

**Currituck Banks, North Banks, and
Roanoke Island**

Architectural Survey Report

Penne Smith Sandbeck

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Narrative Essay (Revised Draft)

Statement of Historic Contexts

Introduction

The Currituck Banks, North Dare Outer Banks (referred to as the North Banks), and Roanoke Island, all extensively documented areas of North Carolina, experienced significant population growth during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Factors in this expansion include this section of the Outer Banks' popularity as a year-round resort and its relative proximity to Virginia's South Hampton Roads metropolitan area. The demands of increased population have put considerable strain on this already environmentally delicate region. Another manifestation of regional growth has been progressive encroachment on this area's historic architectural resources. Given the Outer Banks' rapacious rate of development, especially fragile are the surviving 1890-1939 residences in the survey area that are not National Register single properties or historic districts, and resources constructed between 1940 and 1955. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century resources now exist among later twentieth-century infill. This infill ranges from 1960s-1980s cottages and the gigantic multi-family condominiums built during the 1990s to motels and restaurants predominantly constructed between 1985 and the present day. In spite of remaining either in the hands of their original owners or boasting a short provenance, the older beach dwellings and motels,

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considering the area's booming resort industry and requisite need for larger accommodations, face an uncertain future. The Nags Head Soundside and nearby Nags Head Woods, once the location of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century shingled cottages, have lost early dwellings. In Currituck County, new development and even adaptive reuse have eradicated much of the integral maritime nature of villages such as Corolla. Development also threatens to undermine presently uncompromised sites such as the Currituck Beach Lighthouse Complex and, farther up the coast, the Wash Woods United States Coast Guard Station (CK 88). Farther south, Roanoke Island is about to be greatly impacted by the just-opened Virginia Dare Memorial Bridge, spanning Croatan Sound from the heart of Mann's Harbor.

In his work *Islands, Capes, and Sounds*, legal environmentalist Thomas J. Schoenbaum tied the issues of increased development facing North Carolina's chain of barrier islands to the Atlantic coastline's overall dilemma. "Either the area will be overwhelmed by the kind of rapid, intense, and wasteful development that has devastated many coastal areas in the northeast and in southern Florida," Schoenbaum presciently stated in 1982, "or future growth will be channeled, respecting and safeguarding the traditional natural and historical resources and way of life." This architectural survey, a response to Schoenbaum's challenge, was funded in 2001-2002 by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office [NC-HPO] and Outer Banks Conservationists [OBC Inc.], Incorporated, of Manteo, North

Carolina. Through an analysis of surviving historic resources, it is hoped that, to again quote Schoenbaum, “the pride of coastal residents in their region and heritage” along with a re-examination of “their attitudes and their land will determine whether the unique beauty of the North Carolina coastal region will be preserved.”¹

Description

The area of analysis begins with northern Dare and Currituck counties’ eastern extremities, the northernmost part of which is familiarly known as the Currituck Banks. The Currituck Banks are part of a small maritime barrier peninsula incorporating the North Banks communities of Duck, Southern Shores, Kitty Hawk, Kill Devil Hills, and Nags Head, below which is the Bodie Island Lighthouse and the survey’s southern border of Oregon Inlet. Parts of this peninsula were once separated by Old and New Currituck Inlets, below which was known as Bodie Island. After several inlets shoaled, Bodie Island became a regional and basically archaic term.

This sandy strip of the Outer Banks is separated from the mainland, first by the shallow freshwater Currituck Sound, below which lies the expanse of Albemarle Sound. Albemarle Sound, fed by the Roanoke and Chowan rivers, in addition to smaller coastal rivers, flows into Roanoke and Croatan sounds, respectively the east and west shorelines of Roanoke

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Island, another component of this survey. Below Roanoke Island, Croatan and Roanoke sounds join Pamlico Sound just north of Oregon Inlet, created during a hurricane in 1846. The constant pressures of currents and shifting inlets, in addition to the area's periodic northeasters ("nor'easters") and hurricanes, have resulted in a great deal of erosion over the past four hundred years, and earlier. For example, the geographical formation of this area was somewhat different in the sixteenth century. An inlet, now enclosed (or shoaled), ran from Pamlico Sound to the Atlantic Ocean, just south of present-day Oregon Inlet, and there was an inlet known as Trinity Harbour near what is now the village of Duck.² To the north, Theodor de Bry's 1590 map, taken from John White's 1585 cartographical sketches, show Old and New Currituck Inlets. Furthermore, Roanoke Island was larger in width and length at that time, varying in accounts from fifteen to sixteen miles long instead of its present twelve.³

Fresh water, though precious, is not unknown in this area. Some creeks and springs exist on Roanoke Island. The barrier peninsula contains small freshwater creeks and ponds, the largest of which is Jean Guite Creek (a corruption of an Algonkian name, probably "Chincoteague", meaning "large stream") along the soundside north of Kitty Hawk.⁴

The topography of the surveyed area is part of the Pamlico Terrace, a former seabed formed one hundred thousand years ago extending along the United States' southeastern coastline at

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places less than fifteen feet above sea level.⁵ From the Currituck Banks' border with Virginia, along the long sandy peninsula to Oregon Inlet, the soil is the Newhan-Corolla-Duckston compound along the oceanfront and, along the soundside, Currituck, a mucky, sandy soil; and, in the Duck and Sanderling area, the Fripp-Ousley-Osier soil compound, also very sandy. The wooded area of Kitty Hawk's soundside and the low hills of Colington Island have Fripp-Ousley-Osier soil and the muckier Hobonny-Carteret-Currituck soil compound.⁶ According to a 1959 study, Roanoke Island's North End has some areas of Wagram, Wakulla, and Pactolus soils in its most fertile areas. Wakulla, of the three, is the most rapidly permeable soil and Pactolus the least. All three soil types are optimal for corn, peanuts, some grain, and, in the case of Wakulla, melons, all of which were grown on the island from the nineteenth century.⁷ The marshier parts of the island have been identified with the Capers soil type. A recent soil study has dismissed Roanoke Island's soil as not suitable for farming, identifying the soil types in the once agricultural belt as used only for wildlife habitat.⁸

The low hills of Colington Island, the Nags Head Woods and the wooded area of Duck and the Currituck soundside, the pocosins of Kitty Hawk, and Roanoke Island above the marshland of Wanchese are covered by pines, live oaks, gum trees, and smaller trees like holly and dogwood. Other vegetation includes wax myrtle, wild grapevines, yaupon, bay trees, cypress, cedar, persimmon, and sassafras. Non-indigenous plants such as fragmites

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have made their appearance in the region and are periodically seen in profusion, choking indigenous salt grasses along the waterline.

Migrating sand dunes, once a common feature of this north section of the Outer Banks, have been vanquished for the most part within the last seventy-five years. Jockey's Ridge, 110 feet at its highest point, looms over Nags Head and is now the highest migratory dune remaining; the other large migratory dune in the survey area is Lewark's Hill, located approximately three miles north of Corolla village. Resort developers stabilized the Seven Sisters, a chain of smaller dunes near Nags Head's Whalebone Junction, and built a gated community upon them in the 1990s.⁹ Other famous dunes—one being Kill Devil Hill, where the Wright Brothers tested their machine-powered flier—have been covered by sod, and anchored by grass and other vegetation where not entirely obliterated. Former migratory dunes include Whalehead Hill and Pennys Hill, which show up on the 1770 Collett's Map of North Carolina as "Three Sand Hills."

Population growth in this seashore region has been dramatic, growing to 32,800 in the North Dare Outer Banks and 19,900 on the Currituck Banks in 2002, a multiple of 1960 population data. Some communities, such as Seagull north of Corolla and Otila west of Kitty Hawk, vanished in the twentieth century; others, like Skyco on Roanoke Island's west shore, remain in name only. Corolla's population expansion is a relatively recent phenomenon, as

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North Carolina Highway 12 was only paved to this village in 1986. Duck, based between the lifesaving stations of Caffey's Inlet and Paul Gamiels Hill, is now incorporated. Frank and David Stick developed the private village of Southern Shores, located directly north of Kitty Hawk, in the 1950s and 1960s. Kitty Hawk's present population is 2,500, a significant climb from 296 people in 1940. Kill Devil Hills, incorporated in 1953, now has a population of 6,000, and Nags Head, which only had 45 permanent residents in 1940, has comparably expanded. Roanoke Island encompasses the county seat of Manteo, the North End community, and the unincorporated village of Wanchese; Manteo had 1,050 permanent residents in 2002.¹⁰ However, it must be remembered that, as a part of North Carolina's touted "Variety Vacationland", the number of persons in these towns and communities swells from May to October. Given that the area is fast becoming a year-round tourist destination, population will likely increase within the next ten years.

The oceanside section of two North Carolina counties, positioned directly below the Virginia State Line, comprises the survey area. Currituck County, formed from the Albemarle Precinct in 1670, included all of the North Banks and Roanoke Island until the latter became part of newly-formed Dare County in 1870.¹¹ Currituck County lost Kitty Hawk and Duck, part of Atlantic Township, to Dare County in 1919.¹²

Older buildings in the Currituck Banks, the North Banks, and Roanoke Island have distinct, though intertwined, architectural histories. To discuss architecture in relation to the surveyed area's developmental history, the following report is divided in three chronological sections. The first section serves to sum up significant developmental events between 1584 and 1810. The second section covers community expansion and architectural progress from 1811 until 1903, the year of the Wright Brothers' successful first flight at Kill Devil Hill. The third and final section extends from 1904 to 1952, covering the growth of tourism and its transformation of the Outer Banks landscape. This final section also deals with recent issues, such as the 2002 Virginia Dare Memorial Bridge, large-scale demolition of postwar motels, and the 1980s-1990s re-conceptualization of Manteo's town center.

I. Early Exploration and Settlement, 1584-1810

1584-1599

Following Giovanni da Verrazzano's 1524 sighting of Native Americans on North Carolina's coast, the earliest documentation of extended European exploration in the northernmost Outer Banks was sixty years later in 1584. At that time, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe engaged in their reconnaissance mission for Sir Walter Raleigh, who had

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acquired a patent from the queen to establish colonies on the North American continent. In mid-July, Barlowe wrote of visiting an island “which they call Roanoak” and seeing a small Native American encampment at the north end of the island composed of nine houses fashioned from cedar, and protected by a stockade.¹³ As engraved by Theodor de Bry from John White’s 1585-1586 drawings, the Roanoke Indians’ village, in the vicinity of what is now the Fort Raleigh National Park Service headquarters, was laid out in a circle with a palisade of vertical cedar or cypress poles surrounding the encampment. The longhouses, eight or nine in all, were of pole construction with ceiling vaults created from lashed branches. Covered with “matts which they turne up as high as they thinke good, and soe receive in the lighte and other [air],” they were sturdy enough for sleep and visitation, but hardly permanent. Postholes of such encampments have been excavated in eastern North Carolina and Virginia.¹⁴

Theodor de Bry’s map places the Roanoke settlement, an outpost of Algonkian culture, southeast of the site where Ralph Lane and 108 Englishmen established Fort Raleigh in 1585.¹⁵ Lane’s men fanned out to nearby sites off the island, but the first colony was a failure, due to mismanagement and trouble with previously friendly Native Americans. Sir Frances Drake took the English settlers home in 1586. Shortly afterward, in what can only be termed as a missed connection, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at an uninhabited Fort

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Raleigh. He left a skeleton crew of fifteen men—of whom, only a skeleton was found in 1587—behind.¹⁶

The third Roanoke Voyage was the oft-termed “Lost Colony”, 150 men and women who arrived on Roanoke Island in 1587, who were actually supposed to settle farther north, in the Chesapeake. John White, the artist and governor of the colony group, however, had had disagreements throughout the voyage with the ship’s pilot, Simon Fernandes and it is possible that Fernandes left the colonists at Roanoke Island out of spite. This has been a popular theory.¹⁷ On the other hand, David Beers Quinn in *Set Fair for Roanoke* posits another argument for the colonists settling elsewhere. After the Atlantic crossing, followed by a difficult voyage up from the Caribbean where the English passengers had suffered from food poisoning, there was much pragmatism in beginning at a place where there were already cleared settlements and a knowledge of the surrounding region.¹⁸ The shelters fashioned by Lane’s men still stood from the year before (although melons and vines had taken root within), and the small star-shaped garrison remained in place. So the colonists settled there when White returned with Fernandes to England.

Given that Lane’s dwellings were quickly assembled, in addition to having dirt floors, the houses were most likely earthfast buildings. No postholes have been found identifying the colony’s layout, but it must be taken into account would-be excavators and sentimental

visitors have scoured this site for 400 years. The dwellings were not sturdy medieval English cottages, although they probably had a similar layout—basically, one large room where all household duties (including cooking) took place. Covering could have been of makeshift bark or riven sheathing, while shingled or clapboard roofs, given the abundance of cypress and pine, rather than thatch, probably carried the day. And, contrary to the romantic concept of the Lost Colony through 1920s and 1930s viewpoints, it is unlikely there was any glass; windows, if any, would have had board shutters and little else.¹⁹

The fort itself was on a raised star-shaped berm comparable to a contemporary fort at Cape Rojo, Puerto Rico. In his analysis of the Fort Raleigh site, David Beers Quinn concluded that colonists lived outside of the fort and, since no evidence of a palisade or stockade was found, there was little if any fortification.²⁰ Bricks made on site were found, but it is not clear what they were used for—paths, hearths, or chimneys.²¹

There have been numerous books and essays speculating on the fate of White's colonists, with many conjectural theories as to the empty settlement on his 1590 return and the unfinished "CROATOAN" carving on a tree. Some scholars such as David Beers Quinn and Thomas Parramore theorize settlers migrating to the lower Chesapeake area, possibly even the Albemarle area near Bertie County. Other scholars have the 'Lost Colonists' deeper into Neuse-Pamlico backcountry, near present-day Chocowinity in Beaufort County, or farther

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south into what is now Robeson County.²² Twentieth-century archaeological excavations of the Fort Raleigh site have been inconclusive. Moreover, extensive erosion along the island's North End since 1588 gives credence to maritime archaeologist Gordon Watts' urging that underwater investigation on Roanoke Sound is a path worth pursuing.²³

1600-1699

After Fort Raleigh's failure, the English concentrated in the following half-century on establishing Jamestown, on the James River's north bank, and surrounding settlements along the James and the Chesapeake Bay. Smaller expeditions during this time were Marmaduke Rayner's 1620 visit to Roanoke Island and John Pory's 1622 investigation of the Chowan River's inland area.²⁴ Roanoke Island's patent, along with the Virginia Company land holdings, reverted to the crown in 1624, but, apart from Rayner's brief visit, no intensive explorations or settlements had been made there or thereabouts since 1587. After Charles I assigned a proprietary grant of the province of "Carolana" to Sir Robert Heath in 1629, gradual settlement took place inland, along the Albemarle Sound and its rivers, within the following twenty years.²⁵ During the Interregnum, when Oliver Cromwell was Lord Protectorate of England, Virginia Governor Francis Yeardley continued to venture into pioneer territory, sponsoring a group of fur trappers to trade with the Roanoke Island natives

in 1653. He also observed through reports that small sloops were trading with Native Americans in the Carolina sounds.²⁶

Following the Stuart Restoration in 1660, Charles II awarded eight of his supporters a proprietary grant to Carolina in 1663, the boundaries of which were extended in 1665.²⁷ Under these allies, known as the Lords Proprietors, Roanoke Island and the north Outer Banks were under the jurisdiction of Albemarle County, Currituck Precinct, but the region around the Chowan, Yeopim, and Pasquotank rivers was the target area of settlement at that time.²⁸

Sir John Colleton, one of the Lords Proprietors, also owned a large plantation in Barbados, which in the seventeenth century was a prosperous and thriving mercantile colony.²⁹ He received a grant for an island east of Albemarle Sound, “heretofore called Carlyle now Colleton [Colington] Island,” in 1663. This acquisition may have stemmed from Barbados, in the end, being a small island crowded with plantations and Colleton’s consequent desire to expand his operations in a place where geography was less finite.³⁰ By 1665, the year before Colleton’s death, his agent John Whittie had built a number of buildings on the island, planted crops, and raised livestock to graze the open range.³¹ Peter Carteret, Colleton’s next agent, and a kinsman of Lord Proprietor Sir George Carteret, described Whittie’s house on Colleton Island as a simple frame building twenty feet long.³² The house

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on Colington Island, along with Nathaniel Batts' 1650s house near the Albemarle Sound (in present-day Chowan County), is among North Carolina's first documented residences.

Besides Colleton's settlement, there was also Commander Samuel Stephens' estate on Roanoke Island, where tenants raised livestock from 1662 until 1676. In that year, Stephens' widow and her second husband sold the island to Joshua Lamb of Massachusetts for one hundred pounds sterling, with instructions to "Oust eject and expel any person...pretending any right title or interest thereunto."³³ Lamb, a sharp customer, had been trading with Albemarle farmers, bartering building implements in exchange for tobacco and pork. He, in turn, sold what is now greater Wanchese and Baumtown to another Massachusetts merchant, Nicholas Paige, in 1677, and then the north part of the island to George Pordage, also from New England, in 1690.³⁴ Lamb, Paige, and Pordage hired men to stockraise cattle on Roanoke Island, and probably never visited the place, although Paige's nephew was one of the caretakers.³⁵

But the Currituck Banks and the barrier lands below attracted few seventeenth-century settlers, and emigrants besieged neither Colington nor Roanoke Island. The typical European dweller in these parts varied from caretakers for an absentee landlord, managing the property and tending to the livestock, and hunters venturing south of Virginia's Princess Anne and Norfolk counties, to squatters who, seeing land with no visible owner, staked their

claim. A few individuals obtained grants from the Lords Proprietors for small farms, but they were in the minority.³⁶ The area was also home to a small subset of miscreants escaping authorities in Virginia—runaway servants and “pyrats.”³⁷ The Lords Proprietors became concerned that these fringe settlers might be skimming off valuable resources—shipwreck cargo and timbers, even beached whales—and appointed Robert Houlden appointed as an inspector in 1678, thereby ensuring them a percentage of any “ejections of the sea.”³⁸

Native Americans remained in the area into the early eighteenth century, until the aftermath of the Tuscarora War forced their removal in 1715 to present-day Hyde County, where a community of Mattamuskeet (also known as Machipunga or Wachipunga), Hatteras, and Roanoke peoples lived into the 1760s.³⁹ The Hatteras were descendants of the sixteenth-century Croatoans and, possibly, some of the sixteenth-century English colonists; in 1709 John Lawson remarked on a common Hatteras memory of ancestors who could “talk in a Book” and had gray eyes.⁴⁰ The Poteskeet people, another Native American community, lived along the North River, west of Currituck Sound.⁴¹ But, overall, Native Americans were no longer a developmental force in this area of northeastern North Carolina. One final flare of force came at the end of the Tuscarora War when in 1713 about sixty Coree and Mattamuskeet braves made an attack on Roanoke Island, killing or capturing forty settlers.⁴²

1700-1799

By the eighteenth century, a few residents lived in the Outer Banks' northern section. These included small farmers, tenants taking care of livestock for landowners, fishermen, and fringe society. These settlers generally lived along the sound, rather than on the unforgiving oceanfront, because it gave them shelter from ocean winds and storms, and was a convenient harbor for their boats.⁴³

During this period, although an early attempt to establish towns and a port in 1676 had been unsuccessful, Roanoke Island's potential began to be realized.⁴⁴ The Lords Proprietors, recognizing the advantages of having a northeastern port, decided Roanoke Island's role merited reconsideration. Roanoke Inlet, formed by the mid-seventeenth century, measured between eleven and fifteen feet deep in 1665, a resource that the Precinct's governing body realized could improve Albemarle trade.⁴⁵ In 1703 the Lords Proprietors attempted to revoke Lamb, Pordage, and Paige's charters, ostensibly to have the land for themselves; in reaction two of the three New Englanders hired a Boston attorney, J. Dudley, to appeal their case to the crown.⁴⁶ If the Lords Proprietors had instead offered money, they might have gotten all they desired. In spite of William Byrd's facetious reference to the "saints of New England" whose sloops in the Albemarle "carry off a great deal of tobacco, without troubling themselves with paying that impertinent duty of a penny a pound," the Massachusetts gentlemen were finding absentee landlordship in Carolina cumbersome. First,

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distance from Boston was considerable. Then, there was the inconvenience of recalcitrant tenants, as in the 1701 case of George Pordage's suit against John Lewon; Lewon, his tenant farmer, was charged with not only ignoring his contract to raise cattle and improve his land, but also with barring entrance to any of Pordage's representatives.⁴⁷

Eventually, though gradually, the Massachusetts merchants sold off their Roanoke Island holdings. Lamb sold his quarter interest to Robert Sanders of Boston in 1706. Nicholas Paige sold his one-half interest to Oliver Noyes, also of Boston, shortly afterward, and Belcher Noyes, his son, held title to the land, approximately in what is now the Mill Landing area of Wanchese, into 1785. The younger Noyes hired William Daniel of Massachusetts, himself the progenitor of Wanchese's extensive Daniels family, by the 1720s to be a caretaker of the tract.⁴⁸ It is not clear to whom Pordage sold his portion, but he was no longer a Roanoke Island landowner by the 1740s.

In 1715, the Lords Proprietors were working with Richard Sanderson Jr. of Perquimans County—who by 1730 owned the entire island of Ocracoke in addition to a fleet of ships regularly trading between Carolina and the West Indies—to develop a town on Roanoke Island, Carteret.⁴⁹ According to the plan, Carteret town was to be a 300-acre site, roughly where the present town of Manteo stands today. The Proprietors planned a common, as well as “convenient Squares and places for a Church, Publick Town House and a market

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place.”⁵⁰. By 1723, William Reed and John Lovick, fellow North Carolinians, had joined Sanderson in the enterprise.

Neither the 1715 nor the later attempt in 1723 for a Roanoke Island town took hold. The 1723 attempt was undermined, first by Sanderson’s land deals; with no clear title to any property, he nevertheless sold a 1,500 acre mid-island tract to William Maule in 1722. Then, in contradiction to their 1715 wish to work with Sanderson the Lords Proprietors granted the whole of the island in 1723 to John Lovick. Lovick, who would later be part of the North Carolina delegation to split hairs with William Byrd over the Virginia dividing line, promptly sold his interest in the island to Reed and Sanderson. At this time William Maule, then North Carolina’s Surveyor General, created a map of the island showing local landholdings in 1718. Present-day Dough Creek was called “Town Creek” and Roanoke Sound was “Sanderson’s Channel.” Maule’s map showed other claimants to the island besides Sanderson; in the southeastern section of the island, near Wanchese’s Mill Landing community was a small settlement labeled ‘Orlando Jones Settlement’ and a small concentration of buildings near Skyco.⁵¹ Orlando Jones, a resident of Williamsburg, died the following year and Belcher Noyes had overtaken his settlement by 1729.⁵²

George II bought out all but one of the Lords Proprietors, Carteret (Lord Granville), shortly after the Virginia-North Carolina dividing line was established in 1729. Carteret’s territory,

the Granville District, extended from the Virginia line south to the mid-section of the Mattamuskeet peninsula, including the Albemarle territory and the north Outer Banks. The consequence for the North Outer Banks was that mercantile farming and stockraising continued unabated and talks of a town on Roanoke Island ceased as Ocracoke and Beaufort became primary ports.

After Sanderson's 1733 death, his land holdings, including prospective lots in "Roanoak Town," were sold by his family to William Cathcart, later of Northampton County, North Carolina, who owned the tract into the 1760s.⁵³ Besides the failed town site, Cathcart owned what is presently known as Mother Vineyard, a residential area north of Manteo where many of the older scuppernong vineyards were established.

In the shadow of these merchants and planters, their tenants lived a hardworking existence on the island, raising livestock, caring for their subsistence crops, and fashioning buildings for the respective farms. In 1757 Adam Etheridge (spelled "Everage" in the contract) leased 1,500 acres of land from Cathcart extending from Gibson's Creek [Dough's Creek] westward to Croatan Sound. The agreement, listing buildings, paths, and fencing already in place, was to run until 1771. In the interim, Etheridge was to pay Cathcart a quitrent of three pounds sterling every November, and trees within the tract could be cut only if specifically used for the plantation and/or for an on-site building. Etheridge and his family were also

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expected, if the agreement was not renewed, to leave the premises amicably and not take down any buildings; the penalty otherwise would be a fifty-pound fine.⁵⁴ Cathcart, apparently having seen what could go wrong in such a situation, wanted to make sure that any trees cut by Etheridge would go to the benefit of his plantation and not wind up as money out of his own pocket. Cathcart also wanted the full benefit of Etheridge's labors, which included any improvements on his farm by Etheridge not being removed.⁵⁵

Other tenants and small landowners, with surnames that became prevalent in the Currituck Banks and North Outer Banks, were gaining a foothold in the region. In the eighteenth century's first quarter, Matthew Midget, probably a first or second generation member of French Huguenots settling the North Carolina coast, was living at Bodies Island, between Roanoke Inlet and another inlet north of present day Oregon Inlet.⁵⁶ Richard Etheridge, who settled at Kitty Hawk Bay before 1750, was living on a farm locally known as "Whale House."⁵⁷ In 1761, a Roanoke Island survey map devised by John Clayton for William Cathcart referred to Gibson's Creek as "Does Bay" for the Dough family. Other surnames along the Currituck Banks, Roanoke Island, and the North Dare Banks included Baum, Ashby or Ashbee, and Mann, in addition to William Daniel at the south end of Roanoke Island.⁵⁸

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These settlers built in the “hammocks”, the hilly wooded areas facing the soundside, where successive generations continued to build, rather than near the oceanfront.⁵⁹ Early dwellings have not survived but from what is known of contemporary architecture in Virginia’s Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, as well as North Carolina’s Albemarle region, it is safe to assume that rudimentary frame buildings of post-in-ground construction initially housed these “Bankers” well into the eighteenth century. Such houses generally had dirt floors, little protection from the elements, and, because of the posts, were vulnerable to rot and termites. Although none survive on the Outer Banks, a few remain elsewhere, mostly in remnants. Log construction, whether or not hewn, was another quick solution to erecting a house where there were few artisans.⁶⁰ Following vernacular patterns brought over from England and further adapted to a new habitat, these houses, from contemporary examples elsewhere, were either a one-room dwelling where all activities occurred, or a hall and parlor plan house.⁶¹ More modest forms of shelter still prevailed into the eighteenth century’s second quarter. William Byrd described such a hut north of New Currituck Inlet “covered with bark after the Indian fashion” where a settler and his common-law wife lived.⁶²

Colonial Currituck Bankers and their compatriots along Roanoke Sound built boats as humble as their houses. They fashioned “kunnners” by splitting cypress logs and hollowing them, then joining them together with timber planks positioned between each log end. The resulting vessel was a rounded, flat-bottom boat that handled shallow water well and,

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because of the lack of metal in its joining parts, was remarkably buoyant. Some watermen attached a sail for faster travel. This became the northern Outer Banks' primary watercraft for well into the nineteenth-century, used by white and African American fishermen alike.⁶³ Periaugers, larger than kunnners, were built either from planks or hollowed logs and also a frequent sight in the eighteenth century. From surviving accounts, periaugers were excellent workboats that traversed easily in the shallow sounds and open water. Victims of their quotidian part within the maritime landscape, when periaugers vanished from the scene, probably as gradually as Alice's Cheshire Cat, there were few records concerning them and their appearance. The closest approximation is that periaugers may have been a forerunner of the modern shad boat, sharing its rounded flat bottom and a wide stern.⁶⁴ The boatwrights who made periaugers and kunnners were most likely the closest thing the north Outer Banks had to carpenters or joiners.

Timber was frequently acquired from shipwrecks, but usually in a non-violent manner. Dunbar notes that there are few documented cases, in spite of romantic legend, of out-and-out piracy among the locals; Bankers did raid a British ship that ran aground between Roanoke and Currituck Inlets in 1696, and appropriated goods from a French ship off Roanoke Inlet in 1778. The Bankers probably operated, much as they would in the nineteenth century, within gray areas of ethics; if a ship wrecked, after a subjectively decent (if short) interval when nothing was claimed, ship's timbers and goods were suddenly

picked clean, resurfacing as framing for a building or elsewhere.⁶⁵ Or, as a published 1794 vendue announcement shows, there were salvage auctions, often directly at the shipwreck site, with sale proceeds benefiting the ship owners, and underwriters.⁶⁶ But David Stick notes in *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* that even the vendue masters could not always control salvage, given that communication of shipwrecks happened in relative slowness to “ejections of the sea”. When a Spanish brigantine foundered in August 1796, locals took away cargo before the wreck commissioner could intervene.⁶⁷

Most of North Carolina’s Revolutionary War maritime skirmishes took place at Ocracoke Inlet and parts south. New Currituck Inlet, Roanoke Inlet, and other thoroughfares north of Ocracoke were too shallow for the British ships to enter. Roanoke Inlet and Croatan Sound were undergoing great change, as the former was quickly closing and latter, with water from Albemarle Sound suddenly rushing through, was losing the marshy wetlands where people were said to have once walked from Roanoke Island to the mainland.⁶⁸ The region’s naval instability, however, was an asset to the patriots, as it kept the British from invading their territory.⁶⁹ Local men who served in the colonial militia included John Jarvis, Legrand Whitehall, John Mann, Enoch Daniel, and Samuel Midgett. Dennis Dauge [Dough], Captain of the company based between Currituck and Roanoke Inlets, successfully repelled a group of foraging Redcoats on the Banks in 1776.⁷⁰ Most of the action in this region was keeping a lookout for Britishers coming ashore to butcher livestock; therefore, the Outer Banks militia

was declared exempt from active duty away from home.⁷¹ The closest the area came to combat was when two galleys carrying approximately sixty men in each, sailed into Croatan Sound in 1780 before quickly exiting.⁷²

The end of the war also brought an end to the absentee landlord network on the Currituck Banks, the North Banks, and Roanoke Island. Many landowners, possibly to recoup losses from the war, were eager to sell their tracts to the farmers who had patiently raised cattle and tilled soil for decades. Joseph Mann, a Tyrrell County resident, sold Adam Etheridge's son, Jesse, a 150-acre tract on Roanoke Island's North End containing a dwelling house and outbuildings. Mann stipulated in their deed that, although he was the "true Sole and Lawful Owner" of the land, he would pay Jesse Etheridge and his heirs one thousand pounds if any successful contenders to the land were to appear.⁷³ One absentee landowner, Samuel Johnston of Hayes Plantation near Edenton, had bought his tract from William Cathcart before the war and still owned it as late as 1787.⁷⁴ Johnston, as chairman of the Raleigh Canal Company, was behind a movement to reopen Roanoke Inlet, which would have aided him as well as other Albemarle region planters. However, the Raleigh Canal Company's venture ultimately failed. Ocracoke and Portsmouth had become the pre-eminent hubs of commerce in the region, leaving the Currituck Banks, the North Banks, and Roanoke Island a backwater for much of the 1800s.⁷⁵

II. Community Growth and Architectural Development, 1811-1903

1811-1862

During the nineteenth century's first sixty-two years, life on the Currituck Banks, North Banks, and Roanoke Island changed very little from what it had been before. With government closer at hand (even though it was still not a pervasive presence in everyday life), there was more economic stability. Moreover, the generations of squatters and tenant farmers slowly acquired small and not-so-small farms in addition to their traditional pursuits of fishing and stockraising.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, occupations along the north Outer Banks began to be increasingly defined by location, and communities became more established. Whereas in Roanoke Island nearly all the inhabitants listed themselves as farmers, dwellers in Kitty Hawk engaged in farming and stockraising, and other inhabitants along the Banks were fishermen.⁷⁶ Settlements grew along Kitty Hawk Bay and Colington Island, and sixteen tracts were recorded as being acquired along Jean Guite Creek.⁷⁷

By 1811, the fledgling national and state governments had created legislation aiding the Bankers, and their concrete forms were present in the early nineteenth-century maritime landscape. These began with mandates for lighthouses at Bald Head, Cape Hatteras, and

Shell Castle between 1783 and 1794; Cape Hatteras was the last of the three lighthouses to be completed, in place by 1802.⁷⁸ The Dismal Swamp Canal, which was to improve transport between the Albemarle region and Norfolk, was completed in 1805, but had a limited effect on local commerce; the 1850s Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, a less cumbersome and safer route, was yet to come.⁷⁹

Both Methodist and Baptist preachers had been making their way out to the sand barriers and islands through the eighteenth century, finding favorable reception in some areas. “I have met with a degree of Friendship,” wrote Methodist missionary Henry Metcalf in 1783, “from Mr. Saml. Midyett on Roanok [sic.] Island, as also from Cap. Jacob Farrow and his brother Hezikiah, but Mr. Payne has behaved with coldness.”⁸⁰ Although the Methodist Church had seven churches in Currituck County by the mid-nineteenth century, none of them were on the North Banks, Currituck Banks, or Roanoke Island.⁸¹

The first known church in the north Outer Banks (and, for decades, the only church) was the Roanoke Island Baptist Church, built at the island’s North End in 1808. Roanoke Island Baptist Church’s original strain of Baptist persuasion is not known; however, a perusal of their late nineteenth-century records, which stress that new members were to present themselves of their own accord and not be proselytized, suggests that they began as Primitive Baptists.⁸² In 1850 it was one of five Baptist churches in Currituck County. No

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images or documentation survive of this first Baptist meeting house, but the second meeting house built on site (circa 1886), deemed similar to the first, suggests a plain frame building with separate entrances for men and women.

That the Roanoke Island Baptist Church was built inland, at least beyond a quarter-mile of a shoreline, indicates that islanders were developing more roads connecting farms and small settlements. Permanent area farms by 1820 included Arthur Etheridge and Daniel Etheridge's farmsteads in the island's northwestern part. Heirs of Adam Etheridge II (son of the "Adam Everage" who was a colonial tenant farmer) owned the land around Etheridge Point, which eroded in the nineteenth century, and a John Dowdie lived near the Fort Raleigh site.⁸³ Along Roanoke Sound stood Adam Etheridge III's farmstead, which the 1820 Fulton Map indicates contained four buildings on the site. Below Adam Etheridge III, Maurice (also known as Morris or Mauris) Baum's Mother Vineyard farm had three buildings, as did Daniel Baum's farm immediately south. Other Roanoke Island residents shown on the Fulton Map were Wilson Sawyer, Joseph Midgett, and James Barnett on Shallowbag Bay, roughly where downtown Manteo presently stands; John Weskitt (Wescott), Abel Beazley, and Henry Beazley were on the west side of the island, near Pork Point.⁸⁴

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Across Roanoke Sound, the Fulton Map showed settlement along Nags Head's sound side, north of the proposed inlet to replace Roanoke Inlet. Anne Best's farm, positioned at what is now the south edge of Nags Head Woods, had three buildings; to the south were Josiah Best's two buildings, Daniel Williams' farmstead, and that of the Widow Dough. Closer to an elevation marked "Nags Head", was John Hassell's farmstead containing three buildings. No human habitation appeared further south on the section of the barrier depicted, nor on the small islands in Roanoke Sound where the Roanoke Embankment was proposed to run.⁸⁵

The Roanoke Embankment venture, as part of state senator Archibald Murphey's internal improvements plan, was a second attempt to open the northern Albemarle and Outer Banks to trade. Roanoke Inlet, unusable for decades, had finally closed in 1811 and there was concern at the time that Ocracoke Inlet might be closing as well, increasing the urgency for action.⁸⁶ Murphey, like many authorities of the time, assumed that Roanoke Inlet closed because water from the Albemarle and its tributaries had shifted to Croatan Sound. Fulton's 1820 plan for North Carolina's Board of Internal Improvements was to create embankments on Croatan and Roanoke sounds thereby forcing a new inlet. His cost estimate for the work was over two million dollars, however, and the state and Federal governments balked at such an expense.⁸⁷ When New Currituck Inlet closed in 1828 and there were no immediate inlets to Roanoke Island, Ocracoke became the only official port north of Beaufort and south of Norfolk for a time.⁸⁸

Architecture, and Context, 1811-1861

It was at this time—the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century, that the earliest buildings in the north Outer Banks surviving to the present day were constructed.⁸⁹ The three dwellings, all of which are on Roanoke Island's North End, have undergone alterations in their nearly two hundred years of existence; one has been moved at least three times. But all three continue to possess intrinsic elements, structural and decorative, that speak volumes about this building period on Roanoke Island and probably elsewhere on the Currituck Banks and North Dare Banks, where no architecture of this period has survived.

These three houses would have been in the top echelon of Outer Banks early nineteenth-century dwellings. But, compared to houses on the mainland, an outsider would have seen all of them, except perhaps the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House, as primitive, much the way General Ambrose Burnside's assistant Daniel Larned saw Roanoke Island dwellings in 1862:

“The houses are all poor, but large—nothing but clapboards & Shingles. . . . The best place I have seen yet, and one that comes the nearest to civilization was in the middle of the woods. It was a two story house, two rooms on each floor, & no walls or lathing—only the rough beams—every window had over half the panes broken out. A man with three children lived there. They were the strangest looking beings I ever saw. . . . I saw two or three doves—some poor cattle. . . . Yet this man is considered a rich man.”⁹⁰

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Sited on a slope overlooking the Blackhall Bay of Croatan Sound, the frame dwelling known as Meekins Anchorage is, at its altered core, a two-story side-gable dwelling, its original elements rendered in the Federal style. Although it was extended in the 1850s, 1880s, 1940s, and more recently, it retains original elements. At the west and south elevations are molded two-part window surrounds, ghost marks of the original exterior end brick chimney, and sections of beaded weatherboard. The house's original form has been maintained to a degree; the wide shed roof porch, its rafters incorporated into the house's frame, is still in place at the west elevation, although it has replacement posts and is screened. The house initially followed a hall-parlor plan. In the 1850s, a two-story ell with shed porches was added at the main block's east end, then enclosed by the mid-twentieth century. In this section are wide Greek Revival style chair rails and baseboards. If the house had any plastered walls, they were removed by the 1890s and replaced with manufactured beaded board sheathing. From 1920s documentary photographs, it is known that the ell's porches had flush sheathing along their walls. One surviving antebellum outbuilding is the handsome side-gable frame smokehouse with its original board-and-batten door and iron strap hinges. It is the only early nineteenth-century outbuilding known to exist in the survey area.

During at least half of the nineteenth century the Meekins Anchorage farmstead extended as far east as Roanoke Island Baptist Church. According to the family, original owner Edward Mann built the house between 1803 and 1810. His daughter, Esther ("Easter"), married

Daniel Meekins, but was a widow for much of her lifetime.⁹¹ She was a capable manager of her land and resources, her real estate value coming to \$400.00 in 1850, a high figure for Roanoke Island.⁹² In 1860 she and her two sons farmed twenty-five acres with the help of a horse, an ox and eleven enslaved Africans; 200 bushels of corn, 10 bushels of peas and beans, 150 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 15 bushels of irish potatoes were the result.

The other dwelling, the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House, may have originally stood at Weir Point, near or on the Arthur Etheridge site, or on the Roanoke Sound near the present Elizabethan Gardens.⁹³ Photographs taken of the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House before its early 1940s move and successive alterations show a two-story, three-bay timber frame side-gable dwelling with one-story flush-sheathed front and rear porches. These porches were sheltered at each elevation by a wide shed roof, its rafters integrated into the framing of the house; as such, it could be said to be a variant of an engaged porch. The original porch roof did not survive the 1940s move, nor did the house's handsome double paved shoulder exterior end chimney, with its unusual common-bond pattern at the lower shoulder. But other elements did survive, including raised six-panel doors, molding trim of earlier nineteenth-century vintage, flush sheathing at the front façade's porch, and flanking two-part molded window surrounds.⁹⁴ The 1940 photographs reveal that instead of an exterior end chimney at the opposite gable there was a side-gable entrance, possibly indicating a side dependency such as a kitchen.⁹⁵ Drinkwater and his descendants altered the interiors by first

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removing a downstairs partition wall and adding sheetrock. According to the family, the house originally followed a center hall plan. Although the Drinkwaters made many alterations, they saved the house's two transitional Georgian-Federal mantelpieces that further establish its 1815-1825 building date, as well as an enclosed staircase off the hall with a plain rail balustrade and simple newel at the upper story. The exterior walls were plastered by the twentieth century but partition walls and ceilings were beaded board.⁹⁶

Given the relatively short space from 1815 to 1847, it is possible that some of the same carpenters who built the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House also worked on Adam Dough Etheridge's 1847-1851 house, situated west of his father's Roanoke Island farmstead. Restored to its original appearance in 2001, the Adam Dough Etheridge I House (**DR 102**), a two-story, single-pile dwelling, constructed of hewn and pit-sawn timber, is a plainer version of the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House. Instead of plaster walls and beaded board partitions, however, there was no lathing or plastering in the Etheridge House. The outside weatherboards, both sides of the flush beaded cypress porch walls at the west and east elevations, and interior framing such as the down-braced corners were whitewashed. Upstairs, there is no trace of whitewash; as it was private space, it may never have been painted. The house followed a center hall plan identical to the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House, also with a box stair off the hall, and had a side entrance at its south room. Window surrounds are plain, and the house's spacious unfinished attic has a small original window

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with a sliding lower sash at each gable end. These most likely were intended for ventilation rather than indicating any living space in the attic, as the reciprocal and circular-sawn floorboards were never secured.

A shed porch, its rafters notched into the second floor framing, shelters the front and rear elevations. Off these porches at the house's north end were small enclosed rooms, or "porch chambers" that were entered from the north room, where the principal hearth was located. As with Meekins Anchorage and the Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House, the porches' support posts have not survived. The original detached kitchen may have been at the house's south elevation, a short walk from the side door. After 1865 the Etheridges built a one-story rear kitchen later incorporated into a two-story rear ell (removed in 2000); elements of the kitchen's framing was clearly from an earlier building. Whitewash traces also remained on earlier framing.⁹⁷

These landowners had few grand possessions, and what they had for the most part served to run their farming or fishing operations. Benjamin Baum's 1837 probate inventory lists among his effects a canoe, a gun, a seine, or fishing net, two nets of unknown type, a clock, looking glass, and a "Beaufat" (cupboard). Baum also owned a set of carpenter tools, a cobbler's bench, a loom, and a saddle. His livestock included four horses, twenty-five cattle, ten sheep, and at least twenty-five swine. No slaves are listed.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Mauris

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Baum's will, proven in 1840, gave his wife, son, and one of his daughters the pick of his horses and "negroes"; his wife was also to have her choice of Baum's boats.⁹⁹ Slaves were expensive commodities and, for the most part, rare on the Outer Banks except on Roanoke Island where, even there, they were few in number. One Etheridge sold four slaves to various family members in 1805, ranging from \$300.00 for "one Negro Boy called March" to \$50.00 for "one Negro girl Tinah."¹⁰⁰

North Bankers who owned slaves were a minority. In what is now the area between Duck and Kitty Hawk, Ivey Dowdy "owned" two African Americans, a boy and girl, in 1840. Warner Sawyer, who lived near Paul Gamiels Hill, had an African American woman, who was free, in his household in that year, and Daniel Baum, who lived near present-day Corolla, had one free black child in his household.¹⁰¹

Stockraising continued to be a major livelihood in the north Outer Banks. During Edmund Ruffin's 1856 survey of the Outer Banks, he noted large numbers of free-range cattle and sheep in the marshland along Currituck Sound. Other than the profit they would receive when they sold their wool and cows at market, the Currituck Bankers subsisted on a diet of corn and sweet potatoes. Ruffin the great agriculturalist commented "for [sweet potatoes] the soil is peculiarly well adapted."¹⁰² Cattle were branded not with irons, but by nicks and holes punched in the ears, and respective livestock owners could recognize a neighbor's cow

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by a quick look.¹⁰³ Roanoke Islanders like Adam Etheridge III sent their cattle over to graze at Bodie Island, buying land for that express purpose.¹⁰⁴ Besides stockraising, the barrier land was also used for market gunning whereby thousands of ducks and geese, slaughtered by locals, were shipped to markets in Norfolk and points north. Currituck Sound, closed from the ocean since 1828, was then in the grip of a new ecosystem of freshwater growth and, supposedly, waterfowl markedly increased in numbers there after the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵

There is little documentation about the fishing industry in this area before the Civil War, but records such as probate inventories, in addition to casual references to shipping shad to the Northeast, indicate it to have been a reasonably lucrative business for the locals.¹⁰⁶ In addition to Benjamin Baum's fishing implements in his 1837 probate inventory, other residents had a variety of fishing accoutrements including mullet nets, seine rope, spy glasses, oyster tongs, and various kunnors and skiffs.¹⁰⁷ They sailed to the mainland, and probably Ocracoke and Portsmouth Island to trade their piscatorial commerce for other goods, such as sawn lumber and another extra quantities of corn to grind on their windmills at home.¹⁰⁸ By 1850, four windmills stood on Roanoke Island and the North Banks, two of which were on Roanoke Island, one in the Kitty Hawk vicinity, and one in the vicinity of present-day Duck.¹⁰⁹

By 1850, Roanoke Island, the North Banks, and the Currituck Banks had a total population of 1,186 people, nearly a third of the total population of North Carolina's Outer Banks. The North Banks had the lowest population of slaves, at thirty; at 168, Roanoke Island had the highest.¹¹⁰ White occupations listed included "Seaman, Carpenter, Farmer, Sailor, Merchant (one), Shoemaker (one), Blacksmith (one), and Clergyman (one)."¹¹¹ In that year, Roanoke Island resident John B. Etheridge was listed as keeper of the new lighthouse at Bodie Island; the lighthouse itself, because of miscalculations to the base, listed slightly to the east but its construction was nonetheless a major event for the North Banks.¹¹²

Roanoke Island's south end fishing community was growing as well; the final copy of Lieutenant William Franklin's 1851 and 1852 survey maps marked at least twenty-one buildings, probably three-quarters of which were dwellings. North of the settlement was a windmill, and Meekins Mill (which may have been another windmill) at Broad Creek. There was also a school and church in the settlement, sited dead-center in what would become the village of Wanchese. According to longtime residents, the church was Methodist, sited north of where the present Bethany Methodist Church now stands. Some of Wanchese's current streets—E. R. Daniels Road, running parallel with the old waterfront, Old Wharf Road to the northwest, and Mill Landing Road—were virtually in place in 1852. E. R. Daniels Road's streetscape included small docks and canals leading from respective homes to Oyster Creek. Likewise, Pugh Landing and Davis Landing were already in place, as was Baum

Landing at Baum Creek, the farmstead of Samuel Baum (DR 516). At the island's southeasternmost tip were "Indian Shell Banks" left from a century or more.¹¹³ Family cemeteries—Daniels, Davis, Pugh, Hooker—were already sited at various locations near landings; some with distinctive scroll-top marble grave markers brought by boat from Norfolk.

Another antebellum area of growth was Nags Head, just across Roanoke Sound. However, growth was strictly during the summer, as it was developed solely as a resort. In the 1830s, a Perquimans County planter, Francis Nixon, built a cottage there to move his family away from the malarial inland summer. This was, as scholars such as David Stick have noted, not the first time mainlanders had visited the Outer Banks for their healthful waters and fresh air, but it was the first time one bought a 200-acre tract and subdivided it for fellow planters. These landowners for the most part hailed from Bertie, Perquimans, Chowan, and Pasquotank counties, and a few Virginians were in their midst.¹¹⁴ The Albemarle gentry, packing livestock, servants, and supplies onto schooners, would sail to Nags Head for the summer, and vegetables would be supplied on a regular basis from home. At the off-shore landing, boats would be waiting to row visitors to the sandy shore where, on a small ridge, cottages faced the sound. In addition to the planters' unplastered shingled cottages with their wide piazzas and sheltering live oaks, small hotels catered to the more transient vacationers.¹¹⁵ The Nags Head Hotel first opened in 1838, undergoing successive changes in

management before 1850 when A. J. Bateman and A. Riddick bought the establishment, added porches to the seaside elevation, and arranged for steamboat transport for visitors from as far away as Franklin, Virginia.¹¹⁶ Neither the Nags Head Hotel nor the older cottages have survived; the very first resort cottages were taken out by a migratory sand dune within twenty years of their construction.¹¹⁷ All Saints Church, a chapel of ease for Episcopalian visitors consecrated in 1849, was torn down in 1862 by the invading Union Army, its elements reused as shelter for slaves fleeing the mainland to Federal protection on the Outer Banks. The hotel was also demolished at that time.¹¹⁸

1862-1870

The Civil War affected the North Banks and Roanoke Island profoundly, ending obscurity for this remote backwater, although it remained undeveloped and an anachronism in most ways until the early twentieth century. Federal troops gradually took hold of the Outer Banks from the summer of 1861 until February 1862, when they captured Roanoke Island on February 8. This was achieved with the partial assistance of Thomas Robinson, a young African American whose knowledge of the island stemmed from his being the slave of ship carpenter Joseph Daniel.¹¹⁹ General Ambrose Burnside and his men quickly turned the three Confederate forts on the island, all on Croatan Sound, to their own purposes. During the month he remained on Roanoke Island, Burnside is said to have lived in a two-story frame

dwelling on Pork Point, a house still standing at the turn of the twentieth century. The two-bay, two-story center section, which had a small shed roof front porch, was flanked by a one-story side extension.¹²⁰ Other preexisting appropriated buildings included “Mann’s House” on the island’s northeast shore, used for a hospital. A March 1862 map, published in *Harper’s Weekly*, depicted a fort on newly-opened Oregon Inlet’s north shore, a screwpile lighthouse in Croatan Sound, and no road along the barrier peninsula except north of Nags Head.¹²¹

Occupation of the Banks encompassed the well-meaning and petty as only wartime can. Union soldiers, roaming the island, raided foodstuffs from island inhabitants but also bought shad from them, which, to the soldiers’ delight, was quite affordable.¹²² Union troops prowled the Fort Raleigh site, some digging into the remaining embankment and defacing it so substantially that an infuriated Walter Dough, who then owned the land, issued a formal complaint.¹²³ Before Burnside left Roanoke Island, he appointed Vincent Collyer to manage the growing number of African Americans escaping from the mainland and settling in encampments on the island and other Union-occupied areas in North Carolina. Collyer’s initial job was to use the escaped slaves to build earthwork forts on the island, and in New Bern, and Washington, North Carolina. But the number of African American or “contrabands of war” coming to Roanoke Island did not cease. In addition to the approximately 500 slaves known to be in the Outer Banks by the mid-nineteenth century,

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there was also a community of twenty-four free blacks on Roanoke Island by 1860, most of whom, if not children, worked either as servants for white families or as fishermen. These longtime residents, combined with the few African American North Bankers and Roanoke Island's 171 slaves in 1860, were quickly swallowed up by the influx of more than 1,000 contraband within two months of Union occupation.¹²⁴ By 1863, the population issue on Roanoke Island was quite serious, so much so that North Carolina's Federal Superintendent of Blacks, the Rev. Horace James, was sent to the island to create a colony for these dispossessed persons. James seized unoccupied land at the island's North End, mainly to the west, and with the assistance of laborers surveyed and divided the parcel into fifty blocks of neatly gridded streets. The contrabands cleared the lots and built 591 houses within a year.¹²⁵ The houses might have been constructed sooner, but for a shortage of nails.¹²⁶ James later insisted that the Freedmen's Colony was intended only as a way station, a place for the contrabands to become self-sufficient, learn to read, and return to the mainland as self-sufficient. But James is also cited as insisting that the former slaves were to own their dwellings outright. James is further documented as not only misleading the Freedmen that the land was also theirs, but also encouraging the government to buy the entire island to settle the African Americans there permanently, which proved an unsuccessful scheme.¹²⁷

James did however establish security for Roanoke Island's contraband. The Freedmen's houses, as seen in period newspaper illustrations, were one-story and made from logs with

riven clapboards or shingles as covering. Many had mud and stick chimneys as was common for poor whites and slaves. James also instituted a number of programs on the island to help the contrabands, and opened the door to other aid-related societies. Pre-existing dwellings, in that effort, were appropriated, such as when the American Missionary Association and the National Freedman's Relief Association set up schools on Roanoke Island, commandeering Esther Meekins' former Sunnyside home as a dormitory for teachers. The shad fishery that James set up never prospered, but the steam sawmill he acquired for the colony finally arrived in February 1864 and, once assembled, was in service by September.¹²⁸ By 1865, newer houses in the Freedmen's village had two rooms, an attic, and a wide porch; as one occupant noted, it was possible to dress and not bump one's head against the ceiling.¹²⁹

Although no buildings from the Freedmen's Colony are known to survive, later nineteenth-century African American houses in the California community are clearly built in their tradition. These type of dwellings, commonly referred to as "story and a jump" houses, were of simple balloon frame construction whereby the house's studs, instead of rising just to the plate, were joined directly at the building's eave. Floor joists were then nailed or tenoned into the studs. The "jump" section of the house had diminutive windows and, although one could barely stand straight in these upper stories due to their low ceilings, they could be utilized as additional sleeping space. Often seen in mill villages, these houses were economical multi-storied dwellings for people of limited means and, in Manteo, were

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constructed by African Americans well into the twentieth century. The Paul Midgett House (DR 61) on Burnside Road, constructed in the nineteenth century's last quarter, is a particularly fine example of this type, given that it retains its front porch wall of wide, flush horizontal beaded boards. Other examples of African American "story and a jump" houses are still in evidence in Manteo's California community and along Sir Walter Raleigh Street west of U. S. Highway 64/264.

At the end of the war there were approximately 3,500 African Americans on the island. Within two months of taking office, President Andrew Johnson issued an Amnesty Proclamation, opening the door to Confederates (and "Southern Bystanders") reclaiming property lost during the war provided they take an Oath of Allegiance. The colony and encampments had extended to 1,114 acres, and local farmers—Baums, Berrys, Doughs, Etheridges, Gaylords, Wescotts, and Midgetts—eventually pressed their claims. The first was Isaac Meekins, Esther Meekins' son, who insisted his family's property at Sunnyside, where teacher housing and schools stood, be given to him; Meekins received his family homestead in October 1866. Many African Americans reluctantly left Roanoke Island by 1867, decreasing the former contraband population to 950 people. The sawmill was sold and moved forty miles downriver of New Bern. And the physical Freedmen's Colony, as established by James, then gradually vanished as completely as had the Lost Colony, when trees returned to the exposed terrain and farms were eventually restored by landowners.¹³⁰

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The remaining African Americans moved a short distance south of the former Freedmen's Colony. By the 1890s, this settled area was called California. Andrew Cartwright, a charismatic African American missionary, preached in the area during the 1860s and 1870s before sailing to Liberia to spread the word. During Cartwright's time on Roanoke Island, the Good Hope A. M. E. Zion Church, the site of which is now a memorial garden (DR 60), was constructed.¹³¹ Shortly afterward in 1865, another African American congregation, Haven Creek Baptist Church, was formed. A documentary photograph from the late nineteenth century shows one of the churches as a weatherboarded front-gable building, quite plain, with paired entrances, a small steeple, a friezeboard to give the entrance a temple front appearance, and two-over-two double-hung sash windows lighting the side elevations. The congregation, many of whom were children, numbered over sixty. In the photograph, children and adults are wearing their Sunday best, posed proudly on the church's front steps.¹³²

The occupational forces noted the Bankers as "a hard looking set of critters." Poverty was such that, in addition to lost land and struggles with eroding soil, there was no leather for horses' bridles, just rope and wood.¹³³ But by the end of the Freedmen's Colony and the withdrawal of Union occupation, the economic outlook brightened. In 1870, Hodges Gallop, who owned 900 acres at Martin's Point and present-day Southern Shores, farmed his 100

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cultivated acres with two horses and four oxen, yielding 150 bushels of corn, fifty bushels of irish potatoes, and 500 bushels sweet potatoes. His livestock, including twenty-five cattle, seventy-five sheep, and thirty swine, was \$1,000.00 in value and, at \$2,000.00, his farm was the North Banks' most valuable.¹³⁴

Roanoke Island farmsteads, recovering from the years of occupation, were nearly at the standard of ten years' before in 1870. Samuel Baum's farmstead, sited north of present-day Wanchese, increased its operations from 1860. Baum's farm value rose to \$1,500.00 from \$1,000.00 and his farm production value in 1870 was \$600.00, a fairly solid sum. In terms of produce, Baum cultivated most of the crops he had in 1860—corn and sweet potatoes—adding a small amount of irish potatoes but leaving off peas and beans. On the North End, Esther Meekins' son, Isaac, cultivated twenty acres of the family's Sunnyside farm, raising 100 bushels of corn (100 bushels less than in 1860), fifteen bushels of irish potatoes, and 150 bushels sweet potatoes. Meekins also raised five bushels of oats in 1870. His livestock increased to seven horses, seven cows, five oxen, 25 other cattle, and 20 swine.¹³⁵

In 1870, four shad fish houses emerged at the south part of Roanoke Island, including Davis & Co., founded by Isaac Davis, a longtime Wanchese merchant.¹³⁶ Two years later, J. W. Etheridge of Manteo in partnership with D. T. Church of Tiverton, Rhode Island, had a fish oil manufactory on the island that continued in operation into the 1880s.¹³⁷

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1871-1903

The creation of Dare County in 1870 was a spur to development and local pride. Houses and stores began emerging along Shallowbag Bay, which was unofficially known as Manteo until its official 1899 incorporation. Manteo received its first post office in 1873. By that time, business was accelerating in the new town, leading to nine general stores on the island in 1877. Roanoke Island was turning away from stockraising and toward fishing, thanks to increased steamboat service and northern markets vying for Outer Banks fish and oysters; by 1900, commercial fishing accounted for sixty percent of the area economy.¹³⁸

Community progress and development was also reflected in organized religion's growing presence. Three Methodist ministers, William Hays, William Cox, and Isaac O' Neal, were based on Roanoke Island to serve Manteo and Wanchese, as well as the mainland parishioners at East Lake, and Stumpy Point. George Baum, an African American pastor, preached at Haven Creek Baptist Church. Although they did not rebuild the meeting house burned by the Union Army until 1886, the Roanoke Island Baptist Church continued to operate.¹³⁹

Across the water, Nags Head recovered from the Civil War. Cottages and a hotel were rebuilt, and property owners began moving their summer dwellings from soundside to oceanfront.¹⁴⁰ Warren Burgess opened a hotel further south at Oregon Inlet, which continued to operate into the 1880s, but, unlike Nags Head, there was no resort development associated with it.¹⁴¹

To the north, Kitty Hawk was undergoing a period of growth due to the convergence of commercial fishing, the longtime practice of market gunning for Northeastern delectation, and the U. S. Life-Saving Service (USLSS), which was building small frame stations along North Carolina's coast in the 1870s and 1880s. Kitty Hawk's original lifesaving station, a Stick Style front-gable building constructed in 1874, was one of the first in the state. Now a restaurant, the 1874 lifesaving station has been altered but retains some of its original features such as decorative trussing, kingposts and vergeboard, triangular eaves brackets with jigsaw decoration, and board-and-batten details. Within four years, Kitty Hawk established a post office and by 1884 was something of a boomtown in the North Banks. Besides the Baum & Sadler Wheelwright and Blacksmith firm, two Baums worked as fish dealers, and Decatur Beacham dealt in livestock (he is also listed in census records as a fisherman). H. W. Beasley, T. L. Daniels, and D. M. Tate, operated general stores which would have been patronized by residents of present-day Duck, Sanderling, and possibly

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Corolla. None of these later nineteenth century commercial buildings are known to have survived.

In the meantime, the USLSS and the United States Lighthouse Bureau (USLHB) were transforming regional economic opportunities. Previously confined to a career of subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting, with the occasional “progging” expedition along the shore to salvage washed-up lumber and other gifts from the sea, Outer Banks men suddenly had other options.* There were only a few lighthouses in the area—Cape Hatteras had been completed in 1870, Bodie Island Lighthouse, demolished during the Civil War, was rebuilt in 1872, and the Roanoke Marshes screwpile lighthouse, positioned over Roanoke Sound, had been in service from the mid-nineteenth century. However, Currituck Beach Lighthouse, attributed to Dexter Stetson who also designed and built Bodie Island Lighthouse and the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, was constructed between 1874 and 1875 in Whales Head, a Currituck Banks community in the shadow of the eponymous migratory dune. The Croatan (also known as Long Shoals) screwpile lighthouse was built in Croatan Sound off the waterside village of Mashoes in the 1880s.

During the construction of these lighthouses, as David Stick has noted, many Bankers were employed as carpenters, and after they were built local businessmen were awarded contracts

* “Progging” was a local term for beachcombing.

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to keep the fuel coming to power the Fresnel lights. Then, too, when the new life-saving stations were built at Jones' Hill (Whales Head), Caffrey's Inlet, Kitty Hawk, Nags Head and Tommy's Hummock (renamed Bodie Island Life-Saving Station by the turn of the century), it was only natural that local men, who knew the treacherous shoals, shipwrecks, and inlets, would be hired to run them.¹⁴² Little John Pugh of Wanchese was Bodie Island's 1870s lighthouse keeper; Edward Drinkwater, who grew up in John Midgett's Roanoke Island household, was the Bodie Island Life-Saving Station Keeper between 1875 and 1876, until he moved on to the Seatack Life-Saving Station in Virginia Beach. One of Drinkwater's Bodie Island surfmen was Richard Etheridge, a young African American who had been born a slave in the Roanoke Island home of John B. Etheridge, the antebellum Bodie Island Lighthouse Keeper. Richard Etheridge, literate and more capable than the average Outer Banker, served in one of the Freedmen's brigades organized by Colonel Edward A. Wild before returning home in 1866 to farm and fish. After some years of serving on "checkerboard" crews (so named because early life-saving stations had African American and white surfmen), Richard Etheridge became the keeper of the Pea Island Life-Saving Station from 1880 until his death in 1900.¹⁴³ Located near Chicamacomico on Hatteras Island, Pea Island was the only life-saving station in the country manned by an African American crew. Many African Americans from Manteo served at this station until it closed in the 1940s.¹⁴⁴

Besides Kitty Hawk, the Caffrey's Inlet and Bodie Island (DR 490) Life-Saving Stations from this period have survived, although both were altered in later years. The Bodie Island station was moved north in the 1950s and partly converted to offices for the National Park Service.

Kill Devil Hills Life-Saving Station (CK 57), constructed in 1878, was moved nearly thirty miles from its original location in the 1980s and rehabilitated into a Corolla gift shop in the 1990s. In spite of that, it retains a high degree of original exterior and interior elements and finish, enough to recall the surfmen crew who lived here much of the year, and their austere existence. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that this station was, for these men, a substantial, handsome building. A front-gable, one-and-a-half story frame building combining elements of Carpenter Gothic and Eastlake styles, the former lifesaving station's wide service door is now semi-enclosed, but the shuttered four-over-four double-hung sash windows with faceted corner blocks, decorative vergeboard and kingpost, and sawtooth frieze are still in place. The exterior still has original shingles, and small hip dormers pierce the side elevations. A side shed extension, where lifesavers kept their foul weather gear, was built at the turn of the twentieth century; this room retains the Carpenter Gothic style decoration that was originally part of the exterior covering.¹⁴⁵ Inside, where the old station sign hangs behind the cash register, walls and ceilings remain unpainted tongue-and-groove pine, and window and door surrounds are plain with bull's-eye corner blocks.

Another early government building was the 1876 Wash Woods Life-Saving Station, built north of the present-day 1917 station, and closer to Deal Island at the Virginia border. After the second station was built, the 1876 building was moved inland, closer to Knotts Island, where it was a hunting lodge for some years. According to longtime area residents, parts of it still survive.¹⁴⁶

The prescriptive style of these government buildings—their symmetrical floor plans, weatherboarded or board-and-batten details, and decorative appropriations from the Stick Style and Queen Anne Style—had a trickle-down effect in the Currituck and Dare Outer Banks. Carpenters who worked on the Currituck Beach Lighthouse’s handsome lightkeeper’s duplex cottage or even one of the life-saving stations would have taken home knowledge of a new kind of style besides shingles and clapboard, or timber frame dwellings with drafty hall and parlor plans. Norfolk had been the closest metropolis to the region for years but, increasingly, North Carolina’s mainland, particularly Elizabeth City, became a source for building supplies thanks to the advent of steamboats. Daniel S. Kramer’s Elizabeth City lumber mill, established in 1871, answered a regional need and was quickly successful, expanding into sash manufacturing and fish boxes for clients in the Albemarle and Outer Banks by the mid-1870s.¹⁴⁷ Although in bad repair, Elisha Twyne’s 1890s two-story I-house (DR 588) in Roanoke Island’s Mother Vineyard district exemplifies the

conflation of traditional antebellum North Banks dwellings—the flush board porch walls, the house as a weatherboarded box—and the more “modern” house plans and implements coming from coastal mercantile centers. Other families were buying manufactured beaded board, ready-made wainscoting, chair rails, newels, and balusters from Kramer Brothers in Elizabeth City or their Norfolk counterparts, and covering up their primitive antebellum interiors. In the late 1880s Adam Dough Etheridge I’s son, Augustus, and his stepfather Thomas A. Dough remodeled their austere North End dwelling to reflect more current taste and, as was becoming the fashion, built a two-story rear ell incorporating the formerly detached kitchen, as well as interior chimney flues.¹⁴⁸

The Etheridges, along with other area fisherman, made good use of Kramer Brothers’ fish boxes. Surviving period tin stencils, stamped “J. H. W. Ransom and Co.” and “Kingsland and Comstock,” both located in New York City’s Fulton Fish Market, as well as stencils for fish dealers in Philadelphia and Baltimore, were provided for fishermen to label boxes of rockfish, shad, terrapin, mullet, and other maritime produce for the northern markets.¹⁴⁹

The fish trade turned Wanchese into a shaggy frontier town. Joshua Judson Davis moved to Wanchese after his 1888 term at the North End school was cut short by two Manteo schoolmarms, Bertie Evans and Garnett Etheridge, fresh out of finishing school. After turning over the North End School (located next to the Roanoke Island Baptist Church) to

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Misses Evans and Etheridge, Davis boarded with “Captain” Sam Daniels, a fisherman, and his family while teaching at Wanchese’s school.¹⁵⁰ “Most of the people here are fishermen,” he wrote of Wanchese. “They go out with their nets before day . . . very little farming done in this section.”¹⁵¹ Davis noted that Wanchese fishermen often had their own ice houses, where they stored ice, cut during winters from Croatan Sound and packed in sawdust.¹⁵² He also observed local potato houses, where farmers stored and cured sweet potatoes beginning in fall. Some of these potato houses, diminutive semi-subterranean front-gable brick buildings with plastered interiors, dirt floors, substantial wood roofs, and sturdy battened doors, still stand near Wanchese’s Old Schoolhouse Road, Pugh Road, and at Roanoke Island’s North End.¹⁵³ Wanchese’s stores, like Manteo’s, were open till eleven at night. E. R. Daniels, who opened Wanchese’s post office in 1886, and Jeff Hayman were two of the town’s busiest merchants, dealing in both dry goods and fish; other merchants included Isaac N. Davis and the Pughs. The bustling town and late hours may have accounted for a “rumpus”, or fistfight, one fall evening over fish dealing, but, according to Davis, no one came out any the worse for it.¹⁵⁴

Although altered in the 1990s, the Joseph Daniels House (DR 546), built circa 1880, is one of the oldest houses now along Wanchese’s E. R. Daniels Road. Taking its name from the merchant, the thoroughfare hugs the village’s antebellum waterfront along Croatan Sound, where landings were located behind houses and stores. Joseph Daniels’ two-story, three-bay

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side-gable dwelling has a wider roof pitch than houses along E. R. Daniels Road constructed between 1890 and 1910. The house also retains prominent gable returns, narrow windows, and its original shed roof porch on turned post supports. Other period houses along E. R. Daniels Road are mostly two-story side-gable dwellings with steeply-pitched roofs, two-story rear ells, and plain shed porches, all decorated by shaped rafter tails at the eaves and sometimes enlivened by sawtooth cornice boards. Joseph Daniels' sons, as well as other fishing families at the turn of the twentieth century, built and lived in these houses. E. R. Daniels' own home does not survive.

In addition to fish dealing, Isaac N. Davis and William St. Clair Pugh operated dry goods stores in Wanchese, and built houses reflecting their wealth and position. The Isaac N. Davis House on E. R. Daniels Road has been substantially altered; however, William St. Clair Pugh's 1893 dwelling, built four years after schoolteacher J. J. Davis left Roanoke Island for Elizabeth City, remains remarkably intact. A stylish porch, set off by sawnwork spandrels, a frieze, and handsome turned rail balustrade, wraps around the two-story house. Then there is the impressively intact brick herringbone patterned front walk, comparable to the contemporary brick pathways at Currituck Beach Lighthouse, leading to the dwelling. All windows, including the north elevation's bay window, retain original two-over-two double-hung sash, framed by surrounds with Italianate style bracketed hoods. The house has a period two-story rear ell and a rear kitchen/dining building connected to the house by the

wraparound porch. A small rear ell porch at the house's east elevation also connects the kitchen/dining building to the house, and was enclosed in the 1930s. Inside, much was altered between 1930 and 1945, but the kitchen retains manufactured beaded board ceilings, walls, and wainscot, as well as two-over-two, double-hung sash windows. Surviving outbuildings from W. S. Pugh's tenure include a frame mule barn, sided with nailed vertical board-and-batten siding, a small front-gable board-and-batten shed, and the walls of a stuccoed brick potato house. Pieces of the Pugh homestead's picket fence also survive.

A most unusual period building is W. S. Pugh's own store, since so many pre-twentieth century stores did not survive. Moved from E. R. Daniels Road to the property in the 1940s, the Pugh Store (DR 539), is exceptionally intact, its weatherboarded front-gable exterior and paneled storefront windows in good repair, along with the interior's original shelving, corner office, and spacious attic storage.

The schoolteacher J. J. Davis, quite observant of the island and its surroundings, traveled to other places in the North Banks. One summer night, having sailed to Nags Head with Manteo friends, he pronounced goings-on at the Nags Head Hotel as "rediculous" [sic.], disapproving of a Mother Hubbard dance-burlesque popular with the vacationers from Edenton. "If this is what people visit summer resorts for," he huffed, "deliver me from such."¹⁵⁵ By this time Nags Head's railway, extending from the sound pier to the oceanfront,

had been completed, and a pavilion was on the “Sea Beach.” More families from the Albemarle region were building shingled wood cottages with wide porches along the seaside, positioning them and their service wings on wood pilings above the surf.¹⁵⁶

Davis also attended a Colington Island camp meeting that summer, sailing across Roanoke Sound in a kunner with other friends. He noted seventy-five boats tethered in the harbor and at least fifteen different tents on the Methodist meeting grounds.¹⁵⁷ At this time, Methodists were becoming increasingly prominent in the Outer Banks. Joseph Lennon, sent from the Virginia Conference to tend to the mission churches at Kitty Hawk, Manteo, Wanchese, and East Lake, was instrumental in the construction of two churches: Mount Olivet in Manteo (1888) and Bethany in Wanchese (DR 520, 1890), the latter a few hundred yards south of its antebellum location. There was also an 1890s Methodist chapel at Skyco, the mid-island site of the Ashbee nineteenth-century plantation as well as the area’s deepest harbor, but the Skyco Chapel was set down in the 1920s.¹⁵⁸ Davis, who lived next door to the new Methodist Church’s parsonage (DR 97) when in Manteo, described the equally new Mount Olivet Church (DR 282), a substantial Gothic-Romanesque Revival edifice in 1888, as “ceiled and painted in a very tasty style and well furnished.”¹⁵⁹

Wanchese’s Bethany United Methodist Church, in spite of alterations during the twentieth century, is now the most intact church on Roanoke Island. Unlike Mount Olivet, first

remodeled in the early twentieth century and then substantially remodeled by the architectural firm of Stephens and Francis in the 1990s, Bethany retains nearly all of its original interior sanctuary. This includes its auditorium plan, the choir stall and altar's ogival arch arcade, and at the room's north end, an Akron plan classroom with its original folding wood doors.

Davis did not write about attending the Roanoke Island Baptist Church (DR 263), but the congregation celebrated completion of its new meeting house, built across the road from their former house of worship site, in 1886. The church hired Williamson Askew, an Elizabeth City carpenter, to do the work. Documentary photographs of the church show a plain front-gable building enlivened by turned brackets and louvered window shutters. Although the building has been altered in the twentieth century by extensions, interior remodeling, and replacement siding, the core of the church remains the 1886 building.¹⁶⁰

Living with Sam Daniels, J. J. Davis became increasingly interested in the fishing business, and even helped him during the 1889 shad season in the Roanoke Marshes. Daniels, like many Wanchese men, was a boatbuilder and in 1888 was finishing a kunner he estimated would fetch \$150.00. His working boat, however, described by Davis as a "schooner", was called the *Ella Creef*.¹⁶¹ It is likely George Washington Creef of Manteo, whose older daughter was named Ella, constructed the boat.¹⁶² Creef's most famous boat was named for

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his other daughter, Hattie. The *Hattie Creef*, which conveyed passengers through the sounds from Elizabeth City to Roanoke Island and Nags Head for decades, was one of Creef's major innovations and, as the prototype of the twentieth-century shad boat, was the only vernacular boat style in the north Outer Banks to be perpetrated. In fact, Creef created a small nautical revolution at the end of the nineteenth century when he began crafting boats to best serve the shallow but capricious waters of Roanoke, Croatan, Albemarle, and Pamlico Sounds. Instead of the traditional "kunnners", sailing vessels fashioned from hollowed logs, Creef used curving cypress-knee roots for his shad boats' infrastructures, sheathing them with juniper, or Atlantic white cedar. The resulting shape, with its flaring bow, wide shallow mid-section, and tapered square stern, handled the choppy sounds well and was a fast sailer, facts that did not change when shad boats became powered by outboard motors.¹⁶³ What boats survive from Creef's Manteo shop are now museum pieces (DR 130), and the shad boat is the state's official boat.

The 1890s was an industrious time along the Currituck Banks, North Banks, and Roanoke Island. Although Kitty Hawk, subsiding from its 1880s boom, only listed twenty-five residents in the 1890s, the J. W. Tate & Co. general store was still in operation, and the village boasted two handsome new churches, both front-gable, weatherboarded buildings.¹⁶⁴ Kitty Hawk's Methodist Church burned in the twentieth century, but Providence Primitive Baptist Church (DR 432), built in 1898 near an earlier church, retains its original meeting

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house form, separate entrances for men and women, clear and elongated double-hung sash windows, and some of its original interior sheathing. Near Providence Primitive Baptist Church, the Decatur Beacham House (DR 226), a two-story, traditional frame side-gable with beaded weatherboards and a side kitchen building, was constructed at this time, from timber obtained from the pre-1898 Primitive Baptist Church. Orville and Wilbur Wright, the aviators who lived near Kitty Hawk from 1900 to 1903, would have been familiar with both these buildings. They would have known other community landmarks, such as William Tate's board-and-batten two-story dwelling where they resided before setting up their camp. Tate's home, which burned in the 1920s, was a common type to Kitty Hawk. Constructed in 1897, the two-story side-gable dwelling had many similarities to the Bob Perry House (DR 429) on Bob Perry Road, from wide two-over-two double-hung sash windows in the main block and two-story rear ell to the shed porch supported by turned posts that wrapped around all elevations.¹⁶⁵

Another turn-of-the-twentieth century house feature found in Kitty Hawk, clearly derived from traditional practice, was siding the front and rear ell porch with flush tongue-and-groove board siding, recalling a time when porches were finished as extensions of the house rather than as a pleasant shelter. An example of this is the William Ivey Dowdy House (DR 426) near Albemarle Sound. Built for Dowdy, a seine fisherman, circa 1902, the house also

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has a kitchen with a distinctively crimped gable roof, an interpretation of earlier kitchens with engaged porch shelters, at the rear ell.¹⁶⁶

Market gunning was still alive and well in Kitty Hawk at the turn of the century, so much so that the Wrights called the locals, who shot at anything that flew, “game hogs.”¹⁶⁷

Further north, the Whales Head community, numbering seventy-five persons in 1900, included three lighthouse keepers for Currituck Beach Lighthouse, many fishermen, two seamstresses, and Lewis Simmons, then the village’s only merchant.¹⁶⁸ Gradually, as Currituck Beach Lighthouse and Jones Hill Lifesaving Station provided employment and generated necessities, Whales Head grew. The Lighthouse Club, founded in 1874 by a group of Northeastern businessmen, employed local men as hunting guides during the fall and winter seasons.¹⁶⁹ Market hunting, a major livelihood along the Currituck Banks, included muskrat trapping in this area.¹⁷⁰ But when Whales Head received its first post office in 1896, it chose to go with the name Corolla.¹⁷¹ The village chapel (CK 114), a diminutive front-gable frame building with patterned manufactured beaded board walls and ceilings, had been in place since the 1890s but many residents preferred crossing the sound to attend the Coinjock church, possibly for a change in scenery.¹⁷² Corolla School (CK 112), established in 1896, is a front-gable frame building with a small steeple that still stands in the center of the village.

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In Manteo, first and second generations of USLSS surfmen were building comfortable homes at the North End and along Burnside Road, dwellings that combined traditional form with contemporary fashion as floated over from Norfolk or Elizabeth City. For example, the Edward Daniels House (DR 582) and the John T. Daniels House (NRSL), side by side on Burnside Road a short distance west of Manteo, were owned by two brothers in the life-saving service. Edward Daniels worked at the Oregon Inlet Life-Saving Station and his brother John not only witnessed the Wright Brothers first flight when serving at Kill Devil Hills but got to take the photograph. Both houses are spacious three-bay two-story dwellings with two-story rear ells, and spacious wraparound porches. Edward Daniels' former house is one of Roanoke Island's most intact 1890s dwellings, retaining many features usually altered or removed in other contemporary houses' subsequent remodeling such as the Eastlake style decoration on the porch, with its pedimented entrance bay. The house also has its original kitchen/dining building linked to the rear of the house by a semi-enclosed breezeway at the rear ell. Likewise, the small dining room, sided with narrow manufactured beaded board, retains its simple turn-of-the-century wooden table and turned chairs. The John T. Daniels House, a weatherboarded two-story Triple-A dwelling with a two-story rear ell and shed, exhibits a plainer exterior than the Edward Daniels House, and exterior decoration, beyond shaped rafter ends, is spare. Inside, the house followed a center hall plan, one room deep, and the ell was the kitchen/dining area downstairs and the family's sleeping

quarters upstairs. As with the Edward Daniels House or, for that matter, any number of turn-of-the-twentieth century Outer Banks dwellings, walls and ceilings were of manufactured beaded board, doors were four-panel courtesy of the lumber mill, and surrounds were plain with corner blocks. Possibly, the most decorative elements within these houses are the bulls-eye corner blocks and the staircases' turned balusters and newel posts. Comparable houses, such as the Napoleon Midgett House (DR 167) on Sir Walter Raleigh Street and the Etheridge House (DR 583) on nearby Payne Road, can still be found on the island.

III. 1904-1952: Twentieth-Century Advancements and Tourism's Impact on the North Outer Banks Landscape

1904-1937

The Wright Brothers' successful machine-powered flight on December 17, 1903, did not change the North Banks or Roanoke Island or, for that matter, Currituck Banks overnight. This section of northeastern North Carolina was still one of the most remote parts of the state during the twentieth century's first quarter. According to one wag, it was easier to travel from the mainland to Boston than to the Outer Banks.¹⁷³ A 1924 map of eastern North Carolina showed the closest roads on the mainland being a graded road ending at Mamie, across Currituck Sound, and a clay and gravel road terminating at Columbia in Tyrrell

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County. One either took the long beach route by cart south from Virginia Beach or used the ferries from Elizabeth City. Sailboats remained the primary mode of transport.

The flight was talismanic, providing impetus to the hard-working people of this region to use their geographical assets as a way to attract visitors flocking to see the “First Flight” hallowed ground, and Fort Raleigh alike. Outsiders who came to fish, hunt, or gaze but in the end stayed to run businesses and develop the largely pristine oceanfront contributed to the impetus that became a determined local tourist industry. Children of the men who witnessed the flight remained star struck throughout life. The author encountered this phenomenon when interviewing Alma Etheridge Wilson, the daughter of Kitty Hawk Life-Saving Station Keeper Adam D. Etheridge III, in 1999. Mrs. Wilson, a lively, acute woman then in her nineties, continually referred to the “first flight” her father witnessed as though it had happened only a short time before. Marguerite Drinkwater Booth, the daughter of Manteo telegraph operator Alpheus Drinkwater, is some years younger than Mrs. Wilson, though her father was a peer and cousin to Adam Etheridge III. But her recall of the 1903 flight was identical to Mrs. Wilson; neither woman was even born at the time. Technological advancements, such as improved roads and automobiles, would have come to this area, flight or no flight, but the Wright Brothers’ legacy to the north Outer Banks spurred a desire to soar above the hard traditional life. And, when talking to older natives, it is clear that they have no nostalgia for bygone times of sailboats and kerosene lamps. Yet in light of the

skyrocketing physical development that tourism brought to this fragile maritime region, the hardy Outer Bankers, it might be said, have reaped the whirlwind in sowing, as it were, their wind.¹⁷⁴

One trade-off of progress' tardiness was that a fascinating way of life, in addition to unusual material culture, was maintained in the North and Currituck Banks into the second quarter of the twentieth century. A glimpse of this lost world is preserved by Duck's oral history.

Although Duck's sole intact pre-1920 building is the Emerson Rogers House (DR 410), a great deal of folk culture was gathered about the area, including documentation of wooden carp and eel "cars", early twentieth century wooden boxes used to store, respectively, carp and eel for transport to Norfolk markets.¹⁷⁵ Other documentation reveals that, as in times past, dead people lay at rest in their parlors, wrapped in winding sheets before being carried by cart to final internment at the Austin Cemetery in Kitty Hawk, where a grave marker was usually fashioned from heart pine.¹⁷⁶

The Rogers House, its family cemetery alongside NC Highway 12, is a one-and-a-half story weatherboarded dwelling with a one-story rear ell sheltered by a small porch wrapping around the main block's west elevation and along the ell's south side. Inside, walls and ceilings are sheathed with vertical tongue-and-groove pine boards. At the entrance, a small vestibule between the north and south parlors, is an enclosed stair concealed by a four-panel

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door. This plan and finish tells volumes about the average Duck homestead at the turn of the twentieth century, considerably less stylish and more primitive than Kitty Hawk, Wanchese, or Manteo.

This southern part of maritime Currituck County—for so it was until 1919—and areas further north remaining in Currituck County—were popular sites for hunting lodges. The two oldest were Corolla's 1874 Lighthouse Club and the Currituck Shooting Club, founded in 1857 and presently the oldest private hunting club in operation on the East Coast. Swan Island Club, still in operation, began aboard a yacht in 1870; its current complex, a two-story hip roof shingled building with a lookout cupola constructed in 1913, is on Currituck Sound east of Knotts Island and it is still a favored fall and winter destination for select East Coast businessmen. Monkey Island Club, a considerably smaller and more rustic retreat, was founded in 1919.¹⁷⁷ Farther south at Martins Point near Duck and Southern Shores was the CATCO (China-American Tobacco Company) Club, a hunting club in the nineteenth-century home of Willis Gallop. The CATCO Club was demolished when a resort suburb was developed on Martins Point in the late 1980s.¹⁷⁸ Increasingly steep property taxes in the 1980s resulted in Currituck Shooting Club members entering a venture with a residential developer whereby they shared half-interest in lots sold for the Currituck Club, an upscale gated community with state-of-the-art tennis courts and a golf course. The lots were once their hunting grounds.¹⁷⁹

The Lighthouse Club was eventually disbanded and sold. Two days after Edward C. Knight, a Philadelphia industrialist and avid sportsman, bought the Lighthouse Club in April 28, 1922, he married Marie-Louise LeBel Bonat, his second wife, in Baltimore.¹⁸⁰ Then, two days after their marriage, Knight and his new wife traveled to Corolla, where they stayed the winter at the Lighthouse Club.¹⁸¹ Between 1923 and 1926, carpenters, contractors, and an unknown architect employed by Knight constructed Corolla Island, the only Art Nouveau style residence in North Carolina, where they wintered until the year before their deaths in 1936.¹⁸² Corolla Island is now known as the Whalehead Club, an anomaly in the otherwise rugged Outer Banks landscape for many decades. The passing of the Migratory Bird Act in 1918 ended market gunning, a major boon to the local economy. Another local setback was Currituck Sound's increased salinity in the 1920s; this was thought to be from the locks being altered on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal in 1922, which permitted water from Norfolk's Elizabeth River and Willoughby Bay to reach Currituck Sound. The resulting decline of wildfowl affected the local economy profoundly in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁸³ Because Currituck County relied upon hunting licenses for its education funds, the local government was extremely worried about losing the freshwater sound and all its benefits, in addition to the livelihoods of five hundred residents, who worked as game wardens, hunting guides, and hunting club caretakers, being put in peril.¹⁸⁴

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Two early twentieth-century hunting clubs south of Duck whose buildings have survived are the Bodie Island Hunting Club (DR 492) and Lone Cedar Lodge (DR 514) on the Manteo-Nags Head Causeway. The Bodie Island Hunting Club's exterior appears little changed from mid-twentieth century documentary photographs; a two-story, low hip roof edifice clad with shingles, there is a two-story shed extension at what was originally the building's rear elevation. When the club was moved from its original location south of the Bodie Island Lighthouse in the 1980s, the rear became the front elevation. The club and its small lookout (also a low hip roof) retain six-over-six double-hung sash windows. It was constructed in 1904 for Nathaniel Gould, a New England hunter who owned and operated Manteo's Tranquil House Inn. Lone Cedar Lodge was built circa 1920 for Tull Lennon, a Manteo builder and businessman who operated it as the Lone Cedar Club, a duck hunting club for businessmen, primarily from the Northeast. Lennon and his wife lived on the premises and there were three bedrooms in the house for guests, as well as a living room and kitchen. The kitchen was stocked with Gimbels china, replete with logos of a lone cedar; some of this china can now be seen on display at Marc Basnight's nearby restaurant, also named Lone Cedar. Two guides and a cook lived part-time in a one-story frame hip roof building directly east of the club, that is no longer standing.¹⁸⁵ Part of a small network of local Dare County retreats, including Skyco Lodge (DR 65) and the Goosewing Club, these clubs were popular before transportation improvements transformed this part of the Outer Banks from a remote backwater to a tourist mecca.¹⁸⁶ Goosewing Club was demolished some years ago. As

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Skyco Lodge is now a heavily altered private residence and the Lone Cedar is positioned in the heart of a burgeoning waterside development (and clearly awaiting the wrecker's ball), this former clubhouse may soon become one of the last vestiges of early twentieth-century hunting subculture along Dare County's North Banks.

When the Revenue Cutter and U. S. Life-Saving Service were merged in 1915, the resulting agency was the United States Coast Guard. Three stations built in the survey area under this aegis include the 1919 Wash Woods Coast Guard Station (CK 88), the 1929 Kill Devil Hills Coast Guard Station (DR 479), and the 1925 Bodie Island Coast Guard Station (DR 491). Designed by Coast Guard architect Victor Mendleheff, Wash Woods and Bodie Island are both Chatham-Type stations, distinctive for their gable-on-hip roofs, with triangular casement windows in the attic story. Original molded weatherboard, wide soffits, and cornerboards, as well as many original double-hung four-over-four and six-over-six sash windows, are all in place. The Bodie Island and Wash Woods U. S. C. G. Stations, are two of seven Chatham type stations built along North Carolina's coast.¹⁸⁷ Constructed in 1929 by a Virginia Beach contractor, the Kill Devil Hills' U. S. C. G. Station, a two-story, hip-roof frame station and keeper's dwelling replaced the 1880s Kill Devil Hills Life-Saving Station (CK 57), which was relegated to a boathouse and garage.¹⁸⁸ The building's format is basically little different from an American Foursquare and does not seem to be after any set prescriptive life-saving station design.¹⁸⁹ In spite of the large observation tower put on the

station's south roof in the early 1960s, the building remains intact with many original features. The Coast Guard was a major employer of Outer Banks residents into the 1950s, and many older men from Wanchese to North Swan Beach have served with them.

The twentieth century started quite promisingly for Manteo. Incorporated in 1899, the town had 312 residents in 1900 and 1,000 in 1910.¹⁹⁰ Within this dynamic time, a new brick courthouse was built, its stringcourses, arched double-hung windows, wooden one-story portico, and parapeted gables a composite of Neoclassical and Italianate style, in 1904.¹⁹¹ The front-gable weatherboarded old courthouse became the Bank of Manteo in 1905 before the bank constructed a handsome Prairie-Classical Revival style building in the 1920s.¹⁹² In 1925 Manteo also built a large one-story brick school, consolidating the pupils from the western parts of the county, on Virginia Dare Road (U. S. Highway 64/264); the school was eventually torn down and a 1960s elementary school constructed in its place.¹⁹³

Boatbuilding continued to be a lucrative industry. In 1906 Creef and Company finished work on the *John H. Small*, a passenger boat named for the North Carolina Congressman, to serve the Elizabeth City/Manteo/Nags Head route. The boat, which ran into the 1920s, accommodated fifty people, and was 72 feet wide and 18 feet long with two kerosene engines.¹⁹⁴

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Significant residences built during this period include the 1912 Theodore S. Meekins House (NRHP), an exceptional Queen Anne style dwelling with variegated shingles, window openings, and a round corner turret. Along the waterfront was the commercial heart of town, one- and two-story frame buildings dating from the turn of the century, as well as boardinghouses, houses along Dough Creek, and petroleum tanks along the dock. Nearly all of this streetscape would be destroyed after the 1939 Manteo fire. After 1939, in response to the fire, many businesses moved west to U. S. 64/264, a trend that continued into the 1960s and 1970s.

Wanchese continued to use its 1894 Academy and Lodge, located at the junction of Old Wharf Road and Pugh Road, as a school until 1922, when the Wanchese School, a Craftsman style “H” shape frame school, opened on what is now Old Schoolhouse Road. Young pupils from Baumtown and Mill Landing, as well as Wanchese proper, attended the shingled U-shaped school until the late 1950s. A substantially intact building, the school’s front shed dormer at the center hip roof section, original bands eight-over-eight double-hung sash, cornerboards with chamfered bases, and exposed knee braces are typical decoration for early twentieth century rural consolidated schools. Kitty Hawk School (DR 431), constructed in 1923, is another good example of this type. Meanwhile, the Craftsman style was adopted by Wanchese’s new generation of fishermen, who ordered building elements from Kramer Brothers in Elizabeth City for their frame bungalows. Among the finest of

these are the George Daniels House (DR 525), the Tillett House (DR 524), and the Joe Meekins House (DR 528), all located on Old Schoolhouse Road.

Fort Raleigh, the historic site with sentimental attachment to so many on and off Roanoke Island, spurred the inception of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, which purchased the 250-acre site from Walter Dough's heirs in 1894.¹⁹⁵ For years afterward, Virginia Dare's birthday was celebrated every August 18 with a homecoming at the Fort site, where a granite marker had been erected in 1896. One Manteo resident, Dare County Schools Superintendent Mabel Evans, financed, wrote, and directed a silent film, *Lost Colony*, in 1921, using many locals for the cast. Stills for the film, conceived as a teaching aid for North Carolina schoolchildren, recreated a sixteenth-century landscape as imagined through twentieth-century eyes—a log stockade, the Algonkian dwellings recreated with blankets instead of bark, and the colonists dressed more as though they had landed at Plymouth Rock than Roanoke Island.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately, part of the Fort Raleigh archaeological site was adversely impacted when NC 345, linking the north and south ends of Roanoke Island, was built in 1924. "Even a part of the dirt outlines of the fort was dug down for the right of way. History didn't stand in the way of progress here," an article wryly noted.¹⁹⁷ Trees in its straight path were dynamited,

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the roadbed crossed at least one Civil War berm, and dirt fill needed to run the road through the mid-island marshes was taken from fields.¹⁹⁸

In spite of a road connecting Roanoke Island, and Wanchese natives like Vernon Gaskill working as contacts for the Perry Chevrolet Company in Elizabeth City, transportation throughout this area remained boat-reliant until the 1929 and 1930 bridges were built, respectively spanning Roanoke and Currituck sounds. The first bridge, craftily conceived of by Washington Baum, then the chairman of Dare County's Board of Commissioners, ran roughly along the same lines of the Roanoke Sound Embankment proposed by Hamilton Fulton over 100 years before. A severe freeze in January 1926 when none of the steamers could make it out of the ice, may have firmed his resolve.¹⁹⁹ Baum worked with the N. C. General Assembly to issue long-term county bonds, estimated at \$300,000, to finance construction. Initially quite unpopular with his Manteo peers for such an audacious idea, Baum's vision of connecting Roanoke Island with the potential commerce offered by oceanfront, eventually paid off although the county was still paying off the debt in 1958.²⁰⁰ The second bridge, known as the Wright Memorial Bridge, was financed by a group of Elizabeth City businessmen, was completed in 1930.²⁰¹

Automobile access to the North Banks beaches of Nags Head, Kill Devil Hills, and Kitty Hawk changed the maritime landscape forever. Within three years of the bridges, a longtime

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Banks doctor moaned of “the garish lure of so-called post-war ‘civilization’” and automobiles leaving behind “gasoline smells, noise and rubbish.” By the same token, the doctor also extolled the “swift beauty” of the newly-paved Virginia Dare Trail (NC 12), linking South Nags Head to Kitty Hawk.²⁰² With an eye to promoting his gasoline service station, an enterprising man hauled a beached whale’s skeleton from near Pea Island to the traffic island of his station in South Nags Head; the junction was christened Whalebone Junction shortly after.²⁰³ At the same time, a small number of Outer Banks residents managed with ox carts and mules rather than cars into the 1940s.

Outer Banks residents, developers, and politicians, employed the politics of sentimentality to raise their profile in the state. Frank Stick, who moved to the Outer Banks in the late 1920s from Innerlaken, New Jersey, engaged in a number of speculative ventures for tracts known as “Croatan Shores” on the Kill Devil Hills beachfront and “Virginia Dare Shores”, which faced Kitty Hawk Bay. It was on a soundside pavilion at Virginia Dare Shores that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wright Brothers’ flight was held in 1932, an event organized by Stick.²⁰⁴

In 1927, North Carolina Congressman Lindsay Warren, spurred by northeastern North Carolinians such as journalist W. O. Saunders, presented a bill to erect a monument memorializing the Wright Brothers’ 1903 flight. This monument, of course, was to stand at

Kill Devil Hill. In 1928, about the same time that work began on the Wright Brothers' National Memorial, a granite monolith designed by Rodgers and Poor of New York and constructed between 1928 and 1932, the citizens of Kitty Hawk erected their own monument to Wilbur and Orville Wright. Although they could not claim the prestige of the first machine-powered flight, Kitty Hawk felt they shared a substantial claim to the Wright Brothers' legacy, as they had boarded in Kitty Hawk homes, patronized their humble stores, and had longstanding ties of friendship, especially with the Tate and Hobbs families. The marker, a small marble shaft erected near the site of the Methodist Parsonage on Moor Shore Road, reads: "On this spot, September 17, 1900 Wilbur Wright began the assembly of the Wright Brothers first experimental glider which led to man's conquest of the air." Above this inscription, an image of a glider is carved within a cloudlike nimbus. After the National Memorial opened, Kitty Hawk's townspeople began to worry about their little marker. It had weathered the elements well, but small pieces were missing and locals wondered if visitors were chipping off mementos. They took away the original marker, which is now at Kitty Hawk Town Hall, and replaced it with another.²⁰⁵ A third marker now stands on the site, recently donated by the community.²⁰⁶

In the midst of all this sound and fury, Outer Banks African Americans, under the shadow of Jim Crow laws, lived quietly. Most were located on Roanoke Island, where they had small farmsteads in California, along Burnside and Scarborough Roads, and smaller dwellings

along Good Luck Street (later known as West Sir Walter Raleigh Street). Of the nearly 300 African Americans living on Roanoke Island in 1920, most owned their own homes and were employed. An elite sector worked at Pea Island's Coast Guard station, and a few others had government jobs—mail carriers, shipyard workers. Others were fishermen, house carpenters, domestic servants, laundresses, and farm laborers. Joseph Tillett and Benjamin Golden listed themselves as ship carpenters.²⁰⁷ Off the island, there were few African Americans. However, three African American men from Elizabeth City, Charles Jenkins, John Henry Bias, and Henry Hargraves, bought eighty acres in Duck in April 1929, splitting the tract three ways and naming their small development Bias Shores. Henry Hargraves' tract, Hargraves Beach, was developed as a club for vacationing blacks in the 1930s on Currituck Sound, but the club was burned in the late 1930s. Hargraves sold his tract between the mid-1950s and early 1960s. The Bias family still owns a house in the development.²⁰⁸

The Great Depression's advent found the north Outer Banks at a crossroads. Development of beachfront, still in its infancy, had not quite taken off. Stockraising was in decline. The Currituck Banks, due to the aforesaid increased salinity of the Sound, was in an economic crisis. Steamboats such as the *Trenton* and *Annie L. Vansciver*, in competition with the automobile, were losing the battle; the *Trenton* would be decommissioned after nearly fifty years' service in 1936. Tourism, though anticipated, was still a largely nebulous reality. Probably the most lucrative business in the area was the bootlegging taking place at East

Lake on the mainland.²⁰⁹ Into this quasi-vacuum the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Public Works Administration (PWA, later WPA) sent young men and unemployed transients to the area to construct public buildings and secure the beaches from erosion. There were camps at the North End of Roanoke Island (Camp Wright), by Jennette's Pier at Whalebone Junction (WPA), a camp at Duck, and at Corolla. As they roamed the beaches, planting grass and erecting sand fencing, the CCC's efforts eventually resulted in open-range stock being forbidden in Dare County by 1937, Currituck County by 1939. In 1936, regional WPA headquarters shifted from Fort Eustis, Virginia, to "Little Fort Eustis" on Roanoke Island, with five additional buildings constructed.²¹⁰ Many of these 1930s buildings are gone, although the cabins at Jennette's Pier are still mostly in place, though altered.

Frank Stick seized the opportunity of the Depression to develop Fort Raleigh. Through a series of articles in the Elizabeth City *Independent* in 1933, many of which espoused the reforms cited in the preceding paragraph, Stick received a Federal Emergency Relief Act (F. E. R. A.) grant to construct representative buildings from the Elizabethan period the Fort Raleigh site. Albert Q. Bell of Edenton supervised construction, based on a series of meticulous drawings and watercolors executed by Stick, who had trained under artist Howard Pyle.²¹¹ As shown in 1937 photographs, the complex, entered by a log stockade, was composed of a number of Rustic Revival saddle-notch log buildings with thatched

roofs—and glass windows. These included a chapel, the Fort Raleigh Museum, the John White House, the Ralph Lane Hut, the Old Guard House (next to the 1896 marker), and the Keepers' Lodge. Of these, part of the stockade, a ticket office, and the John White House survived the 1941 razing of the site, along with the two 1930 Georgian Revival gate pillars, after the National Park Service acquired Fort Raleigh.²¹²

The buildings, although questionable as authentic representations of what White and the English settlers would have been able to construct, were nevertheless exceptional examples of Rustic Revival style as filtered through a 1930s hypothetical interpretation of vernacular Elizabethan period design. Unpainted interiors with log walls chinked with a cement aggregate, had substantial cypress vertical board doors secured by wood screws within a rectangular frame, and hanging on decorative iron hinges. One probable interior feature that White and his settlers would have had is the open hearth, clearly positioned within the John White House's hall; a hole in the roof corresponds to where a rudimentary flue would have been. Skinned pole tie beams across the ceiling are flattened on top, indicating that at one time there was an upper floor, or Stick and Bell planned for one. A small vertical plank partition appears to be original to the building, but the toilet behind it may be a later innovation. Stick, honest throughout the process about his conjectural designs (many of which are in his son's possession), relied heavily on then-current interpretation that log buildings were the first structures built by colonists. After the Fort Raleigh complex was

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built, hosting five thousand visitors within its first nine months of operation, historical novelist Inglis Fletcher objected to Stick and Bell's conceptualization and gathered an army of opponents, arguing that the buildings were in no way faithful to Elizabethan style. The site was dismantled when the National Park Service acquired the Fort Raleigh archaeological site and complex in 1941. As so many buildings were then lost that would now be considered remarkable, the John White House's survival is an exceptionally welcome vestige of 1930s attempts to visualize and recreate the past. The site was the midwife, furthermore, for the longtime outdoor drama written by Paul Green, *The Lost Colony*, and it is questionable if the play could have initially thrived without the surrounding romantic recreation of Fort Raleigh.

As the Depression partly eased and tourism began to take hold in the north Outer Banks, locals dealt with the influx of visitors in a variety of ways. On Roanoke Island, children were routinely moved from their rooms, so that guests could sleep there. Some enterprising Manteo citizens even built small cottages behind their houses. By the 1940s locals advertised rooms for visitors to rent in the newspaper or through the USO. There were tourist homes, such as Edna Bell's Eleanor Dare Tourist Home located in her 1930s Colonial Revival residence, and Cannady's Rest-Over, a large Queen Anne house on Sir Walter Raleigh Street.²¹³ Hotel Fort Raleigh, the Mission Revival influenced brick and stucco edifice built with bootleg money in 1931, was another stop until 1941 when Malcolm

Fearing converted it to offices.²¹⁴ On the oceanfront, the genteel cottages of Nags Head were usually closed to outsiders, but other establishments—the First Colony Inn (NRHP), the Arlington, Parkerson’s—filled the breach. There were also smaller tourist homes closer to Kill Devil Hills and one tourist cabin development, the Breakers Motor Court (DR 560).²¹⁵ After the war, motor courts mushroomed up and down the beach, ranging from the much-altered Sea Ranch and the Wilbur Wright Motel (DR 474) to Kill Devil Hill’s delightfully “Colonialized” Cavalier Motel (DR 476) and the kitschy 1950s SeaFoam Motel (DR 506) in South Nags Head.

Although areas like Duck and Corolla were not developing rapidly before World War II, Manteo had quickly amassed a range of residential styles, from the very popular Craftsman bungalow to American Foursquare dwellings. Traditional buildings, two-story frame dwellings built at the turn of the twentieth century, were still very much a part of Manteo’s residential streetscape. Two exceptional Craftsman style residences are the 1920 Thomas D. Etheridge House (DR 591) and the Robert and Roxie Atkinson House (DR 592), both located at Roanoke Island’s North End. The Thomas D. Etheridge House’s exterior, from its massive bungalow style front porch and sleeping balcony to the variegated shingles and paneled frieze, belies a very plain interior with tongue-and-groove sheathed walls and ceilings and an idiosyncratic floor plan. This regional tendency to put all one’s energy in the outside is especially reflected in Nags Head cottages; within the 1922 Culpeper Cottage (DR

570) the most decorative object is a millwork center hall stair, its turned newel posts stamped "Major Loomis Lumber Company" from the manufactory in Hertford, North Carolina. The Brinkley-Evans House, (DR 594), on Roanoke Island's North End, however, has the reverse tendency. Within a very plain five-bay Colonial Revival/Craftsman style early 1930s house, all unpainted, is novel Colonial Revival and Craftsman style woodwork, from the handsome center hall stair with a square newel post and turned rail balusters to the dining room's built-in corner cupboard and sideboard, in addition to paneled swing doors.

During World War II one- and two-story barracks were built along Corolla's oceanfront for the Coast Guard, joining older buildings such as the 1903 Currituck Beach Life-Saving Station (CK 25), a Quonochontaug-type station. The Coast Guard took possession of the Whalehead Club, only recently bought and re-named from Corolla Island by Norfolk and Washington, D. C., businessman Ray Adams. Residents along the coast had to drive without headlights and black out their windows for security purposes.²¹⁶ Between 1941 and 1942 Manteo received grants to build an airport, manned during the war by the Civil Air Patrol; located on Croatan Sound below Sunnyside, many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century houses and outbuildings were moved to accommodate the site.²¹⁷ Local developers and engineers like Frank Stick and Harry Lawrence joined the war effort, building government housing near Suffolk, Virginia.²¹⁸ After the war when many of these barracks houses

became surplus, a few were shipped from the base at Portsmouth, Virginia, to Roanoke Island where they were quickly utilized.²¹⁹

After the war, speculative development took off with a vengeance. Before the war, Frank Stick had attempted an upscale resort development, Millionaire's Row (DR 471) in Kill Devil Hills, five two-story Colonial Revival style beach cottages comparable to what was then being built at Virginia Beach near the Cavalier Hotel. Millionaire's Row was meant to charm North Carolinians who had shied away from the North Banks.²²⁰ Two of these cottages still stand on the oceanfront and the others were moved in the 1960s. In 1945 Stick tried another developmental tack, acquiring an option for a 2,800 acre tract along the beach and low hills north of Kitty Hawk. A year later, Stick opened Southern Shores with fifty oceanfront lots, but only sold one. Because building supplies were so scarce at the time due to rationing, Stick and his associates, including Curtis Gray, built a concrete block manufactory at Kitty Hawk, using the pebbly beach sand as his mortar, and he began designing and building beach cottages, modeled after resorts in Florida and the western United States. What little wood he could get his hands on went toward a "cheap and cheerful" roofing solution: the flat top. Stick's own house, a sprawling one-story flat-top with a flush exterior chimney and cantilevered shelters, was the first one built. Marimar McNaughton in *Outer Banks Architecture*, posits that Stick's cottages were modeled after Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian housing—practical and spare. While Stick was too much of a

businessman to ape the less practical aspects of the Usonian, he did develop lots off the oceanfront for middle-income families as well.²²¹ One architect-designed flat top house at Southern Shores was the Pipkin House (DR 417), constructed in 1953 for an heiress of Greensboro's Cone Cotton Mill. The architect was Edward Lowenstein.²²² Joined by his son, David, Frank Stick's Southern Shores, with additional landscaping by the Raleigh firm of Godwin and Bell, was developed into the 1950s and 1960s.²²³ According to David Stick, most of Southern Shores' homeowners were not from North Carolina, hailing instead from Virginia, D. C., Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.²²⁴ A less upscale postwar resort development Stick was not involved in was Avalon Beach (although he had once owned the land) in Kill Devil Hills, a gridded community of flat top concrete block cottages marketed to Hampton Roads shipyard workers and blue-collar North Carolinians.²²⁵

Recent Developments, 1953-2002

The last forty-nine years along the Currituck Banks, North Banks, and Roanoke Island might prove the adage "be careful what you wish for." As much as the Bankers willed their remote area to become a popular beach resort, it is likely that no one was prepared for its overwhelming popularity. As far back as 1958, Gary Dunbar presciently noted that the tourist industry, combined with the decline of commercial fishing, would precipitate increased development, and the rise of retail and building trades.²²⁶ Prohibitively high real

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estate costs, combined with the advent of strip malls, restaurants, and hotels along the north Outer Banks, have created a working underclass that cannot afford to live there, forced to commute from towns more than fifty miles away, such as Creswell and Columbia. Although the Navy testing range was an initial deterrent to development, Duck is now one of the North Banks' largest upscale resorts; the humble soundside village it once was is only occasionally glimpsed. As awe-inspiring as Aycock Brown's photographs of the March 7, 1962 Ash Wednesday northeaster's aftermath are, the 1986 photographs of houses and buildings constructed in the following twenty-four years are equally humbling.²²⁷ In 1964, Stewart Udall, then the Secretary of the Interior, briefly entertained the idea of creating a Currituck Banks National Seashore, but in the end passed on the opportunity. In 1976 before N. C. Highway 12 was even paved as far as Corolla, lot sales in the area were going at \$75,000 an acre, and at Carova Beach, where there still is no paved road, tasteful A-frames were coexisting with beach weekend shacks.²²⁸ Presently, there is considerable development at Carova and North Swan Beaches, where contractors, much as the Whalehead Club and Currituck Beach Lighthouse workers had to do in past times, are hauling their infrastructure and supplies by boat. It seems reasonable to assume, especially with the prospect of a bridge crossing Currituck Sound from Aydlett by 2010, that a road will eventually be constructed north of Corolla, and the mighty Lewark Hill, the last migratory dune in the area, could be obliterated soon thereafter.²²⁹

Yet there is still a public understanding, even if it is often exploited, of the region's visual maritime heritage and unique buildings. Not only hotels and restaurants use the vernacular of the Outer Banks to lure customers; architects have consciously employed the essence of later nineteenth-century regional design in seaside residences and municipal commercial buildings. Some "neo-Banks" houses, particularly many designed by John Wilson IV in the 1980s and 1990s, are so successfully evocative—shingled exterior covering, two-over-two double-hung sash windows with louvered shutters or vertical board shutters, simple shed porches, and manufactured beaded board interiors—that it takes a practiced eye to separate the originals from their emulators. It is a particularly difficult process when many of these houses use salvaged elements from earlier dwellings. However, it is not a bad thing to see tradition sensitively interpreted when it is.

In spite of its decent stock of 1890s-1930s weatherboarded dwellings and bungalows, Manteo remains a town in search of its identity. Seduced by the twentieth-century romance of the "Lost Colony", Manteo not only created faux "Tudorbethan" facades for its commercial district, notably the Pioneer Theatre and the former Fearing's department store, but in 1969 it renamed all the streets in the downtown area either after characters in Paul Green's play, or Sir Walter Raleigh's haunts.²³⁰ The "Elizabethan-mania" could not save Manteo's downtown, whose businesses were streaming out to busy U. S. 64/264 or Nags Head. A number of locals, including businessman Edward Greene and architect John Wilson

IV, began searching for a way to revitalize Manteo's downtown without losing any of its charm, as they had seen happen elsewhere on the Banks. Manteo's town board hired Randolph Hester, a planning professor from North Carolina State University's School of Design, to evaluate the downtown resources and implement a development plan celebrating Manteo's small town community-minded nature. Hester and a team of design students spent months in the town during 1980, creating activity maps tracking townpeoples' progress through town. In the process, they discovered folkways—the drug store and its fountain stand, the post office, even the Christmas tree at the old wharf. The resulting land-use plan restricted development in downtown areas considered communally sacred.²³¹

Simultaneously, a subsidiary of the Rouse Company designed a large waterfront complex with shops and condominiums in 1982 on the site of where the town's oil tanks had been before the 1939 fire.²³² These searching investigations for Manteo's future form, in the middle of which the town celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the Roanoke Voyages, have had mixed results. On one hand, there are successful downtown establishments, plus Ice Plant Island across Dough Creek, as recommended, has become a museum and festival space. On the other hand, the post office recently moved out of downtown, and many of the stores cater more to tourists than to natives.²³³

The most serious ramification of the tourist and residential boom of this fragile area, apart from what nature holds, are the eradication and mitigation of historic architectural resources.

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Some of these resources, like Wanchese's quiet paths, and Kitty Hawk Village's weatherboarded I-houses, are over one hundred years old and others, such as the 1940s and 1950s Southern Shore cottages are half a century. In some ways, the flat tops sealed their own death certificate by their very roofs, impractical for a windy area famous for inclement weather. Current building codes restrict remodeling budgets for these houses, which have fifty year-old plumbing beneath their concrete foundations, and the force of real estate is aimed toward demolishing these houses for larger, more expensive ones.²³⁴ Particularly poignant are the recent demolitions of 1940s and 1950s motor courts, motels, and hotels. In the last two years, the Silver Sands Motel, the Carolinian Hotel, the Vivianna, and the Pebble Beach Motel, all in Nags Head, have been razed. These accommodated families and vacationers of all incomes, many of them long-term customers. As more multi-unit houses are built as investment property in the area, dwarfing the 1915 Gothic Revival St. Andrew's By-The-Sea Episcopal Church, a different, less permanent, sort of customer will be increasingly seen in the Outer Banks.²³⁵ And these developments, as seen in Corolla, Duck, Caffrey's Inlet, and Carova Beach, will eventually impinge on important historic architecture, a process that may accelerate with the new Virginia Dare Memorial Bridge spanning Croatan Sound.

Responsibility for safeguarding Roanoke Island, Currituck Banks, and the North Dare Outer Banks' architectural heritage lies in a number of hands, beginning with local residents and

planning boards and with state and federal agencies. There are still historic resources that can be safeguarded to an extent by eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places, but the area's rapacious development may affect their status if measures are not immediately and aggressively taken. Ironically, as visitors look at facsimiles of life-saving stations serving as restaurants and shops while genuinely historic buildings stand neglected, it may be lost on them that over-development of the Banks is killing the very thing making it unique in the first place.

¹ Thomas J. Schoenbaum, *Islands, Capes, and Sounds: The North Carolina Coast* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1982), p. 32.

² Bruce S. Cheeseman, *Four Centuries and Roanoke Island: A Legacy of Geographical Change* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Research Branch, 1982), pp. 20-21.

³ Cheeseman, p. 19. Robert Dolan, a geology professor at the University of Virginia, is cited by Cheeseman, particularly for his 1972 article with Kenton Bosserman "Shoreline Erosion and the Lost Colony" (*Association of American Geographical Annals*, 62: 424-426). See also Charles E. Cobb, Jr., "North Carolina Outer Banks: Awash in Change" (*National Geographic*, Vol. 172:4, October 1987), pp.510-511: Dolan is quoted there as saying parts of Roanoke Island's North End were 300 feet wider in 1969 than in 1987.

⁴ Cheeseman, pp. 5-6. Also, Gary Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 143, fn. 50. Dunbar cites Outer Banks historian David Stick as saying the term "Jean Guite" has been used since 1772.

⁵ Cheeseman, p. 6.

⁶ United States Department of Agriculture et al., *Soil Survey of Currituck County, North Carolina* (1982), pp. 31 and 50, and Plate 15. Also USDA et al., *Soil Survey of Dare County, North Carolina* (1992), pp. 8 and 9.

⁷ *Ibid.* Also, United States Department of Agriculture Soil Website.

⁸ There is a major discrepancy between two soil studies sources, Clair A. Brown's *Vegetation of the Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), pp. 46-48, and the recent *Soil Survey of Dare County, North Carolina* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1992), pp. 8-10 and overall map. The 1992 study does not show any knowledge of Roanoke Island's relatively recent agrarian past and appears somewhat slapdash in contrast with the earlier study.

⁹ Schoenbaum, p. 48.

¹⁰ Statistics, courtesy Outer Banks Chamber of Commerce, Kill Devil Hills, N. C. (chamber@outer-banks.com).

¹¹ David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties 1663-1943* (Raleigh: Department of Archives and History, 1950), pp. 83-85.

¹² Dunbar, p. 176, n251.

¹³ Arthur Barlowe, "Description" from Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1600), as reprinted in David Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 5.

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¹⁴ Thomas Harriot (Theodor de Bry, Illustrator), *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590), facsimile (Dover Publications, 1972): pp. 45 (Plate II, "The arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia") and 66 (Plate XIX, "The Towne of Pomeioc"). Note that the Roanoke Island village is circular in formation on Plate II. Also, Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to The Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ Harriot and de Bry, p. 45 (Dover facsimile); Ivor Noël Hume, *Here Lies Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994 edition), pp. 17-21. It is believed that the Indian village site fell victim to Roanoke Island's extensive erosion at its northeast shoreline.

¹⁶ Hume, pp. 21-24. Also, David Stick, Kitty Hawk, N. C., September 17, 2002 letter to Penne Smith Sandbeck (critique of MPDF): Re Lane's men leaving "there is mention of two men being left behind (the heroes, incidentally, of a terrible novel I wrote in the late 1940s that fortunately was never published.)"

¹⁷ David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 19.

¹⁸ David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 273-280.

¹⁹ Quinn, pp. 394-399. Also, *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N. C.), "Work Advances In Restoration" (date of clipping not given other than 1934; article discusses Frank Stick's theories about Fort Raleigh colonist dwellings, including his opinion that glass was used). Clipping in North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

²⁰ Quinn, pp. 389-393.

²¹ Quinn, pp. 401-402.

²² The former assertion (colonists in Chocowinity) was floated at a 2001 symposium at the Museum of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City, N. C. The other, more common, assertion is found in Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 12-13.

²³ Quinn, pp. 341-377, Thomas Parramore, "The 'Lost Colony' Found: A Documentary Perspective", in *The North Carolina Historical Review* [NCHR], 78:1 (January 2001), pp. 67-83. Also Cheeseman, pp. 30-33.

²⁴ Dunbar, p. 16.

²⁵ Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*, pp. 13-16.

²⁶ Dunbar, p. 16; also Cheeseman, pp. 35-36.

²⁷ Lefler and Newsome, pp. 32-34.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36. Also, Cheeseman, p. 36.

²⁹ Lefler and Newsome, p. 33. Also, Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, p. 112.

³⁰ Dunn, pp. 112-113. Dunn cites the exodus of Barbadians to North America in the 1670s and 1680s, the emigrants to Carolina "a medley of big and middling planters, merchants, artisans, small farmers, sailors, servants, and slaves." Most of this group settled in South Carolina, but it nevertheless suggests that Barbados planters were realizing they had a limited canvas for their productions and moving to larger territories was prudent.

³¹ Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 22.

³² Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 22-23. Also Carl R. Lounsbury, "The Plague of Building: Construction Practices on the Frontier 1650-1730," in *Architects and Builders in North Carolina*, eds. Bishir, Brown, Lounsbury, and Wood (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 19.

³³ Cheeseman, p. 38; Sir William Berkeley, Green Spring, Virginia, April 16, 1676 letter to Joshua Lamb. Joshua Lamb Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History Records, Raleigh, N. C. (quoted in Cheeseman).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

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- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 22-23.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 24.
- ³⁹ Cheeseman, p. 45, n.13 and n.14; Loretta Lautzenheiser and Thomas Hargrove, *The Bright Glittering Sand* (archaeological report, 1991), p. 14.
- ⁴⁰ John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Facsimile of 1709 Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 69.
- ⁴¹ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 26-28. Also, John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Facsimile of 1709 Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 68-69.
- ⁴² Cheeseman, p. 45.
- ⁴³ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 24-25.
- ⁴⁴ Cheeseman, p. 39.
- ⁴⁵ Cheeseman, p. 40.
- ⁴⁶ Cheeseman, pp. 42-43.
- ⁴⁷ William Byrd, excerpt, "History of the Dividing Line" as published in Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, p. 7; also Cheeseman, pp. 42-43.
- ⁴⁸ Cheeseman, p. 46; Marybruce Lennon Dowd, Manteo, N. C., telephone conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/19/2002; also William Maule 1718 map (Collection N. C. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.).
- ⁴⁹ Dunbar, p. 18; Cheeseman, pp. 44-45.
- ⁵⁰ Cheeseman, p. 45, cited from Walter Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, vol 23, pp. 89-90.
- ⁵¹ 1718 William Maule map (NCDAH), and Cheeseman, pp. 48-49.
- ⁵² 1729 Edward Moseley map of Roanoke Island (NCDAH). On the map, a "little old field" is marked at the northwest section of Wanchese, and a house is indicated, approximately at the site of what is now The Lane in Wanchese's Mill Landing area, as being that of "Wm Dannils, Tenants to Belcher Noyes."
- ⁵³ Cheeseman, pp. 47-49. Also, William Cathcart, May 2, 1757 lease to Adam Everage [sic.], Roanoke Island, Currituck County, N. C. Currituck County Records, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.
- ⁵⁴ Cathcart>Etheridge 1757 (NCDAH).
- ⁵⁵ Penne Smith Sandbeck, *The Etheridge Homeplace* (Manteo: Outer Banks Conservationists, 2000), pp. 8-9.
- ⁵⁶ David Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 33n; also Collet's 1770 Map of North Carolina (NCDAH, Raleigh) labels the lower inlet as "Gunt Inlet" and, according to Stick, was also known as "Gun Inlet". "Midget" is a variation of "Midyet" and "Midyette"; other variants include "Midgette" and "Majette".
- ⁵⁷ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 33n.
- ⁵⁸ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 33n and 73n; also Cheeseman, pp. 49-50.
- ⁵⁹ Dunbar, p. 20.
- ⁶⁰ Lounsbury, pp. 14-19. Also Virginia and Lee McAlister, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), pp. 110-111.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Byrd (*Outer Banks Reader*), p.10.
- ⁶³ Michael B. Alford, *Traditional Work Boats of North Carolina* (Beaufort: North Carolina Maritime Museum, 1989), pp. 29-31; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 178; David Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 13; Rodney Barfield, *Seasoned by Salt: A Historical Album of the Outer Banks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 156.
- ⁶⁴ Alford, pp. 31-32; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 178.

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⁶⁵ Dunbar, pp. 20-21; P. S. Sandbeck, *Etheridge*, p. 27: "Documenting—and salvaging—shipwrecks [after the Civil War] was part of this life and, for some, a source of profit. Edward Drinkwater's will specified that his sons were to receive his share of a certain shipwreck's proceeds. Volunteers who helped salvage cargo from the *Ezra*, which wrecked off Bodie Island in 1969, included Thomas A. Dough, Patrick H. Etheridge, Jesse B. Etheridge, John Meekins, MacAlister Montagu, and B. B. Dough, all of whom received \$11.50 for their efforts. One of the Etheridges and Edward Drinkwater even transported the *Ezra*'s crew to Norfolk, Virginia. Occasionally, however, a local waterman might enter into the gray area between salvage and plunder; the British Vice Consul stationed at Norfolk wrote threatening letters to a Roanoke Island inspector, requesting the return of articles from the *Ezra*, apparently with no success."

⁶⁶ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 76. A comprehensive network along the coast for shipwreck commissioners, however, was not set up in North Carolina until 1801.

⁶⁷ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 76-77. Source of Stick's citation not given, but assumed correct.

⁶⁸ Dunbar, pp. 21, 26 Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp.44-45; also Lt. William B. Franklin, 1852 Report to Col. J. J. Aberts, U. S. Army (interview with Adam Etheridge, III). Record Group 77, Records of the Corps of Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D. C.: "Mr. Etheridge states too that he remembers passing through Roanoke Marshes in a boat in the year 1783. There was then but one channel opening through there, and that was not more than sixty feet wide. His grandfather used to say that when he was a boy the opening was so narrow that it could be crossed on a fence-rail."

⁶⁹ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 48; Cheeseman, p. 52.

⁷¹ Dunbar, p. 22.

⁷² Cheeseman, p. 52.

⁷³ Currituck County Register of Deeds, Book 4, pp. 109-110 [Joseph Mann>Jesse Etheridge, January 7, 1783]. This tract of land is said to be the core of the Adam Dough Etheridge farmstead, standing near the southwest intersection of Etheridge Road and U. S. 64-264.

⁷⁴ Cheeseman, p. 48; also Currituck Register of Deeds, Book 5, p. 224 [Tart Etheridge<William Daniel, May 11, 1787]: "One message (or tract)...joining the land of Samuel Johnston...."

⁷⁵ Dunbar, p. 24, and Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 75; also Cheeseman, p. 54.

⁷⁶ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 72.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 74-75; Dunbar, p. 28.

⁷⁹ Dunbar, p. 25.

⁸⁰ Henry Metcalf, August 1783 letter to Charles Pettigrew, Edenton, N. C., from Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, ed., *The Pettigrew Papers*, 1685-1818 (Raleigh: NCDALH, 1971), as excerpted in Cheeseman, p. 54. Pettigrew, Bishop-Elect of the Diocese of North Carolina, was an Anglican priest who became part of the expatriate Anglicans who formed the Episcopal Church in America. This correspondence with a follower of John Wesley may indicate how close Methodists then considered their sect to be with that of the Church of England.

⁸¹ J. D. B. DeBow, *The Eleventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), pp. 326-327. There was a chapel of ease for Episcopalian visitors at Nags Head by the mid-nineteenth century, which formed the basis of the present church St. Andrew By-The-Sea.

⁸² Roanoke Island Baptist Church Ledger (ca. 1888-1925; property of Roanoke Island Baptist Church, Manteo, N. C.), "Decorum or rules of conference," p. 1.

⁸³ Hamilton Fulton, *Plans of Croatan and Roanoke Sounds Shewing the proposed situations of the Embankments and Inlet, 1820* (NCDALH, Raleigh); also Dr. Benjamin C. Holtzclaw, "Etheridge of Norfolk County, Va.," in Mrs. John Bennett Boddie, *Historical Southern Families* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1970 and 1971), vols. XIV and XV, pp. 145-146 (XIV) and 115-121 (XV).

⁸⁴ Fulton Map, 1820.

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⁸⁵ Fulton Map, 1820. "Nags Head" is marked just above what appears to be a dune, possibly explaining the origins of the name; this would have been in the area of the former Engagement Hill dune. Also, the proposed Roanoke Sound embankment course runs approximately in line with the present causeway and bridge system. The Fulton Map does not extend as far south as Bodie Island.

⁸⁶ Dunbar, pp. 26-28. Dunbar quotes Archibald Murphey extensively in

⁸⁷ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 86-87.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ According to local historians Bill Harris and David Stick, there is an antebellum building in Kitty Hawk, in the sound side area near the old Kitty Hawk School, but it has been substantially altered.

⁹⁰ Daniel Larned, Roanoke Island, N. C., February 1862 letter to "Sister" (Daniel Larned Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

⁹¹ Roger Meekins, Manteo, N. C., March 14, 2002, interview with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

⁹² U. S. 1850 Census, Agriculture Schedule for Currituck County, N. C., Roanoke Island.

⁹³ John Wilson, IV, Manteo, N. C.. Conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, May 12, 2001. This house's provenance is still open to question, but, according to Wilson, stood near Weir Point at the island's northwestern corner. This, however, is in opposition to a September 1973 *Coastland Times* (Manteo, N. C.) article, which holds that the house was built by Ashley Dough circa 1805 on the site of what is now the Elizabethan Gardens. Given the quality of the common bond brick chimney in place circa 1940, it is likely that, if the house was not built on the Elizabethan Gardens site, it was moved there soon after it was built. The house was acquired by "Captain" Jeff Hayman by the early twentieth century and Alpheus W. Drinkwater in the 1940s.

⁹⁴ Janet K. Seapker, Report on "Drinkwater's Folly", July 17, 1975 (Survey File, N. C. State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh, N. C.)

⁹⁵ Dough-Hayman-Drinkwater House (aka "Drinkwater's Folly") photographs, D. Victor Meekins Collection, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C.

⁹⁶ Seapker, pp. 1-2. Also, Marguerite Drinkwater Booth, Manteo, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith and John Wilson, IV, July 1999. During our meeting, Mrs. Booth showed us photographs of the house's interior, showing further changes since Ms. Seapker's visit such as sheetrock and alteration of walls and flooring.

⁹⁷ Penne Smith Sandbeck, "The Etheridge Homeplace" (Adam Dough Etheridge House Report for Outer Banks Conservationists, Inc., Manteo, N. C., 2001), pp. 57-59.

⁹⁸ Currituck County Estates Records, Inventory of Benjamin Baum, deceased, June 4, 1837 (CR.030.514.1, NCDAH, Raleigh, N. C.).

⁹⁹ Currituck County Will Book 4, pp. 70-71, Last Will and Testament of Mauris Baum, 1840.

¹⁰⁰ Currituck County Register of Deeds, Book 9, pp. 95, 96, 103 (Adam Etheridge, Sr. > Mara Etheridge Dough and Sally Etheridge, July-August 1805). This Adam Etheridge was the son of Adam Etheridge I (ca. 1710-1790) and the uncle of Adam Etheridge III (1775-1855) on Roanoke Island; much of his property at the northernmost point of the island, as seen on the 1820 Fulton Map, eroded in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰¹ U. S. Census, 1840 Population Schedule for Currituck County, N.C., Powell's Point District.

¹⁰² Dunbar, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰³ Currituck County Register of Deeds, Currituck Court House, N. C., *Animal Brand Markings, 1832-1958*.

¹⁰⁴ Currituck County Register of Deeds, Book 18, p. 310 [Markham>Etheridge]. Also, Currituck County Estate Records, NCDAH (Raleigh, N. C.), Probate Inventory for Adam Dough Etheridge Estate Sale, July 13, 1869: Adam Etheridge III's son, Adam Dough Etheridge had eight cattle at his Bodie Island property at the time of his death.

¹⁰⁵ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 92-93; Dunbar, p. 35.

¹⁰⁶ Cheeseman, p. 75-76; Dunbar, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ Adam Dough Etheridge 1869 Probate Inventory (NCDAH)

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¹⁰⁸ Franklin 1852, NARA, Washington, D. C. Also, Penne Smith Sandbeck, Etheridge 2001, p. 57, and Dunbar pp. 32-33. Because David Stick has taken issue with some of my data, this footnote is to explicate my findings in detail. First, Franklin's 1852 report included an interview with Adam Etheridge III, who related owning a boat, in which he periodically traveled to Ocracoke Inlet; the inference is that Etheridge traded with the locals. Then, in my 2001 report on the Adam Dough Etheridge I House, I received information from Peter Sandbeck (former Restoration Specialist with NC-HPO) that, given the low elevation of Roanoke Island and the North/Currituck Banks, antebellum reciprocally-sawn pieces of lumber were probably obtained from other markets, particularly Norfolk, Elizabeth City, or Portsmouth Island/Ocracoke. Finally, the cited section of Dunbar's report concerns nineteenth-century windmills once in the survey area, and that "The mills on the Banks were used to grind corn, most of which was obtained on the mainland in trade for salted mullet and yaupon."

¹⁰⁹ Dunbar, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 89.

¹¹¹ U. S. Census, 1850 Population Schedule for Currituck County, N. C., North Banks and Roanoke Island Districts.

¹¹² *Ibid.* Also, David Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses* (Raleigh: N. C. Department of Cultural Resources, 1991 edition), pp. 43-44.

¹¹³ John Gaskill, Wanchese, N. C., and Biloxi, MS. Interview with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/25/2002; Wayland Baum, Wanchese, N. C., Interview with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Sarah S. Downing, OBHC, 4/25/2002. Also Franklin 1852, printed map of south Roanoke Island (NCDAH). Brian Edwards, OBHC, informed me that the "Indian Shell Banks" site had been in the Tillett family for several generations.

¹¹⁴ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 96-97. Also Catherine W. Bishir, *The 'Unpainted Aristocracy': The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head* (Raleigh: NCDAH 1977), p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Bishir, *The Unpainted Aristocracy*, pp. 6-9.

¹¹⁶ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 96-102.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Bishir, *The Unpainted Aristocracy*, p. 10.

¹¹⁹ Cheeseman, p. 76; U. S. 1850 Census, Population Schedule for Currituck County, N. C., Roanoke Island District.

¹²⁰ Postcard, "General Burnside's Headquarters", ca. 1910. Sarah Manning Pope Collection, Morehead City, N. C.

¹²¹ *Harper's Weekly*, March 1, 1862 (reprint), p. 135.

¹²² Mary Seaton Dix, "And Three Rousing Cheers for the Privates," in the *North Carolina Historical Review* 71:1 (January 1994), pp. 75-78.

¹²³ Cheeseman, p. 78.

¹²⁴ U. S. 1860 Census, Slave Schedules and Population Schedule (abstract of free blacks) for Currituck County, N. C., Roanoke Island District.

¹²⁵ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 162-164; Dunbar, pp. 42-43; Patricia Click, *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862-1867* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 47-51.

¹²⁶ Click, p. 88.

¹²⁷ Click, pp. 154-158; Dunbar, pp. 42-43.

¹²⁸ Dunbar, pp. 42-43; Click, pp. 53, 67-69, and 88-89.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

¹³⁰ Click, pp. 160, 168-175, 188, 191, 194..

¹³¹ David Wright and David Zoby, *Fire on the Beach* (New York: Scribners 2001), p. 128; Angel Ellis Khoury, *Manteo: A Roanoke Island Town* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1999), pp. 183-184.

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¹³² Zoeller, Morgan Co. (Elizabeth City, N. C.), "Camp Meeting at Roanoke Island," ca. 1875-1890. North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Pl-28-R62-C56).

¹³³ Dix *NCHR*, p. 76.

¹³⁴ 1870 U. S. Census, Currituck County, N. C., Agriculture Schedule for Nags Head Township, Powells Point. Thomas Barrett, also in the township, had a comparable value but he was growing cotton, which was not grown on the Banks; thus Barrett was probably on the other side of Currituck Sound. Also Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 262.

¹³⁵ 1860 U. S. Census, Currituck County, N. C., Agriculture Schedule for Roanoke Island District; also 1870 U. S. Census, Dare County, N. C., Agriculture Schedule for Nags Head Township, Manteo. Meekins, who had a share in his mother's farm along with his brothers, may have inherited their shares in the farm as well. See Click, 170-171.

¹³⁶ 1870 U. S. Census, Dare County, N. C., Manufacturing Schedule for Croatan Township [Wanchese and Croatan Sound].

¹³⁷ Levi Branson, *1872 North Carolina Business Directory* (Raleigh, N. C.), p. 80; *1877 North Carolina Business Directory*, p. 96; *1884 North Carolina Business Directory*, p. 262.

¹³⁸ Cheeseman, p. 88.

¹³⁹ *Branson's 1877 North Carolina Business Directory*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁴⁰ Bishir, *The Unpainted Aristocracy*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴¹ *Branson's 1877 North Carolina Business Directory*, p. 96; *1884 North Carolina Business Directory*, p. 262.

¹⁴² Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁴³ Penne Smith Sandbeck, "Etheridge", pp. 27-35; Wright and Zoby, pp. 54-55; U. S. 1870 Census, Dare County, N.C., Population Schedule for Nags Head Township.

¹⁴⁴ The Dare County Times, "Pea Island, Only Negro Coast Guard Unit in the Country", July 17, 1936, pp. 1 and 4. Also, 1920 and 1930 U. S. Census, Dare County, N. C., Population Schedules for Nags Head Township, and Wright and Zoby, p. 299.

¹⁴⁵ John F. Wilson, IV, Study List Nomination for Kill Devil Hills Life-Saving Station, 1988. Survey File, NC-SHPO.

¹⁴⁶ *The Daily Advance* (Elizabeth City, N. C.), "From Out of the Sands," May 13, 1990, p. 21. Also Carole Thompson, Corolla, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Sarah A. Woodard, November 12, 2001.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas R. Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank: The Architectural Heritage of Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County, North Carolina* (Elizabeth City: Museum of the Albemarle, 1989), p. 153.

¹⁴⁸ P. S. Sandbeck, "Etheridge", pp. 44-45.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁰ Joshua Judson Davis Papers: 1888-1889 Roanoke Island Diary. Special Collections, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, N. C. Entries for 3/9/1888, 7/16/1888, 7/18/1888, 8/31/1888, 9/3/1888, 9/10/1888, 9/14/1888, 9/18/1888, and 9/18/1888. According to oral history, Davis probably taught at the Hooker School, which preceded the 1890s Wanchese Academy.

¹⁵¹ Joshua Judson Davis Papers, 1888-1889 Roanoke Island Diary. Special Collections, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, N. C.

¹⁵² Davis, 9/19/1888 entry. Also, Louis Midgette, Manteo, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith, July 10, 1999.

¹⁵³ Davis, 11/15/1888 entry.

¹⁵⁴ Davis, 10/2/1888 and 10/6/1888 entries. Also, *Branson's 1884* (p. 263) and *1890* (p. 238) *North Carolina Business Directory*. Also Stick, *The Outer Banks*, p. 317.

¹⁵⁵ Davis 8/3/1888 entry.

¹⁵⁶ Bishir, *The Unpainted Aristocracy*, p. 17.

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¹⁵⁷ Davis, 7/15/1888 entry.

¹⁵⁸ Edna Evans Bell, "My Birthplace and My Home" (Unpublished manuscript, 1968: Collection Dare County Public Library, Manteo, N. C.), Chapter 2, p. 10.

¹⁵⁹ Davis 2/17/1888 and 2/7/1888 entries.

¹⁶⁰ Bell, Chapter 2, p. 9; D. Victor Meekins Collection [c. 20th century photograph], Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C. There has been a misconception with some sources that Askew was the pastor at the time, but according to Branson's 1880s directories, the pastor was William Hayes.

¹⁶¹ Davis 9/18/1888 and 9/19/1888 entries.

¹⁶² 1880 U. S. Census, Dare County, N. C., Population Schedule for Nags Head Township.

¹⁶³ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 178-179; Alford, pp. 18-19; Brian Edwards (OBHC) and Chris Blanchard (formerly with N. C. Maritime Museum), Manteo, N. C., 1/12/2002 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

¹⁶⁴ *Branson's 1896 and 1897 North Carolina Business Directory*, (p. 222). The population of greater Kitty Hawk, including Duck, might not have been factored in, however.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Parramore, *Triumph At Kitty Hawk: The Wright Brothers and Powered Flight* (Raleigh: NCDH, 1993), pp. 27-29.

¹⁶⁶ Bill Harris, Kitty Hawk, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/21/2002.

¹⁶⁷ Parramore, *Kitty Hawk*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁸ 1900 U. S. Census, Currituck County, N. C., Population Schedule for Whales Head Election Precinct.

¹⁶⁹ Archie Johnson and Bud Coppedge, *Gun Clubs and Decoys of Back Bay and Currituck Sound* (Virginia Beach: CurBac Press, 1991), pp. 95-96 and 100.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Also, Gary Soucie, "Fare-thee-well, Currituck Banks," *Audubon*, Vol 78. No.1 (January 1976), pp. 30, 32-33.

¹⁷¹ Norris Austin and Suzanne Tate, *Whalehead* (Nags Head, 1987), p. 7. Also, *Coastland Times* (Manteo, N.C.), August 5, 1955, p. 1.

¹⁷² Nathan Swain Log for Currituck Beach, 1905-1920. Coast Guard Records, NARA.

¹⁷³ *Daily Economist* (Elizabeth City, N. C.), August 14, 1906, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ In addition to my notes from my 1999 interviews with Alma E. Wilson and Marguerite D. Booth for the Adam Dough Etheridge I House Report for OBC Inc., I found Charles E. Cobb, Jr.'s *National Geographic* (Vol. 172, No. 4, October 1987) article, "The Outer Banks: Awash In Change," quite to the point, particularly pp. 495-496;

¹⁷⁵ Dunbar, pp. 79-82. As late as 1958, fishermen in Duck were still catching eels.

¹⁷⁶ Ruth Scarborough Tate and Suzanne Tate, *Bring Me Duck* (Nags Head, 1986), pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁷ Claudia Roberts, "Currituck Shooting Club" (National Register Nomination, 1980), p. 8-1; Johnson and Coppedge, pp. 85-95.

¹⁷⁸ Johnson and Coppedge, p. 113; Bill Harris, Kitty Hawk, N. C., 2/2002 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

¹⁷⁹ McNaughton, p. 47.

¹⁸⁰ Currituck County, NC, Register of Deeds, Book 59, pp. 550-557.

¹⁸¹ Lighthouse Club/Corolla Island Log, Book A (Whalehead Club Archives, Corolla, NC), p. A161.

¹⁸² Claudia Roberts, "The Whalehead Club" (National Register Nomination, 1979), pp. 8, 8-1, 8-2; Penne Smith Sandbeck, March 2001 Research Report for the Whalehead Club, pp. 8-10. Recent investigation has led to eliminating Horace Trumbauer, who designed Knight's other houses in Philadelphia and Newport. Presently, the working hypothesis from recent research is that Corolla Island was probably designed by Philadelphia architect Milton Medary. Medary, who designed Art Nouveau style residences in Philadelphia, notably the Adelbert Fischer House in Germantown, PA (1912), is the only architect examined thus far in Knight's circle who seems a likely prospect. He died in 1929.

¹⁸³ *Independent* (Elizabeth City), January 15, 1926 (pp. 1, 3), February 19, 1926 (p. 5), March 5, 1926 (p. 1).

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¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1926 (p. 1). Brian Edwards, the former OBHC curator, reminded me in his review of my draft, that Joseph Knapp, the entrepreneur who settled in mainland Currituck County, came to the rescue with an educational endowment for local children.

¹⁸⁵ Angel Ellis Khoury, *Manteo: A Roanoke Island Town* (Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 1999), pp. 52-54, 90-94, 164. I didn't use p. 164 but it has a wonderful anecdote about the Lone Cedar's African American cook, Agatha Manley Gray. Also, Marybruce Lennon Dowd, Manteo, NC, telephone conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 2/2002; Aerial photographs of Lone Cedar Lodge, ca. 1954. Roger Meekins Photograph Collection, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC.

¹⁸⁶ Dunbar, p. 162 (endnote 119) and Angel Ellis Khoury, *Manteo: A Roanoke Island Town* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Corporation, 1999), p. 93. Also, Gaskill 2/25/2002 interview.

¹⁸⁷ Ralph Shanks, Wick York, and Lisa Woo Shanks, *The U. S. Life-Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard* (Petaluma, CA: Costano Books, 1996), pp. 239, 248. Also, Steve Harrison, National Park Service (Manteo, N. C., branch). "Bodie Island Station" (report compiled from National Archives Southeast Region files), ca. 1999. Collection Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C.: pp. 1-20.

¹⁸⁸ Kill Devil Hills U. S. Life-Saving Station and USCG Station, research file compiled by Steve Harrison, NPS, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC: p. 2, and copy of 1943 survey map.

¹⁸⁹ I couldn't find anything comparable in the architecture section of Ralph Shanks, Wick York, and Lisa Shanks, *The U. S. Life-Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues, and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard* (Costano Books, 1996), which does include stations built after the USL-SS became the U. S. Coast Guard.

¹⁹⁰ J. Daniel Pezzoni, "Manteo Historic Architectural Survey Report" (Raleigh: N. C. Historic Preservation Office, 1995), p. 8.

¹⁹¹ Khoury, p. 23.

¹⁹² Khoury, pp. 67, 70; Bell, p. 25.

¹⁹³ Manteo School photograph, North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, UNC-Ch; also Khoury, pp. 180-181.

¹⁹⁴ *Daily Economist* (Elizabeth City, N. C.), September 26, 1906, p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ Khoury, pp. 192-194.

¹⁹⁶ Khoury, pp. 199-200; North Carolina Collection, Stills of *Lost Colony*, Wilson Library, UNC-Ch.

¹⁹⁷ *The Independent* (Elizabeth City, N. C.), Sept. 26, 1924, p. 10.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Independent* (Elizabeth City, N. C.), January 1, 1926, p. 1. The article ends with, "And, yes, East Lake, where all the liquor comes from, is frozen too."

²⁰⁰ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 243-246; Dunbar, p. 62.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Blanche Nettleton Epler, M. D., "A Bit of Elizabethan England In America," *National Geographic Magazine* 69:6 (December 1933), pp. 729-730.

²⁰³ Epler, p. 700.

²⁰⁴ Marimar McNaughton, *Outer Banks Architecture* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 2000), p. 79. Also, David Stick, Kitty Hawk, N. C., interview, 2/21/2001.

²⁰⁵ Bill Harris, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/26/2002

²⁰⁶ David Stick, Kitty Hawk, N. C., September 17, 2002, letter to Penne Smith Sandbeck: "The Kitty Hawk marker had deteriorated so much that residents of the community took up another collection a few years ago and had a reproduction made, which is what you see there now."

²⁰⁷ U. S. 1920 Census, Dare County, N. C., Nags Head Township, Population Schedule for Manteo (African-American Selection).

²⁰⁸ Judith D. Mercier, *Duck: An Outer Banks Village* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 2001), pp. 101-148.

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²⁰⁹ *Independent* (Elizabeth City), January 15, 1926 (pp. 1, 3), February 19, 1926 (p. 5), March 5, 1926 (p. 1). Also Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 242 and 243; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, July 24, 1936, part 2, p. 4. For the definitive overview of bootlegging in the area, there is Brian Edwards, "A Brief History of Prohibition in Northeastern North Carolina," in *Tributaries*, no. 9 (Beaufort, N. C.: North Carolina Maritime History Council), October 1999, pp. 7-24.

²¹⁰ *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 7/17/1936, p. 5; Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 247; Khoury, p. 181; Dunbar, p. 65.

²¹¹ Stick, *The Outer Banks*, pp. 247-149; McNaughton, p. 77; Khoury, p. 194; *The News & Observer* (Raleigh, N. C.), 8/12/1934.

²¹² Grogan Photo Service, Chicago, IL, "Roanoke Island Historical Exposition" [photographs], 1937. Collection Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C.

²¹³ Khoury, pp. 54-55, and 294-296.

²¹⁴ Edwards, p. 18; also Daniel Pezzoni, file entry for Hotel Fort Raleigh, Manteo Architecture Survey, 1995 (revised by Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2002), Survey and Planning Files, State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh, N. C. In Edwards' article, it turns out that two bootleggers from East Lake—Carson Creef and Claude Duvall—took up the town's challenge to build a modern hotel in Manteo, erecting the building in a matter of months with \$50,000 provided by their "East Lake cocktail" sales. Creef, arrested by government agents soon after the hotel opened, was not to enjoy being a hotelier.

²¹⁵ Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C., Hotel/Motel files; Rhoda A. R. Lawrence, First Colony Inn National Register Nomination (1992), pp. 8-7, 8-8.

²¹⁶ 1944 photograph of Currituck Beach (OBHC Collection, Manteo, N. C.); Austin and Tate, p. 29.

²¹⁷ Khoury, pp. 139-141.

²¹⁸ David Stick, 2/21/2002 conversation.

²¹⁹ KaeLi Spears and Brian Edwards, OBHC, Manteo, N. C., 2/2002 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck. At least two of these houses, altered, are on 900 Virginia Dare Road in Manteo (DR 586) and one is on E. R. Daniels Road in Wanchese.

²²⁰ David Stick and I had a very interesting meeting on 2/21/2002 and this was a theory he put forward, although more subtly than I have done here. JPSS.

²²¹ McNaughton, pp. 79-83.

²²² McNaughton, p. 97.

²²³ Stick meeting, 2/21/2002; I got to see a 1956 plat Godwin & Bell had put together for the entire tract.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Stick 2/2002 interview; Sarah Downing and Brian Edwards, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C., 11/6/2001 interview with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

²²⁶ Dunbar, p. 90.

²²⁷ David Stick and Aycock Brown, *The Ash Wednesday Storm* (Kill Devil Hills: Gresham Publications, 1987).

²²⁸ Soucie, pp. 25-26.

²²⁹ Norris Austin, Corolla, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 11/16/2001.

²³⁰ Pezzoni, Manteo Architectural Survey Report, pp. 1-2, 9.

²³¹ Khoury, pp. 225-231. Jan de Blieu, "Sacred Cartography", *Utne Reader* 99 (May-June 2000), pp. 72-74.

²³² Khoury, pp. 232-233.

²³³ DeBlieu, pp. 74-75.

²³⁴ McNaughton, pp. 83-84.

²³⁵ "That Was Then, This Is Now." *The Virginian-Pilot*, July 13, 2002, p. A-1, A-10.

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Property Types

1. Farm Complexes
2. Dwellings
3. Institutional Buildings: Churches, Schools, Government Buildings
4. Commercial Buildings: Town Commercial Buildings, Hunting Clubs, Resort/Motels

Property Type One: Farm Complexes

Description

There are no farm complexes singled out for NRS� consideration in this category, but agriculture is an important historic context to the communities comprising the North Outer Banks—the Currituck Banks, North Dare Banks, and Roanoke Island—and is discussed below.

In the last one hundred years, agricultural buildings have been the most depleted of the survey area's historic resources. Dare and Currituck Counties' northeastern townships, given to their lack of extensive acreage and poor soil quality, were never farming powerhouses but, instead, mostly devoted to subsistence farming. In 1860, for example, farming values on Roanoke Island alone came to \$11,220 for a total of 463 cultivated acres, worked by twenty horses, four mules, and twenty-nine oxen on the respective farms.¹ This total was a small fraction of Currituck County's overall value of

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\$1,175,485.00 for its farms in that year, the majority of which were on the mainland.²

And yet, Roanoke Island had the highest number of listed farmers for this area in the antebellum period. Of the Outer Banks settlements from the Currituck Banks to Portsmouth Island, only what is now the North Dare Banks and Roanoke Island listed farmers in 1850 and 1860, of which Roanoke Island had the greater number.³ After the Civil War, the area became increasingly involved in commercial fishing, government industries such as the United States Life-Saving Service and, for a time, market gunning whereby waterfowl was hunted by local men and shipped to northeastern markets.

Tourism in the twentieth century created high values for what had once been, at best, moderately fertile land and what little farming had existed in the area, including Roanoke Island's small vineyards and wineries, had substantially declined by the 1950s.⁴ A smaller agricultural area, Nags Head Woods, was on the Roanoke Sound west of the Nags Head resort; by the 1950s these small farms were abandoned and the farmsteads are now said to be demolished.⁵

Nevertheless, some farm remnants, all of which are located on Roanoke Island, have survived to the present day. The most intact of these former farms include the *Pugh-Baum House* in Wanchese (DR 538); the *Willie and Arnetta Simmons House* in Manteo (DR 56); and the *Thomas A. Dough House* (DR 600) on Roanoke Island's North End.⁶ These were all subsistence farmsteads dating from the early nineteenth century to the 1940s. Other houses on the island and houses in Kitty Hawk's soundside area retain a

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smaller number of domestic and agricultural outbuildings on what remains of their complexes, but not to the extent of the three aforementioned properties.

Judging from present buildings and documentary photographs, joined with census data from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what farms looked like in the area can be constructed with some effort. First, 1940s aerial photography of nineteenth-century farm sites combined with oral history has revealed that Outer Banks farms had a conventional arrangement. The farmhouse sat in the center of the complex with ancillary buildings—a dairy, smokehouse, shed, potato house, outhouse, scuppernon arbor, kitchen—immediately behind it.⁷ Around the farmhouse were large trees, providing shade for the family—live oaks, cedars, and occasionally elms. There were few pecan groves developed in the survey area, although pecan trees are frequently seen in the villages of Wanchese and Manteo.⁸ Agricultural outbuildings—mule barns, chicken houses, and tractor sheds—were behind the house, separated from the domestic outbuildings by picket fencing or a hedge. Animal pens were also located behind the house. Fields could be beside, in front of, or behind the house, including small fruit orchards later in the nineteenth century.

A popular outbuilding type seen in northern and southern Roanoke Island and known to have existed along the nineteenth-century North Banks and Currituck Banks is the sweet potato house. Used for curing and storing sweet potatoes during the fall, these are fairly

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humble, diminutive buildings in contrast to the large gabled frame barns used for that purpose in southern Delaware and the Maryland Eastern Shore.⁹ The north Outer Banks potato house is a front-gable brick building that is partly subterranean; steps from the heavily battened wooden door entrance to the dirt floor within are occasionally still in place. Potato houses were usually built into the upper part of a slope, if possible, and situated so that the crop would stay dry. The most intact example seen in the survey area is at the Samuel Baum House (DR 516) in Baumtown. The tongue-and-groove batten door, altered by replacement glass jalousie blinds, opens into a large, tidy space with an insulated ceiling sheathed with wide tongue-and-groove boards, plastered brick walls, and a dirt floor. There is evidence of there having been a hanging flue in the center of the potato house for curing purposes. None of the shelves where potatoes would have been stored are in place, but a small wood bench at the east end may have been part of the original interior.

As in other parts of North Carolina, fencings or plantings demarcated domestic and agricultural areas. Traditionally, horses, cattle, and even sheep were allowed to graze free-range in the northern Outer Banks. By the early twentieth century, although livestock enclosures were not strictly enforced until the 1930s, more animals were being penned; there are documentary photographs dating from between 1915 and 1925 of a tall post-and-board fence enclosure for a flock of sheep, and a less structured post-and-board enclosure for swine.¹⁰

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Surviving domestic outbuildings are few. Unlike other areas of North Carolina, few smokehouses have survived in the north Outer Banks. Documentary examples suggest that they were much the same as smokehouses inland, frame with a flue, a dirt floor, and hooks for hanging meat during the curing process. No dairy artifacts were seen in the survey area but a very small early-to-mid-twentieth-century “milk house”, gabled with weatherboard sheathing and positioned on two treated wood posts. There is also a plank log smokehouse at the Meekins Anchorage (DR) dating from the 1860s. Part of why there are so few domestic outbuildings was, apart from older buildings being replaced, that the need for them passed when farming ceased on Roanoke Island between 1950 and 1975. However, some livestock were still kept on farmsteads in south Manteo’s African American community as recently as 1999.¹¹

At the south end of Roanoke Island, the fishing community of Wanchese did not engage in large-scale farming, although documentation indicates there were small subsistence operations at each dwelling. The best example remaining of such late nineteenth-century farmsteads is a two-story L-plan, frame side-gable house, enhanced by Italianate style exterior decoration, that was built for William St. Clair Pugh in 1893 and has been owned by Wayland Baum since the 1930s. Pugh, the son of lighthouse keeper Littlejohn Pugh, was a successful merchant and fisherman. Three outbuildings on the property, in addition to sections of a picket fence in the east and west yard, date from William St.

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Clair Pugh's occupancy. There is a frame mule barn with a center aisle plan and sided with nailed vertical board-and-batten siding, built at the turn of the twentieth century; three side stalls survive. This is the only period mule barn seen in the survey area. There is also a small front-gable board-and-batten shed that was constructed circa 1910-1920, and the walls of a stuccoed brick potato house built by the Pughs at the turn of the twentieth century. Its door and wood doorway reveal also survive.

At Roanoke Island's North End, near the Fort Raleigh archaeological site, farmer and fisherman Thomas Allen Dough (1863-1936) built a two-story, three-bay traditional side-gable frame dwelling at the turn of the twentieth century. His son, Thomas Edison Dough (1907-1973) served in the United States Coast Guard and later inherited this house, where he also farmed and fished. The property remains in Dough family ownership. It retains its original form and many elements but has been altered in the twentieth century; the front shed porch was enclosed between 1975 and 1990 and is sided with plywood. Original features include the roof's prominent gable returns, six-over-six double-hung sash windows, a narrow flue chimney at the house's northwest elevation, and some intact weatherboarding. Intact outbuildings include a 1930s semi-subterranean concrete block potato house, a vertical nailed board side-gable tractor shed circa 1945-1950, a latticework well house (the well is enclosed), a board-and-batten early twentieth-century milk house for storing dairy products, and a small board-and-batten shed that was either a potting shed or a privy; according to a family member, the shed is circa 1935-

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1945. Many plantings date from the early twentieth century such as the large scuppernong arbor southeast of the house, old pecan trees, camellias, and live oaks. The family cemetery, its earliest burial date in the early twentieth century, is located northeast of the house. What was once the family farm sloping eastward to Roanoke Sound is now divided into residential properties, most of them owned by Dough family descendants; one grandson of Thomas Edison Dough's uses his lawn and land by the family cemetery to lay out his fishing nets.

Willie and Arnetta Simmons had a small farm on 600 Sir Walter Raleigh in Manteo. Simmons, who served at the Pea Island United States Coast Guard Station, was Manteo's first African American town commissioner in the late 1970s. With his wife, Simmons raised horses, cows, pigs, and chickens on his small farmstead between 1935 and 1975, and also had a large vegetable garden. The Simmons House, which probably dates from the turn of the twentieth century, is a "story and a jump" frame dwelling, its weatherboards now covered with vinyl siding. It retains a front shed roof porch supported by battered wood posts and, above the porch, small windows cut into the wall between porch roof and eave, a treatment common to these dwelling types (see DR 70). It has much of its original form, including its side-gable roof, double-hung windows at each gable end, and a one-story rear ell.

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Behind the house is an assortment of outbuildings comprising one of the very few African-American farmsteads to survive on Roanoke Island. These include a front-gable weatherboarded shed constructed between 1935 and 1945, where the Simmons family smoked and stored their meat. There was also a small frame stable, a chicken house, and a shed, all built between 1935 and 1945. A longtime Manteo resident recalled that Simmons built a sweet potato house from dirt and straw, creating a small semi-subterranean mound; this probably was typical for poor farmers who could not afford the brick potato houses seen elsewhere on the island.¹²

Significance

The few significant farm complexes found in the survey area are fragmentary at best and are not presently eligible for consideration. They nevertheless provide a window to understanding Roanoke Island's modest soundside farms before twentieth-century tourism and extensive development changed the island's economic base. There are no other farm complexes left on Roanoke Island, nor in the survey area of the North Banks and Currituck Banks.

Registration Requirements

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In order for a farm complex or individual component of a farmstead to be eligible for the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. The basic requirement is that the property or the majority of buildings, structures, and field patterns on the farm should be fifty years old or older. The farm and its components should illustrate a theme or periods in the region's agricultural development and retain integrity in form, material, and workmanship. Any replacement siding, particularly vinyl, aluminum, or otherwise synthetic siding, should not compromise integral architectural or decorative details. Farm complexes should retain integrity of location and setting, as well as an integral arrangement of buildings, structures, and landscape features such as ponds, fields, and fences. For an entire farm complex, integrity is determined by that of components making up the entire farmstead including dwellings, outbuildings, landscape features, and other contributing elements. Individual buildings and structures may have been altered or moved within the complex without affecting the integrity of the entire complex. In fact, such alterations or moves can often reflect changes in agricultural methods and are therefore important for understanding evolving farm techniques.

Property Type Two: Dwellings

Description

No buildings predating the first quarter of the nineteenth century are still standing in the survey area. A number of intact dwellings that retain original elements begin just after

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the Civil War until 1952; the majority of these surviving houses were built in the twentieth century's second quarter. Dwellings within the 1995 Manteo Architectural Survey boundaries are not being considered in this study. Many of the houses have had periodic augmentation adapting them to more modern times and functions, such as detached kitchens being attached to the house, rear ells added at the turn of the twentieth century, and wraparound porches partly adapted to porte-cocheres with the rise of the automobile. The houses recommended for the Study List and those already on the National Register, however, retain their overall historic integrity.

Some of the examples below provide an overall perspective for houses suggested for placement on North Carolina's National Register Study List. Although these examples are too altered for consideration, they nevertheless provide important details about past domestic architecture in the North Outer Banks as well as context for the dwellings to be listed.

A. Dwellings, 1810-1865

Briefly, three dwellings constructed during the antebellum period stand in the survey area, all on Roanoke Island. The Meekins Anchorage (NRSL) facing Croatan Sound is a two-story frame house constructed according to family history in 1803, but was too altered in the twentieth century to be considered as an individual resource. The Dough-

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Hayman-Drinkwater House (NRSL) on Roanoke Island's North End, constructed circa 1820-1830, was moved to its current site in the 1940s, and lost many original features and details in the 1970s and 1980s. The Adam Dough Etheridge I House (DR 104), also on the North End, was constructed between 1847 and 1851, then restored in 2000-2001. Its restoration has put the Adam Dough Etheridge I House in the quandary of being a "new old house"; although artisans faithfully restored the house's older features as revealed by structural analysis, it is not presently eligible for consideration because its restored features were not all restored with original elements.

1865-1920

Ascendancy of lumber manufactories, in addition to steamboats regularly traveling to the Outer Banks after the Civil War, meant that remote communities had access to a variety of building materials. Improved transportation meant easier opportunities to travel to Elizabeth City and Norfolk and see dwellings fashioned in the latest style. With the 1890s inception of lumber mills at Buffalo City and East Lake on Dare County's mainland, millwork was even closer to the North Outer Banks consumer.¹³

The trickle-down effect—the city and its mass-produced building materials coming to the Outer Banks—was, initially, small. Elisha Twyne's plain 1880s two-story dwelling (DR 588) in Roanoke Island's Mother Vineyard was not so different from other plain two-story contemporary houses in the area, except that it was built from materials largely

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obtained from lumber mills and manufactories. Even in its deteriorated condition, it remains a tangible example of the sort of house Roanoke Islanders were building in the 1880s and early 1890s before the influence of prescriptively-designed government buildings in the area—lighthouse keepers' cottages, life-saving stations—began to permeate domestic designs. Instead of steep side-gable roofs with eaves graced by decoratively shaped rafter tails, the Twyne House's prominently returned gable ends have indications of a box cornice once running across the front and rear elevations. The house had plain weatherboards, and the front and rear porches had flush board sheathing approximately four inches wide. The latter treatment, an eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century porch finish seen on Roanoke Island and elsewhere, continued to be used into the turn of the twentieth century, and examples can also be seen in Kitty Hawk's soundside community. Some of the Elisha Twyne House's original louvered wood shutters are still in place, as are four-over-four double-hung sash windows in the side gables and six-over-six double-hung sash at the other elevations. Instead of louvered vents, each gable end has paired four-pane sash, indicating that the house once had paired interior end chimneys—a feature that became increasingly popular in North Outer Banks dwellings after 1870, replacing earlier end-gable chimneys.¹⁴ The one-story, one-room kitchen, connected to the house by a later-enclosed breezeway, was detached from the dwelling's rear elevation by the mid-twentieth century but is still on the premises.

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Similar houses in the survey area include the George B. Twyne House (DR 590), the Samuel Baum House (DR 516), and the Thomas A. Dough House (DR 600), all on Roanoke Island. All three frame two-story, side-gable dwellings constructed between 1885 and 1910, share features such as interior chimney flues, prominently returned gable ends, plain door and window board surrounds, and three-bay front facades sheltered by hip or shed roof porches. The Samuel Baum House is notable for having retained 1880s patterned tongue-and-groove sheathing in its dining room walls and ceilings, along with millwork molded window sills.

New technology also had positive repercussions for former Outer Banks slaves, in that they learned more efficient ways to build and had access to ready-made materials. During the Federal occupation of Roanoke Island from 1862 to 1867, a steam sawmill was brought briefly to the island and used for lumber to build the Freedmen's Colony dwellings then at the northwest end. The Paul Midgett House (DR 68) at 1376 Burnside Road in Manteo's African-American California community may not be one of these houses, but it is exemplary of construction techniques handed down through the community since the Civil War. The "story and a jump" side-gable frame house was constructed between 1880 and 1900, the end of which time being when its earliest known occupant, Paul Midgett, was living there. The house's front porch wall is sheathed with wide flush horizontal beaded boards, a feature common to Roanoke Island's antebellum houses. The house's form with the two diminutive windows between porch and roof

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cornice, is a type seen in other parts of Manteo, now most commonly in African American neighborhoods. That this house's studs go directly to the building's eave instead of to a plate, and then floor joists were nailed or tenoned into studs as seen fit was not a new construction method in this area. The 1847-1852 Adam Dough Etheridge I House was created thus, although it is timber and not balloon frame. However this technique, combined with the innovations of balloon framing and the circular saw, made the concept of a multi-storied house accessible for people of limited means. The six-over-six double-hung sash windows lighting the house, as well as the fixed six-pane windows, appear to be original as well. To the rear is a one-and-a-half story ell, extended by a one-story board-and-batten wing, probably once the house's detached kitchen. The two-room interior plan is reported to have had a boxed stair. According to the present owners, the house was moved from another location in California to Burnside Road in 1941.

Later variations of the "story and a jump", now mostly altered or demolished, include an abandoned house on Manteo's Berry Road (DR 593) once owned by the Bowser and Pledger families, two common African American surnames in the area. Constructed between 1900 and 1920, the house, following a small center hall, single-pile plan, retains a small front façade shed porch, diminutive casement windows below the eaves, shaped rafter tails at the porch and eave, and a one-story rear kitchen ell with enclosed shed extensions. The form had evolved to where porches no longer had flush sheathing, but

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tongue-and-groove vertical board interior sheathing beneath the weatherboards was still the order of the day.

Lifesaving stations were built along the North Outer Banks coast from 1874 into the early twentieth century from Stick Style and Gothic Revival designs as interpreted by U.S. Life-Saving Service (U.S. L-S. S) architects Francis Ward Chandler and J. Lake Parkinson. These utilitarian buildings were often the most current and stylish of any buildings local residents had seen. The 1875 Currituck Beach Lighthouse Keeper's Cottage (NRHP), for example, a massive three-story frame cruciform duplex on a raised brick elevation, found homage in George Washington Creef's two-story 1878 Manteo dwelling (NRHP). Sided with board and batten instead of molded weatherboards, Creef's house, with its variegated shingled gables, duplex shed porches, two-over-two double-hung sash windows, interior brick flues, and even the roof eaves' shaped rafter tails, is the most blatant of surviving dwellings influenced by the U. S. Life-Saving Service's prescriptive designs.¹⁵

Smaller details derived from the Stick Style and Carpenter Gothic designs seen in government building became pervasive in the Manteo, Wanchese, and Kitty Hawk communities from 1880 into the first quarter of the twentieth century. These traits combined to form the type of I-houses seen on Manteo's side streets, throughout Wanchese, Kitty Hawk, and in part of Corolla Village. These two-story, three-bay, side-

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gable houses of balloon frame construction had steep side-gable roofs with no gable returns or a box cornice, but shaped rafter tails along the eaves. Other defining features include full-façade front shed porches with chamfered posts and rail or decorative slatwork balustrades, two-over-two double-hung sash windows with louvered shutters, and interior end chimney flues. They also had, more often as not, a two-story rear ell with a side shed porch. This modest turn-of-the-twentieth-century dwelling is not unique to the Outer Banks; it is also seen inland, in the counties along the Pamlico, Albemarle, and Currituck Sounds, and in the former truck and poultry farming belts of the Delmarva peninsula. There is no one prototype for these dwellings. In addition to the influence of U. S. L-S S. and U. S. Lighthouse Board designs, inspiration also derived from prescriptive literature, particularly A. J. Downing's Romantic Revival frame cottages, and the variety of mass-produced building materials on hand in the nineteenth century's last quarter.

An example of this common north Outer Banks I-house is the L. Vernon Gaskill House (DR 549) in Wanchese, constructed in 1910 by Mase Willis. A two-story, side-gable house one room deep with a center hall, the house retains most of its original patterned beaded board walls and ceilings, which were unpainted until 1999. The four-panel Victorian style doors were the product of millwork, as were the staircase's turned balustrades and newel posts. There are no closets in the house and never were. The original south room at the first floor was divided into a smaller bedroom and bath in the

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1980s, and the side ell porch was enclosed by the 1950s, as was the front hip roof porch. In 1922, Vernon Gaskill salvaged part of a shipwreck, the *Laura Barnes*, off Coquina Beach near his post at the Bodie Island Lighthouse, using the timbers to construct a two-story rear ell. In this newer section of the house, walls and ceilings are sheathed with plain manufactured beaded board. The rear ell joined the one-story gabled kitchen, previously detached, to the house. Another example of this type is the Midgett House (DR 575), a two-story frame side-gable dwelling constructed circa 1910-1920 that is thought to have been moved from Nags Head Woods in the 1970s.

First- and second-generation lifesavers built their homes, if not as replicas of lighthouse keeper dwellings, as comfortable residences constructed of good building materials and decorative elements obtained from lumber manufactories. In Wanchese, this included the L-plan two-story frame dwelling built by William St. Clair Pugh in 1893 known as the *Pugh-Baum House* (DR 538) and the 1880s T-plan *Pugh House* (DR 548) built by Bodie Island lightkeeper Littlejohn Pugh, W. S. Pugh's father. In Manteo, comparable houses were those built for *John T. Daniels* (NRSL) and *Edward Daniels* (DR 582), both surfmen for lifesaving stations and the sons of fisherman John Daniels. These dwellings, side by side on Burnside Road west of downtown Manteo, are spacious three-bay side-gable houses with molded weatherboard siding, nearly all of their original two-over-two double-hung sash windows, and two-story rear ells. They are sheltered and decorated by wraparound porches, and the shelter of late nineteenth and early twentieth century

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plantings. The circa 1901 John T. Daniels House retains much of its original character, including its decorative front exterior center gable (referred to as a “Triple A”) and plain interior with manufactured beaded board walls, ceilings, and bull’s-eye corner blocks and turned rail staircase from a lumber mill. The *Edward Daniels House*, constructed between 1895 and 1900, retains its lively Eastlake style porch with its scalloped and turned frieze and slatwork balustrade, and a one-story kitchen/dining building attached to the house by a semi-enclosed breezeway.¹⁶ The *Marcus Midgett House* (DR 579), a two-story, five-bay side-gable dwelling built in Skyco circa 1914, has a crimped-roof one-story kitchen ell and patterned interior manufactured beaded board siding. It is another example of a comfortable and modest dwelling constructed by a surfman with the life-saving service (soon to become the U. S. Coast Guard by Midgett’s time).

In Kitty Hawk, houses continued to be more traditional in form and plan into the early twentieth century. Framing for the 1898 *Decatur Beacham House* (DR 226), in the sound side community, was from timbers of the first Providence Primitive Baptist Church. The house’s appearance, from the front porch’s flush sheathing and chamfered porch supports to the house’s plain side-gable form and boxy six-over-six double-hung sash windows, is traditional of mid-to-late nineteenth-century residences in the North Dare Banks.

Weatherboards, other than the flush siding of the house and kitchen porches, are molded and the sawnwork decorating the porch posts may be later, but it is in keeping with the house’s restrained character. The kitchen, a two-room building with a crimped side-gable

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roof extending into an engaged porch at the south elevation and shed rooms at the north, is connected to the house by its juncture with the house's shed front porch, and also by way of a small side breezeway that was once screened. According to locals, the house follows a center hall plan and the rear shed extension is original.¹⁷ A small wooden side shed was built at the kitchen's west end between 1960 and 1970. The house's builder and first owner, Decatur Beacham, was a fisherman who later worked for the United States Coast Guard.¹⁸ The site still has mature yaupon and cedar trees.

Slightly later houses in Kitty Hawk, such as the 1900 Bob Perry House (DR 429) and the 1902 William Ivey Dowdy House (DR 428), resemble contemporary dwellings in Wanchese or Manteo. Like them, they are two-story side-gable weatherboarded houses with two-over-two double-hung sash and front and side shed porches. In the cases of the Bob Perry House and William Ivey Dowdy House some traditional features not as frequently seen in Manteo or Wanchese, such as flush sheathing at the kitchen ell porch and front elevation porch, are maintained. The Harris-Beacham House (DR 425), a two-story, T-plan dwelling built for surfman Sylvester Harris in 1911, passed into the Beacham family within twelve years of its construction. Although its weatherboards have been covered with replacement vinyl siding, the house's form remains intact. It still rests on small brick piers with no infill, as do the three small sheds behind the house; all are connected by a series of concrete pebble walkways. A spacious porch with slightly battered wood column supports wraps around the house's center crosswing; there is also

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a small screen porch at the one-story rear ell's west elevation. Windows are double-hung six-over-six sash, their muntins painted black as was the practice in the early-to-mid twentieth century.¹⁹ All three outbuildings, built in the early twentieth century, have vertical nailed board siding and exposed rafter ends.

One nearly intact area example of a building based on nationally popular styles is Corolla's Gray-Griggs House (CK 111). A frame bungalow with classical exterior details, an unusually steep side-gable roof and semi-enclosed balcony dormer, it was constructed for shopkeeper Curtis Gray and his wife, local schoolteacher Blanche Gray between 1911 and 1915.²⁰ It is also unusual for being a two-and-a-half story dwelling. Original molded weatherboarding is intact at the house's main block, and the one-story rear ell has its original german siding. The front dormer balcony retains hexagonal gable shingles, plain rail balustrade, and weatherboarded "cheeks", which, serving as a wind buffer, would have made this space a pleasant sleeping porch. At the house's entrance there are two large fixed-pane windows, both of which retain their patterned glass upper sash and large lower sash. Inside, the house's downstairs partitions have been removed, although original features, such as manufactured beaded board ceilings and walls and simple door and window surrounds, are still in place. Mrs. Gray, who was married to Mr. Gray and teaching in Corolla by 1910, is said to have designed the house herself. It is more likely that Mrs. Gray had access to literature of the period and had the house built according to already published specifications. By the early twentieth century ladies'

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magazines and ready-made “houses by mail” catalogues, such as Sears Roebuck and Company or the Aladdin Company, published house designs and, in the case of the catalogues, also offered prefabricated elements as part of the package.²¹ Curtis Gray, who was listed as Corolla’s only merchant as early as 1910, may have played a part in the house’s conceptualization, given his contact with a number of merchants on the Currituck mainland.²²

Other houses in the survey area more consciously designed with national tastes in mind include the Theodore S. Meekins House (NRHP), the Nathaniel Gould House (DR 83) and the Nathaniel Gould Annex (DR 95), catalogued during the 1995 Manteo Architectural Survey. Since 1995, the Nathaniel Gould House has been restored, although its annex, a side-gable building that was once the kitchen, was moved to west Manteo in the 1960s and adapted into a dwelling. There is also the Ward-Tillett House (DR 603), examined during this study. The Ward-Tillett House, although altered, is one of Manteo’s most intact examples of a composite Carpenter Gothic-Queen Anne style dwelling that could have existed elsewhere. It retains nearly all of its original exterior form at three of its elevations, beginning with the two large parallel front gable dormers that, like the other gables, retain original embricated shingle covering and a two-over-two double-hung sash window. The house also has its wide wraparound porch, still with original turned posts and balustrade, and its period carriage house (in the style of the house) attached to the house’s rear ell, the only one seen in the survey area. Presently, a

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one-and-a-half story extension built in the 1970s along the house's east elevation prevents the Ward-Tillett from being considered significant enough for North Carolina's National Register Study List.

1916-1952

By 1916 the local economy was hit with the decline of Dare County mainland lumber towns, particularly Buffalo City and Daresville.²³ Consequently, millwork and lumber was increasingly obtained from Elizabeth City rather than Elizabeth City and East Lake/Buffalo City. Kramer and Sons, the Elizabeth City lumber mill founded in 1871, became a major supplier of building goods to the Outer Banks by 1920, after it consolidated its operations in a larger planing and sawmill facility. Kramer descendants recall sailboats and steamers coming from Manteo, Nags Head, and other ports of call to pick up lumber and millwork for Outer Banks clientele.²⁴ The business relationship between Kramer and Sons and this area continued well after roads and bridges made transport a less elaborate enterprise.²⁵

Some homeowners had their own resources. Building materials for Louise Fearing Rascoe's two-story beach house at Nags Head came from the longleaf pine forest that was part of her family's Bertie County farm.²⁶ Lumber mills in Perquimans County was another source for timber, doors, stairs, and newel posts, primarily because so many

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homeowners along the beach hailed from the towns of Hertford and Winfall, where the mills were.²⁷ Although the focus of Nags Head's resort had shifted from the soundside to the ocean by 1910, some building continued on Roanoke Sound. A shingled one-and-a-half story bungalow, said to have been constructed in 1925, stands on pilings over Roanoke Sound, the only such waterfront dwelling left on Nags Head's soundside (DR 578).²⁸

The Craftsman style took a firm hold on Roanoke Island, the North Dare Banks, and to some degree in the Currituck Banks during the 1920s and 1930s. Kramer and Sons' millwork detail popular in Elizabeth City, particularly Art Deco style vergeboard, began to appear in cottages from Wanchese to Kitty Hawk. The house with the most elaborate Craftsman decoration seen in the survey area is the Thomas Dixon Etheridge House (DR 591) on Roanoke Island's North End. An impressive frame one-and-a-half story Craftsman dwelling built by farmer/businessman Thomas Dixon ("Tom") Etheridge in the 1920s, the house rests on a raised rock face concrete block foundation, a rare feature in this area, where brick piers are greater in number. The house's exterior retains nearly all of its original appearance, beginning with the decorative elements such as the shingled gables, friezeboard, knee bracing, and exposed rafter ends. There is also a side porch entrance and an overhead front-gable sleeping porch balcony, all with vergeboard typical of what Kramer Brothers in Elizabeth City provided in the 1920s and 1930s. The balcony also has an arched window in its gable, and paired battered wood posts

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connected by its original rail balustrade support this front-gable dormer. Below is a full-façade shed roof bungalow style porch, incorporated into the sloping roofline, with a paneled frieze, connecting rail balustrade, and wooden post over brick pier supports as well as a small brick stoop at the steps. A comparable side porch that does not appear to have ever been a porte-cochere, is at the south elevation but it lacks the concrete sidewalk scored with a diamond pattern of the front elevation. The house's west elevation has a wide shed dormer. The kitchen ell, said to be the Etheridges' initial house, has been substantially altered inside and has replacement windows. Its profile—a small gabled building with sloping side extensions—is comparable to other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century kitchen buildings seen in the region, and it stands on rock face concrete block piers.

Inside, the Thomas Dixon Etheridge House's plan is idiosyncratic, opening into the living room, not a hall. On one hand, this is typical of Craftsman design, which gradually eschewed a center hall plan in favor of a more informal interior arrangement. However, Etheridge's house beyond the living room/dining room plan is a rabbit warren of rooms, beginning with the small south bedroom at the house's southeast corner, which in turn is linked to an inner hall and interior stair hall to the upper floor. The southeast bedroom retains tongue-and-groove sheathed walls, a small chair rail, vertical tongue-and-groove wainscoting, and plain baseboards, window surrounds, and door surrounds. The inner hall, as with the upstairs rooms, is sheathed with tongue-and-groove siding and

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dominated by a Craftsman/Colonial Revival style closed string staircase with a paneled square newel post and paneled skirting. Off the inner hall is a large closet, a later smaller hall and bathroom, and entrance to the dining room. The kitchen, linked to this section by the smaller hallway, was altered in the 1980s; its south entrance, with its sidelights and Craftsman style surround, is still evident.

Etheridge's daughter, Roxie Etheridge Atkinson, and her husband Robert built an attractive Craftsman cottage next door in 1935. The Robert and Roxie Atkinson House (DR 592), sited on a 90' by 397' tract deeded by Mrs. Atkinson's grandfather, is a front-gable weatherboarded dwelling with a two-bay front façade, and a Craftsman style bay window lit by three narrow six-over-one double-hung sash. The front-gable house, with its decorative shaped rafter tails and unusual porte-cochere (the remains of which are still partly in place) is clearly a design that, although not obtained from Aladdin Homes and Sears Roebuck & Company, would be popular with a "house by mail". The front-gable stoop at the front elevation's southeast corner is an inset corner porch supported by a weatherboarded corner pier; the two brick piers at the porch's south end are remnants of an earlier porte-cochere seen in a 1950s aerial photograph. Exterior elements, from the small shed dormers with their casement sash and the fanlight in the front gable end to the exposed rafter ends, Craftsman style exterior end chimney, and double-hung six-over-one sash windows, are all intact. A tiny doorway at the north elevation retains a Craftsman style sash door and paved walkway. There is also the small

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weatherboarded garage at the west end of a paved concrete drive, which retains exposed rafter ends, double doors, and shelving; the concrete ramp of the garage has impressed shells that spell out the letters "R O X I E". Elsewhere, the property has intact early-to-mid twentieth-century plantings, including a small row of crepe myrtles, and camellias.

Other intact Craftsman bungalows in the survey area include a number in Wanchese, particularly the 1920s Tillett House (DR 524), and the Joe Meekins House (DR 528), and the George Daniels House (DR 525), both built in the 1930s. All three houses have shingled end gables, Craftsman style double-hung sash, and intact bungalow style porches with wood post over brick pier supports. That these houses were built for three of Wanchese's longtime families—Tilletts, Meekins, and Daniels are all common local surnames in Roanoke Island's south end during the nineteenth century—signifies that, as with the North End, locals who were otherwise quite traditional were espousing Craftsman houses over their old I-houses by the early 1930s.²⁹ Outside of Manteo, there are few to no Tudor Revival style dwellings, nor are there American Foursquares, except for an extremely altered house in Wanchese off Mill Landing Road that was put on pilings after Hurricane Floyd in 1999.

Eclectic and simple versions of Colonial Revival style can be found in the North Dare Banks and on Roanoke Island, one being the *Louise Fearing Rascoe House* (DR 511), constructed between 1935 and 1943. A two-story, three-bay frame beach house on wood

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pilings and capped by a pyramidal roof, this simple Colonial Revival style dwelling is quite compact, symmetrical, and, according to a family descendant, has always had asbestos shingles. The house's tidy exterior details include its transomed center hall entrance bay, as well as eight-over-eight and four-over-four double-hung sash windows, with vertical board shutters at the second floor and regular board shutters at the first. Molded door and window surrounds are painted with white trim, as are the small cornerboards and wide roof soffits. West, north, and south elevations are sheltered by a continuous wraparound porch, with a post-and-board balustrade, and supported by square columns; there is a separate porch, of the same style, at the east elevation. Instead of a brick chimney flue, the exterior end south chimney, located beside the outdoor shower, has Craftsman style sloping shoulders and decorative brick cap. At the east elevation is an elevated boardwalk to the beach, a common feature with twentieth-century beach cottages along North Carolina's coast, as is the pyramid roof gazebo. According to a local resident, this walkway and gazebo were refurbished in the 1990s, along with the house's wood pilings and outdoor shower.³⁰

Two of the five Colonial Revival style resort dwellings Frank Stick designed for his 1931-1936 Kill Devil Hills development Millionaires Row (DR 471) are still on site, retaining intact exterior elevations.³¹ In the late 1920s instead of building a typically Outer Banks cottage—understated, unpainted frame cottages that walked the line between Craftsman and traditional styles—Stick chose to build substantial Colonial

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Revival style residences that could hold their own with anything then being constructed in Virginia Beach.³² And he looked to the affluent citizens of Elizabeth City, rather than the traditional summer crowd from Perquimans, Chowan, and Bertie counties, to buy those houses.³³ According to some, it was the beginning of moneyed families outside of the Albemarle region coming to the Outer Banks—and of more ostentatious, less traditionally drab, architecture.³⁴ Two houses on the Millionaires Row tract were moved from their original site west across the Croatan Highway (US 158) to serve as Kill Devil Hills' new town offices; these two buildings, considerably altered, are still being used. The two original houses left on site are a one-and-a-half story shingled Dutch Colonial style residence at 1519 Virginia Dare Trail and a handsome two-story Colonial Revival frame side gable at 1517 Virginia Dare Trail. Both presently have synthetic siding, but retain their original form and many elements, such as louvered side-hinged shutters (rather than the usual Outer Banks top-hinge board shutters) and six-over-six double-hung sash windows.³⁵

Frank Stick was also indirectly responsible for the next domestic architecture trend in the North Dare Banks, that of the concrete block flat-top beach cottage. When he acquired the land that eventually became the private village of Southern Shores in 1946, he and his partners began to build cottages, using beach concrete for blocks.³⁶ The consequent dwellings—according to his son designed with bedrooms at the south, the kitchen and service rooms/servants' quarters to the north, and the dining room and den in the center—

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owe as much to their form to trickle-down International Style as to pragmatism. Defining features include flat roofs covered with tar and pebbles, below which are wooden rafters visible from the roofs' wide soffits. Entrances are off-center, accessed through a small courtyard and garden area; some houses' bedroom and living areas are separated by a screen porch extending to the beach elevation. Windows, where original, are two-over-two, horizontal double-hung sash or metal casement. Chimneys are usually quite sculptural, either massive exterior front or center stacks. Exteriors, usually painted in bright colors or white, are often still framed by beach grass, cacti, and yucca.

Frank Stick's one-story house at 60 Ocean Boulevard (DR 421, the *Stick-Miller House*), constructed in 1947, remains much as he planned it. It is a modest one-story flat-top concrete block house with Pueblo Revival overtones, such as the north elevation's stepped concrete block wall and arch, stepped front exterior chimney, and faux quoining at the building's northeast corner.³⁷ A tall, flat-roofed stoop porch with louvered panels at its south side, makes a distinctive entrance. Otherwise, the house is modest compared to other contemporary Southern Shores buildings, particularly the Pipkin House. One unusual feature is that Stick chose to locate the garage at the south side of the front elevation, rather than at the north side.

Inside, Stick's experiments with contrasting ceiling elevations were not successful, given that they leaked extensively.³⁸ Other experiments—locating the kitchen and dining room

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at the north side of the house, and the bedrooms at the south side—became the norm for successive Southern Shores flat-top cottages.³⁹ During this time Stick, who had begun painting again, built a small concrete block studio directly facing his home across Ocean Boulevard.⁴⁰ The studio has since been demolished.

The other significant example of the flat-top beach cottage is the *Pipkin House* (DR 417), also in Southern Shores. Greensboro architect Edward Lowenstein designed the Pipkin House, a C-shaped concrete block flat-top residence with a projecting southeast extension, for Cone Cotton Mill heiress Emily Edith Pipkin in 1951. Miss Pipkin, who bought two oceanfront lots from Southern Shores developer Frank Stick in order to build this cottage for herself and her brother's family, named the cottage Pink Perfection for her favorite camellia hybrid and, accordingly, painted it pink with green trim.⁴¹ The property, bounded by a low white trail fence, has remained minimally landscaped, with little beyond sea grass, yucca, and cacti except for the small shrubs and low concrete block planter by the recessed front entrance.

Since Miss Pipkin's death in 1971 her nephews have altered the house; fortunately, the house's intrinsically airy character, due to its expansive living room and oceanfront porch, has not been adversely affected. A 1950s photograph shows that when Miss Pipkin initially owned the house, the two-car concrete block garage was detached and, in the irregularly-configured building sited at a small rise above the garage, there were

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paired entrances opening into a large common room adjacent to the oceanfront screened porch.⁴² In Miss Pipkin's time, bedrooms were located in the house's southeast extension, and the kitchen was at the north wing, where the maid and chauffeur's rooms were also located.⁴³ This wing's north elevation remains much as Miss Pipkin might remember it, with small window openings and a concrete service avenue where the clothesline is still located. In the 1990s Miss Pipkin's heirs, John B. Pipkin and Ashmead P Pipkin, devised a scheme whereby they each had living space at the cottage for their own families. They extended the cottage's north wing and enclosed it with its own entrance (located at the north wing's south elevation), to serve as separate quarters.⁴⁴ The only outbuilding, a roofed gazebo overlooking the dunes, has replacement timbers but its plain posts are identical to the east porch supports and the gazebo roof retains typically "Southern Shores" style exposed rafters.

Significance

Dwellings in the survey area deemed significant for inclusion in North Carolina's National Register Study List (generally used as a preliminary evaluation of buildings potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places) fall into one distinct group. The majority of significant buildings are eligible under Criterion A, for their association with the North Outer Banks' two phases of development, mainly Maritime History and Mid-Twentieth Century Tourism.

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*Dwellings eligible under Criterion A (Maritime History; Mid Twentieth-Century
Tourism)*

Discussed extensively in the Narrative Essay component of this Multiple Property Documentation Form, the dwellings deemed significant by this criterion are within two groups. The first group embodies popular domestic architectural construction and trends in the Currituck Banks, North Dare Banks, and Roanoke Island—comprising the North Outer Banks—as well as being totemic of the simple maritime economy existing in this region from 1865 until the postwar era. The second group is exemplary of dwellings conceived for resort development in the North Dare Banks just after the Second World War, its period of significance extending from 1945 until 1953.

The survey area's earliest houses, which date from the turn of the nineteenth century and are on Roanoke Island, are not eligible for inclusion but they are important for context, as they preserve traditional building methods local residents employed. Three surviving houses from this period, although altered, exhibit exterior features typical of other two-story side-gables seen along North Carolina's coast during this period, from flush-sheathed porches to enclosed "parson's rooms" at a porch's corner end. However, interior elements of early nineteenth-century houses in the North Outer Banks survey area were modest, to say the least. The Adam Dough Etheridge I House on Roanoke Island's North End, for example, reveals that dwellings, even when built by the North Dare

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Banks' wealthier farmers, were comparatively primitive to houses on the mainland.

Inside, weatherboards and studs, the only barrier to the outdoors, were whitewashed and structural elements such as down-corner bracing were clearly visible.

In contrast, dwellings built between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the twentieth century indicate advances in technology and supply but they too evolve into a distinctive local form. Instead of whitewashed boards, houses were sheathed inside with manufactured beaded board obtained from lumber mills at Elizabeth City and Norfolk. Also decorative features—turned baluster posts, millwork trim, ornamental gable windows—were readily available from these same mills. These advances made it possible for people of lesser means—African Americans, fishermen, subsistence farmers, hunters—to build and own comfortable homes. Furthermore, these dwellings signify the prosperity enjoyed by the North Dare Banks and Roanoke Island fishermen and U. S. life-saving servicemen, whose steady careers meant that they could afford to build better, more spacious homes for their families. During the twentieth century, as the North Dare Banks and Currituck Banks' communities developed and tourism became a way of life, improved transportation resulted in a range of building materials for local citizens and the transmittal of mainland trends and styles to the North Outer Banks.

In this selection, the Pugh House, the Edward Daniels House, the Marcus Midgett House, the Pugh-Baum House, and the Decatur Beacham House are best defined by Criterion A,

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which is designated for buildings with a significant historic context. These houses are all exemplary of the region's nineteenth-century building traditions, augmented by the increasing availability of millwork finish and lumber by the 1870s. They are also comparable forms—mostly two-story, single-pile frame side-gable dwellings with either one or two-story rear ells. The exceptions are the Pugh House (a T-plan house) and the Decatur Beacham House, which has a rear shed extension but no rear ell; its kitchen, attached by a breezeway and a continuation of the front shed porch roofline, is at the side of the house. They share, in addition to exterior form, decorative treatments such as shaped rafter ends beneath their steep rooflines and turned post supports and balustrades.

The families who built and lived in these dwellings were all fishermen, a traditional Outer Banks job, and employed as lighthouse keepers (Charles Pugh, of the Pugh House), life-saving surfmen, or, in the case of William St. Clair Pugh of the Pugh-Baum House, fish dealers and dry goods merchants. The exteriors of all the houses listed are intact with two exceptions; Edward Daniels' house was covered by asbestos siding in the 1940s, a common practice at that time; one might argue that the asbestos covering saved it from later innovations, such as aluminum or vinyl siding. It nevertheless retains doors, windows, and Eastlake style porch decoration. The Marcus Midgett House also has asbestos siding, circa 1940, but its interior plan—a center hall, single pile dwelling, with a two-room rear kitchen ell—and finish are intact. The Midgett House, furthermore,

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contains the most intact examples of early twentieth-century patterned beaded board siding seen in the survey area.

As for dwellings significant for their part in resort development following World War II, the 1953 Pipkin House in Southern Shores is eligible for consideration under Criterion A for its supporting part as one of the many exotic “Flat Top” concrete block cottages to be built in Frank Stick’s 1940s-1950s Southern Shores speculative development. It is the only such house with an identified architect, Edward Lowenstein of Greensboro, North Carolina. Apart from slight alteration of the garage, the house remains unchanged.

The 1947 Stick-Miller House is eligible for consideration as well. First, like the Pipkin House, it is part of the Outer Banks’ postwar landscape, which was increasingly oriented to tourism and away from traditional pursuits. Frank Stick consciously styled his house, and other houses in Southern Shores, after resort architecture seen elsewhere in the southeastern United States. For these reasons, it is eligible under Criterion A. Second, the Stick-Miller House could be considered eligible under Criterion B for its association with Frank Stick, himself a true Renaissance Man in the context of twentieth-century Dare County. From the time he came to the area from New Jersey during the late 1920s until his death in 1966, Stick was involved in a number of high-profile endeavors. These included early developmental schemes of the Dare County coast (Virginia Dare Shores, Millionaire’s Row), as well as the 1930s Fort Raleigh representational reconstruction, a

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marvelous (and mostly gone) range of Tudorbethan-inspired Rustic Revival log buildings. Frank Stick is now probably most remembered for his conceptual design and development of the upscale 1940s-1950s Southern Shores, and for the illustrations (he was also a prolific commercial artist) he provided to *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, written by his son David in 1958. He lived in this cottage from 1947 until 1966; unfortunately, his studio, which was directly across Ocean Boulevard from the house, is gone. If it can be ascertained that the Stick-Miller House's interior has indeed been little altered since 1947, the house might also be eligible under Criterion C for architecture. Certainly, the house's rambling exterior, with its Pueblo Revival touches and multilevel roofing, has remained unchanged from 1940s documentary photographs.

Registration Requirements

Houses significant under Criterion A, for their association with historic events, or under Criterion B, for their association with important and/or historic persons, may not always necessarily be the best examples of their house type, but, rather, should largely retain historic character from their period of significance. With these dwellings the affixing of such replacement siding as vinyl, asbestos, or aluminum does not necessarily rule out eligibility provided that these houses retain the majority of their original attributes such as form and detail, and the siding emulates that of the original exterior material.

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If a house's primary area of significance is architectural (Criterion C), individual dwellings must possess a high degree of physical integrity, as their significance rests upon their embodiment of distinctive architectural characteristics. For National Register eligibility, houses must be located on their original sites. Rare exceptions for this may be provided if a dwelling with outstanding architectural or historical merit retains its architectural integrity and its new site is similar to the original setting.

Some dwellings catalogued in this survey represent, as opposed to a single architectural style or type, a progression of stylistic influences and construction techniques. These dwellings, in themselves composites, exhibit how residents updated their houses over a period of decades. Therefore alterations made at least fifty years before the present time may be considered part of a house's historic fabric provided that the house retains its integrity of design, materials, and craftsmanship without being adversely affected by later additions or alterations.

National Register and Study List Properties

DR 548: Pugh House, Old Wharf Road, Wanchese
DR 582: Edward Daniels House, 962 Burnside Road, Manteo
DR 579: Marcus Midgett House, NC 345, Skyco vic.
DR 226: Decatur Beacham House, 1200 Kitty Hawk Road, Kitty Hawk
DR 421: Stick-Miller House, Ocean Boulevard, Southern Shores
DR 417: Pipkin House, Ocean Boulevard, Southern Shores

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Property Type Three: Institutional Buildings

Description

Churches, schools, and local civic and government buildings were, then as now, important hubs of everyday life. Whether these buildings were rural or located in towns, they served important administrative, social and cultural functions. This was especially important as settlements were few, “civilization” was a five-hour boat ride away, and social events were often limited to school, church, and private organizations such as women’s clubs and fraternal lodges.

In the case of life-saving stations, function included safeguarding ships at sea from the hazards of the shore from the 1870s into the Second World War. Decommissioned for over fifty years, the surviving stations are in varying states of integrity. Those not already on the National Register of Historic Places or North Carolina’s National Register Study List are not presently eligible for consideration, but they are noted in the Narrative Essay.

Churches

The earliest known congregation in the survey area was on Roanoke Island. The earliest known church sites include the first site of Kitty Hawk’s Providence Primitive Baptist Church, a front-gable frame meeting house constructed after the Civil War that was

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dismantled over one hundred years ago. The earliest known surviving church is Roanoke Island Baptist Church, also a front-gable frame meeting house constructed in the 1880s to replace an early nineteenth-century meeting house burned in 1862. However, the interior and exterior of this church have been substantially altered in the past twenty years, compromising its integrity. Providence Primitive Baptist Church's congregants dismantled their building in 1897, many of its materials winding up in Kitty Hawk dwellings such as the Fred Perry and Decatur Beacham Houses. In 1898 the second *Providence Primitive Baptist Church* (DR 432) opened its doors, remaining a house of worship until it was set down in 2000. Set within a stand of fifty year-old maple trees and facing a swamp, this front-gable frame building, despite replacement synthetic siding imitative of the original underlying weatherboards, appears much as it always has. Its two transomed entrances, with a two-over-two window on either side and between, open into a large meeting room lit by eight two-over-two double-hung sash windows at the west and east walls, and supported by two sets of wooden center piers, unchamfered, running down the center of the room. Although a dropped ceiling hides the original manufactured beaded board ceiling, walls are still sheathed with vertical tongue-and-groove pine and the flooring is of three-to-four-inch wide unvarnished pine. One flue chimney remains at the south elevation, near the building's rear door, and there is a hanging chimney flue, which once had a stove connected to it, at the front elevation. There is even a 1950s outdoor privy, with carefully planed cypress seats, on the premises.

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The second-oldest intact church in the survey area is Wanchese's *Bethany United Methodist Church* (DR 520), constructed circa 1890 and remodeled in 1905. It stands southeast of the site of an earlier Methodist church appearing on W. F. Franklin's 1852 map of Roanoke Island. The present church, a large Gothic Revival style frame building, retains original fishscale-shingled gables, shaped rafter ends, deep eaves, and lancet arch stained glass windows, as well as a prominent pointed arch stained glass window in the church's north gable. The form of the church is roughly that of a cross, with a projecting north section, projecting east and west wings, and a small gable rear extension and shed at the south that have mostly been swallowed up by later additions. The entrance, incorporated in the northeast corner steeple, is accessed by two paneled doubleleaf doors. At the southwest corner of the north (front) elevation, there is a flat-roof weatherboarded 1940s utility room, its brick flue chimney, exposed rafters, three-over-one double-hung sash window, and metal venetian blinds little changed in sixty years.

Bethany Methodist Church now has twentieth-century extensions at its south (rear) elevation—a two-story annex built circa 1935 perpendicular to a 1990s one-story wing—but the original sanctuary retains its auditorium plan, as well as its Akron plan classrooms. Apart from replacement pews and carpeting, nearly all of the interior sanctuary is intact. The ceiling was lowered in the 1990s but its wood coffers are not unsympathetic to original interior elements. The room is a rectangular auditorium plan that slopes from north to south, to a three-part arcade space with ogival arches, composed

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of a private prayer room, and an open altar/pulpit and choir stall; this recessed area is supported, at the altar/pulpit and choir, by square fluted columns. A handsome wood serpentine rail, with Colonial Revival style square posts and turned rail balustrade, separates this inner sanctum from the congregation space. Apart from replacement brass lighting fixtures, the room is lit by three opalescent stained glass windows at its east and west walls and a round stained glass window above the altar, portraying Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane.

At the north end of the sanctuary are three sets of folding paneled pine doors, with translucent glass sash; above each set of folding doors is a three-section transom with translucent glass panes. Beyond these is the small Akron plan classroom, lit by opalescent stained glass windows at its east, west, and north elevations. These classrooms, designed by an Akron, Ohio, Sunday school teacher in the 1860s, were a practical innovation for churches well into the twentieth century. First, it gave Sunday school pupils flexibility in terms of being part of the service, or being shut off into classrooms. Also, in the case of revivals, the doors could be opened and additional space for visitors and congregants created. In summation, the Akron Plan “perfectly embodied the late nineteenth century’s interweaving of popular morality with rationalized efficiency.”⁴⁵

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Colington Island west of Kill Devil Hills was a popular spot for camp meetings during the nineteenth century. The Methodists apparently had enough of a base by the turn of the twentieth century to establish the Colington United Methodist Church (DR 488). Its main core—a weatherboarded front-gable church with flanking front-gable extensions and a conical bell cap steeple—is still discernable within the 1960-1990s annexes to the church's west elevation. Exterior intact features include the church's 1930s sign, four-over-four double-hung sash windows, and, at the church's center building, original weatherboard siding. Inside, the church retains manufactured beaded board walls and ceiling, plus vestiges of an Akron plan, including part of the former west classroom. The sanctuary chancel furniture, including the communion rail with its turned balusters, all date from the turn of the twentieth century. Given the dearth of ecclesiastical buildings constructed on the Outer Banks, in addition to what few such buildings have been substantially altered in the last century, the maintenance of this early twentieth-century church is remarkable, although it is not intact enough for inclusion on the National Register Study List.

Schools

Before 1894, the first known permanent school in the survey area was the Hooker School in Wanchese, which is shown on the 1852 W. F. Franklin map of Roanoke Island. By the late nineteenth century, there were small schools in Manteo, Wanchese, Kitty Hawk, the

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soundside village of Otila, Duck, and Corolla.⁴⁶ When schools were consolidated in the 1920s, new schools were built in Manteo, Wanchese, and Kitty Hawk to handle the influx of students from other, more remote communities. The small early twentieth-century weatherboarded school in Corolla, for example, accommodated children who lived north in the village of Seagull, now long demolished by a migratory sand dune, and North Swan Beach, the site of Wash Woods Life-Saving Station as well as Poyner's Hill.⁴⁷ These were all schools for community children, supported by the local fishermen and merchants.

Remarkably, two 1920s consolidated schools and the 1893 Wanchese School and Lodge have survived in the survey area. *Kitty Hawk School* (DR 431) was constructed in 1923, a large H-shaped one-story frame school with cypress sills and joists that remain in place. It is still covered by original shingles, exposed rafter ends, decorative diamond-shape wood panels, knee bracing, and lit by bands of nine-over-nine and six-over-six double-hung sash windows. Typical of many rural consolidated schools, Kitty Hawk School has two long front-gable frame buildings, which had bands of nine-over-nine double-hung sash windows, joined by a side-gable wing where faculty offices were located, as well as a school kitchen, now known as "Office Number One".⁴⁸ A shed porch at its front elevation, supported by wooden square posts shelters Kitty Hawk School's side-gable wing. At its rear elevation, the side-gable and front gable extensions have three small shed extensions, one of which is an old boiler room, one a storage shed, and one a later

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utility shed. Many of the original horizontal five-panel doors have survived, and, according to the current owners, most of the original walls retain their tongue-and-groove walls and ceilings.

This school not only served students from Kitty Hawk and Otilia, but also Colington Island children, who came by boat.⁴⁹ They would still recognize the school's entrance, two concrete block posts, and the beach pebble concrete walkways still in place, as well as the large playing field west of the school building. After Kitty Hawk School closed in 1959, it went on to a number of other existences, first as fisherman's lodgings and, more recently, as the Judy-Rand Apartments. The former school is now a hostel, and its current owners are very interested in local history, and the school's historic significance as well. Although alternate uses through the years resulted in many of the large nine-over-nine sash being partly enclosed, and doors being cut into the long extensions, the building remains quite intact; the west elevation retains the most nine-over-nine windows.

Wanchese School (DR 523), smaller than Kitty Hawk School but of comparable form and materials opened in 1922 and operated until approximately 1959, serving students from Baumtown, Mill Landing, and Wanchese. The school's hip roof center section, pierced by a narrow shed dormer, is flanked by a front-gable, four-bay wing at its north and south ends. There are no windows at the wings' gable ends, nor are there any windows at the

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elevations facing the center section's full-façade entrance porch; according to period designs, these windowless spaces were often where classroom chalkboards were located. At the school's rear elevation, a wraparound shed porch connects both wings to the central section. The wings' bands of eight-over-one double-hung sash windows are original, and the small six-over-one double-hung sash windows at the center entrance are original as well. Other intact exterior elements include knee bracing and exposed rafter ends at the roof, transoms and doubleleaf doors at the two front entrances, posts and cornerboards with chamfered bases, and horizontal paneled doors at the rear elevation.

Wanchese School replaced the earlier Wanchese Academy and Lodge (DR 267), still standing at the southwest junction of Old Wharf Road and Pugh Road. Constructed in 1893, it is a two-story, six-bay hip roof frame building; upstairs was the local Masonic Lodge, which met regularly until being subsumed into Manteo's Masonic Lodge in the 1950s. Presently, this is not only the only pre-1930 lodge building seen during the survey, but also the only known nineteenth-century school known to survive in the survey area. The former school, recently converted into apartments, still stands on brick piers with no infill and has a number of original features, from its weatherboards, molded cornerboards, and wide tongue-and-groove soffits to two-over-two and, at the rear, nine-over-nine double-hung sash windows. The hip roof stoop porches at the front and rear elevations may also be original, or from a larger original entrance porch; sections of plain balusters and molded handrails at each porch are older, probably from the earlier porch.

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What little could be seen of the interior indicates that original partition walls have been removed in places, although tongue-and-groove ceilings and walls are in evidence.

Older Wanchese citizens in the 1970s recalled that the building had a one-story extension and a two-story rear extension when they were schoolchildren.⁵⁰ The one-story extension, converted to a boat shed, is at the rear of the property; a one-story hip roof building, it retains four-panel wooden doors, four-over-four, double-hung sash windows, plus much of its former rural school appearance. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Academy was a flea market, and two of the front elevation's first-floor south windows were replaced with large plate glass windows with transoms; these have since been removed and the earlier windows restored. But its extensive alterations have rendered it ineligible for the National Register Study List.

Government Buildings 1870-1930

Nearly all the U. S. Life-Saving Service stations to survive in the Currituck Banks and North Banks have been extensively documented and are on the North Carolina National Register Study List (NRSL) or the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Two lighthouses, the 1874 Currituck Beach Lighthouse (NRHP) and the 1872 Bodie Island Lighthouse (NRHP) served this region, warning off-shore ships of the current and shoreline hazards. By the end of the 1940s these stations were all decommissioned and most have been adapted to other uses, such as the 1876 Bodie Island Life-Saving Station

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(DR 490) that was moved north of its original site and rehabilitated into quarters for the National Park Service during the 1950s.

One station from the U. S. Coast Guard's early twentieth-century era that has not been previously documented is the former Kill Devil Hills U. S. Coast Guard Station (DR 479). Unlike the others, it was not designed according to prescribed government designs, such as the 1903 Quonochontaug style Currituck Beach Life-Saving Station (CK 25), with its steep hip roof, small bell-cap tower and shingled covering. Nor was it like the 1925 Chatham style Bodie Island U. S. Coast Guard Station, which has a distinctive gable-on-hip roof. Constructed in 1929 by a Virginia Beach contractor, this two-story, hip-roof frame station incorporating a keeper's dwelling as well replaced the 1880s Kill Devil Hills Life-Saving Station (CK 57, NRSL), which was relegated to a boathouse and garage.⁵¹ In spite of the large observation tower put on the station's south roof in the early 1960s, the building has remained quite intact.

The building's format is basically little different from an American Foursquare and does not seem to be after any set prescriptive life-saving station design.⁵² Initially, there was a hip dormer at each roof elevation (the only one no longer there, of course, is where the new tower is), and the wide one-story wraparound porch was semi-enclosed at its west and south elevations.⁵³ Presently, the porch is open with a plain rail balustrade and supported by wood posts. The entrance on the south side has small sidelights and opens

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into a plastered center hall with a dogleg staircase. The stair is simple, with a Craftsman style square newel post. Many of the building's original six-over-six double-hung sash windows are still in place, as is the interior brick chimney flue.

The former Kill Devil Hills U.S.C.G. station is the last lifesaving-related building in the immediate area, now part of the Virginia Dare Trail's busy resort strip. Fifty years before, in addition to this building and the recently-moved 1880s Kill Devil Hills Life-Saving Station, there was a one-story frame infirmary building dating from the Second World War, as well as a radio tower and observation tower. The two storage buildings at the property's southeast corner are at the approximate site of the former life-saving station but appear to have been built circa 1980-1990.

Government Buildings: 1930-1953

Of the several frame barracks and ancillary buildings constructed for the United States Coast Guard in Corolla at the start of World War II, only two are known to remain. One of these is a two-story frame barracks dwelling, located east of town on the south side of Carotank Road. Moved to this site a few years ago when beachfront property became increasingly desirable—and expensive—the Corolla U. S. C. G. Barracks (CK 107) have retained its utilitarian character. Asbestos shingles are still on the building, as are the louvered gable ventilators and overhanging ventilated eaves that sheltered the large

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horizontally-paned two-over-two double-hung sash windows. It is one of a handful of government housing to survive the second half of the twentieth century.

Another, less intact, example of government housing are the Works Progress Administration cabins constructed by Jennette's Pier at Whalebone Junction during the Depression that have been since covered with replacement T-11 siding, and have also been altered inside. Other WPA cabins are said to have stood at Roanoke Island's North End; according to local longtime residents, these have either been moved, altered, or demolished.

Significance

Institutional buildings are historically significant as forums for their communities and, as such, were centers of their respective communities' development whether through education, government, religion, or fraternal societies. Some of these buildings have architectural significance as well; their significance is exemplary of nationally popular plans and styles that found a foothold in the North Outer Banks.

Buildings eligible under Criterion A, as significant for their part in education and community development in the North Dare Banks and Roanoke Island, are Providence Primitive Baptist Church, Bethany United Methodist Church in Wanchese, and the Kitty Hawk School in Kitty Hawk. A building eligible under Criteria A and C is the Wanchese

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School, built circa 1922-1923, which has remained an especially intact example of an H-shaped frame Craftsman school.

Under these conditions, Wanchese's Bethany United Methodist Church is eligible under Criterion A for its longtime historic association with this maritime fishing village, and its significant architectural features. The church, a community landmark built at the end of the nineteenth century, has its period of significance in 1904, the year it was remodeled to its current appearance. The church retains exterior and interior elements and features no longer seen in the North Outer Banks' contemporary ecclesiastical architecture, notably the heavily-altered Mount Olivet United Methodist Church in Manteo. Bethany Church retains not only its patterned shingle gables and intrinsic form but also many important interior features, particularly its ogival arch choir gallery, auditorium plan, and Akron Plan rear alcoves.

Kitty Hawk's Providence Primitive Baptist Church is significant under Criterion A for its 104 year heritage within this soundside village, and its representation of a simpler culture in evidence less than sixty years ago. Built between 1897 and 1899, it has synthetic siding over its original weatherboards, but retains its front-gable, meeting house format within and without. It is a rare example of an Outer Banks nineteenth century meeting house, as what few existed have since either been demolished or extensively altered to the point where little to no original form or fabric is discernable.

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Schools and other institutional buildings fifty years or older are, as they become increasingly rare in the North Outer Banks' landscape, are significant under education. Wanchese School, given its exceptional intactness within and without, is eligible for consideration under Criterion C as well as Criterion A for its role in the village's twentieth-century local history and education. The Wanchese School's period of significance begins in 1922, the year the school opened; it served the communities of Wanchese, Baumtown, and Wanchese's southeastern Mill Landing community until 1959. Kitty Hawk School, although altered, has been maintained and retains its original form and much of its original materials and appearance. It is eligible for consideration under Criterion A for its historic context, its period of significance being 1924. The first consolidated school in the area, this large Craftsman style educational building housed pupils who came as far as Duck, or, by water, from Colington Island, and operated from 1924 until 1959.

Although not eligible for consideration, the 1929 Kill Devil Hills USCG Station is an unusual example of a usually domestic-oriented design, the American Foursquare, being employed for a government building. The 1929 Kill Devil Hills USCG Station was altered by a large observation tower in the 1960s but, given that the interior and exterior have otherwise remained in their original form, it is possible that the former USCG station could be considered at a later time.

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Registration Requirements

Churches that are eligible under Criterion A for their histories, or as the only extant representatives of historically significant communities, or churches located within historic districts, might display a lower degree of architectural integrity and still be either eligible or considered a contributing building within a district.⁵⁴ To be eligible under the National Register's category for architecture, Criterion C, a church must be at least fifty years old, retain its location, setting, and overall architectural integrity of design and workmanship from its period of significance. It must also be a good representative example of church architecture within the North Outer Banks. If a church's exterior has been altered, such alterations to the exterior should be minimal and a majority of the church's interior finish should be present. Although not desirable, replacement siding should not render an architecturally significant church ineligible for Criterion A if it is of at least locally exceptional architectural importance, all other exterior features are substantially intact, the replacement siding has been carefully applied, and the original sheathing underneath is intact.

Study List Properties

DR 520: Bethany United Methodist Church, Old Wharf Road, Wanchese

DR 432: Providence Primitive Baptist Church, Kitty Hawk Road, Kitty Hawk

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DR 431: Kitty Hawk School, Kitty Hawk Road
DR 523: Wanchese School, Old Schoolhouse Road

Property Type Four: Commercial Buildings, 1893-1953

Description

Small early-to-mid twentieth-century commercial buildings – seldom taller than one or two stories – are less frequently seen in the North Outer Banks. In towns, commercial buildings can be of brick, concrete block, or wood; rural stores are either frame or concrete block. Earliest surviving commercial buildings date from the turn of the twentieth century.

Town Commercial Buildings

One exceptional resource is the *William St. Clair Pugh Store* (DR 539). Built by Pugh, a Wanchese merchant at the turn of the twentieth century, this front-gable one-story frame building with a spacious attic is the earliest surviving commercial building found in the survey area. The front elevation's shed roof shelter, now secured by replacement posts, overhangs two large storefront windows and a recessed doubleleaf entrance with an overhead transom. Below the windows aprons with patterned tongue-and-groove paneling are still in place. Inside, the store, one large room, has pine flooring of varying widths (three to five inches wide) and manufactured beaded board ceilings and walls.

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The storefront windows, nearly two and a half feet deep, retain their “cage doors”; these secured display goods from customers, but goods could be accessed via the center door’s latch. Three large chamfered wooden posts, one of which retains bracing, run down the middle of the store’s large room. On either long wall, shelving with molded cornices is in place. Besides the storefront windows and transom, the store is lit by two rear windows.

At the back of the store, there was a stove, evidenced by the hanging chimney flue seen in the attic. The straight-run stair to the attic, located at the rear of the store above a small platform, has a small Italianate style newel post and square balusters. At the opposite corner of the store (what, in its former location, would have been the south side) is William S. Pugh’s former office, a raised wooden platform separated from the rest of the store by an Italianate style turned balustrade rail and wooden gate. That there are bars on the window suggest that this may have been where the store safe was located. There is a rear entrance, with doubleleaf doors and an overhead transom, but the rear elevation is considerably plainer than the front and one, not two, window is in the overhead gable.

According to its current owner, the William S. Pugh Store originally stood at the northeast corner of Pugh and E. R. Daniels roads. After Pugh’s heir, Carl Pugh, moved to Smithfield, North Carolina the store was vacant and gradually in disrepair; by 1941, the lot’s new owner wanted to raze the building. Wayland Baum, who had bought William S.

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Pugh's house (DR 538), bought the former store and moved it 1/20th of a mile west of its original location, where it has stood ever since.

Surviving documentary photographs confirm that the William St. Clair Pugh Store was a stylish building for its time, especially in Wanchese, which has remained unincorporated in both village and overall character. Commercial buildings in Manteo were mostly frame before the 1939 fire; those constructed at the turn of the twentieth century or earlier tended to be more elaborate with decorative shingling and sawnwork; the others, constructed in the early twentieth century, were plain weatherboarded and board-and-batten sided buildings.⁵⁵ Two other former Wanchese stores, the Cudworth-Daniels Store (DR 540) and the Hubby Mann Store (DR 526), were also front-gable weatherboarded emporiums but were constructed after the twentieth century and comparatively quite plain. Unfortunately, neither store has fared as well as the William S. Pugh Store; the Cudworth-Daniels Store, moved across the street from its original location on the south side of Pugh Road, has lost most of its original exterior fabric. The Hubby Mann Store has been considerably altered and is now in deteriorated condition.

Hunting Lodges

Nineteenth-century hunting lodges, usually rough-looking frame shacks conveniently positioned on or near Currituck Sound, were seasonal retreats for Northeastern

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businessmen and, occasionally, the Albemarle region and southeastern Virginian upper class. Before the Migratory Bird Act was passed in 1918, local market gunners picked up extra income as hunting guides and decoy carvers. After the act, many became full-time caretakers or part-time hunting guides. Of the many hunting clubs documented in the twentieth century, including Corolla Island/The Whalehead Club (NRHP), the Currituck Shooting Club (NRHP), and the Pine Island Club (NRHP) in Currituck County, most are now disbanded.⁵⁶ A small club in Duck, the 1920s Powder Ridge Gunning Club, was rehabilitated into a house in the 1970s.⁵⁷

These clubs described above were private institutions; in the case of Corolla Island, it was a winter residence from 1926 until 1936, and then became the Whalehead Club when Ray Adams acquired it in 1940. However, at least two surviving hunting lodges in Dare County were commercial enterprises, the Bodie Island Hunt Club (DR 492) and the Lone Cedar Lodge (DR 514), both located on the east shore of Roanoke Sound. Two other early twentieth-century clubs in the immediate area were Skyco Lodge (DR 65), the antebellum Ashbee farmhouse remodeled by financier Jule Day, and the Goosewing Club near Bodie Island, also owned by Day. The Duck Island Club, sited on a small island west of Bodie Island, was a private club whose original building was replaced in the 1980s.

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The Bodie Island Hunt Club was built in 1904 for Nathaniel Gould, a New England hunter who owned and operated Manteo's Tranquil House Inn.⁵⁸ Gould ran the club, a seven-minute walk south of the lighthouse, for local hunters; later it was run by a local fisherman and hunter, George Mann. By the mid-1950s, the hunt club, a two-story low hip roof dwelling with a high-hip roof one-story rear shed extension connecting to the one-story kitchen/dining ell, was no longer used and was vacant. In 1990, John Gaskill, the son of Bodie Island's 1920s lighthouse keeper Vernon Gaskill, acquired the building, though at another location; a previous buyer had saved the former club from demolition by moving it. The club's shed extension and ell could not be moved, but the two-story core of the club, as well as its center lookout tower, stood intact at a location two miles north of its original site.⁵⁹

According to John Gaskill, the interior of the building—rewired and plumbed in the last ten years—is nearly identical to its earlier appearance. There is a small center hall, its narrowness and stair indication of being more a thoroughfare than grand entrance. Walls are sheathed with unpainted manufactured beaded board, and door and window surrounds are of plain pine boards.⁶⁰ The building's exterior appears little changed from mid-twentieth century documentary photographs; a two-story, low hip roof edifice clad with shingles, there is a two-story shed extension at what was originally the building's rear elevation. When the club was moved, the rear became the front elevation. The club and its small lookout (also a low hip roof) retain six-over-six double-hung sash windows.

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Recent alterations are limited to a wraparound hip roof porch identical to the original porch and a raised walkway and deck at the club's north and east elevations.

Located near the southwestern edge of Cedar Island along the present-day Causeway between Nags Head and Manteo is Lone Cedar Lodge, a two-story frame building with an enclosed front porch and a one-story rear shed extension, beneath a side-gable hip roof with deep eaves. A massive west exterior end chimney visible in 1950s photographs has been taken out and sliding glass doors stand in the place of its fireplace, but the rear elevation, unlike the asbestos shingled west, south, and east elevations, retains weatherboarding. Although of no particular style, the former club's flaring eaves, paired four-over-two double-hung sash windows with molded trim, and compact appearance might owe a debt to the Chatham style coast guard stations, then new features to the local landscape. Although the Chatham style stations at Wash Woods in Currituck County and Hatteras in Dare County were then only accessible by water, watermen and hunting guides would have been quite familiar with them, especially after the Chatham style Bodie Island USCG station was constructed nearby in the mid-1920s.

Lone Cedar Lodge was built circa 1920 for Tull Lennon, who operated it as the Lone Cedar Club, a duck hunting club for businessmen, primarily from the Northeast. Lennon and his wife lived on the premises and there were three bedrooms in the house for guests, as well as a living room and kitchen. The kitchen was stocked with Gimbels china,

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replete with logos of a lone cedar; some of this china can now be seen on display at Marc Basnight's nearby restaurant, also named Lone Cedar. Two guides and a cook lived part-time in a one-story frame hip roof building directly east of the club, that is no longer standing.⁶¹ Most of the club's business took place in the winter, the prime hunting period for waterfowl, and provided locals with a decent income, although there were some at the time who felt "duck hunters' clubs have introduced luxurious habits and thoughts among the native Bankers."⁶² When the Lennons left the club in the 1940s Ken Ward, who had been a hunting guide for many years, operated it.⁶³ Since that time, the house has been owned by a private family for some years, who are now subdividing the Lone Cedar property.

The hunting lodges' heyday was between 1900 and 1930. After that, between the privations of the Great Depression, aging Northern businessmen finding the trip too long and arduous, the rise of sport fishing which could be done nearly throughout the year, and increased development of the North Banks, there was a decline in business. By the 1960s, neither Bodie Island Hunt Club or the Lone Cedar Lodge was in operation.

Because Bodie Island Hunt Club was moved in the 1980s and because of the Lone Cedar Lodge's alterations and decrepit state, neither have been deemed eligible for consideration. However, they provide important context to the early twentieth century Dare County landscape and might be eligible at a future time, particularly the Lone Cedar

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Lodge, whose alterations, if removed or augmented, would not then compromise its integrity.

Motels

Although at a remote location in the early twentieth century, North Bankers and Roanoke Islanders, as well as Currituck Bankers, were hospitable people. Census records show that many families took in single people—often laborers, teachers, or tradesmen—as boarders in the Manteo, Wanchese, and Kitty Hawk communities.⁶⁴ By 1915 there was a boarding house as far north as Seagull on the Currituck Banks and two established hotels, the Tranquil House and Hotel Roanoke, in Manteo.⁶⁵ Attractions to the area, other than the Nags Head summer season, hunting, fishing, and the annual pilgrimage to Fort Raleigh on Virginia Dare Day, were few mainly because it was so difficult to get there. By the 1930s bridges and paved roads, particularly the “swift beauty of the Virginia Dare Trail”, made the north Outer Banks seaside more viable as a traveler’s destination.⁶⁶ Tourist homes such as the early 1940s Hotel Kitty Hawk (DR 480) with its signature full-height center portico capitalized on their convenient location to the monolithic Wright Brothers Memorial. Other boarding facilities included the Arlington Hotel, LeRoy’s Seaside Inn (NRHP; now First Colony Hotel), and the Nags Head Inn, all modest frame buildings with breezy verandas. Following the 1937 success of *The Lost Colony*, Manteo’s visitor facilities expanded, ranging from sleeping in a Roanoke Islander’s own bed while he slept elsewhere, to small cottages hastily built behind permanent residences,

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to locals like Edna Evans Bell converting their comfortable Colonial Revival style homes into tourist homes.⁶⁷

The evolution of tourist courts to motel complexes can barely still be traced along Dare County's North Banks. One surviving tourist cabin complex is The Breakers (DR 560) in north Nags Head where four out of the original eight detached weatherboarded cabins are arranged on either side of a road extending from the Virginia Dare Trail. Other 1940s visitor facilities like the Anchorage Motel offered detached flat roof one-story cottages and, closer to the oceanfront, three two-story cottages with upper-level screen porches. The southernmost of these three cottages retains exposed rafters at its soffit, picture windows and six-over-six and horizontal two-over-two double-hung sash. It is at this cottage that the original german siding is still in evidence at its west upstairs screen porch. Remarkably, all of these cottages were built on concrete slabs instead of on pilings and all survived the catastrophic Ash Wednesday storm of March 7, 1962.

One late 1940s-early 1950s motel, intact and well-maintained, has survived along the North Dare Banks oceanfront. Given the number of twentieth-century motels and hotels demolished along this shore in recent years, from the Caroliniana to the more "mom and pop" motels, the *Sea Foam Motel* (DR 506)'s intact survival is remarkable. Its bright green plywood letter signage still perched upon the rooftop, Sea Foam Motel, constructed between 1948 and 1950 for former Manteo schoolteacher Goldie Meekins, is Nags

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Head's vintage example of a motor court. The U-shaped brick veneered complex, sited around parking spaces, shuffleboard courts, and a swimming pool, is composed of two-story sections at its oceanfront and north elevations; the north elevation, a recent newcomer, replaced a one-story section in 1964. There is also a one-story south wing where there are nine units and the single-pitch roof office section. Each wing has a low gable roofline. Access to the beach is via two pass-through corridors, sided with tongue-and-groove boards, in the motel's center section, a common practice with motels and motor courts built between 1945 and 1970.

Motel rooms are sheltered by a continuous walkway, supported by plain wood posts; elevated areas have post-and-board balustrades; at the south wing, some of the early 1950s concrete steps leading from parking lot to concrete slab walkway are still in place. Nearly all of the original horizontal two-over-two double-hung sash windows, paneled sash doors, and screen doors are in place. Inside, according to the motel manager, nearly all rooms retain their loblolly pine vertical board siding, along with tiled baths, alcove closets, and even, in the south wing, some 1950s bentwood chairs.⁶⁸ The office, lit by a multipaned glass and wood picture window and graced by a giant stuffed marlin, has been covered with sheetrock but its original pine paneling is beneath. Mrs. Meekins, although retired, continues to be involved with the motel and returns to her own room there every summer.

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In terms of maintenance and longevity, the Cavalier Motor Court (renamed the Cavalier Motel by the mid-1960s) is the Sea Foam Motel's closest peer and also located in Nags Head. Manteo businessman Roy Wescott began constructing the Cavalier Motor Court, a complex of flat-top concrete block cottage units, in 1948.⁶⁹ Within two years, eighteen concrete block duplex units (within which were twenty-four cottages) were positioned, horseshoe-fashion, around the motel's driveway and diamond-shaped swimming pool.⁷⁰ Transformations over the following fourteen years included sloping side-gable roofing, the separate duplexes gradually being yoked under one continuous porch and, in the early 1960s, brick veneer. By the latter time, the Cavalier Motor Court had metamorphosed from its flat-top origins to an appealing example of roadside Colonial Revival style. The two-story oceanfront annex, added during the 1960s, does not obtrude into the vista of arcaded walkways and the center grassy lawn where a kidney pool, playground, and shuffleboard court are located. Originally located at the southwest end of the complex during the 1950s, the brick-veneered 1960s office building adds period charm, with its pedimented carport and tiny louvered cupola, to the motel grounds.

Significance

Significant early twentieth-century commercial buildings in the North Outer Banks exhibit the region's relative prosperity during the time of their construction. Dry goods stores were built by well-to-do local fishermen and local businessmen directly involved

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in the region's mercantile transactions. Commercial buildings eligible for listing are significant under Criterion A, as representative of community development and tourism in North Outer Banks between 1900 and 1953.

Commerce resulted in social and economic interactions in North Outer Banks. First, stores whether they were on the Nags Head soundside, Manteo, or remote Corolla were meeting places for fishermen, government workers, housewives, tradesmen, and merchants. Commercial buildings and the people who operated them also contributed to regional economic history. In the first thirty years of the twentieth century, when most of these buildings were constructed, the North Outer Banks passed from a period of obscurity to the Great Depression's hardships. These buildings accordingly reflect the austerity of life on the shore – as well as the subsequent rise of heritage tourism at the end of the Second World War.

Two motels not within the historic time period that may become eligible as exemplary of third-quarter twentieth-century resort architecture are Manteo's 1961 Duke of Dare Lodge, an L-shaped concrete and steel flat roof two-story complex comparable to the commercial appropriations of International Style then being employed by the Holiday Inn motel chain. An unusual commercial adaptation of "Tudorbethan" style is the Elizabethan Inn's late 1960s two-story annex located behind its 1970s motel on Manteo's U. S. 64/264 highway. The one-story unit, with a high hip roof pierced by small

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mullioned dormers, is sheltered by an engaged porch along its corridor. Distinctive features include the center front-gable bay's half-timbered stucco.

Registration Requirements

To be considered eligible, an original commercial building should retain its original setting and a majority of its original interior and exterior elements. Storefronts and interiors of buildings located within potential districts may show later alterations yet still be considered contributing resources if the following aspects are intact.⁷¹ First, the building's original form or shape must be unaltered. Then, at least the upper portion of the building's front façade should be intact.

When a building has been moved, it is difficult for it to achieve significance as it has been removed from its context. This is the dilemma of the William St. Clair Pugh Store, moved to its current site, 1/20th of a mile northwest of its original location, in 1941; it is now behind the Pugh-Baum House, constructed in 1893, appropriately enough, for the store's first owner and proprietor, William St. Clair Pugh. However, the store has remained almost completely intact, except for its chimney and original piers. Original shelving, display window cages, corner office with gate and safe, staircase, manufactured beaded board ceilings and walls, and pine flooring are all in place. Its exterior retains

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large storefront bay windows, a recessed doubleleaf entrance, beaded board aprons, and shingled front and rear gables. Furthermore, it is the only intact store building before 1931 left in the North Outer Banks; many were lost in the 1939 Manteo fire, and comparable buildings in Duck, Nags Head, Kitty Hawk, and Corolla have been demolished or (in the case of the Corolla Post Office) substantially altered.

Given the scarcity of original and intact commercial buildings dating before 1931 and the exceptional quality of the William St. Clair Pugh Store, it is hoped that an exception can be made in its case. The store was moved from its original location, the northwest corner of Pugh Road and E. R. Daniels Road, in 1940 where, if it had remained, it would have been demolished.

Study List Properties

DR 539: William St. Clair Pugh Store, Wanchese

DR 506: Sea Foam Motel, S. Virginia Dare Trail, Nags Head

Endnotes for Property Types Essay

¹ 1860 Federal Census, Agriculture Schedule for Currituck Region, Roanoke Island.

² Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent, *Agriculture of The United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 104.

³ David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (University of North Carolina Press, 1958): pp. 72-73. Also, Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 65. Dunbar notes that Roanoke Island's relative agricultural supremacy extended into the 1950s.

⁴ Dunbar, p. 65.

⁵ The Nature Conservancy, Nags Head Woods, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Sarah A. Woodard, 11/13/2001; Michael Godfrey, "Saving Nags Head Woods" in Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 64. We were told by the Nature Conservancy

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that no buildings existed in Nags Head Woods, yet there were still homesteads in 1981, according to Godfrey.

⁶ As no farmland is left, and only a few outbuildings and structures indicate these former farmsteads, I am referring to them as “houses”.

⁷ Aerial photography of North End Roanoke Island, USCG, 1947. Cartography Division, NARA, College Park, MD. Also, John Wilson, IV, and Alma Etheridge Wilson, Manteo, N. C., sketch of Adam Dough Etheridge I farm ca. 1900, August 1999; Meekins Anchorage, Manteo, N. C., March 14, 2002 fieldwork; Samuel Baum House, Wanchese, N. C., January 11 and 12, 2002 fieldwork; Thomas A. Dough House, Manteo, N. C., 3/2002 fieldwork.

⁸ The most intact pecan grove seen in the survey area is what is left of the grove at the Vernon Gaskill House (DR 546) in Wanchese; Thomas Gaskill also planted a grove at his turn-of-the-century house (DR 529) in Wanchese, but it has not done as well as the former.

⁹ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 214-215. The few sweet potato houses I have seen along Virginia’s Eastern Shore, in the Exmore-Nassawadox-Machipungo area are smaller gabled weatherboarded buildings with flues at the rear gable.

¹⁰ D. Victor Meekins Photography Collection (ca. 1900-1940), Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C. The photographs in question date from the turn of the twentieth century.

¹¹ I saw fenced cattle when working on another project in Manteo in July 1999. Jessica York, a waitress working at Manteo’s Weeping Radish confirmed in 2001 that an African American family’s livestock had been allowed to graze in the pasture (which was within town limits) for many years.

¹² J. Daniel Pezzoni, survey file entry for Willie and Arnetta Simmons House, 1995 (revised by Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2002).

¹³ J. Daniel Pezzoni, “Manteo Historic Architectural Survey Report” (Raleigh: NC-HPO, 1995), p. 12.

¹⁴ Scott Power, the NC-HPO Eastern Office Survey Coordinator, believes that the paired interior end chimneys seen on Roanoke Island were influenced by comparable chimney building in Elizabeth City. Given that at least one known builder on Roanoke Island, Williamson Askew, came from Elizabeth City, it is likely carpenters from that town brought the practice with them.

¹⁵ Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 155; John F. Wilson, IV, and Joe A. Mobley, “Statement of Historic Significance for George Washington Creef, Jr., House, Manteo, N. C.” (Raleigh: NC-HPO, 1980).

¹⁶ The Wayland Baum House has a comparable semi-detached one-story kitchen/dining building, although its breezeway was completely enclosed by the 1940s.

¹⁷ Bill Harris, Kitty Hawk, NC, conversations with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/21/2002 and 2/26/2002.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Bill Harris and David Stick, Kitty Hawk, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 2/21/2002. I had not realized, until talking with Messrs. Harris and Stick, that I had also seen that with older houses (ca. 1900-1929) when I was a child in Sampson County, NC, during the mid-1960s—so it may have been a fairly “universal”, rather than regional, tendency.

²⁰ Norris Austin, Corolla, N. C., 11/15/2001 interview with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

²¹ The closest approximation seen to the Gray-Griggs House in *Houses By Mail* (New York: John Wiley & Sons for National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1986) is “The Westly” on p. 123. However, the Gray-Griggs House’s balcony is more enclosed, among other differences. The design could have come from other prescriptive sources, including some of the contemporary women’s magazines.

²² *The North Carolina 1910 Year Book* (News & Observer), pp. 170-171.

²³ Brian Edwards, “A Brief History of Prohibition in Northeastern North Carolina,” in *Tributaries* (Beaufort: North Carolina Maritime History Council, October 1999), p. 8.

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²⁴ Thomas R. Butchko, *On the Shores of the Pasquotank: The Architectural Heritage of Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County, North Carolina* (Elizabeth City: Museum of the Albemarle, 1989), pp. 154-155.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Mr. Rascoe Bond Gillam, Nags Head, NC, 1/10/2002 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Jennifer Cathey. Also, Dare County tax website (www.co.dare.nc.us); however, building dates on the website are occasionally listed later than the actual construction date, so it is possible that this house is a few years earlier than listed. Mr. Gillam said the house was built in either the 1920s or 1930s, but the eight-over-eight windows suggest a building date between 1935 and 1940.

²⁷ Mrs. Goldberg (owner, Culpeper House), Nags Head, N. C., conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Sarah Woodard, 3/6/2002. The Culpepers, who were from Perquimans County, used the Loomis Mill near Hertford, and some of their newel posts are stencilled "Loomis".

²⁸ The house has been altered in recent years and because I wasn't able to get closer access to it, I hesitate recommending it for the Study List. However, as the last of a type, it definitely merits mention.

²⁹ Interior access was not gained to these Wanchese houses during the survey, so how intact their interiors are is not known. If the interiors are intact, they could be eligible for the NRSL.

³⁰ Gillam conversation, 1/10/2002

³¹ David Stick, Kitty Hawk, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 2/21/2002.

³² Stick conversation 2/21/2002. Also, Amy Waters Yarsinke, *Virginia Beach: Jewel Resort of the Atlantic* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1998), p. 85. In the Virginia Beach photograph, which is of a group at the Cavalier Hotel in 1932, there is a brick Colonial Revival house in the background almost identical to 1517 Virginia Dare Trail.

³³ John ("Jack") Wilson III and John Wilson IV, Manteo, NC, 11/12/2001 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck.

³⁴ Wilson conversation, 11/12/2001. Also, Brian Edwards and Sarah Downing, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 11/7/2001.

³⁵ Interior access to 1517 and 1519 N. Virginia Dare Trail was not gained during the survey, so it is not known how intact the interiors of these houses are.

³⁶ This is discussed in some detail in the Narrative section, so I'll not reiterate it.

³⁷ According to Marimar McNaughton (*Outer Banks Architecture*, p. 86), the stepped wall and arch were built of cinder block later, the function of the wall being to hide garbage cans and yard tools, in addition to screening a path from the porch to kitchen.

³⁸ Marimar McNaughton, *Outer Banks Architecture* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 2000), p. 86

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ David Stick, Kitty Hawk, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 2/21/2002.

⁴¹ McNaughton, p. 97.

⁴² McNaughton, p. 99 (Aycock Brown photograph from David Stick Collection, Outer Banks History Center).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴⁵ Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina, Inc., 1990), pp. 325, 327.

⁴⁶ David Stick and Bill Harris, 2/21/2002 conversation. Also, Bill Harris and Greg Ball, "1900 Map of Kitty Hawk, N. C." (in maps turned over to NC-HPO by consultant) shows Kitty Hawk as having an "Up the Road School" and a "Down the Road School" at the turn of the century.

⁴⁷ Tommy Bowden, North Swan Beach, N. C., 11/16/2001 interview with Lloyd Childers and Penne Smith Sandbeck.

⁴⁸ This particular plan created a layout whereby only one long wall of a classroom had windows, and the other wall was often where the chalkboard was located. Rosenwald Schools, designed and constructed for

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early twentieth-century African American students in the South, almost always used this plan as well. Also, Barb Hornbook conversation re Office No. 1, 12/5/2001.

⁴⁹ Bill Harris, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 2/26/2002.

⁵⁰ Wayland W. Baum, Wanchese, NC, 5/25/2002 conversation with Sarah S. Downing and Penne Smith Sandbeck. Also Mrs. William Abbott Phillips II, Wanchese, NC. 7/12/1974 letter to Janet Seapker, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC (copy in survey file).

⁵¹ Kill Devil Hills U. S. Life-Saving Station and USCG Station, research file compiled by Steve Harrison, NPS, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC: p. 2, and copy of 1943 survey map.

⁵² I couldn't find anything comparable in the architecture section of Ralph Shanks, Wick York, and Lisa Shanks, *The U. S. Life-Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues, and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard* (Costano Books, 1996), which does include stations built after the USL-SS became the U. S. Coast Guard.

⁵³ Richard L. Chenery, *Old Coast Guard Stations: North Carolina* (Dietz Press, 2000), p. 26: documentary of Kill Devil Hills USCG Station, 1951. Photocopy of documentary is in file.

⁵⁴ At this point—2002/2003—there are no historic districts in the survey area, although that may change in the next twenty years, depending upon how resources are managed. Three potential districts in the future are Wanchese's Old Wharf Road section near Bethany United Methodist Church, and Schoolhouse Road near the Wanchese School; the third potential district, Pugh Road's north streetscape, has neither a school nor church, although it terminates at the former Wanchese Academy.

⁵⁵ D. Victor Meekins Collection, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, N. C.

⁵⁶ The Swan Island Club, on a small island in Currituck Sound, is the exception.

⁵⁷ Johnson and Coppedge, p. 110.

⁵⁸ Dunbar, p. 162 (endnote 119) and Khoury, , p. 93. Also, Gaskill 2/25/2002 interview.

⁵⁹ John Gaskill, Wanchese, NC, 2/25/2002 interview with Penne S. Sandbeck. Also, Dunbar, Fig. 13.

⁶⁰ Gaskill interview, 2/25/2002.

⁶¹ Khoury, pp. 52-54, 90-94, 164. I didn't use p. 164 but it has a wonderful anecdote about the Lone Cedar's African American cook, Agatha Manley Gray. Also, Marybruce Lennon Dowd, Manteo, NC, telephone conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck 2/2002; Aerial photographs of Lone Cedar Lodge, ca. 1954. Roger Meekins Photograph Collection, Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC.

⁶² Blanch Nettleton Epler, "A Bit of Elizabethan England in America." *National Geographic Magazine*, 64:6 (Dec. 1933), p. 728.

⁶³ Khoury, p. 92.

⁶⁴ Khoury, p. 47.

⁶⁵ *North Carolina 1915 Year Book*, pp. 180-181.

⁶⁶ The quote is from Epler 1933, p. 730.

⁶⁷ Khoury, pp. 53-55; John and Jack Wilson Interview, Manteo, N. C., 11/12/2001; Dan Pezzoni, Manteo Survey Files (there are several properties who built summer cottages for visitors), NC-HPO.

⁶⁸ Tom Sprague, Manager, Sea Foam Motel, Nags Head, NC, 1/10/2002 conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck and Jennifer Cathey. Mr. Sprague also showed us Room 8, in the south wing, and said most of the south wing has not been altered.

⁶⁹ Jack Wilson, Manteo, NC, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 11/12/2001.

⁷⁰ Tomek Pakula, Cavalier Motel, conversation with Penne Smith Sandbeck, 12/17/2001.

⁷¹ As I said in an earlier endnote, it is possible that there will be future residential historic districts in Wanchese. Pugh Road is one of the potential area.

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1820, Schedule for Currituck County

1840, Schedule for Currituck County

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