# HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE
# OF
# ORANGE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

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September 1996

# EARLY SETTLEMENT TO THE CIVIL WAR

## "A Back Frontier Country," 1740s to 1800

Between the 1740s and the beginning of the American Revolution, the North Carolina Piedmont was the scene of a great immigration. In less than four decades this backcountry grew from a scattering of pioneer homesteads into a flourishing yeoman society, containing over half the population of the colony.[1] The infusion of land seekers, attracted by an abundance of well-advertised, cheap land, captured the attention of the northern press. "There is scarce any history," asserted one reporter for a Connecticut newspaper in 1767:

> . . . which affords an account of such rapid and sudden increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country, as that of North Carolina. To justify the truth of this observation, we need only to inform our readers, that twenty years ago there were not twenty taxables within the above mentioned County of Orange; in which there are now four thousand taxables."[2]

The formation of Orange County in 1752 reflected the rapid influx of settlers and the concomitant need for greater governmental services and political administration. Created from parts of Granville, Johnston, and Balden counties, Orange by 1767 was the most populous county in North Carolina. Its immense original boundaries encompassed present Orange, Person, Caswell, Alamance, Chatham and Durham counties, and portions of Guilford, Randolph, Rockingham, and Wake--approximately 3,500 square miles in all.[3]

In 1754 the county seat of Orange was sited on 400 acres where one of the region's major roads crossed the Eno River. Originally known as Corbinton, the town's name was permanently changed in 1766 to Hillsborough. Although Orange County is now only a little more than one-tenth its original size, the presence of the county seat within its borders established this area as a focus of early settlement.[4]

In common with the Piedmont as a whole, this land drew newcomers of great cultural diversity. Unlike the established coastal societies, populated mainly by English colonists from Tidewater Virginia, Orange County attracted a variety of ethnic and religious groups. From the middle colonies came families of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians as well as German Lutherans. Members of both groups followed the same course of migration, traveling southward down the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, through the Roanoke Gap in western Virginia, and on into the Yadkin River Valley of North Carolina. From there some moved eastward into Orange County making homes along Hyco Creek and the Eno and the Haw rivers. The German influence in Orange County was not as great as elsewhere in the Piedmont, but to observers of the great immigration, German-speaking pioneers symbolized the rapid pace of settlement. During his tour through the western reaches of Orange County in 1773, English writer J. F. D. Smyth stressed the great difficulties he encountered finding a soul in the area who understood his language.[5]

While the Scotch Irish and Germans traveled from the Middle Colonies, English migrants came from the settled areas of eastern North Carolina, or made their way southward from Virginia, following the route known to Europeans as the Indian Trading Path. Worn deep and wide through centuries of use, this path extended for more than 500 miles, reaching from the James River through

Hillsborough and Orange County, across the Catawba Indian lands, and on into Georgia and Cherokee territory.[6] The English brought the Anglican faith into Orange County, and subsequently contributed to the formation of Baptist and Methodist churches during the Second Great Awakening.[7]

English Quakers also arrived in the colonial period, most of them migrating south from Pennsylvania, west from Pasquatank and Perquimans counties, or north from Cumberland County. However, their numbers were small in present Orange County. Instead, Quakers made their strongest mark west of the Haw River where they formed the communities of New Garden (Guilford County) and Cane Creek (Alamance County), and later settled portions of Chatham and Randolph counties. In present Orange, the Quakers of Cane Creek founded Eno Friends Meeting in the Eno River Valley in 1754. This Meeting, however, suffered a loss of support in the late eighteenth century, most notably from the departure of members to Georgia in 1768. It lingered on until closing in 1847, never regaining its early strength.[8]

Despite obvious cultural differences, the newcomers shared important characteristics.[9] Whether Scotch-Irish or English, Quaker or German Lutheran, they were primarily yeoman farmers. Of the settlers who owned land in Orange County between 1752 and 1800, 78 percent held less than 500 acres (most of which was not cleared) and only three percent owned more than 1,000 acres. The great majority of these landowners also possessed few or no slaves. In 1755 only eight percent of the households in Orange County were slave holders and no one held title to more than ten slaves. By 1790, slaves made up just 20 percent of the county population and were owned primarily by small slave holders.[10]

These farmers also shared a common backcountry landscape that influenced its social and economic geography. Settlers encountered a land of rolling hills covered by forests of hardwoods and pines and laced with rivers and streams. The land was best suited for growing small grains, and corn rapidly became the favorite crop. Farmers also raised limited quantities of tobacco on the siliceous soils and sandy loams that were most commonly found in the north end of the county. However, because tobacco was both labor intensive and oriented to a market economy, it was raised mainly by a coterie of planters. The land would never give up high yields of cotton, a crop confined primarily to the fine sandy soils of lower New Hope Creek and along certain sections of the Eno River.[11]

As throughout the Piedmont, the county's numerous rivers and streams fostered isolated rural neighborhoods rather than facilitating intra-regional transportation and commerce. Situated above the falls of the Neuse and the Cape Fear rivers, Orange County contains no navigable rivers that could have provided farmers with direct access to the major markets and ports. Instead, the plethora of waterways only compounded transportation problems by inhibiting overland travel.

Primitive road conditions reinforced the insularity of rural life. In 1772, Governor Josiah Martin complained of "the extreme badness of the roads" in Orange County.[12] Overland routes tended to be merely ad hoc networks of dirt paths connecting farmsteads or leading to nearby grist mills, churches, or ferry crossings. Many of these routes survive today--unnamed, private paths winding through the earliest family farms located well off the public roadways. Others, like Jones Ferry Road, Faucette Mill Road, and Morrow Mill Road have been incorporated into the modern transportation system.[13]

Without efficient modes of transportation to ship goods to market, farmers strove for comfortable subsistence. They cleared sufficient acreage and grew enough foodstuffs to feed their families and livestock, the latter also raised for personal consumption. This way of life, writes historian Robert C. Kenzer, created "a fairly simple economic structure" in terms of production and trade that was oriented primarily around the family farm and the local neighborhood.[14]

Although farmers may have had little incentive to produce great quantities of surplus goods, the market economy periodically entered their lives. Provisions that were not grown on the farm or made in the home were acquired, as necessary, through trade or cash purchase at country stores. Historian Jean Bradley Anderson summarizes the essential role played by these early rural enterprises:

> They stocked everything a farmer might want for his farm, house, and family--from tools, hardware, harness, and lumber, to molasses, medicine, cloth goods, and coffins. The customers could pay in raw materials--tobacco, wheat corn, feathers, tallow, or beeswax--products which the merchant could in turn sell at his store or transport to his factor as payment on his account.[15]

Farmers also hauled goods north to Petersburg or south to the Northwest Cape Fear River for shipment to the loading docks at Wilmington. But such trips to distant towns were expensive for small landholders, and in the main, the marketplace performed a necessary but minor role in the lives of the yeomanry.[16]

This relatively isolated and self-sufficient existence fostered the development of tightly-knit rural neighborhoods. These neighborhoods included the Little River and Eno communities to the north, New Hope to the east, Cane Creek to

the west, and the settlement of White Cross to the south. The Eno and New Hope neighborhoods were peopled almost entirely by Scotch-Irish settlers--many of whom had not only migrated together down the Great Wagon Road but also shared ancestral ties extending back to villages in northern Ireland. Although not as ethnically cohesive, the other neighborhoods also evolved into distinct rural settlements where families shared bonds of marriage as well as mutual religious and secular beliefs.[17]

Here settlers cut homesteads out of the wilderness and created an enduring pattern of occupation. They built log dwellings and planted crops on the well-drained lands between the streams, and traveled along pathways that dipped and turned through the Piedmont landscape to connect families with one another and link farms to early grist mills and sawmills.

Mills emerged rapidly on the scene to signify permanent settlement and nascent commercial enterprise. These small water-powered factories dotted rivers and creeks, where they processed local corn and wheat, sawed lumber, and functioned as informal gathering places. One such operation known as Synnott's Mill was active on the Eno River before 1752. In 1770, John Collett's map of North Carolina depicted a string of mills alongside the Eno, as well as on the major branches of the Little River. By at least 1792, the Faucett Mill northwest of Hillsborough was also in operation. Located at a propitious site where a wagon road forded the Eno River, this grist mill may have been built as early as the 1760s by the Isaac Lowe family who were prominent Quaker millers. The property was later sold to the David Faucett family, who in the early 1800s proceeded to erect a substantial, two-story house alongside the mill. The dwelling also served as an inn and tavern, attesting to the important social functions performed by the earliest mill complexes in the county.[18]

Like mills, rural churches appeared early and marked development. By the 1750s upper Orange County included both the Eno Friends Meeting and the Eno Presbyterian Church, formed in 1755 by the growing numbers of Scotch-Irish settlers. The following year the inhabitants of New Hope established a Presbyterian church in their community. By 1761 a Presbyterian church also appeared in the newly settled Little River neighborhood, and in 1789, the residents of Cane Creek founded the Cane Creek Baptist Church.[19]

In sharp contrast to the provincialism of the countryside, the town of Hillsborough stood out as a center of commercial, cultural, and political pursuits. Although modest in size (the population in 1800 was only 474), it ranked among the region's principal towns along with Salisbury and Salem to the west.[20] As early as 1766, Governor William Tryon noted the great promise of Hillsborough: "Tho' there is at present scarce twenty families inhabitants [sic] I am of the opinion it will be in the course of a few years the most considerable of any inland town in the province."[21]

The town would never realize Governor Tryon's enthusiastic prediction of growth, but in the years immediately before and after the Revolution, Hillsborough rose to prominence. It attracted figures of wealth and ambition, who gave this place an energy and pretension that far exceeded its still humble appearance. Among the early citizens were William Churton, noted surveyor and cartographer who had laid out the town; Thomas Burke, one of three North Carolina governors during the Revolution; Francis Nash, lawmaker and general in the Revolution; and merchant Nathaniel Rochester, later the founder of Rochester, New York.[22]

Hillsborough was the center of the volatile Regulator Movement of the late 1760s and 1770s. This protest was rooted in the backcountry, where egalitarian values predominated and where the pace and pattern of immigration bred geopolitical tensions. In Orange County, the movement began quietly in 1766 as a peaceful opposition to unfair taxation and local governmental abuses. But later, frustrated by unresponsive officals, bands of Regulators turned to a strategy of active revolt that was focused on Hillsborough. In September 1770, the town witnessed an eruption of violence as protesters seized control of the courthouse and imposed their own justice. On May 16, 1771, the movement was effectively crushed when a militia under Governor Tryon defeated an army of Regulators west of Hillsborough in the Battle of Alamance.[23]

Although the political ramifications of the Regulator Movement are a matter of academic debate, one direct effect on Orange County was its reduction in size. In 1770-1771, the North Carolina legislature voted to create a portion of Wake County and all of Chatham and Guilford counties from parts of Orange. Perhaps the principal motivation was to divide Regulator strength where it was most concentrated. But the formation of the smaller counties also gave inhabitants easier access to local government and resulted in greater representation of the backcountry in the legislature.[24]

Because of its influence as well as central geographic location, Hillsborough was the site of major political events surrounding the Revolution and early statehood. On the eve of the conflict, a provincial congress met here to form a government and prepare for war. In 1777, the town hosted the Third Provincial Congress, and in 1782 was briefly voted state capital (the act was repealed the following year). In 1788, delegates assembled at the Hillsborough

Convention to vote on the United State Constitution and choose a permanent home for the North Carolina capital.[25]

Geographic centrality not only enhanced Hillsborough's political stature but also made Orange County the favorite choice as the site of the state university. Chartered in 1789, the University of North Carolina was situated on a wooded, spring-fed rise of land south of Hillsborough. It was an "extraordinary place," wrote university trustee William R. Davie in the autumn of 1793. "The ridge," he observed, "arises abruptly several hundred feet; the peak is called Pointe-Prospect; the flat country spreads off below like the ocean, giving an immense hemisphere, in which the eye seems to be lost in the extent of space."[26] In that year the campus as well as the adjoining village of Chapel Hill, named for the Anglican New Hope Chapel that also occupied the ridge, were surveyed. In 1795 the university at Chapel Hill became the first state-supported university to open its doors.[27]

## "A Brighter Day, We Trust, is Dawning upon Us," 1800 to 1860

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Orange County developed as a landscape of small and medium-sized farms. By 1850, three-quarters of the county's farms contained less than 100 acres, while just a handful comprised more than 500 acres. Slave ownership remained small. Seventy percent of the county's free population held no slaves at all in 1860. Of the slave holders, only seven percent were of the planter class, possessing 20 or more slaves, and over half owned fewer than five slaves.[28]

Manufacturing in this rural society remained geared to agriculture. These industries were mainly small-scale concerns with capital investments rarely exceeding the value of an average Orange County farmstead. About half of the manufactories listed in the 1860 census were grist mills employing one or two men. The others were mostly blacksmith shops, tanneries, wool carders, and makers of wagons and carriages, all of whom provided limited goods and services to area farmers.[29]

Although the quick rivers of the Piedmont were ideal for the water-driven textile mills of the antebellum period, the principal manufacturing streams were outside present Orange County. The largest local factory was the Webb and Whitted Tobacco Factory which made plug tobacco in Hillsborough and employed 15 workers. The Haw River and its tributaries, in what became Alamance County in 1849, offered the most favorable sites for water-power development in the area. Northeast of Hillsborough, the Little River also provided the site for an important manufacturing firm. In 1852, the Orange Factory Cotton Mill was established along the river employing 50 white workers, including 30 women. Soon a small textile-mill community took shape comprising a store and worker housing owned by the company. This area, which was part of the Flat River community, became upper Durham County after 1881.[30]

Of the few plantations that arose amidst the yeomanry, most were also outside present Orange County. They appeared west of the Haw River (Alamance County), or to the northeast in the rich valleys of the Eno, Little, and Flat rivers (Durham County). The latter territory was the domain of the Bennehan and Cameron families. In 1799 patriarch Richard Bennehan owned nearly 4,000 acres here, including his plantation and store at Stagville. At nearby

Fairntosh, his daughter Rebecca and her husband, Duncan Cameron, had accumulated over 8,000 by 1809. By the onset of the Civil War, the vast plantation complex that grew through the association of the two families totaled up to 30,000 acres. The tremendous combined slave force was approximately 900. In 1860 Bennehan's grandson Paul C. Cameron, of Fairntosh plantation, was alone the master of 470 slaves in Orange County, and was among the wealthiest men in the South.[31]

The diversity of agricultural activities on the Bennehan-Cameron tracts exemplified the prosperous plantations of the area. Livestock, particularly swine, was raised for profit as well as subsistence. Stock manure fertilized the fields that yielded harvests of small grains, tobacco, and cotton. Corn was grown primarily for subsistence and was by far the largest crop grown. Wheat and tobacco, however, were the major market staples. Processed at the plantation grist mills, flour was carted south to Fayetteville at the head of the Cape Fear River, or north to Petersburg. The valley soils were well suited for tobacco, and with the huge supply of slave labor and fresh lands ready for cultivation, the crop was a mainstay for the market. In 1826, Duncan Cameron recorded sales of nearly 30,000 pounds, and a decade later the Camerons were earmarking 26 acres of newly cleared land for tobacco.[32]

Cotton was never a big money crop for the Bennehans and Camerons. The relatively short growing season in the upper Piedmont and soil limitations restricted production. Although the families' plantations raised and ginned cotton to clothe slaves as well as to sell on the market, inconsistent yields and price fluctuations minimized profits. Paul Cameron, whose devotion to scientific agricultural methods rewarded him with abundant harvests of grains and tobacco and some of the best livestock breeds in the state, keenly

understood the limitations of cotton. "Any man who will plant cotton in N.C.," he exclaimed, "should have a guardian!"[33]

Although large plantations were rare in present Orange County, a few residents such as John Cabe, William Cabe, James Pratt, and William Kirkland achieved planter status. Each had substantial holdings along the Eno River, comprising fertile bottomlands for cultivation and adjacent tracts cleared for pastures. William Kirkland, for example, was a Scots-born merchant who became rich through his independent commercial ventures based in Hillsborough. He then established a plantation along the Eno River, and in 1815 occupied a newly completed, brick plantation seat which he named Ayr Mount. Ayr Mount overlooked fields that supported cotton, grains, sheep, and cattle. Corn was the main crop, and sheepskins and cowhides were tanned at Kirkland's tanyard in HIllsborough. Some cotton was also raised for profit, but the soil was not suitable for tobacco, and none was ever grown on the plantation.[34]

The Kirklands, the Bennehans, and the Camerons belonged to an elite, planter-professional-merchant class that was centered around Hillsborough in the antebellum period. Other members of this exclusive circle included such luminaries as Archibald Debow Murphey, who led the earliest campaign for internal improvements in North Carolina; Frederick Nash and Thomas Ruffin, both chief justices of the state supreme court; and William A. Graham, a prominent lawmaker and governor of the state between 1845 and 1849. It is no coincidence that the legal profession flourished in Hillsborough, given the town's proximity to the growing state university at Chapel Hill. In 1824, after graduating from the university, a young William Graham had moved to Hillsborough to read law under Thomas Ruffin. Between 1840 and 1860, the

student body tripled in size to 460 students, and scores of young scholars followed Graham's path to the county seat, first serving apprenticeships at the numerous law firms around the courthouse, and then establishing practices of their own.[35]

Despite its considerable wealth, Hillsborough remained small. In 1850, the town contained barely 900 residents, a compact commercial area, and a few small factories along the Eno River. During most of the antebellum years, poor transportation isolated Hillsborough from major markets as well as the surrounding communities, stifling the types of commercial and industrial activities necessary for significant expansion.[36]

Throughout the first half of the century, improvements in travel were slow and incremental, not only in Orange County but statewide. North Carolina had earned the nickname the "Rip Van Winkle" state for its opposition to the kinds of large-scale internal improvements energizing the nation's growing capitalist economy before the Civil War. In Orange County, though road building increased (including stage lines from Hillsborough and Chapel Hill to Raleigh), roads themselves remained wretched. In the early winter of 1855, the *Hillsborough Recorder* reported that a horse-drawn wagon was able to make the jostling, 13-mile trip between the county seat and Durham "at a rate of not much better than three miles per hour."[37]

Ultimately, the main influence of antebellum roadways was local. They attracted neighborhood churches, private academies and public schools, stores and post offices, and the small manufactories that serviced farmers. In a subsistence agrarian society, the emergence of such activities, often assembled at crossroads hamlets, was the measure of progress.

Churches proliferated throughout Orange County in the early nineteenth century (though permanent church buildings often awaited increased memberships and funds). The revivals that swept the Piedmont during the era of the Great Revival spawned religious diversity and the rapid advance of the Baptist and Methodist faiths. Around the Cane Creek and White Cross neighborhoods, for example, the Baptists organized the Mount Carmel Baptist Church in 1803, Haw River Mountain Church (later Antioch Baptist) in 1806, and Mount Mariah in 1823. In 1834 leaders of the established Cane Creek Baptist Church formed a Mars Hill congregation to serve members just north of Hillsborough. Methodism also expanded rapidly, its evangelical message often delivered by backcountry circuit riders. The Lebanon Methodist Church was founded near the Little River in 1820, while Cedar Grove Methodist appeared in the Eno neighborhood about 1830. The decade of the 1830s also saw the formation of such churches as Orange Methodist located above Chapel Hill, Pleasant Green Methodist along the Eno River east of Hillsborough, and Clover Garden Methodist Church near Cane Creek.[38]

Presbyterian churches, the most numerous of the county's earliest rural churches, also continued to grow in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By 1816, there was a sufficient number of Presbyterians in Hillsborough to organize a congregation, while in rural Cane Creek, inhabitants formed the Bethlehem Presbyterian Church 1822. To the north, residents of the Eno community established Fairfield Presbyterian Church in 1834.[39]

Private academies, commonly affiliated with the Presbyterian faith, were organized nearly as rapidly as churches. The presence of the state university

and the advantages of the Piedmont's relatively healthful climate--away from the oppressive summer heat and swamplands of the coast--drew an unusually large number of private schools to the area. In his 1889 *Sketches of the History of the University of North Carolina,* university president, Kemp P. Battle, acknowledged this early geographical concentration. "In the year 1816," he wrote, "the number of students at academies within the compass of forty miles amounted to more than one thousand. This space comprised the counties of Warren, Granville, Orange, Wake, Franklin, and two or three others adjoining."[40] In 1850 Orange County alone held 15 academies, enrolling 470 scholars.[41]

Hillsborough, with its own population of wealthy families, boasted some of the most eminent of these schools. One of these was Hillsborough Academy, which operated for 60 years instructing the children of the local elites as well as the leading families of North Carolina. Founded in 1801, the academy initially accepted both boys and girls who were taught Latin, Greek, English, French, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, bookkeeping, philosophy, and "the plainer branches of mathematics." The school's high reputation attracted teachers of commensurate ability, including the Reverend William Bingham, who was educated at the University of Glasgow, and his son, W. J. Bingham.[42]

The elder Bingham later established the prestigious Bingham School, which in 1845 was moved from Hillsborough to the Oaks community in southwest Orange. Like many academies of the day, Bingham School was purposely situated in the country, away from the perceived distractions of town. In this rural setting, writes an historian of the Bingham family:

. . . students had the run of God's great gymnasium in their free hours, and they engaged in a variety of vigorous enterprises: hunting, fishing, trapping

and games, including skinny, a rustic version of field hockey. Bingham's was an outdoor school.[43]

Under the administration of W. J. Bingham and his sons, Robert and William, the school flourished at Oaks. The Binghams erected the spacious two-story frame academy building that survives today, and accepted up to 60 students. During the Civil War, the school became a military academy and was moved to the Mebane vicinity near the western county line. Following several devastating fires, the academy was finally relocated to Asheville in 1892, North Carolina, where it continued in operation until 1928.[44]

Hillsborough Academy, Bingham School, and other leading academies instructed the children of the middle and upper classes through the antebellum period, even as public schools gained support. In 1839, the general assembly established the first statewide common school system for white students in North Carolina. The new plan authorized the formation of county school districts in which schools were financed by state and local dollars, including a county tax. Although this public education was plagued by poor funding and inadequate teacher training, nevertheless, for the vast majority of children in the county it offered a promising alternative to the voluntary community schools which had appeared intermittently since early settlement. By 1853, Orange County contained 25 public schools with a total enrollment of 2,507 students, roughly half the white school-age population. The distribution of schools strengthened neighborhood bonds, for the boundaries of school districts traced the rivers and creeks that delineated existing farming communities.[45]

Over time, the assorted activities expressing neighborhood growth were often clustered into crossroads hamlets. The Eno community in northwest Orange

County saw the appearance of such hamlets as Cedar Grove, Laws, and McDade. Caldwell and Schley grew up within the Little River neighborhood, while Oaks and Mount Willing appeared to the southwest in Cane Creek. The crossroads settlement of White Cross (also known as Union Cross) took shape to the south in the rural community by that name. Such places were closely connected to local needs, but certain hamlets also benefited from the added advantages of having a major academy nearby or facing one of the major stage lines. For instance, Mason Hall grew up west of Hillsborough along the principal east-west wagon road that connected Hillsborough and the county seat of Guildford (then Martinsville). In 1809, Mason Hall comprised a small inn and a post office. However, by the end of following decade expansion was imminent. In 1820, proprietor A. Mason placed a notice in the Hillsborough newspaper, "to inform his former customers and the public generally, that he has nearly finished his house, so that he is now able to accommodate as many as may honour him with their company."[46] Soon the larger inn was the centerpiece of a community that included a blacksmith shop, a store and post office, and a nearby grist mill. North of Mason Hall, Cedar Grove by 1850 held the Cedar Grove Academy which opened in 1845, a tanner, a coachmaker, a physician, a store and post office, and the Eno Presbyterian Church. To the south, the hamlet of Oaks included not only the Bingham School but also a store and post office, a small collection of artisans, and Bethlehem Presbyterian Church.[47]

While rural hamlets would develop at an unhurried pace through the nineteenth century, the completion of the North Carolina Railroad in 1856 signaled the beginning of unprecedented social and economic change. The 223-mile route of the railroad linked the county as never before to urban centers and markets across the state. Its great sweeping arc stretched from Goldsboro in the east to Charlotte in the west, joining Raleigh, Hillsborough,

Greensboro, Lexington, and Salisbury along the way. To business leaders, like Paul Cameron of Orange County, the railroad would not only stimulate the economy but also envigorate an entire population. Addressing the Orange County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts, and Manufactures in 1854, Cameron proclaimed that the railroad would put an end to "that careless indifference, nerveless energy and sleepy ignorance that have marked the enterprises of our people, public and private."[48] To civic boosters, the railroad heralded the dawn of a new age bursting with industrial and agricultural potential. "Hurrah for the North Carolina Railroad!" sang the *Hillsborough Recorder,* when the tracks reached town on April 1, 1855. "No more," the newspaper declared,

> will [Hillsborough's citizens] have to spend two days tugging through mud and over hills to visit our Capital; no more will our farmers have to endure the toil and exposure of wagoning, and expend all their profits in getting their produce to a market. The Iron Horse is now at their service, and time and space are almost annihilated. A brighter day, we trust, is dawning upon us.[49]

Small Piedmont farmers were now urged to become more productive members of the cash-crop economy. Newspapers championed the latest innovations in farming techniques, devoting articles to "Experiments in Cultivation," the "Value of Ashes in Agriculture," and "Muck for Manure." The editors of farming journals encouraged not only the adoption of new agricultural trends but a modern world outlook. They called for the yeomanry to raise their sights beyond subsistence agriculture, to forsake traditional ways for scientific techniques that boosted yields. If journal writers did not advance radical changes in farmstead organization, they at least proposed orderliness. An 1854 issue of the *Farmer's Journal* characterized the ideal "thrifty farmer" as one whose "out-house, wood-shed, poultry-house, pig-pen, wagon-house, spring-house, and corncrib are kept nicely white-washed on the outside, and kept

clean and neat within." By contrast, the "thriftless farmer has a place for nothing and nothing in its place."[50]

Spurred on by the new railroad and the advocates of commercial agriculture, county farmers entered the market. Their involvement in the cash-crop system is clearly reflected in tobacco production. Unlike corn, wheat, and other customary food crops, tobacco was grown almost exclusively for sale. In the 1850s tobacco prices rose with the emergence of "bright-leaf" tobacco. This variety was prized for its mild flavor and required a delicate leaf best grown on the types of silica-rich soils. From 1850 to 1860, the number of county farms tending the bright leaf soared from 10.8 percent to 40.7 percent, while the quantity grown rose five-fold, exceeding a million pounds. The largest harvests occurred on the best tobacco lands east of the Flat River where the Camerons and a few other major slave holders were the dominant producers. But many other farmers cultivated three or four acres of the crop, especially north of the railroad where soils ideally suited for tobacco could be found. In this section, well-drained siliceous soil was naturally dispersed in small strips which, when combined with the amount of labor required for tobacco farming, limited production to no more than 2,000 pounds per farm.[51]

In addition to tobacco, farmers also raised greater quantities of traditional crops. Corn remained the leading crop, but the production of wheat climbed sharply as well . In 1850, 26 percent of the county's farms grew 100 bushels of wheat or more; by 1860 the figure had increased to 39 percent.[52]

Even as commercial agriculture gained appeal, most farmers followed a conservative strategy. Prizing their independence while understanding the risks inherent in cash-crop farming, they made careful choices. If farmers

grew tobacco strictly for sale, they still devoted most of their acreage and energy to subsistence. Once the basic needs of the household were secured, farmers sold or traded the marketable surpluses. Corn and wheat, watermelons and apples, Irish and sweet potatoes, chickens and hogs: these and a variety of other crops and livestock were raised to ensure self-sufficiency as farmers tested the marketplace.[53]

The diversified farming activities of John and Louisa (Jackson) Turner offer a glimpse into the agricultural economy of the county prior to the Civil War. In 1860, the Turner family owned 713 acres on four separate tracts throughout the county. One of these sections was the 140-acre Jackson farm overlooking the Eno River outside Hillsborough. In 1855, the Turners had inherited this farm, including the log and timber-framed Jackson family homeplace, from Louisa's widowed mother, Mary Jackson. In 1860, the Turners' entire land holdings produced wheat (600 bushels) and corn (375 bushels), as well as smaller but significant yields of oats, peas, beans, and Irish and sweet potatoes. The Turners made five gallons of wine and 100 pounds of butter that year, while raising 50 sheep for wool and 80 swine for slaughter--altogether worth an estimated $1,000.00. These goods were consumed on the farm they were also often sold for cash and shipped from Hillsborough by rail.[54]

The coming of the railroad and commercial farming had only a modest effect on the county's urban growth before the Civil War. A depot was built at the Orange-Alamance county line in 1854, where the settlement of Mebanesville (later Mebane) soon came into existence. In Hillsborough, the railroad brought farmers to town and sparked commercial activity. Yet the number of residents remained virtually unchanged in the 1850s, reaching only 945 by the end of the decade. Fourteen miles east, the railroad depot at Durham's

Station attracted several stores and barrooms, a hotel, and a church. In 1858, a small smoking-tobacco factory was also constructed near the depot alongside the railroad tracks. Employing both free-black and white laborers, the plant signaled the beginning of the tobacco industry in Durham which after the Civil War would transform this hamlet into a major industrial center.[55]

# ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT
# EARLY SETTLEMENT TO THE CIVIL WAR

## Architecture and Yeoman Society

Spanning a century of settlement, rural building patterns in Orange County expressed a prevailing yeoman society. The geographic isolation and attendant self-sufficiency and intimate community life nurtured an abiding conservatism. Although this world was not a static one, farmers held on to traditional ways and incorporated new ideas cautiously. In their architecture, as in other aspects of life, they relied heavily on established customs which they adapted to the frontier setting. Buildings in this society often had a strong regional flavor, as local or itinerant builders perpetuated familiar vernacular forms, modes of construction, and elements of style.[56]

## Houses

### *Log*

Orange County boasts a remarkably large collection of intact log houses. Their unusally high survival rate may be partly a function of their proximity to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where students and others are drawn to log dwellings for their unique, rustic appeal as well as relatively affordable cost.[57] Historically rooted in European building traditions, log construction became familiar to all the cultural groups that settled North Carolina. The earliest settlers took advantage of the abundance of timber to

erect crude log dwellings requiring a minimum level of building skills. As more substantial dwellings were constructed over time, these pioneer houses were usually either demolished or relegated to the status of outbuildings. After 1800, domestic log architecture in the coastal plain was generally perceived as outdated, and residents increasingly opted for sturdier and more fashionable frame dwellings. By contrast, in Orange County and throughout the Piedmont, the second and even third generations of farmhouses were often demonstrations of highly skilled, notched-log construction. These well-crafted and practical log dwellings were hallmarks of a yeoman society.[58]

Builders constructed log houses along customary lines. The basic unit of design varied little: a single, four-walled room, or "pen," which could be easily multiplied or partitioned into several smaller rooms according to circumstance.[59] The surviving examples in Orange County represent types of log dwellings built across the Piedmont. Most are one-room rectangular dwellings that average about 16 to 22 feet on a side with sleeping lofts and rear sheds. The logs on these dwellings are hewn on two sides, producing flat surfaces on both the outside and inside walls, and secured together with tight-fitting corner notches. Notching techniques represent two standard types prevalent in the region: the V-notch, which was cut to resemble an inverted letter V; and the half-dovetail, in which the top side of the hewn log was splayed. To produce a tight wall, small rocks and pieces of wood were wedged into the cracks (or chinks) between the logs and then sealed with a daubing of lime mortar or clay.[60]

The Neville House, built in the mid-nineteenth century near Chapel Hill, exemplifies the well-crafted log houses of the county. Measuring 20 by 18 feet, the one-room dwelling is built of half-dovetailed notched logs and has a large

fieldstone chimney with a brick stack on the gable end. The interior retains the original wide floorboards and a corner enclosed stair that leads to the loft where exposed roof rafters are pegged at the ridge. The principal room is distinguished by a neoclassical mantelpiece with delicately molded panels, pilasters, and frieze. Although unusual for the county's log housing--where mantels tend to be serviceable, narrow planks--this decorative touch reveals a middling farmer's eye for style in domestic log architecture. The Neville House, like many such dwellings, received shed additions and weatherboard siding at an early date.

Although not as common in Orange County as the one-room plan, some single-pen log houses were partitioned into two-room and sometimes three-room arrangements. The Taylor House, built about 1850 near Carr, follows a hall-parlor plan, consisting of two rooms of unequal size. This traditional layout of English origin was also used in many the county's frame houses during this period. Located near Mebane, the Paisley-Rice Log House was designed with a three-room arrangement, consisting of a kitchen which runs the full depth of the house and is entered through the main door, and a smaller parlor and rear bedroom.[61] Inside, the walls are sheathed in planed flush boards and treated with a molded chair rail and simple baseboards. The mantel has a broad arch capped by a heavily molded shelf, reflecting a taste for the robust Georgian classicism that had appeared before the Revolution and persisted in the county into the nineteenth century.[62]

The occupants of log dwellings sometimes expanded the original pen with additional log rooms. The story-and-a-half Paisley-Rice residence, for instance, has a mid-century one-story log room attached to a gable end. The most common practice in Orange County was to build another log pen to the

rear of the main unit, connected by a covered breezeway. A particularly intact example of this is the Miller Log House (ca. 1820) near Rougemount. Here, the log wing is known to have served as the kitchen and features a massive, eight-foot-wide rock chimney.

*Frame and Brick*

While log houses flourished, development brought substantial houses of frame and occasionally, even brick construction. Early on, Hillsborough's wealth and prestige brought the county a claim to architectural pretension. The town attracted designers and artisans of remarkable talent, like the noted North Carolina architect and builder William Nichols, and local brickmason and contractor John Berry. Borrowing elements of style from architectural pattern books, these builders introduced Hillsborough to the latest national styles. Eagle Lodge (1823), an elegant representation of the Greek Revival style, is attributed to Nichols, who also designed the handsome Gothic Revival St. Matthew's Episcopal Church (1825-26). Each was constructed by John Berry in partnership with Samuel Hancock. In 1845, Berry both designed and constructed the Orange County Courthouse, an accomplished Greek Revival building that features a full pedimented portico and Doric entablature.[63]

Fashionable domestic architecture was also drawn into Hillsborough's orbit, including a small but notable collection of stylish country houses. Like the public buildings, these residential designs were influenced by architectural publications that disseminated the norms of classical architecture through plans, elevations, and a wide range of decorative motifs. Moorefields, a small-scale version of the classical T-plan villa, was erected about 1810 as the summer house of Alfred Moore, a Wilmington lawyer and planter. The

prototype for Moorefields was first introduced to eastern planters by way of mid-eighteenth-century English architecture books, which included house designs adapted from the works of Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio. The formal Palladian model consisted of a two-story pedimented central block and flanking one-story wings.[64] Alfred Moore's Piedmont summer house was a simplified frame version of that classical ideal. Instead of the front-facing pediment and central entrance found in the prototype, the main block of Moorefields has a standard side-facing gable roof and a side-hall plan. While the exterior is quite plain, the stylish interior features a Chinese lattice stair and a parlor mantel noteworthy for its early expression of Federal neoclassicism in North Carolina. The mantel's slender reeded pilasters and thin moldings represent the delicate treatment of classical motifs that became trademarks of the emerging Federal style in North Carolina. [65]

William Kirkland's Ayr Mount (ca. 1814-17) exemplifies the stylish neoclassical residences that communicated wealth and status in early-nineteenth-century North Carolina. One of the rare brick houses of this period in Orange County, Ayr Mount is an elegant display of proportion, scale, and decoration. Kirkland's plantation seat reflects the Palladian T-plan villa in its three-part massing and plan, though, in conservative fashion, the two-story main block has a side-gable roof. Its handsome workmanship includes Flemish-bond construction laid by brick mason William Collier, and a refined classical finish executed by carpenter John J. Briggs and joiner Elhannon Nutt. These same talented craftsmen also participated in the construction of Duncan Cameron's house at nearby Fairntosh (1810-11, 1818-21) as well as a number of other fine houses for the Piedmont gentry.[66]

The creation of a regional network of artisans and rich clients inevitably produced common elements of design, such as mantelpieces, stairs, wainscoting, doors, and porticoes, that expressed mutual tastes and values. Architectural historian Catherine W. Bishir has observed that these craftsmen and their elite employers participated in a "social network of building." Bishir writes, "For the gentlemen of the Piedmont, these handsome and well-crafted houses presented their success and taste in terms shared within their class; at the same time, they were sites of continual negotiation between ambitious and accomplished artisans . . . and their wealthy but cost-conscious clientele."[67]

Built west of Hillsborough also in the early nineteenth century, the red-brick Reverend Ira Ellis House is called "Little Ayr Mount" for its similarities to the much grander Kirkland residence. Like Ayr Mount, this house has a three-part plan, composed of the two-story gable-roofed center house and two small flanking gabled bays. Although the front porch has been removed, the dwelling retains handsome brickwork consisting of meticulous pencil joints and jack arches above the windows and center door. The interior has a mix of light Federal-style window surrounds and bolder Georgian features highlighted by two heavily molded and paneled mantelpieces.

In contrast to this small group of T-plan villas is a much larger number of houses--all built after 1800--that represent traditional regional building patterns. In Hillsborough and throughout the countryside, wealthier residents and middling folk alike selected frame gable-roofed residences, usually with shed-roofed front porches and exterior end chimneys. Occasionally these dwellings followed spacious plans that were two rooms deep and arranged around formal center passageways. The Smith-Cole House, built in 1845 for a Hillsborough planter, is one such house. This two-story residence

is a full five bays wide across the front with brick end chimneys and a shed porch supported on slender classical columns. More commonly, the frame dwellings were only one room deep and three bays across with either open hall-parlor plans or, by mid-century, formal center hallways. Based upon English antecedants, the hall-parlor arrangement consists of two rooms of unequal size. The main doorway opens directly into the multipurpose hall, with the smaller parlor beside it. Carpenters erected these houses using familiar timber-frame construction. Heavy corner posts, either hewn by hand or sawn at local water-powered mills, were connected by large horizontal timbers, the main members held in place with sturdy, pegged mortise-and-tenon joints.

The most enduring frame house type of this period, by far, is the two-story gable-roofed dwelling, one room deep. Versions of this tall, narrow form appeared regularly throughout North Carolina from the late eighteenth century into the early twentieth, symbolizing rural economic attainment.[68] In Orange County, a number of fine examples were built for successful farmers during the 1850s, attesting to a growing prosperity generated by the railroad and commercial agriculture. The Matthew Atwater House located in the White Cross community typifies many such mid-century houses. Rising a full two stories, the frame dwelling has a symmetrical three-bay facade, shed-roofed front porch, and a later one-story rear ell. The gable-roofed form is flanked by a pair of handsome brick end chimneys with fancy corbeled caps. The interior features a generously proportioned center hallway with two rooms of equal size opening onto the passage containing the stairway. The center hall not only offered residents a more formal living arrangement than the traditional hall-parlor house but also communicated a fuller expression of

classical symmetry. Interiors were now balanced around the central passage, just as the focus of exterior symmetry was the center entrance.

Some substantial middle-class dwellings continued to follow the hall-parlor plan with an enclosed corner stair in the main (hall) room. The 1848 Samuel Couch House near Durham and the 1850s Smyth House near Chapel Hill are well-preserved cases. In the example of the Couch residence, the unbalanced plan corresponds with offset windows and entry, reflecting the endurance of neoclassical design. Yet both houses were also clear demonstrations of their owners' economic achievement and social standing. Not only are they handsomely constructed (the Smyth House's stone chimneys have been stuccoed and scored to resemble masonry blocks), but in a yeoman society dominated by small log dwellings, the tall frame houses stood apart, evoking a kinship in form and materials with the neighboring plantation seats of the upper class.

The appearance of the rectangular two-story form coincided with a growing enthusiasm among rural landowners for the Greek Revival style. The Greek Revival gained enormous popularity on a national scale after 1820, providing a symbolic link between the world's oldest and newest democracies while appealing to America's established taste for neoclassical design. Like no other preceding style, the Greek Revival was promoted by a flood of widely circulating builders' guides. Works such as Asher Benjamin's *The Practical House Carpenter* (first edition 1830) and Minard Lafever's *The Modern Builders' Guide* (1833) offered up great varieties of Grecian motifs that local builders could execute in board lumber and readily apply to traditional frame house types.[69]

The aforementioned Atwater, Couch, and Smyth houses show Greek Revival features, as do virtually all the remaining antebellum frame dwellings. Each execution of the style reveals a studied restraint that was characteristic of the builders' Greek Revival. The Atwater House displays the style in its pedimented side gables, fluted window surrounds with corner blocks, sidelights and transom around the front door, and flush sheathing on the porch. The Couch House also has such flush sheathing and window surrounds, as well as a slightly shallow roof pitch, sturdy tapered porch posts, and a two-panel front door. Instead of the full pediments found on the Atwater residence, the gable ends of the Couch House have simpler, molded cornice returns suggesting classical pediments. The well-preserved interior includes two-panel doors and post-and-lintel mantels with fluted pilasters in both the hall and parlor.

If Greek Revival elements were routinely affixed to the familiar rectangular house type, the style also induced modifications to that form. As is evident in both the Couch and Smyth houses, the Greek Revival popularized a slightly lower pitched gable roof creating a wider profile. In the instance of the Pitard Place (ca. 1860) near Cedar Grove, the trend towards broader proportions was given its fullest local expression. Though conventional in basic form and plan, this house has an extremely shallow hip roof, heavily molded windows and entrance spaced far apart, and a two-tiered entry porch with a hip roof and thick square posts. The weighty design evokes a certain monumentality that was central to the Greek Revival aesthetic.

## Farm Outbuildings

Although farm buildings from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have largely disappeared in Orange County, a scattering of log smokehouses, granaries, corncribs, kitchens, and barns survives. They are mainly remnants of yeoman farmyards that were once thick with sheds, stables, and other buildings supporting a self-sufficient way of life. The William Maynard property in southwest Orange County is one of the few farms retaining even several pre-Civil War outbuildings. The farmstead includes a log kitchen and smokehouse, which in their form and construction characterized a broad range of small, domestic and agricultural buildings. The kitchen (reputedly the original homeplace) was built about 1814 and moved to its present site in 1857. It is a one-room, story-and-a-half building put together with tight-fitting, half-dovetailed notched logs and attached to the rear of the Maynard house by an open breezeway. A massive stone chimney with a brick stack fills one gable end. The gable-front smokehouse, sited directly behind the residence, is of similar half-dovetailed construction. The granary on the Samuel Couch Farm also follows a gable-front form, but its walls are of loose-fitting V-notched logs that facilitated grain ventilation. Log corncribs were also usually V-notched for the same practical reason.

One of the few remaining pre-Civil War barns is located on the Lloyd Farm in the Chapel Hill vicinity. Resembling the standard single-pen log house, the barn is a rectangular, half-dovetailed log building with side facing gables and an entranceway on the eave wall.

## Institutional, Industrial, and Commercial Buildings

The rare surviving pre-Civil War churches, academies, grist mills, and hostelries, represent the same unpretentious and conservative approach to

workmanship and design that informed domestic architecture. Although the first wave of churches was dominated by expedient log construction, the earliest remaining country churches illustrate later stages of rebuilding and expansion. Fairfield Presbyterian Church in the Cedar Grove area is a simple, one-story, frame building erected about 1834 and renovated in 1901. The structure retains its original, rectangular gable-front shape, though the pointed-arched Gothic windows and doorway reflect the later remodeling. St. Mary's Chapel was erected in 1859 to provide a stylish, permanent house of worship for Episcopalians in the Little River community. It is a small, elegant, brick building in the Gothic Revival style. This choice of design reflected a movement within the Protestant Episcopal church to adopt Gothic architecture as a means of stirring religious emotions and symbolizing the denomination's lineage to the medieval Christian church.[70] In St. Mary's Chapel, the Gothic mode is displayed in the sharp pitch of the gable roof, brick buttresses flanking lancet panels, and pointed-arched windows. A simple wooden cross tops the gable end.

Situated in the pastoral Oaks community, the former Bingham School characterizes the large rural academies of the antebellum decades. In its scale, workmanship, and design, the school resembles the county's substantial domestic architecture of this period. It consists of a two-story, gable-roofed block with brick end chimneys and a rear ell. The front portion, built about 1845, suggests the Greek Revival style in decorative fluting around doors and windows. Handsome double doors on both the front and back of the house are expertly wood-grained and lead into a center hallway finished with paneled wainscoting. Inside, the wood-grained doors and the fluted door and window treatments echo the academy's exterior. The two-story rear wing, which

predates the school and Bingham ownership, includes both log and frame sections united by weatherboarding and a common gable roof.[71]

Early industrial buildings also shared the characteristics of traditional domestic form and construction. Rural grist mills, like the late-eighteenth-century Faucett Mill on the Eno River, were often built two stories high with standard gable roofs, horizontal weatherboards, and solid fieldstone foundations. Although Faucett Mill has been refurbished many times over the centuries, its essential form and craftsmanship still convey the original appearance of the mill.[72]

The Faucett House (ca. 1808), which survives intact beside the mill, was also an inn. In a fashion typical of rural and small-town inns found across North Carolina before the Civil War, the Faucetts adapted a floor plan that would accommodate a public tavern and rooms for guests as well as private family quarters. The two-story, gable-roofed house has a standard center hall dividing the rooms, with the front door opening into the center hall. A second front door leads to the larger east room and rear kitchen wing. It is believed that this section of the house functioned as the inn and tavern, while the west side, separated by the central passage, was reserved for the Faucetts.[73]

# POST-CIVIL WAR TO POST-WORLD WAR II

## "Orange County is Mortgaged to Death," 1865 to World War I

Orange County escaped the physical destruction of the Civil War, but as throughout the South, the aftermath of the conflict brought social and economic upheaval. The abolition of slavery, lingering wartime poverty, and the dearth of capital stalled agricultural production and reorganized the antebellum social and economic systems. The total value of farms in Orange County fell by half between 1860 and 1870, and the average size of farms dropped from 285 acres to 198 acres. In 1868, one distressed county farmer wrote to a friend that "times is mightily hard down here." He noted that with corn selling at only $7.50 per barrel and wheat at a paltry $2.00 a bushel, "a pore man is hard run to live. . . . The winter is tremendous rough." Even the wealthiest professionals and businessmen were discouraged by the economic stagnation and uncertainty. In Hillsborough, Frederick Nash lamented, "there is not much encouragement now a days in the pursuit of any business in our poor desolate land."[74]

The emancipation of the county's 6,000 slaves, a third of the total population, presented momentous challenges for both races. "The whole framework of our social system is dissolved," declared a white resident of Chapel Hill in 1865. "The negroes are free, leaving their homes with few exceptions, & those exceptions are only for a time." Former slave holders struggled with labor shortages as many African American families fled the countryside for

opportunities in the towns and cities. A Chapel Hill landowner complained in 1870, "There has been great difficulty in getting laborers. Most of our Negroes have quit here for Raleigh and elsewhere."[75]

Emancipated blacks demonstrated their freedom not only by leaving Orange County but also by staying and acquiring property, attending schools, and forming churches. Although only a small fraction of freedmen owned any real estate in the postwar years, and the average size of their farms was less than half that of farms operated by whites, advancements in land ownership took place. Robert Fitzgerald, a black freedmen's schoolteacher, observed such progress in his rural neighborhood near Hillsboorough. He wrote in his diary that local black families were "very poor, but the general class have bought land and built houses, though small."[76] In 1869, Fitzgerald's own father moved to Orange County from Delaware and purchased a 158-acre farm for $1,200.[77]

Robert Fitzgerald taught at one of six freedmen's schools formed in Orange County by 1868. They were financed largely through the Freedmen's Bureau and Quaker missionary groups, but blacks also contributed when they were able. Shortly after the war, freedman Job Berry placed an announcement in the *Hillsborough Recorder* that the "colored citizens of Hillsborough" were to meet to raise money for a school.[78] Poorly funded and ill-equipped for the tremendous task at hand, these schools were nevertheless assertions of African American independence and aspirations. Accordingly, local whites declared their opposition. Shortly after the war, William A. Graham wrote to David L. Swain, president of the University of North Carolina, expressing this prevailing concern. Graham stressed what he saw as the dangerous connection between schooling freedmen and "equality with whites, & other political topics."[79]

Amidst a pervasive white resistence, schools for black children slowly increased, though the impoverishment of postwar North Carolina held back public education for both races. By the 1880s, there were 31 African American schools and 33 white schools in the county, operating only several months out of the year. Nearly all the buildings were rough log or frame structures, testifying to the severely limited funds for common schools. Single-room, one-teacher facilities would predominate with rare exceptions into the twentieth century. In 1910, special taxes were levied in six districts for the construction and operation of larger graded schools--all for white children.[80]

Along with black schools, emancipation also brought about the formation of black churches. African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) and African Methodist Episcopal Zion (A.M.E. Zion) congregations were organized in Hillsborough and Chapel Hill as well as in rural areas like the Eno community, where Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church was formed in 1878. Baptist churches were particularly active in the postwar black community, and by the 1890s, black Baptist congregations were well-established in every corner of the county.[81]

For rural black and white families alike, land tenure assumed a variety of forms after the Civil War. A landowner might hire and supervise farm laborers, or he might divide his holdings into smaller plots and make arrangements with sharecroppers or renters to farm the land. In most sharecrop arrangements in Orange County, the tenant received either one-half or two-thirds of the harvest on a piece of land, with the owner providing the land, housing, animals, tools, and, depending on the arrangements, seeds, and fertilizers. Unlike sharecroppers, renters had the financial means to pay a fixed rate for a small farm and to furnish the livestock and equipment. Like

owners, they were free to grow whatever crops they chose and, at year's end, to enjoy the profits or endure the losses alone.[82] In 1890, 58 percent of the county's farmers were either renters, croppers, or laborers. Over half the black farmers were field hands, a third were sharecroppers, and only a tenth owned the land they farmed. The conditions for white farmers were better, yet more than a third did not own land in 1890, and over 20 percent of them were sharecroppers. By the turn of the century, nearly 40 percent of all farmers in Orange County were sharecroppers and worked on average 20 to 60 acres.[83]

Farm tenancy grew in tandem with new crop-lien laws. If tenancy offered the fortunate sharecropper an opportunity to earn money to buy land, then agricultural credit pushed many more tenants and yeoman farmers into chronic debt. With cash scarce after the Civil War, merchants assumed a powerful role in the rural Piedmont economy. Lien laws were passed that permitted the use of unplanted crops as collateral in the purchase of seeds, fertilizer, and other goods. General stores thus became the principal sources for loans and credit. Merchants, as creditors, demanded repayment in crops such as tobacco and cotton, which they could sell for cash. Consequently, farmers became caught in a cycle of dependency, often compelled to raise more and more cash crops to pay for foodstuffs and other items traditionally produced on the farm.[84]

In addition to crop liens, farmers were embattled by higher taxes and new fence laws. Taxes mounted during the late nineteenth century to pay for the building of railways and county roads. Meanwhile, fence laws devised to promote purebred livestock and protect crops, were passed in township after township across the state. The first such law in Orange County was enacted in 1885, and quickly the enclosure of farm animals was regulated countywide.

Fence laws benefited primarily large-scale landowners who had the means to breed stock. However, the fencing of animals prevented farmers from allowing their cattle and swine to forage freely on the open range.[85]

Land tenancy, the crop lien, higher taxes, and fence laws, all conspired to push the small farmer away from self-sufficiency and toward cash-crop agriculture. Although semi-subsistence farming persisted well into the early twentieth century, farmers increasingly turned to bright-leaf tobacco for cash exchange. County farmers even tested cotton as a money crop, and by the turn of century grew 5,000 acres primarily in the southern tier of townships.[86]

However, reliance on cash crops made farmers increasingly vulnerable to market conditions. As more and more farmers competed in the market the return on cash crops fell, and with the national depression of the 1890s, both tobacco and cotton prices plummeted. In 1891, a yeoman farmer summed up the loss of independence and mounting indebtedness sweeping the county. "Orange County is mortgaged to death," he stated. "The farmers have raised cotton and tobacco and bought guano and supplies on time until the merchants have a mortgage on seven-tenths of the farms."[87] Another farmer offered a solution that also illuminated the dilemma:

> I often think of the immense amount of freight we, as farmers, pay for supplies that we are bound to have, which I think we could produce if we were to drop a part of the staple crops, viz. tobacco and cotton. . . . Let us do a part of our legislating at home in our corn, wheat, oats and other fields, with our kitchen patches.[88]

Burdened by debt and facing an uncertain future, sharecroppers and field hands of both races migrated to North Carolina factories and cities, including

the bustling tobacco town of Durham. By 1880 (a year before it would become the county seat of separate Durham County), Durham had overtaken Chapel Hill and Hillsborough in population, and by the turn of the century contained 6,679 residents. In the next decade, Durham's population skyrocketed to over 18,000. The city was home to James B. ("Buck") Duke's powerful American Tobacco Company, which had consolidated the five leading tobacco firms into one gigantic manufacturer which controlled the cigarette industry in the United States.[89] African Americans, in particular, poured into Durham where tobacco-processing plants were waiting to hire unskilled black workers at rock-bottom wages. But some blacks also achieved social status and economic success as skilled craftsmen, professionals, and businessmen. By the 1920s, Durham boasted one of the premier African American commercial and cultural districts in the South.[90]

By the early twentieth century, tobacco manufacturing--like the burgeoning textile and furniture industries of the Piedmont--was powered by electricity. In 1904, tobacco magnate Duke established the Southern (later Duke) Power Company that supplied electricity to manufacturers in the region. About 1910, Southern Power constructed a large power plant on the Eno River east of Hillsborough, furnishing energy to industrial Durham.

Durham's emergence as a manufacturing hub overshadowed the neighboring towns in Orange County. Hillsborough contained several steam-powered cotton mills by the early 1900s, but its primary role was that of the county seat and service center for local farmers. At the west end of the county, the railroad corridor in Mebane attracted a small collection of industries, notably the White Furniture Company. Founded in 1881 by William and David White, this manufacturer employed 300 workers (both white and African American)

by the early twentieth century. Chapel Hill, meanwhile, grew into a small college town, providing the university community with permanent residences, boarding houses, and an assortment of clothiers, tailors, druggists, grocers, and jewelers. Its population equaled Hillsborough's by 1900, and then continued to climb, coinciding with the major expansion campaigns of the university before the First World War.[91]

Adjoining academic Chapel Hill was industrial Carrboro, a textile-mill enclave that began after the North Carolina Railroad ran a spur line to a point one mile west of Chapel Hill in 1882. Incorporated in 1911 as Venable, this site had attracted two textile factories, the Alberta Cotton Mill and the Blanche Hosiery Mills, by the early 1900s. In 1913, the town was renamed Carrboro in honor of Durham industrialist Julian Shakespeare Carr, who purchased both mills in 1909, and shortly thereafter incorporated the Alberta plant as well as a third mill in Carrboro into his extensive Durham Hosiery Company chain.[92]

University Station, Blackwood, and Efland also took shape along the rail line, each with an assortment of small industries and fertilizer warehouses grouped around a depot and a general store. At Efland, the largest of these railroad stops, members of the enterprising Efland family first opened an excelsior plant in 1906, followed by a hosiery mill in 1912. In later decades, four additional textile mills would locate next to the tracks at Efland, employing upwards of 100 workers.[93]

Away from the youthful rail settlements, a maturing countryside showed signs of progress. Crop prices rose steadily after 1900 and particularly during World War I, providing landowners with the financial means to improve their farmhouses and outbuildings. While the traditional rural neighborhoods

remained in place, the successes of commercial farming were clearly visible. Gristmills and saw mills increased in number as well as capacity, and several cotton gins appeared along Cane Creek, signifying the better cotton lands south of the railroad. At various crossroads sites, white congregations enlarged or rebuilt their churches, and merchants their stores. The congregations of such established churches as Mount Herman Baptist, Bethel Baptist, and Crossroads Baptist, all built new houses of worship during the early 1900s.[94]

The African American presence was influenced as well by this atmosphere of prosperity. Granted, the great majority of black farmers continued to be laborers or sharecroppers, but one-fourth had also purchased their own farms by 1910. Countywide, rural black communities expanded around new churches at the fringes of white hamlets. For example, in 1914, black families near the hamlet of Carr erected White Oak Grove Baptist Church in their own neighborhood above the crossroads. In 1918, Lee's Chapel Baptist Church appeared at the outskirts of Cedar Grove, becoming the focal point of a small settlement of black farmers.[95]

## 1920s to Post-World War II

In the years after the First World War, social and economic patterns began to unfold in Orange County that would affect development to the present day. For farmers, the brief prosperity in the new century was followed by prolonged hard times. Crop prices began to fall in the 1920s and then nosedived during the Great Depression. Tobacco, which sold for 26 cents per pound in 1926, went for merely 12 cents in 1932. Cotton prices dipped from 30 cents a pound in 1910

to 25 cents in the late 1920s, and then fell to 10 cents in 1932. Following the devastation by the boll weevil, which first struck the Piedmont in the 1920s and ruined cotton fields through the 1930s, cotton farming in the county virtually ceased. As tobacco prices increased and stabilized during the 1940s, the bright leaf remained the favorite cash crop in northern Orange County. Many farmers, however, also opted for dairy farming, raising beef cattle and swine, or diversifying into a variety of grains and livestock. Many others continued the field-to-factory migration that had begun in the late nineteenth century, quitting the land for jobs paying cash wages in the nearby cities and cotton-mill towns.[96]

By mid-century, the Orange County landscape reflected these trends. Small farms still dotted the land, but tenancy was in decline--speeded along by the coming of the tractor and other labor-saving machinery. While tenant farms disappeared, big dairy barns, silos, and newly fenced pastures and hayfields became commonplace. Although the predominance of tobacco kept most holdings small, there was also a movement towards larger tracts for dairying and livestock production. Thus in 1950 there were 18 farms that averaged 765 acres, even though the median farm size had declined to merely 63 acres.[97]

Among the many agents of agricultural change were government service programs and cooperative associations. The state Agricultural Extension Agency in Hillsborough offered advice on scientific farming methods and promoted the raising of grains, grasses, and livestock, in addition to tobacco. In the 1930s, produce and dairy cooperatives were formed to provide markets for farm goods and secure supplies and services for members at low cost. The Farmers Exchange, a huge, multi-county produce association, was opened in Durham in 1930 with branch offices in both Hillsborough and Chapel Hill. In

the 1940s, dairy cooperatives in these two towns set up milk plants and creameries that served all the dairy farms in the county. By the end of the decade, dairy products ranked second only to tobacco as the main source of revenue for local farmers.[98]

Dramatic improvements in transportation after World War I at once encouraged and responded to the shifting agricultural conditions. Better roads and bridges plus the widespread adoption of the motor car and truck led to unprecedented mobility. Spearheaded by Hillsborough native Harriet Morehead Berry, the Highway Act of 1921 funded the development of highways to link all the major cities and county seats, and effectively launched the Good Roads Movement in the state. The spine of the new state system was the Central Highway (Highway 70), which ran from the coastal plain to the Tennessee state line and cut directly through Hillsborough. But the improvement of farm-to-market routes would take decades to accomplish, and into the 1950s rural traffic still encountered impassable roads for months out of each year.[99]

North Carolina's investment in roads was paralleled by greater funds for education. The consolidation of schools in Orange County and the entire state began in the 1920s and hit full stride after the Second World War. By the early 1950s, following a countywide building program to upgrade government facilities, the movement towards larger consolidated schools for white children was complete.[100] For African American children, however, pervasive Jim Crow laws and customs restricted public dollars for black schools and slowed progress in education during the first half of the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, improvements in rural African American schools began in 1920s with the formation of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Rosenwald, a Sears-Roebuck executive and one of the nation's leading philanthropists, established the fund primarily to improve the quality of black schoolhouses in the rural South. The new facilities were financed using a combination of both Rosenwald grants and local funds, and conformed to a specific set of design guidelines. For example, buildings were required to have a north-south principal axis, banks of high windows, and sites in spacious clearings. Such standards maximized the classrooms' exposure to natural light, a chronic problem for all schools before rural electrification efforts were initiated in the 1930s. By the mid-1920s, Orange County contained four Rosenwald schools: two-teacher facilities at Cool Springs and Gravely Hill, a three-teacher school at Efland, and a sizable nine-teacher county training facility near Hillsborough.[101]

After the Second World War, the steady improvement of roads, which had fostered school consolidation and greater access to markets, ultimately affected the geography of settlement. Between the Great Depression and 1950, the number of rural residents dropped from 87 percent to 73 percent of the total populace, while the population as a whole rose from 21,000 to 34,000. Growth was now concentrated around Chapel Hill, which boasted 9,000 citizens by the 1950s. The development of the town mirrored the concurrent expansion of the university. Between 1920 and the early 1950s, enrollment vaulted from 1,300 students to more than 5,000, and campus construction reached its highest point up to that time.[102]

In rural Orange County, the effects of urbanization and greater mobility were perhaps most clearly visible in the crossroads hamlets. Dependant upon the

insular farming community for its survival, the country store was eclipsed by larger centralized enterprises that enjoyed a broader market area. At places like Laws crossroads, the general store gave way to the canopied filling station across the intersection. At Cedar Grove, the rural store remained open, but it no longer held sway over the local farmer's credit and trade.

# ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT
# POST-CIVIL WAR TO WORLD WAR II

## Houses

In Orange County and throughout North Carolina, the rural houses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected both the enduring appeal of traditional forms and the conservative application of new, nationally popular themes. The late nineteenth century witnessed growing opportunities for new types of domestic design fostered by innovative framing methods, the mass production of bricks, nails, and milled lumber, and the emergence of rail transportation. Frame and brick houses became easier, faster, and cheaper to construct. At the same time, architectural catalogs offered an unprecedented array of stylish and affordable sawn ornaments, moldings, and mantelpieces, fashioned at steam-powered factories and delivered to customers by rail. Builders' widespread use of the light balloon frame, which consisted entirely of small framing members nailed in place, coincided with the rise of the national picturesque movement. Picturesque architecture, including such styles as the Gothic Revival and Italianate, and culminating in the flamboyant Queen Anne, promoted a freedom of design not permitted by the strictures of neoclassicism. But even as the appeal of the picturesque stirred up ornamentation along porches and roof lines in rural Orange County, the conservative culture held on to traditional building practices and house types well into the 1900s.[103]

This conservatism is perhaps most vividly demonstrated in the persistence of log houses for small farmers, tenants, and laborers throughout the period. The 1870s Reilly Log House near Rougemont is an outstanding example of the enduring one-room log farmhouse. In its half-dovetailed-notched walls, exterior rock chimney, and rear log kitchen attached by a breezeway, the Reilly residence neatly illustrates the craftsmanship and accepted principles of design that marked the county's finest log dwellings for over a century. Other log quarters--often with simpler V-notching and varying levels of workmanship--were widely built for farm tenants and field hands. Although usually now covered with replacement sidings, these dwellings continue to dot the Orange County countryside. A representative example is the Villines House near Hillsborough. Built in 1912, as inscribed in the rock chimney, this one-room, rectangular house has V-notched logs, a center door, and a small, shuttered loft window in the gable.

With the availability of milled lumber, frame houses conforming to familiar shapes and layouts also proliferated on the landscape. Versions of the gable-roofed, one room deep, symmetrical dwelling, with a front porch and rear kitchen ell, remained popular among Orange County farmers until at least 1910. Both one-story and two-story models, usually with simple shed porches and open plans, were built for tenants. In upper Orange County, tobacco farmer Ira Rogers built a host of such frame and log housing for his tenants in the early 1900s. Of the few dwellings that remain, one is a two-story house with a central chimney and a pair of front doors, each opening into one of the main rooms off the porch. Possibly designed for two families, the basic type is found on farms across the northern reaches of the county, where tobacco farming and the tenant system ruled.

Landowners also continued to select the rectangular symmetrical form for their own houses, usually with a formal central passage. Decoration and scale varied according to tastes and means. The standard two-story model was repeated throughout Orange County from the late 1860s to about 1910. A well-preserved postwar example is the Herbert McCauley House, which occupies a hill overlooking Old Greensboro Road. The McCauley House is decorated with a combination of Greek Revival elements (which remained popular in the county after the Civil War) and picturesque motifs. As was common practice, McCauley concentrated the newest elements of fashion on the front porch, displaying picturesque chamfered posts and jig-sawn brackets. In the Greek Revival mode, the roof line has gable returns and a wide frieze board, and the double-door entrance has classical sidelights and a transom. Inside, the walls and ceilings are sheathed with flush boards and the mantels have simple, Greek Revival post-and-lintel designs. A sizable house, the McCauley residence includes a two-story rear ell plus a two-room wing, which may have been an earlier dwelling.

In the decades following the Civil War, some of the county's wealthiest residents chose picturesque versions of the traditional two-story form to communicate their status and taste. In 1875, Dr. Archibald Jordan, a prominent Caldwell physician, built one such house. Inspired by the Italianate style and popularized in numerous pattern books, the Jordan residence features a slightly projecting center pavilion creating a middle roof gable with a deep and bracketed cornice that extends across the facade to the side elevations. Stylish, single and paired arched windows exist throughout the main block and rear kitchen wing. The hip-roofed front porch has square wooden posts with molded bases (the original porch brackets and sawnwork balustrade have been

removed). Within, a commodious central hall features unusual diagonal sheathing and an elegantly curved staircase.

By far, the most common modification to the familiar gable-roofed rectangle was the addition of a third gable prominently centered over the facade. The basic design was rooted in the Gothic style and introduced to the American public through Andrew Jackson Downing's enormously successful *Cottage Residences.* First published in 1842, Downing's pattern book went through 13 printings until 1887, with each reprinting featuring plates of cottages sporting pointed front gables. In Orange County and in towns and rural areas across the state, large and small variations of this house proliferated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[104] The Kenion House north of Hillsborough is exemplary of the two-story version. Built in 1910 for John Kenion, a farmer and Hillsborough banker, the dwelling has pointed arched window surrounds, a cornice trimmed with lathe-turned pendants, and a stylish front porch with chamfered posts and decorative brackets. But the artistic focus of the Kenion House is the front-facing gable adorned with patterned wood shingles and capped off by lacy sawnwork in the peak. In keeping with regional practices, fieldstone chimneys with brick stacks flank the side gables and a one-story ell is connected to the rear.

Also located in the Cedar Grove area, the William Woods McDade House (ca. 1900) is an exceptionally fine story-and-a-half variation of this picturesque design. Like the Kenion House, the McDade dwelling features a center gable embellished with decorative shingles and applied millwork. A full window in the gable signifies an upper-story hall separating bed chambers. The symmetry of the three-bay facade is purposely broken by a cutaway bay and a fancy wraparound porch, which includes turned posts and balustrade and a

spindlework frieze. A corbelled chimney pierces the junction of the main block and a full-height rear ell.

One of the simplest and most common expressions of the center-gable design is represented by the one-story Bradsher House (ca. 1900) in northwest Orange County. In this house as with many of its counterparts, builders employed standardized materials for maximum effect, efficiently blending convention with the current fashion. The center gable dressed with scalloped shingles, and the front porch treated simply with factory-made chamfered supports and sawn brackets, gave the familiar rectangular cottage a new look at an affordable price.

Testifying to the deeply rooted conservatism of this agrarian society, the picturesque movement introduced very few new house types to rural Orange County. Two distinctive T-shaped residences, the Artemis Aquila Compton House in Cedar Grove, and the Manly Snipes House in southwest Orange, convey the architectural status quo as much as they do modern tendencies. Each house is the conventional two-story, one-room-deep form, up-dated by a second-story wing that projects boldly from the center of the facade and extends over the main entrance. In each case, the wing is incorporated into the design of the front porch, supported by porch posts and flanked by one-story shed roofs that continue the porch across the facade. Probably built about 1890, the Snipes House retains its original porch posts which are simple square piers embellished with jigsawed brackets. A long window is positioned in the middle of the front-facing wing providing for an additional bedroom on the second floor.

Situated in the Little River community, the turn-of-the-century Thomas Laws House represents a more common expression of the T-shaped design. Here the two-story wing projects to the front and back of one end of the main block. The effect is a stylish, asymmetrical facade, though one not radically different from the ordinary rectangular plan. The house is modestly dressed with cornice returns, a pointed-arched vent in the front-facing gable, and a deep wraparound porch with later posts. A much more adventurous version of the cross-gable design is the Cole House near Chapel Hill. Built in 1900 as William Cole's wedding present to his daughter, the one-story house is draped with a lively variety of sawtooth and scalloped shingles. A cutaway bay, multiple gables with diamond-shaped vents, and turned millwork trimming the porch augment the picturesque display.

However, the flamboyance of the Cole House was unusual. By the early 1900s, the favorite new style among Orange County landowners was the Colonial Revival. Its comfortable patriotic associations and familiar classical themes appealed to the middle-class farmer who was enjoying prosperity but also encountering unprecedented industrialization and urban growth. These residents not only applied Colonial Revival symbols to traditional house types, but also selected a nationally popular, two-story cubic design.[105]

A handsome example of Colonial Revival architecture is the Dr. C. M. Hughes House in Cedar Grove. Built in 1912, this grand frame residence has a two-story square form crowned by a high hip roof with smaller cross gables. A projecting cutaway bay, wraparound verandah, and decorative sawnwork in the gables are picturesque tokens. But the dominant theme is Colonial Revival. The cubic symmetry, hip roof, Doric columns, and pedimented entry bay on the porch are all elements of the domestic style. Also located in Cedar Grove,

the Tolar House characterizes a host of big boxy Colonial Revival farmhouses built in the 1910s and 1920s. The two-and-a-half-story frame house has a hip-roofed form with a central dormer, evenly spaced single and paired windows, and a center hall. Although a simple design, the revival style is evident in the boxed cornices of the dormers and porch gable, the stylized Palladian window in the dormer, and the classical columns.

While the Colonial Revival (like earlier styles) was inspired by historical precedents, new designs appeared in the years around World War I that emphasized an artful simplicity derived from rational planning and adept craftsmanship. Builders readily adapted the Colonial Revival box to the new movement, employing low-cost prefabricated materials to construct big, plain, farmhouses with eight rooms in the main block. Some of the designs kept the central hall, but others had open plans that maximized space and suited the informality of the style. A clear example of the simplified cubic farmhouse is the Ira Rogers House northwest of Hillsborough. Constructed in 1912, this symmetrical hip-roofed dwelling has a matching hip-roofed porch with tapered wooden posts and large double and triple windows across the facade.

The most popular national expression of this trend towards architectural simplicity was the bungalow. Featured in new pattern books and architectural magazines that targeted the American middle and working classes, the ideal bungalow was promoted as affordable, efficient, modern, and tasteful. There were countless variations, but the principal elements of the style included the low-slung form, wide porch with tapered posts, broad eaves with exposed rafters, and an abundance of windows. The finer examples often contained rustic materials, such as cobblestones for porches, chimneys, and foundations, and rough split shakes for sidings. Although the bungalow style was inspired

by the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts Movement and its devotion to hand-crafted quality, in America, the bungalow rose to popularity as a mass-produced house. In North Carolina and nationwide, Sears, Roebuck and Company, the North American Construction Company (of Bay City, Michigan), and scores of smaller manufacturers produced prefabricated bungalows built with the lumber cut to specifications and shipped by railroad car to local contractors.[106]

Bungalows abound in Orange County. Many date from the 1920s when farmers remodeled their old homes or built new ones, often as part of larger construction projects related to a conversion to dairy farming. In 1929, Robert Oscar Cate erected a substantial bungalow farmhouse beside new dairy buildings on his farm near Chapel Hill. The frame house stands on a tree-shaded rise of land just above a massive gambrel-roofed dairy barn and smaller milk sheds which Cate had completed the same year. Variations of the Cate bungalow, differing slightly in detail and scale, were built across the county and throughout nation during the 1920s. This model has a broad, story-and-a-half form with a low gable roof that sweeps down to shield a large front porch. The roof includes a gabled dormer and wide bracketed eaves, while the porch has thick tapered posts resting on heavy brick piers. Other versions of this design include the smaller Cole House in Cedar Grove, the Scarborough House near Hillsborough that incorporates both shed and gabled dormers, and the two-story Brodie Lloyd House west of Chapel Hill.

The conscious informality that characterized the bungalow is also displayed in the sprawling Rigsbee's Rock House (ca. 1929). Sited on a two-acre wooded tract east of Hillsborough, this country estate is a standout example of twentieth-century rustic architecture. The story-and-a-half dwelling has a

veneer of white quartz under a broad hip roof with dormers and cross gables. The arched entrance on the front terrace opens into an irregular pattern of rooms--including five bedrooms--arranged around a central passage. Dark oak tongue-and-groove flooring and window and door surrounds, textured wall plaster, and a large stone fireplace contribute to the overall rusticity. The owner's affinity for white quartz is demonstrated in the low stone wall that surrounds the property, as well as in the construction of the garage, pump house, swimming pool, and the two massive, six-foot-high planters originally topped by statues in front of the house.

The Rigsbee estate has a colorful past, built for bootleggers Mack and Julie Rigsbee. According to local lore, the pair hid their whiskey (known as East Lake Rye) in the steeply pitched dormers and gables of the house and distilled alcohol in the downstairs bathroom. The current owners have discovered that one of the faucets upstairs is fed by its own tank concealed in the eaves of the roof. It is speculated that the Rigbees and guests simply turned the appropriate nozzle to fill their glasses with moonshine.

## Outbuildings and Farmsteads

Many individual outbuildings and entire farm complexes survive from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Orange County. They reveal both a persistent self-sufficiency and the rise of cash-crop agriculture, often requiring specialized outbuildings and changes in farm organization. Present on the landscape are scores of log outbuildings demonstrating the use of inexpensive and efficient notched log construction for barns, smokehouses, corncribs and sheds into the early twentieth century. Also present are a

variety of frame outbuildings that began to appear with increasing regularity around the turn of the century.

The T. Marvin Phelps Farm north of Hillsborough is representative of a turn-of-the-century agricultural complex. Arranged along a path behind the farmhouse is a great assemblage of outbuildings, including a smokehouse, a well house, two log and frame barns, a tenant house, and a group of log tobacco barns. The frame barn has a transverse crib plan, which consists of pairs of adjoining cribs, or pens, facing a common central aisle that follows the ridge line of the gable roof. The double-crib log barn on the property includes a pair of V-notched log units divided by a central passage running perpendicular to the gable roof. The county's other early livestock and feed barns are variations of these crib-barn plans. Whether constructed of log or frame, they consist of two to four cribs arranged under a gable roof, with the wagon aisle running either parallel or at right angles to the ridge line.[107]

The emergence of bright leaf tobacco introduced new structures to the farmyard, especially in northern Orange County where tobacco became the predominant cash crop. Tobacco-curing barns, grading rooms for sorting out the cured leaves, and pack houses for tobacco storage all became standard features by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In common with the other northern Piedmont counties that formed the "Old Bright Belt," tobacco barns in Orange County were usually log constructed. When tightly notched and well chinked with clay (later cement), log barns provided efficient insulation at a low cost. In the late nineteenth century, tobacco barns were regularly fired using outside wood-burning furnaces and interior flues that circulated the heat through the barn. The curing process,

demanding vigilance and the careful regulation of heat, took about five-and-a-half days. Attached open sheds offered shelter for workers during the days and nights of firing, kept the wood fuel dry, and provided a space where farm hands looped tobacco onto sticks in preparation for the barn. As the twentieth century progressed, more and more farmers substituted fuel oil for wood, using oil furnaces equipped with thermostats to regulate temperature and monitor the curing process. Tobacco barns themselves were functional gable-roofed boxes that varied from 16 to 24 feet on a side. The average-size barn held roughly 500 sticks of tobacco, which amounted to three acres of yield.

A good collection of log tobacco barns, probably built in the 1920s, still stands on the Tapp Farm at the extreme northern end of the county. Each barn is 18 feet square and covered with stucco, which protected the chinking and increased insulation. The Tally Homeplace and the G. T. Penecost Farm, both near the Caswell County line, also have groups of intact log barns arranged along lanes that curve behind the farmyards.

The growth of commercial dairy farming after World War I, largely concentrated in southern Orange County, produced new types of specialized outbuildings. Gambrel-roofed dairy barns, tall concrete or glazed-tile feed silos, and one-story milk cooling sheds (or parlors) took their places beside traditional farm structures across the lower townships. These dairy facilities tended to follow standardized designs, and many were probably built according to plans and specifications provided by the Agricultural Extension Service or the Agricultural Experiment Station at North Carolina State University.

Modern, multi-story dairy barns, capped by gambrel roofs and equipped with milking machinery and cattle stanchions, arose as landmarks to progressive

dairy farming. Although varying in capacity according to the scale of the operation, these barns became the largest and most valuable pieces of property on the farmyard. The classic, broken-pitched gambrel roof maximized loft capacity for hay storage while rows of small windows along the sides of the barn admitted light and aided ventilation. The interior typically included a main central passage that ran the length of the building, two rows of cattle stanchions, and rear stalls for mules and horses. A number of fine dairy barns erected between the 1920s and 1950s remain in Orange County. In Chapel Hill Township, dairy farms historically operated by the Cate, McClennan, and Bowden families all retain handsome, frame, gambrel-roofed barns with huge silos attached.

## Institutional and Commercial Buildings

### *Churches*

Churches proliferated across the Orange County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Black as well as white congregations, newly formed churches as well as long-established ones, all constructed new buildings that became neighborhood landmarks. Most of these houses of worship were unpretentious frame buildings that conformed to standard gable-front shapes and displayed simple elements of design. The finest examples were distinguished primarily by deft craftsmanship expressed in the subtleties of proportion and scale.

Built in the 1880s, Harmony Baptist Church northwest of Hillsborough is representative of many small churches erected after the Civil War. Resting on stone piers, this one-room, weatherboard structure has a double-leaf doorway

flanked by two large shuttered windows on the gable end. Similar windows provide light along the sides and rear of the church. Boxed cornice returns give the otherwise unadorned facade a classical touch. Neville's Chapel (United Church of Christ) represents a common variation on this gable-end theme, slightly modified by a formal gable-roofed entry vestibule. The small sanctuary was built in the early twentieth century by an African American congregation outside of Chapel Hill. A partially submerged cornerstone reads: "Strowd Grace Church, H. B. Baldwin Pastor," bearing testimony to the earlier church on this site.

Members of the venerable Fairfield Presbyterian Church (1834) north of Efland erected a new building in the 1880s. Elegant in its neat proportions and decorative restraint, the customary gable-end form is fitted with a steep Gothic roof and Gothic-arched windows and matching transom light atop the entrance. Flush boards cover the walls and ceiling, and a lightly molded chair rail borders the sanctuary. Pleasant Green United Methodist Church was also completed in 1910 in the Eno neighborhood. The building replaced an earlier frame church (1869) which had occupied the site of two previous log churches, the first one having been built in the 1830s. Like Fairfield Presbyterian, the 1910 frame church quietly announces its function by the sharply pitched, gable-front roof and the Gothic windows and doorway.

Built around the turn of the century at Carr crossroads, Carr United Methodist Church represents a towered rendition of this basic Gothic model. This well-preserved, weatherboard country church features a corner entry-tower capped by a conical roof that rises above the gable-end facade. A pointed-arched transom tops the entrance and a single, slender Gothic window occupies the center of the facade. To the rear, a small projecting bay signifies

the apse, and a breezeway joins the sanctuary with a one-story addition. Inside, a center aisle divides two blocks of neat wooden pews and leads to a slightly raised pulpit in the apse.

In the 1930s, several of the county's largest Methodist congregations replaced smaller and plainer buildings with handsome stone edifices reflecting growing memberships as well as the influence of urban church designs. Walnut Grove United Methodist Church, built in 1937 in northern Orange County, took the place of a wooden church that had stood since 1847. The modern building evokes the Gothic Revival in its T-shaped plan and walls of random courses of rubble stone. Heavy stone buttresses frame bays of elaborate stained-glass windows along the sanctuary. Constructed two years later, Cedar Grove United Methodist Church is the largest and most accomplished of the rural churches built before World War II. The sophisticated Gothic Revival design includes an L-shaped configuration with a crenelated tower that designates the main entrance at the junction of the two wings. Resting on a raised basement, the church features a veneer of native fieldstone and wood-frame casement windows topped by stone jack arches.

*Schools*

In general, rural schoolhouses were improved at a slower pace than churches, evidence of meager funding and public education's relatively minor role in agrarian life through the nineteenth century. Foxes Knob School near Mebane opened in the mid-1880s as a one-room log school, eventually to be enlarged with a frame addition around 1900. The building was subsequently converted to a residence. By the end of the nineteenth century, frame schools were commonplace, reflecting ready access to milled lumber and growing local funds for school-building campaigns. Breeze School near Caldwell is

among few such late-nineteenth-century schools still standing in the county. Probably built in the 1890s, this plain gable-roofed structure originally included two small rooms with shuttered windows. By 1938, the school was closed and the building relegated to use as a tobacco pack house.

After World War I, the school consolidation movement and the private Julius Rosenwald Fund led to significant improvements in the quality of facilities for both races. West of Hillsborough, Gravely Hill School was built in the 1920s as a two-teacher Rosenwald facility for neighborhood African American students. Like all schools built through the Rosenwald plan, the building conformed to one of a set of standardized design. Also in keeping with the Rosenwald program, it was paid for with a combination of local, county, and Rosenwald funds, ensuring community support. In addition to raising part of the money for the school, local families also participated in its construction. Although now a residence and substantially remodeled, the one-story frame building retains original paired doors with high transoms and a gable-roofed portico with slender square posts. Another former Rosenwald School, known as the Ridge School, stands abandoned just north of Hillsborough. Although altered over the years and possibly moved to this site, the building still shows its Rosenwald pedigree. The rectangular wooden school has banks of large windows that exposed the interior to natural light and created cross ventilation. The recessed center entrance includes two doors leading into separate classrooms.

Murphy School (ca. 1925) epitomizes the fine brick schools constructed throughout North Carolina for white students during the early period of consolidation. Facing Old Highway 10, Murphy School clearly illustrates how the construction of centralized rural schools and better roads went hand in

hand after World War I. This stylish brick school building features a high hip roof covered with metal roof shingles reminiscent of terra cotta tiles. Functional wide bands of sash windows dominate the front and back, while decorative brick pilasters edge the corners. The attached auditorium, erected several years later, boasts a striking Neoclassical facade with a Doric pediment and fanlight. Behind the school stands a frame bungalow that may have been the teacherage. Closed for decades, Murphy School is one of the few early public schools left in the county.

*Stores*

Country stores were focal points of rural community life into the twentieth century, extending credit, selling and trading merchandise, and serving as casual meeting places. However, with the coming of the automobile and greater access to urban centers, their eminence faded and many stores were abandoned and later disappeared. But some remained open for business, filling a more modest commercial niche as local groceries and gas stations. Pender Store at Cedar Grove is one of best examples of these survivors. This two-story weatherboard building dates to the 1880s and was moved across the road to its present location in 1900. Befitting its early prominence, the store has a dignified classical facade, featuring heavily molded cornice returns and flush boards in the front-facing gable. A hip-roofed front porch with original chamfered posts covers the center doorway and the large sash windows on either side. Like the exterior, the inside is remarkably intact, with wooden shelving and glass display cases arranged along the side walls.

While growing automobile ownership contributed to the demise of traditional country stores, it also spawned the rise of small gasoline stations. These buildings tended to share a common utilitarian design: a one-story wooden box

with a front canopy projecting over several gas pumps and a narrow, concrete drive-through. McDade Store No. 2 in Cedar Grove neatly typifies the 1920s, rural filling station in its simple boxy form dominated by a gable-front pump canopy and a large display window. Another version of the canopied store is the Blackwelder Service Station on Highway 70 east of Hillsborough. The building was erected in the 1920s by an entrepreneur named Blackwelder, who not only sold gas but also lured in passing motorists with a petting zoo that included deer, snakes, pigs, rabbits, and a black bear. It later became a dance hall, and then a soda shop in the 1950s. Recently the property has been converted to a residence and artist's studio. A fine illustration of vernacular roadside architecture, it consists of a long, rectangular form with a dormered gable roof and a hefty center porch with brick posts.

## THE PRESENT SCENE: A CONCLUSION
### "God's Greatest Vocation"

In recent decades, the pace of change in Orange County has accelerated. The construction of Interstate Highways 85 and 40 across the county has drawn new industries and commerce, and bred subdivisions and commercial strips near Hillsborough and Chapel Hill. While such modern growth reflects national trends, its impact at the local level has been especially astonishing. The modern wave of immigration and prosperity was triggered in large measure by the emergence of Research Triangle Park, a conglomeration of high-tech industries and research facilities just east of the Orange County line. Established on a 4,000-acre tract in 1959, the Research Triangle is so named for its location within the "triangle" formed by the area's three major research institutions: the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Duke University in Durham; and North Carolina State University in Raleigh. Expanding rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s, Research Triangle Park today employs upwards of 34,000 people, while its sprawling environs hold over 700,000 residents now and will probably exceed a million by the year 2000.[108]

In Orange County, growth has been concentrated around Chapel Hill. Between 1960 and 1990, the number of residents living in Chapel Hill Township increased 148 percent (from 25,030 to 61,963), with many of them residing in suburbia and commuting throughout the area. The county as a whole experienced a population surge of 118 percent during this period, and the 1990 census recorded the population at 93,851 and growing.[109]

Such development is devouring the countryside. As the price of rural land increases, more and more farmers are selling their property to developers, or

are themselves subdividing roadside tracts into residential and commercial lots. Compounding these pressures are escalating real estate taxes and rising costs of farm equipment and fertilizers. Such conditions have already taken their toll on Orange County farmland. In the winter of 1996, a series of articles in the Raleigh *News and Observer* chronicled the life and death of one family farm near Carrboro. To the Hogan family, the subject of the series, farming had been nothing less than "God's greatest vocation"; but after years of struggling to turn a profit on their 450-acre dairy operation, the Hogans converted their centuries-old farm to a residential subdivision. The fate of the Hogan property represents a transformation of land and a way of life that is occurring throughout the county.[110]

But the fate of the rural landscape has yet to be sealed. Significant portions of the countryside remain untouched by expansive housing subdivisions, shopping centers, and office buildings. Elegant country churches still occupy pastoral settings that evoke centuries of occupation, and sturdy log dwellings under tall oaks still mark old homesteads. This land was mainly cleared by yeoman farmers, and their surnames on rural mailboxes and road signs continue to distinguish one rural neighborhood from another. Handsome white-frame farmhouses still overlook broad pastures and cultivated fields to reflect an enduring way of life deeply rooted in the soil. This history-rich landscape is part of North Carolina's heritage, and its stewardship will depend upon careful local planning and the hundreds of private decisions made by individual property owners.

## END NOTES

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2. Jean Bradley Anderson, *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina* ( Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 43, quoted from the *Connecticut Courant*, 30 Nov. 1967.

3. Ibid., 21.

4. Ruth Blackwelder, *The Age of Orange: Political and Intellectual Leadership in North Carolina, 1752-1861* (Charlotte: William Loftin, 1961): 11-12.

5. Anderson, *Durham County*, 18-19; Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 15.

6. Anderson, *Durham County*, 7. Over time, the Indian Trading Path was variously known as the "Great Road," "Buffaloe Road," "King's Highway," "Oxford-Salisbury Road," "Old Durham-Greensboro Sate Road," and "County Home Road." Portions of the route became Highway 70 in the 1920s, and is now Secondary Road 1328.

7. Lefler and Wager *Orange County*, 288-302, 311-312; Frank W. Ainsley, and John W. Florin, "The North Carolina Piedmont: An Island of Religious Diversity," *Studies in the Social Sciences* 12 (June 1973): 30-35.

8. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 290-292; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Antebellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 353-358; Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1987), 8. For the authoritative discussion of the Eno Friends Meeting, see Mary Claire Engstrom, "Early Quakers in the Eno River Valley, ca. 1750-1847." *Eno* 7 (1983): 29-33.

9. Although various folk cultures existed in the Piedmont as throughout rural North Carolina before the Civil War, they shared a common folk economy and a set of basic beliefs fostered by their relative isolation and semi-subsistence way of life. See Bill Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press 1992), 97-132. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 16.

10. Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, 76-77; Blackwelder, *Age of Orange*, 9-10.

11. For a concise description of the distribution of soil types in Orange County and the crops they historically produced, see Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 33-35. For brief discussions pertaining to the extent of cotton production, see Anderson, *Durham County*, 93; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina, 120-122.*

12. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 11, quoted from William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* vol. 9 (Raleigh: M. P. Hall, 1866-1890), 311.

13. Kelly A. Lally and M. Ruth Little, "Chapel Hill Township Survey: Final Report," June 1992 (Unpublished survey report on file at the N.C. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh).

14. Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina,* 40-41; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 11; Cornelius Oliver Cathey, *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860* (Chapel Hill: James Sprunt Hill, no. 38, 1956): 9; Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 98-101.

15. Jean Bradley Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation: The Bennehan-Cameron Family and Lands in North Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: The Historic Preservation Society of Durham, 1985), 4.

16. The Indian Trading Path afforded some trade to the north with the market center in Petersburg, Virginia. Among the branch routes was the southward wagon trail to Cross Creek and Campbelltown on the Northwest Cape Fear River. These settlements (which became Fayetteville), established early lines of commerce and communication with the port of Wilmington on the Cape Fear. See Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina,* 157-160. The limited role of the marketplace among the yeomanry in antebellum North Carolina is discussed in Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites,* 100-102.

17. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 6-23. Kenzer emphasizes the lack of social conflict in antebellum Orange County borne largely of close family and kinship ties. Other scholars, however, provide different interpretations of antebellum Piedmont society that include numerous conflicts between tenants, yeoman farmers, and planters, as well as between slaves and slaveholders, and men and women. See, Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites;* Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South, Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994).

18. John Collett, *A Compleat Map of North Carolina* (London, England: S. Hooper, 1770). Reprinted in W. P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966); Anderson, *Durham County,* 49-51; Claudia Egelhoff, et al., *National Register Nomination for Faucett Mill and House* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1988).

19. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,,* 7-9; Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 290-292, 314-316.

20. Meinig, *Shaping of America,* 291.

21. Blackwelder, *Age of Orange,* 12, quoted from *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* vol. 8 (Raleigh, 1886-1890), 216.

22. Jean Bradley Anderson, *The Kirklands of Ayr Mount* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 15-16. For a more complete biography of notables who lived in Hillsborough and Orange County, see William S. Powell's compilation in Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 322-340.

23. William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989): 151-159; Anderson, *Durham County,* 27-32; Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites,* 56-58.

24. Meinig, *Shaping of America,* 291; Anderson, *Durham County,* 32.

25. Hugh T. Lefler, and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State,* 3d ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 283-284.

26. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 76.

27. Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 262-263; Blackwelder, *Age of Orange,* 35-38.

28. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860; Agriculture in the United States in 1860.* See, too, Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 167. The ownership of 20 or more slaves is the historical designation for planter status in the antebellum South.

29. U.S. Federal Manuscript Census, 1860: Orange County; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,,* 29-30.

30. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,,* 30; Anderson, *Durham County,* 88-89; Bynum, *Unruly Women,* 29. The major manufacturing waterways of the Piedmont were the Haw and Deep rivers and the South Fork of the Catawba River. In 1837 Edwin M. Holt established his first cotton mill on Alamance Creek, a tributary of the Haw River in what became Alamance County. Holt and his sons would expand their textile operations along the Haw in the decades after the Civil War. For an excellent summary of the history of the North Carolina textile industry, see Brent D. Glass, *The Textile Industry in North Carolina: A History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Divsion of Archives and History 1992).

31. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 44; Charles Richard Sanders, *The Cameron Plantation in Central North Carolina, 1776-1973* (Durham, N.C.: Seeman, 1974); Anderson, *Durham County,* 44-45; Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation,* viii-ix, 12, 35, 95. In addition to the vast Bennhan-Cameron plantations, other antebellum planter families near the Little and Flat rivers were Lipscombs, Cains, Barbees, and Mangums.

32. Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation,* 69-71; Anderson, *Durham County,* 144.

33. Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation,* 70, quoted from Bennehan Cameron Papers: Paul Cameron to Joseph Roulhac, May 1854.

34. Anderson, *Kirkland's of Ayr Mount,* 15-25, 31-37, 49-55; Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990): 112-113.

35. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 33.

36. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 183-185.

37. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 11, quoted from *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 6, 1855.

38. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 296-303, 314. The discussion in Lefler and Wager concentrated on those early churches that were present in 1953. There were many other antebellum churches that did not survive.

39. Anderson, *Kirkland's of Ayr Mount,* 20-21.

40. Blackwelder, *Age of Orange,* 125, quoted from Kemp P. Battle, *Sketches of the History of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1889), 113.

41. Blackwelder, *Age of Orange,* 126.

42. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 132-134.

43. Catherine Bishir and Diane Lea, *National Register Nomination for the Bingham School, Orange County, North Carolina* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1977), quoted from Laurence McMillan, *The Schoolmaker* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 12.

44. Bishir and Lea, *Bingham School.*

45. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 131-132, 137-139; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 11.

46. *Hillsborough Recorder,* March 1 1820.

47. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Orange County, North Carolina, Manufacturing Census.

48. *Hillsborough Recorder,* January 31, 1855.

49. Ibid., April 1, 1855;

50. Paul D. Escott, "Yeoman Independence and the Market: Social Status and Economic Development in Antebellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 66 (1989): 290; Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites,* 131, quoted from *Farmer's Journal,* September 1854, 70-72.

51. Nannie May Tilley, *Bright-Leaf Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948): 26-32; Escott, "Yeoman Independence," 292-293, 297; Anderson, *Durham County,* 93, 144-145; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 35. The Camerons and a small number of other planters raised approximately one-third of the county's entire tobacco crop in 1860. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the crop was grown by the smaller farmers of the county. See Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 35.

52. Escott, "Yeoman Independence," 292; Anderson, *Durham County,* 93. Anderson notes that during the 1850s, wheat production in the county rose sharply from 93,338 bushels to 157,794 bushels.

53. Bolton, *Poor Whites*, 21; Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 10. For a particularly detailed study of one Piedmont farmer's conservative approach to the cash-crop economy before the Civil War, see Arthur C. Menius III, "James Bennitt: Portrait of an Antebellum Yeoman, *North Carolina Historical Review* 58 (October 1981): 305-326.

54. Betsy Gohdes-Baten, *National Register Nomination for the Jacob Jackson Farm* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1993).

55. William Kenneth Boyd, *The Story of Durham: City of the New South*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1925): 25-32, 58-59; Kinzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 30-32, 114.

56. For a concise discussion of the conservative nature of yeoman society in antebellum North Carolina, see Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 111-124.

57. Lally and Little, "Chapel Hill Township Survey."

58. The Old World origins of log construction in America have been a matter of scholarly debate. For the most recent studies proposing a Scandinavian origin, see, Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); and Terry G. Jordan, *American Log Buildings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985). Among the studies arguing for a German origin are: Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States," *Geographical Review* 56 (1966): 40-66; and Henry Glassie, "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in *The Study of American Folklore*, 2nd ed., Jan Brunvand, ed., ( New York: Norton Press, 1978); Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 3-7, 142-148.

59. An abundance of scholarly literature examines the common types of traditional American log houses. The present study draws primarily from Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, 23-30.

60. Ibid., 18-22; Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 142.

61. The three-room plan is also termed the Quaker or the Continental Plan, reflecting its association with both German and Quaker settlements. For an analysis of this three-room house type as it relates to log building in particular, see Robert C. Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Summer 1962): 14-19; Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, 26-28.

62. N.C. Division of Archives and History, Survey and Planning Unit, *National Register Nomination for the Paisley Log House*, (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1973).

63. Bishir, *National Register Nomination for the Hillsborough Historic District, Orange County, North Carolina*, (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1977); Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 98, 100.

64. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 88-91. Published plates of the pedimented T-shaped plan originally appeared in the works of Renaissance Italian architect Andrea Palladio, whose *Four Books of Architecture* included plates of villas modeled after the classical Roman prototypes.

65. John B. Wells, III, *National Register Nomination for Moorefields,* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1972).

66. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 110-113; John B. Wells, III, *National Register Nomination for Ayr Mount,* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1971).

67. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 113.

68. Students of vernacular architecture often refer to the two-story house type, one room deep, as the "I-house." It is so named because the basic form was first recognized as commonplace in midwestern states beginning with the letter *I,* and because its tall, narrow profile resembles a block I. The term I-house was coined by geographer Fred B. Kniffen. Kniffen subsequently studied the house type's geographical associations with the Upland South, spurring scores of articles on the subject. See Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (1965): 549-77. For an overview of the I-house as an enduring North Carolina dwelling type, see Michael T. Southern, "The I-House as a Carrier of Style," in Doug Swaim ed., *Carolina Dwelling,* (Raleigh: Student Publications of the School of Design, North Carolina State University, vol. 26, 1978): 70-83.

69. A standard work on the Greek Revival in American and the style's regional variations remains Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944).

70. The association of Gothic Revival architecture and the Episcopal church in North Carolina is discussed in Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 234-240.

71. Bishir and Lea, *Bingham School,* 7.1-7.3.

72. Egelhoff et al., *Faucett Mill and House;* Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 60-61.

73. Egelhoff, et al., *Faucett Mill and House;* Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 63-64.

74. Escott, *Many Excellent People,* 87, quoted from A. Tilley to Samuel McDowell Tate, January 20, 1868, in Samuel McDowell Tate Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; quoted from F. Nash to Samuel A'Court Ashe, March 11, 1867, in Samuel A'Court Ashe Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

75. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 105, quoted from Cornelia Spencer Diary, May 7, 1865, Spencer Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; quoted from William A. Graham Papers, William A. Graham to William Graham, March 4, 1870, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

76. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 108, quoted from Robert Fitzgerald Diary, January 30, 1868, Fitzgerald Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

77. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 109.

78. *Hillsborough Recorder,* September 20, 1865.

79. Ibid. 108, quoted from William A. Graham Papers, William A. Graham to David L. Swaim, October 16, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

80. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 139; Irene Oliver Pender, *A History of Orange County Schools: 1732-1983* (Hillsborough, N.C.: Shanklin's Press, 1983): 22-31.

81. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 304-307.

82. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 195-197; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 111-113.

83. U.S. Censuses, 1890, 1900: Orange County, N.C., Agricultural Schedules. For 1880 statistics on land tenure in Orange County, see Table 18 in Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 178.

84. Ayers, *Promise of the New South,* 13-14.

85. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 200.

86. U.S. Censuses, 1890, 1900: Orange County, N.C., Agricultural Schedules.

87. *Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina: Fifth Annual Report* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1892): 76.

88. Ibid., 133.

89. Anderson, *Durham County,* 175-176, 213-214, 247-248, 481.

90. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood,* 120-122, 226; Anderson, *Durham County,* 153-164, 220-224.

91. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 272-274, 278-285; *Branson's North Carolina Directory* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1896): 467-469.

92. *Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina: Twenty-Third Annual Report* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1910): 287; James Vickers, *Chapel Hill: An Illustrated History* (Chapel Hill: Barclay Publishers, 1985), 114.

93. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 278; *Branson's North Carolina Directory,* 1896, 467-469.

94. *The North Carolina Yearbook and Business Directory* (Raleigh: News and Observer Publishing Company, 1901-1906); Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 301-302.

95. In 1910, 144 of the 576 black farmers in Orange County owned land. *Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina: Twenty-Third Annual Report;* 118-119; Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 305-306.

96. John L. Bell, Jr., *Hard Times: Beginning of the Great Depression in North Carolina, 1929-1933* (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, 1982): 5-11.

97. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 230-250.

98. Ibid., 213, 245-246.

99. Ibid., 207-208; Thomas C. Parramore, *Express Lanes and Country Roads: The Way We lived in North Carolina, 1920-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolna Press, 1983): 73-74.

100. Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 141-142.

101. Thomas C. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 65 (October 1988): 387-444.

102. *North Carolina Almanac and State Industrial Guardian, 1954-1955.* (Raleigh: Alamanac Publishing Company, 1955), 101; Lefler and Wager, *Orange County,* 152-156.

103. For the statewide perspective, see Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 273-295.

104. Ibid., 291-295. Students of North Carolina vernacular architecture often label this house type the "Triple-A" house in reference to the three gables. See Southern, "The I-House as a Carrier of Style."

105. The two-story, cubic house of the early twentieth century has been variously referred to in the scholarly literature as the Foursquare House or the Cornbelt Cube because of its prevalence in the rural Middle West. See, for example, John A. Jakle et al., *Common Houses in America's Small Towns: The Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi Valley,* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 212.

106. Jakle, et al., *Common Houses,* 170-181.

107. For a brief discussion of basic traditional barn types, see Henry Glassie, "The Double Crib Barn in South Central Pennsylvania, Part Four," *Pioneer America,* 2 (1970): 28-37. A good bibliography on the subject can be found in Allen G. Noble, *Wood, Brick, and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape, Vol. 2: Barns and Farm Structures,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

108. Population figures recorded in Dale Jaeger, et al., *Historic Preservation Element, Orange County Comprehensive Plan, Orange County, North Carolina,* (Hillsborough, N.C.: Orange County Historic Preservation Commission, Orange County Planning Department, 1995): 10-11.

109. Ibid., 10.

110. Sally Hicks, "The Last Day in Dairy Land," *The News and Observer* (February 11, 1996); Hicks, "God's Greatest Vocation," *The News and Observer* (February 12, 1996); Hicks, "Taking a Stand," *The News and Observer* (February

13, 1996); Hicks, "A Picture of Heaven," *The News and Observer* (February 14, 1996).

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