually six rooms, compared to tenants' four rooms). Most heated their homes and cooked with open fireplaces and used kerosene lighting. A majority of each class owned cars, primarily the inexpensive Ford. They carried water from a well, and women did their laundry in washpots (some, no doubt, had "wash houses" and others simply built a fire out in the open yard), while a few privileged housewives had washing machines. They made and repaired on foot-powered sewing machines any clothing not bought ready-made. Very few had ever traveled outside a 50-mile radius of their home, but most could stay informed on local, state, national, and foreign events, since the vast majority of owners and tenants subscribed to either the Raleigh Times or News and Observer.[210]

Boll Weevil Forces Changes in Farming Practices

The 1926 farm survey was conducted only one year before the boll weevil infestation reached Wake County, forcing some 1,000 farmers in the county to abandon cotton and either convert to tobacco or diversified operations. Dairying and truck farming gained much attention in Wake County in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of Raleigh's rapid growth, especially after the boll weevil infestation. After working with the State College to produce pasteurized milk for Camp Polk during World War I, a group of dairy farmers founded the Pine State Creamery Company in 1919 to bring pasteurized milk and other dairy products to local markets. The volume of milk sold in

the county more than quadrupled in the 1920s from some 221,000 gallons to over 966,000 gallons, produced by two hundred farms. By 1940 about nine hundred farms were selling cream and butter to supplement their farm incomes.[211] Federal and state departments of agriculture gave dairy production a shot in the arm beginning about 1918 by implementing programs to control tuberculosis in dairy cattle. Wake County's high school agriculture teachers, in cooperation with the Woman's Betterment Association, were examining cattle for the disease as early as 1921.[211a] By 1932 all one hundred North Carolina counties had achieved "modified accredited area" status in the tuberculosis eradication campaign, meaning that less than one-half of 1 percent of the cattle within each county's borders had reacted to the tuberculin test.[211b]

Wake County had about twenty larger dairy operations in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Nipper and Bailey farms (WA 1323 and WA 1324) in the Bayleaf section and the Ballentine farm (WA 571) near Fuquay. Julian R. Nipper chose to begin a dairy farm in response to the boll weevil infestation, since his clay soil was not well suited to tobacco. Nipper began his new venture with only a couple of cows which he milked in an old horse barn. In 1930 the business prospered sufficiently that the family constructed a large frame milking barn which could hold 42 cows, and the barn was filled to capacity by 1935. Milking machines were installed in 1939, allowing the Nipper farm to increase its daily production from 40 or 50 gallons (by hand) to over 100 gallons. The Nippers sold their milk at first to Pine State Dairy in Raleigh and switched to the Durham Dairy for a short time because of higher prices. Then in the 1930s, a number of local dairy farmers formed an informal cooperative and alternated hauling their products to the Pine State plant in Raleigh.[212]

Agricultural diversification in the late 1920s and 1930s brought increases in a variety of crops on Wake County farms, including sweet potatoes, peanuts, soybeans, "snap" (green) beans, watermelons, apples, cherries, peaches, pears, grapes, and pecans. There were also increases in poultry and egg production. Such produce found a ready market in Raleigh and Durham. Some enterprising truck farmers developed routes through the city's residential sections and delivered produce right to their customers' doors. Former Raleigh resident Marshall Johnson recalls that his mother rarely had to leave home to shop for groceries, since she had several local farmers who regularly brought everything to her. He especially remembers that live chickens with feet tied together were sold and traded at his parents' store on South Bloodworth Street. They were hung on a draw scale for weighing to determine the price.[213]

Truck farmers could park their vehicles laden with fruits and vegetables near the

markethouse and sell their produce from the truck, or they could rent a stand at the market by the week. Farm laborers on Will Wyatt's Oak View Farm (WA 1502) a few miles east of Raleigh on Poole Road took turns driving to the market and working a produce stand six days a week from the late 1920s to about 1940. Wyatt also allowed his employees to sell their own chicken "fryers" and other produce. Oak View, a fairly large cotton operation prior to boll weevil, was one of Wake County's few manager-operated farms. In addition to cotton and, later, truck crops, the farm's income was supplemented by pecans from a large grove planted in the 1910s and 1920s, as well as by cattle brought in by rail from Texas to fatten and send up north.[214]

Wake Churches Benefit From Postwar Economic Growth

As high cotton and tobacco prices placed a surplus of cash in many Wake County farmers' pockets in 1918 and 1919, church members were able to offer greater financial support to their churches. In 1919 the Southern Baptist Convention launched a $75 million campaign to raise money over a five-year period for foreign and state mission programs. Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and other denominations began similar, though somewhat less ambitious, fund-raising campaigns as well. While Baptists did not come close to reaching their goal because of the agricultural depression of the early 1920s, North Carolina Baptists raised as much money from 1919 to 1924 as they had raised altogether in the previous ninety years.[215]

This financial boost in churches allowed some pastors to enjoy higher salaries, although rural ministers still found it necessary to serve several churches at one time in order to have a liveable income. In addition to salaries for pastors and missionaries, some of the churches' new wealth was expended on local building programs. St. John's African Methodist Episcopal at Holly Springs and Juniper Level Baptist at Panther Branch were among Wake County's black congregations to construct new edifices in the immediate post-World War I era. Holly Springs Methodist, Ephesus Baptist near Cary, Zebulon Baptist, Salem Baptist near Apex, and Shady Grove Baptist near New Hill were only a few of the white churches that began building programs in the war's aftermath. Many churches, especially in towns, began adding educational wings to their church plants and departmentalized their Sunday School programs, perhaps in response to a larger school improvement and consolidation movement.[216]

Wake County was still a Missionary Baptist stronghold, particularly among blacks. Figures for 1936 show that the Wake's black Regular Baptists, with 12,412 members, outnumbered the county's members of the white Southern Baptist Convention, who had

10,934 members. Ranking second and third in memberships were Methodists (primarily those in the white Methodist Episcopal Church, South), with 5,928 members, and Christians (mainly in the North Carolina and Virginia Conference of the Church of Christ), with 4,035 members. Not far behind were Episcopalians, who had begun by the early twentieth century to branch out into Wake County's small towns. By 1936, they had a total of some 2,500 members, while Presbyterians had over 2,300 members in urban, small town, and rural Wake County.[217]

Rural School Consolidation and High Schools Offer Greater Advantages

By the early 1920s, scarcely two decades had passed since the large-scale public school construction program in North Carolina had boosted educational opportunities for the state's youth. Population was growing so rapidly that the one and two-room schoolhouses were becoming inadequate. Therefore, there was a movement following World War I to consolidate the small schools of whites in a certain geographic area into one large, centrally-located institution, which was seen to be more economical, and at the same time offering a better quality of education.

Improvements in transportation (i. e., "good roads" and school buses) also helped to facilitate the movement, since school consolidation meant that many pupils would no longer be within a reasonable walking distance from school. One of the most significant developments of the 1920s was the rural public high school, providing grades eight and nine in addition to the elementary grades. By the early 1930s, these high schools had two higher levels. There are still quite a few brick elementary school buildings for whites from this era in Wake County's rural areas and small towns, including Fuquay-Varina (WA 485, built 1923), Garner (WA 390, built 1921), Mt. Auburn (WA 302, built 1930), and Mt. Vernon-Goodwin (WA 946, built 1927).[218]

Sears and Roebuck president Julius Rosenwald established a fund to aid in replacing substandard schools for African-Americans prior to World War I. Among the Rosenwald schools still standing in Wake County are Juniper Level (WA 1202, built 1925-1926), St. Matthews (WA 1717, built 1921-1922), Wake Forest (WA 1657, built 1925-1926), Zebulon (WA 2241, built 1925-1926), and Riley Hill (WA 1936, built 1927-1928). Since funding for these schools had to be supplemented by local school districts, there were a number of building designs and sizes to suit communities with varying economic resources. For instance, the Riley Hill School is somewhat larger and constructed of brick, whereas the rural Juniper Level School is a smaller frame building.[219]

Great Depression and Recovery

Construction projects for new schools, churches, and other institutions virtually came to a halt following the stock market crash of 1929. The depression that followed affected Americans of practically every socio-economic level. About 150 Raleigh families found themselves without a source of income when Caraleigh Cotton Mills and Melrose Knitting Mills closed in 1930. Some of these families reported eating only rice three times a day, while one family lived on collards for a full week. Wendell Hosiery Mill was also forced to shut down the same year. There were bank failures in Apex, Cary, Garner, Knightdale, Wake Forest, and Raleigh. Some town governments went bankrupt, while others barely met budgetary requirements. Many of those who were lucky enough to hold onto jobs suffered tremendous salary cuts (for example, public schoolteachers' salaries were cut by nearly forty percent in 1934). Clothing shortages forced women to begin making underwear and dresses out of flour sacks.[220]

The Great Depression hindered religious activities for a few years, as salaries were decreased and missionary efforts curtailed. Garner Baptist Church reduced its pastor's annual salary from $300 to $250, an amount that consumed most of the church's weekly collections; the amount of cash not given to the preacher was so small that it was usually kept in a lard can.[221]

Federal and state governments and organizations provided substantial relief. North Carolina State College in Raleigh expanded the work of 4-H, canning, and corn clubs to promote self-sufficiency on farms. The State Grange made efforts to rescue farmers from debt in 1934, while federal and state agriculture departments began implementing programs to prevent overproduction and thereby increase prices for cotton and tobacco. A federal Resettlement Administration purchased worn-out farm land in north-central Wake for a state park, relocating farmers in 1935-1936. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) hired workers to reforest land and construct cabins and picnic shelters on this government-owned land, originally known as Crabtree (later changed to William B. Umstead) State Park (WA 721, WA 722, WA 941).[222] Concrete bridges over streams and railroad tracks were built with the help of federal aid in all sections of the county during the 1930s (see WA 1219, WA 1724, and WA 2130).

While the federal government was responsible for many economic recovery measures, local citizens also pitched in. Raleigh residents responded by forming a Community Chest, which raised money and distributed it to charitable agencies such as the Associated Charities, the Salvation Army, and the Red Cross, as well as to free

school lunch programs. Described as one of the best organized agencies in the state, the Raleigh Community Chest was able to raise enough money in 1929 to help Associated Charities provide 1,794 families with flour, meat, lard, vegetables, and milk. In 1930 unemployment rose, and Associated Charities was able to give each family only ten pounds of cornmeal, two pounds of salt pork, and some coffee each week. By 1932 only 35 cents a week was available to each family--enough for four loaves of bread. Raleigh's Negro Community Chest conducted a similar recovery program for the city's blacks.[223]

Federal Crop Controls Bring Further Changes on Farms

To alleviate a national cotton surplus due to overproduction, the federal government began a crop reduction program in 1932. Farmowners agreeing to reduce their acreages and those of their tenants were compensated for the losses, with the provision that tenants would receive a share of the money. However, many landlords failed to compensate their tenants, especially if they had debit balances on store accounts, and many sharecroppers were evicted from farms. Even if tenants received their fair share of the government money, the crop reduction program left them with little or no land to tend. Consequently, sharecroppers began to fill the cities by the mid-1930s. The 1935 agricultural census reported that over one-tenth of Wake County's farms had unoccupied dwellings (earlier statistics on vacant dwellings are not available). Cotton acreage decreased from 48,000 in 1930 to just over 20,000 in 1935, and the number of black tenants dropped by almost 500, with a further decline of over 300 between 1935 and 1940. Farmers thereafter began to turn to seasonal (often migrant) labor for planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops.[224]

Similar patterns developed among tobacco tenants after low prices forced the federal government to begin a crop reduction program for growers of the leaf in 1933 under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus closed the tobacco markets in North Carolina that year until federal officials and manufacturers could increase prices. Manufacturers refused to boost prices unless there was a promise that the next year's crop would be reduced. Consequently, agriculture department agents acquired signatures from 95 to 98 percent of the state's tobacco farmers promising to reduce their acreages in 1934. However, when the markets reopened in 1933, prices were still below parity. On the day of the reopening there was even a scuffle in Wendell growers and the head of the local tobacco board over low prices. Two weeks later, the federal government and manufacturers agreed to increase prices to an average of 17 cents per pound, compared to 11 cents in the preceding two years.

When the federal Supreme Court declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional in 1938, a new allotment system was established whereby the acreage of tobacco on each farm was stabilized and monitored by county officials.[225]

Tobacco acreage allotments no doubt displaced many tenants, evidenced by the declines in farm population in Wake County's leading tobacco-producing communities from 1930 to 1940. Notwithstanding, many Wake tobacco farmers were small landowners who benefitted from the acreage allotments. Thus, by the late 1930s, cotton was declining, and tobacco was growing in importance in Wake County. In 1940 Wake's cotton acreage was only 10,853, whereas tobacco was planted on 32,318 acres.[226]

EPILOGUE

The decade of the 1940s brought even further changes in Wake County's rural communities. One of the most significant was the introduction of electricity. Farmers around Wake Forest initiated the movement by forming the Wake Electric Membership Corporation in 1940 and borrowing money from the federal Rural Electrification Administration, established in 1935.[227] Electric lights, refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, irons, radios, and fans soon revolutionized rural living standards and household work.

Another trend altering rural life occurred as a result of World War II. Men and women not in active duty during the war migrated in large numbers to take factory and office jobs in large cities. Some never returned to live in their home county, while many followed a common trend and came back to re-establish themselves on family farms. Finding opportunities limited there, many began adding to the already-growing urban population or else commuted from the country to jobs in the state capital. Raleigh's population more than doubled from fewer than 50,000 in the 1940s to almost 100,000 in the 1960s. Wake County's rural farm population dropped from about 35,000 to some 17,000 during the same two decades.[228] Such towns as Cary and Garner, called "retired-farmer" villages before World War II, became bedroom communities for urban workers. Soon the Research Triangle Park, laid out in the late 1950s, began bringing untold thousands of newcomers into the county, with Raleigh-Durham International Airport, Falls Lake, and Shearon Harris Nuclear Power Plant, all located in western Wake County, serving the transportation, water, and power needs of the increasing population.

The county still had over 6,000 farms in 1950. By 1964, there were fewer than 3,000, with further declines leaving a total of only 1,755 in 1974 and some 1,000 farms counted in the last agricultural census (1987). Tobacco has been the county's leading cash crop since the 1930s--almost half the county's farms were tobacco-producing in 1987, with over a third producing soybeans. As cotton production fell following the war, there was a corresponding decline in rates of farm tenancy--from about 50 percent in the early 1950s to 16 percent in the 1970s.[229]

CONCLUSION

Wake County people and their environment, thus, have evolved in three major stages. The first English and African families shaped an interdependent, subsistence-based socio-economic structure centered around local kinship and neighborhood networks, with limited inter-community contact. The Civil War and Reconstruction disrupted both white and black labor systems and dictated changes in the South's social and economic structures, bringing a sudden shift away from subsistence-based to commercial agriculture. Then, in the 1930s and 1940s, the cotton boll weevil, government crop control, the Great Depression, World War II, and agricultural mechanization caused a gradual movement away from farming altogether. Though increasingly urbanized, the Wake County of today still bears some resemblance to that of the two earlier stages. Family and neighborhood networks and economic self-sufficiency are still vital to the social fabric of rural communities, and cash crop production continues to be important to the county's economy.

NOTES

[1]L. L. Brinkley, Soil Survey of Wake County, N. C. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 13-14; General Soil Map of Wake County, Soil Conservation Service, NC Agricultural Experiment Station, May 1969.

[2]Elizabeth Reid Murray, Wake: Capital County of North Carolina (Raleigh: Capital County Publishing Company, 1983), 3-6.

[3]Murray, 100-101, 131-134.

[4]Raleigh Register, Sept. 22, Dec. 29, 1835, quoted in Murray, 245-246. See also chart on Wake County population.

[5]Greensborough Patriot, quoted in Fayetteville Observer, Nov. 25, 1845, in Guion Griffis Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 40.

[6]Murray, 257-264.

[7]Richard H. Whitaker, Whitaker's Reminiscences, Incidents, and Anecdotes (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1905), 146.

[8]Frederick Law Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 134.

[9]Wake County Records of Wills, Inventories, Settlements of Estates, 1771-1794, NC Archives, Raleigh, passim.

[10]Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the United States to 1860 (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 583-584; George P. Rawick, ed., The American Slave, vol. 15 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 186.

[11]Gray, 161.

[12]United States Census Bureau, Agriculture of the United States in 1860 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 108-111.

[13]Murray, 156, 357; Grace Lawrence Awerdick, "Henry Thomas Lawrence, 1863-1941," in Lynne Belvin and Harriette Riggs, Heritage of Wake County (Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Company, 1983), 311.

[14]Murray, 29-30.

[15]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Industry Schedule, quoted in Murray, 286.

[16]Whitaker, 99-100.

[17]Whitaker, 2.

[18]Whitaker, passim; Johnson Olive and H. C. Olive, The Life and Times of Rev. Johnson Olive (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1886), passim; William Cullen Nowell, Lectures on the Book of Revelation, With a Brief Sketch of the Author's Life and Six Choice Sermons (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1910), 107ff.

[19]Whitaker, 151.

[20]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 275. Though called John Smith, the former slave's Christian name was actually Haywood. John Smith was his owner. Another former slave named John Smith refers to his 108-year-old father-in-law Haywood Smith, who was living in the County Home.

[21]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 14, 395.

[22]Thomas J. Lassiter, "A Short History of Johnston County: 1746-1890," in Johnston County Genealogical Society, The Heritage of Johnston County, vol. 1 (Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Company, 1985), 5.

[23]Murray, 135.

[24]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Agriculture Schedule. There were in 1860 898 cotton producers and 187 tobacco producers out of about 2,200 farmers/planters, a considerable rise over 1850, when only 466 grew cotton and 45 grew tobacco.

[25]Murray, 291; Robert Topkins and Mary Alice Hinson, "Alpheus Jones House" National Register Nomination, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[26]Whitaker, 321-324.

[27]Olmsted, 134.

[28]Whitaker, 324.

[29]1809 Tax Lists for Buffelow, Licks Creek, Buckhorn, St. Matthews, Cross Roads, Houses Creek, White Oak, Barton's Creek, Little River, St. Maries, and Panther Branch districts, Wake County, NC Archives, Raleigh.

[30]1830 Tax Lists, Wake County, NC Archives.

[31]U. S. Census Bureau, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 102-106. Historians of African slavery have designated a planter as one owning 20 or more slaves, based on the Confederate Congress's 1862 law exempting such slaveowners and overseers from military service. However, in Wake County some farms owned by middle class families with 10-20 slaves were often called plantations, suggesting overlapping socio-economic class lines among the county's large and small slaveholders.

[32]Sixth Census of the United States, 1840: Wake County, Population Schedule.

[33]United States Census Bureau, Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 358-359.

[34]Olive and Olive, 78-79.

[35]John Fleming, interviewed by Beth Cannady, 1938, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[36]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.

[37]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 270-275.

[38]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Slave Schedule.

[39]J. G. Zehmer and Sherry Ingram, "Midway Plantation" National Register Nomination, 1970, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[40]Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.

[41]Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Wake County, Population, Agriculture, and Slave Schedules; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population, Agriculture, and Slave Schedules.

[42]Kelly Lally and Todd Johnson, "Oak View Farm" National Register Nomination, 1990, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[43]E. Virginia Oswald and Michael Hill, "Bennett Bunn Plantation," National Register Nomination, 1985, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[44]Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.

[45]"Wall Plantation," WA 1666, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[46]Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Wake County, Population, Agriculture, and Slave Schedules; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population, Agriculture, and Slave Schedules.

[47]Wake County Wills, NC State Archives.

[48]William A. Mitchener, "David Honeycutt," in Belvin and Riggs, 269.

[49]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population and Slave Schedules.

[50]Nowell, 107-109.

[51]Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.

[52]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Agriculture and Slave Schedules.

[53]"Henry B. Wilson farm," WA 1359, Wake County Survey, NC Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[54]Nancy Gill, interviewed by Robert O. King, Nov. 20-24, 1938, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[55]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population Schedule.

[56]Richard Medlin, interviewed by Mary A. Hicks, Nov. 15, 1938, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[57]U. S. Census Bureau, Population in 1860, 358-359.

[58]Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population Schedule; John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 228-237.

[59]Franklin, 189n.

[60]Carl Holleman, "How Friendship Got Its Name," in Western Wake Herald, Apex, June 26, 1985.

[61]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 260-261.

[62]Rawick, The American Slave, vols. 14 and 15, passim.

[63]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 372-375.

[64]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 317-323.

[65]Murray, 363-364.

[66]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 14, 242, 406-407; vol. 15, 310, 32.

[67]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 73-75.

[68]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 14, 383.

[69]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 184-191. Particularly interesting in Parker Pool's narrative are descriptions of blind ditches, leather-tanning, and flax-raising.

[70]Bennett T. Blake Papers, Account Book, 1836-1837, PC.1554.1, NC Archives.

[71]Raleigh Register, Nov. 1, 1854.

[72]Murray, 136-137.

[73]United States Department of State, Compendium of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States As Obtained At the Department of State, From the Returns of the Sixth Census (Washington: Thomas Allen, Printer, 1841), 43.

[73a]Catherine Bishir and Brent D. Glass, "Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company" National Register Nomination, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[74]Murray, 32-33.

[75]Records of Middle Creek Primitive Baptist Church (copy), Johnston County Room, Public Library of Johnston County and Smithfield, Smithfield, NC; William Richard Eaton, History of the Raleigh Baptist Association of North Carolina (Raleigh: Raleigh Association, 1955), 42-43; Louis H. Everts, The Baptist Encyclopedia, vol. 1

(1881), 307. By the time of the Baptist division in Wake Countyu in 1825, there were at least two masonic lodges in the county (Raleigh and Holly Springs). Because Elder Robert T. Daniel, a leader of Baptist missionary activity in North Carolina, belonged to a lodge, several preachers at the 1825 associational session asked those present to take action against him. When the majority refused to do so, the dissidents left the meeting and convened at Middle Creek Church, eventually forming the Little River Primitive Baptist Association, composed largely of Johnston County churches but including at least five in Wake by the mid-nineteenth century.

[76]C. Franklin Grill, Early Methodist Meeting Houses in Wake County, North Carolina (Raleigh: Commission on Archives and History, North Carolina Conference, United Methodist Church, 1979), 22.

[77]J. W. Wellons and R. H. Holland, Life and Labors of Rev. William Brock Wellons, D. D. (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1881), 200-201; W. E. MacClenny, The Life of James O'Kelly and the Early History of the Christian Church in the South (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1910), 149-150.

[78]Minutes, Central Baptist Association, 1883, 6-7, NC Baptist Historical Collection, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC.

[79]Murray, 170-171.

[80]Nowell, 118; Records of Hephzibah Church, 1855 (Mf), NC Archives.

[81]Grill, 14-15.

[82]Whitaker, passim; Olive, passim.

[83]B. T. Blake to W. B. Doub, 16 May 1878, Bennett T. Blake Papers, PC.1554.1, NC Archives.

[84]North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration, Inventory of the Church Archives of North Carolina, Southern Baptist Convention, Raleigh Association (Raleigh: NC Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), 14-21; North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, Inventory of the Church Archives of North Carolina, Southern Baptist Convention, Central Association (Raleigh: NC Historical Records Survey Project, 1941),

5-6.

[85]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 187, 320.

[86]NC Historical Records Survey Project, WPA, Raleigh Baptist Association, 14-15.

[87]Olive, 20.

[88]Murray, 188-189.

[89]Murray, 191-192.

[90]Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina, 646, 756.

[91]Robert M. Calhoon, "An Agrarian and Evangelical Culture," in Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson, eds., The North Carolina Experience (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 173.

[91a]Murray, 300-303.

[92]Murray, 318ff.; Eight Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, Population Schedule.

[93]Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (Cambridge, London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 44-47. 56-80, 102-103.

[94]U. S. Census Bureau, Agriculture in 1860, 108-111; U. S. Census Bureau, The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States...Compiled From the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 218-221.

[95]Paul D. Escott, "Unwilling Hercules," in Butler and Watson, 267.

[96]Grace Lawrence Awerdick, "Thomas and Tempie Lawrence," in Belvin and Riggs, 312. As Mrs. Awerdick recounts a story handed down, her grandfather Tom Lawrence had at least two close calls with patrollers. On one occasion, he

and wife Tempie were in the smokehouse cutting meat for him to take off to the woods when Tempie saw patrollers approaching. Since there were no windows and only one door, she told Tom to get up on the ledge over the door, which he did, holding onto the rafters above him. The patrollers went inside the dimly-lit smokehouse but failed to look up, so Tom was saved. In the winter of 1863-64, the home guard took Tempie and her infant son Henry several miles away to a deserted log cabin near Holly Springs to persuade her to disclose her husband's whereabouts, but she steadfastly refused. After two days in confinement, she slipped out with her baby and returned home through the woods.

[97]Escott in Butler and Watson, 268.

[98]Murray, 594.

[99]Ransom and Sutch, 44-47. See also agricultural statistics chart for Wake County.

[100]Alonzo and Millard Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[101]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 15, 372ff.

[102]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[102a]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 14, 324-327.

[103]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[104]Nancy Gill, Federal Writers' Project.

[105]Mattie Medlin, interviewed by Mary A. Hicks, Dec. 1, 1938, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[106]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[107]Murray, 559-560, 571.

[108]Murray, 559, 574.

[109]John J. Kearins, "The Country Store Yesterday and Today," News and Observer, Aug. 6, 1967.

[110]Kearins, News and Observer, Aug. 6, 1967.

[111]Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Wake County, Agriculture Schedule; U. S. Census Bureau, Report on the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 236-237; Memo to Kelly Lally and Todd Johnson from Elizabeth Reid Murray, January 9-11, 1992, 5.

[112]Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Wake County, Agriculture and Population Schedules.

[113]Paul D. Escott, Many Excellent People (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 178; Henrietta R. Smedes, Agricultural Graphics: North Carolina and the United States, 1866-1922 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1923), 32.

[114]North Carolina Public Laws, 1872-73, c. 193; 1879, c. 269; 1881, c. 126; 1883, c. 369; 1885, c. 163, c. 270, and c. 381; News and Observer, Nov. 6, 1883ff.; Minutes, Wake County Board of Commissioners, Nov. 4, 1885. Courtesy of Elizabeth Reid Murray.

[115]Records of General Assembly, 1887, Stock Law Petitions, NC Archives.

[116]U. S. Census Bureau, Report on the Productions of Agriculture (1880), 166; U. S. Census Bureau, Report on the Statistics of Agriculture in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 301, 341.

[116a]Murray, 419-422, 657.

[116b]Murray, 655; Catherine W. Bishir and Marshall Bullock, "Forestville Baptist Church" National Register Nomination, 1984, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[117]Records Survey Project, Raleigh, Central, and Flat River Baptist Associations, passim; Claude R. Trotter, History of the Wake Baptist Association, Its Auxiliaries, and Churches, 1866-1966 (Raleigh: Irving-Swain Press, Inc., 1976), passim.

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[120]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[121]Bennett T. Blake, Oaky Grove, to William B. Doub, Apr. 30, 1877, Blake Papers, PC.1554.1, NC Archives.

[122]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers, PC.132.27, NC Archives.

[123]James G. Lane, History of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, Minutes, Johnston Baptist Association, 1948, cited in Mount Moriah Baptist Church, 1832-1982 (Privately printed, 1982), 3.

[123a]Elizabeth McGee, "William G. Clements," in Belvin and Riggs, 175.

[124]Reynold S. Davenport, Freemasonry Revealed (The Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M. of North Carolina, 1980), 21.

[125]W. R. Middleton, "History from 1865 to 1890," in History of William T. Bain Lodge No. 231, A. F. & A. M., 1865-1965 (unpublished, 1965), 3ff.

[126]Proceedings of the 11th Annual Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free Accepted Ancient York Masons for the State of North Carolina, Held in Raleigh, Dec. 1880, Prince Hall, Durham; Levi Branson, Farmers and Owners of Land in Wake County (publication information missing, circa 1890), passim.

[127]Middleton, 3; The Sentinel, Raleigh, Sept. 14, 1874; Minutes, Mt. Pleasant Grange No. 380 (1874-76), Aug. 7, 1875, Maggie Crowder Collection, PC.12458, NC State Archives (courtesy of Elizabeth Reid Murray); The State Agricultural Journal, Raleigh, Apr. 23, 1874.

[128]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[129]Records of the Department of Public Instruction, Statistics of Public School Houses in Wake County, NC, 1887, NC Archives.

[130]Charles N. Hunter, quoted in Murray, 603.

[131]Graydon Wright Jordan, "A History of Wake County Schools" (M. A. Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1943), 35ff.

[132]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (Reconstruction), PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[133]Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Fifty-Seventh Annual Meeting Held at Wrightsville Beach, June 21, 22, and 23, 1910 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1910), 543-545.

[134]Rawick, The American Slave, vol. 14, 276, cited in Murray, 607ff.

[135]U. S. Census Bureau, Compendium of the Tenth Census, Part 1, Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 243-244.

[136]John D. Hicks, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 2 (Apr. 1925), 162.

[137]The Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, NC, Mar. 20 and May 8, 1888; Hicks, North Carolina Historical Review 2 (Apr. 1925), 171.

[138]Hicks, North Carolina Historical Review 2 (Apr. 1925), 185-187; Lala Carr Steelman, The North Carolina Farmers' Alliance: A Political History, 1887-1893 (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University Publications, 1985), 157-158, 269-270. After Democrats defeated this "fusionist" movement and recaptured their majority in the North Carolina General Assembly through a popular white supremacy and education platform, the new legislature passed a literacy requirement for voting, excluding most blacks from participating in government at all. To win the support of illiterate whites, they adopted a "Grandfather Clause," allowing men who voted before 1867 and their descendants to vote as long as they registered before 1908. They also enacted laws to segregate the races on railroads and street cars at the turn of the century. Soon hospitals, prisons, parks, and workplaces were required to enforce segregation. Wake County's population thereafter became proportionately less black. From 1890 to 1910, the white pouplation increased by almost 11,000, while the number of blacks grew by a mere 2,700 (see population charts). Many disheartened blacks were moving to New York City and other burgeoning industrial and commercial centers, a trend that accelerated

during the two world wars.

[139]Charles P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," North Carolina Historical Review 7 (July 1930), 305ff.

[140]Loomis, 307; Nannie May Tilley, The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 445-448. Note: Tobacco had to be redried to prevent molding after being marketed because farmers often applied a generous amount of water prior to marketing to increase the weight of (and thus the profits from) their product and to "bring it in order" (i. e., make it easier to handle and prevent brittleness). "Ordering rooms" with sunken floors for filling with water were common on Wake County tobacco farms. A large number still remain.

[141]Lynne Belvin, "Willow Springs," in Belvin and Riggs, 63.

[142]NC State Board of Agriculture, North Carolina and Its Resources (Winston: M. I. and J. C. Stewart, 1896), 117-121.

[143]"An Act for the Construction and Maintenance of a Central Highway," North Carolina Public Laws, 1911, c. 58; "An Act to Create a Special Road District in Wake County, including Parts of House Creek and Swift Creek and Cary Townships, North Carolina Public-Local Laws, 1917, c. 68; J. M. Templeton, "History of Cary," (unpublished), typescript, Manuscripts Dept., Duke University, 4; R. O. Heater, "History of Cary," (unpublished, circa 1967), typescript, 14-15. Courtesy of Elizabeth Reid Murray.

[144]Hilda Cannady Crumpler, Cary, NC, interviewed by Todd Johnson, July 31, 1990. Mrs. Crumpler stated that one neighbor, not initially convinced of the new contraption's usefulness, threatened to shoot her father if the car spooked his horses (the neighbor even carried a gun for several months). Her father was also instrumental in getting a road constructed from Raleigh to Creedmoor about 1915. A brother-in-law never spoke to him again because the road ran through his front yard.

[145]Ralph C. Epstein, The Automobile Industry: Its Economic and Commercial Development (Chicago and New York: A. W. Shaw Company, 1928), 324, 351.

[146]News and Observer, Raleigh, Nov. 29, 1883; Sept. 25 and 26, 1884; Tilley, 141-142, 144.

[147]Margie Landis Bailey, Willow Springs, NC, interviewed by Todd Johnson, Nov. 16, 1990.

[148]William Keith, Creedmoor, NC, interviewed by Todd Johnson, Aug. 6, 1990.

[149]News and Observer, Mar. 14, 1890.

[150]Bill of sale for tobacco, Capital Alliance Warehouse, Feb. 14, 1893, in possession of Mr. and Mrs. William Upchurch, Morrisville; North Carolina Yearbook and Business Directory (Raleigh: News and Observer, 1907), 586; Carl P. Holleman, Jr., Pluck, Perseverance, and Paint (Durham: Moore Publishing Company, 1973), 17.

[151]Brinkley, Soil Survey of Wake County, 36-38.

[152]North Carolina Yearbook, 1905, 569ff.; 1907, 563ff.; and 1916, 523ff..

[153]U. S. Census Bureau, Report on the Productions of Agriculture As Returned at the Tenth Census (1880), 78-79; U. S. Census Bureau, Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Vol. VI, Part 2, Agriculture (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), 240-241.

[153a]U. S. Census Bureau, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. V, Agriculture 1909 and 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 878, 886.

[154]Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers, PC.132.27, NC Archives. Each tenant farm mentioned in Mial's rental contracts had a special name, generally that of a longstanding tenant or the previous owner of a tract Mial had purchased or foreclosed on.

[155]Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Wake County, Agriculture and Population Schedules; 1900 Tax List for Marks Creek Township, Wake County, NC Archives. Mules, just as individual tenant farms, each had a name. Those listed in 1886 as collateral for supplies Mial purchased on credit in Raleigh included Mike, Wake, Kimmons, Pete, Charlie, Bell, Jeff, Rose, Martha, Mollie, Jennie, Champ, Gus, Foster, Pearce, Sid, Bet, and Fanny. Several were named for tenants and farm hands. Mial Papers, Miscellaneous Papers, PC.132.26, NC Archives.

[156]Mial Papers, Time Books, 1888-1891, PC.132.18, and Cotton Ginner's Books, 1913-1927, PC.132.23, NC Archives. Agricultural censuses indicate that Wake County's cotton acreage fell from 48,664 to 38,744 between 1910 and 1920, while tobacco acreage climbed from 8,101 to 20,126.

[157]David R. and Allison H. Black, "Henry H. and Bettie S. Knight Farm" National Register Nomination, 1987, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[158]Awerdick, "Henry Thomas Lawrence, 1863-1941," in Belvin and Riggs, 310-311.

[159]Hilda Crumpler interview.

[160]"Woolard Farm," WA 1183, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[161]Emily Rogers Merritt, "Charlie Clinton Merritt Family," in Belvin and Riggs, 345.

[162]U. S. Census Bureau, Report on the Productions of Agriculture (1880), 129, 166, 201, 237; U. S. Census Bureau, Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, Part 2, Agriculture, 240-241, 250-251, 260, 264.

[163]Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Wake County, Population Schedule; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Wake County, Population Schedule; Margie Bailey interview; "Woolard Farm," WA 1183, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[164]Johnny Blount, "The Happy Farmhand," interviewed by Mary A. Hicks, circa 1939, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[165]Wiley Rogers, "Not By Bread Alone," interviewed by Mary A. Hicks, circa 1939, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[166]Lydia Massey Franks, Garner, NC, interviewed by Todd Johnson, Mar. 26, 1991. See typescript in "Holland's Church," WA 1210, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[166a]Margie Bailey interview.

[167]Levi Branson, Farmers and Owners of Land in Wake County, passim.

[168]Negro State Fair Bulletin, circa 1911, Charles N. Hunter Collection, Manuscripts Department, Duke University.

[169]M. W. Williams and George W. Watkins, Who's Who Among North Carolina Negro Baptists (1940), 265; Branson, Farmers and Owners of Land in Wake County.

[170]"Young Farm," WA 1810, and "Dunn-Young House," WA 1811, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[171]Brinkley, 10-11.

[172]Statistics from 1860 and 1910 Censuses cited in T. P. Harrison, Jr., "Farm Conditions, Farm Practices, and the Local Market Problem," in G. B. Lay, ed., Wake County: Economic and Social (Chapel Hill: Wake County Club, University of North Carolina, 1918), 29ff. Harrison gives statistics on goods imported into Wake County in 1910: 4.25 million pounds of meat, 2.5 million pounds of butter, nearly 2 million fowls, 375,000 dozens of eggs, and 1.25 million bushels of corn.

[173]Wake County Exposition Committee, Wake County, North Carolina: Its Resources, Its Products, and Its People (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1884), 8; North Carolina Yearbook (1905), 569-575; North Carolina Yearbook (1916), 523-527.

[174]Linda H. Edmisten, "Jones-Johnson-Ballentine Historic District" National Register Nomination, 1989, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[175]Lay, Wake County: Economic and Social, 35.

[176]Jacqueline Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher B. Daly, Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 66-67.

[177]Annual Reports of the Bureau of Labor and Printing of the State of North Carolina (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell and Company, 1904), 98-99.

[178]Royall Cotton Mill Account Book, 1900-1912, and Journal, 1900-1903, Manuscripts Department, Duke University.

[179]NC Historical Records Survey Project, Inventory of the Church Archives of North Carolina, Southern Baptist Convention, Central Association (1941), 25.

[180]Mary Branch and others, "Description of a Mill Village," interviewed by Ida L. Moore, Sept. 20, 1938, Federal Writers' Project Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

[181]U. S. Census Bureau, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. VII, Agriculture, 1909 and 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 244; U. S. Census Bureau, Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, Part 2, Agriculture, 240-241.

[182]NC State Board of Agriculture, North Carolina and Its Resources, 196-197, 212-213.

[183]Nowell, 135-136.

[184]Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 75. Religious Bodies, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 293.

[185]Minutes, Raleigh Baptist Association, 1890-1918, NC Baptist Historical Collection, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem; Trotter, unnumbered pp. 62-117.

[186]Trotter, unnumbered pp. 16, 56.

[187]Lydia Franks interview.

[188]Linda Barker and Wallace Womble, "New Hill Baptist Church History, 1888-1988," in New Hill Baptist Church, 1888-1988: Soldiers of the Cross Marching On (Privately printed, 1988).

[189]Jack B. Keeter, "The History of Samaria Baptist Church, 1904-1929," in Church files, North Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem.

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[191]Lydia Franks interview.

[192]M. B. Dry, "History of Education at Cary" (1936), in Cary News, May 5, 1971.

[193]Robert Topkins and Ruth Little-Stokes, "Lea Laboratory" National Register Nomination, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

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[199]D. E. MacCarthy, Raleigh (Raleigh: Commercial Printing Company, 1923), 2.

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Vol. IV, Occupations (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 1206-1209.

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[202]MacCarthy, 16.

[203]Apex Journal, Apex, July 3, 1919.

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[205]U. S. Census Bureau, Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. VI, Part 2, Agriculture, 240-241, 250-251, 260, 264; U. S. Census Bureau, United States Census of Agriculture, 1925, Part II, 276-277, 290-291, 304-305, 318-319, 328-329, 338-339.

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[207]Anderson, 25, 30, 38, 79, 87, 97.

[208]Anderson, 21-23.

[209]Anderson, 16, 79, 97.

[210]Anderson, 85, 89, 91-92, 94-96.

[211]Pine State Creamery Company, "Pine State Employee Handbook, rev. 1986, 3; U. S. Census Bureau, Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. VI, Part 2, Agriculture, 250-251; U. S. Census Bureau, Fifteenth Census of the United States:

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[211a]Wake County Association for the Betterment of Public Schools and Communities (Raleigh: Bynum Printing Company, 1922), 11.

[211b]"South Making Progress in Tuberculosis Eradication Work--N. C. 100 Per Cent," Southern Dairy Products Journal (May 1932), 6.

[212]W. T. Nipper, Raleigh, NC, interviewed by Kelly Lally, Mar. 1990. See "Nipper Dairy Farm," WA 1323, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch.

[213]Marshall H. Johnson, Greensboro, telephone interview by Todd Johnson, May 1990.

[214]Kiva Jones, Apex, interviewed by Todd Johnson, Mar. 1990.

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[218]M. Ruth Little and Patricia A. Sullivan, "Thematic National Register Nomination: North Carolina Public Schools Pre-1941," 1989, 16, 18, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

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[221]Anita J. Bare, A History of First Baptist Church, Garner, NC, 1887-1987 (unpublished, 1987), 10.

[222]Memo to Kelly Lally and Todd Johnson from Elizabeth Reid Murray, Oct. 9, 1990; News and Observer, May 10, 1936.

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[224]Pete Daniel, Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Culture Since 1880 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 91ff.; U. S. Census Bureau, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture, Vol. II, Part 2, 404-405; U. S. Census Bureau, United States Census of Agriculture: 1935, Vol. I (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1936), 472-473; Vol. II, 482-483.

[225]Daniel, 110ff..

[226]County Population Trends Chart, Statistical Services Center, NC Department of Administration, 97; U. S. Census Bureau, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture, Vol. II, Part 2, 404-405; U. S. Census Bureau, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Agriculture, Vol. I, Part 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942), 367.

[226a]"Richards House and Lake Mirl Complex," WA 1911, Wake County Survey, NC Survey and Planning Branch.

[227]Mary Virginia Averette, "James Troy Shearon," in Belvin and Riggs, 482.

[228]County Population Trends Chart, Statistical Services Center, NC Department of Administration, 97.

[229]U. S. Census Bureau, United States Census of Agriculture: 1954, Vol. I, Part 16 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1956), 69; U. S. Census Bureau, 1964 United States Census of Agriculture, Vol. I, Part 26, North Carolina (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 283; U. S. Census

Bureau, 1974 Census of Agriculture, Vol. I, Part 33, North Carolina (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1977), 2; U. S. Census Bureau, 1987 Census of Agriculture, Vol. I, Part 33, North Carolina (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), 153.

APPENDIX A: WAKE COUNTY POPULATION, BY RACE, 1790-1940

Year	Total	White	Free Black	Slave
1790	10,192	7,549	180	2,463
1800	14,106	8,872	324	4,241
1810	17,086	10,689	519	5,878
1820	20,102	11,951	734	7,417
1830	20,398	11,456	833	8,109
1840	21,118	12,113	1,009	7,996
1850	24,888	14,173	1,306	9,409
1860	28,627	16,448	1,446	10,733

Year	Total	White	Non-white
1870	35,617	19,433	16,184
1880	47,939	24,289	23,650
1890	49,207	26,093	23,114
1900	54,626	30,267	24,359
1910	63,229	37,359	25,870
1920	75,155	45,945	29,210
1930	94,757	60,841	33,916
1940	109,544	72,735	36,809

APPENDIX B: WAKE COUNTY, NC, POPULATION, BY TOWNSHIP, 1870-1940

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Barton's Creek	1,585	1,539	1,543	2,000	2,258	1,892	1,760	1,563
Buckhorn	1,694	1,910	1,022	1,083	1,186	1,289	1,152	1,174
Bonsal village					85			
New Hill village					95			
Cary		1,380	1,334	1,470	1,498	1,575	1,932	2,988
Cary town		316	423	333	383	645	909	1,141
Cedar Fork	1,533	1,715	1,168	1,086	1,204	1,400	1,347	1,709
Morrisville town		165	149	100	151	211	161	
Holly Springs			1,733	1,827	2,250	2,409	2,520	2,611
Holly Springs town			218	219	261	333	362	394
House's Creek	2,098	2,304	2,226	2,484	2,510	1,840	2,368	1,032
Leesville						815	633	723
Little River	1,315	2,056	2,137	2,627	3,498	5,701	6,277	5,912
Wakefield village				142	287			
Zebulon town					483	953	860	1,070
Mark's Creek	1,396	2,043	1,924	2,223	3,096	4,380	5,136	5,650
Wendell town					759	1,239	980	1,132
Middle Creek	1,477	2,087	1,513	1,872	2,213	3,061	4,522	5,055
Fuquay Springs town					127	800	963	1,323
Neuse River		1,409	1,372	1,202	1,199	1,341	1,479	1,657
New Light	798	1,295	1,979	1,981	2,184	1,889	1,577	1,784
Oak Grove	2,075	2,591	1,100	998	997			
Panther Branch	921	1,462	1,607	1,671	1,687	2,041	2,738	2,775
Raleigh	10,149	13,843	16,784	19,479	22,405	28,674	43,182	55,235
Raleigh city	7,790	9,265	12,678	13,643	19,218	24,418	37,379	46,897
St. Mary's	2,124	2,944	2,680	2,736	2,814	3,567	3,647	4,223
Garner town					284	376	476	768
St. Matthews	2,192	1,878	1,912	1,933	2,182	2,522	2,700	2,662
Knightdale town						163	243	352
Swift Creek	1,445	1,726	1,928	2,043	2,225	2,294	2,937	3,394
Wake Forest	3,135	3,809	3,402	3,687	4,890	4,850	5,166	5,499
Wake Forest town		456	853	823	1,443	1,425	1,536	1,562
Rolesville town		115	150	155	170	250		
Forestville vill.		116		157	137			
Royall Cotton Mill v.					437	442	470	
White Oak	1,680	1,948	1,843	2,224	2,933	3,615	3,684	3,898
Apex town			269	349	681	926	863	977

*Some population declines were affected by the following boundary changes: Cary Township was formed 1872 from parts of Cedar Fork, House's Creek, Swift Creek, and White Oak townships; Neuse River Township was formed 1877 from parts of Barton's Creek, House's Creek, Wake Forest, and St. Matthews townships; Holly Springs Township was formed 1889 from parts of Buckhorn and Middle Creek townships; parts of Cedar Fork and Oak Grove townships taken to form Durham County in 1881; and another part of Oak Grove Township was annexed to Durham County in 1911, with the remaining portion being renamed Leesville.

APPENDIX C: DEMOGRAPHICS OF AFRICAN SLAVERY IN WAKE COUNTY, NC, 1790-1860

Year	#Free Households	#Slaveowners	#Slaves	Slaveholdings 1-9	10-19	20-99	100-199	200+
1790	1,291	390	2,463	306	64	20	0	0
1800	1,524	660	4,241	522	101	37	0	0
1830	2,146	1,011	8,088	729	188	94	0	0
1840	2,399	1,009	7,989	748	179	81	1	0
1850	2,838	1,170	9,508	871	196	99	4	0
1860	3,489	1,148	10,754	812	207	124	3	2

Sources: Population Schedules, U. S. Census, 1790, 1800, 1830, and 1840; Population and Slave Schedules, U. S. Census, 1850 and 1860.

*1810 and 1820 Population Schedules for Wake County are missing from Census Bureau records.

APPENDIX D:
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR WAKE COUNTY, NC, FROM U. S. CENSUSES, 1840-1940

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
No. Farms	?	1,410	2,200	2,036	4,381	4,268
Total Farmland (acres)	?	513,269	551,966	397,049?	478,086	469,213
Ave. Value Per Acre ($)	?	3.27	5.88	3.29	7.93	9.61
No. Farmowners	?	?	1,699	?	2,406	2,251
No. Farm Tenants	?	?	501	?	1,975	2,017
Rate of Tenancy (%)	?	?	23		45	47
Ave. Landholdings of Farmowner (acres)[1]	?	364	325	288	244	233
Livestock (Numbers)						
Horses	?	?	4,137	2,108	2,731	2,280
Mules/Asses[2]	?	?	1,363	1,596	3,052	3,017
Cattle	15,248	17,151	16,777	?	14,499	8,860
Milch Cows	?	?	5,639	3,895	5,315	3,538
Working Oxen	?	?	1,597	1,186	1,296	718
Other Cattle	?	?	9,541	?	7,888	4,604
Swine	38,883	50,056	46,710	23,468	34,666	18,453
Sheep	11,574	13,787	10,738	6,758	7,069	2,951
Major Crops						
Corn						
Acres	?	?	?	?	53,172	47,722
Yield (bushels)	535,274	681,390	725,843	379,363	612,869	423,969
Cotton						
Acres	?	?	?	?	59,916	56,959
Yield (bales)	c1,700	2,059	6,112	7,015	30,115	19,395
Tobacco						
Acres	?	?	?	?	230	1,378
Yield (lbs.)	54,247	14,820	314,754	93,874	94,354	479,585
Sweet Potatoes						
Acres	?	?	?	?	1,797	2,014
Yield (bushels)	?	?	230,575	99,976	155,260	162,190
Wheat						
Acres	?	?	?	?	14,783	12,088
Yield (bushels)	38,379	54,126	79,293	60,596	72,341	66,267
Oats						
Acres	?	?	?	?	13,948	14,213
Yield (bushels)	79,011	?	48,391	80,804	98,962	101,140

[1]Figures derived from total farmland divided by number of farmowners.
[2]Horses, mules, and asses were counted together in 1840 and 1850--4,366 in 1840 and 4,776 in 1850.

PROPERTY TYPES

Property Type 1: Farm Complexes
- A. Farm Complexes: Colonial Period to 1865
- B. Farm Complexes Between the Civil War and World War I (1865-1918)
- C. Post World War I Farm Complexes (1919-1941)

Property Type 2: Outbuildings
Property Type 3: Houses
- A. Houses Built from the Colonial Period to the Civil War Era (ca. 1770 to 1865)
- B. Houses Built Between the Civil War and World War I (1865-ca. 1918)
- C. Twentieth-Century Popular House Types (ca. 1910-1941)

Property Type 4: Institutional Buildings
- A. Churches
- B. Schools
- C. Lodges
- D. Wake Forest College Campus

Property Type 5: Commercial and Transportation-Related Buildings and Structures
Property Type 6: Industrial Buildings and Structures
Property Type 7: Recreational Buildings and Sites
Notes

National Register and National Register Study List properties are listed after the description of each property type. An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

PROPERTY TYPE 1: FARM COMPLEXES

Introductory Note to Farm Complex Property Type:

In the past, the major unit of study during county-wide architectural and historic inventories was the dwelling. For the most part, the oldest and most architecturally significant properties were recorded during these surveys, with less attention paid to the more recent, smaller, and unremarkable, but very common house types of the everyday people. Using the farm complex as a property type in itself is a very general way of classifying the properties found with greatest frequency on the Wake County landscape. Wake County is filled mostly with modest dwellings, surrounded by dependencies that, together with the house, often reveal more about Wake County's history than could any house by itself. While many houses were recorded individually

during the survey, the number and nature of outbuildings and support features often dictated which of the myriad small- and medium-scale properties that were recorded in detail. In this way, more attention could be paid to the properties of the everyday people who made up the greatest portion of the county's population and collectively had the greatest impact on the county's character.

The documentation of farm complexes is much more than the survey of a group of buildings, their dimensions, materials, and dates of construction. It implies a study of relationships and uses--how the parts contributed to the whole.

Dividing complexes into several time periods (from the late eighteenth century until 1941) and making distinctions about farm size and scale is at times somewhat artificial, but these are necessary steps in understanding what properties are actually found in the county. There are some problems with this process, which need to be identified before any generalizations are made. First of all, not all properties fit into compartments of time or size. These places have changed over time and might well fall into several time periods and types of farming operations or might somehow be unique. The purpose of the property type is to show meaningful similarities found among many properties and both similarities and differences across time, not to create categories into which all resources must fit perfectly. Second, these types are basically present-day divisions which may or may not have been accurate at the time a particular property came into being. These resources are not static time capsules, but entities that evolved over time. As the fortunes, prospects, and practices of farmowners changed, so did the appearance and make-up of their farms. For instance, a complex associated with a small, antebellum subsistence farm may have developed into a large post-bellum tobacco farm complex. Or, the house that was once at the center of a large farm complex might now be a part of a much smaller farming operation due to the division of property. Third, some of these properties might be representative of several different farm categories. A tenant farm complex might be considered a small farm on its own, but might also be a part of a larger farm unit. Finally, what is considered "small," "medium," and "large" from period to period varies due to changes in population, average acreage in farms, acreage under cultivation, and the types of crops grown.

Identifying a farm complex as a tenant complex can be difficult because many of these properties have changed status a number of times in their histories. Smaller farms originally operated by their owners often became parts of larger farms and were then occupied by tenants, while larger farms were frequently divided and acquired by

other farm owners. Although tenant complexes can sometimes be recognized as such by their locations and types of dwellings, these things do vary from property to property and no sweeping generalizations can be made.

Some confusion may also arise concerning the differences between the size of the farm and the size of the farmyard complex. During the course of the survey, generally only the size of the complex was documented, with educated guesses made concerning the size and prosperity of the farm based on the numbers and physical characteristics of the buildings in the complex and any oral history provided by residents. In many cases, however, the size of the farm operation and the size of the farm complex do not correspond. Small farming operations might have had large complexes of domestic and agricultural outbuildings at one site, while large farming operations might have relatively small domestic assemblages with the agricultural compounds far removed from the seat of the farm, thus making the complexes appear deceivingly small in scale. For example, the modest-sized domestic complex of Walnut Hill (WA 273 to WA 277), one of the largest farms in the county around the turn of the century, is nearly a mile from the majority of the farm's outbuildings.

Description

A farm complex is made up of a number of components, some of which are consistent from farm to farm, and some of which vary, depending on the size and nature of the farming operation. There is most often a dwelling at the center of the complex, which might be called the "main house" if there are other dwellings on the property, such as tenant houses or the residences of other family members. The collection of dependencies is the next component of the complex. These may be domestic outbuildings, agricultural buildings, or, as is most often the case, a combination of both. Domestic outbuildings include those structures directly associated with running a household, which means those activities related mostly to meeting family needs, such as the preparation, storage, and consumption of food and the maintenance of personal hygiene. The most commonly found domestic outbuildings across all periods include detached kitchens, smokehouses, wells and wellhouses, storage buildings, and privies. This core of domestic buildings can generally be considered as standard on the majority of farms from the mid-eighteenth century to 1945, although by the end of this period, kitchens were often attached to the main dwelling rather than free-standing. Other domestic outbuildings that are found frequently on farms but often vary from property to property include, but are not limited to, the dairy, ice house, root cellar, wood shed, wash house, granary, potato house, chicken house, and, in the twentieth century, the

power plant where electricity was generated.

Agricultural buildings include those buildings that are directly associated with the production of crops or livestock, such as corncribs, hay barns, mule and livestock barns, cotton gin houses, tobacco barns, packhouses, tobacco strip rooms, milking barns, and silos. It should be noted that there may be some overlap between domestic outbuildings and agricultural outbuildings. There are no strict divisions, as buildings often serve multiple functions or change purposes over time, depending upon the needs of the farm family. For example, tobacco packhouses, which store cured tobacco before it is sent to market, are often used as storage barns after the growing season is over.

The various buildings that comprise farm complexes of all sizes and from all periods are usually ordered in some way, centered around the main dwelling. Houses commonly face a main road. In general, the more substantial the house, the farther it is likely to be set back from the road. This is true for all periods, although prominent early to mid-nineteenth-century homes were usually farther from the road than their later counterparts. Domestic outbuildings and agricultural buildings are sometimes found in two or more clusters on the property, possibly separated by roads or fields, but just as often forming one large compound usually with outbuildings grouped by function. Most domestic outbuildings surround the house on the sides and rear, set up in straight rows behind the dwelling or forming a rectangle around a back yard. Only rarely are they found in seemingly unordered clusters. Outbuildings are occasionally placed in front yards, and these are usually the professional offices of doctors or lawyers, such as those found on the Robert Blake Farm (WA 274) in southeastern Wake County, the Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (WA 1832) near Rolesville and the Dr. Chappell property (WA 1501) in Forestville. Post-Civil War tenant complexes standing in close proximity to the main agricultural compound usually include a small dwelling and group of domestic outbuildings. Tenant complexes far removed from the center of the farm might include a modest or, less often, an extensive complement of domestic and agricultural buildings and are sometimes indistinguishable from the complexes of small, owner-operated farms.

In addition to houses and outbuildings, landscape features contribute to the agricultural complex. Elements in various combinations that are important parts of farm complexes in Wake County consist of the land that comprises the farm, including cultivated fields, pastures, and woodlands; agricultural features, such as ponds, farm roads, and fences; domestic agricultural elements, like vegetable gardens, orchards,

grape arbors, and vineyards; landscaping, such as yard plantings and formal gardens; and cemeteries. These elements can have many locations, but certain arrangements are especially prevalent. Front yards are generally shaded with hardwood trees, most often oak or pecan trees, although other varieties are also found. Pine and cedar trees are common as well. Many properties have at least one magnolia tree, and crape myrtles, dogwoods, and other flowering trees and bushes decorate many yards. Boxwood hedges were planted in the front yards of the most prosperous nineteenth-century properties, such as Walnut Hill (WA 277) and Oak Forest (WA 1488), but do not appear to have been very common in the twentieth century.

Gardens, grape arbors, vineyards, and orchards are usually located near the domestic compound. The location of cultivated fields, pastures, woodlands, and ponds varies from farm to farm, depending on where the farm's acreage lies. It should be noted that field patterns and reforestation shifted from one generation of farmers to another, depending on such factors as total acreage and amount of land under cultivation, changes in crops, changes in farming technology, and soil depletion. The history of these shifts and descriptions of how they manifested themselves on individual properties is outside the scope of this study.

In many areas of Wake County throughout all time periods, the farm complexes of several members of the same family adjoin each other. These relationships are not always identifiable without deed or oral history research. Sometimes these properties are contemporary with one another, such as the three House family farms near Knightdale, all of which have turn-of-the-century dwellings and early twentieth-century tobacco farm outbuildings (WA 1976, WA 1978, WA 1979). In other cases, these resources represent two or more generations of the same family, such as the farms of Richard and Montezuma Pearce, father and son, who farmed the same land near Rolesville from the late nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century (WA 1798, WA 1799).

A. Farm Complexes: Colonial Period to 1865

Any discussion about the complexes of small antebellum farms is mainly speculation, because there are no extant examples. Yet these small farmsteads were likely the rule rather than the exception in antebellum Wake County. During his travels through parts of Wake County in 1853, Frederick Law Olmsted noted that "I do not think I passed, in ten miles, more than half a dozen homesteads and of these but one was at all above the character of a hut or cabin".[1] The houses at the center of most

farms were indeed probably very small "huts or cabins," one- or two-room dwellings primarily of log construction, surrounded by log kitchens, smokehouses, corncribs, and barns.

The majority of the properties that survive from this period are dwellings that stand alone or with only a few of their early outbuildings. These are discussed in detail in the property type called "Houses." The complexes of several antebellum plantations and prosperous farming operations remain in the eastern part of the county. Large antebellum farm complexes generally included the most stylish of the county's dwellings, with Georgian, Federal, or Greek Revival characteristics, depending upon the date of construction (see "Houses"). These complexes included outbuildings common on smaller farms, such as kitchens, smokehouses, and barns, as well as dairies, wash houses and slave dwellings. The largest among them were small communities unto themselves, with their own cotton gin houses, gristmills, blacksmith shops, stores, and sometimes schools and churches, all of which probably served neighboring farms as well. Walnut Hill (WA 273-WA 277), the Mial family plantation in southeastern Wake County, possessed a substantial cotton gin house and blacksmith shop, both of which are still standing. Both the Bennett Bunn Farm (WA 190-WA 191) in eastern Wake County near Zebulon and the Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (WA 1832) near Rolesville included gristmills.

The Bennett Bunn Farm (WA 190-WA 191) is an excellent example of the large antebellum farm complex. The remarkably intact complex retains, in addition to the mill site, a late eighteenth-century log house that was later used as a kitchen, two log barns, a smokehouse, corncrib, dairy, and animal shelter, all dating to the 1830s and 1840s, and two cemeteries; there are also other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings. The house at the center of the complex is an intact two-story, Federal-style house built in 1833. Bennett Bunn's father, Benjamin, had accumulated over 3,100 acres by 1814, which was divided among his wife and children at his death in 1819. Although it is unknown exactly how many acres of land Bennett inherited from his father, he received "land between Beaver Dam Branch and the road" plus two slaves. In the mid-nineteenth century, about 300 acres of the farm was cultivated in corn and wheat. The highest number of slaves working on the farm was sixteen, about half of whom were children.[2]

The Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (WA 1832) commands an impressive rural setting. In addition to its two-story, antebellum farmhouse, the collection of early farm buildings comprises a kitchen, wellhouse, and what appears to have been a smokehouse.

The mid-nineteenth-century office of Dr. Wesley Hartsfield still stands next to the curving drive leading to the house. While serving as a community doctor, Wesley Hartsfield also operated the plantation established by his father, Andrew Hartsfield, which by 1860 included 2,200 acres, 40 slaves, and a gristmill worth a total of $17,000. Now owned by the State Parks Department, the stone dam of the mill is intact to the northeast of the main farm complex (WA 1807).

Among the other intact pre-Civil War farm complexes documented during the survey are the Hood-Anderson Farm (WA 2021) near Eagle Rock, which boasts the county's only known, surviving antebellum store building and a rare slave or early tenant house; the George W. Scarborough Farm (WA 1958), also near Eagle Rock, which has a rare dairy among other early outbuildings; the Wall Plantation Outbuildings (WA 1666), outside of Wake Forest, which includes an outstanding mid-nineteenth-century wellhouse, smokehouse, dairy, and small dwelling house; and Aspen Grove (WA 1951), west of Wendell, which has two large, mortise-and-tenon-framed barns. Midway Plantation (WA 32) and Beaver Dam (WA 201), both Hinton family plantations which have impressive pre-Civil War dwellings and domestic outbuildings, are listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

National Register and Study List Properties

An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Aspen Grove (WA 1951). SR 2326, Wendell vic. (SL)
Beaver Dam (WA 201). SR 2049, Knightdale vic. (NR)*
Bennett Bunn Plantation (WA 190 & WA 191). Zebulon vic. (NR)*
Crenshaw Hall (WA 1446). SR 1967, Wake Forest vic. (SL)*
Green-Hartsfield House (WA 1298). SR 2308, Rolesville vic. (NR)*
Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (WA 1832). SR 2224, Rolesville vic. (SL)*
Hood-Anderson Farm (WA 2021). SR 2366, Eagle Rock vic. (SL)*
Midway Plantation (WA 32). U. S. 64, Raleigh vic. (NR)*
Perry Farm (WA 1941). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)*
Dempsey Powellhouse (WA 1489). SR 2052, Forestville, vic. (SL)*
George W. Scarborough Farm (WA 1958). U. S. 64 Bus. (SL)
Wall Plantation Outbuildings (WA 1666). SR 1932, Wake Forest vic. (SL)*
Wakefields (WA 47). SR 1929, Wake Forest vic. (NR)*
Walnut Hill Complex (WA 271-WA 277). SR 2509, Shotwell vic. (SL)*

B. Farm Complexes Between the Civil War and World War I (1865-1918)

The majority of the surveyed farm complexes in Wake County date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when farms gradually became smaller and more numerous, the popularity and profitability of tobacco cultivation increased, and farm tenancy became more prevalent.

The modest-sized farms of this period apparently did not differ much from their earlier counterparts, although the situation depended on the crops grown. The main dwelling may have changed to reflect the style of the time, but domestic compounds were much the same as those dating from before the Civil War. Kitchens, smokehouses, dairies, wash houses, wells, privies, and storage buildings were still needed, as were basic agricultural buildings, such as corncribs and storage and animal barns. The most noticeable change was that as time passed these buildings were more often of frame, rather than log, construction. The Ben Smith Farm (WA 606) near Apex is probably a typical example of a small-to-middling early-twentieth-century cotton farm complex. The Smith house is a pyramidal cottage with Victorian ornamentation. Surviving outbuildings include the smokehouse, detached kitchen, well, storage barn, and small power plant which provided electricity for the farm in the early twentieth century.

The largest of the farms were quite similar to those dating from the antebellum years, although gradual changes took place in the location of housing for farm workers. Slave houses, which were generally grouped together in close proximity to the main complex, were probably used as tenant houses on most farms immediately following the Civil War. However, as former slaves sought independence, new tenant dwellings were constructed farther away from the center of the farm and each other. Despite different locations, early tenant dwellings probably resembled their earlier slave house counterparts: one- or two-room, log or frame structures, perhaps surrounded by a few log domestic outbuildings. The two-room frame dwelling with central stone chimney across the road from the Hood-Anderson House (WA 2021) appears to date to the mid-nineteenth century and may have been a slave dwelling, early tenant dwelling, or both. Walnut Hill (WA 271-WA 277) made the transition from plantation to large post-bellum farm without greatly changing its character. Alonzo T. Mial had as many as 27 laborers on his farm, most of whom lived in housing he provided.

Although there are some impressive exceptions, most farm dwellings built during this period are traditional in plan. They display simple late Greek Revival, Victorian, or early Colonial Revival details, with popular Craftsman-style houses coming into vogue

at the end of the period. One- and two-story "triple-A"-roofed houses appear to have been the most popular with Wake County farmers, although dwellings with side-gable, pyramidal, T-shaped, L-shaped, and gable-front roofs were also frequently built. (See the property type "Houses.")

The Cannady-Brogden Farm (WA 1363) in the Sandy Plain community of northwestern Wake County is an excellent example of a tobacco farm complex. In addition to a full complement of domestic outbuildings, the farmstead includes several log and frame tobacco curing barns, a packhouse, a strip room, and one tenant dwelling. With the help of one tenant family who lived on the property and another hired worker, the Cannadys cultivated about ten acres of tobacco on their 122-acre farm. The stylishly decorated, two-story, Victorian farmhouse reflects the prosperity of the farm.

Other notably intact or particularly representative farm complexes from this period include the J. M. Williams Farm (WA 992), Bartley Yates Farm (WA 988), H. T. Lawrence Farm (WA 1047), and John Seagroves Farm (WA 676), all in western Wake County; the Strickland-Dunn-Broughton (WA 1842), Charles H. Horton (WA 1929), and Edwards (WA 1790) Farms near Rolesville; the Joseph Calvin Ogburn Farm (WA 1159) in southern Wake; the Mitchell Farm (WA 1868) north of Zebulon, and the W. E. Mattox Farm (WA 1996) southwest of Wendell.

National Register and Study List Properties

An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Adams Farm (WA 512). NC 55, Holly Springs vic. (SL)
Allen Farm (WA 1376). SR 1901, Sandy Plain. (SL)
Baucom-Stallings Farm (WA 287). SR 2542, Garner vic. (SL)
Cannady-Brogden Farm (WA 1363). SR 1901, Sandy Plain. (SL)*
George Washington Duke Complex (WA 1855). SR 2310, Hopkins Crossroads vic. (SL)
B. N. Ferrell House and Store (WA 1214). SR 1006, Williams Crossroads vic. (SL)
Henry R. Goodson Farm (WA 279). SR 2509, Garner vic. (SL)
Smith-Hamilton Farm (WA 337). SR 2708, Garner vic. (SL)*
Hickory View Farm (WA 288). SR 2553, Auburn vic. (SL)*
Hicks-Wilson Farm (WA 1388). SR 1900, Sandy Plain vic. (SL)*
Honeycutt-Bailey Farm (WA 1305). SR 2006, Six Forks vic. (SL)
Horton-Upchurch Farm (WA 764). SR 1621, Cary vic. (SL)*
Charles H. Horton Farm (WA 1929). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)

Jeffreys-Ellington Farm (WA 1791). U. S. 401, Rolesville vic. (SL)*
John Johns Farm (WA 331). SR 2547, Garner vic. (SL)
Jones-Johnson-Ballentine Historic District (WA 723). SR 1300, Fuquay-Varina vic. (NR)*
Alpheus Jones Farm (WA 24). U. S. 401, Raleigh vic. (NR)*
Keith Farm (WA 1374). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)
Henry H. and Bettie S. Knight Farm (WA 220). U. S. 64, Knightdale vic. (NR)
H. T. Lawrence Farm (WA 1047). SR 1160, Apex vic. (SL)
Montague-Jones Farm (WA 1926). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)*
Bill O'Briant Farm (WA 1368). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)*
Oak View (WA 1502). SR 1007, Raleigh vic. (NR)*
Pearce Farm (WA 1798 & WA 1799). SR 2055, Rolesville vic. (SL)
Walter A. Perry Complex (WA 1835). SR 2308, Rolesville vic. (SL)
Ray Complex (WA 1337). SR 1831, Falls Lake vic. (SL)
Sandling Complex (WA 1369). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)
John H. Seagroves Farm (WA 676). SR 1010, Apex vic. (SL)*
Jeff Stephens Farm (WA 613). NC 55, Holly Springs vic. (SL)
Strickland-Dunn-Broughton Farm (WA 1842). SR 2308, Rolesville vic. (SL)
William Turner Farm (WA 1178). SR 2736, Willow Springs vic. (SL)
George Upchurch Farm (WA 772). SR 3011, Apex vic. (SL)
Merriman Upchurch Farm (WA 773). SR 3011, Apex vic. (SL)
Walnut Hill Complex (WA 271-WA 277). SR 2509, Shotwell vic. (SL)*
J. M. Williams Farm (WA 992). SR 1605, Green Level vic. (SL)*
Bartley Yates Farm (WA 988). SR 1600, Green Level vic. (SL)

C. Post-World War I Farm Complexes (1919-1945)

Many of the small to medium-sized tobacco farms from the 1920s through the 1940s are distinguishable from their predecessors only in the types of dwellings in which their owners and tenants lived, and perhaps in the materials they chose for construction of outbuildings. Modern and popular, Craftsman- and Colonial Revival-style houses rivaled traditional house types during this period, and traditional houses were often remodeled with new porches, windows, and other details to reflect the current styles. Gable-front tenant houses, sometimes with simple Craftsman details, were built just as often as the plainly finished, side-gable-roofed houses which so frequently served as tenant dwellings in the decades of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Tobacco-curing barns were most often of frame construction, although log barns were still being built as late as the 1940s and terra cotta tile and concrete block became somewhat popular during the 1930s. In 1935, Charles Y. Williams replaced two log tobacco barns destroyed by fire with concrete block barns, modeled after barns he had seen in the Goldsboro area of eastern North Carolina (WA 1985). There are several examples of the distinctive red, terra cotta tile curing barns on the Allie Lawrence Farm (WA 1097) near New Hill.

Domestic complexes began to change during this period. Kitchens were being built as part of the newer homes, and formerly detached kitchens were often attached to older houses. Indoor electricity, made possible by the Federal Government's Rural Electrification Administration (established in 1935) and indoor plumbing started to eliminate the need for power plants and privies toward the end of the period, although outhouses remain in use on some properties even today.

The largest of the dairy and poultry farms have special outbuildings. Dairy farms have milking barns, milk storage facilities, silos for storing feed, sheds or barns that can store large amounts of hay, and fenced pasture land. When growing cotton became unprofitable in the 1920s, Julian Rufus Nipper of Barton's Creek Township started his dairy operation with one or two cows, which he milked in an old horse barn. By 1930 his business had grown so much that he invested in a large, frame milking barn that could hold 42 cows (see WA 1324). In addition to the 1930 milking barn, the Nipper Farm has two 1930s silos, a 1950s milking barn, and a large shed for hay storage built during the 1940s and 1950s. The Bailey Farm, which is still in operation and is one of Pine State's oldest producers, retains a 1930s milking barn identical to that on the Nipper farm, plus several hay sheds and barns, feed silos, and four early twentieth-century tenant houses.

There do not appear to have been many large-scale poultry farming operations in Wake County until the middle of the twentieth century, although poultry was a staple on most farms throughout all time periods and was produced commercially on many farms in the early twentieth century. The Frank Bryan Farm (WA 335) retains several low, open, shed-roofed poultry houses that probably date to the 1930s. There are a number of the much larger, gable-roofed poultry houses with attached grain bins in the New Light area of northwestern Wake County, such as those on the J. S. Bailey Farm (WA 1396) and the Pelic Dillard Farm (WA 1407), most of which were built in the 1950s and later.

Oak View Farm (WA 1502), just east of Raleigh on Poole Road, contains farm

buildings and features which span from the early nineteenth century to around 1940. Oak View was a fairly prosperous cotton farm from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1920s. The farm was operated from the 1850s until the late nineteenth century by original owner Benton S. D. Williams and his descendants, followed by the managers and wage laborers employed by the members of the Wyatt family, who owned the property in the late nineteenth century through the 1930s. Beginning in the 1910s, owner Will Wyatt and manager James A. Jones began to diversify the farm's operations by adding beef and dairy cattle, an extensive pecan orchard, garden vegetables, and poultry. Much of the produce was then taken to Raleigh City Market for sale. Among the buildings and farm features still intact on the property are a mid-nineteenth-century I-house with Greek Revival details that was enlarged and remodeled in the Colonial Revival style in 1940-1941; a full-dovetail plank detached kitchen which dates to the first half of the nineteenth century; three turn-of-the-century barns, one of which served as a cotton gin house; a frame gazebo; and much of the pecan grove.

National Register and Study List Properties

This sub-type represents the youngest of Wake County's historic farms. Only a few exceptional examples have been added to the National Register or Study List. There are likely other examples of this sub-type that will prove eligible for the Study List after further evaluation. An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Bailey Dairy Farm (WA 1324). SR 1834, Bayleaf vic. (SL)
Jones-Johnson-Ballentine Historic District (WA 723). SR 1300, Fuquay-Varina vic. (NR)*
Allie Lawrence Farm (WA 1097). SR 1011, New Hill vic. (SL)
Oak View (WA 1502). SR 1007, Raleigh vic. (NR)*

Significance

The importance of agriculture in Wake County's history and the changes that took place in local agriculture over time are reflected best in the many farms still found on the landscape. Wake was never a county of wealthy planters, but one of small scale and middling farmers who made their livings from the land. Their dwellings were functional and relatively simple, surrounded by numerous outbuildings and other farm features essential to the operation of the farm and the household. Thus, even where the farm dwellings themselves are not architecturally outstanding, they with their

outbuildings compose farmsteads that represent an agricultural lifestyle now undergoing tremendous change.

Registration Requirements

With farm complexes, the whole is greater than any of the individual parts. Thus, integrity derives mostly from the existence of the many components that make up farm complexes: dwellings, domestic and agricultural outbuildings, landscape features, plantings, and other farm features. Individual buildings within the complex might be altered to some degree without compromising the integrity of the whole, for which setting, form, and overall configuration of the farm's components are the most important aspects. Modifications, such as the addition of wood or metal coverings to the exteriors of some farm buildings or the relocation of buildings from one site to another on a working farm, should not adversely affect the integrity of the farm complex, as long as the general design and most of the original buildings and materials survive. These changes should be noted in the nomination, because they often reveal important information about the evolution of a farm property over time.

The specifications for the integrity of dwellings that are a part of farm complexes are not as stringent as for individual houses. If the exterior of a house has been remodeled but retains its original overall form, fenestration, and identifying details, it will be considered a contributing element. Replacement siding in and of itself, in most cases, does not destroy integrity. Integrity of the interior is desirable, but not essential. In rare cases, such as with collections of very early outbuildings which are quite rare as ensembles, the integrity or even the presence of a dwelling is not required for eligibility. A dwelling without architectural integrity would be considered a non-contributing element of such a complex.

PROPERTY TYPE 2: OUTBUILDINGS

Description

Below are brief descriptions of outbuildings commonly found on Wake County farms. Most of these are found grouped together as part of farm complexes. It should be noted that, with a few exceptions, the vast majority of these outbuildings are simply square or rectangular log or frame structures with gable roofs, sometimes indistinguishable from one another in appearance unless identified by someone familiar

with the property. Most general farm buildings in Wake County were constructed without the aid of plans, although some may have been influenced by plans and specifications published in agricultural magazines, such as the Progressive Farmer, and publications put out by the State Department of Agriculture beginning in the late nineteenth century. In the early years of the twentieth century, farmers engaging in specialized farming, such as tobacco, dairy, poultry, or livestock operations, apparently began to use published farm building plans more often, taking advantage of advanced agricultural technology or the results of research conducted on the State's Experimental Farms (see WA 2054, WA 2055, and WA 2246).

There is a strong tradition of re-use. For instance, small dwellings were often converted to kitchens, tenant houses, or storage barns. Tobacco packhouses and curing barns often serve as feed barns and vice versa. Virtually all kinds of outbuildings function as general storage structures when they were no longer needed for their original purposes.

Kitchens

Until the twentieth century, kitchens were generally detached from the main dwelling or connected only by an open breezeway, mainly for fire prevention and keeping the main dwelling as cool as possible. The earliest kitchens were usually located to the rear or side of the main house and were often one-room, side-gable-roofed frame or log structures with a large exterior-end chimney and occasionally an upper-story room that served as a servant's quarters, such as that in the James Estes House (WA 1406) in northern Wake County. One of the earliest freestanding kitchens in the county is located behind the Georgian-style John Perry House (WA 1943) near Riley Hill. The building features a massive, exterior-end stone chimney and a few original molded weatherboards, which were nailed in place with rosehead nails.

Although many kitchens doubled as dining rooms, there were also two-room kitchen and dining structures, the two rooms generally separated by an interior chimney. In the twentieth century, detached and semi-detached kitchens were often attached to the main dwelling. Breezeways were sometimes filled in to form rear ells, such as that on the Allen house (WA 1376) in northwestern Wake County, although in some cases the whole kitchen was picked up and connected to the rear or side of the house, as was the case with the kitchen of the Joseph Britt House (WA 1200) in southern Wake County.

Smokehouses and Meathouses

Smokehouses and meathouses for curing and storing meat were common outbuildings on most farms and were generally in close proximity to the kitchen. Surviving smokehouses are typically tightly-constructed, rectangular log or frame buildings, the oldest of which have overhanging front gables. A few smokehouses have chimneys, although most do not. Intact examples of pre-Civil War smokehouses are found at Oak Forest (WA 1488), Beaver Dam (WA 201), and Midway (WA 32) plantations and on the George W. Scarborough Farm (WA 1958) and the William Turner Farm (WA 1178).

Dairies

Although probably common on the oldest and more prosperous farms, very few dairies have been identified as such during the course of the survey. They are a rare and noteworthy survival of an important building type. The John William Adams House (WA 1158) in southern Wake County and the George W. Scarborough Farm (WA 1958) in eastern Wake near Eagle Rock both have small, rectangular, shed-roofed dairies elevated off the ground and insulated with sawdust. The Bennett Bunn Farm (WA 191) has an 1840s side-gable-roofed dairy with two doors and weatherboard siding, although this structure is not elevated off the ground.

Wells, Wellhouses, and Water Towers

Wake County residents got their water primarily from wells dug on their property. There were no cisterns or spring houses identified during the survey. Wells were usually located in close proximity to the house. Many wells have open gable or pyramidal-roofed shelters. Others, such as the one on the Rowland Farm (WA 2068), have enclosed structures. The well and wash house were combined on the Montague-Jones Farm (WA 1926). The building resembles an early twentieth-century store with its canopy, which extends over the former site of the well. Occasionally wells were attached to the house by the back porch, as was the case with the E. W. Hilliard House (WA 1014) near Green Level.

Some farms had water storage towers beginning in the early twentieth century, although only a few of these survive. The tower on the Oak View Farm (WA 1502) was built prior to 1940 and consists of a steel frame with wooden platform and a steel water tank which replaced an original wooden tank. The John William Blalock Farm (WA 1192) also boasts a steel-framed water tower with wooden tank, although it is badly

deteriorated. Most unusual among the extant water towers is the early twentieth century example on the Atkinson-Whitted property (WA 565) near Fuquay-Varina. The tapered, pyramidal-roofed building stands three levels tall and is covered with wood shingles.

Corncribs

The corncrib was a necessary element on nearly all farms for storing corn both for family use and for animal consumption. These buildings were always well-ventilated, with spaces left between the logs or frame sheathing. Many of the oldest surviving cribs are of log or plank construction, such as that on the William Turner Farm (WA 1178) in southern Wake County, one of the few extant full-dovetail notched buildings in the county. Oak Forest (WA 1488), near Forestville, has an unusually large two-story crib with a mortise-and-tenon frame thought to have been built before the Civil War. Later corncribs are generally of frame construction with slatted walls, some of which were adjacent to or attached to livestock barns or other structures.

Hay and Livestock Barns

Many farms have large frame barns used for the storage of animals and hay. These are generally two- to three-story, rectangular gable- or gambrel-roofed structures, most often with entrances on the gable ends, stalls on the first level, and a large open room on an upper level for hay. Sheds were often constructed on the sides of these structures for the storage of additional animals or perhaps for farm equipment. Built in the late nineteenth century, the gable-roofed barn near the Walnut Hill house site (WA 271) is a good example of this kind of a combined hay and livestock barn. The impressive, gambrel-roofed barn on the George Bryan Farm (WA 336) near Garner was built in 1918 to house both animals and farm equipment. The main entrances to this structure are found at the center of the two long walls, rather than on the more typical short ends. The unusually large three-story, gable-roofed barn on the Dennis Jones Farm (WA 1924) near Rolesville is said to have been built in the late nineteenth century.

Although the earliest farms had barns, very few barns built before the Civil War survive. Two rare examples of antebellum barns are found at Aspen Grove (WA 1951), near Wendell. One has a large open first-floor room with a second-story loft. The other has a central passage running from gable end to gable end on the first level, flanked by four stalls on each side. This building also has an upper level loft. Both

buildings have hewn and pit sawn structural members and mortise-and-tenon frames.

Cotton Gin Houses

Many farms and local communities were served by cotton gin houses from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1920s. Those that still survive are generally two to three stories tall with a gable-front orientation. The two antebellum gin houses documented in the county, the Walnut Hill Cotton Gin (WA 199) and the Carpenter-Debnam-Moss Farm Cotton Gin House (WA 2103), are both elevated on tall stone piers. Although gin houses are outbuildings, they are also industrial structures and are discussed in greater detail in the property type, "Industrial Buildings."

Tobacco Curing Barns, Packhouses, and Strip Rooms

Bright leaf tobacco cultivation became popular in Wake County beginning in the late nineteenth century and required a specialized set of farm outbuildings. The earliest tobacco curing barns were of tightly-fitted log construction, and this log building tradition continued among some farmers well into the twentieth century. Log barns were considered especially good for retaining the heat needed for the curing process. Sometimes the logs were covered with weatherboard or vertical board siding for better insulation. Beginning in the twentieth century, however, frame barns became increasingly popular, the walls of which were covered with vertical planks or board and batten coverings and occasionally weatherboard siding. In recent decades, many of these have been covered with tar paper or metal which aided in heat retention. In the 1920s and 1930s some farmers even built terra cotta tile or concrete block barns, which held heat even better than the wooden structures.

Surviving traditional tobacco curing barns are generally sixteen, twenty, or twenty-four feet square and have dirt floors. The interior spaces are divided by layers and rows of log poles. The horizontal spaces between poles, generally about four feet, are known as rooms, while the vertical spaces are called tiers. Most barns were about four rooms wide and four or five tiers tall. Sticks of tobacco were hung on the poles during the curing process. Tobacco barns generally have at least one wide door and space for one or two furnaces near their bases once fueled by wood, oil, or gas, which generated the heat for curing, and were topped by vents or flues. Furnaces have generally been removed from tobacco barns that still stand on the landscape.[3]

Many older tobacco barns have open sheds attached to one or more ends or some-

times running between two or more barns. These sheds were sometimes called "looping" sheds, where workers could tie ("loop") tobacco onto sticks before hanging them in the barns. Farmers who used wood to cure their tobacco might also sleep under the sheds in order to be able to check on the fires periodically during the night.

After the crop was cured, it was usually stored in the packhouse, usually a two story, gable-front frame structure with doors on both levels, until it was time to take it to market. Before going to market, the dried tobacco was taken to the strip or grading room where the leaves would be divided into grades of quality and tied together into bundles. These rooms, which were free-standing structures or attached to the packhouse, generally had an earthen ordering pit that was filled with water, where the recently cured tobacco could hang and moisten before it was handled. When these buildings were not in use for tobacco, they usually stood empty or were used for storage.

The vast majority of the traditional curing barns have been replaced by metal bulk barns in the last few decades. Although tobacco barns are still plentiful on the Wake County rural landscape, they are deteriorating and being torn down rapidly. Many farm properties still have a few frame or log tobacco outbuildings which are now primarily used for storage. Those found on the Joseph Calvin Ogburn Farm (WA 1159) near Willow Springs in southern Wake County and the Horton-Upchurch Farm (WA 764) in western Wake County are just two examples of farms with intact tobacco outbuildings. The Allie Lawrence Farm (WA 1097) near New Hill boasts several terra cotta tile curing barns. Two ca. 1935 examples of concrete block curing barns are found on the C. Y. Williams Farm (WA 1985) just east of Knightdale.

Dairy Farm Outbuildings

The development of a large-scale dairy market in North Carolina in the 1920s, combined with the decrease in cotton farming due to the boll weevil infestation and a growing urban population's demand for fresh dairy products, led to an increase in the number of dairy farms in Wake County from the 1920s to the 1940s. Large-scale dairy farms required special milking barns, milk storage tanks, silos and bins for storing feed and silage for the cows, and hay barns and sheds for the same reason. Milking barns from this period were generally rectangular gable- or gambrel-roofed structures, one or two stories tall, the standardized plans for which probably came from the Agricultural Extension Service or publications for farmers. The earliest were frame, although later barns were generally built of concrete block. Beginning in the 1920s or 1930s, dairy

barns were required to have concrete floors, for hygiene and cleaning purposes. The one-story, gable-front, frame barns on the Nipper and Bailey Dairy Farms (WA 1323 and WA 1324) in north central Wake County were built in the 1930s and each could hold about 42 cows. In the 1950s, a gambrel-roofed, concrete block and frame milking barn was added to the Bailey Farm. The dairy barn at Wakefield Farm (WA 1448), near Wake Forest, is much larger and more elaborate than those on the Nipper and Bailey Farms, with a gambrel roof, doors and windows with decorative "X"s, a hood over the front entrance, and two attached, dome-capped, tile silos to the rear. In addition to milking barns and a ca. 1890 creamery building, the Ballentine Dairy Farm near Fuquay-Varina (WA 571) retains several frame barns, five ca. 1936 metal silos as well as a square, concrete block processing and bottling facility built in 1952. The Ballentine complex is similar to those illustrated in Radford's Combined House and Barn Plan Book, published in 1908, which supplied plans to dairy farmers emphasizing cleanliness, ventilation, and location near a source of water.

Other Outbuildings

Among the other outbuildings found on Wake County farms are wash houses, potato houses, ice houses, power plants, chicken houses, privies, professional offices, storage buildings, and fertilizer, equipment, and wood sheds. Various combinations of these buildings and all of those described in earlier paragraphs were found on almost every Wake County farm.

National Register and Study List Properties

An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Walnut Hill Complex (WA 271-WA 277). SR 2509, Shotwell vic. (SL)*
Walnut Hill Cotton Gin (WA 199). SR 2509, Shotwell vic. (NR)*
Wall Plantation Outbuildings (WA 1666). SR 1932, Wake Forest vic. (SL)*

Significance

Outbuildings are important reminders of Wake County's agricultural heritage and development over time. In clusters and together with farm dwellings they reveal a great deal about the daily life of rural Wake County residents. Some of the earliest outbuildings are architecturally significant as well, representing traditional construction techniques and craftsmanship.

Registration Requirements

With few exceptions, individual outbuildings are generally not eligible for the National Register. As a part of a farm complex, (with or without a dwelling), a group of related outbuildings might be eligible as contributing resources in a complex if it is intact and the individual members retain basic integrity of structure and form. Surviving examples of certain distinctive and and very scarce building types such as pre-Civil War barns or cotton gin houses are eligible individually if they remain substantially intact.

PROPERTY TYPE 3: HOUSES

Introductory Notes to House Property Type

Certain obvious trends have greatly affected most extant historic houses on the Wake County landscape. First, most late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century residents started with small, one- or two-room houses, adding rooms or replacing these early dwellings as prospects and/or families grew. Generally not expected to be permanent homes, the smallest and oldest houses were often torn down when they were no longer needed, or were built around, added to, or reused as kitchens or other outbuildings. Second, traditional houses were updated periodically to reflect the current style and to provide for modern conveniences. Many houses show the progression of styles with additions, new porches and windows, and trim. In the late nineteenth century, many Greek Revival porticoes were replaced with full-facade or wrap-around porches decorated with sawn and turned ornament. Many of these were replaced, in turn, with Craftsman- or Colonial Revival-style porches in the twentieth century. In the same way, houses were remodeled over time--mainly in the twentieth century--to provide for modern amenities, such as the attachment of formerly free-standing kitchens to the main block of the house, the addition of indoor plumbing, indoor bathrooms, and electricity, and even the replacement of siding and windows.

This property type has been divided into three subtypes demarcated by time periods: houses built from the late eighteenth century to 1865; those constructed between the Civil War and World War I (1865-1918); and twentieth-century popular house types (circa 1910-1941). The elements of style, form, plan, and method of construction are not equally emphasized in each subtype. Rather, one or another of these elements takes precedence in each, but not one dominates in all of the types.

Although these subtypes speak mostly of the houses of farm owners and rural and small town businessmen, references to the homes of slaves and tenant farmers are scattered throughout. In many cases, tenant dwellings are recognizable as such by their appearances and locations in relation to other farm buildings. Many small, functional houses were built specifically for housing the people who worked on farms. It should be noted, however, that "tenant house" refers mostly to the use of a building rather than its physical characteristics. Ownership and status of farms changed often, as did the uses of buildings located on these properties. Even a substantial plantation house might have served as a tenant dwelling at some point in its history.

Description

A. Houses Built from the Colonial Period to the Civil War era (ca. 1770-1865)

Surviving pre-Civil War houses in Wake County were for the most part the homes of the county's most prosperous citizens and are likely not representative of the residences of most of Wake's early population. Dwellings of nearly all citizens were traditional in plan and construction and generally conservative in ornamentation, when it was present at all.

Once abundant in the county, small log houses are now rare. Most of these dwellings were square or rectangular with side-gable roofs and exterior end chimneys made either of stone rubble or of mud and sticks. It is unknown what type of corner notching was most common in the county because the logs are not exposed on most of the few examples that still stand, but in other nearby counties, both half-dovetail and V-notched log buildings are most numerous. Half-dovetail notches were revealed when the weatherboards were removed from the Williams House [WA 2225] near Cary, a one-room log dwelling probably built in the 1830s or 1840s. Like the Williams House, most log houses were covered with weatherboard siding originally or early in their history. Said to have been built as early as the 1790s, the log house on the Bennett Bunn Plantation [WA 191] is perhaps the oldest log dwelling in the county; the quality of its finish indicates that it was the home of a family of some means. Covered with beaded weatherboards, the house had one main room and two rear shed rooms, with an upper sleeping chamber. The shed porch is flush-sheathed on the front facade and enclosed at one end. A stone chimney served the wide fireplace.

A variation of log construction was plank construction, in which the logs were cut down to form narrow, square-edged planks of wood several inches thick. When

joined with half-dovetail or full-dovetail notching, planks provided for a tightly constructed building. Two plank houses probably built in the first quarter of the nineteenth century--the Frank Aiken House [WA 1373] in northwestern Wake and the Nash-Weathers House [WA 1029] in southwestern Wake County--display the same basic one-room form as the early Bunn House; both have weatherboard siding, stone chimneys, rear shed rooms, and deep, partially enclosed engaged porches. Intact sections of early wall shingles on the Nash-Weathers House also suggest that settlers weatherproofed their homes in a variety of ways. The plank kitchen at Oak View [WA 1502], the farm of Benton S. D. Williams located just east of Raleigh, has full-dovetail corners and portions of beaded weatherboard siding. Before being used as a kitchen it may have served as a dwelling or perhaps a very secure storage building.

Although very few houses believed to have been slave quarters or the homes of free blacks still stand, these dwellings probably differed little from the homes of white subsistence farmers. A historian of free blacks in North Carolina described their houses as "flimsy log huts, travesties in every respect of the rude dwellings of the earliest white settlers."[4] Local tradition holds that a two-room frame house on one eastern Wake County farm served as a slave dwelling. In scale and construction, this house has much in common with tenant dwellings and the homes of small farm owners that proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century. Its plan, with two rooms flanking a central stone chimney, each room with a front door, seems to have been an arrangement favored by planters as a convenient form for slave quarters.

A few small but carefully finished frame houses demonstrate that in the eighteenth century even some of the county's wealthiest residents started with relatively modest dwellings. Both Joseph Lane, a justice of the peace, and Aaron Rogers, a planter and ferry operator, had one-room houses built in the 1770s that were expanded and remodeled in the early nineteenth century. Both of these dwellings had large hearths, enclosed corner stairs leading to attic bedrooms, and gable roofs which extend over front porches. However, unlike the plainly finished log dwellings that survive, these two houses display neatly executed Georgian- and Federal-style carpentry. These, like larger frame houses of the period, had frames of hewn or sawn timbers that were mortised, tenoned, and joined together with wooden pegs, then covered with weatherboards. Heavy mortise-and-tenon frame construction prevailed in the county until after the Civil War, when lighter balloon framing became popular.

A slightly more spacious house form, the two-room hall-parlor plan was also prevalent among substantial farmers in this era. The entrance was usually into the hall,

and from the hall an enclosed or boxed stair rose to sleeping chambers above. Hall-parlor-plan houses were built one, one and a half, and two stories tall. In a variant of this plan, some early houses, such as the one-story-with-attic John A. Jones House [WA 527], near Fuquay-Varina, had two rooms of near equal size, each room accessible through its own front entrance and served by its own chimney and fireplace.

Often, residents expanded their small, traditional houses by adding rear shed rooms or other extensions to the side or rear. There were many variations according to personal needs and preferences. Henry B. Wilson, a yeoman farmer in the New Light district of northwestern Wake County, built for his growing family an unusual four-room log house [WA 1359], which had two front shed rooms and a large back room downstairs with an upper room directly above it. Wilson's granddaughter says that the parents and the boys slept downstairs in the front rooms and the girls slept in the upstairs room, which was arranged so that they could slip out to the kitchen in early morning to prepare breakfast without waking the others.[5]

Although one-story houses were the norm, two-story dwellings became increasingly numerous in the nineteenth century. A few prominent early residents, such as William Hinton at Beaverdam and Josiah Battle near Wake Forest, built houses in the I-house form--two stories tall, one room deep, and two or more rooms wide; this form proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century and dominated Wake County architecture until the early twentieth century. The basic form remained stable; only the proportions were modified with changing architectural fashions. Two-room-deep (double pile) houses one and two stories tall were occasionally built in the nineteenth century, but such large houses remained rare until the early twentieth century. Relatively few pre-Civil War houses have more formal plans with central passages between the main rooms.

Masonry houses were extremely rare in pre-Civil War Wake County. The South Brick House (WA 1503) in Wake Forest, a Flemish bond brick house in the Greek Revival style originally associated with Wake Forest College, is the more intact of only two surviving pre-Civil War brick houses outside of Raleigh in Wake County. Although heavily altered and covered with stucco, the one-and-a-half-story house (WA 2245) near Umstead Park is also a Flemish bond brick structure that was apparently constructed in the late eighteenth century.

Side-gable-roofed dwellings, one-and-a-half stories tall with engaged front porches and rear sheds are often referred to as "coastal plain cottages" because of their proliferation in eastern North Carolina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both

log and frame coastal cottages in Wake County, such as the Frank Aiken House (WA 1373) in Sandy Plain, the Nash-Weathers House (WA 1029) in southwest Wake, and the Lane-Bennett House (WA 4) originally located near Cary, have one-room or hall-parlor plans and a single exterior end chimney. These houses generally have a small enclosed interior stairway leading to an upper loft, although two unusual examples, the Hunter-Prince House (WA 686) near Apex and the Franklin House (WA 1293) in the Macedonia vicinity have upper stories accessible only from the front porch.

Although traditional in plan and construction and often simple in finish, the houses of the more prosperous citizens of the county reflect with some of their details the architectural styles popular at the time. In rural Wake County there are no houses that could be considered examples of high-style architecture surviving, and only a few dwellings display any ambitious architectural treatment at all. Most elements of style were manifested in carpentry and proportions.

Dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the earliest stylish houses are conservative examples of the Georgian and Federal styles. Georgian and Federal-style houses in the county tend to be tall and narrow and often have beaded or molded weatherboard siding, Flemish-bond brick chimneys, relatively small nine-over-nine, nine-over-six sash windows, or six-over-nine, and six-panel interior and exterior doors. Interiors are sometimes marked with paneled wainscoting and mantelpieces. The mantels of the more ornate houses occasionally have fluted or dentil moldings.

Both the Battle-Purnell House (WA 1664) and the John Perry House (WA 1943), were built in the first decade of the nineteenth century and retain a remarkable amount of original Georgian fabric, including double-shouldered chimneys, six-panel interior and exterior doors, and robust mantelpieces similar to those found in prominent houses built frequently in nearby Franklin County during the period. The Powell House (WA 40), located on U. S. 1 near Wake Forest, is an unusually large, early Federal style dwelling, five bays wide, two rooms deep with a center hall plan. The interior features large-scale and exceptional woodwork.[7] Other notably intact Georgian, transitional Georgian-Federal, and Federal houses in Wake County include Beaver Dam (WA 201), the seat of the Hinton family plantation; the Bennett Bunn House (WA 190) in the Zebulon vicinity; the Fleming-Rogers House (WA 1769) in Rolesville; the Green-Hartsfield House (WA 1298) in eastern Wake County; the Calvin Jones House (WA 1529) in Wake Forest; the Nancy Jones House (WA 187) outside of Cary; the Lane-Bennett House (WA 4), west of Raleigh; the James Mangum House (WA 30) in northwest Wake; the Perry House (WA

1941) in Riley Hill; the Dempsey Powell House (WA 1489) near Forestville; the Rogers-Whitaker-Haywood House (WA 181) south of Rolesville; and the Stephenson House (WA 1271) near Fuquay-Varina. All of these properties are listed in the National Register or have been placed on the National Register Study List. With the exception of the Nancy Jones House, the Lane-Bennett House, and the Stephenson House, which are located in western or southern Wake County, all of these early dwellings are found in the northern and eastern sections of the county where the largest and most prosperous pre-Civil War plantations and farms were located.

The Greek Revival style became popular in the 1830s and remained so until the 1870s. Characteristics of the Greek Revival, as listed below, are often found in conjunction with Federal elements in houses dating from this time, such as Wakefields (WA 47) near Wake Forest. Greek Revival-style houses tend to have broader proportions than their earlier counterparts. Most have a low-pitched side-gable or hip roof and feature broad simple elements, such as doors with long vertical panels, corner-blocked window and door surrounds (often plain, but sometimes fluted, mitered, or with bullseye corner blocks), wide cornices and classically inspired cornerboard pilasters and porches, and six-over-six sash windows that are generally larger than those on earlier houses. Mantelpieces in Greek Revival houses usually have pilasters, a wide frieze, and a shelf with details that may be simple or elaborate. Many have Several Greek Revival dwellings are believed to have been influenced by the example of the Mordecai House, a plantation house now embraced by Raleigh's city limits and designed by architect William Nichols in 1826. These include Wakefields (WA 47), the Alpheus Jones House (WA 24) north of Raleigh, the Benton S. D. Williams house at Oak View (WA 1502) and the John William Adams House (WA 1158) near Willow Springs which all have two-tiered, pedimented porches at their central bays, supported at each level by large chamfered posts or classical columns. Others, such as Midway Plantation (WA 32) east of Raleigh, have single-story porches.

The Montague-Jones House (WA 1926), Purefoy-Dunn Plantation (WA 221), and the Sion Rogers House (WA 1716) are other particularly well-preserved examples of Greek Revival-style architecture in Wake County. More modest, one-story, mid-nineteenth-century houses with some simple Greek Revival finish are the Edward C. Fowler House (WA 1843) and the Stell-Perry House (WA 1843), both near Rolesville, and the John A. Jones House (WA 527) outside of Fuquay-Varina. The Stell-Perry House has rare board-and-batten exterior walls and the stone block chimneys so common on historic eastern Wake County farmhouses.

There are no rural examples of antebellum Italianate cottages and villas and only one very simple example of rural Gothic Revival-style architecture known to date before the Civil War. Built in 1858, the Jeffreys-Ellington House (WA 1791) near Rolesville displays a mix of simple Gothic Revival and Greek Revival stylistic details with its steeply pitched front gable, fluted door surrounds and cornerboard pilasters, and six-over-six sash windows with molded surrounds and cornerblocks.

National Register and Study List Properties

An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

John William Adams House (WA 1158). NC 42, Mt. Pleasant vic. (SL)
Frank Aiken House (WA 1373). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)
Aspen Grove (WA 1951). SR 2326, Wendell vic. (SL)*
Battle-Purnell House (WA 1664). S. Main St., Wake Forest. (SL)
Beaver Dam (WA 201). SR 2049, Knightdale vic. (NR)*
Bennett Bunn Plantation (WA 190 & WA 191). SR 2320, Zebulon vic. (NR)*
Chappell House (WA 1501). U. S. 1-A, Forestville. (SL)
Crenshaw Hall (WA 1446). SR 1967, Wake Forest vic. (SL)*
Thomas R. Debnam House (WA 1960). U. S. 64, Knightdale vic. (SL)
Edenwood (WA 1258). SR 1006, Williams Crossroads vic. (SL)
James Estes House (WA 1406). SR 1911, New Light vic. (SL)
Fleming-Rogers House (WA 1769). 110 S. Main St., Rolesville (SL)
E. C. Fowler House (WA 1843). SR 2318, Rolesville vic. (SL)
Green-Hartsfield House (WA 1298). SR 2308, Rolesville vic. (NR)*
Hartsfield-Price-Perry House (WA 1832). SR 2224, Rolesville vic. (SL)*
Hood-Anderson House (WA 2021). SR 2366, Eagle Rock vic. (SL)*
Horton-Upchurch House (WA 764). SR 1621, Cary vic. (SL)*
Jeffreys-Ellington House (WA 1791). U. S. 401, Rolesville vic. (SR)*
Jewell-Middleton House (WA 345). SR 2729, Garner vic. (SL)
Alpheus Jones House (WA 24). U. S. 401, Raleigh vic. (NR)
Calvin Jones House (WA 1529). S. Main St., Wake Forest (SL)
Nancy Jones House (WA 187). NC 54, Cary vic. (NR)
Lane-Bennett House (WA 4). Ebenezer Church Rd, Raleigh vic. (NR)
Leslie-Alford-Mims House (WA 629). Church St, Holly Springs. (SL)
James Mangum House (WA 30). SR 1906, Creedmoor vic. (NR)
Midway Plantation (WA 32). U. S. 64, Raleigh vic. (NR)*
Montague-Jones House (WA 1926). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)*

Nash-Weathers House (WA 1029). SR 1118, Duncan vic. (SL)
Oak Forest (WA 1488). Seawell Rd, Forestville vic. (SL)
Perry Farm (WA 1941). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)*
John Perry House (WA 1943). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)
Powell House (WA 40). U. S. 1, Forestville/Wake Forest vic. (NR)
Dempsey Powell House (WA 1489). SR 2052, Forestville vic. (SL)*
Purefoy-Dunn Plantation (WA 221). U.S. 1, Forestville/Wake Forest vic. (NR)
Rogers-Whitaker-Haywood House (WA 181). U. S. 401, Wake Crossroads vic. (NR)
Sion Rogers House (WA 1716). U. S. 401, Raleigh vic. (SL)
South Brick House (WA 1503). E. South Ave., Wake Forest (SL)
Colonel L. D. Stephenson House (WA 1271). U. S. 401, McCullers Crossroads vic. (SL)
William Thompson House (WA 1447). SR 2000, Wake Forest vic. (SL)
Wakefields (WA 47). SR 1929, Wake Forest vic. (NR)*

A few additional examples of Pre-Civil War houses were placed on the Study List as parts of farm complexes.

B. Houses Built Between the Civil War and World War I (1865-ca. 1918)

Like their predecessors, the vast majority of houses built after the Civil War through the first decades of the twentieth century are traditional in form and plainly finished, but generally display more popular ornamentation than their antebellum counterparts. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, ornate millwork used to decorate porches and fancify mantelpieces was made less expensive and more accessible due to advancements in wood milling technology and the railroads that traversed the state beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

Log structures were still being constructed throughout this period, probably greatly resembling earlier dwellings. These were generally the homes of the small-scale farmers and tenants and were usually added to as fortunes and families increased. The Farrar House (WA 1051) in western Wake County is a rare, relatively unaltered log and frame dwelling from this period. The one-room log house with V-notching to the rear of the current main block was built first in the late nineteenth century. The one-and-a-half-story frame front portion was added circa 1911. Frame houses began to greatly outnumber log dwellings in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the lighter and cheaper balloon framing generally replaced the mortise-and-tenon framing system. Frame houses usually were sided with plain weatherboards, although the vertical board-and-batten coverings were also used.

One-room and hall-parlor plan houses, both frame and log, were still being constructed throughout Wake County, although the center hall plan became increasingly popular throughout the late nineteenth century and eventually surpassed the earlier plans. The majority of the houses surveyed from this period, both one and two stories, are one-room deep and have center-hall plans, although one- and two-story double-pile houses with center halls became more common in the early twentieth century.

In the rural communities of New Light, Purnell, Stony Hill, and Sandy Plain in northern Wake County are found distinctive late nineteeth-century vernacular houses that are "a story and a jump" tall with side-gable roofs and small single-sash upper-story windows on the front facade. Most of these houses are plainly finished with exterior end chimneys generally made of stone or a combination of stone and brick and appear to have center-hall plans, although some, such as the Robertson House (WA 1330), have central chimneys and two-room plans. This area of Wake County is often called the "Harricanes" by local residents, so named for violent storms that reportedly moved through there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Greek Revival style continued in popularity into the 1870s featuring details such as low-pitched side-gable or hip roofs, six-over-six sash windows, gable returns, and two- and four-panel doors. The John Strain House (WA 1736), built in the mid-nineteenth century south of Raleigh, and the G. H. Baucom House (WA 767), constructed circa 1878 near Apex, are very simple examples of late Greek Revival-style architecture.

The railroads traversing the county made building materials and decorative trim more accessible to citizens. Although the use of trim such as turned or sawn porch ornament, eave brackets, and bargeboards did not become widespread until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a few residents in small towns and rural areas adorned their symmetrical, essentially late Greek Revival homes with such materials in the 1870s. The ornamentation is often more intricate than that found on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century houses, with cut out balusters and spandrels topping turned or chamfered posts and occasionally lacy arches spanning the areas between porch posts. The majority of these noteworthy 1870s houses are located in close proximity to the North Carolina Railroad (now the Southern Railroad), which enters northwestern Wake and passes through the communities of Morrisville, Cary, Raleigh, Garner, and Auburn before leaving the southeastern section of the county. The Pugh House (WA 712), Page-Hamilton House (WA 699), and Williamson Page House (WA 708) in Morrisville and the William Watts House (WA 308), the Poole House at Hickory

View Farm (WA 288), and the William R. Poole House (WA 350) near Auburn and Garner have very similar, elaborate porch trim.

Only a few post-Civil War Italianate-style houses remain in Wake County, all built in the 1870s. A rare brick house, the two-story, T-shaped Rufus Ivey House (WA 1718) north of Raleigh, features arched windows and tall brick chimneys. The Avera-Winston House (WA 1952) near Wendell, also two-story and T-shaped, is ornamented with "M-shaped" trusses in all of the gables, hooded windows and doors, and a double-leaf paneled front door surrounded by sidelights and transom with tracery-like muntin patterns. The house is topped by two interior brick chimneys with corbelled caps and patterned brickwork designs. The one-story J. R. Nowell House (WA 2160) in Wendell is much smaller than the other two houses described above, but features distinctive Italianate window and door surrounds and a notable sawnwork porch.

The Ivey-Ellington House (WA 892) in Cary is the only true Gothic Revival cottage in Wake County. Probably built in the early 1870s, the dwelling is marked with a steeply-pitched front gable, board-and-batten exterior walls, scalloped bargeboards, and pointed arched windows.

One- and two-story Queen Anne-style houses, complete with irregular massing, towers and turrets, and sometimes elaborate porch ornamentation, began appearing frequently in Wake County towns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A few good examples of the Queen Anne style in the county's municipalities are the L. J. Sears House (WA 867) in Apex, the Captain Harrison P. Guess House (WA 906) in Cary, and the Brewer-Arthur House (WA 1521) in Wake Forest. Notable, but rare examples of Queen Anne architecture in rural areas include the K. B. Johnson House (WA 567) in Fuquay-Varina, the J. M. Williams House (WA 992) near Green Level, and the Hicks-Wilson House (WA 1388) and the Charles Ray House (WA 1338), both in northwestern Wake County.

Despite this appearance of the Queen Anne style, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Wake County citizens in rural areas and in towns continued to favor houses with traditional forms and plans, which they embellished with popular trim, such as sawn and turned porch ornament, decorative gable vents, cornice brackets, and fancy patterned gable shingles. Wrap-around porches and bay windows were built on many houses as well. Although single-pile, gable-roofed houses were the most popular, one- and two-story T-plan and L-plan houses, such as the Z. B. Britt House (WA 342) near Garner, the Marshall Partin House (WA 1131) near Willow Springs, and the W. H.

Chamblee House (WA 2072) outside of Zebulon, were built as well.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the side-gable roofs on traditional houses began to take on a new appearance with the addition of a gable at the central bay of the front facade. Although the Gothic Revival was never extremely popular as a house style in this area, it may have been the inspiration for this extra gable. The resulting roofs and sometimes the houses on which they were found were nicknamed "triple-A's" by Thelbert Pearce during the Franklin County survey in the mid-1970s and the name is often used by local architectural historians.[8] Generally these roofs are found on single pile houses, one to two stories tall with center hall plans, although they are also found at times on two-room plan houses with interior chimneys, as well as on double pile cottages in conjunction with a hip roof. Judging from the large number of them on the landscape, one- and two-story triple-A-roofed dwellings were the most popular houses among Wake County's residents around the turn of the century. They are found both in rural areas and in towns and range from very simple to quite decorative in terms of ornamentation. The John Seagroves House (WA 676) near Apex and the W. E. Mattox House (WA 1996) east of Wendell are particularly good examples of the one-story, triple-A-roofed house with their simple Victorian porch and gable trim. The Cannady-Brogden House (WA 1363) and the Bill O'Briant House (WA 1368) in Sandy Plain and the Frank Smith House (WA 1155), Turner Smith House (WA 1153), Penny House (WA 1283), and Turner House (WA 1178) in southern Wake County are all archetypal examples of the triple-A I-house.

Although traditional house types adorned with Victorian trim and Queen Anne style houses remained the most popular dwellings through at least the first decade of the twentieth century, early Colonial Revival-style houses, ranging from modest to imposing, were also being built. Usually the Colonial Revival appeared in hip- or pyramidal-roofed foursquare houses with symmetrical facades, dormer windows, trabeated entrances, and Doric-columned full-facade or wrap-around porches. The Rhodes House (WA 1215) near Williams Crossroads and the Herman Green House (WA 1277) south of Raleigh are representatives of the simple, Colonial Revival-influenced dwellings found in the county. Occasionally, however, more ambitious dwellings were designed and constructed with colossal columned porticoes and abundant classical detail, such as the Dr. Nathan Blalock House (WA 1172) near Willow Springs and the James Beale Johnson House (WA 566) outside of Fuquay-Varina, both of which were built in the early twentieth century.

One-story, double-pile houses with tall hip or pyramidal roofs and interior

chimneys were also popular in the early twentieth century. Referred to as "pyramidal cottages" during the Wake County survey, these homes often have Victorian, Craftsman, or Colonial Revival features, or some combination of these. Like the triple-A-roofed houses discussed above, pyramidal cottages range from plain to ornate and are found throughout the county in rural areas as well as towns. Built circa 1915, the Allie Lawrence House (WA 1097) outside of New Hill is a particularly large pyramidal cottage which has a wrap-around porch with square posts and sawn brackets, front and side gables, and corbelled brick chimneys. The hip-roofed dormer with small, rectangular Palladian-inspired windows (two small windows flanking one taller window) and trabeated entrance on the James Sugg House (WA 591) give it a Colonial Revival flavor, while the James H. Horton House (WA 1929), which also sports a hip-roofed dormer, looks more like a bungalow with its wrap-around porch supported by tapered square posts on brick piers. A number of distinctive examples of the pyramidal cottage are found in the Royall Cotton Mill Village (WA 1633-WA 1641) in Wake Forest. The pyramidal-roofed mill-worker cottages each housed two families. The fireplaces in each unit were served by a single chimney which rises from the peak of the roof.

Dwellings that were built specifically to house farm tenants during this period are generally one-story, side-gable-roofed structures with rear sheds or ells and exterior end or interior chimneys. Most tenant houses in Wake County date from this period. The J. R. Fowler Farm (WA 1840) has a number of tenant houses in a variety of forms including side-gable, triple-A, and gable-front examples.

National Register and Study List Properties

This sub-type represents the majority of the properties recorded during the Wake County survey. This list of National Register and Study List properties includes houses of exceptional architectural significance and some particularly intact representative examples of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century vernacular houses found most often on the Wake County landscape. There are likely other examples of these common house types that will prove eligible for the Study List after further evaluation. A few other examples of these house types have been placed on the Study List in potential National Register districts and as part of farm complexes. An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Adams House (WA 612). NC 55, Holly Springs vic. (SL)*
John C. Adcock House (WA 547). SR 1101, Fuquay-Varina vic. (SL)

Atkinson-Whitted House (WA 565). SR 1407, Fuquay-Varina vic. (SL)
Avera-Winston House (WA 1952). SR 2324, Wendell vic. (SL)
G. H. Baucom House (WA 767). SR 1615, Cary vic. (SL)
Baucom-Stallings House (WA 287). SR 2542, Auburn vic. (SL)*
Dr. G. M. Bell House (WA 2110). Proctor St., Wakefield (SL)
Dr. Nathan Blalock House (WA 1172). SR 2736, Willow Springs vic. (SL)
Cannady-Brogden House (WA 1363). SR 1901, Sandy Plain. (SL)*
Herman Green House (WA 1277). SR 1371, Raleigh vic. (SL)
Harrison P. Guess House (WA 906). South Academy St., Cary (SL)
Hickory View Farm (WA 288). SR 2553, Auburn vic. (SL)*
Hicks-Wilson House (WA 1388). SR 1900, Sandy Plain vic. (SL)*
Samuel Bartley Holleman House (WA 1026). Holly Springs vic. (SL)
Holt House (WA 779). SR 1613, Apex vic. (SL)
Honeycutt-Bailey House (WA 1305). SR 2006, Six Forks vic. (SL)*
Charles H. Horton House (WA 1929). SR 2320, Riley Hill vic. (SL)*
Horton-Kimball House (WA 2114). SR 1001, Wakefield. (SL)
House (WA 340). NC 50, Garner vic. (SL)
House (WA 2121). SR 1001, Wakefield. (SL)
Starkey Hoyle House (WA 2117). Pearces Rd., Wakefield. (SL)
Rufus J. Ivey House (WA 1718). U. S. 401, Raleigh vic. (SL)
Ivey-Ellington House (WA 892). W. Chatham St., Cary. (SL)
John Johns House (WA 331). SR 2547, Garner vic. (SL)*
James Beale Johnson House (WA 566). SR 1404, Fuquay-Varina vic. (SL)
K. B. Johnson House (WA 567). SR 1404, Fuquay-Varina vic. (SL)
Jones-Johnson House (WA 570). SR 1301, Fuquay-Varina vic. (NR)*
John Kemp House (WA 2113). Pearces Rd., Wakefield. (SL)
C. J. Lassiter House (WA 1302). SR 1830, Raleigh vic. (SL)
Allie Lawrence House (WA 1097). SR 1011, New Hill vic. (SL)*
H. T. Lawrence House (WA 1047). SR 1160, Apex vic. (SL)*
J. R. Nowell House, (WA 2160). Buffalo St., Wendell. (SL)
Oaky Grove, (WA 267). SR 2506, Shotwell vic. (SL)
Bill O'Briant House (WA 1368). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)*
Williamson Page House (WA 708). Page St., Morrisville. (SL)
Page-Hamilton House (WA 699). Church St., Morrisville. (SL)
Marshall Partin House (WA 1131). SR 2754, Willow Springs vic. (SL)
Jesse Penny House (WA 1283). SR 1378, Raleigh vic. (SL)
Wayland Poole House (WA 315). SR 2555, Auburn. (SL)
William R. Poole House (WA 350). SR 2542, Garner vic. (SL)

Pugh House (WA 712). NC 54, Morrisville. (SL)
Charles Ray House (WA 1338). SR 1831, Falls Lake vic. (SL)
Ray House (WA 1337). SR 1831, Falls Lake vic. (SL)*
John Seagroves House (WA 676). SR 1010, Apex vic. (SL)*
Frank Smith House (WA 1155). SR 2747, Willow Springs vic. (SL)
Turner Smith House (WA 1153). SR 1006, Willow Springs vic. (SL)
Jeff Stephens House (WA 613). NC 55, Holly Springs vic. (SL)*
John Strain House (WA 1736). SR 1375, McCullers X-rds vic. (SL)
Stringfield-Massey House (Wa 2122). Mangum St., Wakefield (SL)
Stringfield-Pippin House (Wa 2116). Pearces Rd., Wakefield (SL)
William Turner House (WA 1178). SR 2736, Willow Springs vic. (SL)*
George Upchurch House (WA 772). SR 3011, Apex vic. (SL)*
Merrimon Upchurch House (WA 773). SR 3011, Apex vic. (SL)*
Watts Store and Residence (WA 314). SR 2559, Auburn (SL)*
J. M. Williams House (WA 992). SR 1605, Green Level vic. (SL)*
Dr. Lawrence Branch Young House (WA 1777). Young St., Rolesville. (SL)

C. Twentieth-Century Popular House Types (ca. 1910-1941)

Houses built in both rural areas and small towns of Wake County in the first half of the twentieth century were similar to those being built in all parts of the country during that period. Craftsman, Colonial Revival, and Tudor-Revival-influenced period cottages were by far the most popular styles of dwellings built by Wake County residents in both rural areas and small towns from the 1910s to the 1940s. Most of these popular house types were taken directly from, or at least inspired by, the numerous pattern books, magazines, and mail order catalogues that published and sold plans and even materials for stylish and modern houses.

Craftsman Houses

Built from the 1910s through the 1930s, Craftsman style houses in Wake County are generally gable-front or side-gable-roofed bungalows marked with wide overhanging eaves, exposed rafter ends, gable brackets, large dormers, and pyramidal porch supports on brick piers. Most of these are of frame construction and are usually modest in size and detail. A few examples are of brick or stone construction, although brick or stone veneers on wood frames are more common. In Wake County, Craftsman house are usually modest bungalows or foursquare houses, two stories tall and two rooms deep

with Craftsman details.

Good examples of typical, plainly finished, Wake County bungalows include the J. E. Howard House (WA 492) in Fuquay-Varina and the Montezuma Pearce House (WA 1799) near Rolesville. Craftsman-style houses in small towns, particularly Wendell and Zebulon, are in general slightly more elaborate than their rural counterparts. The M. C. Todd "Aeroplane Bungalow" in Wendell, is perhaps the exceptional example of Craftsman-style architecture in Wake County, with its oriental-flavored multi-planed roof, broad eaves with exposed rafter ends, and multiple windows. Built ca. 1920 for M. C. Todd, who later became the President of the Bank of Wendell and two-term mayor of the town, the dwelling more closely resembles the types of bungalows built frequently in California than those found elsewhere in Wake County.[9]

Eastern Wake County has several other splendid examples of Craftsman-style houses, including the Charles Marriott House (WA 1940), a frame, hip-roofed example and its near-twin, the B. K. Horton House (WA 2061), both northwest of Zebulon; the Stevens-Ransdell house (WA 462), Henry Brown House (WA 463), and Elliott House (WA 525), all of which are in Fuquay-Varina; the D. J. Robertson House (WA 2046) in Knightdale; and two identical one-story, multi-gabled Flowers family houses in Zebulon (WA 2222, see also WA 2208). The town of Zebulon also features several notable, Craftsman style, foursquare houses of frame construction, including the E. C. Daniel House (WA 2213), the Pittman-Stell House (WA 2216), and the McGuire House (WA 2229), all of which were built ca. 1920.

Although still rare, houses of masonry construction were built with greater frequency in the early twentieth century than in the nineteenth century. A few brick and stone Craftsman foursquare houses are found in Wake County, among them the Dr. G. S. Barbee House (WA 2234) in Zebulon, the R. B. Whitley House (WA 2127) in Wendell, and the Robert Averette, Sr. House (WA 1747) near Rolesville. Several smaller stone bungalows are scattered throughout the south central part of the county and in and around the northeastern Wake town of Rolesville, which is near a major late nineteenth and early twentieth-century rock quarry (WA 1831).

It should be noted that the popularity of the bungalow apparently influenced the proliferation of very simple one-story, gable-front, frame houses throughout the county in the early to mid-twentieth century (see WA 1480). Plainly finished perhaps with Craftsman style porch supports or exposed rafter ends, gable-front houses rivaled side-gable-roofed houses as the most popular form for tenant and small farm dwellings in the

twentieth century.

Period Revival Houses

From the 1920s through the 1940s, Period Revival houses in a variety of styles--most often Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, or Mediteranean styles--were in vogue in Wake County. The best examples of these Period Revival styles are found in the county's towns. More typical in the rural areas are vernacular farmhouses that were updated with modern details in the 1940s and 1950s.

Colonial Revival-style houses built in these decades of the twentieth century were most often of frame construction with white, plain weatherboard or brick veneer exterior walls, displaying details such as symmetrical facades with exterior end chimneys, dormer windows, pedimented window crowns and door surrounds, side wings, and, beginning in the 1930s, Mount Vernon-inspired porches sometimes topped by balustrades. Built in the 1930s, the Dr. Glenn Judd House (WA 474) in Fuquay-Varina is a particularly large example of Wake County's Colonial Revival style houses. This two-story, double-pile, seven-bay house is flanked with one-story side wings and features a full-height "Mount Vernon" porch, three front dormer windows, and an impressive, pedimented and trabeated front entrance. The recently destroyed Buffaloe-Hale House (WA 1268), an expanded and completely remodeled antebellum farmhouse on U. S. 401 South near Raleigh, was similar in size and detail to the Dr. Judd House. Probably built in the 1920s or 1930s, the J. K. Barrow House (WA 2239) in Zebulon is also a notable example of Colonial Revival-style architecture. Two stories tall, with a hip roof and one-story side wings, the Barrow House is marked by a pedimented entrance bay, dentil moldings, and quoins.

Instead of building new houses, many Wake County citizens in both rural areas and small towns updated their existing, traditional homes in the 1940s and 1950s, retaining symmetrical facades and adding Colonial Revival style porches, window and door surrounds, and interior woodwork. The John Q. Adams House (WA 1157) near Willow Springs, the Rogers-Hack House (WA 856) outside of Apex, and the Mitchell House (WA 1868) near Zebulon are typical examples of this kind of remodeling. The Greek Revival I-house at Oak View (WA 1502), east of Raleigh, underwent a relatively sophisticated renovation in 1940-1941 which left much of the Greek Revival fabric intact and involved the replication of some of the original woodwork in a new side

wing.[10]

Although the Tudor Revival did not enjoy the popularity in rural and small town Wake County that it did in such early twentieth-century Raleigh neighborhoods as Hayes-Barton and Cameron Park, there are several scattered but noteworthy examples of the style. The Wake Forest College President's House at (WA 1567) in Wake Forest is definitely the most prominent of the Tudor Revival houses in Wake County. Built in 1928, this large, two-story stone dwelling features a cross-gable roof, multiple casement windows, and a small mansard porch roof over the front door. The Woodrow Johnson House (WA 509) in Fuquay-Varina is a relatively elaborate example of a Tudor-style house, with its patterned brickwork and multi-potted stone chimney. The Fogleman House (WA 1382) in the northwestern section of the county is unusually stylish for rural Wake County with its stone rubble veneer and tall, front stone chimney.

Although popular in Raleigh and other North Carolina cities and towns, few Mediterranean-influenced houses were built in Wake County. Only three were documented during the survey; all are located within potential residential historic districts. Wake Forest boasts two of these houses. One of only a few stone houses in Wake County, the George Bolus House (WA 1583) is marked by Mission style details, such as a red tile roof, parapeted porch roofs, and second story balconies. The house at 555 South Main Street (WA 1588) also has a red tile roof, but has white stucco exterior walls, a symmetrical facade, and a round-arched door surround. The C. V. Whitley House (WA 2238) in Zebulon is the most sophisticated of these Mediterranean-influenced houses. Built in 1928 for the owner of the town's large furniture business, the Whitley House was influenced by the Italian Renaissance style, with its three-part, Palladian-like recessed entrance, Corinthian colonnettes, and arched window surrounds. The house has a light brown brick veneer and a green tile roof and is situated on a slight rise in the middle of a broad, neatly manicured front lawn.

In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s eclectic period cottages, which borrowed a variety of details from the Period Revival styles, were built with great frequency in the Wake County. Most period cottages are Tudor Revival-inspired and Colonial Revival-influenced houses of frame construction with brick or stone veneer exterior walls and are generally distinguished by steeply-pitched, multi-gable roofs, patterned brick or stone chimneys, dormer windows, and round-arched entrances.

National Register and Study List Properties

This sub-type represents the most recently constructed of Wake County's historic architecture. Only a few exceptional examples have been added to the Study List or nominated to the National Register. Numerous other examples of these house types have been placed on the Study List as part of municipal historic districts or as part of farm complexes. There are likely other individual examples of this sub-type that will prove eligible for the Study List after further evaluation. An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Charles Marriott House (WA 1940). SR 2320, Riley Hill. (SL)
Oak View (WA 1502). SR 1007, Raleigh vic. (NR)*

Significance

Houses are significant as reflections of the various types and styles associated with traditional and popular American architecture over time and how the people of Wake County adapted these types and styles to meet their needs and fit their tastes. The oldest dwellings, dating from the late eighteenth century through the Civil War, are rare representatives of early Wake County history, although it is mostly the history of the county's wealthiest citizens. Houses dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represent the full spectrum of the socio-economic scale. The large number of substantial houses built during the period show increased prosperity in rural areas and small towns due to the lucrative commercial farming of cotton and tobacco and the coming of the railroad. At the same time, countless small farm dwellings attest to the rise of farm tenancy throughout the county and the limited opportunities for large numbers of families who could not afford to own land.

Registration Requirements

Unlike the houses at the centers of intact farm complexes, which might have sustained some alteration and still be considered eligible for the National Register as part of a group of resources, individual houses must retain a higher level of integrity in order to be considered eligible under Criterion C, for architectural significance. Due to their rarity, however, houses dating from the late eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century might sustain more alteration, such as the replacement of siding or the modernization of an interior, than their far more numerous later

counterparts and still be considered eligible, as long as the design, general plan, and majority of original materials are substantially intact. Houses significant under Criterion A, for their association with historic events, or under Criterion B, for their association with important historical persons, need not be excellent examples of their types and might have a slightly lower threshhold of integrity, as long as historic character is maintained.

In general, a high degree of integrity is essential to the eligibility of individual houses if the main area of significance is architectural. In the case of early houses, the application of artificial siding should not necessarily preclude eligibility; however, buildings which have been covered with this siding must retain the majority of their original characteristics and the siding itself must have the appearance of the original materials. With few exceptions, houses must be located on their original sites. A dwelling of outstanding architectural or historic merit that has been moved might remain eligible for the National Register if architectural integrity is maintained and the new site is comparable to the original site.

It should be noted that there are a number of houses in Wake County that do not represent a single style or type of architecture, but show a progression of stylistic influences and building techniques, illustrating the ways in which Wake County residents updated their homes over time. In these cases, alterations made at least fifty years ago are considered part of the historic fabric of dwellings if they retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship and have not been obscured by still later alterations.

PROPERTY TYPE 4: INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS

Description

At the heart of rural neighborhoods and small towns were institutions which provided the religious, educational, and social backbone of communities. Churches, schools, and lodges were central to community life and, in fact, were often located in the physical centers of communites.

A. Churches and Cemeteries

During the course of the survey, sixty churches were recorded individually and several others were documented as partS of groups within communities. The cemeteries

of numerous other older Wake County congregations with newer church buildings were recorded as well. Churches with black congregations made up one-fourth of the total number of surveyed churches. Over half of the churches recorded had Baptist congregations, the rest divided among the Christian, Methodist, Catholic, Presbyterian, African Methodist Episcopal, and various other denominations.

Most churches in both rural areas and small towns are simple in plan and ornamentation, although in the twentieth century some congregations in Wake's small towns built larger and more sophisticated buildings in terms of both plan and style. Nearly all churches are of frame construction. A few masonry churches were built in the twentieth century, although brick and stone veneers on frame structures were more common.

The majority of Wake County's historic churches for all denominations are frame, gable-front buildings, one to three bays wide and three to four bays deep. They generally follow the nave plan, with rows of pews separated by two or three aisles facing the pulpit in the gable end opposite the front entrance, although a few early twentieth-century buildings follow the auditorium plan, with a sloped floor and semicircular arrangement of benches. Two Primitive Baptist church buildings dating from the late nineteenth century, Oak Grove Primitive Baptist Church (WA 677) and (former) Middle Creek Primitive Baptist Church (WA 1171), are reminiscent of the meeting house plan with their three entrances: one each at the center of the two long walls and one central entrance on the front gable end. In the meeting house plan, which was predominant in North Carolina in the early nineteenth century, the main entrance to the building was on a long side facing the pulpit located at the center of the opposite long wall. The adjacent gable ends often had secondary entrances as well.

Most of the extant historic church buildings in Wake County date from the late nineteenth century through the first four decades of the twentieth century. Although several congregations were established in Wake County in the late eighteenth century, their first buildings were simple log and frame structures, meant to serve only until the congregations could build a larger and more substantial churches. Wake Union Baptist Church (WA 1429) near Wake Forest is said to contain at its core elements of its original 1792 building, but the church has been completely remodeled several times in the twentieth century.[11] The oldest intact church structures surveyed date from the third quarter of the nineteenth century and include Cedar Grove Primitive Baptist Church (WA 1399) in the New Light Community; Forestville Baptist Church (WA 182); Hollands Methodist Church (WA 1210) in south central Wake County; Hephzibah Baptist

Church (WA 2024) near Wendell; and Oaky Grove Methodist Church (WA 271) south of Knightdale. Cedar Grove Primitive Baptist Church, with its small stature and severe plainness, is probably more representative of the majority of small nineteenth-century country churches which no longer stand than the others on this list, which are much larger and display varying degrees of stylishness.

Built ca. 1860 in the prosperous antebellum village of Forestville, Forestville Baptist Church (WA 182), with its combination of Italianate and Greek Revival architectural details, appears to have been influenced by Jacob Holt, a noted contractor from Warrenton, North Carolina.[12] The building is by far the most ornate of the early churches, featuring a Greek temple form with pedimented facade, bracketed cornice, fluted corner pilasters, and steeple with Gothic arch vents. The interior is marked by simple Greek Revival moldings and a more elaborate paneled pulpit area with original altar furnishings.

Hollands Methodist Church (WA 1210) in south central Wake County was built ca. 1858 by local carpenter Samuel Utley and is marked by a blend of Greek Revival and Gothic Revival characteristics. Although altered in recent years with additions and vinyl siding, the church retains its fluted cornerboard pilasters and window surrounds, pointed arched Gothic windows, pyramidal tower, and double front doors with long vertical panels. The interior has been completely remodeled.

Built ca. 1875, Hephzibah Baptist Church (WA 2024), with its late Greek Revival style details, is the most intact and ornate of the few church buildings still standing that date from the immediate post-Civil War period. The church was restored from near ruinous condition in recent years by the Historical Hephzibah Corporation. The building features a recessed porch supported by four tapered, octagonal columns; two main front doors, each with six molded vertical panels (three long over three short) and six-over-six sash windows. The interior is plainly finished. The ceiling is supported by several plain posts, two of which are original. Two aisles run between three rows of wood benches. Three of the benches are original; the rest are replicas.

Oaky Grove Methodist Church (WA 271) was completed in 1877 on the south-eastern Wake County farm of A. T. Mial, Walnut Hill. The simple but elegant Gothic Revival style church was built for a sum of $600.00 by Raleigh contactor W. S. Walden according to plans provided by a Mr. Moseley. According to the builder's contract, the church was to be 30 feet wide by 50 feet long with the "inside of the church to be finished ready for plastering with pews[,] alter[,] speakers stand of pulpit and gallery &

two flights of steps all to be done in a neat workmanlike manner." The steeple, which was to be designed by Moseley or "according to the Steeple on the Person Street Church of Raleigh," was destroyed by fire in the early twentieth century and replaced by a smaller version (contract for Oaky Grove Methodist Church is quoted in full in Section F, Context 2, p. 42).

Gothic Revival became the style of choice for late nineteenth and early twentieth-century churches and was still popular as late as the mid-twentieth century, when many congregations began building churches with classical details. There are several excellent examples of simple, turn-of-the-century, Gothic Revival-style churches in western Wake County, including Green Level Baptist Church (WA 1005), New Hill Baptist Church (WA 1100), New Hill First Missionary Baptist Church (WA 1110), Collins Grove Baptist Church (WA 1027), and New Bethel Baptist Church (WA 1336). These frame, gable front churches have varying degrees of ornamentation, but most have pointed arched windows, door surrounds, and vents, as well as towers or steeples. Churches with black congregations, such as St. Mary AME Church (WA 843) in Apex and Poplar Springs Christian Church (WA 1263) near Garner, often have two towers of different shapes or sizes flanking the front entrance. Double-towered churches were built for two black baptist congregations in Wake County as late as the 1940s and 1950s [see Good Hope Baptist Church (WA 2053) and Wakefield Baptist Church (WA 2123)].

In the early twentieth century, a few more elaborate L-shaped and cruciform-shaped churches, most with auditorium plans, were built in some of the county's small towns and larger rural communities. These include Mount Moriah Baptist church (WA 296) near Garner, Apex Methodist Church (WA 872), Wake Forest Baptist Church (WA 1560), Holly Springs Methodist church (WA 626), and Holly Springs Baptist Church (WA 646). Most are Gothic Revival in style, although classically-inspired designs were beginning to show up, even among churches with the traditional nave plan. Wake Forest Baptist Church (WA 1560) is the most sophisticated of the early twentieth-century churches built in Wake County. Built in 1911, this dome-roofed, cruciform-shaped brick building was designed by Charlotte architect J. M. McMichael in the Neoclassical Revival style. McMichael, whose trademark appears to have been the placement of domes on top of his churches, designed similar churches in Elizabeth City, Lincolnton, and Forest City.

Churches with Neo-classical Revival or Colonial Revival details became popular in the early to mid-twentieth century. Generally much larger buildings than churches

built earlier in the century, most classically inspired churches have nave plans and sit on tall foundations or have partially raised basements. Prominent front stairways lead to pedimented porches supported by colossal columns, usually of the Doric or Ionic orders. Built in the early 1940s, Binkley Chapel (WA 1561) on the former campus of Wake Forest College, is by far the most imposing of the Neo-classical Revival churches in Wake County. A dominant feature on the campus, the chapel features a pedimented portico supported by double rows of corinthian columns, a tall spire, and arched window and door openings, in addition to noteworthy classical woodwork. More representative of the churches of rural and small town congregations are Holly Springs Baptist Church (WA 646), Zebulon Baptist Church (WA 2214), and the Wendell Methodist Church (WA 2148). Classically-inspired church architecture remains popular today in both rural areas and municipalities.

Many of the gable-front churches, such as Collins Grove Baptist Church (WA 1027) and New Hill Baptist Church (WA 1100), have one or two room side wings to the rear, giving the buildings a T-shape. Although some buildings may have been built with these wings, most of them are later additions which added classroom space or extra seating in the church. In the same way, many churches have constructed large educational wings onto or nearby their church buildings in the last several decades.

Cemeteries are generally located next to or near churches and are integral parts of the histories and settings of church properties. Most church cemeteries contain graves marked primarily with manufactured markers and a few marked with uncarved fieldstones. Burial grounds are generally landscaped with a variety of small trees, such as cedars or crape myrtles. A few are surrounded by iron fences or low stone walls and some have smaller fenced or walled family plots. The burying yards of Piney Grove Baptist Church (WA 541) and Willow Springs Primitive Baptist Church (WA 1150), both near Fuquay-Varina, have been kept clean of vegetation and have a somewhat desert-like appearance with their light colored, sandy soil exposed. Springfield Baptist Church (WA 317) near Garner, which has a black congegation, contains an interesting array of markers and grave decorations, including wood, stone, and concrete head and foot markers and graves surrounded by low walls or fences. Black cemeteries in general have a higher number of unmarked graves or graves marked with fieldstones. Flat concrete vault coverings, some engraved with names or decorated with paint, carvings or etchings, and even marbles, seem to have become popular in the 1940s and probably provided a more attractive and affordable means of marking graves than simply using fieldstones.

There are numerous community and family cemeteries throughout the county, several of which have been included in the survey. The towns of Apex, Cary, Wake Forest, Wendell, and Zebulon have large, formally landscaped cemeteries with impressive markers adorning the graves of their most prominent citizens (WA 842, WA 928, WA 1627, WA 2173, and WA 2243, respectively). The Barnabus Jones Cemetery (WA 679) near Cary contains one of the few remaining frame grave coverings in the county. The open structure has a gable roof covered with wood shingles and is surrounded by a picket fence. The Harrison Cemetery in the Stony Hill Community of northern Wake County contains a number of stones with death dates in the late ninteenth century carved and engraved by a local craftsman.

National Register and Study List Properties

This list includes those individual churches placed in the National Register or on the National Register Study List, as well as those that are parts of potential rural or municipal historic districts (marked with "+"), some of which might be individually eligible for the National Register as well.

Apex Methodist Church (WA 872). S. Hughes St., Apex (SL)+
Collins Grove Baptist Church (WA 1027). SR 1115, Hollemans Crosroads vic. (SL)
Forestville Baptist Church (WA 182). U. S. 1-A, Forestville. (NR)
Green Level Baptist Church (WA 1005). SR 1600, Green Level. (SL)
Hephzibah Baptist Church (WA 2024). U. S. 64 Bus., Wendell vic. (SL)
Hollands Methodist Church (WA 1210). SR 1010, Williams Crossroads vic. (SL)+
Holly Springs Methodist Church (WA 626). Church St., Holly Springs. (SL)+
Juniper Level Baptist Church (WA 1201). SR 2727. Juniper Level. (SL)+
Morrisville Church of Christ (WA 695). SR 1637, Morrisville. (SL)
New Hill Baptist Church (WA 1100). SR 1011, New Hill. (SL)+
New Hill First Missionary Baptist Church (WA 1110). SR 1135, New Hill. (SL)+
Oak Grove Primitive Baptist Church (WA 677). SR 1379, Apex vic. (SL)
Oaky Grove Methodist Church (WA 271). SR 2509, Shotwell. (SL)+
St. Catherine of Siena Catholic Church (WA 1591). S. Main St., Wake Forest. (SL)+
St. Mary AME Church (WA 843). S. Salem St., Apex. (SL)
Wake Forest Baptist Church (WA 1560). South St., Wake Forest. (SL)+
Zebulon Baptist Church (WA 2214). N. Arendell Ave., Zebulon. (SL)+

B. Schools

Of the forty-one historic school buildings documented in Wake County, fifteen were for black children and twenty-six were for white children. Most of these were public schools built during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The school property type is divided into four sub-types: Nineteenth-Century Private Academies and Early Public Schools; Early Twentieth-century Public Schools (Pre-consolidation); Post World War I Consolidated Schools, and Wake Forest College Campus. All of the schools listed in the National Register or placed on the National Register Study List are listed together at the end of the property type.

Nineteenth-Century Private Academies and Early Public Schools

Although the first law creating public schools in North Carolina was passed in 1839, most of Wake County's schools throughout the nineteenth century were private academies, built and supported by plantation or large farm owners or individual communities to educate local children. The earliest school buildings, both public and private, were one or two room frame or log structures which resembled small dwellings. Very few of these early school buildings survive or are recognizable as schools. Of the six extant nineteenth-century structures known or thought to have served as schools originally, two also were masonic lodge buildings. At Walnut Hill in southeastern Wake County, A. T. Mial built a two-room school for his children and those of other members of the Shotwell community in the 1860s (WA 272). One the oldest of these small school buildings still standing, it was nicknamed "Frog Pond Academy" by the school children for the residents of a local pond.[13] The six-bay, gable-roofed building with stone, exterior end chimney stands on its original site, but is now used as a tenant house. Each room has a front door flanked by two six-over-six sash windows. The building retains its original form and fenestration. The board and batten siding was replaced with german siding and a rear ell was constructed in the 1930s.

Anderson family tradition holds that a one-room, side-gable-roofed structure on the Hood-Anderson Farm (WA 2021) near Eagle Rock served as a school. Although badly deteriorated, this mid-nineteenth-century structure retains its exterior end, stone block chimney and original window and door openings.

The other two buildings known to have housed private schools were the masonic lodges in Holly Springs (WA 642) and the Rogers Store community (the Mount Pleasant Lodge--WA 1339). Both buildings are two stories tall and resemble dwellings; the schools utilized the lower stories and the lodges met upstairs. Built in 1853, the Holly Springs lodge has a side-gable roof and central front entrance and is the oldest private

school structure surviving. The Mount Pleasant Lodge, constructed after the Civil War, has an asymmetrical four bay facade and a tall hip roof which once had a front projecting gable.

The community of Sandy Plain built a public school ca. 1885 (see Section F, Context 2, p. 44). The former school building still stands in the community and is the oldest known public school building in the county. The one-story, side-gable-roofed building was moved across the road from its original location for use as a dwelling in the 1920s (WA 1371). Although the main block of the building now has two rooms, it may have been a one room school originally.

Early Twentieth-Century Public Schools (Pre-consolidation)

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the number of public school buildings jumped dramatically. In 1890, the total number of public schools for white and black children combined was 144. By 1905, that number was 173, with seven schools scheduled to be constructed that year. Thirty-eight schools were planned for construction in 1909. Many of these school buildings were built using money, labor, materials, and land donated by members of the community.[14] Early twentieth-century school buildings varied in size and shape. Most were of frame construction and had hip or side-gable roofs. Cardenas School (WA 575) and Plymouth School (WA 1177) in southern Wake County and Antioch School (WA 1834) and Clement's Academy (WA 1795) near Rolesville are relatively large two-room schools. Built around 1907, the Antioch School is remarkably intact, retaining the original, roll-up partitions that divided the building into two classrooms. The T-shaped, cross-hip-roofed Southern Side School (WA 1146) near Fuquay-Varina appears to have three rooms (examination of the interior was not possible). Built in the early twentieth century, the cross-gable-roofed Rolesville Colored School (WA 1751) had two or three classrooms and is a rare early twentieth-century school for black children. (Like many early schools it has been renovated for use as a house.) The early twentieth-century Friendship School (WA 1849) also served black children and features a wide, gable-front roof and two classrooms. Most of these smaller country schools have been remodeled for use as dwellings or are used as storage or farm buildings.

Continuing a familiar pattern, two school buildings constructed during this period also housed Masonic lodges. The Hollands School, near Williams Crossroads, shared a two-story, hip-roofed building with the William T. Bain Masonic Lodge (WA 1211). The Flint Ridge School (WA 1342), a tiny, gable-front frame structure next to Hickory Grove

United Church of Christ, is said to have served as a combined school and lodge for the black community near Leesville.

The most architecturally impressive of Wake County's early twentieth-century educational institutions is Wakelon School (WA 48), located between the Wakefield community and the town of Zebulon. Built in 1908-1909, this three-story, H-shaped brick building is eclectic in design, featuring a central front tower, wide variety of materials, and many Neo-classical details.[15] The building is currently owned by Glaxo Pharmaceutical Company and is used as a training center. The rest of the buildings on the campus have been removed.

Post-World War I Consolidated Schools

Following World War I, there was a statewide movement to consolidate small rural schools into larger, centrally located institutions in order to offer better educational opportunities and facilities to rural students (see Section F, Context 4, p. 87). Larger brick or frame schools, generally rectangular in shape with rear or front wings and simple collegiate Colonial Revival details, were built in all of the larger towns and communities from the late 1910s through the 1930s. Many of these are still in use as school buildings, although several are used for other purposes or are vacant. Mount Auburn school (WA 302) near Garner, former Cary High School (WA 912), 1122), Mount Vernon Goodwin School (WA 946), and Fuquay-Varina Middle School (WA 485) are particularly well-preserved examples of this era of school buildings built for white children.

Many of the public schools for black children constructed during this period were built with the aid of matching grants and plans provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The black schools (now integrated or no longer in use as schools) in Juniper Level (WA 1202), Riley Hill (WA 1936), St. Matthews (WA 1717), Wake Forest (WA 1657), and Zebulon (WA 2241) are all known to have been built with the help of Rosenwald funding and appear to have been constructed according to standardized plans. These six are apparently all that survive of the twenty-one Rosenwald schools built in rural Wake County. The schools were built of either frame or brick construction in a rectangular shape with simple Colonial Revival details and were of various sizes, depending on the needs of the community. All were built with many windows, to take advantage of natural light. Instructions included with the plans showed how to maximize light and ventilation by the placement of the building on the site and the arrangement of the furniture.[16] The Juniper Level School (WA 1202) and the St. Matthews township school

(WA 1717) are both simple frame structures with three classrooms. Although deteriorated, the St. Matthews school retains most of its original nine-over-nine sash windows. Both built in 1925-1926, the long rectangular brick schools in Wake Forest and Zebulon were built according to the same plans and are the largest of the surviving Rosenwald schools in Wake County. The Zebulon School has been remodeled somewhat in recent years and is used as the town's middle school. Currently vacant, the DuBois School (WA 1657) in Wake Forest is intact on the exterior, again retaining its many original windows.

National Register and Study List Properties

This list includes those individual schools placed in the National Register or on the National Register Study List, as well as those that are parts of potential rural or municipal historic districts (marked with "+"), some of which might be individually eligible for the National Register as well.

Antioch School (WA 1834). SR 2224, Rolesville vic. (SL)
Carver Elementary School (WA 2125). SR 2353, Wendell. (SL)
(former) Fuquay Springs Consolidated School (WA 590). Jones St., Fuquay-Varina. (SL)
DuBois School (WA 1657). Franklin St., Wake Forest. (SL)
Fuquay-Varina Middle School (WA 485). S. Ennis St., Fuquay-Varina. (SL)
Frog Pond Academy (WA 272). SR 2509, Shotwell. (SL)+
(former) Garner Consolidated High School (WA 324). SR 1004, Garner. (SL)
(former) Garner High School (WA 390). W. Garner Rd, Garner. (NR)+
House/former School (WA 1643). E. Chestnut St, Royall Cotton Mill Village, Wake Forest (SL)+
(former) Juniper Level School (WA 1202). SR 2727, Juniper Level. (SL)+
Lockhart Elementary School (WA 1917). SR 2233, Knightdale vic. (SL)
(former) Mount Auburn School (WA 302). SR 1004, Auburn vic. (SL)
(former) Mt. Vernon Goodwin School (WA 946). Hillsborough St., Raleigh (SL)
(former) Riley Hill Elementary School (WA 1936). SR 1945, Rolesville vic. (SL)
(former) Sandy Plain School (WA 1371). NC 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)+
(former) Wakelon School (WA 48). N. Arendell Ave., Zebulon. (NR)
Zebulon Middle School (WA 2241). Old U. S. 64, Zebulon. (SL)

C. Lodge Buildings

Fraternal lodges and clubs were an important part of community life in most rural areas and small towns. Eight fraternal lodge buildings (four Masonic lodges with white memberships, four Oddfellows or some other lodge with black memberships) were documented in Wake County. Built in 1853, the Holly Springs Masonic Lodge building is the oldest lodge buildings in Wake County. Five of the buildings--Juniper Level (1920s, WA 1203), Flint Ridge (1920s, WA 1342), Raleigh Union (late ninteenth century, WA 270), Riley Hill (1920s or 1930s, WA 1939), and White Stone (1940s, WA 2108) display the simple gable-front orientation which appears to have been the popular form for many small town and rural lodges and meeting houses throughout North Carolina. The Holly Springs (ca. 1853, WA 642), Mount Pleasant (ca. 1870s, WA 1339) and William T. Bain (ca. 1918, WA 1211) lodge buildings are two-story, side-gable or hip-roofed structures which resemble dwellings. These three lodges, as well as the Flint Ridge Lodge, also served as schools. When the buildings were two stories, as was generally the case, the lodges met upstairs, schools met downstairs. Of the eight lodge buildings, William T. Bain, Holly Springs, Juniper Level, Riley Hill, and White Stone remain in use by their memberships.

National Register and Study List Properties

This list includes those individual lodges buildings placed on the National Register Study List as well as those that are a part of potential rural historic districts (marked with +).

William T. Bain Masonic Lodge (WA 1211). SR 1010, Williams Crossroads vic. (SL)+
Holly Springs Masonic Lodge (WA 642). Raleigh St., Holly Springs. (SL)
Juniper Level Lodge Building (WA 1203). SR 2727, Juniper Level. (SL)+
Mount Pleasant Masonic Lodge (WA 1339). SR 1831, Rogers Store vic. (SL)

D. Wake Forest College Campus

Wake Forest College was established in 1834 and built on land donated by Dr. Calvin Jones. It was the first institution of higher education founded in Wake County. Affiliated with the Baptist Church, the college was instrumental in the growth and prosperity of Wake Forest, Wake County's largest town outside of Raleigh until the 1950s. Although the college moved to Winston-Salem in 1956, the campus has been owned and used since that time by Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

The campus of Wake Forest College is architecturally significant, featuring several buildings designed by noted architects. The two oldest buildings associated with the college are the South Brick House (WA 1503), a two-story, brick Greek Revival faculty house designed by Hillsborough architect John Berry and built in the mid-1830s (now privately owned), and the Lea Laboratory (WA 27), an early Colonial Revival-style chemistry building designed by Baltimore architect John Appleton Wilson and built in the 1880s. A number of outstanding Colonial Revival style buildings were constructed on the campus in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, including several dormitories, a library, administration building, and classroom buildings. Some of these replaced older buildings destroyed by fire. Stealey Hall (WA 1562), the College's administration building, dominates the campus in terms of design, size, and location. Designed by noted Raleigh architect William H. Deitrick and built in 1933-1934, the three-story administration building is topped by a central cupola and features projecting, pedimented front and rear entrances. The exterior walls are covered with a flemish bond brick veneer; the windows are eight-over-twelve and twelve-over-twelve double-hung sash. Other notable details include round-arched entrances surrounded by an entablature with Ionic pilasters, cornice modillions, and keystone window lintels. All structures added to the old section of campus within the past three decades are also Colonial Revival in style and do not detract from the character of the campus. This older section of campus has been placed on the National Register Study List as part of the Wake Forest College Campus Historic District, which also includes many of the town's historic residential and commercial buildings.

Significance

Institutional buildings such as churches, schools, lodges and those on the campus of Wake Forest College are historically significant as centers of community development in Wake County, as well as important representatives of local educational and social history. Some of these are architecturally significant as well, either as notable examples of institutional architecture in Wake County or as representative examples of the most popular plans and styles of buildings constructed throughout the county. Certain larger cemeteries might be considered significant for landscape architecture, while cemeteries with intact late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century graves and markers might be as important and representatives of Wake County's settlement history.

Registration Requirements

To be considered eligible for the National Register for architecture, church buildings must be at least fifty years old, retain their location, setting, and overall architectural integrity of design and workmanship, and be good representative examples of church architecture as a whole in Wake County. Alterations to the exterior appearance of an individually eligible structure should be minimal and a majority of the original interior finish should be present. Although not desirable, replacement siding should not render an architecturally significant church ineligible if it is of at least locally exceptional architectural importance, all other features are substantially intact, the replacement siding has been carefully applied, and the original sheathing underneath appears to be intact. Churches which are significant for their histories, are the only extant representatives of historically important communities, or are located within historic districts might display a lower degree of architectural integrity and still be eligible or considered a contributing member of a district. Cemeteries may be eligible as parts of significant church properties or individually under Criterion A for settlement, Criterion C for art or landscape architecture, or Criterion D for their information potential as archaelogical sites. Cemeteries must maintain their original location, setting, and their distinctive elements, such as landscaping, grave markers, and fences.

Because historic schools, lodges, and other institutional buildings are rare but extremely important representatives of community life and development in Wake County, integrity of feeling and association are of utmost importance in considering their National Register eligibility. Because of this rarity and historical significance, architectural integrity threshholds are lower for these buildings than for the more numerous churches. Original location and setting should be maintained, as well as the overall original form, fenestration, a majority of the materials, and a fair amount of other original detailing. Although not desirable, replacement siding should not render architecturally significant institutional buildings ineligible if they are of at least locally exceptional architectural importance, all other features are substantially intact, the replacement siding has been carefully applied, and original sheathing underneath appears to be intact.

PROPERTY TYPE 5: COMMERCIAL AND TRANSPORTATION-RELATED BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Description

Commercial Buildings

Wake County retains numerous one- and two-story commercial buildings in its rural areas, small communities, and incorporated towns. All surveyed commercial buildings outside Raleigh date from the late nineteenth-century through the 1930s and 1940s. The majority of Wake County's commercial buildings are rectangular in shape with the entrance on the short end, which usually faces the street or road. Most of the rural and small community store buildings are one-story frame structures with gable-front or hip roofs.

The oldest known commercial building in the county is the William Hood store on the Hood-Anderson Farm (WA 2021) near the eastern Wake community of Eagle Rock. This two-room store building was apparently constructed shortly after an 1854 fire destroyed an earlier store, which housed the Eagle Rock Post Office. The building has a hip roof on the front section and a gable roof on the rear end, which has a cut stone chimney and appears to have been a storekeeper's room. The three-bay front has two sets of original shutters on the windows that flank the entrance. Inside the store section of the building are counters, shelves, and the mail slots used for the post office, which operated at this location until at least 1866.

Three other frame store buildings in Wake County that date to the 1870s--the Watts Store (WA 314) in Auburn, the G. B. Alford Store (WA 634) in Holly Springs, and the C. J. Bright Store (WA 1103) in New Hill--are all gable front frame buildings. The Watts Store, which is attached to the Watts family house, is particularly intact, retaining many of its early interior and exterior features including original paneled double front doors and window shutters. The Alexander T. Stephens store (WA 544) near Fuquay-Varina is said to date from the mid-nineteenth century as well, although a documentary photograph shows that the store was altered and greatly expanded in the early twentieth century.

Built in 1868, the Page-Walker Hotel (WA 37) is the most sophisticated nineteenth-century commercial building in Wake County outside of Raleigh. The only example of Second Empire architecture in the county, this impressive, two-and-one-half story brick hotel faces the tracks of the Southern and Seaboard (formerly the North Carolina) Railroad. Recently restored, the hotel features a mansard roof, a two-tiered porch, decorative brick chimneys, and Italianate woodwork.

Although brick commercial buildings are rare outside of the limits of incorporated towns, the Carpenter community boasts a two-story brick store building (WA 752) which houses the Carpenter family farm supply business. The brick building

was constructed ca. 1918 next to the business's ca. 1895 frame store building. The two buildings were connected by a small infill section in the 1920s. The newly created interior space between the two buildings served as the community post office for several years. The post office boxes are still intact.

The business districts of six out of eleven of Wake County's incorporated towns (outside of Raleigh), including Apex, Fuquay-Varina, Garner, Wake Forest, Wendell, and Zebulon, feature at least one block of relatively intact one- and two-story brick commercial buildings, generally simply ornamented with corbelled cornices, arched window and door openings, and parapet roofs. These buildings served as general and specialty merchandise stores, banks, hotels, and offices. The Herbert Akins Building (WA 453) in Fuquay-Varina is unusual among Wake County commercial buildings: the trapezoidal-shaped structure sits on a V-shaped lot with its one-bay entrance facade facing the intersection of two roads.

The remaining Wake County towns have a few scattered commercial buildings. In addition to G. B. Alford's 1870s store (now heavily altered), Holly Springs retains a few brick commercial buildings dating to the 1910s. Morrisville and Rolesville each have assorted brick and frame commercial buildings which appear to date after 1920.

Many stores dating from the 1910s through the 1940s in both rural areas and small towns were built with front canopies to accommodate gas pumps for the growing number of automobiles in the county. The Edgemont Store (WA 2022) near Wendell is a particularly good example of a 1920s store, with its front canopy, tile-patterned pressed metal roof, brick veneer exterior walls, and four-over-one Craftsman-style windows. Built in 1936, the James Paul Robertson Store (WA 1907), another brick veneer store building with front canopy, still possesses its mid twentieth-century gas pumps. There are a number of similar frame and brick veneer store buildings in the southwestern Wake community New Hill, which got its start because of the railroad but prospered in the early twentieth century when U. S. 1 was routed through the village. W. T. Roundy built a commercial compound (WA 1102) in New Hill in the 1920s and 1930s that catered to automobile travellers which included a store, eight frame motel cottages (each equipped with a small carport), and a restaurant. The restaurant is no longer standing.

Railroad Depots and Other Railroad Related Structures

During the course of the survey, seven railroad depots and several railroad-related warehouses were documented. Of the seven depots recorded, three of these are

listed in the National Register, one individually (Apex, WA 222) and two in districts (Garner, WA 365; Durham and Southern in Fuquay-Varina, WA 451). The Norfolk and Southern Depot (WA 452) in Fuquay-Varina, the Neuse Depot (WA 1464) between Raleigh and Wake Forest, and the Apex Freight Depot (WA 826) were all built before 1940 and are located on or near their original sites. The Auburn Depot (WA 312) was removed to an unknown location outside of Wake County after it had been surveyed.

Like those built throughout the state in the early twentieth century, Wake County's depots are one-story buildings with dominant gable or hip roofs. With the exception of the brick Apex Depot, all are of frame construction with plain weatherboarded or german-sided walls. Although the Apex Depot appears to have been used only for passengers and their baggage, most of the others were probably split between passenger waiting rooms and combined baggage/freight areas. As was common practice during the period, passenger areas were segregated by race. The Apex Depot is the most stylish of all of Wake County's depots. The building features a flared hip roof with broad overhanging eaves, arched window and door openings, and tall corbelled brick chimneys. Across the road from the passenger station in Apex is a large, frame, freight depot with low-pitched gable roof and side loading docks.

Apex and Fuquay-Varina both have railroad-related warehouses. The warehouse in Apex (WA 851), near the Seaboard Railroad Bridge over Williams Street, is brick and sits on a brick pier foundation. Also elevated on brick piers, the row of five warehouses (WA 454) on the Varina side of Fuquay-Varina are of frame construction, although many have been covered with metal in recent years. A few of these retain their loading docks.

The only recorded remnant of the first railroad in Wake County and North Carolina, the Raleigh and Gaston constructed in the 1830s, is a rusticated stone block bridge support in the Neuse River (WA 1465). It is of great importance to the history of early railroad development in North Carolina. Throughout the county there remain several concrete railroad bridges and overpasses that date from the first four decades of the twentieth century. The communities of Apex, McCullers, Millbrook, and Wendell have good examples of these bridges, which generally feature simple Art Deco details and balustrades with round-arched openings. The Seaboard Railroad Overpass (WA 850) in Apex is the most notable of this group with its curved iron railings and stacked vertical elements.

Tobacco Warehouses

Although the railroad was responsible for the creation of most Wake County towns, tobacco insured the prosperity of Apex, Fuquay-Varina, Wendell, and Zebulon. Brick and frame tobacco auction and storage warehouses were built in the early twentieth century through the 1950s or 1960s when these communities served as tobacco markets for local growers.

Only three of the early twentieth-century brick warehouses still stand in the county. Each of these early structures is one-story tall and rectangular in shape, with a low-pitched, parapet gable roof. Of these three extant warehouses, the R. B. Whitley Tobacco Auction House (WA 2138) in Wendell is the most intact. Although the front facade of the structure and front half of the interior have been completely remodeled in recent years, this structure retains a large amount of original fabric, including a stepped parapet roof, round-arched windows on the side and rear walls, and original skylights on the roof that illuminated the building during the day. In the rear section of the interior, which remains one large room, the wood truss frame is still exposed and the lines on the floor used to mark the location of piles of tobacco are still visible. The Varina and Apex warehouses (WA 455 and WA 820) have both been somewhat altered by later commercial use. A fourth brick warehouse in Zebulon appears to have been at least partially destroyed and rebuilt in the 1930s or 1940s. Concrete block walls top earlier common bond brick walls. The roof is supported by a metal truss frame. Yet another early warehouse in Fuquay-Varina was destroyed by fire before it could be surveyed.

In addition to R. B. Whitley's warehouse, Wendell has several frame auction houses that appear to date from the 1930s to the 1960s, as well as the remnants of a tobacco redrying factory, where tobacco bought by independent businessmen, rather than processing companies, was redryed and sold later, probably at a higher price, to tobacco processers (see WA 2132).

National Register and Study List Properties

Most potential National Register historic districts on the Study List have not been assigned county survey numbers yet. Individually eligible commercial buildings within large historic districts are not listed here. An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

John C. Adcock House and Store (WA 548). SR 1101, Fuquay-Varina vic. (SL)*
Apex Historic District. (SL)

Apex Town Hall (WA 185). N. Salem St., Apex. (NR)
(former) Apex Union Depot (WA 222). N. Salem St., Apex. (NR)
Carpenter Historic District (WA 2255). SR 3014, Carpenter. (SL)
(former) Edgemont Store (WA 2022). U. S. 64 Bus., Wendell vic. (SL)
B. N. Ferrell House and Store (WA 1214). SR 1006, Williams Crossroads vic. (SL)*
Fuquay Springs Historic District. U. S. 401 and surrounding areas, Fuquay-Varina. (SL)
Downtown Garner Historic District (WA 1194). Main Street, Garner. (NR)
Holly Springs Historic District (WA 069). Hwy 55 and surrounding areas, Holly Springs. (SL)
Hood-Anderson Farm (incl. store--WA 2021). SR 2366, Eagle Rock vic. (SL)*
Hopkins Crossroads Historic District (WA 1929). SR 2308, Hopkins Crossroads (SL)
Knightdale Historic District. First Ave., Knightdale. (SL)
Alious Mills House and Store (WA 1004). SR 1600, Green Level. (SL)*
Page-Walker Hotel (WA 37). Ambassador St., Cary. (NR)
Roy A. Perry Complex (WA 1337). SR 2308, Rolesville vic. (SL)*
Sandling Complex (WA 1372). Hwy 50, Sandy Plain. (SL)*
Varina Commercial Historic District (WA 456). Broad & Fayetteville Streets, Fuquay-Varina (NR)
Wake Forest College Campus Historic District (incl. S. White St. Comm. Dist). (SL)
Watts Store and Residence (WA 314). SR 2559, Auburn. (SL)
Wendell Commercial Historic District. Third St. & Main St., Wendell. (SL)
Zebulon Commercial Historic District. Arendell Ave., Zebulon. (SL)

Significance

Commercial and transportation-related structures reflect the growth and prosperity of the county during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the railroad opened up trade, travel, and business opportunities and the automobile continued this trend of making distant farmers' markets and formerly isolated areas more accessible. Smaller rural and community stores not only served as local distribution centers for goods and services, but also as centers of community social life. Commercial and transportation-related buildings eligible for listing are generally significant under Criterion A, as representatives of community, commercial, and transportation development in Wake County. Several of these buildings also are

architecturally significant (Criterion C) as exceptional or representative examples of Wake County's commercial architecture.

Registration Requirements

Most of Wake County's historic commercial and transportation-related buildings are located in potential National Register districts. Several early rural or small community commercial buildings have also been determined individually eligible. To be individually eligible, a commercial building should retain its original location and the majority of its interior and exterior features. The store fronts and interiors of commercial buildings within historic districts might have sustained a greater amount of alteration and still be considered contributing elements if the original shape of individual buildings have been retained and at least the upper portion of the front facades remain intact. To be individually eligible, railroad depots and warehouses should retain their overall original form, exterior design features, and locations. Because of their historical importance and rarity, certain alterations to the exterior of railroad-related buildings, such as the covering of exterior walls with metal or replacement siding or the removal of a loading dock, should not preclude eligibility.

PROPERTY TYPE 6: INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Description

Industrial buildings and structures in Wake County are generally related to the milling or processing of agricultural products and timber produced locally. Larger manufacturing facilities include paper and textile mills, while smaller scale agriculture-related facilities include gristmills, sawmills, dams, and cotton gin houses.

The two largest industrial complexes outside Raleigh are located in northeastern Wake County. Built in several stages beginning in 1854, the main building of the Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company (WA 189) is the oldest large-scale industrial building in the county and one of the earliest in North Carolina. The mill manufactured paper from the mid nineteenth-century until the 1880s and was one of the largest producers of cotton rag paper in the state.[17] Located at the falls of the Neuse River, the granite block main building stands three stories tall. Across the river from the old mill is the village known as Falls (WA 1451), where a store and several millworkers' houses still stand among the homes of private citizens whose businesses were related to

the mill. The Royall Cotton Mill in Wake Forest was built in 1899 and was operated until the mid 1970s. The mill complex includes a three-story common bond brick building (WA 1647) with several additions (most of which appear to be 50 years old), a mill pond, and a two-story brick commissary building (WA 1648) which later served as an office. The adjacent mill village (WA 1633) is remarkably intact, featuring approximately seventy one-story pyramidal cottages and triple-A-roofed houses, most of which originally housed two families. There are also a few shotgun houses.

Though once very common in rural areas and many communities, gristmills are now rare in Wake County, where only three are known to survive in recognizable form. Yates Mill (WA 50), a two-and-one-half-story gable-front frame structure, typifies the appearance of most gristmill buildings that stood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Myatt's Mill (WA 1139), on Panther Lake in southern Wake County, retains its original form, but has been much altered in recent years with modern replacement materials on the interior and exterior. Sections of the mill's stone foundations and pieces of machinery are visible under the mill building. Probably built in the early twentieth century, the two-and-one-half-story frame Lake Myra Mill (WA 1997) is said to have served as a cotton ginning facility originally, later run as a turbine-operated gristmill.[18] The building is deteriorated, but still has most of its original materials. In the 1930s the Lake Myra property was developed into a recreational complex, where visitors could swim, fish, picnic, and camp.

Several nineteenth-century stone dams and mill foundations were included in the survey. Dunn's Mill Dam and Foundations (WA 1485), Milburnie Dam (WA 1677), Hartsfield-Mitchell Mill Dam (WA 1807), and Moore's Mill Dam (WA 2084) are among the largest and most intact of these mill-related properties, each retaining a cut stone dam ten to twelve feet high and over two hundred feet long.

Only a few cotton gin houses were identified in the survey. Buildings that originally served as gin houses are difficult to identify because they usually resemble large barns and have served in many capacities on farms. Gin houses are generally two- or two-and-one-half-story gable-front frame structures. Built in the 1840s, the Walnut Hill Cotton Gin (WA 199) is the oldest of Wake County's gin houses. This heavy timber frame building stands on a tall stone pier foundation and retains ginning machinery dating from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. The gin house on the Carpenter-Debnam-Moss Farm (WA 2103) also stands on tall stone piers and probably dates to the mid-nineteenth century. Late ninteenth- or early-twentieth-century gin houses include the Wall Plantation Gin House (WA 1666) near Wake Forest,

the gin house at Oak View (WA 1502), the Fonville and Gant Cotton Gin House (WA 1454) in the Falls community, and the George Washington Duke Gin House (WA 1855) north of Hopkins Crossroads (see description below). Probably built in the early twentieth century, the Zebulon Cotton Gin Company (WA 2195), with its common bond brick building and frame seed and fertilizer sheds, is the only gin house found in a town. The main building is deteriorated and has been altered with a large front addition.

The George Washington Duke Complex (WA 1855) is a rare and important combined industrial and agricultural compound which includes an early twentieth-century cotton gin house, sawmill, tobacco farm buildings, and several farm dwellings. Although such complexes were not uncommon in the early twentieth century, this is the only intact and recognizable collection surviving in Wake County. The two-story cotton gin house (ca. 1921) and one-story sawmill shed (ca. 1903) are connected and originally shared the same steam engine. Both buildings are frame, but have been covered with metal in recent years, and both retain at least some machinery. The gin house boasts of two 1927 Munger cotton gins, two cotton presses, and the scales which weighed the wagons full of unginned cotton. Other notable structures include an earlier gin house which was converted to a seed house, where oil was extracted from the cotton seed; a meal house, where the remains of the seed were ground for livestock feed; Duke's office; and several tobacco-related outbuildings.

Established in 1928, the Goldston Lumber Supply Company (WA 1332) is the only other surviving saw and planing mill operation documented in the county. The complex includes an open frame planing shed with intact 1940s machinery (originally operated with steam power); three one-story, frame, gable-roofed structures which served as an office and storage buildings that were built in the 1930s; and more recently constructed storage buildings, sheds, and a building that houses the company's new retail business.

National Register and Study List Properties

An asterisk indicates that the property is listed under more than one property type.

Bennett Bunn Plantation--includes mill site (WA 190). SR 2337, Zebulon vic. (NR)*

George Washington Duke Complex (WA 1885). SR 2310, Hopkins Crossroads. (SL)*

Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company (WA 189). SR 2000 at the Neuse River, Wake Forest vic. (NR)

Hartsfield-Price-Perry Farm (includes Hartsfield-Mitchell Mill Dam--WA 1807).

SR 2224, Rolesville vic. (SL)*
Oak View Farm (WA 1502). SR 1007, Raleigh vic. (NR)*
Royall Cotton Mill and Mill Village (WA 1647, WA 1648, WA 1633). Wake Forest. (SL)
Wall Plantation Outbuildings (WA 1666). SR 1932, Wake Forest vic. (SL)*
Walnut Hill Cotton Gin (WA 199). SR 2509, Shotwell. (NR)*
Yates Mill (WA 50). SR 1375, Raleigh vic. (NR)

Significance

Though they played an important role in the economic development of Wake County, early industrial buildings and structures are now rare on the landscape. The few left show the diversity of the county's economy and the necessity of an intermediary processing step between the farm, where crops and raw materials were produced, to the market, where refined products were purchased by consumers. These buildings and structures are significant under Criterion A as representatives of the industrial development of the county and under Criterion C as good examples of an important building type.

Registration Requirements

Many industrial buildings in Wake County, such as cotton gin houses and mills or mill sites, are parts of farm complexes and their integrity should be evaluated in that context. Due to their rarity, individual industrial buildings and structures might sustain a greater degree of alteration or deterioration than most residential buildings and still be eligible for listing. In general, an industrial building must retain its original location and overall original or early form. Alterations or additions made at least fifty years ago will be considered part of the historic fabric of the building. The majority of the original materials should be present. As long as these elements of integrity are present, the covering of the exterior of a frame structure with metal or another temporary siding would not adversely affect the overall integrity of an industrial building.

PROPERTY TYPE 7: RECREATIONAL STRUCTURES AND SITES

Description

New railroad lines and the invention of the automobile, both of which made travel easier and rural areas more accessible, recreational sites were developed in Wake County during the first several decades of the twentieth century. Fuquay Mineral Spring (WA 200) is the earliest developed recreational site that has been documented in the county. In the second half of the nineteenth century the spring served as a gathering place for community celebrations. By the 1910s train excursions were bringing people to visit the spring, both for recreation and for the water's reputed medicinal qualities.[19] Several hotels and boarding houses were built near the spring in the first several decades of the twentieth century, two of which, the Ben-Wiley Hotel (WA 505) and the Barham House Hotel (WA 512) still stand.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mill ponds were traditionally favorite community recreational spots where local residents could swim, fish, and picnic. Panther Lake (see Myatt's Mill--WA 1139) and Lake Myra (WA 1996) were the sites of historic gristmills, both of which still stand. Two frame cottages at Myatt's Mill are said to have been clubhouses for vistors to Panther Lake. The concrete block store and garage were added in the 1940s. In addition to the old mill, dam, and lake, the Lake Myra Complex includes a 1940s store building, a wooden dock and two frame boat sheds, and a two-and-one-half-story Craftsman foursquare house which once served as a clubhouse (WA 1997).

The Lake Mirl Complex (WA 1911) was built in the 1930s by "Doc" Richards on his eastern Wake County farm and was named for his daughter, Myrtle. In addition to the lake, Richards built frame picnic shelters, a restaurant and store, and a board and batten dance hall in the 1930s. In the 1950s additional picnic shelters and a larger clubhouse/dance hall were added by Myrtle Richards Broughton and her husband, who operated the complex until recent years.

Located between Neuseoco Lake and Beaver Dam Lake on Old Milburnie Road, the Beaver Dam Lake Fishing Camp (WA 1680) was built by three prominent local citizens during the Depression. Insurance company owner Alexander Webb, U. S. Senator Josiah W. Bailey, and stock broker Clark Barbee founded the camp as a weekend retreat for themselves, their families, and friends. The camp includes a collection of V-notched log buildings with concrete chinking that date from the late nineteenth century through the 1940s. One of the buildings was originally a farmhouse, although it was updated with new chinking, windows, and doors when the property became a camp. Several other former farm buildings are still located on the site.

The Tarheel Club (WA 1681), an impressive, stone Craftsman style clubhouse overlooking the Neuse River, was built in 1928. The club is said to have been rented out to various local groups for weekend parties and activities.

During the Depression, William B. Umstead State Park, the county's largest recreational site, was developed by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Originally known as Crabtree Creek State Park, this natural area was made up of sub-marginal and eroded farmland which was then reforested by the CCC. The Corps also built visitor facilities, such as campsites and picnic shelters, employee housing, temporary roads and utility systems, a lake and a dam, hillside terraces to combat erosion, as well as bridges, water fountains, and grills. These rustic stone and frame buildings and structures are typical of those built by the CCC in parks throughout the state and nation during this era.

National Register and Study List Properties

Fuquay Mineral Spring (WA 200). West Spring St. & S. Main St., Fuquay-Varina. (NR)

Significance

The significance of recreational structures and sites is tied to transportation improvements in the twentieth century, which made rural weekend retreats and recreational spots more accessible. They also are important as reflections of the county's increasingly urban population's desire for places to "get away from it all." Only seven recreational structures and sites have been documented in Wake County, although there are likely more. Remote locations, the lack of background information on large rural lakes and ponds, and very simple and recently constructed buildings made these properties difficult to identify during the survey. The Fuquay Mineral Spring was listed in the National Register in 1986 primarily because of its importance to the development of the town of Fuquay Springs, although its recreational associations were also sited. Because of the low number of recreational sites and structures recorded thus far and the fact that many of these date to the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, more information must be obtained before the significance can be fully evaluated.

Registration Requirements

Recreational buildings and sites must be fifty years old and must retain a high

degree of integrity to be considered eligible. Original location should be maintained, and for larger sites the overall layout should be intact. Generally built with rustic simplicity, recreational buildings must possess their overall original forms, design, and the majority of their original materials. The rural or scenic setting must be intact because it is an integral part of most recreational spots in Wake County and the basis for integrity of feeling and association.

NOTES

[1]Frederick Law Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Oberservations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 134.

[2]E. Virginia Oswald and Michael Hill, "Bennett Bunn Plantation" National Register Nomination, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[3]Jim Sumner, "North Carolina Tobacco Barns" in North Carolina Historic Preservation Newsletter, (Raleigh: State Historic Preservation Office, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Summer 1989), 12-16.

[4]John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 189n.

[5]"Henry B. Wilson Farm," WA 1359, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[6]Olmsted, 134.

[7]Survey and Planning Unit, "Powell House" National Register Nomination, 1974, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[8]See Michael Southern, "The I-House as a Carrier of Style in Three Counties of the Northeastern Piedmont," in Douglas Swaim, ed., Carolina Dwelling (Raleigh: North Carolina State University School of Design Student Publication, 1985), 80.

[9]See Virginia and Lee McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 458-459.

[10]Lally and Johnson, "Oak View Farm" National Register Nomination.

[11]"Two Hundred Years of Service: A History of Wake Union Baptist Church, Wake Forest, North Carolina," Anniversary Pamphlet, 1989.

[12]Catherine W. Bishir and Marshall Bullock, "Forestville Baptist Church" National Register Nomination, 1984, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[13]Murray, 305.

[14]Graydon Wright Jordan, "A History of Wake County Schools" (M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1943), 59.

[15]Catherine W. Cockshutt [Bishir], "Wakelon School" National Register Nomination, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[16]Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review (Oct. 1988), 442.

[17]Catherine W. Bishir and Brent D. Glass, "Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company" National Register Nomination, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[18]"Lake Myra Mill and Store," WA 1997, Wake County Survey, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[19]Michelle A. Francis, "Fuquay Mineral Spring," National Register Nomination, 1986, Survey and Planning Branch, Historic Preservation Section, NC Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The Wake County Historic and Architectural Survey was conducted by Kelly A. Lally from October 1988 through June 1991 for the Wake County Planning Department and the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. For two years the Division of Archives and History provided matching grants for the project and the balance of the funding came from Wake County and the municipalities of Apex, Cary, Fuquay-Varina, Garner, Holly Springs, Morrisville, Raleigh, and Wake Forest. Kelly Lally holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in American Studies from the University of Notre Dame and a Master of Arts degree in Folk Studies from Western Kentucky University. Historical contexts for the survey were researched and written by Todd Johnson, a graduate student in the Public History program at North Carolina State University.

Between October 1988 and May 1991, approximately 2,000 properties and groups of properties were documented in Wake County's rural (or formerly rural) areas outside the 1988 Raleigh city limits and in the county's other eleven municipalities. Using United States Geological Survey (U. S. G. S.) maps as a guide, all passable county roads and most private lanes were driven outside of newly created suburban areas. Properties were documented with North Carolina Historic Structures Data Sheets, 35 MM photography, and oral history interviews when possible. All known antebellum properties were recorded and most properties dating before 1900 were documented as well. Properties dating from 1900 to 1945 were recorded more selectively due to their extremely high numbers. Most of the surveyed properties were residential structures and agricultural complexes, although small communities, institutional buildings such as schools, lodges, and churches, commercial buildings, transportation-related structures, industrial buildings and structures, and some cemeteries were also recorded. In addition, a few properties of unusual character or interest built after 1945 were also surveyed. Historic resources in towns were surveyed in groups with individual attention given to pivotal structures and local landmarks.

Wake County, which contains Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, is located in a transitional area between the state's piedmont region to the west and the coastal plain to the east. Consisting of approximately 867 square miles or 550,000 acres, Wake is seventh in size of the 100 North Carolina counties. The 1990 census figure of 423,380 ranks Wake second in population among the state's counties behind Mecklenburg County. Wake is bounded by Granville and Franklin counties to the north, Johnston county to the

east, Harnett County to the south, and Chatham and Durham counties to the west.

The large size of Wake County and, more importantly, the density of its population--past and present--have greatly affected the survey. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a marked increase in the number of small and medium-sized farms throughout the county. Associated with these farms were numerous vernacular and popular types of dwellings, generally modest in size and ornamentation. The sheer number of these simple dwellings is, in many cases, much more important than the significance of any one. While every effort was made to record a substantial and representative number of these properties, all of these could not be surveyed individually due to time limitations. A map-coding system of the most common house types was developed. Placed next to structures shown on the maps, these codes indicate the general size, features, and condition of the buildings to which they refer. Thus, someone looking at the maps will at least be aware of the number, distribution, and general character of the buildings not recorded in detail.

Decisions concerning which residential properties to survey and which ones to map were based not only on the integrity of individual structures, but on the number of outbuildings and support features associated with them. For instance, a one-story turn-of-the-century house remodeled with aluminum siding and new porch supports might be mapped if it stood alone, but recorded if it retained its rural setting and had a full complement of domestic and agricultural outbuildings surrounding it.

Wake's more recent boom in population in the last three decades has also affected the survey in several different ways. First, the county is fast becoming urban and suburban in character as the area becomes increasingly attractive for business and industry and formerly rural lands are developed into office and factory complexes, residential subdivisions, and shopping centers for new residents. Thus, a large number of historic properties have been razed to make way for development or no longer have their integrity due to the loss of their settings. Second, a majority of the people in increasingly urban Wake County work outside the home. Because of this, and the fact that many Wake residents are relatively recent transplants from other areas of the state and country, gaining information about individual properties through oral history interviews was often difficult. In the same way, recording the interiors of residential properties was frequently not possible because there was no one home.

The division of the survey into work sections using U. S. G. S. quad-rangles led to some inconsistencies in the resources being recorded from one area of the

county to another. An attempt was made to divide sections of fieldwork evenly based on the numbers of properties to be recorded in each quad. However, some quads were simply larger or more densely populated than others. In certain areas of the county there was time to record virtually all properties over fifty years of age, while in others, only the very best and most intact examples could be documented thoroughly, with a larger number of buildings noted on the maps with the use of the map-code typology. Thus, a property that might be recorded in one part of the county might be mapped in another, depending on the size of the study area and the density of the resources.

In coordination with Survey and Planning Branch staff of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History's Historic Preservation Office, the consultant evaluated the significance of surveyed properties using the National Register Criteria for Evaluation outlined by the Department of the Interior in National Register Bulletin 15. Properties determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places were presented to the State Professional Review Committee in July 1990 and July 1991 and, upon approval of the SPRC, placed on the state's National Register Study List. Every effort was made to document the interiors of those properties deemed significant for their architecture.

All of the materials produced during this survey, including files on each of the recorded sites with survey forms, sketch maps, photographs, and written entries, maps, and any historical information acquired during the course of the project, will be stored at the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

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