Architectural Survey of West Southern Pines

Prepared by hmwPreservation
2025

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PROJECT HISTORY AND OVERVIEW

In 2022, the Town of Southern Pines received an Underrepresented Communities (URC) Grant from the Federal Historic Preservation Fund, administered by the National Park Service. The Town contracted with hmwPreservation to undertake a historic resource survey of properties in the historically African American community of West Southern Pines.

An architectural survey of Southern Pines was conducted in the late 1970s, culminating in the publication of *Perspective on a Resort Community, Historic Buildings Inventory, Southern Pines, North Carolina* in 1981. This survey and publication, funded through the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, represented the first public investment in documenting the architectural heritage of Southern Pines. Yet, the documentation was limited to the earliest and grandest houses in the town, with only sixteen properties documented northwest of US-1.

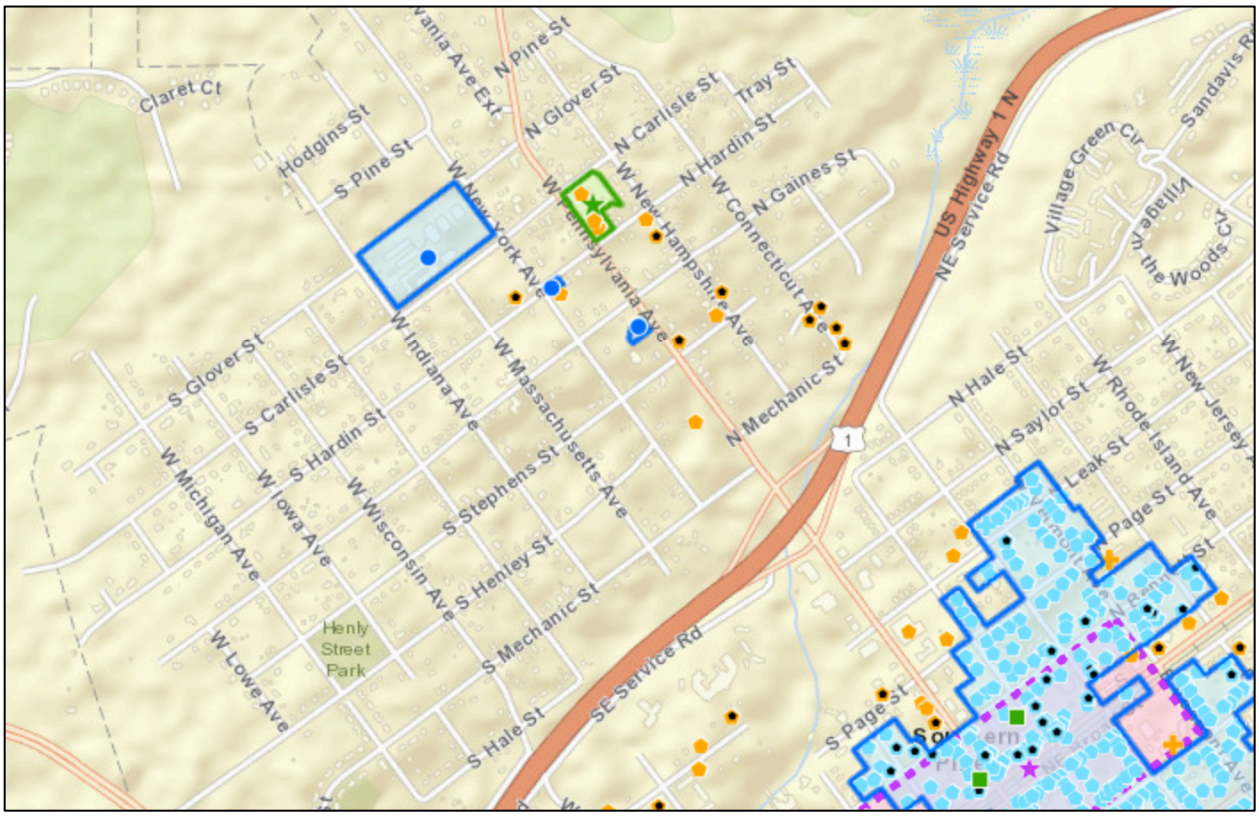

Figure 1: Map of Previously Surveyed Resources

In 1991, the Southern Pines National Register Historic District expanded on the architectural legacy of Southern Pines, more thoroughly documenting downtown Southern Pines and the immediately adjacent, and primarily White, residential areas. In 1994, the Town of Southern Pines designated the Southern Pines Local Historic District, a ten-block subset of the Southern Pines National Register Historic District centered on the business district.

In 2009, the Town of Southern Pines engaged Hanbury Preservation Consulting to update the documentation of the Southern Pines National Register Historic District. As a part of that project, the Town requested that the National Register eligibility of ten properties be evaluated;

these included the Our Lady of Victory Catholic Parish (MR1377), Trinity AME Zion Church (MR1321), and the Amos Broadway Building (MR0680). Each of these was determined eligible in 2009. Between 2024 and 2025, Heather Slane and Cheri Szcodronski prepared National Register nominations for all three as part of the current project's scope of work. Each has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Through a separate effort, the West Southern Pines School was listed in the National Register in 2023.

In summary, by 2023, only eighteen properties in West Southern Pines had been documented through architectural survey.

The primary objectives for this project were as follows:

- prepare National Register of Historic Places nominations for the Our Lady of Victory Catholic Parish (MR1377), Trinity AME Zion Church (MR1321), and the Amos Broadway Building (MR0680)
- create individual survey records for up to 250 resources identified during the planning phase
- collect primary and secondary sources to build a historic context for the area

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The architectural survey of West Southern Pines was focused on the documentation of historically African American residential, commercial, and institutional resources. The survey area is generally bounded by US-1 on the east, West Maine Avenue on the north, Pine Street on the west, and West Lowe Avenue on the south. Heather Slane and Cheri Szcodronski served as the principal investigators.

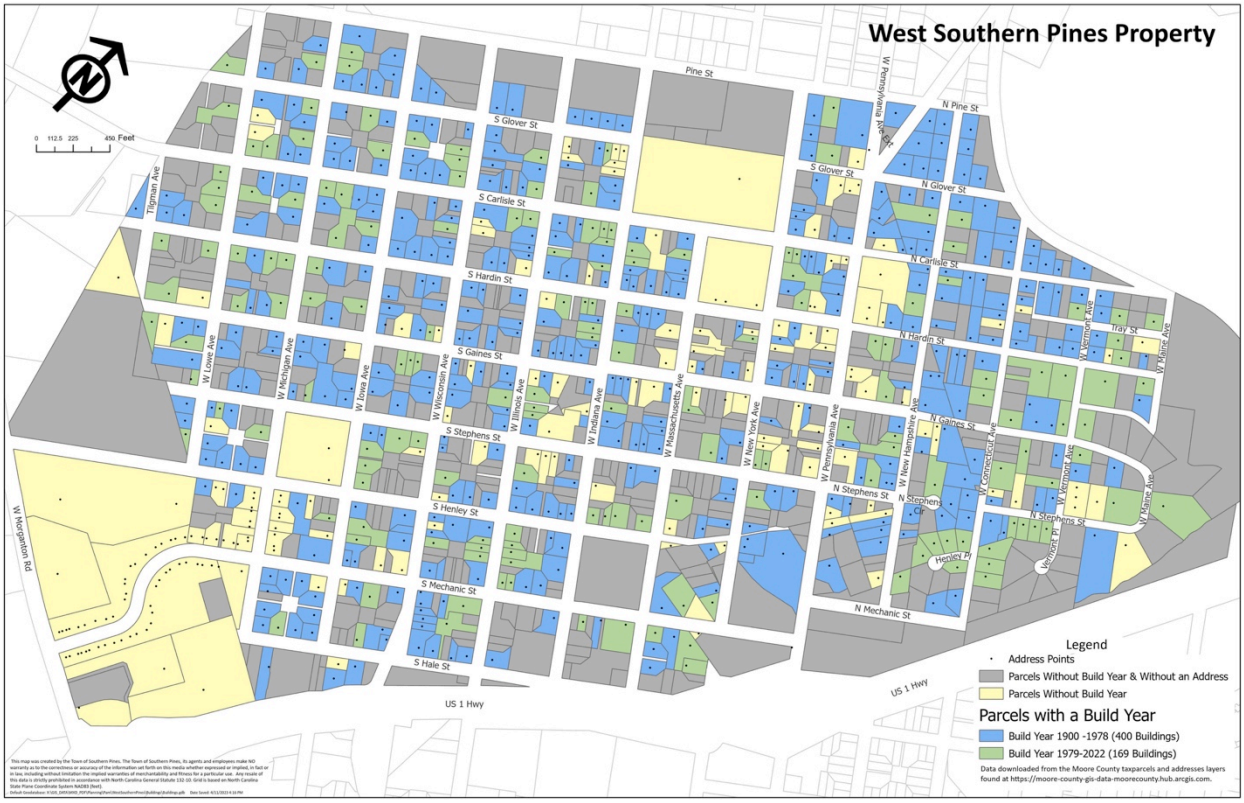

Figure 2: Map of Study Area

An initial public meeting was held in February 2024 to introduce the project to local residents and to compile recommendations of properties for recordation. A planning phase took place in the fall of 2024 during which surveyors identified approximately 250 individual resources that had not been previously surveyed and warranted documentation. Surveyors conducted a windshield survey of the entire study area to identify resources that merited individual documentation, utilizing maps prepared by the Town of Southern Pines and coded by building dates. Surveyors prioritized buildings with medium to high material integrity and interesting or unique design elements as well as buildings identified as significant by local residents. Finally, a working bibliography was prepared and print sources gathered during the planning phase.

A second public meeting to kick off the field survey was held in April 2025 and fieldwork took place during the same month. Resources identified during the planning phase were documented with field survey forms, brief written descriptions, and photographs. Written summaries were prepared for all surveyed properties.

Basic archival research, including the examination of deeds and plats, Sanborn maps (1915, 1924, and 1944), city directories (1958-1978), and other digital resources was carried out as available to provide additional data for each property. Interviews with local residents were conducted as possible during the fieldwork. Special notation was made of properties that appear potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Survey Materials

Digital survey photographs were taken from the public right-of-way using a digital SLR camera. Photographs of both primary and secondary resources were labeled according to the NC-HPO guidelines and contact sheets printed for inclusion in the paper survey files. A digital copy of all labeled survey photographs was prepared for the NC-HPO and Town of Southern Pines.

For all surveyed properties, the consultants fully populated the database records, as required by NC-HPO, utilizing materials gathered during the fieldwork and research phases. Report forms generated from the database were printed for inclusion in the paper survey files. A digital copy of the database was presented to both the NC-HPO and staff for the Town of Southern Pines.

Paper files for each surveyed property includes the field survey notes, printed contact sheets, and printed database records, as well as any related notes and documentation gathered during the project. Digital maps, prepared by the Town of Southern Pines, were used during the planning phase to mark the location of new properties to be surveyed. The consultants utilized the same maps to annotate project findings and demarcate proposed historic districts.

Survey Report

Upon completion of the field survey and database records, a written report was prepared. This report outlines the project methodology, findings, and recommendations for further study. It includes community development and planning context for West Southern Pines, placing the development of the study area within the broader historic context of the Town of Southern Pines. The report also includes the governmental, social, commercial, and educational contexts of West Southern Pines, highlighting the establishment of community institutions and describing the impacts of Jim Crow segregation, integration of schools and businesses, and Civil Rights-related activism on the community. Finally, the report provides architectural context, including an examination of the historic architecture within the study area. The consultants presented the findings of the survey at a public information meeting in West Southern Pines.

The History of West Southern Pines

Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Southern Pines

Moore County was formed in 1784 from Cumberland County and was named for Alfred Moore, a Revolutionary War leader, prominent state politician, and United States Supreme Court Justice.[1] It encompasses approximately 705 square miles now bordered by Chatham, Lee, Harnett, Cumberland, Hoke, Scotland, Richmond, Montgomery, and Randolph Counties. The topography is generally flat, and the Deep and Little Rivers transect the county, which is part of the Cape Fear River and Lumber River Basins. Most of the county is located in the fertile, clay-soil Piedmont region, though the southeastern part of the county, including Southern Pines, has the sandy soils of the Sandhills region of the Eastern Coastal Plain. Southern Pines is approximately thirteen miles south of Carthage, the county seat, and approximately five miles east of Pinehurst, the county's largest village.[2]

Prior to European settlement, present-day Moore County is believed to have been inhabited by the Cheraw, a Siouan tribe that joined with the Catawba around 1730. Indigenous peoples set up camps along the various creeks throughout the area, as well as on the Yadkin and Pee Dee Trails. By the 1750s, the Catawba had been largely forced onto a reservation in South Carolina, while Europeans and European Americans, primarily Highland Scots, had begun to settle in present-day Moore County. [3] By 1830, there were approximately 7,500 people living in Moore County, most of whom made a living as farmers, timbermen, and trappers.[4]

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, growth was slow in the area that would become Southern Pines, in part due to the sandy, agriculturally poor soils, and in part due to the upheaval surrounding the Civil War and its aftermath. The region's economy began to recover with the arrival of the Raleigh and Augusta Airline in 1877 (later the Seaboard Airline Railroad), which extended northeast of Southern Pines toward Raleigh and southwest of the town toward Hamlet (near the South Carolina border), connecting the area to broader transportation networks in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. A small depot was constructed in Moore County at Shaw's Ridge, named for Charles C. Shaw who timbered the area in the 1820s, to facilitate the transportation of local timber products, primarily naval stores, to state and regional markets.[8]

Upon taking office in 1879, Governor Thomas J. Jarvis established a Commission of Immigration to attract newcomers to the state in an effort to improve the post-Civil War economy. He appointed John T. Patrick to head the commission and tasked him with traveling the state to identify areas of potential development. In 1881, he traveled through the Sandhills region, and three years later he returned and purchased 675 acres of Shaw's Ridge.[5]

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[1] Ann C. Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community: Historic Buildings Inventory, Southern Pines, North Carolina* (Southern Pines, NC: Town of Southern Pines, 1981), 10; Blackwell P. Robinson, *A History of Moore County, North Carolina, 1947-1847* (Southern Pines, NC: Moore County Historical Association, 1956), 92-93.

[2] Robinson, *A History of Moore County,* 104-106.

[3] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 9; Jay Mazzocchi, "Moore County," *NCpedia*, https://www.ncpedia.org/geography/moore; David G. Moore, "Catawba Indians," *NCpedia*, https://www.ncpedia.org/catawba-indians; Robinson, *A History of Moore County,* 7-9.

[4] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 10.

[5] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 8, 11-12; Betsy Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years of Southern Pines, North Carolina* (Southern Pines, NC: Town of Southern Pines, 1987), 7-10.

Intending to capitalize on the region's environmental assets, in particular the "clean air and dry sandy soil" of the pine forests, Patrick soon laid out a rehabilitative health resort town at Shaw's Ridge. First known as Vineland after a resort town in New Jersey, this town was incorporated as Southern Pines in 1887.[6] Patrick's New England Manufacturing, Mining, & Estate Company laid out the town in a grid-pattern, oriented forty-five degrees from cardinal directions. The east-west avenues (which actually run southeast to northwest) were named for northern states from which Patrick hoped to attract visitors, while the north-south streets (which run northeast to southwest) were named for state leaders and Patrick's personal friends. Blocks measured 400 feet square and were bisected by alleys that joined to form a courtyard at the center of each block. Though Patrick had intended these interior spaces to be formally landscaped, these plans did not come to fruition and the acreage was eventually sold to adjoining landowners.[7] Patrick promoted the town as a prime location for visitors and residents to improve their health. He offered free lots to northern doctors in exchange for recommending the town to their patients, as well as to northern newspaper editors in exchange for advertising. He also negotiated a discounted rate on railroad tickets for northerners to visit the new town, which by about 1890 included the shed depot, a hotel, a general store, municipal offices, and a small number of homes and rental cottages.[8]

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Southern Pines built a reputation as an ideal location for those suffering from tuberculosis, known at that time as "consumptives." The town grew accordingly, attracting a large number of doctors and other health professionals who opened local offices. Boarding houses offered rented rooms to seasonal residents and sometimes also included medical care. By the late 1890s, the region's mild climate also attracted northerners seeking winter sports accommodations, with new hotels opening to serve these visitors and excluding ill guests.[9] Southern Pines also benefited from the establishment of Pinehurst (NR1973, NHL1996) in 1895, another resort community about five miles to the northwest and connected to Southern Pines by an electric trolley (removed in 1905).[10] Pinehurst was founded by Boston native James Walker Tufts, who hired landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to design the resort and Donald Ross to develop golf courses on his 5,800 acres.[11] By 1900, Southern Pines, with a population of just over five hundred permanent residents, boasted new grocery stores, general stores, millineries, liveries, and pharmacies, as well as a new train depot.

Southern Pines continued to grow and flourish in the first decades of the twentieth century, its popularity firmly tied to the area's reputation as a health resort and recreational center. With the establishment of Pinehurst, golf soon proved well suited to the climate of the region, and Leonard Tufts, one of Pinehurst's developers, forecasted that within a few years, "the whole country from Pinehurst eastward will be a big community of winter homes of well-to-do

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[6] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 8, 10-11, 13; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 10-12.

[7] Manly Wade Wellman, *The County of Moore, 1847-1947: A North Carolina Region's Second Hundred Years* (Southern Pines: Moore County Historical Association, 1962), 132.

[8] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 14-16; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 12.

[9] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 14-16, 20-25, 28; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 12.

[10] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 26-27; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 20.

[11] Village of Pinehurst, "125th Anniversary of Pinehurst: Our History," https://www.vopnc.org/our-community/living-in-pinehurst/125th-anniversary-of-pinehurst; Davyd Foard Hood and Laura A.W. Phillips, "Pinehurst Historic District," National Historic Landmark Nomination, 1996, 70, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NHLS/73001361_text; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 26; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 10-12.

Northern People."[12] This prediction proved true, and new golf resorts were soon constructed in Southern Pines. The Southern Pines Country Club opened southeast of town in 1909, followed by the Mid Pines Country Club and Pine Needles Inn, both north of town with surrounding residential developments, in 1919 and 1928, respectively.[13] Additional types of outdoor recreation followed the golf resorts, including the Highland Pines Inn stables and tennis courts established near the Southern Pines Country Club in 1912, and by 1920, horse races, fox hunts, and other social events had become regular entertainment for residents and visitors in Pinehurst and Southern Pines.[14]

Downtown Southern Pines experienced increased commerce and civic improvements in the early twentieth century, aligning with and reliant upon the expansion of resort amenities in both Southern Pines and Pinehurst. This growth also reflected the dramatic population growth in the region, particularly during the 1920s when the population of Southern Pines increased threefold.[15] Frame buildings were replaced with sturdy brick buildings after a devastating fire ravaged downtown Southern Pines in 1921, but recovery was swift. By 1925, Southern Pines boasted fifteen hotels, new specialty shops had opened to cater to resort clientele, and smaller recreational venues including theatres, casinos, and a bowling alley had opened to supplement the resort golf courses and tennis courts.[16] Civic improvements included the grading and paving of streets, the installation of street lighting, and the introduction of water and sewer service.[17] The Southern Pines Civic Club, established in 1907, mobilized to "enhance the community through landscape improvements, literary meetings and lectures," improve health and safety for town residents, and ensure the town's attractiveness to visitors.[18]

The Development of West Southern Pines

The 1894 plat of Southern Pines shows a continuous town, its grid plan extending from Ridge Street on the east to Glover Street on the west and bisected by McDeeds Creek. Yet nineteenth and early-twentieth-century development was largely limited to the east side of the creek, where the White residential and business districts, centered on the railroad line, were established. Meanwhile, as more African Americans were drawn to Southern Pines for work, an African American community known as Jim Town formed northwest of McDeeds Creek, its ravine physically separating the Black enclave of simple cottages and boarding houses from the White areas of town to the east.[19] This community was known as Jim Town, though the origin of the name is unclear. Some residents believed the name to be in honor of James Henderson, who owned property in West Southern Pines and opened the Henderson Institute,

[12] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 116.

[13] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 107, 115; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 52; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 45.

[14] Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 38-39; Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 116.

[15] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 33, 39-40.

[16] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 32-33, 39; Wellman, *The County of Moore*, 179.

[17] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 32-33, 51.

[18] Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 36; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 33.

[19] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 27; U.S. Census Bureau, *1900 United States Federal Census*, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7602; "Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers on March 11, 1982," in Nancy Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines, North Carolina* (Town of Southern Pines, 1987)(hereafter Mason), 25-33; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 56. NOTE: The physical separation of White and Black neighborhoods was further entrenched with the construction of US Highway 1 in 1955, which parallels the creek and ravine leaving Pennsylvania Avenue the only road connecting downtown Southern Pines to West Southern Pines.

a school for Black children in Vance County, in 1887. Others remember the name as a reference to James Bethea, an early landowner and merchant in West Southern Pines. Still others contend it was a reference to Jim Crow segregation in the South.[20]

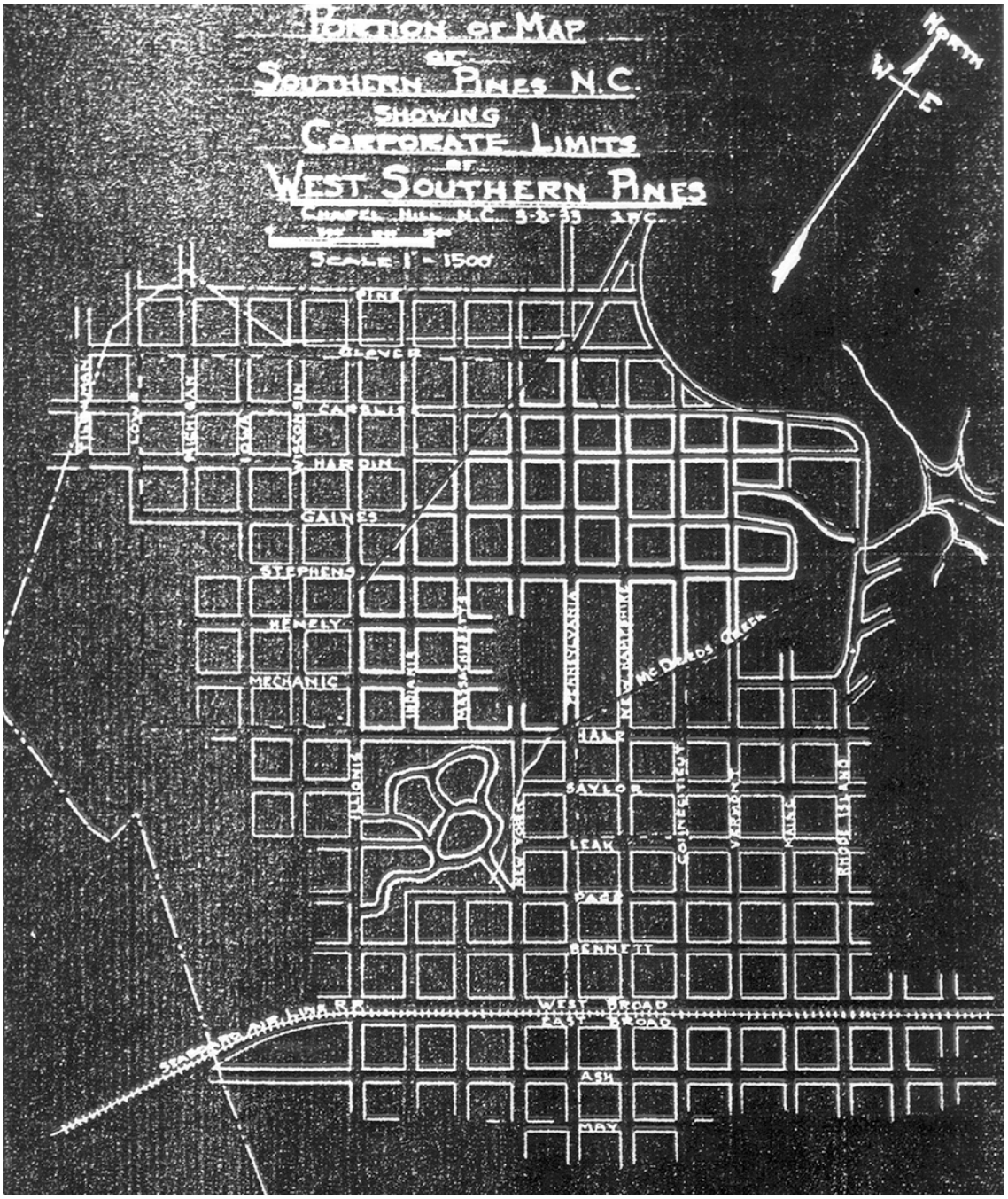

Figure 3: 1935 copy of the 1894 plat of Southern Pines

[20] Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers.

Many late nineteenth century residents of West Southern Pines were drawn to the area from nearby counties seeking better job opportunities than the tenant farming and sharecropping common to south-central North Carolina. With the proliferation of pine trees in the area, men primarily worked as laborers in the timber industry at the turn of the century, producing turpentine, tar, and pitch or as sawmill laborers, commonly boarding in Black households in the community. Others worked as coopers, teamsters, farmers, or performed other types of manual labor. Women primarily worked as housekeepers or nannies.[21]

Black laborers also found seasonal employment at the several hundred acres of fruit orchards between Southern Pines and Pinehurst, harvesting peaches, blackberries, dewberries, and other fruits. In 1897 alone, Southern Pines shipped 670 tons of fruit to market with projections of twice that amount for 1898. The peaches were harvested from orchards extended west of West Southern Pines, in the area of Morganton Road to the southwest and Midland Road to the northwest, and shipped by train to places as far away as Florida and New York.[22]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the timber industries in the county were going into decline while health resorts and winter recreation became the basis of the Southern Pines economy.[23] Like the White northerners patronizing sanitariums and hotels in Pinehurst and downtown Southern Pines, African Americans also came to Southern Pines to take advantage of the reputed health benefits of the region. In 1897, Dr. Lawson A. Scruggs opened a sanitarium on West New York Avenue to treat African Americans suffering from tuberculosis, the only such facility "in the South built and equipped for the special treatment of those diseases of the throat and lungs so prevalent amongst colored [*sic*] people."[24] An 1887 graduate of HBCU Shaw University's Medical College, Dr. Scruggs was the first African American physician to pass the North Carolina medical exam. He practiced medicine in Raleigh before relocating to West Southern Pines to operate the sanitarium, which was named in honor of Charles Pickford, who had helped fund Dr. Scruggs' education. The Pickford Tuberculosis Sanitarium provided accommodations for up to thirty patients, as well as a kitchen, dining room, offices, and nurse's department.[25] Despite financial support from both Black and White patrons, the sanitarium fell into financial difficulty and by 1912, Dr. Scruggs had closed the facility and sold the property with the stipulation that it be used to benefit African Americans' health or education.[26]

The extensive growth of the resort industry in the early twentieth century continued to attract African Americans to West Southern Pines. Many Black men found employment in the service industries, working in hotels and resorts as cooks, dishwashers, chauffeurs, and hostlers, or in

[21] U.S. Census Bureau, *1880 United States Federal Census*, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/6742; Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers.

[22] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 102; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 32; Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*.

[23] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 32.

[24] "The Pickford Sanitarium for Consumptive Negroes: Southern Pines, NC," Brochure, no date, https://babel.hathitrust.org/ cgi/pt?id=nc01.ark:/13960/t0ft9wn0s&seq=1.

[25] Adrienne Dunn, "Pickford Tuberculosis Sanitarium," North Carolina History Project, https://northcarolinahistory.org/ encyclopedia/pickford-tuberculosis-sanitarium/.

[26] Opal Winchester Hawkins, *Pickford Sanitarium and R.C. Lawson Institute: Two Former Institutions of Southern Pines, North Carolina*, 2008, via "Sanitarium to School: What's Behind This Old Sign in West Southern Pines," *The Sway: The Insider's Guide to The Pines*, July 13, 2020, https://itsthesway.com/from-sanitarium-to-school-behind-this-brick-archway-in-west-southern-pines; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 28.

the downtown businesses as janitors and delivery drivers.[27] Women also worked in the hotels and resorts, taking jobs as cooks, waitresses, laundresses, and housekeepers. Some African American women boarded in White households where they worked as cooks, nannies, maids, and laundresses.[28] "That's how most of the people over here got their houses," recalled West Southern Pines resident Willa Mae Harrington, "by working as caddies, maids, cooks, and housekeepers and saving money. If you got with a good family you could save while you worked for them."[29]

Working as a caddie at one of the local golf courses was especially appealing to young Black men. In the 1920s and 1930s, caddies working in Pinehurst could earn $.50 per 18-holes of golf and $.35 for nine holes, and, as former caddie Press Waddell observed, "the northern people would always tip you a little better."[30] The pay was comparatively high, enticing those in West Southern Pines to walk the twelve-mile round-trip to Pinehurst and back each day, and pay rates nearly doubled in the 1930s following a caddie strike.[31] Pay rates were also affected by increasing competition between the resorts. Initially, most golf courses were closed on Sundays, but when Pine Needles and Mid Pines opened in the 1930s, the extended week at those courses offered increased hours for Black caddies.[32]

For many, resort work was both preferable to farming and among the only opportunities open to African Americans in Southern Pines. However, the resort season was limited, starting on Labor Day each year and extending only until the middle of May.[33] "It was a golf town and after the golfers left and went back north, there wasn't much," recalled former caddie Frank Waddell. "The houses on the hill had shutters on them. There wasn't any work."[34] As a result, many employed in the resort industry would work the winter months when the resorts were busy, then return to rural areas to farm during the summer months, returning to resort work after the harvest.[35] Skilled laborers in West Southern Pines capitalized on the physical growth of the area in the early twentieth century, working as carpenters, brick masons, builders, painters, and plasterers.[36] Still others operated businesses that catered to, but were distinct from, the resorts, most notably laundries, known as pressing clubs. West Southern Pines resident Fred McIver worked in a family-owned laundry that served local hotels during the week then laundered for Fort Bragg's military residents on Sundays.[37]

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[27] *1880 United States Federal Census*; U.S. Census Bureau, *1920 United States Federal Census,* Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/6061; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 41; Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*; Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church by Cheri Szcodronski, Heather Slane, and Rachel Mann, September 9, 2023, at Trinity AME Zion Church, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

[28] *1880 United States Federal Census*; *1920 United States Federal Census*; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 41; Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*; Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church.

[29] "Interview with Willa Mae Harrington on March 2, 1982," in Mason, 76-82.

[30] "Interview with Press Waddell on March 22, 1982," in Mason, 34-42.

[31] Interview with Press Waddell.

[32] Interview with Press Waddell.

[33] "Interview with Ed Quick on April 26, 1982," in Mason, 108-114.

[34] "Interview with Frank Waddell on June 10, 1982," in Mason, 83-88.

[35] Interview with Press Waddell.

[36] Alexander, *Perspectives on a Resort Community,* 41-42.

[37] "Interview with Fred McIver on May 11, 1982," in Mason, 96-102.

Incorporation of West Southern Pines

West Southern Pines initially lay outside the Southern Pines town boundaries and therefore did not benefit from town services or governmental representation. Though this area was laid out on an 1894 plat, the construction of even primitive roads to facilitate travel and demarcate blocks had still not been completed by the early twentieth century. As a result, homes were simply built in the pine forest north of the Southern Pines incorporated boundary, accessed by poorly maintained dirt paths without any lighting. The area also lacked water and sewer services, leaving residents to rely on private wells and outdoor privies. West Southern Pines had no fire or police protection, so residents were forced to call the county sheriff from Carthage in the event of emergency, as the Southern Pines police, though much closer, refused to respond.[38] "There were nothing but colored [*sic*] here," resident Reverend Thomas Flowers recalled. "The colored were cut off over here, and they wanted a town."[39]

Local residents sought incorporation for West Southern Pines with the encouragement of religious and business leaders, in particular Lawrence Augustus Oxley, known simply as Lt. Oxley in reference to his World War I service. In the 1920s, Oxley worked in the state welfare office and was appointed director of the North Carolina Division of Negro Welfare, the first of its kind in the country.[40] Oxley had heard about an all-Black town incorporated in Mississippi and believed West Southern Pines was a good candidate to pursue the same status.[41]

West Southern Pines received its charter in March of 1923, marking it as one of the first incorporated African American towns in the nation. Trinity AME Zion Church, founded in the late nineteenth century, was heavily involved in the establishment of the new town. At the time of West Southern Pines' incorporation, the congregation had just completed construction of a new church building (extant), which was used as the primary gathering space for meetings related to town operations.[42] The first mayor, named in the 1923 Charter, was Trinity's pastor, Reverend J. Pleasant Hines.[43] "He was a straight-forward man," recalled Reverend Flowers, "somewhat rigid and he believed in the moral law, doing what's right. He was a good man."[44] In addition to Hines, five local leaders were appointed commissioners in the Charter: carpenter and Zion minister Reverend Evander McIver, Keene Addison, carpenter Benjamin Armstrong, store owner James Bethea, and Methodist minister Reverend C. F. Martin.[45]

Section 6 of the Charter gave the Commissioners authority to oversee and fund civic improvements, including:

> "To provide for the construction and laying out of streets, alleys, roads and lanes, and

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[38] Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*.

[39] Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers.

[40] John L. Bell, Jr., "Oxley, Lawrence Augustus," *NCpedia,* https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/oxley-lawrence-augustus.

[41] Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*.

[42] Reverend Dr. Paul Murphy, "Civil Rights and Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church," Trinity AME Zion Church Collection.

[43] State of North Carolina, "Chapter 210: An Act to Incorporate the Town of West Southern Pines in Moore County," March 3, 1923, *Public-local laws enacted by the General Assembly at its session of 1923* (Raleigh: Mitchell Printing Company, 1923), 463-466, https://www.ncleg.gov/Files/Library/sessionlaws/1921-1930/pubs_publiclocallaws 1923.pdf.

[44] Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers.

[45] Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*; State of North Carolina, "Chapter 210."

> for the widening of the same; to regulate the cleaning and repairing of all streets and sidewalks; to condemn land for any purpose necessary for corporate improvement and welfare; to establish and regulate a market or markets, take all proper and effectual means for extinguishing conflagrations and fires; make regulations to cause the due observance of Sunday; suppress and remove nuisances; take all necessary measures to preserve the town from contagious and infectious diseases; to provide for the appointment of special police and other officers needed; take measures to preserve the peace of the town, to execute the laws and ordinances thereof and maintain good order; to establish one or more cemeteries inside or outside of the town…"[46]

These powers illustrate the goals of the early leaders of West Southern Pines. Bessie Hasty, daughter of James Hasty who was mayor of West Southern Pines from 1927 to 1931, recalled her father strongly desired to make these improvements. "He wanted to see street lights," she remembered, "he wanted to see the roads paved. We didn't have sewers and we didn't have water."[47] Efforts to improve streets began immediately after the town's incorporation. The informal Woodlawn Cemetery, established at least by 1911, was designated the town cemetery. Dannie Harrington, a farmer and railroad laborer, was hired as the first town marshal. The only substantial goal left unfulfilled was the establishment of a fire department, which failed due to a lack of sufficient water supply for fire hydrants.[48] By September of 1923, *The Charlotte Observer* described West Southern Pines as "a thrifty community, having its schools, churches, stores, garages, and everything essential to comfort its people. The houses are lighted with electricity, the streets are in good condition, and the people are prosperous."[49] Civic improvement initiatives appear to have continued over the next few years, as a 1927 editorial in *The Charlotte Observer* praised the town's efforts: "Street improvement, water and lights are all being pushed forward…the public school is the latest in modernism and…the present administration is in the hands of a set of young men of intelligence and business sagacity."[50] The editorial argued that West Southern Pines was "no place for stragglers" and encouraged businessmen and professionals to relocate to the burgeoning town.

Annexation of West Southern Pines

Both Southern Pines and West Southern Pines experienced a period of growth in the 1920s as new hotels, businesses, and homes were built. However, while Southern Pines remained stable into the early 1930s, the new leaders of West Southern Pines struggled to provide necessary services, entice new businesses, and maintain financial solvency. The Southern Pines Town Council expressed concerns about the impact of these challenges on the White residents of and visitors to Southern Pines:

> "First, for the reason that many criminals of North Carolina are drifting into West Southern Pines where they are protected from being apprehended by officers and to be

[46] State of North Carolina, "Chapter 210."

[47] "Interview with Bessie Hasty and Floyd McDonald on May 12, 1982," in Mason, 115-124.

[48] "Interview with Miss Wilma and Miss Bessie Hasty on June 9, 1982," in Mason, 9-16.

[49] "Negro Settlements Adjoining White Communities are Common in Southern States," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 29, 1923, Newspapers.com, https://www.newspapers.com/browse/united-states/north-carolina/charlotte/the-charlotte-observer_3189 (hereafter *The Charlotte Observer)*.

[50] "Letter to the Editor: Boosts Western Southern Pines," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 30, 1927.

> in the community where they are protected by a Negro form of government. Second, that there's considerable danger from the health standpoint of an epidemic breaking out in the Negro section that would cause serious danger to Southern Pines as a resort community in a town that is dependent upon the Negroes as servants. Third, that the Negroes were not capable of governing themselves if they did not have sufficient funds to build streets and to look after the other civic needs of the Negroes."[51]

News media of the time painted a portrait of the town as being caught in the grip of uncontrolled lawlessness resulting from a local government controlled entirely by African Americans. In 1926, after Officer Harrington was involved in the shooting death of a resident during an altercation over illegal liquor (about which the details remain unclear), Raleigh's *The News and Observer* concluded that "West Southern Pines, which is a colored [*sic*] settlement, is governed by a colored mayor and commissioners. All of the officials of the town are colored, Harrington, the defendant, being the night policeman."[52] By 1927, *The News and Observer* labeled West Southern Pines a failed experiment in self-governance, citing lawlessness and violent crime. The paper asserted that "while the better class of residents have made a determined and valiant effort to uphold law and order in their incorporated settlement, it seems that the lawless element resents policing by members of its own race." The paper then goes on to suggest that the "logical step" would be for Southern Pines to assume governance over West Southern Pines but that the White community was "adverse to assuming the responsibility."[53] In 1931, White leaders of Southern Pines expressed concerns that crime in West Southern Pines threatened the safety of Southern Pines residents, claiming that, "Negro citizens of the town had little respect for the Negro authorities and, especially, the policemen."[54]

Some of the concerns expressed by the Southern Pines Town Council appear to be related to the impact of this perception of a lawless West Southern Pines – regardless of its accuracy – on the image of Southern Pines as a resort community and its appeal to Northern visitors, rather than any consideration of the safety of West Southern Pines residents. In addition, many White business owners and leaders recognized the necessity of controlling West Southern Pines as a link between Southern Pines and Pinehurst, as expanding connectivity between these towns prior to 1930 relied on routes that passed directly through or very near to West Southern Pines.. Southern Pines and Pinehurst were connected by a trolley that passed through West Southern Pines; Midland Road, which arched north around West Southern Pines; and Morganton Road, which passed just south of West Southern Pines.[55]

The other primary concern expressed by the Southern Pines Town Council was the ability of the West Southern Pines government to provide for its citizens. West Southern Pines officials had the authority to "levy and collect taxes on real and personal property," however, these taxes often went unpaid. Bessie Hasty recalled that there were always money problems. "A lot

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[51] "Interview with Emanuel Douglass on March 23, 1982," in Mason, 19.

[52] "Colored Policeman is Held for Killing," *The [Raleigh] News and Observer*, April 10, 1926, Newspapers.com, https://www.newspapers.com/browse/united-states/north-carolina/raleigh/the-news-and-observer_3272 (hereafter *The News and Observer*).

[53] "Negro Government Turning Out Badly," *The News and Observer*, December 18, 1927.

[54] "Under the Dome," *The News and Observer*, February 21, 1931.

[55] Interview with Frank Waddell.

of people didn't pay their taxes," she said. "My father would sometimes take our grocery money and pay the town light bills."[56] With limited tax revenue or access to other resources, the town struggled to provide the basic services, such as police and fire protection, street improvements, or water and sewer service, that were considered necessary for a successful town.[57] The issue was further exacerbated by comparison between the two towns; as West Southern Pines leaders were engaged in attempts to collect overdue property taxes, officials in Southern Pines were making substantial improvements with street lighting and paving, construction of a new water works facility, and improved electric and telephone services.[58] The challenges facing West Southern Pines were exacerbated by the onset of the Great Depression, and discussion of annexation to Southern Pines began in earnest.

In February of 1931, the North Carolina General Assembly revoked the West Southern Pines charter and the town of Southern Pines initiated the process of annexation.[59] Some in West Southern Pines opposed these changes. *The Charlotte Observer* reported on the situation, noting that the West Southern Pines municipality and six of its churches were all free of debt, a distinction not believed to have been enjoyed by any White municipality in the state and an indication that officials were in fact fiscally responsible in their governance.[60] Leaders of the Trinity AME Zion Church condemned the annexation as an "assault against this community's economic infrastructure."[61] Attorney R. McCants Andrews represented the residents of West Southern Pines in Superior Court and obtained a temporary injunction preventing the Town of Southern Pines from selling property in West Southern Pines to settle delinquent taxes.[62] Despite local opposition to annexation and the town's distinction as the only incorporated Black municipality in the state, the proposed corporate extension was upheld by the state Supreme Court in January 1932 and West Southern Pines again came under the control of White governmental officials.[63]

Many residents of West Southern Pines ultimately accepted annexation without complaint. Local resident Mary Holloman recalled discussing the lack of financial resources in West Southern Pines with her husband, Luico: "We didn't own any factories and we didn't make any money and we can't raise our own wages because we had to work for the other race." As a result, the Hollomans felt, West Southern Pines would never be financially solvent. She went on to explain that, in general, residents "were glad [to be annexed] because they wanted streets and they wanted running water."[64] And indeed the residents of West Southern Pines were promised civic improvements, including paved streets, police and fire protection, and all the benefits of municipal leadership, though it took decades for these promises to come to fruition.[65]

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[56] Interview with Bessie Hasty and Floyd McDonald.
[57] Interview with Bessie Hasty and Floyd McDonald.
[58] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 51; Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*.
[59] "Legislative Grind," *The News and Observer*, March 3, 1931.
[60] "Still Holds Distinction," *The Charlotte Observer*, March 4, 1931.
[61] Murphy, "Civil Rights and Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church."
[62] "Court Holds Up Absorbing of Town," *The News and Observer*, September 29, 1931.
[63] "Supreme Court… Corporate Extensions Approved," *The News and Observer*, January 28, 1932.
[64] "Interview with Mary Holloman on June 29, 1982," in Mason, 178-182.
[65] Interview with Miss Wilma and Miss Bessie Hasty.

Commerce in West Southern Pines

Following the 1932 annexation, West Southern Pines remained a racially segregated, self-contained, and self-sufficient community. While Southern Pines was growing with new stores and entertainment venues in the early 1900s, African American residents were, for the most part, prohibited from patronizing these businesses. One of the unintended side effects of Jim Crow segregation and the refusal of White business owners to serve Black patrons was the opportunity for African Americans to establish their own businesses, without competition from White establishments. The earliest enterprises were typically small, family-run operations located within residential areas of West Southern Pines. By 1910, these included the George Murphy upholstery shop, W.H. Grossman and H.A. McPhaul grocery stores, the James Brown barber shop, cobblers Berry Hasty and James Petiford, laundresses Lydia Shaw and Samantha Harris, Laird Lilly's livery stable, and draymen George McLane and Calvin Mitchell.[66]

West Southern Pines was home to a number of well-known Black carpenters, woodworkers, and brick masons who were attracted to the area by the rapid growth of Southern Pines and other nearby resort towns in the early twentieth century. One of the most notable of these tradesmen was Amos Broadway, a successful brick mason who built one of the earliest masonry commercial buildings in West Southern Pines. The Amos Broadway Building was completed in 1922 on a highly visible location at the northeast corner of West New York Avenue and South Hardin Street, across the street from the Industrial Union Training School (later the R. C. Lawson Institute). Broadway also built his own house next door at 1043 West New York Avenue and an adjacent two-story, frame guesthouse and casino at 1031 West New York Avenue (not extant).[67] Long-time resident Fred McIver recalled that when he came to West Southern Pines in the early 1920s, the only landmark buildings in the community at the time were the churches and the Amos Broadway buildings.[68]

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps show that by 1924, additional commercial buildings, most of frame construction, had been built in the vicinity of the Amos Broadway Building. A one-story commercial building and a two-story commercial building were built on South Gaines Street just north of West New York Avenue, a barber shop and three one-story commercial buildings in the 800 block of West New York Avenue, a one-story commercial building in the 700 block of West New York Avenue, and a concrete block meeting hall at the corner of South Gaines Street and West Massachusetts Avenue. By 1944, two one-story, concrete block commercial buildings were constructed in the 1100 block of West New York Avenue, and a one-story concrete block commercial building was built at the intersection of South Gaines

[66] U.S. Census Bureau, *1910 United States Federal Census,* Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7884/.

[67] Note: Some publications report the casino/boarding house was located 1043 West New York Avenue and the Amos Broadway House at 1031 West New York Avenue, however local residents recall the extant building at 1043 West New York Avenue was the Amos Broadway House. Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 51, 85; Ana Risano, "Amos Broadway Theater: Remembering the Past to Revitalize the Future," *The [Southern Pines] Pilot,* June 28, 2023, https://www.thepilot.com/news/amos-broadway-theater-remembering-the-past-to-revitalize-the-future/article_21981bce-15ed-11ee-bd97-c78bb5738fb4.html; Interview with Emanuel Douglass; Personal Communication with Kim Wade (lifelong resident and local historian) by Heather Slane and Cheri Szcodronski, October 20, 2024, Southern Pines, North Carolina; "Amos Broadway House," File MR0679, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (hereafter NC SHPO), Raleigh.

[68] Interview with Fred McIver; File MR0679, NC SHPO.

Street and West Massachusetts Avenue.[69] early all of these commercial buildings had been torn down by the 1960s.

By the 1940s, businesses had been constructed in small groupings throughout the neighborhood. A one-story commercial building was constructed on West New York Avenue across South Hardin Street from the Amos Broadway Building, and four small, one-story commercial buildings were built in the 200 block of South Gaines Street. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, a commercial district began to form north of the Amos Broadway Building in the 1000 block of West Pennsylvania Avenue, including Jesse Grimm's grocery, a florist, a branch of North Carolina Mutual Credit Union, Loretta Hines grocery and gas station, and a one-story commercial building containing an unknown business. Further north, another small cluster of businesses was located in the 1000 block of West New Hampshire Avenue and included Joe Waddell's barber shop, a corner grocery, and McMannen's shoe shop.[70] Resident Charles Waddell noted that "in a lot of ways, West Southern Pines was self-sufficient in those days. There were two or three barbershops, a dry cleaner, stores where you could get produce and meats. There were brickmasons and plumbers, carpenters and mechanics. West Southern Pines was kind of a hub for Black people living in surrounding areas – Raeford, Montgomery County, Vass."[71] None of these businesses remain in operation and the few buildings that remain extant are mostly vacant and in poor or ruinous condition.

Despite the proliferation of commercial buildings in West Southern Pines, Sanborn maps do not indicate what businesses these buildings housed, with the exception of a service station on West Pennsylvania Avenue. A collection of oral histories conducted in the early 1980s indicated these businesses included grocery and general stores, restaurants, and additional service stations.[72] Among the most well-remembered businesses were Mr. Brown's store on South Gaines Street near the masonic lodge, later operated by his daughter, Adelaid Brown Galvert; James Bethea's store and butcher shop, for which locations vary in the oral history accounts; Charlie Boggan's store on Gaines Street; Mrs. Bennett's store on New York Avenue; Jesse Bennett's store on Gaines Street; Mr. Lewis's grocery store; and Mr. Kimball's general store, where "everyone traded."[73]

By the 1950s a commercial corridor had emerged along West Pennsylvania Avenue, the primary east-west thoroughfare between Southern Pines and West Southern Pines. In addition to the existing retail stores, restaurants, and professional services, new businesses began to cater to the growing popularity of personal automobiles. Commercial buildings in the 800 block of West Pennsylvania Avenue housed a taxi stand; Pugh's Place laundromat, auto garage, and restaurant; an auto garage and fish market; Mack Shack Grocery; a gas station; and a doctor's

[69] Sanborn Map Company, "Southern Pines, Moore County, North Carolina," October 1924, Historical Information Gatherers, via University of Michigan Libraries; Sanborn Map Company, "Southern Pines, Moore County, North Carolina," October 1924, Updated September 1944, Historical Information Gatherers, via University of Michigan Libraries; Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis (West Southern Pines Resident) by Cheri Szcodronski, Heather Slane, and Rachel Mann (City of Southern Pines Planning Department), October 17, 2023, driving tour of West Southern Pines; Personal Communication with Kim Wade, October 2024.

[70] 1924 Sanborn map; 1944 Sanborn map; Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis.

[71] "City on a Hill," *Pine Straw Magazine*, October 29, 2020, https://pinestrawmag.com/city-on-a-hill.

[72] "Interview with Donnie Wicker on March 31, 1982," in Mason, 52-62; "Interview with James McRae on June 9, 1982," in Mason, 137-141.

[73] Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*; Interview with Donnie Wicker.

office and boarding house. Hines grocery and gas station, Jesse Grimm's grocery, a florist, North Carolina Mutual Credit Union, McLean's grocery, and Bennett's grocery were located in the 1000 block of West Pennsylvania Avenue and around the corner in the 100 block of South Gaines Avenue. At the north end of this corridor, Five Points Garage, Fred Waldon's Garage, a café, and Mrs. Baker's flower shop were located in the 1200 block of West Pennsylvania Avenue, with Bostis Funeral Home and Lux Cleaners and Tailors around the corner on South Glover Street. With the exception of Bostis Funeral Home, which now operates as Kendrick's Funeral Home, none of these businesses remain in operation and nearly all of the buildings are vacant, ruinous, or have been demolished.[74]

Figure 4: 1944 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of West Southern Pines

[74] Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis.

Without formal zoning policies to direct commercial development, businesses were not limited to locations within the West Pennsylvania Avenue corridor. Another cluster of businesses was located in the 1000 and 1100 blocks of West New Hampshire Avenue and included Joe Waddell's Barber Shop, McMannen's shoe shop, a grocery, a branch of North Carolina Mutual Credit Union, and Lem Cash's grocery. Other businesses were scattered throughout West Southern Pines, most located inside the business owner's home or in small adjacent buildings. These included beauty parlors and barber shops, grocery and general stores, an appliance repair shop, and a funeral home. These businesses flourished in West Southern Pines throughout the mid-twentieth century, but by the 1980s, most residents went to downtown Southern Pines for the majority of their grocery and retail shopping. Though some of these buildings remain extant, none of the businesses remain in operation, leaving the buildings vacant and often in ruinous condition.[75]

Entertainment and Recreation in West Southern Pines

Perhaps the most notable entertainment venue in West Southern Pines was the Amos Broadway Building. Located at the northeast corner of West New York Avenue and South Hardin Street, the building included a theater space in the east section that was used primarily for dancing, and starting in the late 1920s hosted weekly movies for twenty-five cents per show. In the west section of the building, there was a café and beer garden with a Piccolo jukebox, as well as a pool hall. [76] From 1922 until the mid-1940s, the Amos Broadway Building served as the primary entertainment venue in Southern Pines for Black patrons. "There weren't other social clubs," recalled local resident Lessie Worthy.[77] "That was the only place to go," agreed Frank Waddell, who worked as a caddie in the summer and would take his tips to Broadway's.[78] Taxi driver Ed Quick recalled frequently taking patrons to Broadway's, explaining, "That was the only place they had to go."[79] Later, a second Black-owned theater and dance hall was operated by Paul Cocklin, however little is known about its operation or location.[80] In downtown Southern Pines, Black

Figure 5: Amos Broadway Building

[75] Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis.
[76] Interview with Ed Quick; Interview with Press Waddell; Interview with Donnie Wicker; Interview with Larcenia Harrington.
[77] Interview with Lessie Worthy on March 12, 1982," in Mason, 160-166.
[78] Interview with Frank Waddell.
[79] Interview with Ed Quick.
[80] Interview with Donnie Wicker.

patrons could go to the Sunrise Theater, however it was a segregated business that required African Americans to enter through a side door and sit in the balcony.[81]

Dances at the Amos Broadway Building were popular not only among residents of West Southern Pines, but among African Americans throughout the region. They were advertised by word-of-mouth, largely by those working as chauffeurs who told not only residents of West Southern Pines, but also residents of Pinehurst, Greensboro, High Point, and other nearby cities. "They would tell around when they would have a party," recalled Emanuel Douglass.[82] "People would come from all over," remembered Frank Waddell. "They come from Charlotte and Raleigh. When they gave those big dances they would come from all over."[83] Bessie Hasty explained that, like those who lived in West Southern Pines, many African Americans from nearby areas also came to Amos Broadway's because "they didn't have a lot of places for recreation."[84]

Young people living in West Southern Pines generally lacked opportunities for entertainment or recreation outside of church and school activities, as segregation practices largely excluded them from establishments in downtown Southern Pines and there were no parks or playgrounds in West Southern Pines.[85] In the late 1920s, Dr. Cady showed movies in the West Southern Pines School.[86] Additionally, some spent time at Broadway's where, in the summer, Broadway would let younger kids play at his pool hall until it opened for business at 3:00 pm.[87] Norma Lewis remembered that during the school year, teenagers were permitted during business hours. "After you got sixteen or seventeen you were allowed to go in. You got to play the Piccolo [jukebox],"[88] she recalled. "He furnished recreation when nobody else had it," recalled Emanuel Douglass. But Broadway enforced the rules for teenagers visiting his businesses – if he caught kids skipping school to go to his theater or pool hall, he called the school to let the principal know they were there.[89]

In spite of the absence of parks or playgrounds in West Southern Pines, residents created opportunities for outdoor recreation. They utilized a large pond near the West Southern Pines School and R.C. Lawson Institute for fishing in the warmer months and ice skating in winter, until the 1930s when the pond was filled.[90] A baseball diamond stood near the West Southern Pines School, complete with a grandstand and concessions, until the 1950s when the land was needed for expansion of the school campus.[91] Felton Capel, a West Southern Pines resident and member of the Southern Pines Town Council, recalled that residents later rented a field in East Southern Pines when their local baseball team hosted games.[92] Some residents utilized White recreational resources in the off-season despite segregationist practices. Frank Waddell

[81] "Interview with Louise Faulk on April 27, 1982," in Mason, 63-68; Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis; Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church.
[82] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[83] Interview with Frank Waddell.
[84] Interview with Bessie Hasty and Floyd McDonald.
[85] Interview with Donnie Wicker; Personal Communication with Carolyn Chavis.
[86] Interview with Ed Quick.
[87] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[88] "Interview with Norma Lewis on June 28, 1982," in Mason, 134-136.
[89] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[90] Interview with Donnie Wicker.
[91] "Interview with George Ross on March 15, 1982," in Mason, 43-51.
[92] "Interview with Felton Capel on May 5, 1982," in Mason, 125-133.

noted that "along in the summertime, when the people weren't here, we'd slip off and play the back holes on the golf course." They were occasionally caught, he recalled, but suffered nothing more than a scolding.[93]

Religion and Education in West Southern Pines

While educational opportunities for White residents of Southern Pines date to 1886 when the first public school opened alongside a number of private academies, none of these schools admitted Black students.[94] With local jobs largely limited to those in the service industry, Black residents of Southern Pines had few professional opportunities, regardless of education or training. Sister Corr, a Catholic teacher in West Southern Pines, observed "the only professions open to educated Negroes [*sic*] are teaching and nursing." However, the importance of education and a strong work ethic remained a common thread throughout the Black community.[95]

In West Southern Pines, as in many parts of the Jim Crow South, education was emphasized as necessary for upward social and economic mobility. Without public schools for Black children, the educational opportunities provided by churches were integral to the spiritual, social, and educational development of Black youth. As historian Carroll Van West wrote in 1999, "For over 100 years, scholars of African-American culture, history, and religion – along with writers and commentators over the decades in between – have consistently pointed to the church as the single most significant institution in African-American life."[96] West also underscores historian Leon Litwack's 1998 observation that the Black church was "viewed by many members as an extension of the family [and] the church served as a school, lecture hall, a social and recreation center, a meeting place for an assortment of groups, and a source of information."[97]

Churches and Parochial Schools

St. James Lutheran Church was among the first Black congregations in West Southern Pines, established in 1898 by members of the Shankel and Brower families, with the first baptisms of new parishioners taking place in the spring of 1899.[98] That same year, the congregation purchased a tract of land located "at the edge of the non-divided area identified on the plat as 'Colored Settlement'" from John T. Patrick's New England Manufacturing, Mining, and Estate Company. That parcel, together with a second tract purchased in 1918, makes up the current property at 983 West New Hampshire Avenue. Financed in part with assistance from congregations in Michigan and Illinois, the building was completed in 1900 and stood in that location until replaced with the current structure in 1965. The congregation was served by a

[93] Interview with Frank Waddell.

[94] Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 18, 26.

[95] Sister Mary John Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School in Southern Pines, North Carolina: From Its Inception in 1942 to the Present" (Ph.D. Diss., The Catholic University of America, 1963), 15-16, Moore County Historical Association, Southern Pines, North Carolina (hereafter MCHA).

[96] Carroll Van West, "Historic Rural African-American Churches in Tennessee, 1850-1970," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1999, Section E, 2.

[97] West, "Historic Rural African-American Churches," Section E, 2.

[98] "One Hundred Years and Beyond: St. James Lutheran Church, Southern Pines, North Carolina," 1998, 2-11, MCHA.

circuit of traveling ministers in the early years, with services held only once or twice a month. It was not until 1931 that a full-time minister, Reverend W.J. Pledger, was installed at the church.[99]

Even before securing a full-time minister, the congregation of St. James dedicated resources to provide a school for local residents. In his history of Moore County, Wellman briefly mentions a "private school for colored children" in Southern Pines at the turn of the twentieth century, likely referring to the St. James Lutheran School.[100] Beginning in 1899, elementary school classes met in the chapel and were led by Henry L. Persson, a White teacher trained in Greensboro. By the 1930s, Reverend Pledger taught up to thirty-five students in grades one to seven. Additionally, Vacation Bible School held in the 1930s supported as many as 125 children each summer. The St. James Lutheran School operated through 1939 when Reverend Pledger left the church, though the church did operate a kindergarten in the mid- to late-twentieth century. The kindergarten was initially housed at the R.C. Lawson Institute but was moved to the St. James Lutheran Church in the 1960s, likely when the current church building was completed. In the 1980s, it became known as St. James Pre-Kindergarten, serving children ages 3 and 4.[101]

Figure 6: Trinity AME Zion Church

The most prominent church for African Americans in West Southern Pines, both geographically and architecturally, has historically been Trinity AME Zion Church. Sometimes known as "The Freedom Church," the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination has its beginnings in the struggle for racial equality, a foundational theme that has anchored the Church since its establishment.[102] During the Reconstruction era, Missionaries established churches in New Bern and Wilmington, then turned inland toward Concord, passing through the Sandhills region on their journey westward.[103] Trinity AME Zion Church was founded in the late nineteenth century when a group of Methodists from West Southern Pines left the Methodist Church in Manly, a once independent community now part of northeast Southern Pines. Initially meeting in congregants' homes, the congregation purchased the current property in 1899 and

[99] "One Hundred Years and Beyond," 2-11.
[100] Wellman, *The County of Moore*, 121.
[101] "One Hundred Years and Beyond," 2-11.
[102] West, "Historic Rural African-American Churches," Section E, 7-8; Murphy, "Civil Rights and Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church."
[103] Murphy, "Civil Rights and Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church."

constructed a frame church building, which was replaced by the current brick building in 1923.[104]

In addition to Sunday services, the church provided a variety of social activities that, due largely to segregation, served as the social center of community life. Women's Day and Men's Day celebrated church members with speakers and a meal, raising money to support the church. Homecoming celebrations invited back those who had grown up in the church and moved away from West Southern Pines or had otherwise grown away from the church. Children recited Bible verses in Sunday School oratorical contests, sang in the children's choir, and performed in Christmas pageants. Children also attended Vacation Bible School, which was typically staggered throughout the summer among the churches in West Southern Pines so children could attend at multiple churches. Trinity Church partnered with other congregations to host joint services as well, especially Watch Night services on New Years Eve and religious revival celebrations.[105] Congregant Peggie Caple explains growing up in the church, saying "Sunday School and church was just a part of our lives… It was a family. You were connected to these people, and they felt connected to you. And they wanted to help you." Parents, teachers, church members, and neighbors all worked together to raise the children. "This community was a village," Caple recalls. "A village that cared about children." Church member Mary Morrison recalls, "That was our social life. If you didn't go to church and school, what else would you do? …you didn't see anybody else but your family. So you went to church. You were in Sunday School, you were an usher, you were in the choir, you did everything."[106]

Though uncommon in the nineteenth century South, Catholicism began to spread from the Northeast and Midwest to the South in the early twentieth century as it became part of mainstream society. The Catholic Church prioritized the need to minister to African Americans in particular, recognizing the central role of Protestant churches in Black communities and hoping to develop similar institutions.[107] Catholicism came to West Southern Pines in the 1930s, when Margaret Sullivan, an Irish Catholic housekeeper who wintered in Southern Pines with

Figure 7: Our Lady of Victory Catholic Church

[104] Mason, *Oral History of West Southern Pines*; Sanborn Map Company, "Southern Pines, Moore County, North Carolina," April 1915, Historical Information Gatherers, via University of Michigan; Murphy, "Civil Rights and Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church"; Trinity AME Zion Church, File MR1321, NC SHPO; "The New England Manufacturing Mining & Estate Company to B.F. Pocoell, et. al.," Book 173, Page 194, Moore County Register of Deeds, Carthage, North Carolina (hereafter MCRD).

[105] Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church.

[106] Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church.

[107] William F. Powers, *Tar Heel Catholics: A History of Catholicism in North Carolina* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 3-4, 13-15.

the family that employed her, took an interest in the spiritual and academic well-being of the African Americans in the region. Sullivan wrote to the Most Reverend William J. Hafey, Bishop of the Raleigh Catholic Diocese, offering financial support for the diocese to expand services among African Americans. She provided a donation of $600, followed by additional funds in 1934, for the establishment of a Catholic parish for African Americans in the vicinity of Pinehurst.[108] The chapel and an adjacent rectory were completed in 1935 under the direction of Reverend Charles Hannigan, whom Bishop Hafey had assigned "to take charge of the work among the colored [*sic*] people of Southern Pines."[109] The parish was named Our Lady of Victory in honor of a parish on Long Island, New York, of the same name, which had pledged financial support for the establishment of the new parish in West Southern Pines, though it is unclear if any support was actually received.[110]

The first Catholic education for African American children in Southern Pines was provided in 1941 as a vacation Bible school program conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame and students from Trinity College in Washington, D.C. Long-time residents of West Southern Pines recall it was common for children to attend vacation Bible school programs at each church in the community in turn, regardless of membership or denomination. Therefore, with 105 children representing nine denominations in attendance, the Catholic vacation Bible school began with mass each morning, followed by teachings in "philosophy of life" and "the Catholic doctrine with the names of things changed a little to suit the learners." All children were "made to feel welcome by the Sisters," and the priests made them sandwiches and lemonade each day.[111]

Encouraged by the success of the 1941 vacation Bible school program, Father Ambrose McAdams, who arrived at the parish in 1938, sought to build a school for African American children on the church campus. He received support from Sister Rosalia of the Blessed Sacrament, Provincial Superior of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, who promised that if Father McAdams built the school, she would provide sisters to operate it. The Sisters who taught at the school lived at the convent at nearby Notre Dame Academy, a Catholic school about one mile east of Southern Pines that was also operated by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Construction funding was provided by the sale of buildings at a recently closed orphanage in Rochester, New York.[112]

The school was completed in 1942 and included four classrooms, an office, library, wardrobe closets, a supply closet, restrooms, and an auditorium with a stage and two dressing rooms. The approximately two acres at the rear of the school were used for recess, during which children enjoyed football, baseball, basketball, volleyball, horseshoes, and playing house. Most students could not afford to purchase their own books, so they instead borrowed books from the school, which acquired secondhand books from schools taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore.[113]

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[108] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 1-4; Bishop William J. Hafey to Margaret M. Sullivan, December 7, 1934, MCHA.

[109] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 4; Jean Barron Walker, "A Catholic Church and School for African Americans in Southern Pines," *A Slice of History*, February 2019, MCHA.

[110] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 2-4; Hafey to Sullivan, December 7, 1934.

[111] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 5-6.

[112] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 6.

[113] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 8, 11-12.

The school opened for the 1942-1943 school year with twenty-eight students in first through fourth grades, with more grades added in subsequent years as the students advanced. By the 1946-1947 school year, the school included sixty students in first through eighth grades, and Margaret Bell became the first graduate at the conclusion of that term. With the loss of the public school for Black students in nearby Aberdeen, which was destroyed by fire in 1947, the student population of Our Lady of Victory increased to 120 pupils, facilitated by the addition of a school bus.[114]

Our Lady of Victory Catholic School provided vocational training in addition to academic instruction. Margaret Sullivan donated two electric sewing machines for use by sixth, seventh, and eighth grade girls learning to cut patterns and sew simple blouses, skirts, and pajamas for themselves and their families. Boys were taught basic carpentry and metal work. Plays were given annually by the third and fourth grades before Thanksgiving and by the fifth through eighth grades at Christmas with the goal of teaching poise and diction, with the additional benefit of providing community events. Adults also benefited from the school; after mass on Sundays, adults often visited the library, which contained adult materials in addition to those for the school children.[115]

The school operated until 1961 when students were integrated into the all-White St. Anthony of Padua Catholic School in East Southern Pines or transferred to the West Southern Pines School. Reasons for the closure, in addition to the planned integration, were decreasing enrollment and rising tuition. The public school for African American students in Aberdeen was rebuilt in the early 1950s and many students who lived nearer to that school withdrew from Our Lady of Victory. Enrollment was also impacted by the expansion of the West southern Pines School in the 1950s. Around that time, tuition was increased to one dollar, largely to maintain the school bus services, resulting in the withdrawal of students who could no longer afford the fees. By 1963, bus service had been discontinued and only thirty students were enrolled at the school, which by then only served first through third grades. In the fall of 1963, the school closed, transferring the remaining students to St. Anthony's and West Southern Pines School.[116]

Felton Capel, who advocated for quality education for Black students while a member of the Southern Pines Town Council, explained that "you knew that once they got out of here [Southern Pines], Black kids are going to have to go to the white community."[117] Faced with this reality, schools in West Southern Pines sought to prepare Black children for life as Black adults in the Jim Crow South. Our Lady of Victory in particular prioritized teaching these life skills. Sister Corr explained that, "At school they learned a gracious manner in meeting strangers; a refined way of replying to visitors; a dignified attitude while accepting the patronizing airs of certain white people."[118] Father Walter Kuhn further worked to erase prejudices by inviting White guests he met at the resorts in Southern Pines and Pinehurst to visit the Our Lady of Victory Catholic School and see firsthand that African American children were, in fact, socially and academically capable. Similarly, the Sisters took students to

[114] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 12-13.
[115] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 7-10, 12-14.
[116] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 8-9, 14-15, 25.
[117] Interview with Felton Capel.
[118] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 16.

participate in religious functions and demonstrations in Raleigh with students from White Catholic schools in the diocese.[119]

Industrial Union Training School and R.C. Lawson Institute

In 1905, Reverend James M. Henderson, former president of the Industrial Union Institute in Concord, North Carolina, opened the Industrial Union Training School and Orphanage in Southern Pines, though the location of the original building is not known.[120] A 1907 newspaper account hails the school as "doing a great work for the race," and indicates Henderson was serving as the principal at that time.[121] The school was destroyed by fire in 1908 and quickly reconstructed on the same site.[122] In 1912, the Pickford Tuberculosis Sanitarium in West Southern Pines closed and Dr. Scruggs sold the property to Henderson with the stipulation that it be used to benefit African Americans' health or education. Henderson relocated the school to the former sanitarium campus and continued to provide basic academic study, as well as "agricultural, manual, and domestic skills training including crop cultivation, food preparation and preservation, sewing, rug-making, laundry, and shoe repair." Students worked in agricultural fields owned by the school, a practice common for early-twentieth-century orphanages because it both provided the students with practical experience and generated income for the operation of the school.[123]

Figure 8: Gates on the north side of the R. C. Lawson Institute site

As early as 1922, the school had faced criticism from the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare (NCSBCPW), and after inspecting the school in 1925, the group declined to license the school and ordered it to be closed due to substandard conditions. However, the school remained in operation, and in 1931 Bishop R.C. Lawson, leader of the Refuge Church of Christ of the Apostolic Father in Harlem, New York, purchased the school and became its president.[124] Following a 1935 inspection of the school, the Division of Negro Education of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction reported the student population included seven boys and twelve girls ranging in age from six to fifteen, and three teachers were employed by the school, which served grades one to eight. Only two of the

[119] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 24.

[120] "Negroes Uniting: Engaged in Forming Industrial Business Unions," *The [Raleigh] Morning Post,* December 28, 1902, Newspapers.com, https://www.newspapers.com/browse/united-states/north-carolina/raleigh/the-morning-post_2116.

[121] "Prominent Colored Men and Women of Today," *The Portland [Oregon] New Age*, March 2, 1907.

[122] Heather Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, 2023, Section 8, 19.

[123] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 20.

[124] Opal Winchester Hawkins, *Pickford Sanitarium and R.C. Lawson Institute: Two Former Institutions of Southern Pines, North Carolina*, 2008, via "Sanitarium to School: What's Behind This Old Sign in West Southern Pines," *The Sway: The Insider's Guide to The Pines*, July 13, 2020, https://itsthesway.com/from-sanitarium-to-school-behind-this-brick-archway-in-west-southern-pines; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 28.

enrolled students were residents of Southern Pines while the others hailed from New York, Newark, Baltimore, and Jackson Hamlet, North Carolina. In fact, throughout the school's history, it attracted a large number of students from New York City, likely due to the location of Lawson's church in Harlem. The Institute operated as a boarding school with a concrete-block building for the classrooms; a frame building housing two teachers and the male students; and the largest building containing the female dormitories, a kitchen, dining room, assembly room, and library. A fourth building on the site still served as Henderson's residence, even though he was no longer affiliated with the school by that time.[125] The report also noted that although familial financial information was not available, "there is every evidence that it is meager," then goes on to further lament a lack of school records, that neither the teachers nor the school had any sort of certification or accreditation, and that the school "is not as good as the schools from which these pupils come. Nor does it measure up to [West Southern Pines School]"[126]

Despite these challenges, the school remained in operation until Lawson's death in 1961. North Carolina Department of Public Instruction records from 1938 show an enrollment of twenty female students and ten male students, despite the lack of heat in the dormitory buildings.[127] In January 1939, N.C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education for the state, echoed the concerns of both the State of North Carolina and the local community about the quality of the school facilities and programs, as well as the redundancy given the state-supported school just one block away.[128] After the school's closure, the campus briefly housed the St. James Lutheran Church kindergarten and a private daycare facility, which both closed by 1980.[129] The main building appears to have remained extant as late as 2010, but the site is now vacant save for a frame building at the northeast corner of the site and two mid- to late-twentieth century houses at the southeast corner. In 1996, the site was dedicated as R.C. Lawson Institute Park, though it is unclear if or when the school may have operated under this name.

West Southern Pines School

Efforts to establish the first public school in West Southern Pines began in 1908 when local residents, led by S.D. McLeod and Willie O. Powell solicited donations for the construction of a schoolhouse. Land on the north side of West Pennsylvania Avenue, now the location of the Our Lady of Victory Catholic Parish, was conveyed to the Moore County Board of Education in the fall of 1909. A one-story, frame building was constructed on the site and the school opened soon after with Powell serving as the first teacher. By 1917, the school enrolled 107 students,

[125] North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (hereafter NC DPI), "Report of Visit March 7, 1935, to the Industrial Union Institute," Division of Negro Education, Special Subject File, Box 8, State Archives of North Carolina (hereafter SANC), Digital Collections, https://digital.ncdcr.gov/Documents/Detail/southern-pines-industrial-union-institute/1193908?item=1193909.

[126] NC DPI, "Industrial Union Institute."

[127] "Lewyn McC. Hayes to Miss Lily Mitchell," October 10, 1938, NC DPI, Division of Negro Education, Special Subject File, Box 8, SANC, Digital Collections, https://digital.ncdcr.gov/Documents/Detail/southern-pines-industrial-union-institute/1193908?item=1193917.

[128] "N.C. Newbold to Mr. E.A. Johnson," January 19, 1939, NC DPI, Division of Negro Education, Special Subject File, Box 8, SANC, Digital Collections, https://digital.ncdcr.gov/Documents/Detail/southern-pines-industrial-union-institute/1193908?item=1193921.

[129] Peter Evans, "The Pickford Tuberculosis Sanatorium for African Americans," *Route 1 Views*, https://route1views.com/travel/the-pickford-tuberculosis-sanatorium-for-african-americans.

and employed two additional teachers, George C. and Emma Murphy, serving only the elementary grades.[130]

By 1922, enrollment had reached 116 students and the school building had become too small to serve the growing population of West Southern Pines. Two years later, nearly three hundred students attended the school, forcing the school to operate on two separate shifts to accommodate the full enrollment. Under the leadership of the newly incorporated town of West Southern Pines, plans were made for a larger and sturdier public school in the Black community. In May 1924, William F. and Emma C. Junge conveyed four acres of land on South Carlisle Street and New York Avenue to the Moore County Board of Education with the stipulation that the property be used for the education of African Americans. The Rosenwald Fund provided financial assistance to build the school, awarding $1,500 of the total cost. The Fund required local Black and White communities and governing bodies to partner in building schools, therefore Black residents raised $6,000 (in part through fundraisers held at the Amos Broadway Building), White donors contributed $3,000, and the State Literary Fund supplied the balance.[131] Construction began in the fall of 1924, becoming increasingly urgent after the frame school was destroyed by fire in January 1925. In March, the two-story, brick school was completed. Two years later, P. Frank and Helen Buchan donated four acres adjoining the school property to the west, effectively doubling the size of the campus.[132]

In the 1920s and early 1930s, the school did not offer grades eleven, and the North Carolina General Assembly did not mandate the twelve-grade education system until 1942. As a result, students wishing to complete high school traveled to Fayetteville, typically boarding with families there and returning to Southern Pines only on weekends. Some students also worked for their hosts to pay tuition fees.[133] In part to manage federal money being invested in education at the local level, the Southern Pines Board of Education was established in 1933, assuming responsibility for the management of the city schools previously overseen by the Moore County Board of Education.[134] Douglass later commented that improved educational opportunities was the primary benefit of the annexation of West Southern Pines into Southern Pines the previous year.[135] By 1934, enrollment at West Southern Pines School had grown to 510 students, led by principal Paul R. Brown and seventeen teachers.[136] In 1938, as part of an effort to combat delinquency at the school, funds were secured to construct tennis courts at the school and to install swings and see-saws on the school grounds. A concrete-block vocational building was also constructed on the school campus utilizing labor supplied by the National Youth Administration (NYA), a New Deal program designed to provide work and education for young people aged 16 to 25.[137]

The school had grown to 557 students and nineteen teachers by 1940.[138] Administrators and the Southern Pines Board of Education continued to utilize public and federal funds to support

[130] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 19-21; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community,* 91.

[131] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 22-23.

[132] "Edward E. Cady and wife, Ethel P. Cady to P. Frank Buchan," May 16, 1927, Deed Book 98, Page 516, MCRD; "P. Frank Buchan and Helen Bucan, his wife to The Southern Pines Schools Committee," May 26, 1927, Deed Book 101, Page 153, MCRD.

[133] Interview with Willa Mae Harrington.

[134] Myrick, *Treading New Ground: A History of Moore County Schools, 1959-1985*, Southern Pines Public Library, 11; Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 25.

[135] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.

[136] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 25.

[137] "V.D. Clinic Prized Community Asset," *The Charlotte Observer*, May 8, 1938.

[138] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 25.

the school, though Emanuel Douglass, later mayor of Southern Pines, recalled that the Black schools needed to rely on fundraisers and donations. "I remember when they had to have movies in the auditorium at school to subsidize the budget of the school for buying supplies," he recalled. "The PTA would have to put on different programs to raise money for the school set-up and different churches were very influential about raising money."[139] These efforts were so successful that by 1944, the school library had grown to more than 2,000 volumes and opened to the public as the West Southern Pines Public Library, since the WPA-built library in Southern Pines did not allow Black patrons.[140]

The growth of the West Southern Pines School in the 1940s and 1950s paralleled the growth of the community. By 1949, the school instructed 320 students in grades one to eight and 124 students in the high school grades. With the goals of accommodating the rapid growth of the Black community while attempting to forestall integration by maintaining "separate but equal" school facilities, the Southern Pines Board of Education expanded the campus of the West Southern Pines School in the 1950s and 1960s. Athletic fields were improved in 1949 to alleviate run-off from a nearby hog farm, and a new gymnasium was completed in 1951. Classroom additions were completed in 1955, 1956, 1958, 1963, and 1965, constructed in part on ten additional acres acquired north of the campus in 1957. A new cafeteria was erected in 1957; an administration building in 1964, and an auditorium in 1966, the latter erected on the site of the 1925 school building.[141]

Faced with the unavoidable integration of schools in Moore County, the West Southern Pines School was closed by the board of education in the spring of 1969. The campus housed the Southern Pines Elementary School from 1969 to 2000, then the Southern Pines Primary School from 2001 to 2020, after which students moved to a new school complex on South Carlisle Street.[142]

Architectural historian Heather Fearnbach summarized the significance of the West Southern Pines School as a community space and the estimation of the faculty and staff of the school as "respected leaders with deep community connections."

> "They attended church services, joined civic organizations, and frequented local businesses, building relationships that contributed to a nurturing school environment in which students were inspired to achieve and held to high standards. The pedagogical approach espoused by principals and faculty facilitated development of academic, leadership, and teamwork skills and fostered personal growth, thus empowering youth to pursue higher education and realize community uplift. Students were imbued with academic and social skills, self-confidence, community pride, and strong work ethic."[143]

Southern Pines in the Mid-Twentieth Century

West Southern Pines resident Gertrude Brokenbrough recalled that in the 1930s, "when you'd come to Southern Pines, you thought you were coming into the city. It was just one of those big things. Southern Pines was a big place."[144] The 1930 population of Southern Pines was

[139] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[140] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 25.
[141] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 27-29.
[142] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 33.
[143] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 30.
[144] "Interview with Gertrude Brokenbrough on June 4, 1982," in Mason, 183-190.

2,515 residents, making it the largest town in Moore County, while the remainder of the county remained predominantly rural with eight-five percent of the population employed as farmers. Though the impacts of the Great Depression were slow to affect the generally self-sufficient agricultural sectors of the county, the tourism-based economy of Southern Pines suffered substantially. The Highland Pines Inn and Pine Needles Inn declared bankruptcy, specialty shops closed, and gas was rationed.[145] Some food was distributed to those in need, but many West Southern Pines families, only recently divorced from their agricultural heritage, continued to plant gardens and to raise chickens, hogs, and occasionally even a milk cow.[146]

One of the most telling signs of the stagnation of the travel industry during the early 1930s is that when the Southern Pines Hotel was destroyed by a fire in 1931, rather than rebuilding the hotel, the Works Progress Administration funded the construction of a post office and library on the site.[147] Other Public Works projects soon followed. West Pennsylvania Avenue was extended through West Southern Pines, though the admitted goal was to create a more direct route between Southern Pines and Pinehurst and not necessarily to improve connectivity with West Southern Pines. Yet newspapers posited that the work would "provide the basis for a decided change in that whole neighborhood."[148] Further, members of the Black community were hired for the highway crews working throughout the town. The WPA also funded improvements in streetscaping and efforts to transplant pine trees from the surrounding wooded areas into the neighborhood, specifically to the West Southern Pines School property. "Women went down in the woods and dug those pines up and brought them up and set them out," recalled Donnie Wicker. "That was their job."[149]

By the mid-1930s, the tourism industry in the region had largely recovered from the Depression, as Leonard Tufts observed: "The 1936-1937 season at Pinehurst had been the best since the boom year of 1929."[150] Indeed, by 1940, the resort industry in Moore County had fully recovered with revenues consistent with the pre-Depression era. However, many citizens – especially in West Southern Pines – were still struggling to make ends meet and to pay the accumulated taxes of previous years.[151]

In 1940, Southern Pines remained the largest community in Moore County with a population of 3,225 residents, due in part to the 1932 annexation of West Southern Pines. The expansion of nearby Fort Bragg caused by the onset of World War II and the resulting influx of soldiers and their families benefitted the businesses in Southern Pines. When Camp Mackall was established just south of Moore County in 1943 to serve as the Headquarters of the U.S. Army Airborne Command and a parachute training facility, more servicemen and their families relocated to the area in search of housing, basic services, and employment. In addition, a headquarters for the United States Air Force Technical Command was set up in Southern Pines, utilizing the small Knollwood Airport north of town. The Army and Air Force leased hotels and boarding houses to provide both operational space and housing for military families.

[145] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community,* 58; Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 121-122.
[146] Interview with Willa Mae Harrington.
[147] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community,* 58.
[148] "Public Work at Southern Pines," *The News and Observer*, January 21, 1931.
[149] Interview with Donnie Wicker.
[150] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 127.
[151] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 130.

Private homes and commercial buildings were also subdivided to meet the increasing need for housing.[152] Wellman concludes that by 1943, "Army families were so numerous in Moore County that they were taking all available living space in hotels, rooming houses, apartments, motor courts, the space once provided for vacationists."[153] For the first time in the town's history, it maintained a significant year-round population unaffected by the ebb and flow of tourism.[154]

After the War, the population of Southern Pines grew to over four thousand people as military families established permanent homes, new industries supplemented the resort economy, and laborers were attracted by expanding commerce and industry in the area. A 1951 survey by the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina, overseen by the newly formed Southern Pines Planning Board, found that the largest category of employment in Southern Pines was the service industry, which included hotel and resort staff, as well as domestic servants and laborers in private homes. A follow-up study in 1955 found that twenty-five percent of residents were employed in personal services, twenty-five percent in wholesale and resale merchandising, fourteen percent in professional careers, and ten percent in entertainment and recreation.[155]

In the 1950s and 1960s, substantial changes came to the local economy that had for decades relied on tourism and agriculture. Despite the continuing importance of resort tourism, many of Southern Pines' early hotels did not survive beyond the mid-twentieth century. The Highland Pines Inn was destroyed by fire in 1956 and not rebuilt, while additional downtown hotels were demolished for new commercial construction. The Pine Needles Inn was closed and converted to St. Joseph's Hospital in 1948, and additional modern hospitals replaced late nineteenth and early twentieth century sanitariums.[156] Agriculture in the Southern Pines region had begun to decline significantly by the 1970s following a drought in 1964 and blight in 1965 that dramatically impacted orchards and fruit crops in particular.[157] Meanwhile, the resort industry expanded with twelve new country clubs constructed between 1960 and 1976, largely on the southeast side of Southern Pines. New commercial buildings, schools, churches, and civic buildings were constructed, residential areas expanded with both modest middle-class housing and large-scale estates, and Sandhills Community College was established. New industries in Southern Pines produced furniture, leather products, machinery, electrical appliances, textiles, candles and soap, and mobile homes. The result of the thriving economy was the steady growth of the population in Southern Pines, which increased from just over five thousand people in 1950 to nearly six thousand people in 1970.[158]

The post-World War II period was also a time of significant changes to transportation corridors in Southern Pines, largely with the result of more firmly dividing the White eastern side of town from the predominantly Black West Southern Pines. In 1946, while paved streets in Southern

[152] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 129, 133, 135-136; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 50.
[153] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 136.
[154] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community,* 58.
[155] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 142-144.
[156] Alexander, *Perspectives on a Resort Community,* 58; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 53.
[157] "Peach Blight," *The [Southern Pines] Pilot*, May 13, 1965, DigitalNC, https://newspapers.digitalnc.org (hereafter *The Pilot*).
[158] Wellman, *The Story of Moore County,* 144, 147.

Pines were being resurfaced, West Southern Pines retained dirt roads, some of which were graded or extended, but none of which were paved.[159] In 1955, U.S. Highway 1 was completed, roughly following McDeeds Creek. Though a bridge was constructed over the highway to connect West Southern Pines to Southern Pines via Pennsylvania Avenue, the highway further reinforced the physical separation of the Black and White communities. In addition, in order to build the new highway, a wide swath of Black-owned homes, businesses, and institutions were demolished, and while Black residents continued to visit downtown Southern Pines for shopping, entertainment, and employment, the businesses and services remained segregated. By the 1960s, the economies of both Southern Pines and West Southern Pines were suffering from the construction of the highway because it bypassed both business corridors, instead drawing customers to shopping centers and chain stores on the fringes of town.[160]

West Southern Pines Civic Club

More than a decade after West Southern Pines had been annexed into Southern Pines, Black residents still had no representation on Southern Pines Town Council and therefore little influence over the decisions being made for their community. To increase participation and visibility in local government, the West Southern Pines Civic Club formed in 1943, with Theodore R. Goins, a Moore County native and carpenter in West Southern Pines, serving as its first president. The group was not the first of its kind to exist in West Southern Pines; in 1925, for example, the West Southern Pines Social Club was organized "to promote social welfare and pleasure for members and their guests."[161] However the impact of these early groups is not clear, and the Civic Club became – and remains today – the most influential organization active in West Southern Pines. It was "more or less the voice of the West Southern Pines community," recalled Felton Capel, who was a long-time member of the organization. "Its membership represents all of the churches of the community and all of the businesses and all the social and private little clubs that are in that community."[162]

One of the main goals of the Civic Club was increased citizen involvement in local government, which was achieved through a variety of small-scale, hands-on initiatives. Members assisted residents with voter registration and voting, hosted meetings to discuss relevant political issues, and encouraged attendance at public meetings in Southern Pines. Town Hall-style meetings hosted by the Civic Club were well attended by residents. "We'd discuss the issues. We'd show how it affects the entire town, get all the ministers, all the churches, and all the business organizations to say, 'We agree with this,'" Felton Capel explained. "Then we would send a delegation to the City Council and the City Council would listen to that delegation."[163]

As the club leaders sought to "engage ourselves in everything that represented good government…We started encouraging and selecting candidates to run for public office," Capel

[159] "Contract Awarded," *The News and Observer*, April 12, 1946.
[160] "City on a Hill."
[161] "Views and Observations: New Corporations," *The News and Observer*, October 13, 1925.
[162] Interview with Felton Capel.
[163] Interview with Felton Capel.

recalled.[164] As a result, many of the first African Americans to hold public office in Southern Pines – and beyond – were members of the West Southern Pines Civic Club. The Club's second president, Reverend John R. Funderburk, served as an elder at Trinity A.M.E. Zion Church, a member of the Moore County Tuberculosis Association, and became the first African American minister to lead the Moore County Ministers Association, the separate White and Black ministerial groups having merged earlier that year.[165] Talbert T. Morse, an insurance agent for the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, a Black-owned business established in Durham at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, served as the third president of the Civic Club. In 1955, he became the first African American elected to the Southern Pines Town Council.[166] The third president of the Civic Club was Felton Capel, who had moved to Southern Pines in 1953 and immediately established himself as a community leader, following in the footsteps of his wife's uncle and the Club's first president, Theodore R. Goins. Capel served as commander of the Southern Pines Veterans of Foreign Wars post and was both a deacon and Sunday School teacher at the First Missionary Baptist Church.[167] In 1959, he became the second African American elected to the Town Council, then continued his political service as City Treasurer in 1961 and 1963 and Mayor Pro Tem from 1965 to 1969.[168]

Felton Capel had a particularly distinguished tenure as a council member, successfully advocating for a number of improvements in West Southern Pines. He led the effort to pave the streets in West Southern Pines, to hire the first Black officers in the Southern Pines police department, and to secure bond funding for the construction of a public swimming pool in West Southern Pines. With his help, the Southern Pines Housing Authority received a federal loan of $1.5 million in 1965 to construct seventy low-rent family units, known as Long Leaf Courts, at West Michigan Avenue and South Mechanic Street (extant), as well as an additional thirty units of elder housing in Southern Pines. The development was designed by Billy Griffin, a Greensboro architect, and completed in 1969. Capel's influence was also felt well beyond West Southern Pines during this period; he worked with the Red Cross Bloodmobile, sat on the library's board of trustees, was a member of the board of directors of the Outward Bound School and the NAACP, and was appointed to the North Carolina Board of Conservation and Development.[169]

In 1968, Emanuel "Jug" Douglass succeeded Capel as president of the West Southern Pines Civic Club. Like his predecessors, Douglass was active in politics beyond the Civic Club,

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[164] Interview with Felton Capel.

[165] "Moore Pastores Consolidate," *The News and Observer*, May 2, 1955; "Negro Pastor Named to Head Ministers Group in Moore," *Durham Morning Herald [The Herald-Sun]*, December 18, 1955, Newspapers.com, https://www.newspapers.com/browse/united-states/north-carolina/durham/the-herald-sun_9315.

[166] Personal Communication with Kim Wade; "Capel Honored for Service at Civic's [*sic*] Club Program," *The Pilot*, July 9, 1969; Interview with Felton Capel; U.S. Census Bureau, *1950 United States Federal Census,* Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62308; "Minutes of Special Council Meeting, Town of Southern Pines, August 22, 1957." https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/southernpines/latest/m/1957/8/22/-1/

[167] "Felton Capel: Business and Civil Leader," *The News and Observer*, September 18, 1966.

[168] Personal Communication with Kim Wade; "Capel Honored"; West Southern Pines Civic Club, "Who We Are," https://www.westsouthernpinescivicclub.org.

[169] West Southern Pines Civic Club, "Who We Are"; "Felton Capel: Business and Civil Leader," *The News and Observer*, September 18, 1966; "Bonds Carry," *The News and Observer*, November 8, 1962; "Griffin Appointed Housing Architect," *The Pilot*, August 5, 1965; "100 Housing Units, Loan of $1½ Million Authorized Here," *The Pilot*, October 21, 1965; "Housing Plan," *The Pilot*, February 28, 1968.

serving as Mayor Pro Tem of Southern Pines from 1971 to 1977, at which time he was elected the first Black mayor of Southern Pines, serving until 1987. The Civic Club notes that as mayor, Douglass focused on "expanding housing for low-income families, improved recreation for youth, greater employment of African Americans, and acquisition of community development block grants."[170] Douglass also sat on the Southern Pines Planning Board, Citizens Advisory Commission, and Library Board of Directors; the Moore County Recreation Board, PeeDee Council of Governments, and Sandhills Community Action Program; and, a veteran of World War II, Douglass was a member of the American Legion Post No. 177. In honor of Douglass's career in politics and civil service, the Douglass Community Center was dedicated in 2022 in the former Our Lady of Victory Catholic School building in the heart of West Southern Pines.[171]

Figure 9: Douglass Community Center

The Civil Rights Movement

While conspicuous racially motivated violence was largely absent, racial discrimination – both systemic and interpersonal – was the norm in Southern Pines as with the rest of the Jim Crow South. Willa Mae Harrington recalled that as early as the 1930s, voter restrictions were in place in Southern Pines. "I can remember going to the fire station and Mr. Kahler was the guy you had to read to—the Constitution," she explained. "You had to know how to read and write before you were able to vote."[172] The use of literacy tests and other barriers to voting remained common through the 1960s, resulting in voter education and registration as one of the West Southern Pines Civic Club's top priorities.[173]

"You knew you weren't able to do certain things," said resident Charles Waddell, recalling the open discrimination he experienced in Southern Pines. "We had to sit upstairs at the movie theater. Even when we went to the hospital we had to go in the back entrance and sit in a different waiting room… Little things like that just made you feel that you didn't have everything."[174] Yet the African American community, especially Black youth, practiced measured resistance. Peggie Reed Caple recalled that in addition to being relegated to the

[170] West Southern Pines Civic Club, "Who We Are."
[171] "Southern Pines Former Mayor Douglass Honored," *The [Southern Pines] Pilot*, September 20, 2022. https://www.thepilot.com/news/southern-pines-former-mayor-douglass-honored/article_0e91eb16-345e-11ed-9e57-bfdb026e6485.html.
[172] Interview with Willa Mae Harrington.
[173] West Southern Pines Civic Club, "Who We Are."
[174] "City on a Hill."

balcony at the Sunrise Theater, African American patrons were not even permitted on the main floor to purchase concessions. Though just a child in the 1950s when her father worked as a janitor at the theater, Caple approached the manager for permission to set up a small concession stand in the balcony, and he agreed, allowing her to sell popcorn, soft drinks, and candy to Black theater-goers.[175]

Cynthia McDonald, daughter of grocery-store owner Cecelia McDonald, and Mitch Capel, Felton Capel's son, both recalled that women's clothing stores in Southern Pines would sell merchandise to African American consumers but would not allow them to try on clothes or hats. McDonald told of her attempt to integrate one of the drugstores in Southern Pines in the early 1950s, acting not as an organized movement, but rather as nine- and ten-year-olds who simply wanted sodas after visiting the movies. "I can remember the look of confusion on one of the clerks," McDonald recalled about a time when she and some friends "put on our Sunday clothes" and tried to order from the front counter. "[The clerk] told us we could go the back and she'd get us a Coke. We refused to do that. They wouldn't serve us up front. But," McDonald concluded, "we didn't let things like that make us bitter."[176]

Racial discrimination extended beyond just the businesses and entertainment venues in Southern Pines; access to medical care was another challenge faced by Black residents. The first Black doctor, Dr. Ross, arrived in West Southern Pines in the 1930s and operated an office on West Pennsylvania until his death in 1952. Prior to that time, most Black patients sought the services of midwives and herbal practitioners in the area, or traveled thirty miles to see Dr. Quick, a Black physician in Rockingham. A small number of White practitioners in Southern Pines were willing to serve Black patients, including Dr. McLeod, Dr. McMillan, and the Drs. Caudell, as well as dentist Dr. Heard.[177] Some Black residents were able to see White doctors due to the influence of their White employers. "Dr. Mudgett was more of a high class doctor," recalled Press Waddell. "Unless you were working for some of the [White] people over there, that was about the only way you could see Dr. Mudgett."[178]

Housing was another area of overt racial discrimination, both in de facto segregation, largely facilitated by discriminatory real estate practices, as well as in legal policies, in particular racially restrictive neighborhood covenants that were common to twentieth-century residential developments. Housing discrimination practices were tested in Southern Pines in 1955 when Martin White, a retired African American postal worker, purchased a home in the all-White Kenwood subdivision north of town near the Pine Needles Inn. When White neighbors complained, the seller reached out to White to rescind the sale, but White refused.[179] Subsequently, H.L. Graves, the developer of Kenwood, offered to buy the house and to build Mr. White a different house elsewhere. White replied that he was not interested in the offer, as he'd already moved his furniture into the house. The newspaper hailed the "move of the Negroes into an all-white suburb" as "an unprecedented one in this resort community."[180] Yet,

[175] Personal Communication with Leadership of Trinity AME Zion Church; *Hill's Southern Pines-Aberdeen (Moore County, NC) City Directory 1958* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co., Inc., Publishers, 1958), DigitalNC, https://lib.digitalnc.org/record/25485?ln=en&v=pdf.

[176] "City on a Hill."

[177] Interview with Emanuel Douglass; Interview with Willa Mae Harrington; Interview with Norma Lewis.

[178] Interview with Press Waddell.

[179] "Residents Protest Purchase of Home by Negro Couple," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 5, 1955.

[180] "Southern Pines: Home Unsold on Eve of Deadline," *The News and Observer*, September 16, 1955.

Mrs. Esther White told newspapers, "we're not looking for trouble, and we believe that if we conduct ourselves properly, we will win respect and perhaps a little of this mistaken prejudice will disappear."[181] While Kenwood residents held a meeting on September 11, 1955, taking "a firm stand against" the purchase, it appears that the sale was finalized, as the 1958 city directory lists Martin and Esther White living on Fairway Drive.[182]

Exceptions to the rules of de facto segregation did exist in Southern Pines. Katherine and Voit Gilmore, White owners of the local Howard Johnson motel and restaurant, served Black guests as early as 1960.[183] In 1962, the Sunrise Theater allowed Felton Capel to sit on the main floor with former mayor Voit Gilmore, despite their policy of restricting Black patrons to the balcony, another example of "token integration."[184] These exceptions were quite rare, and racial segregation persisted into the mid-1960s in Southern Pines.

The Good Neighbor Council and Business Desegregation

In an effort to combat racial discrimination in Southern Pines, Reverend John W. Peek, pastor of Harrington Chapel Free Will Baptist Church and president of the West Southern Pines Civic Club, petitioned the Town Council to form an organization "to peacefully meet the demands of the time and work toward the ending of discrimination of race in our community."[185] Presented to the Town Council members, the mayor, and approximately seventy-five Black residents in attendance at the meeting, Peek's request was met with unanimous support and a reaffirmation of the town's policy of non-discrimination in employment with the town or access to town services.[186]

A Good Neighbor Council (GNC) comprised of an equal number of White and Black residents was formed in 1963. Reverend Peek was appointed to the council and in turn selected Sally Lawhorne, Iris Moore, Edward Stubbs, and Cicero Carpenter, Jr., for service. White appointees, selected by Mayor W. Morris Johnson included Kathryn Gilmore, Harry Chatfield, Robert Cushman, James Hobbs, and Reverend Dr. Julian Lake. Together, the group represented all socioeconomic classes in Southern Pines, as council chairman Dr. Lake observed: "One is an industrialist, two are insurance men, one is in the real estate business, one is a housewife, one a teacher, one a domestic servant, one works in a chain store, and two are ministers."[187] The ten-member council set up seven committees dedicated to employment, education, public accommodations, and other key aspects of daily life commonly affected by discrimination.[188]

[181] "Residents Protest Purchase."
[182] "Residents Protest Purchase"; *Hill's Southern Pines-Aberdeen (Moore County, NC) City Directory 1958*.
[183] Bill Case, "Lining up for Liberty," *Pine Straw Magazine*, May 30, 2018, https://pinestrawmag.com/lining-up-for-liberty/.
[184] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[185] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[186] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[187] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[188] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."

GNC members "emphatically commit[ed] themselves to refraining from violence or political pressure" in their efforts to end discriminatory practices in Southern Pines.[189] Focusing first on the integration of downtown businesses, the GNC worked with Felton Capel, by this time serving as Mayor Pro Tem on the Town Council, to train residents in non-violent action and to encourage local business owners to desegregate. These methods proved highly effective; for example, GNC members patronized restaurants in pairs to demonstrate that members of different races could peacefully dine together, and by 1964, only two restaurants in Southern Pines remained segregated.[190] Similar efforts proved effective at the local bowling alley as well. "We would send them (Blacks) in by couples.," Capel recalled. "You know they had this thing about tokenism. They'd accept you if you didn't send in but one or two or three… We'd get two white couples and two Black couples and we went bowling. That's how we started breaking that down."[191]

Other businesses resisted desegregation and the efforts of the GNC. When Sunrise Theater owners met with GNC members and the Southern Pines Town Council in April of 1964, they conceded only to install a concession stand in the balcony, where a partition separated Black and White seating, and to fully desegregate only if the pending Civil Rights legislation was approved. The GNC and Town Council deemed the proposal unsatisfactory and, for the first time since its founding ten months previously, the GNC began to organize demonstrations at the theater. On April 26, 1964, just three days after the meeting with theater owners, the Good Neighbor Council, West Southern Pines Civic Club, and local churches encouraged participation in the protest. Black moviegoers dressed in their best clothes and joined the line to purchase tickets for seating on the main floor. When denied service, they engaged in discussions with employees about why they were unable to purchase tickets, then returned to the back of the line. This continuous stream of patrons at the ticket windows resulted in delays for White patrons waiting in long, slow-moving lines. Some of the younger patrons, including Mitch Capel and Clifton Bell, remembered being promised donuts or other treats from the bakery for their patience and participation. Only one disturbance was recorded: Ciscero Carpenter, Jr., was shot in the forehead with a pellet gun, and he retained poise and abstained from retaliation, the youngest of the protesters were removed from the demonstration for their protection. The demonstration lasted about thirty minutes, with some protestors cycling through the line as many as ten times. The event was generally reported favorably in the local press, with editorials praising the non-violent nature of the demonstration and calling on the theater owners to respond. However, the theater's segregation policies did not change until after the passage of the Civil Rights Act later that year.[192]

A small number of businesses clung to segregation policies even after the Civil Rights Act prohibited such discrimination. As late as 1966, Black golfers were still denied admittance to most private golf clubs in Southern Pines. The GNC had successfully lobbied for the desegregation of only one of the town's many courses, and therefore returned to the "token integration" strategies that had been effective in restaurants and the bowling alley. GNC

[189] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[190] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[191] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."
[192] Case, "Lining up for Liberty."

members worked with local churches to recruit White golfers willing to take Black golfers to their clubs and courses as guests.[193]

Efforts were also made to impact the financial bottom line of segregated golf resorts. In June of 1966, about sixty-five Black residents attended a Southern Pines Town Council budget meeting, represented by James R. Small, president of the West Southern Pines Civic Club, to oppose a line item earmarking most of a $5,000 advertising line item for promoting local golf resorts. Mayor Pro Tem Felton Capel agreed, observing "our taxes are used to promote these private businesses and to bring visitors to the 'golf capitol of the world,' but right across the bridge (to West Southern Pines) are people who want to enjoy these facilities, can pay their way, but are not permitted." Remarking that most golf town in North Carolina permitted Black patrons, Capel admonished, "Southern Pines should catch up with the times." He went on to point out discrimination in the advertising itself, which had been used to publish a map showing places of interest but "completely blocked out West Southern Pines."[194] Though the mayor and council members appeared to generally agree that the resorts should be desegregated, they were unwilling to take action toward that outcome. Councilman Dr. R.J. Dougherty commented that "cutting off the funds would hurt not only the segregated business but many who have voluntarily desegregated and would work hardship on the whole community,"[195] failing to recognize that such economic pressure and the resultant backlash from other business owners would likely be highly effective in bringing the desired change. The budget was passed as proposed, without requiring or even encouraging the golf courses to desegregate. The only concession came during the appointment of members to the Advisory Advertising Committee. Existing committee members were reappointed with the exception of Warren Bell, the proprietor of a segregated golf resort, who was removed at Capel's urging and replaced by Fred Jones, Jr., the first African American to serve on the committee.[196]

School Integration

The first schools to integrate in Southern Pines were those operated by the Catholic church. In 1953, Bishop Vincent S. Waters began the desegregation of Catholic schools within the Raleigh Diocese – the first diocese in the South to do so. "There is no segregation of races to be tolerated in any Catholic Church in the Diocese of Raleigh. The pastors are charged with the carrying out of this teaching and shall tolerate nothing to the contrary," he wrote to his parishes. "All special churches for Negroes [*sic*] will be abolished immediately as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, is divided."[197] In 1961, Our Lady of Victory Catholic School began to merge with the all-White St. Anthony of Padua Catholic Elementary School, with thirteen Black students in grades four through eight accepted to St. Anthony's and the remainder of the students transferred to the West Southern Pines School.[198]

[193] Interview with Felton Capel.
[194] Valerie Nicholson, "Negroes Seek Golf Rights," *The Charlotte Observer*, June 18, 1966.
[195] "Negroes Seek Golf Rights."
[196] "Negroes Seek Golf Rights."
[197] Powers, *Tar Heel Catholics*, 3, 22-23.
[198] Corr, "The History of Our Lady of Victory School," 23; Walker, "A Catholic Church and School."

Integration of the Catholic schools appears to have been unremarkable except in how little conflict it caused. The *Moore County News* reported, "Integration of the fourth through eighth grades of St. Anthony's, an elementary school, was made without any announcement to parents or public. No police protection was asked." Principal Sister Catherine Leonard reported that, "no incidents were expected and none occurred… No one was emotional or angry about it." Only a small number of White parents complained and just five students were withdrawn of the 120-pupil student body. Sister Leonard went on to say, "These are fine young Negro [*sic*] boys and girls who have earned the right to continue their Catholic education."[199] With dwindling enrollment, Our Lady of Victory Catholic School closed in 1963 with the remaining students in first through third grade transferred to the St. Anthony's or West Southern Pines schools.[200]

Felton Capel, in addition to his extensive other civic responsibilities, also drove the bus transporting African American students to St. Anthony's. Felton believed the integration of the Catholic schools served as a model for the integration of Moore County public schools a decade later, which appears to have been a relatively smooth process, due in part to the common practice of closing Black schools in favor of retaining White ones. In addition, unlike some areas of North Carolina, Southern Pines lacked the numerous neighborhood schools that resulted in bussing challenges other school districts experienced during integration. "We never had to think about it or talk about it," Felton recalled. "It eliminated any discussion about bussing… about neighborhood schools and going closest to you and all these types of issues… That system worked pretty well," Felton concluded.[201]

The Moore County Department of Education began plans to consolidate and desegregate as early as 1959, however it wasn't until after the Civil Rights Act was passed that these plans progressed meaningfully. The county was divided into three areas, with a number of elementary schools and a single integrated high school serving each. By the start of the 1964-65 school year, Union Pines High School opened in Area I, the center portion of county, and represented the county's first consolidated high school, though it served only two African American students.[202] North Moore High School followed in the fall of 1965, serving students in Area II, the northern section of the county.[203] Meanwhile, plans stalled for Area III, the southern section of the county, including Pinehurst and Southern Pines.[204]

At the start of the 1965-66 school year, the schools in Moore County were operating under a Freedom of Choice plan that allowed students to select "any school which serves their school district subject to the availability of physical facilities and transportation at the school."[205] However the Freedom of Choice plan failed to bring about any meaningful measure of integration. At the start of the school year, 110 Black students – a mere one percent of the total

[199] "13 Negroes Enroll in Catholic School," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 12, 1961.

[200] "Catholic School Opens with 108," *The Pilot*, September 2, 1965.

[201] Interview with Felton Capel.

[202] "Union Pines Ready for New Year," *The Moore County News*, August 26, 1965, Moore County Library, Carthage, North Carolina (hereafter *The Moore County News*).

[203] "North Moore County's Newest School Unit Opens September 1st," *The Moore County News*, September 26, 1965.

[204] "Commissioners Give Approval for School Survey in County," *The Moore County News*, December 31, 1964.

[205] Assignment Plan for Schools is Approved," *The Moore County News*, February 25, 1965; "Schools of Moore System Re-Issue Assignment Letter," *The Pilot*, August 26, 1965.

student population – were enrolled in previously all-White schools throughout Moore County.[206] This disparity was apparent within local systems as well. In Southern Pines, for example, thirty-one Black students requested transfers to White schools in Southern Pines ahead of the 1965-1966 school year. Only about a dozen of these transfers were approved.[207]

Though the newspaper observed in 1965 that "racial integration proceeded without incident in the Moore County school system," integration in rural Moore County was not entirely without conflict.[208] The Highfalls Elementary School in northern Moore County was integrated in the fall of 1965 when two Black students joined the 305-student White enrollment. Within a week of the start of the school year, a broom-handle cross had been burned on the school grounds, and after two weeks of classes, the school was completely destroyed by fire, later determined by the North Carolina and the Federal Bureaus of Investigation to have been racially-motivated arson.[209] The fire was set during the same week than an injunction was sought to stop the merger of the Pinehurst and Southern Pines school districts into the Moore County Schools.

Meanwhile, the schools within Area III had not come to an agreement to establish a consolidated high school under the county's 1959 integration plan.[210] At a 1965 meeting of the Moore County Commissioners, Jere N. McKeithan, Chairman of the Moore County Board of Education, noted that Area III schools "would have been halfway though [that] program now, had it not been for the delays occasioned by the unwillingness of Southern Pines and Pinehurst to allow them to locate a school in their area."[211] By March 1965, the Board of Education was poised to move forward even without the cooperation of the Southern Pines and Pinehurst school districts and had appointed a committee of local leaders to push the project forward. Committee members included Robert E. Lee, superintendent of Moore County Schools; L. B. Creath, Chairman of the Pinehurst School Board; Robert S. Ewing, former mayor of Southern Pines and owner of the *Moore County News*; Dr. Raymond Stone, the first president of Sandhills Community College; Albert Tufts, grandson of James Tufts, founder of Pinehurst; Catherine Boyd, owner and editor of *The Pilot* newspaper and a vocal supporter of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling; Lee K. Smithson, a Southern Pines Town Council member; Voit Gilmore, former mayor of Southern Pines and by that time serving in the North Carolina Senate; and T. Clyde Auman and H. Clifton Blue, members of the North Carolina House of Representatives.[212]

On June 1, 1965, only three months after the committee's formation, Auman presented HB1065 to the General Assembly's Joint House and Senate Committee on Education. The bill called for a county-wide election regarding the school merger, the establishment of a County Board of Education, and the ability of the county to levy the necessary taxes to facilitate the consolidation. About seven hundred residents of Moore County attended a standing-room-only legislative hearing the following day, during which officials from Southern Pines and Pinehurst spoke in opposition of the bill. Southern Pines physician Dr. R.M. McMillian argued that the decision about the merger should be made only by the residents directly affected, rather than

[206] "Over 100 Negro Pupils Enter Former All-White Schools in the Three Systems," *The Pilot*, September 2, 1965.
[207] "Over 100 Negro Pupils"; "31 Ask Transfers from Schools of West Side Here," *The Pilot*, May 20, 1965.
[208] "Over 100 Negro Pupils."
[209] "Highfalls School Fire was Set by Arsonist," *The Pilot*, September 16, 1965; "Arson has been Established in High Falls School Fire," *The Moore County News*, September 16, 1965.
[210] Myrick, *Treading New Ground*, 5.
[211] "Citizen Group Named to Map Master School Plan for Moore," *The Moore County News*, March 4, 1965.
[212] "Citizen Group Named."

the whole county, expressed concern that recently acquired representation for Black residents might be lost under a county-wide system, and asserted that there was not adequate funding to support construction of a new school. Meanwhile, county officials spoke in favor of the bill, citing a desire to implement the 1959 school consolidation plan.[213] The bill was approved by the legislature on June 4, 1965.[214] A later amendment to the bill, led by Gilmore, gave the Southern Pines and Pinehurst Boards of Education authority to operate the districts until June 30, 1967, to facilitate the transition if the merger was approved in the special election.[215]

A county-wide election to decide the issue was scheduled for October 2, 1965. However, James D. Hobbs of Southern Pines and Dr. J.C. Grier of Pinehurst challenged the bill in court "on behalf of themselves and all other citizens and taxpayers in Moore County."[216] The complaint sought a temporary restraining order and injunction against the election claiming the processes outlined in the legislation to establish a County Board of Education and to levy taxes were vague.[217] Judge Allen Gwyn heard the case in Wadesboro on September 23, 1965, and refused to grant the injunction, saying "many of the matters in the issues might be resolved" simply by proceeding with the vote.[218] The controversy continued in the days preceding the election as *The Pilot* was flooded with articles, letters to the editor, and advertisements both in favor of and opposition to the merger and tax levy. A group of citizens acting under the name "Better Schools Committee" even published leaflets asserting that taxes would increase dramatically for Southern Pines residents, through in reality taxes would decrease from thirty-five cents to thirty cents if the measure passed.[219]

The election was held as planned and included separate referendums on the merger of the school systems and the authority to levy school taxes. Unsurprisingly, there was, "vigorous opposition to both measures" in the Southern Pines and Pinehurst voting precincts. County-wide however, the referendum to merge the Pinehurst, Southern Pines, and Moore County schools systems was passed, while the referendum to change tax rates to support the merger was rejected.[220] Meetings had already been taking place between West Southern Pines leaders, including Capel, Goins, Reverend Peek, F.M. Lutz, and H.A. Wilson, and the Moore County Board of Education to begin planning the consolidated school in the event the referendum did pass.[221] These efforts were formalized in December 1965 when the Board of Education appointed a nine-member advisory board comprised of representatives from each of the affected school districts – Southern Pines, Pinehurst, Aberdeen, and West End – to guide "all aspects of the merger, including site selection and construction of a consolidated high school, its staffing and operation."[222] The need to move the project forward quickly and

[213] "Moore County School Issue Hits Legislature with Public Hearing," *The Moore County News*, June 3, 1965.
[214] "School Merger OKd," *The News and Observer,* June 5, 1965.
[215] "Commissioners Make Changes in County School Consolidation Bill," *The Moore County News,* June 10, 1965.
[216] "Action Filed Against School Election: Validity of House Bill 1065 Questioned," *The Moore County News*, September 16, 1965.
[217] "Action Filed Against School Election."
[218] "County School Election Takes Place Saturday," *The Moore County News*, September 30, 1965.
[219] "County to Vote Saturday on Merger of 3 School Systems, 30¢ Tax Supplement," "Handbills Opposing School Merger, Tax Stir Strong Resentments Here," and "The Crux of the School Election," *The Pilot*, September 30, 1965.
[220] "School Merger Passes, Tax Supplement is Turned Down," *The Moore County News*, October 7, 1965.
[221] "Sandhills Group Ask Questions on School Issues," *The Moore County News*, September 2, 1965.
[222] "Advisory Board for Area III School District Named," *The Moore County News*, December 2, 1965; "Advisory Group Appointed for School Area III," *The Pilot*, December 2, 1965.

efficiently became even more important the following spring when federal guidance from the Health, Education, and Welfare Office required the Moore County Board of Education to address desegregation or lose federal funding.[223]

Meanwhile, Hobbs and Grier continued their efforts to overturn the legislative act authorizing the school merger. They appealed the Moore County Superior Court decision to the North Carolina Supreme Court, where the merger was affirmed in July of 1966.[224] L.B. Creath, former chair of the Pinehurst Board of Education, addressed the County Board of Education in July 1966, noting, "It looks like the law, the courts and the voters have spoken. Now is the time to bury the hatchets and get out the plowshares, and get a unified school system going in Moore County."[225]

The Southern Pines and Pinehurst schools were merged into the Moore County system in 1967 and the newly configured Moore County Board of Education took over operations of all schools that July. By that time, plans were well underway for construction of the consolidated high school for Area III.[226] Named Pinecrest High School, it was located between Pinehurst and Southern Pines, about one-and-one-half miles west of the West Southern Pines School, on sixty-one acres donated by Voit Gilmore. Pinecrest opened in 1969, fully integrated, though without a cafeteria, gymnasium, or auditorium.[227] The streets accessing the school were named in honor of Gilmore and Felton Capel.[228] Once the new school opened and high school students were transferred there, the West Southern Pines School was utilized for the Southern Pines Elementary School, housing integrated grades one to three, and middle school students were transferred to the Southern Pines School, which became Southern Pines Middle School.[229]

Reports from the White community indicated "integration was accomplished with comparative ease,"[230] with the only significant conflict coming as a result of a new principal's policies, rather than racial tensions between students. Dr. Guy T. Swain became principal in the fall of 1971, previously serving as principal of Southern Nash Senior High School during the integration of Nash County schools.[231] Kim Wade, local historian and lifelong resident, was in ninth grade that year and recalls, "The principal, in his mind, felt that it would be equal to have a Black homecoming queen and a White homecoming queen, half of the basketball team White and half of them Black… everything split." Sports teams and school organizations had been populated based on skill, without conflict, since the school opened two years earlier, leaving students stunned by the new policy. "I think it was his delivery. When he spoke to the students, we were in the library and he said, 'This is what it's going to be from this point on," explains Wade. "It was a slap in the face… He said it like, 'This is what it's going to be. Period.'"[232] Felton Capel agreed, observing the new principal "was probably not aware of the progress

[223] "New Guidelines for Pupil Assignment for 1966-67 Given," *The Moore County News*, March 17, 1966.
[224] "Moore County School Election is Upheld," *The Moore County News*, July 14, 1966.
[225] "Unity Pledged for County School System," *The Moore County News*, July 31, 1966.
[226] Myrick, *Treading New Ground*, 76.
[227] Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years,* 61; Myrick, *Treading New Ground*, 20.
[228] "Moore County School Advisory Groups Meet," *The Moore County News*, September 1, 1966.
[229] Myrick, *Treading New Ground*, 78.
[230] Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 61.
[231] "Pinecrest News: New Principal," *The Pilot,* October 6, 1971.
[232] Personal Communication with Kim Wade. Also see Barry Parker, "Principal Blamed in Race Troubles," *The News and Observer,* October 25, 1971.

being made in race relations. The kids felt they had passed the stage where things had to be done according to ratio."[233]

Events came to a head on Thursday, October 21, 1971, when fights broke out among the student body. Dr. Swain closed the school early that day, hoping the tensions would ease overnight. The following morning, however, a smokebomb was set off in the courtyard, reigniting the fighting. School officials called in county sheriffs, the state highway patrol, and the state police to break up the violence, and the school was closed until further notice.[234] In Southern Pines, Wade recalls students marching toward downtown, stopping at the bridge on Pennsylvania Avenue. West Southern Pines leaders advised that they "needed to have conversation… so that people hear you instead of you being reactive to what's being said to you."[235] Dr. Swain himself acknowledged that he had employed the methods he used previously in Nash County, and that at Pinecrest, these methods "put too much emphasis on black-white relationships."[236] Over the following days, Dr. Swain, members of the Moore County Board of Education, the NAACP, teachers, parents, and students gathered to discuss concerns and seek solutions.[237]

Meanwhile, in an effort to prevent the violence spreading from the school into nearby communities, 8:00 pm curfews were instituted in the towns of Southern Pines, Pinehurst, Aberdeen, and Carthage, as well as the surrounding townships, enforced by state and local police officers, the state bureau of investigation, and military units from nearby Fort Bragg. Concern spread beyond communities directly affected as well, with Sanford's homecoming football game in nearby Lee County canceled. Much of the unrest took place in Southern Pines, and therefore all cars entering or leaving Southern Pines were stopped at the Pennsylvania Avenue bridge and searched. Nearly thirty arrests were made, most for violations of the curfew, disorderly conduct, public intoxication, concealed weapons, and similar charges. The curfew was lifted and Pinecrest reopened on Wednesday, October 27, without further incident.[238]

[233] "Principal Blamed in Race Troubles."
[234] "Fighting Closes School for Second Day in a Row," *The News and Observer,* October 23, 1971.
[235] Personal Communication with Kim Wade.
[236] "Pinecrest Reopens, Curfew Lifted," *The Pilot*, October 27, 1971.
[237] "Fighting Closes School"; "Pinecrest Reopens, Curfew Lifted."
[238] "Emergency State, Curfew Called in Southern Pines," *The News and Observer*, October 25, 1971; "Pinecrest Reopens, Curfew Lifted."

The Development and Architecture of West Southern Pines

Southern Pines (including West Southern Pines) was laid out in 1894, the grid plan extending from Ridge Street on the east to Glover Street on the west, with the town bisected by McDeeds Creek. The area east of the creek (now east of US Hwy 1) was largely settled by White residents and included the town's business district and railroad line. In this area, high-style brick and frame houses were erected along paved streets with residential development generally extending out from the commercial core. Meanwhile, the growth and development of West Southern Pines, west of McDeeds Creek, was more organic. Businesses were interspersed with residences and while the lots had been platted, without paved streets, they were not clearly delineated. In some instances, residents remember houses constructed in the rights-of-way, necessitating the relocation of houses and/or the adjustment of the street grid when street paving finally did occur in the mid-twentieth century.[239]

Instrumental in the growth and development of West Southern Pines were early landowners, among them James E. Hasty (MR0692). Trained as a carpenter, Hasty came to West Southern Pines about 1900 to work in construction; he bought land in the area from Fred Van Camp and John T. Patrick, reselling it to African Americans who flocked to the area to work in the resorts, construction, or in private residences.[240] Hasty also operated a store in West Southern Pines and, most notably, served as the first mayor of West Southern Pines.

A native of New York, Fred Van Camp came to Southern Pines in 1905 and in the 1910s and 1920s was active in real estate and insurance in the area.[241] While Van Camp, a White man, erected his own residence in east Southern Pines, he owned large tracts of land in West Southern Pines, likely purchased from Patrick. According to Fred McIver, Van Camp employed William "Bill" Douglas as a salesman and it was from Douglas that McIver purchased lots in the late 1920s, paying $250 for each lot.[242] Throughout the 1920s, without marked roads, the area appeared as scattered houses among the trees, many accessed only by footpaths. Contributing to the rural character of the area were gardens and livestock; according to resident Donnie Wicker, during the 1930s, it was common for residents of West Southern Pines to plant gardens and even to have chickens or hogs.[243]

In 1931, the charter for West Southern Pines was revoked and the area annexed into Southern Pines. Residents were promised paved streets, electric lights, water and sewer service, as well as police and fire protection, though it took two decades for these things to come to fruition. In 1935-36, engineer Paul Van Camp (nephew of Fred Van Camp) was hired to design the new, federally funded paving of West Pennsylvania Avenue through West Southern Pines. The first road to be paved in the area, it greatly improved the physical connectivity between east and west Southern Pines, though perhaps more intentionally between Southern Pines and Pinehurst.[244] Yet, throughout the 1930s, West Southern Pines remained sparsely and irregularly settled. Individual mid-block lots in West Southern Pines were selling for fifty dollars while

[239] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[240] "Hasty House," File MR0692, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh.
[241] "Frederick Van Camp," *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1948.
[242] Interview with Fred McIver.
[243] Interview with Donnie Wicker.
[244] "Interview with E. J. Austin March 3, 1982," in Mason, 167-170.

corner lots sold for seventy-five dollars for corner lots, the lower costs in this decade likely due to the effects of the Great Depression.[245]

Even through the 1940s, most streets remained unpaved in West Southern Pines, earning New York Avenue the nickname of "the Sandbed," because it was all deep sand and sinkholes.[246] Felton Capel recalled that as late as 1953, when he moved to the area, most of the streets were still unpaved, despite the idea that city services would be improved after the annexation.[247] In the 1940s, the Town of Southern Pines did install electric lights in West Southern Pines, though they charged the community thirteen dollars a month for the service, a fee that James E. Hasty would sometimes pay on behalf of the cash-strapped residents.[248] Phone service too was extended to West Southern Pines in the 1940s.[249]

In the 1930s, a water line was run to West Southern Pines after annexation, though the line extended only to Kimball's store and to Mr. McDonald's House, near the center of the community, where there were spigots for free water.[250] To access water, some residents had their own wells, while others collected water from a spring near Mid Pines, or gathered water from Mr. Kimball's general store. Privies were common in West Southern Pines through the mid-twentieth century. It wasn't until the 1950s that public water and sewer were extended to West Southern Pines, finally reaching to individual houses.[251]

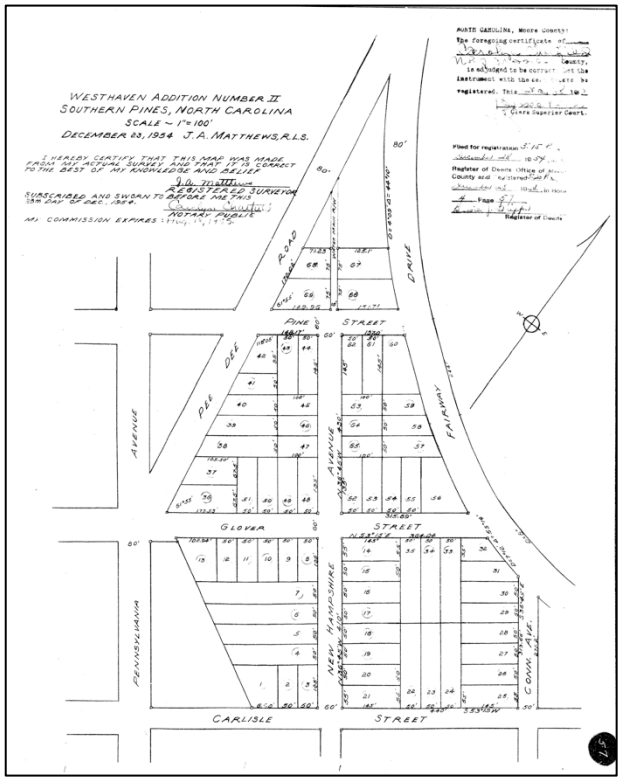

Figure 10: 1954 Plat of Westhaven Subdivision

While a small group of houses were constructed adjacent the West Southern Pines School beginning in the late 1920s, the expansion of the campus in the 1950s greatly fueled residential growth in the west and northwest parts of West Southern Pines. In 1954, the Westhaven development was platted, encompassing land northwest of the intersection of West Pennsylvania Avenue and North Carlisle Street.[252] The area was developed throughout the late 1950s and 1960s with Ranch housing on wide lots.

Community development and redevelopment programs in the 1980s led to the creation of cul-de-sacs on North Stephen Street and Henley Place, the cutting of additional streets and paving of sidewalks, and the installation of new water and sewer lines.[253] Yet, even

[245] Interview with Donnie Wicker.
[246] Interview with Miss Wilma and Miss Bessie Hasty.
[247] Interview with Felton Capel.
[248] Interview with Miss Wilma and Miss Bessie Hasty.
[249] Interview with George Ross.
[250] Interview with Donnie Wicker.
[251] Interview with George Ross.
[252] "Westhaven Addition Number II," Moore County Register of Deeds, Map Book 4, Page 57.
[253] Interview with Gertrude Brokenbrough.

today, sidewalks in West Southern Pines are largely limited to West Pennsylvania Avenue, where modest streetscape improvements have been implemented, and most streets are without curb and gutter.

Local Builders

The rapid growth of Southern Pines and other nearby resort towns in the early twentieth century attracted Black tradesmen to West Southern Pines, including carpenters, woodworkers, and brick masons. Oral histories conducted in the early 1980s revealed the names of many local builders and contractors including: Eb Terry (contractor), Bud Goins (carpenter), Henry Lockhardt (brickmason), John Durham (plasterer), William Wall (plasterer), Floyd McDonald (plasterer), the Steel brothers (plasterers), Mr. Burgitt (contractor), Ben Armstrong (carpenter), James Murchison (carpenter), T. R. Goins (carpenter), W. H. Kelly (painter), W. M. White (carpenter), John D. Allen (carpenter), Jess Chavis (painter), and Paul Coplan (brickmason). Many of these men constructed their own houses and even more traded labor. Emmanuel Douglass notes that, "They had a community situation. You help me build my house and I'll help you build yours. We had community carpenters. We had community bricklayers. They got together and traded labor."[254] Thus, the work of these men extends far beyond the buildings attributed to them and noted here.

Among the earliest houses constructed in West Southern Pines was that of brickmason William Lockhart. About 1910, Lockhart constructed a large, Shingle-style building at 903 W. Pennsylvania Avenue (MR0693; no longer extant), noted to be "one of West Southern Pines' most architecturally significant structures."[255] The vernacular side-gabled form was adorned with wood shingles, a regional adaption of the New England Shingle-style.


Figure 11: Thomas and Lina McDonald House

Carpenter and plasterer Thomas McDonald is noted to have constructed buildings in both Southern Pines and Pinehurst. He constructed his own residence at 900 W. New Hampshire Avenue (MR0675) about 1912. The one-story, hip-roofed house initially featured ornamental woodwork. However, the building was updated with a bungalow porch and stuccoed exterior in the 1920s, likely to illustrate McDonald's ability to keep up with contemporary styles.[256] McDonald's son, Floyd McDonald was also a plasterer and likely constructed his own house (MR1734) at 893 West Pennsylvania Avenue. Both the c.1936 side-gabled house and the adjacent service station (MR1733), operated by McDonald, feature a stuccoed exterior finish.

Among the best-remembered builders in the area was Amos Broadway, a carpenter and brick mason born in Wadesboro in nearby Anson County in 1891. His parents, Sidney and Ella Broadway, moved the family to West Southern Pines by 1910, at which time Amos Broadway

[254] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[255] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 78.
[256] "McDonald House," File MR0675, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 79.

was working as a carpenter.[257] In 1922, Broadway erected the Amos Broadway Building (MR0680), a multi-unit commercial building, at the northeast corner of West New York Avenue and South Gaines Street. Adjacent the Amos Broadway Building to the east, he constructed his own residence (MR0679). Both buildings are constructed of quarry-faced concrete-block with smooth stucco applied to the façade of the Amos Broadway Building. Forrest Broadway, Amos's brother, also worked as a brickmason and was responsible for the construction of the c.1963 Felton and Jean Capel House (MR01678) at 1165 West Iowa Street. The side-gabled Ranch house has a blonde brick veneer, one-light wood-sash windows, and an interior brick chimney between the three- and four-bay sections of the house.

After his service in World War II, Clifton Bell settled in West Southern Pines where he worked as an upholsterer and homebuilder, constructing houses mostly in Pinehurst and Fayettevillte in the late 1940s and 1950s.[258] About 1948, he constructed his own house at 905 West Connecticut (MR1575). The one-story, side-gabled house is typical of the Minimal Traditional style common after World War II, popular for its compact plan and ease of construction.


Figure 12: Clifton and Clara Bell House

About 1955, Theodore R. Goins, a carpenter by trade, likely constructed his own house (MR1709) at 1085 West New Hampshire Avenue. The front-gabled house is a late example of the Craftsman style with a brick veneer, two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows, and a porch supported by Craftsman-style tapered wood posts on brick piers.

Residential Architecture

Throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, high-style examples of the Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Craftsman, and Shingle styles were constructed in Southern Pines, reflecting the wealth and prosperity of the resort industry and the region. However, in West Southern Pines, where African American residents earned low wages as agricultural and service industry workers, simple cottages and boarding houses predominated, most of frame construction and with little superfluous architectural ornamentation.[259] Of the 231 newly surveyed properties, roughly seventy of them can be classified as vernacular in style and form. A number of Craftsman-style houses were erected in the early- to mid-twentieth century, though the Colonial Revival and Shingles styles were rarely utilized for residential construction in the region. By the mid-twentieth century, the Ranch form predominated in West Southern Pines, as it did throughout the country with roughly 100 examples of the style documented.

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[257] *1900 United States Federal Census*; *1910 United States Federal Census; 1920 United States Federal Census; North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011*, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60548/; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 51; "Interview with Larcenia Harrington on April 27, 1982," in Mason, 69-75; Interview with Frank Waddell.

[258] Personal Communication with Jammie Verbal by Cheri Szcodronski, Heather Slane, September 2023, at 905 W. Connecticut, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

[259] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 27; *1900 United States Federal Census*; Interview with Reverend Thomas Flowers; Lindau, *The 1st Hundred Years*, 56.

Vernacular Architecture

Vernacular architecture is that handed down through generations rather than imparted through formal training. As such, it is reflective of regional building trends and materials, rather than illustrative of nationally popular building styles. Emanuel Douglass explained the proliferation of vernacular housing in West Southern Pines as a financial necessity. "You'll find a lot of houses that were built for five and eight hundred dollars…everybody did it themselves."[260] In addition to trading labor, residents were building houses "out of practically anything they could get their hands on. That's the way we were doing it. Cardboard, pasteboard…."[261] As a result, the vast majority of vernacular housing in West Southern Pines is one-story, frame construction with a front- or side-gabled roof. Most are square or rectangular in plan and were sheathed with wood or composite wood siding, though many were covered with aluminum or vinyl in later years.

Figure13: Williams House

Figure 14: Naomi B. Cameron House

Among the earliest and most intact examples of vernacular architecture in West Southern Pines is the c.1920 Williams House (MR1605) at 415 South Gaines Street. A hipped roof tops the rectangular form and extends over the full-width porch on the façade. Wood weatherboards and two-over-two wood-sash windows are typical of early-twentieth century construction in the North Carolina Piedmont. The c.1930 Naomi B. Cameron House (MR1595) at 133 South Gaines Street is similar in form and detail, though the porch has been removed; the interior of the house, though deteriorated, retains wood floors, plaster walls, beaded-board ceilings and mitered, flat-board door and window surrounds. The hip-roofed form is one that was constructed throughout the early-twentieth century with the c.1950 James and Beatrice Matthews House (MR1611) at 753 South Gaines Street illustrating a late example of the form sheathed with asbestos siding.

Figure 15: Willie J. and Addie Lean Graham House

However, in the 1930s, the three-bay, front-gabled form gained popularity, likely as a simplified interpretation of the bungalow form associated with the Craftsman style. The c.1946 Willie J. and Addie Lean Graham House (MR1571) at 475 South Carlisle Street represents a frame example of the form, though brick and concrete-block examples are also present in West Southern Pines.

[260] Interview with Emanuel Douglass.
[261] Interview with Donnie Wicker.

While frame was the most common building type in early-twentieth-century West Southern Pines, decorative block was utilized for the construction of a number of houses, the block similar to that used for the Amos Broadway Building and perhaps manufactured by the same individuals or local company. Donnie Wicker recalls that Mr. Noze "made his own blocks. He had a little block machine," and may have been the source for concrete block in the community.[262] Concrete-block machines sold by Sears, Roebuck and Co. in the early twentieth century, allowed for the local manufacture of concrete block, an inexpensive alternative to cut stone.[263] The block utilized at the Amos Broadway Building and the houses described here are consistent with block produced in this way.

The c.1933 Caviness House (MR1602) at 313 South Gaines Street is one of a number of concrete-block houses erected in West Southern Pines. A front-gabled roof tops the rectangular form and features weatherboards in the gables. An inset porch at the southwest corner of the building is encircled by a concrete-block kneewall atop which a square post supports the roof. The elongated, side-gabled form of the c. 1956 Courtney and Gertrude Brokenbrough House (MR1670) at 760 West Indiana Avenue illustrates the continued use of textured concrete block through the mid-twentieth century, even as the Ranch form was gaining popularity.


Figure 16: Caviness House


Figure 17: Courtney & Gertrude Brokenbrough House

While residents of West Southern Pines continued to utilized hand-made textured concrete block into the mid-twentieth century, in the post-World War II era, standard, smooth-faced concrete block was commercially produced and allowed for the rapid construction of small-scale residences throughout the country. The use of concrete block was especially common for Minimal Traditional-style buildings, which featured compact floor plans arranged within rectilinear forms. The c.1960 Eugene and Bernice McMillan House (MR1649) at 705 South Hardin Street is illustrative of this with a side-gabled form, two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows typical of 1950s construction, and a shallow shed-roofed porch on decorative metal posts shelters the entrance.

Another means of addressing the high demand for new homes in the post-World War II era, was the relocation and reuse of existing structures. Gertrude Brokenbrough recalled that her uncle, Charlie Henderson, purchased a lot on Gaines Street and "got one of those Army barracks to use for a house."[264] Similarly, Ed Quick remembers buying a house from John

[262] Interview with Donnie Wicker.

[263] Sears, Roebuck & Co., *Concrete Machinery: Triumph, Wizard and Knox Block Machines* (Sears, Roebuck & Co., 1915), 8. https://archive.org/details/ConcreteMachineryTriumphWizardAndKnoxBlockMachines/page/n9/mode/2up

[264] Interview with Gertrude Brokenbrough.

Powell, who owned land in West Southern Pines and "brought a lot of little houses from some place and put them down here."[265] Given the proximity of the army base at Fort Bragg, located only about thirty-five miles east of West Southern Pines, it seems likely that Powell too was relocating buildings from the base. Unfortunately, surveyors were unable to identify specific houses that were moved to the area and remain extant.

Craftsman Style

The Craftsman style, popular in North Carolina from the 1920s through the early 1950s, emphasized a simplicity that focused on the materials and structure, often employing stone and brick as decorative details and retaining exposed eaves and structural supports. Characteristic detailing includes widely overhanging eaves with knee braces, porches with heavy, tapered posts, usually on brick piers, exposed rafters and purlins, and the use of natural construction materials.[266] Craftsman-style double-hung windows featured between three and eight vertical lights above a single-pane sash. The Craftsman style was easily adapted and examples throughout Southern Pines varied greatly in size and style, depending what the owners needed and could afford.[267]

Figure 16: Albert and Amy Lutz House

Figure 19: Julia M. Evans House

Figure 20: Theodore R. and Marie B. Goins House

In West Southern Pines, the cottage-scale bungalow was common, favored for its functional form and reasonably inexpensive cost to construct.[268] The most common application of the style there was the one-story bungalow form with a full- or partial-width front porch applied to the façade. Among the earliest and most intact examples of the style and form is the c.1921 Albert and Amy Lutz House (MR1640) at 173 South Hardin Street. The brick bungalow retains three-over-one Craftsman-style wood-sash windows and a partially inset, front-gabled porch supported by tapered wood posts on stuccoed piers. The c.1935 Julia M. Evans House (MR1630) is a stuccoed example of the style with characteristic exposed rafter tails, three-over-

[265] Interview with Ed Quick.

[266] Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 535; Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses (Second Edition), (*New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 567-578; Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 498-505.

[267] Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 500; Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 35.

[268] Alexander, *Perspective on a Resort Community*, 51.

one Craftsman-style wood-sash windows, and post-on-pier porch supports.

A late example of the style, the c.1955 Theodore R. and Marie B. Goins House (MR1709) displays a front-gabled form matching that of the Lutz House and combined porch and porte cochere on post-on-pier supports; though the two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows and a picture window the right of the entrance are features typical of mid-twentieth century Ranch houses.

Colonial and Period Revival Styles

The Colonial Revival and Period Revival styles were widely popular for middle- and upper-class White housing throughout the country from the 1910s through the 1940s, with some examples constructed as late as the 1980s. The Colonial Revival style, which took inspiration from the American 1876 and 1893 expositions, is characterized by an elaborate front entrance, typically centered on a symmetrical façade, and paired windows and dormers.[269] However, styles that referenced the colonial and federal periods of American history were not widely embraced in African American communities, except for some religious and institutional buildings. Only one residential example of the Colonial Revival style remains extant in West Southern Pines. The c.1945 Brice and Mantez Hemphill House (MR1736) at 953 West Pennsylvania is typical of the two-story, box-like form of most Colonial Revival-style houses. The paired windows, hipped-roof with dormer, and entrance porch supported by Doric columns are typical of the style.

Figure 21: Brice and Mantez Hemphill House

Figure 22: James and Otelia Saunders House

The colonial era was not the only period being referenced in early-twentieth-century residential construction. After World War I, homebuilders began to reference European styles, most often the Tudor style, characterized by half-timbered walls, tall narrow windows or diamond-pane casement windows, steep gables, arched entryways, and irregular forms.[270] Simplified versions of these elements, alone or in combination with Colonial Revival-style elements, were applied to one- or one-and-one-half story homes throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the result later classified as Period Revival Cottages. The c.1940 James and Otelia Saunders House (MR1747) is the only extant example of this style in West Southern Pines, exhibiting the brick veneer, prominent chimney, and multiple gables associated with the form.

[269] Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*. 489; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses (Second Edition)*, 409-432.

[270] Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina,* 543; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses (Second Edition)*, 449-466.

Minimal Traditional Style

A further simplification of form and detail in residential architecture from the late 1930s through the 1950s resulted in the Minimal Traditional style, generally applied to one- or one-and-a-half-story forms. Characterized by a very simple rectangular, side- or front-gabled form, flush eaves, and a lack of architectural detail, Minimal Traditional-style houses were a response to the limited resources of the depression and World War II, followed by rapid home building after the war. The small size and compact footprints of these houses were well suited to existing urban lots, and the lack of decorative features made the houses quick and efficient to build.[271]

Figure 23: George and Luella Turner House

Figure 24: House

The c. 1954 George and Luella Turner House (MR1663) at 605 West Illinois Avenue is illustrative of the trend with flush eaves, a compact, symmetrical, side-gabled form and entrance stoop in lieu of a porch. The c.1960 house (MR1642) at 355 South Hardin Street is similarly minimal in its detailing with a three-bay, side-gabled form lit by two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows and a shallow porch supported by decorative metal posts. The c.1955 Reverend John D. and Atlene L. Ray House illustrated a front-gabled, frame example of the style with an inset porch at the front, right corner.

Figure 25: Reverend John D. and Atlene L. Ray House

Ranch and Modernist Styles

Through the mid-twentieth century, housing preferences shifted from the compact forms and minimal detailing of the Minimal Traditional style to the streamlined, modern aesthetic of the Ranch house. The style, with its low-pitched roofs and rambling facades, originated in California in the 1930s, but by the 1950s it had become the dominant house form throughout the country and remains popular in some areas even today.[272] In West Southern Pines, more than one hundred examples of the style were documented, making it the most common residential style in the area.

[271] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses (Second Edition)*, 586-589.

[272] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984), 479.

Figure 26: Jordan and Corine Livingstone House

Figure 7: House

Figure 28: Palmer House

Figure 29: Roland F. and Johnsie Mae Rochester House

The wide, low, one-story Ranch houses were most often constructed with a brick veneer, attractive to working-class families as a low-maintenance alternative to siding, which required regular repainting. In marked contrast to the Minimal Traditional houses built in previous decades, Ranch houses generally have wide eaves and may feature ribbon, picture, or corner windows, decorative metal porch supports, prominent chimneys, planters, and other brick features. The Ranch house regularly included an attached garage or carport, supporting an increased trend in automobile ownership nationwide in the decades after World War II.

The c.1950 Jordan and Corine Livingstone House (MR1712) is one of the earliest examples of the style in West Southern Pines. A gabled wing on the right and carport on the left further elongate the form of the side-gabled ranch. The c.1957 Harry F. and Frances P. Jones House (MR1771) is more compact in form, but incorporates a picture window and the two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows typical of mid-twentieth century construction; a frame bay on the west may be an enclosed carport.

The c.1960 house (MR1647) at 605 South Hardin Street is a rare example of a front-gabled Ranch house, the gabled wing on the left elevation elongating the façade beyond the three-bay, front-gabled form constructed in the 1930s and 1940s. A gabled carport on the right elevation further extends the width of the structure. More typical is the broad, sweeping façade of the hip-roofed, c.1969 Palmer House (MR1620) at 220 North Glover Street. This eight-bay-wide house incorporates a carport on its left end and individual windows in lieu of a picture window next to the entrance. As late as 1979 Ranch houses were still being constructed in West Southern Pines, including the Roland F. and Johnsie Mae Rochester House (MR1704) which incorporates the same wide, side-gabled form, brick veneer, and attached carport found on houses constructed throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Frame examples of the Ranch style, while less common, also exist in West Southern Pines. The c.1967 Mrs. Willa Baldwin House (MR1624) is a highly intact example of a frame Ranch house with plain weatherboards, two-over-two horizontal-pane wood-sash windows, and a shallow porch sheltering the entrance and a picture window on the right end of the façade. The c.1969 house (MR1699) at 1370 West Michigan Avenue is also of frame construction and may have matched the Baldwin House at its initial construction, though a carport on the left end of the house was later enclosed, elongating the façade.

Figure 30: Mrs. Willa Baldwin House

On a number of Ranch houses, faux stone was used to add visual interest to the house, breaking up the wide form. The c.1954 Liston Matthews House (MR1648) at 700 South Hardin Street incorporates faux stone around the left two bays of the façade, a picture window and entrance sheltered by a shallow porch on decorative metal posts. Likewise, the c.1955 Joshua and Susie Ferguson House (MR1615) at 125 North Glover Street features faux stone on the right end of the façade and on a projecting gabled bay on the left end of the façade, the center portion, sheltered by the porch roof, sheathed with vertical wood. The c.1956 Henry C. and Pearl G. Brower House (MR1641) at 345 South Hardin Street incorporated faux stone only on the south half of the right bay of the façade with vertical wood above and brick on the left half of the façade.

Figure 8: Liston Matthews House

Figure 32: Joshua and Susie Ferguson House

In other instances, vertical wood or other Modernist details were applied to the Ranch form. The c.1971 Margaret and Luther McKayhan House (MR1783) at 315 North Stephens Street features brick veneer only on the façade with vertical wood on the side and rear elevations as well as within a front gable on the left end of the façade. The c.1960 Josephine Brown House (MR1567) at 151 South Carlisle Street exhibits a multi-light bow window on the

Figure 33: Margaret and Luther McKayhan House

right end of the façade, set within a hip-roofed bay, while the left end of the façade is sheathed with aluminum and lit by a group of three tall fixed windows with operable awning windows below.

Figure 34: Mrs. Margaret Bell House

By the mid-twentieth century, Modernist-style buildings were being constructed throughout North Carolina, especially in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area to the north. A preference for Modernist design was especially prevalent among middle- and upper-class African Americans, who rejected revival styles in favor of innovative and forward-thinking design. Yet, no overtly Modernist residential buildings were constructed in West Southern Pines. Only the c.1958 Mrs. Margaret Bell House (MR1705) at 972 West New Hampshire Avenue can be classified as such. Residential Modernism is characterized by flat and shed roofs with deep overhangs, exposed roof beams and purlins, large banks of windows, recessed entries, and natural materials. The Bell House features a low-sloped, front-gabled roof with exposed purlins. The roof extends to the right to shelter a carport, resulting in an asymmetrical gable.

Housing constructed throughout the late-twentieth century illustrates the continued prevalence of vernacular forms in West Southern Pines. In addition to the one-story front- and side-gabled forms being erected, modular housing—manufactured offsite and placed on concrete-block foundations—was common, as was the installation of mobile homes. Twenty-first century developers, taking advantage of the numerous vacant lots on the area, have begun erecting two-story, frame houses with narrow forms that nonetheless extend nearly the full width of lots. These houses make no reference to the historic forms, styles, and setbacks in West Southern Pines, but instead are typical of twenty-first century suburban development.

Institutional and Commercial Architecture

The commercial, educational, religious, and recreational buildings in West Southern Pines exhibit a wide variety of forms and styles illustrative of changing architectural trends in the early- to mid-twentieth century and the specific functional requirements of each building. Extant commercial buildings are largely vernacular in form and style, constructed of frame or unadorned concrete block. Religious buildings tend toward front-gabled forms with Gothic, Colonial, or Modernist detailing. The Modernist detailing of area's extant educational and recreational buildings reflect their mid-twentieth century construction.

Gothic Revival Style

The Gothic Revival style originated in England as part of the Picturesque movement, favoring Medieval stylistic elements over Classical detailing of the preceding Greek Revival, Federal, and Georgian styles. In North Carolina, the Gothic Revival style was most common in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was especially popular for religious buildings.[273] Steeply pitched roofs, pointed arches, trefoils or quatrefoils, and crenelated parapets characterize the style and contribute to the verticality of the style.[274] Trinity AME Zion Church is a vernacular interpretation of the early-twentieth-century Gothic Revival style, featuring a steeply pitched gabled roof, brick buttresses separating the bays, and pointed-arch stained-glass windows throughout. The paired, square entrance towers, a common feature of historically African American churches, are also typical of the Gothic Revival style, regardless of the cultural makeup of the congregation.

Figure 35: Trinity AME Zion Church

Figure 36: First Missionary Baptist Church

The only other church in the African American community of West Southern Pines that incorporated elements of the Gothic Revival style in its design is the First Missionary Baptist Church (MR1603) at 315 South Gaines Street. Completed in 1945, the building is a late example of the style, though it features the characteristic pointed-arch windows, brick buttresses separating the bays, and a crenelated square entrance tower. The form itself is wider than earlier Gothic Revival-style churches, resulting in a more squat form than the vertically oriented Gothic Revival-style churches of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Figure 37: Our Lady of Victory Catholic Rectory

Shingle and Colonial Revival Styles

Originating in the New England in the 1870s and aligning with the resort aesthetic of the New England coast, the Shingle Style is characterized by the use of wood shingle and was favored for resorts and recreational facilities. While the informal plans and natural wood exteriors were adaptable for buildings of a variety of sizes and configurations, the connotation was always one of a remote respite, removed from the strain of urban,

[273] Cyril M. Harris, *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 155-157; Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina,* 537-538; Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 462.

[274] Harris, *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 157.

industrial life.[275] In North Carolina, as in New England, the style is most often found along the coast, the wood-shingled exterior well suited to the salty sea air. However, the style was also popular in the resort communities of Southern Pines and Pinehurst, where elements of the Shingle and Craftsman styles were combined to create small-scale housing and, in the instance of the Our Lady of Victory Catholic Parish (NR 2025), institutional buildings.[276]

The 1935 Our Lady of Victory Catholic Chapel (MR0695) and the adjacent Rectory (MR0694) are late examples of the Shingle/Craftsman style. Character-defining features of the style include the wood-shingled exterior, hipped roof with exposed rafter tails, narrow casement windows, and an arch above the main entrance.[277] At the chapel, the flared shingles at the base of the wall divert water from the foundation while mimicking the flared roofs of many high-style Shingle style buildings. The adjacent rectory is similarly detailed with a shingled exterior, exposed rafter tails at the hipped roof, and a front-gabled entrance bay. The double-hung six-over-one wood-sash windows and the three-light transoms over both interior and exterior doors are typical of the Craftsman style.

By the 1930s, the Shingle style had been fully supplanted by the Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles. In the early twentieth century, colonial architecture was experiencing a nationwide resurgence for residential and religious buildings alike. Reflective of this is the 1942 Our Lady of Victory School, which combines a shingled exterior, matching the earlier chapel and rectory, with a wide, symmetrical, Colonial Revival-style façade. It features exposed rafter tails at the roofline but does not employ the flared walls seen on the chapel and rectory. A three-bay, pedimented portico, supported by square columns, dominates the symmetrical, seven-bay façade. The entrances retain Colonial Revival-style surrounds with flat pilasters supporting wide entablatures above a multi-light transom. A cupola centered on the roof ridge is a distinctly Colonial element.

Figure 38: Refugee Church of our Lord Jesus Christ

Figure 39: Faith Missionary Baptist Church

The formality of the Colonial Revival style was well suited to religious buildings, characterized by symmetrical, front-gabled, and often pedimented forms; brick exteriors; entrance porticos on classical columns; paneled doors within classical surrounds; and round-arch windows. Yet, in African American communities, full expressions of the style—an overt reference to the colonial era and thus a reminder of decades of

[275] Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture,* 444.

[276] David R. Black, "Southern Pines Historic District," Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, 1991, Section 8, 10.

[277] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 373-374.

oppression—was not common. By the mid-twentieth century, the elements of the Modernist style were instead applied to the traditional forms of the Colonial Revival style. One example in West Southern Pines is the c.1965 Refugee Church of our Lord Jesus Christ (MR1671) at 855 W. Indiana. The front-gabled sanctuary features a prowed gable on the façade and round-arch windows on the side elevations. A more typical example is the c.1971 Faith Missionary Baptist Church (MR1701) at 1400 West Michigan Avenue, which maintains a symmetrical façade, steeple on the roof ridge, and paired doors sheltered by a pedimented portico.

Figure 40: North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Building

Figure 41: West Southern Pines Swimming Pool

Figure 42: Horton Funeral Home

Modernist Style

Modernism was introduced to North Carolinians in the late 1940s, largely as a result of the influence of the School of Design at North Carolina State University in Raleigh and the architectural engineering program at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. The style, as applied to residential, commercial, and religious buildings, generally features broad gables with proud eaves and flat or shed roofs with deep overhangs; exposed roof beams and purlins; large banks of windows; recessed entries; and natural materials including brick, concrete, stone and glass. The focus was on "simplicity, efficiency, flexibility, affordability, and intrinsic material expression."[278]

The buildings constructed on the campus of the West Southern Pines School (MR1428) between 1951 and 1966 represent a cohesive collection of Modernist-style buildings, each with angular forms and horizontal massing. Most feature flat roofs, brick veneer, wide banks of steel-sash windows, and exposed structural systems. These Modernist-style elements "exemplify the North Carolina Department of Education's initiative to supply students with spacious, well-ventilated, and amply lit instructional areas."[279]

A number of commercial and recreational buildings erected in West Southern Pines incorporated the rectilinear forms and flat roofs common in Modernist-style architecture. The c.1964 North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Building (MR1711) at 1130 West New Hampshire Avenue, is the second concrete-block structure erected by the company in West Southern

[278] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 33.
[279] Fearnbach, "West Southern Pines School," 17.

Pines, the earlier building standing on West Pennsylvania Avenue. The flat roof has been altered, but the building retains the clean lines and stacked aluminum-framed windows common of the style. Also constructed in 1964, the West Southern Pines Swimming Pool (MR1761) was built with a one-story, flat-roofed pool house. The concrete building retains a flat roof with deep, eaves on the side elevations, each revealing the concrete roof structure. The rectilinear form includes windowless dressing rooms flanking a central breezeway.

An early example of Modernist-style architecture in West Southern Pines is the c.1950 Horton Funeral Home (MR1639) at 151 South Hardin Street. The concrete-block building features a front-gabled chapel at its core, the windows extending all the way up to the gabled roof, sheltered by a deep roof overhang. A one-story, flat-roofed office wing on the right has aluminum windows high on the wall above a textured brick wall. The same brick was used for planters that flank the entrance to the sanctuary. The Pugh and Brower Funeral Home (MR1601) at 312 South Gaines Street was constructed about the same time and also featured a front-gabled core with windows extending up to the gable.

The best example of the Modernist style applied to a religious building is the 1965 St. James Lutheran Church (MR1706) at 983 West New Hampshire Avenue. Designed by architect Gordon E. Peebles and constructed by D. W. C. Construction Company in Fayetteville, NC, the front-gabled sanctuary features windows topped by spandrel panels that extend up to the roofline.[280] A projecting, flat-roofed entrance bay contains replacement doors flanked by original one-light sidelights above flush panels.

Figure 10: St. James Lutheran Church

[280] "New St. James Church Dedicated," *The Pilot*, 1965.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED PROPERTIES

SS#	Address	Property Name
MR0636	700-blk W. Connecticut	White Estate (gone)
MR0637	700-blk W. Connecticut	House (gone)
MR0638	131 Henley Place	House (gone)
MR0639	737 W. Connecticut	Armstrong House (gone)
MR0675	900 W. New Hampshire	Thomas and Lina McDonald House
MR0676	925 W. New Hampshire	House (gone)
MR0677	1092 W. New Hampshire	McKeever-Waddell House
MR0678	1054 W. New Hampshire	Bethea House (gone)
MR0679	1043 W. New York	Amos Broadway House
MR0680	1071 W. New York	Amos Broadway Building
MR0681	1172 W. New York	Industrial Union Institute (gone)
MR0692	782 W. Pennsylvania	James E. Hasty House
MR0693	900-blk W. Pennsylvania	Lockhart House (gone)
MR1321	972 W. Pennsylvania	Trinity AME Zion Church
MR1377	1109-1185 W. Pennsylvania	Our Lady of Victory Catholic Parish*
MR1428	1250 W. New York	West Southern Pines School

*Includes the school (MR0696), chapel (MR0695), and rectory (MR0694)

APPENDIX B: LIST OF NEWLY SURVEYED PROPERTIES

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1555	John and Martha	Blue House	128	N. Carlisle
MR1556		House	160	N. Carlisle
MR1557	Claude and Vera	Blue House	253	N. Carlisle
MR1558	Alex and Alice	McNeil House	270	N. Carlisle
MR1559	Marshall	McLean House	300	N. Carlisle
MR1560	William and Vendella	Stancil House	330	N. Carlisle
MR1561	Mrs. Viola	Jones House	335	N. Carlisle
MR1562	Charles and Adella	Roundtree House	345	N. Carlisle
MR1563	Mrs. Christine B.	Nelson House	380	N. Carlisle
MR1564	Mrs. Eulah B.	Jordon House	385	N. Carlisle
MR1565	Clarence and Christine	Nelson House	405	N. Carlisle
MR1566		Town Council	138	S. Carlisle
MR1567	Mrs. Josephine	Brown House	151	S. Carlisle
MR1568	Emanuel S. and LauraEllen	Douglass House	153	S. Carlisle
MR1569		Harrington Chapel Free Will Baptist Church	164	S. Carlisle
MR1570		Teacherage	165	S. Carlisle
MR1571	Willie J. and Addie Lean	Graham House	475	S. Carlisle
MR1572	Mallard and Connie	Monroe House	515	S. Carlisle
MR1573	Mrs. Annie A.	Jackson House	730	W. Connecticut
MR1574	Edward and Laura Alberta	Ballard House	900	W. Connecticut
MR1575	Clifton and Clara	Bell House	905	W. Connecticut
MR1576	Fred and Willie M.	McLellan House	930	W. Connecticut
MR1577		Jones-Spencer House	934	W. Connecticut
MR1578	James and Sallie	Pratt House	1100	W. Connecticut
MR1579		House	1105	W. Connecticut
MR1580		House	1135	W. Connecticut
MR1581	Eddie and Mary Thomas	Dowd House	1140	W. Connecticut
MR1582	Mary A.	Wilson House	1150	W. Connecticut
MR1583		McArthur House and Grocery	1165	W. Connecticut
MR1584		Lutheran Parsonage	1240	W. Connecticut
MR1585	Emry	Little House	1245	W. Connecticut
MR1586		Small House	1250	W. Connecticut
MR1587	Milton and Sarah	Pope House	1400	W. Connecticut
MR1588	Rev. Evans	Drake House	241	N. Gaines
MR1589	William and Mabel	Clarence House	258	N. Gaines
MR1590	Josephine Louise and Thomas	Lewis House	350	N. Gaines

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1591		House	352	N. Gaines
MR1593		House	395	N. Gaines
MR1594	James and Bonnie Mae	Christian House	451	N. Gaines
MR1595	Naomi B.	Cameron House	133	S. Gaines
MR1596	Joseph E. and Nora	Jackson House	154	S. Gaines
MR1597	Dan and Rebecca	Williams House	218	S. Gaines
MR1598	John and Emma	Brown House	274	S. Gaines
MR1599		Pine City Beauty Shop	283	S. Gaines
MR1600		Cornerstone Lodge No. 68	296	S. Gaines
MR1601		Pugh & Brower Funeral Home	312	S. Gaines
MR1602		Caviness House	313	S. Gaines
MR1603		First Missionary Baptist Church	315	S. Gaines
MR1604	Eugene and Bessie	Nelson House	373	S. Gaines
MR1605		Williams House	415	S. Gaines
MR1606	Solomon and Reaver P.	Graham House	424	S. Gaines
MR1607		House	494	S. Gaines
MR1608	Henry and Mildred	Douglas House	525	S. Gaines
MR1609		Mount Olive Bible Church of God	680	S. Gaines
MR1610		House	750	S. Gaines
MR1611	James and Beatrice	Matthews House	753	S. Gaines
MR1612	Walter J.	Matthews House	755	S. Gaines
MR1613	Ezekiel and Thelma	Ross House	811	S. Gaines
MR1614	B.	Gaddy House	948	S. Gaines
MR1615	Joshua and Susie	Ferguson House	125	N. Glover
MR1616		Hazel-McQueen House	140	N. Glover
MR1617	Alma	Hudson House	180	N. Glover
MR1618	Charles and Ruth	Barrett House	195	N. Glover
MR1619	Alvin and Bertha	Cooper House	205	N. Glover
MR1620		Palmer House	220	N. Glover
MR1621	Mrs. Dorothy M.	Lutz House	225	N. Glover
MR1622		Greer-Dozier House	171	S. Glover
MR1623	Curtis C. and Peggy R.	Chavis House	475	S. Glover
MR1624	Mrs. Wilma	Baldwin House	609	S. Glover
MR1625	Henry W.	Jackson House	885	S. Glover
MR1626	Richard	Smith House	890	S. Glover
MR1627		House	720	S. Hale
MR1628		House	760	S. Hale
MR1629		House	780	S. Hale

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1630	Julia M.	Evans House	148	N. Hardin
MR1631		Scarborough-Pride House	164	N. Hardin
MR1632	Dannie W. and Ada	Harrington House	233	N. Hardin
MR1633		House	251	N. Hardin
MR1634		Bland-Walden House	258	N. Hardin
MR1635	Levot and Nannie	Lewis House	281	N. Hardin
MR1636	Mrs. Edna W.	McCullum House	400	N. Hardin
MR1637		House	485	N. Hardin
MR1638	Rev. John D. and Atlene L.	Ray House	490	N. Hardin
MR1639		Horton Funeral Home	151	S. Hardin
MR1640	Albert and Amy	Lutz House	173	S. Hardin
MR1641	Henry C. and Pearl G.	Brower House	345	S. Hardin
MR1642		House	355	S. Hardin
MR1643	James and Lula B.	Turner House	400	S. Hardin
MR1644	Emily	Douglass House	490	S. Hardin
MR1645		Bible Church of God	500	S. Hardin
MR1646		House	525	S. Hardin
MR1647		House	605	S. Hardin
MR1648	Liston	Mathews House	700	S. Hardin
MR1649	Eugene and Bernice	McMillan House	705	S. Hardin
MR1650		House	890	S. Hardin
MR1651		House	980	S. Hardin
MR1652	Jean	Ross House	990	S. Hardin
MR1653	Mrs. Della	Stanback House	414	S. Henley
MR1654		House	451	S. Henley
MR1655	O. D. and Annie	White House	468	S. Henley
MR1656	John and Maggie	Gilchrist House	611	S. Henley
MR1657	Joseph and Lillie	Finley House	695	S. Henley
MR1658		Woodlawn Cemetery	200	S. Pine
MR1659	Mrs. Mary W.	Scarborough House	800	S. Henley
MR1660	John V. and Annie Lee	Lofton House	840	S. Henley
MR1661	Linwood and Joann	Robinson House	885	S. Henley
MR1662		Water tower	905	S. Henley
MR1663	George and Luella	Turner House	605	W. Illinois
MR1664		Jackson-Thompson House	847	W. Illinois
MR1665	Mack and Mary	Stubbs House	910	W. Illinois
MR1666		House	960	W. Illinois
MR1667	Albert and Helen	McIver House	980	W. Illinois
MR1668	Mrs. Ida	Brown House	1183	W. Illinois
MR1669	Leroy and Pearl	Lockwood House	1195	W. Illinois

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1670	Courtney and Gertrude	Brokenbrough House	760	W. Indiana
MR1671		Refugee Church of our Lord Jesus Christ	855	W. Indiana
MR1672	James and Patience	McCray House	860	W. Indiana
MR1673	Willie and Hattie	Adams House	1090	W. Indiana
MR1674	Edward	Ingram House	1105	W. Indiana
MR1675	Wisdom Jr. and Carolyn	Williams House	1250	W. Indiana
MR1676	Alex and Sarah	Pratt House	853	W. Iowa
MR1677	Patricia Ann	Townsend House	1140	W. Iowa
MR1678	Felton and Jean	Capel House	1165	W. Iowa
MR1679		Johnson House	1200	W. Iowa
MR1680		House	1225	W. Iowa
MR1681	Edward and Barbara	Saunders House	1255	W. Iowa
MR1682	William C. and Floriee	Wright House	853	W. Lowe
MR1683	Mrs. Sylvia	Cline House	990	W. Lowe
MR1684	Stancel and Ida	Pankey House	1160	W. Massachusetts
MR1685		Store	1190	W. Massachusetts
MR1686	Elmond and Leila	Turner House	377	S. Mechanic
MR1687		House	633	S. Mechanic
MR1688		Bowman-Ray House	683	S. Mechanic
MR1689	Mrs. Willie Kate	Adams House	715	S. Mechanic
MR1690	Willard	Williams House	755	S. Mechanic
MR1691	Van J. and Ceaola	Cameron House	795	S. Mechanic
MR1692		Southern Pines Housing Authority	801	S. Mechanic
MR1693		House	635	W. Michigan
MR1694		House	655	W. Michigan
MR1695		Bostick-Cole House	953	W. Michigan
MR1696	Ann M.	McMillian House	1240	W. Michigan
MR1697	William and Mary	Baldwin House	1255	W. Michigan
MR1698	Charles E.	Hodges House	1280	W. Michigan
MR1699		House	1370	W. Michigan
MR1700	Walter O.	Frye House	1395	W. Michigan
MR1701		Faith Missionary Baptist Church	1400	W. Michigan
MR1702	James and Marjorie	Flowers House	885	W. New Hampshire
MR1703	Eronious and Rena	McRae House	945	W. New Hampshire
MR1704	Roland F. and Johnsie Mae	Rochester House	950	W. New Hampshire
MR1705	Mrs. Margaret	Bell House	972	W. New Hampshire
MR1706		St. James Lutheran Church	983	W. New Hampshire

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1707		Emmanuel Presbyterian Church	1000	W. New Hampshire
MR1708		McMannon Shoe Shop	1018	W. New Hampshire
MR1709	Theodore R. and Marie B.	Goins House	1085	W. New Hampshire
MR1710	Juanita	Barrett House	260	N. Pine
MR1711		North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company	1130	W. New Hampshire
MR1712	Jordan and Corine	Livingston House	1182	W. New Hampshire
MR1713		Lem Cash Grocery	1192	W. New Hampshire
MR1714	Flossie	Carpenter House	1210	W. New Hampshire
MR1715	Walter C. and Hazel T.	Garrett House	1305	W. New Hampshire
MR1716	Joshua and Susie	Ferguson House	1320	W. New Hampshire
MR1717	Lewis E.	Gilmore House	1330	W. New Hampshire
MR1718		Reives-Lane House	1345	W. New Hampshire
MR1719		House	1395	W. New Hampshire
MR1720	George and Mable	McCow House	748	W. New York
MR1721	Thomas E.	Flowers House	800	W. New York
MR1722		House	811	W. New York
MR1723	Milton and Queenie	Waddell House	823	W. New York
MR1724	John O. and Catherine W.	Stephens House	874	W. New York
MR1725		House	965	W. New York
MR1726		Harrington House	1011	W. New York
MR1727	John and Iris H.	Moore House	1215	W. New York
MR1728	Ernest T. and Nellie	Clark House	1225	W. New York
MR1729		House	1365	W. New York
MR1730		Bridge		W. Pennsylvania
MR1731	Norman and Evelyn	Chavis House	805	W. Pennsylvania
MR1732		Pugh's Place	883	W. Pennsylvania
MR1733		McDonald Service Station	891	W. Pennsylvania
MR1734	Floyd and Cecelia	McDonald House	893	W. Pennsylvania
MR1735		Winfield's Phillips 66 Service Station	912	W. Pennsylvania
MR1736	Brice and Mantez	Hemphill House	953	W. Pennsylvania
MR1737		McCrimmon House	963	W. Pennsylvania
MR1738	Mrs. Lela Graham	McNeill House	1022	W. Pennsylvania
MR1739		Commercial Building	1024	W. Pennsylvania
MR1740	John	McLean House	1114	W. Pennsylvania
MR1741	Nannie B.	Flowers House	1164	W. Pennsylvania
MR1742		Commercial Building	1190	W. Pennsylvania
MR1743	Frasier	Wallace House	1200	W. Pennsylvania
MR1744	Holly and Allene	Faison House	1245	W. Pennsylvania

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1745	Mrs. Jessie M.	Lockhart House	1273	W. Pennsylvania
MR1746		Service Station	1290-1292	W. Pennsylvania
MR1747	James and Otelia	Saunders House and Store	1291	W. Pennsylvania
MR1748		Kendrick Funeral Home	1300	W. Pennsylvania
MR1749	Henry L. and Louise Goins	Wooten House	1305	W. Pennsylvania
MR1750		House	1345	W. Pennsylvania
MR1751	Zebulon V. and Peggy S.	Gordon House	1385	W. Pennsylvania
MR1752	Dr. William	Ross House and Office	1404	W. Pennsylvania
MR1753	Rev. J. W.	Peek House	1425	W. Pennsylvania
MR1754		Broadway-Wade House	240	S. Stephens
MR1755		House	252	S. Stephens
MR1756	David	Holden House	330	S. Stephens
MR1757	Frank and Emma	Waddell House	360	S. Stephens
MR1758		Church of God in Christ	450	S. Stephens
MR1759		House	657	S. Stephens
MR1760	James and Carrie	Fisher House	659	S. Stephens
MR1761		West Southern Pines Swimming Pool	735	S. Stephens
MR1762	Pearson and Adell	Alford House	860	S. Stephens
MR1763		House	885	S. Stephens
MR1764		Hainesworth Grocery	689	W. Wisconsin
MR1765	Willie and Pauline	Hainesworth House	692	W. Wisconsin
MR1766	Major C. and Hattie	Marshall House	705	W. Wisconsin
MR1767	Freddie L.	Fisher House	730	W. Wisconsin
MR1768		Threadgill Store	877	W. Wisconsin
MR1769	John D. and Letha	Dobbins House	944	W. Wisconsin
MR1770	Rufus and Louise	Smitherman House	947	W. Wisconsin
MR1771	Harry F. and Frances P.	Jones House	950	W. Wisconsin
MR1772	John	McKayhen House	1055	W. Wisconsin
MR1773		Seventh Day Adventist Church	1145	W. Wisconsin
MR1774		House	1205	W. Wisconsin
MR1775	Jesse C. and Virgie	Armstrong House	1285	W. Wisconsin
MR1776	Maxie E. and Grace F.	Lee House	1290	W. Wisconsin
MR1778		Trinity AME Church Parsonage	185	Tray
MR1779		House	930	W. Vermont
MR1780	Betty D.	Hayes House	1100	W. Vermont
MR1781	Carl B.	McNeil House	1126	W. Vermont
MR1782		Flowers House	253	N. Stephens

SSN	Property First Name	Property Name	Street#	Street
MR1783	Margaret and Luther	McKayhan House	315	N. Stephens
MR1784	Hattie Mae	Lewis House	348	N. Stephens
MR1785		House of Charm Beauty School	915	W. Vermont