

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number NE side of SR 1810 just E of junction with NC 125 ^{N/A} not for publication

city or town Scotland Neck vicinity

state North Carolina code NC county Halifax code 083 zip code 27874

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

William S. Price SHPO 12-15-93
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State of Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:	Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
<input type="checkbox"/> entered in the National Register. <input type="checkbox"/> See continuation sheet.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> determined eligible for the National Register <input type="checkbox"/> See continuation sheet.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> determined not eligible for the National Register.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> removed from the National Register.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> other, (explain:)	_____	_____

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1		buildings
1		sites
		structures
		objects
2		Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

-0-

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

Religion: religious facility

Funerary: cemetery

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

Vacant: not in use

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions)

Other: front-gable church

Gothic

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Brick

walls Wood: weatherboard

roof Asphalt

other Wood

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property.
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Architecture

Religion

Period of Significance

1872-1919

Significant Dates

1872

1901

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Unknown

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

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

Name of repository:

Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church
Name of Property

Halifax County, NC
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 2 acres

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1	1 8	2 8 2 6 0 0	3 9 9 8 2 0 0
	Zone	Easting	Northing
2			

3			
	Zone	Easting	Northing
4			

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Drucilla H. York, Architectural Historian

organization _____ date September 6, 1993

street & number 1903 E. Fourth Street telephone (919) 752-5260

city or town Greenville state NC zip code 27858

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association c/ Don Hardy, Clerk

street & number 113 Belmont Drive telephone (919) 758-4501

city or town Greenville state N. C. zip code 27858

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Constructed circa 1872, Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church originally followed a traditional building pattern preferred by Primitive Baptists--namely, a simple gable-front frame structure with paired front entrances. In 1901, however, the introduction of a frame tower to the front facade significantly modified its appearance. Located in rural Halifax County near the intersection of two county roads, Kehukee Church stands in a handsome grove of oaks. The approximately two acres of land include, to the north, a cemetery surrounded by a stone wall and, to the east, open meeting grounds. The exterior of the church remains intact but the interior has undergone a few modern alterations, including the introduction of restrooms. Even though the last regular church meeting was held in 1981, and since then the church has served only rarely as the site of the Kehukee Association's union meeting, Kehukee Church today remains in good condition and in an undisturbed rural setting.

Situated approximately one mile south of the small town of Scotland Neck, Kehukee Church faces toward the southwest and is set back approximately fifty feet from S.R. 1810. With a few exceptions, open farmland surrounds the church. The property is bounded to the east by the former right-of-way of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad; to the northwest, by the former Henderson Mill; and to the south directly across the road, by the John L. Coughenour House. Featuring a mature grove of oak trees, the church property encompasses a small cemetery enclosed by a stone wall to the north and an open meeting ground to the east. The meeting ground includes a twentieth-century hand water pump and table plus a picnic area. This picnic area is defined by a modern run of paired posts joined by a wire mesh. During dinner on the grounds, boards are laid across the wire to serve as tables, and food is placed upon them.

1. The Church: ca. 1872, contributing

Resting on a brick pier foundation, the one-story church with gallery features plain weatherboard sheathing and a gable-front roof with box cornice and returns. The dimensions of the original part are 34 feet by 44 feet. In 1901 the four-bay front (southwest) facade with double entrance was reduced to three bays with the introduction of a projecting central tower with a single, central entrance. This simple Gothic-style tower contains a double-leaf front entrance and, at each side, an oversized window, now infilled with weatherboards. Its former second-story openings, which in all likelihood originally served as ventilators, are also infilled with weatherboards. An octagonal spire rising from a hipped base and sheathed with patterned tin shingles caps the tower. The two original main facade windows containing six-over-six sash provide light to the gallery. The gallery entrance, however, is located just around the corner on the east side elevation. This entrance is secured by a simple board-and-batten door. Each side elevation features three generous windows with nine-over-nine sash. Although shutters were used at one

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time, none is present on the church today. The rear three-bay facade has two entrances with six-panel doors separated by a more standard size window with six-over-six sash. The gable end here is flush. A stove stack rises from the ridge of the gable roof, which is sheathed with asphalt shingles. These shingles conceal earlier wooden shingles.

The interior of Kehukee Church is divided into three distinct areas: vestibule, open meeting space, and gallery. The tower vestibule measures approximately 8 feet square and has beaded tongue and groove sheathing for the walls and wainscoting. A double-leaf entrance containing standard Victorian doors with five slightly raised panels mirrored on each side opens into the meeting area. Rectangular in shape, this area is partially obscured by the gallery overhang, which is supported by two truncated eight-by-eight-inch posts and extends approximately 11 feet. Three massive eight-by-eight-inch posts bisect the meeting area front to back and support an exposed summer beam. Evidence of a former dividing rail remains on the rear post. All posts and the summer beam have chamfered corners with lamb's tongue motifs. The meeting area is also defined by three ranks of benches separated by two aisles. A raised preaching stand is centrally positioned between the two rear doorways, with a central rear window providing light. The "Amen corners," one on each side of the stand, contain four benches that face the stand and are perpendicular to those of the congregation. On the other hand, the gallery is accessible only by way of an exterior entrance opening onto a partially enclosed quarter-turn stair with winders. The gallery extends approximately 11 feet into the meeting area, and its floor gently slopes down to a plain board balustrade that rises one foot nine inches in height.

Although the interior of the meeting area has been subjected to two unsympathetic modern alterations, many of its original features remain. Plyboard paneling installed circa 1980 now conceals the original plaster walls and closes off the gallery. In addition, two restrooms were added circa 1975 beneath the gallery, to each side of the entrance. The original wainscoting, with vertical beaded tongue-and-groove boards, encircles the meeting area to the preaching stand, where it shifts in height from two feet two inches to three feet four inches. The placement of the two original facade entrances is evidenced by the break in the wainscoting in each restroom. The floorboards are seven-and-one-half inches wide and are laid in three runs measuring 16 feet 1 inch, 16 feet 1 inch, and 12 feet 2 inches. The ceiling, with its sides diagonally set, is sheathed with beaded tongue-and-groove boards. All door and window surrounds are plain, with slightly peaked lintels. Four milk glass school lights are suspended from the ceiling. Stove pipe openings near the center of the ceiling in the open area and gallery indicate the former presence of wood stoves.

The furniture and preaching stand reflect various periods of the church's early development. An original feature, the preaching stand is elevated nine

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inches and set on a trapezoid-shaped base with the longest side abutting the wall. A balustrade, with diagonally set balusters, frames the front and half of the sides of the stand; it features a deep, nine-inch top shelf with a gentle two-inch slope, similar to that of a lectern. A primitive pine Communion table with a nearly square top and tapered legs is located directly in front of the preaching stand. It, too, probably is original to the church. The table is flanked by two twentieth-century Duncan Fife armchairs, which were presented as memorials to Woodford W. House and Willy D. Keel. The two late-Victorian straight-back chairs within the preaching stand were placed in the church by Wilbur Weeks in the 1980s. On the other hand, the pews are replacements purchased for the church in 1912. They have bench ends with curved arms and applied shields. In the gallery, there are several of the original slat-back benches; these follow a more traditional, utilitarian form, with two parallel running boards for a back rest.

2. The Cemetery: 1889, contributing site

A small cemetery surrounded by a stone wall located north of the church in the rear corner of the property near the former railroad tracks. The cemetery contains approximately 35 burial markers with the earliest dating from the 1890s. Local tradition maintains that John Davis had the stone wall built with stone possibly from the Enfield area, his home. It is uncertain when the wall was constructed.

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Located in rural Halifax County near Scotland Neck, Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church represents a remarkable example of architectural trends within the Primitive Baptist Church and socio-economic trends in the agriculturally based rural economy of eastern North Carolina during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. From 1872, when the congregation decided to relocate, to 1919, when Elder Andrew J. Moore resigned as moderator, Kehukee Church underwent a period of renewal and change. It continued, however, to adhere religiously to the austere and ritualistic beliefs of the Primitive Baptist Church. This period of significance mirrors both the development within the Kehukee Association of an openness to and acceptance of contemporary building patterns and the economic changes taking place in rural Halifax County, which included the expansion of rail transportation and the concomitant growth of the lumber industry. Built ca. 1872 and modified by the introduction of a central tower to the front facade in 1901, Kehukee Church exemplifies: first, the simple, traditional frame meeting house preferred by evangelical Protestant denominations in rural eastern North Carolina during the early nineteenth century and adhered to throughout the century by Primitive Baptist associations in eastern North Carolina; and second, the introduction of stylistic change. In all likelihood, the addition of the simple late-Victorian tower to Kehukee Church was instigated by John L. Coughenour, a close neighbor and lumber mill owner, and supported by Elder Andrew J. Moore, who served the church from 1879 until 1919. Remarkably well preserved, the meeting house is basically a gable-front structure with gallery featuring large nine-over-nine sash windows along each side elevation. Except for the vestibule addition, the interior plan is virtually intact and distinguished by two aisles leading to a central preaching stand. This stand is flanked by two doors and the "Amen corners." A handsome grove of oaks distinguishes the approximately two-acre site, which also includes a cemetery and an area for dinner on the grounds.

Religious Context

The development of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church in rural Halifax County, from its renewal and relocation in 1871 closer to the small town of Scotland Neck until 1919, when its elder, Andrew J. Moore, retired after forty years of service, represents a remarkable transition within the church to acknowledge a mainstream architectural aesthetic while adhering strictly to its ritualistic beliefs and practices. The stimuli for the transition are linked to the itinerant preaching practices within the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association and to economic developments taking place during the late nineteenth century in Halifax County and, more specifically, in Scotland Neck. These developments include the expansion of rail transportation, growth of small towns prompted by new industry, and the development of the lumber industry. Membership patterns within the Kehukee Church mirrored those within

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the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association between 1871 and 1919, steadily increasing until 1880, when membership began slowly to decline--a decline that has continued to the present.

As in many northern coastal plain counties in North Carolina, economic growth in Halifax County's towns and countryside during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted from the agricultural production of cotton, corn, peanuts, and tobacco; convenient river and railroad transportation; and the development of the textile and lumber industries.¹

Cotton and timber were two of Halifax County's most important commodities; together they produced the basis of a significant portion of the county's industrial growth. Production of cotton had risen from 11,716 bales in 1870 to 27,636 bales in 1920, with only one decline recorded in 1890.² In addition, the county's forests included a variety of marketable wood, including pine, oak, hickory, poplar, maple, cypress, and juniper. In 1870 Halifax County contained 204,841 acres of woodland, but by 1920 timber cutting had decreased this figure by twenty-five percent, to 155,880 acres.³

The expansion of the county's railroad network from 41 miles in 1880 to 80 miles by 1900 fostered the utilization of these resources and served as a catalyst in the development of towns as well as in industrialization. In 1881 people in Scotland Neck cooperated fully with the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad to bring a branch line to the town, giving liberally of their money, land, and services. Rights of way and surveying services were donated.⁴ This branch line was extended beyond Scotland Neck, linking it with Greenville and Kinston in 1890.⁵

The railroad's expanded presence directly stimulated industrialization in Halifax County, including Scotland Neck. The number of cotton gins and saw mills rose significantly between 1880 and 1900, with the use of steam-powered engines also on the rise. In 1884, four cotton gins and eight saw mills operated in the county. By 1897, the county's milling operations included ten cotton gins and twelve saw mills, four of which included planing operations. Steam powered eight of these gins and nine saw mills.⁶ In Scotland Neck, the single saw and planing operation listed in a business directory in 1890 rose in number to three saw and two planing mills in 1896.⁷ Such lumber mills often were financed by northern capitalists, including H. B. Crawley, a partner in the Nesbitt Lumber Company of New York, and Dr. Harold H. Fries of New York, president of the North Carolina Lumber Company.⁸ Textile mills, which developed in Roanoke Rapids and other towns, provided a market for locally grown cotton and employment for workers who moved to town from the country.

Realizing the need for new industry to further stimulate growth, Scotland

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Neck in 1889 supported the organization of a local cotton factory, the Scotland Neck Cotton Mills.⁹ Financial limitations, however, quickly forced the mill's investors to scale down their original plan and adapt it to a knitting mill. A financial success from the beginning, the knitting mill was said to be one of the first built in the South.¹⁰ By 1890, with a population of 1,250, Scotland Neck had become the largest town in Halifax County. Weldon, Enfield, and Roanoke Rapids, however, would all surpass Scotland Neck by 1900.¹¹

Although the Methodist denomination was dominant in Halifax County throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Baptist denomination was one of its earliest, with Kehukee Church established in 1742, some 16 years before Halifax County was created from Edgecombe County. The third Old School or Primitive Baptist church established in the United States, Kehukee Church became the Mother church for the Kehukee Baptist Association, which had been founded in 1769 and at one time covered a large area of northeastern North Carolina and a portion of Virginia.¹²

Old School Baptist beliefs included the doctrine of predestination and salvation by grace, not works. In the Kehukee Association, the Confession of Faith was strictly governed by the church covenant, rules of decorum, and articles of faith. Their beliefs embraced the practice of feet washing, baptism through immersion, and Holy Communion.¹³

In 1827, the Kehukee Association Meeting held at Kehukee Church was the scene of the great scism between the Missionary Baptists and the Primitive Baptists. At this meeting the Kehukee Association completely rejected the growing support for missionary work and evangelism. By 1830 the separation was complete.¹⁴ The Kehukee Association continued to grow, reaching a membership of 1,494 in 1860.¹⁵ It did not grow, however, at the record pace of other Baptist churches. By this time the Baptist Church in North Carolina had 65,000 members in 780 congregations, of which only 37 were Primitive Baptist. All but about 30 of these Baptist churches were also located in rural areas.¹⁶ In 1870 the Kehukee Association included a total of 37 churches with a membership of 1,359. These figures peaked in 1879, with 2,067 members attending 41 churches. By 1919 membership had dwindled to 1,258; the number of churches to 38.¹⁷

Leadership within the Primitive Baptist Church rested in the hands of the elders, deacons, and clerks. Regular services, which included ". . . the transaction of business and the exercise of discipline" could be conducted by the clerk and a moderator chosen from within the membership. An ordained minister, however, was required to administer baptism; one or more elders were needed to officiate at the Communion table; and one or more deacons assisted with Communion by passing the elements to communicants. Ordained ministers were usually in charge of one or more churches and traveled widely, preaching

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not only within the Kehukee Association, but in other associations as well.¹⁸ All preaching by either ministers or elders was done extemporaneously.

Each Primitive Baptist gathering was strictly governed by ritual and by rules of decorum, which were very plain and simple. The only music allowed in the church was the singing of hymns with no accompaniment. Also, no religious or political symbols were allowed in a Primitive Baptist church. The roles of men and women were clearly defined, and women could only speak during a meeting in cases of conscience. In the early history of the church, men and women were physically separated within the congregation by a rail, and each entered through a separate front door. This idea of separation could also extend to the reserved pews for senior members of the congregation in the two "amen corners" flanking the preaching stand. The "amen corner" on the preacher's right facing the congregation was for the elders and deacons, while that on the left was for women.¹⁹

Church services within the Kehukee Association were varied, with three types of meetings: regular, union, and association. Each was led by a designated moderator and recorded by a clerk. In addition, association meetings required two assistant clerks and sometimes the appointment of a standing committee. Regular services were held once a month at each church and spanned a two-day period, Saturday and Sunday. Saturdays were devoted to preaching, conference, singing, and prayer. In addition, Sundays included baptisms in the morning and Communion following the preaching, but no conference.²⁰ Communion could be partaken only by members, and this service had three parts: ". . . the regular service with hymn singing and preaching; 'foot washing,' which ends with handshaking, embracing, and weeping, as members experience their fellowship; and Communion itself." Afterward "dinner on the grounds" was an extension of this fellowship and ritual. Long tables were set up outside and laden with food, which was usually eaten while standing. If a shelter was constructed for this purpose, it was often placed near cemeteries ". . . symbolizing a link to tradition and past."²¹ Once a year on a designated weekend the regular meeting became a special yearly meeting or homecoming.

In comparison, the attendance at the three-day and association meetings usually required travel and an overnight stay. The site of these meetings alternated between member churches. As the Kehukee Association grew during the early nineteenth century, union meetings between neighboring churches were organized. These meetings, held Friday through Sunday, usually were held on the fifth Sunday in a month and focused on general fellowship and preaching. On the other hand, association meetings were held once a year on the weekend of the first Sunday in October, running Saturday through Monday. Church business was very much a part of these meetings, which were highlighted by fellowship and preaching.²² Dinner on the grounds was also an integral part of association meetings, as well as union meetings. Often attendance on

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Sunday could swell tremendously at association meetings. In 1873 the crowd estimate for the association meeting at Cross Roads Church in Edgecombe County, eight miles east of Tarboro, ranged from 10,000 to 13,000.²³ On the other hand, in 1889 at Conoho Church in Martin County, the association meeting on Sunday drew a crowd of between 5,000 and 6,000.²⁴ As the railroad network developed in eastern North Carolina during the late nineteenth century, it offered such an important alternative mode of transportation for Primitive Baptists attending their meetings that the railroad schedules were regularly published in Zion's Landmark, the Primitive Baptist paper published in eastern North Carolina by Elder P. D. Gold.

Architectural Context

Primitive Baptist meeting houses historically stand as unadorned and basically unaltered physical reflections of the spiritual beliefs of their members. As Melanie S. Reid writes in "'Neither Adding Nor Taking Away': The Care and Keeping of Primitive Baptist Church Houses":

Believing that the process of establishing the spiritual church on earth by Jesus Christ was a complete and perfect one, the Primitive Baptist's only goal is to uphold this spiritual design. The approach to the Primitive Baptist religion is one of maintaining the established integrity of its spiritual design and not one of adapting religious belief or behavior to the prevailing winds of time.²⁵

Spiritual--not physical--concerns drove the actions of the Primitive Baptists, and the spiritual was conveyed in the simplest manner. Primitive Baptist meeting houses mirror this spiritual simplicity. Physically embodying the spiritual continuity in the beliefs and behaviors of their members, meeting houses also served as the gathering places where members derived spiritual renewal and assurance. As the places with which and in which Primitive Baptists identified their spirituality, meeting houses through the years were maintained by active congregations with great care, subjected to few alterations, and loved by their members.²⁶

Primitive Baptist meeting houses represented in function and design a physical extension of the members' spiritual beliefs.²⁷ Their overall simplicity emphasizes this "Old School" spirituality, which is most evident in the functional plan of the church. Originally the traditional rectilinear one-room plan, with two front entrances, separated the men in the congregation from the women and children. An extension of this separation were the two aisles that divided the three ranges of pews. In some cases a central rail divided the middle range. The central feature, opposite the entrances, was an elevated preaching stand or pulpit area. This area usually projected into the

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room, even if an apse was present. Sometimes the pulpit was flanked by reading lecterns. The "Amen Corners" were on each side of the preaching stand and separated by rear exits. A single window directly behind the pulpit usually illuminated the preaching area. The table directly in front of the pulpit was the center for both the "feet washing" and Communion rituals. Pews were usually simple, unadorned benches with a plain, slat-back design. Interior finishes were also plain and, in earlier churches, included plaster walls. Often the simple wood finishes, including the tongue and groove ceiling used later to sheath walls and ceilings, were left natural. All these elements combine to reflect the nature of worship for Primitive Baptists, in which the emphasis is placed on the word in an environment with no distractions. Good examples of intact interiors within the Kehukee Association are found at Red Banks in Pitt County and at Bear Grass and Smithwick's Creek, both in Martin County.

In the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association, most meeting houses throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century were located in rural areas, built of frame construction, and followed a traditional gable-front form. Although the spiritual traditions of the church account for a continuity in structural form, subtle variations in fenestration patterns and detailing did occur. Early meeting houses exhibited flush gable ends; however, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as new churches were constructed or roofs replaced, more contemporary boxed cornices with returns became common.

Two very distinct fenestration patterns for the front facades separate these traditional meeting houses into two types, those with a paired entry and ones with a central double-leaf entrance. The earlier and more typical type had two entrances, one for men and the other for women and children. Two antebellum examples are Bear Grass (mid nineteenth century) and Skewarky (1859), both of which are located in Martin County. In contrast to Bear Grass, Skewarky also has windows directly above each entrance, which serve to light an interior gallery. This same fenestration pattern and use of a gallery is illustrated at Spring Green (1878), also in Martin County. Both Spring Green and Bear Grass have boxed cornices with returns; however, the Bear Grass roof is thought to have been modified following storm damage. The sustained use of the double entrance is exemplified by Red Banks (1893) in Pitt County, and by Smithwick's Creek (1897) and Flat Swamp (1924), both in Martin County. On the other hand, the use of the central double-leaf entrance was infrequent. The earliest example in the Kehukee Association is Tyson's in Pitt County, dating from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It has a single bay facade and also exhibits a rare example of an engaged portico. A turn-of-the-century example of this form is Old Sparta in Edgecombe County.

Beginning in the 1880s, the Kehukee Association began to experience two new trends: the establishment of Primitive Baptist congregations in small

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towns and the introduction of popular stylistic details and elements into the vernacular building tradition of the church. One possibility for the phenomenon lies in the growth of small towns during the late nineteenth century. By offering an opportunity to improve one's economic status, small towns lured many workers from agricultural jobs. This influx in all likelihood included members of rural Primitive Baptist churches. Another likely source for these trends were the ministers and elders themselves, in association with the itinerant preaching practices within the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association. A minister's responsibility sometimes included one or more churches. Elders were also encouraged to visit, preach, and assist in congregations throughout the association. Each church met once a month over a specific weekend; however, weekends varied from church to church. This practice allowed members, as well, a chance to attend other meetings and to lend support. This exchange provided a fertile opportunity, particularly for ministers and elders, to facilitate change.

In 1871 only three of thirty-seven congregations in the Kehukee Association were located in previously established towns or villages: Tarborough [sic] (1819) and Sparta (1855), both in Edgecombe County; and Washington in Beaufort County.²⁸ The steady rise in the membership of the association in the 1870s resulted in the establishment of several new churches. The construction in 1881 of Hopeland Primitive Baptist Church in Whitakers (Nash County) embodied the proclivity toward change within the Kehukee Association as these new congregations were established. Hopeland was organized in 1879 by two of the association's most respected ministers, Elder P. D. Gold and Elder Andrew J. Moore, who became the church's moderator and pastor, respectively.²⁹ The meeting house embodied an architectural sophistication and preference heretofore unseen in the Kehukee Association. Retaining the traditional paired entrance fenestration pattern, Hopeland incorporated a front, central-gable belfry into the overall plan as well as striking bracketed gable hoods and Gothic arched transoms over each front entrance.³⁰

The Tarboro Primitive Baptist Church (ca. 1830) in Edgecombe County also illustrates this growing acceptance of more popular church forms and style as they applied to the remodeling of older structures. The circa 1880 modifications to the Tarboro meeting house included the addition of a belfry, apse, and primary central entrance. In all likelihood these changes took place while elder P. D. Gold served as minister of the church, from 1879 until about 1916.³¹ Gold is described as a man who "received a liberal education, taught school, and studied law."³² He served also as a trustee of the University of North Carolina.³³ His tenure at the church in Tarboro has been characterized as a time of peace and affection, and "with his serene and judicious mind he adjusted the affairs of the church to the liking of the congregation."³⁴

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A gallery, like the one in Tarboro Primitive Baptist Church, was an important antebellum feature that physically separated Black members of the congregation from white members. The use of galleries in church plans extended into the 1870s. Even though the Kehukee Association accepted this separation of Blacks and whites within a congregation during the late nineteenth century, it did not espouse separate churches within the association. Instead, as colored Primitive Baptist churches formed they were encouraged to become a part of a colored association. Varying questions pertaining to the role of Black members were presented to the Association as early as 1872 and throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁵

During the early twentieth century the membership of the association steadily declined, reaching 1,590 members in 1905; however, during the same period the number of churches rose to a high of 43. Eighteen congregations had 20 or fewer members while 16 churches had more than 40.³⁶ The construction of most rural churches continued to follow the traditional gable-front form. As new Primitive Baptist churches were built in towns, the design for new meeting houses continued to reflect more a stylistic preference than a denominational building type. Bell towers and/or vestibules were incorporated into the still basic rectilinear plan. Singleton Primitive Baptist Church (ca. 1910) in Washington, N. C., exhibits the incorporation of a belfry and Robersonville Primitive Baptist Church (1912) in Martin County includes a projecting three-stage, central, bell tower with vestibule. Both of these churches are frame; however, brick became the material of choice when Great Swamp (1922) in Greenville and Falls of the Tar River (1927) just outside Rocky Mount were constructed. The standard gable front orientation persisted with each but the fenestration design was more elaborate, using either rounded or pointed arches. Great Swamp was also distinguished by an off-set corner bell tower and pedimented gable ends. Falls of the Tar River, on the other hand, featured buttresses along each side elevation and a classical portico supported by four Ionic columns.

Within the Kehukee Association, the traditional design of a church in the beginning reflected the spirituality of Primitive Baptists' beliefs and their love for the old. Melanie Reid writes, ". . . the Primitive Baptist content in any church house is reflected in the maintenance of the building. . . . They are wont to maintain the given spiritual design."³⁷ By the late nineteenth century, however, an interest for the new was developing. This was conveyed through the acceptance of new architectural details and form. This acceptance may well symbolize the continued, all-important focus of the denomination on its spirituality as it began to shift away from the importance of a physical representation of that spirituality, as seen through its buildings. Today, the Kehukee Association is a fading shadow of what it once was, having only five active churches and less than a dozen members.³⁸

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The fifty-year period of significance for Kehukee Church reflects the renewal and development of one of North Carolina's oldest and most historically significant Primitive Baptist congregations as well as the significance and direct impact of local economic and industrial growth on the church. This growth centers on the expansion south in 1887 of the Scotland Neck branch of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad directly behind Kehukee Church and the operation from circa 1888-1913 of John Coughenour's lumber mill adjacent to the new church. The new Kehukee Church as constructed circa 1871-1872 embodied all the characteristics of a traditional frame Primitive Baptist meeting house. Probably at the instigation of John Coughenour, a combination bell tower and vestibule was added to the church in 1901; this represented a growing acceptance of changing architectural patterns within the Kehukee Association.

The reorganization of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church began in 1859 and in 1860 Elder John W. Stamper took over the pastoral charge of the church as its first minister since 1830. Elder C. B. Hassell described the church during this antebellum period as having "grown very cold and by reason of deaths, excommunications and removals was greatly decreased in number."³⁹ In all likelihood, because of the interruption of the Civil War, the early years of Elder Stamper's ministry saw little growth. This may be the reason why Kehukee Church was not noted on the detailed map of a Confederate engineer, General Jeremy Francis Gilmer. The revival of the Kehukee Church must have been slow during the years immediately following the war. Elder Hassell continued by stating that prior to 1871 Kehukee Church still "was much reduced in numbers of members, and could not for a long time conduct the business of conference without the assistance of other churches."⁴⁰

A radical decision to relocate the church was made either in 1870 or 1871 by the members of Kehukee Church and their minister, Elder Stamper. The move was made from its original site two miles east of Scotland Neck near Kehukee Creek to one approximately a mile south of Scotland Neck on the main road to Palmyra. The old church apparently was torn down about this same time.⁴¹ An exact date for the construction and completion of the new church is unknown. The minutes for the Church began to record collections taken for the church or church fund in the fall of 1871, but it is unclear whether or not these were for the new structure. The first collection recorded for the church totalled \$3.15 and contributions ranged in size from 5¢ to 50¢.⁴² The new two-and-a-half acre site was deeded by Benjamin I. Alsbrook and his wife, Della, on April 1, 1872 for the sum of \$25 and included "land and premises."⁴³ Members of the Alsbrook family were leaders in Kehukee Church with M. D. Alsbrook, James H. Alsbrook, and Ira Alsbrook named as church trustees in 1875. For many years during the late nineteenth century, M. D. Alsbrook also served as church treasurer and Benjamin Ira Alsbrook was its clerk. Prominent local farmers,

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these men were also neighbors of Kehukee Church.⁴⁴

The church as originally constructed was a modest gable-front frame structure with flush gable ends and a paired entry. The rectilinear plan included a gallery which was entered by a door on the south elevation. Black members sat in the gallery, and the minutes for the September meeting in 1871 recorded that "the Black Bretheran that left has [illigible] come back and wish to be restored in fellowship."⁴⁵ By 1882, the Black members of the congregation numbered approximately 30. Blacks were an integral part of the congregation even after 1896 when a group of "colored Brethren were granted letters of dismissal to constitute a col [sic] Primitive Baptist Church" at what is thought to have been the original site of old Kehukee.⁴⁶ The interior was heated by a stove and in November 1874 the minutes recorded the amount contributed to pay off the \$12.60 balance due on the stove. It was not until the fall of 1881, however, that a stove was installed in the gallery. B. I. Alsbrook and J. H. Alsbrook served on the committee overseeing this installation and J. C. Perry did the work.⁴⁷

Even though the only detail recorded in the construction of the meeting house was completed in 1876, collection to pay off church debt continued throughout the 1870s. References about having the church underpinned were first noted in Novemebr 1875, but the work was postponed until Spring 1876. Members of the committee overseeing this project were Brethren J. Albert White, W. R. Leggett and W. D. Alsbrook.⁴⁸ Although funds continued to be raised in order to pay off construction debts, these activities were not specifically addressed in the minutes until November 1876. They stipulate that "the amount collected be paid on what is owed for building the church." The collection totalled \$14.83 and gifts varied in size from 10¢ to \$3.⁴⁹ Reducing the church debt was also noted in December 1877, and in January 1878, where a "collection was taken up to finish paying for Building of the Church." The amount collected was \$38.50, a large sum in comparison with others.⁵⁰ All throughout 1880, amounts were collected to reduce church debt. The last such collection occurred in December 1880 and totalled \$63.15.⁵¹

Following its reorganization in 1859, Kehukee Church as served by three active and well-respected elders within the Kehukee Association: John W. Stamper (1860-1876), P. D. Gold (1876-1879), and Andrew J. Moore (1879-1919). Stamper was in part responsible for the success of Kehukee Church's reorganization and relocation, as well for the construction circa 1871-1872 of its new meeting house. Elder P. D. Gold, who served the church for only three years, had studied law, and attended Furman University and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He was described as a man who was not concerned "to any great extent with secular matters, but his sympathies are with the people to whom he ministers, and he shares in their hopes and aspirations."⁵² In January, 1879, following Elder Gold's resignation, Andrew J. Moore (1837- ?) became pastor of the church.⁵³ Moore, whose home in Whitakers was closer to

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Kehukee than Gold's had been, had attended schools in Wilson and Oxford before entering the University of North Carolina. Baptised in 1870, he was ordained in 1873 by Elders Gold and B. P. Pitt. In Whitakers he helped establish Hopeland Primitive Baptist Church, which was described as "one of the loveliest home churches on earth." Known as a "fine gentleman of the old school," Moore had "no confidence whatever in modern religious institutions." In his ministry he "depended upon the pure sweet, old fashioned gospel of Christ alone to attract the subjects of grace." He was faithful to the four churches he served, traveling either by train or "in his own conveyance from twenty to thirty miles."⁵⁴ Under his guidance Kehukee Church experienced stability and continuity in its meetings.

The late 1880s brought several significant changes to Kehukee Church and its environment. The first change for the church occurred in March 1886 when a decision was made to purchase blinds for the windows. These blinds reportedly cost \$13.⁵⁵ Another change involved the decision to hire Joe Cotten to be the church caretaker. His duties included keeping the fires as needed, furnishing wood, and cleaning up the church and its grounds. His payment was 50¢ per month.⁵⁶ It is uncertain how long he maintained this position. The third change was the agreement to use less than one-quarter acre of land to "be laid off for a burial ground." On September 26, 1889 all who were interested were encouraged to meet at the church to "lay off and arrange a burial ground." Shortly after this meeting, the members appointed a committee "to arrange and enclose the burying ground." Members appointed to the committee were Brethren M. D. Alsbrook, J. T. House, and T. L. House.⁵⁷

Beginning in the 1880s, Kehukee Church was also exposed to change from external sources. In 1887 the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad completed the extension of its Scotland Neck branch line to Parmele. This line ran directly along the church's rear property line. By 1889, this line extended to Kinston and became an important transportation artery for passengers as well as freight. The other change involved the establishment of a lumber mill near the church. The earliest known reference to this "saw mill near Kehukee Church" was in the August 23, 1888 issue of The Democrat.⁵⁸ The mill was owned and operated by John L. Coughenour [1850-1913], who moved with his family to Scotland Neck circa 1886 from Pennsylvania. Following the death of his first wife, Coughenour married on May 3, 1893, Bettie Joyner, the daughter of W. T. Joyner, a prominent local farmer.⁵⁹

Coughenour probably had recognized that the new railroad extension to Parmele would allow him to harvest and market timber economically in an area of the county rich in timber. The Democrat reported on April 13, 1893 that

We recently stopped at Mr. Jno. Coughenour's lumber mill near town and we were surprised to find such a big lumber business here. He has been at work there for four years,

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and averages 12,000 feet of lumber daily. He has five thousand dollars worth of lumber on his yard now. There are no larger or better mills in the community.⁶⁰

Coughenour's lumber operations continued to flourish until April 21, 1896 when a fire completely destroyed the uninsured mill at a loss of approximately fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. This loss included about a half million feet of good lumber and the entire plant of mill and planing machines.⁶¹ Coughenour quickly rebuilt his lumber mill and continued his timber operations in the area. These operations included a rail line which he built extending "... from his saw mill five or six miles into the country through swamps and marshes and over hills and valleys."⁶²

Growth in the membership of Kehukee Church during the last decades of the nineteenth century remained even, with approximately one hundred members. A high point for the church was the 1895 Kehukee Association meeting held at Kehukee Church on October 5-7. The Democrat on October 3, 1895 reported, "A large crowd is expected and bountiful preparation is being made for the entertainment of the delegates and visitors."⁶³ The railroad had agreed to stop the trains at Kehukee Church because this convenience would save those attending "... the trouble of coming into town and then going back to the church."⁶⁴ Preparations were also underway in September for the construction of a stand and cleaning up the church grounds.⁶⁵ The Democrat reported, "A large and commodious stand had been prepared in the grove, with ample seats...."⁶⁶ Originally, all lumber used for building this stand which could not be returned was to be paid for by Kehukee Church; however, John Coughenour generously furnished the lumber from his neighboring mill.⁶⁷ The meeting, itself, was well attended, drawing a crowd on Sunday estimated at 3,000. The meeting house was used primarily for the transaction of business and the preaching took place in the stand. Ten elders from eastern North Carolina and Virginia, including A. J. Moore and P. D. Gold, are identified as having preached. During the meeting resolutions were passed to thank the people of the community and Scotland Neck, John Coughenour and the authorities of the Atlantic Coast Line, especially Capt. Hawks, for their cooperation, generosity, and hospitality.⁶⁸

The turn of the century marked a year of change for Kehukee Church and its environment. Early in the year John Coughenour began construction of his new residence, directly across the road from Kehukee Church on a 104-acre piece of property he had acquired in 1898.⁶⁹ Up until this time Coughenour and his family had resided in Scotland Neck. The Commonwealth reported on July 12, 1900, that "Mr. John Coughenour has built a handsome two-story residence at his saw mill just south of town. It will be highly finished and makes a most attractive appearance."⁷⁰ Coughenour's new home is noted as "one of Halifax County's superlative examples of the decorated Victorian residence."⁷¹ [Exhibit #1] The construction of his home is significant

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because, according to local tradition, Coughenour did not fancy the plain, traditional form of Kehukee Church. He is said to have approached the church with an offer to build a bell tower onto its facade.⁷² The offer apparently was accepted because on July 1, 1901, The Commonwealth reported that "Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church near town has been recently painted. Also a nice steeple has been added on the church, and the general appearance has been greatly improved."⁷³ The Kehukee Church minutes begin to record this undertaking in December, 1900, although the steeple addition and Coughenour are never mentioned. The "committee to have the church covered" reported then that \$42.75 was paid out for shingle work and a committee to have the church painted was appointed. Both the exterior and interior were painted by January, 1902.⁷⁴

The years between 1905 and 1920 marked the beginning of a downward swing in Kehukee Church membership patterns. The 62 members listed in 1905 had declined to 40 by 1919.⁷⁵ No more outward changes were made to the meeting house; however, a significant change did take place on the interior. In September, 1910, authorization was given to sell the benches in the church for \$1.50 a piece. By the time of the October meeting, the benches had not been sold and the matter was tabled until October, 1911, when a committee was formed to purchase and install new pews within the church. The committee reported in September 1912 that the "benches are in place and paid for. . . ." These are the benches presently in the church; several of the original slat-back benches remain in the gallery.⁷⁶

After the resignation of Elder Andrew J. Moore, the membership of Kehukee Church, like that of all Primitive Baptist churches within the Kehukee Association, continued to decline. The church's last member, Mrs. Lena Andrews Shackell, died in 1979, at which time the church became inactive. In 1981 the last official monthly meeting was held at the church, and since then only an occasional union meeting has been held there. Today the meeting house is faithfully attended to by two Scotland Neck natives, Charlie Dunn Alston and Wilbur Weeks.⁷⁷

Footnotes

1. Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, third edition, 1973), 512, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina.

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2. Francis A. Walker, The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States . . . from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 216. This volume contains statistics concerning agricultural production. The writer consulted printed versions of the censuses of agriculture for the period 1870-1920. Hereinafter, these will be cited as Census of Agriculture, with appropriate date and page numbers. Census of Agriculture, 1890, 395; Census of Agriculture, 1920, 255.

3. Levi Branson, North Carolina Business Directory for 1884 (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1884), 355, hereinafter cited as Branson, N.C. Business Directory, with appropriate date; Census of Agriculture, 1870, 214; Census of Agriculture, 1920, 236.

4. Henry V. Taves, "The Rural Architectural Heritage of Halifax County, North Carolina" (unpublished report, North Carolina Division of Archives and History and Halifax County Historical Society, 1989), 40-42, hereinafter cited as Taves, "Rural Architectural Heritage"; The Commonwealth (Scotland Neck), August 5, 1932, hereinafter cited as The Commonwealth.

5. John G. Duncan, "Pitt County Potpourri" (unpublished mimeograph, East Carolina University Library, 1966), 110.

6. Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1884, 360; Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1897, 324-325.

7. Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1890, 344; Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1896, 324-325.

8. The Commonwealth, March 17, 24, 1898; Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1896, 325.

9. The Democrat (Scotland Neck), April 11, 1889, hereinafter cited as The Democrat.

10. The Commonwealth, August 5, 1932.

11. Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1890, 339; Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1897, 320.

12. Cushing Biggs Hassell, History of the Church of God, from the Creation to A. D. 1885; Including Especially the History of the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association. Revised and completed by Elder Sylvester Hassell, 1886; reprint ed. (Conley, Georgia: Old School Hymnal Co., 1973), 552-554, 558, hereinafter cited as Hassell, History of the Church of God; Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, 139.

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13. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 620-621, 664-710.

14. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 736-744; Timothy P. Mattimoe, "Primitive Baptists in Eastern North Carolina: Some Historical Survivals in an American Protestant Religious Culture" (unpublished paper, n.d., in the possession of Dr. Mattimoe, Greenville, North Carolina), 1-3, hereinafter cited as Mattimoe, "Primitive Baptists"; Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, 407.

15. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 798.

16. Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, 416-417.

17. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 807, 819; Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association . . . 1919, unpagged, microfilm copy, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association, with appropriate date.

18. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 836, 838.

19. Mattimoe, "Primitive Baptists," 8-12; James L. Peacock and Ruel W. Tyson, Jr., Pilgrims of Paradox: Calvinism and Experience among the Primitive Baptists of the Blue Ridge (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 16, hereinafter cited as Peacock and Tyson, Pilgrims of Paradox.

20. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 836.

21. Peacock and Tyson, Pilgrims of Paradox, 18-20.

22. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 718.

23. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 810.

24. The Democrat, October 10, 1889.

25. Melanie Sovine Reid, "'Neither Adding Nor Taking Away': The Care and Keeping of Primitive Baptist Church Houses" in Camille Wells, ed., Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II (Paducah, KY: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), 172, hereinafter cited as Reid, "Neither Adding Nor Taking Away."

26. Reid, "Neither Adding Nor Taking Away," 173.

27. The following discussion of stylistic and functional aspects of meeting houses in the Kehukee Association is based upon information drawn from (primarily) Timothy P. Mattimoe, "Notes Compiled April-November, 1988 and May-

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September, 1989 While Conducting Field Research Among Primitive Baptist Churches in Beaufort, Carteret, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Martin, Nash, Pitt, and Wilson Counties, North Carolina," in the possession of Dr. Mattimoe, Greenville, North Carolina; Donna Dodenhoff, "Entries for Tour of Martin County Sites" (unpublished paper, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Survey and Planning Branch Consultant and Staff Workshop/Retreat, Martin County, North Carolina, March 31-April 2, 1993); Historic and Architectural Resources of the Tar-Neuse River Basin. Appendix for Region L (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History in Cooperation with United States Soil Conservation Service, 1977); and Historic and Architectural Resources of the Tar-Neuse River Basin. Appendix for Region Q & R (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History in Cooperation with United States Soil Conservation Service, 1977).

28. Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association, 1871, unpagued.

29. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 860.

30. Ruth Moore Harrison Mincher, Family Sketches and a Bit of Biography of Andrew J. Moore (S.l.: Ruth H. Mincher, 1979 [copy in the Janie F. Allsbrook Local History Collection, Edgecombe County Memorial Library, Tarboro, N.C.]), unpagued.

31. R. H. Pittman, ed., Biographical History of Primitive or Old School Baptist Ministers of the United States (Anderson, Indiana: Herald Publishing Co., [1909], 115, hereinafter cited as Pittman, Biographical History).

32. J. K. Turner and J. L. Bridgers, History of Edgecombe County (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1920), 425, hereinafter cited as Turner and Bridgers, History of Edgecombe County.

33. Pittman, Biographical History, 115.

34. Turner and Bridgers, History of Edgecombe County, 425-426.

35. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 810, 827.

36. Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association, 1905, unpagued.

37. Reid, "Neither Adding Nor Taking Away," 174.

38. Shirleyan Beacham Phelps, "A Dying Breed," The State (November, 1992), 20.

39. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 862.

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40. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 862.

41. The Commonwealth, August 5, 1932; G. P. Stout, Historical Research Map, Halifax County, N.C. (Greensboro: Stout Map Co., 1978).

42. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [December], 1871, Kehukee Baptist Church, Scotland Neck, Minutes and Register, 1859-1912, 1913-1929, 1953-1979, microfilm copy, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh. Particularly in the early years, dates for the monthly meetings were recorded as "Saturday before the second Sunday in December, 1871." For the sake of brevity, in such an instance the minutes will be cited as above, with the month in brackets.

43. Benjamin I. Alsbrook and wife, Della to Kehukee Church, April 1, 1872, Halifax County Deeds, Office of the Register of Deeds, Halifax County Courthouse, Halifax, Book 40, pp. 608-609, hereinafter cited as Halifax County Deeds.

44. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [February], 1875; Branson, N.C. Business Directory, 1884, 362.

45. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [September], 1871.

46. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, September 19, 1896.

47. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [November], 1874; [September, October, November, December], 1881.

48. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [November], 1875.

49. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [November], 1876.

50. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [January], 1878.

51. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [December], 1880.

52. Pittman, Biographical History, 114.

53. Hassell, History of the Church of God, 862.

54. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from Pittman, Biographical History, 182.

55. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [March], 1886.

56. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, December 15, 1888.

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57. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, June 15, September 14, October 10, 1889.
58. The Democrat, August 23, 1888.
59. The Democrat, May 4, 1893, April 23, 1896; The Commonwealth, November 20, 1913.
60. The Democrat, April 13, 1893.
61. The Democrat, April 23, 1896.
62. The Commonwealth, June 17, 1897.
63. The Democrat, October 3, 1895.
64. The Democrat, September 26, 1895. It is interesting to note that the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad did not provide service in this area on Sunday. See schedule in The Democrat, January 17, 1895.
65. Minutes of the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, September 14, 1895.
66. The Democrat, October 10, 1895.
67. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, September 14, 1895; The Democrat, October 10, 1895.
68. The Democrat, October 10, 1895.
69. W. A. Dunn, commissioner, to John Coughenour, March 17, 1898, Book 121, p. 78, Halifax County Deeds.
70. The Commonwealth, July 12, 1900.
71. Taves, "Rural Architectural Heritage," entry for John L. Coughenour House.
72. Taves, "Rural Architectural Heritage," entry for John L. Coughenour House.
73. The Commonwealth, July 1, 1901.
74. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [December], 1900; [January], 1902].
75. Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association, 1905, unpagued; Minutes of the Kehukee Baptist Association, 1919, unpagued.

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76. Minutes of Kehukee Primitive Baptist Church, [September], 1910; [October], 1910; [August], 1911; [October], 1911; [September], 1912.

77. Author's interview with Charlie Dunn Alston and Wilbur Weeks, Scotland Neck, N.C., August 16, 1992 (notes on interview in possession of author).

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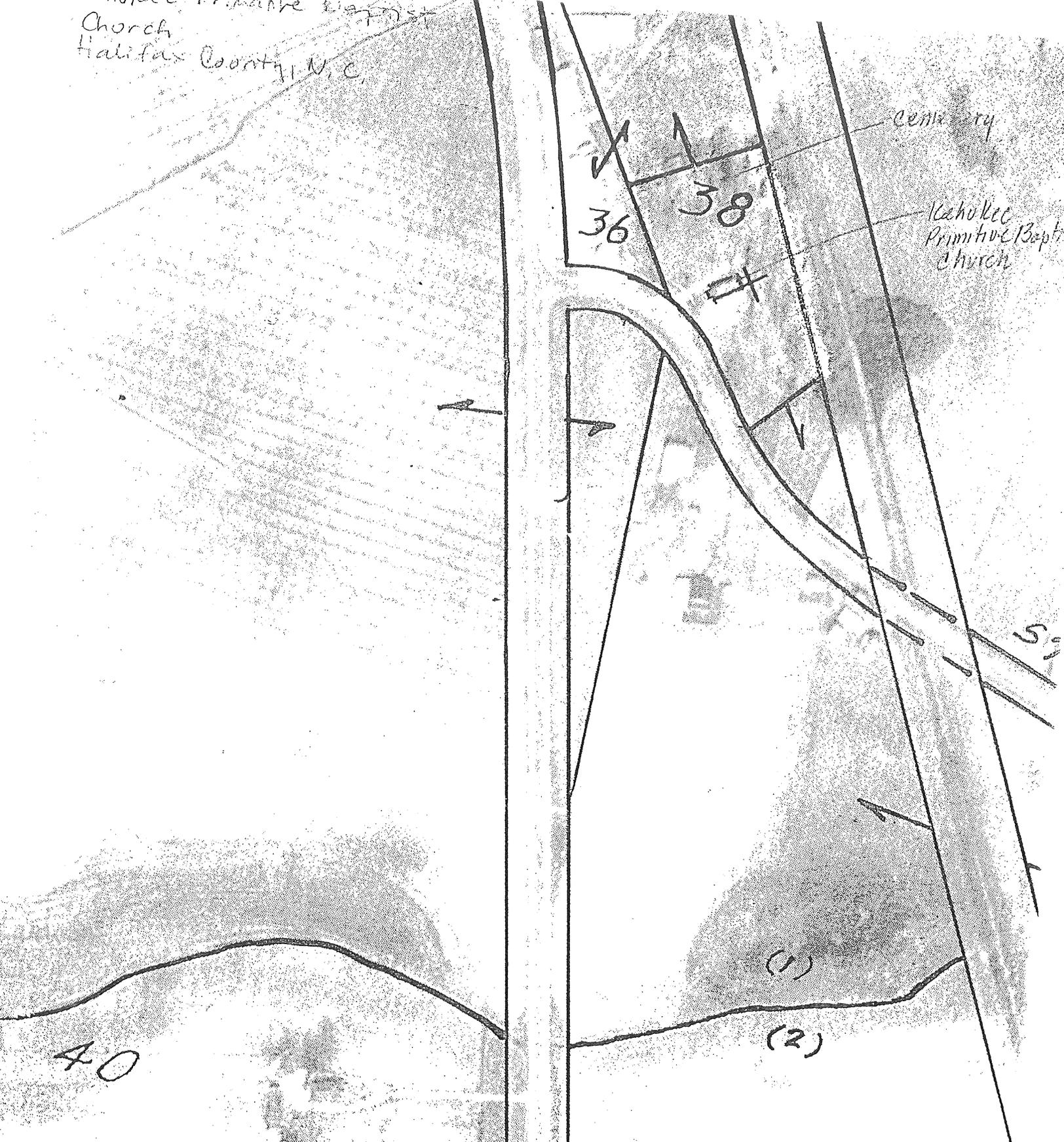
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Geographical Data

Verbal Boundary Description: The 2-acre property is identified on Halifax County (North Carolina) Tax Map #040, tract 038, in Palmyra Township.

Boundary Justification: The nominated property includes a 2-acre parcel historically associated with the meetinghouse, cemetery, and grounds.

Wetzel Primitive Baptist Church
Halifax County, N.C.



40

36

38

(1)

(2)

cemetery

Wetzel
Primitive Baptist
Church

5th

enlarged from 1" = 400' scale
1" = 200'

County of Halifax
Office of the Tax Supervisor
Halifax NC 71

MAP NO. 40

