



A Comprehensive Architectural Survey of Carteret County

North Carolina's Archipelago

Final Report

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Introduction and Methodology

The following report presents a partial architectural history of Carteret County, North Carolina from the 1700s through the 1960s, told primarily through examples of extant buildings, along with a general history of the county that serves as a context for its material culture. This report is the culmination of a comprehensive architectural survey of Carteret County commissioned and administered by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO). The principal investigator was Margaret Ruth Little, of Longleaf Historic Resources, Raleigh. Outside of the two largest towns of Beaufort and Morehead City, the county's historic architecture heretofore received very little attention. The mission, to survey predominantly rural properties that are fifty years old or older, exempted two municipal areas: the Beaufort National Register Historic District, listed in 1971 and re-surveyed in 1997 by M. Ruth Little and Cynthia Satterfield, and the area in Morehead City (the town boundary extending west to Twenty-third Street, where the Atlantic Beach Bridge is located) that was comprehensively surveyed, also by M. Ruth Little, in 2000-2001. The project also included the updating of the 1994 Beaufort survey not discussed herein. Other properties not surveyed as part of this project are the National Register-listed Portsmouth Village Historic District on Portsmouth Island and resources on the Bogue Airfield U.S. Military Reservation near Cedar Point.

The survey began in March 2011 with a six-week Reconnaissance Planning Phase during which the principal investigator conducted a windshield survey of the entire county, contacted and interviewed key local individuals, identified properties to be surveyed, and developed a Time-Product-Payment schedule. Cindi Hamilton, director of the History Place, the Carteret County Historical Society Museum, served as local project coordinator, providing office space to

the principal investigator and assisting her with research questions. The following local historians assisted greatly in providing historical information about their communities: Karen Amspacher (director of the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Community Center); Anne Salter, Marshallberg; Elmo Gaskill, Atlantic; Jack Goodwin, Sea Level and Cedar Island; Clarice Willis, Smyrna; Rodney Kemp, Morehead City; Capt. Jim Willis, Atlantic Beach; Lib Sawyers, White Oak River and Bogue Sound area; Dollie Carraway and Jean Cox, Merrimon and South River; Paul Branch, Fort Macon; Julia Wax, Emerald Isle; Rose Guthrie and Suzanne Guthrie, Harkers Island; Les and Carol Sadler, Beaufort; and David Cecelski, Harlowe.

The methodology for the survey of Carteret County followed the project outline set forth by the HPO and the HPO's architectural survey manual *Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources*. It was further refined by the physical and historical nature of the county, especially its separation into distinct regions by waterways and sounds. The survey began with Cedar Island in the northeast corner of the county in April 2011 and proceeded westward, reaching completion with the survey of Bogue Banks during November 2011. Because of extensive marshland and public forests, most people live in rural, unincorporated communities, thus there are few truly rural properties, just as there are very few farms with extensive acreage and outbuildings. Ninety-five percent of the surveyed properties are dwellings, often with a garage and storage shed. In addition to domestic buildings, properties surveyed consist of commercial buildings, agricultural buildings, churches, schools, post offices, motels, cemeteries, commercial workboat harbors, a bridge, and one lone remaining fishing pier. Because of their social and historical significance, a number of churches remodeled or rebuilt in recent years were surveyed. Because of the endangered state of the commercial fishing industry in Carteret County, every related structure built prior to the year 2000 was surveyed : thirteen fish houses, two net houses,

and three boatworks. Cemeteries associated with churches were always surveyed along with the sanctuary. Twelve private and community cemeteries were recorded because they contain monuments of artistic merit or have historical significance to a particular community.

Fourteen county properties are listed in the National Register. Four are districts: Beaufort Historic District, Cape Lookout Village Historic District, Morehead City Historic District, and Portsmouth Village Historic District. Three are individual properties within the Beaufort Historic District. Three are federal or state-owned properties: Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station, Cape Lookout Light Station, and Fort Macon. One is a shipwreck—the *Queen Anne's Revenge*. The remaining two are the Carteret County Home and the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge.

At the beginning of the survey, the HPO had a total of 143 individual building files outside of historic districts, the Morehead City 2001 survey, and the 153 files created by Peter Sandbeck during his 1994 Beaufort survey of properties north and east of the Beaufort Historic District, many of which were in African American neighborhoods. These were recorded primarily in the 1970s and early 1980s by either Janet Seapker or Davyd Foard Hood as part of a reconnaissance survey conducted by HPO staff. Eighty-one of the files represented buildings, engineering structures, and archaeological sites, most of which had been demolished before the 1960s. The files consisted of some sort of written documentation, such as a letter or newspaper clipping, but no photos. The only properties in this group that are on the Study List are the Octagon House (CR604), designated in 1969, and the Stella Historic District (CR762) designated in 2000.

Of the sixty-two rural property files that were updated, twenty are unchanged; ten are demolished; seventeen are gone and presumed demolished; nine are so altered that they have lost

integrity; and six have been moved. Thus only one-third of the properties are extant and retain architectural integrity; nearly one-half are either demolished or could not be located and are presumed to have been destroyed, and one-fourth have either been severely altered or moved and substantially altered.

The survey documented 434 properties that had not been recorded previously. Standard documentation included digital photography, mapping, oral history, floor plans, site plans, data entry, and written narratives. Many of these were twentieth-century buildings, but a surprising number of nineteenth-century houses were documented, although most of them have substantial alterations. Historical research in primary and secondary sources (unpublished and published) was conducted before, during, and after the survey to establish a context for the architectural history and is reflected in this report. All buildings that appeared to be fifty years of age or older that were not individually recorded were map-coded according to building type on USGS quad maps which constitute part of the final product of this survey.

Geography and Material Culture



Map of Carteret County, created by Michael Southern, NC State Preservation Office, 2012

Carteret County contains 532 square miles, bounded on the north by Craven County, on the west by Jones and Onslow counties, and on the south and east by the Atlantic Ocean. The eastern half of the county, east of the county seat of Beaufort, is a peninsula that extends at a northeast angle into the waters of the Neuse River and Pamlico Sound on the north and Core Sound on the east, with a deeply indented shoreline created by the mouths of creeks that form bays as they empty into the river and sound. The western half of the county has a southern shoreline along Bogue Sound, bounded by the twenty-five-mile-long narrow barrier island called Bogue Banks that buffers the mainland from the Atlantic Ocean. The White Oak River forms the west boundary. The central section has a northern shoreline along the Neuse River.

The topography varies from sea level marshes in the northeast region to land with no elevation higher than thirty to forty-five feet above sea level in the western section around

Hadnots Creek and in the Croatan National Forest. The Newport River and North River effectively separate the mainland into large islands. Many creeks, including Gales Creek, Broad Creek, Russells Creek, and Harlowe Creek, subdivide the land area even more. The eastern half of the county beginning at the North River is known as “Down East” and consists almost entirely of a great pocosin (an Indian term that means “swamps on hills”) with deep peat soils saturated by groundwater and marshes of thick grass inundated by tides. More than half of the area is woodland, swamp and marsh.¹ The county’s shoreline is completely protected from the ocean by a chain of sandy islands, never much more than one mile wide, consisting of Core Banks, Shackleford Banks, and Bogue Banks, with inlets to the ocean at only five spots: Ocracoke Inlet, Drum Inlet, the manmade Barden’s Drain at Cape Lookout, Beaufort Inlet, and Bogue Inlet.

Much of Carteret County is, practically if not technically, an archipelago, a cluster of islands separated by marshes and open water, connected today by highways laboriously constructed from marl and sea shells moved by the North Carolina Department of Transportation in the 1920s and 1930s. Even today, when you can drive anywhere in the county on good highways and soar across the rivers and sounds on high-rise bridges that allow boat traffic to flow unimpeded beneath the spans, you are aware that you are island hopping. Coming from New Bern down Highway 101, the old “New Bern Road,” much of which runs along the east bank of the Newport River, as wide as a bay, you cross many marshy creeks draining into the river. In Morehead you drive east to Beaufort over the high rise bridge over the Newport River, where the intracoastal waterway meets Bogue Sound. Then past Radio Island on the causeway constructed across the river bay in the 1930s, across a drawbridge over Gallant’s Channel and you are in Beaufort. The small town faces Beaufort Harbor and looks across to Piver’s Island,

¹ Sharpe, *A New Geography of North Carolina* (1954), V. 1, 41

home of the Duke Marine Laboratory and the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Agency (NOAA), accessible by a bridge. Carrot Island, home to wild ponies and the Rachel Carson Marine Estuary, stretches along the Beaufort shore between Taylor's Creek and Beaufort Inlet, a deepwater access to the Atlantic Ocean between Bogue Banks and Shackleford Banks.

Five miles north of Beaufort, the North River forms a wide bay into Core Sound. This marks the boundary to Down East, the eastern half of the county containing fourteen communities, each of which began as a small, isolated fishing village. Historically accessible only by water, today these small villages are connected by Highway 70 constructed in the 1920s and 1930s. The landscape is more like the islands of Ocracoke and Portsmouth than anything else in the county. The ten villages of Bettie, Otway, Smyrna, Williston, Davis, Stacy, Masontown, Sea Level, Atlantic, and Cedar Island cling to the flat landscape along Highway 70. Cedar Island, an island between Pamlico and Core Sound, is the last community, located across Thorofare Bay, crossed by a large high-rise bridge. At the south end is the settlement called Lola, at the north end is Roe. A short boat trip across Cedar Island Bay reaches Hog Island, which once had its own community but is now uninhabited. To the south of Highway 70, towards Cape Lookout, are the four communities of Straits, Gloucester, Marshallberg, and Harkers Island.

North of these Down East communities along Highway 70 is a peninsula known as Merrimon that was a part of Craven County until 1885.² It extends into the Neuse River, with Adams Creek along its west border and South River along its east border. The Merrimon settlement sprawls along Adams Creek; the South River settlement along the Neuse River. The oldest houses stand on bays formed by creek mouths. The only highway access to this peninsula is Merrimon Road, which extends north from Highway 70 as it makes a sharp east turn at the

² D. L. Corbitt, *Formation of North Carolina Counties* (1969), 59.

North River. Nearly all of the marshy land between Highway 70 and the Merrimon peninsula is Open Ground Farm, 55,000 acres of cropland, pasture, and marsh. Directories of North Carolina of the late 1800s called this Open Ground Prairie swamp, a peat swamp that occupied the eastern peninsular projection of Carteret County.³ Open Ground Farm is so large that it appears as a distinct gridded shape on satellite photos of the county.

The Newport River bay creates another set of waterfront communities to the north of Morehead City. Because of the marshes and creeks that indent the coastline, this area is accessible by car only by driving through Beaufort and then north on Highway 101 or driving west through Morehead City to Newport, then east on the Mill Creek Road. The Mill Creek and Core Creek communities are along the north shore of the Newport River bay. The south shore of the bay is a peninsula called Crab Point, separated from Morehead City by the wide Calico Creek. Large residential subdivisions enjoy the bay shoreline along Crab Point.

The western half of the county contains the largest section of uninterrupted land area in the county, although most of this is the inaccessible Croatan National Forest, which wraps around the town of Newport on three sides and extends into neighboring Craven and Jones counties. Newport was a port at the navigable head of the Newport River. Access through this half of the county is along Highway 24, which hugs the shore of Bogue Sound. A number of creeks form bays where they enter the sound, including Peletier (Peltier) Creek, Gales Creek, and Broad Creek, with old settlements along their shorelines. The peninsula formed by the river and Bogue Sound is called Cedar Point. Several wide bridges carry NC 24 across the bay to the old port of Swansboro, in Onslow County. North from Cedar Point, U.S. 58 highway skirts several

³ *Handbook of North Carolina* (1886), Raleigh: P. M. Hale, State Printer, 78.

large creek bays, including Hadnot's Creek, through the communities of Peletier and the tiny village of Stella overlooking the White Oak River bridge to Onslow County.

Bogue Banks, Shackleford Banks, and Core Banks constitute the outer ring of barrier islands in Carteret County, with Shackleford and Core in the eastern half accessible only by boat. Bogue Banks, stretching twenty-eight miles from Beaufort Inlet on the east to Bogue Inlet on the west, is accessed by two high-rise bridges, one across from Morehead City, the other from Cedar Point. Fort Macon has guarded the east tip of the island since the 1830s, and the adjacent Fort Macon Coast Guard Station faces the sound next to the fort. Bogue Inlet Coast Guard Station guards Bogue Inlet, overlooking Swansboro, at the western tip. The end of the island is now known as Emerald Isle, incorporated in 1957 by real estate developers who viewed it from an airplane as an isle so green that it reminded them of Ireland.

The county has its share of modern commercial development, concentrated along Highway 70 between Morehead City and Newport, along Highway 101 north of Beaufort, along Highway 24 in Cedar Point, and along U.S. 58 at the western edge of Emerald Isle. The rest of the county remains a peaceful natural vista of marsh, field, maritime vegetation, pine forests, and sandy beaches.

In the mid-twentieth century, journalist Bill Sharpe remarked on the egalitarianism of the social structure and housing:

“Throughout Carteret, particularly in the old sections east of North River, there are old, old families, but there is little outward pretension to aristocracy. Perhaps this is because some of the county's humblest fishermen have as much claim to it as the most genteel dowager. While there are very few rich families, and no signs of a glorious

antebellum countryside, one thing impresses visitors ---the absence of squalor. The modest Carteret family house is likely to be well-built, and maintained.”⁴

The remarkable homogeneity of the houses reflects this flat social structure. Regardless of the wealth or size of the family, each house is more or less the same. Most of the man-made environment consists of small, frame twentieth-century dwellings, painted white, sitting close to the main roads, and older nineteenth- and perhaps a few eighteenth-century houses, also small, at the end of dirt lanes on the shores of creeks, rivers, and sounds. Whether constructed in the 1700s, 1800s, or early 1900s, these dwellings are basically identical rectangular side-gable-roofed boxes, either one-and-one-half (known locally as “story-and-a-jump”) or two stories high, with a chimney at one end and a full porch across the long side sheltering the entrance. To the rear is usually a shed-roofed wing containing bedrooms. To one side was often a gabled wing containing a kitchen and dining room, with a porch that is a continuation of the front porch.

The interior of the traditional dwelling nearly always contains, on the first floor, two rooms known as a hall and a parlor. The attic stair is a winder stair enclosed in the rear corner, with no space “wasted” by a passageway. No expense was wasted for decorative details either: elements are functional but not stylish. Porch posts are thick square timbers with chamfered edges, stair railings have plain square newels and rounded handrails. All style seemed to be concentrated in the mantel around the fireplace. In some early nineteenth-century houses there is a mantel with pilasters supporting a frieze with molded shelf that is known as the “Beaufort mantel” because of its curved capitals, sometimes with carved sunbursts.⁵

The manner in which the porch is connected to the house is significant in the county. Some of the porches, especially on the early houses, are sheltered by extensions of the main roof

⁴ *A New Geography of North Carolina*, Vol. 1, 47.

⁵ A good example is the mantel in the Buckner Hill House, ca. 1815, Stella vicinity.

and are therefore called “integral” porches rather than “attached” porches. Many of the early two-story houses had two-level integral porches. This form is known in Beaufort as the “Beaufort house,” and is so characteristic of early houses throughout North and South Carolina that it has also been called the “Carolina cottage.”⁶ Some say that this close structural connection of porch and house protected dwellings during hurricanes, but the popularity of such a form likely stemmed more from its aesthetic appeal as a pleasing symmetrical shape viewed from the side elevation with the sloping roof of the porch matched by the sloping roof of the rear wing. Almost none of these had dormer windows, thus light and ventilation for the attic bedrooms came only through the gable ends. An equally popular variation was for the shed-roof porch to be dropped several feet below the eave line to allow for small second-story front windows. The Piver House, ca. 1825 (125 Ann Street, Beaufort), has an integral porch. The William Hancock House in Smyrna, ca. 1820, has a “dropped” front shed-roof porch.

The isolation of Down East Carteret County, where the only transportation was by boat until the 1920s, resulted in the preservation of a regional British dialect that retains some seventeenth-century English features and is sometimes referred to as an Ocracoke brogue. The speakers are locally called “Hoi Toiders” because of their pronunciation of “high tide” in a way similar to pronunciation in parts of southwest England. Other features, such as words or word usage seem to derive from eastern England.⁷

This “Carolina cottage” house form continued until the late 1910s, when the nationally popular Craftsman bungalow entered the county, with some of the earliest built in Beaufort, Morehead City, and Newport. The stylish bungalow is a one-and-a-half-story side-gable or

⁶ Margaret Ruth Little, *Carolina Cottage* (2010).

⁷ Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (2006), 580; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of the Ocracoke Brogue* (1997).

hipped-roof dwelling, often with an integral porch. A plainer, less expensive type, a narrow one-story front-gabled dwelling, also with a front porch, also became popular. Bungalows generally have such Craftsman-style features as eave brackets and brick porch piers with upper wood posts without the high hipped or steep side-gabled roof of a true bungalow. This new house type's footprint incorporated an indoor kitchen, thus eliminating the traditional side or rear ell containing a kitchen. Rural families did not embrace the bungalow until after World War II, and most of the county's bungalows express the Craftsman style in their side-gable form with integral front porch, their brick porch piers with battered (angled) upper wood posts, and their distinctive sash windows with three or four vertical panes in the upper sash and a single pane of glass in the lower sash.

One element of change found throughout the county is that recently many historic houses have been elevated on high foundations in order to comply with zoning regulations for buildings in flood zones. This was noted especially in the Down East region of Cedar Island, Stacy, and Davis, but has also occurred in Morehead City and other areas. The change in form and scale adversely impacted the architectural integrity, and associated additions and replacements, including a rebuilt front porch, replacement siding, doors, and windows, and rear additions usually accompanied the house raising and erased all architectural integrity. Melvin and Dorothy Gaskill had their I-House (CR0983) on Cedar Island built in the early 1900s. Their grandson Freddy Gaskill, who lives here, elevated the house six feet on a brick veneered foundation after Hurricane Isabelle flooded it in 2003. Freddy remodeled extensively, with replacement windows, doors, and siding and a new porch and rear additions. Of its original exterior fabric, only the beaded diagonal sheathing flanking the front door and several two-over-two sash windows remain visible. Freddy could probably have demolished and rebuilt the house for the same effort

and expense as raising and remodeling it, but the old bones—the core—are relics of his ancestors. The repeated floodings due to the heavy hurricane rainfall on this vulnerable island of low-lying sand set at the end of a peninsula extending out into the Pamlico Sound have resulted in most of the historic houses on Cedar Island being elevated on high foundations. These "new old" houses, including one-and-one-half-story cottages, I-Houses, and Craftsman houses, set on foundations ranging from four to ten feet high, are the new face of the built environment in Cedar Island. If a house is set on a higher foundation of just a few feet and otherwise retains its historic fabric, it possibly may retain architectural integrity. Generally, however, when a house is raised it is largely rebuilt, like the Gaskill House.

The ranch house, a low, one-story house type that originated in the western United States and became nationally popular in the 1940s and 1950s, first appeared in Carteret County in the early 1950s. The oldest surveyed ranch house is the W. P. Freeman House (CR1262) at 2500 Evans Street in Morehead City. Wholesale grocer W. P. Freeman and his wife Vallie had this house built in 1952. The hipped-roof rambler ranch, with a bedroom wing on one side and a garage and sunroom wing on the other side, sprawls across two lots. Yellow Roman brick walls, two interior chimneys, and large jalousie windows are characteristic of 1950s ranch houses. In the later twentieth century, ranch houses were built throughout the county.

Exploration and Settlement: Eighteenth Century

The first recorded European contact with North Carolina actually took place in present-day Carteret County. (Some assert that it was in New Hanover County.) On Bogue Banks stands a highway historic marker to Verrazzano, a Florentine explorer sailing under the French flag whose 1524 voyage is the first record of European contact with North Carolina. During this era

the Hatteras tribe lived on the Outer Banks and the Corees lived on the mainland bordering Core Sound. In the Merrimon and South River area of northern Carteret County lived a tribe of the Tuscarora nation called Neusioc, for whom the Neuse River is named.⁸ The Tuscarora massacred the settlers of the New Bern region in 1711. The colonists' battles with the Cores and Tuscaroras culminated in 1712 with the Tuscarora Indian War. The natives were defeated in two battles near New Bern and decisively driven out during the final battle at the end of 1712 in what is today Greene County. Carteret County was created from the eastern part of Bath County in 1722 and named for Sir George Carteret (one of the eight Lords Proprietors); its county seat was designated as Beaufort. The first permanent settlers were mostly English from Virginia. The date of Beaufort's original plat map is generally considered to be 1713, making it the fourth oldest town in the state after Bath (1705), New Bern (1710), and Edenton (1712).⁹

By the mid-1700s many land grants had been issued for tracts in the county, and plantations were established along Carteret's coastline from the White Oak River on the west boundary to Cedar Island on the east boundary. The products of these plantations were primarily naval stores—tar and turpentine--and timber. Many of the plantations had water landings from which these products were shipped to Beaufort or New Bern. In 1747 Spanish privateers occupied Beaufort. Spaniards continued to raid the area until Fort Hancock was constructed on the east tip of Bogue Banks at Beaufort Inlet in 1778.¹⁰ The village of Portsmouth, authorized to be laid out in 1753, on Portsmouth Island, just south of Ocracoke Island at Ocracoke Inlet, functioned as Carteret's most important port during the second half of the eighteenth century.

⁸ www.ncmarkers.com, C-59, NC 58 in Pine Knoll Shores; Carraway, *South River, A Local History from Turnagain Bay to Adams Creek* (1994) 3.

⁹ Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (1989), 83, 78-79; Branch, *Fort Macon: A History* (1999), 2; Jones, *A History of the Tri-County Area* (1981), 95; Charles L. Paul, "Beaufort, North Carolina: Its Development as a Colonial Town," *North Carolina Historical Review* 47 (October 1970), 370-387.

¹⁰ www.ncmarkers.com, C-55.

Because the sounds were shallow, trans-Atlantic ships unloaded their cargo into smaller shallower-draft vessels for delivery to the mainland, a practice known as “lightering”. The opening of Hatteras Inlet in 1846 caused ship traffic to shift, and the 1860 population of 685 inhabitants was Portsmouth’s peak. By 1870 the population had shrunk to some 300.¹¹

Quaker Presence in Central and Western Carteret County

Some of the earliest county settlers were Quakers from Newport, Rhode Island, who had settled in the Albemarle region of North Carolina by 1700, then gradually spread into the counties south of Albemarle Sound, including Carteret County. Quaker William Borden settled on the Newport River at the mouth of Mill Creek and established a shipyard in the early 1730s. He was one of the founders of the Core Sound Meeting House, a Quaker house of worship located north of Beaufort for more than 100 years after 1733. Borden’s son William Borden II was one of the largest landowners in the county in 1784, with 44,250 acres. Further up river, at the mouth of the Newport River, some of the earliest settlers of the area that became the town of Newport were the Bell family. This settlement was the main avenue into the interior of the west section of the county. James Bell of Pasquotank County held land at the head of Harlowe Creek by 1733. His descendants, including James Bell II, William B. Bell, and Gideon C. Bell, prospered in the Harlowe area, with Rufus Bell becoming the most successful and influential planter in the mid-nineteenth century.¹² The Quaker presence in the county declined in the antebellum era because of migration further west, partially stemming from Quaker antipathy to

¹¹ Portsmouth Village pamphlet, 2011; Morris, “Down East Community Tour,” Core Sound Waterfowl Museum typescript, no date.

¹² *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, “Quakers,” 927; Lewis, *The Bells of Harlowe Creek* (1996), ii-iv.

slavery.¹³ The name of the Newport River may derive from the Rhode Island origin of these early settlers.

Western Carteret County had early settlement along Bogue Sound and the White Oak River. One of the earliest settlers of the Broad Creek area along Bogue Sound was William Dennis, who bought property there in 1744. Prior to his death in 1800 he served as sheriff and tax collector, and at the time of his death owned thirty slaves. His house is one of three eighteenth-century rural dwellings documented during the survey. The one-and-a-half-story gambrel-roofed house (CR0573), moved to 141 Fish Camp Loop Road on the east shore of Broad Creek, apparently was built for him. The hall and parlor house features an enclosed stair to the upper level bedrooms and end brick chimneys set on ballast stone bases.¹⁴ Captain Thomas Lee was the earliest known purchaser of land along the White Oak River, buying 2,080 acres from the Lords Proprietors in 1713 along the east side of the river and Bogue Sound in the area now known as Cedar Point. In 1765 William Hill and William Borden each purchased 1,040 acres, or half of the original Lee tract.¹⁵ (Hill's plantation is the site of the Octagon House (CR604)). A sufficient population of Primitive Baptists had settled along the White Oak River that the Hadnot's Creek Primitive Baptist congregation was organized at Hadnot's Creek by 1790.

Down East's Beginnings

The oldest settlements in Down East Carteret County are located in the Straits-Gloucester and Smyrna areas, where English families including the Bells, Hancocks, Whitehursts, Pigotts,

¹³ www.ncmarkers.com, C-35.

¹⁴ "Aged Home Rescued," *Carteret News Times*, Morehead City, NC, Jan. 27, 1972.

¹⁵ Davis and Hamilton, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1, (1982), 153; Sawyers, *Stella: A Riverside Hamlet* (2006), 13-14.

Willistons, and Chadwicks settled in the 1700s. Sometime around the Revolutionary War, the Straits Chapel (lost at an unknown date) located at the head of Fulford's Creek became a Methodist place of worship. In December 1785, Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury preached at the chapel. By 1810 there were 310 white and 40 black members.¹⁶ The early settlers' plantations were so large that this region was thinly settled. In the early 1700s the peninsula that became the village of Marshallberg was the plantation of George Bell. The entire peninsula that is Sea Level was the plantation of the Nelson family, for whom Nelson Neck Road is named. Thomas Bell was one of the earliest settlers of the Straits area, on the east side of Whitehurst Creek in a community now named Gloucester. The Bell-Pigott House (CR1200) in Gloucester, one of the oldest and largest in the Down East area, is said to have been built by him about 1750, although it is likely later. The two-story, side-gabled, weatherboarded house has foundation piers and chimney bases formed of small round stones called "ballast stones" that are traditionally believed to have been brought on ships as ballast and reused for foundations. The Flemish-bond brick chimney has double stepped shoulders, and the framework is hewn and pit-sawn heavy timber. Behind its front hall and parlor, the stair rises in the center section of the rear shed-roof wing, with flanking chambers. Such early houses in the Straits-Gloucester area as the two-story Chadwick House (CR585), 106 Straits Haven Road, the two-story Whitehurst House (CR617) at 361 Stewart Drive, and the one and one-half-story James Winwright House (CR967) that are believed to date to the eighteenth century have all been remodeled to the extent that they have lost their architectural integrity.

Cedar Island was settled by Luptons, Goodwins, and Days in the eighteenth century. Two recently erected granite monuments commemorate the Lupton and Day families who are the

¹⁶ Willis, "History of Lands at Gloucester, The First 150 Years," (2000), typescript at the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum, Harker's Island, N.C., 52-53, 63.

earliest settlers of the Lola community. Christopher Lupton emigrated to Cedar Island from Cape May, New Jersey in the late 1700s and died here in 1801. John Day was born about 1760 and died here in 1830.

Cape Lookout is shaped like a fishing hook, with the hook facing toward the mainland to create a sheltered harbor known as Lookout Bight. According to tradition, Enoch Ward and John Shackleford purchased the cape in 1713, Ward taking the eastern section known as Core Banks, Shackleford taking the western section, now known as Shackleford Banks, that stretches from what is now known as Bardens Inlet to Beaufort Inlet. Neither man apparently attempted to settle the area.¹⁷ The Cape Lookout Bight attracted shipping activities beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. The low, sparsely vegetated land of the cape, however, apparently did not attract any permanent settlement until the later years of the century. The cape was a prominent mariner's landmark throughout the history of American shipping, known equally for its danger and for its desirability. The ten-mile-long shoal that projected out from the cape into the ocean has been an obstacle for ships since the beginning of shipping in the area. On the other hand, the bight offers a harbor of safe refuge from storms. For eighteenth-century pirates, British warships during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, federal blockade squadrons during the Civil War, and convoys of Europe-bound warships during the two world wars, Lookout Bight has been a place of refuge and rendezvous.

During the Revolutionary War, British ships attempted to close Ocracoke Inlet in 1777 but eventually were repelled by American ships. In recognition of its strategic significance, the

¹⁷David Yeomans, interview with the author, Harker's Island, 26 April, 1998; Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore* (1968), 5.

Americans built Fort Hancock on the tip of Bogue Banks in 1778; it was abandoned in 1780 and no traces of it have been identified. Beaufort was taken by the British in 1782.¹⁸

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, settlement on the cape was apparently limited to temporary camps erected by fishermen to harvest the sea's seasonal offerings, since no permanent settlements are known. By 1755 whale fisheries were in seasonal operation on the cape. In the early 1800s New England whaling families such as the Chadwicks settled in the vicinity and conducted sporadic whaling. Whaling was just one of many ways local people made their living from the sea and was never as important a commercial activity along the Banks as it was in New England. At the cape, whaling season was from February to April, when fishermen set up small camps along the shore. Local tradition relates that New England whaling ships used the cape as a base of operations until the 1870s.¹⁹

Ebenezer Harker purchased Harkers Island in 1730 from George Pollock. The Harker homestead (lost at an unknown date), on the northwest corner of the island that was blessed with the tallest trees, was known as Harkers Point. Until the exodus of families from Shackleford Banks to Harkers Island at the turn of the twentieth century, a small number of families, including the Harkers, Shackelfords, and Ansons, lived on the island.²⁰

Thomas Ward, from Craven County, purchased land in the Beaufort vicinity in the late 1700s. The Ward-Hancock House (CR627), recently moved to the North Carolina Maritime Museum's property on Gallant's Channel, was built about 1790 on land owned by Thomas Ward

¹⁸ Lefferts, Lay and Lewis, *Carteret County: Economic and Social* (1926), 15-16; Wrenn, "Beaufort, North Carolina," typescript (1970), 6; Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 9-10.

¹⁹ Marcus B. and Sallie W. Simpson, "The Pursuit of Leviathan: A History of Whaling on the North Carolina Coast," *North Carolina Historical Review* LXV, 1 (January 1988), 33-50.

²⁰ Harkers Island United Methodist Women, *Island Born and Bred* (1987), 13.

in the Beaufort vicinity.²¹ The one-and-a-half-story gambrel-roofed house is the only known rural eighteenth-century house that survives in the county. The house of heavy timbered framing is twenty-six and one-half feet wide by nearly twenty-nine-feet deep and has a seven-foot-deep front porch. The lath that held its plaster walls is woven in place rather than nailed in order to conserve nails. The wooden roof shingles are pegged to the roof beams rather than nailed, again for nail conservation. The plan consists of a large heated room with a pair of smaller unheated rooms opposite it. An enclosed corner stair leads to a large heated bedroom and a pair of smaller unheated rooms. The original rear shed wing had two uneven-sized unheated rooms, making a total of seven rooms.²²

Federal Era and Antebellum Development 1800-1861

Portsmouth and Beaufort's ports played a significant role in the county's antebellum economy, when most transportation of goods was by sailboat. Beaufort's population took off after the Revolution. By 1810 Beaufort resident and North Carolina legislator Jacob Henry described the town as containing 585 inhabitants living in seventy-four houses, with ten stores, eight shops, and an inter-denominational house of worship. Sea traffic was brisk, guarded by Fort Hampton, built in 1809 on the site of Fort Hancock. The port had an active ship building industry, with five vessels about to be launched.²³

A total of twenty-four houses, one church, and one school in rural Carteret County are recognizably pre-Civil War in date, but most of these are not documented as to exact age. All of these properties but the Harlowe group are on waterfront locations, rivers and sounds, the

²¹ Mary Warshaw, Nov. 10, 2011, www.morebeauforthistory.blogspot.com/2011/10/ward-hancock-house.html.

²² Klee and Lounsbury, "Early Domestic Architecture in Beaufort, North Carolina and Tidewater Virginia," (2011), 43-47.

²³ Wrenn, "Beaufort, North Carolina," 6-7.

nineteenth-century highways. The four Harlowe houses are close to the Harlowe Canal constructed in the 1810s to 1820s. With the exception of the Octagon House (CR604) at Cedar Point, a unique eight-sided house, the houses have the same form: rectangular heavy-timber frames with side-gable roofs, full-width front porches, and rear shed-roofed wings containing bedchambers. Fourteen are one story with half-story attics; the other ten stand a full two stories. All have hall and parlor floor plans, with at least one room heated by a gable end chimney. Nine of them have integral porches (set beneath an extension of the main roof) that put them into the special house type called a Carolina cottage. Some, like the Edward Carraway House (CR1062), ca. 1805, in Merrimon and the Buckner Hill House (CR590), ca. 1815, in the Stella vicinity, are little changed, but most have been remodeled, enlarged, and sometimes even moved and now express their original architectural essence only in general form and not in original architectural detailing. The school, Harlowe Academy (CR1243), ca. 1860, in Harlowe is a one-story weatherboarded building. The Hadnot Creek Primitive Baptist Church (CR578), ca. 1815, near Peletier is a two-story weatherboarded gable-front building.

Quaker Culture

Carteret's largest plantations were in the central and western sections, around Newport, Harlowe, and along Bogue Sound and White Oak River. The Bordens, an early Quaker family, along with the Hills and Ferrends, owned tracts of over 1,000 acres in the Cedar Point area. Although Quakers were among the earliest and most prosperous settlers in the county, almost no Quaker structures have survived. Four pre-Civil War properties possibly linked to Quakers were inventoried in the county: two graveyards, one house, and a smokehouse. (The smokehouse believed to be a Quaker-built structure stands in Harlowe and will be discussed later.) The Core

Sound Meeting House was a Quaker center for more than 100 years after 1733. The church is gone, but its site, now occupied by Tuttle's Grove United Methodist Church (CR1083), founded in the late 1800s, is on a high parcel of land beside marshy Bell Creek, at the junction of Tuttle's Grove Road with Highway 101 near Beaufort. Carteret County's Quakers migrated west during the antebellum era and the meeting declined.²⁴ To the rear of the present church are a group of fine marble headstones for the Davis family dating from the early to later 1800s. The oldest legible inscription is for Christopher Davis, son of James and Elizabeth Davis, 1803-1831. The headstone is signed "Gaddess Bros. Balt.", a reference to the gravestone carving firm of James Gaddess of Baltimore. The Borden family cemetery at the Old Ennett Place (CR1355) is located on Bogue Sound in the community of Cedar Point, just west of Highway 58 and the bridge to Emerald Isle. This was the plantation of William Borden V (1762-1843). The old Borden homeplace, located near the cemetery, is long gone. Barclay Borden's gravestone is here, although nearly illegible. Margaret Dulaney Chadwick (1830-1850), wife of Col. Barclay Dulaney Borden, is also buried here. Both of these monuments are segmental-arched marble headstones.²⁵

The house at 2203 Mill Creek Road (CR559), on the north side of the Newport River, is believed to have been the plantation seat of another Quaker named William Borden in the early 1800s. Now known as the Hardesty House, the one-and-a-half-story dwelling rests on a high brick foundation and has large brick chimneys with smooth shoulders.²⁶ It occupies a high knoll over Mill Creek at the junction of Old Winberry Road and Mill Creek Road and has a basement, rare in the county, entered through an outside stair on the east gable end. The interior retains its

²⁴ www.ncmarkers.com, C-35.

²⁵ Author interview with Lib Sawyers, Apr. 5, 2011; author interview with Randy Wilmoth, Apr. 5, 2011. The Ennett family, who married into the Bordens, has owned the property since the later 1800s.

²⁶ Davis and Hamilton, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 2-3.

hall-parlor plan on the first floor, along with an enclosed stair between the two rooms to access the upstairs bedrooms. Both first-floor fireplaces have very wide vernacular mantels that appear to be of nineteenth-century date. Directly across Mill Creek Road is the Hardesty Cemetery where John Hardesty (1823-1865) and his wife Elizabeth (1829-1904), who presumably resided in the house, are buried beneath marble headstones. The house has undergone substantial exterior alteration.

Carraway and Hill Plantation Houses

The Merrimon and South River section, on the Neuse River between Adams Creek and the South River, has always been sparsely settled. Its nineteenth and early twentieth-century economy was based largely on lumber and naval stores. The oldest historic resource in this area is the Edward Carraway Plantation (CR1062) on the east side of Adams Creek at the mouth of Cedar Creek. Carraway purchased the property about 1805 and it remains in the family. The two-story side-gabled house, as originally built around the time of purchase, contains a side stair passage, a single heated room on the first floor, and a heated bedchamber and unheated side hall on the second floor. The austere dwelling has a full-width front shed-roof porch and nine-over-six and six-over-six sash windows. The stair rose in the corner of the six-and-one-half-foot-wide side passage. About 1830 a new wing with a single heated room on each level and a transverse stair passage was added to the rear.

Another of the earliest and best-documented plantation houses in Carteret County is the Buckner Hill House (CR0590) near Stella along the White Oak River. It was built about 1815 for Buckner Hatch Hill, son of Isaac and Elizabeth Hill of Craven County and grandson of William Hill, of the Cedar Point plantation established in 1765. The one-and-a-half-story side-gabled

house at 527 Wetherington Landing Road has an integral porch and a large chimney with single paved shoulders laid in one-to-three common bond. The interior features a very well-preserved parlor with a tall decorative Federal-style mantel with a double frieze with curved pilasters and a dentil cornice that resembles mantels of this era in Beaufort houses. The interior has wide horizontal sheathed walls and some original doors with H-L hinges. Nine-over-six sash windows illuminate the main floor. The original stair apparently rose in the rear corner of the unheated room beside the parlor, but a passage with an open stair was added in the later 1800s or early 1900s. To the rear is a shed wing that is probably original.

Down East Dwellings

Early houses still standing Down East are concentrated in Straits and Smyrna. At the point of Whitehurst Creek on the Straits channel is an early 1800s two-story side-gabled house known as the Richard Whitehurst House (CR617), although it may have been built for a later descendant, John B. Whitehurst. It retains such early features as woven lath beneath the plaster walls and batten doors with wide strap hinges. Another early Straits settler was James Winwright, whose property along Straits Drive was later owned by Joseph Bell, Sr. (1723), John Nelson (mid-1700s), and Thomas Chadwick (1775). The two-story side-gabled house (CR967) on this property at 215 Straits Drive was built in the first half of the 1800s. The Chadwick House (CR585) in Straits, built sometime between 1780-1830, is a two-story house moved several times and considerably altered.

Evidence of early settlement in Gloucester is the Fulford-Pigott Cemetery, at the end of Piper Lane (CR1195), containing nine handsome marble headstones for the Fulford, Pigott, Bell, and Styron families. The oldest date is for Benjamin Fulford, who died aged sixty-two in 1822.

Gravestone carver James Gaddess of Baltimore signed the stone. The property was originally patented to John Fulford in 1714, so Benjamin belonged to the fifth or sixth generation of his family that lived on this land along the west side of Sleepy Creek. Colonel Elijah Pigott's wife Charlotte, who died in 1859, is buried in this graveyard, indicating that Colonel Pigott's homestead was in this vicinity. In Smyrna the William Hancock House (CR0579) on Pasture Point Lane, built about 1820, is the best-preserved pre-Civil War house Down East. The side-gabled one-and-one-half-story house still stands in its pristine setting facing Tusk Creek just south of Smyrna. It has a large Flemish-bond brick chimney with two sets of paved shoulders, along with nine-over-six window sashes, a full-width shed-roof front porch and a rear shed-roof wing. Inside is a hall and parlor plan. The mantel, of vernacular Federal style, is decorated with a delicate cornice and moldings. The Simpson-Willis House (CR0620) at 133 Old Post Office Road in Smyrna has an 1832 date brick in its chimney. The side-gabled one and one-half-story house has an integral porch, a hall and parlor plan, and a rear shed-roof section with two bedrooms. It was remodeled in the Craftsman style in the twentieth century. An antebellum Smyrna house is the Daniel Willis House (CR0578) at 203 Hill Road. Daniel C. Willis was born in 1823 and probably built the side-gabled one and one-half-story house with integral porch about 1850. Although remodeled, it retains a double-shouldered chimney, nine-over-six sash windows, and a hall-parlor plan with enclosed stair.

Federal-era Leaders

During the Federal era, Carteret County's most famous inhabitant was Otway Burns Jr. (1775-1850), a privateer, ship builder, and legislator. He was born near Swansboro in Onslow County, grandson of a Scotsman who emigrated from Glasgow to Onslow County in 1734.

Otway, a skilled mariner, captained a merchantman plying between New Bern and Portland Maine when the War of 1812 broke out. He and other men bought the schooner *Zephyr* in New York, fitted out with guns and a large crew, and renamed it the *Snap Dragon*. The privateer captured numerous Spanish and British merchant ships and took prizes that were sold in the ports of Beaufort and New Bern during the war. After the war, Burns returned to shipbuilding in Swansboro and in 1818 built the *Prometheus*, the state's first steamboat, which operated on the Cape Fear River. In 1820 he purchased a tract on Taylor's Creek near Beaufort where he and Asa King operated a salt works. He owned a store next to his home purchased in 1814 on Front Street, Beaufort, as well as farmland, livestock, slaves, and various boats, and operated both fishing and merchant vessels. In 1822 he became one of the commissioners of the Clubfoot and Harlowe Creek Canal Company. In 1829 he and Dr. James Manney of Beaufort operated brick kilns to supply brick for the construction of Fort Macon. From 1821 to 1835 he served nearly continuous terms in either the House of Commons or the Senate. Burns was voted out by his constituents in 1835 because he supported the increase in western representation and election of the governor by popular vote. He had become financially overextended during this period, but his appointment by President Andrew Jackson as keeper of the Portsmouth light house in 1836 allowed him to spend his old age in financial comfort in the village of Portsmouth.²⁷ The only historical resource associated with Burns in the county is a large house on the Merrimon Road near the North River (CR0228) said to date ca. 1820. While the house has the two-and-a-half-story form with side-gable roof and integral porch associated with antebellum houses in the county, it has been heavily altered.

²⁷ Lemmon and Littleton, entry in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, V. A-C (1979).

One of Burns's business associates in the Down East Straits area was Colonel Elijah Pigott (1765-1843), who transformed Otway Burns's merchantman *Snap Dragon* into a sleek schooner of war. In 1818 Colonel Pigott and Joseph Fulford sold four acres at Cape Lookout to the U.S. government for the original Cape Lookout Lighthouse.²⁸ The largest headstone in the Fulford-Pigott Cemetery in Gloucester, measuring perhaps four-and-one-half-feet tall, commemorates Charlotte Pigott, consort of Colonel Pigott, who died in 1859 at the age of sixty-two.

Public Works: A Lighthouse, a Canal, and a Fort

Carteret County attracted its share of public works in the early antebellum era, all intended to protect the coastline and boost waterborne shipping. The Cape Lookout Lighthouse, Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal, and Fort Macon at Beaufort Inlet were built in the 1810s to 1830s by the state and federal governments, with private investors playing their role. Each project provided long-lasting stimulus to the county economy.

Cape Lookout Lighthouse was authorized by Congress in 1804, but not until 1812 was the light actually completed. The hundred-foot-tall light was described as a two-tower structure, "the inside one is of brick--the outside one is a wooden framed building, boarded and shingled, and painted in red and white stripes horizontally."²⁹ The lighthouse had two major shortcomings: its height was not sufficient to permit visibility from outside the sand shoal which it was intended to assist boats in avoiding, and its light was not effective during the daytime.

²⁸ Willis, *History of Lands at Gloucester: The First 150 Years*, 150n.

²⁹Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore* (1968), 25-26.

The Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal was constructed by the state of North Carolina from about 1820 to 1827 in order to connect the Neuse River at New Bern with the Newport River and Beaufort Inlet.³⁰ The presence of the canal extending north-south through the community of Harlowe led to a number of antebellum business ventures, including several stage coach stops and inns and several brick yards. The canal never achieved its potential. Its financial failure was attributed at the time to the closing of the steam mill at Lenoxville (near Beaufort), the failure of the brick yards on the canal, and the general economic depression of the early 1830s. The bustling town of New Bern entered a period of steady economic decline in the late 1820s, largely due to the rise of the railroad as the new paradigm for commercial shipping.³¹ The canal still exists as a passable water way, crossed by several bridges which afford a good view of its length.

Although the canal was an economic disappointment, the adjacent rich farmland supported one of the wealthiest agricultural areas in the county during the antebellum era. In 1850 all but a few of the thirty households were headed by farmers. Farmer Gideon Bell, age twenty-two, had real estate worth \$1,000. Carpenter James Davis, age seventy, also had real estate worth \$1,000. A number owned slaves. Plantation owner Rufus Bell, in Harlowe, owned ten.

The O. C. Bell House (CR0558) on Highway 101 in Harlowe is a two-story house built ca. 1840 by the Bell family on the site of an earlier Borden house. Beside the house is a side-gabled smokehouse that appears to pre-date the house. The finely built structure of one-to-three

³⁰ Clifford R. Hinshaw Jr., "North Carolina Canals before 1860," *North Carolina Historical Review*, January 1948, p. 8; [www.americancanals.org/Data_Sheets/NorthCarolina/Clubfoot Harlowe Creek.pdf](http://www.americancanals.org/Data_Sheets/NorthCarolina/Clubfoot%20Harlowe%20Creek.pdf).

³¹ Sandbeck, *The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County* (1988), 531-532; author interview with local resident David Cecelski, August 10, 2011.

common bond brick with glazed headers and gable-end ventilators is unique in the county because of its early age and its construction. The Bordens reputedly operated a brick yard here along the Clubfoot and Harlowe Creek Canal.

Rufus Bell (1822-1886) was born to William Bell on their land on Harlowe Canal. He became one of the most prosperous planters in Carteret County during the antebellum era, with many slaves to cultivate his cotton, a cotton gin, a turpentine distillery, and a brick yard. He built his weatherboarded house (CR0555) in the mid-1800s far off the Harlowe road, in the middle of his fields. Although its one-and-one-half-story, side-gable form belongs to the most common nineteenth-century house type in Carteret County, this example is one of the earliest and most substantial of the type. The house rests on large, two-and-one-half-foot tall brick piers, and the east gable end has a large brick chimney with smooth single shoulders. Windows are nine-over-six sashes on the main floor. Above the front hipped-roof porch are six-pane single-sash windows that illuminate the upper floor bedrooms. The central entrance is a four-flat-panel door, flanked by three-pane sidelights. One unusual feature is the concave kick of the roof at the front eave. Behind the main block is an original shed-roof section with the same nine-over-six sash windows. The interior walls have been stripped of lath and plaster, but the parlor retains a vernacular Italianate mantel. Behind the house are two early outbuildings, a gable-roof brick smokehouse laid in one-to-five common bond, with gable end ventilators; and a front-gabled shed with a batten door, weatherboarded walls, and a six-over-six sash window.

The Harlowe United Methodist Church (CR1244), established in 1834, has an adjacent cemetery with a few antebellum monuments. Most of the earliest mark the graves of the Bell family. Gideon C. and Eliza A. Bell's children and Rufus and Abigail Bell's children are buried beneath lovely marble headstones with ornate decorative relief at the top. Caroline J. Bell (1854-

1864), daughter of Rufus and Abigail Bell, has a beautiful rose branch in relief carving on her headstone. Levi L. Bell (1850-1862), son of Gideon C. and Eliza Bell, has a dove in relief on his headstone.

The only other extant pre-Civil War church in the survey area is the Hadnot's Creek Primitive Baptist Church. Established by 1790, the present sanctuary (CR0578) was constructed about 1815. The two-story front-gabled, weatherboarded church is described as having "an extraordinary presence that derives from its utter simplicity" and "Epitomizing the 'barn-like' quality that once informed many 18th- and 19th- c. churches."³² The church stands along Old Church Road, in the northwest corner of the county, surrounded by the thick woods of the Croatan National Forest. Unpainted and unchanged, it is a rectangular, two-story building with the entrance in the south gable end and large, two-over-two windows in both stories. Planed sheathing finishes the sanctuary, where benchlike pews and a gallery focus on the pulpit at the northern end opposite the entrance.

The only antebellum school that has survived in the county is the Harlowe Academy (CR1243), a one-story frame building erected, according to Bell family tradition, by Rufus Bell on his plantation as a private school for Harlowe's plantation children. The survival of an antebellum school in Harlowe is fitting because this was the wealthiest agricultural area in the county during that era. This side-gabled vernacular Greek Revival-style building on the east side of Highway 101, located opposite the Rufus Bell House, looks like a dwelling from the 1850-1875 period. The single-pile building sits on substantial, high brick piers, with wide plain weatherboards, well-defined corner boards and frieze boards, boxed eaves, large six-over-six sash windows, an entrance with sidelights and a transom, a one-bay gabled-roof porch with

³² Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (1996), 222.

columns, and an original rear ell with an enclosed porch. A fireplace stands in the wide center passage, an unusual space to heat. The smaller flanking rooms are not heated. Original doors are four-panel. For the past century it has been a private dwelling.³³

Fort Macon, which replaced Fort Hampton, was constructed from 1826 to 1834 to guard Beaufort Inlet as one of the system of state coastal forts built along the eastern seaboard. General Simon Bernard, formerly Napoleon's military engineer, designed the fort as a sunken, irregular pentagon that encloses an open yard, enclosed by a moat with a second outer pentagon containing rooms. The exceptional construction includes fine brickwork with rubbed brick arches; Connecticut brownstone ramps, sills, lintels, stairs, and stringcourses; delicate wrought iron trim; and careful Greek Revival interior woodwork. This is the state's largest surviving nineteenth-century fortification. Eventually over two hundred laborers, primarily slaves hired out from local masters, worked on the project. Construction supervisor William A. Eliason contracted primarily with two local men, Otway Burns Jr. and Dr. James Manney for bricks, but eventually other county men also supplied bricks. Local masons were not qualified for the exacting brickwork, stonework, or woodwork, so master masons from Philadelphia did the technically difficult portions of fort construction.³⁴

Beaufort at Mid-Century

The 1850 U.S. Census of the county provides a useful picture of the economy at mid-century, from the cosmopolitan port of Beaufort to the rich farmland of the Harlowe and Cedar Point areas to the maritime economy of Down East and the barrier islands. The county's 1850

³³ Author interview with David Cecelski, Aug. 10, 2011, author interview with Ann Becton Mason, owner, Sept. 5, 2011; author interview with Joel Henry Davis V, Sept. 5, 2011. Gordon Becton made his home here, and his daughter Ann Becton Mason is the current owner. The house shows some signs of work in progress.

³⁴ Branch, *Fort Macon: A History*, 54-59; Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*, 221.

population of 7,001 consisted of 5,378 whites and 1,623 slaves. Beaufort, a resort destination, contained 225 households that were generally twice as wealthy as any of the Down East households. Two of the wealthiest men were merchant Thomas Duncan, age forty-four, with real estate worth \$5,000, and merchant Benjamin Leecraft, age fifty-five, also worth \$5,000. Shipbuilder Jech [illegible] Pigott, age seventy-four, also had property worth \$5,000. A number of farmers had real estate valued at \$2,000. Other men were carpenters, brick masons, sail makers, distillers, blacksmiths, and coopers; there was even a resident hatter and a shoemaker. William F. Bell Sr., age fifty, was the inspector of naval stores, with real estate worth \$3,000. Two free black households were listed: fisherman James Ellison, age sixty-seven, and his neighbor Hannah Ellison, who had five children. Neither had any real estate listed. The owners of the approximately 1,600 slaves in the county in 1850 lived primarily in Beaufort and most owned no more than a dozen slaves each. Exceptions were merchant Thomas Duncan, who owned twenty-six slaves and Benjamin Leecraft with thirteen.³⁵ While most slaves likely lived on farms, some of them worked as mariners, fishing or transporting goods and passengers for their masters.³⁶

Of the scores of antebellum houses that survive in Beaufort, many follow a side-gabled one or two-story form with integral front piazza that is sometimes called the “Beaufort house” or the Carolina cottage. Pre-Civil War houses surviving near Beaufort are the John Russell House (CR1086), ca. 1840, Russell’s Creek Road, and Howland-Gilchrist House (CR0590), ca. 1800-1830, both Carolina cottages. The Howland-Gilchrist House has a side-hall plan with unusual slab-shaped center chimney providing fireplaces to the front and rear rooms, similar to the J. Davis House at 215 Moore Street in Beaufort.

³⁵1850 U.S. Census of Carteret County, population schedule, slave schedule.

³⁶Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (2011), 93.

The Bogue Sound and White Oak River Area

Outside of Beaufort's diversified economy of shipping, fisheries, and summer visitors, rural sections of the county in both western and Down East Carteret County subsisted on agriculture and fisheries. The 1850 U.S. Census for the county shows the wide economic difference between the agricultural sections of central and western mainland and the maritime sections of Down East and the Banks. The small amount of industrial activity significant enough to be counted in the Industrial Schedule in 1850 involved naval stores, lumber, and fish. The twelve turpentine operations, two turpentine distilleries, four saw mills, and one fishery were spread across the county. Among the proprietors were Levi Oglesby, Bridges Arendell, William N. Dennis (in the Bogue Sound area), Edward Hill (Cedar Point), Capt. F. Willis (owner of the fishery), E. G. Bell, David Jones, Ramsey & Jones, W. C. Bell & Company, Mitchell White, Nathaniel Peltier, and W. F. Bell.

Along Bogue Sound in 1850 there were thirty-some households, primarily headed by farmers named Garner, Oglesby, Bell, and Gould. A group of carpenters named Piner, as well as several black farm families lived along Bogue Sound. At the end of this section of the county lived sixty-eight-year-old farmer Bridges Arendell, owner of the Shepherd's Point land that would become Morehead City. His property was worth \$1,500. Farmer William N. Dennis was a farmer, aged forty, with land valued at \$2,190. He was likely descended from the William Dennis (d. 1800) who owned a gambrel-roof house (CR0573) built around 1800 on Bogue Sound. A farmer named Durant A. Motion in the Bogue Sound area owned the largest number of county slaves--fifty-three.³⁷

³⁷ 1850 U.S. Census, Carteret County, population schedule, slave schedule.

In 1850 the White Oak River area in the western region had about one hundred heads-of-household who earned their living primarily as farmers or turpentine farmers, with a few mariners and coopers included. Methodist Episcopal clergyman William J. Parks, aged fifty-two, was one of the richest with real estate worth \$6,000. Miller Jeremiah J. Pelletier, age twenty-eight, in the Peletier community owned property valued at \$2,800.

Farmers and Fishermen of Down East and the Islands

The Down East and Banks communities contained a small percentage of farmers who generally owned far more property than boatmen and fishermen. Straits and the area to the east renamed Gloucester in the early 1900s, as well as Smyrna, contain the only known pre-Civil War houses that survive Down East. These areas with higher elevations, taller trees, and more sheltered environments, allowed for more stable homesteads than the communities further east and on barrier islands. Three of the four Down East individuals who owned slaves lived in Straits. Carpenter Elijah C. Pigott, aged sixty, was worth \$1,700 and owned seventeen slaves; Oliver Chadwick, age forty-two, was one of the wealthiest mariners, was worth \$600 and owned eleven slaves. John B. Whitehurst owned one slave. The fourth slave owner, Ralph Howland, owned fourteen slaves, but his residence is unknown. Smyrna's sixty-some households belonged to farmers, ship carpenters, merchants, mariners, and one brick mason. Thirty-nine-year-old farmer Josephus Willis's real estate was worth \$750. Farmer William Hancock, age fifty-nine, owned property valued at \$600. His ca. 1820 house was discussed earlier in this chapter. In 1850 the one hundred households in Straits (which included Gloucester at this time) included a number of well-to-do farmers, such as sixty-year-old Isiah Chadwick, also a carpenter, with real estate worth \$1,700. Most of the men were farmers or mariners, few were fishermen. Physician

Samuel Leffers, age fifty-eight, was worth \$494. Ship carpenter Wallace D. Styron, age fifty-five, was worth \$700.

The further Down East the census taker traveled in 1850, the fewer farmers, more fishermen, and less real estate value he found. The economy was dependent on geography, for the sea and marshes left little dry land for settlement. The census taker distinguished three settlements east of Smyrna: Davis Shore, Hunting Quarters, and Cedar Island. The thirty-some households of Davis Shore were headed by fishermen, tradesmen, and farmers (the wealthiest segment of the population). For example farmer John S. Davis, sixty years old, owned \$500 in real estate, likely because of the size of his farm acreage, although the value of his house may also have mattered. The ninety-nine households in Hunting Quarters included many Salters, Willises, Lewises, Smiths, and Gaskills who were boatmen, fishermen, coopers, and carpenters. A good number of them were also farmers but more were fishermen. Their houses were valued similarly to those of Davis Shore, with a clear difference of property value between farmers and boatmen, fishermen, and tradesmen. Farmer Wallis H. Styron's property was worth \$685, boatman John A. Styron's was worth \$400, while thirty-year-old carpenter Alphius Golding's was worth ten dollars. The thirty-seven households in Cedar Island, the settlement at the extreme east edge of the county, were headed by boatmen, mariners, fishermen, farmers, and ship carpenters named Goodwin, Gaskins, Lupton, Daniels, Day, Styron, Harris, and Williams. Farmer Christopher Lupton owned the most valuable real estate in the community, worth \$375, while thirty-two-year-old fisherman William Salter's property, likely just his house, was valued at \$25. Miller Reuben Fulcher's property was worth \$300, but the average property had a value of between \$75 and \$100.

On Portsmouth Island, Shackelford Banks and Harkers Island, the taker of the 1850 census found about 150 households. At Portsmouth, the sixty-nine households contained many mariners and pilots, some fishermen, a few carpenters, a few physicians, and a boatman named Willis, Lupton, Styron, etc., the same surnames seen Down East. The fifty-nine households of Bells, Guthries, Willises, Fulchers, Nelsons, Harkers, Shackelfords, Salters, and Lewises on Shackelford Banks and Harkers Island were listed together. Nearly all were fishermen with real estate worth under \$100. The only island residents owning any valuable property were ship carpenter William Pigott, aged fifty-nine, worth \$1,500, and William F. Bell III, aged twenty-six, worth \$600. Two households of mulattos, Cavino Windsor and Silo Windsor, lived side by side on one of the islands, likely Shackelford Banks. William Fulford, aged sixty-four, was the keeper of the Cape Lookout Lighthouse at this time.

None of these island dwellings survive, but at Harkers Point, on the northwest corner of Harkers Island where the Harker homestead was located, the Harker Cemetery (CR1215) remains. Its marble monuments commemorate the Harkers, Shackelfords, and Ansons. Ebenezer Harker had purchased Harkers Island in 1730 from George Pollock. The oldest visible monument is a large marble headstone for Mrs. Elizabeth Harker, wife of Anson Harker, who died in 1845 aged 63 years. One of the most significant gravemarkers is for Eliza Shackelford (1803-1854), who was the "consort" (wife) of the late Calvin Shackelford. Her lovely marble headstone and footstone are set within a skillfully-laid brick vault similar to those at the Old Burying Ground in Beaufort. Such brick vaults, often stuccoed, protected the grave from severe weather and erosion and were used throughout the county during the antebellum era. A number of other graves in the cemetery have brick vaults, including a pair of graves linked by a stuccoed brick parapet wall at

the top and bottom. One particularly lovely marble headstone, for James S. Anson, 1846-1870, has a decoratively curved top.³⁸

A Railroad Line and the New Town of Morehead City at the Terminus

On the eve of the Civil War the county was opened to the wider commercial world by its first railroad. In 1852 the North Carolina Legislature passed the Saunders Bill providing for a railroad line to be built from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor. Former governor John Motley Morehead of Greensboro was president of the new enterprise, named the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company. In 1853 Morehead and Silas Webb of Goldsboro visited the area to study Beaufort Harbor, formed by the mouth of the Newport River that separated Beaufort and Shepard's Point, a narrow sandy peninsula containing the Bridges Arendell plantation.³⁹ Since the railroad's terminus would be at the Newport River, Morehead purchased an interest in 600 acres of Shepard's Point property in 1853.⁴⁰

Construction began on the railroad in 1856 both from what would become Morehead City and from Goldsboro and proceeded toward the middle. When it became clear in 1857 that Shepard's Point would be the terminus of the new railroad, Morehead purchased the tract outright for \$2,133 from the Arendell family. John M. Morehead, Dr. M. F. Arendell, Bridges Arendell Jr., and Peter G. Evans organized the Shepard's Point Land Company and laid out a grid-patterned town with a wide central thoroughfare for the railroad terminating at a new wharf on

³⁸ *Island Born and Bred*, 13.

³⁹ Shepard's Point was originally granted by the state to John Shackelford in the early 1700s, then owned in succession by David Shepard, William Shepard, and William Fisher. At Fisher's death in 1822 the land was divided among his descendants. His daughter Sarah Fisher and her husband Bridges Arendell (1782-1850) lived in an 1834 farmhouse and owned twenty-four slaves in 1850, making them one of the largest slaveholders in the county. Morehead City Woman's Club, *A Pictorial Review of Morehead City* (1982), 1-16.

⁴⁰ *A Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 1-16. The few existing buildings included Arendell Sr.'s homeplace, a rambling farmhouse located in the 400 block of Bridges Street, built in 1834. The town developed around the landmark until it burned in the 1940s.

the Newport River, shown on the 1857 town plan. The first train arrived at the passenger depot near the river bank in Morehead City on June 7, 1858, with Bridges Arendell Jr. as conductor.⁴¹

Morehead's glowing description emphasized the resort potential:

"Situated on a beautiful neck of land or dry plain, almost entirely surrounded by salt water; its climate salubrious; its sea breezes and sea bathing delightful; its drinking water good and its fine chalybeate spring, strongly impregnated with sulphur, will make it a pleasant watering place.... It will be the first instance of an entire new city on the Atlantic Coast being brought into market at once; and capitalists may never have again such an opportunity for good investment for a great city must and will be built at this place."⁴²

The final element of Morehead's ambitious project to give North Carolina a modern shipping port with rail connection was a freight wharf and warehouse. An 1859 eyewitness description of the dock structure, known as Pier Number One, describes the engineering wonder:

The wharf, as you know, is built upon 93 large iron screw piles, a novelty in this country as well as in Europe, and is just finished. The warehouse 90x165 feet built thereon, and the whole structure for enclosing the wharf are raised and will be under cover by the last of the week....The warehouse being somewhat narrower than the wharf and placed in the center of the same, the railroad tracks fork before reaching the warehouse and a track runs on each side of the same and through the building. If the cars are ready, goods can be taken directly on board the cars from vessels, or loaded from cars to vessels.....Shipments of lime and salt are the chief loads of the vessels while they take on naval stores for northern ports.⁴³

At long last, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad was complete from Morehead City to Goldsboro, with connection to the North Carolina Railroad that extended west to Charlotte. In 1859, entrepreneur Josiah Pender, along with his business partner Stephen Page, built the Atlantic Hotel, a three-story structure with triple porches facing the Beaufort harbor that became a fashionable watering hole immediately.⁴⁴ John Parrott of Kinston built the Carolina City Hotel

⁴¹*Yesterday & Today: A History of Morehead City* (1998), 14.

⁴²*A Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 17.

⁴³*A Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 42.

⁴⁴Browning, *Shifting Loyalties* (2011), 32.

near Morehead City in 1859.⁴⁵ The Macon House, a three-story hotel with triple porches, went up at the southwest corner of Arendell and Ninth streets in Morehead City in 1860. The first census of Morehead City, taken in 1860, revealed 115 white households headed by a cosmopolitan mixture of mechanics, craftsmen, merchants, fishermen, mariners, and laborers, including a number from other states and from the British Isles. Also living in the new town were 197 slaves and four free blacks. Approximately fifty buildings stood by this time in the village, with the rest of the families living in the surrounding area. When Morehead City was incorporated in 1861, Bridges Arendell Jr. was elected mayor.⁴⁶

From 1857 to 1859, the old 1812 Cape Lookout Lighthouse was replaced by a larger and more permanent tower to serve as a navigational aid for ships passing by the Beaufort Channel. The treacherous cape shoals were now marked by a lighthouse that became “the prototype of all the lighthouses to be erected subsequently on the Outer Banks.”⁴⁷ It consisted of a 160-foot conical brick shaft laid in one-to-five common bond, with two doors and ten six-over-six sash windows, each with wooden sills and stone lintels. At the top was a “first order Fresnel lens.” In 1867 the original wooden stairway to the top of the new light was replaced with a cast-iron spiral staircase and in 1872-1873 a new keeper’s dwelling was constructed. At this time the lighthouse was repainted in a black and white diamond pattern to make it more visible in the daytime.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ www.ncmarkers.com, C-75. Carolina City was a village established in the late 1850s that is now lost.

⁴⁶ *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 25-28. Arendell’s life of service to Morehead City ended in 1870 when he was killed in a boiler explosion; 1860 U.S. Census, population schedule, “Morehead Village.”

⁴⁷ Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 28.

⁴⁸ O’Brien and Noble, “Soldiers of Surf and Storm: The Light and Lifesavers of Cape Lookout, North Carolina” (no date), 1-13, 17; Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 29-30

A Peculiar Plantation House for Edward Hill

At the western edge of the county, another landmark that has stood to the present was under construction in the late 1850s. Edward Hill, one of the wealthiest planters in the county at mid-century, lived on a 1,000-acre plantation established by his ancestor William Hill in the mid-1700s in Cedar Point, on the east bank of the White Oak River at its confluence with Bogue Sound. In 1850 Hill's property was valued at \$6,000 and he owned forty-seven slaves.⁴⁹ Following the plan and principles laid out by Orson Squire Fowler, a New York state physician-architect, in his 1848 book promoting the octagonal house called "A Home for All," Hill spent four years building an eight-sided plantation house. Construction lasted from 1855 to 1859 on the "Octagon House" (CR604), still one of the county's most significant landmarks. The two-story house, grand in form but of vernacular Greek Revival design, has weatherboard walls with wide curved corner posts and a pair of large six-over-six sash windows in each side. A "wishbone" stair occupies the west side of the wide high-ceilinged hall and at each end is a set of double doors with a stylish transom. The central cupola, open to the upstairs hall, has sash windows that ventilated the entire house. The interior is finished with wide pine floors, plaster walls, and four-panel doors with wide three-part surrounds. The two large, square central rooms on each floor are flanked by smaller triangular-shaped rooms at the corners, making a total of six rooms on each floor, each heated by the fireplaces of four interior brick chimneys. Each fireplace has a wooden mantel with simple chamfered pilasters. In spite of its unusual shape, the house's

⁴⁹1850 U.S. Census, Carteret County population schedule, slave schedule.

interior treatment is similar to the Buckner Hill House in Duplin County, constructed in the 1850s by a cousin of Edward Hill.⁵⁰

With a rail line, a modern port facility, and a new lighthouse at the cape, the future seemed bright for Carteret County in 1861. The infrastructure stood in place for the county to strive to become the state's premier railroad and shipping port.

Union Occupation of Carteret County during the Civil War

The start of the Civil War in 1861 interrupted Beaufort's flourishing port economy as well as the promising beginnings of Morehead City. Union forces paralyzed activity along this strategic section of the North Carolina coast. Captain Josiah Pender and a local force of Confederate soldiers took command of Fort Macon from its Federal caretaker, but by March 1862 Beaufort harbor came under Federal blockade and General Ambrose Burnside's brigades took Beaufort on March 26. A sizeable Union force occupied the town, using the harbor as a coaling station and safe harbor for their vessels until the end of the war.⁵¹

Morehead City's initial building boom was cut short on April 25, 1862, when Federal troops occupied the town and took Fort Macon the next day. Union soldiers occupied some of the buildings in town as barracks, others as hospitals where soldiers fallen victim to a yellow fever outbreak in New Bern were sent to recover. The area between Eighth and Tenth streets north of the railroad is said to have been fenced in as an encampment. The original Methodist Church in the 400 block of Bridges Street is said to have been used as a bakery and was burned, possibly from an accidental cooking fire. After the war, the U.S. government paid church members \$600 compensation for the church building. Some buildings, such as the Parrott Hotel

⁵⁰Author interview with Bryan Lassiter, caretaker, Jones Masonic Campus, Oct. 18, 2011; Dudley, *Swansboro: A Pictorial Tribute* (1998), 144-147; Little, draft National Register nomination for the Octagon House (1969).

⁵¹Wrenn, "Beaufort, North Carolina," 8-9.

at Carolina City (present site of Carteret Community College west of Thirty-fourth Street), were burned by retreating Confederates to prevent their reuse by Union troops. A state-founded salt works that mined salt from sea water, which was located near the freight wharf, was destroyed by Union troops. The federal occupation greatly altered Morehead City, attracting newcomers while prompting others to move away. A Mrs. Moore moved there during the war and built a large frame building later known as the "Old Sea Breeze," a three-story building on Sixth Street between Bridges and Fisher streets. Here she sold clothing and supplies to the Yankee soldiers. To escape the turmoil of occupation, many of Morehead City's citizens fled inland into Confederate territory. For example, George Dill carried his family to Louisburg and Silas Webb and his family moved to Chatham County, where he made shoes for Confederate soldiers during the war. In 1865 both families returned, and Webb resumed his shoe making and mercantile business.⁵²

Newport, a village of fifteen houses, three small stores, and a church, was occupied by Union troops in 1861.⁵³ The village was originally located on the banks of the Newport River, but when the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad came through in 1857 on its way to Morehead City, the village center gradually relocated a few blocks to the north to the junction of the railroad and the old road, now known as Chatham Street. The Newport River Primitive Baptist Church, established in 1780, stood on the east side of East Chatham Street, with an adjacent church cemetery. In 1862, while being used as a hospital by Lt. Col. James Wilson, the sanctuary

⁵² Chadwick, "History of Morehead City," manuscript (1940s); www.markers.com C-49; *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 123.

⁵³ Dudley, *Newport: The Town with Old-Fashioned Courtesy* (2010), 10.

burned. It was not until 1907 that the congregation received \$1,000 in damages from the U.S. Court of Claims.⁵⁴

Carteret County's best-known Civil War heroine was Emeline Pigott (1836-1919), whose services as courier and spy for the Confederates behind Union lines are still remembered by locals. As a young woman growing up on the Pigott farm on the north bank of Calico Creek near Morehead City, she fell in love with a Confederate private who was killed at the Battle of Gettysburg. She became active in war service, nursing the sick and injured in New Bern and Kinston. When Union soldiers were stationed on the Pigott farm, Emeline entertained the officers in the evenings to provide cover for her brother-in-law, Rufus Bell of Harlowe, to carry food to Confederate soldiers hiding nearby. She also carried medicine, food, and mail to drop spots for Confederate forces. She supposedly went into hiding at Bell's house in Harlowe, where she and Bell were captured by Union troops. Pigott endured prison in Beaufort and then New Bern under poor conditions for a month, then was released for unspecified reasons. She returned to Carteret County to continue to help the Southern cause until the end of the war. Afterward, she organized the Morehead City chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, later named in her honor. Emeline lived out her life in Morehead City and never married.⁵⁵ Her farmhouse has disappeared, but one county property associated with her stands—the Rufus Bell House (CR555) in Harlowe.⁵⁶

Postbellum Prosperity from Resorts and Fisheries

⁵⁴ Pohoresky, "Newport North Carolina during the Civil War," selected pages in the Newport River Primitive Baptist Church survey file.

⁵⁵ Barnes, "Emeline Jamison Pigott," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (1994), 99.

⁵⁶ Author interview with David Cecelski, August 10, 2011; Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (2011), 159-161.

Following the end of the war, Carteret County remained practically an archipelago, with discrete land masses bounded by rivers and sounds and access from one section to another possible only by sailboat. As during antebellum times, the three market centers serving the county were Beaufort (and increasingly Morehead City) for the central and Down East sections, Swansboro for the western end of the county, and New Bern for the northern sections. Residents along the northern edge of the county, including Merrimon, South River, Cedar Island, and Atlantic, travelled in sailing vessels up the Neuse River to New Bern.

Beaufort and Morehead City's attractiveness as summer resorts, the county's location at the terminus of the state's east-west railroad line, and the abundance of fish and shellfish along its seventy-five miles of Atlantic Ocean shoreline, drove the county's economy for the rest of the nineteenth century. The county's population rose from 8,186 in 1860 to 9,010 in 1870, and to 9,785 in 1884 (7,107 white, 2,678 black), reaching 10,825 in 1893.⁵⁷ In 1879 there were twenty white schools and six colored schools; by 1886 there were twenty-four white schools and nine colored (none are extant).⁵⁸

Beaufort and Morehead City were extolled for their healthy climate. A state publication proclaimed that "The prevailing winds in summer being from the south and southwest, blowing directly from the Atlantic Ocean, over Beaufort and Morehead City, makes these towns exceedingly healthy seaside resorts."⁵⁹ Beaufort remained the larger town until the twentieth century, but Morehead City's advantage as the railroad terminus spurred slow, steady growth. An 1896 business directory extolled Morehead's port status: "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad terminates at Morehead City, which lies immediately on Beaufort harbor; the waters are

⁵⁷ 1896 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*.

⁵⁸ *Handbook of North Carolina* (1879), 57; *Handbook of North Carolina* (1886), 78.

⁵⁹ *North Carolina and Its Resources* (1896), 316.

of sufficient depth to admit vessels of very large size. On the bar there are twenty feet of water at mean tide.”⁶⁰

Demand for menhaden, an inedible fish processed for oil and fertilizer, developed in the second half of the 1800s and became the most profitable fishery product in the county until the mid-1900s. The first menhaden processing plant in the state was established on Harkers Island in 1865, but the industry did not prosper until the later 1800s, with its center at Morehead City.⁶¹

Beaufort's Postbellum Commerce and Tourism

Resort amenities, island horses, and marine science drew visitors from inland North Carolina and outside the state to Beaufort. Its premier resort hotel, the Atlantic Hotel on Front Street, closed during the Civil War but reopened in 1866. To reach the hotel, guests travelled to Morehead City on the train, then boarded private sailboats for the water journey to Beaufort. In the postwar era the pristine richness of the sound and ocean waters around Beaufort attracted the second marine science laboratory to be established by the federal government—the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Station. Another county asset, primarily for tourism, were “Droves of wild hardy horses on the Banks, known as bank ponies, small but efficient farm horses.”⁶² At one time there were wild horses on all the barrier islands, but by the mid-twentieth century they survived mostly in Carteret County.⁶³

Beaufort was the only sizeable town in the county during the postbellum era. The first Branson's Business Directory of North Carolina, published in 1868, lists twenty-four dry goods

⁶⁰ 1896 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*.

⁶¹ Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 231.

⁶² 1896 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*.

⁶³ *A New Geography of North Carolina*, Vol. 1, 61.

and grocery merchants (including several druggists), seven shipping and commission merchants, two excelsior oil and guano factories, two ship carpenters, one steam saw and grist mill, two wind-powered grist mills, three tailors, and six physicians (as many as in the rest of the county combined).⁶⁴ By 1878 the number of general stores and other mercantile establishments in Beaufort doubled to forty-eight shops, primarily dry goods and groceries but also confectioners, drug stores, milliners, tobacconists, barbers, saloons, and turpentine distillers. In addition to the Atlantic Hotel, Mrs. King's Front Street House and boarding houses run by Sara Ann Davis and B. L. Perry accommodated the resort visitors in 1878. In this year Thomas Duncan operated a saw and grist mill and James Mason, Davis & Brother, A. J. Fulcher, John Hill, Rice and Adair, and John Simpkins operated wind mills in Beaufort.⁶⁵

Beaufort in 1884 was "a delightful summer resort" with a diverse population of 2,500. Sixty-nine Beaufort merchants offered, in addition to general provisions, drugs, seafood, cigars, jewelry, fertilizer, and sewing machines. Other businesses included insurance, tailors, a millinery, a bakery, confectioners, a butcher, a saloon, a fish packer, and a painter. Five hotels, including the Ocean House owned by W. C. King and the Seaside House operated by Charles Lowenburg, welcomed guests. Factories in Beaufort consisted of two boot and shoe; two cotton gins, two cooperages, two blacksmithing operations, four fish scrap factories, and Thomas Thomas's shipyard. There were two steam corn and gin mills.⁶⁶ The large houses along Front Street, owned by merchants, hotel proprietors, sailors, and others, served as boarding houses for students attending local schools as well as summer visitors. Some houses included apartments rented by families. Dwellings further away from the water housed fishermen, carpenters, and

⁶⁴ *1868 Branson's Business Directory of North Carolina*. Newport had three doctors, Morehead City two, and Straits one.

⁶⁵ *1878 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*.

⁶⁶ *1884 Bransons North Carolina Business Directory*.

sailors. Along Ann Street, several blocks from the harbor, lived an oysterman, several pilots, a doctor, a stevedore, a milliner, a merchant, a grocer, a store clerk, a huckster (a peddler or small store clerk who sells small items), a carpenter, a sailor, a fisherman, a saw mill worker, a brick mason, and William F. Dill, a forty-one-year-old liquor dealer with three black servants. Milliner Sarah S. Martin's house included a son who was a sailor, a daughter who kept house, an elderly mother, and three younger daughters.⁶⁷

By 1896 the number of merchants and tradesmen in Beaufort had fallen slightly to sixty merchants and tradesmen and three resort lodgings: the Ocean View Hotel, Davis House, and Russell Boarding House. Among the factories were three menhaden processing plants, a shipbuilding company run by Capt. Hall, a cooperage, a boot and shoe factory, a blacksmith, Thomas Thomas's steam corn and gin mill, and the Whitcomb Brothers steam saw mill.⁶⁸

Many of the African Americans who had lived as slaves in Beaufort remained in the area after they were freed. The 1880 census tallied a substantial group of them working as servants for white Beaufort families. Many black families lived along Broad, Cedar, Pine, Queen, and Pollock streets in town. The men worked as shoemakers, hotel waiters, barbers, sailors, laborers, and in saw mills; the women as domestic servants and laundresses. Outside of town, African American families lived among white farm families, the men working as farmers or farm laborers, the women as black nurses (nannies) or cooks. Their households included extended family such as mothers, fathers, grandmothers, nieces, nephews, sisters, stepdaughters, and adopted children.

⁶⁷ 1880 U.S. Census, population schedule, town of Beaufort.

⁶⁸ *1896 Bransons North Carolina Business Directory*.

Restarting Morehead City after the War

In Morehead City, residents returned at the end of the Civil War and attempted to restart the fledgling village. By 1872 two merchants, one steam saw and grist mill, one shoe shop, and one turpentine distillery operated in Morehead City; by 1878 there were also three grocery stores and the Macon House hotel.⁶⁹ About 1880 the shipping at the railroad wharf resumed its pre-war level of operation, occasionally serving large vessels that anchored in the channel near Fort Macon.⁷⁰ The 1880 census of "Morehead Village" recorded a total of 108 families living in eighty-five dwellings. The census taker commenced on Shackleford Street, adjacent to Bogue Sound, and found families of Guthries, Willisess, Salters, Arthurs, Bells, Fulfords, Phillips, Howlands, Foremans, Davises, Wades, and Styrons living along the shore. Many of these family names, particularly Willis, Guthrie, Fulford, and Styron, are the same as those who populated Core Banks and Shackleford Banks in the late 1800s.⁷¹ The most common occupations of the heads of households were fishing, mariner, house carpenter, and laborer. In the rest of the village away from the shore, occupations of male heads of households were cooper, grocer, hotel landlord, hotel clerk, huckster, house carpenter, brick mason, railroad clerk, physician, mechanic, grocer, butcher, minister, civil engineer, store clerk, laborer, retired ship master, and retired farmer. The black population of the village, which had been in the majority on the eve of the Civil War, dispersed when freedom came. A small number of black families lived in clusters throughout the village in 1880. In the countryside around the village were many white farmers,

⁶⁹ *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*, 1872, 1878.

⁷⁰ Carrow, "Memories of Beaufort in the Nineties," cited in Wrenn, 9.

⁷¹ Little, Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination (1999).

many black farm laborers and their families, and a number of men who worked on the railroad, some of whom were black.⁷²

A critical event in Morehead City's postbellum history--the completion of the Atlantic Hotel—occurred in 1880. Instead of rebuilding the Atlantic Hotel, destroyed by a hurricane in 1879, on its site in Beaufort, Julian S. Carr, a Durham tobacconist, S. W. Barnes of Wilson, and Ashley Horne of Clayton decided to build the new hotel in Morehead City, where it was felt it would be safer from hurricanes and more convenient to guests. And so the new Atlantic Hotel went up on Bogue Sound between Third and Fourth streets near the end of the railroad line, where a platform beside the tracks sheltered guests arriving by train. It immediately took over the role of "summer capital of North Carolina" inherited from the previous Atlantic Hotel in Beaufort. Guests from New York to Georgia traveled by rail to spend a week or two at the Atlantic enjoying the salt air, salt-water bathing, fishing, boating, strolling the large boardwalk, and dancing in the hotel's grand ballroom, one hundred feet square with a sixty-three foot ceiling and balconies overlooking the dance floor. The three-story frame edifice of Queen Anne style had 233 rooms arranged in wings on three sides. The main dining room seated three hundred. The Atlantic Hotel was built with modern conveniences such as gas lighting and running water. The building housed its own barber shop, telegraph express, store, bar, billiard room, and "ten pin" alley. The hotel was festooned with porches along the front; boardwalks in the back along Bogue Sound contained bathing houses for ladies and gentlemen. Ferries picked up guests from the hotel dock to carry them across the sound to "Money Island," a resort with a hotel and bathing pavilion on Bogue Banks (now Atlantic Beach). There they changed into bathing suits

⁷² 1880 U.S. Census, Carteret County population schedule, "Morehead Village" and Morehead City Township.

and spent the day swimming and picnicking. In 1889 the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company purchased the hotel and continued its operation.⁷³

In the last two decades of the century, Morehead City's population and commercial establishments increased dramatically. The business district along Arendell Street grew from seven general stores in 1884 to twenty-eight in 1888, which included not just dry goods and groceries but also millinery, tobacco, drug, and clothing establishments. Ten wholesale fish dealers operated in town, an indication that the commercial fisheries industry had begun to boom. In 1888 the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, a statewide teachers association, constructed a hotel on the west side of the Atlantic Hotel to serve as a headquarters and conference center for its members. The assembly functioned until 1900.⁷⁴ Three other hotels and boarding houses accommodated visitors: Horton House, Mrs. Wade's Boarding House, and Arendell House. By 1896 Morehead City had grown to more than half the size of Beaufort, with 1,365 inhabitants compared to Beaufort's 2,500 residents.

Commercial Fishing Becomes A Way of Life

Carteret County's commercial fisheries, later recognized as the county's principal industry, commenced after the Civil War and peaked in the 1950s.⁷⁵ Carteret County was said to have a greater variety of food fish than any other area in the United States. During the 1700s and first half of the 1800s county residents fished part-time to supply their own needs for food. By

⁷³ www.ncmarkers.com, C-56. It continued to be owned by the railroad company through World War I, although by this time its popularity was waning due to the rise of private automobile usage. In 1933 the hotel burned; *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 53-58. The Sportsman's Pier stood on the Money Island pavilion site in the twentieth century.

⁷⁴ From 1900-1925 it was the summer house of the F. W. Barnes family of Wilson. The building was demolished in 1934. *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*; www.ncmarkers.com, C-40.

⁷⁵ *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 212-213.

1893 a state guidebook included a special section on “Beaufort and Morehead Fisheries,” which reported about 1,000 men working 400 boats in the county’s waters.⁷⁶

The humble mullet, a dark oily, edible fish, was a far more important product of the sea than the mighty whale. The first commercial fishery that developed in the 1860s concentrated on mullet because of the popularity of salted mullet, especially in eastern North Carolina. By 1880 a greater quantity of salted mullet came from Carteret County than from all other Atlantic coast locations combined. The county was considered to be the center of commercial mullet fishing in the United States during the late 1800s. In September of 1871, 12,000 barrels of mullet were caught on a single day.

Shad, herring, mullet, seat trout, Spanish mackerel, bluefish, and oysters and clams constituted the county’s sea crops in the late 1800s. These were harvested with pound nets, seine nets, and long-haul nets. Most fish were salted before shipping. Fresh fish were sent on ice by rail to New Bern, where they were either forwarded by rail to other destinations, or by steamer to Elizabeth City. For mullet, about half were shipped fresh, on ice, the other half salted in barrels.⁷⁷

Until the late 1800s Carteret County’s isolation from major markets and lack of efficient transportation systems, along with the perishability of seafood, limited the county’s ability to profit from its wealth of fish and shellfish. In the early postbellum era, sailing vessels brought ice from Maine for storage in ice houses in Morehead City and Beaufort to supply fish dealers, who shipped two to three railroad carloads of fish a week. By 1884 the Morehead City Ice Company supplied ice, likely the imported kind. Morehead City fish and oyster dealer Anthony Wade

⁷⁶ *Handbook of North Carolina* (1893), 243.

⁷⁷ *Handbook of North Carolina* (1893).

would ride the train to Goldsboro and back with a supply of iced seafood, selling it out of the baggage car at stations and at crossroads. Other fish dealers adopted this system, hence the rail line's nickname, "the Old Mullet Line," during this era. In 1898, when Charles S. Wallace built the Carteret Ice and Transportation Storage Company on Arendell Street between Fifth and Sixth streets in Morehead City, he likely set up an ice plant that produced ice on site to sell to fish dealers for shipping their seafood on the railroad, by ship, and by wagon to markets along the East Coast.⁷⁸

A large portion of the mainland population fished seasonally, especially during mullet season from August to November. Fish camps operated along Shackleford Banks and other areas, where the teams spent weeks netting huge amounts of mullet, salting them in barrels, and selling some to fish dealers and consuming the rest throughout the winter to sustain their families.⁷⁹ Geologist Collier Cobb of the University of North Carolina reported in 1908 that one Shackleford Banks fish camp, a stick and rush structure that resembled a hollow haystack, had been in use for at least twelve years. In the early 1900s the fish's commercial importance declined, perhaps due to overfishing.⁸⁰

Postbellum Agriculture and Industry

Much of the county's land area was not arable because of a "succession of swamps, the largest of which, occupying its eastern peninsular projection, is called the Open Ground Prairie Swamp. This is a peat swamp, quite barren in its middle parts, but fringed around its margin with

⁷⁸ 1884 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory; Pictorial Review of Morehead City (1982), 25-28.

⁷⁹ Encyclopedia of North Carolina, "fishing camps," 436.

⁸⁰ Holland, A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore, 19-21.

oak flats and gray silty soil.”⁸¹ Business directories of the late 1800s noted that the county had some fine cotton lands and that corn and peanuts grew well. Other products included peas, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and such fruits as figs, apples, peaches, pears, grapes, berries and “melons to great perfection.”⁸² Its timber products were pine, oak, and cedar. In 1886 less than seven percent of land was tilled; over 19,000 acres were in corn and 8,462 acres in cotton, producing slightly over 4,000 bales of cotton. Cattle, hogs, and sheep were the primary livestock produced. The largest number of farmers listed was in the Beaufort area, the second largest number around Newport. Small numbers of farms were listed in Morehead City, the Wildwood community west of Morehead City, Harlowe, Pelletier’s Mills, Smyrna, and Sanders’ Store.⁸³

The only industries enumerated in the county’s 1880 industrial schedule were grist mills, serving subsistence farmers, and saw mills. The lack of water power and dependable transportation prevented the development of heavy industries such as cotton mills in the county. Like other coastal counties that lacked the topography to generate power from water-wheels but had abundant ocean breezes, wind-powered grist mills along shorelines provided corn meal for Carteret County’s population from the beginning of settlement in the eighteenth century until the early 1900s. Wheat was hardly grown in Carteret, so the mills ground corn into corn meal. Most of the windmills were of the post mill design, with a center pole supporting the elevated mill and mill house and the four large canvas sails that powered the grinding wheels. The apparatus could be rotated to pick up wind from any direction.⁸⁴ In 1872, twenty wind mills were in operation; by 1884 there were twenty-eight windmills--eleven in Beaufort, two in Harlowe, two in White Oak,

⁸¹ *Handbook of North Carolina* (1886), 78.

⁸² *1884 Branson’s North Carolina Business Directory*, 183.

⁸³ *Branson’s North Carolina Business Directory*, 1872, 1877-78, 1884, 1893, 1896; *Handbook of North Carolina*, 1879, 1886, 1893; *North Carolina & Its Resources* (1896).

⁸⁴ *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, “Windmills,” 1211-12.

one in Morehead City, and the remainder Down East: five in Smyrna, three in Hunting Quarters, three in Straits, one in Marshallberg, and one in Cedar Island.⁸⁵ One of the few windmills documented in photographs is a turn-of-the-twentieth-century windmill on the shore of the White Oak River at Pelletier.⁸⁶ A few mills in western Carteret County, such as on Hadnot's Creek, were water-powered, and as early as 1868 a steam sawmill operated in Newport. The network of windmills along the sounds in the late 1800s may have primarily operated by barter: fishermen would trade a bushel of mullet or oysters for a bushel of corn and then bring their corn to shore-side windmills for grinding into corn meal. Fishermen obtained flour, farmers obtained mullet to feed their families.⁸⁷

Newport, Harlowe, and the Bogue Sound-White Oak Regions

The smaller communities in the county developed economies around their agricultural and timber resources in the later 1800s. In 1880 Newport Township's 170 households were mostly headed by white farmers or farm laborers named Garner, Mann, Ward, Bell, Gould, Morton, Merrill, and Piver. A small number of black households included some men who were farmers and apparently owned their own property. Forty-odd households, most headed by farmers, made up Newport village, the market center for the township. In 1872 the village supported five merchants, two steam saw and grist mills, and a carriage factory; by 1884 five general stores, four public gins, one turpentine distillery, one cooper shop, one blacksmith shop, one carriage factory, one cigar factory, and a liquor store were in business. Bell's Hotel and

⁸⁵ *1872 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory; 1896 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*. Daniel Bell owned the Morehead City windmill.

⁸⁶ *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, "Windmills," 1211-12.

⁸⁷ *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 212-219; Hepburn, "Tradition, Innovation and Change: A Comparative Study of the Southeastern U.S. Fishing Communities," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville (1982). (cited in Davis and Hamilton, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 37).

McCain's Boarding House housed travelers. At the end of the century Newport bustled with seven general stores, the Harrison Hotel, a blacksmith shop, two carriagemakers, one public gin, one turpentine distillery, one repair shop, and a water-powered saw and grist mill.⁸⁸

Two extant buildings represent this late nineteenth-century boom in Newport. Across from the site of the railroad depot on East Chatham Street stands the Ira Garner House (CR1295). The two-story weatherboarded house with hipped-roof has a center passage, two-room-deep floor plan, and end chimneys. Wide corner pilasters with capitals, large six-over-six sash windows, and a front portico give a vernacular Greek Revival design to the building. The Newport River Primitive Baptist Church (CR603), built about 1885, is located on Church Street at its junction with Market Street, about two blocks from the site of the congregation's first sanctuary, burned during occupation by Union troops in 1862. The plain front-gable church, four bays deep, with a small apse, has two front doors, each with a two-pane transom and a bracketed gabled awning. Dual doors are a traditional feature for Primitive Baptist sanctuaries.

The arrival of the railroad brought examples of stylish dwellings into Beaufort and Morehead City, but in Newport Township the building tradition barely changed after the Civil War. The dominant house type remained the one-and-one-half-story house with a full-width shed-roof porch, sometimes integral and sometimes attached. The attic bedrooms tended to get taller, with windows of the same size as the first-story windows. The houses of a father and son outside of Newport show only a subtle change from antebellum to postbellum house tradition.⁸⁹ David Bell Garner married about 1845 and presumably built his house soon afterward, although it might actually have been built somewhat later. The house, now gone, was a true Carolina

⁸⁸ *1896 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*.

⁸⁹ These houses appear in ca. 1905 documentary photos in the possession of Rachel Garner Bennett, Newport vicinity.

cottage, with integral front porch and equal-sized four-over-four sash in the lower and upper gable ends. The absence of a rear shed-roof wing is unusual. Samuel Clayton Garner's house (CR1329), built about 1882 when he married, is nearly the same form as his father's but is slightly taller, allowing for higher ceilings in both levels. It has a chimney at both ends and a shed-roof porch dropped a few feet below the main roofline. Like his father's house, there is no shed-roof rear wing. The only functional difference is that the son's house had greater headroom than the father's. Another 1880s farmhouse in the Newport countryside, the Garner House (CR1349) on Tom Mann Road, is small and old-fashioned in its finish but stands a full two stories tall. The I-House features small four-over-four sash windows on both levels, a hall and parlor plan with wood sheathed walls, batten doors, an original enclosed stair to the second floor, and a single chimney.

Harlowe continued to prosper in the postbellum era, when shallow-draft boats shipped produce and fertilizer on the Clubfoot and Harlowe Creek canal and wagons plied the road to New Bern (present-day Highway 101) through the village at the Craven County border. In the 1880s Harlowe had four general stores, three building and contracting firms, two public gins, a cooperage, and two insurance agents, who may have been connected to the canal shipping.⁹⁰ In 1896 there were three three general stores (one operated by African-American entrepreneur Carter Godette & Co.), two building & contracting companies, a cooperage, two public gins, and a steam saw mill. None of these buildings survive. The best-preserved postbellum house is the William Nash Bell House (CR1208) at 4846 Highway 101. Built for Rufus Bell's son William Nash Bell, the weatherboarded I-House of vernacular Italianate style features an entrance with

⁹⁰ *1884 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*. Canal traffic basically ended when a network of better roads supplanted water transportation in the 1920s.

transom and sidelights, a central passage with curving staircase, plaster walls, and decorative mantels.⁹¹

White Oak Township in western Carteret County remained a farming and lumbering area during the postbellum era. In 1880 its 229 households belonged primarily to farmers, laborers, or hired hands. The last two dozen households in the township, probably at Cedar Point on Bogue Sound, were fishing families.⁹² Cedar Point first appeared in the business directories in 1896, when three general stores operated there.⁹³ The community of Peletier's Mills, on the White Oak River, had one merchant and one steam saw and grist mill in 1872 and two general stores in 1878 and 1884. Further north on the river, the community of Stella first appears in the business directory of 1884, when it had one general store, but by 1896 it had five stores and one steam saw mill, none of which survive.⁹⁴

Along Bogue Sound between Morehead City and Cedar Point, the small communities of Sanders Store, Bogue, and Ocean prospered in the late 1800s. At Sanders Store, a settlement named for Dr. John Sanders, there were two general stores in 1878 and three in 1884, along with a drug store. By 1896 Sanders Store had one general store, a steam cotton gin, and a blacksmith shop. The only historic building that survives here is Dr. Sanders's late 1800s dwelling (CR584), an I-House with pedimented gable ends and end chimneys. Bogue had two general stores and Ocean had one store in 1896.

The Merrimon and South River area profited from its turpentine and lumber resources in

⁹¹ Author interview with David Cecelski, owner, August 10, 2011.

⁹² 1880 U.S. Census, Carteret County population schedule.

⁹³ *1896 Branson's Business Directory*.

⁹⁴ *1878 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory; Handbook of North Carolina* (1879).

the late 1800s. In 1896 Merrimon had one general store and a steam saw mill.⁹⁵ Part of the community lived on the west side of Adams Creek, where the Adams Creek Methodist Episcopal Church had been organized in 1788. The sanctuary was moved across the creek and renamed Merrimon United Methodist Church (CR0596) in the early 1900s. The small front-gable weatherboarded building retains segmental-arched four-over-four sash windows and beadboarded interior walls and ceiling.

A Down East Way of Life

The Down East population (excluding the barrier islands) grew from 330 households in 1850 to 550 in 1880, an increase probably related to the development of a commercial fishing industry. There were still many “saltwater farmers” who lived by both fishing and farming.⁹⁶ Much of the growth was in the Hunting Quarters-Cedar Island area, where most of the men worked on the water as fishermen, oystermen, or sailors (who likely worked on larger ocean-going vessels). Every fisherman’s son over the age of 12 also worked as a fisherman. On Cedar Island, the first four households recorded by the census taker were Luptons, all of the men working as sailors. In house number one, Allen Lupton, age 49, was a sailor, along with his sons James, 30, Elijah, age 22, and even William, age 7. In another household, John L. Goodwin, age 54, was a farmer, while his sons Thomas, 23, and Frances, 21, were sailors. In Hunting Quarters, in addition to the fishermen and sailors lived a number of carpenters and some farmers. In the Smyrna district, farmers slightly outnumbered fishermen; others made a living as seamen (worked on boats), carpenters, et cetera. The 200 households counted in Straits Township apparently included Harkers Island and Shackleford Banks. Most of the first 100 households

⁹⁵ 1896 *Branson’s Business Directory*.

⁹⁶ Quote by Smyrna historian Norman Gillikin in Cecelski, *A Historian’s Coast: Adventures into the Tidewater Past* (2000), 65.

were headed by farmers, with a number of coopers but few fishermen or mariners. Farmer Oliver Whitehurst, aged 56, had five sons who worked on his farm.

Down East villages had commercial enterprises listed for the first time in the 1884 directory. Smyrna had three general stores (one operated by Robert H. Whitehurst, whose I-House (CR618) still stands, although greatly altered and enlarged), a cooperage, a millwright shop, and seven builders and contractors. Atlantic had three general stores. By 1896 nearly all of the Down East communities had commercial enterprises listed, yet Smyrna continued to be the most developed, with six general stores and a millwright shop. W. F. Willis, C. S. Willis, G. W. Willis, J. T. Willis, and R. Willis were builders and contractors in Smyrna (probably the same builders listed in 1884 and probably brothers). Straits had two general stores, a millinery, a millwright, a cooper, and two windmills. Atlantic (formerly Hunting Quarters, renamed in 1890) had two general stores, a millwright, and four windmills. Five general stores stood in Wit (now Sea Level), four in Lupton, and one in Marshallberg. Shackleford Banks had three general stores. Daniel L. Bell operated a fish scrap and oil plant at Davis in 1896.

The family of freed slave Sutton Davis at Davis Ridge, a small island offshore from Davis, stood out in the nearly all-white population of Down East. In 1865 Davis bought four acres at Davis Ridge, where he and his large family prospered. They raised collard greens, sweet potatoes, corn, cotton, hogs, sheep, and cattle, as well as fished and dug oysters for sale. Davis built two fishing schooners and operated one of the first menhaden factories in North Carolina. The storm of 1933 washed his descendants off the island, and no structures remain.⁹⁷

The oldest church building Down East is the Straits United Methodist Church (CR1206),

⁹⁷ Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast: Adventures into the Tidewater Past* (2000), 65-66; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (2001), 203-212.

built in 1891 on the Straits Road after the congregation abandoned their old church on the waterfront. The Straits Academy had been built on the Straits Road in 1876 and the church was built beside it. The school was later enlarged to a two-story structure with one large room upstairs. The Gothic Revival-style front-gabled sanctuary, four bays deep, has a three-stage entrance tower with steeple and stained glass windows. Original Victorian finishes survive on the interior in the wonderful Gothic Revival apse with three arches decorated with a sawnwork drip course, finials, and trefoils. The original pews have ornately curved ends. In 1949 the academy was moved and attached to the rear of the church for use as an educational wing. Nine-over-six wooden sash windows in the upper story likely date from its use as a single large classroom.⁹⁸

Marshallberg remained a sparsely settled area in the late 1800s. A 1910 geodetic survey of the area shows only twenty-one houses on the peninsula, most sited along the shoreline.⁹⁹ The oldest house identified here during the survey is the Captain William Thomas Gillikin House (CR0577), a vernacular Gothic Revival cottage built on Sleepy Creek for a man named Johnson, not a native of Carteret County. Johnson sold it in 1886 to Captain Gillikin, a mariner who shipped rice and molasses from Charleston and Savannah to merchants in New Bern and Little Washington. The next owner, his son James Kelly Gillikin, built twenty-five-foot long wooden sailboats in the back yard. Shown in an early 1900s documentary photograph, the house had nine-over-six sash windows on the first story and a stylish paint scheme that emphasized its Gothic Revival peaked window lintels and steep front and side gables. The gable windows were covered by louvered shutters. Today the house retains wide plain weatherboard with wide fascia boards, peaked window lintels, and a center entrance set between decorative diagonal sheathing.

⁹⁸ Willis, "History of Lands at Gloucester, The First 150 Years," (2000), 52-53, 63; Dudley, *Down East: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 42.

⁹⁹ Coast chart no. 147 Core Sound to Bogue Inlet including Cape Lookout North Carolina http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps/browse_location.html, accessed Dec. 27, 2011.

The hall-parlor plan has an open-string stair in the larger heated room. The mantel has paneled pilasters, large diamond-shaped panels in the frieze, and a molded shelf.¹⁰⁰

After the Civil War, fishing villages grew up at Diamond City and Wade's Shore on Shackleford Banks and at Cape Lookout. These sandy islands were largely uninhabited during most of the 1700s and early 1800s, when whaling crews from New England and later local crews hunted whales, mullet, and porpoises from shore-based camps. The New Englanders who visited the county during certain seasons gave up whaling in the 1870s, but local crews continued until the early 1900s. The 1896 Branson's directory noted that "At certain seasons these huge monsters of the deep visit the shores of North Carolina."¹⁰¹ Whaling activity apparently centered around Diamond City, a village on Shackleford Banks immediately adjacent to the lighthouse. The last whale was killed in 1909.¹⁰²

Diamond City, the largest village on Shackleford Banks, might have had a population of some 500 people at its height in the 1880s. David Stick humorously related that in Diamond City "there were so many Willises it would take half a day just to count them—and the Guthries were as thick as the Willises. There was one family of Nixons, and another of Wades; and two named Styron; and of course the Yeomanses, and the Roses."¹⁰³ Wade's Shore at the west end of Shackleford Banks had about 100 people, primarily Lewises, Myerses, Moores, and Davises. The 1880 census taker for Straits Township took a boat over to Harkers Island and Shackleford Banks after finishing the mainland houses. Diamond City was more populated than Harkers

¹⁰⁰ Author interview with Thelma Gillikin Moore, owner, from Rochester, New York, July 7, 2011.

¹⁰¹ Branson's North Carolina Business Directory 1896.

¹⁰² Yeomans interview; Holland, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 11-17, Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (1958), 188, 311-312. Marcus B. and Sallie W. Simpson, "The Pursuit of Leviathan: A History of Whaling on the North Carolina Coast," *North Carolina Historical Review* LXV, 1 (January 1988), 33-50.

¹⁰³ Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (1958), 188. Shackleford Banks actually was an appendage of Core Banks until Barden's Inlet was dredged through in 1956, thus separating the banks from the cape.

Island at the time. Household 101-103 consisted of the Cape Lookout lighthouse keeper, the assistant keeper, and two signal corps observers and their families. The next fifty households comprised fishermen, followed by a huckster, ten houses of sailors, a few farmers, a fisherman, and several dozen more sailors.

The pattern of groups of fishermen living together is consistent with the fishing crew system that operated on the banks in the late 1800s. The 1896 Branson's directory was the only late 1800s directory to list fishing crews, most working on the banks, in a special category labelled "Fisheries and Owners." The directory cites fourteen crews, usually a small team of related men, and notes that some other crews worked in the extreme western part of county and on the banks, but the owners are unknown.¹⁰⁴ At Cape Lookout, as in 1880, the men were uniformly engaged in fishing. The large families allowed fishing crews to be made up of fathers and their sons.¹⁰⁵ State deeds giving individuals exclusive fishing rights to particular parcels of sound waters were common during this era. Fishing crews also had gentleman's agreements among themselves that separated one crew's territory from another's.

The story of Eugene Yeomans of the Wreck Point crew illustrates the nomadic existence of the banker men and the mobility of their houses. In a quarter-century period he moved his house from Harker's Island to Diamond City and then back again. Yeomans, born in Swansboro,

¹⁰⁴*1896 Branson's Business Directory*. The crews listed were Ives C. Chadwick at Bird Shoal; Davis Congleton and others at Carrot Island; Davis and others at Fort Macon Fishery; Congleton, Gaskill and others at Lenoxville; Seth Arthur at Hard Scrabble; Howland Bros. at Mullet Pond; Russell and others at Russell's; Styron and others at Rice Path (on banks); John Willis at Sandy Point; Dudley, Fulcher and others at Starving Island; Howland Bros. at Steep Point; Fulford and others at Tavern Rock; Miss Pigott at Wade Shore; and Pigott and others at Wreck Point.

¹⁰⁵Yeomans interview. Yeomans recalled that the following crews fished at the Cape in the late 1800s and early 1900s: the Cape Hills Crew made up of John S. Rose and sons John W., George A., Thomas, Joey, and Dannie; the Cape Shore Crew consisting of Tilmon Rose and sons Iredell, Howard, Charles, and Leslie; another Cape Shore Crew that included George Rose and sons Telford, Edd, Dallas, and Cletus; the Wreck Point Crew made up of Eugene Yeomans and sons Walter, Dan, Luther, Fernie, and Kendall; the Hook of Cape Crew: Alfonso Guthrie and sons Allen, Billie, Louie, and Alfonso's brother Henry Guthrie and sons Johnnie, David, and Odell; and a second Hook of Cape Crew that included Sam E. Willis and sons Kelly, Sammie, Luther, and Eddie.

North Carolina in 1853, moved to Harkers Island in 1870, married, and built a house. In 1875 the Yeomanses moved it to Diamond City, where in 1880 Eugene appears in the census as a young sailor with three children. In 1898 Yeomans obtained a deed for “forage of fishing” at Wreck Point, the barb at the end of the hook of Cape Lookout.¹⁰⁶ His crew, known as the “Wreck Point Crew,” which included his five sons Walter, Dan, Luther, Fernie and Kendall Yeomans, lived in a fish camp at the cape during fishing season.

Almost without exception, the enumerator for the 1880 and 1900 censuses recorded that the cape families owned their houses, but few of them, including those in Diamond City, actually held title to the land underneath.¹⁰⁷ In such a fragile natural environment, where wind and water constantly altered the terrain, houses were moved about like mobile homes and set up wherever the fishing families found productive fishing. As with Native Americans, the land was used communally. The bankers moved houses on twenty-four-foot whale boats, with pointed prows at each end, used for harpooning whales.¹⁰⁸ A house was rolled aboard two of these boats lashed together and floated between the islands of the Banks and the mainland. Bankers were also adept at recovering materials from shipwrecks and abandoned buildings. For instance, lumber from the *Olive T. Thurlow*, which wrecked near the lighthouse in 1902, was salvaged for building.

Banks houses likely retained their traditional small and portable design throughout the nineteenth century. The last remaining nineteenth-century *private* house on the Carteret County banks may have been the Washington Roberts House in Portsmouth Village, which was very deteriorated in 1980 and is likely now lost. The village was abandoned by the mid-twentieth century and is now by operated the National Park Service as a part of the Cape Lookout National

¹⁰⁶Carteret County Deed Book UU 103.

¹⁰⁷U. S. Censuses, population schedules, Carteret County: 1880, 1900, 1910.

¹⁰⁸Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 193; Whale boats were constructed by Devine Guthrie at Diamond City in the late 1800s.

Seashore. Portsmouth Village contains some eighteen frame buildings that date from the 1880s to the 1930s, including the 1901 Gothic-Revival-style Methodist Church, the Life Saving Station, the Post Office and General Store, the Schoolhouse, and a number of one- and two-story houses.¹⁰⁹

The oldest houses Down East-- the Wright Goodwin House (CR0971) on Cedar Island, the Willis Mason House (CR1111) in Stacy and the Jennings Pigott Davis House (CR1179) on Sleepy Creek in Marshallberg--are small “story-and-a-jump” side-gabled houses of the late 1800s.¹¹⁰ The most intact is the Mason House, built with the same traditional construction methods that would have been used before the Civil War. Dozens of small sections of tree trunks support the house, and those along the perimeter are notched and nailed into the sills. All of the windows, whether on the first floor or in the gable ends, are identical-sized four-over-four sashes. Both the front shed-roof porch and the rear shed-roof wing are dropped several feet below the main roof. The porch has several thick chamfered posts that are likely original. The brick chimney has double stepped shoulders and is laid primarily in header courses.

The oldest dwellings at Cape Lookout are the brick lighthouse keepers house and the life saving station, stylish buildings constructed by the federal government and outside the county’s building tradition. The keepers house of 1872-1873 is a two-story side-gabled brick house of the I-House form, with a central passage, two flanking rooms on each floor, and end chimneys. The Cape Lookout Life Saving Station, built in 1888, is a landmark in the progression of life saving stations along the South Atlantic coast from the 1870s to the 1940s.¹¹¹ The two-story rectangular

¹⁰⁹ Portsmouth Village National Register Historic District nomination, N. C. Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh (1979).

¹¹⁰ A “story-and-a-jump” is a colloquial expression for a certain type of one-and-one-half-story house.

¹¹¹ Felix Revello, Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station nomination, N. C. Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh (1988), 8.4.

frame building of Downingesque-Queen Anne style has a front-gable form with an ornate roofline created by a large cross-gable with a decorative kingpost truss in the center of each gable. On each side of the cross-gable, a hip-roofed wall dormer breaks through the roofline. German siding covers the first story, wood shakes the upper story. Tall four-over-four sashes illuminate the building. The first floor contained a boatroom where the lifeboat was stored and living area for crew; the second floor had rooms for the station keeper and crew and for storage.¹¹²

A Rich Heritage of Wooden Grave Markers

The richest surviving category of material culture for nineteenth-century Down East culture is found in the graveyards, where many wooden headboards mark graves from the 1700s and 1800s before marble headstones were affordable and available to local families. These types generally do not have inscriptions, either painted or carved (at least none have survived). The finest of these are in the Lupton Graveyard on Cedar Island and the Stacy Community Cemetery. The Lupton Graveyard (CR995), adjacent to the Cedar Island Free Will Baptist Church established in the early twentieth century, contains about two dozen weathered tall narrow headboards with decorative rounded tops, some said to date from the 1700s. Most of them have reproduction headboards set behind them in order to mark the graves. The earliest marked gravestone in the cemetery is for an 1871 death.¹¹³ In Stacy, unlike in most Down East communities with numerous small family and community graveyards, there is a single large community burial ground. This cemetery, shaded by a grove of large live oak trees, occupies a

¹¹² Survey Update by Ruth Little, Nov. 9, 2011: In 1958 the station was sold as surplus and moved a short distance away and reused as a house. The lookout tower was removed and a number of other minor changes were made. The Park Service has placed a new roof on the building and shored up the upper front porch with timbers, but otherwise has done nothing to this building. It is in deteriorated condition.

¹¹³ Author interview with Jack Goodwin, church member, April 26, 2011.

high site just east of present-day Highway 70 near the water. The largest group of wooden headboards in the Down East area stands in the center of the cemetery. These have no inscriptions so the dates of the graves that they mark are unknown, but are presumed to be the second half of the nineteenth century. (The oldest dates on gravestones are 1857 and 1861, for the Tilmon family.) The headboards, numbering approximately four dozen, vary in shape, although most are discoids--a rectangular main section with round top separated by a "neck" that resembles a schematic human body. The discoid has been a traditional gravestone form for centuries. Many of the discoid headboards have footboards in the shape of a pointed stake. Some headboards have segmental-arched shapes and are quite large, being up to four feet tall.

Scattered wooden gravemarkers are found throughout the county. The Gales Creek Community Cemetery (CR1287) on Bogue Sound, donated to the community in 1877 by local farmer Hawkins Hibbs, is three acres heavily wooded with mature live oaks and other trees and shrubs and densely packed with graves and gravestones that date from 1877 to the present. The most intriguing markers are about two dozen wooden headboards. Some of these have the traditional segmental-arched shape that mimics marble headstones or the traditional discoid shape that mimics eighteenth century headstones; none display inscriptions. The Newport River Primitive Baptist Cemetery (CR1291) has about a dozen wooden headboards, one of them a discoid type, the rest segmental-arched.

The Twentieth Century: Highways and World War II Link the Archipelago to the Wider World

Exodus from the Banks, 1890s-1920s

At the end of the nineteenth century, the residents of the whaling and fishing villages along Shackleford Banks and Bogue Banks abandoned them and began moving to the mainland. The main catalyst was the Hurricane of 1899, which completely overwashed the islands, knocking houses off their foundations, smashing boats, killing most of the big trees, drowning livestock, and uncovering coffins in the cemeteries. An exodus began that lasted for several decades. William Henry Guthrie at Diamond City purchased sixty acres on Harkers Island in

1899, dismantled his house, and moved it across the sound. Several of his neighbors purchased lots from him and also moved to Harkers Island. Eugene Yeomans and his family were among those who moved their house from Diamond City back to Harkers Island. His sons Walter and Dan worked for the lifesaving service at Cape Lookout, living in the temporary crew quarters all week long and returning home to Harkers Island on the weekends. Eugene Yeomans died in 1934 and his house has been demolished.¹¹⁴

By 1902 no houses were left at Diamond City. Families had either moved their homesteads to the mainland, primarily Harkers Island, the area of Morehead City known as “the promise land,” and a few to Marshallberg, or left them behind to be used as temporary fishing shacks. Some houses were disassembled board by board and rebuilt on Harkers Island. Others were cut in half or moved whole. Most of the Wade’s Shore families moved to Salter Path on Bogue Banks. By 1920 only a few hardy fishermen remained on the banks.¹¹⁵

Three so-called “banker houses” were documented on Harkers Island. Dating to the early 1900s, these houses on Island Road are linked by tradition to Shackleford Banks. Walter Yeomans, oldest son of Eugene Yeomans, moved his side-gabled two-story house (CR1237) to 1730 Island Road about 1900. It has been remodeled and enlarged and is now in poor condition. John and Sarah Lewis are said to have moved their small side-gabled two-story I-House (CR1220) on two boats to the shorefront about 1900. Charlie and Armechia Lewis moved their story-and-a-half house (CR1224) to 616 Island Road from Shackleford Banks in 1917. The side-gabled house sits on the shore, facing the water, with full-height sash windows in the upper gable ends illuminating upstairs bedrooms. Additional light and ventilation are provided by large

¹¹⁴Yeomans interview; Ada C. Willis, entry on Eugene Yeomans family, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 469-470.

¹¹⁵Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 184-194.

Craftsman-style gabled wall dormers, probably added in the 1930s. The front porch is also likely an addition.¹¹⁶ Both Lewis houses closely resemble other dwellings built on Harkers Island in the early 1900s. In spite of the traditions that these houses were moved intact, it is more likely that they were actually dismantled and rebuilt. In any case they have been remodeled to suit their new location.

Two well-preserved houses built on Harkers Island date to the early twentieth century. The Luther Yeomans House (CR1219) was built for the third son of Eugene Yeomans. The side-gabled, two-story, one-room deep I-House has German siding, two-over-two and four-over-four sash windows, and a hipped-roof front porch. Luther fished with his father and later erected a general store across Island Road from this house that was a local gathering place for many years.¹¹⁷ The other dwelling was built for Thomas B. Lewis (1884-1963) and his wife Effie L. Lewis (1889-1979) (CR1221), who moved from Shackleford Banks about 1899. Lewis bought the lumber in Beaufort, transported it to the island by boat, and hired local builder Bud Brooks to construct the house. The small I-House has plain weatherboard, rounded cornerboards, boxed eaves and eave returns, and windows with peaked lintels. Across the front is a one-story hipped-roof porch with turned posts. A one-story kitchen and dining room ell extends to the east, with a front porch that joins with the main porch and an enclosed, end-bay "stranger room." The hall-and-parlor plan house has one heated room and a smaller unheated room on the first floor, with low ceilings, approximately seven and one-half-feet tall. The smaller room has a narrow

¹¹⁶ Author interview with Rose Guthrie Griffin, August 4, 2011; author interview with Ruth Sutton, owner, August 6, 2011.

¹¹⁷ Author interview with current owner Elizabeth Keith, August 9, 2011

enclosed stair to the upstairs. The immediate yard is enclosed by a very old fence with cedar posts and small square staggered pickets.¹¹⁸

The exodus from the Banks greatly swelled the Down East mainland population. The 1910 census of Down East enumerated 1,155 households here, an increase of over 100 percent from the 1880 census. Straits Township, which likely included Shackleford Banks and Cape Lookout, still retained the antebellum pattern of farming families in the first 170 houses and fishermen in the last seventy-five houses. Smyrna Township's 203 households included very few farmers; most men were oystermen, seine fishermen, crabbers, or "fishing for market." Others worked in scrap factories processing menhaden or as freight boatmen, boat carpenters, sailors, sawmill workers, or farmers. Davis precinct, within Smyrna Township, contained 283 households, where the men pursued the same varieties of fishing as the Smyrna precinct. Hunting Quarters Township, including the village of Atlantic, contained 374 households that continued to earn a living primarily from the sea. Many of the men fished and oystered "at public ground," apparently a reference to open waters in comparison to the areas leased by fishing crews. Many collected oysters or worked in oyster factories as shucker, capper, or shell wheeler, or in a clam factory. Others were sailmakers, shipyard carpenters, merchants, boatmen, and farmers. One "public beggar" was listed.

The oldest Down East commercial building is the Morris Store (CR1004), a two-story frame store on the Atlantic waterfront built about 1912 for James Riley Morris, a pioneer in Atlantic education and a leader in local politics. The front-gable store faced Core Sound, as seen in the background of many photos of Atlantic Harbor. The building has six-over-six sash

¹¹⁸ Author interview with Fannie Lewis Gillikin, owner, August 10, 2011.

windows, exposed rafter tails, and later asbestos wall shingles. James's sons Cecil and Brantley grew up in the business and continued the operation until the late 1960s.¹¹⁹

Cape Lookout Village, like Portsmouth Village, lasted into the second decade of the century. By 1910 the cape population had declined somewhat from its peak in 1900. The short-lived Cape Lookout post office opened about 1910 and closed in 1911.¹²⁰ Keeper Charles W. Clifton lived with his family in the new frame keeper's quarters, a two-story, weatherboarded, gable-and-wing dwelling with paired four-over-four sash windows, wide eaves with decorative brackets, and an interior chimney. His two assistants, William Rollinson and Victor Watson, lived in the brick quarters, now a duplex, with their families. The able-bodied cape men not working at the lighthouse or the life saving station were described as surf fishermen. The number of fishermen per household had declined during the decade, with no more than one son still living at home fishing with his father. Apparently the young men had established their own households.¹²¹ About 1919 there was a general exodus from the cape. The one-room school, which had twenty-five children in attendance in the mid-1910s, closed at the end of the 1919 school year. Some thirty to forty houses were moved from the cape to Harkers Island, and the Harkers Island School was built at this time. The houses left at the cape became fishing shacks, with only families associated with the life saving station and the lighthouse remaining in full-time residence.¹²² Yet the 1920 Census still records sixteen families living at the cape, including sixty-four year old fisherman Tilman Rose, who had been living there over thirty years, and with

¹¹⁹ Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past*, 271; author interview with Winston Hunter Hill, May 2, 2011; In later years the entrance was relocated to the land side, facing Seashore Drive, when it served as a sales office for a home-heating fuel business operated by Brantley's sons, Philip and Craig. A small one-story vertical sheathed addition extends from the front (historically the rear elevation. A documentary photo of the store appears on p. 271 of Jack Dudley's book, *Down East*.

¹²⁰Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 310.

¹²¹U. S. Censuses, population schedules, Carteret County, 1880, 1900, 1910.

¹²²Yeomans interview.

his son Howard was still fishing. Five men employed at the Life Saving Station, now under the jurisdiction of the Coast Guard, lived with their families on the cape.

During the 1920s, as traditional sailboats gave way to motor boats, the cape became more easily accessible to vacationers.¹²³ Descendants of cape families converted their old homeplaces into seasonal cottages; residents of New Bern, Tarboro, and other Tidewater towns built new summer houses. About 1951 Les and Sally Moore built a fishing camp at the cape with cabins that they rented to fishermen. The National Park Service purchased the private property at the cape during the 1960s and 1970s in order to develop the Cape Lookout National Seashore. Owners of private cottages were given twenty-five year leases that expired in the early 2000s. Most of the historic buildings of Cape Lookout Village have been stabilized by the Park Service; some are rented to fishermen.¹²⁴

The exodus from Bogue Banks across to the mainland shore of Bogue Sound along present-day Highway 24 took place from about 1895 to about 1920 as families sought the convenience of schools, churches, stores, and physicians on the mainland. Bogue Banks had numerous communities along the sound side, notably Bell Cove, Yellow Hill, Rice Path, and Salter Path. These families boated a mile across the sound and settled on the mainland, establishing the present-day communities of Gales Creek, Broad Creek, Sanders Creek and others. They brought their disassembled houses from the island and rebuilt them in their new villages, but they have not survived to the present.

¹²³Yeomans interview; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 310-311; U. S. Census, population schedule, Carteret County, 1920.

¹²⁴ Little, Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register nomination (1999).

Connection of the Archipelago by Roads and Bridges

The most important infrastructure development in the first half of the twentieth century consisted of the construction of roads and bridges and the introduction of state-operated ferries to link each of the “islands” to each other and to ease the isolation caused by rivers, sounds, and marshes. At the beginning of the century the exodus from the barrier islands swelled the Down East population and the numbers of churches, schools, post offices and general stores built to serve the communities. It was nearly three decades before Down Easterners were fully linked by road to Beaufort. A Beaufort-to-Atlantic highway plan was approved in 1912 by the county commissioners. Creating the highway was not just a matter of filling in marshland with shells, but also of constructing bridges. In 1922 the county built a wooden bridge across the North River (replaced by a new wooden one built by the state in 1932 which was destroyed by Hurricane Hazel in 1954.) Highway construction began in 1924 and finished in 1927. Wetlands were dug up to make road beds, in the process creating canals along the highway. The state took over the thirty-mile road in 1930, and in 1932 Atlantic became the eastern terminus of Highway 70, taking that distinction from Beaufort. Shells from Native American middens were used for much of the road construction Down East. Shell Point near Beaufort is named for a midden said to have been used for road construction.

With a population of 700, Atlantic was the largest Down East community and the area’s only incorporated town as of 1905, yet the town had no paved road, and the water served as the highway until 1915 when Shell Road was built through town. Cedar Island was not linked to Atlantic until 1936 when a state highway bridge was built across Thorofare Bay to replace the

ferry.¹²⁵ Along Bogue Sound in western Carteret County, Highway 24 from Morehead City to Cedar Point was built by the Works Progress Administration during the 1930s.¹²⁶

Connecting the communities by roads and bridges enabled the numerous small schools to be consolidated in the 1920s and 1930s, and for the first time ever the children of different communities went to school together. Since 1905 the children of Cedar Island and Atlantic have been served by the Atlantic School. In 1922 a Smyrna-Straits consolidated school opened that combined children from the remaining Down East communities.

State-operated ferries began in the 1920s. In 1927 a free state ferry from Gloucester to Harkers Island was established. This operated until 1941 when the new bridge opened.¹²⁷ The mail boat *Aleta* functioned as the ferry from Atlantic to Ocracoke, a sizeable barrier island located about twenty-five miles from the mainland just north of Portsmouth. It delivered mail, groceries and provisions from general stores in Atlantic to many Ocracoke inhabitants, and carried passengers. The next ferry service to Ocracoke was established by the Taylor Brothers of Sea Level in 1959. The car and passenger ferry ran from Atlantic Harbor, located behind the Mason Store on Seashore Drive, to Ocracoke until 1964 when the state-operated public ferry began to run from the tip of Cedar Island at the end of NC Highway 12. The Driftwood Motel (CR970), a low one-story, nine-room concrete block building with a shallow covered corridor, had been built at this location in 1955 by Clayton and Iris Fulcher. To accommodate ferry

¹²⁵ Dudley, *Down East*, 1, 10-11.

¹²⁶ Lib Sawyers, typescript history of Bogue (ca. 2007), copy in file.

¹²⁷ Dudley, *Down East*, 58.

passengers, the Fulchers added a restaurant and thirteen additional rooms to the end of the original motel in 1965.¹²⁸

An interior boat transportation network was developed through Carteret County at the same time as the road and bridge network. The need for shipping along the Atlantic coast to avoid North Carolina's treacherous Outer Banks was one impetus for the Intracoastal Waterway, a federally-financed shipping route from the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia to Jacksonville, Florida, completed during the 1910s and 1920s through Carteret County.¹²⁹ The waterway extends from the Neuse River at the northern part of the county southward along Adams Creek to the Newport River, then along Bogue Sound.

The U. S. Life Saving Agency constructed new stations at Core Banks, Fort Macon, and Bogue Inlet in 1904-1905 that were identical to stations built along the rest of the North Carolina and Virginia coast. These one-story, hipped-roof stations with three-story corner lookout towers provided rescue operations, regulated boat traffic, provided employment to local men, and introduced popular architectural design. The Fort Macon and Bogue Inlet stations were replaced by Coast Guard stations in the 1930s. When the Bogue Inlet Station (CR1407), on Bogue Inlet at the western edge of Bogue Banks, was decommissioned in 1950, George Merritt purchased it and hired famous local mover Denard Davis, of Davis, in the Down East section of Carteret County, to move it. Davis accomplished the relocation of this large structure across Bogue Sound to a lot in Cedar Point using a barge and only a single horse and block and tackles. Since then the station's adaptive reuses have included a night club, a residence, and a seafood market, yet it is remarkably unchanged. The three-story corner lookout tower overlooks the water and the

¹²⁸ Author telephone interview with Iris Fulcher, April 27, 2011. The motel is still owned and operated by Iris Fulcher.

¹²⁹ Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 621-22.

pyramidal hip roof has wide gabled wall dormers on two sides and small hipped dormer windows on the other two sides. An integral one-story porch encircles the building with original boxed posts and railing with close-set balusters and a rounded handrail. The interior retains vertical wall sheathing, original doors, and a wall of wooden lockers.¹³⁰

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Beaufort and Morehead City, just two miles apart and long-time competitors for railroad and port facilities to promote their maritime commerce, reached population equilibrium. Beaufort continued its popularity as a coastal resort and seafood processing center. In 1902 it had five hotels or boarding houses, thirty-three general stores, two building contractors, three fish and oyster dealers, three menhaden processing factories, and a clam factory. In 1902 Morehead City had five hotels or boarding houses, seventeen general stores, two building contractors, eight fish and oyster dealers, three clam dealers, and a factory to process porpoise (dolphin) oil.¹³¹ By 1910, Morehead City's population edged past that of Beaufort, with 2,800 residents to Beaufort's 2,750.¹³²

In the middle of the decade, a twist of fate gave Beaufort its long-awaited rail connection to Morehead City at the same time that Morehead City lost its port facilities. A Virginia-based railroad company, the Norfolk and Southern Railroad, bought out the Atlantic and North Carolina line in 1904, marking the end of Morehead City's era as the terminus of Governor Morehead's railroad. The new railroad company operated the old railroad warehouse and port until 1906, then leased out the wharf facilities, rerouted shipments through the port in Norfolk, Virginia, and shut down the Morehead port. In 1908 they completed their elimination of Morehead City's role as a rail port by erecting a new passenger and freight depot between

¹³⁰ Dudley, *Swansboro: A Pictorial Tribute* (1998), 140-141; author interview with Lib Sawyers, April 5, 2011.

¹³¹ *North Carolina Year Book* (1902).

¹³² *North Carolina Yearbook & Business Directory* (1910).

Seventh and Eighth streets, leaving behind the old depot across from the Atlantic Hotel near the port.¹³³ In 1906 investors built a rail connection from Morehead City's rail terminus to Beaufort, where they built a freight warehouse beside Gallant's Channel in Beaufort and a handsome red clay tiled passenger depot on Broad Street. Beaufort now had rail service but its connection to Morehead City's port was useless because the port had closed.

Morehead City's population continued to outgrow Beaufort's, but the older port's charm, due to its age and lack of modern development, made it a more popular resort than Morehead City. In 1915 Beaufort had eight hotels and boarding houses, while Morehead City had only four. Beaufort had other advantages as well, with ten building contractors to Morehead City's four.¹³⁴ By 1930 Morehead City had approximately 750 households to Beaufort's 183 households. Some Morehead City families were quite wealthy. Lawyer Edward H. Gorham, age forty, owned a \$10,000 house on Evans Street. Harvey Hamilton Sr., age thirty-seven, owned a home valued at \$6,000 at the corner of Evans and S. Ninth Street. Elmer E. Nichols, a New Yorker who worked as cashier for the toll bridge to Atlantic Beach, owned a \$4,000 home on Evans Street. Nearly everyone in Morehead City's "promise land" area on the water south of Arendell Street made their living as fishermen for food fish or menhaden and as boat builders and lived in houses valued at much less.

In 1933 the state created the Morehead City Port Commission, but an actual facility of docks, cranes, and warehouses along Bogue Sound on the west bank of the mouth of the Newport River was not completed until 1952. Extensive dredging created one of the deepest harbors along the Atlantic coast. Its cargoes have been largely raw tobacco, phosphate from the

¹³³ *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 43; *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*: 1872, 1884, 1896; *North Carolina Yearbook & Business Directory*: 1903, 1905, 1910.

¹³⁴ *North Carolina Yearbook & Business Directory* (1915).

shell deposits mined at Aurora in Beaufort County, and wood chips processed from North Carolina lumber.¹³⁵

The Built Environment of Fisheries: Menhaden Plants, Fish Houses, Net Houses, Boat Works, Marine Railways, and Workboat Harbors

Seafood, consumed to sustain the population and sold commercially or caught by recreational fishermen, is Carteret County's primary natural resource. Since about 1900 the county has been North Carolina's leading seafood center and one of the largest centers in the United States.¹³⁶ Early twentieth-century censuses distinguished between edible "food fish" and menhaden, an inedible fish from which oil and fish meal for fertilizer was produced. By the mid-twentieth century Beaufort had four plants and Morehead three, with sixty to seventy-five boats working out of Beaufort inlet.¹³⁷ The last menhaden plant in the county, the Beaufort Fisheries plant (CR229) at Lennoxville, east of Beaufort, was largely demolished in 2010.¹³⁸ The loss of the smelly factory was the end of an era of menhaden fisheries for the county.

The edible seafood products important to the county consisted of all types of fish and shellfish (clams, oysters, scallops, crabs, and shrimp). The value of each type of seafood has varied from one era to another. By 1905 a number of Morehead City dealers sold clams, fish and oysters. Commercial soft shell crab production was brought to the Stacy area, in the Down East section, from Smith Island, Maryland, in the late 1800s. This was apparently the first crab fishery

¹³⁵ Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, "Ports and Harbors," 621-22.

¹³⁶ *Pictorial Review of Morehead City*, 181.

¹³⁷ Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 231; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*; Sharpe, *A New Geography of North Carolina*, 44.

¹³⁸ The plant was demolished to construct Front Street Village, a resort subdivision. According to the current owners, the plant was the last menhaden factory in North Carolina. There is one left in the Chesapeake and one in Louisiana. A small remnant of the plant, a two-story and three-story section of heavy timber and steel construction, still stands. The metal and wood net wheel adjacent to this section is in good condition and will be preserved. Author interview with Bucky Oliver, construction supervisor, The Boathouse dry boat storage facility, June 23, 2011.

in North Carolina and is still important in the county today.¹³⁹ During moulting season, crabs were kept so that they could be harvested as soon as they shed their shells. By 1940 almost half of the commercial seafood catch had switched to shrimp and hard-shell crabs, the rest of the catch being fish.

To a certain extent the fisheries industry was segregated by race. Down East, the heart of the county's fisheries, was almost completely white. The North River was "almost a color line," with few African Americans living Down East, although a few commuted to work in the fish houses there.¹⁴⁰ This near total absence of African Americans Down East continues today. Perhaps because of a lack of choice, blacks were employed on menhaden boats and in menhaden factories along with whites. Those jobs were more unpleasant than working with food fish because of the noxious smell.

The large extent to which the Down East economy was based on seafood is revealed in the 1930 Census. Otway, Bettie, and the Straits-Gloucester area had large numbers of farmers, but Harkers Island, Smyrna, Davis, Stacy, Sea Level, Atlantic, and Cedar Island men mostly fished for a living. Bettie's approximately forty households were a mixture of farmers, fishermen, and carpenters. The seventy-some households in Otway were nearly all farmers and nearly all named Gillikin. In the Straits-Gloucester community of about sixty-six households, almost every man was a farmer.¹⁴¹

Harkers Island contained about 200 households by 1930, over ninety percent headed by fishermen who caught shad or oysters. The rest were boatmen, grocers, house builders, teachers, or servants in private houses. Walter and Dan Yeomans, Cape Lookout coast guardsmen, owned

¹³⁹ Morris, "Down East Community Tour."

¹⁴⁰ Sharpe, *A New Geography of North Carolina*, Vol. 1 (1954), 51.

¹⁴¹ U.S. Census, Carteret County, population schedule, 1930.

houses on Harkers Island in 1930. Their real estate was valued at \$1,500 and \$1,000 respectively, far higher than the average home value of \$200 to \$300. Smyrna's nearly one hundred heads of household included sailors, fishermen, a captain of a merchant ship, a deckhand on a tug boat, oyster dredge boat workers, a shipbuilder, a caulker at a shipyard, a boat carpenter, and a manager of a seafood company. All of the fishermen were soft-shell crabbers. The richest man in Smyrna was Joseph Fulford, a thirty-six-year-old marine engineer with property worth \$4,000. Over half of the men in Marshallberg's 132 households were described as fishing laborers or seafood laborers. The rest included some farmers, several tugboat captains, seafood dealers, and coast guardsmen. Marshallberg was a prosperous village. Warren Lewis, a farmer, and Martin Royal, a seafood dealer, both owned property valued at \$2,500. George Hancock, captain of a tug boat, had \$1,800 worth of real estate. Many of the men had real estate worth \$1,000, including Clyde Gillikin, a steamship captain, and Denard Lewis, the postmaster. Coast Guard captain Fred Gillikin's property was valued at \$1,500.¹⁴² The houses of Royal (CR1190), Lewis (CR1191), and Fred Gillikin (CR1175) are described in the domestic architecture section below.

About half of the approximately one hundred Davis and Williston households were headed by fishermen, the other half worked as oyster packers and dealers, grocers, house carpenters, truck farmers, a few teachers, a few Coast Guardsmen, and a few who were "keeper of club"—caretakers and fishing and hunting guides for private lodges. Forty-two year-old Denard Davis was listed as a house mover. Around seventy-five of the eighty-two households in Stacy were headed by fishermen; other occupations included crab dealer, boat builder, merchant, truck farmer, and teacher. Charles Brown (Charles Brown House CR1117), a forty-seven-year-

¹⁴² Ibid.

old from Maryland, was a crab packer and dealer who owned the most valuable real estate in Stacy, worth \$2,500. He had moved from Chesapeake, Maryland about 1920 to put his crab processing experience to work in the new crab fisheries industry in Carteret County. Carpenter Charlie Hamilton built Brown a house quite unlike the small traditional Down East house--a two-story hip-roofed house known as a Foursquare that contains four rooms on each level.¹⁴³

In Sea Level, the 111 households were all fishermen except for some enterprising seafood merchants, truck farmers, and freight boat captains. Norman Gaskill, age fifty-eight, owned a seafood market. Eugene Gaskill, age fifty-one, cooked on a freight boat and owned a grocery store. Fifty-seven-year-old John W. Rose and fifty-three-year-old Edward Willis were boat builders. Brothers Valentine and Maltby Taylor worked together, Valentine operating a grocery and Maltby captaining a freight boat. The town of Atlantic and its vicinity contained 147 households, mostly fishermen. The rest were merchants, teachers, Coast Guardsmen, and one boat builder, Ervin Roberson, age forty-five. Merchant J. H. Morris, age sixty-six, owned real estate of \$1,800. Grocer Carl Mason, age twenty-five, owned real estate worth \$5,000. On Cedar Island, over three-quarters of the seventy-two households were fishermen; the rest worked for the Coast Guard or were grocers or teachers.¹⁴⁴

The waters of the Down East region were one of the major waterfowl hunting areas in North Carolina from around 1870 to 1950. Sport hunting became popular shortly after the Civil War, particularly among wealthy northerners who formed hunting clubs in the county. Local men supplemented their incomes by providing professional services for the sportsmen as club caretakers, boat builders, hunting guides, and decoy makers.¹⁴⁵ The 1930 Census lists a number

¹⁴³ Author interview with owner Stewart Brown, grandson of Charles Brown, July 6, 2011.

¹⁴⁴ U.S. Census, Carteret County, population schedule, 1930.

¹⁴⁵ Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage* (1993), 9.

of Down East men who were working as “keepers of clubs” or as servants in private houses, probably in the capacity of caretakers. For example, Ammie Willis of Davis and Monroe Gaskill of Cedar Island were famous hunting guides for duck hunters in the Down East region in the early to mid-1900s. Private hunting lodges were constructed on the mainland and on the barrier islands in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. In addition to accommodating hunters and sport fishermen, the lodges served as retreats and places to entertain family and friends. The clubs and owners attained a high level of prominence and became an integral part of Carteret County's waterfowl heritage. Most of the lodges have been destroyed by time and the elements, but three are extant. The Humber House (CR1408), built ca. 1887 by Henry Parsons of Connecticut on Davis Island, is a two-story vernacular Queen Anne-style weatherboarded house, now enlarged, along with a caretaker's cottage, also enlarged. The Hog Island Clubhouse (CR1409) was built ca. 1947 out of recycled military barracks on Hog Island near Cedar Island. The Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge on Sheep Island (CR965, NR-2005) was also built of a recycled military barracks a few years after World War II.¹⁴⁶

The architecture and landscape that survive to document the commercial fishing industry of Down East consist of fish houses, menhaden processing plants, net houses, boat works and marine railways, and workboat harbors. The men who built the larger fish houses in the first half of the twentieth century were the county's leading businessmen, prospering financially and employing many workers. Unfortunately virtually all of the early twentieth-century fisheries structures and sites have disappeared, but a small number of fish houses, net houses where fishermen dried and stored their fishing nets, and seafood packing houses dating from the mid-twentieth century still stand, most Down East and a few along Bogue Sound and the Newport

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 13-16; Beth Keane, Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge National Register Nomination, N. C. Historic Preservation Office (2005).

River. The early buildings were of frame construction and have not survived. One of the largest fish houses in the county was Valentine and Maltby Taylor's oyster cannery (demolished) in Sea Level, which operated from about 1910 to 1930. No known photograph of the cannery has survived, but it was likely a long, low wooden building. Between seventy-five and one hundred workers were employed there canning "Core Sound Brand Oysters" and shipping them to Norfolk and Beaufort for transfer to northern markets.¹⁴⁷

Beginning in the 1940s, construction techniques for larger seafood plants shifted to concrete slab floors and concrete block walls. All of the later twentieth-century fish houses have similar forms and construction materials: concrete block walls, gabled roofs, and wooden sash or metal casement windows. The interior generally consists of a large undivided space with concrete floors, exposed concrete block walls, and a roof open to the roof trusses. A small office space is usually in a corner, with an exterior entrance. A few fish houses were frame-constructed with metal siding; recently constructed buildings are generally of prefabricated steel and metal construction. Fish houses generally abut the shoreline with a concrete loading dock set above a retaining wall along the waterfront. Often a small electric crane sits on the loading dock to aid in loading and unloading cargo. Larger fish houses consist of multiple buildings for processing and packing seafood. The all-important ice house, where electric generators produce ice, is often a separate building. Larger fish houses may have docks and jetties that extend into the water to create a small workboat harbor. These resources, which occupied choice shorefront locations, have been the most threatened by resort and retirement developments in the past several decades.

Two of the biggest seafood packers in the county in the second half of the twentieth century were Clayton Fulcher and Luther Smith & Son, whose mid-twentieth-century plants are

¹⁴⁷ Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 226.

both located on the shore of Core Sound in Atlantic. The Clayton Fulcher Seafood plant is located on Atlantic Harbor, a three or four block area that is protected by bulkheads. In order to encourage commercial fishing during the Depression, the U.S. government built several fisheries buildings here. These were demolished in the 1950s when Fulcher purchased the property and built concrete block buildings edged by a long dock. One section of the plant was used as a shrimp heading building, where a primarily female work force headed shrimp and iced them down with large blocks of ice delivered on a conveyor belt. Fulcher's operation was so successful that he soon built a second plant (CR1228), a smaller concrete-block version of his Atlantic operation, at the end of South Ferry Dock Road on Harkers Island.¹⁴⁸ Both the Atlantic and Harkers Island businesses have closed. Luther Smith and Sons Seafood Plant (CR999) was established further west on the Atlantic harbor about 1950. The main concrete block building has an office in the front corner, with a secondary office in an upper story frame addition at one end. The Smith plant is still in operation.¹⁴⁹

Other successful Down East seafood dealers were Elmer D. Willis in Williston and the Lewises in Davis. About 1939 Elmer D. Willis built the Willis Brothers Seafood (CR1155), on Highway 70 on Core Sound at the Williston Creek Bridge in Williston. The large concrete block and frame complex of one and two stories stretches along the shoreline on a narrow strip of land bounded on the other side by Highway 70. By the 1950s Willis employed nearly everyone in Williston in some capacity. His first specialty was clam processing. When he obtained the contract to be the sole supplier of clams for Heinz Clam Chowder, he was so successful that eventually one hundred women were shucking clams at his plant. Willis later went into scallops

¹⁴⁸ Author interview with Winston Hunter Hill, May 2, 2011.

¹⁴⁹ Author interview with the son of the current owner, April 28, 2011.

and invented a scallop shucking machine that enabled him to open up a scallop business out of Cape Canaveral, Florida. Willis raised clams in a clam bed in front of the Williston plant and shipped many of them to Cleveland, Ohio, where clams were very popular. A grocery store, a post office, a sweet potato processing plant, and a boatworks also operated at the seafood plant during its heyday from the 1940s to the 1970s. Jarrett's Bay Boat Builders, the largest boatworks in Carteret County at the present time, traces its origins to the boatworks located beside Willis Brothers Seafood.¹⁵⁰

The harbor in Davis, located at the Oyster Creek inlet into Core Sound, is said to be the only deep harbor between Beaufort and Cedar Island. James Lewis operated an oyster house here in the 1920s to 1930s, in the days of sailing sharpies. In the 1940s Dallas Salter built his one-story side-gabled, metal-sided machine shop (CR1124) here and repaired many of the boat motors that plied Core Sound. A boatworks that built shrimp trawlers also stood here. In 1962 James's son sold the business to James Paul Lewis, who opened a crab processing plant here. In 1998 a tornado destroyed four of Lewis's buildings and the plant closed. The only Davis fish house that survives, the Luther Lewis & Son plant, is a concrete block building constructed in the 1980s for crab packing. The Salter Machine Shop is now used for storage.¹⁵¹

At Sea Level, where the Taylors once operated their large oyster cannery, Maltby Taylor's sons Alfred, Leslie, William, and Daniel developed a food brokerage business in the 1920s that became the West India Fruit and Steamship Company, an international conglomerate with headquarters in Norfolk and West Palm Beach. After World War II they shipped bananas by boat from Havana to West Palm Beach and then by freight rail around the United States, making

¹⁵⁰ Author interview with Nancy Lewis, daughter of Elmer Willis, July 13, 2011.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. James Paul Lewis's wife Nancy Lewis now operates a crabcake business here.

a fortune. At one point they owned the Palm Beach Biltmore Hotel. Their philanthropy benefitted Sea Level by the construction of the Sea Level Hospital in 1953 (the first and only hospital Down East). In the late 1970s the brothers convinced Sailors Snug Harbor, a retirement home in New York City for those who worked on commercial and naval vessels, to relocate to Sea Level. Many older Down East citizens now live in the architecturally attractive shorefront retirement home.¹⁵² Two small fish houses still operate in Sea Level. In 1937, The T.A. Taylor & Sons Seafood business (CR1038) erected a frame building on Nelson Bay where soft-shell crabs were packed and shipped. Sons Tilmon and Harry Taylor replaced the building with a large side-gabled frame and concrete block building about 1970. There is no longer a fishing fleet based here; the operation now consists of wholesale bait sales.¹⁵³ Monroe Taylor built his small frame fish house (CR1043) at the mouth of Cedar Creek, on Styron Bay, about 1960. Current owner Carlyle Gilgo, who married Monroe's niece, recently refurbished the building and continues the business.¹⁵⁴

On Harkers Island, as recently as the late 1980s four fish houses were in operation: Ellis Yeomans's, Wallace Garner's, Clayton Fulcher's, and Jackie Willis's. The Fulcher fish house, the previously mentioned annex of the Fulcher operation in Atlantic, is closed. The Garner and Willis fish houses have been demolished. Ellis Yeomans's fish house in the 900 block of Island Road, on the sound, still stands but is now closed after fifty years of operation. In the 1960s he replaced his older fish house on this site with a scallop house (CR1227). The rear (south) half of the narrow front-gabled frame building is built on creosoted pilings that are under water at high tide. The interior plywood walls are visible between the exposed studs. Four-pane casement

¹⁵² Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 244; author interview with Jack Goodwin, May 5, 2011.

¹⁵³ Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 234; author interview with Jack Goodwin.

¹⁵⁴ Author interview with Carlyle Gilgo, owner, May 5, 2011

windows illuminate the side elevations. Inside are built-in cabinets along the side walls with clay drain pipes for the scallop operation. A small front-gabled sales shop and office extends from the north end.¹⁵⁵

The county's largest fish house still in operation is the Roger W. Jones Fish Company (CR1288), 354 Broad Creek Loop Road in the Broad Creek community on Bogue Sound. Roger Jones grew up in Broad Creek and erected the earliest buildings of frame in 1950 along a canal that he created by dynamiting the ground to allow the water to rush in. Beginning in the 1970s Jones gradually replaced most of the frame buildings with the present complex of concrete block, gabled-roof buildings that include a scallop building, a freezer building, an office, and a concrete loading dock. While earlier fish dealers on Bogue Sound were wholesale buyers only, Roger Jones owned his own boats, kept his own fishing crews, owned his packing, shipping, and buying facilities, and sold both wholesale and retail. Jones's seafood products were primarily clams, scallops, and finfish in the past; he now moults soft-shell crabs once a year in April, sells a small quantity of conch meat, and operates two large scallop trawlers that dredge off the coast from New Jersey to Maine. At one time the business employed a number of local women to open scallops and pack various types of seafood, but these tasks are now done aboard the trawlers on location in the open sea and the shellfish are sold to wholesale dealers in the area where they are caught.¹⁵⁶

Three other small, twentieth-century fish houses are still standing in Carteret County: Dudley Fish House (CR980), 2714 Cedar Island Road, Cedar Island; the J. D. Weeks shrimp

¹⁵⁵ Author interview with Sara Willis, daughter of Ellis Yeomans. The fish house is for sale. August 3, 2011; *Island Born and Bred* (1987), 184.

¹⁵⁶ Author interview with Roger Jones Sr. and Roger Jones Jr., Sept. 22, 2011. Roger Jones Sr. was initiated into the Order of the Longleaf Pine in 2010 for his contributions to the economy and culture of Carteret County. He still runs the business, with help from his sons Roger Jr. and Charles Jones; Dudley, *Newport: A Town with Old-Fashioned Courtesy* (2010), 283.

house (CR1277), on the Newport River in Crab Point; and Cannon Seafood, (CR1068), in South River. The Dudley Fish House is located on a small harbor dug by the state in the mid-twentieth century for the fishermen of Cedar Island. The harbor was restored after the devastation caused by Hurricane Ophelia in 2005. Bobby Dudley built the small front-gabled frame building with galvanized metal siding about 1980. His son-in-law Johnnie Styron now owns it and operates the business as a cooperative with several other fishermen who sell clams, shrimp, fish, and crab wholesale.¹⁵⁷ J. D. Weeks built his one-story side-gabled shrimp house with asbestos-shingled walls and a front-gabled sales room with a false front in the mid-1900s behind his small house. This business is closed. Cannon Seafood operates out of three small gabled-roof frame buildings, covered with 5-V galvanized metal, at a landing on the South River.¹⁵⁸

Atlantic, Davis, Harkers Island, and Marshallberg are the principal historic harbors where working boats docked Down East. Although the region is bordered by waterways, there are very few naturally-occurring deep-water harbors. An historic plaque erected beside the Marshallberg Harbor reads, in part: “The Marshallberg Harbor was established under the 1950 Harbor Act of the 81st Congress and completed by the Corps of Engineers in 1957. The harbor was built for the small boat owners of Marshallberg and transient boaters. Since that time it has been administered by the Marshallberg Community Club Inc.” Prior to the 1950s, boat owners moored their vessels along the shoreline of Core Sound or in Sleepy Creek. The Army Corps excavated a portion of the small marshy creek to create a large rectangular harbor with a bulkhead along Marshallberg Road. A series of wooden docks extends along the north and south sides. Approximately thirty boats, primarily workboats, are currently moored in the harbor. At the western end is a large

¹⁵⁷ Author interview with Johnnie Styron, current owner, April 27, 2011. The only other fish house is Quality Seafood, built about 2000.

¹⁵⁸ Author interview with Jake Carraway, June 10, 2011.

bulkheaded slip that appears to date from the 1950s. This is a harbor of refuge, a nautical term for a harbor where boats can be brought for safety under severe weather advisories.¹⁵⁹

Net spreads and net houses, facilities for drying and storing fishing nets, whether seine, pound, gill, or other types of nets, have been necessary for fishermen throughout the county's history. Until the early 1900s all nets were made by hand, usually by community women, and were prized possessions. Nets stretched out to dry along the shore were known as "net spreads," and old photographs show how carefully the nets were handled. Midgette Net and Twine Company of Beaufort bought a surplus World War II barracks at Atlantic Field about 1948, moved it into Atlantic, and converted it into a factory (CR1001) to produce nets for basketball goals. Older women who had made fishing nets crocheted the nets out of twine, sometimes working at home.¹⁶⁰ The building has been converted to apartments. Another domestic county industry was making cork floats for the nets. Net houses were small frame buildings adjacent to boat docks where fishermen stored their nets out of season. Two mid-twentieth century small gabled-roof net houses stand in the Cedar Island area: at 2806 Cedar Island Road, Cedar Island, (CR989); and on Highway 12, one-half mile south of the Cedar Island Bridge (CR996).

Boatbuilding has been a significant industry in the county since the eighteenth century: a shipyard existed on Harker's Island as early as 1752. The majority of the boats constructed were relatively small vessels. The mammoth trunks of the plentiful longleaf pine trees from the region's forests supplied the raw materials. Small fishing boats have been constructed Down East of heart pine, juniper and cypress since the 1700s. The most popular workboat Down East in the late 1800s and early 1900s was a sailing craft called a sharpie. The flat bottom boat with a long

¹⁵⁹ Marshallberg Harbor historic plaque; author interview with Keith Willis, grandson of Mildon Lewis, July 14, 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Author interview with Elmo Gaskill, April 29, 2011.

narrow hull, usually a round stern, and generally two masts, originated in New England and was introduced into North Carolina at Beaufort in 1875. These utilitarian craft were well-suited to the shallow water and winds of the sounds. Williston, Smyrna, Atlantic, and Sea Level were the boat building centers for sharpies. Seventy-eight sailing vessels were built in Smyrna between 1872 and 1907 by some twenty-eight boatbuilders. Seven boatbuilders built thirty sailing vessels in Straits between 1865 and 1901. When gasoline-powered motors were introduced in the 1910s, sailing sharpies were sometimes converted to run with steam or gas.¹⁶¹

Two of the most famous Down East boatbuilders were Mildon W. Willis (b. 1886) of Marshallberg and Ambrose Fulcher (1865-1952) of Atlantic. Willis worked during the mid-1900s in a shop on Sleepy Creek in Marshallberg. The business is still operated by his descendants, but the boat shed was replaced with a metal prefabricated building in the first decade of the present century. Fulcher was the primary boatbuilder for the Core Sound area, building over 1,000 boats during his long career. He specialized in the hulls, while his son-in-law Ervin Roberson built the cabins. Fulcher's workboats were preferred for long-haul fishing, a form of haul-seining in which several boats and skiffs maneuver a huge net to corral the fish in shallow water into a small area where they can be bailed up into the boat. This shallow sound fishing was practiced in the northeast end of Down East. The term "long-haul" refers to fishing trips that lasted a week at a time, and Fulcher's tall cabins were comfortable for a crew.

Fishermen in the southwest end of Down East, around Harkers Island, were sink net fishermen who took day trips in the inlet around Cape Lookout and in the ocean. Brady Lewis is credited with constructing the first fishing boat with the "Harkers Island flare" in 1926 at his

¹⁶¹ Michael B. Alford, Hampton Mariner's Museum, entry in Davis and Hamilton, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 35; research by Sonny Williamson on website of Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Heritage Center, www.coresound.com, accessed December 31, 2011; Morris, "Down East Community Tour."

boatworks on Harkers Island. This type of fishing boat has a deep hull with a flared bow that throws water away from the bow when riding at high speeds in choppy waters. The cabin is low and there is more room aft to work the nets. Harkers Island boats are used for trawling, shrimping, dredging, and recreational fishing.¹⁶²

Much of the boat building in the county took place outdoors, in back yards beside waterways. The larger boatworks operated in frame sheds. The frame shops that housed the historic boatworks on Harkers Island, including Rose Brothers, Lewis Brothers, and Alex Willis Boat Construction Company, have been replaced with recently constructed steel and metal warehouses.

Marine railways where boats could be hauled out of the water for repair work were located at shore locations throughout the county. Three mid-twentieth century boat repair shops were identified during the inventory and are the oldest boat facilities extant in the county. Whether of wood or steel framework, each has the same form: the boat is hauled on the rails through a large opening into a tall rectangular shed, flanked by lower sheds for the storage of machinery and supplies. Straits Marine Railway (CR1196) in Gloucester, one of the last marine railways Down East, was built in 1962 by Lloyd Pigott on a canal dug several hundred feet inland from The Straits. Pigott installed two sets of rails with electric motors that could haul boats as long as fifty-five feet out of the water for repair work. He created the boat shed out of an old chicken coop. The three-bay front-gabled structure has a two-story center bay supported by four telephone poles, and flanking one-story bays containing equipment and workbenches. The floor is dirt, and a variety of window types illuminate the interior space. At each end of the

¹⁶² Lawrence Earley, *Workboats of Core Sound*, photo exhibit catalogue (2007), 3; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 551.

central space are tall doors that allow for the entrance of large boats. Lloyd's son Mack operated the boatyard for many years, and Mack's son Lloyd is the current owner. At the time when this facility was surveyed, a large wooden long-net boat with curved sides (apparently built in Harker's Island) was being repaired.¹⁶³

Warren Taylor established a boatworks (CR1258) about 1963 on the shore of Peltier Creek west of Morehead City. A pair of steel rails, similar to railroad rails, extends from the shore into the two-story tall rectangular prefabricated steel frame building with corrugated metal siding and a fiberglass roof with skylights. The boat is driven onto bilge blocks and hooked to an electric winch which does the hauling. A small prefab frame, front-gabled building located in front of the boatworks serves as the office. Ten years later he built another boatworks a short distance away (CR1257) that has a marine railway extending into the same type of building with a wood frame and a gabled truss roof over the boat bay, and flanking one-story sheds for storage of boat parts and equipment. On the day of the survey, the *Ruth*, a wooden trawler built by Ambrose Fulcher of Atlantic in 1930, was being restored.¹⁶⁴

Agriculture

During the first half of the twentieth century, most of the county's citizens not occupied with seafood lived on farms. Many of these were subsistence farms, but a number of farms in central Carteret County around Newport and Crab Point produced cotton, corn, cattle, and vegetables as cash products. Harlowe continued to be a fertile farming community. In 1930 over three-quarters of the seventy households in the township were either farmers, farm laborers, or tenant farmers. Elderly farmers in Harlowe included J. Harry Davis, Samuel Connor, Elijah D.

¹⁶³ Author interview with owner Lloyd Pigott, Aug. 2, 2011; Jack Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 57.

¹⁶⁴ Author interview with John McCallum, Sept. 8, 2011.

Hardesty, and Ray Dickinson. Raymond and George Ball, who moved to Harlowe from South River in Carteret County ca. 1920, were among the first farmers in the county to use modern cultivation equipment, such as tractors, and modern synthetic fertilizers to raise their crops, especially Irish potatoes. They established a large farm along the east side of the Harlowe Canal that was distinguished throughout the county for the progressive equipment and farming methods which they employed. In 1927 they built substantial, identical bungalow farmhouses for themselves on Ball Farm Road (CR1211 and CR1213).¹⁶⁵ In 1930 each brother's half of the farm was valued at \$3,000. The brothers employed a number of migrant workers, housed in low buildings, now gone, that stood to the rear of their farmhouses.

One well-known Down East farmer of the early 1900s was O. W. Lewis of Otway. In 1894 he built a large two-story cross-gabled farmhouse on his farm (CR1240) along Highway 70 near Ward's Creek. Lewis, the richest man in Otway, operated a general store next door and had a salt house for fish (both buildings are gone). His potato house is a sizeable rectangular one-story frame building with a sliding warehouse door, metal siding, and several square windows with shutters.¹⁶⁶

Sweet potatoes were an important crop Down East in the early twentieth century, and the sweet potato curing house an important outbuilding. The only one identified in the inventory is a large gabled frame outbuilding on a brick foundation with a system of flues in front of the Jarvis-McGee House (CR1205) in Straits, built by Guy McGee.

¹⁶⁵ Author interview with David Cecelski, August 10, 2011. David's great-aunt was the wife of George Ball. Interview with owners Conrad and Terry Beeson, Sept. 5, 2011; author interview with current owner William Riggs, Sept. 5, 2011.

¹⁶⁶ Author interview with Oliver (Gary) Block, current owner, August 11, 2011; author interview with Martin Rose, Otway, August 11, 2001.

The fertile land in the Crab Point area encouraged the development of large farms in the late 1800s. At that time the Oglesby family from the Wildwood community purchased a large tract of land in Crab Point Neck, along the Newport River north of Morehead City, and built a small farmhouse, located at 725 Mill Point Lane (CR1271). By 1930 elderly brothers David S. and John W. Oglesby's adjacent farms were each valued at \$15,000. The one-and-one-half-story house was remodeled in 1943 to its present form, a Carolina cottage with an integral front porch. The Oglesbys grew tobacco and "lowland" produce, including potatoes, cabbage, and string beans, which they sold by the truckload. They stopped truck farming in 1978, stopped growing tobacco in the 1990s, and currently raise corn and soy beans.

Eight outbuildings on the Oglesby Farm still stand along Country Club Road, one of the largest collections of farm buildings surviving in the county. The 1920s gambrel-roof frame barn housed mules in the lower level and had hay and corn storage in the capacious upper level. Other buildings include a one-story side-gabled frame and concrete block milking barn built about 1920; a concrete-block gambrel-roof shop built in 1963; two mid-twentieth century vehicle sheds; and three early twentieth-century tenant houses. The oldest and most interesting is "Aunt Caroline's House," a small one-story side-gabled house, two bays wide and one bay deep, with weatherboard walls and six-over-six sash windows. Originally located further to the east, the house was the residence of Aunt Caroline, the African American servant of the Oglesby family. After her death in the early twentieth century, her house was moved up to the road, raised on a high brick foundation, fitted with batten doors and an open shed, and converted to a packhouse.

About 1930 the Oglesbys incorporated the property along the Newport River, where Mill Point Road now stands, into their farm. A big sawmill had operated at the point earlier in the century. To the west of the Oglesby farm lies the Laughton Farm, also established in the late

1800s. John R. Lawton (Laughton)'s farm was valued at \$23,000 in 1930. The Laughtons and Oglesbys intermarried and many of their descendants inhabit the area to this day.¹⁶⁷

South of Merrimon, the huge inaccessible pocosin covering most of the area north of Highway 70 between the North River and the South River was described in state directories since the 1800s as the Open Ground. In 1936 a visionary woman named Georgina P. Yeatman purchased 25,000 acres of it and established Open Ground Farm, the largest farm in the county and one of the largest in North Carolina. Yeatman, a Pennsylvanian, was one of the first women architects in Pennsylvania and the first registered woman architect in North Carolina. The only building in the state that she designed was her farmhouse, an old house that she expanded. It was demolished shortly before the 2011 survey.¹⁶⁸ She expanded her acreage to 44,000 acres in succeeding decades and dug canals to drain the land for cattle pasture and forage crops, but apparently did not grow other types of crops. In 1974 she sold all but about 300 acres to an Italian agribusiness, Open Grounds Farm, Inc., and lived on her remaining 300 acres until her death in 1982. Open Grounds Farm, Inc., now operates a model farm growing soybeans, corn, and cattle on three-quarters of the property; the remainder is left in its natural state.¹⁶⁹

The countryside around Newport was rich farm land during the first half of the century. A dairy farm operated by the Garner family on the edge of Newport has been developed into residential areas, but the large farmhouse, a weatherboarded I-House (CR1327) with a two-story front porch built about 1910, stands along North Church Street. An early 1900s brick milk barn and a large wooden shed remain to the rear.¹⁷⁰ Another locally prominent farm in the Newport

¹⁶⁷ Author interview with Bobby Oglesby, Sept. 21, 2011.

¹⁶⁸ www.trianglemodernisthouses.com/ncwomen.htm; author interview with Open Ground staff person, March 2011.

¹⁶⁹ Jack Dudley, *Beaufort: An Album of Memories* 2004), 266-267; <http://southeastfarmpress.com/precision-ag-helps-open-grounds-maintain-soil-fertility-levels>, accessed 3/11/2011.

¹⁷⁰ Author interview with Tina Barnott, owner, Oct. 4, 2011,

vicinity was that of Cecil Mason, on Masontown Road. Mason's farm (CR1348) was bisected by the Highway 70 bypass around Newport in the late 1960s and the 1930s farmhouse burned in 2010, but four 1930s farm buildings have survived: a chicken house, pack house, tobacco barn, and shed, along with a grape arbor and a pecan orchard. The weatherboard chicken house has four-pane casement windows and a shed roof that overhangs along the front. The two-story packhouse has a side-gable roof, a central runway, and an open shed to the side. The tall gabled tobacco barn has a grading shed on two sides. The Major and Sadie Simmons property (CR1344: barns, CR1345: house) on Masontown Road contains the largest group of tobacco barns documented in the county-- three tall gabled barns with grading sheds built about 1925. Their weatherboarded smokehouse, with two front batten doors sheltered by a pent roof, and a board-and-batten pack house, with a two-story front-gabled central section and flanking shed-roofed wings, are also still standing.¹⁷¹

Farms along Bogue Sound were and are still known for "Bogue Sound melons" because the sandy soil produces large sweet cantalopes. Highway 24 through Cedar Point had many produce stands in the mid-twentieth century, selling Bogue Sound melons, sweet potatoes, and other fruit and vegetables, but most of them disappeared when the highway was widened in the late 1900s. The Winberry produce stand is still in operation. In 1940, when the Camp Lejeune Marine Base was constructed in nearby Onslow County, the Winberry family farm was condemned and taken for the base. The Winberrys bought a parcel of land in Cedar Point, on Highway 24 across from the Octagon House, and established a small tobacco farm. They built a front-gabled one-story bungalow (CR1359) as their house. Their two large tobacco barns beside the house are said to have been moved from the farm in Onslow County to this site. The tall

¹⁷¹Author interview with Carolyn Simmons, Oct. 6, 2011.

barns have asphalt siding and wraparound grading sheds. In recent years the Winberrys converted the larger barn into Winberry Farm Produce stand; the grading shed works well for displaying their produce.¹⁷²

Lumbering

The lumber industry was important for Carteret County from the earliest days of settlement in the eighteenth century until the early twentieth century. In the late 1800s sawmills were scattered throughout the county in Beaufort, Stella, Newport, and Sea Level, but Merrimon was a particularly booming lumber area.¹⁷³ Merrimon Township, a peninsula in northeastern Carteret County, was part of Craven County until 1885 when it was ceded to Carteret. All trade in the Merrimon/South River area was to Oriental and New Bern, since Beaufort was accessible only by boat until the 1920s. A number of lumber companies timbered in the township in the late 1800s and early 1900s, setting up sawmills and bringing a temporary commercial boom to the isolated area of small farms that created the communities of South River and Merrimon. Farmers sold their woodland to companies such as Bates Lumber Company and Roper Lumber Company. By 1948 pulp wood companies were lumbering on a large scale and had exhausted the area by 1971. Since then, replanting has replenished the area and pulpwood lumbering is still being done.¹⁷⁴

In 1901 W. E. Lukens of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, built Lukens Sawmill on the west side of South River, where a small settlement known as Lukens grew up. Loggers transported the logs to the mill by oxen or rafted them on the river. Lumber was sawn and shipped by sailboat or barge to Oriental or New Bern where it was shipped out by train. The sawmill operated until

¹⁷² Author interview with Renee Winberry, owner, Oct. 18, 2011.

¹⁷³ *North Carolina Yearbook & Business Directory* (1915).

¹⁷⁴ Carraway, *South River: A Local History from Turnagin Bay to Adams Creek* (1994), page unknown.

1912 when most of the timber in the area had been cut. Although the only access was by boat, the village of twenty-six families prospered until World War II. During the war, many men went away into military service or moved away for better jobs. When the village school closed in 1945 due to consolidation, the community was abandoned.¹⁷⁵

Lumbering, like fishing, tended to deplete the resources in a particular area after some years. Just as fishermen followed the schools of fish or beds of shellfish from one season to another or year to another, lumbermen moved when the mill closed or the timber harvest finished. Fishermen moved their houses to follow the fish in the nineteenth century; other county people had a similar tendency to move and recycle older houses. The tradition of moving and recycling buildings was true of many places, but it was most prevalent in coastal areas. Because people were so accustomed to moving boats through the water, the idea of moving houses (especially because they could be moved considerable distances fairly easily on boats and barges) seemed an extension of the same concept. On Ocracoke Island and at Cape Lookout, wrecked ships were scavenged for every scrap of lumber and other materials that were used to repair and build new structures. People who live on the water are beachcombers, putting whatever washes ashore to new uses.

Many of the Merrimon and South River houses were moved from elsewhere, from the mill camp of Lukens across South River or from the Winthrop Mill on the Neuse River in Merrimon. Perhaps twenty percent of houses surveyed in the county were moved from other locations. When the lumber mill village of Lukens disbanded after World War II, some residents dismantled their houses and carried the pieces by boat to their new places of settlement and rebuilt; others purchased the abandoned houses from their owners and moved them whole.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 78, 145-148.

Newlyweds Jake and Dollie Carraway bought their house in Lukens for \$100 in 1948. Jake and his brother took it apart and loaded every part, even the porch posts, onto a skiff and put it back together at 1397 South River Road in the South River community. The one-story five-room, side-gabled house (CR1064) contains a central living room, flanking dining room and bedroom, and a small bedroom and kitchen flanking a center recessed porch in the rear, a variation of the county's traditional house plan. Another recorded example of a moved dwelling is the one-story, front-gabled Craftsman-style house that Paul Cahoon and his wife Lottie moved on a boat, intact, in 1948 from Lukens to its present site at 1392 South River Road (CR1066).¹⁷⁶

Not all the residents of Merrimon and South River lived in recycled houses; the abundant timber and economic stimulation brought by the lumber industry enabled some to build substantial homes. Local farmer Abram Lee operated a sawmill known as Winthrop Mills on Adams Creek from the 1880s to 1912, when he and his family moved to New Bern. A large vernacular Colonial Revival-style house (CR1053) was built about 1912 on the east shore of Adams Creek, at the mouth of the Neuse River, on Lee's farm, likely by Luke Smallwood.¹⁷⁷ The house has been remodeled and enlarged, but its wraparound, columned porch, wide center hall, and pressed-tin ceilings, still in place, represent a more stylish and upper class life style than the small traditional houses of the local families. Dula Salter's house (CR1058) also reflects the turn-of-the-century timber prosperity. Salter (1875-1958), one of the wealthiest men in Merrimon, bought a house from Winthrop Mills when it closed down about 1912, dismantled it, and built this house in 1913 from the salvaged lumber. The I-House with a two-story rear ell had a double pedimented entrance porch (now altered) and a spacious center hall plan. Salter operated a store on Jonaquin Creek in front of his house and ran a freight boat across the Neuse

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 73-75, 78, 145; author interview with Jake and Dollie Carraway, June 19, 2011.

¹⁷⁷ Carraway, *South River: A Local History from Turnagin Bay to Adams Creek* (1993), 102.

River to New Bern, carrying beef and hog meat to sell in the market town and returning with flour, sugar, and other provisions to sell in his store.

Most of Merrimon township's nineteenth-century houses, recalled today by locals as "shacks," were replaced after 1900. Another reason for the low survival rate of houses in the township is the severe hurricanes that regularly devastated the area. The Great Storm of 1933, a 105-mile-per-hour hurricane, caused a storm tide of sixteen feet above normal at Merrimon which destroyed all but the largest and sturdiest houses in the community and drowned four people in their houses. At South River only three houses were left standing. One of them is the small one-and one-half-story side-gabled, single-pile house built for John Mason (CR1072) about 1900 on the shore of Big Creek, at its confluence with the South River. Another that survived the storm is the Lafayette Cannon House (CR1065), 1378 South River Road, a one-and-one-half-story side-gabled house built about 1905 on one of the highest spots in the community. During the storm more than fifty people survived by taking refuge in the house and remained there for some time afterward, being fed by the Red Cross.¹⁷⁸

In the 1920s and 1930s the Merrimon Methodist congregation purchased one acre on Merrimon Road for a new church. In typical salvage mode, they moved a nineteenth-century church (CR0596) by barge across Adams Creek to their new lot. A decade later they moved the late nineteenth-century Merrimon Academy (CR1088) a short distance to the church grounds for use as an annex.

¹⁷⁸ Williamson, *Killer Storms* (2008), 34-39; Carraway, *South River*, 162; Ruth Little interview with Dollie Carraway, June 19, 2011).

Public Projects of the Great Depression

Carteret County benefitted from several public and private improvement projects during the Depression era of the 1930s. In the early 1930s, the old lifesaving stations at Cape Lookout, Fort Macon, and Bogue Inlet were replaced with U. S. Coast Guard Stations. The Fort Macon station was demolished in 1965 to construct the present station.¹⁷⁹ The Bogue Inlet Coast Guard Station (CR1407) continues to operate in the 1939 station, a Colonial Revival-style two-and-one-half-story building facing the inlet. The five-bay-wide building has three gabled dormers on both slopes of its side-gable roof, a square hip-roof three-story corner tower, and a one-story porch with heavy beaded wooden posts around three sides.¹⁸⁰

A large portion of Carteret County's western pocosin and pine forests, as well as contiguous areas in Craven and Jones counties, were purchased by the federal government in the mid-1930s for reforestation experiments and designated in 1936 as the Croatan National Forest. In Carteret County the forest includes most of the Newport, Stella, and Hadnot Creek U.S. Geological Survey quadrangles, each containing forty-nine square miles. This unique watershed was not suited for agriculture, but its lakes provided plentiful bird hunting locations. One of the most famous hunters was the legendary Babe Ruth, who visited a hunting camp in the forest several times in the 1930s. By the early 2000s the forest had grown with additional purchases to total 159,000 acres.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Dudley, *Bogue Banks: A Look Back* (2009), 22-23.

¹⁸⁰ The station has undergone a renovation with vinyl siding and windows and a renovated interior. The boat house, a large rectangular wing with a pyramidal hip roof, gabled dormers, and large boat access doors, has vinyl siding and windows as well. Until the last decade, the station operated only in the summer season, but it is now staffed year-round.

¹⁸¹ Dudley, *Newport: The Town with Old-Fashioned Courtesy* (2010); Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 313-314.

Another Depression-era project that stimulated the county economically was Duke University's construction of the Duke Marine Laboratory (CR1103) in Beaufort in 1938. Beaufort had been a resort for marine biologists since the 1860s, but there was no permanent biological station in the town until 1902, when the U. S. Government completed the Bureau of Fisheries and Biological Station on Piver's Island, a small island in the Beaufort Channel just west of the town of Beaufort. The Bureau of Fisheries consisted of a rambling two-story shingled building of Colonial Revival style, with flanking three-story towers and wings with encircling double porches, along with various laboratory buildings and structures. It was demolished in the 1950s.¹⁸² In 1938 Duke University built a marine laboratory on the south end of the island, adjacent to the Fisheries Station, for the purpose of providing laboratory and classroom space for its marine studies program. Duke first constructed a laboratory-classroom building, a boathouse and dock, and three dormitories that face a central quadrangle. Further construction produced the dining hall/caretaker's apartment (1939) at the west end of the quadrangle, the resident investigator's house (1949), and another research laboratory (1949). The one-story buildings have wood-shingled walls and deep gable-on-hip roofs, symmetrical facades, hipped-roof entrance porches on the dormitories, and bracketed hoods over the laboratory entrances. They have a New England summer camp appearance and were likely designed by an architect. At the east end on the water stands the largest building--the boat house--a wide hip-roofed building with a central open arched passageway surmounted by a cupola. The quadrangle in front of it saw intensive use as an athletic ground for evening sports. Two hip-roofed research labs, covered with asbestos

¹⁸² National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) has its station on this site presently.

shingled walls and metal casement windows, were constructed in the 1950s further to the south. In the early 1960s an oceanographic program with a research ship was established here.¹⁸³

The North Carolina Maritime Museum began in the 1930s under the North Carolina Conservation and Development agency and the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service on the site of the present-day Civic Center in Morehead City, in a building that is now gone.¹⁸⁴ The museum later moved to Beaufort, where its primary facility, built in the 1980s, is on Front Street and a secondary facility is located on Gallant's Channel at the north end of Beaufort.

Fort Macon State Park, the first state park in North Carolina, was created during the Depression. The federal government had donated the antebellum brick fort at the eastern tip of Bogue Banks to the state in 1924. The Civilian Conservation Corps restored the fort in the early 1930s and in 1934 the Works Progress Administration built a road from Atlantic Beach to Fort Macon. The park opened to the public in 1936. In the early 1940s a public beach with a small frame bathhouse (in the form of a Carolina cottage) and a parking lot was established at the park to provide a facility for swimming and surf fishing.¹⁸⁵

World War II in Carteret County

Carteret County benefitted enormously from government projects in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the effects of World War II had the biggest impact of all during the twentieth century, not only economically but socially and culturally. Atlantic Field, Davis Shore Army Camp, and Bogue Marine Corps Field in Carteret County and Cherry Point Marine Air

¹⁸³ Author interview with Belinda Williford, administrative assistant to the director, Duke Marine Lab, June 21, 2011; John W. Reintjes, "A Brief History of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Biological Laboratory, Beaufort, N. C.," no date.

¹⁸⁴ Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 820.

¹⁸⁵ Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 462; Dudley, *Bogue Banks: A Look Back* (2009), 34. See documentary photo of bath house on page 35.

Station in neighboring Craven County, all built during World War II, provided a tremendous economic stimulus. Furthermore, the war not only sent the county's young men away to serve in the military (nearly all Down East men who served joined the U. S. Coast Guard), but brought to the military bases outsiders who often married local girls and introduced new surnames and cultures into the tightly homogenous traditional Carteret County culture.

Atlantic Field, an outlying Marine Air Corps airport, was built a short distance northwest of Atlantic in 1943. A small Army base was also built near Atlantic, along with a Navy dock for crash boats that rescued downed pilots and shipwrecks. During this era the population in Atlantic quickly doubled to about 1,000.¹⁸⁶ Wives and children of the Marines, Navy, and Army personnel moved into any quarters they could find in the Atlantic vicinity. Dozens of small Craftsman-style dwellings built to meet the housing shortage remain throughout the village. After the war, marine barracks and warehouses were moved into Atlantic and recycled as gas stations, restaurants, and other uses. At 953 Seashore Drive, the frame building known as Sterling Robinson's Apartments (CR1001) is a surplus barracks dismantled and re-erected on the site in the late 1940s by a Beaufort net-making company. The building served as a net factory for some years, then as apartments. Across the street, two local men moved another frame Atlantic Field building to Seashore Drive and recycled it into the Parker & Morris Store (CR1052), a gas station and restaurant.

Davis Shore Army Camp (CR1131) operated from 1941 to 1945 on Core Sound in Davis. It consisted of a radar tower, which searched for German submarines in Core Sound, and a barracks, now remodeled into a house. Only the concrete pads of the tower survive.¹⁸⁷ Bogue

¹⁸⁶ Dudley, *Downeast: Portraits of the Past* (2007), 269.

¹⁸⁷ Ed Pond, "Davis Shore Army Camp 1941-1945," *Carteret News-Times*, 2003. Copy in file.

Field, a Marine auxiliary airport in the community of Bogue along Highway 24 between Morehead City and Swansboro, was built during the war.¹⁸⁸ It is still in operation. Cherry Point Marine Air Base in Havelock, Craven County, a short distance from the Carteret County line, employed many county men during the war.

Since that time a good percentage of employment in the county has been through the military, either enlisted or civilian jobs. The influx of people from outside the county as well as the deployment of county men elsewhere exerted a profound social and cultural influence, opening up the traditional life of the county to the wider world. Several local historians are the children of marriages forged by the war-time influx. David Cecelski's father was an out-of-state Polish-American who was stationed at Cherry Point and met his mother, a Harlowe local. Annette Willis's father was stationed at Camp Davis when he met her mother, a Harker's Island native. The military also caused some destruction and dislocation. The construction of Bogue Field at Bogue, along Highway 70 between Morehead City and Swansboro, condemned the property of eighty families in 1942 and destroyed their houses.¹⁸⁹ The military confiscated dozens of houses along the shoreline of the Lola community on Cedar Island and tore them down in order to better defend the coastline against German submarines.¹⁹⁰

Twentieth-Century Architecture from Queen Anne to Modernist

Most of the houses from the first half of the twentieth century were constructed by local builders whose names are unknown. The same traditional house types built in the postbellum period continued to be popular in the county for the first two or three decades of the 1900s. Some enlarged nineteenth-century houses to suit their twentieth century needs. For example, Dr.

¹⁸⁸ Bogue Field was not surveyed as a part of the Carteret County Historic Architecture survey.

¹⁸⁹ Author interview with Lib Sawyers, Peletier, March 2011.

¹⁹⁰ Author interview with Jack Goodwin, Sea Level, April 26, 2011.

Charles Mason, a legendary country doctor in Harlowe, added a front wing to his antebellum one-and-one-half-story house (CR1242) about 1900 as his medical office. The front gable of the new wing has an eccentric Queen Anne-style kingpost and curvilinear sawnwork that widens at the lower corners. Others selected styles that had been popular many years earlier. Garrison and Emily Mann built a tall one-story side-gabled house (CR1312) in 1907 in Newport with vernacular late Greek Revival-style corner posts, wide fascia boards and eave returns, and an entrance with sidelights. This house is unusual because it does not have an attic story. A man by the name of Whitley, who was the bridge tender for the Core Creek Bridge, had a vernacular Gothic Revival cottage (CR1250) constructed for himself in the village of Core Creek in 1910-1911. The one-and-one-half-story side-gable house has a decorative front cross-gable with paired windows.

The I-House continued to be a popular house type throughout Carteret County during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The oldest documented I-House Down East, the Dennis Mason House (CR1007) at 979 Seashore Drive in Atlantic, was built in 1892.¹⁹¹ It has six-over-six sash with peaked lintels and a two-story porch. One local feature of a number of the Down East I-Houses is a one-story kitchen and dining ell attached to the gable end, rather than the rear. This allows a continuous porch to extend across the main block and the ell. A substantial Down East I-House is the Redding Daniels House (CR0994), on Lola Road on Cedar Island. Daniels, a fisherman, built the weatherboarded house in 1899 and finished it with paneled corner boards, and boxed eaves with wide eave returns. The beadboard interior has low seven-foot ceilings and originally had a center passage. In the 1930 Census, Daniels's property was valued at \$1,000—by far the most valuable real estate on Cedar Island. Relatively small, low-

¹⁹¹ Carteret County Historical Society plaque.

ceilinged I-Houses with one end chimney were built throughout the Down East area well into the century.

Several I-Houses in Atlantic are dated to 1912. Eugene Gaskill and Maltby Taylor both built substantial I-Houses in Sea Level in this year. Eugene Gaskill's I-House (CR1040) has a front cross gable and a Queen Anne-style porch with turned posts and sawnwork brackets. In 1930 Gaskill, age fifty-one, cooked on a freight boat and owned a grocery store. Maltby Taylor co-founded the Taylor Brothers Canning Factory with his brother in 1910, and in 1912 built a stylish I-House (CR1035) with a center passage, plastered walls, and a decorative Queen Anne porch with turned posts and a spindle frieze.

The most recently documented example of the I-House type is Monroe Gaskill's house (CR0991) on Cedar Island Road on Cedar Island, built in the 1920s. This I-House, an old-fashioned form by then, continues the tradition of small proportions and low ceilings. At the north end is an original brick chimney. The two-story rear ell may be a later addition. Gaskill, a commercial fisherman, was caretaker of the nearby Hog Island Hunting Camp, where he met influential politicians. In the early 1960s he succeeded in having the new state-operated ferry to Ocracoke located at Cedar Island. Monroe died in the 1980s. In the 2000s, the new high rise bridge across Thorofare Bay to Cedar Island was named the Monroe Gaskill Bridge.¹⁹²

The largest early twentieth-century rural houses in the county are two-story double-pile (two rooms deep) houses with hipped roofs. In more prosperous counties this house type would have been finished with Colonial Revival-style porches with columns and other decorative trim, but in Carteret County the type is simply finished. Chris "Papa" Fulcher built his large two-and-

¹⁹² Author interview with Roger Styron, Apr. 28, 2011. The house remains in the Gaskill family, and has been expanded to the front and rear.

one-half-story house (CR1008) in Atlantic about 1905. The square frame house of modest Colonial Revival style has a hipped roof with large hipped dormers and identical facades with entrances on three sides. A one-story porch with square posts and no railing wraps around these three sides. Upstairs are six bedrooms; two more bedrooms are on the first floor. According to local tradition, the Fulchers rented rooms to teachers at the Atlantic School and to people waiting to take the Ocracoke ferry. In the rear of the lot, Fulcher operated a fish box factory, gone for many years.¹⁹³ Captain Josephus S. Pigott, a descendant of the Pigott family who had settled the area in the eighteenth century, lost his waterfront homeplace in 1917 when it was destroyed by a “water spout.” Pigott rebuilt on the Straits Road away from the water. The forty-foot-wide and thirty-foot-deep two-story house (CR1197) is two rooms deep with a deep one-story front porch with heavy chamfered front porch posts and a wide center hall. Even though Pigott built large, he did not adopt any style on his new dwelling with the exception of the very vernacular Colonial Revival mantel in the parlor, supposedly carved by a local cabinetmaker named Nelson, with a monogrammed “P” in the center of the frieze. Captain Pigott owned a general store at the landing where the ferry to Marshallberg departed. In the 1910s he renamed his east section of Straits “Gloucester.”

In 1918, when John Laughton had his own family homeplace (CR1275) rebuilt on the Newport River in the Crab Point area north of Morehead City, he chose large and plain like Fulcher and Pigott. The two-story hip-roofed dwelling, constructed by Morehead City builder Henry Guthrie, has a wide center hall, a two-room-deep floor plan, and a wraparound porch with plain boxed posts. The only decorative exterior feature is a front cross-gable in the roof above the entrance. The interior open string stair has a Craftsman-style newel post and railing.

¹⁹³ Author interview with Christopher Hunter Hill, May 3, 2011; author interview with Art Noyes, owner since ca. 1998.

Carteret County's artisan community produced several house builders whose reputations have remained high many years after their passing. In Marshallberg, master builder Curtis Davis (ca. 1872-1962) is still celebrated. Davis and his wife Jenny were both natives of Marshallberg. During his long career from the late 1890s to the 1940s, he built a dozen or so two-story houses of I-House, gable-and-wing form, and front-gabled form that still stand in the village of Marshallberg and on Harkers Island. Nine houses in Marshallberg alone appear to be his handiwork: two are documented to him, the rest are attributions based on their similarity.¹⁹⁴ Inspired by the nationally popular Queen Anne style of the late 1800s, Davis's sturdy two-story weatherboarded dwellings are vernacular variations on the style. Picturesque features of his houses include diagonal entrances in the angle between the main gable block and the wing; two-story front-gabled porches; gable ends decorated with decorative wood shingles and exuberant sawnwork trim; prominent corner boards, fascia boards, and eave returns; and entrances with arched glass inserts. The two houses documented as the work of Davis are his own dwelling (CR1180), 1235 Marshallberg Road, built for himself and his wife Jenny Lewis about 1899, and the Denard Lewis House (CR1191), 343 Polly Hill Road, Marshallberg, built in 1902. Davis's homeplace is an I-House with a two-story pedimented front porch with paneled upper porch posts with decorative capitals. The Lewis House is an I-House with a two-story pedimented front porch with chamfered posts and a two-story rear ell. Lewis served many years as postmaster of Marshallberg and as superintendent of the Baptist Sunday School for forty-five years.

Seven other substantial Marshallberg houses are attributed to Davis based on their similarity to these two documented dwellings. The I-House built in 1898 for seafood dealer Martin T. Royal (CR1190), 331 Polly Hill Road, has charming entrance pilasters with the

¹⁹⁴ Carteret County Historical Society plaques; Anne Salter and others, *Historic Marshallberg Homes Tour*, typescript (1990). Copy in file.

silhouettes of turned posts, peaked window lintels, and a hip-roofed two-story front porch with thick turned posts. Fisherman Stephen F. Harris's ca. 1899 house (CR1194), 129 Goose Pond Road, is a one-and-one-half-story side-gabled dwelling with a decorative front cross-gable, paired sash windows in the gable ends, and a hipped-roof front porch with chamfered posts. In 1902 Davis may have built Captain Fred Gillikin's house (CR1175) on Polly Hill Road. Gillikin joined the U.S. Life Saving Service in 1900 as a young man and remained in this service until he retired in 1941. Many years later he was honored as the oldest living Coast Guardsman on the occasion of the 180th anniversary of the U.S. Coast Guard. The two-story gable-and-wing house has a stylish two-story bay window; pedimented gable ends with sawtooth wood shingles and Queen Anne-style sawnwork; a hipped dormer window with paneled pilasters; and two entrance doors set in the angle between the two blocks, sheltered by a full-width one-story front. The 1909 Harvey and Nannie Davis House (CR1176), 251 Polly Hill Road, and the ca. 1905 Kathleen Gillikin House (CR1177), 230 Polly Hill Road, have the gable-and-wing form and Queen Anne decorative features of the Captain Gillikin House. Other attributed dwellings are the Thomas Davis House (CR1178), Moore Lane; the Ruth Lewis Wooten House (CR1187), Polly Way Lane; and the 1909 Charles Stedman and Gertie Willis House (CR1192), 108 Brown Street. Willis worked as a crab fisherman, pleasure and charter boat captain, and accountant and owned Marshallberg's movie theatre, The Lyric. The two-story gable-and-wing house features a pedimented front gable with large triangular louvered vent that seems to be a favorite motif of Davis's work.¹⁹⁵

Four turn-of-the-century houses in Gloucester, Straits, and North River are attributed to Curtis Davis because of their forms: I-House, two-story gable-and-wing, or two-story

¹⁹⁵ Author interview with granddaughter Gail Willis Cannon, owner, July 14, 2011.

pedimented front-gable house with side passage. These houses also feature the chamfered corner boards, wide fascia boards, and strong eave returns of Davis's Marshallberg houses. The Henry Chadwick House (CR1198), 503 Pigott Road, Gloucester, has a front pediment with decorative wood shingles, a rectangular louver, and a sawnwork kingpost. (The porch was replaced about 1930.)¹⁹⁶ The house at 381 Pigott Road (CR1202) and the Clyde Whitehurst House, 408 Straits Road (CR1204) in Gloucester are similar front-pedimented dwellings. Whitehurst, a fisherman and carpenter, made net leads used by the legendary Down East decoy makers in his later years.¹⁹⁷ The Jarvis-McGee House (CR1205), 166 McGee Road, Straits, is a 1903 I-House with a decorative front cross-gable with a sawnwork bargeboard of curvilinear shapes that remind the owner of a pineapple flanked by dolphins.¹⁹⁸ At 2415 Highway 70 in the North River section is a two-story gable-and-wing house (CR1079) that strongly resembles the Captain Gillikin House in Marshallberg. The Highway 70 house has such Queen Anne-style features as a two-story front bay window with beadboard panels and brackets topped by a pediment with a louvered ventilator set in diamond-shaped wood shingles. The windows have molded caps and the front porch has chamfered posts of vernacular Italianate design.

Curtis Davis built at least two houses on Harkers Island, which he reached by walking several miles to the landing in Gloucester to catch the ferry. The John and Nicie Willis House (CR1217), 142 Rush Point Road, ca. 1905, sited on a hummock in the southwest corner of the island, is a two-story cross-gabled dwelling with a side-gabled main block, a centered rear two-story wing, and a pedimented two-story front porch. The weatherboarded walls have prominent

¹⁹⁶Dudley, *Down East* (2007), photo on page 54.

¹⁹⁷ The Whitehurst House, located on the shore of Whitehurst Creek, was built for the Stewarts, ancestors of Whitehurst's wife. Author interview with Tom McGee, a neighbor, August 3, 2011; Dudley, *Down East* (2007), photo on page 55.

¹⁹⁸The house was built for the Jarvis family and purchased by Guy and Bertha McGee about 1944. Author interview with Tom McGee, August 3, 2011.

peaked lintels over the openings, corner posts, fascia boards, and boxed eaves, and the front and side pediments have large triangular louvered ventilators.¹⁹⁹ In 1944 Davis built a house (CR1232) for Floyd Yeomans, Harker's Island's postmaster, and his wife Marguerite at 1134 Island Road. Floyd, a grandson of island patriarch Eugene Yeomans, asked Davis to copy the Colonial Revival-style design of a house in Morehead City, and the result is quite different from Davis's earlier vernacular Queen Anne dwellings. The one and one-half-story weatherboarded house has mitred (cottage) corners, a molded raking cornice along the gable ends, and dormer windows. It faces both land and water. On the land side, the entrance has paired sash windows and a gabled stoop while the roof of the water side extends in a graceful concave curve to shelter a full porch overlooking the sound.²⁰⁰

The tremendously popular Craftsman style and its associated bungalow house type built throughout the United States during the early twentieth century arrived in Beaufort, Morehead City, and Newport at the end of the 1910s, but did not become accepted in rural areas until the 1930s. Its rural heyday in Carteret County was the 1940s, perhaps due to interaction with the outside world during World War II. Most of the hundreds of Craftsman dwellings along the highways and secondary roads outside the towns follow a standard design: a narrow, front-gabled three-room-deep form with a front porch. The George W. Dill Sr. House (CR856), 1104 Arendell Street, Morehead City, built in 1919, is the earliest bungalow recorded in the survey.

A number of twentieth-century master builders identified in the county--Henry Guthrie, Needham Garner, Henderson Godette, and several generations of Styrons-- worked largely in the Craftsman stylistic tradition. Henry Guthrie was considered the finest home builder in Morehead

¹⁹⁹ Author interview with Jane Stephenson, August 9, 2011.

²⁰⁰ Author interview with Suzanne Yeomans Guthrie, daughter of Floyd Yeomans, August 4, 2011.

City and its environs, from Crab Point on the north over to Atlantic Beach on Bogue Banks, in the 1910s to 1940s era. Two houses documented to him are the two-story double-pile John Laughton House (CR1275) of 1918 at Crab Point and the 1935 Higgs-Goodson Cottage (CR1379), a two-story house on a raised basement at Atlantic Beach.

In Newport the Garner family produced generations of builders who continued their work throughout the twentieth century. Needham Garner constructed a stylish Craftsman bungalow (CR1322), 3388 East Railroad Boulevard, in 1948, indicating that the house type continued to be popular after World War II. Garner cut the lumber at his small lumber mill and made all of the decorative finish right on site. The front-gable one-story bungalow has a picturesque roofline with a gable-on-hip roof with stacked eave brackets of Oriental design, a prominent gabled-roof front porch, and original asbestos shingled-walls. The front gable of the roof has a latticework ventilator. The porch has monumental brick piers with paired boxed posts and a large semicircular ventilator in the porch gable.²⁰¹

Newport has a group of large, stylish bungalows built in the 1920s and 1930s, some likely built by the Garners and some by other unknown builders. The earliest known bungalow (CR1305) was built in 1925 for C. M. Hill at 149 Chatham Street. The side-gabled dwelling has an integral front porch with brick piers supporting pairs of battered wood posts, arched soffits, a side porte-cochere with identical posts, and a large gabled dormer window. Hill took over the town's hardware store across from the railroad tracks in 1938 after the original owners, the Mann Brothers, lost the business. In 1930 Dr. Manley Mason built a handsome brick bungalow (CR1326) for himself at 359 Chatham Street. The side-gabled house has picture windows flanking the central entrance, sheltered by an integral porch with monumental brick piers, wood

²⁰¹ Author interview with owner Amos Parker, Oct. 3, 2011.

posts, and arched soffits. Above the entrance is a large gabled dormer window. The following year Dr. Masoon built a matching Craftsman-style brick medical office in his side yard.

In Harlowe, on the Craven County border, African American builder Henderson Godette was considered the finest craftsman of the mid-twentieth century. With his sons, each of which had a specialty such as wiring, plumbing, or masonry, he did most of the building projects in the Harlowe area. In 1941, Godette built a Craftsman-style house for William Rufus and Bessie Ward (CR1075) on Highway 101 in Harlowe of heart pine lightwood. The front clipped-gabled one-story house, three bays wide and four bays deep, has the simple Craftsman styling found in hundreds of houses built from the 1930s to the 1950s in Carteret County. Walls are covered with asbestos shingles and windows are three-over-one paired sashes. The hipped-roof front porch is supported on brick piers with battered wood posts.²⁰²

Harlowe has a pair of identical stylish bungalows built in 1927 for the Ball brothers, Raymond Ball (CR1211) and George Ball (CR1213), who moved to Harlowe in the 1910s and established a large modern farm operation. Each house is a side-gabled bungalow with pedimented gable ends and an integral front porch with stuccoed piers, paired wood posts, and a side porte-cochere. Above the entrance is a pedimented front gable-roof dormer with a trio of sash windows, at each end is an interior chimney. The living, dining room, and entrance hall compose a single large space across the front half of the house, with a handsome stair to the three upstairs bedrooms located at the rear of the entrance area. Behind the living room is a second parlor with a bay window. Behind each house are a hipped-roof two-car weatherboarded garage and a pump house. Raymond's house is the better preserved because George's house has lost its

²⁰² Author interview with Betty Motes, owner, Harlowe, Sept. 5, 2011.

porte-cochere. The builder of these bungalows is unknown, but may have been Henderson Godette.

The Craftsman style was enthusiastically adopted Down East. Men of the Styron family built a number of stylish bungalows in Davis in the 1920s and 1930s. William F. and Kilby (Kay) Styron are listed as house carpenters in the 1930 U.S. Census, although they were at the advanced ages of seventy and sixty-nine-years-old, respectively.²⁰³ Edward Styron built a substantial side-gabled bungalow with a front-gabled entrance porch (CR1147) on Mollie Lewis Road for Blanchard and Florence Davis in 1927. The Styrons constructed a fine side-gabled bungalow (CR1138) with an integral front porch and adjacent porte-cochere for Gordon and Lillie Willis in 1937.

On Cedar Island, Hubert Styron's front-gabled bungalow (CR988) was under construction when the Great Storm of 1933 blew through. The worst storm of the twentieth century did not prevent him from completing the house when the storm had passed. The one-story front-gable house has a side brick chimney, a small south-side wing, and an original front porch with latticed posts (now screened). At the same time Styron built a small front-gable store with a false front, board-and-batten siding, a narrow double-batten door, and exposed rafter tails. Styron's house and store represent a typical arrangement throughout the county, where a store operator constructed a small frame store on the highway and built his house to the rear.²⁰⁴

Bennie Wilson, a cook at the Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station, retired in 1938 and built a house and restaurant (CR1230) for himself and his wife Emma on North Ferry Dock Road at Harkers Island. The house epitomizes the standard front-gable Craftsman house in Carteret

²⁰³ U. S. Census, Carteret County, population schedule, 1930.

²⁰⁴ Author interview with Jack Goodwin, April 26, 2011; author interview with Elmo Gaskill, April 28, 2011.

County: a three-bay-wide and three-bay-deep one-story house with German siding, three-over-one sash windows, exposed rafter tails, and an integral front porch with tapered boxed porch posts. The eave brackets, three graduated boards with angled ends, resemble exposed roof rafters. The adjacent narrow front-gabled building with a "false front" parapet was known as Bennie Wilson's Café, where he invented the shrimp burger in the 1950s.²⁰⁵ Another well-preserved example of the common front-gabled Craftsman-style house, the William Russell House (CR1087), stands along Highway 101 near Beaufort. The one-story house, built by William himself in 1932, has a hip-roof front porch with brick piers supporting wood posts and a shed-roof bay window on the side.

Few examples of the "period cottage," a house with Tudor or Colonial Revival-style decorative features popular in urban areas in the mid-twentieth century, were built outside of Carteret County's metropolitan areas. Even fewer examples of mid-twentieth-century modern houses, influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright and early twentieth-century European architecture, were built in the county. Down East in Sea Level, Almeta Taylor had a Tudor Revival-style cottage (CR1034) built for herself about 1945. Almeta's brothers, the well-known Taylor brothers who made fortunes in the seafood, frozen food, and fruit shipping businesses in the mid-1900s, are said to have paid for the construction of this house. The one-and-one-half story side-gabled house has red brick walls with yellow brick trim and a steep side-gabled roof with a gabled entrance bay with an arched door, an arched window above, and two flanking gabled wall dormers. On one side of the entrance is a picture window set in a shallow bay, on the other, a red brick chimney. A front patio extends to an arcaded porch at one end; at the other end is an arcaded porte-cochere for a car. The piece-de-resistance is Taylor's monogram, spelled out in

²⁰⁵ *Island Born and Bred* (1987), 186; author interview with Suzanne Guthrie, August 4, 2011. Bennie operated the café until the 1970s.

yellow brick in the three front gables: "A" in the center, "T" in each of the flanking gable dormers, and a big "T" on the chimney stack. Almeta Taylor's house stands out among the plain older frame houses and more recent modular dwellings of Sealevel.²⁰⁶

Only a few mid-twentieth-century houses in the county could be considered modernist architecture. The house (CR1085) that Joseph Windley built on Core Creek in the late 1940s and 1950s is the best example. Windley, a master carpenter, served in World War II in Germany, where he came under the influence of the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. When he returned to his childhood home of Beaufort, he purchased land on Core Creek off Highway 101 and built the original one-story three-room core of the house in 1946 for himself and his wife Margie. In 1949 he added the den and the east wing containing two bedrooms and a bath; in 1958 the second story and the west wing garage. The east wing extends on the diagonal from the two-story central core. The flat-roofed house with wide eaves and smooth wall surfaces covered with original asbestos shingles and large metal casement windows has a cubic severity reminiscent of Wrightian mid-century modernist design.²⁰⁷

Churches, Schools, and Cemeteries

Church design in Carteret County, like its dwellings, reflects the deep conservatism of the county's culture and architecture. One of the largest denominations before World War II was the Primitive Baptists. The Methodists and other Baptist denominations are likewise well-represented in the county. Because buildings of the Primitive Baptist denomination were seldom used after the 1960s, their surviving sanctuaries are some of the oldest and best preserved in the county.

²⁰⁶ Author interview with Jack Goodwin, May 5, 2011.

²⁰⁷ Author interview with Margaret Windley Mitchell, June 17, 2011. In later life Windley worked as a self-employed carpenter. He died in 1982.

One of the most architecturally unique sanctuaries is the Hunting Quarters Primitive Baptist Church (CR1028) in Atlantic. After the first church, on the waterfront, was destroyed by a storm, Pastor L. H. Hardy deeded a parcel adjacent to his house on the Shell Road to the congregation in 1918 and the existing church was constructed. Most Primitive Baptist churches are front-gabled, but this is a side-gabled sanctuary with a central front-gabled entrance wing with two front doors. The weatherboarded building, set on a poured concrete foundation with seashell binding, has large six-over-six sash windows, paneled cornerboards, and a shallow rear pulpit bay. The pews are arranged in three sections: the majority parallel to the long axis of the building, facing the pulpit, with two smaller sections set at right angles on either side of the pulpit. An early picket fence of slender palings with diamond motifs at the top encloses the front and sides of the church lot. The congregation died out in the 1960s.²⁰⁸

The Cedar Island Primitive Baptist Church (CR 0973), built about 1952, is a rectangular, front-gabled sanctuary that exhibits the traditional church form of Primitive Baptists of the county. The four-bay-deep building has asbestos shingle siding, two-over-two sash windows, a single front door, and a beadboard interior. The congregation was organized in 1832 by Elders George Carawan and Lemuel Ross and the original sanctuary was built in 1839 on a site that has now eroded into the sound. Materials from this building were used to build the new sanctuary in the early 1950s. The approximately fifty original members lived on Cedar Island, Hog Island, North Bay, and the adjacent Outer Banks. By 1971 only three members remained and the congregation has since died out.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Author interview with Elmo Gaskill Jr., May 3, 2011; "History of Carteret County Communities," typescript compiled by Carteret County Extension Homemakers Clubs (1979).

²⁰⁹ Author interview with Jack Goodwin, April 27, 2011. Jack Goodwin's mother was one of the last members of the congregation; Dudle, *Downeast* (2007), 288.

The Smyrna United Methodist Church (CR1120) was established as the Summerfield Methodist Church in 1831. A new church was built in 1887 and was destroyed during the 1933 hurricane. The existing sanctuary was rebuilt on the same site in 1934, but its Victorian design reflects the earlier building. The front-gabled sanctuary, four-bays-deep, has a notable corner entrance tower with a double door entrance with Gothic-arched transom in the first stage, topped by a pent roof, a tall second stage with louvered vents, and a lovely bellcast steeple with turned wooden finials. The sanctuary is sided with plain weatherboard and has two-over-two colored glass sash windows with Gothic-arched transoms. On the façade, beside the tower, is a larger window with flanking narrow one-over-one sashes and a triple arched transom. The side-gabled education wing at the rear with an entrance on the south side sheltered by an integral porch is probably original to the 1934 building.²¹⁰

The Core Creek Methodist Church (CR1245) is an unusual philanthropic donation from a native son who earned a fortune in pharmaceuticals. Fairleigh Dickinson (1866-1948) grew up in the Core Creek community and earned a fortune in his company, Becton-Dickinson Pharmaceuticals. Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey is named in his honor because of his philanthropy to that institution. About 1940 Dickinson donated the funds to construct the church and a fellowship hall, attractive Colonial Revival-style buildings rendered in red brick with white trim. The front-gable church, five bays deep, has an entrance steeple, a double door with a ten-pane transom, and a rondel and arched ventilators in the upper levels of the steeple. The fellowship hall is a one-story three-bay, side-gabled building with interior end chimneys and a pedimented entrance porch. The small cemetery contains many monuments to the Dickinson

²¹⁰ Carteret County Historical Society plaque; Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Heritage Center, "Our Down East Heritage," Vol. 2, (2009): Smyrna United Methodist Church quilt square, written by Clarice Willis, pp. 158-159.

family, including a granite replacement monument for Elizabeth, wife of James Dickinson (1759-1820). It is likely that Fairleigh Dickinson had these granite monuments to his ancestors placed here, and he may have moved the family graveyard to the churchyard.²¹¹ The high-rise Core Creek Bridge now looms on the horizon close to the church and graveyard.

Carteret County was little touched by the modern architectural movement that influenced design in many North Carolina cities after World War II, but three churches in the county that were built in the 1960s and 1970s exhibit bold modern design. In 1965 the congregation of the Atlantic Methodist Church on School Street in Atlantic replaced their old sanctuary with a dramatic modern tan brick A-frame building (CR1019). John N. Peterson, AIA, of New Bern was the architect. Wooden rafters extend below the roof into three concrete foundation posts on the south side. On the north side a one-story educational wing wraps around the building. The church stands in a lovely live oak grove across from the Atlantic Community Cemetery.

In the 1950s, the Free Will Baptist congregation of Davis replaced their church with a striking modern sanctuary (CR1142) designed by John R. Valentine of Tusk (a tiny crossroads near Smyrna) and built by Ol Lawrence and his son Roland of Otway. The decision to build a modern sanctuary is said to have been prompted by the desire to stand out from the conservative Colonial Revival-style church of the Missionary Baptist congregation in Davis.²¹² Located on Community Road, the front-gable, rectangular sanctuary of yellow and orange brick veneer has a soaring front-gable roof, an entrance alcove glazed with amber glass set in asymmetrical muntins, and a tower and steeple set unconventionally at the back of the north elevation. The edges of the façade extend beyond the side elevations at an angle. At the back corners of the

²¹¹ Author interview with David Cecelski, Aug. 10, 2011; article on Fairleigh Dickinson, Wikipedia, accessed Nov. 27, 2011.

²¹²Ed Pond, email to Ruth Little, Jan. 12, 2012.

sanctuary, tall porches supported by metal pipe poles shelter entrances to the rear education wing.

The Shepherd of the Sea Lutheran Church (CR1377), East Fort Macon Road, Atlantic Beach, was founded about 1960. The sanctuary is a tall A-frame design with a steeply-gabled roof that reaches almost to the ground along both side elevations and has a front gable with a large metal cross flanked by tall, narrow stained-glass windows. The sanctuary has five bays of low narrow windows beneath the roof slope along the sides and is open to the roof trusses on the interior. The main entrance, in the north end, is reached through a glass-walled vestibule. Three gable-roof wings extend from the north and west sides to house offices and classrooms and form a small entrance courtyard on side. The architect is unknown.

Outside of Beaufort, Morehead City, and Portsmouth Island, only three historic twentieth-century schools survive in the county. In 1905 Carteret County's state house delegation sponsored an incorporation bill for Atlantic. At this time the county commissioners gave the town's 500 citizens permission to tax themselves to build the county's first public high school. An imposing two-story frame school, forty by seventy feet, with a central tower, opened about 1906 and served students from Cedar Island, Sea Level, and Stacy in addition to Atlantic. In 1950 a new school replaced the frame school on the same site. The one-story red brick building, twelve bays wide, has a central entrance porch with paired brick posts, shallow projecting wings, and auditorium and cafeteria wings to the rear. The simple design is neither classical nor Tudor but rather more modern. To the side, in a grove of large live oak trees, is a large front-gabled frame gymnasium built by the Works Progress Administration in the late 1930s to replace the outdoor cement basketball court. Since 1965, when the high school was consolidated into East Carteret High School, the Atlantic School has educated kindergarden through junior high school

students. The school has over a century of educational attainment and is still considered one of the best public schools in the county in its academics, as well as having well-known baseball and basketball teams. The only exterior alteration is the replacement of all windows with modern awning windows.²¹³

The large, architecturally-significant Newport Consolidated School on Chatham Street in Newport, constructed about 1950 in a style similar to the Atlantic School in Atlantic, was demolished in recent years when Newport's high school was consolidated into West Carteret High School located on the edge of Morehead City. Two buildings associated with the Newport school remain: a gymnasium and the teacherage. The frame gymnasium was built during the 1930s using Works Progress Administration funds. The large front-gabled, weatherboarded building has a double front door with a six-pane transom, a gabled entrance porch with boxed posts, paired six-over-six wood sash windows set four bays deep on the side elevations, and boxed eaves. A sign above the door proclaims the gym as the "Home of the Hawks," the Newport middle school school basketball team. The gym is now surrounded by the recently-constructed one-story buildings of the Newport Elementary School. Across the street stands the teacherage (CR1309), a large hip-roofed two-story building constructed in 1926-1927 to house sixteen teachers. The façade contains a main entrance with sidelight, and the large first floor living room and each bedroom have paired wooden sash windows. The hipped-roof front porch appears to be a later addition. Until the 1940s the teacherage provided lodging for unmarried teachers. The Newport Consolidated School Alumni Association rescued the building and created the Newport Historical Museum which now operates in the building.²¹⁴

²¹³ Gaskill, "Hunting Quarters" (Atlantic) typescript, no date.; "History of Carteret County Communities" (1979); Dudley, *Downeast* (2007), 260; *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 61.

²¹⁴ Author interview with Betty Mizell, Newport, Oct. 5, 2011.

Carteret County has many twentieth-century cemeteries with significant mortuary sculpture. The two most striking collections of monuments are the Gales Creek Community Cemetery and the Harlowe United Methodist Church cemetery. Gales Creek Cemetery (CR1287) on Bogue Sound, was established in 1877 by local farmer Hawkins Hibbs as a community cemetery. For much of the twentieth century it has been the traditional burying ground of the fishing families of Salter Path, a settlement located across Bogue Sound on Bogue Banks. The families would bring the bodies across by boat for burial. The most interesting monuments are a group of ten or twelve wooden headboards with inscriptions for people who died between 1900 and 1925. Some of these mark graves of the Guthrie family, including Mahal Guthrie (1844-1923). All of the folk Gothic Revival headboards are decorated with arched or pointed tops, accented by elongated finials, and neatly incised with name, birth, and death dates. These detailed headboards are unique in North Carolina.

The Rufus Bell family monuments in the Harlowe United Methodist Church cemetery (CR1244) include several notable stones. Rufus and Abigail's daughter Varina Jefferson Davis Bell Jenkins (1867-1906) has a large mourning angel set on a marble base. This is the most impressive twentieth-century funeral monument in the county. Rufus (1822-1886) and his wife Abigail (1828-1913) are commemorated by an obelisk with a Latin cross in relief. Rufus Bell was the wealthiest farmer in the Harlowe area in the 1800s.

Resort Architecture: Morehead City, Atlantic Beach, Emerald Isle

Carteret County has a significant collection of twentieth-century vacation homes and resort architecture built from the 1920s to the 1960s in Morehead City, Atlantic Beach, and along Bogue Banks. The county was a summering destination in the later 1800s as well, but during that period visitors traveled on the train and stayed in hotels and boarding houses, all now lost. The

era of the private summer cottage coincided with the advent of automobiles in the 1920s. John Motley Morehead III, grandson of Governor John Motley Morehead, builder of the railroad and founder of Morehead City at its terminus, built around 1900 one of the earliest cottages in town, facing the tracks at the corner of Arendell and Fifth Streets (demolished 1973). Large-scale cottage construction commenced in Morehead City after the Atlantic Hotel burned in 1933. By this time families owned automobiles that allowed them to reach the coast on their own. One- and two-story frame summer houses appeared on the shores of Bogue Sound during the later 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. The earliest were either bungalows or two-story Colonial Revival-style houses with large porches overlooking the sound waters. The waterfront blocks of Evans Street west of the bridge to Atlantic Beach, the highest land shaded by groves of live oaks, became a summer colony during this era.

Summer vacationers accessed the ocean along Bogue Banks by boat, flocking to the pavilion and bath house at the area known as “Money Island” or at the new Atlantic Beach dance pavilion developed by the Manufacturers Trust Company in 1928. The developers planned a single-family beach development with an oval circular park known as The Circle on the ocean, flanked by the pavilion on the ocean, gridded streets on each side, and a boardwalk in front of the whole development. This development was never built because it was accessible only by boat, and when the stock market crashed the company went bankrupt. The Atlantic Beach and Bridge Company took over the project about 1930 and constructed a toll bridge with a toll booth and bridge tender’s office of Oriental pagoda style with upturned roof eaves in 1930. After the pavilion burned in 1929, they rebuilt it in a less elaborate design in the following year. They laid out Atlantic Beach according to the original plan in 1934. In 1936 the state purchased the bridge and made it a free bridge. The boardwalk, which extended along the ocean in front of the private

cottages, was destroyed by Hurricane Hazel in 1954 and rebuilt only in front of the pavilion.²¹⁵ The bridge tender's office and the sales office were moved to an ocean-front lot at 303 West Boardwalk Avenue and recycled as a private cottage known as the "Pagoda House" (CR969). This was placed on the Study List for the National Register in 2010.

Industrialists, tobacconists, merchants, and wealthy farmers from the eastern North Carolina towns of Greenville, Goldsboro, Kinston, Tarboro, and Wilson bought lots in the development and built summer cottages on the gridded blocks of Atlantic Beach. Some of the earliest were two-story frame houses resembling farmhouses, but in the 1930s a new house type emerged: a two-story, two-room-deep side-gabled house, a variation of the popular Craftsman style, set on a raised basement containing a garage and servant's quarters. These houses sat behind the sand dunes, with wide front porches and boardwalks that extended out to the public boardwalk along the beach. Such a cottage is the Higgs-Goodson Cottage (CR1379) at 114 East Boardwalk Boulevard. J. W. and Sadie Higgs of Greenville hired Morehead City contractor Henry Guthrie to build the house in 1935. J. W. Higgs owned Greenville Supply Company, a large general store in Greenville. Grandson Joe Goodson reports that his cottage was the thirteenth house built on the east side of The Circle. Using lumber from Morehead Builders, a building supply still in operation in Morehead City, Guthrie built the six-bedroom two-story frame cottage, set on a raised basement, on their ocean-front lot.²¹⁶ Other 1930s cottages of similar form survive in the 100 block of East Boardwalk and East Atlantic Boulevards, the first two rows along the oceanfront.

²¹⁵ Author interview with Capt. Jim Willis, son of Capt. Jim Willis, caretaker of Atlantic Beach Hotel, March 15, 2011."

²¹⁶ Grandson Joe Goodson and wife Betty are now the third generation to enjoy the house. Author interview, Nov. 2, 2011.

One of the best-preserved farmhouse-type cottages at Atlantic Beach is the two-story side-gabled Griffin cottage (CR1388) built in 1936 for the Griffin family of Greenville. The cottage follows the nineteenth-century farmhouse form seen in other 1930s-1940s cottages in this east section of Atlantic Beach. It is located in the second row from the ocean at the northeast corner of East Atlantic Boulevard and Greenville Avenue. The house rests on a low brick foundation instead of a raised basement as seen on most of the early cottages. It has a shallow front-gable wing and a two-story porch in the angle formed by the front wing. At the east end is an interior end brick chimney and to the rear is a one-story kitchen and dining room wing with a two-story side-gabled garage and apartment behind it, likely the original servant's quarters.

Summer cottages and fishing camps were constructed throughout the county in the mid-twentieth century. One well-documented example is Al and Charlotte Fields Cottage (CR1361), at Cedar Point, built in 1939 for a couple from Goldsboro as a fishing cottage. In the 1940s Charlotte Fields purchased it from her sister, the original owner, and summered there with her husband Alton for the rest of their lives. The side-gabled form with integral front piazza makes it a late example of the Carolina cottage that was a popular house type in the county since the 1800s. The house has board-and-batten siding, now visible only beneath the porch because the outside walls have been covered with vinyl siding. The windows have been replaced. The intact interior, finished with vertical wall sheathing and beadboard ceilings, contains a central living room, a bedroom on each side, and a small kitchen, dining room, and porch across the rear. The house was extended about eight feet towards the water many years ago in order to allow Charlotte to have room on the porch for a washing machine.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Author interview with Charlotte Fields, 2009; author interview with Jeanie and Leon Fields, owners, Oct. 18, 2011.

After World War II, middle-class families were able to enjoy a week or two at Atlantic Beach by traveling down Highway 70 in the family automobile. To accommodate this new category of tourists, the car-oriented motel appeared. The Hollowell family built Hollowell's Motel (CR1378), a small one-story brick building, on the causeway to Atlantic Beach about 1950 and expanded it in several phases during the next twenty years. Alfred Cooper built the Oceanana Fishing Pier and Motel (CR1374) in 1959 on the ocean west of Atlantic Beach. The family resort included a three-story motel, a fishing pier, a pier house, a swimming pool, a snack bar, and a playground. These are the two oldest and most intact motels standing in the Atlantic Beach area.

The Atlantis Motor Lodge (CR1401) was constructed in 1962 on the ocean a few miles west of Atlantic Beach. The hotel was the pet project of A. C. Hall and his mother-in-law, nicknamed "Ma Bee." Hall purchased a three-acre site with 300 feet of ocean frontage from the Roosevelt family. Hall, then director of city planning for the City of Raleigh, hired his college classmate, architect Don Stewart of Chapel Hill, to design the motor lodge. Stewart had absorbed a version of modernism known as the "Bay Area style" from working with Jim and John Webb in Chapel Hill. The style fused the regional modernism of the California Bay Area, developed by Harwell Hamilton Harris and the Webbs' mentor William Wurster, with the European modern style of Walter Gropius. The Atlantis Lodge consists of four two- and three-story buildings of prestressed concrete block and vertical wood sheathing connected by frame walkways to a central lobby core, with a porte-cochere on the back side. The residential buildings are angled outward to create arms that embrace the ocean and a vista of native maritime forest that was allowed to survive untouched by construction. The walkways have delicate privacy screens of thin vertical lattice. Wooden angled louvers extend out from the roof to form a sun screen. Each

room has a wall of windows facing the ocean and a private closed rear wall. All but six of the forty-two rooms are efficiencies with small kitchens. Atop the roof of the building to the west of the office is an original lounge and library that often serve as a meeting and reception space for groups. The overall effect of the airy buildings with their latticework of walkways, privacy screens, and brise-soleil set in the native landscape is of a modernist motel that one might see along the Pacific coast. Stewart's plan was completed in 1972 when the two outer buildings were constructed. The pristine landmark of mid-century modernism continues to be a popular destination on Bogue Banks and continues to be operated by A. C. Hall.²¹⁸

In 1968-1969 the old bathhouse at Fort Macon State Park was replaced with a new modern facility adapted to withstand storm surge. This later bathhouse (CR1373) is still in use. The design used was the same one used for the bathhouse at Hammock's Beach State Park, near Swansboro. The wooden building, in the shape of a T, is raised eleven feet high on ten-inch diameter pilings. The head of the T is the basket checking area, flanked by men's and women's dressing rooms in flanking wings. The body of the T is an open pavilion with a center refreshment stand and a boardwalk extending out to the beach. The pavilion consists of an open deck with a tall arched roof supported on a series of five arched trusses of laminated wood and an enclosing wood railing. Public rest rooms are located on the ground level. The dressing room wings have plywood sheathing and a sawtooth roof with overhanging eaves supported by exposed wood joists. A wide wooden stair on the east and west sides accesses the pavilion from which a wide boardwalk extends across the high sand dunes to the beach. The building is located between two parking lots, with picnic shelters along the edge of the east parking lot.

²¹⁸ Author interviews with A. C. Hall and Don Stewart at the lodge, Nov. 3 and Nov. 8, 2011; Little, *Town and Gown Architecture of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1795-1975* (2006), 8.

General contractor for the project was L. R. Thomas and Sons of New Bern. At the end of the boardwalk, a heavy wooden gazebo was constructed about 1985.²¹⁹

For the past forty years the bathhouse has functioned as it was intended, providing bathrooms, changing rooms, a refreshment stand, and a large open shelter for picnics and shelter from the sun. It is a modern interpretation of the now-gone beloved Victorian pavilions constructed at North Carolina's beaches in the early 1900s for social gatherings, dances, and amusements. The famous Lumina pavilion at Wrightsville Beach and other nineteenth-century pavilions were built by private enterprise, often by the power and light companies at the terminus of a trolley line. The state of North Carolina stepped into the void in the late 1960s to construct bathhouses such as this one at Fort Macon that combined changing rooms, bathrooms, and other necessities with the social function of an open pavilion.

Pine Knoll Shores (CR1402), the first environmentally-sustainable development on Bogue Banks, was built on a large tract of property in the center of the barrier island in the late 1960s and 1970s. Mrs. Alice Hoffman of New York City, a relative of the Theodore Roosevelt family, purchased the tract in the late 1910s. At her death in 1953 it was inherited by her niece and her niece's children, who developed most of it as a model community known as Pine Knoll Shores, using the services of Raleigh city planner A. C. Hall, who had built the Atlantis Motor Lodge nearby. The community was laid out with home sites left as natural as possible, public areas including marinas and parks, and a variety of housing from individual homes to condominiums. The first lot was sold in 1973.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Branch, "A History of Fort Macon State Park, 1900-2000," report produced 2010, 323-331.

²²⁰ *The Heritage of Carteret County*, Vol. 1 (1982), 169-170; Peggy Mansfield, history of Pine Knoll Shores in "History of Carteret County Communities" (1979).

The western half of Bogue Banks was developed by George Spell and Bill McLain from Red Springs, North Carolina and J. A. Singleton from Fayetteville, North Carolina. They purchased the area west of Salter Path in 1953 and developed it beginning in 1957, renaming it “Emerald Isle.” Until the high-rise bridge from Cedar Point across to the western tip of Bogue Banks was built in 1971, this end of the island was accessed either by a ferry from Swansboro or by a long drive from the Morehead City bridge. Emerald Isle contains thousands of summer cottages built from the late 1950s to the present. The earliest houses, at 114 and 201 Emerald Drive, 105 Ocean Drive, 1902 Ocean Drive, and 5601 Ocean Drive were built from about 1959 to 1962 as spec houses or as custom houses by owners. These are one-story frame houses with knotty pine-sheathed interiors set on raised concrete-block basements that resemble the 1930s-1950s cottages built in Atlantic Beach.²²¹ Emerald Isle does not contain any significant concentration of historic buildings.

Conclusion

Although growth has brought dense residential development and commercial sprawl to some areas of Carteret County in the past half-century, its rural areas largely remain a peaceful natural vista of marsh, field, maritime vegetation, pine forests, and sandy beaches. The more agrarian western sections of Cedar Point, Peletier, Newport and Harlowe contrast dramatically to the marshy Down East area east of Beaufort, where small fishing villages cling to the shorelines of the sounds. In spite of the ferocious hurricanes of the 1990s and 2000s, including Hurricanes Floyd (1999), Dennis (1999), Isabelle (2003), Ophelia (2005), and Irene (2011), over 600 historic buildings were recorded during the comprehensive architectural survey of 2011-2012.

²²¹ Author interview with Julia Batten Wax, jwax@eirealty.com, Nov. 3, 2011; *Celebrating 50 Years of Emerald Isle*, (2007), 11. These houses were not surveyed during the Carteret County inventory because they have undergone unsympathetic changes and additions.

The buildings in this landscape date from the 1700s to the mid-1900s and reflect the county's identity as an isolated maritime culture. Most of them are small, vernacular frame dwellings adapted to the local climate with porches, durable materials such as asbestos wall shingles, and often a high foundation to protect from flooding. A network of fish houses, boatworks, harbors, and other structures reflect fishing as a way of life. Churches and cemeteries, many with nineteenth-century wooden gravemarkers, bear witness to the importance of religion and a reverence for ancestors. A chain of historic government buildings—a lighthouse, a fort, and life saving and Coast Guard stations, stand guard along the barrier islands. Shackleford Banks and Cape Lookout contain some remnants of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century fishing villages but now exist as precious natural parks overseen by the National Park Service. Harkers Island and Bogue Banks became resort enclaves in the second half of the twentieth century, yet some of the early resort resources are now old enough to be considered historically significant. Carteret County is a unique historic landscape that merits careful stewardship to preserve its man-made treasures for posterity.

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Gillikin, Fannie Lewis, Harkers Island, N.C. August 10, 2011.

Goodson, Joe and Betty, Atlantic Beach, N.C., November 2, 2011.

Goodwin, Jack, Sea Level, N.C., April 26, 2011.

Griffin, Rose Guthrie, Harkers Island, N.C. August 4, 2011.

Guthrie, Suzanne Yeomans, Harkers Island, N.C., August 4, 2011.

Hall, A.C., Atlantic Beach, N.C., November 3 and 8, 2011.

Hill, Winston Hunter, Atlantic, N.C., May 2, 2011.

Keith, Elizabeth, Harkers Island, N.C. August 9, 2011.

Jones, Roger Sr. and Roger Jones Jr., Broad Creek, N.C., September 22, 2011.

Lassiter, Bryan, Cedar Point, N.C., October 18, 2011.

Lewis, Nancy, Williston, N.C., July 13, 2011.

Mason, Ann Becton, Harlowe, N.C. September 5, 2011.

McCallum, John, Morehead City, N.C., September 8, 2011.

McGee, Tom, Straits, N.C., August 3, 2011.

Mitchell, Margaret Windley, Beaufort vicinity, N.C., June 17, 2011.

Mizell, Betty, Newport, N.C., October 5, 2011.

Moore, Thelma Gillikin, Marshallberg, N.C., July 7, 2011.

Motes, Betty, Harlowe, N.C., September 5, 2011.

Noyes, Art, Atlantic, N.C., May 3, 2011.

Oglesby, Bobby, Morehead City, N.C., September 21, 2011.

Oliver, Bucky, Beaufort, June 23, 2011.

Parker, Amos, Newport, N.C., October 3, 2011.

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Stewart, Don, Atlantic Beach, N.C., November 3 and 8, 2011.

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Wax, Julia Batten, Emerald Isle, N.C., November 3, 2011.

Williford, Belinda, Beaufort, N.C., June 21, 2011.

Willis, Captain Jim, Atlantic Beach, N.C., March 15, 2011.

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Appendix: Carteret County Properties Placed on Study List for the National Register**Individual Properties**

CR577 Captain Thomas Gillikin House, Gillikin Street, Marshallberg

CR590 Buckner Hill House, 527 Wetherington Landing Road, Stella vicinity

CR0579 William Hancock House, Pasture Point Lane, Smyrna

CR596 Merrimon United Methodist Church, 5012 Merrimon Road, Merrimon

CR1088 Merrimon Community Center, 5012 Merrimon Road, Merrimon

CR1170 Smyrna United Methodist Church, Marshallberg Road, Smyrna

CR1028 Hunting Quarters Primitive Baptist Church, Shell Road, Atlantic

CR1035 Maltby Taylor House, 207 Nelson Neck Road, Sea Level

CR1062 Edward Carraway House and Cemetery, end of Carraway-McIntyre Road, Merrimon

CR1072 John Mason House, end of Gertrude Lane, South River

CR1103 Duke Marine Laboratory, Piver's Island, Beaufort

CR1111 and CR1112 Willis Mason House and Eldon Willis House, 1335 and 1309 US 70, Stacy

CR1122 Stacy Community Cemetery, Stacy Loop Road, Stacy

CR1190 Martin T. Royal House, 331 Polly Hill Road, Marshallberg

CR1192 Charles Stedman Willis House, 108 Brown Street, Marshallberg

CR1208 William Nash Bell House, 4846 Highway 101, Harlowe

CR1221 Thomas and Effie Lewis House, 480 Island Road, Harkers Island

CR1235 David Willis House, 1491 Island Road, Harkers Island

CR1182 Marshallberg Harbor, Marshallberg Road, Marshallberg

CR1017 Atlantic School, School Street, Atlantic

CR1275 John Laughton House, 2600 Country Club Road, Crab Point

CR1287 Gales Creek Community Cemetery, Gales Shore Circle, Gales Creek

CR1365 Peletier Unitarian Church, Peletier Loop Road, Peletier community

CR1374 Oceanana Motel and Fishing Pier, Oceanana Drive, Atlantic Beach

CR1401 Atlantis Lodge, 123 Salter Path Road, Atlantic Beach vicinity

Districts

CR1022 Atlantic Historic District, bounded by Core Sound, Shell Road, Bullock Street, and Morris Street

CR1319 Newport Historic District, East Chatham Street, Railroad Boulevard, and Market Street