National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Cape Lookout National Seashore
Harkers Island, North Carolina

Gateway to the Atlantic World:

Cape Lookout National Seashore Historic Resource Study

Cultural Resources
Southeast Region

Gateway to the Atlantic World:
Cape Lookout National Seashore Historic Resource Study

Prepared for

Organization of American Historians

Under Cooperative Agreement with
Southeast Region
National Park Service
U.S. Department of Interior

David E. Whisnant, Ph. D.
Anne Mitchell Whisnant, Ph. D.
Primary Source History Services

March 2015

Cultural Resources Division
Southeast Regional Office
National Park Service
100 Alabama Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 507-5847

Gateway to the Atlantic:
Cape Lookout National Seashore
Historic Resource Study

http://www.nps.gov/

About the cover:

Cape Lookout National Seashore

Historic Resource Study

Approved by: _____ MARCH 25, 2015
Superintendent, Cape Lookout National Seashore Date

Recommended by: _____ (Acting) 4/7/2015
Chief, Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Regional Office Date

Recommended by: _____ 4-17-15
Deputy Regional Director, Southeast Region Date

Approved by: _____ 4/20/15
Regional Director, Southeast Region Date

Table of Contents

To and From the Most Remarkable Places: The Communities of Ocracoke Inlet as North Carolina's Gateway to an Atlantic World

Restless and Storm-Battered Ribbons of Sand: Hurricanes and Inlets

An Eye for the Possible: Maritime (and Other) Economic Activities on the Southern Banks

At the Sea's Edge: Slavery, Race and Class in a Maritime World

The Government Presence: Revenue Cutters, Lighthouses, Life-Savers, Coast Guardsmen, New Dealers, and Others

From Regulators to Aviators: Wars and the Southern Banks

Down East, Far West, and Hoi Toide: Thinking About Culture and the Outer Banks

Outer Banks Tourism and the Coming of Cape Lookout National Seashore

Management, Interpretive, and Research Recommendations

Bibliography

Repositories and Collections Consulted 245

Appendices

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgments

In preparing this study, we have benefited from advice and assistance graciously offered by many people both inside and outside the National Park Service (NPS).

Cape Lookout National Seashore staff helped orient us to the park and made key records available: Chief of Resource Management Michael Rikard, Chief of Visitor Protection Barry Munyan, Management Assistant Wouter Ketel, Facility Manager Mike McGee, Administrative Officer Rich Huffman, Administrative Clerk Cathy Frazier, and Superintendent Russel Wilson. At various points, Tommy Jones, Brian Coffey, and Bethany Serafine at the Southeast Regional Office of the NPS offered useful commentary on what we had written and steered us toward other important materials and issues. Longtime volunteers Ed and Rene Burgess gave us a thorough tour of Portsmouth. Archives Technicians Michelle Schneider and Alvie Sellmer of NPS's Technical Information Center in Denver provided indispensable digitized documents on several occasions.

Karen Willis Amspacher of the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum at Harkers Island welcomed us to the museum's informative public programs, and David Montgomery of The History Place in Beaufort helped with elusive statistical data. The staff at the Outer Banks History Center in Manteo offered assistance as well. Joseph Mitchell located details on the Methodist church at Portsmouth in Methodist church sources.

The always-knowledgeable staff of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources provided archival help and advice on many occasions. Military Collections Archivist Sion Harrington III was especially helpful. Senior Architectural Historian Michael Southern and North Carolina's National Register Coordinator, Ann Swallow, guided us through technicalities related to the National Register of Historic Places and alerted us to relevant documents in the State Historic Preservation Office.

Through the now many years that we have done research on projects in their collections, the University of North Carolina Library and its North Carolina Collection have provided an incomparable array of key documents and resources in both conventional and (more recently) digital form. Their extensive Documenting the American South digital collection allowed us both to access historical documents (especially the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina collection and the new North Carolina Maps compendium of digital maps) and to use them more efficiently than was ever possible in the pre-digital age.

This is the second NPS study we have undertaken through the cooperative agreement between the Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service. As before, it has been our great pleasure to work with OAH's Public History Manager, Susan Ferentinos. Her sensitivity to the concerns of professional historians in all settings is as impressive as her managerial skills.

Executive Summary

Historic Resources in a "Natural" Environment

Nature has always had the upper hand on the "ribbon of sand" that is now Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO). Part of the ever-changing Outer Banks, the seashore's island environment has commanded attention and demanded respect for centuries.[1] Reports of disastrous encounters with hurricanes and shoals go back at least into the late sixteenth century. Appropriately then, the 1966 federal law that authorized creation of a National Seashore at Core Banks and Shackleford Banks focused on the area's "outstanding natural values" and required that they be managed for "conservation of natural features." At the same time, however, the establishing legislation specified that the area's "recreational values" be conserved and managed so as to contribute to "public enjoyment [and] public outdoor recreation" (P.L. 89-366).

As every National Park Service (NPS) employee who has ever worked at CALO (or indeed at any national park) has learned, these two sets of values and obligations can be difficult to harmonize. Conservationists don't always see things in the same way that ATV riders do; sport and commercial fishermen can find themselves at odds; tourists sometimes want more infrastructure than the environment can support. Demands for historic preservation of sometimes-fragile structures can clash with their adaptive reuse, and each requirement must be measured against available public tax dollars. In fact, opposition between these values and aims long predated the coming of the National Seashore.

In 2007, a much-acclaimed new park orientation film welcomed visitors with the soothing voice of Meryl Streep channeling Rachel Carson. "The shore," Streep nearly whispers, "is an ancient world," a place of the "meeting of land and water," where "in every curving beach and every grain of sand, there is the story of the earth." For the nearly thirty minutes that follow, human history (in the form of a few picturesque but unoccupied and uncontextualized historic structures and the Cape Lookout Lighthouse) plays only a bit part in a sweeping drama featuring sparkling blue water, blowing sands, orange sunsets, galloping horses, swooping and wading birds, God-like satellite views, heart-stopping helicopter flyovers, new-age music, and finally the comforting benedictory assurance that "All at last return to the sea, to Oceanus."

Would that it were so. When an NPS team gathered at the park in 1967 and 1970 to begin drafting a master plan, however, not everything had slipped so peacefully into the sea. In converting the parklands for recreational use, early park managers found on their to-do list a recommendation to "[d]ispose of the hundreds of abandoned and junked cars and many squatter shacks" remaining on Core Banks.[2]

1 The term "Outer Banks" has been used in a variety of ways to refer to a not always well-defined portion of the narrow islands that lie off approximately the northern half of the North Carolina coast, from the Virginia border to Cape Lookout. David Stick's map in *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584–1958* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1958), xiv, even includes an additional section that runs eastward from Cape Lookout, including Shackleford Banks and the short section stretching still further east of Beaufort Inlet. Some definitions are much more restrictive, using "Outer Banks" to refer only to the part of the islands lying north of Ocracoke Inlet. Some, but by no means all, local people tend to employ this restrictive definition, which would actually exclude Cape Lookout National Seashore from the Outer Banks. But especially given the fact that we try to situate our analysis within the larger Atlantic world context, we employ the larger, more inclusive definition, which accords both with the broader historical frame and with usage in much of the relevant scholarship.

2 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Master Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 1971 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1971), 55.

Figure ES-1. Two of the many hundreds of junk cars abandoned on Cape Lookout National Seashore lands. The car on the left seems to be a 1950s Dodge or Plymouth; the one on the right may date from a decade later. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

The 2,500 junked cars and the squatter shacks were just the latest residue of a long history of human activity on the islands that became the National Seashore.[3] Like nearly all national park areas in the eastern United States, CALO was carved out of privately owned lands rather than out of the comparatively trackless public domain on which most early western parks had been mapped. While most of the permanent residents of the islands had already left by the time the National Seashore was created, protracted land-acquisition conflicts with major property owners like the Core Banks Gun Club and with individuals who owned fishing or vacation cabins remind us that creating the national parks, especially in the east, superimposed Park Service-defined landscapes on vernacular ones.[4] Deciding how much—and what elements—of the former landscape to retain and interpret in a new park context is a central management challenge for the NPS.[5]

Figure ES-2. Core Banks Gun Club ca 1960s-70s. Cape Lookout National Seashore archives.

During the decade between the park's authorization in 1966 and its formal establishment in 1976, park managers and others began to realize that the new park contained substantial material remnants of the long human history on the islands. This growing understanding of the historic resources in the park doubtless came about at least partly due to NPS efforts to comply with the newly codified principles of historic preservation encompassed in the landmark 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which created the National Register of Historic Places and housed it within the Park Service.

Thus the sparse material remains of human history still in evidence on Meryl Streep's "natural" Cape Lookout National Seashore are to a degree misleading. Most of that history has been altered or erased by centuries of storms; shifting sands; impermanent inlets; and dynamic social, economic, and cultural systems. It is this restless interplay between natural and human history that this study most seeks to comprehend and explain. In the process, we attend to the human history both seen and unseen, for both are, in a true sense, the "historic resources" that the park must understand and interpret for the public.

The Historical Moment of This Study

NPS Policy 28: Cultural Resource Management (NPS-28) specifies that a historic resource study (HRS) should provide "a historical overview of a park or region and identif[y] and evaluat[e] a

3 National Park Service. *Final Environmental Impact Statement on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan* (Denver, CO: NPS Denver Service Center, 1982), 28.

4 Candy Beal and Carmine Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea* (Wilmington, NC: Coastal Carolina Press, 2002), 131–135.

5 See Anne Mitchell Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of an Appalachian Community, 1818–1937,* 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988); Katrina Powell, *The Anguish of Displacement: The Politics of Literacy in the Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008); Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds., *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

park's cultural resources within historic contexts." In the customary sequence, the HRS is designed to precede most other detailed studies: cultural landscape inventories, lists of classified structures, National Register nominations, and historic structure reports (HSRs).

As it happens, this HRS follows, rather than precedes, those more detailed studies. Our project methodology has been structured and the study written with that fact in mind. At the time the Scope of Work was signed, existing studies included:

- an early historical study by F. Ross Holland (1968),
- two HRSs of Portsmouth (1970 and 1982),
- two National Register district nominations (Portsmouth [1979] and Cape Lookout Village [2000]),
- several other National Register nominations for specific structures (1972, 1989, 2005),
- fourteen HSRs (2003–2006),
- two cultural landscape reports (Cape Lookout Village [2005] and Portsmouth [2007]), and
- an ethnohistorical overview and assessment for Cape Lookout and Harkers Island (2007).

The reversed sequence of work done thus far was acknowledged in the Scope of Work, which stated that "[a] large part of this HRS will be a work of synthesis of both NPS documentation and other sources identified by the contractor." It also specified, however, that this study should provide "additional baseline historical research and interpretation of the park's cultural resources . . . [that will] enhance and broaden existing National Register documentation as well as provide historical background for any future National Register work." No National Register nominations were required or undertaken as part of the present study.

We have taken as our major task, then, creating a synthetic work that uses (but does not simply summarize or recount) the best of the existing primary research underlying those previous studies, bolsters it where needed with additional (more limited) primary research of our own, and reframes the histories presented there within the context of the best available historiography and categories of analysis. We have, that is, tried to take advantage of our later and broader perspective, together with (as Chapter 1 explains at some length) more recent historiography, in order to think carefully about the historic contexts in which CALO's historic resources can best be understood.

It is important to note at the outset that several crucial characteristics of the historic resources of CALO have affected our analysis and writing. First, those historic resources have been fragmented by historical processes: the geographical and historical separation of buildings and settlements, the wide separation in time (early eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries) of the creation of those resources, and the fact that so many of the resources that must be considered no longer exist (e.g., Shell Castle and its lighthouse, forts, Diamond City and other Shackleford Banks settlements, numerous Coast Guard-related structures, World War II installations). Moreover, the historically important contexts are only infrequently congruent with the boundaries of the park (e.g., the story of Portsmouth is inseparable from that of Ocracoke, as the story of slavery and race cannot be separated from the history of the coastal counties, inland North Carolina, and the larger Atlantic world). And finally, one cannot in any case base an adequate historic resource study on the existing resources alone, especially to the degree that by "resources" one means only buildings.

A central thesis of this study is that seeking to comprehend the history of the Outer Banks in terms of the geophysical fact (and metaphor) of "barrier islands" is fraught with difficulty and provides an insufficient and confusing orientation for analysis. We have attempted, rather, to set the Outer Banks (and hence the history of Cape Lookout and its many historic resources) into a much broader context, paying special attention to the Banks' myriad and persistent connections with broader systems—physical, economic, social, political, and cultural. That has resulted in recasting the "barrier islands" model as instead a border region, a place where worlds regularly come into contact.

In addition to examining key details and processes of CALO's history and historic resources, each chapter takes up part of that larger task. Doing both of these tasks at once (taking account of existing studies and material remains sitting on the

park's lands and setting the relevant history within a broader framework provided by more recent historiography) is not unlike the challenge of the honoring both the "preserve and protect" and the "use and enjoyment" requirements imposed upon all national parks. We have engaged that challenge as best we could. Our effort to do so is set out most explicitly in Chapter 1; it is implicit in the analysis presented in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 1. An Overview of Previous Cultural Resource Studies at Cape Lookout National Seashore and Some New Analytical Possibilities

This chapter examines already-completed CALO studies and planning documents as a base for conceiving and structuring the HRS, especially since the HRS is being done after, rather than before, National Register nominations and other detailed studies. Our aim is to assess the quality of previous research, characterize the primary and secondary sources on which it was based, analyze the historic contexts under which the extant structures and resources were determined to be significant in National Register terms, correlate the identified "periods of significance" with the actual structures remaining, and identify gaps to be filled either by this study or by future research. An early conclusion is that many (though not all) existing studies rest upon a rather narrow and repetitive research base that is in some cases years or even decades out of date.

This chapter then considers the potential usefulness of some long-available but unused historical studies and of more recent ones coming out of the "new social history" of formerly overlooked or disempowered groups. We also consider the potential usefulness of recent analytical perspectives such as postmodernism, transnationalism, regional and cultural studies, African American and American Indian (or Native American) studies, and others. Especially germane, we suggest, are studies dealing with the broader history of North Carolina as a whole, maritime and coastal history, the Atlantic world, slavery and race, commercial development, tourism, gender and class, and Outer Banks culture.

Chapter 2. To and From the Most Remarkable Places: The Communities of Ocracoke Inlet as North Carolina's Gateway to an Atlantic World

With an emphasis on Portsmouth, this chapter considers the specific history of the communities surrounding Ocracoke Inlet in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the inlet was the major point of connection between mainland North Carolina and the Atlantic world beyond. The chapter argues that characterizing Portsmouth as an "isolated" community—as it is frequently called—fails to take account of how intertwined the community's history in that period is with the economic, political, and social worlds of North Carolina, the rest of coastal North America, the West Indies, and Europe. The chapter reframes the history of Portsmouth, as well, within a broader conceptualization of the area around Ocracoke Inlet as a set of closely related communities including Portsmouth, Ocracoke, and Shell Castle.

Instead of trying to provide a comprehensive history of Portsmouth, this chapter teases out key parts of the village's history that were most shaped by its role as a major transshipment point for cargo entering and leaving North Carolina by sea. Areas of focus, then, include trade networks and patterns; the labors of both white and African American people in the piloting and lightering work that dominated the economy there; the relationship between Portsmouth resident John Wallace and Washington, North Carolina, entrepreneur John Gray Blount in the creation of Shell Castle; and the implications of Atlantic world connections for the large enslaved population at Portsmouth.

Chapter 3. Restless and Storm-Battered Ribbons of Sand: Hurricanes and Inlets

This chapter examines the impact of storms and hurricanes upon the location and configuration of the inlets; the nature of the sounds as the opening and closing of inlets changed their character and impacted the economic and social development associated with them; and the consequential or related histories of populations, communities, occupations, and particular built structures. More specifically, it inquires into the effects of particular storms and hurricanes that have struck the southern Banks within the Cape Lookout area

since the middle of the eighteenth century, when Portsmouth was founded.

Chapter 4. An Eye for the Possible: Maritime and Other Economic Activities on the Southern Banks

This chapter argues that economic activity on the southern Banks has tended to be episodic and opportunistic, dependent upon the availability at some historical moment of an exploitable resource (whales, for example, or tourists) together with an attractive external market—for whale oil, waterfowl, bird feathers, fish, or leisure and scenery. On occasions when those two crucial conditions have come into alignment, an industry has arisen and flourished. But when one or the other of the conditions wanes or fails, industries have declined or disappeared.

Thus, understanding the history of maritime and other economic activity on the southern Banks and their adjacent waters is a very different task from understanding the textile, furniture, or tobacco industries of the North Carolina piedmont, all of which were both larger and more stable over a longer time, however vulnerable each ultimately proved to be. For the Outer Banks, therefore, one must instead map a historical sequence of activities that have appeared, grown, waned, and disappeared, each of them marshalling an essentially limited resource, adaptively reorganizing and redeploying the skills and energies of a limited labor pool, and linked to a too-often fickle or fragile market.

Specifically, this chapter considers an overlapping historical sequence of economic activities that have had this episodic and opportunistic character: stock raising and agriculture, whaling, fishing (with attention to the particularities of individual species), shipbuilding, work-boat building, commercial hunting or "market gunning," and extralegal maritime activities (piracy, "wrecking," and smuggling). Tourism is reserved for a later chapter.

Chapter 5. At the Sea's Edge: Slavery, Race, and Class in a Maritime World

Our examination of slavery, race, and class makes five related arguments: that however special or "isolated" the Outer Banks has been argued to be in some respects, the area cannot be understood apart from the race and class dynamics, discourses, laws, and customs of the rest of the state; that the structure and character of maritime endeavors have nevertheless at times produced some special configurations of slavery, race, and racial categories and discourse; that sometimes race and class relations have been better than those in the state more generally (e.g., among mullet fishermen, as Garrity-Blake has argued, or among slave watermen, as Cecelski has explained[6]) and sometimes they have been worse (e.g., among slaves forced to dig canals or work in the turpentine industry); that since there were no stable economic or industrial structures or power blocs (as in the plantation system or the textile industry) to hold the racial system steady, it has flexed and adjusted with the shifting economic base (e.g., from shipping to fishing to tourism); and that widespread and persistent romanticization of Outer Banks culture has blurred essential features and details of its racial and class system.

Chapter 6. The Government Presence: Revenue Cutters, Lighthouses, Life-Savers, Coast Guardsmen, New Dealers, and Others

Since the eighteenth century, the Outer Banks have been a prime site of government presence and activity. State and federal actions, laws, and regulations have partitioned the land; specified its uses; established (and done away with) institutions; and prompted the erection of buildings, the construction of fences and docks, the dredging of channels, the building of harbors, the employment (and discharge) of personnel, and the purchase of goods and services. In the process, government decisions, actions, and agencies have functioned as major shapers of the economic, political, social, and cultural dynamics of the Outer Banks. The persistent and highly visible presence of government agencies has imparted to their buildings, activities, and landscapes a particular

6 Barbara J. Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory: Work and Meaning for Black and White Fishermen of the American Menhaden Industry* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); David Cecelski, The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

spatially, socially, economically, and culturally organizing character.

At their various moments, these dynamics have arisen from—and been shaped by—some array of five criteria: relatively low population density; limited local employment opportunities; long-term presence of agencies offering stable, relatively high-status jobs; large iconic buildings; and defined institutional landscapes. The importance of any particular agency or installation has depended upon how fully or durably it satisfied these criteria. The effects of these entities, events, and processes have been varied, broad, and (sometimes) deep. Within the built environment, they have inscribed themselves upon the land—some permanently, some vestigially, and some in traces now buried beneath the sands or washed out to sea. Technologies have been introduced and replaced or withdrawn. Jobs have come and gone. Social and professional networks have formed, flourished, and dissolved. Communities have arisen and collapsed.

In this chapter, we examine a long series of governmental entities, events, and processes: the Custom House and the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth, lighthouses and their keepers, the Life-Saving Service, the Coast Guard, and the Great Depression and the New Deal.[7] The coming of Cape Lookout National Seashore itself is addressed in a later chapter on tourism.

Chapter 7. From Regulators to Aviators: War and the Southern Banks

Many prominent features of landscape and life on the southern Outer Banks have come and gone. Inlets have opened and closed; islands have appeared, reconfigured themselves, and disappeared; hurricanes have wiped out homes and even whole villages; sounds have gone from freshwater to brackish and back again; whole industries have appeared, developed, and dissolved.

But government activities have been continuously present at least since the early eighteenth century. Five times those activities have been associated with a war, and in wartime the shoals, islands, inlets, sounds, and rivers take on urgent strategic importance. Troop concentrations, forts, docks, jetties, communications facilities, gun emplacements, barracks, and other buildings and appurtenances dominate the landscape and alter the character and rhythm of daily life and the structure of communities. This chapter provides a synoptic overview of the six wars that have impacted the area since the late eighteenth century: the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World Wars I and II.

Chapter 8. Down East, Far West, and Hoi Toide: Thinking About Culture and the Outer Banks

In recent years, popular discourse about the Outer Banks has been unrelievedly positive and romantic. But it has not always been so, especially with regard to culture. Our aim in this chapter is to map the long-wave changes in views of Outer Banks culture; to test them, when available evidence permits, against historical fact; and to examine in some detail one of the most central current elements: hoi toide speech. In the process, we will test the regional linguistic analogy (to Appalachia) featured in the work of hoi toide's most skillful analyst.

Chapter 9. Outer Banks Tourism and the Coming of Cape Lookout National Seashore

This chapter chronicles the more than 250-year-long history of tourism on the Outer Banks. Setting our analysis initially against the comparative example of tourism development in western North Carolina, we first examine the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century nodes at Nags Head and Ocracoke, both of which attracted wealthy families who built summer homes or stayed (with servants) in the earliest hotels. We then move to the hunting clubs of the last third of the nineteenth century, frequented by wealthy northerners brought south in comfortable Pullman cars, their immediate needs for food and guides supplied by local people and their masculine identities bolstered by familiar hunting rituals. We conclude by turning to the beach pavilions, elegant hotels, and residential developments of the early twentieth century; the elaborate tourism development schemes launched by Cape Lookout Development Company and its

7 Having already been considered more extensively in Chapter 2, the Custom House is treated very briefly here, and only in relation to its possible economic significance.

successors; the stimulus of new roads and bridges; the post-World War II boom in tourism; and the coming of two national seashores, development of which was constrained in some respects by the structures, customs, and material and legal remains of the two centuries of tourism that preceded them.

Overall, we endeavor to show that understanding the history of tourism development on the Outer Banks requires recourse to frames of analysis considerably more complex that those offered by familiar notions of tradition-bound "ca'e bankers" living an isolated life on miraculously preserved "barrier islands," following the occupationsof their maritime ancestors, and speaking the picturesque hoi toide brogue.[8]

Chapter 10. Management, Interpretation, and Research Recommendations

The Scope of Work asks for this study to identify "any need for special history studies, cultural landscape reports, or other detailed studies." The study may also, it said, "make recommendations for resource management and interpretation as appropriate." In this final chapter, we endeavor to respond to both of these requirements, confining our recommendations to areas for which our own research qualifies us to render judgments. This chapter recommends:

That park interpretation be uncoupled somewhat from a cultural-resources-management-dicated focus on National Register-defined "historic resources" (especially extant physical resources) so as to permit more meaningful explanation, especially at Portsmouth, of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century significance of this site as a point of connection between North Carolina and the Atlantic world. Especially at a location such as CALO, where the landscape itself is perpetually changing and where buildings and structures are subject to relentless natural forces that render them by their nature temporary, a focus on a rigidly defined notion of physical integrity such as that embedded in the National Register and related programs does not well serve the project of interpreting this site's history.

That the NPS update and enlarge the park's analytical and interpretive contexts, themes, and perspectives to bring them into line with current historical scholarship. Doing so could correct, enhance, and deepen historical and cultural interpretation across the park as a whole and at particular locations, especially through the creative use of new digital technologies. In particular we recommend that CALO should:

Emphasize connectedness rather than isolation by reconceptualizing the park area's history to include not just the Outer Banks themselves but also the coastal counties, communities that border the sounds, the rest of North Carolina, and the wider Atlantic world. This recommendation, we suggest, has particular (but not exclusive) relevance to Portsmouth.

Much more thoroughly investigate and emphasize the ways that race, class, and gender have been centrally important in shaping the stories that can and should be told at Cape Lookout National Seashore. The park should take advantage of opportunities to uncover and present histories of African Americans and to understand how gender shaped the lives of the women and men who have lived and worked on the Outer Banks.

Take a careful and critical new look at the interpretive requirements and possibilities of culture on and proximate to the Outer Banks. The best current literature on cultural studies has rejected long-held essentializing notions of cultural isolation and uniqueness (such as the idea of a singular "Outer Banks culture") in favor of analyses that emphasize cultural borrowings and sharings, dynamic processes, cultural syncretism, and broadly contextualized change. CALO should do the same with regard to the many cultures that it has harbored. Portsmouth's eighteenth and nineteenth-century position as a key point in North Carolina's maritime trading networks

8 Local residents sometimes refer to themselves by the colloquial term "ca'e bankers." See for example local resident James Newman Willis's "The Ca'e Bankers and Their Brogue," *Down East Community Tour* (http://www.downeasttour.com/diamond/hist-brogue.htm), 2002, rpt. from Our Shared Past (Harkers Island, NC: Core Sound Waterfowl Museum, 1995), and Carmine Prioli and Edwin Martin, Hope For a Good Season: The Ca'e Bankers of Harkers Island (Asheboro, NC: Down Home Press, 1998).

offers exceptional possibilities for exploring cross-cultural encounter and exchange.

Incorporate the history of the national seashore itself into interpretation. Rather than approaching the history of the site as if it ceased when Cape Lookout National Seashore came into being, we suggest that the park bring these perspectives on interconnection, race, class, gender and culture, and the region's history before the park into seamless conversation with the dialogues about land use and conservation that ultimately led to the creation of CALO and that have shaped it for the past forty years. Highlighting the connections between the pre-park past and the park-dominated present could help the public appreciate the park's current management challenges and understand the continuities that shape the environment in which the park operates. A useful point of entry for this task would be to replace the recently completed interpretive film.

That the park undertake further research in several of the topical areas mentioned above (African American history, women's history, park administrative history), and that it update the National Register nominations for the Cape Lookout Light Station (1972) and Portsmouth Village (1978) to reflect expanded understandings of the significance of these sites based on new research.

An Overview of Previous Cultural Resource Studies at Cape Lookout National Seashore and Some New Analytical Possibilities

Historic Resources in a "Natural" Environment

Nature has always had the upper hand on the "ribbon of sand" that is now Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO). Part of the ever-changing North Carolina Outer Banks, the seashore's barrier island environment has commanded human attention and demanded respect for centuries. Appropriately, then, the 1966 federal law that authorized creation of a National Seashore at Core Banks and Shackleford Banks focused on the area's "outstanding natural and recreational values" and provided that they be managed for "public outdoor recreation, including conservation of natural features contributing to public enjoyment" (P.L. 89-366).

That emphasis on the natural world has carried through to more recent interpretations. In 2007, a much-acclaimed new film made for the park welcomed visitors with the soothing voice of Meryl Streep channeling Rachel Carson. "The shore," Streep nearly whispers, "is an ancient world," a place of the "meeting of land and water," where "in every curving beach and every grain of sand, there is the story of the earth." For the nearly thirty minutes that follow, human history (in the form of a few picturesque but unoccupied and uncontextualized historic structures and the Cape Lookout Lighthouse) plays a bit part in a sweeping drama featuring sparkling blue water, blowing sands, orange sunsets, galloping horses, swooping and wading birds, God-like satellite views, dramatic helicopter flyovers, new-age music, and finally the assurance that "All at last return to the sea, to Oceanus."

Would that it were so. When an NPS team gathered at the park in 1967 and 1970 to begin drafting a master plan for the park, all had not slipped so peacefully into the sea. In converting the parklands for recreational use, early park managers found on their to-do list a recommendation to "[d]ispose of the hundreds of abandoned and junked cars and many squatter shacks" remaining on Core Banks.[1]

The 2,500 junked cars and squatter shacks were just the latest residue of a long history of human activity on the islands that became the National Seashore.[2] Like nearly all national park areas in the eastern United States, CALO was carved out of privately owned lands rather than out of the public domain. While most of the permanent residents of the islands had already left by the time the national seashore was created, protracted land-acquisition conflicts with property owners like the Core Banks Gun Club (whose property was omitted from

1 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Master Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1971* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1971), 55.

2 National Park Service, *Final Environmental Impact Statement on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore* (Denver, CO: NPS Denver Service Center, 1982), 28.

the original acquisition) remind us that creating the national parks, especially in the east, entailed superimposing Park Service-defined landscapes on vernacular ones.[3] Deciding how much—and what elements—of the former landscape to retain and interpret in a new park context is a central management challenge.[4]

Thus, during the decade between the park's authorization in 1966 and its formal establishment in 1976, park managers and others could not escape the fact that the new park contained substantial material remnants of the long human history on the islands. Their growing understanding of the historic resources in the park doubtless came about at least partly due to National Park Service (NPS) efforts to comply with the newly codified principles of historic preservation encompassed in the landmark 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which created the National Register of Historic Places and housed it within the Park Service.

The Historic Resource Study and CALO Historiography

The NHPA's key Section 106 required federal agencies to take into account how their actions would affect historic properties on the Register. In 1972, President Richard Nixon's Executive Order 11593 expanded agencies' responsibilities by requiring them to consider impacts on properties that might be eligible for inclusion in the National Register, even if they had not been nominated.[5] Additionlly, Section 110 of the NHPA (added in 1980) required NPS and other agencies to inventory and nominate to the Register all properties that might qualify.[6] With these directives coming on line and the field of cultural resources management rapidly developing, by the time of the park's official establishment in 1976, the Park Service had responded to the statutory requirements and begun serious efforts to inventory, contextualize, and understand the dozens of historic resources on Cape Lookout.[7]

This effort has proceeded intermittently up to and including the present study, which was first attempted in 2000 by a different contractor.[8] The 1997 resource management plan for the park made an urgent case that "the lack of a park-wide HRS severely limits management efforts to preserve historic areas as well as make them accessible to a broad range of visitors. Efforts to interpret the Banks' cultural and historical significance (lifestyles, livelihoods, etc.) is [sic] impeded by the lack of a complete and accurate study."[9]

According to the current version of the NPS-28 Cultural Resource Management Guideline, the historic resource study (HRS) should be a "baseline" study conducted "before more specialized studies are undertaken."[10] In particular, its purpose is at least partly to discover the need for and to recommend other, more detailed studies, including National Register nominations. Additionally, NPS-28 recommends that the historic contexts that the HRS identifies should inform and shape other studies, such as cultural landscape reports.[11]

On Cape Lookout, however, numerous more specialized cultural and historical resource studies have already been completed. They were produced during a forty-year period, beginning with NPS

3 Candy Beal and Carmine Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea* (Wilmington, NC: Coastal Carolina Press, 2002), 131–135.

4 See Anne Mitchell Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of an Appalachian Community, 1818–1937,* 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988); Katrina Powell, *The Anguish of Displacement: The Politics of Literacy in the Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008); Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds., *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

5 See Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 18–21.

6 National Park Service, Policy 28, Cultural Resource Management (1998), Chapter 2, "Cultural Resource Management." This source will hereafter be referred to as NPS-28. See also King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, 28–29.

7 See also, NPS-28, Introduction.

8 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 2000,* December 26, 2000 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore). The contractor was Tidewater Atlantic Research, based in Washington, NC.

9 Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Resource Management Plan for Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 1997 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 70. CALO archive.

10 NPS-28, Chapter 2, "Cultural Resource Management."

11 NPS-28, Chapter 7, "Management of Cultural Landscapes."

Figure 1-1. Emily Jateff's projection of probable location of shore whaling camps, 2007. Jateff, *Archeological Reconaissance Survey*, 73.

historian (and original planning team member) F. Ross Holland's *Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore* (1968). Most recently, Emily Jateff's meticulous *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey for Shore Whaling Camps Associated with Diamond City* (2007); the *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, produced the same year by Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc.; and Joseph Oppermann's detailed *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report* (2008) have enhanced and deepened knowledge of the history and resources in the park.[12]

These studies themselves now constitute their own historiography of Cape Lookout National Seashore. To proceed effectively with the present study and not replow much-plowed ground, it is important to begin by assessing the quality of this previous research, characterizing the sources (both primary and secondary) on which it was based, analyzing the historic contexts under which the extant structures and resources were determined (in National Register terms) to be significant, correlating the identified "periods of significance" with the actual structures remaining, and identifying gaps to be filled either by this study or by future research.

While basic data is in place for the majority of the park's resources, the forty years in which these studies were done saw major changes in the historical profession that have reframed our understanding of nearly every facet of American history. Cape Lookout's historic resources need to be situated (and in some cases reevaluated) within those new frames and contexts. We take that as a central task of this chapter.

National Register Work

Regulatory imperatives have required that much of the historical work at CALO focus on documenting and nominating historic structures for the National Register. Five nominations (covering, it appears, approximately eighty-one contributing structures, a few of which no longer stand, of "statewide" significance) have been written and accepted.[13]

12 F. Ross Holland, Jr., *Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore* (Raleigh, NC: Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1968); Emily Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey for Shore Whaling Camps Associated with Diamond City, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Final Report* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 2007); Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 2007); Joseph K. Opperman, *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Region, National Park Service, 2008).

13 Cape Lookout Light Station (1972, prepared by North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office staff); Portsmouth Village (1978, prepared by Regional Historian Lenard Brown at the NPS Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta); Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station (prepared by CALO ranger Felix Revello in 1988 and listed on the Register in 1989); Cape Lookout Village Historic District (2000, prepared for NPS by Ruth Little, a private National Register consultant in Raleigh, NC); and the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge (prepared by Wilmington consultant Beth Keane for NPS in 2004 and listed on the Register in 2005). See Appendix E.

Counting the number of contributing resources has been a challenge. As of Fall 2009, the List of Classified Structures for the park included sixty-six items; however, this list did not include a number of contributing resources included in the 2000 Cape Lookout Village district nomination, nor did it incorporate the four contributing structures from the 2005 Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge nomination.

These nominations, written between 1972 and 2004, are inevitably somewhat formulaic, but over time they became more detailed and complex both in their descriptions of the physical features of the remaining structures and in their discussions of significance.

The earliest nomination, not surprisingly, was for the park's most striking man-made feature, the Cape Lookout Light Station, a complex of five structures consisting of the black-and–white, diamond-patterned lighthouse; the keeper's dwelling (1873); a generator house; a coal and wood shed; and a small oil house. Written by staff at the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, this nomination runs a succinct four pages and is much more cursory than any of the subsequent nominations.[14] A more detailed nomination followed six years later for what was from the outset considered to be the major aggregation of historic resources, Portsmouth Village. Despite dealing with thirty resources, this nomination spanned only twelve pages.[15]

Through the 1980s, the light station and Portsmouth Village remained the only recognized cultural resources in the park.[16] But as time passed and circumstances changed, managers recognized other sites. Subsequent Register nominations, however, emerged not so much from clarity about historic significance, as (at least partly) from a response to those changing circumstances. For instance, the National Register nomination for the Coast Guard Station complex was filed six years after the U.S. Coast Guard decommissioned the Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station (housed in a structure built after 1916) in 1982, nearly a hundred years after the first Life-Saving Station was built at Cape Lookout in 1888.[17]

Meanwhile, the nomination for the aggregation of cottages and other structures south of the lighthouse came in 2000 amidst controversy (and a lawsuit) involving the NPS and people who held twenty-five-year leases on houses they had owned prior to their property being purchased for the national seashore in the 1970s.[18] With these leases set to expire between 2001 and 2005, the leaseholders formed the Cape Lookout Village Historic Preservation Committee and retained a consultant to prepare a National Register nomination for what they called Cape Lookout Village. According to the nomination, the group's "primary goal in seeking listing [was] to ensure that the history of the fishing families who lived at the Cape will be preserved along with the Cape's heritage as a life-saving settlement," but the effort may have also been aimed at bolstering the lawsuit contesting termination of the leases.[19] The final nomination, for the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge, was completed in 2004 and approved for the Register in 2005.[20]

Although these nominations became longer and more detailed over time, they remained isolated from evolving historical scholarship relevant to framing contexts and thinking about significance. The array of secondary sources they cite is surprisingly narrow, local, and repetitive. All of the studies lean heavily upon books by Outer Banks historian David Stick published before 1980, especially *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584–1958* (1958). Four also cite either F. Ross Holland's *Survey History* (1968) or his *America's Lighthouses: An Illustrated History* (New York: Dover, 1972). And two of them reference as a putatively authoritative source Dot Salter Willis and Ben Salter's charming but amateurish *Portsmouth Island: Short Stories and History* (1972).

Only the 2000 Cape Lookout Village and the 2004 Salter-Battle Hunting-Fishing Lodge nominations expand the secondary bibliography at all, and then only to include six additional sources, all focused tightly either on the local vicinity (e.g.,

14 Cape Lookout National Seashore, Cape Lookout Light Station: National Register Nomination, September 12, 1972.

15 Cape Lookout National Seashore, Portsmouth Village National Register Nomination, November 29, 1978.

16 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment,* 1983 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 4–5.

17 Cape Lookout National Seashore, Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station: National Register of Historic Places Nomination, September 3, 1988.

18 "Core Banks Cottages Rich in History, Tradition," *Coastwatch*, Winter 2003.

19 Cape Lookout National Seashore. Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register Nomination, March 6, 2000, Sec. 8, 30.

20 The conditions that prompted this nomination are unclear at this writing.

Jack Dudley's *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage* [1993]) or on the North Carolina Outer Banks more generally (e.g., Joe A. Mobley's *Ship Ashore! The U.S. Lifesavers of Coastal North Carolina* [1994]). The 2000 and 2004 nominations also circle back to include the 1978 Portsmouth nomination and the 1988 Coast Guard station nomination as sources.[21]

The primary source research underlying the National Register nominations is also relatively thin and local. The five nominations taken together cite surprisingly few primary sources: Carteret County deeds, wills, and vital statistics; Edmund Ruffin's *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina and the Similar Adjacent Lands* (1861); fourteen oral history interviews, the majority with retired Coast Guard personnel or longtime local residents; ten Coast Guard historical documents located at the park headquarters; the Congressional Record (61st–65th Congress); and the U.S. Census for 1880–1920.

With these limited primary and secondary sources as the foundation, what, in the aggregate, do the Register nominations identify as the appropriate contexts and framing stories for the resources at CALO? First, in terms of periods of significance, they focus primarily on the period from 1857 (the beginning of construction of the second—present—Cape Lookout Lighthouse) to about 1957, when the Portsmouth Hunting and Fishing Club constructed a storage shed to complement their property at the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge on Sheep Island. Interestingly, although the periods of significance thus extend back into the nineteenth century, only a handful of "contributing" resources (perhaps a dozen out of sixty-six) remain from the nineteenth century, while the rest all date to the twentieth century.[22]

Moreover, the provenance of the material remains is out of balance with the identified areas of significance for the various subregions in the park, especially with respect to Portsmouth Village. There, only perhaps two of about thirty contributing resources identified in the Register nomination date from what the nominator calls the "glory years"—the period when the village, situated as it was on the south side of Ocracoke inlet, was the key point at which all seaborne commerce bound for inland North Carolina via the Pamlico and Albermarle sounds passed through the Outer Banks.[23]

Key areas of significance identified in these studies include:

- federal efforts to address navigation problems that plagued ships passing north and south along the hazardous shoals of the "Graveyard of the Atlantic" off the Outer Banks,
- the resultant processes of lighthouse building and the establishment of lifesaving and Coast Guard stations on the Outer Banks,
- the role of the Outer Banks in an evolving system of commercial shipping to and from North Carolina's inland ports and in twentieth-century coastal defenses (especially during World War II), and

21 A different type of redundancy developed when the 2000 Cape Lookout Village nomination incorporated the previously nominated resources of both the 1972 Cape Lookout Light Station nomination and the 1988 Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station nomination.

22 Based on information contained in the five National Register nominations for structures or districts in the park, these appear to be Cape Lookout Lighthouse (1859); Keeper's Dwelling (1873); Washington Roberts House (1840s–1850); George Dixon House (1887); Robert Wallace House (a.k.a. Old Grace House or Wallace-Grace House, 1850); Grace Cemetery; Marine Hospital Cistern; the Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station (1888); and the Portsmouth Life-Saving Station (1894). The 2007 *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* also identifies the Dennis Mason House (a.k.a. the Dave Willis House) as constructed circa 1895. For further detailed discussion of some of these structures, see John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report, Cape Lookout National Seashore [Final Submission]* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2005), 3-56–3-83, and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*.

23 CALO, Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register Nomination, 2; William S. Powell, ed., *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 899–900.

- the development of sport fishing and other recreational uses of Core Banks, including land development and waterfowl hunting.

Park Planning Documents

As federal legislation requires, CALO planning documents from 1971 forward address cultural resources protection. Some cite primary and secondary sources in (generally brief) bibliographies, but since the documents are not footnoted, it cannot be determined which sources were actually used to compile the historical narratives the documents generally include. The documents rarely advance new research or innovative ideas for understanding the park's cultural and historic resources in new ways.

CALO park planning documents that address cultural resources cover a wide span of years, beginning with the 1971 Master Plan, and provide insight into how park managers' thinking about the park's historic resources changed (or remained static) in light of other ongoing research. The 1971 plan, which focused heavily on the natural environment of the emergent national seashore, referred explicitly to planning for historic resources only in relation to intentions to "restore the historical scene" at Portsmouth Village.[24] It would be several more years before the collection of houses that became Cape Lookout Village (most of which were excluded from the original land acquisition) would even be part of the national seashore.

The 1971 plan did, however, contain a short précis on "History of Man on the Islands," that briefly—and without citing any sources—discussed and inventoried existing resources in less reverent tones than subsequent studies would employ. "Present-day users have left their mark," the plan observed. Portsmouth featured "a few old houses," while "summer homes and cottages dot the landscape at Cape Lookout and on Shackleford Banks." In a few locations, "clusters of weather-beaten shanties used as fishing camps mar the stark scene . . . as do the occasional graveyards of broken and rusted beach buggies." A "lone rod and gun club on Core Banks, the lighthouse, and the Coast Guard facilities complete the inventory." Meanwhile, the report said, "the vastness of the sea casts its brooding restlessness over these islands," emphasizing "the fleeting existence of man upon the scene."[25] A brief list of interpretive themes outlined in 1971 lauded "the audacity" of "[man's] establishing towns, earning a living, and raising families" in the harsh Outer Banks environment.[26]

In the early 1980s, after passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (16 USC 1a-7(b)), which required NPS to conduct comprehensive general planning, the park completed its General Management Plan (GMP), which was finalized in 1982 and approved in 1983.[27] By that time, more extensive research had been done, especially on Portsmouth. Two National Register nominations were also in place (the Light Station and Portsmouth). Hence the park—as it was now required to do under federal preservation laws (NHPA and EO 11593)—incorporated historic resources planning more fully into its management plan and endeavored to identify more interpretive themes for both areas.

Unfortunately, the themes identified were so general and obvious as to be completely unhelpful. The main interpretive theme for the entire seashore was "The Sea." The suggested theme at the lighthouse was "America at Work." A subtheme of "Water Transportation" would call attention to stories of lighthouses, lifesaving, and the Coast Guard. Meanwhile, planners envisioned restoring Portsmouth's existing structures to a turn-of-the-twentieth -century state and embedding them (somewhat unaccountably) in a theme of "Society and Social Conscience," enhanced by a generic emphasis on "American Ways of Life." The plan promised that this theme would allow attention to "ethnic and religious minorities, occupational groups, and economic classes," but offered few specifics beyond "shipping activities through Ocracoke Inlet" and "cultural and commercial history of the Outer Banks."[28]

24 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Master Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore,1971*, 81.

25 Ibid., 53.

26 Ibid., 57.

27 *Final Environmental Impact Study on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan, Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment* (1982), 12.

28 National Park Service, *Final Environmental Impact Study on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore,1982), 1, 42–44. The plan also briefly mentioned commercial fishing and whaling at long-vanished Diamond City.

In its cultural resources bibliography, the GMP listed only nine sources, most prominently the previous National Register nominations, John E. Ehrenhard's *Cape Lookout National Seashore: Assessment of Archeological and Historical Resources* (1976), the recently completed Portsmouth HRS, and Holland's 1968 *Survey History*.[29] The natural resources-related bibliography, meanwhile, included over fifty works.

Building on the GMP and other NPS directives about resource planning, the park in 1983 issued the Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, which reemphasized that cultural resources preservation and protection (consisting mostly of preventing deterioration) were the park's third priority, behind providing recreational opportunities and protecting natural resources. The plan focused largely on National Register properties (at that time, only the light station and Portsmouth Village), the park's small museum and archival collections, and archaeological sites (none of which were determined to be Register eligible), but also included specific and lengthy recommendations for cultural resources management projects in the park. This may have been the park's first attempt at systematic thinking about its cultural and historical resources.[30]

The plan contained little new research on cultural resources, however, and instead sought to consolidate existing research and make recommendations for moving forward that would fulfill the park's Section 106 compliance requirements. Its historical overview section incorporated wholesale a long report, "Archeological Data," written in 1982 by a team at the Southeast Archeological Center. Drawing upon previous National Register work on the light station, Dunbar's late-1950s *Historical Geography of the Outer Banks,* Holland's 1968 study, and Ehrenhard's 1976 work, this subsection summarized the history of the Outer Banks. Despite its 1982 date, however, its statement that Portsmouth had not yet been nominated to the Register suggests that parts of it were probably written before 1978.[31]

The knowledge gaps identified in the study undoubtedly hindered fully effective park management in the era of NHPA and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 NEPA. The need for research and action were especially urgent at Portsmouth, where buildings were rotting and being overwhelmed by the vegetation that had grown up on the island since the state of North Carolina had outlawed free-range grazing on the Outer Banks in the 1950s. Building stabilization had to date proceeded without sufficient historical information. In addition to recommending detailed historic structure reports (HSRs), the plan also argued strongly for rationalizing and professionalizing what had until that time been a haphazard project of gathering oral histories from people knowledgeable about the village. The report recommended hiring a full-time GS-05 historian to take over and expand upon the limited oral history work that had been conducted beginning in 1977.[32]

The recommended projects aimed to help the park comply with its statutory requirements to protect and preserve resources. The plan set forth budgets, goals, and the requisite alternatives to be considered for several specific projects: stabilizing the light station, expanding the oral history project with informants knowledgeable about Portsmouth,

29 An unnamed CALO staff reader commented that most research and writing undertaken at the time focused on natural history and that sources relied upon for other aspects of history were drawn from limited local park library collections. While we cannot evaluate the status of the park's library in the early 1980s, it is not accurate to state that little scholarship had been done on the North Carolina coastal regions by this time. See, for instance, David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584–1958* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958); and Harry Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century; A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), none of which were cited.

30 *Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment* (1983), 8–9, 115–16; the plan included a helpful chronology of archaeological work within the seashore's boundaries, beginning with 1938 studies by preeminent University of North Carolina archaeologist Dr. Joffre L. Coe.

31 *Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment* (1983), Archaeological Data Section. The text of this document states that the historical material was excerpted from Dunbar (1958), but its bibliography cites the 1956 version of Dunbar's study, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, which was published as a technical report of Louisana State University's Coastal Studies Institute.

32 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment,* 1983, 162–172, 173–174.

producing historic structure reports and a historic resource study that would document the 1890–1920 period at Portsmouth, producing historic structure reports for the lighthouse complex, reestablishing the historic fence line at the lighthouse, and removing overgrown vegetation at Portsmouth (partly through purchase of up to eight goats).[33] Overarching interpretive themes were not proposed.

At least two other resource management plans followed, in 1990 and in 1997. For archaeology at the site, the 1997 plan referred readers back to the 1982 Southeast Archaeological Center overview. The cultural resources section of the plan concerned itself with Portsmouth, the light-station complex at Cape Lookout, the World War II gun emplacement (which had by then nearly washed into the sea), the Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station, and Diamond City (of which, the plan noted, nothing remained).[34] The plan cited no references for the historical information it recounted about these resources; in cases where National Register documentation existed, it is likely that the information came directly from those nominations.

The 1997 plan returned to the interpretive themes identified in the 1982 GMP, most notably "the sea," with focus on Portsmouth and shipping through Ocracoke Inlet; commercial fishing; lighthouses, lifesaving stations, and the Coast Guard; Diamond City and whaling; and the "cultural and commercial history of the Outer Banks." The plan's "Cultural Resource Documentation Checklist" revealed that the park was "current and approved" in terms of general park planning in a number of areas (e.g., GMP and resource management plan). But in terms of specific cultural resources work, only the National Register documentation, the Cultural Sites Inventory, and the Scope of Collection Statement were up to date. Recommendations and goals placed writing of an HRS for the park at the top of the park's cultural resources management priority list.[35]

Specialized Studies

While considerable effort has been expended in pursuing National Register documentation for relevant resources, several other types of specialized studies have also explored and documented the park's resources. In many cases (especially in recent years), these studies are substantially better researched and more comprehensive than the Register nominations. The non-Register studies fall into two major categories: other key comprehensive studies (such as historic resource studies, cultural landscape reports, and some archaeological investigations focused on particular subregions of the park) and detailed historic structure reports on individual buildings (all done recently).

F. Ross Holland, a longtime NPS historian and later a nationally recognized expert on the history of lighthouses, penned the first important study, *A Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*, in 1968.[36] This document has ever since been a key pillar supporting all of the National Register and other work that has been done on the park. In a sense, because its purposes were to "furnish the necessary general historical data needed for preparation of a master plan for the park" and to "survey the history of the sites and structures within the park," it has functioned as a historic resource study should.[37]

Holland's primary and secondary research for the *Survey History* identified the range of sources most later studies would also rely upon. Primary sources focused on newspaper articles, published editions of the colonial and state records of North Carolina, Congressional records, several published government reports, the Cape Lookout Light Station records in Record Group 26 (Coast Guard) at the National Archives, annual reports of the Lighthouse Board and the Life-Saving Service, printed government documents pertaining to the Coast Guard, nineteenth-century census records, a 1903 reprint of John Lawson's eighteenth-century *History of North Carolina*, and Ruffin's *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches* (1861).

33 Ibid., 152–162.
34 Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Resource Management Plan for Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 1997, 31.
35 Ibid., 42 and 50.
36 "F. Ross Holland, Jr.," obituary from the Newsletter of the National Coalition for History, September 30, 2005, http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/16487.html.
37 Holland, *Survey History*.

Holland's secondary research was less impressive. Stick's then relatively recent *The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584–1958* (1958) and his older *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (1952) buttressed numerous footnotes. On North Carolina, Holland consulted Robert Digges Wimberly Connor's by then very dated *History of North Carolina* (1919).[38] Kenneth E. Burke's *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina from its Founding in 1753 to its Evacuation in the Face of Federal Forces in 1861* (1976; an expanded version of his B.A. thesis from the 1950s) and two or three other books and articles on the Civil War, lighthouses, and Ocracoke Inlet, all published before 1926, rounded out the list.

Holland's study also set the framing of the park's interpretive themes for at least the next thirty years. As the main theme, he suggested "man and his relation to the sea." But since a similar theme also prevailed at nearby Cape Hatteras, Holland suggested that Cape Lookout should emphasize the "cultural and economic life of the Bankers." Here should be told, he advised, "how the Bankers lived, earned their bread, raised their children, and adapted to their environment." The primary focus, he urged, should be on "economic activity, especially around Ocracoke Inlet and Diamond City." And since Cape Hatteras stressed lighthouses and lifesaving stations, "at Cape Lookout the story of lighthouses and life saving stations should have an important but considerably lesser role."[39]

Holland's list of interpretive themes ran almost word for word in the 1982 GMP and was picked up again as late as the 1997 Resource Management Plan:

1. Portsmouth and shipping activities through Ocracoke Inlet
2. Diamond City and whaling activities
3. Commercial fishing on the Core Banks
4. Lighthouses and lifesaving stations
5. Military activities on the Core Banks
6. Scientists and sea life at Cape Lookout

Except that it lacked "scientists and the sea" and substituted the more general category of "cultural and commercial history of the Outer Banks" for Holland's explicit mention of military and scientific activity, the list remained nearly identical in later plans.[40]

Following the Holland study, the park moved quickly to commission research on Portsmouth, and by 1970, NPS historian George Olszewski had produced a draft HRS for the village. But delays, caused partly by NPS staff members' preoccupation in the 1970s with work on the American bicentennial, prevented this study from being finalized until 1982, by which time it had passed through the hands of three other historians.[41]

Meanwhile, as part of the park's efforts to comply with Executive Order 11593 and provide information for a pending GMP, John E. Ehrenhard of the NPS Southeast Archaeological Center produced *Cape Lookout National Seashore Assessment Of Archeological and Historical Resources* (1976).[42] The study carefully demonstrated why the park's shifting sands had harbored relatively meager aboriginal and prehistoric cultural remnants and included extensive field explorations of the few archeological resources that were left. It also identified several key cultural remnants from the historic period: the Diamond City cemetery (mostly post-1890 graves, many now removed), Diamond City itself, the lighthouse, the World War II gun emplacement (already almost covered in

38 "Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, 26 Sept. 1878–25 Feb. 1950," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography,* ed. William S. Powell. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979–1996). http://docsouth.unc.edu/browse/bios/pn0000339_bio.html..

39 Holland, *Survey History*, 50.

40 As it appeared later, the list read:
1. Portsmouth and shipping through Ocracoke Inlet
2. Commercial fishing along Core Banks
3. Lighthouses, lifesaving stations, and U.S. Coast Guard activities
4. Diamond City and whaling activities
5. Cultural and commercial history of the Outer Banks

See for example National Park Service, *Final Environmental Impact Statement on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan*, 43–44; Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Resource Management Plan* 1997, 42.

41 Sarah Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1982), preface.

42 John E. Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore: Assessment of Archeological and Historical Resources* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1976), x.

sand), and Portsmouth.[43] But Ehrenhard offered no new insights about the islands' historic period, and the historical information he presented on each of these sites was derived completely from other sources. For instance, readers were referred to Holland for information on both Diamond City and the lighthouse. All information on Portsmouth came either from Holland or from Burke's 1976 revision of his 1958 *History of Portsmouth*. And (although the lack of footnotes makes this a bit unclear) it appears that Ehrenhard took his entire discussion of the history of the Banks from the colonial period to "modern times" from Dunbar's *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (1958).[44]

The next major study to appear—and probably the most important and highest-quality single piece of historical research ever conducted for the park—was the Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study, finally completed under Sarah Olson's byline in 1982 (but, as noted above, worked on by four historians for over a decade). While it referenced some of the other standard studies used by all of the other reports (Stick, Dunbar, Burke, Holland), it was largely based on new primary research in a wide variety of sources. Most impressive was the study's use of National Archives materials. Ranging far beyond the sources used by any other study, the Portsmouth HRS drew on records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey (RG23), the U.S. Coast Guard (RG 26), the U.S. Weather Bureau (RG27), appointments of postmasters (RG28), Population Schedules (RG29), the Bureau of Customs (RG36), the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation (RG41), the Department of the Treasury (RG56), the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG77), the Public Health Service (RG90), and Public Buildings (RG121). Equally probing was research in newspapers and clipping files; published primary sources (e.g., the twenty-six volume *State Records of North Carolina*); several North Carolina State Archives collections (including the John Gray Blount papers); the Southern Historical Collection at UNC Chapel Hill; and in Carteret County deeds, estate records, and wills.

The secondary literature the study drew upon, however, was much more circumscribed and, by 1982, badly out of date. Of the approximately forty sources listed in the study's bibliography, thirty-one predated 1960 and twenty were published before 1940. Only two dated from the 1970s, and one of those was Ehrenhard (1976), which, as noted earlier, drew its entire historical discussion from previously published accounts. Nearly all of the cited scholarly articles came from a single journal, the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

With this underpinning, the study found its strength in detailed descriptions of the village's layout, demographics, and institutions; economic activities and coastal trade; government operations in the area; and wars and military involvement at Portsmouth from its founding in 1753 through the end of the nineteenth century. The author admitted at the outset that coverage of twentieth-century life at Portsmouth was minimal and recommended that a follow-up report on the twentieth century be programmed.[45]

Other than the National Register work discussed above, however, additional comprehensive historical investigations were not commissioned until after 2000. In 2005 and 2007, the consulting firms of Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., produced detailed and lavishly illustrated cultural landscape reports (CLRs) for both Cape Lookout Village and Portsmouth Village. These reports, drawing upon careful research in map and photographic records (largely held at the park headquarters and in two local repositories in Carteret County) and significant on-site field investigations, offer considerable concrete guidance on the evolution of the on-the-ground historical scene at both Cape Lookout and Portsmouth. They pinpoint

43 Ehrenhard provides a photograph of the cemetery site (ibid., 53) and the following data: "Site Number: NPS 5-Diamond City Cemetery. UTM Coordinates: 3,50,56OE - 38,39,08ON Description: This is the site of a small cemetery used by the residents of Diamond City, Shackleford Banks. All graves date later than 1890. The site is located in the thick woods on northwest Shackleford. A fence surrounds a portion of this little-used graveyard (Maps 2 & 3). It appears from the numerous depressions that many burials have been removed for reinterment on the mainland."

44 Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 24; Kenneth E. Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina, from Its Founding in 1753 to Its Evacuation in the Face of Federal Forces in 1861*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Insta-Print, Inc., 1976), originally completed in 1958 as a B.A. thesis at the University of Richmond; Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*.

45 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 3.

changes in the land and topography; past and present locations of buildings and numerous other minor structures such as fences; and changes in circulation networks, land use, and the configuration and type of vegetation. With numerous paired photographs and sequenced maps, they show history unfolding on the land.

The importance and usefulness of this detailed research for interpretive and management purposes can hardly be overstated. Yet, the historical contexts in which all this change is evaluated and discussed have not, in large part, changed from those identified in early studies. The CLRs, like most of those previous studies, rely upon a limited and localized array of secondary sources to place their findings in context and evaluate significance.

For Cape Lookout Village, the CLR bibliography included approximately thirty-one secondary works focused primarily or identifiably on history (rather than on geomorphology, geology, or other scientific topics). This tally does not include the seven HSRs for buildings in the village that the NPS's Tommy Jones conducted in 2003. Of the thirty-one non-HSR studies, twenty-one were published before 1990. About a third were published in popular periodicals (primarily North Carolina's mass-market travel magazine *The State*) or were very localized or locally written (e.g., Harkers Island United Methodist Women, *Island Born and Bred: A Collection of Harkers Island Foods, Fun, Fact, and Fiction*). Perhaps another third could be identified as more scholarly (published by academic presses or journals, or by the Park Service).[46]

The notes for the historical narrative about Cape Lookout Village provided in Chapter 1 of the CLR reveal heavy reliance upon just a handful of secondary sources: Mrs. Fred Hill's brief and amateurish *Historic Carteret County North Carolina 1663–1975* (locally published in 1975); Pat Dula Davis and Kathleen Hill Hamilton's *The Heritage of Carteret County North Carolina* (1982), a rather random compendium of local information, photographs, family profiles, and other stories—usually undocumented—collected by the local historical society and part of a series of such books published on nearly all North Carolina counties; Stick's *Outer Banks of North Carolina* (1958) and *North Carolina Lighthouses* (1990); Holland's 1968 *Survey History;* and several of the Jones HSRs (which we return to below).

Working within these contexts, the Cape Lookout Village CLR concurred largely with the 2000 Cape Lookout Village National Register nomination in conceptualizing the village within the large contexts of the connection between built environments (especially vernacular structures) and natural landscapes, historic settlement on the Outer Banks, and maritime history. It recommended pushing the time period of significance back to the construction of the original Cape Lookout lighthouse in 1812 and advised attending more closely to the military history of the site.[47]

The historical research underpinning the Portsmouth CLR followed a similar methodology and used many of the same sources. Of close to forty identifiable secondary accounts listed in the bibliography, twenty-eight were published before 1990. About a dozen were accounts in popular periodicals or were localized or privately published (e.g., Ellen Fulcher Cloud's *Portsmouth: The Way It Was* [1996]), while perhaps twenty were published by scholarly journals, major publishers, NPS, or other federal agencies.[48] The CLR's notes for the historical narrative about Portsmouth (Chapter 1, Site History) rely on the usual secondary accounts: Hill, Davis and Hamilton, Stick, Holland, Cloud, Burke, and the CALO HSRs.

The CLR concurred with the 1978 National Register listing's evaluation of the Porthsmouth area as significant as "the only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet," and one with an over 200-year documented history. It recommended expanding the period of significance implied in the 1978 National Register listing to encompass the village's entire history from 1753 to 1971, when the last permanent residents departed. It also suggested expanding the district's boundary to encompass possible

46 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report,* R-1 through R-8.

47 Ibid., 1-9.

48 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 201–204.

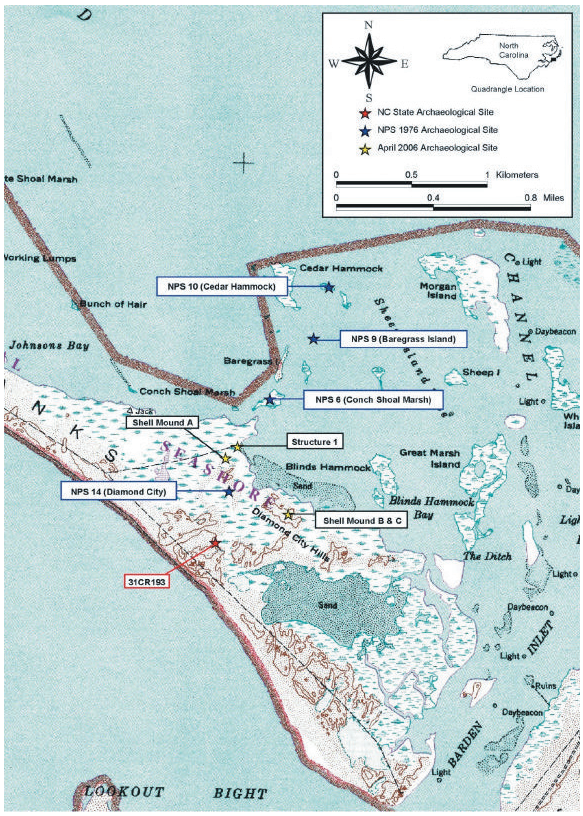


Figure 1-2. Archeological work at shore whaling camps on Shackleford Banks. Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey,* 5.

archeological remains in formerly settled areas of Middle Community and Sheep Island. And it recommended "weaving [into visitors' experience] interpretation of all significant layers of history that have occurred on the site," listing those layers as settlement, lightering, Marine Hospital, Life-Saving Station, Coast Guard, and commercial fishing.[49]

In the past two years, two additional large-scale studies have opened new directions in research at the park. Australian archeology Master's student Emily Jateff's *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey for Shore Whaling Camps Associated with Diamond City, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Final Report* attempted meticulously but without success to locate physical remains of the thriving nineteenth-century whaling village of Diamond City on Shackleford Banks. And anthropologists Barbara J. Garrity-Blake and James Sabella searched the extensive oral history collections both at the park headquarters and at the nearby Core Sound Waterfowl Museum to assemble an "Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study of Cape Lookout National Seashore Including a Case Study of Harkers Island," still in draft at this writing.

Jateff's account, though focused soley on Shackleford Banks, goes far beyond any previous study in relating the history of the area to the wider contexts of the colonial and early-national evolution of North Carolina's larger economy and of the relationship of North Carolina's whaling industry to whaling in New England. Additionally, although she, too, cites several of the foundational sources used by everyone else (Ehrenhard, Holland, Stick), Jateff takes pains to note contradictions among these sources in the information they offer about the locations of the various communities on Shackleford Banks. She also employs a wider range of (generally much more recent) secondary sources to inform her account than does any previous study. Many of these sources were also locally published (e.g., *Our Shared Past, Diamond City and Ca'e Bankers Reunion August 15, 1999: Remembering 100 Years Ago*, a pamphlet published by the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum on Harkers Island), but she also references several post-1990 journal articles as well. It is notable that hers is the first of any of these studies to cite David Cecelski's *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (2001) or William Powell's earlier, but still fairly recent and very scholarly work on North Carolina history.[50]

Garrity-Blake and Sabella, meanwhile, have mined underutilized collections of oral histories gathered from park-area residents since the 1970s. As it presently stands, their draft study focuses on the living twentieth-century community at Harkers Island. It examines hunting, fishing, economic activities, churches, schools, stores, trade, transportation, lifeways, histories of hurricanes and storms, and the relationship of the community to other nearby communities and the NPS. Like other studies, it opens with a historical overview, based largely on Dunbar (1956), Stick's *Outer Banks of North Carolina* (1958), and several local sources (e.g., Davis and Hamilton, *The Heritage of Carteret County*, and *Island Born and Bred: A Collection of Harkers Island Food, Fun, Fact, and Fiction*). They also draw some material from H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis's *Time Before History: The*

49 Ibid., 7–8.

50 Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey,* 80–85.

Archaeology of North Carolina (1998), which had not been cited by previous studies.[51]

Historic Structure Reports

Simultaneously with the writing of some of the later of the above studies, the park embarked on a concerted campaign that produced an astonishing fourteen new historic structure reports (HSRs) in two years. NPS architectural historian Tommy Jones researched and wrote all of these very-detailed and heavily illustrated discussions of the architectural and structural history of particular buildings at both Cape Lookout Village and Portsmouth.

According to the park's 2003 annual report, the ten HSRs written for buildings at Cape Lookout were done in compliance with a court-ordered settlement between the park and former Cape Lookout Village leaseholders who had challenged the termination of the twenty-five-year leases they had been granted at the park's creation in the 1970s.[52] The leases, covering fourteen properties whose owners had resisted selling their houses for the park in the 1970s, had allowed the owners to continue to use what had long been part-time vacation cottages. In August of 2001, as their leases began to expire, the leaseholders (who had commissioned the National Register nomination for the village in 2000) initiated a legal battle in hopes of being able to hold on to their leases. They feared that, once the leases expired, the NPS would either raze the homes or allow them to deteriorate, thus obliterating their families' heritage. By a court settlement, the lessees were allowed to continue their leases through September of 2003 while the park conducted historical research on the structures in anticipation of a planning process to determine their future use.[53] The HSRs were key elements of the park's due diligence in conducting the research.

The HSRs, although intended to focus primarily on architectural details, each included an opening section on "Historical Background and Context." These contextual sections are similar in all of the reports and based in large part on the same set of key sources. Secondary sources include a 1921 article by Fred A. Olds, David Cecelski's 1993 article on mullet camps, Dunbar, Ehrenhard, Holland, Stick, and the 2000 Cape Lookout Village National Register nomination. Main primary sources were Edmund Ruffin's 1861 study, Carteret county deeds and other records, census records, the CALO photographic collection, and a set of Life-Saving Station Coast Guard journals held at the National Archives branch in East Point, Georgia.[54] Each study differs slightly, however, in discussing the homeowners' history, thus providing a window into the twentieth and twenty-first-century histories of the families remaining on Core Banks.

Although Jones concluded that the findings at Cape Lookout Village did not necessitate a divergence from previous management practices and interpretive emphases (e.g., "man and the sea"), in fact the introduction of Cape Lookout Village's structures into the park's portfolio of officially designated "historic" buildings did introduce the prospect of some new themes and stories, particularly pertaining to tourism and recreational use of the Outer Banks, aborted land development schemes, and the changing relationship of the Outer Banks to both the mainland and the rest of the world in the twentieth century.

Limitations of Existing CALO Historiography

Taken together, these extant studies, often constrained more by circumstantial opportunity or unavoidable urgency than by the prescribed

51 Barbara J. Garrity-Blake and James Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study of Cape Lookout National Seashore Including a Case Study of Harkers Island: Draft Report of Phase I* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore: 2007).

52 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2003* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore); see also Warren J. Davis, et al., Plaintiff, v. United States of America, et al., Defendants. Case No. 4:01-CV-117-H(3). September 4, 2002.

53 Jerry Allegood, "Like being in another world," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 19, 2001; "Core Banks Cottages Rich in History, Tradition" (2003).

54 David S. Cecelski, "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast," *North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1993): 1–13; Fred A. Olds, "Cape Lookout Lonesome Place," *The Orphan's Friend* 46, no. 26; Edmund Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina, and the Similar Adjacent Lands* (Raleigh, NC: Institution for the Deaf & Dumb & The Blind, 1861).

sequences recommended by NPS, are marked by primary documentary research of varying scope and limited grounding in relevant secondary literature. Indeed, a consistent series of fewer than ten books, studies, or articles undergirds a majority of the "context" provided for all the studies. And most of those sources (e.g., Dunbar, Stick, Holland, Burke) are now more than forty years old.

The park's overarching interpretive frameworks, at least as reflected in planning documents through 1997, tend to follow those first blocked out by F. Ross Holland in 1968. Unfortunately, those frameworks lack grounding either in the best recent scholarship, or in some cases even in the new onsite research that has been done, especially at Cape Lookout Village. Consequently, they do not provide adequate guidance for interpretive efforts.

New Scholarship, New Contexts

A more serious result of this continued reliance on a few tried-and-true sources is that the park's research, resources, and internal historiography are too often out of touch with developments in the larger field of history over the past forty years. Much like the sand along the Outer Banks, historical scholarship has since the 1960s been reshaped by the equivalent of strong scholarly winds: the development of a "new social history" of formerly overlooked or disempowered groups and the advent of postmodernism, transnationalism, and other broad interpretive perspectives. Yet, unlike the storms and hurricanes that have reshaped the coastal landscape, these winds have had a relatively small effect upon CALO's historical research, planning, and interpretation.

Thus, although the research that has already been completed is quite useful, much of it has not been contextualized as broadly as it could and should be. Virtually no single study has been well grounded in the best published sources available at the time it was written, or—more particularly—informed by potentially useful new perspectives, methodologies, and analytical frames. Additionally, the contexts delineated in these studies tend to be fairly local except as they touch on several specific topics, such as the Life-Saving Service, the Coast Guard, hurricanes and shifting inlets, or lighthouses. Even the rest of North Carolina and the East Coast receive scant attention, as do many relevant elements of southern and national history. The studies of CALO's historic resources—despite the bridges that previous studies have built to the institutional histories of the Coast Guard and the Life-Saving Service—are nearly as isolated as an inland sound following an inlet-closing hurricane.

Fortunately, a great deal of potentially useful work lies just outside this fairly constricted frame. During the more than thirty years since the park was established and the first studies began to be written, the historiographical ground has shifted, giving us new analytical and interpretive possibilities.[55] The remainder of our study takes as one of its central purposes to look at CALO and its historic resources through the lens of this work, some of it new, some of it long available but never used.

What specific possibilities has the shift generated? Most importantly, it has generated a reexamination of long-established ways of doing history. In the process, it has introduced new terminology (e.g., "subaltern"), defined and applied new critical paradigms (e.g., postmodernism, postcolonialism), lent its energies to whole new areas of analysis (e.g., environmental history), and drawn upon (and to a degree merged itself with) work in a variety of traditional disciplines with which it shares increasingly permeable boundaries (such as anthropology, geography, economics, and sociology).[56]

55 See, for example, John Alexander and James Lazell, *Ribbon of Sand: The Amazing Convergence of the Ocean and the Outer Banks*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); *Ribbon of Sand* (Cape Lookout National Seashore orientation film); Orrin H. Pilkey, Jr., *The North Carolina Shore and Its Barrier Islands: Restless Ribbons of Sand (*Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

56 See, for instance, the University of California Berkeley's Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management's extensive environmental history bibliography for the American South, available at http://www.cnr.berkeley.edu/departments/espm/env-hist/south.html.

At the same time, this work has over the last forty years shifted much of its focus from the customary elite (generally male) historical actors to the everyday lives and worlds of ordinary people, away from the old nation-states to transnational and global processes and domains (e.g., Atlantic world history), and away from older, dominant urban and metropolitan areas to rural and less developed ones. Consequently, many new areas of work have emerged, defined themselves, and flourished: regional studies (Appalachian, Great Plains, New England), women's and gender studies, cultural studies, African American and American Indian or Native American studies, and others.[57]

The analysis in the following chapters is framed in the context of both the best of the older sources and newly available historiography. The emergence of these new perspectives, new methodologies, and new areas of work offers an excellent opportunity to contribute substantially to the mounting scholarly and interpretive work on the historic resources and the history of what is now Cape Lookout National Seashore. In this chapter, we offer some brief glimpses of possibilities to be developed in detail in later chapters (the broader history of North Carolina, maritime and coastal history, the history of the Atlantic world, slavery and race, commercial development, tourism, gender and class, and Outer Banks culture). Reframing this history in this and related ways will allow us to reconceptualize and to a degree resituate CALO's historic resources, thus opening new interpretive possibilities.

The Broader History of North Carolina

In the existing studies of Cape Lookout and its historic resources, one reads repeatedly of things one might expect in a coastal region such as the Outer Banks: shoals, shipwrecks, and lighthouses; opening and closing inlets; pilots and lightering; Portsmouth as a port and Shell Castle stores and warehouses; naval stores; and canals that did or did not get built. One also from time to time (though infrequently) is reminded of how crucial the inlets were—how after Currituck Inlet closed in 1828, all North Carolina shipping not bound into or out of Wilmington passed through Ocracoke Inlet and how the chance opening or closing of this or that inlet by a hurricane could turn a sound from fresh to saltwater and change the surrounding economy.

What one gets little sense of, however, is how all of this was related to the larger development of the rest of the colony and the state, derisively called "Lubberland" or "the Rip Van Winkle state" by comparison with Virginia (with its Chesapeake Bay and port of Norfolk, served by a railway by the 1840s) and South Carolina (with its port at Charleston).

In the larger history of North Carolina, the Outer Banks, as a problematic transportation bottleneck, played a key role in keeping the state's citizens poor and backward. Transportation and commerce between the coast and the rest of the state were always difficult. Wilmington helped, of course, with its huge traffic in naval stores, but Wilmington was more than 150 miles south of Portsmouth and more than 30 miles inland from the ocean by the Cape Fear River, which was navigable for less than 90 miles (to Fayetteville). The famous

57 The large majority of colleges and universities in the United States now have (and have long had) programs in women's and gender studies and in African American studies. Scores of American Indian studies programs may be found virtually coast to coast (see http://oncampus.richmond.edu/faculty/ASAIL/guide/guide.html). New England studies programs flourish at the University of Rhode Island (http://www.uri.edu/catalog/cataloghtml/courses/nes.html), the University of Southern Maine (http://www.usm.maine.edu/anes/), Boston University (http://www.universities.com/OnCampus/Boston_University_Doctors_degree_American_and_New_England_Studies.html), and elsewhere. Great Plains studies programs operate at the University of Nebraska (http://www.unl.edu/plains/) and Wichita State University (http://trailfire.com/streamhopper/markview/88420). The first Appalachian studies programs appeared by the mid-1970s, and more than twenty of them continue to draw many students at Appalachian State University (http://www.appstudies.appstate.edu/), Virginia Tech (http://www.idst.vt.edu/appalachia/), the University of Kentucky (http://www.research.uky.edu/Appalcenter/Appalachian%20Studies/appalachianstudies.html), and elsewhere. Some sense of the new analysis of the region that has been undertaken during the past several decades, much of it deriving from the reconceptualizations of history discussed here, may be gained from the Appalachian Studies Association's website at http://www.libraries.wvu.edu/bibliography/index.htm. A useful entry portal for information on Atlantic world studies is maintained by Vanderbilt University (http://people.vanderbilt.edu/~sue.a.marasco/atlanticworld.htm). A particularly pertinent program in Atlantic world studies is the College of Charleston's Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World program (http://www.cofc.edu/atlanticworld).

Figure 1-3. Steamer *Neuse* taking on naval stores in Wilmington, 1870s. Rufus Morgan Collection, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

Wilmington & Weldon Railroad, completed in 1840, was of no use for Outer Banks commerce; it ran from Wilmington to Weldon (near the Virginia border) by way of Goldsboro and Rocky Mount, reinforcing early transportation patterns in North Carolina that tended to run north-south rather than east-west. Politically, frustration with the state's persistent commercial isolation propelled the early nineteenth-century program of internal improvements initiated by Archibald D. Murphey in 1815. Murphey's program included improving transportation (roads and turnpikes, canals, river channels, locks), draining swamps, and developing markets.[58] Within this context, the role of Portsmouth and Ocracoke Inlet as a major (and for years, the only) reliable avenue of entry through the Outer Banks to the early population and power centers of the Albemarle region takes on substantially greater significance.

Oddly, considerable information and interpretation on this whole set of issues was easily accessible at the time the earliest CALO studies were being drafted, but was not used. The preeminent historian Hugh T. Lefler started publishing what became a long series of books on North Carolina history in the late 1940s, and by the time CALO opened, his *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (co-authored with Albert Ray Newsome) had already been through several editions.[59] Lefler's successor, William S. Powell, inaugurated his series of comprehensive studies of the state's history in 1976 with the *North Carolina Gazeteer*; even Powell's *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* is almost twenty years old. By now, of course, the potentially useful bibliography on the state is very extensive indeed.

Maritime and Coastal History

In the existing studies of CALO and its historic resources, one encounters some good work on certain aspects of maritime history. Reading these sometimes quite-detailed materials, however, one might conclude that few aspects of maritime history are relevant to CALO until the ships appear on the horizon and spy the lighthouses, negotiate the treacherous shoals and inlets (or fail and are rescued by the Life-Saving Service), are piloted and lightered, and deal with the Custom House at Portsmouth (or evade doing so, smuggling their cargoes in as contraband). These are undeniably pivotal aspects of CALO's own sector of maritime history. As in other areas, however, the study of that history has expanded greatly during the past several decades, providing analytical and interpretive possibilities not yet available when some of the earlier CALO studies were completed. The North Carolina Maritime History Council, East Carolina University's Program in Maritime Studies, and the Maritime Studies Association, all established during the past two decades, are suggestive of expanded activities in maritime

58 William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 261–263. Murphey's program ran aground for a number of reasons, including the chartering of the state's first railroad in 1834, which made water-based transportation far less attractive. Beaufort, established in 1715 and named an official colonial "port of entry" for collection of customs during the eighteenth century, was blessed with excellent access to the open ocean, but its lack of river or railroad access to North Carolina's interior meant that its role in the colony and state's commercial development was minimal. By the late eighteenth century, in fact, Beaufort had been eclipsed by Wilmington, New Bern, and Edenton. See Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, 142–172, and David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 156.

59 Hugh T. Lefler, *North Carolina History Told By Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954; revised editions 1963, 1973, 1979); Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1973).

history and of its broad reach.[60] NPS now operates more than two dozen units with significant maritime interest and focus.[61]

Setting CALO's maritime history connections within the broadest applicable frame would deepen its treatment of that history and give a sharper point to its interpretation of some of its most centrally important historic resources, such as Diamond City, the port of Portsmouth, and the maritime history of slavery (the latter examined in Cecelski's *The Waterman's Song* [2001]).

The Atlantic World

Closely related to the broad field of maritime history is the more focused recent work on what has come to be called the Atlantic world. That work offers an extraordinarily useful perspective on the history of the southern Outer Banks. Scholars in Harvard University's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World regularly argue that not only can one gain fresh and essential perspectives on local, regional, and national histories by linking them with the larger Atlantic world, but also that these histories cannot be adequately understood in the absence of such links.[62] Closer to home, the College of Charleston's Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World Program is directly illuminating for the CALO region.

As we will argue in a subsequent chapter, the Atlantic world frame forces a reconsideration of the established inland vs.barrier island dualism that underlies virtually all available analyses of the Outer Banks. To us it seems that a tripartite inland / Outer Banks / Atlantic world conception that encompasses both regional and global contexts is more useful. For example, the second earliest of the CALO National Register nominations (Portsmouth Village, 1978) duly notes that the village had a substantial slave population and drew its livelihood from the lightering (presumably by slaves) of "seagoing vessels" through Ocracoke Inlet.[63]

But that study was done too early to benefit from Cecelski's excellent analysis of the special character of maritime slavery or from recent Atlantic world perspectives. Neither "seagoing vessels" nor "slaves" denotes an entity generic enough to be safely generalized about. Through what seas were these vessels going and from where? Where did these particular slaves come from, and what difference did it make that they came from there and not somewhere else, or that they worked in a system in which they had direct contact with people from other places manning the incoming ships? Utilizing newly available perspectives, what can be said about the culture the slaves, the vessels, and their cargo brought to Portsmouth or about the texture of the slaves' lives in Portsmouth?

Slavery and Race

Four decades ago, Holland's study of Portsmouth Village noted the presence of significant numbers of slaves amidst its inhabitants, and subsequent studies of CALO and its historic resources acknowledge that slavery was a prominent feature of the history of the Outer Banks.[64] Subsequent CALO studies have presented and re-presented the slave vs. free numbers, mentioned slave pilots, and commented upon the fate of maritime slaves during the Civil War and the departure of African Americans from Portsmouth afterward.[65] But no study has engaged either slavery or race as specifically configured in the CALO region broadly or deeply enough to provide the needed framework for interpretation. It is especially noteworthy that slavery is not mentioned as an area of significance in the early National Register nominations.

Fortunately for those who need to understand the historical context of Cape Lookout and its historic resources, one principal focus of Atlantic world scholarship has been the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Some excellent recent scholarship is useful in this regard; yet, virtually none of it is cited in

60 The Council focuses principally on the upper Cape Fear, but its members' interests and activities reach into other areas of maritime history. Cape Hatteras National Seashore is currently a member of the Council (http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org/). For information about East Carolina University's Maritime Studies Program, see http://www.ecu.edu/maritime/; the Maritime Studies Association maintains a website at http://www.ecu.edu/msa/.

61 See http://www.nps.gov/history/maritime/maripark.html.

62 See the Seminar's web site at http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/.

63 Portsmouth Village: National Register Nomination; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 85.

64 Holland, *Survey History*, 40–41.

65 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 85.

even the most recent CALO studies. Cecelski's *The Waterman's Song* is both pointedly applicable and stunningly suggestive in its treatment of the working lives of maritime slaves, their sometimes loose relations with overseers and masters, the blurring of racial lines, slaves' ties to the radical politics of the Caribbean and the consequent threat of insurrection, the tinderbox racial situation in Wilmington (where both slaves and free blacks had to wear identification badges), and related matters.[66] Yet among the CALO historical studies that have appeared since Cecelski's work was published, only Emily Jateff's includes Cecelski's book in its bibliography (Jones's HSRs include a reference to a 1993 Cecelski article on mullet camps, but not to the book). Marvin Kay's *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748–1775* (1999), meanwhile, is useful for the pre-nineteenth-century period, and Kevin Dawson's *Enslaved Watermen of the Atlantic World, 1444–1888* (2005) provides a still broader context both chronologically and geographically. Cecelski's *A Historian's Coast: Adventures into the Tidewater Past* (2000) offers a perspective on race relations at Davis Ridge during the 1930s.

Commercial Development

The contemporary visitor is encouraged to encounter Cape Lookout National Seashore as an undeveloped "natural" area. Taking a cue from the park's recent orientation film *Ribbon of Sand,* romantically narrated by Meryl Streep, one might call it Meryl Streep's Cape Lookout. And many are those who have wished (and imagined) that it had ever been that way and could remain so. Somewhat wistfully, Edmund Ruffin observed the delicate tension between a pre-commercial and commercial area that was still evident just over a hundred years after the founding of Portsmouth. "Except at and near Portsmouth, and where actual residents have possession," he reported,

> there is no separate private property in lands, on this reef, from Ocracoke to Beaufort harbor. But though there are no land-marks, or means for distinguishing separate properties, every portion of the reef is claimed in some manner, as private property, though held in common use. If belonging to one owner, the unsettled land would be valuable, for the peculiar mode of stock-raising in use here. But under the existing undefined and undefinable common rights, the land is of no more value to one of the joint-owners, or claimants, than to any other person who may choose to place breeding stock on the reef. [67]

Whether Ruffin knew it or not, and no doubt he did, Portsmouth had been the scene of intense entrepreneurial and commercial competition from its very founding in 1753. As early as 1715, the British Lords Proprietors who initially governed the colony were trying to get a whaling industry started. Nearby Shell Castle Island was the scene of frenetic commercial development by the end of the century.

The history of the southern Outer Banks and its adjacent mainland is in fact inseparable from the stream of commercial development that was present from the beginning of European settlement. Reading the extant CALO studies, one cannot be unaware that there has been commercial development of one sort or another throughout the modern history of the Banks: boat and ship-building, shipping, lightering, piloting, whaling, fishing (of every imaginable variety from shrimp to dolphin), operating fish houses, hunting, storekeeping and warehousing, and allied activities. The 1810 census reported that 80 percent of the working population in Portsmouth was involved in commercial activities related to the sea. [68]

Nor is what was going on on the Outer Banks themselves anything like the whole story, for that activity was part of a much larger pattern of maritime and inland commercial development. Cecelski's portrait of the logging town of Buffalo City on the Alligator River (the largest town by far in Dare County between 1885 and1925) is arresting. It was home to more than 300 workers who lived under tightly controlled, nearly feudal circumstances: paid in scrip usable only at the company store, bound by company-made laws

66 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 124–126, 134.

67 Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina,* 130.

68 The North Carolina Maritime Council's "List of Ships Built in North Carolina from Colonial Times to circa 1900" contains the names of over two hundred ships (the vast majority schooners) ranging up to nearly 300 tons constructed in Carteret County prior to the Civil War (http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org); Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 21.

enforced by vigilante justice, employed to work ten-hour days for fifteen cents an hour.[69]

The problem as we see it is at least twofold: (1) these strands of CALO's history are nowhere brought together into a coherent interpretive narrative, and (2) they are not linked sufficiently to more-intensive commercial development that flourished in the region stretching away from the park on all sides: turpentine and naval stores, logging, and tourism (both to the north and to the south). They are not, that is, set in the essential framework of the development history of the larger region of which CALO is a part.

Tourism

One subset of the general complex of commercial development that deserves more, and more coherent, attention than it has yet received is tourism. For a variety of reasons, Cape Lookout never drew the attention of tourists to the degree that the Banks north of Ocracoke Inlet, where Nags Head was known as a resort area at least by the 1830s, did.[70]

The National Register nomination prepared for Cape Lookout Village more than two decades after the one for Portsmouth pays some attention to scattered incidents of tourist-related development on the southern Banks, as do other CALO studies.[71] But no available CALO study attempts to set these incidents within a comprehensive discussion of tourism as a sector of economic development or a broad catalyst of social and cultural change on the Outer Banks. What had happened long before CALO was established, around Wilmington at the end of the nineteenth century and on Nags Head and the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, is directly pertinent to how policy decisions made about CALO itself must be understood.

Fairly early on, it was decided not to pursue tourist-related development at the park, but things might have gone another way. The 1963 GDP maps show fairly intensive tourist development on Shackleford Banks. A state-built "highway causeway bridge" and ferry from Lenoxville Point near park headquarters (not on Harkers Island but just outside Beaufort) were to bring tourists to beach and campground areas and a marina, all connected by a road running almost to Barden Inlet. A ranger station was to provide oversight.[72] Before the park's establishment, after 1915, the Cape Lookout Development Company subdivided lands near the lighthouse and sold a few lots for a planned summer resort, which failed to come to fruition.[73]

Fortunately, the past several decades have witnessed the emergence of a substantial analytical literature on tourism.[74] This literature can certainly be helpful with regard to the larger tourist-dominated coastal region where CALO is located. More particularly, it can help us understand some of its tourist-related historic resources (e.g., the Coca-Cola House, the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge).[75] It can also help in understanding

69 David S. Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast: Adventures into the Tidewater Past* (Winston-Salem: J.F. Blair, 2000), 105–109.

70 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 271. Louis Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study* (Manteo, NC: Cape Hatteras National Seashore, ca. 1985), 59.

71 Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register Nomination.

72 National Park Service, *General Development Plan Map, Proposed Cape Lookout National Seashore* (Washington, DC: National Park Service Office of Resource Planning, 1963).

73 Ibid., 27.

74 Centrally important studies (some focused on other regions and periods but nevertheless illuminating for CALO's history) include Warren Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979); Catherine Bishir, *The "Unpainted Aristocracy": The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head* (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1978); Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005); Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880–1940* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); Richard D. Starnes, ed., *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003); and Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway*. Orrin Pilkey's work on the environmental consequences of coastal and barrier island tourism development (cited in several of the CALO works) is, of course, relevant as well.

75 Beth Keane, Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration, September 22, 2004); Tommy Jones, *Coca-Cola House, Cape Lookout Village: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004).

its elements of tourist-related history, even where no built resources are in evidence, such as the "almost happened" history of the Cape Lookout Development Company, mentioned repeatedly in extant CALO studies but never accorded more than a few paragraphs of discussion.[76]

Gender and Class

The interpretive wayside in front of the Styron and Bragg house (1928) in Portsmouth informs visitors matter of factly and without elaboration that "Brothers-in-law Jody Styron and Tom Bragg built their house using materials salvaged from at least two older buildings. Tom, Jody, and Jody's wife, Hub, ran a hunting service out of their new home. While Tom and Jody guided hunters out into the marshes, Hub cooked the meals and kept house." Like many interpretive statements, this one hints at history it does not engage. Much of that history has to do with both gender and class, two subjects with which much of the historical scholarship of the last forty years has been regularly occupied. If there is an Outer Banks or "Banker" culture (as many have claimed), it is a culture like virtually all others, in which both gender and class were and are strongly marked and situated within a social and economic system for which those markers carry great weight; the Styron and Bragg men served as guides for their (male) social "betters," and Hub stayed home and cooked for the men.

Commenting as early as 1861 on the depredations of "northern interlopers . . . of the lowest character and estimation" who were regularly hunting on local lands in Maryland and Virginia, Edmund Ruffin foresaw the strongly class-marked commercial hunting operations that would later become widespread on the Outer Banks.[77] The social and economic status of Ruffin's market-oriented "interlopers of the lowest character and estimation" (or whatever they might more generously be called) has not so far as we know been studied in detail, but their successors a few decades later were well enough off to have had at their disposal the required leisure, the necessary equipment, and sufficient funds to hire Jody Styron and Tom Bragg to guide them to the waterfowl, and Hub Styron to have hot meals ready for them when they returned.

Not all of the hunters were from the north, to be sure, and thus not all were "interlopers" of whatever ethical stripe, but their numbers were sufficient to support the development of a substantial industry of commercial hunting and sport fishing on the Outer Banks for many decades. Hunting clubs, "rod and gun" clubs, and similarly named establishments proliferated after the Civil War, and in due time the traffic was sufficient to motivate the construction of an airstrip at Portsmouth.[78] The history of this sort of activity is entwined with a number of CALO's buildings, including the Dixon-Salter House, in which the Salter Gun Club was established more than a hundred years after Ruffin wrote.[79]

How many people (of either sex) were involved in the service economy that developed around such institutions has never been calculated, but it would have been substantial and it lasted over a very long period. When a storm opened Barden Inlet in 1933 and sport fishermen gained easy access to the ocean, tourists streamed in, and the first local motel opened on Harkers Island, no doubt employing the first of a new generation of service workers.[80]

The difficulty of discussing the issue of class on the Outer Banks is complicated by the difficulty attached to its inseparability from race as well as gender. Black (slave) pilots in the eighteenth century could reasonably be called working class, but some evidence suggests that by virtue of their

76 See for example Tommy Jones, *Lewis Davis House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003), 14. See also Cape Lookout National Seashore, Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register nomination, Sec. 8, 27–28.

77 Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina.*

78 Exactly when the airstrip was built is not clear from the available studies. Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 71–76, says that it was after World War I; the *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* (31) implies that it was built in the 1950s. It is clearly evident in aerial photographs from the 1960s.

79 See Keane, "Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration, Sec. 8, 6–8 for one recital of details. See also Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast*, 93–100. Cecelski comments primarily upon the hunting between 1880 and the passage of regulatory legislation between 1918 and 1927.

80 Garrity-Blake and Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study,* 6.5.1.

indispensability they may have occupied a class position somewhat above other slaves—at least far enough above that by 1773 white pilots felt threatened enough by their status to complain to the North Carolina General Assembly, which debated the issue repeatedly during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[81]

What is abundantly clear is that totalizing local residents as "Bankers" (or by other commonly used terms) with respect to race or any other defining social category is not serviceable analytically. In subsequent chapters, we attempt to disaggregate that complex to some extent and bring some more pointed discussion to its elements.

Outer Banks Culture

While it is not mentioned in the extant studies as often as the weather, shipwrecks, or the Coast Guard, Banker culture is a recurring (if usually only briefly attended to) theme. There is a fair consensus that some sort of special or even unique Banker culture exists, that it has long been in evidence, that it has generally resisted the modernizing changes that have swirled around and through it, and that it somehow derives from and helps to sustain the concrete features and processes of maritime life. Such conceptions are ubiquitous. Tourism promotion advertisements, popular media, and public discourse are replete with discussions of the "isolation" of Bankers, of the myths and legends about them, of "hoi toide" speech, of attenuated (or even absent) "outside" influences, and the like.[82]

Outer Banks culture is considered real enough, at least, that the writer of the Cape Lookout Village National Register nomination (2000) lamented its passing. "It is fortunate," one reads, "that the Cape Lookout National Seashore retains two of its historic settlements, Portsmouth . . . and Cape Lookout Village . . . . Associated with a culture that has completely disappeared, these rare surviving Outer Banks settlements are invaluable as the only remaining cultural landscapes of the Bankers."[83]

While it would be folly to deny that there are cultural characteristics special to the Outer Banks, since virtually all places and groups have some array of them, we are also mindful that a historic resource study may too easily default uncritically to widely accepted conceptions of the cultural systems under discussion. This is particularly true where claims of cultural distinctiveness derive partly from a perception of physical isolation in a harsh environment.

Since cultural studies of the Outer Banks are not yet either numerous or highly developed, we consider a somewhat analogous region for which analysis is well advanced.[84] By the mid-1960s, the Appalachian region had been (mis)understood for more than a hundred years as remote, isolated, premodern, and culturally special or unique—not, that is to say, unlike the Outer Banks. How that cultural specialness or uniqueness was characterized depended upon the commentator's perspective, purpose, and audience. Some depicted it in terms of a vaguely conceived nobility, a retention of "Elizabethan" speech, special skill and creativity (woodcarving, quilting), and preference for traditional ways over change or modernity. Less positively, others emphasized stubborn self-isolation, suspicion of "furriners," inbreeding, backwardness, and violence and feuding. In either case, Appalachia was depicted as a puzzlingly static social, cultural, and political island within a progressive, dynamic, and relentlessly modernizing America.

For good or ill, then, Appalachia was understood (like the Outer Banks) as an exception to

81 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 49–50.

82 See for example Walt Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of the Ocracoke Brogue* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

83 Cape Lookout National Seashore, Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register Nomination, 29.

84 Notable exceptions are the work of historian David Cecelski and anthropologist Barbara Garrity-Blake. Detailed scholarly work on the Appalachian region, emerging initially in the early 1970s, has been especially sensitive to the pervasiveness (and interpretive dangers) of popular and scholarly misconceptions of regional culture and cultural history. The most complete and accessible portal for the scholarship is the website of the Appalachian Studies Association. See also Rudy Abramson and Jeanne Haskell (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Appalachia*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006). For our own work in this area, see David E. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, Power, and Planning in Appalachia,* rev. ed. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1994), and *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), and Anne M. Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway* .

mainstream values, practices, and development.[85] Whole institutions and popular genres were built around such conceptions: schools, museums, films, music recordings, comic strips, souvenir shope mementos, tourist-oriented businesses, and cultural festivals.

Recent analyses of Appalachian regional history illuminate aspects of currently dominant descriptions of Outer Banks people and their culture. A perception of isolation, whether by miles of water or by high mountain peaks, leads commentators to similar cultural "observations" (grounded in research or not): "hoi toide" speech and yaupon chopping for Bankers, and "Elizabethan" speech and ginseng gathering for mountaineers. The derogatory "yaupon-choppers" phrase rings with eerie familiarity to scholars of the hillbilly stereotype.[86] Even the relatively recent HRS for Cape Hatteras National Seashore (1985) repeats elements of the cultural complex. "It was inevitable," the study notes at one point, "that a small segment of society such as the Bankers, isolated as they were, would assume a culture somewhat distinct and unique from the Carolinians of the mainland. One observer in 1749 noted that he had received intelligence which led him to suspect that the Bankers (a set of people . . . who are very wild and ungovernable . . .), would come in a body and pillage the ships, etc."[87]

But all such received characterizations of complex cultural systems must be viewed with caution. From the late 1960s onward, scholars and local activists challenged such misconceptions and misinterpretations of the Appalachian region. A whole generation of Appalachian scholars came to argue in favor of an anti-exceptionalist perspective on the region and its history.[88]

One does not need to strike unsustainably direct comparisons between regions to be alerted to the dangers of uncritically exceptionalist readings of any particular region's past or present. Nor should one fail to grant that elements of difference do exist. Hoi toide speech can in fact still be heard, Core Sound workboats are still being built, and it is still 30 miles from banks to mainland at some points. Nevertheless, interaction between the Outer Banks border region (as it seems useful to conceive of it) and both the mainland and the Atlantic world has been and is continuous and undeniable.

Thus on balance it seems best to take an anti-exceptionalist approach to understanding the culture of those who have made their lives and done their work on the southern Outer Banks and adjacent sectors of the mainland. While not denying or overlooking some markers of persistent (or emergent) difference, the area's history must be reframed in relationship to all relevant contexts in order to comprehend the cultural system within larger systems of which it is a part. In that way, culture can be attended to insofar as it will help one to understand the structures, buildings, objects, and landscapes that constitute the bulk of the park's historic resources. We develop this perspective further in later chapters.

85 A key early document was Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders: A Narrative of Adventure in the Southern Appalachians and a Study of Life among the Mountaineers* (1913). The stream of such narratives has continued unbroken ever since. See for example Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1965). The negative depictions of mountaineers flourished anew in the age of television (for example in *The Dukes of Hazzard* [1979–1985]) and the Internet (where a YouTube search on *hillbilly* returns countless hits).

86 See for example Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), and Jerry Williamson, *Hillbillyland: What the Movies Did to the Mountains and What the Mountains Did to the Movies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

87 Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*, 62.

88 See especially Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight Billings, and Altina L. Waller, "Taking Exception with Exceptionalism The Emergence and Transformation of Historical Studies of Appalachia" in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight Billings, and Altina L. Waller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1995), 1–24.

To and From the Most Remarkable Places:

The Communities of Ocracoke Inlet as North Carolina's Gateway to an Atlantic World

Off the Beaten Path? The Challenge of Understanding Portsmouth's Past

In 1957, North Carolina journalist Carl Goerch, founding publisher of the boosterish magazine *The State* and a frequent writer about the Outer Banks, profiled the little village of Portsmouth for the Raleigh *News and Observer*. Roadless and perched at the north end of Core Banks on the south side of Ocracoke Inlet, the town, Goerch wrote, was "so inaccessible, so isolated, and so far off the beaten path that very few people have ever set foot there." Thirteen mostly elderly permanent residents somehow persisted on the island, despite having no electricity, no running water, and only one telephone among them. Each day, one of them, an African American man named Henry Pigott, rowed or poled his small craft out into the Pamlico Sound to collect residents' mail and other supplies brought by the daily mail boat running from Atlantic, North Carolina, to nearby Ocracoke.[1]

Fourteen years later, Pigott and the little town were both dead, and the ghost village was being engulfed by the developing Cape Lookout National Seashore.[2] The town today is little different from what Goerch described; indeed, one is hard-pressed to imagine a part of North Carolina that is more remote. At least two ferry rides and several hours are required to get there from anywhere on the North Carolina mainland. Portsmouth is no longer on the way to anywhere.

It wasn't always so. The town's decline was long and slow. Its slide started in the mid-nineteenth century, when changing physiogeography and transportation and trade patterns began to render this formerly bustling community obsolete after nearly a century when it had reigned as the most significant early settlement on the entire Outer Banks. At its height in 1860, the town had approximately 469 white and about 117 African American slave inhabitants, but by 1940, the population had dwindled to 42.[3]

Comprehending Portsmouth's history requires us to marshall all of our powers of historical imagination, especially since the physical remains of the village mostly date from well after its zenith. Indeed, only 2 of the 109 dwellings that may have stood at Portsmouth in 1860 are there today: the Washington Roberts House and the Wallace-Grace House.[4] Most of the rest of what the Park Service now preserves there dates from the period after 1890; as a 2007 CLR noted, "[t]he site lacks integrity . . . for the eighteenth and nineteenth century period of significance. Only a handful of buildings and structures survive from the nineteenth century, and none from the eighteenth century."[5]

1 Carl Goerch, "Where the Mailman Comes by Boat," *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 8, 1957.

2 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 94.

3 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 79, 93; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 57–58.

4 Tommy Jones, *Washington Roberts House, Portsmouth: Historic Structure Report* [Partial Draft], October 2003, 15; Portsmouth Village: National Register Nomination, Section 8, 2.

5 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 7.

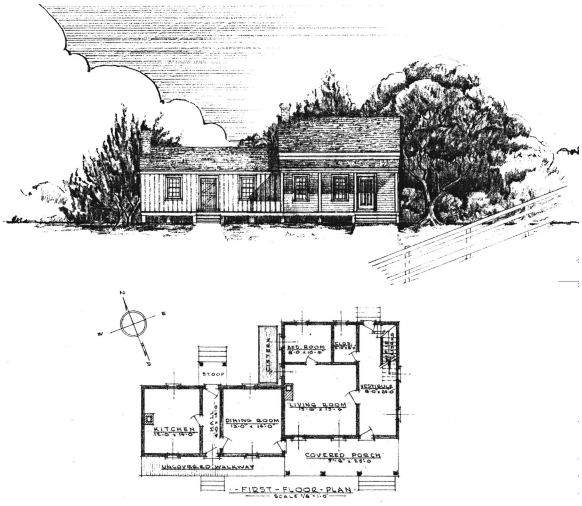


Figure 2-1. Washington Roberts House, Portsmouth. Jones, *Washington Roberts House,* 21.

Additionally, current land-ownership (and conceptual) boundaries hinder any understanding of Portsmouth as a part of a larger community surrounding Ocracoke Inlet. Most of Portsmouth is now owned by the federal government, of course, and is administratively part of CALO. But the village's history is intimately tied up with that of Ocracoke Village across the inlet, as well as with Shell Castle Island, a former commercial center in the inlet that now appears to be no more than an inconsequential pile of rubble owned by the National Audubon Society and maintained as a bird sanctuary.[6] An understanding of the town's history and significance, then, must place the village in its larger context and cannot rest simply in a literal reading of its physical remains, which are at best only suggestive of what once was an intensively developed area.

It appears that, in fact, the fragmentary remains and administrative boundaries and the site's present isolation *have* hindered understanding of the village's eighteenth and nineteenth-century history. Additionally, thinking about the area's history from a point of view that has defined historical frames of reference based almost entirely upon a modern idea of the "state of North Carolina" has produced many accounts that render Portsmouth as insignificant and isolated as it now appears. The 2007 entry on the Outer Banks in the *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, for instance, notes that in the nineteenth century, "the Outer Banks remained remote, physically and culturally isolated from mainland North Carolina."[7] Portsmouth plays only a bit part in most conventional histories of the state, which focus on the Outer Banks mainly in their geophysical capacity as "barrier islands": barriers to a state's settlement, trade, commerce, travel, and development.

There is no doubt that in some senses the Outer Banks were, from North Carolina's standpoint, barriers. Forming a transportation bottleneck, they played a key role in keeping the state's citizens comparatively poor and backward in the colonial and pre-Civil War periods. Waterborne transportation and commerce between the Atlantic ocean and the inner coast of the colony or state were always difficult, although the fact that the Delaware River often froze over for several weeks each winter, excluding ocean commerce from Philadelphia, reminds us that eighteenth-century travel and commerce in other regions of the country were also plagued with problems.[8]

At any rate, a narrative of North Carolina history that emphasizes how the state overcame the problems presented by the Outer Banks seems mostly to cast the area as "distant" and, as progress came in the form for example of new railroads, increasingly irrelevant. In this telling, the important events of early nineteenth-century history are those that improved trade and transportation and shifted the storyline away from the islands where—paradoxically—the state's post-European contact story began.

Part of the key to this familiar narrative of the Outer Banks as distant and irrelevant was the growth of the port at Wilmington, already North Carolina's leading port by the time of the American Revolution, whose huge traffic in naval stores peaked in the 1840s. Wilmington was more than 150 miles south of Portsmouth and more than 30 miles inland from the ocean, but it was located on the Cape Fear River, the state's only river that

6 Phillip Horne McGuinn, "Shell Castle, A North Carolina Entrepot, 1789–1820: An Historical and Archaeological Investigation" (M.A. thesis, East Carolina University, 2000), 350.

7 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 858.

8 Alice Barnwell Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783–1812" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1941), 125–126.

empties directly into the ocean.[9] The famous Wilmington & Weldon Railroad, completed in 1840, further marginalized the Outer Banks. As it ran from Wilmington to Weldon (near the Virginia border) by way of Goldsboro and Rocky Mount, the railroad reinforced early transportation patterns in North Carolina that tended to run north-south rather than east-west and cut the Outer Banks out of the state's main transport routes.[10]

Perhaps the best port near Core Banks, meanwhile, was Beaufort, established in 1715 as one of five official colonial ports of entry for customs collection during the eighteenth century. Its easy access to the ocean made it, according to Cecelski, "the most sea oriented port on the North Carolina coast" in the antebellum period, but its lack of river or railroad connections to the interior meant that its overall importance to North Carolina trade dwindled over the eighteenth century and did not recover in the nineteenth.[11]

These elements form the core of what is by now the customary narrative of the history of North Carolina, neatly summarized in the 1963 edition of Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome's venerable *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*. North Carolina in the early nineteenth century, the authors noted, "was so undeveloped, backward, and indifferent to its condition that it was often called . . . the 'Rip Van Winkle' state."[12]

9 Tycho de Boer, *Nature, Business, and Community in North Carolina's Green Swamp* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 55–62; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1206–1207; Alan Watson, *Wilmington: Port of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 3.

10 Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, 261–263. The railroad also brought the demise of Archibald Murphey's broad internal improvements program, designed to improve transportation and communication throughout the state and to end its commercial isolation. The program ultimately failed for a number of reasons, including the chartering of the railroad in 1834, which made water-based transportation far less attractive.

11 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 156; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, 142–172. Cecelski does note Beaufort's connections to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the Caribbean and says that "Beaufort's prosperity rose and fell with shipping . . . and with the fortunes of a number of newly emerging fisheries for salted mullet, oysters, and terrapin." There was also considerable shipbuilding in the town (discussed in a subsequent chapter).

12 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 298.

The lack of adequate ports to accommodate oceangoing travel and trade was largely to blame for this state of affairs. "A pitiless nature," Lefler and Newsome lamented, "had all but isolated North Carolina from the seaways of the world." The coast was "the playground of tempests and the graveyard of ships. Sand bars, penetrated only by inlets too shallow for ocean-borne trade, made commerce hazardous, inconvenient, and expensive. On the entire coast, there was not a good natural port or harbor."[13]

William S. Powell, the dean of North Carolina historians and author or editor of numerous basic reference books about the state, followed the same line of argument in his 1989 overview, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*. The book featured an aerial photograph of the Outer Banks on its cover, signaling that perhaps it would place the Outer Banks at the center of at least parts of the story. But the book's index contains only four references to the Outer Banks (plus three additional references to Ocracoke or its inlet). Powell, too, characterized the coast's role in North Carolina's history mainly as a geographic "barrier" to the state's development.[14]

A more recent comprehensive history of the state, Milton Ready's *The Tar Heel State* (2005), does not index the term "Outer Banks" at all, but includes discussion of the "barrier islands" in the usual opening chapter on geography's role in state history. After making a cameo appearance as the site of early exploration and the lost colony, the Banks largely disappear until the discussion of early nineteenth-century efforts at "internal improvements" aimed at facilitating transportation and commerce.[15] Similarly, in his recently published *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* (2009), William A. Link presses the same narrative: the Outer Banks was a place of failure and a hindrance to North Carolina's development. Site of the lost colony and the "Graveyard of the Atlantic," foothold for Union control of the coast in the Civil War, the Banks had to await the dawn of the twentieth century for its one moment of triumph, the successful flight of

13 Ibid., 306.

14 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*.

15 Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

the Wright Brothers' fragile craft at Kitty Hawk in 1903.[16]

Part of the problem with all of these accounts, of course, is that they view North Carolina from a comparative perspective, duly noting the state's inability to develop a busy and successful Atlantic port on the scale of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, or Charleston. It is clear that as of the late colonial period, North Carolina's export and import tonnage through her own ports paled in comparison to these other ports. In 1768–1769, for instance, nearly 34,000 tons of exports cleared the port of Boston, 26,000 tons the port of Norfolk, and 31,500 tons the port of Charleston. All of North Carolina's ports together, meanwhile, exported only 23,000 tons. As much as one-half of North Carolina's own exports in this period, in fact, left the colony overland, and most of that was eventually shipped from ports in Virginia or South Carolina. A similar pattern prevailed with imports as well.[17]

Reframing Ocracoke Inlet Within an Atlantic World Perspective

While there is no denying that the presence of the Outer Banks and the lack of good ports and easily navigable east-west waterways profoundly shaped North Carolina's early settlement, trade, and travel patterns, looking at the Outer Banks only from a comparative perspective or from the perspective of the rest of North Carolina does not do justice either to the early significance of the site or to its history as residents of Portsmouth—both black and white—experienced it during the town's zenith. Such accounts fail to see that while the rest of North Carolina may have been comparatively isolated because of the Outer Banks, Portsmouth was during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries one of the least-isolated parts of the state. By virtue of its proximity to Ocracoke Inlet, the major passageway through the barrier islands from the colonial period until the mid-nineteenth century, Portsmouth was a vibrant gateway from North Carolina to what historians have come rather recently to see as a wider "Atlantic world" in which connections fostered by ocean travel and commerce often had greater significance than state or political boundaries.

To understand Portsmouth, then, we must look at it on its own terms in relation to North Carolina and, in this wider Atlantic context, as belonging to a border region—a region in continual political, economic, and cultural dialogue with *both* the colony or state to the west and the larger watery world to the north, south, and east. That dialogue included the mainland ports of Edenton, New Bern, Beaufort, Bath, Washington, and Plymouth in North Carolina; the American coastal ports of Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and New England; the expansionist nations of western Europe; and the slave, rum, and sugarcane-trading islands of the Caribbean.

Changing our perspective and point of reference will allow us to see Portsmouth's story in a new light. Writing about seventeenth-century Virginia, April Lee Hatfield explains the transformative effect of an Atlantic world point of view:

> Far more than the historians who have studied them, seventeenth-century Virginians understood that they lived in a world much larger than the Chesapeake. Neglecting or underestimating the firm links between colonies, their impact on Virginia's history, and their relevance for understanding seventeenth-century English colonists' perceptions of their world, most historians have framed colonial history largely within political boundaries . . . . Such approaches fail to capture a dimension of colonial experience that was mobile, that crossed and recrossed the Atlantic Ocean and the colonies' political boundaries, that entailed the adoption of a transatlantic and transnational sense of geography among colonial 'adventurers,' that faced outward toward the seas and ships at least as intently as it looked toward westward and interior expansion, and that took for granted the circulation of people from diverse ethic and national points of origin and the ideas and information they brought with them as they traveled.[18]

16 William Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2009), 4–7, 16–24, 140, 192–194, 285.

17 Watson, *Wilmington: Port of North Carolina*, 11–12.

18 April Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 2–3.

Among historians, the concept of the "Atlantic world" has emerged and gained prominence (especially from the 1990s on) as a powerful analytical paradigm. Scholars in Harvard University's influential International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World (convened by Bernard Bailyn for nearly fifteen years now) regularly argue that not only can one gain fresh and essential perspectives on local, regional, and national histories by linking them with the larger Atlantic world, but also that these histories cannot be adequately understood in the absence of such links.[19]

Closer to home, the College of Charleston's Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World Program (CLAW, also founded nearly fifteen years ago) is directly illuminating for the Cape Lookout region. CLAW takes a cue from historian Peter H. Wood's observation (made nearly thirty-five years ago) that the lowcountry coast of the Carolinas constituted "a thin neck in the hourglass of the Afro-American past, a place where individual grains from all along the West African coast had been funneled together, only to be fanned out across the American landscape with the passage of time." Woods's early argument has helped inspire such recent work as University of North Carolina professor Peter Coclanis's edited collection *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (2005) and Bradford Wood's *This Remote Part of the World: Regional Formation in Lower Cape Fear, North Carolina, 1725–1775* (2004)—the latter based partly upon computer analysis of large bodies of disparate data. Both of these studies (published in CLAW's own series) and many related ones are pertinent to the history that CALO is called upon to understand and interpret for the public.

One of the best summaries of how the concept of the Atlantic world has been developed and deployed may be found in Georgetown historian Alison Games's article "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," which appeared in 2006 in the *American Historical Review*. Games identifies several sources of energy for the expansion of Atlantic frameworks as an avenue to new historical understanding, especially the burgeoning scholarship on the African diaspora and transatlantic slave-trading networks and new studies of colonial and imperial societies in the Atlantic (which benefit from the fact that their writers are usually well trained in the use of sources in several languages and locales).[20]

Games argues that effective Atlantic history must focus on the multiple means of exchange and interaction that oceangoing transit enabled, in particular the movement of goods, peoples, and ideas.[21] Observing that Atlantic history can entail a variety of approaches, from large-scale holistic studies that investigate entire Atlantic systems to small studies investigating a single location in an Atlantic framework, Games advocates a flexible definition of Atlantic history within which historians "work on geographic units that make sense for the questions they ask."[22] Additionally, she cautions that the extreme variety of particular stories within the wider Atlantic region often defy neat categorization or identification as a unitary "Atlantic culture" or "system." Effects and outcomes in one area or for one people, she argues, may have been very different from those in another.[23]

Similarly, although Atlantic world scholars generally concur that the concept begins to become useful in studying the post-1492 period with the extension of the European imperial reach into the western hemisphere, Games finds less agreement about when the end point for the idea's usefulness occurs. The period during which a number of (though certainly not all) European colonies attained their independence provides one convenient ending point (ca. 1825), while the (generally later) end of the slave trade in most places provides another. Indeed, from the standpoint of global interchange, many of the trends identified in Atlantic studies persist today.[24]

Most important for our purposes is Games's larger point: "The Atlantic, in short, was linked in ways that disregard the modern political boundaries

19 Bernard Bailyn, "Atlantic History Seminar," http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/. See also Timothy D. Hall and T. Breen, *Colonial America in an Atlantic World: A Story of Creative Interaction* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004).

20 Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 743–744.

21 Ibid., 755–756.

22 Ibid., 746–749 (quotation, 748).

23 Ibid., 751.

24 Ibid., 747, 751–752.

that have defined departmental field structures and specializations. Atlantic history ultimately privileges and requires history without borders."[25] Good Atlantic history, Games argues, would "put the ocean at the center," since people "moved around the Atlantic, and commodities did as well. The ocean was not only the vehicle of circulation, but also the unique space within which goods and people were created, defined, and transformed."[26] Although the "Atlantic world" perspective is by now mature enough within historical studies to have begun to merit its own reconsiderations, critiques, and sub-arenas of interest, it remains a useful perspective for a reconsideration of the history of the communities of North Carolina's barrier islands.[27]

A "History Without Borders" for the Ocracoke Inlet Communities

What would a "history without borders" that "puts the ocean at the center" and focuses on the movement of people and goods look like for eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Core Banks, Ocracoke Inlet, Ocracoke village, and Portsmouth? What if Portsmouth and the inlet were placed at the center of the story, rather than being viewed from a twentieth-century vantage point as off-center and out of the way?

For one thing, this new perspective requires simultaneous attention to at least three contexts: the North Carolina context, the intercolonial and interstate context of North America, and the wider Atlantic context. Extending April Lee Hatfield's argument about Virginia, it is clear that boundaries of the world the residents of Portsmouth inhabited encompassed and were affected by developments in North Carolina's key inland port cities, especially Edenton, New Bern, and Washington; the state's developing deepwater port at Wilmington on the Cape Fear River; other American ports, especially in Philadelphia, New York, and New England; and the West Indian and British ports that were the destination of much of the colony's and the state's further-flung international trade.[28]

Despite the fact that seaborne commerce from North Carolina was anemic compared with either Virginia's or South Carolina's robust oceanborne trade, it played a crucial role in North Carolina's late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century economy. North Carolinians were hardly, as Lefler and Newsome posited, "all but isolated . . . from the seaways of the world."[29] Rather, North Carolina experienced an economic and population boom beginning in the early eighteenth century that brought into clear focus the need to better manage the colony's waterborne commerce, which was growing briskly by century's end, especially after American independence.[30] The northern Core Banks, Ocracoke Inlet, and the town of Portsmouth played a key role in this unfolding drama.

The "lost colony" notwithstanding, North Carolina's earliest successful European settlers migrated south overland from Virginia into the Albermarle region of what became after 1663 the separate Carolina colony, control of which King Charles II bestowed upon eight Lords Proprietors. For years, the Lords Proprietors mostly ignored Albemarle and focused their development efforts on growing the more promising deepwater port of Charles Town (now Charleston, South Carolina). In the late 1680s, the Proprietors separated Carolina administratively into two parts, North Carolina, based in Albemarle, and South Carolina, based in Charles Town. By the early eighteenth century, instability and conflict were widespread, both within the North Carolina colony and between colonists and the weak and ineffective Proprietors, on the one hand, and the native peoples who still occupied much of the coastal land, on the other. European settlement was spreading southward and

25 Ibid., 749.
26 Ibid., 754–755.
27 For a recent set of essays critically evaluating the state of Atlantic world historiography, see Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). An excellent recent book that productively employs an Atlantic world perspective to reinterpret the history of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century settlements in the Albemarle region of North Carolina is Noeleen McIlvenna's *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660–1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
28 Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, 147–154; Joseph Goldenberg, "Names and Numbers: Statistical Notes on Some Port Records of Colonial North Carolina," *American Neptune* 29, no. 3 (July 1969): 155.
29 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 306.
30 Edwin L. Combs, "Trading in Lubberland: Maritime Commerce in Colonial North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2003): 1.

new towns were founded at Bath (1705) and New Bern (1710).[31] But Albemarle, centered around its growing commercial and political center in Edenton, remained the political and economic power center for the colony until well into the nineteenth century, when 1830s constitutional reform finally shifted political power to the west.[32]

With the native peoples decimated, North Carolina saw rapid population growth (both white and black) and economic growth through the eighteenth century. The white population, which number 4,000 in 1675, exploded to 40,000 by 1730, and by 1770, to perhaps 185,000.[33] Migrants from Virginia continued to populate North Carolina's coastal plain, where settlement spread south and west from Albermarle. Tobacco culture expanded through this region. Meanwhile, rice and indigo plantations grew up in the southern coastal Cape Fear valley region, where South Carolinians moved north. Slavery grew entrenched as well, especially as the naval stores industry began to thrive in the Cape Fear valley region, and the slave population of the colony increased from about 1,000 in 1705 to about 15,000 by 1754 and 40,000 by 1767. In 1790, the slave population stood at 100,000, compared to a white population of 288,000.[34] A dramatic part of the colony's eighteenth-century growth was concentrated in the "backcountry," or piedmont, region, where land was inexpensive and easy to get. Thousands of Scotch-Irish and German immigrants rushed southward from Pennsylvania along the Great Wagon Road, and North Carolina's backcountry population spiked after the 1740s.[35]

Towns, of which there had been none in the colony's early years, grew in tandem with population. On the coast, after Bath and New Bern came Beaufort (1715), Edenton (in the Albermarle region, 1722), and Wilmington (1739–1740). New counties and backcountry towns soon followed, as the piedmont land boom peaked.[36]

The village of Portsmouth came into being as part of this growth spurt, and in some respects its fortunes waxed and waned with both the geophysical changes along the Outer Banks and the evolving demographics and trade patterns of the rest of North Carolina. It was part of a developing system of managing the colony's (and then the state's) expanding networks of waterborne commerce.[37] As long as the northeastern (Albemarle) region of North Carolina still held power and economic position, Portsmouth played a crucial role as a main point of connection from North Carolina through the Outer Banks to the world beyond. But when other canals and inlets opened up, the port of Wilmington became predominant; as a result, population and trade shifted south and west and Portsmouth declined. Its fortunes tell us much about the changes in North Carolina as a whole.

Oceangoing commerce throughout most of the colonial era was organized through ports of entry, outposts of the British colonial customs service where government inspectors regulated colonial commerce through enforcement of the British Navigation Acts—checking ships' cargo and collecting appropriate import fees. North Carolina had five ports of entry: Port Brunswick in the town of Brunswick (the only port with direct ocean access, serving the Cape Fear area), Port Beaufort in Beaufort, Port Bath in the town of Bath (established in 1715 and handling what was already becoming extensive traffic through Ocracoke Inlet), Port Roanoke in Edenton (serving the Albemarle region), and Port Currituck (serving traffic through the Currituck Inlet, but in fact a "port in little more than name" because the inlet was so shoaled by the

31 Link, *North Carolina*, 25–40.
32 Elizabeth A. Fenn and Joe A. Mobley, *The Way We Lived in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 39–41; Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, 267–281.
33 Link, *North Carolina*, 53.
34 Ibid., 47–50 ,76.
35 Ibid., 71–79. See also Marjolene Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
36 Link, *North Carolina*, 50; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1206.
37 Combs, "Trading in Lubberland," 1.

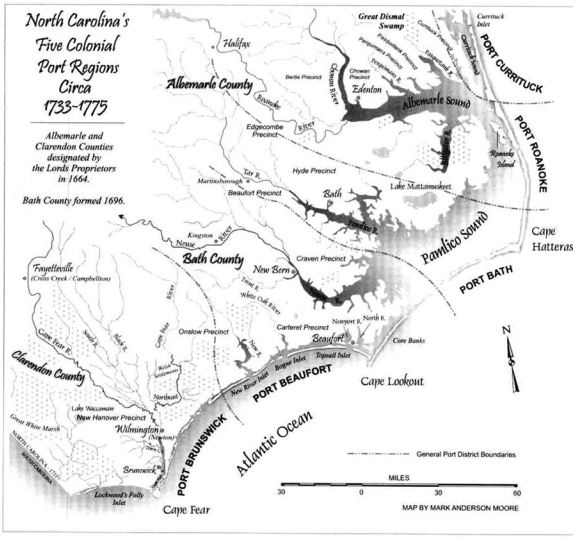


Figure 2-2. North Carolina's colonial ports of entry. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. Combs, "Trading in Lubberland," 3.

time the port opened that only small vessels could navigate it).[38]

As early as the 1730s, Royal Governor Burrington wrote his superiors in Great Britain that "Curratuck Inlett is shut up and Roanock [Inlet] is so dangerous that few people care to use it but go round to Ocacock."[39] Thus, regardless of the presence of the two far northern ports, from the mid-eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth (when the hurricane of 1846 opened Hatteras and Oregon inlets to the north), most of the oceangoing traffic bound for parts of coastal North Carolina north of Beaufort entered through Ocracoke Inlet.[40] What this meant in practical terms, according to David Stick, was that as of the early eighteenth century, "four-fifths of the inhabitants of North Carolina were settled in the area served by Ocracoke Inlet."[41] And Ocracoke Inlet's importance grew as population and power shifted south and west in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[42]

In the late eighteenth century, additional inland port towns developed that relied on traffic through Ocracoke Inlet. Washington, on the Pamlico River, was chartered in 1782 and eventually took over most Pamlico Sound trade from the older town of Bath. Plymouth and Camden, meanwhile, became important ports of entry for the Albemarle region and Elizabeth City became a trading center. Further south, Wilmington (which emerged under that name in 1739–1740) had already grown to a center of interior trade, becoming North Carolina's main deepwater port and eclipsing Brunswick Town by the Revolutionary era.[43]

With the development of new towns and the political reorganization that followed the creation of the United States after the American Revolution, port districts included Wilmington (formerly Brunswick), New Bern, Ocracoke, Washington (formerly Bath), Edenton (formerly Roanoke), Camden, Plymouth, and, for a brief time, Swansborough. Wilmington dominated, handling 80 percent of North Carolina's exports in 1815.[44]

Although its importance declined with the rise of Wilmington and the opening of other inlets to the north, Ocracoke Inlet reigned for over one hundred years in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the central point of connection between North Carolina and the Atlantic world. This fact, of course, explains the founding, growth, and development of the villages of Portsmouth and Ocracoke and the surrounding facilities for managing shipping traffic in and out of this problematic passageway to and from the Pamlico Sound. Ocracoke Inlet, an engineer wrote from Portsmouth in 1835, "partakes of the character of the mouth of a river; and connecting the vast

38 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 899; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 25–26; Thomas Barrow, *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660–1775* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 271–272; Mrs. James Sherman Pitkin, Mrs. Harry Van Nuys Wade, and National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, *Three Centuries of Custom Houses* (Washington, DC: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1972), xvii; Combs, "Trading in Lubberland," 13; Alan D. Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage in North Carolina to the Civil War," *American Neptune* 55, no. 2 (1995): 145–146.

39 Letter from George Burrington to the Board of Trade of Great Britain, September 4, 1731, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. 3, ed. William L. Saunders and Walter Clark (Raleigh, NC: P.M. Hale, 1886–1914), 202–210.

40 The configuration of the various Outer Banks inlets will be taken up in detail in Chapter 3. Gary S. Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks: Technical Report No. 8, Part A* (Baton Rouge: Coastal Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, 1956), 68; Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 143–144.

41 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 34.

42 Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 144.

43 Ibid., 144–145.

44 Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 145–146; Byron Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1956), 65.

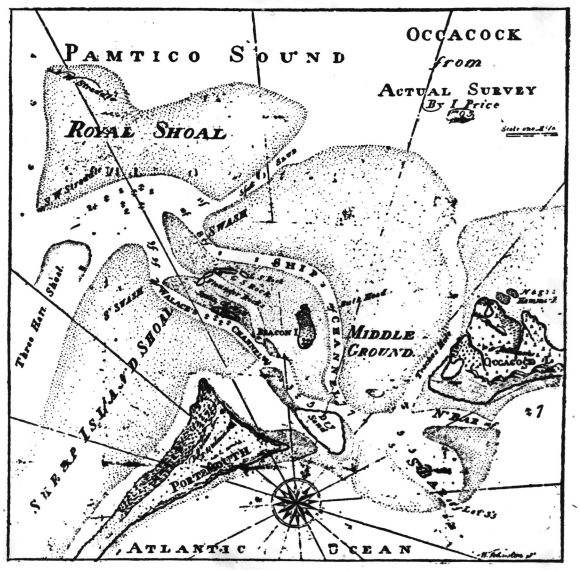


Figure 2-3. Map of Ocracoke, 1795, by Jonathan Price. From *North Carolina Historical Review* 3 (1936): 633.

waters of the Albemarle, Croatan, Roanoke, and Pamlico sounds, with the ocean, its character is also that of straits connecting two seas."[45]

Portsmouth was founded in 1753, when North Carolina's colonial Assembly passed the act chartering and laying out a "Town on Core Banks, near Ocacock Inlet, in Carteret County, and for appointing Commissioners for completing the Fort at or near the same place." The town and fort grew up slowly, mirrored on the other side of the inlet by the little village of Ocracoke, at which pilots had first been stationed in 1734. A small community originally known as "Pilot Town" was growing there by the 1770s; perhaps seventy-five people may have resided in it by 1790.[46]

Portsmouth and Ocracoke were never great ports of entry. They were too far from population centers and didn't have the requisite deepwater harbors. Rather, these villages served as transit points from which knowledgeable people assisted ships in navigating the treacherous inlet and sailing back and forth to their inland destinations. This assistance took two main forms during Portsmouth's heyday from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century: piloting—taking the helm of ships in order to guide them across Ocracoke's hazards and navigate them to their inland destinations—and lightering—temporarily unloading cargo to lighten ships enough so they could cross the inlet's shoals, be reloaded, and proceed into the sound or the ocean. Kenneth Burke argued in his still-useful study of Portsmouth that lightering was the "one word which can explain the development of Portsmouth." In a similar vein, it might have been said that piloting was the word for Ocracoke.[47]

Piloting and lightering were crucial because of the special difficulties ships faced in approaching and navigating Ocracoke Inlet during its eighteenth and nineteenth-century heyday. Two key physical features were the "bar," a sandbar that stood between the inlet and the ocean, and the "Swash," a sandy shoal that stretched across the inlet's channels at the point where the inlet joined Pamlico Sound. Ships entering the inlet from the ocean would pass over the bar and be directed through one of three possible channels—Teache's Hole, which allowed approach to Ocracoke but was, in this period, only passable by smaller vessels, or the deeper Old Ship or Wallace's channels leading into Pamlico Sound. (From the 1790s to the 1820s, most vessels entering the inlet used Old Ship or Wallace's Channel.) After passing through these channels, ships headed inland would have to navigate over the Swash, where the water was considerably shallower than it had been at the bar. Vessels with a draft greater than 7 to 9 feet would have to be lightered in order to clear the Swash; Olson's 1982 study noted that larger ships that were able to clear the bar often did not even attempt to negotiate the Swash. Instead, their cargo

45 See Alexander J. Swift's report from Portsmouth, Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina, dated September 30, 1835, in Cass, et al., *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Showing the Condition of That Department in 1835*, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 30 November 1835, serial ASP020 Mil.aff.613, Doc. 613.

46 "An Act for appointing and laying out a Town on Core Banks, near Ocacock Inlet, in Carteret County, and for appointing Commissioners for completing the Fort at or near the same place," Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, 1753, in *Colonial and State Records*, vol. 25, 252; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 300–301; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 17–18; Alton Ballance, *Ocracokers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 13–29.

47 Holland, *Survey*, 42; Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 147–148; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song,* 47–48; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 9; Ballance, *Ocracokers*, 17–23; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 300–301.

would be transferred to smaller craft for its journey inland.[48]

The configuration and depths of the various channels and sandbars changed over time, but these variations did not alter the fact that getting cargo through such a challenging inlet was expensive and time-consuming. An 1819 report for state government noted that the voyage from the head of the Albemarle Sound (Roanoke River) to Ocracoke was "thought to be equal to a voyage from Ocracoke to New York or to the West-Indies."[49] Once they arrived at the Inlet, ships sometimes had to wait at anchor at the Swash, at times for as long as five to ten days, for their cargoes to be unloaded and reloaded. This extra work and delay, which an 1827 report estimated at an average of five days, added to the cost of doing business: expenses mounted in the form of lightering and piloting fees, wages, food and care for sailors, and insurance to cover the increased risk of spoilage or storm damage to ships and cargo. Before a customs officer was stationed there in 1806, the process also opened the door for illegal trade as commodities could be unloaded at the bar and never reloaded for transit to the designated port of entry for customs collection.[50]

Despite the troubles, a tremendous amount of shipping passed through Ocracoke Inlet during this period. Two reliable estimates from reports created at Congressional request give a sense of the magnitude of the traffic: In 1787, nearly 700 vessels "entered and cleared through the Inlet," compared with 218 that cleared Port Brunswick on the Cape Fear. By 1836–1837, according to an 1842 Congressional report, approximately 1400 ships passed through Ocracoke Inlet in a year "bound to various ports."[51]

Trade Patterns at Ocracoke Inlet in the Late Colonial Period

But what ports were they bound for? For years, the main source of information about the contours of late colonial trade in North Carolina was Charles Christopher Crittenden's *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763–1789* (1936).[52] Recent research in British customs returns records that Crittenden overlooked, however, has enabled a more nuanced understanding of the Atlantic trade systems in which North Carolina was becoming embedded by the end of the colonial period.[53]

Edwin Combs's 2003 article "Trading in Lubberland" details trade routes and goods exchanged through each of North Carolina's five ports of entry during the late colonial period. Because nearly all of the cargo brought into Roanoke, Beaufort, Bath, and Currituck had to enter through Ocracoke Inlet, this research gives a clear picture of the connections the residents of Portsmouth in that period must have had to the world beyond. Imports to Port Roanoke (Edenton), the largest and most active port, generally followed a pattern of coastwise trade in North America, with 29 percent of the tonnage arriving there between 1768 and 1772 coming from Massachusetts alone. One merchant, indeed, quipped that anyone hoping to develop a profitable trade in tobacco from this region needed to "become Bostanized or relinquish Dealing."[54] Meanwhile, another 27 percent of imports into Port Roanoke in the same period came from the West Indies, with smaller amounts from Great Britain and southern Europe. Similar import patterns prevailed at the port through 1774.[55] Exports from Port Roanoke

48 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 14–17; McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 11–12, 17–22. Olson explains, based on research in several sources, that between 1730 and 1800 vessels that drew from 13 to 14 feet of water at low tide could pass over the bar; the water deepened a bit for a short while after 1800. By 1833, however, it had dropped to below 10 feet. The Swash, meanwhile, averaged 6 to 8.5 feet deep before dropping to a low of 3 feet. Similar data is provided in McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 11–12, 15–19. See also Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 50

49 Archibald De Bow Murphey, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, ed. William Henry Hoyt (Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell & Co. State Printers, 1914), 125.

50 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 18; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 9; Bland Simpson, *The Inner Islands: A Carolinian's Sound Country Chronicle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 81; Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 125; McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 61–72.

51 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 9; House Committee on Commerce, *Marine Hospital – Ocracoke, N.C. (To accompany bill H.R. no. 512)*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., 24 June 1842, H. Rept. 889, serial 410; Watson, *Wilmington*, 32.

52 Charles Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763–1789* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936).

53 Much of the following discussion is based on the new research presented in Combs, "Trading in Lubberland."

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., 8.

TABLE 1

North Carolina Import and Export Tonnage, January 5, 1768-January 5, 1773

	Brunswick		Roanoke		Beaufort		Bath		Currituck	
Period	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
1/5/1768-1/4/1769	7,338	8,608	7,304	7,692	4,162	3,760	1,818	2,158	927	717
1/5/1769-1/4/1770	9,629	8,084	6,318	7,404	4,793	4,927	1,534	1,609	902	1,044
1/5/1770-1/4/1771	8,622	8,368	6,097	6,251	3,812	4,066	1,586	1,908	846	897
1/5/1771-1/4/1772	9,935	9,928	6,559	6,906	4,405	4,363	2,507	2,612	1,385	1,146
1/5/1772-1/4/1773	9,775	8,763	6,858	6,807	4,530	4,508	2,488	2,423	993	604
TOTAL TONNAGE	45,299	43,751	33,136	35,060	21,702	21,624	9,933	10,710	5,053	4,408

SOURCE: Cust. 16/1, Records of the Boards of Customs and Excise, Public Record Office, London (reel no. Z.5.331, microfilm, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh). The original customs records, tabulated by hand in the 1700s, contain two addition errors. Beaufort imports for the year 1768 were incorrectly noted as 4,142, and Brunswick exports for the year 1769 were incorrectly recorded as 8,129. The correct figures have been entered into this table.

Figure 2-4. North Carolina Import and Export Tonnage, 1768–1793. Combs, "Trading in Lubberland," 4.

between 1786 and 1774, meanwhile, seem to have followed similar patterns, with approximately 35 percent headed for other North American coastal ports, primarily in Massachusetts; another third headed for Europe; and the remainder bound for the West Indies.[56]

The other major colonial port to which cargo transported through Ocracoke arrived was the Port of Bath. Combs's research reveals that trade patterns there differed somewhat from those at Port Roanoke. A much greater percentage (62 percent) of imports arrived from North American ports, with half of those coming from New England, especially Massachusetts. Thirty percent of imports, meanwhile, came from the West Indies, while only a tiny percentage arrived from Great Britain. Forty-five percent of Bath's exports, meanwhile, headed for the West Indies, with another 44 percent going to other North American ports (70 percent of that destined for Massachusetts). A modest 7 percent of exports were destined for Great Britain.[57]

Trade patterns at the colony's smallest port and the other port most relevant to Ocracoke, Port Currituck, followed similar lines, although they were even more constricted to the coastwise trade (the source of 86 percent of imports here, the largest share of which came from the middle colonies). The bulk of the remaining imports arrived from the West Indies, while transatlantic imports were rare. A majority of exports were also bound for North America, primarily New York and Philadelphia, with most of the rest headed for the West Indies.[58]

What kinds of goods were coming and going through Ocracoke Inlet in this period? British textiles and manufactured household goods ("iron pots, frying pans, and skillets," for instance) topped every merchant's inventory list. Food items such as sugar, molasses, tea, rum, wine, salt, chocolate, and various spices were also prevalent. The colony's exports varied from port to port, depending on the products that were most prominent near each port. Commonly exported products included timber products (tar, pitch, turpentine, lumber), deerskins, corn and livestock, and tobacco. The timber products and naval stores export trade, however, centered on Port Brunswick, whose exports did not flow through Ocracoke but instead went directly to the Atlantic. For the ports most closely tied to Ocracoke, major exports included tobacco, corn, cheese, fish, deerskins, lumber, and various other produce.[59]

The story of individual merchants in this period supports the general picture of trade. Rhode Island Jewish merchant Aaron Lopez, for instance, launched his ships on thirty-seven voyages to North Carolina between 1761 and 1775. His vessels, bound for New Bern, Edenton, or Wilmington, brought New England provisions, including cranberries and rum, finished goods from London, and New England finished goods (such as Windsor Chairs) to North Carolina to exchange for naval stores which were, in turn,

56 Ibid., 8–10.
57 Ibid., 11–12.
58 Ibid., 12.
59 Ibid., 13.

exchanged for English goods or pork, herring, or lumber products such as staves to trade in the West Indies. Lopez's efforts, although not entirely successful, typified North Carolina's presence in larger trade networks as the colonial period wound down.[60]

Imports through Ocracoke could also have included slaves, especially in the mid-1780s, when records show slaves coming in from Charleston, other American states, the West Indies, and Africa. An unusually large number of Africans and American slaves from Charleston were brought into Roanoke and Edenton to work with Josiah Collins's Lake Company in constructing the canal from Lake Phelps to the Scuppernong River.[61] Throughout the eighteenth century, most of the more than 3,000 slaves brought into North Carolina came in with mixed cargo, imported by general merchants rather than by specialized slave traders. Most of the slaves, furthermore, arrived aboard smaller ships from other American colonies or states or from the West Indies. In comparison with other American colonies, in North Carolina , relatively few imported slaves came directly from west Africa. The trade in slaves seems to have ended by about 1790.[62]

Shipping traffic through Ocracoke Inlet, therefore, was quite vigorous in the late colonial period, and the little village of Portsmouth began to come into its own, although slowly. While Portsmouth was chartered by the colonial assembly in 1753, surveyor Jonathan Price reported as late as 1795 that the town "does not appear to have ever been settled" and noted that no vestige then remained of the fort (Fort Granville) that had been constructed after 1756 and garrisoned from 1758 to 1764.[63] Yet clearly, there was a town there by the time Price arrived, because the 1790 census recorded 96 free white males, 92 free white females, 38 slaves, and 3 free African Americans residing there.[64] It is likely that many of the residents, both black and white, were involved in the work of piloting, for their activities were significant (and sometimes contentious and unregulated) enough to attract the attention of the colonial and state assemblies, which tried various tactics to regulate them from 1715 into the nineteenth century.[65] Portsmouth residents also engaged in some fishing and limited shipbuilding in the immediate post-Revolutionary period, and the village boasted a tavern then as well.[66]

After the Revolution: Shell Castle, John Gray Blount, and John Wallace

The Revolutionary and early post-Revolutionary years were initially disastrous for North Carolina's economy. Recession descended in the 1780s, and exports declined. But commercial recovery came quickly, and by the late 1780s, the state's shipping volume had exceeded pre-Revolution levels. In fact, on a tonnage basis, the volume of the state's exports doubled by 1788 what they had been in 1769, with Wilmington leading North Carolina ports in export tonnage. Although European wars in the 1790s and the War of 1812 continued to buffet American shipping and commerce, North Carolina trade (both foreign and domestic) continued to expand, although not as rapidly as that of other states.[67]

The post-Revolutionary commercial boom in North Carolina had large implications for the communities growing around Ocracoke Inlet, as the area drew the attention of one of North Carolina's most active merchants and businessmen, John Gray Blount. Together with his on-site partner, Portsmouth pilot John Wallace, Blount

60 Virginia Bever Platt, "Tar, Staves, and New England Rum: The Trade of Aaron Lopez of Newport, Rhode Island, with Colonial North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1971): 1–22.

61 For further discussion of the use of slaves in building canals, see Chapter 5.

62 Walter E. Minchinton, "The Seaborne Slave Trade of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (1994): 17, 24–25.

63 Jonathan Price, *A Description of Occacock [ie. Ocracoke] Inlet: And of Its Coasts, Islands, Shoals, and Anchorages, with the Courses and Distances to and from the Most Remarkable Places, and Directions to Sail Over the Bar and Thro' the Channels* (Newbern [New Bern, NC]: Francois X. Martin, 1795), 627; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, xxxx; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 41–42.

64 Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 23.

65 Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 146–154.

66 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 39. According to the North Carolina Maritime History Council's "List of Ships Built in North Carolina from Colonial Times to circa 1900" (http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org/) only four ships were ever constructed at Portsmouth (1826–1902). Except for one 75-ton vessel, all were small (between 6 and 30 tons each, compared to an average of around 57 tons for all ships built in North Carolina).

67 Watson, *Wilmington*, 32, 40-45.

developed the small commercial *entrepôt* of Shell Castle Island after 1789. For more than twenty years after the Revolution, the trading empire of John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, and their collaborative enterprise with Wallace at Shell Castle dominated shipping at Ocracoke. Portsmouth and Ocracoke, meanwhile, served as bedroom communities to this miniature commercial metropolis.

The relationship of Portsmouth to the rise and fall of Shell Castle has not previously been well understood. Previous histories, including those commissioned by NPS, have tended to paint Shell Castle as an interesting but fleeting sidelight to the central story of Portsmouth. Burke characterized Shell Castle as a competitor to Porstmouth but dismissed it as a "tiny piece of sand."[68] Holland, meanwhile, spoke of Shell Castle mainly as "important to the economy of Portsmouth."[69] The 1978 National Register nomination for Portsmouth Village included one short paragraph about Shell Castle, but did not clearly relate or integrate its story with that of Portsmouth.[70]

Even the well-researched 1982 Portsmouth Village HRS failed to connect several bits of information that help us recognize all that Shell Castle's story could tell us about the history of the Ocracoke Inlet communities that were linked together by virtue of their relationship to this crucial trade passageway. The HRS, also focused on Portsmouth rather than on the whole complex of communities around the inlet, spoke of Shell Castle in terms that downplayed the human agency and entrepreneurial energy that the enterprise reflected, all of which stemmed from the inlet's critical role in state commerce at a moment when the maritime economy was growing.

Noting that the "tiny" port was built by John Gray Blount and John Wallace, the HRS stated that Shell Castle "owed its success entirely to the dramatic changes that had occurred to the inlet in the last decades of the 18th century." Neither Blount nor Wallace nor their mainland or trade connections, nor the sociopolitical changes that may have made Shell Castle attractive are discussed in any detail. Meanwhile, a 1795 description of the Castle commissioned as part of a Blount-Wallace marketing campaign is misread as an objective description of the place. The study also presents the post-1812 decline of the Castle itself as more abrupt and less tied to the whole story of the inlet than it actually was.[71] Even the 2007 *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* underplays Shell Castle's significance, dispatching its story—again as a side drama of mostly antiquarian interest that ended with John Wallace's 1810 death—in a few short paragraphs.[72]

But new research (not incorporated into the 2007 study, although it was available) suggests that this story should be reframed. Rather than being peripheral to Portsmouth, Shell Castle was central to the functioning of Ocracoke Inlet during the period in which the inlet was still the major outlet to the sea for much of North Carolina. Shell Castle is key evidence that we should think of Portsmouth's history as part of the larger history of an inlet-related community that included Portmouth, Shell Castle, and Ocracoke. Nearly everything that went on at Portsmouth and Shell Castle during the heyday of shipping through Ocracoke Inlet testifies to the area's essential *connectedness* to both a developing North Carolina and far-distant places throughout the wider Atlantic world.

Intensive primary and archaeological research conducted in the 1990s by Phillip McGuinn and summarized in his remarkably thorough 2000 East Carolina University master's thesis, "Shell Castle, A North Carolina Entrepot, 1789–1820," sheds considerable new light on the story of Ocracoke Inlet and Portsmouth as points at which North Carolina was intimately and regularly connected to the world. The McGuinn thesis is in fact the most comprehensive piece of new research to appear on the Portsmouth area since Olson's 1982 HRS.[73]

With his brothers Thomas and William, John Gray Blount ran one of the most important mercantile operations in early post-Revolutionary North Carolina. John Gray and Thomas Blount,

68 Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 23.
69 Holland, *Survey History*, 42.
70 Cape Lookout National Seashore, Portsmouth Village Historic District: National Register Nomination.
71 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 50–57
72 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 19–21.
73 McGuinn, "Shell Castle." We learned of the McGuinn thesis from Simpson, *The Inner Islands*, 81–82.

John Gray Blount's Lands North Carolina and Territory South of Ohio River 1783-1796		
North Carolina		
County	**Entered**	**Issued**
Beaufort	160,306	105,376
Bladen	201,506	201,506
Buncombe	384,640	506,880
Carteret (1780)		9,600
Craven	5,320	7,204
Cumberland	66,337	66,337
Hyde	42,560	42,560
Jones	640	640
Montgomery	79,616	79,616
Robeson	127,249	127,249
Tyrrell	150,000	150,000
Total	**1,218,174**	**1,296,995**
South of Ohio River		
Davidson County		12,921
Eastern District		1,000
Hawkins County	95,000	95,000
Middle District	5,000	5,000
Sumner County	14,034	14,034
Tennessee County	9,805	10,805
Western District	119,000	126,200
Total	**242,839**	**363,360**
Grand total	**1,461,013**	**1,660,355**

Figure 2-5. John Gray Blount's Lands, North Carolina and Territory South of Ohio River, 1783–1796. Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics," 287.

Merchants, was founded in 1783 and based in the busy port town of Washington, North Carolina, on the Tar River, to and from which all shipping passed through Ocracoke Inlet, 80 miles nearly due east.[74] Although the firm originated as a trading and shipping company, by the 1790s the Blounts managed a far-flung business, trade, and land-speculation empire whose spokes radiated out from North Carolina to western lands in Tennessee and Alabama and encompassed trade networks reaching Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Charleston; the Danish, Dutch, French, and British islands in the West Indies; and Europe.[75]

The empire also included several mercantile stores, including their main store in Washington, the one they developed on Shell Castle island, and others in Tarborough and Prospect Mills. The brothers also developed a number of small side businesses, including grist, flour, and saw mills; a tobacco warehouse; a nail factory; a tannery; and cotton gins and involved both the internal slave trade and financial speculation, and maintained plantations growing tobacco and wheat.[76] Their work depended on a large contingent of slave laborers. In 1790, John Gray Blount and his seven siblings

74 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 60.
75 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers."
76 Keith, "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants," 195–200; Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 57–81.

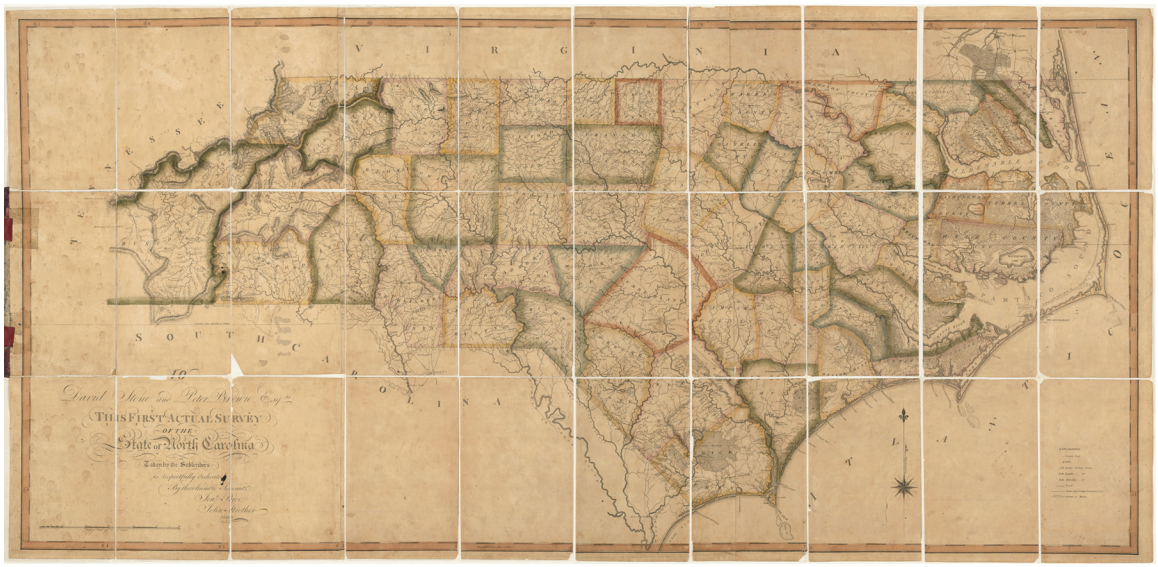


Figure 2-6. Two early nineteenth-century maps showing the geography of Ocracoke Inlet. (1) "A chart of the coast of North Carolina between Cape Hatteras & Cape Fear," with inset map for "Ocracock Bar including Shell Castle," 1809, and (2) "To David Stone and Peter Brown, Esq.: this first actual survey of the state of North Carolina taken by the subscribers is respectfully dedicated by their humble servants, Jona. Price and John Strother," 1808. Both from North Carolina Maps, University of North Carolina Library.

owned at least 192 slaves, 74 of whom belonged to John Gray himself.[77]

All of these business activities were nearly dwarfed by the brothers' land speculation, which began in the 1770s and peaked with the generalized frenzy for western lands in the 1790s. Although land records make it difficult to ascertain exact figures, it is clear that the Blounts' holdings in North Carolina encompassed over a million acres from the coast to the far western part of the state. In one 1796 transaction, John Gray Blount obtained a grant for over 300,000 acres in the section of Buncombe County that later became parts of the city of Asheville and portions of Yancey and Madison counties. Beyond that, the Blounts at various times also owned huge tracts in Tennessee and what later became northern Alabama. Despite the extent of their holdings and their attempts to market land through dealers in Philadelphia and Europe, however, the Blounts did not find land speculation as profitable as they had hoped.[78]

Before and during the height of their land-buying adventures, the Blounts, with John Gray at the helm, presided over a diverse agricultural, manufacturing, trading and shipping empire, the success of which hinged on Ocracoke Inlet. The inlet was, by 1789, the "site of the largest commercial intersection in Eastern North Carolina" and a major point of concern for the Blounts.[79] By themselves or in partnership with others, they maintained a small fleet of ships (including flats, sloops, schooners, and brigantines) used in domestic coastal trade and foreign trade to Europe, and especially to the West Indies.[80]

As their shipping empire developed in the booming 1780s, the Blounts realized that controlling the expensive and time-consuming piloting and lightering operations at Ocracoke Inlet would be a key to their prosperity. To control lightering, increase its efficiency and predictability, and reduce their costs, they knew they would need to develop wharves, warehouses, and attendant services for the crews of the ships delayed in the inlet. They

77 Alice Keith, "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, 1783–1800," *North Carolina Historical Review* 25 (1948): 195–200; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 77; George Henry Smathers, *The History of Land Titles in Western North Carolina* (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 43; Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 91; Alice Barnwell Keith, William H. Masterson, and David T. Morgan, eds., *The John Gray Blount Papers*, vol. 1 (Raleigh, NC: State Dept. of Archives and History, 1952), xix–xxxi. Two sources written by Alice Keith conflict slightly in the number of slaves owned by John Gray Blount in 1790. Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," gives the number as 74, while the introductory pages she wrote for volume 1 of her edited collection of the John Gray Blount papers gives the figure of 70.

78 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 249–309; Smathers, *The History of Land Titles*, 43.

79 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 29.

80 Alice Keith, "John Gray and Thomas Blount," 58–67, 196; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 52.

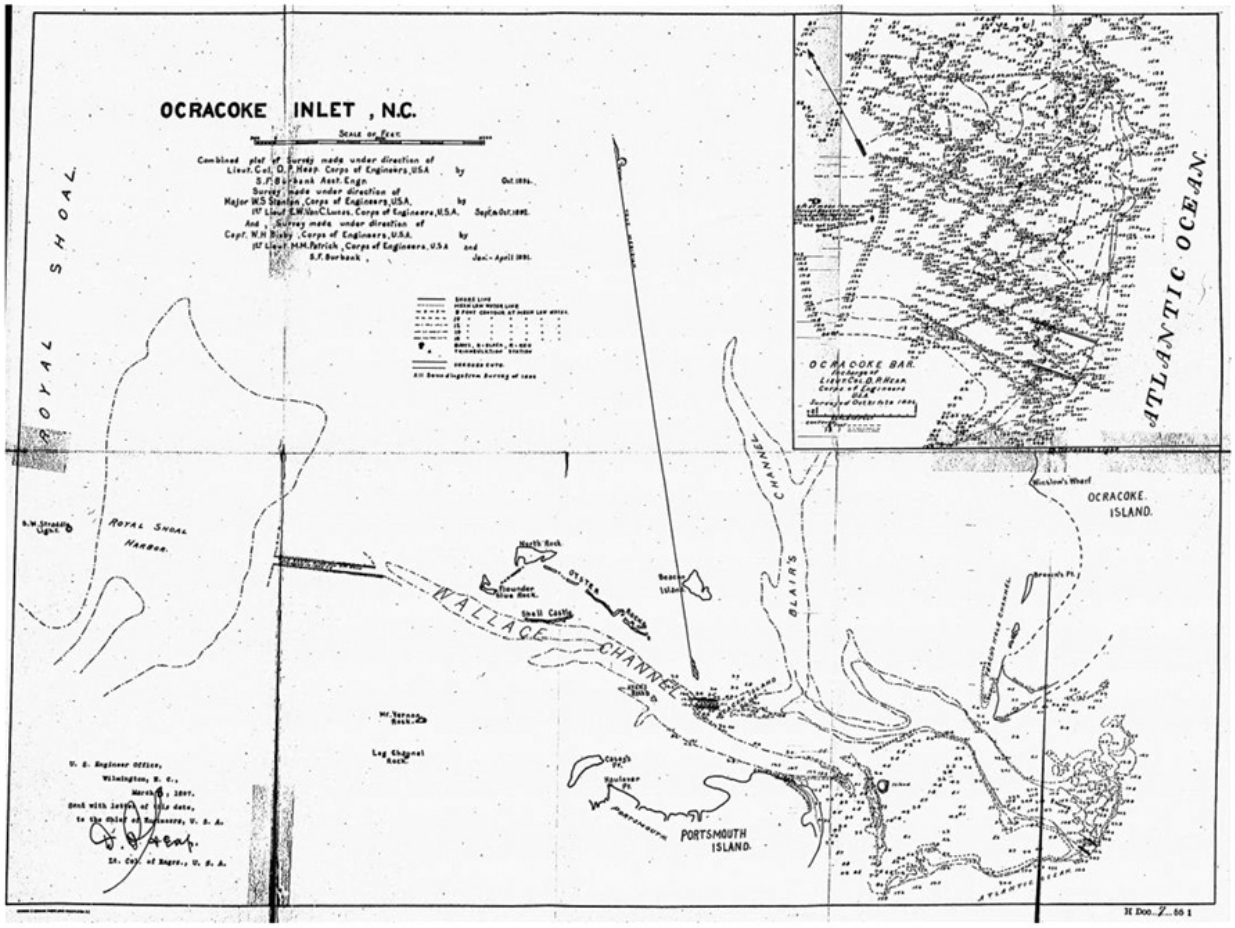


Figure 2-7. An 1897 map of Ocracoke Inlet produced by the Army Corps of Engineers at the request of Congress shows the relationship of the inlet's chanels, Portsmouth, Ocracoke, and Shell Castle.

envisioned Shell Castle as a full-service lightering and piloting center.[81]

Identifying a knowledgeable partner on the scene at Ocracoke Inlet was central to their plans. As their shipping business grew during the 1780s and they learned about the problems and costs associated with shipping through Ocracoke Inlet, the Blounts became acquainted with John Wallace. The Blounts employed many pilots to aid their ships, but gradually came to favor Wallace for piloting, lightering, and storage services. By 1789, the Blounts and Wallace had negotiated a "preferred provider" agreement by which Wallace offered favorable rates in return for a monopoly on Blount business.[82]

John Wallace was slightly younger than John Gray Blount—in his twenties when their partnership developed (Blount was in his thirties). Born in 1758 to a prominent family that had set down roots in Carteret County in 1663, Wallace had several half brothers who had worked as mariners and lived on Portsmouth or Core Banks.[83] His father, pilot David Wallace, one of Portsmouth's original leading citizens, had bought 100 acres of land at Portsmouth in 1767, soon after the village's founding, and built one of the town's earliest houses.[84] In 1791, John Wallace married Rebecca Hall, daughter of another local Core Banks pilot, Simon Hall.[85]

For the ambitious and upwardly mobile Wallace, a partnership with John Gray Blount was a path from the yeoman class to the higher status and more opulent lifestyle that might come by close association with a member of North Carolina's "tidewater elite." His hopes appear to have been fulfilled, at least to some extent. In the 1790s, as his partnership with Blount flowered, Wallace served

81 McGuinn, "Shell Castle,"13–14, 27–29, 42, 78–84.
82 Ibid., 43.
83 Ibid., 46, 240–241.
84 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 28–29.
85 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 46, 240–241.

in the state legislature and held several positions of political leadership in Carteret County.[86]

In looking to establish a footing in Ocracoke Inlet in the 1780s, the Blounts quickly determined that the existing villages of Ocracoke and Porstmouth would not work for the operation they contemplated. The land near the water in both villages was already settled and developed, and neither village could accommodate ships with drafts greater than 7 feet. Additionally, both were off the path of the main channels through the inlet. Better options, they determined, were the small islands within the inlet itself, and in 1787 the Blounts and John Wallace moved to buy several small islands within the inlet. The most valuable of these was Old Rock, a twenty-five acre tract of "rock on bed of oyster shells and sand possessing the solidity of rock."[87]

Old Rock, rechristened Shell Castle after completion of the purchase in 1789, lay on the north side of Wallace's Channel, at the middle of the inlet, strategically placed in deeper water between the inlet's two main navigable channels, Wallace's Channel and Ship's Channel.[88] Although not as deep as Ship Channel, Wallace's Channel enjoyed more favorable winds, a "good holding ground" of 18 to 21 feet where ships could ride at anchor relatively near the island (reducing time for taking crewmen and goods back and forth from shore), and greater accessibility from Portsmouth. It also boasted enough firm rock to support the wharves and buildings the partners hoped to construct.

The timing of the purchase of Shell Castle was not accidental. Finalizing the purchase just six days after North Carolina ratified the new federal constitution, the politically astute Blounts and Wallace recognized that the creation of the new union would create a "huge unified trading area," removing some of the costs and restrictions that had hindered North Carolina's coastal trade. They were now poised to take advantage of the new opportunities.[89]

Since their plans had been in place before 1789, the partners got right to work. By October of 1790, Shell Castle was well under way. The first task was to make the island bigger. Using a "crib-style" construction technique (in use at the time at other wharves in Bath and Swansboro, as well as in northern harbors such as Boston and New York) in which squared pine timbers were notched and fitted together to create a network of tight seawalls on two ends of the island, the partners expanded the island with a mixed fill of ballast stones, shells, and soil. Wallace also worked through 1790–1792 building the needed wharves, the warehouse, and his own dwelling, with lumber, bricks, logs, shingles, nails, and other materials he or the Blounts shipped in from Washington and Cedar Island.[90]

By 1795, Shell Castle was half a mile long and 60 feet wide. Warehouses, a lumberyard, a wharf, and Wallace's own "commodious" dwelling surprised their owners and survived a hurricane that year, after which the newly emboldened partners launched another construction wave. Within the next two years, additional dwellings were added, as well as, by 1797, a separate, two-story, 1600-square-foot ship's chandlery store.[91]

Economic problems due partly to tensions with France and the Blounts' own problems with their land speculation operations caused a slump at Shell Castle from 1796–1799, but when the national economy rebounded after 1800, a final round of expansion at Shell Castle commenced as well. A new sea wall built of more logs floated up from Cedar Island further enlarged the island. By that time, the site boasted a warehouse, the store, three dwelling houses, a tavern, and at least one other building. Wallace wrote to Blount that year that he was "the busiest that I ever was in my life" and had "40-45 in family," his entourage on Shell Castle. Shell Castle had, according to McGuinn, "reached its zenith."[92]

86 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 41, 276–279.
87 Ibid., 32–33.
88 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 115–118; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 77; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 23–24. Corps of Engineers map from House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, *Survey of Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina.* Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of survey of Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina, 55th Cong., 1st sess., 15 March 1897, H. doc. 7, serial 3571, 5.
89 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 33–35, 44–45.
90 Ibid., 46–50, 400. Archeological fieldwork has confirmed the use of this crib-style technique.
91 Ibid., 50–52.
92 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 55–57; Keith, Masterson, and Morgan, *The John Gray Blount Papers*, vol. 3 (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1965), 392.

The closely related tasks of lightering and piloting were the driving engines of work at Shell Castle. Lightering could be a simple, even one-day process of one lightering boat taking on a portion of the main ship's cargo on one side of the swash, allowing the ship to cross, and then reloading the original vessel. Larger ships, however, might need multiple lighters to offload sufficient cargo, as well as additional smaller vessels (themselves sometimes referred to as lighters) to carry cargo to its destination on the Pamlico or Albemarle sounds and return with an outgoing load to fill a ship waiting at Shell Castle. Delays thus plagued the process. The Blount-Wallace operation at Shell Castle began with a single lighter, but by 1792 included a second one. The shortage of lightering vessels may have troubled the Shell Castle operation in the 1790s, but by 1800, McGuinn notes, the partners appear to have had sufficient lighters based at Shell Castle to handle the demand. Fees for lightering were unregulated.[93]

Piloting, meanwhile, which demanded great skill, had been fairly heavily regulated by state laws since the early eighteenth century. It was not uncommon for the master of the lightering vessel also to provide piloting services, and many pilots were probably slaves. Shell Castle, McGuinn observes, was not an entirely advantageous location for Wallace's pilots, since successful piloting depended upon being able to see and respond first to a ship's call. Pilots at Shell Castle were too far inland to be able to see and respond as quickly to vessels coming from the Atlantic side as were pilots at Ocracoke and Portsmouth. They were well located, however, to respond quickly to requests from outward-bound ships coming from the sound side.[94]

Wallace and Blount also developed secondary enterprises at Shell Castle: a seasonal mullet fishery; a porpoise fishery (producing an alternative to whale oil); some limited shipbuilding; ship salvage and related storage operations; and the ship's chandlery, or store, where popular items included rum, pork, spirits of turpentine, candles, nails, soap, lard, whetstones, shoe leather, and foodstuffs for locals and departing ships. Although the chandlery was initially stocked with goods shipped from the Blounts' main store in Washington, Blount and Wallace later concluded that it was cheaper to ship goods from merchants in New York City because freight costs were lower.[95]

Shell Castle also offered a tavern where food and drink (including the popular "beer Porter" imported from Liverpool, New York, or Philadelphia), and overnight lodging were available. Wallace outfitted the facility with Windsor chairs ordered from New York in 1803; twenty-two such chairs were found in his estate after his death.[96]

Knowing that their success was contingent on the inlet remaining navigable, Wallace and Blount actively lobbied state and federal officials for navigation improvements at Ocracoke Inlet. Although Wallace and Blount were entangled in nearly every effort in this regard, from staking channels with markers and buoys to dredging, the most significant activity was the erection of the Shell Castle Beacon. The state of North Carolina first authorized a lighthouse on Ocracoke Island in 1789, the year Shell Castle was born. But three years later, probably due to pressure from the Blounts, the U.S. Congress directed the Treasury to investigate erecting a lighthouse "on Ocracoke island or elsewhere, near the entrance of Ocracoke Inlet." "Or elsewhere" doubtless reflected the Blounts' influence, and a struggle ensued after a 1794 federal report continued to recommend a site on Ocracoke Island (as well as another lighthouse north of there at Hatteras).

Not disposed to give up easily, Wallace and Blount mobilized nearly sixty pilots, masters, and ship owners trading through Ocracoke to sign a petition calling for the lighthouse to be built at Shell Castle. Blount forwarded it to his brother Thomas, then serving in Congress, who promised to take the

93 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 61–64; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 47–48.

94 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 68–72.

95 Ibid., 86–89, 93–94, 99–103. McGuinn's research uncovered no evidence to support Stick's contention (in *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 34, 78*) that either a gristmill or a windmill was present on Shell Castle, although he surmises that they may have been present at Ocracoke and Portsmouth. See McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 96. Although McGuinn reports some shipbuilding at Shell Castle, he provides no details. The North Carolina Maritime History Council's List of Ships Built in North Carolina from Colonial Times to circa 1900 (http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org/) does not list Shell Castle as a location for shipbuilding.

96 Ibid., 92–93.

matter up with Alexander Hamilton and who shortly persuaded the House of Representatives to pass a bill endorsing the alternate site. Still, Hamilton and other officials pressed the original location on Ocracoke Island.

Ultimately, Thomas Blount convinced Congress to authorize construction of the lighthouse on Shell Castle. Many difficulties in actually arranging for state cession and federal purchase of the appropriate lands for the Shell Castle and Hatteras lighthouses ensued, and evidence suggests that Blount and Wallace were surreptitiously involved in buying land where the Hatteras lighthouse would be built in order to turn a profit in reselling it to the government, a scheme that failed when a different parcel of land was bought from a different owner. Eventually, however, the land sale at Shell Castle went through in 1797–1798, at a price that was comparatively high for lighthouse land.

Ever attentive to their business interests, Blount and Wallace were careful to see that proposed legislation would include language ensuring that no competing enterprises (lightering, storage, etc.) would be undertaken on the site of the beacon. Corruption, confusion, and attempts to profit from the contracting process for the light further delayed the project, but contracts for both the Hatteras and Shell Castle lighthouses were finally let in 1798. The beacon finally rose from the Castle in 1800–1802 and the Shell Castle lighthouse illuminated the channel for ships for the first time in 1803. The problem-plagued beacon worked until 1818, when lightning destroyed it. [97]

The lighthouse rounded out a full-featured array of services that reflected the partners' big plans and grand hopes for Shell Castle. They at one point anticipated acquiring enough land to accommodate 1,000 ships at once.[98] While they lobbied for navigation improvements, they had also marketed Shell Castle aggressively through word of mouth, correspondence, publicity brochures and charts, and even the nineteenth-century equivalent of the promotional coffee mug: an order of custom-printed ceramic pitchers emblazoned with a drawing of the Castle.

Some of the key pieces of information we have about Shell Castle come to us because of the partners' marketing efforts. Prolific cartographer and surveyor Jonathan Price, who ranged across North Carolina from the 1790s to the 1810s, produced his widely cited 1795 *Description of Occacock [sic] Inlet*, with its useful maps, charts, and narrative, while employed by John Gray Blount.[99] The publication, which optimistically asserted that "nature seems to designate this spot as the site of a commercial town," sought to reassure readers that the inlet was safe and well provisioned. Emphasizing the inlet's connections to the world, the *Description* included "courses and distances to and from the most remarkable places." In subsequent years, Blount commissioned Price to create another map of the coast of Ocracoke island and new charts of the inlet, which he hoped to distribute in ports in Europe.[100] Price's publication of another seminal statewide map in 1808 may also have been part of Blount's efforts to generate business for the Shell Castle operation and support his land-speculation activities.[101] In the 1790s, too, Blount and his brothers explored prospects for selling lots on the island to interested parties in Philadelphia and Europe.[102]

The Liverpool-ware transfer-print creamware pitchers that pictured the "North View of Gov'r Wallace's Shell Castle" give us our only visual representation of the Shell Castle enterprise. They constituted another pillar of the marketing plan—objects useful as promotional gifts to friends or business colleagues. The pitchers, four of which apparently survive from what seem to have been multiple orders Wallace placed, were likely produced sometime shortly after 1800. They were of a new type that were just becoming popular in American in this period; Blount himself had ordered others with different images for other purposes in the 1790s, and the Blounts' existing

97 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 134, 147–197, 208.
98 Keith, "John Gray and Thomas Blount," 196; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 52.
99 Price, *A Description of Occacock Inlet*. See Figure 2-3.
100 Price, *A Description of Occacock Inlet*; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 53; McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 115–118; G. Melvin Herndon, "The 1806 Survey of the North Carolina Coast, Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear," *North Carolina Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (1972): 242–253; William Stevens Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 5 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 140–143.
101 Keith, Masterson, and Morgan, eds., *The John Gray Blount Papers,* vol. 3, 22.
102 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 55–56; McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 119–121.

trade connections in Liverpool would have made it easy for Wallace to procure such items from Herculaneum Pottery, the popular Liverpool producer that had begun operations in 1796.

Figure 2-8. Liverpool-ware pitcher featuring image of Shell Castle Island. North Carolina Museum of History.

The process involved commissioning a drawing and having it applied to the ceramic items through a transfer process. These items were produced and bought in large quantities by Americans mostly between 1790 and 1825. Other prominent Albemarle-area gentlemen (including Josiah Collins, John Little, and William Blair) also owned similar transfer print-ware items, key signifiers of the genteel social status to which John Wallace also aspired.[103]

The pitchers are but one bit of evidence that Shell Castle was profitable for Blount and Wallace. Carteret County tax records for 1803 list Wallace as the fourth wealthiest person on the Core Sound and the owner of six slaves. Analysis of his house on Shell Castle and the records of his estate after his 1810 death confirm that he had indeed risen socially as a result of his partnership with Blount. The house, pictured on the Liverpool pitcher, fulfilled Wallace's 1790 prediction in a letter to his partner that "you will know I am a great man by my fine house." Completed before 1795, the story-and-a-half dwelling featured clapboard siding, a brick chimney, glass windows, a shingle roof, a piazza, and a detached kitchen, all characteristics of a higher-end early nineteenth-century dwelling. In many of these respects, it was quite similar to Blount's own house in Washington.[104]

Wallace's other possessions, too, marked him as a man moving up. His estate included china for serving tea, some silver, a number of pieces of mahogany furniture, more than forty books, and unusual decorative items such as a portrait likeness of George Washington (common at the time in the north, but less so in the south).[105] Sometime after 1790, the entrepreneurial Wallace took on the moniker "Governor," which stuck with him through his death, when it was etched on his gravestone.[106]

It took a community of people to make Shell Castle run. At its height between 1800 and 1810, perhaps forty to forty-five people lived on the island, with the rest of the labor force based at Portsmouth and perhaps on Ocracoke as well. Although the 1800 census listed Shell Castle as a separate community, there was clearly significant movement back and forth between Portsmouth and Shell Castle over the years.

In 1800, Wallace, his wife, their five children and fifteen slaves lived on the Castle, along with another white couple, John Mayo and his wife, and their son. Mayo, who built his house on Shell Castle around 1800, had worked for the Blounts since at least 1794 and helped Wallace run the Shell Castle venture. In 1805, he moved back to Portsmouth, where he opened a two-story "Academy" that appears on the 1808 Price and Coles map of the village. He charged tuition and room and board for the students and gradually increased his wealth; by 1807, he owned two slaves, and by 1815, he was also listed as a "retailer of spirits." In 1821, Mayo took a salaried position as a customs officer and captain of one of two revenue

103 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 118, 297–298, 393–394, 410–418; McGuinn notes that the establishment of the date of the pitcher is very complicated, but important to understanding the likely accuracy of the representation of Shell Castle included upon it.

104 Ibid., 49–50, 245, 292–295; "Fine house" quotation is found on 290.

105 Ibid., 294–308.

106 Ibid., 250.

cutters stationed at Ocracoke. Remaining close to the Wallace family, he served as administrator of John Wallace's estate in 1810; his wife was later buried in the Wallace family cemetery on Portsmouth.[107] Other white families involved in operating Shell Castle included Richard Tuck and his wife Ellen and Josiah Bradley, his wife, and 3 children. Residents of Portsmouth since 1806, Bradley and his family helped manage operations for Blount at Shell Castle until at least 1813; by 1815, he again owned land at Portsmouth, but had disappeared from Shell Castle records.[108]

The community at Shell Castle was interracial, with African Americans outnumbering whites. At Wallace's death in 1810, four white households on the island: the Wallaces, the Bradleys, and the Solomon M. Joseph and Edward Seduce families. The 1810 population of the island consisted of 19 whites and 22 slaves. John Wallace's widow Rebecca owned 14 slaves, Joseph owned 7, and Seduce owned one.[109] In addition, the rest of the Shell Castle "family" included slaves, some hired from John Gray Blount, and other clerks, assistants, and sailors, some of whom may have lived at Portsmouth or elsewhere nearby.[110]

Ocracoke, by comparison, had 22 white families in 1800, along with 16 slaves, while Portsmouth's population was 35 percent slave. The proportion of slaves in the population of Portsmouth and Ocracoke had increased dramatically since 1786, however; just over 50 percent of households near Ocracoke owned at least one slave.[111]

Slaves were key to the lightering and piloting work and central to Shell Castle. Wallace bought his first slave, a young girl, in 1782. The slave pilot Perry, hired from his father after 1792, was very important to the operation and occasionally piloted some of the Blount-Wallace vessels inland. Indeed, Blount hired Perry and another valuable slave, Peter, from Wallace's widow to work with Josiah Bradley running the Shell Castle operation between 1810 and 1812, after Wallace died.[112] At Shell Castle, Blount and Wallace employed at least 20 slaves to load and unload cargo, as well as an unknown number of African American pilots and boat crews. Slaves also operated the Blount/Wallace dolphin fishery at Shell Castle.[113]

To and From Where?

In thinking about the lives of the pilots and lighterers, warehouse workers, tavern and storekeepers, and slave laborers who made the operation at Shell Castle possible—probably 25 to 40 people living on the island, plus another 200–350 residents at Portsmouth and still others at Ocracoke—it is important to ask what was being brought through the inlet, where was it coming from, and where was it going?[114]

In addition to shipping and importing goods for themselves, the Blounts served as shipping middlemen for other businessmen in several eastern North Carolina communities: Bensboro, Princeton, Town Creek, Tarboro, Spiers Landing, Raleigh, and Greeneville. In the 1790s, Blount ships carried tobacco, tar, turpentine, pitch, pork, lard, tallow, corn, beeswax, bacon, and peas from North Carolina to American ports in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New York, and Norfolk. They brought back sugar, coffee, salt, molasses, nails, bolts, pipes, weeding hoes, paper, handkerchiefs, powder, rum, tea, tumblers, and wine glasses. Their trade ties with Philadelphia, New York, and Norfolk were especially strong, but they had little success developing contacts in either Charleston or Savannah.[115] Characteristically for North Carolina's trade in this period, the finished goods they brought back came to them through other large

107 Ibid., 244–248.
108 Ibid., 248–249.
109 Ibid., 249.
110 Ibid., 245–246.
111 Ibid., 244–245.
112 Ibid., 262–265, 269.

113 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 116; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 77; Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 87. Dunbar gives the number of slaves at Shell Castle in 1800 as 15 and in 1810 as 22.
114 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 83; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 23. Population figures for Portsmouth are drawn from Burke and represent a range from 1790 to 1810.
115 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 133–170.

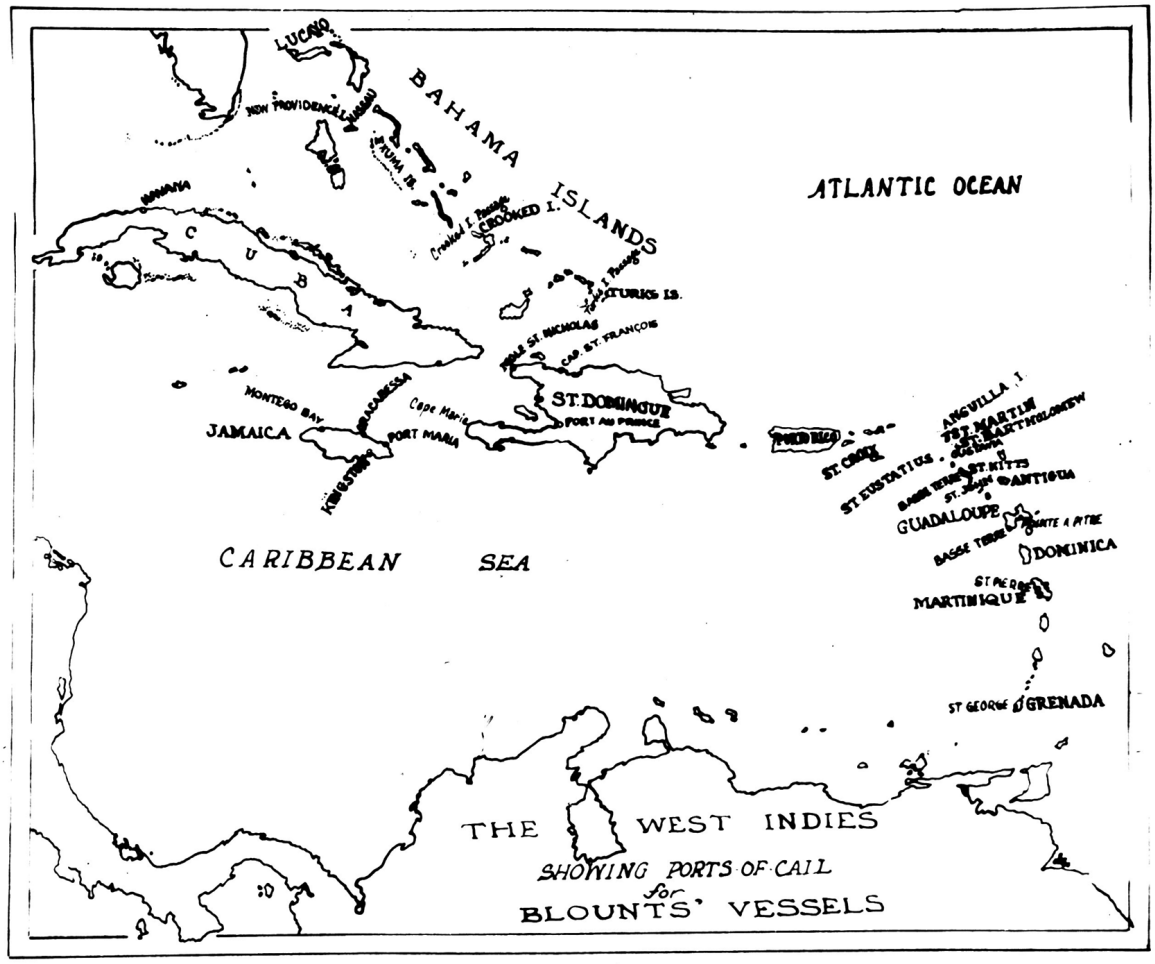


Figure 2-9. Map showing Caribbean destinations for Blount ships in the late eighteenth century. Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics," 186.

American commercial centers, even if they had originated in Europe.[116]

According to the Blounts' biographer, Alice Keith, their domestic trade (especially in the years 1783 to about 1803) aided in development of a vigorous American foreign trade to the West Indies and, to a lesser extent, to Europe. The ebbs and flows of their West Indian trade, which mirrored those of American shippers generally, indicated how thoroughly the Blounts' fortunes were tied up in larger Atlantic systems. American shippers' attempts to break into West Indian markets were always shaped by the changing regulations imposed by the various colonial powers, who of course hoped to dominate the trade of their colonies. Yet, despite the difficulties that such regulations introduced, the Blounts and other American merchants were able to take advantage of loopholes or chaotic conditions on the ground to manipulate (or sometimes illegally circumvent) the regulations and gain entry for American products to West Indian ports. Indeed, American trade with the West Indies thrived between the 1790s and about 1805, when exports to the West Indies accounted for 27–28 percent of total American exports, and imports from the West Indies made up 34–40 percent of American imports.[117]

Keith's analysis indicated that from 1784 to 1788, the Blounts carried on trade with ports throughout

116 Murphey, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 107. Murphey's 1819 "Memoir on the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legistature of North Carolina," included on 103–151 in this collection, noted that "[h]aving no commercial city in which the staples of our soil can be exchanged for foreign merchandise, our merchants purchase their goods and contract their debts in Charleston, Petersburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York," 107.

117 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 215–217.

the British and French West Indies.[118] War between France and Britain in the 1790s opened even more opportunities for American trade with the West Indies; the heydey of the Blounts' West Indian trade was 1794 to 1796, years when their operation at Shell Castle was beginning to flourish. Keith notes, however, that "the resumption of the European war in 1803 with the subsequent British Orders in Council, the Napoleonic Continental System, Jefferson's Embargo of 1807, and continued American restrictions had a repressive effect on the Blounts' trade and shipping to the West Indies. Few accounts of voyages to the islands in the years from 1803 to 1812 appear."[119] Blount ships bound for the West Indies carried mostly lumber products needed for containers and building as well as "provisions," including fish, pork, tobacco, butter, lard, peas, bacon, rice, corn, fowl, and turkeys. They brought back rum, sugar, coffee, molasses, fruits, salt, and cash.[120]

From 1783 to 1803, the Blounts struggled to crack the much more difficult European market. Brother Thomas traveled through Europe from 1785 to 1788 seeking to create ties with merchants there, but with little success. Their ships were a bit too small to compete effectively, European merchants were reluctant to extend credit to Americans, and the major American product the Blounts hoped to market, naval stores, suffered both from changing treaty regulations that limited export possibilities and from sloppy preparation and packing that lowered its quality compared with Scandanavian products. Attempts to market tobacco similarly failed, producing only debt for the company. Most of the European trade the Blounts were able to mount was carried on with a single merchant in Liverpool; otherwise, their European efforts were disappointing.[121]

The Blounts' trading efforts were part of a larger revival of American and North Carolina trade in the wake of the Revolution. It largely mirrored North Carolina's post-Revolutionary shift from trade nearly evenly split between the British Isles and the West Indies to a trade dominated by the West Indies and other American states. Indeed, although trade grew dramatically, trade with Great Britain as a proportion of North Carolina's imports and exports plunged after the war.[122]

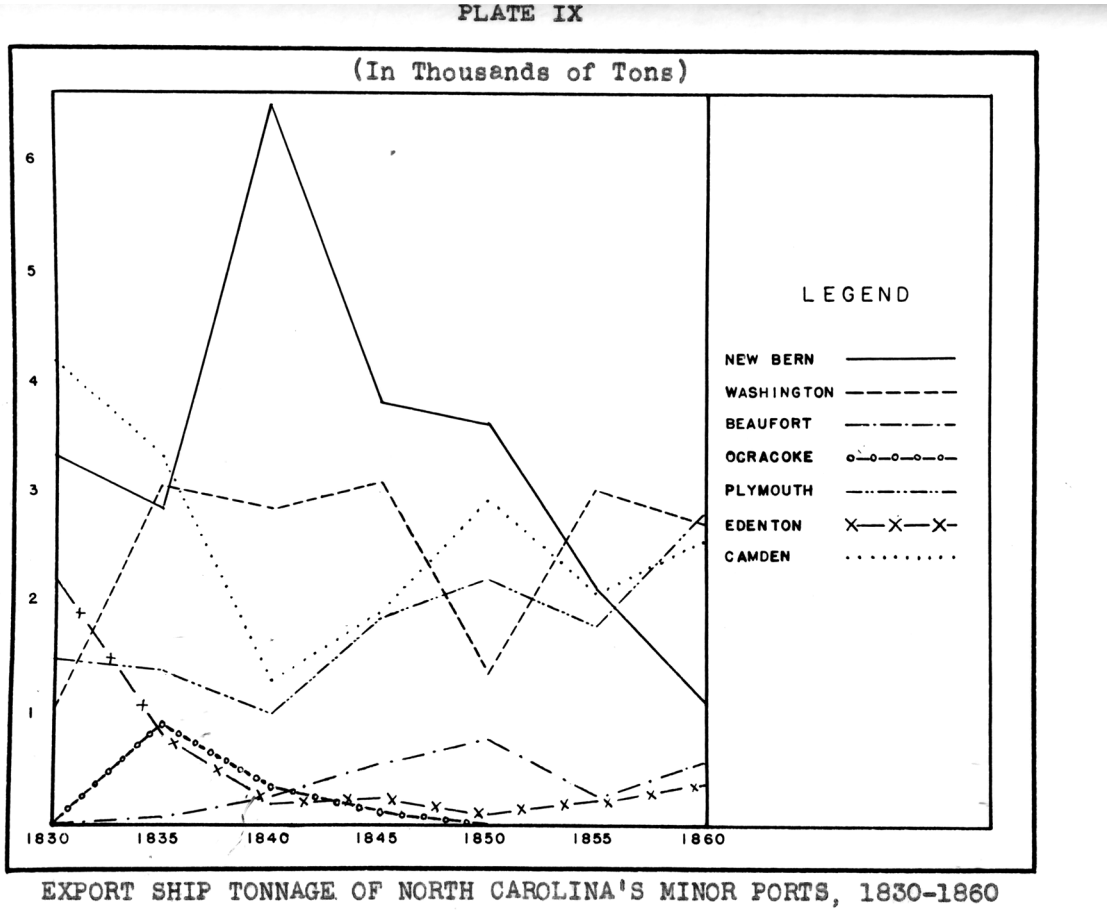
Shell Castle, Ocracoke Inlet, and Portsmouth After John Wallace

Although the Blounts and Wallace were friendly—Wallace sometimes entertained the Blount family when they vacationed on Shell Castle or Ocracoke—Wallace was a problematic manager. Even in the 1790s, some of his colleagues reported to Blount Wallace's problems with drinking and poor record keeping at the Castle. Wallace also got entangled with the Blounts' land speculation in the 1790s and lost money. Debt problems compounded by 1806, as Wallace failed to pay some creditors and was taken to court by several merchants. Blount sometimes had to serve as a buffer between Wallace and angry business associates. And after 1800, poor maintenance of buoys, channel stakes, and buildings at the Castle began to be reported, along with some social unrest (theft, land disputes among residents) after 1805. It is possible that Wallace's health may have been declining for several years before his death in 1810.[123]

John Gray Blount, however, lived until 1833, and continued throughout his life to interest himself in keeping Ocracoke Inlet navigable. Some evidence suggests that he or some of his family members or business associates may even have welcomed Wallace's death, for it provided a new opening to expand and revitalize Shell Castle. Blount's son-in-law, William Rodman, seems to have concocted the most elaborate plan, proposing a partnership with Wallace's daughter's husband James Wallace in 1811. The crux of the plan was the notion that Shell Castle had underperformed and could, with addition of a new pier, fireproof brick warehouse, enhanced store, and some additional shipping services, become more profitable than ever. The perennial idea—first explored in the 1790s—of surveying the island and selling lots resurfaced in Rodman's plan as well.[124]

118 The ports included Guadaloupe, Jamaica, St. Ustatia (Eustatius), Turks Island, St. Bartholomew, Bermuda, Point Petre in Guadaloupe, Ocracabessa (Jamaica), Gustavia (St. Bartholomew), St. Croix, Cape Francois, St. Maria, and Grenada.
119 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers," 192–194, 215–218.
120 Ibid., 207–213.
121 Ibid., 220–248.
122 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 253–254; Watson, *Wilmington*, 32–33.
123 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 29, 252–261, 273–274.
124 Ibid., 314–322.

Table 2-1: Table comparing export tonnage from North Carolina's "minor ports" shows Ocracoke's declining importance after 1835.



Source: Byron Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports" (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina, 1956), 90.

McGuinn's research uncovered no evidence of Blount's response to this plan. But the coming of the War of 1812, which shut down trade at Ocracoke, caused the plan to be set aside. Blount and Shell Castle residents feared for their safety and property, especially as British raids harassed the area in 1813, and not without reason. In the attack on Portsmouth in July of 1813, 2000 British soldiers ransacked the village and damaged the Shell Castle light. By fall, the British had blockaded the port.[125]

Blount's correspondence with a New York merchant in 1814, however, indicates that he was again exploring the idea of selling shares in the Shell Castle development or even selling the entire site. But no sales contract followed, and Shell Castle began, instead, a slow decline. Tax records from 1815 show Shell Castle as twenty-five acres and valued at $8000 for taxes, one-third of the tax value for the entire Ocracoke and Portsmouth district. Wallace's widow, children, and slaves continued to make a living there until around 1820, although the widow moved to Portsmouth after 1818.[126]

The Shell Castle lighthouse burned down in 1818. Rebecca Wallace died in 1822, and by 1829, John Gray Blount and Wallace's heirs finally divided the remaining assets and property at Shell Castle. One of Wallace's sons retained title to the Wallace portion of Shell Castle even after he moved to Alabama in 1836, the year a few sailors with smallpox were banished to the island from Portsmouth's Marine Hospital. Wallace heirs were last mentioned as owning Shell Castle land in 1848.

Meanwhile, in 1838, Blount's portion of Shell Castle was sold to another businessman, who planned and may have started a store or stave factory on nearby Beacon Island in the 1840s

125 Ibid., 322–326.

126 Ibid., 328–331.

or early 1850s. The 1846 hurricane that opened Hatteras and Oregon inlets to the north probably demolished what was left of the Castle. While Carteret County tax records showed that it still had twenty-five acres and a value of $700 in the early 1840s, by 1855 the once-promising international hub of Shell Castle had been reduced to one-half acre valued at ten dollars.[127]

The demise of Shell Castle after 1818, though, did not spell the end of Ocracoke Inlet and Portsmouth as a key transit point. In fact, shipping traffic at the inlet only increased as the early nineteenth century wore on. But the downfall of Shell Castle opened opportunities for Portsmouth, which, according to Burke, "came into its own" in the decades after the War of 1812 as it largely took over the warehousing and lightering operations previously headquartered at Shell Castle. Records also show a growing number of ships registered and based at Portsmouth in this period. Although most were too small to be oceangoing vessels and were thus likely involved in piloting and lightering (which still engaged much of Portsmouth's population), the size of the ships based at Portsmouth gradually increased. And despite (and probably at some points because of) what was happening at Shell Castle, the early to mid-nineteenth century saw the further institutionalization of Ocracoke Inlet as a transshipment point. A customs house was established at Portsmouth in 1806, and federal post offices were placed at both Portsmouth and Ocracoke in 1840. In 1847, the federal government built a large and elaborate marine hospital at Portsmouth.[128]

The amount of export trade clearing customs at Ocracoke increased until 1835, after which it dropped off dramatically. Even during the post-1812 rise, though, problems loomed. The state struggled with ongoing troubles with the main Ocracoke channel, Wallace's Channel, which had demonstrated a tendency to shoal up since the late eighteenth century. After 1817, state officials contemplated a number of schemes to improve the channel, and the inlet was a key focus of state legislator Archibald D. Murphey's ambitious 1819 "Memoir on Internal Improvements," which urged state funding of enhancements to transportation all over the state.[129]

While directing his attention to what he thought (rightly) to be the most promising ocean connection in the state, the inlet at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, Murphey devoted several pages to recommendations about Ocracoke Inlet, still the primary outlet for goods coming and going via the Tar, Neuse, and Roanoke rivers. Given the "gurgitating quality" of the inlet's sands, Murphey seemed pessimistic about the prospects for improving Ocracoke, noting past suggestions for using either camels (previously unknown thereabouts) or a system of piers, mooring anchors, and chains to assist vessels across the Swash, which was getting shallower almost by the day.[130]

But with no other viable outlet, Murphey advocated that the state do whatever it could afford to improve the inlet.[131] Murphey seemed more excited by the idea of creating other man-made inlets further north along the Outer Banks in order to give the Albermarle and Roanoke River valley regions their own direct outlet to the sea. He also recommended canal systems that would enable better use of the ports at Beaufort and Wilmington. River navigation should be improved, he recommended, and an adequate road system built through the piedmont and mountain regions.[132]

Although political fights derailed or diluted much of Murphey's program, the impulse to improve the state's transportation networks did produce a marginally successful campaign to dredge the channels at Ocracoke between 1826 and 1837. Once again, John Gray Blount (who died in 1833) lobbied vigorously for this last-ditch effort to keep Ocracoke prosperous in the face of competition from new canals (such as, the Dismal Swamp Canal, built between 1793 and 1805 and deepened in the late 1820s, connecting the Albemarle region

127 Ibid., 328–335, 340 n. 23, 341 n. 32.

128 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 67–69, 74; Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 35–38; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 87.

129 Murphey, "Memoir on Internal Improvements," *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey.*

130 Ibid., 126.

131 Ibid., 125–126.

132 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 17–21; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 619–621; Murphey, "Memoir on Internal Improvements," *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 126. Although the scheme about using camels is mentioned in Murphey's 1819 "Memoir on Internal Improvements," it is not clear what the source of that idea was.

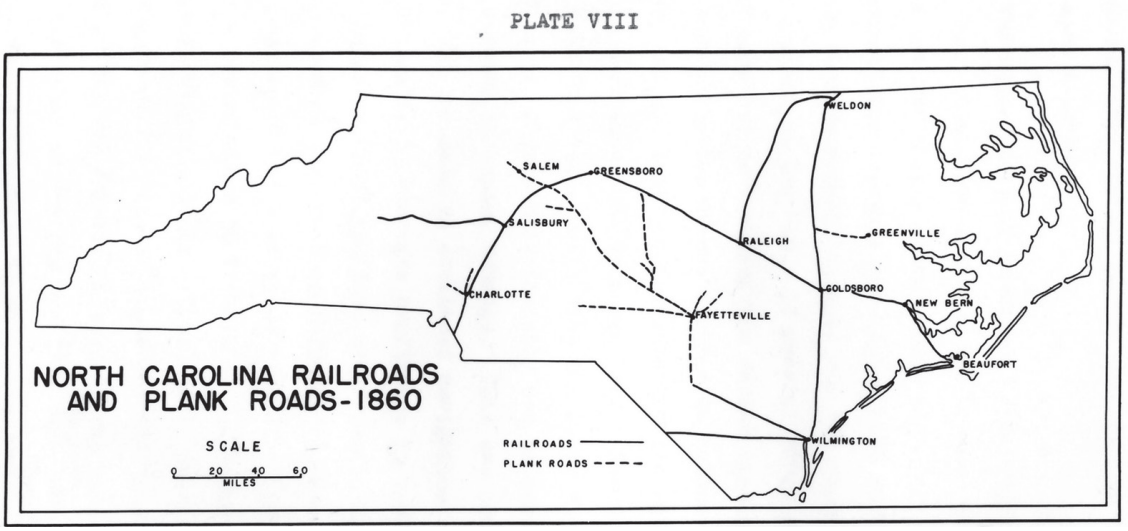


Figure 2-10. Map of railroads and plank roads in North Carolina, 1860. Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports," 88.

directly with Norfolk) that directed shipping traffic elsewhere.

When state action failed to materialize, Blount lobbied the U.S. Congress in 1827. In 1828, Congress approved funding, and dredging and jetty construction at the inlet began soon after. By 1837, the project had burned through three dredges and $133,750 in federal funds, but it failed to keep pace with the constant rush of sand back into dredged channels each winter.[133] Meanwhile, from the 1820s to 1860, Wilmington was becoming dominant as the state's major port, not least because, once railroad development began in earnest in the 1830s, it was the only port with direct railroad connection to the interior.

In 1836, as part of the Whig-sponsored efforts to improve transportation in North Carolina, the state chartered the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, which by 1840 connected the state's one deepwater port with markets in Virginia and cemented its advantage over ports that had to be accessed via Ocracoke Inlet.[134] By value, Wilmington already handled over three-quarters of North Carolina's $1.3 million in exports as of 1816.[135] By the 1840s, it surpassed New Bern (key entry point for trade through Ocracoke Inlet) as North Carolina's largest town.[136] The value of exports going through Wilmington catapulted upward at the same time, going from a little over $1 million in 1816 to $4.5 million (with naval stores and lumber as the leading products) by 1852.[137]

Thus, while the powerful hurricane that hit the Outer Banks on September 7, 1846, sealed Ocracoke Inlet's fate by opening two new inlets (new Hatteras Inlet and Oregon Inlet) farther north on the Outer Banks, other changes had already started that would render the area more isolated after the Civil War than it had been before. The new inlets accelerated that process, with Hatteras Inlet replacing Ocracoke as the most important passage through the Outer Banks by the Civil War era.[138]

Still, information about shipping through Ocracoke Inlet in its last nearly fifty years of preeminence (from 1812 to about 1860) indicates that the area continued to be a bustling center of activity. A widely quoted 1842 Congressional report supporting a bill to create the marine hospital at Portsmouth gives a snapshot of the area at its zenith. The report indicated that a politically active group of "sundry owners and masters of vessels, merchants, and other citizens residing within the district of Ocracoke, North Carolina and the ports connected therewith" had inundated

133 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 222–224; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 32, 106.
134 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 346–347; Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports," 65, 83, 102; Duncan P. Randall, "Wilmington, North Carolina: The Historical Development of a Port City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 58, no. 3 (September 1968): 444–446; Watson, *Wilmington*, 46–70.
135 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 300.
136 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 317.
137 Randall, "Wilmington, North Carolina," 446.
138 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 615.

Table 2-2: Workers in specified occupations listed in federal census for Portsmouth Island

Occupation	1850	1860	1870	1900
Fisherman	4	25	19	21
Oysterman				1
Mariner	34	48	31	
Pilot	23	17	5	
Marine Hospital / Surgeon/ Physician	3	2	1	
Merchant	5	1		
Teacher	1	3	2	
Boatman / Boatman U.S.	6			1
Carpenter				1
Collector / Deputy Collector	1	1		
Farmer	2			
Domestic / Servant		13	1	1
Seamstress		2		
Clerk			2	
Keeper of Light Boat / Lighthouse		2	3	1
Grocer			2	
Life-Saving Service				
Brick mason		1		

Source: Ellen F. Cloud, *Federal Census of Portsmouth Island, North Carolina* (Ocracoke: Live Oak Publications, [1995?), unpaginated. Cloud reported that no occupations were listed in 1880, and the 1890 census records were destroyed in a fire.

their representatives with petitions requesting appropriation for the hospital. The report went on to observe that Ocracoke Inlet still served as the outlet to the ocean for New Bern, Washington, Plymouth, Edenton, and Elizabeth City and their hinterlands.

This report also made the dubious claim that two-thirds of all of North Carolina's exports still passed through Ocracoke, an assertion that seems unlikely given the rise of the port of Wilmington and the fact that much of the trade in and out of the backcountry did not pass through North Carolina's ports at all. A count taken in 1836 and 1837, it further noted, found that nearly 1400 loaded ships sailed through the inlet in one year, "bound to various ports." All of this activity meant that "there must be a great accumulation of seamen at this place," especially since "vessels are frequently detained by adverse winds for several weeks." It was common, the report said, to find from thirty to sixty ships anchored in the inlet at once, delayed either by weather or by lightering.[139]

While Wilmington was by this time overtaking Ocracoke in terms of port traffic, at least one comparative statistic suggests that the volume of traffic through Wilmington in the 1850s was not that much larger than it had been through Ocracoke when the figures for the 1842 Congressional report were drawn up in the 1830s. Sprunt's *Chronicles of the Cape Fear*, published in 1914, estimated that it was not uncommon in the 1850s to see 90 vessels anchored in and around

139 House Committee on Commerce, *Marine Hospital—Ocracoke, N.C. (To accompany bill H.R. no. 512)*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., 24 June 1842, H. Rept. No. 889, serial 410.

Wilmington awaiting loading or unloading.[140] In 1854, 814 ships called at the port of Wilmington; in 1858, the number was 633, with the majority in both years American registered. Still, on the basis of tonnage entering and leaving North Carolina ports, there is no question that Wilmington already vastly outpaced Ocracoke in 1832–1833. That year, the tonnage of domestic shipping entering the port of Wilmington was the largest of any of the state's ports, at just over 11,600 tons, while only 335 tons entered at Ocracoke, the smallest amount of any of the ports. Ocracoke held its own a bit better with domestic shipping leaving the port, but its total tonnage (1,368) was dwarfed by the 22,493 tons leaving Wilmington. Foreign entrances and clearances were smaller than domestic traffic at Wilmington, but no foreign trade at all was noted at Ocracoke. By the late antebellum period, Wilmington was the only North Carolina port to conduct a substantial volume of foreign trade.[141]

What Did It All Mean?

Analyzing 1820 census records for Portsmouth, Kenneth Burke found that the majority of the men there at that time were engaged in commercial activities focused on lightering, fishing, and navigation, though six worked in manufacturing. At that time, as well, most of the ships calling Portsmouth their home port were smaller schooners not appropriate for seagoing travel and probably used as lighters. The size of ships based at Portsmouth increased from 1816 to 1839. In 1850, the population of 346 whites and 117 slaves included a majority of the adult white men employed as pilots, mariners, and boatmen.[142] Thus, during the century when thousands of ships going "to and from the most remarkable places" passed through Ocracoke Inlet, these black and white residents of Portsmouth were not fundamentally isolated or particularly provincial, but were instead deeply entangled with state, national, and international politics, and with the social and cultural worlds of other American ports north and south, the multinational ports of the West Indies, and the inland towns that dotted the shores of North Carolina's huge sounds.

On a large scale, the shifting sands of political and economic change in the volatile late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the British North American colonies—and other European outposts throughout the Americas—gained their independence, radically and repeatedly altered policies controlling trade and international shipping in the Atlantic. Policies emanating from England, other European powers retaining colonies in the West Indies, the new United States Congress, or the North Carolina colonial or state legislatures (e.g., levying tariffs or fees, regulating piloting, appropriating money—or not—for internal improvements, locating or closing customs houses or ports of entry, locating lighthouses) shaped life at the inlet. Wars—the American Revolution, the European wars of the Napoleonic era, the War of 1812—altered trade routes, changed trade policies, created or broke up trading zones, and produced new shipping dangers.

While they shaped life for everyone in the Ocracoke Inlet communities, these Atlantic world connections also had specific meanings for various subgroups within what were not, after all, completely homogenous worlds. For white pilots like John Wallace and various members of his family, already in the late eighteenth century dominating the local economy, the connections meant a route to upward mobility through ties to inland tidewater elites like John Gray Blount. Wallace traveled back and forth to the mainland, visiting with his partner Blount, moved into positions of local and statewide political leadership, and manipulated political systems via his and Blount's connections through Blount's brothers to the benefit of Shell Castle. He furnished his "fine house" with material goods brought in from northern ports and Europe.

The local ties with Blount, furthermore, shaped the lives of all of the pilots and lightering workers associated with Shell Castle, connecting them to trade networks up and down the east coast and to the West Indies as Blount ships ferried a wide array of cargo back and forth. Piloting, lightering, and the delays while ships waiting for these activities to be concluded offered exceptional opportunities for locals to handle goods and interact with mariners who had traveled to distant places.

140 Sprunt is quoted in Randall, "Wilmington, North Carolina," 446.
141 Watson, *Wilmington*, 67–70.
142 Burke, *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina*, 35–38, 52.

These ties were especially significant for the African American slave watermen, upon whose backs much of the work at Ocracoke Inlet fell; the slave pilots and other seamen manned all types of vessels traveling through the inlet and between the inlet and inland ports, and the stevedores unloaded and reloaded cargo. As Cecelski demonstrated in his groundbreaking *The Waterman's Song* (2001), the local African American maritime culture in North Carolina was "entangled with the distant shores of the Atlantic."[143] For the large enslaved population at Portsmouth, Ocracoke, and Shell Castle, living at an international crossroads meant a measure of freedom, access to antislavery information, and a real chance at escape.

Black watermen, Cecelski found, were "key agents of antislavery thought and militant resistance to slavery."[144] Looking at newspaper advertisements for runaways, Cecelski found that, especially during the years between the American Revolution and the War of 1812—perhaps not coincidentally, the years when Shell Castle flourished—North Carolina coastal slaves led "highly cosmopolitan lives" as "sailors, pilots, boatmen, fishermen, stevedores, and maritime tradesmen" who by virtue of their work or their travels were intimately bound up with ports up and down the eastern seaboard and in the West Indies.[145]

In 1810, 115 slaves, one free black, and 225 whites lived at Portsmouth, while 10 slaves and 18 whites lived at Shell Castle. The slaves at Ocracoke consisted mostly of skilled watermen like bar pilots (who lived on site and guided vessels across the Swash and bar); river pilots (who navigated seagoing vessels to inland ports from Ocracoke); lighter crews (who sailed in and out of ports such as New Bern and Edenton); and fishermen (who ranged up and down Core Banks from their base at Shell Castle, hunting mullet and bottlenosed dolphins).[146]

The Ocracoke Inlet communities, as we have seen, were heavily invested in the booming post-1790s West Indian trade, a key destination for many of John Gray Blount's ships. Cecelski points out that blacks made up a "large majority" of the deckhands on the vessels traveling from Albemarle to and from the West Indies. And free blacks undoubtedly sailed in and out of Ocracoke, as they made up a sizeable percentage of the hands on merchant ships sailing from ports like New York and Philadelphia after the turn of the nineteenth century.[147] Thus, the slaves who made up a large proportion of the population at Ocracoke Inlet had plenty of opportunities for communion with other African Americans who could bring radical ideas of freedom.

In the 1790s, news of the slave rebellion in Haiti arrived on every West Indian ship, frightening North Carolina slaveowners into trying to prohibit vessels from Saint-Domingue (the French name for Haiti) from entering the state's ports. In 1800 and 1802, fear again spread through North Carolina when it appeared that plans were spreading (via North Carolina's waterways) for slave uprisings in the Albermarle. Soon after black abolitionist David Walker's revolutionary treatise *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* appeared in 1830, black sailors were circulating copies to Wilmington and New Bern.[148] The next year, Nat Turner's revolt in Southampton County, Virginia, inspired hysteria in North Carolina and led directly to new legal restrictions on slave and free black watermen in the state.[149]

In addition to being a conduit for radical ideas, Cecelski found, North Carolina's coastal roads and waterways conveyed a steady current of escapees from slavery to freedom. With a measure of autonomy, a hand on the wheel of a vessel, access to cargo areas where ships were loading and unloading, and opportunities to build relationships with sympathetic seamen, black watermen had unparalleled opportunities to flee or help others aboard a ship out of slavery. Such opportunities, Cecelski argued, may have been especially frequent on the Outer Banks, where "slaves associated with their white counterparts . . . on far more equal terms than on the mainland."

The high proportion of slaves in the populace, the distance from the enforcing slave patrols, the high

143 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 18, 47.
144 Ibid., xvi.
145 Ibid., 18–21.
146 Ibid., 48–49, 77.
147 Ibid., 28, 42, 53.
148 David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829* (Boston, 1830).
149 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 28, 45, 53–56.

value placed upon black watermen's skills, and the fact of confusing mixed-race heritage (itself a product of those Atlantic world connections) among many may indeed have produced a more fluid system of race relations than pertained on the mainland. Whites and blacks in these island communities, Cecelski concluded, "seemed to have deeper commercial and cultural ties to the ports of New England than to mainland North Carolina. They crewed, piloted, provisioned, and lightered Yankee ships, and drank with, hunted with, and married `jack tars' from the Northeast."[150]

While there is no record that any of the slaves in Wallace's Shell Castle family ever attempted escape, there are other documented escape attempts from and through Ocracoke Inlet between 1793 and the 1830s. The John Gray Blount papers contain other accounts of runaways, including several who cleared the Ocracoke bar and made it to Philadelphia in 1803.[151] Clearly illustrating the ties between black watermen and a wider world of antislavery activism, the Boston anti-slavery newspaper *The Liberator* in 1831 carried the story (dateline New Bern) of nineteen slaves at Portsmouth who "crossed the bar in a lighter, with a view of making their escape to the North." When their departure was discovered, "several pilots" pursued them in a sloop, finding the lighter wrecked and leaking in "squally" weather. The escapees, the paper noted, might have perished but for the "timely rescue afforded by the sloop," whose appearance must have been met with mixed emotions among the refugees.[152]

Conclusion

An oft-quoted visitor to Ocracoke Inlet is Virginia scientist (and slavery defender) Edmund Ruffin, who published his *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina, and the Similar Adjacent Lands* in 1861. "The occupations of the whole resident population of Portsmouth," Ruffin wrote,

> are connected with the vessels which have to wait here. Pilots, and sailors, or owners of vessels, make up the greater number of the heads of families and adult males—and the remainder are the few, who as shopkeepers, &c., are necessary to minister to the wants of the others. If Ocracoke inlet should be closed by sand, (which is no improbable event,) the village of Portsmouth would disappear—or, (like Nagshead) remain only for its other use, as a summer retreat for transient visitors, sought for health and sea-bathing. Another such settlement or village, and supported in like manner, is at Ocracoke, north of the inlet.[153]

Of course, Ruffin's predictions came true. Although it took another hundred years, Portsmouth very nearly disappeared, and Ocracoke came into its own in the twentieth century as a summer retreat. The histories of the two villages appeared to diverge, masking a shared past when they stood on either side of the busiest inlet on the entire North Carolina coast—a key border region link to, rather than a barrier between, North Carolina and the watery world beyond.

150 Ibid., 140.
151 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 265–268.
152 Article about slave escape attempt at Portsmouth, *The Liberator (Boston)*, April 9, 1831.
153 Edmund Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches*, 124; "Edmund Ruffin (American scientist)," Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/512333/Edmund-Ruffin.

Restless and Storm-Battered Ribbons of Sand:
Hurricanes and Inlets

As geologist Orrin Pilkey has pointed out repeatedly, Cape Lookout National Seashore—and everything else on North Carolina's Outer Banks—is built upon an only momentarily stable configuration of a dynamic system that continues to move and change, as it always has, sometimes slowly over long periods of time, sometimes literally overnight.[1] As the *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report* notes, Cape Lookout and Core Banks have moved more than 4 miles to the west in the past 7,000 years, and the Outer Banks themselves have moved 40 to 50 miles since the sea level began to rise 18,000 years ago.[2] Hence, we must constantly remind ourselves that any map of the Outer Banks is no more than a snapshot of a brief moment in geological time.

Stretching more than 50 miles from Ocracoke Inlet to Beaufort Inlet, CALO includes more than 28,000 acres of fragile coastal beaches and dunes. The park drew nearly 700,000 visitors in 2005, not all of whom were as concerned about or interested in the natural environment as they might have been. But all 28,000 acres are regularly buffeted by threatening weather events, the most dramatic of which are hurricanes. It is an environment that has required constant vigilance and constant repair throughout the park's forty-plus years of existence.

Our discussion here of the natural environment of Cape Lookout National Seashore is limited to the impact of storms and hurricanes upon the national seashore and its historic resources; the location and configuration of the inlets; the nature of the sounds as the opening and closing of inlets changed their character and impacted the economic and social development associated with them; and the consequential or related histories of populations, communities, occupations. More specifically, we examine the effects of particular storms and hurricanes that have struck the Outer Banks within the Cape Lookout area since the middle of the eighteenth century when Portsmouth was founded.

The storm and hurricane history of the Outer Banks has been documented for a long time, anecdotally since first settlement and meticulously and scientifically for at least a century and a half. Jay Barnes's *North Carolina's Hurricane History* (2001) begins in 1524 and lists more than forty major hurricanes in the twentieth century alone—fourteen of them "notorious" storms that together claimed more than 250 lives.[3] Not all of the listed storms affected the Outer Banks, but some of those that did (such as Hazel in 1954, Donna in 1960, and Floyd in 1999) have been profoundly destructive. Even storms that did not qualify as hurricanes could and did impact the Banks dramatically, demolishing structures, battering or even erasing communities, and opening and closing inlets.

Similarly, the history of the Outer Banks inlets—not a few of them created by hurricanes—is well established and fully documented. No fewer than

1 Orrin H. Pilkey, Jr., *From Currituck to Calabash: Living with North Carolina's Barrier Islands*, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1982); Pilkey, *The North Carolina Shore and Its Barrier Islands*; and Orrin H. Pilkey, Jr., and Wallace Kaufman, *The Beaches Are Moving: The Drowning of America's Shoreline* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1983).

2 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 3-2.

3 Jay Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). A selective calendar of hurricanes is presented in Appendix C.

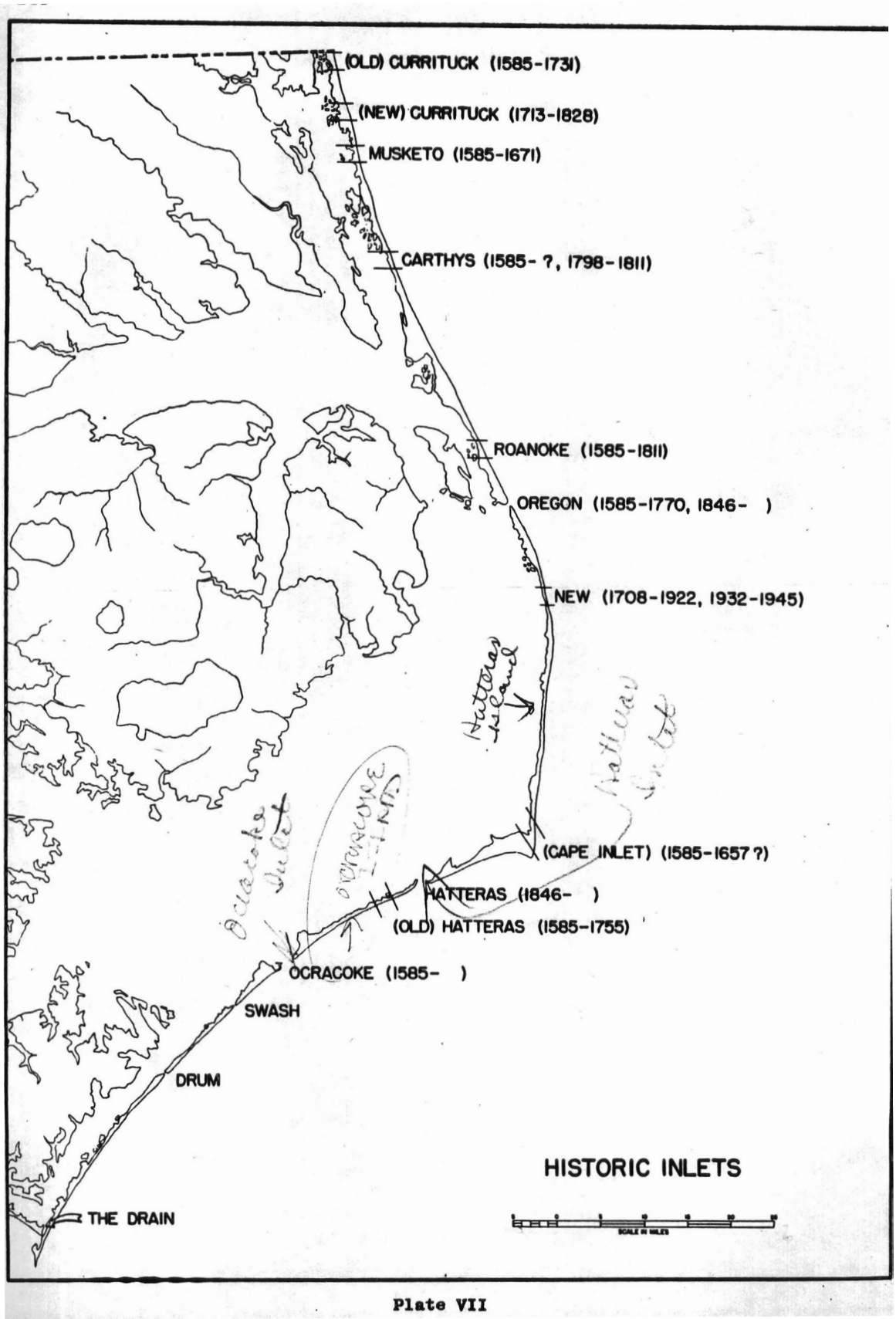


Figure 3-1. Historic inlets of the North Carolina coast. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the *North Carolina Outer Banks,* 218.

fourteen inlets appearing on maps from the 1580s through the present have at various times cut through the Banks, remaining open anywhere from a few decades to hundreds of years.[4] These inlets have been the subject of repeated attention as they have opened up, shoaled up, closed again, and been dredged (generally fruitlessly) to allow ships to pass. Eight of those inlets have existed between Cape Lookout and Ocracoke Inlet during historic times.[5] The preeminently important one for Cape Lookout National Seashore is Ocracoke Inlet, which we will consider at length below.

Significant Weather Events Before 1700

North Carolina's "Cape of Feare" got its name from Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano, who endured a severe storm nearby in 1524. Two years later, Spanish expedition leader Lucas de Ayllon lost one of his ships in a "loathsome gale." Dunbar's historical map of the Outer Banks shows seven inlets that opened in 1585, presumably opened by the same weather event.[6] The following year, Sir Francis Drake, trying to replenish Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke Island colony, encountered a hurricane that wrecked many of his ships. The North Carolina coast had a severe hurricane in August 1587, and at least four major hurricanes hit the Atlantic coast in the fall of 1591; one of them struck Roanoke Island.[7]

Data for the seventeenth century are scarce. Jamestown, Virginia was hit by a severe hurricane with 12-foot surges in 1667. Ten thousand houses were destroyed, and seventy-five people died. The same storm hit North Carolina, but details on its destructiveness are lacking. Hurricanes also hit the Outer Banks in 1669, 1670, and 1699.[8]

Weather, Inlets, and Sounds, 1700–1799

The first half of the eighteenth century brought several major hurricanes to the Outer Banks. A violent hurricane that struck the area on September 16–17, 1713, ranged from Charleston, South Carolina, northward to Cape Fear, where its greatest destructiveness was centered, driving ships far inland. Another hurricane fifteen years later sank many ships, including at least one a few miles off Ocracoke. A mid-October hurricane in 1749 sank nine ships in the same area.[9]

The first half of the eighteenth century closed with the Great Storm of August 18, 1750, which Barnes says caused great damage and cut several new inlets.[10] Two years later, in September 1752, a severe hurricane destroyed the Onslow County courthouse. Others followed in 1753, 1757, 1758, and 1761; the last storm opened a deep inlet near Bald Head Island that remained open for more than a century. Hudgins provides dramatic details of the hurricane of September 6–7, 1769. "Unprecedented tides and winds of terrible force," he said,

> attended this hurricane on the North Carolina coast. . . . [The] Governor spoke of the "calamities arising from the extreme violence of the late storm" and the destruction of the banks of their two rivers. The tide was said to have risen [twelve] feet higher than ever before and the wind blew so that nothing could stand before it. Two-thirds of the effects of New Bern were destroyed; houses in town were undermined by water and floated away or collapsed. One entire street of houses was swept off with some of the inhabitants. Many thousands of trees were blown down. Many houses were said to have blown down in the general area, including the Court House of Brunswick County.[11]

4 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 218.

5 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Master Plan, 1971*, 40–41.

6 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 218. The inlets were Old Currituck, Musketo, Roanoke, Oregon, Cape, Old Hatteras, and Ocracoke.

7 We think this number is probably low, since there is no particular reason why the incidence of such events should have been lower in this century than in the preceding and following ones. M. Kent Brinkley, "The Hurricane History of Colonial Virginia to 1775," *The Electronic Journal of Disaster Science* 1 (1999) https://facultystaff.richmond.edu/~wgreen/ejem0102.htm. James E. Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones Affecting North Carolina Since 1586: An Historical Perspective* (Blacksburg, VA: The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2000), 3.

8 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones,* 4. The 1699 storm is known to hit South Carolina, and Hudgins thinks it likely that it hit the North Carolina coast as well.

9 Ibid., 4–5.

10 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 35. Oddly, Dunbar's map shows no new inlets dating from 1750.

11 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 5.

According to Hudgins, at least a half dozen or so hurricanes struck the area between 1775 and the end of the century. Pasquotank County was hard hit in early September 1775, and New Bern took another blow in August 1778, from a storm that wreaked major crop damage and brought rains that continued for a Biblical forty days and forty nights. Wilmington was hit three years later, but details regarding storm-related damage are lacking. In October 1783, however, another hurricane brought extreme damage to the area; its effects reached as far inland as Winston and Salem, where it blew down fences, trees, and buildings. The center of a late-September hurricane in 1785 passed over Ocracoke Bar, opening breaks in the sand dunes and drowning cattle.

A storm that passed east and north of Cape Hatteras on July 23–24, 1788, destroyed a half dozen vessels, drove nearly a dozen ashore, and dismasted twice that many. Others were stranded as winds forced water out of Pamlico Sound. Less than a year later, on April 10, 1789, a hurricane in the Albemarle Sound area brought tides 9 feet above normal and hit ships headed out of the Chowan River; two lost their entire crews. A hurricane on August 2, 1795, drove eighteen Spanish ships onto the shoals at Cape Hatteras. The century closed with a major hurricane on September 5, 1797, whose effects stretched from Charleston to Currituck Inlet.[12]

Nineteenth–Century Hurricanes

There are dozens of reliable reports of hurricanes striking the Outer Banks during the nineteenth century. Presumably the dramatic increase compared to the previous century had much to do with better data gathering. Major storms struck around New Bern in 1803, 1815, 1821, and 1825. The last of them drove more than twenty vessels ashore on Ocracoke Island, and dozens more from Wilmington to Cape Lookout. An August 1827 hurricane broke the Diamond Shoals lightship from its anchors at Cape Hatteras and drove it south to Portsmouth.[13] In 1828, another storm closed New Currituck Inlet, turned Currituck Sound from saltwater to fresh, and ended Knotts Island's prospects as a maritime port.[14] In August 1830, another hurricane blew every ship from its moorings at New Bern. Three severe hurricanes struck within four months in late 1837, including the October "Racer's Storm" that wrecked the steamship *Home* and killed ninety passengers. In 1839, Olson noted, "a gale, long remembered for its severity, washed away almost all of the cattle, sheep, and horses at Portsmouth, in addition to several houses and gardens."[15] A July 1842 storm, one of the severest ever to strike the Banks, brought heavy damage from Wilmington to Currituck, most severely from Portsmouth northward; another followed a month later.[16]

A hurricane that struck in September 1846 had the dramatic effects, creating both Hatteras and Oregon inlets, bringing saltwater (and saltwater creatures) to the sounds, and, Barnes goes so far as to say, "reshap[ing] the geography of the Outer Banks." A decade later, a major storm cleared Wrightsville beach of its groves of live oaks, and a November 1861 storm scattered seventy-five Union vessels off Cape Hatteras, sinking two of them. In September 1874, Wilmington suffered major damage from a hurricane, including the destruction of one-third of the rice crop.[17]

Improved reporting after 1875 resulted in better records of storm intensity, tracks, and related indicators. The years between 1875 and 1900 witnessed nearly forty hurricanes, a number of

12 Ibid., 6–7.

13 The first contract for a lightship in the United States was awarded in Hampton, VA, in 1819. PalletMaster's Workshop, "History of U.S. Lightships," http://www.palletmastersworkshop.com/lightship.html (2004). The first lightships appeared in the early 1820s. USCG Lightship Sailors Association International, "Early U.S. Lightships," http://www.uscglightshipsailors.org/lightships/station_hist/lv_ships/EarlyL.htm (2008).

14 Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast*, 21–22.

15 Sarah Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 63.

16 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 8–10; Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 37.

17 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 34–38; Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 12–13. Barnes does not elaborate on this latter assertion. For commentary on Knotts Island resident Henry Ansell's recollections of the 1846 hurricane that devastated the area, see Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast*, 21–27.

them severe.[18] One that made landfall on the North and South Carolina line in September 1876 was the worst Wilmington residents had seen in many years. Two years later, another storm brought 100 mile-per-hour winds to Cape Lookout. An August 18, 1879, storm made landfall around Wilmington, devastated the Beaufort waterfront, and tore up a thousand feet of railroad track in Morehead City before crossing Pamlico Sound. Signal officers at Cape Lookout witnessed the highest winds ever recorded in North Carolina—138 miles per hour before the anemometer cups blew away, rising to an estimated 168 miles per hour.

A hurricane in September 1881 gave Wilmington its severest impact since those of 1822 and 1838, and a violent storm two years later pounded the city again before bypassing Cape Lookout. That hurricane killed fifty-three people in North Carolina—the most ever killed by a single storm in the state up to that time. An August 1887 hurricane wrecked many vessels in Pamlico Sound, and another six years later brought record high tides to Wilmington, again wrecking a number of vessels.

The 1890s were relatively quiet for the Outer Banks, but the decade closed with one of the deadliest hurricanes ever to move through the western Atlantic; possibly a Category 4 Cape Verde storm, the storm was dubbed the San Ciriaco by Puerto Ricans, hundreds of whom it killed before continuing northwest.[19] It struck the Outer Banks on August 16–18, 1899, with winds that reached 140 miles per hour as it crossed the Banks near Diamond City. Surges twice (once from the ocean side and once from the sound side) covered some of the Banks in 10 feet of water and caused heavy damage to Shackleford Banks and the communities of Portsmouth and Ocracoke, drifting sand over gardens, contaminating wells, killing trees with saltwater, drowning farm animals, destroying houses and fishing equipment, and killing between twenty and twenty-five people. The winds also

Figure 3-2. Portsmouth Methodist Church [no date or photographer given. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

destroyed the Methodist church in Portsmouth; it was rebuilt in 1901.[20]

On Hatteras Island, the Weather Bureau station recorded winds in excess of 100 mph and gusts of 120–140 miles per hour before its anemometer blew away, and barometric pressures at Hatteras indicated San Ciriaco may have been a Category 5 hurricane. The storm drove at least eight vessels ashore (including the Diamond Shoals Lightship); six others were lost at sea without a trace. One of the indomitable Midgett family Life-Saving Service surfmen (Rasmus, of the Gull Shoal station) received a medal of honor for his role in rescuing ten seamen from the 643-ton barkentine *Priscilla*, bound from Baltimore to Brazil. During

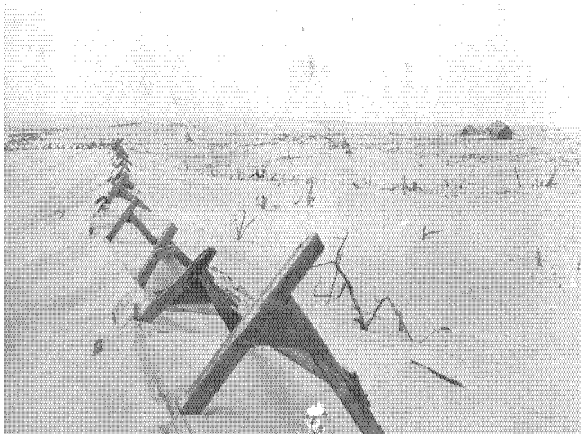


Figure 3-3. Shackleford Banks after 1899 hurricane. Jones, Gaskill-Guthrie House, 16.

18 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 39–61; Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 13–22. Our account is based on these two discussions.

19 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 49–55, has an extended account of the San Ciriaco hurricane.

20 The history of the church is not easy to reconstruct. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 30, say it was destroyed in a hurricane in 1899 and rebuilt in 1901, then destroyed by another hurricane in 1913 and rebuilt in 1915. Methodist Church records we have consulted provide little data.

the months following the Great Hurricane of 1899, most Shackleford Banks residents moved to the mainland, the majority of them to Harkers Island, but others to Marshallberg, Broad Creek, Salter Path, and elsewhere.[21]

Hurricanes of the Twentieth Century

Hudgins's discussion of twentieth-century North Carolina hurricanes includes nearly sixty storms of at least Category 1 strength and numerous tropical storms that produced major damage. By no means all of those impacted the Outer Banks. More than two dozen of them require some discussion, however, and the general level of destruction increased as the years passed, partly because of the steadily increasing development on the Outer Banks and the coast in general.[22]

The first twentieth century hurricane of note was a Category 3 storm that skirted the Outer Banks on November 13, 1904, passing near Hatteras, sweeping away the Life-Saving Station and drowning four crewmen; eight others drowned when a Pamlico Sound yacht sank. A short but severe September 3, 1913, hurricane made a more direct hit on Core Banks and Pamlico Sound, pushing sound waters inland, causing severe flooding at New Bern and Washington, and carrying major destruction as far west as Durham. The *Dewey* sank at Cape Lookout, and two schooners were stranded near Portsmouth, where both the Methodist and Primitive Baptist churches were destroyed.[23]

Thereafter, the Banks were spared major hurricane activity for twenty years, but two major hurricanes struck in the fall of 1933. The first hit on August 22–23 over the northern Banks, and the second passed through Pamlico Sound on September 15–16, driving huge surges of water inland, bringing up to 13 inches of rain, claiming twenty-one lives, and pushing record flooding into New Bern, where wind speeds reached 125 miles per hour. When the storm passed and the water rushed seaward, it washed over Core Banks and opened Drum Inlet. Carteret County was especially hard hit; eight people drowned, scores were left homeless, and livestock perished. Its fishermen, many of whom lived close to the water, suffered heavy losses. Nearly every home on Cedar Island was washed from its foundation, and the visible remains of Shell Castle Island were obliterated.[24] Twenty-one people on the coast were killed, and property damage totaled $3 million.

Nearly another dozen years passed before the "Great Atlantic" wartime hurricane of September 14, 1944, passed north of the southern Banks, raising water 2 to 4 feet deep in houses on Ocracoke, driving the barometer to a record low at Cape Hatteras, and eventually raking 900 miles of the Atlantic coast. Some 344 people died in the sinking of five ships, two of them off the North Carolina coast. Damage in North Carolina lay mostly northward, from Nags Head to Elizabeth City. Catastrophic flooding damaged more than 80 percent of the houses in Avon. This hurricane brought so much damage to Portsmouth that a majority of its few remaining residents left, never to return.[25]

21 Holland, *Survey History,* , 7; Tommy Jones, *Fishing Cottage #2, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003), 14; Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 57–61.

22 Barnes's "Selected Notorious Hurricanes" table lists eleven storms between 1933 and 1999 that caused a total of 143 deaths and more than $12.5 billion in damages. For the first half of the century, he discusses ten hurricanes, four of which had serious effects upon the Outer Banks. Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 63–78, chronicles this history. Our discussion combines data from Hudgins and Barnes.

23 A new Methodist church was built two years later. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 68; Tommy Jones, *George Dixon House, Portsmouth, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004), 10.

24 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 30. One of these hurricanes (presumably the second) also severely altered the landscape of Sheep Island, adjacent to Portsmouth, and damaged the home of the Ed Styron family. They moved into Portsmouth and built another house on the east side of the village. That small (250-square-foot) two-room house, which they occupied until 1944, is now known as the Ed Styron House (ibid.,125). For full documentation and discussion of this house, see Tommy Jones, *Ed Styron House, Portsmouth, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004). See also Jones, *George Dixon House,* 10, 15, 19.

25 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 125.

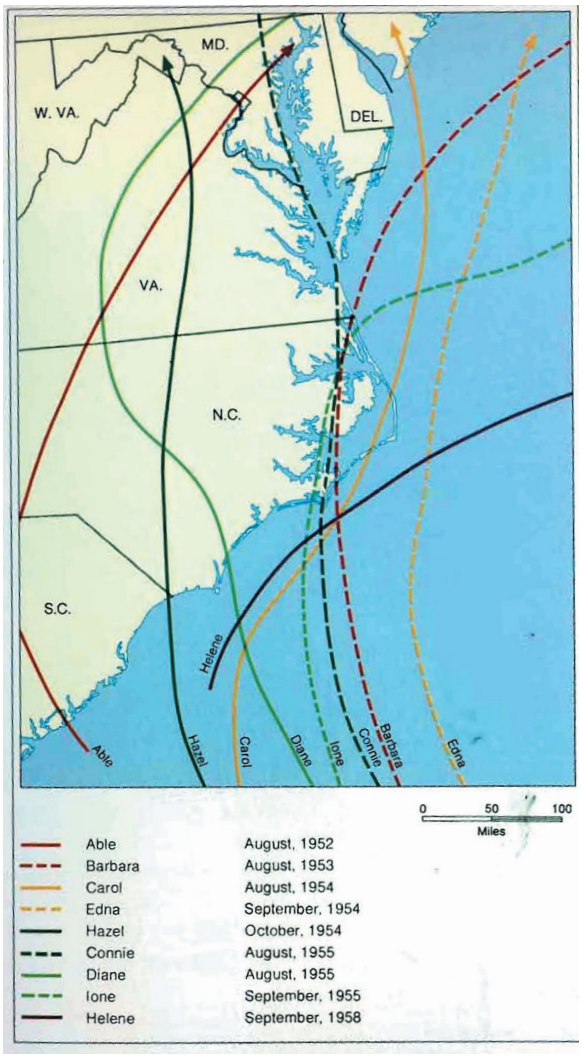


Figure 3-4. Selected hurricane tracks of the 1950s. Clay, et al., Land of the South, 70.

During a particularly intense two-year period in the 1950s, seven hurricanes struck the coast, including the infamous Hazel of 1954.[26] Hazel, which came ashore at Little River, South Carolina, on 15 October 1954, was the most destructive storm in the history of the state. By the time it made landfall at the North Carolina–South Carolina line, it had already killed an estimated 1,000 people in Haiti. The storm surge at Calabash, which came at high tide, reached 18 feet—the highest ever recorded—and windspeeds ranged up to 150 mph.

In the area from Calabash to Cape Fear, Hudgins reported, "All traces of civilization on . . . the immediate waterfront . . . were practically annihilated." Tides devastated the waterfront all the way to Cape Lookout. Dunes 10 to 20 feet high disappeared, and the houses built on or behind them ended up as "unrecognizable splinters and bits of masonry." Of 357 houses on Long Beach, 5 survived.[27] Record rainfall stretched inland as far as Burlington, and the storm raged northward before it finally dissipated on a course toward Scandinavia. In North Carolina, the beaches in Brunswick County (Robinson, Ocean Isle, Holden, Long Beach) were hardest hit. Only two of thirty-three Ocean Isle cottages were spared; 35-ton shrimp trawlers were lifted over the seawall and into town in Southport, and all twenty of the town's shrimp houses were destroyed. At New Topsail Beach, 210 of 230 cottages were destroyed. Cape Fear flooding in Wilmington was higher than it had ever been.

Carteret County, which lay 120 miles north of landfall, was spared the most severe damage, but even so, Hazel was the worst hurricane county residents had witnessed in years. While damage was greatest in Atlantic Beach, there was little damage in the Cape Lookout section. Barnes's rainfall map for the hurricane shows 1 inch or less from Bogue Banks northward, although high tides flooded large sections of Beaufort and Morehead City, and huge waves swept across the causeway.[28] The damage totals for Hazel made it the most destructive hurricane in state history: nineteen people killed, fifteen thousand buildings destroyed, thirty counties heavily damaged, and $136 million in property losses.

On August 12, 1955, Connie (Category 3) made a much more direct hit on Carteret County. Connie crossed Cape Lookout with winds below 80 miles per hour, so there was relatively little wind damage, but heavy rain (12 inches in Morehead City) and tides 7 feet above normal brought a lot of flooding, and beach erosion was judged by some to have been worse than that associated with Hazel.

26 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 80–120, discusses the hurricanes of this period. In addition to the hurricanes discussed here, Barbara struck between Morehead City and Ocracoke on August 13, 1953, but it was a weak Category 1 storm and damage was not heavy except to crops. Similarly, Carol (August 30, 1954), although a Category 2 storm, spared the coast significant damage, and Edna (September 10, 1954) passed safely 60 miles offshore.

27 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 32–33.

28 Map, "Total precipitation and path of hurricane Hazel," in Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 85.

Connie was only the first of three hurricanes to hit the county within six weeks.[29] Residents barely had time to recover from Connie before Diane arrived five days later, entering at Wilmington and moving north-northwest. Since Diane passed well southwest of Cape Lookout, winds (again below 80 miles per hour) had minimal effect, but heavy rains and high tides caused extensive flood damage in Beaufort, severe beach erosion, and major damage to causeways and bridges.[30]

Hurricane Ione came ashore near Salter Path with 100 mph winds on September 19 and veered back out over the Atlantic soon thereafter, bringing more record flooding. Eastern North Carolina had had some 30 inches of rain during the past six weeks, and Ione brought sixteen more. Forty city blocks flooded in New Bern. Numerous highways had to be closed, and storm waters carried away several spans of the North River Bridge east of Beaufort. "The combined effects of Connie, Diane, and Ione," Barnes reports, "were said to have swept away all the dunes along the 25-mile stretch of beach from Cape Lookout to Drum Inlet," leaving it "as smooth as an airfield." Drum Inlet itself was left choked with sand and unnavigable. Nearly 90,000 acres of cropland were submerged and contaminated by salt water. State officials estimated crop damage at $46 million and total damage at $88 million.[31]

This period of intense activity included Helene, which swept from Wilmington to Hatteras across Pamlico sound in September 1958 and closed with Donna on September 11, 1960.[32] By the time it reached North Carolina, Donna had already pounded Florida (twice) with wind gusts of 175–200 miles per hour. The storm made landfall near Topsail Island, in an area Orrin Pilkey, North Carolina's preeminent critic of coastal development, called "one of the least desirable places in North Carolina for coastal development,"[33] with gusts above 100 miles per hour. Moving northeastward, it passed over Carteret, Pamlico, Hyde, and Tyrrell counties, bringing heavy structural damage to coastal communities all the way to Nags Head.[34] Carteret was on its eastern side; Atlantic Beach, Morehead City, and Beaufort were hardest hit. Some of the worst destruction occurred along the Morehead City-Beaufort Causeway, where rails were left hanging over the water. Donna's "full fury," Barnes says, struck the Outer Banks, but the impact lay mostly north of Portsmouth, around and to the north of Nags Head and Kitty Hawk. Its total cost may have reached $1 billion, and some 170 people died in the Caribbean and the United States.[35]

The decade following Donna was surprisingly quiet except for the so-called Ash Wednesday storm of March 7–9, 1962. Not strong enough to be classed as a hurricane, the storm nevertheless pounded more than 500 miles of the mid-Atlantic coast, especially the northern Outer Banks, bringing near-record tides to Cape Hatteras and flattening dunes from Kill Devil Hills to the Virginia border.[36] The state was also spared significant hurricane damage through much of the 1970s. Hurricane David (September 5, 1979) caused serious beach erosion on the southern beaches and very high tides on Pamlico Sound, but spared the Outer Banks.

The first significant hurricane to strike since Donna was Diana, which came ashore near Bald Head Island on September 9, 1984. Diana was a relatively weak Category 2 storm that happened to hit land at low tide, so it was less damaging than it might otherwise have been, although damage to southern beaches was substantial. Stronger building codes and improved evacuation plans helped reduce the number of casualties.[37]

A year later, on September 26–27, 1985, hurricane Gloria looked as if it might make landfall at Morehead City or Cape Lookout, but actually hit at Cape Hatteras. It was a powerful Category 3 storm, but Gloria hit at low tide and moved rapidly, bringing only modest damage to most of the Outer Banks, although beach erosion was severe in some locations. Hurricane Charley (August 17–18, 1986), rated Category 1, hit closer to Cape Lookout and

29 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 108–118.
30 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 34–35.
31 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 116; Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 36.
32 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 120–132.
33 Pilkey, *The North Carolina Shore and its Barrier Islands*, 29.
34 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 37–38.
35 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 130–132.
36 Ibid., 266–267. See also Aycock Brown, Walter V. Gresham, and David Stick, *The Ash Wednesday Storm: March 7, 1962* (Kill Devil Hills, NC: Gresham Publications, 1987).
37 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 48.

moved across Ocracoke, Pamlico Sound, and then north to Hyde and Dare counties, but it was short-lived and caused only minor damage.

The relative weakness of Gloria and Charley was followed by the massive destruction of Category 3 Hurricane Hugo on September 21–22, 1989.[38] Hugo came ashore at Charleston and moved generally northwest, producing record-setting storm tides and high winds that knocked bridges off their pilings, felled television broadcast towers, and destroyed massive amounts of timber. Hugo weakened briefly but then regained strength as it passed into North Carolina; ultimately, most of its destruction lay inland and away from the Outer Banks. Twenty-nine North Carolina counties, stretching from Brunswick northwest through Mecklenburg to Watauga, were declared disaster areas; timber losses alone reached $250 million and 1.5 million people were without power. Losses were also high on the southern coast of North Carolina, despite the South Carolina entry point and the storm's northwesterly course. In Brunswick County, which caught the worst of it, storm surges, severe beach erosion, and damage to protective dunes were dramatic. In this one county, damage exceeded $75 million. Total destruction from Hugo was around $10 billion, making it the most expensive hurricane in history.[39]

Seven years passed before another major storm impacted the coast substantially, but the year 1996 brought both Bertha, on July 12–13, and the much larger and more deadly and destructive Fran, on September 5–6.[40] Bertha came ashore between Wrightsville Beach and New Topsail Island as a Category 2 hurricane, but it quickly lost strength as it moved inland. Nevertheless, it brought 100 mile per hour winds to Carteret County and strong tide surges, which hit beaches between Cape Fear and Cape Lookout and raised water levels in Pamlico Sound. Indeed, most of the storm's total estimated damages of $135 million occurred in coastal North Carolina, where summer vacation crowds, lingering after the July 4th holiday, complicated evacuation efforts.

Fran produced a vastly greater scene of destruction than Bertha had. Coastal residents were well along with the cleanup from Bertha when Fran hit. As the magnitude of the storm became clear, full-scale evacuations were put in motion on North and South Carolina beaches. Fran came ashore near Bald Head Island as a Category 3 hurricane whose 115 mile per hour winds covered nearly 150 miles. The storm followed a path along the Cape Fear River toward the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area, wreaking heavy damages all along its path. Although it passed well southwest of the Outer Banks, Fran brought heavy storm surges to the southeast coast—up to 7 feet at Atlantic Beach—and 7.5 inches of rain at some points in Carteret County. The storm lost strength outside of Raleigh, where it dumped nearly 9 inches of rain while causing widespread destruction throughout Wake, Johnston, and Wayne counties. Downstream communities suffered further damage as inland creeks and rivers overflowed and the Corps of Engineers had to release millions of gallons of water from overflowing reservoirs into the Neuse River.

Fran caused sever damage over a very wide area of North Carolina. It was the worst storm in decades. New Hanover County beaches were most affected, with Wilmington under 6 feet of water at one point and suffering from damaging winds for hours. Over nine hundred homes were damaged on Carolina Beach alone, and Wrightsville Beach had 11-foot surges. Devastation at Topsail Island was enormous, with more than three hundred homes damaged and heavy beach erosion wiping out the dunes and creating what one local conservationist termed "an ecological disaster." Twenty-one deaths were recorded in North Carolina.[41]

Carteret County's Emerald Isle and Pine Knoll Shores beaches were heavily eroded, though only a few homes were lost. Ecological damage stretched forward from the storm as pine beetles moved into Bogue Banks forests, attacking loblolly

38 Barnes's extended discussion is in *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 149–156.

39 Ibid., 51.

40 See Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 163–204. Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1995,* December 15, 1995 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 10, notes a successful evacuation for Hurricane Felix (August 8, 1995), but provides no details. Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate a copy of the 1996 *Superintendent's Annual Report* for Cape Lookout National Seashore, which presumably included detailed information on the 1996 hurricanes' impact.

41 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 187; Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 57.

pines weakened by salt water and wind. Statewide, losses rose to unprecedented levels. The governor declared a 100-county state of emergency; fifty counties were designated federal disaster areas. Farmers suffered $684 million in losses from flooded lands, destroyed crops and buildings, ruined equipment, and lost livestock. More than 8 million acres of woodland were damaged—a $1.3 billion loss. The National Climatic Data Center put the total loss to the state at $5 billion or more. Extensive damage continued northward through Virginia and Maryland.

Unfortunately, the major hurricanes of the 1990s were not over yet. Still to come were Bonnie (August 26–28, 1998), Dennis (August 30–September 5, 1999), and the savagely destructive Floyd (September 16, 1999). It was to be, Barnes says, "the deadliest Atlantic hurricane season in more than two hundred years."[42]

After appearing rather Fran-like for a period, Bonnie weakened to Category 2 and slowed before making landfall near Cape Fear and passing over Onslow County. Nevertheless, it dumped heavy rains over eastern counties (more than 11 inches in Jacksonville) before moving off the Outer Banks. Rumors that the storm had opened new inlets proved false, but fishing piers fell one after the other and scores of docks were ripped out. Carteret County's losses were scattered and minor, mostly confined to Emerald Isle. Total damages came to perhaps $750 million, much of it in damaged crops.[43]

Hurricane Dennis turned out to be a rather meandering event, with a wind field that radiated out 200 miles. Two days in, it was downgraded to a tropical storm, but it nevertheless brought widespread damage. Winds drove waves and water onto shore from Cape Lookout northward to New Jersey. The storm turned first sharply northeast over open water, then directly south, and then again to the northwest, directly toward Cape Lookout, where it made landfall on Core Banks with 91 mph winds on September 4, before weakening to a tropical depression as it tracked toward central North Carolina.

Along with other areas, Carteret County was buffeted by elevated tides, serious beach erosion, and prolonged flooding, especially where winds piled up Pamlico and Core Sound waters, such as on Cedar Island. The Outer Banks in general suffered from high winds and waves for nearly six days. The worst of it lay to the north of Cape Lookout, but CALO nevertheless had to be evacuated twice—for both passes of Hurricane Dennis—and severe damage was done to docks, seawalls, and Portsmouth Village.[44] Some 1,600 Banks houses were also damaged, and losses in North Carolina and Virginia totaled $157 million.[45]

The last act of a very difficult decade, Floyd ended a five-year stretch that included more hurricanes than any similar period in recorded history. The year 1999 saw twelve named storms and eight hurricanes, five of which were major storms, all of which reached Category 4 strength.[46] Before it was over, Floyd qualified as the greatest single disaster in North Carolina history. As it approached the Bahamas, it measured more than 400 miles across—by any measure, a monster storm. More than 1.3 million Floridians fled the state's southeast coast as the storm approached, and coastal residents in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina followed in massive numbers.

Floyd's arrival in North Carolina was preceded by huge rains across the eastern counties. Before it made landfall in the wee hours of the morning at Cape Fear, the storm had been downgraded to Category 2. As it moved, its center tracked over Pender and Onslow counties, thence to New Bern, Washington, and into southeastern Virginia. Winds gusted above 100 miles per hour in various locations. Floyd's winds were clocked at 91 mph at Cape Lookout, matching Dennnis

42 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 205.

43 The Cape Lookout National Seashore Superintendent's Annual Report for 1998 mentions, 3, that the park was evacuated and closed for Bonnie, but provides no other details. The official NOAA site provides further information on Bonnie at http://lwf.ncdc.noaa.gov/oa/reports/bonnie/bonnie.html.

44 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1999*, January 21, 2000 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 10.

45 Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History,* reports (217) that new inlets were cut on Core Banks and just north of Buxton. The former lay 2 miles north of one cut by the Corps of Engineers in 1997, but it was difficult to navigate because it was lined with shoals and sandbars.

46 Barnes's extended discussion of hurricane Floyd is to be found in *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 220–260.

almost exactly. Tidal surges ranged up to 10 feet, bringing extensive beach erosion, and a number of tornadoes touched down. Rains that lasted more than sixty hours in some places (just over 19 inches fell on Wilmington, and more than 21 inches in Raleigh-Durham) brought massive flooding. The Neuse, Tar, and Northeast Cape Fear rivers reached all-time flood records; other record flood levels (in many cases above the 500-year mark) were seen on rivers in Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Many major transportation routes were blocked by floodwaters and became the scenes of many deaths. Vast numbers of stranded residents were evacuated. In Carteret County, the western beaches were hit by storm surges that destabilized cottages and tore at the dunes. Emerald Isle was especially hard hit by waves that destroyed piers, destroyed seventeen homes, and damaged hundreds more. And again, CALO had to be evacuated.[47]

Cleanup and reconstruction problems after Floyd were severe. Hundreds of thousands of drowned animals were rotting; fifty hog waste lagoons were submerged; twenty-four flooded municipal waste-treatment plants were dumping raw sewage into rivers; streams and rivers carried chemical pollutants leached into flood waters; water plants and wells were contaminated; 7,300 homes were destroyed and more than 60,000 flooded. Only a fraction of the damage (estimated to be between $5.5 and $6 billion, including perhaps $1 billion in agricultural losses) was covered by insurance. And fifty-two people had died, most of them trapped in vehicles swept away by floodwaters.

CALO suffered heavy damage from hurricanes Dennis and Floyd. Some 200 trees were ripped out of the ground or irretrievably damaged at Portsmouth, and the visitor center there (Salter-Dixon House) had to be re-roofed. All historic structures were flooded, and some lost floors and roofs. Several buildings were lost, including three barns: one at the Jesse Babb House, another between the McWilliams House and the water, and a third located near the Life-Saving Station stable. Elsewhere in the park, boat docks, picnic shelters and signs were damaged or destroyed, and some interior walls in the headquarters building had to be repaired.[48]

The year 2003 was nearly catastrophic for the National Seashore. "On September 18," the Superintendent reported,

> the eye of Hurricane Isabel passed directly over the seashore at Drum Inlet . . . [bringing the] worst storm damage the park has received in its existence. . . . The park suffered over 12 million dollars in damage to its infrastructure. Significant damage occurred in the northern 2/3 of the park with particular damage to the park concession facilities at Alger Willis Fish Camps and Morris Kabin Kamps. Portsmouth Village also experienced significant damage to a number of historic resources, including the George Dixon House.[49] Over 400 trees were removed from the historic district of Portsmouth. The coal shed located adjacent to the Keeper's Quarters and Lighthouse was destroyed. Significant shoreline erosion occurred at the Lighthouse area and on Harkers Island. . . . Recovery efforts continued through the end of the year.[50]

The Superintendent's report the following year reemphasized the damage. "Recovery efforts from . . . Hurricane Isabel," it said, "were a major focus of all park activities for 2004. . . . [Over] 6 million dollars in repairs will keep the park working on these efforts for the next 2–3 years." Of particular concern was beach erosion that threatened the lighthouse; plans were under consideration to haul in 68,000 cubic yards of sand from Shackleford

47 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1999*, 10.

48 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 2000*, 9–10; Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 32. Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 2001*, December 14, 2001 (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), said that a final total of 800 trees had to be removed in Portsmouth Village.

49 See also Jones, *George Dixon House,* and Jones, *Washington Roberts House,* 23.

50 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2003*, 1. The coal shed was not a historic structure, but rather a modern reconstruction of the original 1939 building.

Banks to widen the beach and build a protective berm.[51]

The next storm to affect the park came on September 14–15, 2005. Hurricane Ophelia basically tracked the east coast of North America from Florida to Nova Scotia, passing just south of Cape Lookout and Cape Hatteras. It brought a quarter of a million dollars in damage to the park, including additional damage to the George Dixon house (already heavily damaged by Isabel) and to Portsmouth Village exhibits. It also downed hundreds more trees.[52]

Like all east coast states, North Carolina has had a sustained, if at times sporadic, history of hurricanes. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, about three quarters of them occurred between August and October, but the earliest (in 1825) came in the first week of June and the latest, in 1925, on December 1. The most intense was 1954's Hazel (Category 4) and the costliest was Hugo (Category 3), which hit in September 1989. The highest winds, recorded at Cape Lookout on August 18, 1879, reached 168 miles per hour, and the most deaths (53) were associated with the storm of September 11, 1883. No Category 5 hurricane has made landfall in North Carolina since 1899.[53]

The history of hurricanes is inseparable from that of North Carolina's inlets, which opened and closed (and sometimes opened or closed again) as hurricanes raked the coast. We turn now to those inlets.

Ocracoke Inlet

Of the eleven major inlets shown on Dunbar's historic inlets map (Figure 3-1), Ocracoke is the only one within CALO boundaries that has had major commercial importance.[54] Significantly, it is also the only one of seven opened (presumably by a hurricane) in 1585 that is still open. Sir Walter Raleigh entered it in that year en route to Roanoke Island. On the Comberford map of 1657, it was highlighted as the major approach for ships headed toward inland rivers.[55] Ocracoke became increasingly important after Currituck, Roanoke, and Old Hatteras inlets closed in the early 1700s, when it became the main route of entry from the sea for all of northeastern North Carolina. As early as 1755, Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs recommended that work be undertaken on the inlet. For "moderate expence," he opined, the passage might be made 2 or 3 feet deeper.[56]

Ehrenhard notes that the inlets most used commercially in the eighteenth century were Ocracoke, Currituck (Old and New), and occasionally Roanoke. Hatteras, he points out, "was never very useful for navigation, may have begun to close about 1738 and was probably completely closed about 1755." As early as 1728, William Byrd had reported that the opening of New Currituck in 1713 had hastened the demise of Old Currituck Inlet, which closed in 1731. Roanoke Inlet, at the lower end of Albemarle Sound, was well located but too shallow for any but small ships. This left Ocracoke as the most useful passage during the period.[57]

Between 1730 and 1800, ships of 13 or 14 feet draft could pass through the inlet, but by 1833, 10 feet was the maximum.[58] One of Ocracoke Inlet's two

51 Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Annual Superintendent's Report 2004* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 1, 2, 5; Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Report 2005* (Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore), 3–9, lists 58 Isabel-related projects undertaken.

52 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 1, 22, 30–31; Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Superintendent's Annual Report 2005*, 9.

53 Hudgins, *Tropical Cyclones*, 60.

54 This inlet's importance for coastal North Carolina shipping has already received considerable attention in the preceding chapter. For still further discussion, see Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*. Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 8, says that "Between the Virginia line and Cape Lookout there have been twenty-five different inlets which remained open long enough to acquire names and appear on printed maps . . . ." For our purposes, the exact number of inlets is less important than the indisputably dynamic character of the Outer Banks, especially with regard to the appearance and shoaling or disappearance of the many inlets. Stick's table of principal Outer Banks inlets appears in *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 9.

55 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 12.

56 Letter from Arthur Dobbs to the Board of Trade of Great Britain, May 19, 1755. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 344-347 (online version: http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0106).

57 John E. Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 26.

58 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 14.

channels closed up after 1810.[59] Army engineers did some work to improve passage in the 1830s, but abandoned the effort in 1837.[60] Nevertheless, as plantations grew, planters depended upon the inlet for getting goods in and out, and early passenger-carrying steamships used it as well. During the year 1836–1837, as has often been noted, some 1400 vessels passed through it.[61]

After a hurricane in 1846 opened two new inlets (Oregon and new Hatteras), Ocracoke declined in importance.[62] During the Civil War, Union troops blocked it with stone-laden vessels, and it never regained its importance after the war ended. In their succinct article for the *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, Stick and Angley note usefully that the Corps of Engineers made the first of many studies of possible "improvements" to the inlet in the 1870s.[63] Twenty years later the Corps recommended against working on the inlet, but nevertheless did undertake some work on the channel in the mid-1890s. The channel reshoaled quickly, however.[64]

Use of the inlet began to grow somewhat again in the 1930s, and land on both sides of it got some protection when it was acquired in 1953 as a part of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Construction of the Bonner Bridge in 1964 introduced "wild changes" to the inlet, which narrowed it from more than 7,700 feet (nearly 1.5 miles) to less than 2,500 (under a half-mile) and made it more difficult to maintain.[65]

59 Olson discusses the evolution of the northern and southern channels in detail in ibid.,14–17.

60 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 68, 87.

61 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 614–615.

62 Actually Oregon Inlet was *re*opened by the 1846 storm, having previously been open for nearly two hundred years (1585–1770). Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 279, says the hurricane occurred on September 7, 1846, but we have not seen confirmation of this precise date elsewhere.

63 Wilson Angley and David Stick, "Inlets," in Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 614f.

64 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks,* 109–112.

65 Angley and Stick, "Inlets."

An Eye for the Possible:
Maritime (and Other) Economic Activities on the Southern Banks

Perhaps as early as the 1760s, a windmill for grinding corn may have stood at Portsmouth—maybe the earliest on the Outer Banks—and a small salt works was set up in Carteret County in 1776.1 In other areas of the country, such an image might have promised the coming of industrial development. But that kind of development never happened, either at Portsmouth or anywhere else on the Outer Banks north of Beaufort. Indeed, this lonely early windmill was not even grinding corn grown locally, but corn grown on inland farms and exchanged for fish harvested off the coast and out of the sounds.

From the early years of settlement on the Banks, however, there clearly was some hope for commercial development and a sense of the need for a reliable source of power to support it. Local wind patterns made windmills seem a likely option. Windmills had been known in Europe since at least the twelfth century; the earliest one in the American colonies was built on a Virginia plantation in 1621, but it was more than another century before one appeared in North Carolina. In 1715, the General Assembly passed an act giving one-half acre of land to anyone who would build a windmill to grind wheat and corn. A 1748 deed locates a mill in Pasquotank County, and by 1786 the mill in Portsmouth was joined by another in Marshallberg. A decade later, a windmill was built in Beaufort, and there were eventually more than sixty-five in the county. They proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century, but then declined in use toward the end of the century, as central-station power and steam, kerosene, gasoline, or diesel-driven engines and generators appeared.2

The rise and decline of windmills on the southern Outer Banks, betokened a disappointing fact: the area has never been a site of major, organized, large-scale economic activity that sustained itself

1 Sarah Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 69. Olson guesses the windmill may have been there since 1774, but Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 128, say that it was sold by John Nelson to Elijah Pigott in 1774 and that the last known mention of the windmill was in a tax assessment in 1840. Recent archeological investigations may have located the site of the structure. See also "Where the Wind Does the Work," *National Geographic Magazine*, June 1906, 310–317. Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 78; Portsmouth Village: National Register Nomination; and Keane, Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration , Sec. 8, 4, say that there was a windmill-powered gristmill on Shell Castle Island, but others, including Phillip McGuinn, have expressed doubt that that was the case. A brief mention of the salt works appears in a letter from Robert Williams to the North Carolina Council of Safety, August 9, 1776, reproduced in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* vol. 10, 739.

2 Tucker Littleton, "Pumping and Grinding," in Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 163–167; reprinted from The State, October 1980. See also Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*, 57. The eminent State Museum Curator H. H. Brimley wrote in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* in December 1905 that there was still at least one windmill in service at Kinnekeet. See Eugene Pleasants Odum and Herbert Brimley, *A North Carolina Naturalist, H. H. Brimley; Selections from His Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 31. The North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library has at least one additional photograph (79-488) of a Carteret County windmill erected around 1870. Owned by Jeremiah Jabez Pelletier and later by his son Jeremiah Walter Pelletier, it was located at Hatchall's Point on the White Oak River about 2 miles upstream from Swansboro. After more than a hundred years, interest has revived in the energy-generating potential of wind turbines located over shallow waters such as sounds in North Carolina's coastal region. New state laws requiring that the state's utility companies produce 12.5 percent of their output from renewable sources by 2021 are driving the renewed attention. Bruce Henderson, "Carolina Breezes Eyed as Major Energy Source," *Charlotte Observer*, April 6, 2009.

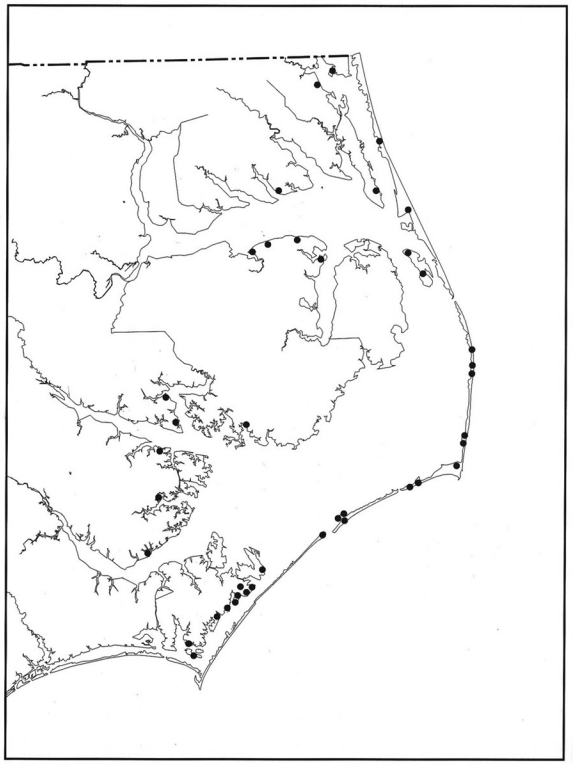


Figure 4-1. Location of nineteenth-century windmills on North Carolina coast. From Barfield, Seasoned By Salt: A Historical Album of the Outer Banks, Map 4, 78.

over a long period of time. It does not offer the large and stable parcels of land, the labor supply, or the natural resources (soils, mineable mineral deposits, or dammable rivers, for example) upon which such activity is characteristically built. Consequently, the economic activity that has been in evidence has tended to be episodic and opportunistic, dependent upon the availability at some historical moment of an exploitable resource (whales, for example, or a certain species of fish) together with an attractive external market (for whale oil or waterfowl or bird feathers, say). On occasions when those two crucial conditions have come into alignment, an industry has arisen and flourished. But when one or the other of the conditions wanes or fails, it has declined or disappeared. Indeed, as early as 1771, a concern about the sustainability of the supply of a critical resource was already being expressed in a bill submitted to the North Carolina General Assembly "to prevent the untimely destruction of fish in Core sound."[3]

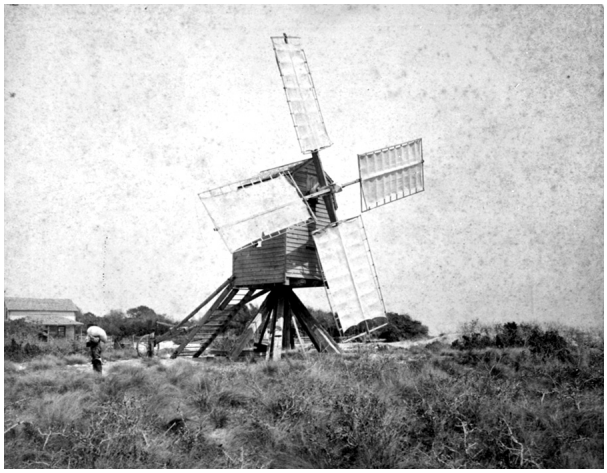


Figure 4-2. Windmill on Harkers Island, ca. 1904. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

To understand the history of maritime and other economic activity on the southern Banks and their adjacent waters is thus a very different task from understanding the textile, furniture, or tobacco industries of the North Carolina piedmont, all of which were both larger and more stable over a longer time, however vulnerable they ultimately proved to be. For the Outer Banks, therefore, one must instead map a sequence of activities that have appeared and disappeared, each of them marshalling an essentially limited resource, adaptively reorganizing and redeploying the skills and energies of a limited labor pool, and linked to an essentially fickle or fragile market.

This chapter offers a chronicle of these activities.[4] Since they usually did not follow each other in a neat sequence, our accounts necessarily overlap chronologically, though we highlight connections where they existed.

Stock Raising and Agriculture

Virtually all commentators on the history of the Outer Banks agree that early settlers migrated down from the Chesapeake area in search of marsh and island areas for raising stock. When they arrived is unclear; almost certainly they were there by 1700, and they probably settled earlier in

3 Minutes of the Upper House of the North Carolina General Assembly, January 01, 1771–January 26, 1771, vol. 08 (January 3, 1771), 349.

4 The somewhat longer-term maritime activities related to piloting and lightering through Ocracoke Inlet are treated in Chapter 2 on the Atlantic world. The Lighthouse Service, the Life-Saving Service, and the Coast Guard are treated in the chapter on government agencies and activities.

the Currituck area south of the Virginia line.[5] As economic enterprises tend to go on the southern Banks, stock raising was long-lived, continuing for decades. David Stick quotes an "unidentified reporter" from the turn of the nineteenth century who noted that "the Banks are justly valued for their advantages in raising stock . . . in considerable numbers without the least expense or trouble . . . more than that of marketing." Indeed a major object of the British invasion of Ocracoke and Portsmouth during the War of 1812 was to confiscate hundreds of easily available cattle and sheep.[6]

As the decades passed, however, stock raising seems to have declined markedly in importance. In his study of barrier island ecology, Paul Godfrey notes that the area around Portsmouth was denuded by overgrazing as early as 1810, and at length became overgrazed beyond its ability to repair itself.[7] Edmund Ruffin, a keen early observer of agriculture and stock raising around Portsmouth, noted that the lands between Ocracoke and Beaufort harbor, though owned privately, were "held in common use," offering vast open grazing lands, but that the cattle, horses and sheep that were to be seen were "obtaining a poor subsistence indeed." Nevertheless, he observed, "the rearing of horses is a very profitable investment for the small amount of capital required," so that there were hundreds of horses "of the dwarfish native breed" on the Banks south of Portsmouth. Twice a year, he reported, there was a festival-like general penning and branding of the young colts.[8]

With regard to agriculture, which some residents hoped would offer other modest economic possibilities, the news was not good from the town's earliest years. A traveler passing through in 1783 reported seeing only "small gardens," and about twenty-five years later another traveler commented that livestock seemed overabundant, while "the soil is not used for agricultural purposes, more than in Gardens & the raising of a few sweet potatoes." All fresh fruit had to be imported because overwashing salt water made it impossible to grow fruit trees.[9] A half-century later, Ruffin observed dismissively that the landscape offered only "moderate accumulations of sand . . . [which] make a wretchedly poor and very sandy soil, on which . . . some worthless loblolly pines . . . can grow, and where the inhabitants, (if any) may improve for, and cultivate some few garden vegetables. No grain, or other field culture is attempted south of Ocracoke inlet."[10]

Thus during the early years of settlement on the southern Banks, two of what appeared to be the small array of economic options for residents—agriculture and stock raising—mirrored each other disappointingly. A question many a resident no doubt asked was, which will pan out? Which might we be able to depend on? The disappointing answer was neither. Ruffin's "wretchedly poor" soil wouldn't grow much of consequence, and the livestock quickly overgrazed what vegetation managed to grow at all.

From a longer historical perspective, the latter-day romanticizing of the "wild horses" of the southern Banks confuses and obscures this history. "The Outer Banks of North Carolina is one of very few places in America," one tourism website informs,

> where wild horses still roam free, stubbornly surviving in this once remote coastal environment. Descended from Spanish stock which arrived over 400 years ago, these hardy, tenacious horses have lived here since the earliest explorers and shipwrecks. In previous centuries there were thousands of these horses roaming the full length of the Outer Banks . . . . With the protected status now afforded to them, they should remain free to live as their ancestors have for centuries.[11]

5 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks,* 2, 8, 38; Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 23; Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore, 23.*

6 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 82, 84.

7 Paul J. Godfrey and Melinda M. Godfrey, *Barrier Island Ecology of Cape Lookout National Seashore and Vicinity, North Carolina,* NPS Scientific Monograph No. 9, (National Park Service, 1976), Chapter 4.

8 Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina,* 130–133.

9 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study,* 62–63.

10 Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina,* 126. An excerpt from Ruffin's comments on the horses may be found in David Stick, ed., *An Outer Banks Reader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), *150–153.*

11 Fred Hurteau, "Wild Horses of the Outer Banks," *Outerbanksguidebook.com,* http://www.outerbanksguidebook.com/horses.htm (2003).

The wild horses, we are encouraged to believe, are at once emblematic of the forever-wild landscape and somehow analogous to the "remote" Bankers, enduring in symbiotic harmony with the wild and untamed landscape.

On the contrary, however—as Edmund Ruffin understood more than a century and a half ago—the horses are the stunted surviving remnant of an environmentally ill-advised enterprise, as are some of the structures that dot the landscape of Cape Lookout Village.[12] More appropriate as an emblem, one might consider, would be the ghostly trace of the whaling center of Diamond City, whose scores of houses were wiped summarily from the landscape by the great San Ciriaco hurricane of 1899.

Whaling

References to whaling stretch back to antiquity, but large-scale whaling arose only in the seventeenth century, when Dutch and British fleets ventured into the Arctic Ocean. For upwards of 300 years, the whaling industry provided an array of valuable products. Oil extracted from the blubber was used as fuel and lubricant. Foreshadowing plastics of later times, cartilage (or baleen, commonly called "whalebone") was fashioned into corset stays, buggy whips, parasol ribs, and other items. Spermaceti oil from the head of the sperm whale went into premium candles.[13]

By the early eighteenth century, New England was the center of North American whaling, but some activity reached as far south as South Carolina. By the early nineteenth century, as Simpson and Simpson report, shore-based whaling was in evidence only in North Carolina, where the proximity of the Outer Banks to the Gulf Stream offered fortunate access to the whales' migratory routes.[14]

Like stock raising, whaling on the southern Outer Banks was economically marginal and relatively short-lived as a substantial industry, although it was in evidence to some degree for perhaps 250 years. Initially, Banks whaling focused on "drift" or beached whales, but later crews, working in a six-month season that peaked from February to early May when right whales migrated northward, chased whales in double-ended rowboats, harpooned them, and towed them to shore for processing on the beach.[15]

By the late nineteenth century, most of what whaling there was of whaling in North Carolina came to bewas centered primarily on Shackleford Banks, but it whaling took place was present in some form or other on some portion of the Banks from perhaps the 1660s until the last whale was killed on 16 March 16, 1916, when North Carolina whalers brought in their final kill.[16] Holland's early Cape Lookout history says that whaling was sufficiently in evidence in North Carolina waters as early as 1669 to induce the Proprietors to include in the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina a provision that any whales taken belonged to them.[17] By 1681, inhabitants were given a free license to take whales for seven years.[18]

12 Bonnie L. Hendricks appears to greatly overstate the case when she argues in *The International Encyclopedia of Horse Breeds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 64, that "for over two centuries the raising of livestock was the most important economic use made of the . . . Outer Banks" and that the dunes and marshes were "once considered the state's most desirable pasture land."

13 Marcus B. Simpson and Sallie W. Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1990), 4–6.

14 Ibid., 1–2. Our account of whaling draws substantially upon this prize-winning study. The Simpsons point out, 2, that New England whaling was initially shore based, but transitioned to open-sea (pelagic) whaling, a transition never made in North Carolina because of the relative lack of shipbuilding capacity, capital, markets, and deepwater harbors. For a recent comprehensive treatment of American whaling, see Robert E. Gallman, Karin Gleiter, and Lance Davis, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

15 Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast, 4. T*he Simpsons note, 4, that the open-sea New England whalers operated mostly in the "Hatteras ground" (between 35–38 degrees north latitude and 70–75 west longitude).

16 Grayden Paul and Mary C. Paul, "The Last Whale Killed Along These Shores," in Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader,* 153–156, say the last whale was killed in 1898, but Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* (49) place it much later, in 1916.

17 Holland, *Survey History, 11; Simpson and Simpson, Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* 7.

18 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 24*, has an account of a 1694 conflict between two North Banks men over rights to a beached whale.

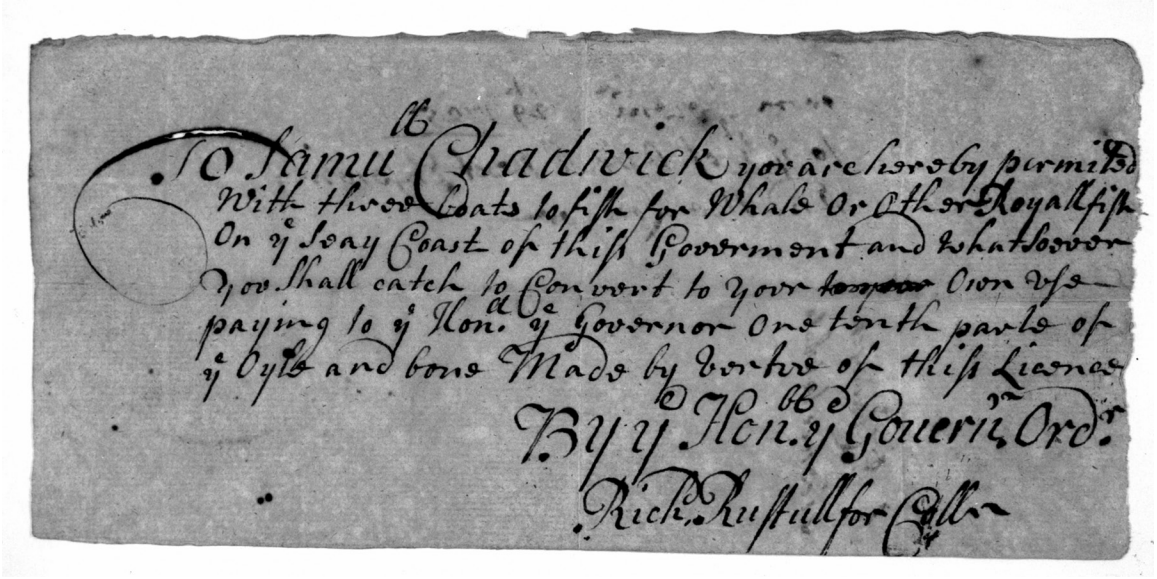


Figure 4-3. Thomas Chadwick whaling license, 1726. Jateff, Archeological Reconnaissance Survey, 19.

The Simpsons argue that, in fact, shore-based whale processing was "well established" (e.g., on Colleton [Collington?] Island) by the 1660s and 1670s and note that the 1681 license was later extended to 1691. After the latter extension, court records offer evidence of heightened activity and conflict over the scarce and valuable resource. Shortly thereafter, North Carolina's surveyor general observed the situation and reported in his 1709 *New Voyage to Carolina* (quoted in Simpson and Simpson) that whales were "very numerous." During the first and second decades of the century, the Proprietors regularly urged provincial governors to encourage whaling.[19]

The Proprietors' injunctions also included instructions to encourage New England whalers to operate off North Carolina for a modest fee (two deer skins per year). As word spread and New England whaling captains ventured south, some jurisdictional conflicts ensued with Virginia; New England whalers also came into conflict with the state of North Carolina when captains neglected to pay the required tax on their catch or did not have proper customs certificates. Broader and more protracted conflicts were associated with the transition of North Carolina from proprietary to royal colony in 1730. By then, whaling was so widespread and profitable that whale oil had become an accepted form of currency, government officials were tempted into fraud and embezzlement of proceeds, and political factions jockeyed for position by exploiting controversies in the industry. Whales and the whale tax were such a stron source of legal conflict during the 1720s and 1730s that much of what we know of whaling in that period comes from court records.[20]

Paradoxically, those records do little to clarify the actual scale of the industry, and there are almost no other available records. The Simpsons speculate cautiously that during the early decades of the century, some six to nine whales per year may have been taken, yielding upwards of 300 barrels of oil per year. Further, as whales became scarcer off New England, whalers from the northeast expanded their southern operations, aided by the advent of onboard tryworks, which made processing more efficient and allowed ships to remain at sea for much longer periods. These advantages were somewhat offset, however, by the pirates who preyed upon whalers for their valuable cargo and the storms that sometimes wrecked them.[21]

The North Carolina whaling industry was quite active in the pre-Revolutionary period. On a visit to Core Banks in 1755, Governor Arthur Dobbs found that New England whalers had developed a "considerable fishery" around Cape Lookout. The years of the Revolution, with their embargoes,

19 Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast, 7*–11. As an example of early conflict over the scarce resource, they sketch the 1694 court case between whalers Charles Thomas and Mathias Towler.

20 Ibid., 11–15.

21 Ibid., 15–17. On all of these topics, Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* present considerably more detail than we have space for here.

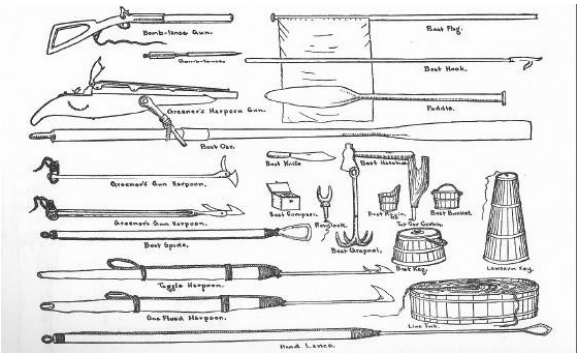


Figure 4-4. Whale-boat tools. Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey*, 40.

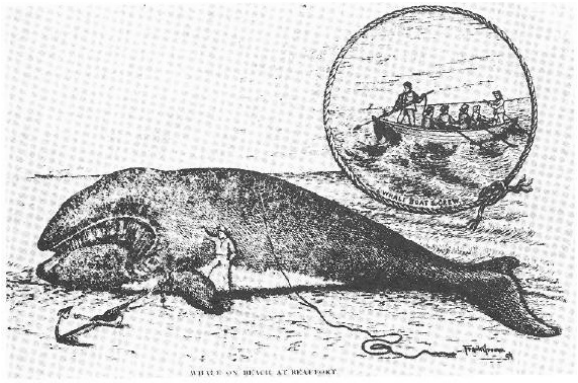
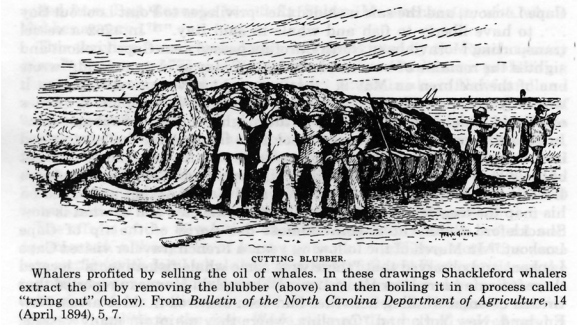


Figure 4-5. Whale on beach at Beaufort, before 1894. Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey*, 44, reproduced from H. H. Brimley, "Whale Fishing in North Carolina," Bulletin of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture 14, no. 7 (1894).



CUTTING BLUBBER.

Whalers profited by selling the oil of whales. In these drawings Shackleford whalers extract the oil by removing the blubber (above) and then boiling it in a process called "trying out" (below). From *Bulletin of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture*, 14 (April, 1894), 5, 7.

Figure 4-6. Cutting blubber on Shackleford Banks, 1894. Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast*, 19.

"TRYING OUT" OIL.

Figure 4-7. Trying out oil from whale, 1894. Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast*, 19.

seizures, blockades, and other disruptions, were devastating for the American whaling industry. The number of vessels operating dropped dramatically; annual whale-oil production dropped from 45,000 to 10,000 barrels. Production and shipping revived after the war, with North Carolina whale products clearing (mainly) Port Beaufort for the middle Atlantic states, England, the West Indies, and Guadeloupe. In the late 1780s, shipments left Beaufort, Brunswick, and Currituck, bound for east coast destinations as well as the West Indies, England, and Dublin.[22]

Information on North Carolina whaling during the period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War is sparse, but oral traditions suggest that it continued to be carried on both by local, shore-based whalers and also by more than forty New England offshore vessels. In the 1840s and 1850s, Provincetown whalers predominated, though many others were also present. The 1850s were years of decline, however, as Atlantic whales became more scarce and activity shifted to the Pacific. By the beginning of the Civil War, the golden age of whaling had passed. The discovery of petroleum, the rising cost of outfitting ships, the attacks on Yankee whalers by Confederate ships, and the need to undertake longer and riskier voyages put a damper on the industry. Lingering hostility after the war kept returning Yankee whalers well offshore and held down their take, although some continued to work in the area as late as the 1880s.[23] In the 1870s and 1880s, whaling continued from Beaufort as far north as Cape Hatteras and as far south as Little River, but only during a short April-May season, with activity concentrated between Cape Lookout and Fort Macon. It was still a fairly lucrative endeavor, with products from a right whale worth $1,200–1,500.

Banks whalers lived in houses constructed of rushes and grouped into "camps" (two or three of them, of three six-man boat crews each, for a total of perhaps 50 to 60 or so) from which they posted lookouts. When a whale was spotted, the boats put

22 Ibid., 21–23. Between the end of the Revolution and the War of 1812, Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast*, conclude, American whaling regained much of the dominance it had lost during the Revolutionary War.

23 Ibid., 26–29, 35. One Yankee whaler, the *Seychelle* out of Provincetown, was driven completely ashore near Cape Lookout light station by a fierce hurricane on August 18, 1878 (ibid., 5).

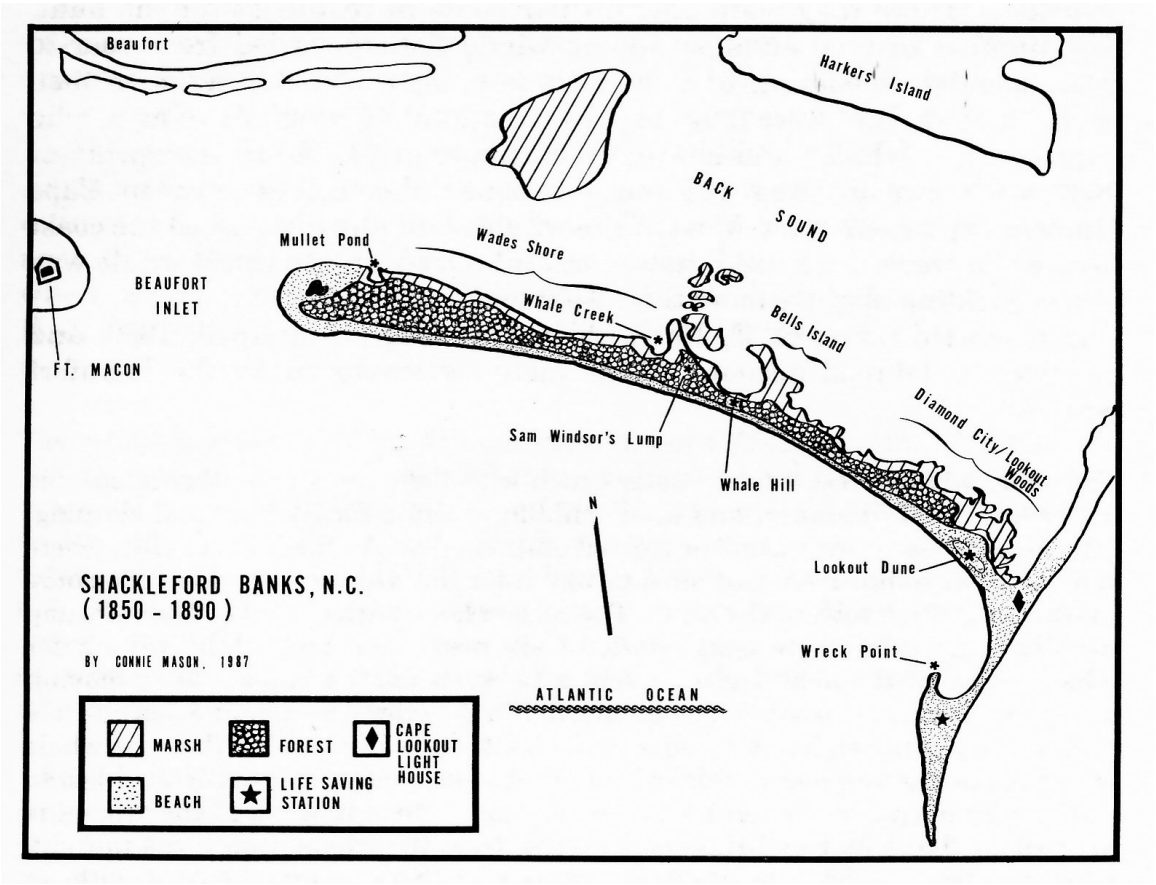


Figure 4-8. Shackleford Banks whaling communities, 1850–1890. Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* 33. Map by Connie Mason, National Park Service, 1987.

in and the chase was on. Once the harpoon was set with a "drag" attached, the crew waited for the whale to "have its run." Overtaking the tired whale, a gunner shot it with a whaling gun and the crew towed the animal to shore. Onshore, the blubber was cut off and "tried out" in great vats over fires.[24]

The Banks culture that grew up around whaling included the frequent practice of giving names to the whales appropriate to the occasion or circumstances of their capture: the Little Children's Whale, the Tom Martin Whale, the Big Sunday Whale. The best known of them, the Mayflower, captured May 4, 1894, was the most vigorous fighter ever encountered in the area. Before giving up after a six-hour battle, it dragged the Red Oar Crew (consisting of Josephus Willis and his five sons—an all-whaling family) 6 to 8 miles out to sea. It alone produced 40 barrels of oil and 700 pounds of whalebone. The remainder of it hangs in the North Carolina Museum of Natural Sciences in Raleigh.[25]

In recent years, much of the attention to the history of whaling near CALO has focused on now-vanished Diamond City. Archeologist Emily Jateff, who investigated the area in 2007, says that the eastern end of Shackleford Banks was "populated by European transplants from at least the late seventeenth century," and that a community on the eastern end of the area was first mentioned in archival sources in 1723.[26] Several small communities based in whaling, fishing, crabbing,

24 Ibid., 34.

25 Ibid., 37, 40. The state hired taxidermist and naturalist H. H. Brimley to prepare the bones for display. Portions of his extended account of the entire process are available in ibid., 41–44. Brimley hauled another specimen (the Mullet Pond carcass) back to Raleigh as well and later sold it to the Museum of Natural History at the University of Iowa, where it has been displayed since 1911 (ibid., 47).

26 Emily Jateff, *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey for Shore Whaling Camps Associated with Diamond City, Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 10. We have found no corroboration of this thesis elsewhere. Jateff conducted her field investigations on October 6–7, 2006, and embraced only the eastern sound side of Shackleford Banks (3).

and the like developed on the sound side of Shackleford banks: Wade's Shore and Mullet Pond, east of Beaufort Inlet on the far end; Bell's Island in the middle; and Lookout Woods on the near end at Cape Lookout Bight.[27] The Lookout Woods community (renamed Diamond City in 1885) appears to have grown up on two tracts of land that Joseph Morse and Edward Fuller bought from John Shackleford in1757. The transaction specified that whaling privileges in the bay were included in the sale. By the year 1764–1765, whalers' huts and tents were in evidence.

Diamond City came to be the largest of the communities. There were perhaps only two dozen or so residents i the 1850s, but the census of 1880 indicates that there may have been as many as 500 by then.[28] The town included family graveyards, stores, factories, and a school and stretched almost half the length of Shackleford Banks. David Stick says that 3,000 or more people sometimes gathered at Diamond City in the summer for religious camp meetings that might last three to four weeks. Perhaps a hundred or so people also lived at Wade's Hammock on the far end of Shackleford Banks, and a few other families settled at what was called Kib Guthrie's Lump.[29]

As whaling waned toward the end of the century, however, Diamond City declined. The deadly San Ciriaco hurricane of August 1899 put an end to it; within a short time, everyone had left for the mainland. The hurricane, the decline in the whale population, and a change in women's fashions in 1907 (ending the demand for whalebone stays) ultimately killed the whaling industry in North Carolina. Two whales were captured in 1908, and

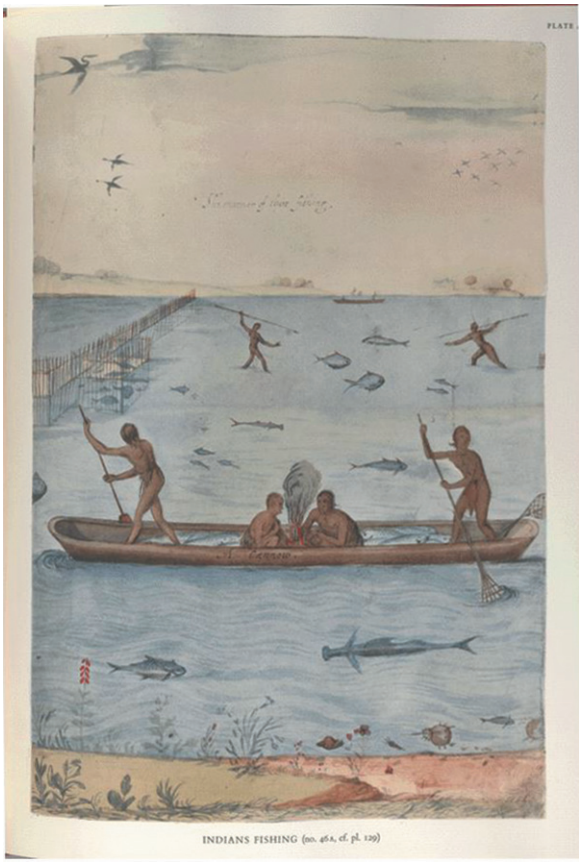


Figure 4-9. John White, "Indians Fishing" (1585–1586). British Museum.

the last whale captured off the North Carolina shore was on March 16, 1916.[30]

Fishing

It seems unlikely that anyone living on the southern Banks, from the earliest inhabitants onward, would *not* in some way or other, to some degree or other, have fished for subsistence purposes. Fish were simply the most easily available and plentiful protein source to be had, and the risk from harvesting them, especially from sounds and rivers, was small. Surprisingly, however, large-scale commercial fishing came fairly late to the Banks. David Stick cautions that, contrary to the common belief that this scale of fishing has been common in evidence since early settlement, fishing remained a part-time subsistence activity as late as the mid-nineteenth century. The census of 1850, the first

27 See Cape Lookout Bight Historical Base Map in Appendix A.

28 Ibid., 11.

29 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 188–189. The destructiveness of the 1899 hurricane, the paucity of records on the whaling industry, and the rapid movement of former Diamond City residents to the mainland have made detailed documentation of the former community and the surrounding Shackleford Banks area difficult. We have presented here a consensus view, based on the most detailed accounts (primarily that of Simpson and Simpson) we have been able to find.

30 Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* 48–49. The last shore crew for Cape Lookout whaling disbanded when its gear was destroyed by fire in 1917 (50). Commentators differ slightly in stating when the last families left Diamond City and Shackleford Banks, but generally agree that they were all gone by 1903.

detailed enough to specify occupations reliably, shows that in Portsmouth there were seventy boatmen, mariners, and pilots, but only four fishermen; at Ocracoke, the ratio was fifty-three to five. Only on Hatteras Island was commercial fishing the most prevalent occupation.

The decades between the Civil War and World War II were the most active for commercial fisheries. In 1902, nearly 15,000 of the 23,000 fishermen working from North Carolina south to Florida were in North Carolina. The state was producing roughly 7 million pounds each of mullet, shad, and oysters and nearly 19 million pounds of menhaden. Totals of all species amounted to more than 67 million pounds, compared to South Carolina's 8 million. Nearly 1,200 fishing vessels operated out of Carteret County alone, bringing in over 25 million pounds of fish (including nearly all the menhaden).[31]

Although every available species was no doubt harvested as opportunity presented itself, the species-focused sectors of the commercial market did not develop at the same time. Which species were commercially attractive to fishermen at any given time depended upon the ecology of availability (which might in turn depend upon the salinity of sounds that opened and closed to saltwater as storms opened and closed inlets); food preferences and traditions; available and appropriate processing and storage methods (smoking, salting, conversion to fertilizer, refrigeration); and shipping options (sail or power boats, rail, trucking).[32]

Dolphin

Dolphin (or porpoise, as they used to be called) skins had been used since Biblical times for making sandals, and their hides and oil were highly valued for centuries. The oil served as a lubricant, leather dressing, or illuminating oil, and was used in soap stock.[33] But until the 1920s, David Cecelski observes, "Most coastal residents considered dolphins . . . an exploitable resource at best and pests at worst"; they were eventually hunted almost to extinction in North Carolina waters.[34]

The hunting began early. A porpoise fishery was established by John Gray Blount and John Wallace on Shell Castle Island as early as 1793, using their lighter vessel, the *Beaver*. Other operations were in evidence at Beaufort and Cape Lookout. Within a decade, Cecelski says, slave watermen had established a dolphin factory near Ocracoke Inlet. By 1810, "immense herds" of porpoise were sustaining a major industry from Hatteras to Bear Inlet, in which huge 800-yard-long seines were used. A season's catch could run from 400 to 500 dolphins, which might produce from 70 to a 100 barrels of oil. The industry waned during and after the Civil War, but one observer reported that during the winter of 1874–1875 dolphins were so numerous in Hatteras Inlet that the waters "seethed and foamed" with them, and the dolphin harvesting revived.

Spurred by active markets in Elizabeth City, Norfolk, and Philadelphia, dolphin factories sprang up in the 1880s at Creed's Hill (between Hatteras and Frisco), Diamond City, and Rice Path (near Salter Path). Absentee ownership was not uncommon; owners of two of the installations lived in New Jersey and New Bedford. The Weekly Record reported three dolphin fisheries in Carteret County. Perhaps the best source of detailed information on the industry in the 1880s

31 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 212–213. As Stick is careful to point out, these census-specified occupations may not have been mutually exclusive; respondents could have been (and many probably were) involved in more than one occupation, depending upon the season or other factors. Statistics cited from *Report of the Commissioner [of Fish and Fisheries] for the Year Ending June 30, 1903, Part XXIX* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, 1905), 345–352, 356, 359.

32 We do not attempt to discuss every species of fish that has ever been harvested commercially in North Carolina; rather, we confine ourselves to those around which a substantial species-focused industry has arisen at some juncture.

33 Ezekiel 16:10 has a reference to porpoise-hide sandals.

34 Unless otherwise indicated, our brief account here is drawn from Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast,* 81–86; Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* 23–26, 36–37; and Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 230.* A rare film produced in 1936 tells of Canada's Mi'kmaq and Maliseet peoples' involvement in the nineteenth-century commercial porpoise hunting industry (McCord Museum, http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/info/pressreleases/119z13.html).

is the journal of John W. Rolinson, who among his several other jobs worked as superintendent of Col. Jonathan Wainwright's dolphin factory between Hatteras and Frisco.[35] During the 1886–1887 season, Wainwright's crews, Cecelski says, caught more than 1,300 dolphins, more than 600 of them in November and 136 on a single day in March. Meanwhile, a factory at Hatteras employed 200 men and caught nearly 3,000 dolphins, and a new factory was going up on Harkers Island. The future appeared bright in the dolphin business, but a low catch two years later did not bode well. The market began to decline in the 1890s, the species came under legal protection in the 1920s, and by 1929 the industry had disappeared.

Menhaden

The menhaden industry is distinct from other fishing industries because the fish (a toothless, plankton-eating, muscular and bony, foot-long fish) are sold not for consumption but for oil, bait, or fertilizer. Early settlers placed whole menhaden on the ground as fertilizer, and fishermen were using them for bait as early as 1824. It was considered undesirable for food, but was on occasion shipped to the West Indian or Guinean plantation workers and briefly to impoverished Europeans during World War II.[36] Menhaden oil, whose value was recognized later, was first extracted by rotting the fish in casks. Later, steam extraction was used, first in land-based factories and then by oceangoing processors. The first floating factory was sent to Virginia in 1866.[37]

Anthropologist Barbara Garrity-Blake notes that the menhaden industry has evolved since the early nineteenth century, from an egalitarian organization composed of independent farmers and fishermen (especially in New England) to a hierarchical organization of capital-controlling manufacturers and wage laborers. It also shifted geographically, from New England to the southeast, and the workforce, originally composed of native Yankees and immigrants, became a mix of rural southern whites and blacks.[38]

Previous historians of the Outer Banks have agreed that commercial menhaden processing began soon after the Civil War when the Excelsior Oil and Guano Company of Rhode Island built a factory at Portsmouth, but Greer's 1917 U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries report says that a factory was established on Harkers Island in 1865.[39] George Brown Goode's 1884 account of the Portsmouth factory was pessimistic. "The factory was supplied," Goode reported,

> with modern apparatus for cooking and pressing the fish, and had experienced northern fisherman to handle the seines. The menhaden were soon found to be less plenty [sic] than had been expected. The average school contained less than 25 barrels, and the largest haul of the season was only 125 barrels. It was found that under the influence of the hot summer weather the fish would begin to decompose in a few hours, so that the fishing was limited to 25 miles on either side of the factory. Another difficulty was that 'outside fishing' could not be prosecuted on account of the shoalness of the water at the inlets, and the frequency of summer storms . . . . Again, the fish taken in the sounds were found to be very poor, . . . [T]he average yield of oil was only 2 quarts to the barrel, and the largest did not exceed 8 quarts. At the close of the third year . . . the business was abandoned . . . . Mr. Grey gives it as his opinion that it would be impossible to make the menhaden fisheries profitable along this coast.[40]

Despite the gentleman's pessimism, the industry did survive and thrive in North Carolina. The entire industry began to move south in the 1890s,

35 Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast,* 83–84.

36 Barbara J. Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory: Work and Meaning for Black and White Fishermen of the American Menhaden Industry* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 2–6.

37 Rob Leon Greer, *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast: Appendix III to the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries for 1914* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Fisheries, 1917), 5.

38 Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory, 1.*

39 Greer, *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast, 5. Greer provides no further details.*

40 George Brown Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States* (Washingto,n DC: Government Printing Office, 1887), 495–496, quoted in Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report,* 27. This factory (known on maps as Grey's Factory) was located on Haulover Point *(Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report, 128).* Mr. Grey seems to have been the superintendent of the factory.

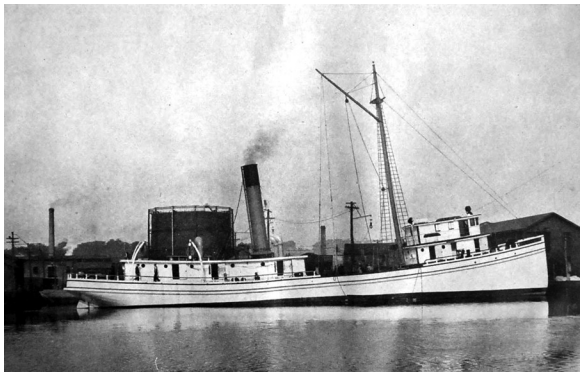


Figure 4-10. Menhaden-fishing steamer, before 1917. Greer, *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast*, Plate I.

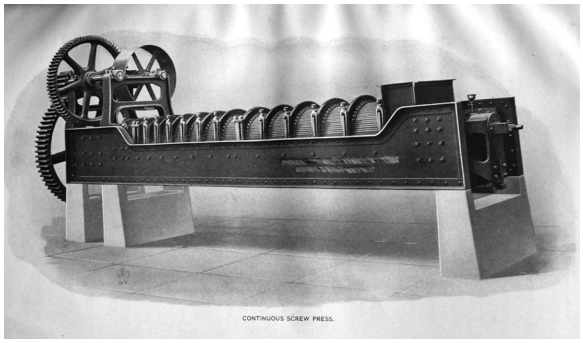


Figure 4-11. Industrial menhaden press, before 1917. Greer, *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast*, Plate IV.

and much of it moved to North Carolina, where many of the jobs went to black workers.[41] As noted earlier, the state produced some 18,000,000 pounds of menhaden in 1902. By 1912, nearly 150 large steam and gasoline-powered menhaden vessels were serving forty-eight menhaden processing plants (employing more than 2,000 people) on the Atlantic coast. North Carolina had twelve of them.[42] The fish were processed in large screw presses. Much of the product was in the form of fish meal, used as an additive in poultry and livestock feed.[43]

Menhaden continued to be plentiful, it appears, during the early decades of the twentieth century. In early December of 1937, "millions upon millions" of them filled Topsail Inlet so completely that boats could not move, "one of the most astonishing sights ever seen on the coast of North Carolina," the Raleigh *News and Observer* reported. The fish also proved vital to the war effort, providing lubricant for machinery and fertilizer for desperately needed crops. At war's end, ten menhaden plants in North Carolina (of thirty in the entire country) were being served by sixty-eight trawlers, guided by airborne spotter planes and radios to menhaden schools that sometimes stretched for miles.[44]

By the end of the 1940s, however, the menhaden news was mixed. On the one hand, *National Geographic* was sending a crew to the state to profile the industry, but on the other hand, catches were declining, for reasons no one understood.[45] The news remained mixed through the 1960s. At some times, catches were good; menhaden vessels operating out of Beaufort-Morehead City brought in $3 million worth of fish in one week in 1961.[46] But supply wasn't the problem. Earlier in the year, a delegation of North Carolinians and representatives from regional and national fisheries organizations had told Interior Secretary Stewart Udall that the menhaden industry had "urgent" problems because of excessive foreign imports.[47]

The industry survived, nevertheless, and in the mid-1960s, menhaden plants, now fully mechanized with larger presses, rotary dryers, and centrifuges to extract the oil, were producing 25,000 tons per year.[48] By the mid-1980s, the number of processing plants had fallen to three (all in Beaufort), and sport fishermen were complaining bitterly that the highly capitalized, vertically integrated, and still completely unregulated menhaden industry was taking too many fish of other types.[49]

The curve of menhaden production between 1880 and 1970 was quite irregular, with frequent sharp peaks and valleys. Production did not rise significantly above nineteenth-century levels until about 1905, but then it moved sharply upward

41 Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory,* 16.
42 Greer, *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast,* 6.
43 Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory,* 11.
44 *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 3, 1937; January 7, 1945; and December 28, 1947; unpaged clippings.
45 Aycock Brown, "Menhaden Catches Declining," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 1, 1949; unpaged clipping.
46 Norwood Young, "Fish! Fish!," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 10, 1961, unpaged clipping.
47 "Washington Hears of Problems," *Raleigh News and Observer,* March 4, 1961, unpaged clipping.
48 Charles Craven, "Fishing for Menhaden," *Raleigh News and Observer,* January 3, 1965, III-1; Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory, 24.*
49 Jim Polson, "Menhaden in Middle of Fishing Dispute Along State's Coast," *Wilmington Morning Star,* August 16, 1985, unpaged clipping; Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory, 22.*

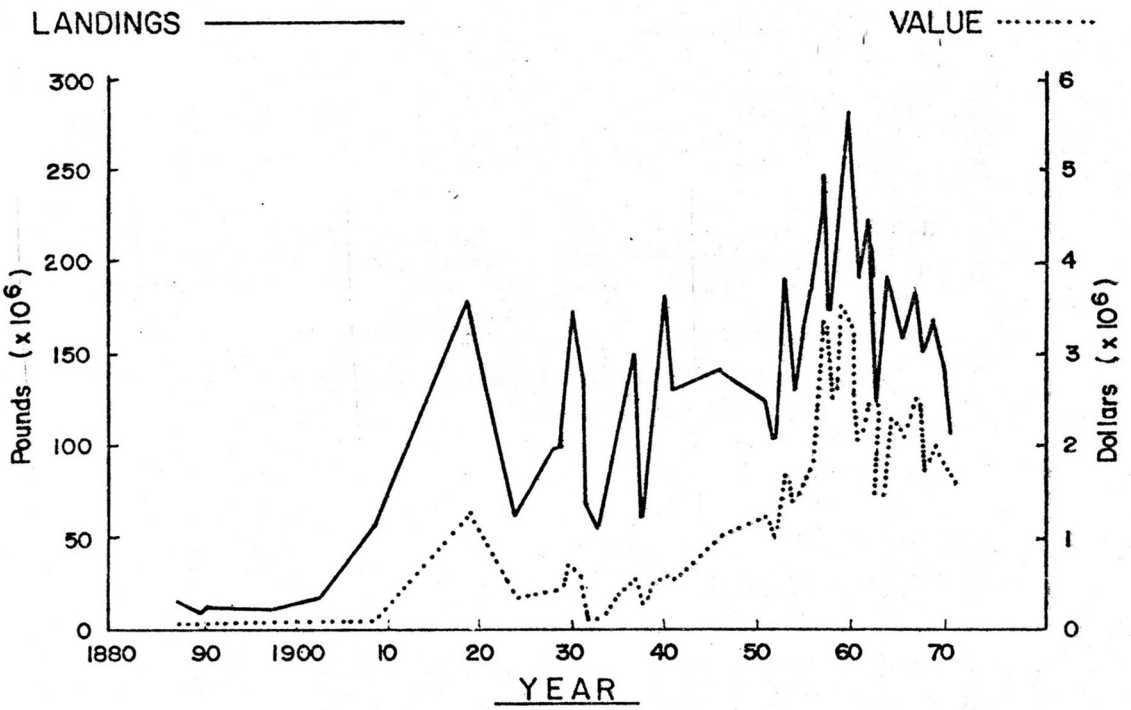


Figure 4-12. Menhaden production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries, 25.

through the late teens. It oscillated around 150 million pounds until the mid-1950s, when it moved (albeit jaggedly) toward twice that amount. In the 1960–1970 decade, production fell precipitously to around 100 million pounds.

Mullet

The most important fish with regard to economic recovery on the Banks during the post-Civil War period, Fred Mallison argues, was mullet.[50] Mallison quotes a Beaufort observer who in 1871 reported "enormous" numbers of mullet being harvested—up to 500 barrels in a single haul and 12,000 barrels in a single September day of fishing. Salted or smoked and packed in barrels, mullet were "savory and saleable." In 1880, a standard barrel brought $2.75 to $3.50. A substantial portion of the catch was loaded on schooners, hauled across the sound, and traded with farmers for corn—five bushels of corn for a barrel of mullet. Some mullet fishermen were mainlanders who built seasonal camps on the coast and fished with the Bankers.

In the Core Banks-Shackleford Banks area, mullet fishing thrived for about two decades, filling a demand from inside and outside the state for cheap fish. A report on the fishery industries of the United States for 1880 said that "the shipments of salted mullet from [Carteret County] exceed the total shipments from all other portions of the Atlantic coast."[51] In the late 1880s, when Carteret County was the center of mullet fishing in the United States, mullet fishing camps sprang up by the score along the sound-side banks from May to November, when the fish were running. These distinctive, circular, thatched huts with conical or hemispherical roofs were featured in National Geographic in 1908.[52]

If a half-dozen men in a small boat chasing a single whale with a harpoon and a drag defined one end of the spectrum of fishing techniques, mullet fishing was far out on the other end: mullets were taken in vast numbers in nets—small dragnets in the sounds and much larger gill (or sweep) nets or seines in open water. The largest nets could be 12

50 Fred M. Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks: A History of the Late Rebellion Along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck, with Comments on Prewar Conditions and an Account of Postwar Recovery* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998), 170. Much of our account of the mullet fishing industry here is drawn from Mallison, 170–172.

51 Holland, *Survey History,* 20–21.

52 Jones, *Fishing Cottage* #2,11.

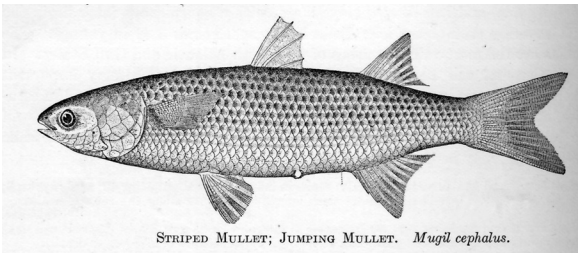


Figure 4-13. Striped or "jumping" mullet. Smith, *Fishes of North Carolina*, II, 180.

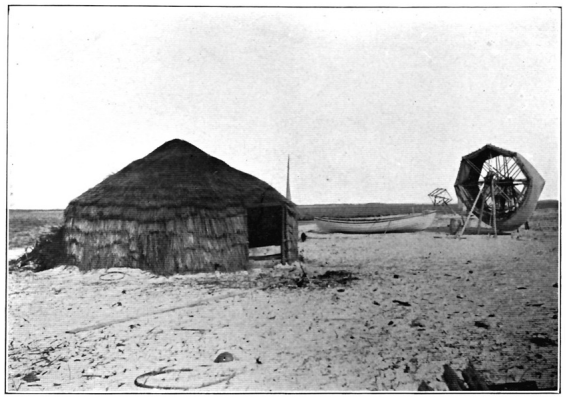


Figure 4-14. Camp of mullet fishermen on Shackleford Banks, before 1907. Note seine-drying roller in background. Smith, *Fishes of North Carolina*, II, facing 408.

to 18 feet deep and 900 to 1200 feet long. Sweep nets were 200 to 300 feet long and 4 to 6 feet deep.[53] One or more small boats would tow the nets out to where lookouts had spotted a school, surround the fish with the net, beat on the boats to drive the fish into the net, then draw the fish-laden nets into the boat.

The process for the largest nets was different. One end was attached to a rope on shore, while the other end was towed out to the school by boat, brought into a circle around the school, and then circled back to shore, where fifteen to twenty men—sometimes using "backing" seines behind the main one to pick up the overflow—were required to beach the catch. On shore at the temporary camps, men would stand at rough tables, slitting and gutting the fish before they were washed in sea water, salted, and packed in barrels. Since the fish bled into the salt, they would frequently be unpacked, washed, and repacked before sale. Fairly formalized "lay" systems were employed to determine how much each man was paid from the catch.[54]

Special conditions and methods at Portsmouth gave fish taken and packed there a special niche in the market. The foot-deep shoal waters of the sound allowed fishermen to surround the schooling fish, frighten them into the nets, and break their necks, leaving them in the nets until all had been killed before loading them into the boats. Onshore processing was a matter of great pride: removing the backbone, gutting, washing, and rubbing off the dark cavity lining. On the market, their superior appearance and (many said) better taste put them in high demand.[55]

North Carolina mullet was shipped mainly in state and to Virginia and the eastern shore of Maryland.[56] As the years passed, heavy fishing caused the mullet take to decline, and by 1907 the only remaining mullet fishery on the banks was at Mullet Pond on Shackleford.[57] Gross production for mullet between 1887 (when it was about 7 million pounds) and 1970 generally trended downward except for two peaks between the late 1930s and the late 1940s. By 1970, it was down to slightly more than 1 million pounds.

Shad

Of all the sea creatures, shad commanded the highest prices except for turtles. In the early 1840s, North Carolina shad were selling for $8.50 per barrel in Richmond and Baltimore, when herring were bringing $2.62. Forty years later, more than 3 million pounds of shad were going to market annually.[58]

Crossing from open water into the inlets in the spring, shad ascended the rivers to spawn. Pound nets—large weirs made of wooden stakes, running perpendicular to the shore and designed to trap fish in transit and drive them into holding

53 Our account of the process is from Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 213–218, which is the most detailed we have encountered.

54 Stick details a sample arrangement, ibid., 218.

55 Hugh Smith, *The Fishes of North Carolina,* 2 vols. (Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell, 1907), II, 408–409.

56 Ibid., 409.

57 Holland, *Survey History,* 21.

58 *The American Farmer, and Spirit of the Agricultural Journals of the Day* (May 13, 1840); *Southern Planter (1841–1866),* February 1842, 2; *The Atlanta Constitution*, November 19,1882. References from *ProQuest Historical Newspapers and American Periodicals Series Online.*

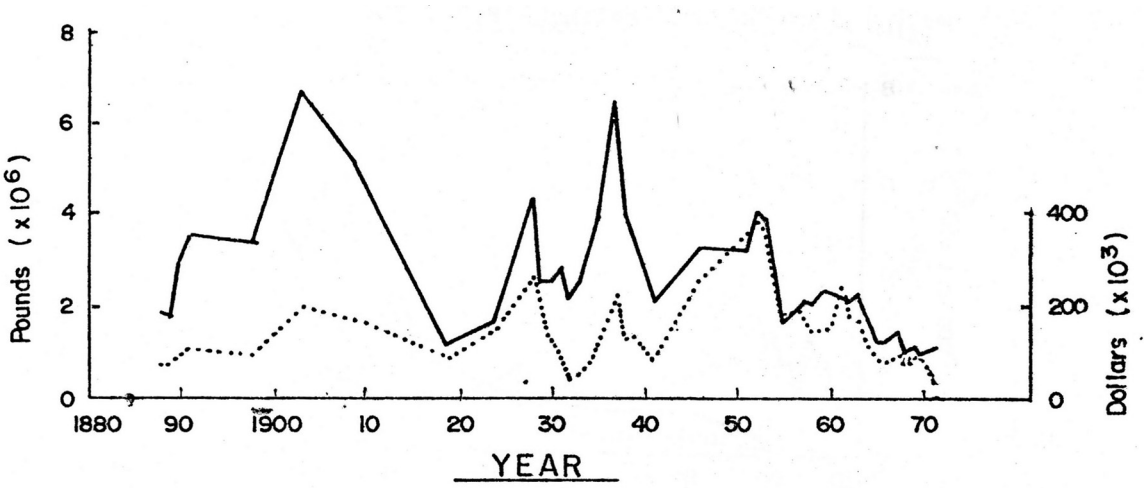


Figure 4-15. Mullet production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries,* 25.

"pounds"—were introduced in the 1860s and 1870s. They became so numerous that a state law had to be passed to allow the fish to migrate.[59]

Overfishing was already evident along the Atlantic seaboard as early as the 1880s, when artificial propagation was first undertaken. Yields increased, and by 1890, of the nearly 25,000 men employed in the industry, nearly a third were in North Carolina. They were responsible for nearly a third of the entire catch (about 7 percent of it on the Pamlico Sound alone). Yields in North Carolina increased from about 900,000 fish in 1880 to 1.6 million in 1888 and then to almost 2.1 million in 1896. That year, the Atlantic coast industry employed nearly 7,000 men, almost 500 of them on the Pamlico Sound, where shad fishing had begun as early as 1873.[60]

A 1906 report by the North Carolina Geological Survey showed that from the high of nearly 9 million pounds in 1897 (when North Carolina's production was higher than that of any other Atlantic state), the take had fallen by 1904 to little more than a third of that. Similar declines were evident in other states. More pointedly, dramatic decreases had occurred in the northeastern Pamlico Sound, the most important shad area in the state.[61]

By the 1930s, shad fishermen, faced with recent declines in the harvest, were negotiating with state officials about fishing regulations, seeking to improve their lot without damaging the supply.[62] But the news remained bad. The industry was reported "near extinction . . . [after] a century of exploitation." Harvests were only a fifth of what they had been during the first quarter of the century; all along the east coast, shad production had dropped dramatically from the "triple menace" of overfishing, dams that prevented fish from migrating to spawn, and polluted waterways. To address the deficiency, an Atlantic Coast Shad

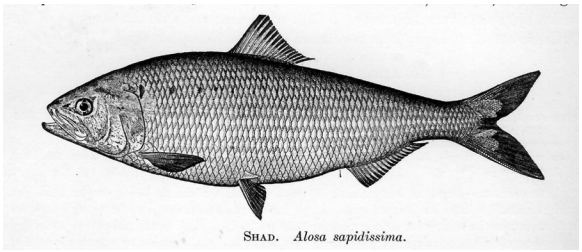


Figure 4-16. Shad. Smith, *Fishes of North Carolina*, II, 126.

59 Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks,* 171; Mark Taylor, "Sharpies, Shad Boats, and Spritsail Skiffs," in Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader, 171. F*or a photograph of stream seining of shad near Edenton in 1884, see John R. Ross, "Conservation and Economy: The North Carolina Geological Survey 1891–1920," *Forest History* 16, no. 4 (January 1973): 26.

60 Charles H. Stevenson, *Shad Fisheries of the Atlantic Coast of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, 1899), 104–105, 115–116, 121, 123, 155, 161–162.

61 John Cobb, *Investigations Relative to the Shad Fisheries of North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell & Co., 1906), 10, 17.

62 "Committee Hears Shad Fishermen," *Raleigh News and Observer, December 18, 1936, unpaged clipping.*

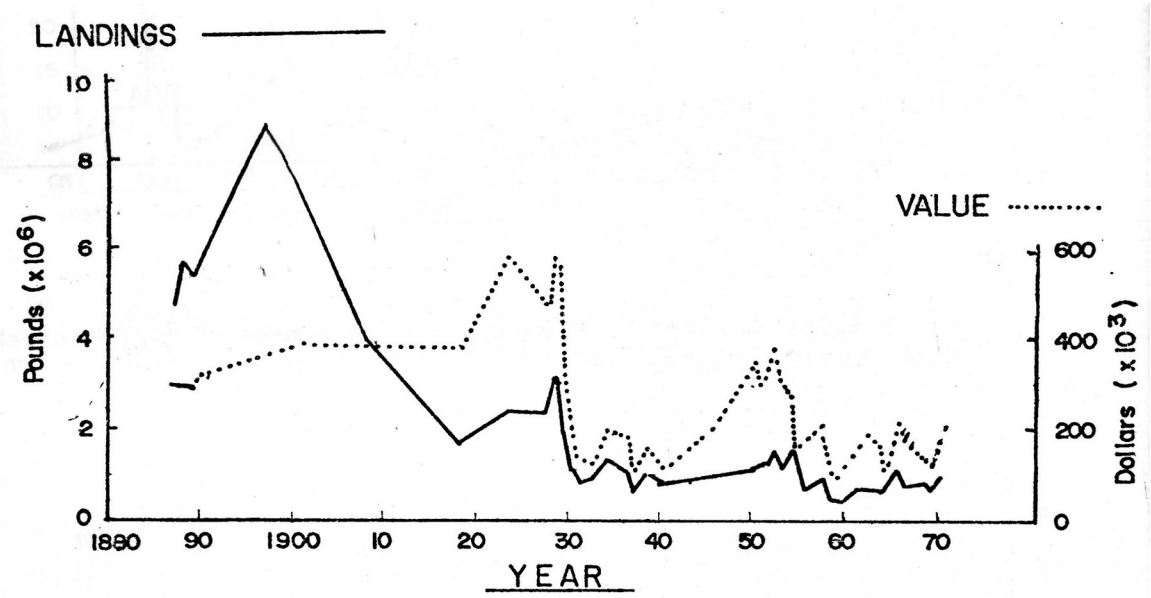


Figure 4-17. Shad production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries*, 24.

Conservation Council was formed.[63] But it was too late. Shad peaked early (between 1890 and 1900), dropped off dramatically by 1920, and never recovered.

Oysters

Writing at the turn of the twenty-first century, David Cecelski noted that oysters had practically vanished from the North Carolina coast. A century earlier, oystermen were harvesting 2.5 million bushels annually; now the take was only 42,000 bushels (a nearly 98 percent decline) and not a single cannery was still operating. Of all the maritime economic enterprises, oystering was the shortest-lived and most frenetic.

In 1880, the oyster industry was centered in the Chesapeake Bay, where local oystermen were harvesting ten million bushels a year—a hundred times more than their counterparts in North Carolina. A Norfolk-based cannery opened a plant at Ocracoke as early as 1877, but others had not followed. Local people sometimes bartered oysters for corn, but there was effectively no local market for them. As Chesapeake stocks declined, though, oystermen and cannery officials turned their attention south.

The Moore & Brady cannery at Union Point "became the first real success," Cecelski says, employing 500 shuckers in 1888. Then state laws opened the oyster rocks without restrictions, and oyster harvesting "hit like a gold rush in the winter of 1889–90." Canneries based in Baltimore built more than a half-dozen plants on the North Carolina coast (including one at Beaufort). New types of oystering gear (including dredges) opened new beds and "brought new life to coastal villages." Schooners from Virginia and further north raced for the North Carolina oyster beds, and European immigrants from Baltimore ghettoes swarmed south to work as shuckers, of whom there were 1700 in Elizabeth City's eleven canneries in 1890.

A conflict between North Carolina and Chesapeake oystermen moved the legislature to ban oystering after the 1890 season, but Chesapeake oystermen first ignored the ban and then moved to the Gulf of Mexico. By 1898, only two North Carolina canneries were still operating and the supply was drastically depleted. The boom, which had peaked in 1898–1899 at almost 2.5 million bushels, was generally considered over by 1909.[64]

In the early 1920s, rising pollution in the Long Island, Chesapeake, and Delaware bays and rising prices for oysters brought hopes that North

63 R. L. Carson, "Industry That Once Gave Employment to 25,000 Now Near Extinction," *Raleigh News and Observer,* February 28, 1937, unpaged clipping.

64 Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast,* 87–92. This account is drawn principally from Cecelski.

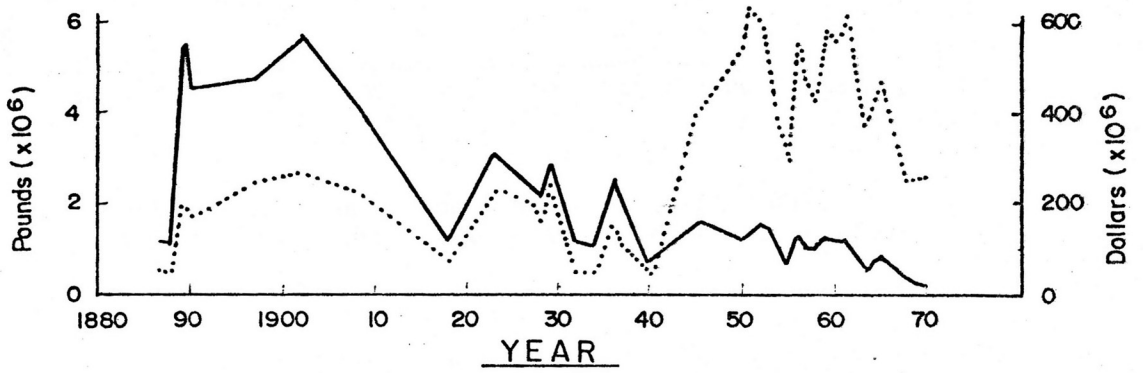


Figure 4-18. Oyster production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries,* 29.

Carolina's oyster industry might, with planting and "intelligent regulation," experience "tremendous expansion." Adding to those hopes were early tests that showed North Carolina oysters free from pollutants. By 1929, there were hopes of increasing the state's meager 12,000 acres of beds to perhaps a million.[65] In 1930, when North Carolina was harvesting about a half-million bushels to Virginia's 4.5 million, zoologist Robert Coker called oysters "one of the great undeveloped resources" of the state and explained that North Carolina's low ranking derived from its lack of organized oyster farming—preferably, he argued, through private leases rather than public ownership and development of the beds.[66] For at least twenty years thereafter, substantial seed oyster and shell plantings continued to boost the industry.[67]

By the early 1960s, however, rumors of oysters tainted by urban sewer effluents began to surface, harvests were down to a quarter of what they had been sixty years earlier, and some doubts were being raised about the effectiveness of the state's seeding and planting program. By mid-1963 the dread news was out: oyster waters were polluted.[68]

New state revitalization efforts a half-dozen years later tried to address pollution, overfishing, shifting salinities of growing areas, and inadequate state funds for "the oyster war." But the numbers were depressing: the 1971 harvest was about half of what it had been in 1962, and state support had shifted from commercial to sport fishing. By reliable estimates, more than a half-million acres of shellfish waters were polluted from industrial, residential, and agricultural runoff. Two days before the 1971 oyster season started, more than 60,000 acres had to be closed because of extreme pollution.[69] Seventeen years later, the Brunswick *Star-News* announced the pollution-induced death of the county's Lockwood Folly River, done in by urban sewage and stormwater runoff. The impact on the shellfish industry was severe.[70]

By late 1977, the state's Director of Marine Fisheries was blunt: "The oyster industry is doing

65 "Planning Vast Future for Tar Heel Oysters," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 5, 1929, unpaged clipping.

66 "The Oyster Now Moves South," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 28, 1924; "Making the Oyster Safe," *Raleigh News and Observer,* November 13, 1925; Robert E. Coker, "State Potentially Rich in the Oyster Industry" and "Why State Ranks Low in Farming of Oysters," *Raleigh News and Observer,* March 16 and 23, 1930; unpaged clippings.

67 Wade Lucas, "State's Oyster Industry Hard Hit by Two Hurricanes," *Raleigh News and Observer* [undated clipping, possibly March 18, 1955].

68 "Oyster Probe Being Waged," *Raleigh News and Observer,* October 19, 1961; "Scarcity of Tar Heel Oysters Discussed," *Raleigh News and Observer,* February 10, 1963; "Oyster Industry Hit By Polluted Waters," *Raleigh News and Observer,* July 17, 1963; unpaged clippings.

69 Mark Warren, "Pollution Threatens Life of Tar Heel Shellfish," *Durham Morning Herald,* September 28, 1972; "C&D Board Closes Polluted Area of State's Coast to Shellfishing," *Greensboro Daily News,* October 15, 1972; unpaged clippings.

70 *Brunswick Star-News,* August 13, 1989; unpaged clipping.

nothing but declining."[71] Nevertheless, persistent state efforts produced something of a turnaround by 1979, with a quarter-million-bushel harvest. It was short-lived, however. Pollution continued to grow, and within a decade harvests were minimal and the culprits were widely recognized: parasites (Dermo and MSX), overharvesting, and the Red Tide that was assaulting the entire eastern seaboard.[72]

Taking the long view, oyster production showed a spectacular rise between 1887 and about 1902, but with the exception of a modest bump between about 1918 and 1939, it fell steadily thereafter, almost disappearing by 1970.

Shellfish: Clams, Crabs, and Shrimp

President Roosevelt's decision in 1940 to raise the tariff on imported canned Japanese crabmeat and crab products (more than 11 million pounds of which had been imported the previous year) brought hope to coastal North Carolina that a new industry might arise. By mid-1943, however, the North Carolina crab industry was still producing only about 500,000 lbs. per year, quite a small harvest compared to the Chesapeake-area waters to the north, where the state of Virginia had created a crab sanctuary to stimulate production.

North Carolina's returns on its crab harvest during the 1940s continued to be modest because of the lack of adequate processing facilities, but by the 1960s the hard blue-crab industry was in a major growth mode, with more than 8 million pounds harvested and processing plants more numerous. By 1965, the coast's premier promoter Aycock Brown proclaimed that crab was "big business."[73]

The story for clams was similar to that for crabs. In the 1940s, dredging for clams was a going concern yielding about 3 million pounds a year, but the lack of picking and canning houses in North Carolina resulted in most of the catch being trucked to Maryland for processing.[74] The state ranked among the top twelve clam producers in the late 1940s to 1951, but production then declined. A five-year study reported in 1954 that clamming had emerged as an important North Carolina industry as early as the 1830s, with Maryland and Virginia buyers coming especially to the Ocracoke Inlet area. A processing factory opened at Ocracoke in 1898, and by 1902, over a million pounds were shipped. For thirty years thereafter, production ranged between 200,000 and 400,000 pounds per year. When a hurricane opened new inlets that raised salinity in Core Sound in 1933, the clam population rose. It declined during World War II and bottomed out by 1949 before rising again in the early fifties as new dredges were put into use.[75] During the ninety years between 1880 and 1970, clam production varied from a high of about 1.25 million pounds in 1900 to less than 250,000 in the mid-1950s.

The shrimp industry was slow to start. It began to rise after about 1916, had a fairly stable, if low-level run in the 1920s, and then turned up sharply in the early 1930s before climbing even more steeply in the late 1930s and 1940s. On a single day in August 1940, seventy shrimp boats hauled 100,000 pounds from the mouth of Clubfoot Creek in

71 "N.C. Seeks to Revive Oyster Crop," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 12, 1970; "Shellfish Supply Keeps Dwindling," *Raleigh News and Observer,* June 4, 1973; Richard Whittle, "N.C. Oystering on the Decline," *Raleigh News and Observer,* September 3, 1977; unpaged clippings.

72 "Oysters Now Making Comeback in State," *Fayetteville Observer-Times*, April 29, 1979; *Charlotte Observer,* November 19, 1989; unpaged clippings.

73 "State's Crab Industry May Be Expanded Soon," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 29, 1941; "The Crab Crop," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 12, 1944; Wade Lucas, "Hard Blue Crab Industry Shows Rapid Growth in North Carolina," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 14, 1960; Aycock Brown, "Crabbing is Big Business," *Raleigh News and Observer,* March 7, 1965; unpaged clippings.

74 Amy Musk, "A Neglected Tar Heel Resource," *Raleigh News and Observer,* July 11, 1943; "The Crab Crop," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 12, 1944, unpaged clippings.

75 Wade Lucas, "Clam Digging Is Showing Decline in N.C.," *Raleigh News and Observer,* February 13, 1955; unpaged clipping. Lucas reported that the Ocracoke factory shipped whole clams, clam chowder, and clam juice. Lucas quoted University of North Carolina Institute of Fisheries mollusk specialist F. S. Chestnutt as reporting that the factory shipped more than 1 million pounds of clam products as late as 1902.

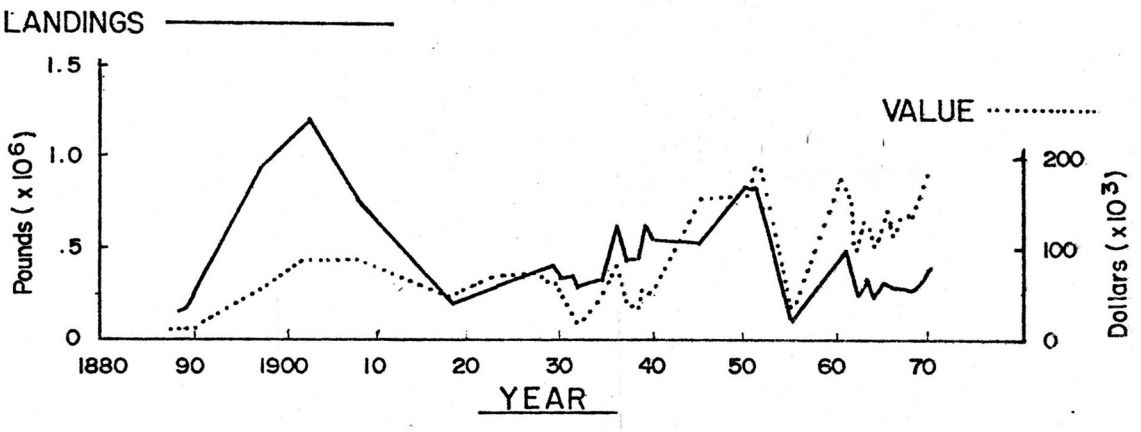


Figure 4-19. Clam production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries*, 29.

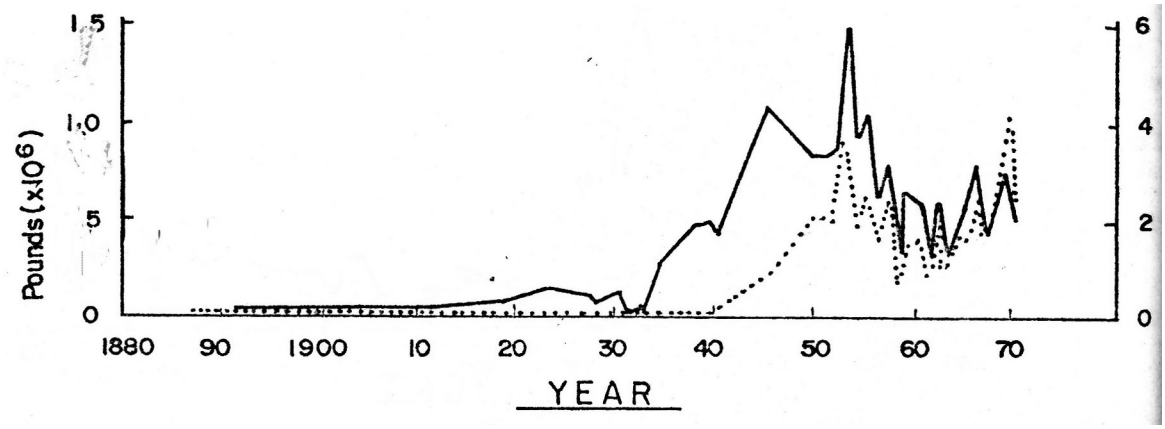


Figure 4-20. Shrimp production, 1887–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries*, 28.

Craven County. At the end of World War II, the state commissioned a major study of the industry aimed at increasing production and profitability. A year later, the Asheville *Citizen* reported that the industry had "ballooned" and that "all the fishermen have gone shrimping"; an estimated 500 boats were active on Pamlico Sound alone. Buy-boat operators were buying shrimp for 22 cents a pound and selling it for 54, and customers were paying 85 to 90. Harvests were surpassing even menhaden.[76]

By 1951, some 1,500 men were working on nearly 1,200 shrimp boats, and the labor force in the packinghouses raised total employment to around 4,000.[77] Word was out about the abundant shrimp to be had in North Carolina waters. In short order, shrimpers from other states moved in, and the call went out for restrictions. Such restrictions (licensing and taxing out-of-state shrimpers and requiring reciprocity from those states) were quickly put into place.[78] The 1954 season proved to be a bonanza. Boats in search of the "white gold" were running day and night, expecting a record catch beyond even the 5.5 million pounds of the previous year.[79]

After a sharp drop in the later 1950s, shrimp catches rose modestly but uncertainly in the early 1970s. By 1974, however, increasing supply had

76 Frank A. Montgomery, Jr., " Reap the King of Tar Heel Seafood Moneymakers," *Raleigh News and Observer,* May 13[?], 1958; "Huge Shrimp Hauls Reported in Craven," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 24, 1940; "Southport Man to Head Study," *Raleigh News and Observer,* July 3[?], 1947; "N.C. Shrimp Industry Balloons," *Asheville Citizen,* September 26, 1948; unpaged clippings.

77 "Tar Heel Shrimpers Put in Long Hours," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 5, 1951; unpaged clipping.

78 'Shrimp Question Still Unsettled," *Raleigh News and Observer,* January 20, 1954; "Protective Steps Are Taken," *Raleigh News and Observer,* March 23[?], 1954; unpaged clippings.

79 Wade Lucas, "Shrimpers Are Ready for Hauls," *Raleigh News and Observer,* March 28, 1954; unpaged clipping.

driven prices down from $2.00–2.50 per pound to $1.00, and Governor Holshouser launched a campaign to aid the industry, which falling prices (as low as 40 to 50 cents a pound), smaller shrimp, and higher production costs (the price of diesel fuel increased from 18 to 44 cents a gallon) were putting shrimpers "in a bind."[80]

Loggerhead Turtles and Diamondback Terrapins

Loggerhead sea turtles were once hunted for their meat, eggs, and fat (which was used for cosmetics and medications). Adult males generally weigh around 250 pounds, but specimens of up to 1000 pounds. have been found. Since 1978, loggerheads have been protected by the Endangered Species Act and other national and international conventions,[81] as have diamondback terrapins. The terrapins breed in the Roanoke Island marshes and on the western shore of Pamlico Sound, and consequently were plentiful in the sound.

Commentary on the history of the harvesting of turtles and terrapins in the years before they were protected by law is surprisingly difficult to come by. Mallison says, the supply of diamondbacks was already depleted by World War I, no doubt because they commanded "the highest price per pound of any of the sea creatures." They had been aggressively sought for market at least since 1849, when J. B. Etheridge of Bodie Island sold 4,150 of them for $750.00 (about 18 cents each).

Loggerhead turtles faced a renewed threat during World War II rationing of foodstuffs. "Fresh red meat which requires no ration points," the Raleigh *News and Observer* reported in July 1945,

> is being eaten by residents of the Outer Banks, who are lucky enough to get it . . . . Choice steaks may be sliced from the meats . . . and OPA [Office of Price Adjustment] are not likely to do anything about it due to the scarcity of the choice cuts . . . which [come] from Loggerheads . . . .[82]

Regulation and Long-Term Prospects

From fairly early in the history of commercial fishing off the Outer Banks, there were were clear indications that unregulated commercial fishing was not sustainable. The earliest regulatory measures had applied only to certain counties, and fishermen were wary of statewide laws that might curb local practices. But by 1911, Ross reports, the state Geological Survey was advocating measures to improve the industry. To consider legislation to do that, it joined with the Fish Commission and the Oyster Commission to call for meetings to consider comprehensive measures. But until then all regulatory measures had applied only to certain counties, and fishermen were wary of statewide laws that might curb local practices. Delegates from twenty-seven eastern counties formed the North Carolina Fisheries Association and backed statewide laws, but in short order a group from Carteret County joined to defeat the legislation. Two years later it passed, however, establishing a commission to license and regulate both fisheries and fishermen.[83]

Regulatory measures helped in various ways to curb over-fishing and address issues of sustainability. Although total fish production during the more than nine decades between 1880 and 1970 rose from about 30 million to just under 200 million pounds, those somewhat encouraging figures did not reflect price fluctuations, dramatic differences in value and availability among species, the effects of pollution, and other variables critical

80 "Shrimp Season in State May Be Best in 15 Years," *Raleigh News and Observer,* October 15, 1962; "Shrimp Catches Show Big Gains," *Raleigh News and Observer,* January 25, 1963; "Six-Month Shrimp Catch Termed Best Since 1965," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 4, 1971; "Shrimp Campaign Launched," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 13, 1974; "Tar Heel Shrimpers Hurt by Steep Drop in Prices," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 18, 1974; unpaged clippings. For an extended discussion of the industry, see John R. Maiolo, *Hard Times and a Nickel a Bucket: Struggle and Survival in North Carolina's Shrimp Industry* (Chapel Hill, NC: Chapel Hill Press, 2004).

81 Full information on the loggerhead turtle species is available at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Fisheries Office's loggerhead site, http://www.nmfs.noaa.gov/pr/species/turtles/loggerhead.htm. A summary of rangewide protections for the diamondback is available in Christina F. Watters, *A Review of the Rangewide Regulations Pertaining to Diamondback Terrapins (*Malaclemys terrapin) (Stone Harbor, NJ: Wetlands Institute, 2004).

82 *Raleigh News and Observer,* July 15[?], 1945; unpaged clipping, date partly obscured.

83 Ross, "Conservation and Economy," 25.

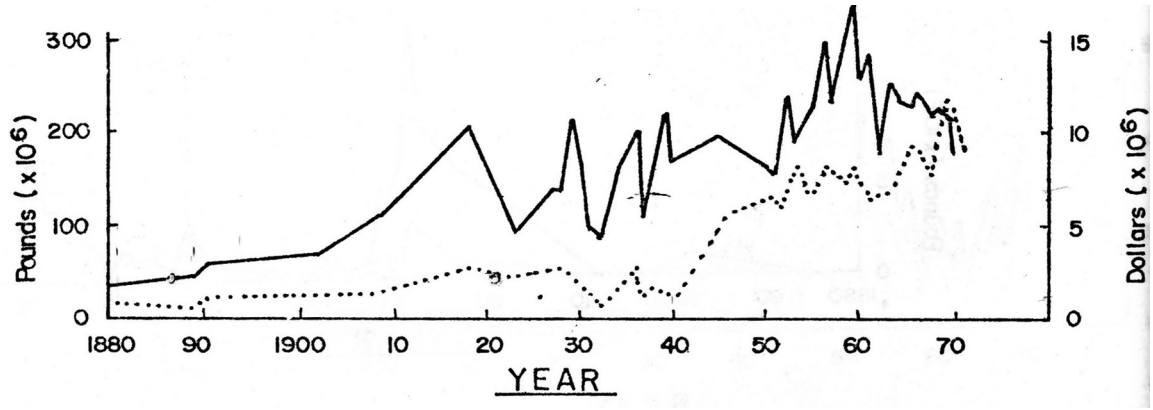


Figure 4-21. Total pounds of fish harvested in North Carolina coastal waters, 1880–1970. Street, Rickman, and Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries*, 30.

to the health and sustainability of the industry. And the environmental and other threats of the closing years of the twentieth century were still to come.

Shipbuilding

North Carolina has never been a major center for shipbuilding, but the activity has been present since colonial times, and at various junctures it has contributed significantly to the economy and job base of the coastal region. The North Carolina Maritime History Council has compiled a list of approximately 3,100 ships built in North Carolina from 1688 to the 1920s. Five of them were built before 1700, but all of those were of 6 tons or less (three shallops, likely flat-bottomed, and two sloops).[84] Total output amounted to approximately 170,000 tons, making the average vessel size about 55 tons. Vessels ranged from 2 to 545 tons, but only about 75 were larger than 200 tons, and more than 2500 (80 percent) were smaller than 100 tons.[85] The earliest of the ships were built at the expected locations: Edenton, Bath, New Bern, Beaufort, Port Roanoke, and (after 1745) Wilmington.

Not surprisingly, North Carolina's entire shipbuilding industry virtually shut down during the Civil War. Almost 2,000 ships had been built by 1860, but only nine were completed between 1861 and 1865. The industry revived fairly quickly, however; seventy-six ships were built between 1865 and 1870, 126 between 1870 and 1880, and over two hundred in the following decade. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, smaller towns such as Smyrna also produced a substantial number of vessels, though Smyrna's tended to be small (in the 10–20 ton range).[86]

In the table below (data selected from the Maritime History Council's large data set), one can observe several salient facts about North Carolina's shipbuilding industry, some with special relevance to the Cape Lookout section of the southern banks. Shipbuilding at Portsmouth, for example, was minimal, focused on small vessels, and confined to a relatively short (early) period, while on the other side of the inlet at Ocracoke, more vessels were built over a longer time, and they tended to be considerably larger. Meanwhile, activity at Edenton and New Bern, where ships totaling 5,000 to 10,000 tons were built, was many times greater than at either Portsmouth or Ocracoke and continued for much longer. The most-productive shipbuilding locations south of Portsmouth were Morehead City (though production there began late), Wilmington, New Bern, Beaufort, and Carteret County.[87]

84 North Carolina Maritime History Council, *List of Ships Built in North Carolina from Colonial Times to circa 1900* (Excel spreadsheet available from "Maritime History Research Resources" at http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org. Unless otherwise attributed, data used in this brief discussion are from this source.

85 The median vessel size in the Maritime History Council list was approximately 37 tons. Barbour Boat Works in New Bern also built wooden minesweepers and escort boats.

86 The Maritime History Council lists gives "North" as the place of building for a very large number of vessels. We have not yet been able to identify this location or to determine whether it may be an inclusive designation for several individual northern locations.

87 Specific locations in Carteret County are not given in the Maritime History Council data.

Table 4-1: Ships built in selected North Carolina cities, 1727–1917

Location	No. Built	Years	Total tonnage	Avg. tons
Portsmouth	4	1826–1869	115	29
Bath	10	1727–1888	638	64
Ocracoke	23	1816–1868	1,090	47
Hyde County	83	1805–1887	6,726	81
Smyrna	87	1872–1909	1,085	13
Edenton	87	1722–1908	4,669	54
Morehead City	92	1885–1913	1,339	15
Wilmington	92	1746–1897	6,292	68
Currituck	119	1730–1823	5,919	50
Elizabeth City	121	1800–1915	7,891	65
Washington	129	1769–1917	10,779	84
New Bern	148	1779–1903	10,295	70
Carteret	226	1788–1867	13,042	58
Beaufort	242	1725–1913	12,887	53
North	397	1688–1904	23,439	59
	1,860	**1688–1917**	**106,206**	**57**

Since it leaves off at about 1921, the Maritime History Council list does not take into account World War II shipbuilding, when Newport News Shipbuilding Company operated (under the name North Carolina Shipbuilding Company) a large yard at Wilmington that employed 20,000 workers (at an annual total salary of $50 million) and produced 243 vessels, including 125 liberty ships and 64 C2-type fast freighters. The first liberty ship out of the Wilmington yard was the *SS Zebulon B. Vance*, launched the day before Pearl Harbor.[88]

88 Powell, *Encylopedia of North Carolina,* 625, 671, 1032, 1243. Powell also says that the Meadows yard in New Bern built "standardized cargo vessels and submarine chasers" as part of the World War I effort. For a useful summary of the development of and production from the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Carolina_Shipbuilding_Company. For some construction records of the Company, see http://www.shipbuildinghistory.com/history/shipyards/4emergency/wwtwo/northcarolina.htm. A photo of the SS Zebulon B. Vance under construction may be found at http://ncmuseumofhistory.org/workshops/WWII/LibertyShips.htm.

Work-Boat Building

Parallel with shipbuilding, specialized work-boat designs were developed to serve other sectors of water transportation. Sometimes adapted from existing designs, at times brought in from other coastal locations or developed in collaboration with working fishermen—or by the fishermen themselves—these work boats were excellent examples of the synergistic interaction of imagination, practical design skill, workmanship, and local needs and cultural norms.

The earliest work boats were probably associated with whaling, which arose earlier than the other species-specific fishing industries. The Simpsons' history of whaling on the coast highlights Shackleford boatbuilder Devine S. Guthrie, who built his six-man, 20 to 25-foot, double-ended lapstrake boats, high in the bow and stern, from local timber from a design traceable to fourteenth-century Basque shore whalers.[89] Alford's recent booklet on coastal work boats says that experimentation with their forms began as early as the mid-1870s.[90]

In the nineteenth century, as Mark Taylor recounts, three adaptive work boat types emerged that "evolved in or had have strong links to North Carolina coastal waters": the sharpie, the shad boat, and the spritsail skiff.[91] The sharpie is characterized by seaworthiness, large cargo capacity, open work area, and shallow draft. The design was introduced into the Outer Banks area by Rhode Islander George Ives in 1875, who knew of sharpies through their widespread use on Long Island. Initially skeptical, Banker fishermen quickly took a liking to the sharpie after one bested their traditional boats in a race; by 1880 there were more than 500 of them in use.[92] Sharpies ranged from 26 to 36 feet, were crewed by one or two men, and were used for either oystering or fishing. Characterized by a plumb stem, straight sides, flat bottom, and rounded, half-decked stern, the boats usually were two-masted, spritsail craft which, because they lacked a low-swinging boom,

89 Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast,* 44–45.

90 Michael Alford, *Traditional Work Boats of North Carolina* (Beaufort: North Carolina Maritime Museum, 1990), 1. See also Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks,* 122–124.

91 Taylor, "Sharpies, Shad Boats, and Spritsail Skiffs."

92 Alford, *Work Boats,* 5

offered ample headroom. An inexpensive, solid, durable model could be built quickly from local pine, oak, cypress, or white cedar. By the 1930s, Alford reports, most of the sailing sharpies had disappeared or been fitted with engines. Many converted sharpies ended up in Florida or the Bahamas.[93]

Modifying the traditional sharpie with more powerful double-masted, gaff-rigged main and topsails usually used on schooners allowed the boats to pull heavy iron oyster dredges. In this configuration, which generally ranged up to 45 feet long, they were known as schooner-sharpies or "Core Sounders." The largest, at 63 feet, was built in Beaufort in 1899. Some were used to haul fish to the West Indies, returning laden with sugar, molasses and rum.[94] Core Sounder boats came to prominence as the sharpies waned. Narrow, low-rise, round-sterned boats of 36 to 40 feet, originally with small engines, they were well suited to sink-net fishing.

Round-bottom shad boats are traceable in design back to dugout canoes used by coastal Indians. Early settlers modified them to have broader bottoms, keels, and ribs. In that form, they were called kunners.[95] By the mid-nineteenth century, however, logs suitable for such boats had become scarce, and boats constructed in such a manner were not able to do the work required. In the 1870s, Roanoke Island builder Washington Creef, working off the kunner prototype and aiming to come up with a shallow-drafted, relatively small (under 27 feet), seaworthy boat that could haul heavy loads from pound nets and carried a large spritsail and flying topsail suitable for light summer breezes, came up with what came to be known as the shad boat. In the 1920s, a v-bottom, deadrise form of the shad boat replaced the older round-bottom style.[96]

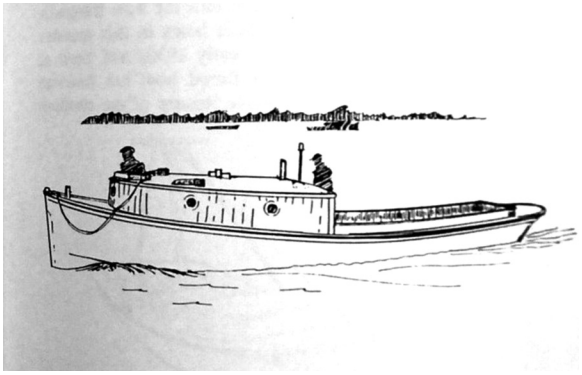


Figure 4-22. Core Sounder work boat. Alford, *Traditional Work Boats of North Carolina*, 15.

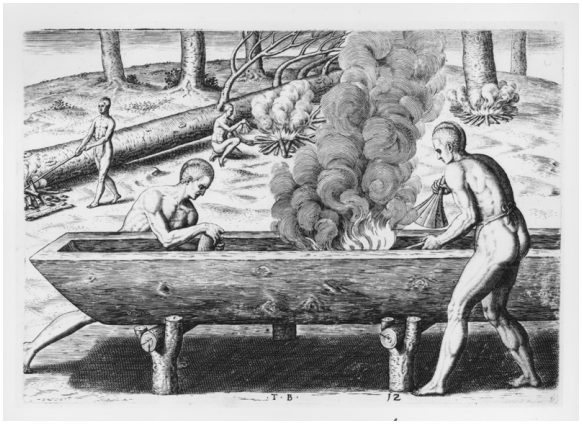


Figure 4-23. De Bry engraving of John White drawing "The Manner of Makinge Their Boates" (1585–1586). British Museum.

Modifications to the shad-boat design around the turn of the twentieth century made them attractive to waterfowl hunting clubs on the Banks, which bought many of them. Their great speed also made them attractive to rumrunners during Prohibition. Stick reports that they have also been used extensively by commercial waterfowl hunters.[97] With engines installed, a few remaining shad boats were still in use in the 1980s by Manteo-based commercial fishermen. In 1987, the shad boat was designated by the state legislature as the official North Carolina State Historical Boat.

The spritsail skiff was only 16 to 22 feet long, but it was the "mule" of coastal clammers, oystermen, crabbers, and fishermen. Equipped with a centerboard but no keel, it drew only 4 to 6 inches of water with the centerboard up, and even with several fishermen and a large net aboard it could haul several thousand pounds of fish or shellfish. Examples of working spritsail skiffs have virtually disappeared in recent decades, but renewed

93 Ibid., 8.

94 Taylor, "Sharpies, Shad Boats, and Spritsail Skiffs." Unless otherwise indicated, our brief description of these types is based upon Taylor's article. See also Alford, *Work Boats, 7.*

95 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks, 120.*

96 Alford, *Work Boats, 18–21. Dunbar, Geographical History of the Carolina Banks, 121–123, notes that the Dough family of Manteo were also major builders of shad boats.*

97 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 179.*

Figure 4-24. John White, "Indians Dancing Around a Circle of Posts" (1585–1586). British Museum.

interest in traditional boats has led to a revival of the design for recreational use.[98]

A highly functional Harkers Island boat design emerged in the 1920s, partly in response to the tendency of the traditional flat-bottomed sharpies to snake and vibrate when converted to gasoline or diesel power. The Harkers Island design emerged from combining other functional aspects of sharpies with engine power and the "Harkers Island [or Carolina] flare" that threw water away from the hull at high speeds. The first such boat is usually credited to Bogue Sound vessel repairman Brady Lewis, who relocated to Harkers Island in 1926. Harkers Island boats are used for trawling, shrimping, dredging, and recreational fishing.[99]

Commercial Hunting (or "Market Gunning")

The sound side of the coastal waters of the Outer Banks offered, in addition to fish, a compelling array of waterfowl used since aboriginal times as a source of both food and decorative and ceremonial feathers. Commercial hunting of waterfowl did not arrive until the mid-nineteenth century, however.

Ducks for Food and Feathers for Hats

Between 1795 and 1830, Currituck Sound had been "freshened" by the introduction of freshwater, and new grasses favored by wildfowl began to grow. The area quickly became a renowned center for hunting. As early as 1861, Edmund Ruffin provided an account of commercial waterfowl (duck) hunting on the upper Currituck Sound. It was, he said, "a branch of industry of considerable importance for its amount of profit." Detailing one property owner's operation, Ruffin said that

> [t]he shooting (as a business) on his shores is done only by gunners hired by himself, and for his own profit, and who are paid a fixed price for every fowl delivered to him according to its kind, from the smallest or least prized species of ducks, to the rare and highly valued swan. Mr. B. has employed thirty gunners through a winter. He provides and charges for the ammunition they require, which they pay out of their wages.[100]

Prices for fowl in the 1880s ranged from $0.25 to $1.00 per pair, depending upon the species.

In 1884, H. H. Brimley, a North Carolina state museum zoologist searching for specimens, provided a graphic account of the widespread practice of gunning from "sink boxes." Coffin-like boxes loaded with ballast to sink them to water level were surrounded with 150 or so decoys. From the cover of one of these boxes, one or two hunters armed with 10-gauge guns with 32-inch barrels could bring down as many as 125 birds in a single day of shooting. "[A] majority of the inhabitants of the shores of the sound," Brimley reported, "made most of their winter's income directly or indirectly from the commercial hunting of wildfowl."[101]

By 1880, Cecelski writes, the wholesale slaughter of waterfowl and birds had become "commonplace and relentless." The new post-Civil War style

98 Taylor, "Sharpies, Shad Boats, and Spritsail Skiffs," 172–173.

99 This characterization of the boat comes from Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina,* 551. Several photos of such boats may be seen at http://www.downeasttour.com/harkers_is/Tia02_vt003_03b.htm.

100 Ruffin, *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina; quoted in Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 92–93. Stick quotes Ruffin's extended description of how hunters operated here.

101 "Market Gunning" in Odum and Brimley, *A North Carolina Naturalist,* 17–23. Quoted from Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 29–32.

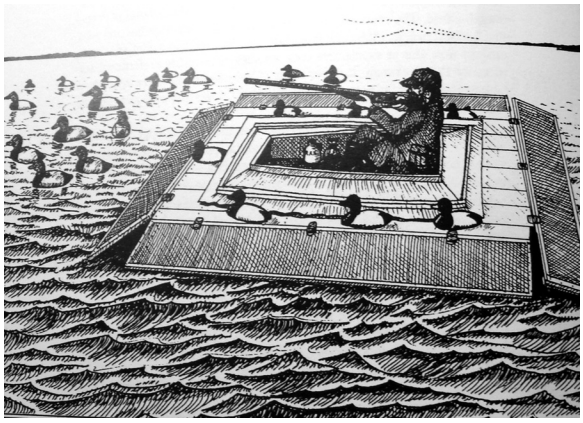


Figure 4-25. Carteret County waterfowl hunters in sink box. Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*, 10.

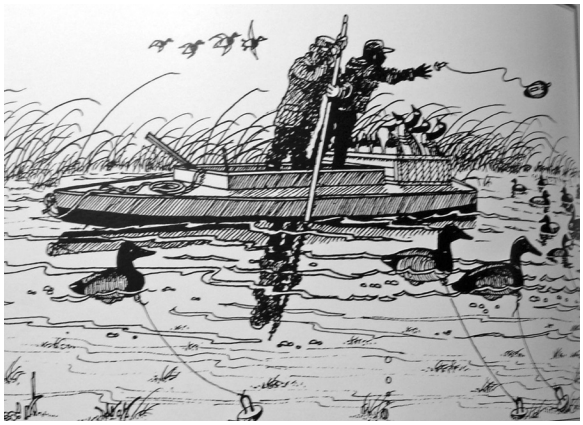


Figure 4-26. Gunners in blind, Carteret County. Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*, 50.

of decorating ladies' hats with bird feathers had added a new market sector to the by-then long-established industry focused on waterfowl (mainly ducks) as food. Some 82,000 workers were employed in the millinery trade. Hunters first concentrated on the more colorful birds, but when those became scarce they turned to drabber species. Still another new sector opened with the activities of "eggers," who peddled coastal bird eggs. Within a decade, local families were alarmed by the excess depletion of the waterfowl population.[102]

To bring some restraint and responsibility into the system, the North Carolina Audubon Society was formed in 1902. Some new laws put North Carolina at the forefront of efforts to develop an effective regulatory system, but Audubon wardens, Cecelski says, met "stiff opposition," and a black market in waterfowl soon emerged. The Gunners and Fishermen's League, organized in Currituck County, managed by 1909 to strip the legislation of enforcement authority. It was not restored until federal migratory bird legislation was passed in 1918 and the North Carolina Game Commission was established in 1927.[103]

Even before they were eviscerated, the new laws restricted hunting, but did not eliminate it. A wayside sign in the now totally depopulated village of Portsmouth advises visitors that as late as 1928,

Brothers-in-law Jody Styron and Tom Bragg built their house using materials salvaged from at least two older buildings. Tom, Jody, and Jody's wife, Hub, ran a hunting service out of their new home. While Tom and Jody guided hunters out into the marshes, Hub cooked the meals and kept house.

Extralegal Maritime Activities

The legitimate maritime work of the Outer Banks—whaling, piloting, lightering, commercial fishing, keeping lighthouses, dragging Life-Saving Service rescue boats down the beach and into the surf, manning Coast Guard craft in every kind of weather—was (and remains) arduous, physically exhausting, frequently dangerous, and on the whole neither highly nor reliably paid. People do it because it is, when all is said and done, honest and interesting work, and above all work that is available to support oneself and one's family. Under such conditions, it is hardly surprising that, alongside this legitimate maritime economy, there has long been an illegitimate, underground economy that seemed (to some, at least) to promise quicker, easier money.

We begin, however, with an often-commented-upon borderline-illicit activity that offered not to make anyone rich quickly, but perhaps to ease the burden of subsistence in a challenging economic and physical environment.

Wrecking

The legendarily treacherous waters off the Outer Banks have been the site of countless shipwrecks from the time of early exploration and settlement. Even in the absence of hurricanes, the Graveyard of the Atlantic turned countless ships into wrecks that were either close enough to shore to access

102 Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast,* 93–98.

103 Ibid., 100.

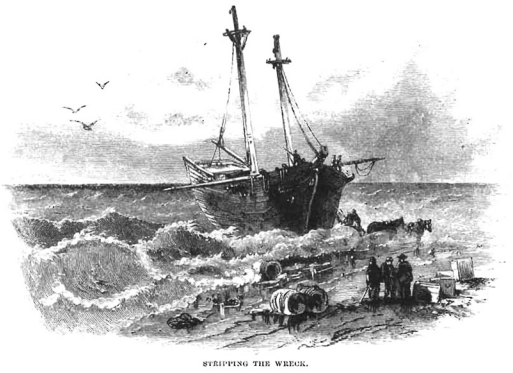


Figure 4-27. "Stripping the Wreck" [before 1902. Merryman, *The United States Life-saving Service1880*, 13. Reprinted from *Scribner's Monthly Magazine.*

once the storm passed, or (better) left stranded on the beaches. Numerous writers have reported that Outer Banks residents took advantage of such tragic events to engage in "wrecking": scavenging the shipwrecks for salvageable cargo, or the passengers' and crews' personal effects, or timbers and planking that might be put to other uses. Some, it has been reported, even lured ships onto dangerous shoals by tying a lantern to a pony's neck and leading it along the shore.

During the Civil War, a Union colonel observed that Bankers were "a class of people who subsist from fishing and hunting as well as from cargoes stranded upon the stormy coast," and other outsiders voiced similar views.[104] More than a half-century ago, however, Dunbar countered that "there are only a few recorded cases" of such activity, one on the northern Banks in 1696, the retaliatory plunder of marauding Spanish ships in 1750, and a couple of instances during the Revolution. The rarity of such cases, Dunbar concluded, made Bankers "undeserving of their reputation."[105]

Indeed, had Outer Banks residents engaged in such activity with abandon, they would have done so at their legal as well as physical peril, at least from the late eighteenth century onward. Somewhat belatedly, the North Carolina legislature in that year established wreck districts, administered by Commissioners of Wrecks appointed by coastal counties. Citizens aware of wrecks were obliged to report them to the local commissioner; appropriating goods without doing so was subject to fine. The commissioner's duty when a shipwreck occurred in his area of responsibility was to collect a group of men, go to its aid, and take custody of both the vessel and its goods and cargo until proper compensation was paid by the vessel's owners or the owner of the goods. Goods unclaimed for a year were disposed of at a public sale (or vendue) and the money held by the clerk of court.

Such a process could benefit local residents, who could receive modest payment as "salvers," help to remove and guard goods from the ships, or make available for purchase desirable goods at bargain prices.[106] Such episodic activity could hardly have provided sufficient, or sufficiently reliable, income to have made it a substantial part of the Banks economy, however.

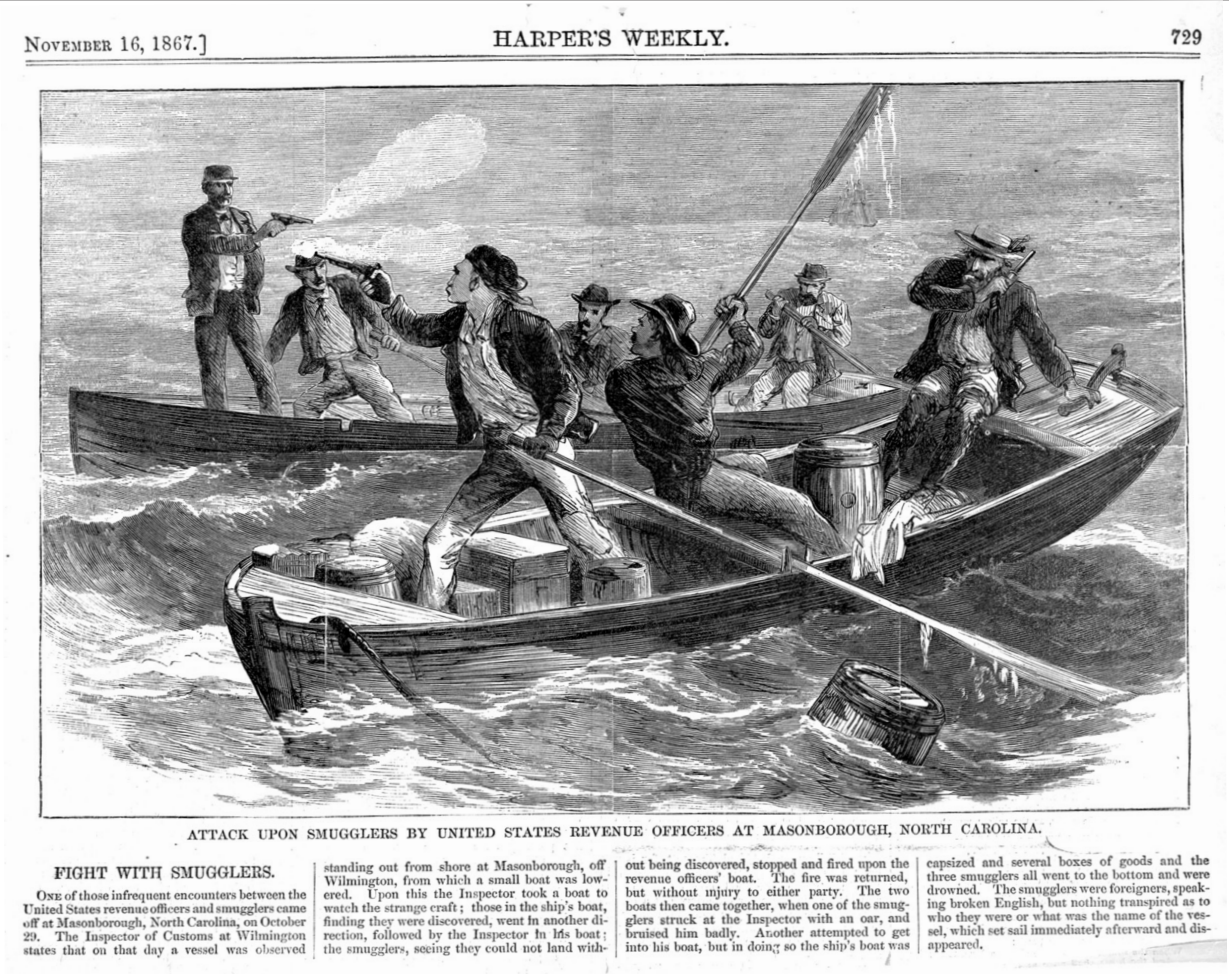
Contraband and Smuggling

Moving contraband and smuggling in North Carolina were in evidence at least by the late seventeenth century, and they could at that time

104 Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study,* 105–106. A version of the story of the lantern on the pony's neck can be found in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* May 1860, 733.

105 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks,* 41–42. Dunbar's conclusion is seconded in Impact Assessment, Inc., *Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages Adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage: Final Technical Report, Volume II* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2005), II, 421–422.

106 Dunbar, 95 n.41, notes that the law was modified a number of times and remained on the books at least until the 1950s. Dunbar gives the date for the law (and its specified procedures) as 1801, but Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 76, reproduces an announcement from a vendue master in the State Gazette for May 2, 1794. Stick implies that the 1801 law merely set up wreck districts, the vendue master system having been established earlier. The 1899 version of the law may be found in *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly* (Raleigh, NC: Howards & Broughton, 1899), Chapter 79, 209. This law (as well as earlier versions of 1838–1846) established five districts in Carteret County. The 1917 revisions reduced that number to three. James Iredell, *A Digested Manual of the Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina: From the Year 1838 to the Year 1846* (Raleigh, NC: Weston R. Gales, 1847), 221 ff., and Lucius Polk McGehee et al., *Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina, Prepared Under Public Laws 1917* (Raleigh, NC: Commercial Printing Co., State Printers, 1920), Chapter 134, 1,084ff. The law as it stood in the 1830s is synopsized in Joseph Blunt, *The Shipmaster's Assistant, and Commercial Digest* (New York: E. and G. W. Blount, 1837), 275–277.



NOVEMBER 16, 1867.] HARPER'S WEEKLY. 729

ATTACK UPON SMUGGLERS BY UNITED STATES REVENUE OFFICERS AT MASONBOROUGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

FIGHT WITH SMUGGLERS.

ONE of those infrequent encounters between the United States revenue officers and smugglers came off at Masonborough, North Carolina, on October 29. The Inspector of Customs at Wilmington states that on that day a vessel was observed standing out from shore at Masonborough, off Wilmington, from which a small boat was lowered. Upon this the Inspector took a boat to watch the strange craft; those in the ship's boat, finding they were discovered, went in another direction, followed by the Inspector in his boat; the smugglers, seeing they could not land without being discovered, stopped and fired upon the revenue officers' boat. The fire was returned, but without injury to either party. The two boats then came together, when one of the smugglers struck at the Inspector with an oar, and bruised him badly. Another attempted to get into his boat, but in doing so the ship's boat was capsized and several boxes of goods and the three smugglers all went to the bottom and were drowned. The smugglers were foreigners, speaking broken English, but nothing transpired as to who they were or what was the name of the vessel, which set sail immediately afterward and disappeared.

Figure 4-28. "Attack upon Smugglers by United States Revenue Officers at Masonborough, North Carolina" (1867), *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1867, 729. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

properly be considered politically motivated activities. To promote British mercantilism, Parliament had passed the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 and later the Plantation Duty Act of 1673. Taken together, those laws limited trade between Great Britain and its colonies to British, Irish, and colonial vessels and prohibited some products (including tobacco) from being shipped anywhere but to England. For economic and political reasons (tobacco was a major crop, after all), these laws were widely violated.[107]

More than thirty years ago, Ehrenhard pointed out that the very nature of the North Carolina coast "invited smuggling throughout the colonial period." Masters of vessels soon realized, he observed, "the ease of breaking cargo at the inlets and of loading goods onto small boats to be taken to any one of the numerous small settlements or landings, thereby avoiding payment of customs."[108]

In the early eighteenth century, especially in the Albemarle, New Englanders were given to passing through Roanoke and Currituck inlets and offloading their goods without paying duties. Noleen McIlvenna's recent history of the Albemarle (1660–1713) explores the widespread and systematic smuggling that took place in the wake of the passage of the Navigation Acts. "[A]lmost all of the colonies on the American seaboard ignored [the Acts]," she says, "and set up elaborate smuggling operations." And it happened most, and best, McIlvenna points out, in North Carolina, where the geography of the coast was most favorable. Those who tried to set themselves up as customs collectors in hope of personal gain "became among the most hated men in the colonies."[109] Smuggling also took place at Ocracoke in the early eighteenth century, and for twenty years, governors urged that a customs house be established there. Finally in 1753, the legislature

107 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 42–43.
108 Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 28 ff.
109 Noleen McIlvenna, *A Very Mutinous People,*22, 46, 48, 52–54, 77–78, 89, 98–99.

created the town of Portsmouth partly for that purpose.[110]

Data are scarce on the prevalence of smuggling for the next two centuries, but in the mid-1930s, coastal journalist Aycock Brown wrote a revealing series on the topic. The first installment focuses on an account of the smuggling of a million dollars' worth of opium into the state. In other installments, Brown detailed the story of a boat captain who waxed nostalgic about the money he had made during Prohibition, running rum through the inlets from offshore vessels. "There are also true accounts," he continues, about "Civil War blockade runners, alien smugglers, [and] Cape Verde Islanders" who tried to enter without passports.[111]

In the 1970s, North Carolina's coast again became attractive for smugglers, this time Latin American smugglers of marijuana. The Associated Press reported in December 1977 that the North Carolina coast was "becoming the same haven for marijuana smugglers . . . that it was for rum runners in the 1920s," according to the U.S. attorney for eastern North Carolina. A seizure of a vessel several miles up the Cape Fear near Wilmington had netted 17.5 tons of marijuana—only one of three such recent seizures. The year before, 23 tons were seized on Pamlico Sound. State Bureau of Investigation director Haywood Starling estimated that for every vessel captured, two or three escaped detection.[112] A May 1981 U.S. Supreme Court case (451 US 997 Trapper v. North Carolina) noted that Hyde County "is regularly used by smugglers of marihuana [sic]."[113]

Piracy

Legends about pirates (Blackbeard preeminent among them) and the Outer Banks have flourished and persisted, perhaps even beyond what the historical evidence warrants, but their depredations were serious and deserve attention.

Historian of pirates and privateers Lindley Butler has observed that the two occupations were "so closely intertwined as to be inseparable." The temptation for the captain of an armed privateer vessel to veer into piracy was great. In the western hemisphere, Butler says, English pirates were to a degree tolerated by Great Britain because "they could be counted on to defend the British West Indian colonies." Eventually pirates in the Caribbean became a menace to the British state, however, and were given clemency and pushed out. In search of fresh prey, pirates moved to the North and South American coasts. As early as 1665, Virginia Governor William Berkeley reported that the waters were "so full of pirates that it is impossible for any ships to go home safely." A number of pirates turned up off the North Carolina coast.[114]

The "golden age" of piracy, Lefler and Newsome conclude, lasted roughly thirty years, from 1689 to 1718. As early as 1683, they observe, the Lords of Trade complained of the "harboring and encouraging of Pirates in Carolina," and asserted that several governors had rewarded and sheltered pirates and shared their booty.[115] Ehrenhard argued

110 Ibid., 30–31.

111 Aycock Brown, "Outer Banks of Carolina Paradise for Atlantic Smugglers," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 2, 1934; unpaged clipping.

112 Associated Press report in *Spartanburg* [SC] *Herald,* December 15, 1977, C7.

113 See http://openjurist.org/451/us/997/trapper-v-north-carolina.

114 Lindley S. Butler, *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 5–6. Berkeley quotation from Donald Grady Shomette's preface to Shirley Carter Hughson, *Blackbeard & the Carolina Pirates: The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670–1740* (1894; reprint, Hampton, VA: Port Hampton Press, 2000), ix. Hughson, 9, says that the earliest accounts of pirates on the Carolina coast date from 1565. The literature on pirates and piracy (more than 25,000 volumes produced so far, worldwide) is very mixed, with much of it focused on undocumented legend and fantasy. Besides Butler and Hughson, two of the most reliable sources are Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and Robert H. Patton, *Patriot Pirates: The Privateer War for Freedom and Fortune in the American Revolution,* 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon, 2008). Unfortunately, Patton confines his discussion to New York, New England, and the West Indies. Butler's analysis is solidly grounded in extensive archival and other primary sources such as memoirs and diaries, as well as wide-ranging secondary materials. Rediker focuses not on specific pirates, episodes, or geographical areas, but rather on the cultural and working worlds of seamen, including those of pirates. See also E. S. Eyck van Heslinga, Jaap de Moor, and David J. Starkey, *Pirates and Privateers: New Perspectives on War and Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997).

115 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 62–63.

that since North Carolina's commerce was not as great as Virginia's or South Carolina's, the state was not as hostile to pirates as its neighbors were. Additionally, as McIlvenna has observed, the passage of the widely hated and ignored Navigation Acts in the 1680s made piracy more attractive both in the Albemarle and in the Charles Town region.[116]

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Cape Fear area, still relatively unsettled and conveniently close to Charles Town, a favorite source of plunder for the pirates, was regarded as an excellent base: proximate to the Cape Fear and Pamlico rivers and to Bath, where they could sell directly to consumers rather than to the middlemen of New Providence in the Bahamas. Even after paying off colonial officials in North Carolina, an expected cost, they came out ahead.[117]

The illicit enterprise received a boost, David Stick points out, from the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, which ended Queen Anne's War (or the War of Spanish Succession) among France, Spain, the Dutch and the British. Great Britain agreed not to attack Spanish ships, and in return Spain recognized British right to colonies in the New World. These agreements disestablished many privateers. Not illogically, many of them became pirates—as many as 2,500 of them operating in the Caribbean and on the Carolina coast.[118]

Except for the coastal hazards that plagued all vessels off North Carolina, conditions were favorable for piracy, Butler points out: isolated backwaters, the weak authority of proprietary officials, sparse settlement, the relative poverty of the colony, and lax customs regulation. Chesapeake Bay pirate Roger Makeele, pursued by Virginia Governor Francis Howard, moved south to North Carolina.[119] Fortunately, the most intense North Carolina interval of pirate activity actually lasted only about a year (1718).[120]

116 McIlvenna, *A Very Mutinous People,* 77–78.
117 Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore,* 29.
118 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 28–30. The vast majority of the 2,500 pirates operated in the Caribbean rather than in North Carolina, but Shomette, in his preface to Hughson, *Blackbeard & the Carolina Pirates,* xiv, says that by around 1715 "a score or more pirate ships were prowling the Atlantic coast between Virginia and South Carolina."
119 Shomette, preface to Hughson, *Blackbeard & the Carolina Pirates,* ix–x.
120 Butler, *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders,* 6–8. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina,* 888.

Figure 4-29. Blackbeard fights Royal Navy Lt. Robert Maynard at Ocracoke Inlet, November 22, 1718. Hughson, *Blackbeard & The Carolina Pirates* (1894), facing 5.

Among those who operated on the North Carolina coast (Captain Pain, Christopher Moody, John Cole, Robert Deal, Charles Vane, Richard Worley, "Calico Jack" Rackam, Francis Farrington, and perhaps Anne Bonny), the most infamous were Edward Teach (Blackbeard), and Stede Bonnet.[121] Blackbeard, a former privateer, moved up from his depredations on the South Carolina coast to the Outer Banks in the spring of 1718 with four vessels and some 400 crewmen.

Blackbeard's demise was directed not from North Carolina, where his association with Governor Eden allowed him space to operate, but by Virginia's Governor Spottswood, a fierce opponent of piracy. Assembling pilots familiar with the

121 Butler does not mention Bonny, a central figure in Capt. Charles Johnson's [pseudonymn for Daniel Defoe?] *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates (*1724). Red-haired, Irish, powerfully built Bonny (1698–1782) was a ferocious (and reputedly bare-breasted) fighter who operated principally in the Caribbean, at times with her fellow woman pirate (and lover) Mary Read (ca. 1695–1721). On Bonny and Read, see Ulrike Klausmann, Marion Meinzerin, and Gabriel Kuhn, *Women Pirates and the Politics of the Jolly Roger* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1997), 191–216, and David Cordingly, "Anne Bonny," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online ed. at http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/view/article/39085. Bonny later reformed, married a local man in Charles Town, and had eight children. She died in South Carolina in 1782.

hazards of the Outer Banks and outfitting two ships at his own expense, Spottswood mounted an expedition against Blackbeard. By the time he was killed at Ocracoke Inlet on November 22, 1718, and his head dangled from the bowsprit of British Lt. Robert Maynard's vessel, Blackbeard had captured more than two dozen ships.[122] Stede Bonnet, who was for a brief time in league with Blackbeard off the Carolina coast, soon moved to Virginia and then back to Cape Fear, where he was also captured in the fall of 1718 and hanged in Charles Town soon thereafter.[123]

Despite the demise of the demonic demigods of piracy, piratical depredations continued for decades to be a cause for public concern in North Carolina. In 1736, the General Assembly agreed upon a schedule of fees payable to the Register of the Court of Admiralty for the trial of pirates: issuing warrants for their apprehension, examining informers, attending court, summoning witnesses, drawing up the sentence, and preparing the Warrant of Execution.[124]

The best efforts of mid-Atlantic opponents of piracy notwithstanding, the practice continued at some level throughout the eighteenth century. A July 18,1792, article in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* describes an incident in Portsmouth six weeks earlier. "We have 7 pirates," said the observer,

> brought here by Mr. J. Wallace, who were sent from . . . [Richmond] to Newbern two days ago. . . . Wallace was informed that a crew of men had landed from two boats . . . , and had given away their boats, and told that the captain of [their] vessel . . . would not leave her, altho' she was then sinking. . . . Wallace . . . immediately went to examine, and as he was going on shore he met two of the pilots in a boat carrying 7 of the crew of the Washington . . . . [He] learnt that there were two Frenchmen at Portsmouth, who would not come with them, and could not speak English. He . . . was just able to understand . . . that the crew had killed the captain and mate. He then man[n]ed his pilot boat, and [captured] the others . . . . We put them in jail, and in a short time after, a lad amongst them called out that they were going to murder him. [O]n examination he informed that the vessel was a French brig from Savannah . . . bound to Bordeaux, laden with tobacco and rice, [and] that on Monday last the six men now sent to Newbern . . . did murder the captain and mate, and threw them over-board, then got drunk and plundered the captain's and mate's chests. They stayed on board rioting and quarrelling . . . [until] they saw a schooner coming towards them. . . . [They] then attempted to scuttle the vessel, but could not do it . . . .[125]

There appears to be no evidence that, however lucrative piracy was for the likes of Teach and Bonnet, Banks residents ever shared in the booty. Blackbeard did, however, pass a portion of the loot from a captured French ship to Governor Eden (who had already pardoned him for the crime) and the governor's secretary Tobias Knight.[126] More broadly, however, one must take care not to assume impermeable boundaries between purely evil pirates and ethically upright North or South Carolinians. More than a century ago, Hughson (an early and careful student of piracy) observed that the privateers (licensed freebooters) who sailed into the Carolinas, ships laden with recently seized valuables,

> would scatter their gold and silver about with so generous a hand that their appearance soon came to be welcomed by the trading classes; and by means of their money they ingratiated themselves not only with the people, but with the highest officials of the government. For many years after the founding of Carolina most of the currency in circulation was the gold and silver pieces brought in by the pirates and

122 For a more detailed account of the often-chronicled Battle of Ocracoke, see Shomette, preface to Hughson, *Blackbeard & the Carolina Pirates,* xiii, xvi, and Hughson, 69–89.

123 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 28–32. An extended account of Blackbeard's adventures on the Banks is in Butler, *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders,* 25–50. The year 1718 was the most active ever for piracy along the North Carolina coast. Powell, Encyclopedia of North Carolina, 888.

124 Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, September 1736. Saunders and Clark, *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 25, 225.

125 "RICHMOND, July 6. Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Washington, (N.C.) dated June 24," Accessible Archives (http://www.accessible.com). J. Wallace was presumably John Wallace, local entrepreneur and developer of Shell Castle Island.

126 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 30, 63–64.

privateers from their cruises in the West Indian waters.[127]

An economic activity related in various ways to some of those treated here, and in any case central to the early economic development of all of eastern North Carolina, was slavery. We turn to that topic in the next chapter.

127 Hughson, *Blackbeard & The Carolina Pirates,* xiii, xvi, and Hughson, 69–89.

At the Sea's Edge: Slavery, Race and Class in a Maritime World

"Slavery always frayed at the sea's edge," David Cecelski observes in his excellent study of black watermen on the North Carolina coast. As an arresting example of that fraying, he presents the case of Albemarle slave Moses Grandy.[1] Grandy was born in Camden, a few miles northeast of Elizabeth City, around 1786. Camden, adjacent to the tobacco-growing, heavy slaveholding counties along the Virginia border, was the state's smallest port, and was just over 30 percent black. As a child, Grandy had seen one brother sold away and his mother flogged for resisting the sale. He had watched another brother be flogged and die. While still a child, he had been hired out to (and starved and beaten by) a number of masters. Later he watched helplessly as his own wife was sold away from him.[2]

Because there was a good market for labor in shipping and crafts, the labor of free workers was costly and scarce, slave labor was overabundant on the tobacco plantations (soils were already beginning to be depleted by tobacco growing), and slave owners could use the additional profit, James Grandy and others allowed some slaves, Moses among them, to hire themselves out and keep part of their wages. Grandy crewed a schooner on Albemarle Sound and worked on Dismal Swamp canal boats, living away from the plantation for weeks at a time. At various times, he also captained a canal boat, hiring his own slave crews for the runs between Pasquotank and Norfolk, a bustling port that drew both free and black labor and employed many skilled black artisans. And Norfolk was part of a larger system. Ever since Colonial times, Cecelski points out, Atlantic shipping was characterized by "an unprecedented degree of racial equality"; black seamen constituted 10 to 20 percent of crews on New England vessels engaged in coastwise trade.

Grandy's slave status notwithstanding, his relative freedom to be away from direct supervision, to enjoy social status derived from his skills, and to earn money he could keep allowed him to hope for freedom for himself and his family. And in that he was not different from many commanders and crews on canal boats, barges, and other boats large and small. Any freedom he had or could work to purchase was always conditional, however. Twice he paid the specified price for his own freedom, only to be sold again.[3]

Clearly, if we are to understand slavery and race in the coastal counties and on the Outer Banks, we must frame both within the maritime context. Equally importantly, however, race must be comprehended in relation to class. Fortunately, Paul Escott's seminal work on class in North Carolina during the latter half of the nineteenth century offers insight into this complicated relationship. Escott argues that however fundamental race is and has been to understanding the state's history, "class purposes" and class divisions were even more fundamental—to the establishment and operation of the slave system, to the state's ambivalent relationship to the Confederacy and to its often commented upon "internal war," to the process of reconstruction, and to the reemergence of race-biased policy and institutions thereafter.[4]

1 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 36. This brief sketch of Grandy is drawn from Cecelski, 31–56.

2 Moses Grandy, *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave in the United States of America* (1843; Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996), 8–24 (electronic ed., http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/grandy/menu.html).

3 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 36–39.

4 Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), xv–ix and *passim*.

In this chapter, we explore the relationship between race and class, and the importance of each to the history of the southern Banks and their associated counties. Specifically, we argue that

1. However special or "isolated" the Outer Banks have been argued to be in some respects, the area cannot be understood apart from the race and class dynamics, discourses, laws, and customs of the rest of the state.
2. The structure and character of maritime endeavors have nevertheless at times produced some special configurations of slavery, race, and racial categories and discourse.
3. Sometimes race and class relations (e.g., among mullet fishermen) have been better than relations in the state more generally, and sometimes they have been worse (e.g., among slaves forced to dig canals).
4. Since there were no stable structures or power blocs (as in the plantation system or the textile industry) to hold the racial system steady, it has flexed and adjusted with the shifting economic base (e.g., from shipping to fishing to tourism).
5. Widespread and persistent romanticization of Outer Banks culture has blurred essential features and details of its racial and class system.

Slavery in North Carolina

There were slaves in North Carolina from the outset. The Lords Proprietors tried to encourage slaveholding, giving out land proportionally to the number of people (slave or free) settlers brought with them. Still, slavery grew relatively slowly in North Carolina during the early years; by 1712 there were only about 800 blacks in the entire colony. Between 1730 and 1767, however, the number grew from 6,000 to 40,000. The first federal census (in 1790) listed more than 100,000 slaves in the colony (compared to fewer than 300,000 whites). Even though slaves constituted about a third of the state's population at the opening of the nineteenth century, North Carolina's slave population was far smaller than that of neighboring states. By 1860, when the North Carolina slave population peaked at 331,000, Virginia had about 491,000 slaves, South Carolina 402,000, and Georgia 462,000. These totals gave North Carolina and Virginia about 52 slaves to every 100 whites,

Figure 5-1. Preserved and partly rebuilt slave cabins at Ventosa (Walter Clark home) in Halifax County, ca. 1943. Charles Anderson Farrell collection, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 87-226.

while Georgia had 91, Mississippi 105, and South Carolina 140.[5]

North Carolina's free black population was significant from the 1790s onward, and by 1860, it exceeded that of any other southern state except Virginia. From about 5,000 in 1790, that population had doubled by 1810 and doubled again, to nearly 20,000, by 1830. In 1860 there were more than 30,000 free blacks in the state. The growth had come from immigration, race mixing, and manumission. Of the five towns that had more than 200 free blacks, three were in coastal counties: Wilmington, Elizabeth City, and New Bern (the only town with as much as 20 percent of its population made up of free blacks).[6]

Slave laws in North Carolina were stringent from the beginning. The Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 gave masters absolute power over slaves. By 1715, voting and unauthorized travel were forbidden, as was (of course) miscegenation. Slaves were tried by a jury of slaveholders, and there were public executions. Following the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina in 1739, a new slave code of 1741 tightened restrictions further. Slaves couldn't raise their own livestock, carry arms, or trade with other slaves. Public whipping, neck yokes, and summary hangings were constant threats. A Johnston County slave named Jenny was burned at the stake in 1780

5 John Larkins, *The Negro Population of North Carolina: Social and Economic* (Raleigh: North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1944).

6 Guion Johnson, *Ante-bellum North Carolina a Social History* (Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1937), 582–583.

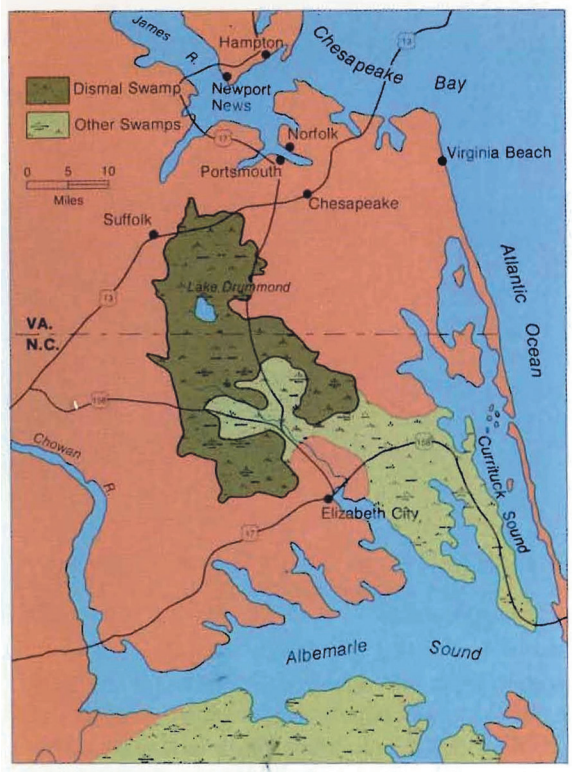


Figure 5-2. Great Dismal Swamp. Clay, et al. *Land of the South*, 80.

for poisoning her master, and slave heads were sometimes displayed on poles as a warning.7

Poisoning a master was extremely risky, obviously, but more subtle forms of resistance were pervasive. Generally provided only the barest of necessities in housing, clothing, and food, slaves supplemented their diets by growing small gardens, hunting, and fishing. Many of the earliest slaves, brought to North Carolina from the West Indies, were already English speakers who could and did use their considerable familiarity with European culture as a basis for resisting, by malingering, theft, purposeful carelessness, dilatory behavior, and flight (with the Great Dismal Swamp a favorite destination). At the same time, slaves were bicultural, and they made good use of their non-European cultural knowledge and practices, such as herb medicines (and poisons), funeral practices, and such cultural

Figure 5-3. Negro baptism at New Bern, ca. 1910. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

observances as Jonkonnu during the Christmas/New Year's season.[8]

Retention of indigenous culture proceeded side by side, however, with efforts (at least from the 1730s onward) to Christianize blacks. Emerging initially from Anglicanism, the evangelizing effort made little progress, but the growth of Methodist and Baptist churches brought more success. John Wesley had denounced slavery by the mid-1780s, and North Carolina Methodists considered forcing slaveholders to manumit as a condition of church membership. Baptists accepted both black and white preachers and permitted slaves to participate in worship. The pace of conversions quickened during the Second Great Awakening (1801–1805), but slaveholders were disturbed by the interracial religious meetings.[9]

Coastal Slavery in the State Context

However pervasive it may have been in North Carolina, slavery was far from homogeneous in distribution across the state. There were generally more slaves in the east than in the west, but the densest concentrations were on the northeastern border, reaching south in a narrow band from Northampton, Warren, and Halifax counties to Jones County, and in Anson and Richmond counties on the central South Carolina border. The greatest concentration was in the rice-growing

7 Paul D. Escott, Flora J. Hatley, and Jeffrey Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, rev. ed. (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2002), 1–11, 21. Kristi A. Rutz-Robbins, "Colonial Commerce: Race, Class and Gender in a Local Economy, Albemarle, North Carolina, 1663–1729" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2003), 202, says that such trade without a master's consent was made illegal by a 1705 law.

8 See Elizabeth A. Fenn, "'A Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign': Slave Society and Jonkonnu," *North Carolina Historical Review* 65 (April 1988), 127–153.

9 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 26–30.

lower Cape Fear. Carteret was anomalous within the eastern counties; its population (like that of many mountain counties) was fewer than 25 percent slaves in 1860, while Cecelski calculated that in 1860 slaves composed 45 percent of the population within the nineteen tidewater counties.[10]

Portsmouth was the only area on the southern Banks ever to have a substantial slave population. By 1790 (almost forty years after its founding), the town had 188 whites, 38 slaves, and 3 free blacks. A decade later, with Shell Castle flourishing, there were fewer whites (142) in the town but more slaves (78). By 1810, there were 225 whites and 115 slaves—about the same number as were there a decade later. The population peaked in 1860, when there were 117 slaves (averaging nine to a house in thirteen slave houses) and 568 whites (living more comfortably with 5–6 per house in 105 houses).[11]

Demographic distribution was more uneven yet. By the end of the eighteenth century, 31 percent of white families owned slaves, but on the eve of the Revolution, nearly two-thirds of the slaves were on large plantations.[12] As late as 1860, 75 percent of white families in New Hanover County owned no slaves at all, and 15 percent owned fewer than ten. The remaining 10 percent of white families owned more than 76 percent of the slaves.[13]

Two historians in particular have examined the substantial differences between coastal area slavery and that of the inland plantations. Robert Outland has analyzed slavery in the naval stores industry, and David Cecelski examined both the extraordinarily brutal treatment of slaves forced to build canals and the unusual freedoms of slave watermen. These cases make it abundantly clear that, as Cecelski argues, tidewater slavery varied greatly from industry to industry and place to place and that there were several distinguishable "maritime worlds."[14]

Slaves forced to build canals through eastern North Carolina swamps had it even worse than those working in other contexts.[15] The first ones brought in specifically for that purpose arrived in 1786 to drain a huge swamp around Lake Phelps in Washington County (the eventual site of the huge and hugely productive Somerset Place plantation). Those slaves "came to know a system of discipline and punishment," Cecelski says, "brutal even by the usual standards of slavery, one almost unique to canal sites." It was a life "so excruciating that some preferred death." Building canals, Cecelski concludes, "was the nightmare of maritime slave life."

The largest canal project was the 22-mile-long Dismal Swamp Canal that connected the Elizabeth and Pasquotank rivers, built between 1794 and 1805 and deepened in the 1820s. Connecting and auxiliary canals followed: a six-mile channel from the Currituck Sound into the Northwest River; a five-mile feeder into Lake Drummond; the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek (later New Berne and Beaufort) Canal (1795–1828); the 40–60foot-wide, seven-mile Mattamuskeet canal, one of several commissioned by the State Literary Fund to raise funds for public education and built by hired slaves (1838–1855); the fourteen-mile Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, 61 feet wide and 8 feet deep, between North River and Currituck Sound (built 1855–1859 with the aid of steam dredge boats); a nine-mile bypass around the Great Falls of the Roanoke River (including a nearly 1,260 ft. cut through solid rock); and numerous others.[16] These extended construction into the late 1850s.

This work was, as Cecelski observes, "the cruelest, most dangerous, unhealthy, and exhausting labor in the American South"—a distinction for which there was considerable competition. Canal-digging slaves contended not only with backbreaking labor, but also with cottonmouths, copperheads, rattlers, mosquitoes, ticks, chiggers, and yellow flies. Diet and housing were unimaginably bad, sexual exploitation of slave women in the camps common,

10 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1048 (map); Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, xii.

11 Burke, *The History of Portsmouth,* 23–59. Population figures given in the Portsmouth Village National Register Nomination differ slightly from these, but reports significantly that in 1790 the town's leading citizen David Wallace, Jr., owned sixteen slaves.

12 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 11.

13 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 18 (Table 10).

14 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, xv.

15 Our brief discussion here is drawn from ibid., 103–117. All unattributed quotations are from this source.

16 For a succinct history of the Clubfoot Creek Canal (1766) between the Neuse River and Old Topsail Inlet, see James E. White, "The Clubfoot Creek Canal," *Journal of the New Bern Historical Society* 19 (May 2006), 3–14. The *North Carolina Business History* website (http://www.historync.org/canals.htm) has numerous maps of these and other canals.

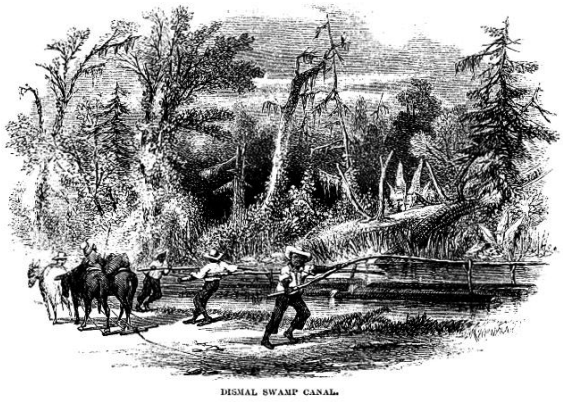


Figure 5-4. Dismal Swamp Canal. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* May 1860, 725.

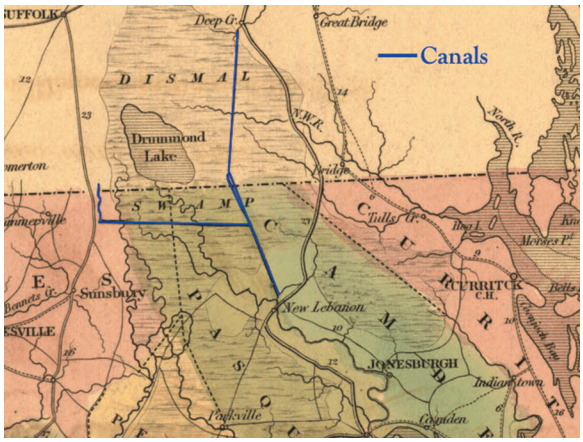


Figure 5-5. Map of Dismal Swamp Canal in 1839. *North Carolina Business History* (http://www.historync.org/images/maps/DismalSwampCanal1839map.jpg).

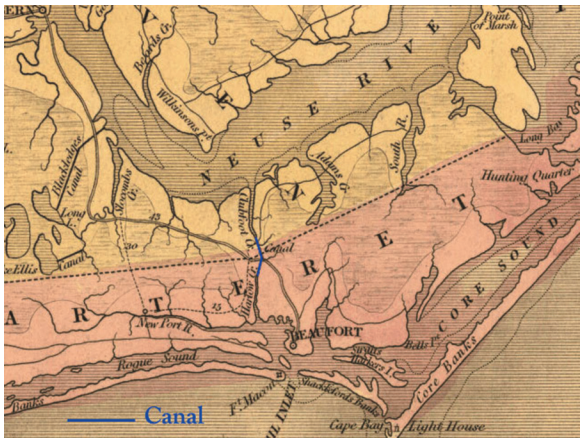


Figure 5-6. Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal, 1839. *North Carolina Business History* (http://www.historync.org/images/maps/Clubfoot-HarloweCanal1839map.jpg).

and escape both unlikely and subject to deadly consequences when attempted unsuccessfully. Discipline was both absolute and brutal. Not surprisingly, new African slaves were sent to the canals to "break" them for later plantation work, and efforts to augment slave labor with hired white labor were generally unsuccessful.

Perhaps only slightly less exploited were slaves in the naval stores industry. Like slaves who built canals, those in the naval stores industry had a considerably harder life than those on inland plantations, Outland has argued.[17] The industry, earlier situated primarily in the Albemarle, shifted south to the Cape Fear in the late 1830s as neglected stands of coveted longleaf pines—part of a vast swath of such trees that once stretched from southeastern Virginia, down through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida and then west through Alabama and Mississippi to the eastern edge of Texas—drew turpentine-makers' attention.[18] Heightened demand caused a dramatic expansion in the industry in the 1840s and 1850s. As early as 1840, some 444 North Carolina tar and turpentine makers were already turning out more than 95 percent of the naval stores produced in the United States, and by 1860 their numbers had grown to 1,114. David Sanders's Palo Alto plantation house in Onslow County, built around 1840, stood at the center of a 9,500-acre turpentine plantation.[19] By the 1850s, Wilmington was the center of the industry.

Naval stores were produced by an "integrated workforce" of both owned and hired slaves (almost all men, but including a few women and children

17 The following discussion is drawn entirely from Robert B. Outland, III, "Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835–1860," *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 1 (1996): 27–56. Outland, 30, points out that the term "naval stores" originally included hemp, flax, masts, spars, planking, tar, and pitch, but that by 1800 it generally referred only to "tar, raw turpentine, and their derivatives—spirits of turpentine, rosin, and pitch."

18 Lawrence Earley, *Looking for Longleaf: The Fall and Rise of an American Forest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). See map on 109 and 131–171 on the destruction of the longleaf pine forests.

19 Catherine W. Bishir and Michael Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 127.

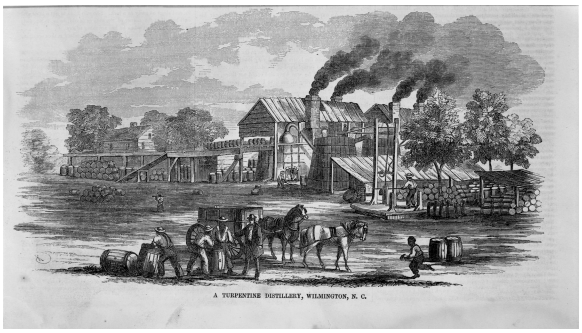


Figure 5-7. Wilmington turpentine distillery, ca. 1850s. Ballou's *Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

Figure 5-8. Carteret County turpentine distillery, 1876. Kell, *North Carolina's Coastal Carteret County During the Civil War,* 12.

as well) managed by overseers or drivers. They were extremely poorly clothed, fed, and housed (frequently in shed-like lean-tos that were moved often) and pushed to the absolute limit of their strength or beyond. The plantation slave's option of supplementing a meager diet by growing a small garden was not available to the forest worker, and drinking water frequently came from streams contaminated by industry operations or even from the highly contaminated resin boxes themselves.[20] Turpentine stills also frequently exploded, with lethal results, and wild animals, snakes, mosquitoes, ticks, and chiggers were ubiquitous, as they were for canal workers.

Organized for the most part by the task system, turpentine slaves generally worked alone in widely spaced locations. Separated from their families, or kept from starting families in the first place, they were lonely and miserable. The hollers they devised to achieve some minimal communication amongst themselves constituted, as Eugene Genovese said, "a piercing history of the impact of hardship and sorrow on lonely black men."[21]

The turpentine industry continued to thrive through the latter decades of the century. Once the lumbermen became aware of the vast stands of longleaf pine, however, they quickly displaced the turpentiners, moving in with their cheap and wasteful methods, and the longleaf was doomed; 150 million board feet shipped out of Mobile, Alabama, in 1896 alone.[22]

Of all the maritime slaves, by far the most fortunate (if one can admit the term) were slave watermen.[23] In his study of those watermen, Cecelski argues that several degrees of freedom (however conditional) that were not enjoyed by inland plantation blacks were frequently available to slaves on the coast, and that both the social patterns that emerged during slavery and the culture that developed in the later maritime economy have to be understood in terms peculiar to that history and economy. Cecelski's analysis of black watermen (and hence of race and black-white relations in coastal maritime culture) ranges from Moses Grandy and his fellow slave boatmen to slave fishermen from tidewater plantations; to slave and free blacks in the shad, rockfish, and herring fisheries; to slave canal builders; to slave watermen who helped other slaves negotiate water routes to freedom; to black pilots who guided Union vessels into Beaufort early in the Civil War.[24]

Slaves skilled as river pilots could be away from their masters for weeks at a time, but far more numerous were slave fishermen. Slaves fished seasonally, Cecelski explains, after crop chores were done. A slave fishermen might fish alone and for himself, or with others, to improve his own

20 Outland, "Slavery, Work, and Geography," 52–53, points out that, although it was not understood at the time, turpentine is "a local irritant and central nervous system depressant." Ingesting it or breathing the fumes could produce a variety of gastrointestinal and respiratory problems.

21 Genovese quoted in Outland, "Slavery, Work, and Geography," 46.

22 Earley, *Looking for Longleaf*, 148, says that the industry peaked in 1909 and declined steadily thereafter. Mobile figure from Earley, 162.

23 This discussion is drawn from Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 50–76.

24 Especially notably, Cecelski also includes the indomitable black radical Abraham Galloway, born of a slave mother and a planter's son, who came to be the most important African American leader during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Ibid., 181.

family's diet, for barter, or for his master. Some masters sent slave gangs long distances to fish. "Command over fishing skills and the relative freedom of a fishing beach," Cecelski says, "could alter the usual dynamics of power between slaves and masters." The activity exposed slaves to other African American maritime laborers and to a more cosmopolitan social system than they would otherwise have encountered.

Such slaves met and interacted with other black mariners from all over the eastern seaboard, as well as from Dutch, British, French, Spanish, and Danish colonies in the Caribbean. In such a setting, they inevitably developed a broader cultural and political awareness and perspective. That awareness positioned slaves, and black watermen in particular, to focus antislavery and insurrectionary sentiment. There was a strong and persistent pattern, Cecelski argues, "of black watermen serving as key agents of antislavery thought and militant resistance to slavery."

The Historical Dynamics of Slavery and Race

The slightly more than century-long (1753–1867) rise and decline of Portsmouth, during which both white and black populations waxed and waned, reminds us that slavery and racism—as legal and demographic facts and as cultural and discursive categories—were never static in coastal North Carolina. However stable some of their structures and features appeared to be in particular sectors (canal building, naval stores production, slave watermen) for various periods of time, one must comprehend the patterns of slavery and racism as they change from decade to decade, period to period. The balance of this chapter is devoted to chronicling those changes, within the state at large and the coastal region.

The Revolution and Its Aftermath

The racial situation in North Carolina, including the coastal counties, during the Revolution and the decade following was tense and perilous. It was generally understood that the south's large slave population rendered it vulnerable to race-based civil disturbance as the Revolution approached. There were persistent fears that slaves would revolt, align themselves with pirates, or instigate a war.[25]

Already in 1774, the North Carolina Provincial Congress barred further importation of slaves, the first of several pieces of legislation passed between 1774 and the 1808 that restricted importation of slaves into North Carolina.[26] Wilmington's Committee of Safety twice ordered West Indian slaves to be deported, and by June 1775 had disarmed all blacks, an action Governor Martin refused to extend statewide because of the potential need for troops. Even after black Continental troops distinguished themselves at the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775, southern states continued to resist arming blacks, and fears of slave revolt spread over the South. As it turned out, blacks fought on both sides during the war, and took steps to gain their freedom. Those actions, historians have observed, "shook southern society to its foundations."[27]

Leaders among the slaves themselves were well aware of the window of opportunity that seemed to be opening. Slaves in Pitt County planned to revolt in July 1775, but the plot (which had originated in Beaufort County) was discovered. More than forty blacks were jailed; five were whipped and had their ears cropped. The situation in Virginia was even worse where blacks comprised half of the 2,000 troops in Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment.[28] North Carolina continental troops engaged them in the Battle of Great Bridge near Norfolk in December 1775, ending the threat of a slave insurrection in northeastern North Carolina. Slaves nevertheless continued to defect to the British in large numbers. Those defecting in the Cape Fear area were organized into the Black Pioneers company; Admiralty muster rolls in 1776 contained the names of many black defectors. In May, the state's Fourth Provincial Congress

25 Ibid., 14.

26 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1047. The Encyclopedia's article on slavery in North Carolina, written by Jeffrey Crow, notes that another ban on slave importation in North Carolina was passed in 1786, and yet others in 1794 and 1795. The 1795 law expressly banned importation of slaves by immigrants from the West Indies out of fear of a spreading rebellious sentiment.

27 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 31. Unless otherwise indicated, our précis of race and race relations during this period is drawn from this source.

28 Ibid., 33–35.

debated how to stop the flood of blacks into British ranks.

"Wherever the British marched," historians have observed, "slaves followed." Instigating a slave rebellion became official British policy, and in June 1779, Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded the British army in America, promised in his Phillipsburg Declaration that any deserting black would have "complete security" behind British lines. He later recommended that emancipated slaves be given lands taken from rebellious Americans. Cornwallis's invasion of the Carolinas in 1780-1781 led to mass defections by slaves, whom Cornwallis used to support, maintain and feed his army, taking food and other needed supplies from sequestered plantations.

The situation with regard to slaves after the war was over was confusing at best. County courts continued to be in control of manumission. Southern whites blamed religious dissenters (Quakers were a major target) and "outside agitators" for the troubles with blacks. After great insurrections took place in the Caribbean in the early1790s, a 1795 law specifically forbade importation of any more slaves above fifteen years of age from the West Indies, for fear that the insurrectionary sentiment would spread.

A black preacher in Pasquotank County was accused of fomenting revolt when his collusion with black guerilla Tom Copper was discovered. Copper himself led a half-dozen blacks in a daring raid on the Elizabeth City jail to liberate slaves being held there. Another slave plot was discovered in Bertie County on 2 June 1802; more than forty blacks were either hanged, deported, or were whipped and had their ears cropped. Fears spread throughout the state. More than 100 slaves were jailed in Martin County, and two were hanged.

Such fears were not unfounded. Black bateaumen on Virginia rivers "had been implicated among the main conspirators in both Gabriel's Rebellion in 1800 and even more so in the Easter Plot of 1802," Cecelski explains, and through their travel on the rivers they spread insurrectionary plans through southeastern Virginia and into northeastern North Carolina. African American watermen, "posed a constant danger to the power of slaveholders. They covertly linked slaves throughout the Albemarle Sound vicinity," sending messages up and down the rivers, spreading "political news and democratic ideologies from as far away as New England, France, and Haiti into local slave communities." Slave fishermen on the Albemarle Sound played a central role "in building a regional African American culture and in holding together the antislavery movements that percolated through the Albemarle." New Bern and Beaufort became "the central points for black political organization in North Carolina"[29] As we have seen in the discussion of trade through Ocracoke Inlet, slaves on the water in this period would have had ample opportunity for contact with sailors (white and black) coming and going to the West Indies—a major destination for the ships of John Gray Blount (see Chapter 2).

The War of 1812

What happened to slaves and blacks during the War of 1812 has not generated much commentary, but Sarah Lemmon's *Frustrated Patriots* provides a few relevant details. Free "men of color" made a few gains during the brief war, Lemmon observes. They were initially prevented from enlisting in the militia except as musicians, but the Militia Act of 1814 allowed them regular enrollment so long as their color was specified.

Blacks' most important role (albeit unofficial) during the war, Lemmon says, "was in the creation of fear on the part of the white man" over the ever-present potential for insurrection. Indeed, the first arms placed in the arsenal at Fayetteville in 1790 were for the purpose of suppressing "insurrection among the blacks." During the War of 1812, citizens of New Bern, says Lemmon, "declined to hire out their slaves to build a fort on Beacon Island lest the British come and take them off." At least two general alarms spurred by fears of insurrection accompanied the British landing at Ocracoke, and a runaway slave apprehended in Beaufort reported that an uprising was in the works in the western end of the county.[30]

29 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 45, 56, 81, 96, 191.
30 Sarah Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots; North Carolina and the War of 1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 196–197.

Slavery in the Nineteenth Century

At length, the racial irony of the Revolution became clear: the ideology of freedom and independence had washed over racial boundaries. For the next nearly three-quarters of a century, those boundaries were maintained only with increasingly tight legal restrictions, local repression, and (at critical moments) campaigns of terror.[31]

Conditions in North Carolina as the century turned were not propitious for slave revolts, but slave numbers were growing rapidly. The approximately 100,000 slaves listed in the 1790 census jumped to 140,000 by 1800. Despite escalating prices (field hands that had cost $300 in 1804 brought $800 in 1840 and $1,500 to $1,700 in 1860), numbers continued to grow.[32] By 1860 there were more than 362,000 slaves, representing over 36 percent of the population. Large numbers of slaves were concentrated in Brunswick and New Hanover counties, where they provided hard stoop labor in the swampy, mosquito-infested fields of the rice plantations. Many others spent their lives in tobacco fields on the state's northeastern border.

Both men and women slaves lived in execrable dwellings, wore rough clothing, ate monotonous and nutritionally deficient food, and worked (pregnant or not) "sun to sun" under feared overseers. Whippings were universal; 39 lashes were considered "moderate" and 100 were not uncommon. Ears and toes were cut off as punishment, and runaways could have their Achilles tendons severed. Forced separations of families were commonplace, but "Oppression drew the slaves together," Escott, Crowe and Hatley observe, "and knowledge of their African origins strengthened the bonds between them."[33] As they had long done, slaves resisted in every way available to them: stealing, doing less than their best work, or (despite the dire risk) fleeing. Religion offered some consolation and support, as did some native rituals, beliefs and cultural practices.

As early as 1829, North Carolina-born Boston clothier David Walker (1785–1830) issued his famous *Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World,* denouncing slavery, urging blacks toward full freedom, and rejecting the colonization schemes widely being advocated at the time.[34] Copies soon appeared in Fayetteville and Wilmington, but within a year Walker himself was dead amid suspicious circumstances. Rebellion was nevertheless afoot in many locations. Less than a year after Walker penned his manifesto, Nat Turner launched his ill-fated operation in Virginia's Southampton County, which shared a border with North Carolina's Hertford and Northhampton counties.[35]

As the early decades of the century passed, laws restricting slaves' freedom continued to tighten in North Carolina, as they did virtually everywhere else in the South. New laws in 1826 and 1830 forbade teaching slaves to read or write. An 1835 law stripped free blacks of voting rights and of the right to own or control a slave (hence removing the opportunity for free blacks to buy their families' freedom). Patrollers were given wide discretion in dealing with runaways, and the power of masters, Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin wrote, had to be absolute "to render the submission of the slave perfect."[36]

In coastal North Carolina, however, the laws were frequently and systematically subverted by black watermen and the networks they constructed and nurtured. From newspaper accounts, slave narratives, diaries, court records, and travelers' accounts, Cecelski has reconstructed key details.[37] The coastal route to freedom was well known on inland plantations, and slaves fled down the rivers toward coastal ports—following the Cape Fear to Wilmington, the Neuse and Trent to New Bern, the Tar to Washington, and the Roanoke to Plymouth. Albemarle area slaves headed north to Norfolk or Portsmouth through the Dismal Swamp. Escaping slaves relied on maritime blacks as informers, messengers, and collaborators. Indeed it was through Edenton that Harriet Jacobs (1813–1897),

31 This brief recital of salient details is drawn, unless otherwise indicated, from Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 48–69.

32 These average prices are from Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina,* 1046–1047.

33 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 51–59, 65.

34 Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles*.

35 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 49–51. A broader consideration of the Civil War itself may be found in our later chapter on wars.

36 Ibid., 49.

37 This brief summary of watermen's resistance to slavery is drawn from Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 123–148, which is the source of all quotations.

author of one of the premier slave narratives, escaped in 1842.[38] During the early decades of the century, laws governing the treatment of runaways (and of those giving aid to them) were made more severe, and both slaves and free blacks in black-majority Wilmington were forced to wear identification badges.

The Civil War and Reconstruction

The Civil War ended slavery, but also brought "dangers and difficult choices in the uncertain new world of freedom," Escott, Crowe, and Hatley conclude in their trenchant survey of the period.[39] When war broke out, some slaves were forced to accompany their masters (or masters' sons) into battle as servants, or to build fortifications, but some 7,000 slaves fled and enlisted in the Union army. Slave watermen provided critical intelligence to Union troops preparing to take Roanoke Island in late 1861 and in April 1862 helped pilot federal troops into Beaufort, which was taken without firing a shot. Other black pilots helped as Union forces took over Fort Macon, and at other points on the Outer Banks. Others commandeered an array of small and large vessels and staged a massive boatlift to carry slaves to federal territory. Similar operations, small and large, had collected some 10,000 contrabands on the coast by mid-1862.[40]

Figure 5-9. "Freed Negroes Streaming Toward Union Lines, New Bern." *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863, 116. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

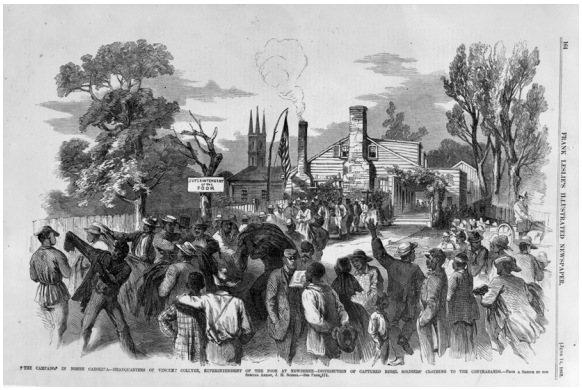


Figure 5-10. Distribution of captured rebels' clothing to contrabands, New Bern, 1862. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 14, 1862, 164. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

As they had at the war's outbreak, some masters tried to block news of emancipation, but blacks moved quickly to assert their new freedom. In Carteret and Craven counties, blacks began their struggle for autonomy very soon after General Burnside's troops landed south of New Bern in March 1862.[41] By January 1865, more than 11,000 freed blacks had congregated in New Bern. Focusing on escape, employment, education, and (for some) enlistment in the Union army, they began to develop an informal economy and moved to rescue still-enslaved friends and family. Those who had skills hired themselves out (many to the Union army), and some established businesses. Northern teachers and freedmen's societies assisted with education, operating makeshift schools in churches, barns, and abandoned plantation buildings. Unfortunately, such moves provoked wrath and retaliation from whites (including racist unionists).

38 Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, (1861; Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003), electronic edition, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/jacobs/menu.html. This website contains links to many related documents.

39 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 71. Unless otherwise indicated, our materials are drawn from 71–93 of this useful study.

40 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 157–158. Cecelski discusses the role of black pilots in Civil War Beaufort at length, 153–177.

41 This brief discussion of the situation in Carteret and Craven counties is based upon Judkin Browning, "Visions of Freedom and Civilization Opening before Thee: African Americans' Search for Autonomy during Military Occupation in North Carolina," in Escott, *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, , 69–100.

But blacks were undeterred. In the fall of 1865, they staged a major convention in Raleigh "to express the sentiments of Freedmen"—"with malice toward none, with charity for all," as one of their banners said. The Freedmen's Convention was attended by 117 delegates from half the state's counties. A carefully worded address they sent across town to a white convention working to revise the state constitution was met with hostility. Hundreds of attacks on blacks followed; three New Hanover County officeholders were charged with beating and shooting blacks. But the Freedmen's Convention took on new life as the North Carolina Equal Rights League.[42]

To proclaim freedom was one thing, but to achieve it was another, as became increasingly clear. Emancipation did not eradicate generations-long class and race prejudice, as Escott reminds us. The South's "massive structure of white supremacy," with its own rituals, emotional attitudes, and prescribed behavioral patterns, proved stubbornly durable. A spate of court cases before and after the war made that abundantly clear. During journalist Whitelaw Reid's tour of the South in 1865–1866, Beaufort citizens told him that black suffrage would be "very obnoxious to the prejudices of nearly the whole population." Each class of whites had their special set of reasons for fearing and resenting blacks.[43]

Such attitudes were soon written into Reconstruction laws, which did not allow blacks to testify against whites in trials, serve on juries, enter into contracts, or keep a gun without a permit. Many whites were determined, as Crow, Escott, and Hatley put it, to "restore as much of the slave regime as possible." Paul Cameron offered his nearly 1,000 former slaves a labor contract that amounted to slavery in all but name; when they rejected it, he decided to force them off his land.

At the national level, President Johnson's appeasement of the pre-war power structure over the objections of Congress led to his impeachment in 1868.[44] Johnson's impeachment seemed to hold promise for North Carolina blacks. The Constitutional Convention of 1868 (which had a 107 to 13 Republican majority and included 15 black delegates) brought an array of changes vital to blacks: direct election of judges, abolishment of property requirements for holding office, dismantling of the elite-dominated county courts, and tax-supported public schools (though separate for blacks and whites). Republicans swept the elections of 1868, bringing reformist William Holden in as governor and taking two-thirds of all seats in the legislature (including twenty blacks). One black was elected county commissioner in New Hanover County, and two out of five elected commissioners in Edgecombe County were black.[45]

From the perspective of the prewar elite, the decade after 1868 brought even worse. "Prominent men of the old elite," Escott observes, "saw their worst nightmare—an alliance among the lower classes of both races—materializing under the protection of the Federal government" as poor whites and blacks turned to the Republican party. Determined to regain their privileges, the elite focused on white supremacy as what a century later would have been called their "wedge issue." Newspapers in eastern counties wrote alarmist articles about "Radicals . . . Stimulating the Negroes to Apply the Torch to our Homes and to take our Property by Force and Violence." The Wilmington *Journal* warned about miscegenation and the integration of juries and schools. Such measures, they insisted, would force poor men and their children "to be demeaned, debased, demoralized and degraded [by a] ruinous social equality . . . . [The] money, position and influence [of the rich] will keep the negro out of their houses, [but] IT IS IN THE POOR MAN'S HOUSE THAT THE NEGRO WILL ATTEMPT TO ENFORCE HIS EQUALITY."[46]

Clearly, conditions for reform were not auspicious in a state financially devastated by the war and still determinedly racist. Democrats resolved to fight reform every step of the way, launching attacks on Republican officeholders and fueling an upsurge in Ku Klux Klan activity. Klan terror and violence (in the form of innumerable beatings, a number of hangings and other killings, burnings of blacks' houses and churches, voter intimidation) were in

42 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 76–79; Escott, *Many Excellent People,* 124.
43 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 113–118.
44 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 79–81.
45 Ibid., 84–87; Escott, *Many Excellent People ,* 142.
46 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 151.

evidence mainly in the piedmont, but especially in counties with large numbers of Republican votes.[47]

Such developments showed clearly, as Escott observes, that "the sentiment of white leaders was virtually unanimous . . . against any significant improvement in the status of black North Carolinians." The social behaviors enforced upon blacks were essentially those of slavery days; those who did not observe them were targets of quick violence. Blacks in Pender County in 1867 "had to submit," Escott says, to an outlaw band who called themselves the Regulators (harking back to the Revolution) or leave the county because "no redress was available." When the national Congress forced the implementation of black suffrage in 1867, white North Carolinians saw it as "the most appalling of all alternaties." The Fourteenth Amendment (ratified in July 1868) was viewed as "an extreme measure designed to embarrass the white race."[48]

Spurred partly by Klan violence, the tide turned against the Republican party and Democrats regained control of the legislature in 1870. They immediately impeached Governor Holden, removed him from office, and passed a series of Constitutional amendments aimed at rolling back Reconstruction. By 1876, the amendments were in place, elite appointed county officials were back in power, and the state had been (as the Democrats claimed) "redeemed" from the horrors of black rule. Only a dozen years after the war ended, the election of 1877 put an end to Reconstruction.[49]

Toward a New South: Black Gains and Losses

Blacks were disappointed in the vacilations of the Republican party at the end of Reconstruction, but with Democrats fully in control of the political apparatus, there was no viable alternative to the Republicans. When the Democratic Party failed to act on programs favored by the progressive, biracial 100,000-member Farmers' Alliance, the Alliance's candidates took votes from the Democrats in the election of 1892 (which the Democrats won anyway, their efforts led by the staunch racist Furnifold Simmons [1854–1940], a native of coastal Jones County).[50]

The election of 1894 turned on the pivotal dynamic of Republican-Populist ("fusion") politics. Fusionists seated seventy-four delegates in the General Assembly to the Democrats' forty-six. Two years later, they elected the very progressive Republican governor Daniel L. Russell, who called for a major increase in taxes on the railroads and declared that people were not "the serfs and slaves of the bond-holding and gold-hoarding classes." Russell placed himself on the side of "the producer and the toiler," not the "coupon-clipper."[51] Fusionist victory brought substantial improvements for blacks in education, local electoral procedures, and taxation.

The vote in these elections in coastal counties reflected both the rise of fusionist politics and (subsequently) a return to Democratic rule as the racist campaign's effects solidified. In the 1895 General Assembly, there were 60 Populists, 56 Republicans (thus a total of 116 Fusionists), and 54 Democrats. In the 1896 election, the Fusionists won 56 percent of the vote statewide, and the Populists by themselves got almost 10 percent.[52] In the coastal counties, Fusionists dominated the election. They got 43 percent of the vote in Currituck, over 59 percent in New Hanover, and nearly 71 percent in Washington. Carteret was on the low end, but Fusionists still won almost 49 percent.

47 Escott, ibid., 155, points out that the KKK was but one of several terrorist organizations active in North Carolina, including the Constitutional Union Guard, the Invisible Empire, and the White Brotherhood. Escott is also careful to point out that KKK members were drawn mainly from the gentry and the middle class.

48 Ibid., 126–134. Escott's reference, 128, to Pender County in 1867 is puzzling; the county was not created until 1875. Presumably he was referring to the northern section of New Hanover County, from which Pender was later carved.

49 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 88–93.

50 The ironies of Democratic / Farmers' Alliance politics in the early 1890s are too complex to engage here. Suffice it to say that the Alliance was paradoxically dominated by white Democrats, estimated to comprise nearly two-thirds of the General Assembly in 1891. Whatever its complexion, the Alliance addressed serious problems faced by farmers (e.g., the crop-lien system and scarce credit).

51 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 249.

52 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 898. Election results for this and subsequent elections through 1908 are presented in Appendix B.

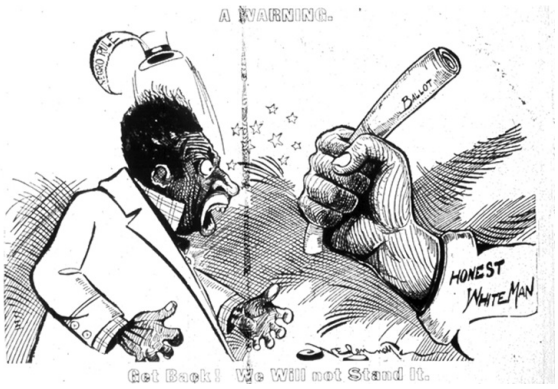


Figure 5-11. Racist cartoon from *Ralegih News and Observer* , August 30, 1898.

Those totals correlated fairly closely with the black/white population ratio. Washington County had 51.4 percent blacks and New Hanover 58 percent, but Currituck only 29 percent. Carteret was second lowest with about 21 percent. Dare County was anomalous, however: with a black population of only 10 percent, it voted 53 percent Fusionist (but with only a single vote for the Populist candidate).[53]

Clearly, Fusionists had made major gains. They controlled 62 percent of the legislative seats in 1894 and 78 percent in 1896 (with over 85 percent voter participation). These outcomes constituted, as Escott says, "a fundamental and severe threat to the traditional [racial and class] order." Josephus Daniels's Raleigh *News and Observer* (joined by other major newspapers) called it lawmaking by "low-born scum and quondam slaves"—worse than Reconstruction because it came from within the state.[54]

True to form, Democrats responded with racist scare tactics. "North Carolina is a WHITE MAN'S STATE," thundered Furnifold Simmons, "and WHITE MEN will rule it."55 Democratic fraud, intimidation, vote stealing, beatings of prominent Republicans, and Red Shirt violence followed.56 Virtually inevitably, the infamous Wilmington race riot of 1898 ensued.57

In the election of 1900, the results of Democratic racist and terrorist tactics were evident. The nonwhite population in New Hanover County had dropped a bit (from 58 to 51 percent), but the Republicans got only 0.1 percent of the vote.[58] Black/white ratios in other coastal counties held fairly steady, but Republican vote percentages dropped dramatically: Washington County, which had previously voted 71 percent Republican, dropped to 37 percent; Onslow County from

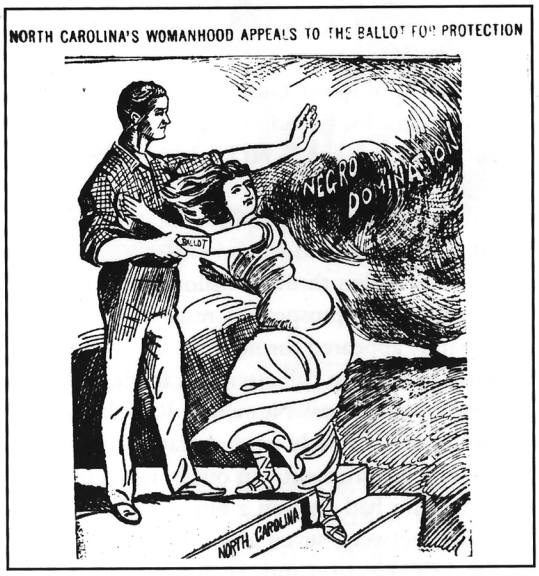


Figure 5-12. "North Carolina's Womanhood Appeals to the Ballot for Protection." *The North Carolinian*, October 13, 1898. Crowe, Escott, and Hatley, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 116.

53 Population statistics are actually from a slightly later date, but presumably are reasonably accurate. *The North Carolina Election of 1898* (http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/1898/1898.html). Voting percentages are from John L. Cheney, *North Carolina Government, 1585–1979: A Narrative and Statistical History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 1981), 1406–1407.

54 Escott, *Many Excellent People* , 249–253.

55 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 255.

56 Ibid., 108, 113–115. The mounted, frequently masked, and armed Red Shirts, centered in eastern counties and with a very strong presence in New Hanover County, were the terrorist wing of the Democratic Party in the elections of 1898 and 1900.

57 Escott, *Many Excellent People,* 254–257. The Wilmington race riot has been written about so voluminously in its postcentennial years that we chose not to review it here. Reliable material on it is easily available. A succinct article is in Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1208–1209. Numerous primary documents are presented on the website *Wilmington 1898: Debunking the Myths* (http://1898wilmington.com/) and in the centennial volume edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). The full text of the Wilmington Race Riot Commission report is available at http://www.history.ncdcr.gov/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm.

58 The Populist Party had begun to decline after 1896 and was only minimally active by 1900.

45 percent to 29 percent (perhaps because of its proximity to New Hanover and the 1898 race riot); Pender County 55 percent to 18 percent (for the same reason, one suspects); Bertie County from 65 percent to 27 percent; Pasquotank County from 64 percent to 38 percent; and Carteret County from 49 percent to 41 percent. Currituck's Republican vote actually rose by 3 percent, but all other counties were down, most of them substantially.[59]

Pushing for a constitutional amendment in 1900 that would deny blacks the vote, white supremacy clubs and Red Shirts threatened and intimidated voters. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Charles B. Aycock led a propaganda campaign that denounced whites who opposed the amendment as "public enemies." Prominent white politician Alfred Moore Waddell of Wilmington advised a crowd of whites that "if you find a Negro voting, warn him to leave . . . . [If] he refuses, kill him, shoot him down in his tracks." Two-thirds of black voters turned out, but the amendment carried (assisted by voting fraud), and the Jim Crow era arrived in full force. The chairman of the House Constitutional Amendments Committee was New Hanover County lawyer George Rountree, who had played a prominent role in the Wilmington race riot of 1898.[60]

By 1904, the electoral situation was even worse. Statewide, Republicans still got 38 percent of the vote, but among coastal counties there was almost no good news to offset the bad. The Republican vote in Pender was down to 11 percent, in Bertie to 10 percent, and in Camden to 8 percent. It dropped to less than 5 percent in Currituck and to 4 percent in New Hanover. Brunswick County (oddly, given its shared border with New Hanover) still gave Republicans 40 percent of its vote, but was joined in its judgment only by Albemarle area counties Dare (45 percent) and Tyrell (41 percent).[61]

Especially in view of the stubborn durability of racial attitudes in the state, Democratic social and electoral tactics, and new legal impediments introduced following the "separate but equal" *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling in 1896, blacks still managed to make substantial gains during post-Reconstruction years. Focusing their efforts around themes of building black organizations, working for racial uplift, and increasing racial diversity, blacks formed many organizations for self-improvement and mutual support, some purely social, some service-oriented or benevolent: the Royal Knights of King David, the United Order of True Reformers, the Household of Ruth for women, the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Good Templars, the Sons of Ham. Other black organizations, especially the North Carolina Teachers Association and the North Carolina Industrial Association, worked for specific changes. The former focused on improving black education. The latter promoted economic rather than political progress, establishing an Industrial Fair that became the most popular social event for blacks in the mid-1880s.[62]

Another progressive dynamic was the rise of a black middle class. Editor William C. Smith of the black-owned *Charlotte Messenger* was a strong voice for nonpolitical uplift efforts. Groups of black businessmen emerged, especially in Raleigh and Durham. One such group attempted

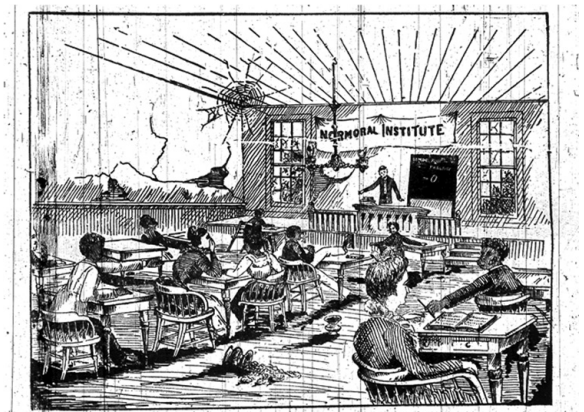


Figure 5-13. "A 'White Man's Party' Democrat Normal Institute in Duplin County." Cartoon. Supplement to The Progressive Farmer, October 25, 1898. The North Carolina Election of 1898. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

59 Correlations between vote and black/white population figures are not especially significant.

60 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 115–117, 259.

61 For exact percentage totals, county by county and year by year, see Appendix B.

62 Escott, Hatley and Crow, *A History of African-Americans in North Carolina*, 96–101.

(unsuccessfully, as it turned out) to develop the Wilmington, Wrightsville, and Onslow Railroad.[63]

At the national level, electoral gains for blacks were modest in the election of 1882, but not completely lacking. New Bern, in the so-called "Black Second" Congressional District, sent James E. O'Hara to Congress (1883–1887), followed by George H. White (1897–1901).[64]

Jim Crow and Civil Rights

The hard-fought and violent Democrat/Fusionist struggle of the post-Civil War era made abundantly clear that cultural values, social mores, and long-established, elite-based political alignments would not tolerate any general or durable relaxation of racial categories and practices. Between 1900 and the advent of World War II, Escott, Hatley, and Crow argue, North Carolina was "hostile to [the] civil rights [of blacks] and unyielding in its devotion to white supremacy," especially with regard to voting rights, education, and public accommodations. Black landownership peaked around 1920; the number of black farmers, the amount of land they owned, and the number of black agricultural workers all declined thereafter. Between 1910 and 1930, 57,000 blacks left the state; 220,000 more followed between 1930 and 1950. Eighteen counties had black majorities in 1900; half that many remained in 1940. By every social indicator (property values, earnings, housing, death rates), blacks ranked well below whites.

In 1933, a state study of racial attitudes among public officials in thirty-eight counties showed racism to be nearly universal. The superintendent of public welfare in Beaufort County criticized a Catholic school in Washington because nuns treated blacks and whites equally. "It makes them too biggety, and they forget their places," he said, agreeing in essence with a Burke County official who succinctly declared, "Educate a Negro and you ruin a good servant."[65]

The Depression was particularly hard on blacks, whose pre-Depression circumstances were already so far inferior to those of whites, especially with regard to education. Pasquotank County native and director of the Department of Public Instruction's Division of Negro Education Nathan Carter Newbold (1871–1957) reported that conditions within black education were "pathetic," with up to 100 students in some classrooms, a high school graduation rate at 7 percent, and a thousand teachers who were not themselves high school graduates; black teachers were paid 25–30 percent less than white teachers.[66]

63 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 179. On Pennsylvania native T. Morris Chester (1834–1892), who served as president of the company, see http://www.afrolumens.org/rising_free/lincoln/chester02.html. Another principal was Virginia native and Wilmington resident John Holloway, a post office clerk and director of the Metropolitan Trust. He served as a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1887–1889. See *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2006), Appendix A: Biographical Sketches (http://www.history.ncdcr.gov/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm). For the act of incorporation for the railroad, see *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina . . . 1879* (Raleigh, NC: The Observer, State Printer and Binder, 1879), Chapter 286, 454–457. The incorporating act specified (457) that the state would furnish fifty convicts (no doubt many of them would have been black) to assist in construction. Sec. 5 of the act authorized the corporation to purchase outstanding stock of the Wilmington and Seaside Railroad Company, incorporated in 1869. William P. Cannady was listed as a principal of both companies. Neither T. Morris Chester nor John Holloway was among listed principals. Earlier (in March 1870) Cannady had been involved in incorporating the Cape Fear Building Association "for the purpose of facilitating the procuring of homesteads by persons of limited means, and especially by mechanics and laboring men." *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina*, Chapter 91, 150–152. Whether this was a black-owned company cannot be discerned from the act itself, but it seems likely, since the language does not specifically exclude blacks from the groups for whom housing was to be built, as it presumably would have had it been white owned. One of this entity's principals, Lawson E. Rice, was a county commissioner in New Hanover County in 1874. See North Carolina Secretary of State, *The Legislative Manual and Political Register of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: Josiah Turner, Jr., State Printer and Binder, 1874), 92–294.

64 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 109. As of 1872, the Black Second consisted of a band of ten counties running southward from the Virginia line on the border of the piedmont: Warren, Halifax, Northampton, Edgecombe, Wilson, Wayne, Greene, Lenoir, Craven, and Jones. No coastal counties were included. For a full discussion of the shape and character of the district, see Eric Anderson, *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872–1901: The Black Second* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 3–33. George H. White was the last southern black to serve in Congress until after the 1960s.

65 Crow, Escott, and Hartley, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 119–140.

66 Ibid., 135–136.

Figure 5-14. Blue Eagle logo of the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

Unfortunately, most New Deal programs were of little benefit to blacks, and some were actively hurtful. The National Recovery Administration (NRA), intended to regulate industrial wages, hours, and prices, did not cover "Negro jobs," some of which were in any case reassigned to unemployed whites. The number of blacks in the tobacco industry dropped precipitously. Similarly, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) was ruinous for many black sharecroppers and tenants. AAA policies forced sharecroppers off the land, and some landlords stole the AAA payment checks they were supposed to share with tenants. Nevertheless, blacks in general supported FDR and moved from the Republican to the Democratic Party. [67]

Not surprisingly, given how little the New Deal had done for North Carolina blacks, John Larkins's 1940 survey for the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare painted a picture that was still grim. Even though some 13,000 blacks had managed to secure work with New Deal programs, and slightly over half of all tobacco workers were still black, other social indicators pointed to profound inequality. There was one physician for about every 1,127 white people, and one for every 6,500 blacks. For dental care the situation was nearly as bad: one dentist to about 3,000 whites, and one for more than 13,000 blacks. The state was spending over $170 per pupil for white schools, but only $57 per black pupil; of more than 1,300 schools that reported having libraries a decade earlier, only 66 were in black schools. Blacks made up 27.5 percent of the population, but more than 50 percent of the prison population and over 80 percent of those executed for their crimes between 1910 and 1943. For eastern counties that still had a black population of more than 50 percent (Edgecombe, Halifax, Bertie, Hertford), these were very serious inequalities. Together with Wake County, New Hanover accounted for more than a third of women prisoners.[68]

World War II helped stimulate a great black exodus from the South; the number of blacks living on the land dropped by half between 1940 and 1960, as more than 2 million blacks migrated to northern and western industrial centers in the 1940s. In some ways, racial tensions heightened. A year after Pearl Harbor, Fisk University's Charles S. Johnson issued his "Durham manifesto," calling for black voting rights, equalization of school facilities and teachers' salaries, unionization of service workers, and equal access to all jobs. The following fall, however, Governor Broughton defended the state's record on racial matters, claiming that segregation was supported by both races, and dismissed demands emanating from the "radical Negro press."[69]

School Desegregation

Despite the fact that there were no children in school at Portsmouth or elsewhere on Core Banks after 1943, it is impossible to understand the racial context of the coastal counties in the mid-twentieth century without discussing school segregation and desegregation.[70] Although much of

67 Ibid., 141–145. The NRA was in any case declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1935.

68 Larkins, *The Negro Population of North Carolina*, 15, 19–39, 50–51.

69 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 145–152.

70 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 122. Portsmouth had had an academy by at least 1822, and perhaps as early as 1805, but there seems little reason to assume that blacks were allowed to attend, since they were excluded from white schools throughout the state for more than a century more. John Mayo may have opened an academy in Portsmouth in 1805. See Philip McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 247–248, and Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 70.

Figure 5-15. Renovated Portsmouth school building (1927). Photo by David E. Whisnant.

the history of schooling on the CALO portion of the Banks involved private schools and academies (as it did in the counties to the west), the four adjacent coastal counties (Dare, Hyde, Pamlico, and Carteret) participated fully in the educational (and thus, racial) history of the rest of the state, and thus helped set the educational, racial, and cultural climate in which Outer Banks students were educated.

As noted earlier, John Mayo, a business associate of both John Wallace and the Blount family on Shell Castle, opened Portsmouth's first school around 1805. The town still had an academy at the time of the Civil War, but as population decreased in the years thereafter, student attendance dropped off as well. The town's first public one-room school building was constructed in 1916 and replaced in 1927 after wind damage. In a photograph from the 1930s now mounted in the restored building, teacher Mary Snead Dixon poses with her two dozen students (eleven boys and thirteen girls). She taught the school's last group of students in 1943.

At Cape Lookout, a fishing village, at first seasonal, but gradually becoming permanent, began to develop in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since families who lived there—Willises, Guthries, Roses, Hancocks, Nelsons, Gaskills, Moores, Styrons—tended to be large, a school was built at some point; it was operating at least from 1900. As of 1900, the community was more populous than Harkers Island, but it declined sharply around 1919; sixteen families were still living there at the time of the 1920 census. The school, in which a teacher from Harkers Island had taught as many as twenty-fve students, closed at the end of the 1919 school year.[71]

On Harkers Island, Bostonian missionary teacher Jenny Bell had opened an academy in a two-story building as early as 1864, but by the turn of the century, island residents had built a one-room building behind the Methodist church for their first public school. A building constructed soon after the Cape Lookout school closed was soon crowded to capacity. Island population grew so rapidly after World War II that by 1957 high school students had to be bussed to a consolidated school in Smyrna.[72]

Thus, schooling on the CALO section of the Outer Banks was rudimentary at best, and it had all ended by 1943, by which time almost all the population had moved to the mainland. The Harkers Island part of the story was better, mostly because steadily growing population pushed the development of public schools on into the twentieth century.

On the adjacent mainland, racial dynamics complicated the story. Before 1900, as numerous commentators have pointed out for the South in general as well as for North Carolina, many religious groups and private organizations, as well as the Freedmen's Bureau, founded and provided funds for black schools. Their efforts shored up a state system that was shabbily inadequate at best. Although the state constitution of 1868 required a "general and uniform system" of free public schools for all children, an 1875 amendment required schools to be "separate but equal." Because funding came from counties and local communities, however, black education was seriously substandard. By 1880, school terms were only four months, and 76 percent of blacks were illiterate (compared with 45 percent of whites). State funds for black schools were not made available until 1897, and another decade passed

71 Dates are uncertain. The census of 1880 was the first to record a community on the Cape. Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination, 8-21–8-25. A small school with a two-month term also operated for a time at Diamond City before the community was destroyed by a hurricane in 1899. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates and John Milner Associates, *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2-11–2-13. This report also indicates that "School was also held on the west end of Shackleford Banks at Wade's Shore," and that by 1921 only two or three families remained in Cape Lookout Village.

72 Garrity–Blake and Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study* , Sec. 6-5-3.

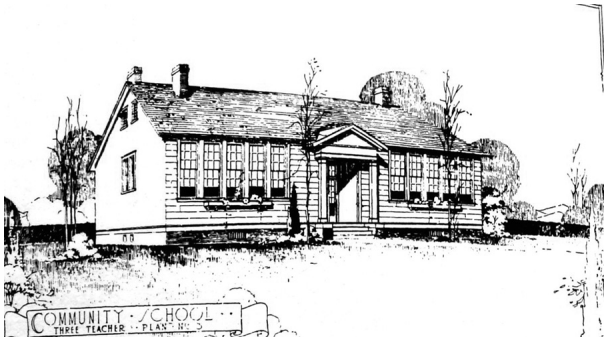


Figure 5-16. Three-teacher Rosenwald School, Plan No. 3. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," 402.

before there were funds for a statewide system. Public elementary schools for blacks began to receive some state funds in 1910, but the first public secondary school for blacks did not open until 1918. High schools came later still.[73]

In the 1920s, the Rosenwald Fund (named for Sears, Roebuck and Company president Julius Rosenwald) embarked on a campaign to build black schools. Approximately 5,300 Rosenwald-funded schools were built in fifteen southern states, 130 of them in nineteen coastal North Carolina counties and 800 statewide, the most in any single state. Carteret County received three Rosenwald schools, but they were located in Beaufort, Morehead, and Newport rather than on the Outer Banks. Confronted by southern racial attitudes and recalcitrant school boards, the Fund did not see the results it anticipated, and the program was shut down in 1932.[74]

By the late 1930s, black activism around the issues of voting rights, education, and lynching was much in evidence. The 1938 *Gaines v. Canada* decision, which challenged the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, required the state of Missouri to admit a black student to its law school. That decision moved other states to act. North Carolina Governor Hoey appointed a Commission on Higher Education for Negroes, which recommended that graduate programs for blacks be established at North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham and at A&T Technical College in Greensboro. The University of North Carolina admitted its first black student in 1955; Duke University followed six years later.[75]

73 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 153–156. See also Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862–1875* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), and Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 65 (October 1988), 387–444. Ehrenhard's *Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 57, reported that before it was destroyed by the great hurricane of 1899, Diamond City had a school that was open three months of the year, though it was presumably open only to white students.

74 Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," 387–388. The Rosenwald schools were quite unevenly distributed among North Carolina counties. Currituck's and Carteret's three each were on the low end; Halifax's forty-six were on the upper end. The schools were also of different sizes and designs; there were sixteen types. North Carolina coastal counties that received Rosenwald schools included Beaufort (6, at Bayside, Chocowinity, Leechville, Pantego, and Riverroad); Bertie (18, including Black Rock, Aulander, Indian Woods, and Roxobel); Brunswick (11, including Leland, Long Beach, Navassa, Pine Level, and St. Johns); Carteret (3, at Beaufort, Morehead, and Newport); Chowan (5, at Green Hall, Hudson Grove, St. John's, Warren Grove, and White Oak); Craven (7, including Bucks, Cove City, Dover, Epworth, James City, and N. Harlowe); Currituck (3, at Coinjock, Gregory, and Moyock); Dare (1, at Roanoke Island); Edgecombe (26, including Acorn Hill, Dixon, Lancaster, Providence, and Tarboro); Hertford (10, including Mill Neck, Mt. Sinai, Murfreesboro, Union, and White Oak); Hyde (2, including County Training and Ridge-Englehard); New Hanover (7, including E. Wilmington, Masonboro, Oak Hill, and Wrightsboro); Onslow (2, at Duck Creek and Marines); Pamlico (4, including County Training, Florence, Holt's Chapel, and Messic); Pasquotank (4, including Elizabeth City, Model Practice, Newland, and Winslow); Pender (15, including Bowden, Canetock, Lillington, Maple Hill, and Vista); Perquimans (2, at Hertford and Nicanor); Tyrell (2, at Alligator and Scuppernong); Washington (2, at Plymouth and Roper) [from Hanchett, Appendix, 428–444]. Unfortunately for our present purpose, Hanchett's case studies of Rosenwald schools focused on Mecklenberg County. The Rosenwald program arrived, of course, as the school-age population in the Cape Lookout area of the Outer Banks was in sharp decline.

75 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 160–163, 173.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954 forced further reevaluation. The Fort Bragg elementary school had already desegregated quietly in 1951, but there were hard times ahead. Even the final report of the Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education, which included some black members, warned that "The mixing of the races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted." Governor Hodges pushed for (and got) legislation that turned over the administration of public schools to the counties and cities, thus removing responsibility from the state. The move was further buttressed by the Pearsall Plan (praised nationally as a "moderate" path between two "extremes"), which urged that white parents who didn't want their children to go to school with blacks could withdraw them and get state grants to send them to private schools.

The statewide atmosphere of defiance proved very resistant to change.[76] David Cecelski's *Along Freedom Road* (1994), focused on local efforts to prevent the closing of two historically black schools in Hyde County, provides more than ample evidence of the pervasiveness in coastal counties of the same kinds and levels of racism as were to be found in the rest of the state.[77] Hyde County's history had been tortured for at least two hundred years. Slaves and convicts had dug its canals, and a fifty-year timber boom (1870–1920) fizzled when the area was logged out. A plan to drain and develop Lake Mattamuskeet had failed, the area had suffered three major hurricanes in less than fifty years (1899, 1933, 1944), and they county's population had been dropping steadily (to below 7,000 by 1950). Industry had passed the county by, as had military-related development that had helped nearby areas. Dilapidated buildings marked the sites of abandoned towns, and most commercial buildings in the county seat of Swan Quarter were vacant. Ninety percent of the land was owned either by the federal government or by timber and agribusiness corporations. Poverty was worse in Hyde County than in all but two of North Carolina's one hundred counties.

Hyde County blacks were the worst off of all. In 1950, no black family in the entire county had running water or an indoor toilet, and whites (only a third of whom had these luxuries) conspired to keep it that way. Blacks could neither buy land nor get jobs except seasonal ones in agriculture and seafood. The local social order was Jim Crow throughout, and violent attacks on blacks were fresh in local memory.[78] In order to counter these racist dynamics, local blacks had created an array of community self-help organizations, but open dissent seemed too dangerous to attempt, though a chapter of the NAACP had been organized.

Already in the early 1950s, NAACP lawsuits had emerged in Pamlico and other eastern counties, and Hyde County officials saw the handwriting on the wall. In a long belated "separate but equal" effort to avoid desegregation, Hyde County's white school leaders made dramatic improvements to black schools. But blacks weren't buying the ploy.[79]

Cecelski's principal argument is that in the 1960s and 1970s, in order to desegregate the state's schools, white officials closed down black institutions in a wholesale manner, and that whatever benefits accrued to blacks as a result of integration in Hyde County and elsewhere, the associated costs were high. The desegregation process devastated leadership, school cultures, and "educational heritage" in the affected communities. Black school principals and school administrators virtually disappeared, and more than 3,000 black teachers lost their jobs. Meanwhile, black students frequently found their new circumstances in white school markedly inferior to those in their old schools: in their new schools, they faced hostility from white students, racially biased discipline, segregated bus routes, racially based tracking into less desirable courses, and low academic expectations.[80]

The costs reached well beyond the school system itself. The Ku Klux Klan emerged again in Hyde County, which was included in the KKK's

76 Ibid., 166–173. On the Pearsall Plan, see David Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 24–27.

77 Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road*. Our brief précis of these events is drawn from this source unless otherwise indicated. We make no claim for the typicality of Hyde County, but the relative absence of similarly detailed studies for other coastal counties makes Cecelski's work especially valuable.

78 Ibid., 17–22.

79 Ibid., 23–30.

80 Cecelski details these dynamics in Hyde County, ibid., 32–39.

"Province 1." By the mid-1960s, the Klan was borrowing stature from men with considerable local standing, and as many as 500 whites were attending its rallies. "Communistic" and "anti-Christian" desegregation was the basis of wide appeal. Significant KKK rallies stretched through more than two dozen locations in eastern counties, from Jones County all the way to Moyock on the Virginia border.[81]

Hyde County students and their parents understood the whole array of these costs. Black/white political conflict grew markedly from 1966 onward. For an entire year (1968–1969), black students (representing 60 percent of the school population) expressed their anger—and their objections to the closing of the two local black schools—by refusing to attend school at all.[82] One of the two closed schools was O. A. Peay, which, Cecelski says, was "a source of inestimable pride to Hyde County blacks and [a symbol of] their aspirations for education and racial advancement"[83]

The furor over the school closings attracted the attention of Golden Frinks, whom Cecelski calls "the most important civil rights organizer in eastern North Carolina in the 1960s" and the leader of the remarkably effective Edenton Movement for civil rights in 1961, which drew its participants from poor, uneducated, rural people (unlike other such movements, which were composed largely of college students). In September 1968, Frinks led fifteen hundred blacks in a march in Swan Quarter. Other marches and protest meetings followed almost daily, becoming more and more confrontational. Many children began to attend "movement schools" organized in local churches, and many protesters went to jail—so many that some had to be sent to jails many miles away.

Marches to Raleigh followed in 1969, by which time Hyde County had become the focus of much of the civil rights activity in the state. Conflict and negotiations dragged into 1970, when at last an agreement was reached to operate both the two black schools and the previously white Lake Mattamuskeet school, converting all three to integrated schools.[84]

In the months that followed, the Hyde County episode spilled over into Wilmington, in what developed into the nationally famous Wilmington 10 case. In 1971, one hundred students gathered at Gregory Congregational United Church of Christ to protest the closing of an all-black high school in Williston in Carteret County. Black students demanded that the school be reopened as an all-black school, that a course on black history be designed for Wilmington schools, and that Martin Luther King's birthday be officially celebrated.

One of many available snapshots of subsequent events captures the essence of the social turmoil that ensued:

> [T]wo downtown businesses were burned, and there was evidence of other arson attempts. African American activists were blamed for the incidents. Members of the Ku Klux Klan and a group called The Rights of White People began to patrol downtown Wilmington armed and openly hostile to the boycotting students and their leaders. On the night of 6 February 1971, several fires were set, and a small downtown grocery store was firebombed. When firemen reported to the scene, they were shot at by snipers on the roof of the Gregory Congregational Church, in which . . . a number of students were barricaded. Two people were killed and several were injured during the battle that raged that night and into the next day. Finally, on February 8, National Guardsmen forced their way into the church only to find it empty.[85]

The local Board of Education sought a restraining order against the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which had set up a Wilmington office in 1971 and was helping to focus opposition to segregation. The battle continued for many weeks. Eventually nine black men and one black woman (the "Wilmington 10") were arrested for an alleged firebombing. They were tried,

81 Ibid., 37–41. A map of the principal Klan rally sites is on 38.

82 Ibid., 7–9.

83 Cecelski details the history of O. A. Peay School, as well as the controversy over its closing, in ibid., 59–82. Quotation is from 68.

84 Ibid., 161. Cecelski provides a carefully detailed account of this period, *Along Freedom Road,* 83–161.

85 "February 1971—The Wilmington 10," http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/nchistory/feb2005/index.html; accessed March 24, 2009).

Figure 5-17. Logo for the Free the Wilmington Ten campaign.

convicted, and sentenced to more than twenty years each in prison. Higher courts turned down their appeals, and in 1978 Governor James Hunt refused to pardon them. Their sentences were finally overturned by a federal court of appeals in 1980.[86]

The Hyde County, Carteret County, and Wilmington events were mileposts in a long statewide and national process. In North Carolina, segregation was both pervasive (extending even to the Bibles used for swearing in in courts) and stubbornly ingrained socially, culturally, politically, and legally. Protests against these conditions began decades before the turbulent 1950s and 1960s. As early as 1932, black ministers refused to participate in the dedication of War Memorial Auditorium in Raleigh, and in 1938 students in Greensboro initiated a theater boycott that spread to other locations. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) emerged in 1942, and a short time later organized an interracial bus trip to challenge the *Morgan v. Virginia* decision of 1946.[87] Riders were arrested in Durham, Chapel Hill, and Asheville, in an action that became a model for the freedom rides of the 1960s. The NAACP sponsored some school boycotts in the 1940s, and a sit-in at an ice cream parlor in Durham followed in 1957, three years before the much more famous Woolworth's sit-in in Greensboro.

As citizen actions both for and against segregation multiplied in the early 1960s, Governor. Terry Sanford in 1963 organized a biracial Good Neighbor Council and urged mayors and county commissioners to emulate its model at the local level. The NAACP's Legal Defense fund represented blacks in desegregation suits, but threats from the KKK continued and four activists' homes were bombed in Charlotte. Nationally, the March on Washington, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Martin Luther King's 1968 Poor People's Campaign increased the pressure for change.[88] In North Carolina, however, desegregation was not complete until the 1970s.[89]

Race, Class, and Work: The Menhaden Industry

In late November of 1990, *New York Times* music critic Jon Pareles sat in the audience at a New York recital hall and watched as ten men in dark suits and hats filed onstage. They sat in a semicircle, he wrote, "singing in sumptuous gospel harmony and regularly leaning forward to pull in an imaginary fish net." They were the Menhaden Chanteymen from Beaufort, North Carolina, "members of the last generation to pull in by hand nets holding thousands of menhaden." Since the 1960s, Pareles explained,

> the oily fish . . . [have] been harvested with power winches, but the songs that rallied the fishermen's strength have survived. . . . They are call-and-response songs, paced like slow-rolling sea swells. A single voice or two in harmony sing a line that is answered by the full chorus . . . with lyrics about the work, the weather, harsh captains and women back on shore. After each verse, the men pulled with a burst of chatter and exhortations like "Let's get the fish up!"

86 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 204–205.

87 *Morgan v. Virginia* is a landmark (but often overlooked) case in civil rights law. In July 1944 in Gloucester County, Virginia, nearly ten years before the celebrated Rosa Parks case, Irene Morgan challenged the Jim Crow law requiring separate seating on public conveyances. On June 3, 1946, the Supreme Court struck down the Virginia law. *Encyclopedia of Virginia* (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2009), http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Morgan_v_Virginia_1946.

88 Escott, Hatley, and Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 199–203.

89 Ibid., 172.

The songs are functional, but away from the waves and sweat, they stand on their own. The lead singers—John Jones, Leroy Cox and John Bell—had voices full of rough-hewn dignity and gentleness. . . . The cooperation that made it possible to harvest menhaden with muscle power shines through the music.[90]

But it wasn't in fact all cooperation, though there had to be a lot of it. How race (and class as well) actually played out among menhaden fishermen in coastal North Carolina is the subject of Barbara Garrity-Blake's study of race relations in the industry.[91]

The roots of the industry lay in New England, where most fishermen were white, the cooperatively organized fishing groups were small, and the catch was shared equally, usually in the form of fish put directly on the fields as fertilizer. However, a new way to extract menhaden oil (used in paint, soap, miners' lamps, and tanning) was discovered about 1850, exciting the interest of profit-hungry entrepreneurs and setting the stage for later industrialization of the enterprise. By 1860, the first menhaden-cooking factories appeared, driven partly by the increasing scarcity of whale oil. Near-shore fishing declined, replaced by large offshore schooners and sloops served by net-setting purse boats and seines. Faster and bigger steamer vessels followed in the 1870s; by 1895, the last sail craft in the industry had disappeared. The costs of running the steamers in turn drove vertical integration in the industry, squeezing out small operators. At the turn of the century, production (now mostly of fish meal) skyrocketed as the number of factories declined. The predominantly white labor of the early days was slowly replaced by displaced whaling crewmen and then by Portuguese immigrants, both on the steamers and in the onshore processing factories.[92]

The closing years of the century saw the ominous depletion of the menhaden waters of New England, and the push south began. By the end of the century, Garrity-Blake observes, "both black and white men of coastal Virginia and North Carolina were hired by newly arrived, Yankee-owned fish oil factories." Fabulously successful Maine menhaden industrialist Elijah Reed led the way with his Chesapeake factories (located in Reedville, Virginia), but many others followed. By 1907, ten factories in Beaufort, Morehead City, and Southport employed 500 workers and were processing 57 million pounds annually.

Early workers in the Virginia factories were mainly white immigrants sent down from Baltimore, but further south the work force shifted fairly quickly to southern blacks. Whites kept the upper-level managerial jobs, however, and (as usual) blacks got the lower-level (crewman and processing) work.

Over the next several decades, as southerners replaced northerners as factory owners and managers and new technology made the industry less labor intensive, a "better mixture" of black/white labor emerged and the racial line "became less rigid." One reason was that whites and blacks experienced a degree of equality in that both were "wage laborers for alien industrialists." As the decades passed, Garrity-Blake discovered, race relations aboard menhaden vessels came to exhibit a "unique quality." Those relations, she argues, "were no simple matter of domination and subordination," but rather a situation "of mutual dependency between [almost always white] captains and [largely black] crewmen, with power at both ends of the hierarchy." Captains knew how to find the fish, and crewmen knew how—by harmonizing their efforts (literally, through song) and fusing their strength—to corral them and get them into the boat.[93]

On the large mechanized boats, tasks became less and less specialized. Older task-based distinctions

90 Jon Pareles, "Chanteys and Chants of the South," *New York Times*, November 20, 1990 (http://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/29/arts/review-folk-chanteys-and-chants-of-the-south.html). Carteret County's Menhaden Chanteymen were brought back together after thirty years through the fieldwork of folklorists Mike and Debbie Luster in 1988. The Chanteymen subsequently performed for the North Carolina General Assembly and in the New York concert Pareles attended and received the North Carolina Folk Heritage Award from the North Carolina Arts Council (http://www.coresound.com/fa-menhaden.htm).

91 Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*. Our précis is drawn from this source.

92 Ibid., 4–14.

93 Ibid., xvii–xxi, 1. Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, notes (58) that on the rare occasions when white crewmen were hired, captains viewed them disparagingly. For an extended discussion of the captains' status markers and self-understanding, see *The Fish Factory,* 65–85.

disappeared, so that "[b]y the 1950s, crewmen were largely an undifferentiated group, defined . . . in opposition to vessel officers." Captains' annual wages were from two to four times higher than those of crewmen.[94] Experience was less relevant, but race was not. In 1915, Garrity-Blake reports, captains, mates, pilots, firemen, and engineers were white, but deckhands and cooks were black. Officers and crew ate at separate tables and slept in separate quarters. Onshore, segregation prevailed as well. In Beaufort, black crewmen, especially seasonal workers from Virginia, were carefully confined to the "nigger section," while industrialists and captains built sumptuous homes on Front Street.[95] The crude racist phrase emphasizes Garrity-Blake's major finding that, regardless of the degree to which the arduous and dangerous work on the boats required some disregard for traditional racial and status boundaries, the work structure in the industry was "distinctly stratified."

As the industry grew, formerly sleepy coastal villages were transformed by the industry, its seasonal rhythms, and its pervasive smell. Gender relations were transformed as well, as men boarded the boats for days, weeks, or months at a time. Captains' wives puttered about the house and garden, as most of them long had, but black crewmen's wives took part-time jobs as domestics or oyster shuckers and crab pickers.[96]

In the years after World War II, several technological innovations wrought major changes in work (and hence, racial) relations: the use of spotter planes, the adoption of the power winch, and the use of centrifugal pumps to transfer the fish into the (newly refrigerated) holds. Captains whose literal and functional importance had been partly defined by ascending to the crow's nest to spot menhaden schools lost status to the spotter planes that radioed in an instant the vital intelligence captains had taken decades to acquire and were intensely proud of. Power winches used to pull up huge nets laden with tens of thousands of pounds of fish reduced the need for the labor of crews that for many decades had done the work by brute strength, coordinated by group songs that synchronized force and bolstered will.

The menhaden chanteys Jon Pareles heard in a New York concert hall were hauntingly beautiful, and they conveyed undeniable truths about the working lives of black men in the industry. Early New England white menhaden fishermen had not sung as they worked; southern blacks added that culturally characteristic element when the industry relocated.[97] But the concert stage version of chanteys was inevitably romanticized; the chanteys sung on boats to help haul in the nets referenced far harsher realities.

Garrity-Blake's close examination of the menhaden chanteys leads to subtle insights into racial, status, and work relations in the industry. Whereas many captains had a social, cultural—indeed at times nearly mystical—understanding of their work (*calling*, one might almost say), blacks did it for money to care for their families, money that was virtually unavailable elsewhere. And in contrast to the individualistic posture of the white captains, for black crewmen the work was a *collective* effort, pursued in solidarity despite the danger of circling sharks, the straw mattresses on the bunks, the grueling labor, the treacherous weather, the ever-present worry about losing their women and authority at home while they were away.[98]

Such conditions, challenges, and fears drove the songs. "I left my baby / standing in the back door crying," one said, evoking the rupture in the rhythms of home life. Crewmen's sense of helplessness about threats to home life and to marriages found an image in a house fire:

> Oh, the house is on
> fire, fire, fire.
> Oh, the house is on fire,
> and it all go burning down.

"I got a letter this morning / Hey, hey, honey! . . . See you when the sun go down. / I couldn't read it for crying," said another.[99]

94 Ibid., 47.
95 Ibid., 17–18. Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory,* follows (18–21) with a detailed discussion of work processes that is not relevant to our discussion here.
96 Ibid., 15–16, 27–37. Quotation from local informant, 37.
97 Ibid., 19.
98 Ibid., 87-98.
99 Ibid., 101-102; Library of Congress recording AFS 14,754.

Singing the chanteys gave pleasure to the singers, but it was also *necessary* to the task. Fishermen, Garrity-Blake says,

> described working shoulder to shoulder as one, singing to make "heaven and earth come together," while focused trancelike on the "money" in the net. While singing, crewmen lost all track of time, surroundings, and aching muscles. "Everybody would pull the same time," someone explained. "*You didn't know how much you was pulling.* You'd be getting about happy there singing them songs, all them [fish] in that net . . . everybody feeling good and everything."[100]

The power winch changed everything: half the crews lost their jobs, and the winch did the work that had called forth the songs. But older crewmen remembered when the songs, which could be heard for long distances over the water, would mesmerize day sailors and yachtsmen: "[We] start singing, heaven and earth would come together. People on the shore would turn and listen at 'em. All along the shoreline, just standing there. Then people in them yachts bring us whisky and money. Whiskey and money!" The order of things was turned momentarily upside down, Garrity-Blake observes, "the rich . . . held captive by the poor."[101]

Retrospective

The evidence that coastal North Carolina has reliably ratified, normalized, and participated fully in state and nationwide structures and cultures of racism, reinforced by class difference from its earliest years until the present is incontrovertible, as we hope the foregoing has made clear. And yet there has also always been some scattered and sporadic evidence that not everyone in all times and places stayed within established racial lines.

In a many-times-reproduced photograph from 1880, black and white mullet fishermen stand before a round, traditional (perhaps African-derived) fishermen's shack on Shackleford Banks.[102] To coastal historian David Cecelski, that image revealed "unclear lines of authority" an

Figure 5-18. Black and white mullet fishermen.

uncharacteristic "familiarity. Immediately, however, Cecelski cautions against exaggerating the extent of racial boundary blurring. "For years," he recalls, a "No Niggers After Dark" sign stood at the town limits of Atlantic, a few miles from the remarkable black community of Davis Ridge, an island of racial harmony and cooperation where blacks and whites visited, ate, worshipped, sang and played music, and fished together. Even more widely, on the stretch of the Banks between Ocracoke Island and Bogue Banks, black and white mullet fishermen worked, lived, and ate together, and when the catch was in, shared the profits equally.[103]

Such blurring of racial lines was in evidence from the time of the earliest settlers. Kristi Rutz-Robbins's recent meticulously documented study of race, class, and gender in the Albemarle area economy from 1663 to 1729 shows that black, white, and Native American men and women had numerous economic relationships and that merchants depended upon them.[104]

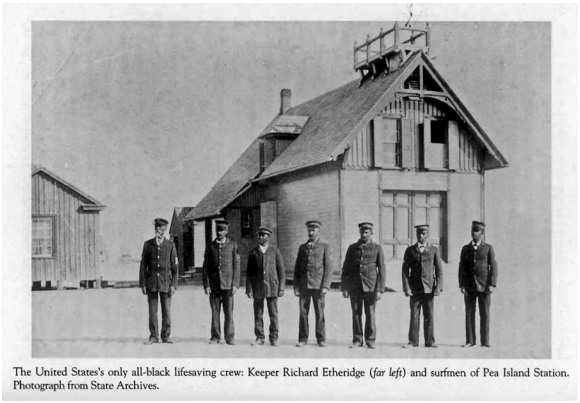
Those economic relationships existed side by side with interracial personal, familial, and marital relationships that were frequently illegal but were nevertheless tolerated in the community. Rutz-Robbins cites a 1727 case, for example, of a mixed-race couple who had cohabited for years and another case of a mixed couple who married without legal challenge. The record is replete with numerous other boundary-blurring cases: trading across racial lines (including with

100 Ibid., 105.
101 Ibid., 111.
102 See for example Cecelski, "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps," and Jones, *Fishing Cottage #2,* Fig. 2.
103 Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 211. Cecelski's discussion of Davis Ridge is at 203–212. For a broad discussion of "sundown towns," see James Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).
104 Rutz-Robbins, "Colonial Commerce."

slaves), black-white cohabitations, and marriages that were illegal but tacitly accepted. "Such marriages and cohabitations," she says, "blurred the boundaries between white and black, created free black communities and pointed to ways in which interracial contact pushed in oppositional ways from the racially restrictive society evolving at the time." The area was, she concludes, "a world still flexible in its developing racial hierarchy," in which "economic realities . . . conflicted with legal frameworks."[105]

Such functional looseness as Rutz-Robbins discovered in the record waned as the decades passed and anxieties about the black presence grew. The relative freedom that slave watermen had was undeniable, but carefully circumscribed: when all was said and done, they were black slaves nevertheless.

And the ambiguity persisted. Nearly fifteen years after the Civil War ended, the first all-black Life-Saving Service crew was established at Pea Island in Dare County, but the appointment did not betoken complete racial harmony. The new crew was appointed because half of the previous (combined black and white) crew had been dismissed for dereliction of duty during the *M&S Henderson* shipwreck of November 1979. Black surfman Richard Etheridge's reputation for superb competence led to his appointment as the new keeper, but official uneasiness resulted in transferring and hiring an all-black crew so that Etheridge would not be in the socially untenable position of commanding whites. Though the station was burned down (perhaps by whites) soon after the installation of the new crew, the crew remained all black until the station was closed in 1947.[106]



The United States's only all-black lifesaving crew: Keeper Richard Etheridge (*far left*) and surfmen of Pea Island Station. Photograph from State Archives.

Figure 5-19. All-Black Pea Island Life-Saving Crew. Mobley, Ship Ashore!, 96. Original in North Carolina State Archives.

105 Rutz-Robbins, "Colonial Commerce," vi–vii, 201–240. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*, 12–13, 50, 140, comments on the "ambiguity of race relations" in later years.

Epilogue: The Pigott Family and Race Relations in Portsmouth

In the decades since Portsmouth lost virtually all its population, a charming story has taken shape with regard to race relations in the town. The story centers around the family of Henry Pigott, its last (and unfailingly helpful and loyal) black resident.

Figure 5-20. Henry Pigott at about the age of fourteen (ca. 1910). Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

106 Dennis L. Noble, *That Others Might Live: The U.S. Life-Saving Service, 1878–1915* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1994), 51–54; Joe A. Mobley, *Ship Ashore!: The U.S. Lifesavers of Coastal North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1994), 94–99. For an excellent extended discussion of the Pea Island situation, see David Wright and David Zoby, "Ignoring Jim Crow: The Turbulent Appointment of Richard Etheridge and the Pea Island Lifesavers," *The Journal of Negro History* 80, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 66–80.

The fact that Pigott (1896–1971), a descendent of slaves, was black and poor but nevertheless "a friend to all," as a plaque in the local Methodist church says, does not mean that race and class did not exist as markers, but that on Portsmouth Island (as everywhere else) they were configured in complex ways.

Looking closely at persistent elements of the story, one can easily discern several repeated motifs: Race relations in the town and on the island were harmonious and unproblematic. "Family" was the preferred metaphor for describing those relations. Racial boundaries were marked more strongly in some regards than in others. And blacks (reductively embodied at last in the figure of Henry Pigott) were content with the old paternalistic system. "There were never any segregation rules," writes Ellen Fulcher Cloud in *Portsmouth: The Way It Was*, "except what the blacks imposed upon themselves."[107]

Sometime after Pigott's death in 1971, the Park Service produced a brochure about him.[108] It outlined what was to become the standard story: Pigott was descended from slaves. His ancestors stayed in Portsmouth after most former slaves left. His grandmother Rosa Abbot was a jack-of-all-trades (midwife, doctor and nurse, gristmill worker) who also fished for her living. Her daughter Leah had seven children, of whom Henry was one.[109] Henry and his sister Lizzie stayed on Portsmouth, but the other siblings left. Lizzie became the town barber, and both she and Henry continued to fish and oyster for a living. Henry poled the mail boat to Ocracoke and hauled back passengers, provisions, and mail for his neighbors. His house (now preserved for tourists to see) was painted pink for years because he thought it was too much trouble to return the paint for the yellow he had ordered. When he died, Portsmouth Village lost its last male resident.

Former residents who knew Henry, Lizzie, and other family members recalled them fondly and spoke of loving them, of their being "nice folks."[110] Henry's death in 1971 was the final straw for the island's last two remaining residents, Marian Gray Babb and Elma Dixon, who decided that, without Henry there to help them, they could not stay. So they packed up and left, and Portsmouth Village became a ghost town.[111]

Thus with regard to race, the standard story of the Pigotts was simple: some slaves came; most left at Emancipation, but one family stayed. Several generations of them had numerous children, most of whom left the island. But two of Leah's children, Henry and Lizzie, stayed and became beloved and useful participants in the life of Portsmouth, where folks paid no attention to race. It was the best of separate but equal paternalism. One does not have to push very far, however, to discover that the real story was much more complicated and ambiguous than the popular one, and that available facts do not allow one to resolve the ambiguities.

To probe below the surface of the story, one should first recall two facts about miscegenation in North Carolina from its earliest days onward: (1) it was illegal, and (2) it was ubiquitous. Of its illegality there can be no doubt. In 1896, pioneering scholar of Afro-American life in North Carolina John Spencer Bassett observed that concern over the threat (and fact) of miscegenation and cross-racial marriage in North Carolina was already widespread enough by 1715 to lead to the passage of a law that prescribed harsh penalties against white servants who had children by blacks or mulattoes and against ministers who married interracial couples. A stronger marriage law of 1741 inveighed against "the abominable mixture and spurious issue" of such unions.[112]

It is not surprising, then, that the complexities of the situation were not always meticulously noted in official records. In their account of the Pigott family

107 Ellen F. Cloud, *Portsmouth: The Way It Was*: *Island History, vol. 3* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2006), 97.

108 "Henry Pigott," visitor brochure, Cape Lookout National Seashore (http://www.nps.gov/calo/planyourvisit/upload/Henry2000.pdf). The website for the Friends of Portsmouth Island mentions Pigott, but contains no other mention of blacks, slavery, or race. See http://www.friendsofportsmouthisland.org/history.htm.

109 Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 98, refers to Rosa as "Aunt Rose" Ireland-Pigott. "It is said," Cloud reports, "that Rose took a husband named Isaac."

110 See for example Dot Salter Willis and Ben B. Salter, *Portsmouth Island: Short Stories, History* (Montville Publications, 2004), 38–41. A photo of Pigott delivering the mail is in Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 95.

111 Molly Perkins Harrison, *It Happened on the Outer Banks* (Guilford, CT: Twodot, 2005), 92–93.

112 John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 58; electronic edition at http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/bassett96/bassett96.html.

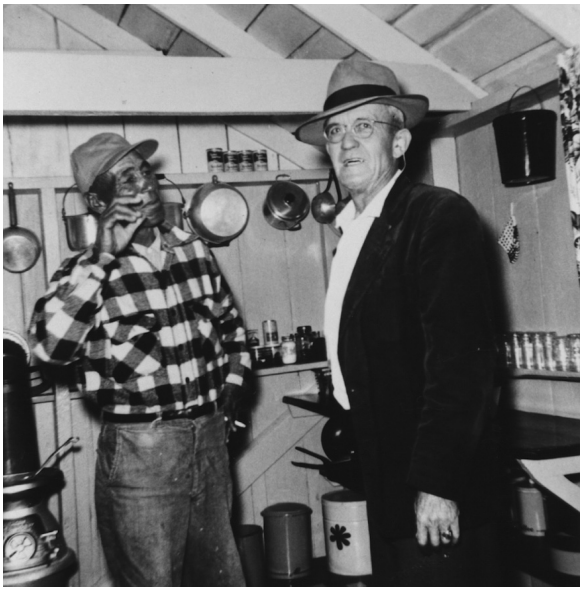


Figure 5-21. Henry Pigott and Walker Styron, 1955. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

(the most extensive in print), Salter and Willis recount that Aunt Rosa Abbott (whom, along with her four siblings, everyone "loved very much") had a daughter Leah, who "had the last name of Pigott." Leah had seven children. One son was Henry, and one daughter was Elizabeth (Lizzie). Salter and Willis say they don't remember Henry and Leah's father:

They never talked about him, nor did they mention who he was or where he was. We never asked. . . . [Henry] was not dark in color, he was like an Indian in appearance. . . . We never heard about a color barrier in those days. There was no need; we were all in the work together. . . . The Pigotts attended the Methodist Church that we did. They visited with us and lived among us. . . . [A] finer man I never knew. . . . Neither Henry nor Lizzie ever married.[113]

The thinly veiled hints of illegitimacy and perhaps miscegenation are enough to pique one's curiosity. Unfortunately, the documentary base for sorting out the nuances is rather thin. One has to make do with what is available.[114]

Ellen Fulcher Cloud's fragmentary account of what it seems appropriate to call the Abbot-Pigott family is replete with suggestions of irregularities in their family history. Rose seems to have been a servant or slave in the home of well-to-do Earls Ireland, and to have stayed on with the Irelands after the Civil War ended. By 1880 she had moved out, but two of her children (Leah and Dorcus) remained with Ireland and were listed in the census of that year as his grandchildren. But by the 1900 census, the Irelands had moved next door, and Leah had moved back in with Rose; Leah is listed as Rose's granddaughter. But if Leah was Rose's daughter and Ireland's granddaughter, Cloud observes, then Rose "had to be the daughter of either Earls Ireland or his wife Matilda Ireland."

Here the story gets even more complicated. Sometime between 1880 and 1900, Cloud continues, Rose changed her name from Ireland to Pigott, but there was no record of her marrying. By 1900, Leah had five children, including Henry and Lizzie Pigott, whose death certificates list Leah as their mother without specifying a father.[115]

Clearly, these slender threads of evidence in the Portsmouth family stories are too fragile to support weighty conclusions about the genealogy of the Ireland-Abbot-Pigott family system. But some evidence available in census records provides more than adequate caution against accepting the popular but unproblematized accounts of post-racial harmony on the island. The census records are clear on the matter of the presence of blacks (slave and free) on Portsmouth Island. Beyond that, it is intriguing to tease out additional conclusions about miscegenation and the presence of mulattoes.

In their tabulation of the 1850 census for Carteret County, Simpson and Taylor included township-level data on mulattoes.[116] Portsmouth had none in its list, but Straits had one, and Beaufort had

113 Willis and Salter, *Portsmouth Island*, 38–39.

114 In his historic structure report on the Washington Roberts house, Tommy Jones noted Roberts's long and close friendship with Joe Abbot (b. 1869), who along with his mother and siblings was listed in the 1900 and 1910 censuses as mulatto (Jones, *Washington Roberts House,* 11).

115 Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 98–101. Jones treats these naming anomalies conservatively, as possibly at least partially the result of confusion in the census enumeration rather than as clear evidence of actual lineage (*Washington Roberts House,* 12). In particular, Jones notes, Joe Abbot had the surname Ireland in the censuses of 1870 and 1880, but Pigott in 1900, and then Abbot again in 1910 (*Washington Roberts House,* 11–13).

116 Thelma P. Simpson and David R. Taylor, *1850 Federal Census of Carteret County, North Carolina* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972).

dozens in the Davis, Dismal, Ellison, Fisher, Green, Whittington, Wade, and Windsor families (and others). The existence of an impermeable barrier against miscegenation in Portsmouth would be especially noteworthy, then, since in 1810 the town had had half as many slaves as free whites, and a quarter as many (463 whites and 117 slaves) in 1850.[117]

A comparison cannot be made for 1860, because slave census schedules were not separated by township, but by 1870, the census enumerator was provided with a column for "Color" (White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese, and Indian). Nearly all entries were coded as white, but six blacks were present in the township. Five of them were enumerated with the Earls Ireland family: Rose (35, domestic servant), Harriet (18, domestic servant), Sarah [?] (10), Dorcas (1), Leah, and Elijah [?] (5-year-old male). No last names were given for the Ireland family blacks, but the horizontal line in the surname in the Name column implies that they shared the Ireland surname. This gives credence to Ellen Fulcher Cloud's conclusion that the children listed were parented by either Earls Ireland or his wife Matilda. If that was the case, listing them as Black rather than Mulatto reveals some denial on the part of either the Irelands or the enumerator, or both.[118]

The 1900 census conveys a more complex picture yet of the remaining blacks. Rose's last name is given as Pickett, there are eight offspring (direct or step), and there is no adult male who is not either a son or stepson. Rose is now 53 years old, and the offspring range from a 2-year-old stepson to a 30-year-old son. To be enumerated as her stepchildren, those five offspring would have to have been the children of a man to whom Rose was (or had been) married. Additionally, the children's names given in the 1900 census do not match fully with those listed in 1870.[119]

Detailed as they are, census records do not allow us to resolve the ambiguities of the racial situation in Portmouth. But they do caution one not to conclude too easily that the town's social mores did not lie magically outside the social and cultural complexities in evidence virtually everywhere else. Leah Pigott's gravestone in a small cemetery and her brother Henry's house remain to tantalize us about the complexities of life in Portsmouth.

Figure 5-22. Gravestone of Leah Pigott (1867–1922) in a Portsmouth cemetery. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

Figure 5-23. Henry Pigott House, Portsmouth, restored and repainted to the yellow he preferred. Photo by David E. Whisnant, 2008.

117 John E. Ehrenhard, *Cape Lookout National Seashore*, 59–60; Jones, *Washington Roberts House,* 5–6.

118 *Population Schedules of the Census of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administraton, 1960–). The single black not enumerated with the Ireland family, Parker (a 20-year-old fisherman), lived with 37-year-old Mary Willis and two minor children.

119 *Twelfth Census of Population, 1900*, Portsmouth township. There are twelve children's names listed in the two censuses.

The Government Presence:
Revenue Cutters, Lighthouses, Life-Savers, Coast Guardsmen, New Dealers, and Others

Since the eighteenth century, the barrier-island and border-region characteristics of the Outer Banks have made the area a prime site of many varieties of government presence and activity. State and federal actions, laws, and regulations have partitioned the land; specified its uses; established institutions; and prompted the erection of buildings, the construction of fences and docks, the dredging of channels, the building of harbors, the employment (and discharge) of personnel, and the purchase of goods and services. In the process, government decisions, actions, and agencies have functioned as major shapers of the economic, political, and cultural life of the Outer Banks.

In some respects, these dynamics have not been different in kind from those that have occurred in many other places and times. Virtually every city and town has its local, state, or federal agencies, offices, buildings, and officials—courts, public records offices, law enforcement agencies, public utilities, and the like. Especially in hard times, the agencies provide critically important employment.

With regard to the southern Banks, however, we suggest that the persistent and highly visible presence of government agencies has imparted to their buildings, activities, and landscapes a particular spatially, socially, economically, and culturally organizing character. To explore this thesis fully would require a comprehensive history of the southern Banks from the mid-eighteenth century onward, a task beyond the scope of this study. Short of that, however, one can usefully highlight some of the more salient aspects of the particular dynamics that developed and persisted on the southern Banks around government presence.

Those dynamics appear to arise from some array of five characteristic factors: relatively low population density; limited local employment opportunities; long-term presence of agencies offering stable, relatively high-status jobs; large iconic buildings; and defined institutional landscapes. The long-term importance of any particular agency or installation has depended upon how fully or durably it satisfied these criteria. Some satisfied more than others, or satisfied them longer, or both. Some seemed that they might, but didn't. In any case, a long series of entities, events, and processes have contributed in varying degrees to this process: the Custom House and the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth (1828), lighthouses and their keepers, the Life-Saving Service (1871), the Coast Guard (1915), several wars, the Great Depression and the New Deal, and the coming of two national seashores administered by the NPS.[1]

The effects of these entities and events have been varied, broad, and (sometimes) deep. Within the built environment, they have inscribed their presence upon the land—some permanently (like the lighthouses), some vestigially (like an abandoned cistern left from a long-vanished building), and some in traces now buried beneath the sands or washed out to sea (like Colonial-era forts or World War II gun emplacements). Technologies, for water vessel forms and designs, lighthouse lanterns, communications systems, gasoline engines, lifesaving devices, have been introduced and replaced or withdrawn. Jobs have come and gone, increasing and decreasing the contribution of public funds to local economies. Social and professional networks have formed and dissolved, and communities have arisen and collapsed. In this chapter we explore, suggestively rather than exhaustively, some of these entities and

1 Successive wartime events and interventions are treated in the next chapter, and the coming of the two national seashores is treated in a subsequent chapter on tourism.

dynamics as they impinge upon the identification, maintenance, and interpretation of historic resources at CALO.

Portsmouth Custom House, Marine Hospital, and Weather Station

The town of Portsmouth, on the south side of Ocracoke Inlet, was established in 1753; sale of lots in the town began three years later. Since it was to be more than ninety years before Hatteras Inlet opened, Ocracoke Inlet at that time provided primary access to Pamlico Sound, and over the next several decades Portsmouth developed into an important port town.[2]

Custom House

In her 1982 historic resource study of Portsmouth, Olson pointed out that "the need for a revenue officer at Ocracoke Inlet" was recognized nearly twenty-five years before Portsmouth itself was established, but no official action was taken until 1764, almost a decade after the town got its first residents. Further legislation, passed in 1770, established the inspection point for Ocracoke Inlet at Portsmouth. The Ocracoke customs house was established in 1806, when Shell Castle was flourishing and Ocracoke became an official port of entry.

A federal revenue cutter was assigned to the port in 1813. At times, the volume of traffic necessitated two cutters. Portsmouth resident John Mayo (formerly John Wallace's right hand man at Shell Castle) captained one of them for twenty years, and five members of the Wallace family took their turns as well. Additionally, revenue cutter captains usually served as collectors or deputy collectors at the custom house. By 1836, more than 1,100 vessels were passing through the inlet annually, requiring the services of more than ninety local vessels for lightering; six years later, the number of vessels had grown to 1400.[3]

Thus it appears that the main economic impact of the customs installation derived from what we would now call economic multiplier effects: direct employment of local residents as customs officers, purchase of goods, contracting of pilots and lightering boats and crews, and development of port-associated businesses and services. And in a relatively small town (165 white persons and 98 slaves in 1800; 25 heads of families) in which 80 percent of the working population was involved in commercial activities related to the sea, such activities bulked large. Olson notes that over a sixty-year period, five men worked as collectors of customs; two men were working on customs vessels in 1850, and three in 1860.[4]

Marine Hospital

The only other significant institution established in Portsmouth before the closing years of the nineteenth century was the Marine Hospital, opened in 1828. It was one of a series of such hospitals authorized as early as 1798 to provide care for sick and injured merchant seamen.[5] Dr. John W. Potts, the first physician employed to operate the hospital, rented a small (less than 400 square foot) windowless and unplastered house of perhaps five rooms. Potts left before his two-year contract was up and was replaced by New Hampshire-born Dr. Samuel Dudley, who remained in Portsmouth for more than thirty years and became a wealthy man. The initial hospital staff included Dr. Dudley, his nurse, and three slaves. Although Dudley's medical qualifications were suspect and his dilatory and erratic behavior prompted numerous public complaints, he continued to serve (off and on) as late as 1844.

2 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 1–2. The town of Portsmouth, together with adjacent Ocracoke and Shell Island, receives detailed attention in Chapter 2.

3 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 67–69. Olson also points out thatcaptains of the revenue cutters usually worked as inspectors or deputy collectors at the customs house.

4 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 21–23. The port was closed for four years during the Civil War, and in 1867 it was downgraded to a "port of delivery"; New Bern became the port of entry. Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 69. Much of the economic and commercial activity associated with the port took place on nearby Shell Castle Island, discussed elsewhere in this study.

5 Ibid., 69–76. Olds, "Cape Lookout Lonesome Place."

The need for additional hospital space led to the temporary use of a former U.S. government boathouse, but repeated entreaties from local customs officials spoke of the urgent need for better facilities. In June 1842, the Commerce Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives reported that ships' captains, fearful of having their vessels quarantined at other ports, were dumping seamen suffering from contagious diseases at Ocracoke Inlet, where they were crowded into small makeshift quarters without proper care.[6]

In 1842, federal funds were appropriated for a new hospital building. Land was bought three years later, and the 50-by-90-foot, two-story, twelve-room, cypress-shingled building (approximately ten times as large as the original hospital) opened in 1847. Constructed of pitch pine and featuring specially designed glass windows, seven fireplaces, and piazzas on two sides, the new hospital was the best-built and most-imposing building that had ever been built in Portsmouth. Its twelve rooms—plastered, whitewashed, and fitted with green Venetian blinds—were divided into four wards, surgeon's quarters, servants' rooms, and cooking facilities. Furnishings and medical supplies were procured from New York merchants. The hospital also boasted what were perhaps the first cisterns ever to be built in Portsmouth (wooden ones located at each end of the building); a large brick cistern, added in 1853 to replace the by-then deteriorated wooden ones, brought water directly into the kitchen.[7]

By 1857, the hospital had twelve employees. The number of patients fluctuated from none to as many as 288 (both local people and seamen) before the Civil War. During the war, it served as a military hospital under the control of the Federal Medical Service.[8]

Figure 6-1. Brick cistern, Marine Hospital, Portsmouth, 2008. Photo by David E. Whisnant.

Portsmouth Weather Station

After the Civil War, the U.S. Army Signal Corps began to establish weather stations along the Atlantic coast. In 1876, one was installed in two rooms of the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth, but it was short-lived. It closed in 1883, reopened for a few months in early 1885, and then closed permanently as increasing vessel size rendered Ocracoke Inlet less and less navigable.[9] For most of the time, the station was manned by only one person, who at times had a single assistant. Interactions with townspeople appear to have been strained and infrequent. An 1880 inspection report noted that the keeper of the station spent most of his time in study and considered local residents "an ignorant class of people . . . [who] take no interest in the service, further than to make what they can from it."[10]

6 Commerce Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 889, to accompany H.R. 512, 37th Cong., 2d Session, 24 June 1842, 1–3.

7 Evidence is not consistent on the development of cisterns on the island. Lack of freshwater streams or springs and the impracticability of wells made cisterns the obvious choice for fresh water, but how early their use became widespread is not clear. Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study,*71–75, which includes an extensive discussion of the hospital, says that "like other Portsmouth houses," the original house Dr. Potts used for the hospital "had no cistern."

8 Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks,* 111, 116. Olson's meticulously documented *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 71–76, offers the most detailed account of the hospital, including its succession of buildings.

9 Exactly when the Marine Hospital building closed is not clear. *Portsmouth Island's History and Development* (no author given), 5–7, says that it closed in 1860, that part of it was used for the weather station, 1876–1885, and that it was still standing in 1893, but burned down one year later.

10 Report quoted in Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 87–88, from which this précis is taken.

Cape Lookout Light Station and the Lighthouse Service

By all accounts, the central iconic image of the Cape Lookout National Seashore landscape is the lighthouse. Its 163-foot tower, painted with black and white diamonds, dates from 1859, when it replaced a much shorter (96-foot) tower authorized in 1804 and completed in 1812.[11]

The known history of lighthouses reaches back to the Pharos light, completed at the entrance to the Greek harbor of Alexandria in 280 B.C. The Romans built several lighthouses, but little is known about others until the twelfth century, when the Italians emerged as major builders. They built one at Pisa in 1157, another near Leghorn a half dozen years later, and one at Venice early in the fourteenth century. France and England lagged the Italians by two centuries. A French lighthouse completed on an island at the mouth of the Bay of Biscay in 1611 disappeared when the island washed away, but the two countries built more such structures throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the New England colonies, some of the first illuminated navigation aids consisted of nothing more than lighted baskets hung at prominent high points, but by the Revolution, at least eleven lighthouses had been built. No one knows for sure when or where the first one was built, but the Little Brewster Island light in Boston Harbor (ca. 1716) seems a good guess.[12]

After the Revolution, Congress placed the financing and management of all navigational aids under the purview of the Treasury Department, where they were overseen directly by the President. Washington, Adams, and Jefferson all took their turn at managing the young nation's collection of lighthouses and other navigational aids, but as the number of lighthouses grew, such an arrangement became unmanageable. In 1792, an Office of the Commissioner of Revenue was created in the Treasury Department, and for a decade responsibility for aids to navigation was located there. In 1795, Congress ordered a survey of the coast from Georgia to the Chesapeake Bay and by 1797 had authorized lighthouses at Cape Henry, Cape Hatteras, Shell Castle, and Cape Fear. In 1804, it authorized one to be erected "at or near the [tip] of Cape Lookout."[13]

An early challenge was to update the type of lights used. The earliest used in the United States were either fixed, white lights or those made to rotate by clockwork mechanisms. Illumination came from candles or coal fires (each with many drawbacks) or later from "spider lamps" consisting of four wicks in a pan of oil. Reflectors morphed slowly toward a parabolic shape capable of reflecting parallel beams outward. The three-wick Argand design of 1780, the first modern burner, could produce 200 candlepower.[14]

By 1810, Winslow Lewis of Cape Cod had developed a much improved "reflecting and magnifying lantern" by combining an Argand burner with a parabolic reflector and a lens. By 1815 it had been installed in all forty-nine U.S. lighthouses. The following year, Lewis contracted to supply oil for all the lighthouses, to maintain them, and to report on their condition, making him in the estimation of some the de facto superintendent of lighthouses.15

The Secretary of the Treasury assumed direct responsibility for lighthouses from 1803 to 1820, when it passed to the fifth auditor of the Treasury, Stephen Pleasonton. Pleasonton was by all

11 This précis of the long and complicated history of lighthouses is based, unless otherwise indicated, on Dennis Noble, *Lighthouses & Keepers: The U.S. Lighthouse Service and Its Legacy* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1997), 1–20. A much more detailed discussion of the history of the sequence of Cape Lookout lighthouses than can be presented here is available in Oppermann, *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*.

12 Tommy Jones, *Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004).

13 Holland, *Survey History*, 24–25. For a detailed account of the Shell Castle lighthouse, see Chapter 2 above, on the Atlantic world.

14 On the Argand lamp, invented by Swiss physicist and chemist Aimé Argand in 1780, see Terry Pepper, "Seeing the Light: Argand and Lewis Lamps" (2007), http://www.terrypepper.com/lights/closeups/illumination/argand/lewis-lamp.htm.

15 The search for the best illuminant for lights continued for years. Lard oil was favored in the mid-1860s before a shift to vaporized kerosene, which doubled or tripled output. Soon after electric arc lights became available in the mid-1880s, conversion of lighthouses to electricity began. Most were converted by 1930. Noble, *Lighthouses & Keepers* , 32–35.

accounts a dedicated and conscientious public servant, but he was also penurious, overtaxed with manifold other duties, and rather lacking in imagination. By the time Pleasonton took over the official duties in 1820 (which he was to retain for thirty-two years), there were fifty-five lighthouses. Within twelve years the number had grown to 256, plus thirty lightships and nearly a thousand buoys.

To help him manage the load, Pleasonton appointed collectors of customs in districts where there were lighthouses as superintendents of lights, but the superintendents had little authority since he kept such a tight rein on them, for example, by allowing them to spend almost no money without his approval. The problems deriving from Pleasanton's management style and the prior lack of adequate organization were exacerbated by a number of factors: Many lighthouse keepers were political appointees who had neither the required skills nor the interest in doing the job, and much of the work was contracted out (the "era of the low bidder" those years have been called). And, Pleasonton continued to nurture a relationship with Winslow Lewis, who soon cornered the market on refitting old lighthouses and building new ones. His interest in selling the maximum amount of oil to the government delayed by years the introduction of the much-superior Fresnel lens into the nation's lighthouses.16

Not surprisingly, Congress began to be dissatisfied with the condition of the lighthouses. An 1838 law divided the Atlantic Coast into six districts, each supplied with a naval officer who was to analyze and report on the condition of the lighthouses. The reports were not encouraging: 40 percent of the lighthouses were in poor condition, many of the lights were of poor quality, some units were redundant, and many keepers were negligent. Unfortunately, Congress took no action until 1845, when it dispatched two naval officers to Europe to inspect systems there. But again no action proceeded from their report. By 1851, both Congress and the public were demanding a better system. A high-ranking group of investigators produced yet another report, whose 760 pages found that essentially nothing was right with the system and recommended that it be totally revamped and that an autonomous board be created to govern and manage lighthouse services.

16 Lewis died in 1850.

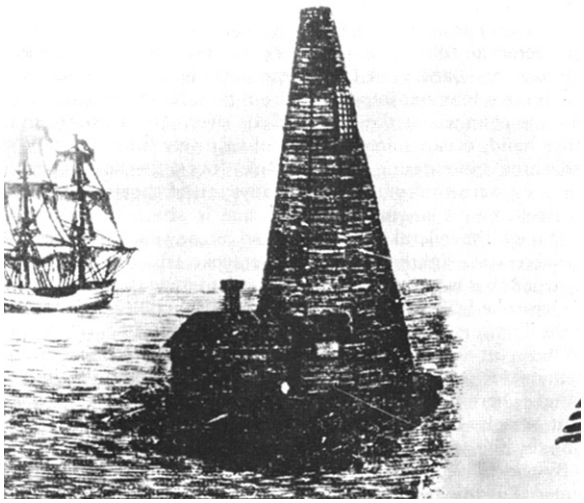


Figure 6-2. Shell Castle Lighthouse. Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 21.

This time Congress finally acted decisively. On October 9, 1852, it created the U.S. Lighthouse Board, ending Pleasonton's thirty-two-year rule and paving the way for the creation of a modern, adequate, well-maintained system. The board had its work cut out for it; by then, there were 331 lighthouses and 42 lightships. The Lighthouse Board brought stability, improved equipment, published thorough instructions for keepers, and raised their level of competence. It divided the country into twelve districts, each with an inspector, and established central supply depots. Some ground was lost during the Civil War, but for nearly sixty years the Board steadily improved lighthouse service. By 1910, however, the number of lighthouses had grown to nearly 1400, and the system had become cumbersome, so the Board was abolished as a result of the Taft Commission's recommendations on government operations. In 1915, the Life-Saving Service and the Revenue Cutter Service were combined into the U.S. Coast Guard.17 Separate organizational identities persisted for another twenty-five years, however, until President Roosevelt's Reorganization Plan II specified that "the duties, responsibilities, and functions of the Commissioner of Lighthouses shall be vested in the Commandant of the Coast Guard." The change became official on July 1, 1939, marking the official end of the Lighthouse Service.

North Carolina's first lighthouse was built at Bald Head on Smith's Island at the mouth of the Cape

17 See S.2337, A bill to create the Coast Guard by combining therein the existing Life-Saving Service and Revenue Cutter Service, May 26, 1913 (http://www.uscg.mil/history/regulations/USCGBill.asp).

Fear in 1796; it was replaced in 1818 by a structure that still stands as the state's oldest.18 The next two, on Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle Island (a 55-foot wooden structure) were built in 1803, but neither survives.[19] Oddly, no Cape Lookout lighthouse was authorized when the Cape Fear and Cape Hatteras structures were authorized prior to 1797.[20] Land for a lighthouse on Cape Lookout was purchased in 1805, and a 93-foot one was in operation by 1812. It had two towers, a brick one inside and a wooden one outside, painted with horizontal red and white stripes.[21]

Early lighting installed in the Cape Lookout lighthouse proved ineffective, so new lighting was installed in 1848. This also proved ineffective because the cost-conscious Treasury Department bought cheaper Argand lamps rather than the more expensive, but superior, Fresnel system, which had been the standard in Europe for upwards of twenty-five years. The new U.S. Lighthouse Board adopted the Fresnel system after 1852.[22]

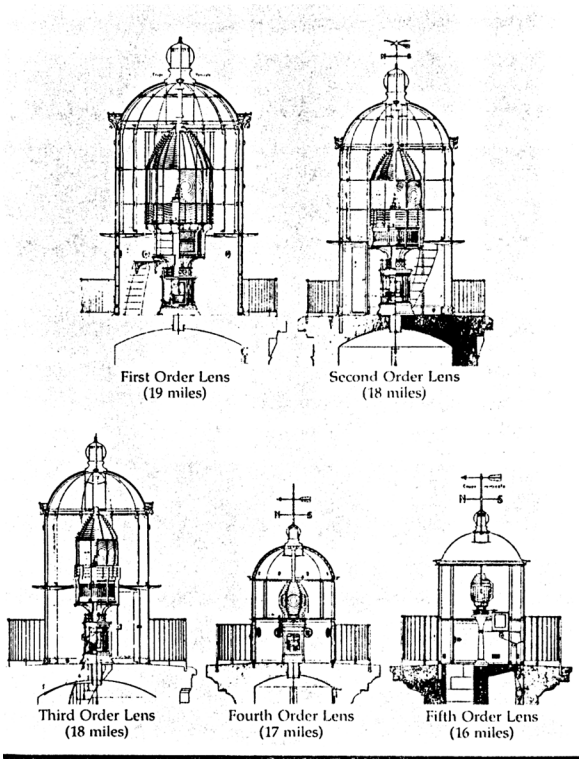


Figure 6-3. Orders of Fresnel lenses and distances lighthouses can be seen when equipped with given order lens. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

By 1852, the base of the lighthouse was threatened with drifting sand and the light needed to be considerably higher, so a new, taller structure was built. The 169-foot lighthouse went into operation on November 1, 1859. Confederate troops removed the lens and destroyed sixty-one steps of the stairway when all lighthouses went dark in 1861, but federal forces put the lighthouse back in operation by 1864.[23] The damage was repaired in 1867. The new Cape Lookout lighthouse, given its distinctive black-and-white-diamond pattern in 1873, became the prototype for later Outer Banks lighthouses. The old one fell to ruin and was pulled down sometime after 1868.[24]

18 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina,* 675. Historians differ about the date on which this lighthouse was lighted; some say 1795, others date it a year later. The website "Bald Head Island Lighthouse, North Carolina at Lighthousefriends.com" (http://www.lighthousefriends.com/light.asp?ID=349) says it became operational on December 23, 1794.

19 Jones, *Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling*, 11. Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 20, says the Shell Castle light was badly out of repair by 1809. In 1854, the 100-foot tower of the Hatteras light was raised and a new Fresnel lens installed. It was replaced in 1868–1870 by a new 198-foot lighthouse that survives today as the nation's tallest. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 675–676. Further detail on the siting and construction of these early lighthouses is available in Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*, 72–79.

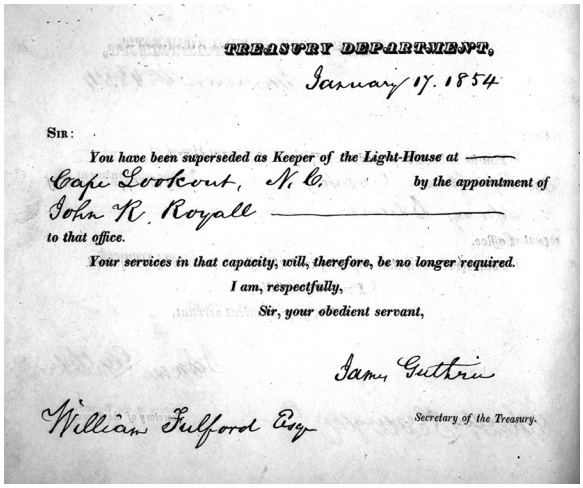
20 Cape Lookout Light Station National Register Nomination, 3. Subsequent details are from this document. Prepared by the State Department of Archives and History in 1972, the nomination is quite brief and lacking in detail.

21 Ibid., 3

22 Jones*, Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling*, 11–12. Jones notes that this lens was damaged during the Civil War and temporarily replaced by a third-order Fresnel lens. Opperman's slightly later *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*, 1, does not mention a Fresnel lens being installed into the old (pre-1859) lighthouse. Opperman notes, 3, that the historic Fresnel lens was removed and replaced by two 24-inch aero beacons. The historic lens was after a time installed in the renovated Block Island lighthouse off Rhode Island. Requests for its return have not been honored.

23 Oppermann, *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*, I.B.18, says that the removal of the lens was reported "as early as May 1862." Damages required that it be returned to France for repairs in November 1865. It came back to the lighthouse in August 1866.

24 On the new diamond pattern, see Oppermann, *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*, I.B.19–21. Jones, *Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling*, 12.



TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

January 17. 1854

Sir:

You have been superseded as Keeper of the Light-House at Cape Lookout, N. C. by the appointment of John R. Royall to that office.

Your services in that capacity, will, therefore, be no longer required.

I am, respectfully,

Sir, your obedient servant,

Jams. Guthrie

Secretary of the Treasury.

William Fulford Esq

Figure 6-4. Treasury Department notification to Cape Lookout lighthouse keeper William Fulford that he is being replaced by John R. Royal, January 17, 1854.[25] Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

The Lighthouse Service began electrifying lighthouses in 1900, but Cape Lookout continued to use oil lamps before converting to incandescent oil-vapor lamps in 1912. Generators for electrification were installed in 1950, making the lighthouse fully automated. An underwater cable was laid from Harkers Island in 1982.[26]

The lighthouse itself was not the only light-station structure to be built at Cape Lookout. The first keeper's house was built before 1833; it was replaced by another in 1873 and yet another in 1907 (when a summer kitchen and privy were added). And from 1812 onward, "a range of ancillary structures," as Tommy Jones points out, "have supported lighthouse operation." The third keeper's house was either occupied by light station personnel or used for Coast Guard functions until it was sold and moved for use as a private residence in 1958.[27]

25 Royall served at least until 1861. In February 1875, he, along with crewmembers Joseph Royall and Abner P. Guthrie, petitioned the federal government's Committee on Claims for payment for his services. *Journal of the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States*, February 1, 1875, 357.

26 Oppermann, *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*, I.B.18–26, contains detailed discussions of all of these modifications. Oppermann includes a detailed timeline, 1804–2008, at I.B.33–36.

27 Jones, *Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling*, 2, 19–20. Our brief discussion of these ancillary structures is drawn from this source, which contains extensive detail on the third keeper's house. A weather station operated out of the keeper's house from 1876 until 1904. After construction of the third keeper's house, the prior one became the residence of assistant keepers (ibid., 18–19).

Any substantial consideration of the lighthouse service as a part of the social and cultural history of Cape Lookout must pay due attention to the lives of lighthouse keepers and their families. Visiting Cape Lookout in 1921, Fred A. Olds judged it to be "one of the lonesomest places in the country." The landscape was littered with "thousands of rusted tin cans," and a motley assortment of unpainted shacks served as houses. Only the lighthouse and the Coast Guard station ("the only two real places in it all") relieved the desolate scene.[28] Cape Lookout was by no means unique in this regard, or with regard to the character of the lives of the keepers and their assistants who lived at the lighthouses.

"The public's perception of the lighthouse keeper," writes historian David Noble, "is that of a competent, kindly man . . . a favorite uncle, puttering around a lighthouse, telling sea stories, and worrying about the dark," but the reality was for the most part otherwise.[29] Prior to the establishment of the Lighthouse Board in 1852, training for keepers (not a few of whom were political appointees) was poor, and though some performed their duties well, many went about them lackadaisically. The Lighthouse Board's reforms and a series of civil service reform acts in the 1870s and 1880s improved the situation considerably, but they could not change the isolation, monotony, boredom, and danger that characterized the lives of keepers and their families, trapped as they were for days, weeks, or months with the same people and routines. Such a life sometimes engendered conflict between couples and in a few recorded cases led to suicide or insanity.

Mary Louise Clifford and J. Candace Clifford's *Women Who Kept the Lights: An Illustrated History of Female Lighthouse* lists 138 women who were lighthouse keepers and 240 who were assistant keepers. Two women are reported to have served at Cape Lookout—Second Assistant Keeper Charlotte Ann Mason Moore (1872–1875), and Principal Keeper Emily Julia Mason (1876–1878)—

28 Quoted in ibid., 21, from Olds, "Cape Lookout Lonesome Place."

29 Noble, *Lighthouses & Keepers*.

but their service has been neither well documented nor much studied.[30]

The U.S. Life-Saving Service

The Life-Saving Service that eventually came to be an effective, justly proud, and important institution along the Outer Banks arose belatedly and suffered through decades of parsimonious funding and administrative uncertainty. Portsmouth was not to get a station until 1893. As historian Joe A. Mobley explains, the hazards of the Outer Banks were well recognized from the early days of settlement, but public policies (and funding) for dealing with them were very slow in coming.[31] It was a costly omission, for which volunteers (such as the pioneering Massachusetts Humane Society, founded in 1785) tried to compensate. In 1790, Congress provided funds to build ten cutters for coastal service, but their function was limited to enforcing customs regulations. Another five years passed before they were authorized to help vessels in distress.[32]

Colonial officials said that inhabitants of the Outer Banks should have the character and temperament that would dispose them to aid victims of the treacherous conditions, but those officials provided no funds to support such aid. Meanwhile, the number of shipwrecks and the value of cargo lost on the Banks mounted steadily. In 1800, North Carolina established "wreck districts," each with a commissioner whose job it was to take possession of the cargo, try to determine its owner, and if necessary dispose of it at "vendue." In 1801 the vendue masters (as the commissioners came to be called) were authorized to recruit or deputize coastal residents to assist in the rescue of shipwrecked sailors and passengers.

Several decades later, in 1837, Congress authorized the president "to cause any suitable number of public vessels adapted to the purpose, to cruise upon the coast . . . to afford . . . aid to distressed navigators." Although not specifically authorized to do so, the Revenue Marine Service began immediately to render such aid. A decade after that, the federal government began to fund shore-based lifesaving capabilities by adding $5,000 to the lighthouse appropriation each year. The first money went to the Massachusetts Humane Society to build boathouses and buy rescue equipment for Cape Cod.[33] Responsibility for staffing and operating such installations remained in the hands of private associations, however. The United States Life-Saving Service as a separate entity dates from August 14, 1848, when Congress passed the Newell Act and appropriated $10,000 for "surf boats, rockets, carronades and other necessary apparatus for the better preservation of life and property from shipwrecks" along the New Jersey shore.[34]

Between 1848 and 1850, Congress provided $30,000 to build facilities and buy equipment for private volunteer rescue organizations in New Jersey and on Long Island and the Great Lakes. Given the extreme dangers of North Carolina's

30 Our sketch of the "keepers and their lonely world" is drawn from Noble, *Lighthouses & Keepers*, 86–99. Noble relates some specific cases of these extreme reactions to life at light stations. On the women keepers, see Mary Louise Clifford and J. Candace Clifford, *Women Who Kept the Lights: An Illustrated History of Female Lighthouse Keepers* (Williamsburg VA: Cypress Communications, 1993). On Charlotte Ann Mason and Emily Julia Mason, see also NCBeaches.com, "Cape Lookout Lighthouse" (2007), http://www.ncbeaches.com/Features/Attractions/Lighthouses/CapeLookoutLighthouse. This information is in some respects at odds with that reported by (apparently) the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum (http://www.coresound.com/Cape%20Lookout%20Keepers%20to%201912%20&%20LSS.PDF), which lists M. J. Davis as Acting Keeper and then Keeper, August 22, 1876–July 12, 1878. The two lists do agree, however, on the Charlotte Ann Mason Moore appointment.

31 Unless otherwise attributed, the following brief account of the history of the Life-Saving Service draws heavily from Mobley's *Ship Ashore,* 8–24, 76–94, 138–150. In other sources, the name of the entity is sometimes given as Life-Saving Service or Life Saving Service. Throughout our study, we follow Mobley's usage (Life-Saving Service).

32 Those vessels formed something called (variously) the Revenue Service, the Revenue Marine, the Revenue Marine Service, or the System of Cutters. By 1832 the secretary of the treasury was calling it the "Revenue Cutter Service." Thirty years later it became the United States Revenue Cutter Service, although that title continued to be used interchangeably with the usually preferred term Revenue Marine Service until 1894, when Federal Revenue Cutter Service became the accepted name. Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 5.

33 For an account of later developments in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, including photographs of some early stations, see Ralph C. Shanks, Wick York, and Lisa Woo Shanks, *The U.S. Life Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues, and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard* (San Anselmo, CA: Costano Books, 1996), 47–64 and 75–107.

34 Tommy Jones, *Life-Saving Station Boat House, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003), 9–10.

infamous Graveyard of the Atlantic, why did so much money go initially to New Jersey? It was at least partly a matter of politics. The port of New York was the nation's fastest growing one. Commercial interests and insurance companies were eager to see the approach to New York harbor made safer, and powerful city and state politicians were willing to back the effort.[35]

Meanwhile, the toll in North Carolina continued to mount. One of the state's worst maritime disasters ever occurred in October 1837, when the Volante Home foundered in a hurricane and the bodies of ninety men, women, and children were strewn on the beach. Further disasters followed in the terrible summer storms of 1842, and more than forty vessels were lost during the ten years between 1850 and 1860.

Finally, in 1854, Congress passed an act that provided for "the better preservation of life and property from vessels shipwrecked on the coasts of the United States." Ending the long-standing policy of merely funding private organizations, the act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to build rescue facilities and organize services at federal expense and under government supervision.

Unfortunately, the impetus of the 1854 federal legislation was truncated by the outbreak of the Civil War. By 1870, as Coast Guard historian Howard Bloomfield observed, "All that remained

SELF-RIGHTING LIFE-BOAT.

Figure 6-6. Self-righting lifeboat. Merryman, *The United States Life-Saving Service–1880*, vi. Reprinted from *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*.

of the [Federal] system . . . were some weather-beaten huts serving as headquarters for keepers

LIFE-SAVING STATION ON THE NORTH CAROLINA BEACH.

Figure 6-5. Life-Saving Station on the North Carolina beach, ca. 1882. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, February 1882, 371.

who had little or nothing to keep." Lifeboats were rotten and crews were decimated.[36]

Fortunately, the postwar years brought new energy, new funds, and broader policy. Federal efforts were concentrated on two fronts: building new lighthouses on the Atlantic coast and (at long last) establishing a Life-Saving Service (under the Revenue Marine Service, itself formed within the Treasury Department in 1869).[37] On the North Carolina coast, to augment the relatively new (1859) structure at Cape Lookout, lighthouses were constructed at Cape Hatteras (1870), Bodie Island (1872), and Currituck Beach (1875).[38] All were the responsibility of the Lighthouse Board, established on the eve of the Civil War.

The hiring of Sumner I. Kimball as head of the Revenue Marine Service in February 1871 has been called "the single most important event" in the history of the Life-Saving Service. Soon after taking office, Kimball ordered an inspection of installations in New Jersey and on Long Island, which proved to be in a deplorable state. The report spurred Congress to appropriate $200,000

35 Noble, *That Others Might Live,* 21.

36 Howard V. L. Bloomfield, *The Compact History of the Coast Guard* (New York: Hawthorn, 1966), cited in Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 22.

37 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 24.

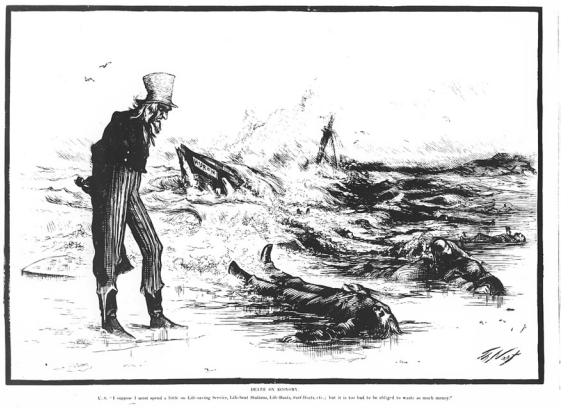
38 The 1872 Bodie Island lighthouse was actually the third on the site. The first, built in 1848, was only 54 feet high. The second one, built eleven years later, was 80 feet tall and had a third-order Fresnel lens. It was completely destroyed by Confederate forces. A 150-foot lighthouse, which had a first-order Fresnel lens, replaced it in 1872.

for the new Life-Saving Service, which was directed to establish stations in states that did not yet have them. Kimball reorganized the Revenue Marine Service to provide the stations, buy equipment (the best he could find), write rules and procedures, and establish a system of inspections to guarantee a reliable and professional Service. [39]

One of Kimball's shrewder moves was to hire former *Saturday Evening Post* writer William D. O'Connor as his assistant. After losing his Post job for writing about radical abolitionist John Brown, O'Connor came to Washington in 1861and rose to be a librarian in the Treasury Department before moving to the Revenue Marine Division. He loved writing about the excitement, adventure, and heroism that were to be found in the lives of lifesaving crewmen, and his skills as a writer proved crucial to Kimball's efforts to build a professional service. Historian David Noble has called the annual reports O'Connor wrote "arguably the most exciting reading ever produced by the U.S. government."[40] They provided crucial impetus to needed federal action.

A federal act in 1873 led to the building of twenty-three new lifesaving stations in 1874 alone. Generally, the construction of the new stations moved from north to south. Those in North Carolina were now joined with Virginia into Life-Saving District No. 6. By the end of 1874, there were seven stations on the Outer Banks: Jones Hill, Caffeys Inlet, Kitty Hawk, Nags Head, Bodie Island, Chicmacomico (at Rodanthe), and Little Kinnakeet (near Hatteras).[41] The new stations improved lifesaving capabilities in North Carolina, but did not mute increased public and

Figure 6-7. Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station (no date). North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.



Fgure 6-8. Thomas Nast [presumably *Harper's Weekly* cartoon in wake of *Huron* disaster, satirizing federal government's failure to provide adequate funds for the Life-Saving Service. Caption says "I suppose I must spend a little on Life-saving Service, Life-boat Stations, Life-Boats, etc.; but it is too bad to be obliged to waste so much money." The 1,020-ton steam/sail *Huron* was only two years old when it went down near Nags Head on November 24, 1877. Nearly 100 officers and crewmen were lost. Thomas Nast (1840–1902) drew cartoons for *Harper's Weekly* from 1862 until 1886. Southeastern Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

congressional scrutiny arising from charges of incompetence and political favoritism in the choice of keepers and the employment of surfmen. Those charges led to a federal investigation of District No. 6 in 1875–1876, which resulted in the dismissal of fifteen keepers and surfmen for lack of experience, incompetence, and insubordination. Evidence of political favoritism and nepotism was abundant.[42]

Meanwhile, major disasters continued to plague the Outer Banks. The *Huron* and *Metropolis* disasters of 1877–1878 focused increased press attention on the inadequacies of federal lifesaving efforts and led to calls for militarizing the service.[43] The North Carolina congressional delegation joined others in opposing the move, which ultimately failed. At long last, in June 1878,

39 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 24–28.
40 Ibid., 28–30.
41 Jones, *Life-Saving Station Boat House*, 11.
42 Ibid., 48ff. These lamentable conditions were not limited to District No. 6. A contemporary report on District No. 5 found similar lacks: five of eight keepers were judged incompetent and more than 20 percent of the surfmen were unqualified (*New York Times*, January 4, 1878).
43 For a full discussion of these disasters, see Mobley, *Ship Ashore*, 52–90. Mobley notes (76) that "Within weeks of the *Metropolis* disaster, Senator Aaron A. Sargent of California introduced a bill . . . to transfer the Life-Saving Service from the Department of the Treasury to the Department of the Navy, where 'proper military discipline' could be maintained. Under the proposed reorganization, the secretary of the navy would appoint naval officers to be superintendents of Life-Saving activities and transfer the keepers and surfmen to the navy to serve wherever ordered."

President Hayes signed a bill establishing the Life-Saving Service as a separate agency within the Treasury Department.[44]

But establishing the agency did not resolve the most pressing problems. It was clear that the Service in North Carolina had to be improved, and quickly. The Secretary of the Treasury recommended that enough stations be added to bring them to within four or five miles of each other; that the annual salary of keepers be raised and the number of lifesaving crew members at each station be increased to eight; and that the active season run from September 1 to May 1.[45] As a result of his recommendations, ten more stations were added in North Carolina in 1878, from Deals Island (later Wash Woods) south to Hatteras. Six more stations, reaching south to Cape Lookout, were added in the 1880s. By 1905, twenty-nine lifesaving stations on the North Carolina coast stretched from Deals Island near the Virginia line to Cape Fear and Oak Island south of Wilmington.

As a result of Kimball's diligent and persistent efforts, the lifesaving enterprise was on a more solid footing than it had ever been. Year after year, he argued for increased pay and a retirement and disability system for his men. The former was granted slowly and modestly; the latter never was forthcoming. Thus working for the Life-Saving Service remained grueling, dangerous, and poorly paid. Surfmen earned $50 per month in 1871; they got a $10 per month raise in 1882, but no more for the next twenty-five years. They received no housing allowance, even when posted to remote stations. Some constructed their own modest houses near the station; failing that, they frequently had to travel long distances home for visits. If they managed to bring their families to live with them at some of the more remote stations, they would likely lack medical care and perhaps schooling for their children.[46]

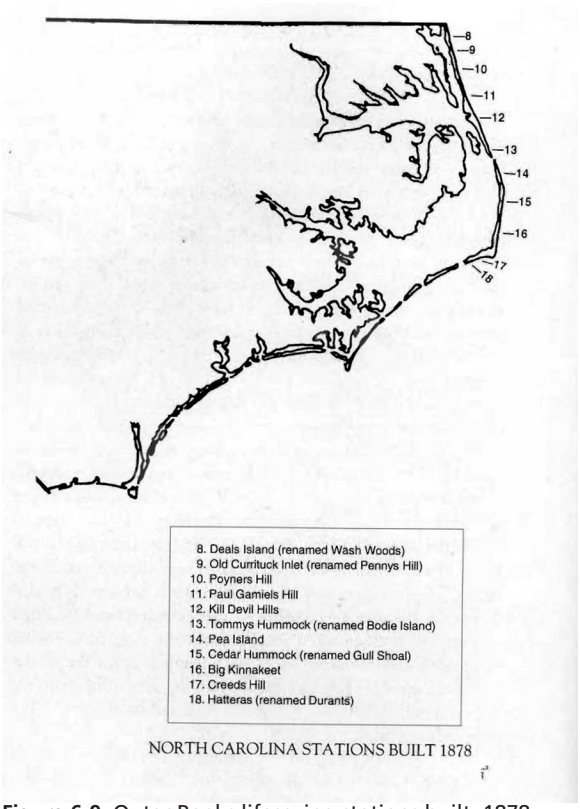


Figure 6-9. Outer Banks lifesaving stations built, 1878. Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 82.

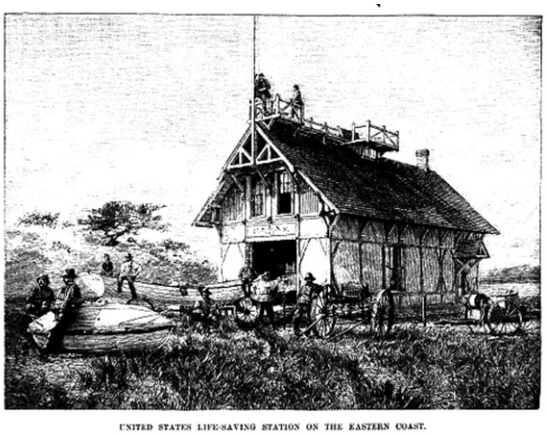


Figure 6-10. United States lifesaving station on the Eastern Coast. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. February 1882, 362.

Some surfmen tried to augment income by off-season fishing or farming, but after the active Life-Saving Service season was lengthened in 1884 (August 1 to June 1), fishing was no longer possible. Workdays and weeks were long, and playing checkers and cards could relieve only so much of the tedium.[47]

44 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 32.

45 Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 72–76. Whether the crew size was enlarged or not is unclear. Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 36, says that a seventh man was added to the usual six in 1885.

46 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 137–141. These conditions would have been somewhat better for crewmen who lived near the Portsmouth station in North Carolina. In "The Mighty Midgetts of Hatteras" in David Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 190, Don Wharton says that in the early years of the Service, the Midgetts and others took lifesaving jobs because they paid better than fishing.

47 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 36–56, 137–138. Noble, 60, notes that unfortunately detailed records of the lives of station personnel are scarce.

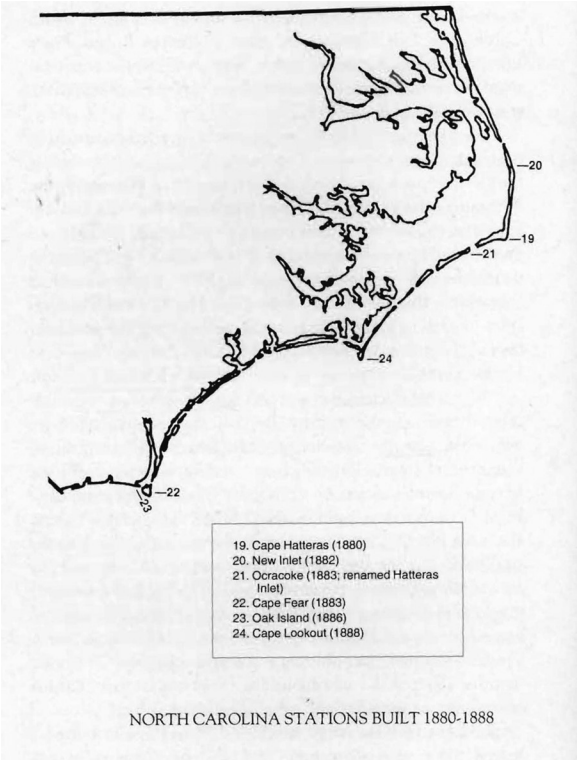


Figure 6-11. Outer Banks lifesaving stations built 1880–1888. Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 100.

Keepers were treated somewhat better, but not a great deal. They were paid only $200 per year in 1876; by 1892 they were making $900 per year, approximately twice as much as a $60-per-month surfman who worked only part of the year. They were allowed to live with their families in the station, however. Some keepers' tendency to treat their crews "with all the authority of an oldtime sailing ship captain" could lead to tension and conflict among the surfmen, whose working lives were already difficult.

It is therefore somewhat surprising that it was not uncommon for several generations of families, such as the Greys, Stowes, Ethridges, Scarboroughs, and Midgetts in North Carolina, to remain in the Life-Saving Service.[48] As conditions changed over the years, however, more and more left. In the absence of pay increases, some surfmen found that they could fish for part of the year, work in the growing coastal tourist trade during the remaining months, and still make more money than the U.S. Life-Saving Service paid them for far more arduous and dangerous work.[49]

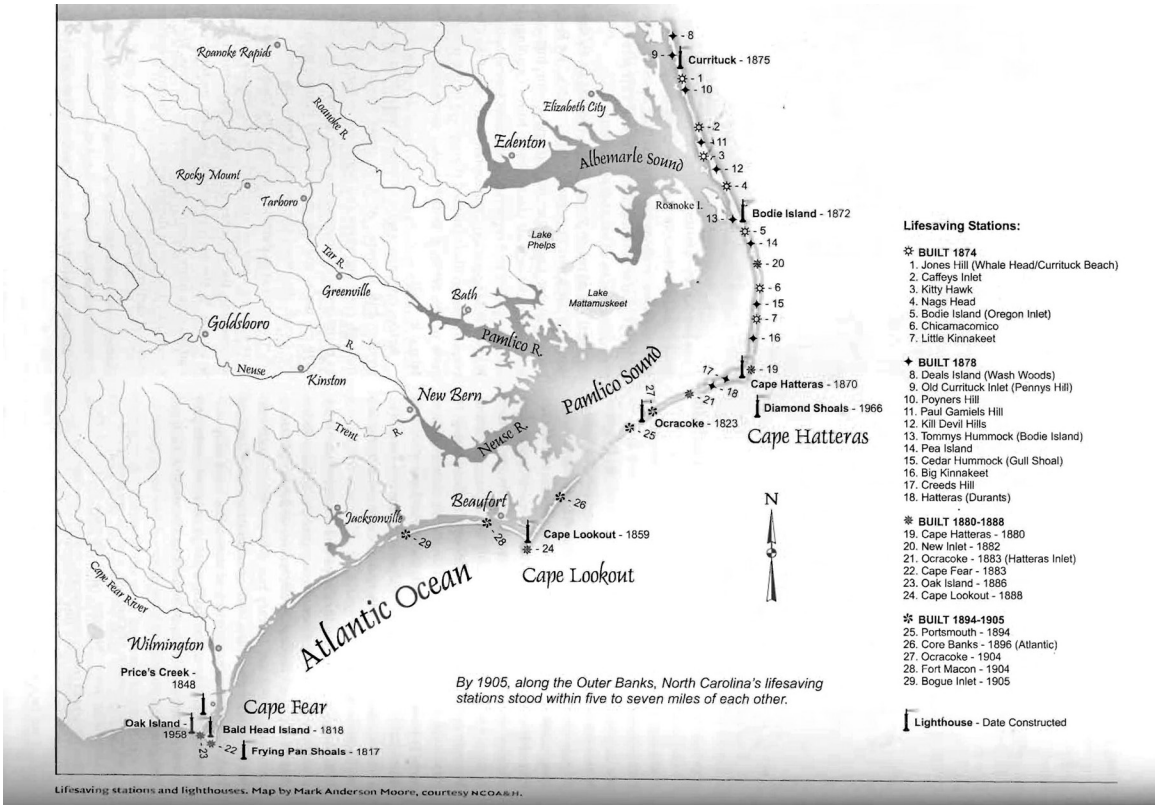


Figure 6-12. Distribution of lifesaving stations on the North Carolina coast, 1905. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 674. Map by Mark Anderson Moore.

48 On the Midgett family and the Life-Saving Service, see Wharton, "The Mighty Midgetts of Hatteras," 188–190.

49 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 56.

Figure 6-13. Lifesaving station on the North Carolina beach (no specific location given). *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, February 1882, 371.

After the turn of the century, some administrative and technological innovations further improved the Service nationwide. Lyle guns for propelling rescue lines further and with more accuracy appeared in 1878; new beach carts and horses and ponies to pull them decreased response times.[50] Now better equipped and staffed with better-trained crews, the Service in North Carolina showed outstanding courage in responding to the wreck of the British steamship Virginia (May 2, 1900) and the 577-ton barkentine Olive Thurlow (1902). From the Portugese barkentine Vera Cruz VII (May 8, 1903), they rescued approximately 400 passengers and crew, the largest number ever from a single vessel.[51]

New gasoline-powered surfboats and lifeboats also boosted crews' speed and efficiency.[52] The American Motor Company introduced the first outboard motor as early as 1896, but they did not become reliable until 1905. The keeper of the Portsmouth Life-Saving Station had already bought a powered boat by 1904, however, as had some of his crew, who used them to avoid being isolated during the active season. The Cape Lookout station received a powered boat in the fall of 1909, but the Portsmouth station did not get one until more than two years later.[53]

The advent of ship-to-shore radio in 1916 also aided lifesaving efforts and reduced both the frequency of shipwrecks and the loss of life. Marconi had received a patent for wireless telegraphy in 1896. The first ship-to-shore message in U.S. history was sent in 1899, and by 1905

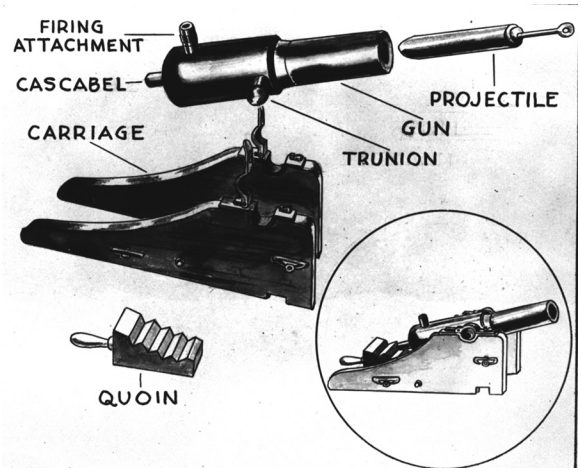


Figure 6-14. Lyle gun for propelling rescue lines. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

50 Ibid., 87, 138–140. Shanks, York, and Shanks, *The U.S. Life-Saving Service*, 67. For an extended discussion of the development of the Lyle gun (as well as its predecessors), see Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 105ff.

51 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 142ff. On the *Olive Thurlow* wreck, see "Wreck Survivors Here; How the Barkentine Olive Thurlow Went to Pieces at Anchor," *New York Times*, December 12, 1902, 6. This article says that the vessel was wrecked "in Cape Lookout Cove." The rescue was carried out by the crew from Cape Lookout.

52 Mobley notes in *Ship Ashore!*, 143, that the first powered lifeboat in North Carolina took part in rescuing seamen from the German steamship *Brewster* on November 29, 1909. Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 33, 148ff., reports that the Service began experimenting with gasoline-powered boats as early as 1899 and that a shift toward their use was under way by 1905. By 1912, seventy motor lifeboats and sixty power surfboats were in operation. During the Service's final year (1915), there were eighty power lifeboats and 150 surfboats.

53 Tommy Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2006), 12. See also William D. Wilkinson, "The Standard 36-Ft. Motor Lifeboat of the U.S. Life Saving Service—1907," *Nautical Research Journal* 11 (Summer 1960), 46, 49.

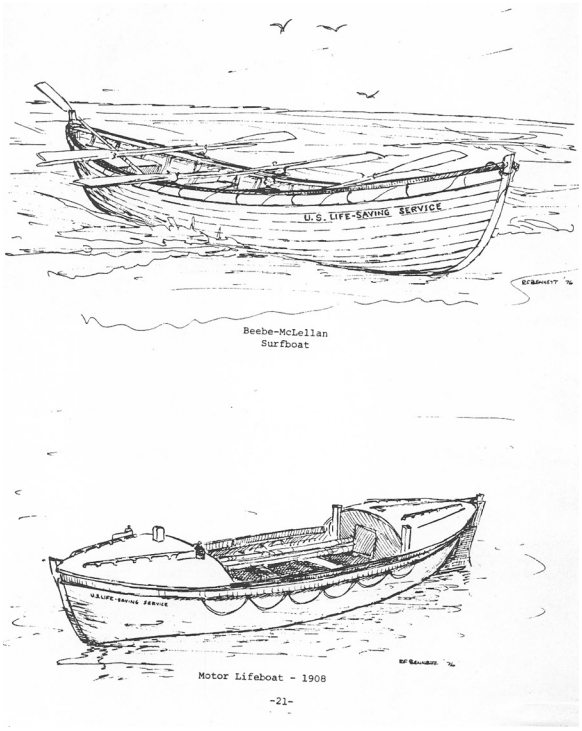


Figure 6-15. Motor lifeboat, 1908. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

Japanese ships at sea were communicating with each other by radio.[54]

During its relatively short independent life, the Life-Saving Service left an indelible imprint on the southern Banks. In an economy in which regular salaried jobs were rare, it provided reliable income for several generations of Outer Banks families; its grounds and buildings were stabilizing icons; and its crews and keepers were important anchors of social networks.[55] In a coastal county like Carteret, which in 1890 had only a few more than 2,200 adult male residents, the Life-Saving Service did not have to provide large numbers of jobs to have a significant impact upon employment.[56] In her historic resource study of Portsmouth, Sarah Olson notes that "From the late 19th century to well into the 20th century, Portsmouth's livelihood was linked to the U .S. lifesaving station, and most of the inhabitants were directly or indirectly associated with it."[57]

It appears likely, then, that the twenty or so jobs provided by the stations at Portsmouth, Core Banks, and Cape Lookout might have supported more than a hundred people.[58] And since the population of Portsmouth itself was only slightly more than 200 at the time, the local impact of six to thirteen regular jobs would have been considerable, both economically and socially.[59] "The keepers of the Portsmouth station, like the keepers of many other lifesaving stations," a prior scholar has noted, "were respected members of the community. One member of the crew at Portsmouth in 1899 reflected that not only was his superior F. G. Terrell looked up to by the entire station crew, but that even the community at large looked on him as President."[60]

The iconic physical facilities of the Life-Saving Service (and subsequent entities) were familiar to the entire population of the Outer Banks. Long after the organizations they housed were

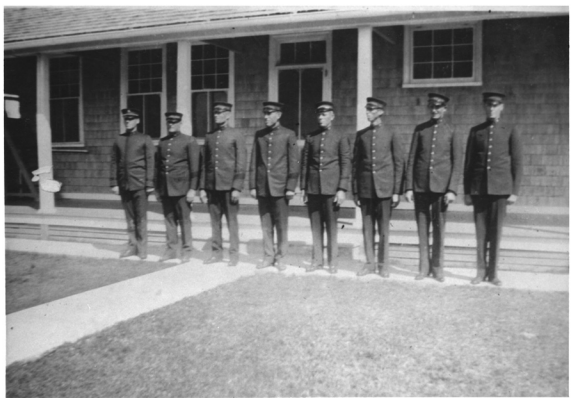


Figure 6-16. Portsmouth lifesaving crew in the 1920s. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive

54 Tony Long, "Aug. 23, 1899: First Ship-to-Shore Signal to a U.S. Station," *Wired,* Aug. 23, 2007, http://www.wired.com/science/discoveries/news/2007/08/dayintech_0823. For a somewhat more detailed discussion, see Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 10–11.

55 Jones*, Lewis Davis House,* 15, is careful to note that the crews did not necessarily live adjacent (or even near) to the stations. Especially after the advent of gasoline-powered boats, some commuted from as far away as Morehead City.

56 U.S. Census (http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php).

57 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 93.

58 Some of the scant information available on the Core Banks station (1896) may be found in Holland, *Survey History,* 36, and Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station* , 9.

59 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 90, says that the Portsmouth crew averaged ten or eleven men, but ranged from six to thirteen, and that there was "rarely a year when the crew did not include some Portsmouthers." Olson's figure is higher than that given by Noble, who says the crews included seven to eight men.

60 Ibid., 88ff. On the importance of government employment to residents of Harkers Island, see Garrity-Blake, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study*, 6.5.18.

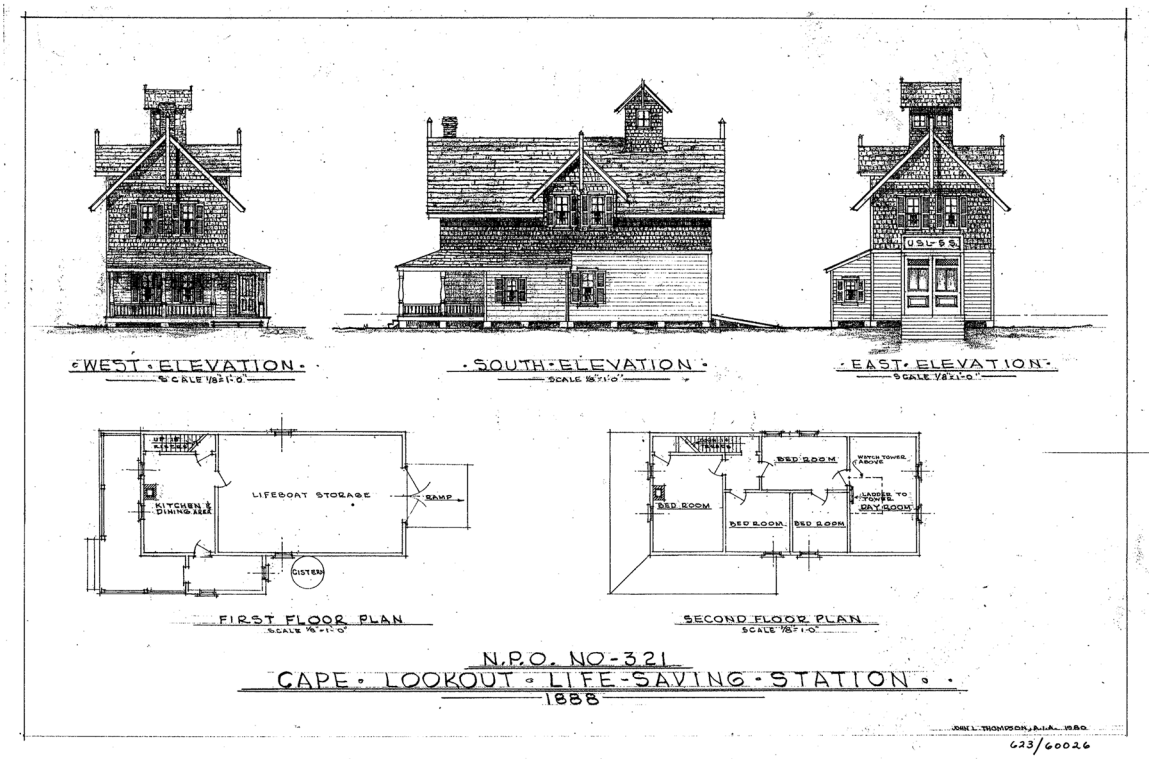


Figure 6-17. Drawing of Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station. National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

phased out, many of the core buildings and related outbuildings remained, frequently moved and adapted to other uses. At length, they came to constitute a major part of the historic resources of CALO. In not a few cases, private residences constructed or occupied by keepers or crewmembers, such as the 1910 McWilliams-Dixon house in Portsmouth, augmented the official landscape.[61]

Figure 6-18. Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station, 1893. Jones, *Life-Saving Station Boat House*, 10. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive.

61 See for example Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 68, 125, on the McWilliams-Dixon House, constructed ca. 1910 by keeper Charles McWilliams.

The Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station, about a mile and a half southwest of the lighthouse, opened in early 1888 and was manned by a keeper and a crew of seven. The main building is a two-story, 22-by-45-foot (2000+ square feet), cross-gabled, wood-framed structure built on low, wooden piers. A rear porch was added before 1905; a two-story front porch followed in the 1920s. Some interior alterations and three dormers brought it to its final configuration.[62] A new boathouse was added in 1892, and other outbuildings were added during the next four years.[63]

Summarizing the building's iconic and historical importance, architectural historian Tommy Jones notes that the station "is one of three nineteenth-

62 Jones, *Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station,* 61.

63 Ibid., 33. The history of the structures that at various times constituted the Life-Saving Station is complicated. See Table 2: Structures at the Life-Saving/U.S. Coast Guard Station, in John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2-21. More than twenty structures comprise the list; nine of them (including three boathouses) were built before the advent of the U.S. Coast Guard in 1915. Jones, *Life-Saving Station Boat House*, 27–34, provides a detailed discussion of the building; its deterioration, demolition, and replacement; and historic and modern modifications of the various boathouses. See 37 for a discussion of the 1924 ("old") boathouse, now a private residence.

Figure 6-19. Portsmouth Life-Saving Station, ca. 1903–1915. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive.

century buildings that remain in the Cape Lookout Village Historic District and it has played a major role in the history of Cape Lookout." During the thirty years before it was replaced in 1917, Jones says, "the station remained a landmark, a source of shelter during storms and of assistance during all kinds of emergencies." The station's post-1917 history is an excellent example of the serial adaptive reuse of such structures: In 1919, it became a radio compass station for the Navy, and from 1921 until 1939, it housed a Navy radio station; after 1939, it passed to the Coast Guard, which used it until 1957. It was then sold for use as a private residence.[64]

The Portsmouth station, established in 1893—five years after the Cape Lookout station—on the already federally owned grounds of the old Marine Hospital, was apparently intended to occupy the hospital building.[65] But that building burned down (possibly at the hand of local arsonists, perhaps in order to force the building of a new facility) before it could be occupied.[66] In any case, a new building designed in the Rhode Island-derived Quonchontaug style of architect George R. Tolman was constructed in 1894.[67] It was the largest building ever constructed in Portsmouth, and as Tommy Jones notes, it has remained a landmark on the island for over a century. It is still "the best-preserved example of some twenty-one "Quonochontuag" stations that the Life-Saving Service built along the eastern seaboard between 1891 and 1904."[68] It eventually had several associated outbuildings (including a kitchen, stables, oil and coal storage building, and warehouses).[69]

Like many other lifesaving stations, the Portsmouth station was used briefly during the Spanish-American war to provide coastal watch for the Navy, but no sightings of the Spanish

Figure 6-20. Portsmouth Life-Saving Station in the 1920s. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive.

64 Jones, *Life-Saving Station Boat House*, 28. A timeline for the structure is on 35–36.

65 The new hospital building opened in 1847 and closed in 1860. The main building was used as a weather station from 1876 until the mid-1880s. "Portsmouth Island's History and Development" (unidentified, undated typescript in CALO archive), 5–7.

66 Ibid., 28, on the status of arson as an item in "local tradition."

67 See Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 29–52 for a discussion of the earlier lifesaving station buildings further north on the Outer Banks. On the design of the stations, see Wick York, "The Architecture of the U.S. Life-Saving Stations," *Log of Mystic Seaport* 34 (1982): 3–20; also in Shanks, York, and Shanks, *U.S. Life Saving Service*, 211–249. York examines station architecture from the 1840s onward and includes a biographical statement on J. Lake Parkinson, the first Life-Saving Service architect, as well as other Service architects. A small rendering of the Rhode Island station is reproduced in Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 9. An excellent capsule biography of Tolman appears on 9–10. Jones's historic structure report contains excellent, fully documented detail on all aspects of the station's construction, operation, and history.

68 Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 1–10.

69 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 188ff. Statement on ancillary buildings is from an undated and unidentified document, "Portsmouth Island's History and Development" in Cape Lookout National Seashore files.

Figure 6-21. Portsmouth Life-Saving Station after renovation, 2006. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive.

fleet occurred.[70] In 1937, the Coast Guard decommissioned the Portsmouth station and then reactivated it briefly during World War II; during the reactivation, the station underwent major rehabilitation by the Navy, including the addition of a detached kitchen. It was used as a hunting club after the war before being returned to government ownership when Cape Lookout National Seashore was authorized in 1966. A recent renovation resulted in the full restoration of the building.

Over the more than four decades of its life, the U.S. Life-Saving Service worked in a constantly changing environment whose evolutions predicted the Service's demise. The number of lighthouses in the country increased from 333 in 1852 to 1462 in 1913, thus increasing navigational precision on ships. Sails were increasingly replaced by engines, and wooden ships by steel. Ships became both far stronger and far less subject to the mercy of the winds. The higher speed of gasoline patrol and surfboats allowed fewer stations to serve larger areas.[71]

In sum, the Life-Saving Service provided the public a more than acceptable return on its modest and inconsistent investment: more than 28,000 ships and upwards of 180,000 people had benefited from its services.[72] In the years leading up to World War I, however, it became increasingly clear that a more consistent, substantial, and professional service was called for. The existence of the Life-Saving Service as a separate entity ended in January 1915, when it was merged into the newly formed United States Coast Guard. The Cape Lookout Life-Saving station became Coast Guard Station #190 (technically a "lifeboat station").[73] Freddie Gilkin, who had become keeper of the Life-Saving Service station only a few months earlier, remained to head the Coast Guard Station.[74]

The still unwritten part of Life-Saving Service history concerns the role of women. No women were employed by the Service, but many participated in its work in vital and sometimes even heroic ways.[75] The indefatigable young Martha Coston, widowed at twenty-one when her inventor husband died after inhaling chemical fumes, finished his work on the Coston Night Signals that became ubiquitous in the Service. As early as 1880, the Women's National Relief Association was providing supplies for shipwreck survivors (especially clothing and blankets) to lifesaving stations. Other women built fires on the beach to guide and warm surfmen during rescues, helped to launch boats, and in dire circumstances rode in them to assist surfmen, and cared for their husbands and children while living at sometimes-isolated stations.

The U.S. Coast Guard

The Coast Guard had its origin in a May 1913 act (S.B. 2337), signed into law in January 1915, that combined the Life-Saving Service with the Revenue Cutter Service to create the United States Coast Guard.[76] The statute placed the Coast Guard within the Treasury Department, but stipulated that it would operate as a branch of the Navy during war time.

70 Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 8, 27. For information on the use of the Coast Guard during Prohibition, see Harold Waters, *Smugglers of Spirits: Prohibition and the Coast Guard Patrol* (New York: Hastings House, 1971).

71 Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 147–149.

72 Jones, *Life-Saving Station*, 15, and *Life-Saving Station, Cape Lookout Village: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004), 22.

73 Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station National Register Nomination, Item 7.

74 Jones, *Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station*, 22.

75 The most substantial (though still brief) treatment of women's role in the Service that we have encountered is in Shanks, York, and Shanks, *U.S. Life Saving Service,* 123–128, upon which our few comments are based.

76 This brief précis of Coast Guard history draws substantially upon Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 16–17. Materials not otherwise attributed are from this source. For a brief account of the evolution of the Revenue Cutter Service, see Noble, *That Others Might Live*, 150–153.

Under this stipulation, the Coast Guard operated under the U.S. Navy, which improved its performance and strengthened its law enforcement capabilities. At the same time, technological changes continued to alter lifesaving methods and improve navigation, ship-to-shore communication, and weather forecasting. These changes and the increasing predominance of diesel-powered steel vessels allowed ships to operate further offshore, reducing the number of accidents from treacherous shoals. Coast Guard airplanes extended tracking and rescue capabilities even further.[77]

With the passage of the Volstead Act in 1919, the Coast Guard's interdiction of "rumrunners" claimed a disproportionate share of its resources. On the Outer Banks, in particular, conditions dictated that their success in doing so was meager indeed. But the mission persisted until the repeal of prohibition in 1933.

In July 1939, as war broke out in Europe, the Coast Guard absorbed the Lighthouse Service, which dated from 1910.[78] Prior to the United States's entry into the war, the Coast Guard began its wartime duties by carrying out "neutrality patrols," but in 1940 it became responsible for port security. A month before Pearl Harbor, the Navy assumed control of the Coast Guard, which soon began landing troops on overseas beachheads. Inactive stations (including the one at Portsmouth, deactivated in 1938, and the Core Bank one, deactivated in 1940) were reactivated to provide coastal security. By early 1946, however, the need had passed, and the Coast Guard was handed back to the Treasury Department.[79] On the Outer Banks, the Guard was never to regain its prewar prominence; advancing radio technology, already in evidence by the late 1930s, reduced the need for physical installations on the coast.

The presence of the Coast Guard on the Outer Banks left a wealth of historical resources. Like its predecessor the Life-Saving Service, some of whose buildings it took over and used, the Coast Guard made its mark upon the landscape of what was to become Cape Lookout National Seashore. Almost immediately after the passage of the 1915 legislation that created the Coast Guard, renovation of the former Cape Lookout Life-Saving station for Coast Guard use began. By late 1916, a new main building to replace the original station (built in 1887 and already moved to a new location) was under construction. A rickety old boathouse was sold and a new one constructed. Over the next several years, interrupted at times by the exigencies of World War I, the Coast Guard installation was the scene of additional renovations, new construction (including, a stable, a galley, and a mess hall), and alterations to both grounds and existing buildings.[80]

Near Portsmouth station, both the Roy Robinson House (1926) and the Jesse Babb House (1935) were occupied by Coast Guard employees. Babb was a cook and machinist at the Coast Guard station, and Robinson headed the station from

77 Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 4, 150, 161. A Coast Guard air station operated briefly (1920–1922) at an abandoned Naval air base in Morehead City (ibid., 161–163).

78 The history of lighthouse services is administratively complicated. In 1789, all lighthouses, which had previously been constructed and maintained by individual colonies, were turned over to the federal government. From 1820 to 1852, when the U.S. Light-House Board was established, they were controlled by the Auditor of the Treasury. In 1910, the Bureau of Lighthouses (alternately, the U.S. Lighthouse Service) was formed; it oversaw lighthouses until they were transferred to the U.S. Coast Guard in 1939. Michigan Lighthouse Conservancy, "Lighthouses: A Brief Administrative History," *The United States Lighthouse Service* (2010), http://www.michiganlights.com/lighthouseservice.htm.

79 On deactivation of Portsmouth and Core Banks stations, see Wiss, Nanney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 31. In 1967, the Coast Guard moved from the Treasury Department to the new Department of Transportation and, in 2003, to the new Department of Homeland Security. In recent years, the Coast Guard has been pressed into service in the interdiction of the drug trade, response to oil spills and similar environmental threats, pirate attacks against cruise ships, hurricane response, and rescue.

80 *Tommy Jones, Coast Guard Station Boat House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004), 15–20, presents a detailed discussion of these changes. On the galley and mess hall and a 32 by 50 foot equipment building that was added in 1940, see Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station National Register Nomination, Item 7, 3–4. The site included several other small structures as well.

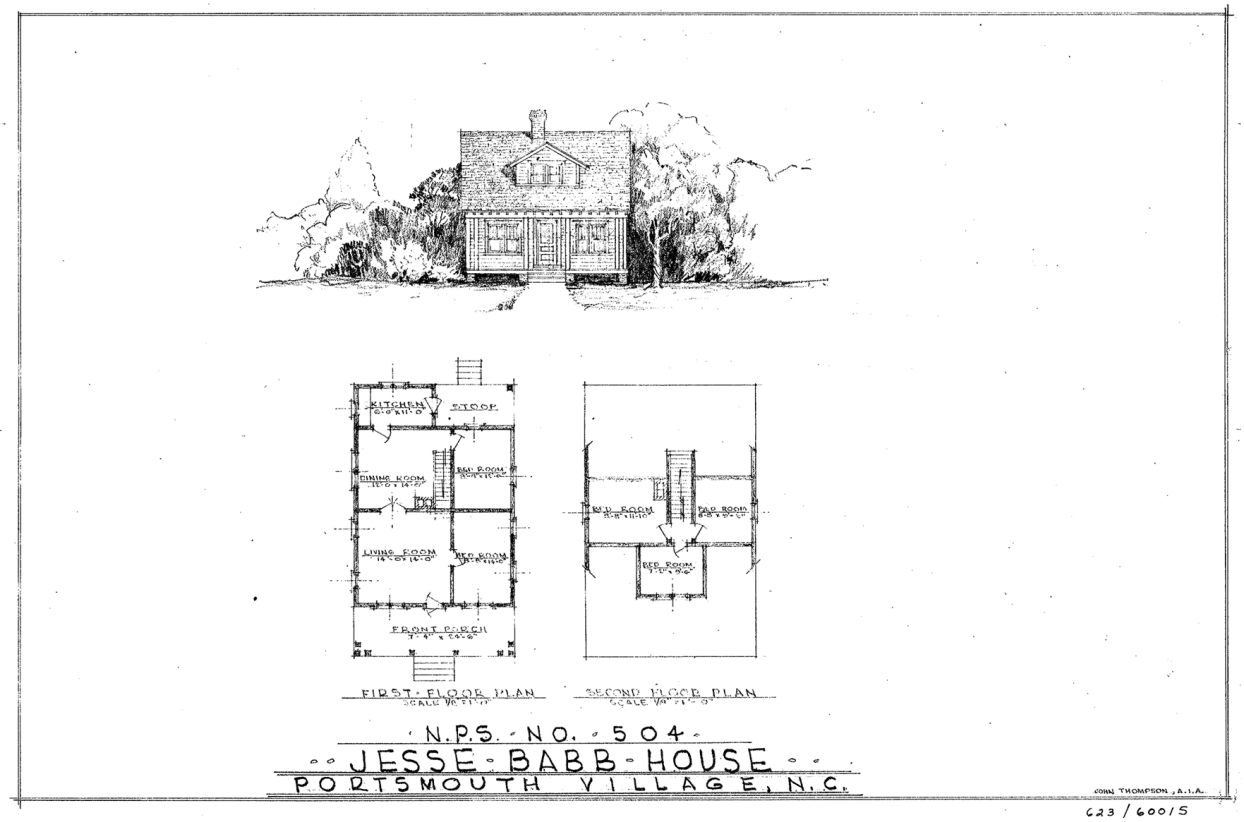


Figure 6-23. Drawing of Jesse Babb House. National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

1925 to 1931.[81] At Cape Lookout, the Lewis-Davis house was built from two relocated fishing shacks around 1920 by Coast Guard employee James C. Lewis. It contains some of the earliest examples of the cape's historic architecture and illustrates how residents have adapted and reused buildings. Tommy Jones notes that the house "is especially significant for its associations with Carrie Arrendel Davis, whose store and dance hall on the Bight were focal points for life at the Cape in the 1930s and 1940s."[82] The Gaskill-Guthrie house (ca. 1915) was home to Clem Gaskill, who worked for the Coast Guard for several years (1917–1920), and to Odell Guthrie, a Coast Guard employee for upwards of twenty-five years after 1919.[83]

Figure 6-22. Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station, 1917. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive.

As late as the mid-1950s, the Coast Guard maintained a major presence on the Outer Banks. Dunbar's 1955 map shows seventeen active stations (out of twenty-five that had been active at some period) between Cape Lookout and Wash Woods near the Virginia border.[84] The Portsmouth station remained in use until 1937 and the Core

81 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 65, 68. For details on the Jesse Babb House, see 68ff. Several other structures were associated with the house: a kitchen, a garage, a generator house, and a privy. The Dixon/Babb cemetery is also related.

82 Jones, *Lewis Davis House,* 43. The following brief discussion is based entirely upon this report.

83 Tommy Jones, *Gaskill-Guthrie House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004), 1. Jones's analysis of the house includes considerable biographical detail on both Gaskill and Guthrie. In the 1930s, the house was rented out.

84 Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*, 89.

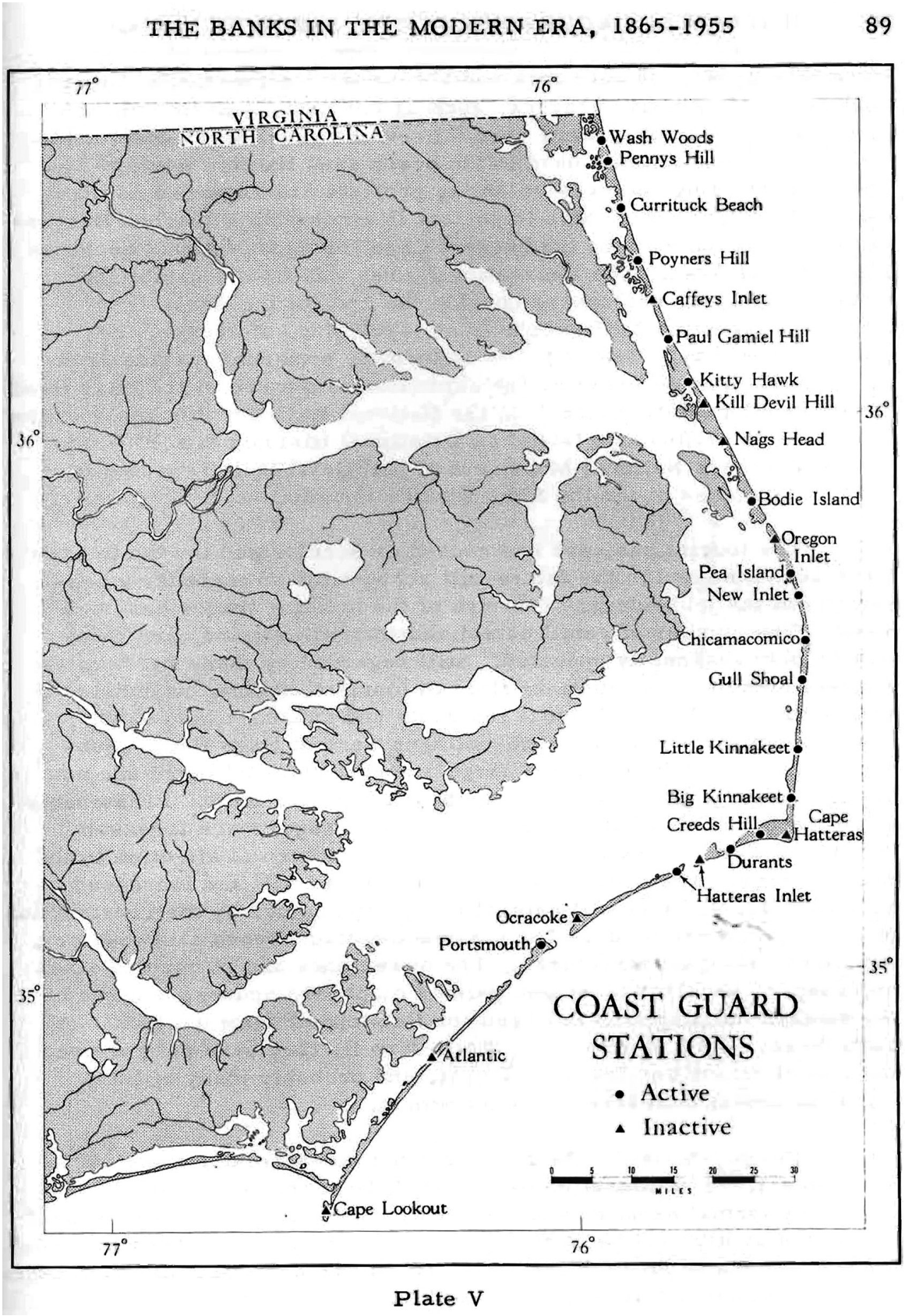
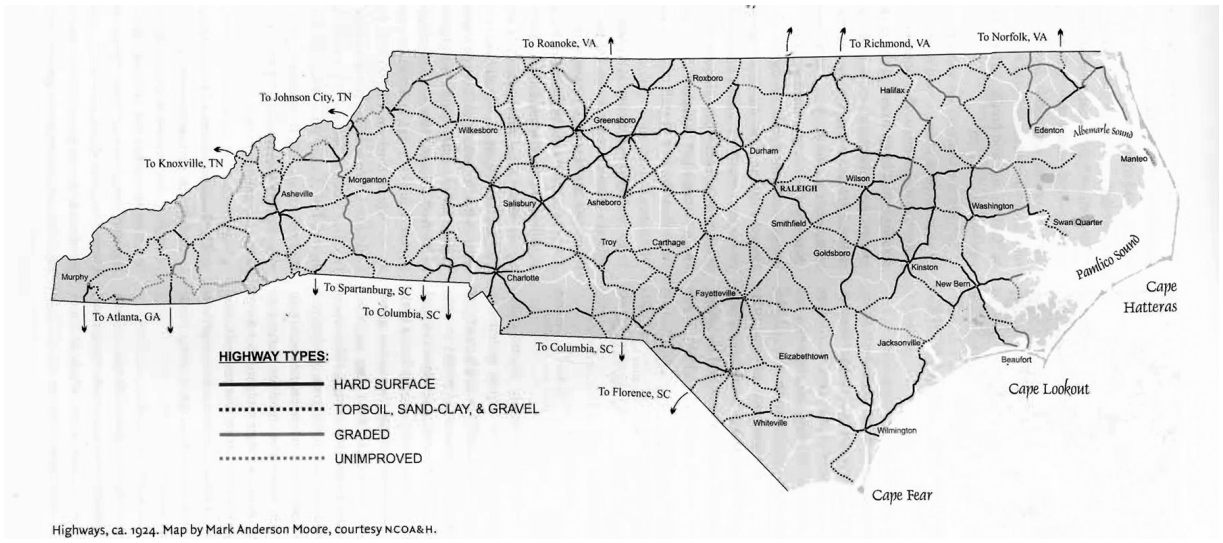


Figure 6-24. Coast Guard Stations on the Outer Banks. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*, 89.



Highways, ca. 1924. Map by Mark Anderson Moore, courtesy NCOA&H.

Figure 6-25. North Carolina Highways, ca. 1924. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 566. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. North Carolina Office of Archives and History.

Banks station until 1940, but the Cape Lookout station was not decommissioned until 1982.[85]

The impact of the Coast Guard on local employment and the economy, as well as on social structure, the cultural landscape, and cultural identity was long-lived and important. If one considers that, on average, some twenty stations were active on the Outer Banks at any one time and that perhaps six to ten men were attached to each, it might be reasonable to conclude that between 120 and 200 men were gaining their livelihoods from the Coast Guard at any time. If most were married and had families of four to five, then Coast Guard operations were supporting from a minimum of nearly 500 (120 families of four) to a maximum of 1000 (200 families of five) people.[86] The National Register nomination for the facility notes that "[m]ost, if not all, of the early crew men of the USCG station were from the local communities of Harkers Island, Marshallburg, Gloucester, Beaufort, etc. . . . Almost every 'old' family has relatives who served at this station and called it 'home.' Local people are very aware of their lifesaving legacy. They are proud of the history of heroism and the hardships associated with the service of their family members. This station remains an important physical link to their past."[87]

The Great Depression and the New Deal

The years between the two great wars of the twentieth century were not especially good ones for the Outer Banks, especially on their southern end. The dramatic booms that came to Charlotte and Asheville in the 1920s were driven by speculative development schemes not in evidence on or near the Banks. In the mid-1920s, only Wilmington and New Bern (and to a lesser extent Beaufort) were served by good roads, and even those did not extend either far out from the town centers or toward the Banks.

Although the two-lane wooden Wright Memorial Bridge across Currituck Sound had opened in 1930 and the Wright Brothers Memorial in 1932, the growth of tourism that had long been centered around Nags Head was still hampered through the 1930s by the lack of adequate bridges and all-weather roads. The tourism-related development that would be spurred by the development of Cape Hatteras National Seashore (toward the establishment of which there had been efforts since

85 The National Register nomination for Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station, Item 8, 3, notes that the Core Banks station, built by the Life-Saving Service in 1897 and later used by the Coast Guard, was "lost to fire and erosion of the site."

86 The Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station National Register nomination says that the new station was designed "to accommodate a crew of nine." Our estimate here may be low. This National Register nomination indicates that although the station was designed to house nine men, in later years it housed "21 or 22 men" (Item 7, 6).

87 Ibid., Item 8, 2. For the history of heroism within the Coast Guard, see Dennis Noble, *Rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard: Great Acts of Heroism Since 1878* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005).

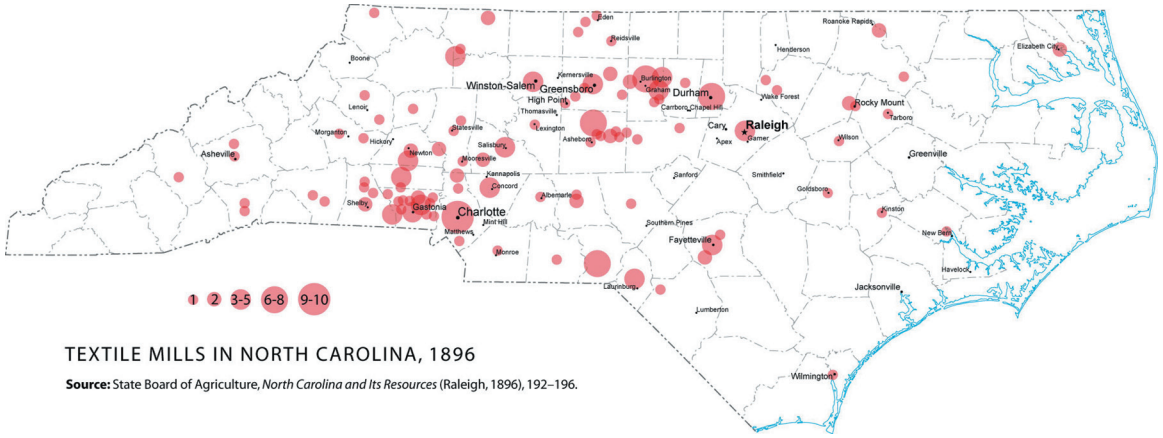


Figure 6-26. Distribution of textile mills in North Carolina, 1896. Map by LEARN NC from data in *North Carolina and Its Resources* (Raleigh, NC: State Board of Agriculture, 1896), 192–196.

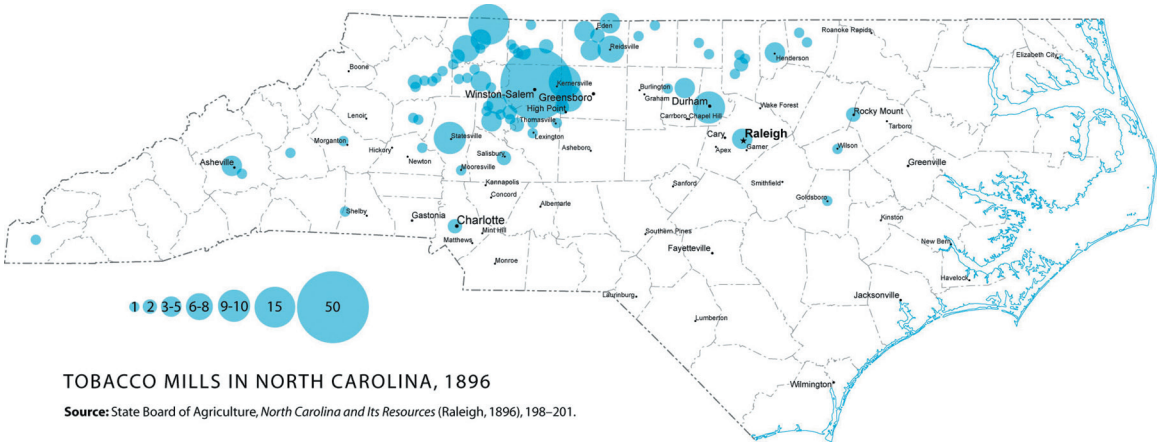


Figure 6-27. Distribution of tobacco factories in North Carolina, 1896. Map by LEARN NC from data in *North Carolina and Its Resources* (Raleigh, NC: State Board of Agriculture, 1896), 192–196.

the late 1920s) lay both further north and twenty years in the future.[88]

Meanwhile, the state in general was hard hit by the Depression. Nearly 100 banks closed in the 1920s, and nearly 200 between 1930 and 1933 (88 of them in 1930 alone). Growing mortgage debt (especially on speculative projects), declining automobile sales, rampant speculation in stocks and bonds, poor banking practices, and declining farm income combined to bring on the "crash" of October 1929.

North Carolinians suffered severely as the state budget was reduced by a third. Workers in coastal counties did not even have access to the textile and tobacco industry jobs that had proliferated following the Civil War (low-paying and oppressive though many such jobs were). Those industries were confined primarily to the piedmont; only a few mills were located in Wilmington, New Bern, and Elizabeth City. The situation was worse for tobacco factories: there were none closer than Rocky Mount, Wilson, and Goldsboro.

All of the state's core industries were hit hard. Cotton that had sold for 30 cents a pound in 1923 brought only 6½ cents in 1932; state receipts from the crop fell by two-thirds between 1929 and 1933. Tobacco fared no better. The furniture industry, the fourth most important in the state, contracted dramatically, but the textile industry was hardest hit. Rapid changes in clothing styles, foreign competition, falling demand, labor unrest due to falling wages and adverse changes in work rules, and aggressive union organizing put major pressure on the industry. Along with numerous other towns and cities, Wilmington witnessed serious

88 A federal legislative act of July 10, 1930, (46 Stat. 1021) addressed the necessity of preserving national shorelines for recreational use. See Cameron Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2007), 2.

Table 6-1: Persons on relief in southern coastal North Carolina counties, 1932–1935

Southern Banks County	Population	Persons on Relief	% on Relief	Metropolitan County	Population	Persons on Relief	% on Relief
Brunswick	15,818	2,572	16.2	Wake	94,757	8,198	8.7
Carteret	16,900	2,880	17.0	Mecklenberg	127,971	11,509	9.0
New Hanover	43,010	8,545	19.9	Guilford	133,010	12,865	9.7
Onslow	15,289	1,035	6.8	Forsyth	111,681	9,261	8.3
Pender	15,686	1,073	7.0	Buncombe	97,037	14,886	15.3
Average			*13.4*				*10.2*
Statewide			*8.3*				*8.3*

Source: Adapted from J. S. Kirk, Walter A. Cutter, and Thomas W. Morse, *Emergency Relief in North Carolina: A Record of the Development and the Activities of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1932–1935* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, 1936), 54.

labor violence. Textile workers' general strike of 1934 brought hundreds of thousands out of the plants and into the streets all over the South.[89] In virtually every county, mortgages were foreclosed and land was sold for nonpayment of taxes. Diets took a turn for the worse, and children suffered malnutrition.[90]

Following a 1930 advisory study he had requested from the Brookings Institution, Governor O. Max Gardner took dramatic steps. New state agencies moved to improve control over and efficiency in state purchases and personnel; a revamped Department of Labor and a reorganized state Board of Health addressed critical needs; a Local Government Act stabilized the credit of towns and counties; and the state took over the task of road maintenance from the counties.

Unfortunately, such approaches, while appropriate, were slow to improve the lives of ordinary people. In the short term, direct relief efforts were quickly put into place. Governor Gardner's "Live at Home" program encouraged the conversion of crop land from tobacco and cotton to food crops, and agricultural extension agents urged people to grow their own gardens. A new Council on Unemployment and Relief organized relief committees in 88 of the state's 100 counties, using funds from the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation.[91] Statistics compiled by the Council showed that percentages of people on relief were about 30 percent higher in the southern Outer Banks counties than in noncoastal metropolitan counties and more than 50 percent higher than in the state as a whole. Except for New Hanover County, which included Wilmington, Carteret County had the highest rate of relief recipients (17 percent) of the five coastal counties.

Emergency employment programs took a variety of forms throughout the state.[92] In eight coastal counties, including Carteret, oyster-planting projects added nearly $60,000 to local payrolls. Eighty-three men from coastal counties improved facilities at agricultural experiment stations; others worked on pest control projects, reworked the city docks; built gymnasiums in Morehead City and Beaufort and a biological laboratory in Beaufort: and repainted the Carteret County courthouse, on which county finances had not allowed any work for years. Vastly larger projects at Fort Macon, Camp Glenn (the National Guard camp at

89 This strike was later the subject of George Stoney's celebrated 1995 film, *Uprising of '34* (1995).

90 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 481–495.

91 A detailed discussion of the state's efforts in this area is available in J. S. Kirk, Walter A. Cutter, and Thomas W. Morse, *Emergency Relief in North Carolina: A Record of the Development and the Activities of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1932–1935* ([Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton], 1936), from which our summary details are taken.

92 The particular implications of New Deal programs for blacks were treated briefly in the previous chapter.

Morehead City), and Fort Bragg employed nearly 9,000. Consistent with gender norms of the period, women (25 percent of them heads of families) cooked, sewed, cleaned, did clerical work, and in Carteret County tied nets for fishermen.[93] Under the Rural Rehabilitation Program, some Carteret County families were relocated onto subsistence farmsteads.[94]

Between April 1934 and March 1935, in any case, nearly $95,000 in relief payments poured into Carteret County, just under 1 percent of the funds expended statewide. More than three times as much was allocated for the Wilmington area.[95] Necessarily, the Carteret County money flowed to inland areas, since by the 1930s almost no one except Coast Guard crews and lighthouse keepers still actually lived on the southern banks. Diamond City, which once had perhaps as many as 500 residents, had blown away in a hurricane more than thirty years earlier, and Cape Lookout Village, which until around 1920 had had as many as eighty residents, was little more than a collection of seasonal cottages.[96] Portsmouth's population had been declining steadily since 1870; even then, it had had scarcely more than 200 residents and by the 1950s it had only about a dozen.[97]

A major entity involved in relief efforts throughout the nation was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC; 1933–1942), established to provide employment and training to young men 17 to 25 years old. Nationwide, some 120,000 enrollees worked out of 600 CCC camps.[98] There were sixty-one camps in North Carolina. Projects undertaken by the corps included landscaping, erosion control, trail building, fire prevention, and park facilities construction.[99] A major CCC project was the North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project, run out of Camp Virginia Dare at Manteo, which grassed 142 million square feet of the coast and planted 2.5 million seedlings.[100] Unfortunately, of the twenty-three camps set up by the NPS in North Carolina, seventeen were in the mountains and only three were on the Outer Banks—two at Cape Hatteras and one at Fort Macon—leaving the southern banks with no installation.[101]

Predictably, the CCC project ran afoul of local racial mores.[102] State and local politicians requested that no "colored" CCC units be established. Bruce Etheridge, Director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, told Rep. Lindsay Warren that if a "colored" camp were established,

the people locally will bitterly resent it and I fear that trouble may arise. Placing myself in their position, I know that I should resent it to the better [sic] end. Two hundred or more strange and wild negroes placed in a small community such as Buxton, just what their action might be is unknown.

93 A photo of the women at work is in Kirk, Cutter, and Morse, *Emergency Relief in North Carolina*, 260.

94 The Morehead City gymnasium may be seen in ibid., 100, the biological laboratory on 122, the Beaufort gymnasium on 222, and the city docks work on 232.

95 Ibid., 85, 92, 95, 150, 180, 232, 240, 261–263, 300.

96 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 4-17.

97 Portsmouth Village National Register Nomination.

98 Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 8.

99 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 490. A good brief history of the CCC may be found in John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933–1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), Chapter 1.

100 Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 162–163; Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 12. Binkley gives much higher figures: more than 4 million feet of sand fences, 284 million square feet of grass, and 3.5 million shrubs and trees planted. The project was intertwined with contemporary discussions about creating a national park on the Outer Banks.

101 Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*. Harley Jolley's more recent tabulation of the CCC units set up in the state by other entities (state parks and forests agencies, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Soil Erosion Service, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Tennessee Valley Authority) counts approximately 150 units. About two dozen of them were in coastal counties (Dare, Onslow, Craven, Hyde, Beaufort), but Carteret had none. Harley Jolley, *That Magnificent Army of Youth and Peace: The Civilian Conservation Corps in North Carolina, 1933–1942* (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2007), 139–143. Curiously, Jolley's list does not include the Cape Hatteras and Fort Macon units.

102 Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 17ff. Our account is drawn from Binkley.

Warren replied that he was "shocked and surprised" that such a move would even be contemplated, adding that "it would be best to have no camp at all than to have a negro camp."[103]

As in the rest of the state and nation, the Depression in eastern North Carolina lingered until the advent of World War II. The major development with regard to government presence on the southern Banks after World War II was the coming of Cape Lookout National Seashore, which we reserve for discussion in the subsequent chapter on tourism.

103 Ibid., 17–18. Etheridge, Warren, and others of like mind prevailed. The camp was all white.

From Regulators to Aviators:
Wars and the Southern Banks

Many prominent features of landscape and life on the southern Outer Banks have come and gone. Inlets have opened and closed; islands have appeared, reconfigured themselves, and disappeared; hurricanes have wiped out homes, dunes, and even whole villages; sounds have gone from freshwater to brackish and back again; whole industries have appeared, developed, and disappeared. But government activities in their various forms and manifestations have been there continuously at least since the early eighteenth century. Five times they have been associated with a war, and in wartime the shoals, islands, inlets, sounds, and rivers take on urgent strategic importance. Troop concentrations, forts, docks, jetties, communications facilities, gun emplacements, barracks, and other buildings and appurtenances dominate the landscape and alter the character and rhythm of daily life as well as the structure of communities.

This chapter provides a synoptic overview of the five wars that have affected the area since the late eighteenth century: the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and World Wars I and II.

The Revolutionary War

Several years before the outbreak of the Revolution, Carteret County militia had seen action in battles against the backcountry rebel group, the Regulators. Leaving New Bern in late April of 1771, the militia marched for two weeks toward Hillsborough. In mid-May, they encountered the rebels and, according to the record, won "[a] Signal & Glorious Victory . . . over the Obstinate & Infatuated Rebels at about Five Miles Distant from the Great Alamance camp under the conduct & valour of our Noble & Victorious General Tryon."[1]

Although the Regulators are sometimes understood as precursor America patriots, a strong argument can also be made that, rather than seeking independence, these much-abused, often-indebted backcountry farmers hoped to convince royal authorities in North Carolina to enforce British laws and crack down on corruption among local backcountry officials. Meanwhile, many of the eastern leaders who collaborated with British governor William Tryon in crushing the Regulator uprising (1764–1771) later emerged as leaders of the American independence movement in North Carolina. For our purposes, knowing that Carteret County militiamen marched against the Regulators reinforces arguments made in earlier chapters that the residents of North Carolina's coastal counties were often drawn into the larger sociopolitical dramas that convulsed North Carolina.[2]

As early as 1774, three years after the Battle of Alamance, in which the Carteret County militia helped secure the "glorious victory," an anti-British provincial assembly was formed in North Carolina and delegates were dispatched to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. By the time the first shots of the Revolution were fired at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the royal governor had already asked for weapons.[3] By the end of May, the Mecklenburg Resolves had been passed, denying legitimacy to all British laws. Within a few weeks, the Crown's Fort Johnson was attacked and burned down in the state's first act of

1 *Order Book for the Carteret Regiment in the military campaign against the Regulators . . . April 23, 1771–June 23, 1771* in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* 8:584–585 (online version, http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0219).

2 See Kars, *Breaking Loose Together*.

3 Unless otherwise indicated, this brief précis of the Revolution in North Carolina is based upon Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 40–44.

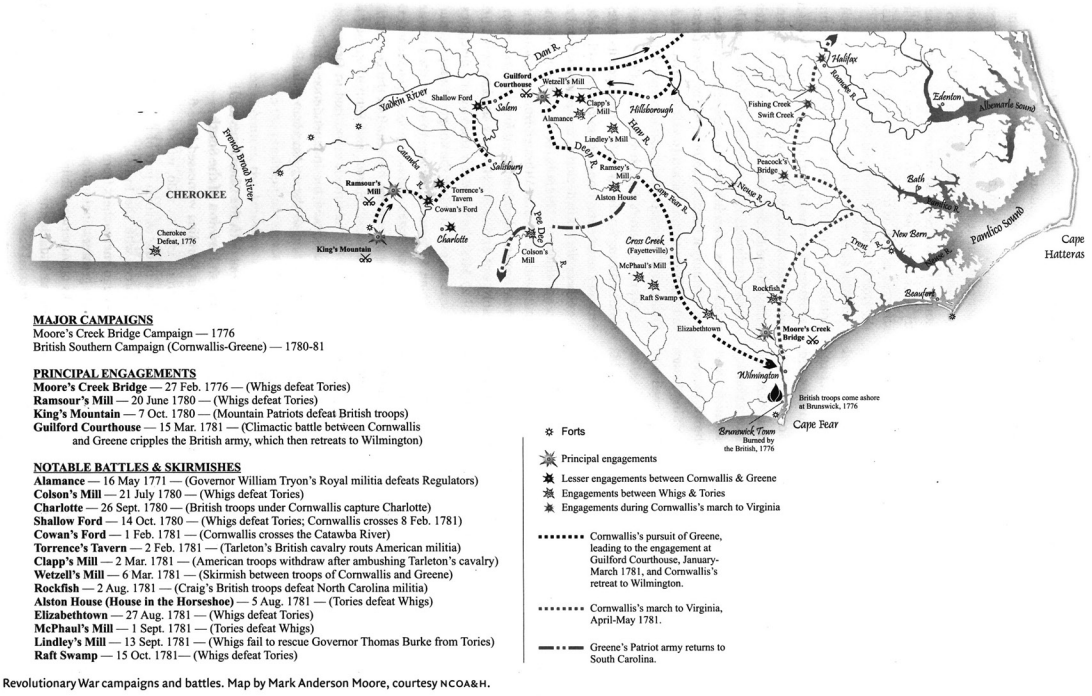


Figure 7-1. Revolutionary War campaigns and battles in North Carolina. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 42. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. North Carolina Office of Archives and History.

war. Before the end of August, the third Provincial Congress formed a government and authorized two army regiments, some of whose troops saw action in South Carolina before the end of the year. On February 27, 1776, Patriot troops dealt the British a humiliating and costly defeat in the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in Pender County. Although it was a relatively minor battle, Moore's Creek Bridge boosted patriot morale in the south in the same way that Lexington and Concord had in the north.[4] State delegates to the Second Continental Congress (April–May 1776) were authorized to join with other colonies to declare independence.

There was little fighting in North Carolina during the first four years of the war, except in the west among the Cherokees. The land battles that followed all took place to the west of the Outer Banks, and the major ones (King's Mountain, Guilford Courthouse, Cowpens) occurred far away. After retreating from Guilford Courthouse to Wilmington to be resupplied, Cornwallis departed for Virginia, where he lost decisively to General Washington at Yorktown in October 1781. The last British troops left Wilmington in mid-November.

Although the Outer Banks were effectively untouched by the land battles, Ocracoke Inlet was the focus of persistent naval interest and action. Since the inlet provided the sole passage into the Albemarle, Currituck, and Pamlico sounds and had a low-water depth of 13 to 14 feet, controlling it was vital to both sides in the conflict. "When war broke out," historian Norman Delaney has concluded, "no other subject of naval interest was as important to North Carolina as the defense of Ocracoke Inlet. It was considered the most important inlet of the Revolution" to the Continental Congress and to both North Carolina and Virginia. Following the British blockade of the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, Ocracoke Inlet handled southern Virginia shipping, which came through the inlet, passed through the sounds into the Chowan River and then to South Quay in Virginia, from which goods were carried to Suffolk by wagon and by boat up the Nansemond into the James.

War actions reached Ocracoke Inlet on April 14, 1776, when the British captured the merchant sloop *Polly*, which was then recaptured two days later by five whaleboats "manned by sundry pilots

4 Michael A. Capps and Steven A. Davis, *Moores Creek National Battlefield: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1999), Chapter 1.

and other inhabitants of Ocracoke."[5] Despite their efforts, the British were unable to blockade the inlet during the war. Of six military companies it stationed on the coast early in 1776, North Carolina's Provincial Congress placed one at Ocracoke Inlet. It saw little if any action and was disbanded in the fall of 1777 because of the lack of affordable provisions. Trade remained free of British interference until early 1778, but British raids for food and supplies continued. By late 1778, the situation for local Banker men was so desperate that they appealed for exemption from military service so they could protect their families from harassment and plunder. Meanwhile, some local pilots were using their knowledge and skill to hijack goods and supplies being sent in by the British for their troops. In piratical style, they may also have been, as one ship's captain complained, appropriating goods intended for rebel troops.[6]

A major defensive strategy was to construct row galleys (the *Washington* and the *Caswell*) to supplement the state's three armed vessels. The action was considered important enough by Virginia that the state supplied most of the funds, but cooperation became contentious when Virginia monopolized the galleys for its own defense. The *Caswell* finally arrived in early spring 1778, but it was redirected to east Florida with the Virginia fleet in December. Arguments between North Carolina Governor Caswell and Virginia Governor Patrick Henry over ownership and use of the vessel dragged late into the year, by which time both galleys were in poor repair. By mid-1779, the *Caswell* lay at the bottom of the inlet, its bottom rotted out.[7]

Defensive efforts on the water were augmented by the construction and manning of several forts. The earliest colonial fortification constructed on the Outer Banks appears to have been Fort Granville, built on Ocracoke Island in response to increasing attacks by Spanish privateers. The fort was built in the mid-1750s in connection with the founding of Portsmouth and was garrisoned by 1758. It was abandoned at the close of the French and Indian war in 1764.[8]

Related fortification efforts extended south to Cape Lookout. After the opening of the Revolution, French Captain de Cottineau arrived at the Cape to offer his services to General Washington. Finding Cape Lookout Bay an attractive but completely unprotected harbor, he urged that a fort be built there, to be manned by North Carolina troops. De Cottineau also provided the money to build the fort—Fort Hancock, it was called—and the guns to defend it. It was nearly complete (including barracks and powder house) when de Cottineau sailed north to aid General Washington. The garrison may have included between fifty and sixty men, who remained on duty for two years before the state ordered it closed in 1780. No trace of it now remains.[9]

Since records of these early forts are so sparse, one can only conjecture about their role within the local social or economic context, which no doubt included some interaction between garrison troops and local people, probably some purchase of provisions and services, perhaps some adaptive reuse of abandoned structures or equipment. Whatever their importance, the influence of the forts was in every case short-lived. From our historical vantage point, the scant record of them serves mainly to remind that governmental activity began early on the Outer Banks and has remained a

5 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 39.

6 Norman C. Delaney, "The Outer Banks of North Carolina During the Revolutionary War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 36, no. 1 (January 1959): 1–16, 2–5, 10–14; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 40.

7 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 41–45.

8 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 40–42; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 31–33; Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 46. The state Assembly provided for a garrison of fifty-three men, but the actual number fluctuated from year to year. In 1762, there were only twenty-five and the number declined dramatically thereafter. John Hill Wheeler reported that as early as 1712, "a fort was built on Core Sound, named in honor of Governor Hyde, to protect the inhabitants." John Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*, Electronic ed. ([Chapel Hill]: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), 110. This fort was also mentioned by Francis Hawks, *History of North Carolina: With Maps and Illustrations*, 3rd ed. (Fayetteville, NC: E.J. Hale & Son, 1859), 543.

9 David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 57–62; Cape Lookout Village National Register Nomination, 20; Holland, *Survey History*, 9. The May 4, 1780, order to close the fort appears in Saunders and Clark, *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, 1898), 389. North Carolina state historical marker C-55 on S.R. 1355 (Harkers Island Road) in Carteret County says that the fort was located "four miles south."

central feature of the social, economic, and cultural system.

The War of 1812

Barely twenty-five years after the close of the Revolution, the United States was again at war with Great Britain. The War of 1812 had a rather muddled set of causes: the entanglement of U.S. shipping in the conflict between France and Great Britain (resulting in seizure of U.S. ships, impressment of seamen, and shipping embargoes), the desire of the United States to gain control of Canada and Florida, and the perception that the British were giving guns and ammunition to the Indians to help them oppose westward settlement.

Sarah Lemmon, a historian of North Carolina's involvement in the war, argues that the state was not strong in its support for a national declaration of war. What support there was issued from resentments dating back to the Revolution and to what North Carolinians considered Great Britain's insults to national honor. That was sufficient, however, to make many citizens consider the event the state's "second war for Independence."[10]

As war approached, Congress passed laws to augment state militias, which had been the nation's chief defense since the 1790s. North Carolina had 50,000 militia troops, of which the president requisitioned 7,000, but only a small number were actually called up. They served from early August until December of 1812, but conditions of service were harsh. Clothing and shelter were in short supply, especially as the days dragged on and the nights turned colder. Rough log houses that were quickly thrown up provided scant relief. Circumstances had not improved measurably by 1814 and 1815, when men who marched away in summer clothing found themselves ill clad for winter, with no winter clothing supplied.

For defense, the states were divided into six (later nine) districts, each under a major general. Congress seemed to want to run the war at the lowest possible cost, and attacks on Canada took priority. The major fronts on land were Upper and Lower Canada, the Northwest (against the British and Indians), in Alabama against the Creeks, and in defense of New Orleans.[11] Initially, only a hundred men were allocated to North Carolina. Since in 1812 the United States had virtually no navy, coastal defense was a challenge. North Carolina's response to the minimal measures being taken for its defense was, Lemmon says, "one of dissatisfaction, of anger, and initially of hopelessness." North Carolina's Select Committee on Claims charged years later, in 1833, that "The first great object which led to the formation of the Union was to provide for the common defense. The defense of North Carolina had been overlooked by the public authorities. Our sea coast was blockaded, and our defenceless towns threatened with destruction."[12]

Whatever defense North Carolina was going to get obviously had to focus on the coast in general and on Ocracoke Inlet in particular, as well as at Fort Hampton (near Beaufort) and Fort Johnston (near Wilmington).[13] The inlet was the only one deep enough to allow cargo-carrying ships (so long as their draft was no more than 8 feet) to pass, and at the outset of the war it was defended only by a single revenue cutter operating out of Portsmouth. The first British ship (deceptively flying American colors) attempted to pass through the inlet on May 21, 1813, but was repelled. In mid-July 1813, 2,000 British soldiers attacked Portsmouth, the village of Ocracoke, and nearby Shell Castle Island. Soon after their barges landed, citizens surrendered, assured by British commander Cockburn that "no mischief shall be done to the unoffending inhabitants." What was taken from them, he promised, would be compensated. At Portsmouth he thereupon loaded up two hundred head of cattle, four hundred sheep, and sixteen hundred fowl "for the Refreshment of our Troops & Ships." Learning that no other booty worthy of attention seemed to lie in the Pamlico Sound area, Cockburn departed for Norfolk. Residents later claimed that his troops ripped up their feather beds,

10 Sarah Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots*, 6–23.

11 Ibid., 96.

12 Ibid., 26–44. Select Committee statement quoted from 44.

13 See Lemmon's map, ibid.,121. Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 87, notes that Ocracoke Inlet was important not only to North Carolina, but also as an alternate route for Virginia shipping after Norfolk was closed by the Chesapeake blockade.

stole clothing, and even tore up law books in the customs office.[14]

To prevent further outrages, a fort on nearby Beacon Island was hurriedly authorized, but construction did not begin until months later.[15] Once it was built, men serving in the hastily constructed fort, Lemmon reports, "had no wood for fires, and indeed no fireplaces; their only clothing was summer homespun. Of the 451 men stationed there, only 180 were in good health and able to report for duty." Conditions were no better at Wilmington, where every soldier needed clothing and rations were short. The state legislature appropriated $10,000 for relief—an amount totally inadequate for the needs reported by commanders. Private contractor Jarvis & Brown of New Bern was providing rations at fifteen cents apiece (12 ounces of pork, a pound and a quarter of beef, 18 ounces of bread or flour, and a gill of something alcoholic), but who was going to pay for them was not clear. Many of the troops were ill, especially at Beacon Island, where men had worked for months in mud and water, building fortifications. Two hundred out of a total of six hundred were ill during the winter of 1814–1815. Not surprisingly, desertion rates were substantial.[16]

Fortunately, as Lemmon notes, "Most of America's glory in the War of 1812 came on the sea." Since the American navy had a pathetically small fleet, much of that glory was gained by privateers, private vessels authorized to act as warships by seizing British ships, selling both ship and cargo, and retaining the proceeds. British warships and privateers preyed on North Carolina ships, as well; seven American ships were seized in as many months in 1813.

North Carolina's own privateer hero was Swansboro native Captain Otway Burns, whose *Snap Dragon* operated off Ocracoke and Newfoundland and in the Caribbean Sea. Burns's total take from his capture of forty-two ships amounted to perhaps $4 million. After the war, he became a Beaufort businessman, state legislator, and builder of the state's first steamboat, the *Prometheus*, which ran on the Cape Fear River. Burns is memorialized in the names of the village of Otway to the north of Harkers Island and the town of Burnsville in the west (which placed a bronze statue of him on the town square in 1909).[17] His grave in Beaufort is marked by a cannon from the *Snap Dragon*. No privateers sailed out of Beaufort, but a few prizes were brought in there, as they were to Portsmouth.[18]

On the home front, the progress and details of the war were murky at best, unless one lived near the forts or camps. The British occupation of Washington, DC, and the burning of the Capitol caused widespread anguish. Prices were depressed because American shipping was barred from European markets, hurting farmers who needed to sell their produce. Meanwhile, prices for things

14 Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots*, 120–133. For additional details of the British military action at Ocracoke and Portsmouth, see Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, *North Carolina and the War of 1812* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1971), 39–41; and Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 67–69.

15 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 22. The report of abuse by soldiers comes from Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 48–52. Cloud's source for her reference to the fort is the Pettigrewe family papers and Keith, Masterson, and Morgan, *The John Gray Blount Papers*, letter of Blount to Governor William Hawkins, May 25, 1813. A somewhat longer account of the British raid is in Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 57–58. Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots*, 139, says that construction began during the summer of 1814.

16 Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots,* 76–92.

17 Another statue stands in Swansboro's Centennial Park.

18 Lemmon, *North Carolina and the War of 1812*, 22–26, and *Frustrated Patriots,* 143–160. An early celebration of Burns's life was Walter Burns, *Captain Otway Burns, Patriot, Privateer and Legislator* (New York, 1905), which carries a photograph of his Beaufort grave opposite 63. For a fuller narrative of Burns's privateering, see Butler, *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders,* 73–94. In 1842, Burns retired to Portsmouth and built a house there. Upon his death in 1850, the house was used for a time by the Marine Hospital. On Burns's house in Portsmouth, see Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 71. See also Jack Robinson, *Remembering a Local Legend: Captain Otway Burns and His Ship Snap Dragon* ([Wilmington NC: Lulu], 2006); Tucker R. Littleton, *Late Laurels for a Local Hero: The Ceremony for the Unveiling of the Otway Burns Statue, Swansboro, North Carolina, May 6, 1983: Souvenir Program* (Swansboro, NC: The Committee, 1983); and Burns, *Captain Otway Burns*. Burns was also the focus of Ruth Peeling [pseud.], *Captain Otway Burns, Firebrand of 1812: Historical Drama in Three Acts* (1968). Ruth L. Peeling Barbour (1924–) became a writer for (and later editor of) *The Beaufort News* and its successor the *Carteret County News-Times* (1952–1975). She also wrote a historical novel, *Cruise of the Snap Dragon*, and other historical dramas. Her papers are in the North Carolina State Archives.

people needed to buy went up and for those they needed to sell went down; sugar doubled in price while tobacco and cotton prices fell by half. A drought in 1813 lowered water levels so severely in the Cape Fear that boats from the interior could not get to Wilmington, exacerbating the food-supply problem. And to make matters even worse, a typhus epidemic in the final months of the war, driven partly by troops returning from Virginia and Maryland, killed three or four people out of each hundred who became ill.[19] The economic and health impacts of the war were not relieved by war-related industrial activity, little of which occurred in the state.

Civil War

North Carolina's involvement in the Confederacy and in the Civil War itself was ambivalent and conflicted. Citizens, by no means all of whom were committed to southern independence, complained about the Confederate government's policies on taxes, impressment and conscription, restraints on civil liberties, and its general inattention to their needs. The governor himself challenged the constitutionality of the draft. Open class divisions and conflicts and internecine struggles were much in evidence.[20]

Civil War history in its most familiar form—a chronicle of leaders, tactics, strategies, and momentous battles—is not central to this study insofar as the southern Outer Banks are concerned, since most of the coastal military action occurred either on Roanoke Island or between Beaufort and Wilmington. The impact of the Civil War on the economy, social structure, and cultural life of the southern Outer Banks merits examination, nevertheless.

North Carolina was still overwhelmingly rural in 1860. Only six towns had more than 2,000 people; Wilmington, the largest, had about 9,500, and Raleigh had fewer than 5,000. What industrial-scale production there was—textile mills in the piedmont and naval stores predominantly in Harnett and Cumblerland counties—lay far from the Outer Banks. Fewer than a third of the state's yeomen farmers owned slaves, and nearly 90 percent of those owned nineteen or fewer; 744 large planters owned more than fifty. Slaves constituted about one-third of the state's population of about one million. Property requirements that kept many whites from voting had only recently been abolished. The public school system was primitive, giving North Carolina the highest white illiteracy rate of any state, and the state university enrolled fewer than 500 students.[21]

Moreover, the election of 1860 showed a majority of North Carolinians to be Unionist in their sympathies. A majority of white voters even refused to hold a convention they feared would lead to secession. After the war began, a majority of voters supported the Confederacy, but the state led all confederate states in desertions, signs of disaffection, and internal political disunity. Yeomen and poor people protested the inequity of laws that exempted owners of twenty slaves from war service. Evasions of conscription grew, as did refusals to pay taxes.[22]

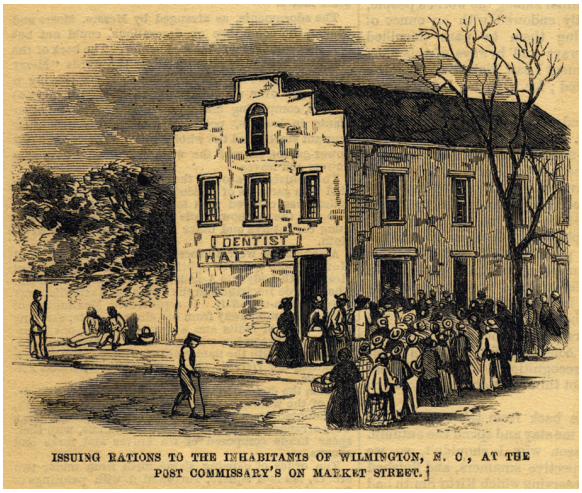


Figure 7-2. Issuing rations to the inhabitants of Wilmington, April 1, 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 1, 1865, 24. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

After the Confederate States of America formed in February 1861, North Carolina tried for several months to remain neutral, finally seceding on May 10. Paradoxically, a war the state had entered reluctantly claimed a vast number of its citizens and

19 Lemmon, *Frustrated Patriots*, 187–199.

20 Paul D. Escott, "Unwilling Hercules: North Carolina in the Confederacy" in *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History,* ed. Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 265–271.

21 William Harris, *North Carolina and the Coming of the Civil War*, rev. ed. (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000), 1–7.

22 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 32–49.

major portions of its wealth. The state's location entirely within the boundaries of the Confederacy increased the burdens placed upon it as the Confederacy contracted and had to turn more and more to its core for men and supplies. This anomaly contributed to rising protests within the state about the war and Confederate policy. Conscription laws favored the rich, desertion rates soared, calls for peace rang out, and rumors circulated that the state might leave the Confederacy. Even states' rights theory was mobilized to oppose the central Confederate government.[23]

As the war progressed, North Carolina's often-chronicled "internal war" developed as well. The notorious Home Guards rained violence and repression upon the citizenry while the secret Unionist Heroes of America urged them to further resistance, encouraged by the voices of pacifist and unionist Moravians and Quakers. There was a food riot in Salisbury in March 1863; others followed in Yadkin and Yancey counties. "Violence and desertion spread all over North Carolina," Paul Escott observes, including Columbus, Bladen, and Robeson counties in the east.[24]

The state's entire textile production was diverted to the production of military uniforms. Class divisions were sharpened by the exemption from military service of slaveholders who owned twenty or more slaves. Those who remained at home (mostly women and children) faced shortages, rampant inflation, confiscatory raids by military troops, and the lack of any social support whatever. With

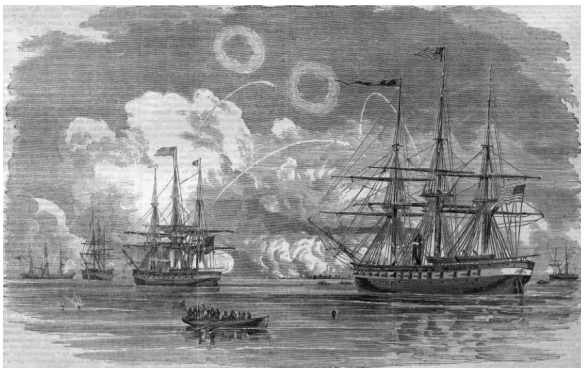


Figure 7-4: Bombardment of Forts Hatteras and Clark by the United States fleet, 1861. *Harper's Weekly*, September 14, 1861.

Figure 7-3: View of Fort Hatteras just before the surrender. *Harper's Weekly*, September 21, 1861, 597.

regard to military service and battle casualties, historians' figures are stark: the state fielded nearly 135,000 men out of a white population of just over 600,000 (and only 115,000 of voting age)—one-fifth of the total fielded by all eleven Confederate states. Nearly 20,000 of those men died in battle, and as many more died of wounds and disease, accounting for a quarter of all Confederate losses. Thus, nearly one out of every three North Carolinians who went away to war never came home.

Fort Oregon, built by free blacks employed by the state, had a garrison of a hundred Confederate soldiers. It was solidly built and provided with substantial armament (accounts differ concerning how much and of what types). Its strategic usefulness was dubious, however, and by late September 1861 it had been abandoned by the troops and lay substantially in ruins. Fort Hatteras (completed mid-June of 1861) was more strategically important and useful. It was heavily armed and capable of sheltering three hundred to four hundred men. Fort Clark, completed in July 1861 and situated about 700 yards north of Fort Hatteras, was much smaller and less heavily armed. A Union engineer judged it "of little importance." Lacking adequate firepower, both forts fell before Union forces in only two days. They were subsequently armed more heavily and pressed into Union service, but a strong storm soon cut a channel between them and compromised their usefulness. They continued to be occupied by Union troops for months thereafter, however.[25]

23 Escott, "Unwilling Hercules," 267–268.

24 Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 59–78. A newspaper clipping and brief précis of the Salisbury riot may be found at http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/nchistory/mar2005/index.html.

25 Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*, 90–101; John Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 34. Barrett discusses the entire operation against Hatteras on 30–47.

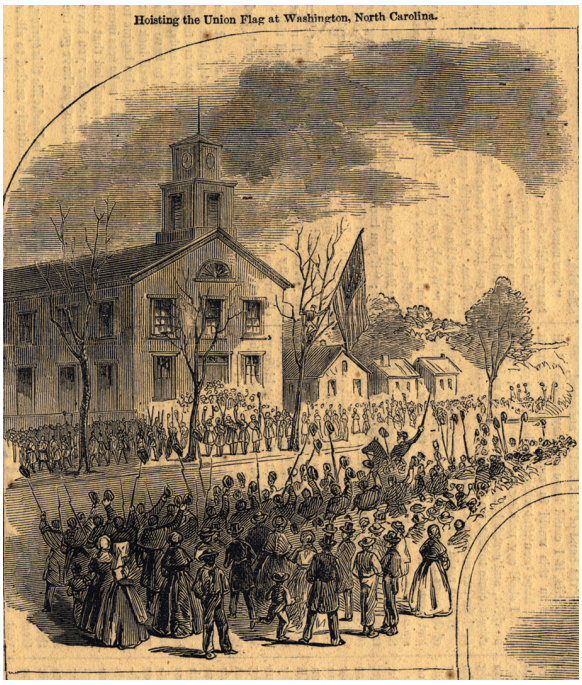


Figure 7-5. Raising the Union flag at Washington, NC, 1862. Engraving by Angelo Wiser. *Harper's Weekly*, April 19, 1862, 252. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

After Union forces were defeated in July at Manassas, Federal authorities turned their attention to eastern North Carolina, with Union commanders hoping to control the coastal sounds, and hence their tributary rivers, which would yield control over the eastern third of the state, including the strategically important Wilmington and Weldon railroad. To control the sounds, they had to control the Outer Banks.[26] To defend the area, Confederate commanders quickly constructed several new forts to augment existing Forts Macon (on Bogue Banks), Johnson and Caswell (at the mouth of the Cape Fear). New fortifications included Fort Oregon on the south side of Oregon Inlet; Fort Ocracoke, apparently also called Fort Morgan, a mud fort on Beacon Island (portions of which may have been constructed during the War of 1812); and Forts Hatteras and Clark on the east side of Hatteras Inlet. In addition, some five hundred Confederate troops were housed in barracks on the beach; there were others at what was called Camp Washington, probably on Core Banks outside Portsmouth.[27]

When Union forces arrived at Ocracoke on September 16, 1861, Fort Morgan was deserted, as was Camp Washington. Fort Clark took the first Federal bombardment and fell promptly, leaving Hatteras Inlet under Union control (the first Union victory in the war and its first successful use of the blockade). Fort Oregon was abandoned without a fight. In an attempt to block Ocracoke Inlet, three schooners were chained together and sunk at its entrance.[28]

Even as Union military operations proceeded, Federal strategy emphasized the possibility of restoring the state to the Union, in view of widespread reports of Union sympathy among the citizenry. By late 1861, however, that hope had been set aside in favor of a military approach concentrating initially on control of Roanoke Island, whose capture would allow Union forces to proceed through Goldsboro to Raleigh. The assault opened in January 1862, and within a month the island fell.[29]

Those who opposed the war or questioned Confederate policy found something of a friend in Zebulon B. Vance, elected governor of North Carolina in 1862. Vance supported the Confederacy, but he also heard the voices of protest from within the state. He objected to conscription, granting more exemptions than any other governor; protested the appropriation of private property for war purposes; pointed out the inequities of tax policy and challenged Confederate control of international shipping by setting up a system of blockade runners to provide supplies for the state's soldiers; and hoarded food and clothing needed by Lee's army.[30]

26 John Barrett, *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground, 1861–1865* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1980), 16–17.

27 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 117–119; Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study,* 90; Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 85–86.

28 Olson, *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*, 85–86.

29 Barrett, *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground,* 21–30. A more detailed account of the Roanoke Island campaign is available in Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks*, 63–86, and in Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina*, 58–59 and 66ff.

30 Escott, "Unwilling Hercules," 269–270.

But Vance could (and would) do only so much. The impact of the war on Portsmouth, as upon so many other places, was considerable. The twenty years before the war had been Portsmouth's best. It was the site of the Marine Hospital, a Customs House, an academy, and more than a hundred houses. More than two dozen men were employed as pilots, and about three dozen as "mariners." But early Union victories on Hatteras Island induced the Confederates to abandon and partly destroy Fort Ocracoke on nearby Beacon Island in August 1861, leaving Portsmouth defenseless. Union forces completed the destruction of the fort a short while later. With Ocracoke Inlet closed to shipping, Federal troops had only to burn the previously accumulated military supplies to complete the devastation.

After his initial pivotal engagements, General Ambrose Burnside led his troops southward.[31] Union forces soon controlled New Bern, Morehead City, and Beaufort. Fort Macon, although defended by 450 men and more than fifty heavy guns, fell as well. At the mouth of the Cape Fear, formidable Fort Fisher, the largest earthen fort anywhere in the world at the time, fell three years later and Confederate forces immediately abandoned nearby Fort Caswell. Wilmington finally fell in late February 1865. The ironclad CSS *Neuse*, built to liberate New Bern and other coastal towns, never engaged in battle.[32]

"Freedom for Themselves": Black Soldiers

An additional important aspect of North Carolina's involvement in the Civil War was the recruitment and service of black soldiers.[33] The Federal government in 1861 had turned down offers by

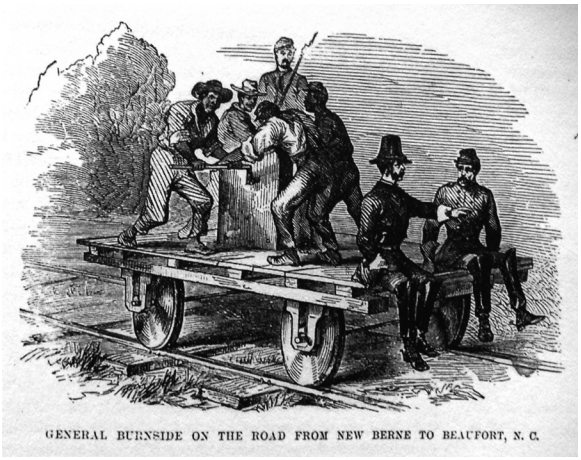


Figure 7-7. General Burnside on the road from New Bern to Beaufort. Kell, *North Carolina's Coastal Carteret County During the Civil War*, 15.

blacks to enlist, and both public and military reactions to the very idea that black soldiers should be brought into the ranks were strongly negative. General William T. Sherman marked the most negative possible position with his comment that "It is an insult to our Race to count [blacks] as part of the quota" of enlistees. "A nigger is not a white man," he declared, "and all the Psalm singing on earth won't make him so."[34]

As the war slogged forward, however, views and policies changed. Eventually 179,000 black soldiers and 9,500 black sailors served in the war effort.[35] Over a fairly long period, four regiments emerged from North Carolina. How each was raised, trained, and deployed depended upon public racial views and attitudes (in both the North and the South), a constantly shifting set of local and national circumstances and politics, and the progress of the war and its changing strategic and tactical needs and objectives. Not surprisingly, the process of raising, training, and deploying the black regiments differed state to state and from time to time.[36] A series of fairly swift and easy Union victories on the coast, combinded with the influx of thousands of freed inland blacks to coastal cities and counties, reinforced the logic of employing blacks in the war effort.[37]

Recruiting in eastern North Carolina, under the command of Brigadier General Edward A. Wild, proceeded under General Order No. 143, which

31 See William Marvel, *Burnside* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

32 This brief précis of the state's role in the Civil War draws heavily from Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 235–240. On Fort Fisher, see Charles M. Robinson, *Hurricane of Fire: The Union Assault on Fort Fisher* (Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute, 1998), and Rod Gragg, *Confederate Goliath: The Battle of Fort Fisher,* updated ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

33 This brief treatment of black soldiers is drawn principally from Richard M. Reid's detailed narrative and analysis in *Freedom for Themselves: North Carolina's Black Soldiers in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

34 Reid, *Freedom for Themselves,* xiii.

35 Ibid., xii.

36 Ibid., 20–21.

37 Ibid., 8–13.

Figure 7-8. Recruiting office for contrabands on Market Street, Wilmington, NC. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 1, 1865, 25. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

established the Bureau of Colored Troops in May 1863. Wild was already at work establishing the first three black North Carolina regiments before the Bureau was established. Pulling officers first from Massachusetts troops not yet deployed or who were finishing their service in North Carolina, Wild, working from New Bern and Washington and employing recruiting posters and rallies, raised his first North Carolina Colored Volunteers (NCCV) regiment quickly, even though wartime demands for black labor had raised wages higher than the military could pay.[38]

Black troops (from Louisiana) first saw action on May 27, 1863, and the NCCV regiment was not far behind. After intensive training, they were deployed to Charleston, departing in such haste that essential gear and equipment was left behind and the formation of a second regiment was disrupted.[39] Following their service in South Carolina, the regiment was transferred to Florida in February 1864, where it encountered more extensive action, especially in the Battle of Olustee, where black soldiers were generally (though not universally) agreed to have distinguished themselves in action. An additional burden borne by black troops after battle was the hostility of some Confederate troops, who sought out, abused, and murdered wounded soldiers.[40]

By mid-August 1863, a change in command scaled down efforts to recruit black soldiers in North Carolina, and the still-forming Second Regiment was sent to Fort Monroe in Virginia to be combined with Virginia troops, where poor policy and management dramatically reduced recruitment. The Second was finally mustered into service at the end of October 1863, though major deficiencies in equipment and training persisted.[41]

The Second Regiment saw its first action in December, when it moved into Pasquotank, Currituck, and Camden counties to free slaves and engage growing and aggressive Confederate guerrilla bands.[42] Pasquotank, roughly half black and half white, had the largest free black population in the state (over 1,500). In Camden, about 3,000 whites held more than 2,000 blacks in slavery; in Currituck, about 4,700 whites held about 2,500 blacks. A surgeon of strong abolitionist convictions who had already seen service as a soldier of fortune in the Crimean War and lost an arm at South Mountain in 1862, Wild led his 1,800-man "African Brigade" (as it was referred to in official military correspondence) with great zeal and determination. His expedition was viewed as significant enough to be covered by major newspapers, including the *New York Times*.

The counties Wild hastened to had been plagued by Confederate guerrillas since the fall of Elizabeth City to Union forces in February 1862. Murder and public executions were daily affairs, and whites were split in their sympathies. Wild's initial aim was to match his treatment of local people to those sympathies, but his methods shifted as his troops struggled with the chaos of the local situation, publicly hanging one guerrilla in Hinton's Crossroads before moving north into Camden and Currituck. Though wary of the African Brigade, the guerrillas (mostly young and poor) harassed and ambushed Wild's troops mercilessly. Frustrated, Wild began to move against Unionists and neutral citizens. Local people of all persuasions soon

38 Reid's account of recruitment and training is quite detailed; ibid., 19–65. Unfortunately, Reid does not offer county-by-county totals for recruitment.

39 Reid has a detailed narrative of the Second Regiment's South Carolina service, 67 ff.

40 Reid, *Freedom for Themselves*, 78–97.

41 In February 1864, the First NCCV was renamed the 35th U.S. Colored Troops (USCT).

42 This brief account of the Second Regiment's action is based entirely upon Barton E. Meyers, "A More Rigorous Style of Warfare: Wild's Raid, Guerilla Violence, and Negotiated Neutrality in Northeastern North Carolina" in *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Paul D. Escott (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 37–68. All quotations are from this source.

Figure 7-9. Colored troops freeing slaves in Camden County, early 1864. *Harper's Weekly*, January 23, 1864. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

organized to declare community safety and stability more important than political loyalty, of whatever stripe. What they wanted, they said, was to be "let alone."

By late December, Wild turned his troops back north to Virginia, estimating that he had helped some 2,500 blacks (slave and free) to escape the counties. He had also sent trainloads of materials north, and burned guerrilla camps. They are "most reliable soldiers," he said of his troops. Unfortunately, one of them, Private Samuel Jordan, was executed by the guerrillas on January 13, 1864. Two weeks later, most of the guerrilla bands were organized as the Sixty-Eighth North Carolina State Troops.

Raising and training the Third North Carolina Regiment proved even slower and more difficult than the formation of the first two. The Third's first companies were mustered in in January 1864, hampered by inadequate training and supplies and suffering discrimination from white troops.[43] A fourth regiment, the North Carolina Colored Heavy Artillery (NCCHA), was formed in February 1864, but was never trained or equipped properly. Never gaining a full complement of troops, it was used mainly as a logistical labor force.[44]

Action seen within both North Carolina and Florida by the NCCV/USCT regiments included raids into the interior to free slaves and search for refugees, recruits and supplies, as Wild had done earlier with his African Brigade. Reid's extensive and careful analysis of black Civil War soldiers led him to conclude that their service "triggered a transformation of attitudes toward racial policies and African Americans." Blacks who hadn't been allowed to enlist in 1861 gained praise from whites four years later for their crucial contributions to Union victory. By March 1865, even the Confederate army was trying to enlist them. Unfortunately, such changes in views and attitudes did not long survive the war itself.[45]

The War Winds Down

After the fall of Wilmington in February 1865, the Outer Banks remained under Union control.[46] As that control solidified, steps were taken to recruit a volunteer Union force from among local residents, to be organized as the First North Carolina Union Volunteers (disparagingly referred to as "Buffaloes"). Companies were raised in a number of coastal towns, though not at Portsmouth; their terrorist and guerrilla tactics were widely despised.[47]

New federal regulations placed import and export fees on goods from the area. Those wanting to sell goods to Union troops had to swear an oath of loyalty to the United States. There were no further battles in North Carolina after Burnside's actions ended in 1863, but raids and skirmishes continued for many months, and citizens lacked money, jobs, and access to commerce.[48] In the latter months of the war, restrictions on local people relaxed, and some trade resumed, improving economic circumstances, despite the deteriorated condition of many vessels that had been laid up for several years.

After the battle of Bentonville in March 1865, hostilities ceased, but social and economic life on the southern banks was very slow to recover.

43 Reid's full discussion of the experience of the Third Regiment may be found at 153–185.

44 Ibid., 28–57. A chapter-long discussion of the regiment's experience is presented at 187–214.

45 Ibid., 324–328.

46 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report,* , 2–8.

47 John Inscoe, "Buffaloes," in Powell (ed.), *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 154. Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks*, 195–204, contains a (probably partial) list of Outer Banks soldiers, including those who served in the First Union Regiment (five from Portsmouth, and seventy-six from Hatteras). Ten Portsmouth men served in the Confederate army.

48 Ibid., 114–127.

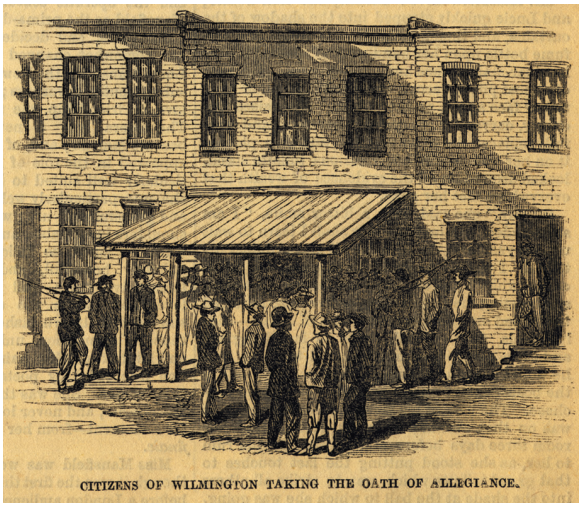


Figure 7-10. Citizens of Wilmington taking the oath of allegiance. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 1, 1865, 25. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Portsmouth actually never recovered. Between 1860 and 1870, population dropped from 568 (plus 117 slaves) to 220, the lowest level since 1810; of the one hundred children who had been in school at Portsmouth in 1860, only four remained. The Marine Hospital closed soon after the war, and the Customs House followed in 1867.[49]

Several factors kept the local impact of the war from being greater than it was, however: the relative absence of vital military, industrial, or urban targets on the Banks (at least north of Beaufort, with the exception of Roanoke Island); the ease with which Union forces had taken control; and the focal importance of the Wilmington & Weldon Railroad (and hence the port of Wilmington) for moving military supplies brought in from Europe by blockade runners.[50] Shipping patterns were permanently altered, however, by the building of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal (1855–1859), which linked Albemarle Sound with the Chesapeake Bay. The approximately one thousand vessels that passed through it in 1860 grew to more than 3,600 by war's end, and to more than 6,000 by 1875.[51]

As in the rest of the country, the aftermath of the Civil War on the Outer Banks was fully as important as the war itself. Its political, cultural, and economic dimensions came into conflict immediately, for example, in the quest of individuals for scarce federal jobs. Men contended hotly for positions as customs officers, postmasters, or lighthouse keepers. In this conflict, their wartime ideas, sympathies, and affiliations (Unionist or Confederate, Buffalo or not) were salient factors.[52]

It also became clearer than it had ever been that fishing offered the best hope for reliable income. Mallison highlights the steady growth of fishing employment after 1860, accelerating after 1870.[53] In Portsmouth, many men who had previously been mariners or pilots turned to commercial fishing. A menhaden processing plant operated at Harkers Island from 1865 to 1873, the Excelsior Oil and Guano Company briefly operated a processing plant at Portsmouth (1866–1869), and a Rhode Island company operated a plant at Oregon Inlet for a short while. The best commercial prospect, however, was salted mullet, which was both shipped out and traded inland for corn, the latter milled in the increasing number of windmills operating on the Outer Banks. Shad harvested in pound nets also took on major economic importance, as did clams. Per pound, diamondback turtles brought the highest price. And by the 1880s, Portsmouth was also a hub of the oystering industry on the Banks.

Revived coastal shipping in the postwar years also spurred lighthouse construction and the building of new lifesaving stations as the incidence of shipwrecks increased. Tourist-related development got a new boost, as well, but virtually all of it was concentrated either on the northern banks (Nags Head and north) or south of Beaufort.

Export trade was slow to revive, as Mallison demonstrates, but inland trade recovered more quickly, with shingle-making offering major opportunities, as did timbering and sawmilling (though these required much more capital input than did shingle-making). Vast stands of timber drew northern lumbermen, as Mallison says, "like

49 Burke, *The History of Portsmouth,* 37–66 (school attendance figure on 65).

50 For an account of the shifting loyalties of Bankers who lived north of Ocracoke Inlet, see Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study,* 105–109.

51 Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks*, 162 (table). The twenty-year total (1860–1880) exceeded 90,000 and more than 50,000 of those were large steamers and schooners.

52 Ibid., 163–165.

53 The account of postwar conditions and developments is based primarily upon Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks*, 169–190.

ants to a picnic." The spectacularly successful John L. Roper Company came to operate numerous mills just inland from the banks. As these ventures flourished, so did the demand for shipping (both passenger and freight), much of it supplied by the S. R. Fowle Company and others, who built and launched dozens of large steamers and schooners.[54]

Substantive social and political changes ensued from the new state constitution of 1868, which (in Mallison's précis)

> prohibited slavery and secession . . . repudiated Confederate debts . . . ordained universal manhood suffrage and abolished property qualifications for voting and holding office . . . established a uniform system of public schools . . . abolished debtor prison, established a uniform system of justice, addressed the method of electing county officers, and secured the rights of married women.[55]

Unfortunately, such bright promises were to be frustrated, delayed and subverted by decades of Reconstruction politics and reactionary social, political, and cultural attitudes, institutions, and policies.[56] Portsmouth, meanwhile, was—whatever the postwar dynamics—steadily losing population, from 341 in 1870 to fewer than half that in 1900, while Ocracoke, Hatteras, Nags Head, and Atlantic all grew.

Spanish-American War

In response to President McKinley's call for troops following the sinking of the USS *Maine* in February 1898, North Carolina raised two regiments of white troops. It also raised one black regiment, as did three other states. War was officially declared on April 20, 1898.[57]

The first of the two white North Carolina regiments, consisting of troops from western counties (where enthusiasm for the war was far higher than in the east), assembled at Camp Bryan Grimes outside Raleigh. Others were sent to Camp Cuba Libre at Jacksonville. Conditions in the two camps were not identical, but troops were in general plagued by bad weather, sickness (including typhoid fever, malaria, yellow fever, and dysentery), poor training, insufficient supplies, inadequate and spoiled food, and antiquated equipment. Not surpisingly, discipline was poor, morale low, and desertion frequent. Delayed pay forced some Camp Cuba Libre troops to beg on the streets of Jacksonville. Within less than six months, half the troops (especially from the Second Regiment) had been sent home. It had not been a happy episode. Charges and countercharges of political favoritism, mismanagement, maltreatment, and the like emanated from all sides, and bad feelings lingered for years.[58]

The black Third Regiment faced all of the problems experienced by the white regiments, as well as many others deriving from their race. North Carolina's Governor Russell exerted considerable political pressure in Washington to win authorization to raise black troops, and he endured political insults at home once he had embarked on the recruitment. Three companies arrived at Fort Macon at the end of May and established Camp Russell. Seven other companies, with a total of more than 1,000 men, followed in mid-July, forming the Third Regiment commanded by black legislator James H. Young, former editor of the *Raleigh Gazette*. Although some black troops considered repression and racism at home more important than military intervention in Cuba (especially after the November race riot in Wilmington), others saw the war as an opportunity to prove their courage and patriotism. On the whole, they were certainly not moved by the jingoism and "heady patriotism" about the war reflected in the media. Newspapers across the state published insulting and degrading articles about the black regiment.[59]

The black troops' stay at Fort Macon (actually chosen because of the relatively small local

54 Ibid., 182–184 presents detailed tables on the increase and distribution of shipping, virtually all of which appears to have passed through Edenton, New Bern, and Beaufort.

55 Ibid., 186.

56 We consider the large matter of race relations, central to the postwar period, in Chapter 5.

57 This brief account of the war is drawn, unless otherwise indicated, from Powell (ed.), *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1043–1044, and Joseph F. Steelman, *North Carolina's Role in the Spanish-American War* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1975).

58 Steelman, *North Carolina's Role in the Spanish-American War*, 19–21.

59 Ibid., 24–25.

white population) was fraught with difficulty, although the food was better than at the white encampments. The white community viewed the black troops "with a mixture of curiosity, suspicion and disdain," says Fort Macon historian Paul Branch. A local Methodist church charged twenty-five cents to take parishioners by boat to see the black troops. Other reactions were more hostile than curious. The *Morehead City Pilot* reported that the troops were being permitted "to roam at large all over this city in squads of five to twenty, unaccompanied by any commissioned officer; to drink liquor, quarrel and fight among themselves and with others; to remain away from the camp overnight reveling in places of disrepute outside of the city limits . . . ." Other whites complained that the troops were "insolently defying the authority of our city government, and insulting our citizens by their impudence and offensive language and conduct." Whatever problems (actual or imagined) that appeared were seized upon and magnified by the state's racist Democratic newspapers.[60]

Despite, having experienced such hostility and abuse in order to offer their service, the Third Regiment's soldiers did not get to prove themselves in battle. Peace came in mid-August, and in mid-September North Carolina's black troops moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, and then to Macon, Georgia for the winter. With regard to local white hostility, the troops' experience with the city of Macon repeated their earlier experience at Fort Macon. A total of about 4,000 black troops were stationed at Macon, and their presence incited a great deal of hostile reaction from whites, especially toward the North Carolina troops, who were commanded by black officers, contrary to a longstanding military policy requiring that black troops be commanded by white officers. Four members of the regiment were killed by white civilians, who were all eventually acquitted by white juries.

The Third Regiment returned to Raleigh in January 1899, hounded throughout their journey by hostile police and newspapers. They disbanded in February, after which the legislature enacted a special law banning them from service in the State Guard. [61]

World War I

With the approach of World War I, the state registered nearly a half-million men for the draft (including more than 140,000 African Americans) and initially called up more than 60,000. More than 86,000 North Carolinians eventually served, and nearly 2400 died (just under 3 percent of those who served).

The war made relatively little physical impact upon the Banks. A relatively modest number of Carteret County's men went to war. Army enlistments totaled about 314 (244 white and 70 Negro); about 283 (all white, under the segregation laws of the time) served in the Navy. About a dozen men died (2 percent of the total), either in battle or from disease.[62]

Virtually all war-related action occurred offshore as a result of attacks by German submarines against U.S. and British shipping. Hostile submarine action in North Carolina waters was initiated by U-151, which had operated off the northeastern coasts in the spring of 1918 before heading south. On June 5, U-151 torpedoed the British steamer *Harpathian* near Knotts Island. It also torpedoed three Norwegian vessels off Currituck Beach and a Cuban ship near Nags Head. U-151 was soon replaced by six other submarines that operated on the east coast. Another U-boat, U-140, sank four other ships off Little Kinnakeet and Cape Hatteras and torpedoed Diamond Shoals Lightship No. 71.

60 Paul Branch, "Fort Macon and the Spanish-American War. Part II: Preparing the Fort for War" (originally published in *The Fort Macon Ramparts* [Spring 1999]; online version at http://www.clis.com/friends/SpanAmer-2.htm)

61 Steelman, *North Carolina's Role in the Spanish-American War*, 26–27. For a detailed discussion of black troops before, during, and after the war, see Anthony L. Powell, "An Overview: Black Participation in the Spanish-American War" (http://www.spanamwar.com/AfroAmericans.htm). Unfortunately, Powell focuses on black troops from other states. See also Edward Van Zile Scott, *The Unwept: Black American Soldiers and the Spanish-American War* (Montgomery, AL: Black Belt Press, 1996).

62 "World War I Carteret County statistics," North Carolina State Archives, Adjutant General's Papers, Box 84.1. We are grateful to David Montgomery of the History Place and to Sion R. Harrington, III, Military Collection Archivist, North Carolina State Archives, for assistance in assembling these surprisingly elusive statistics.

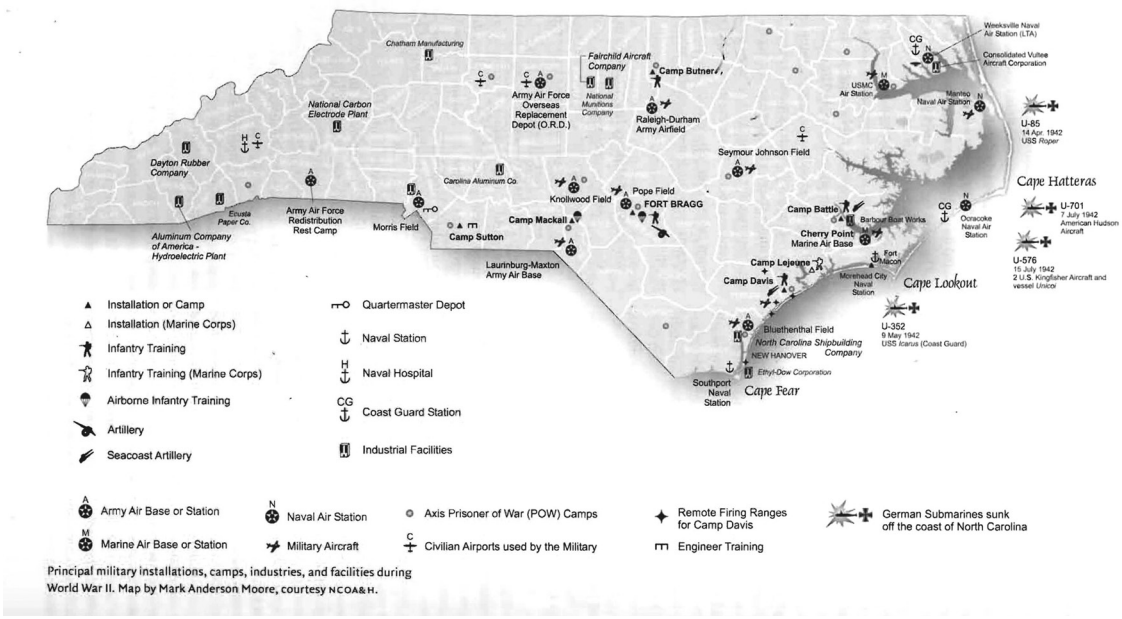


Figure 7-11. World War II military installations in North Carolina. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1232. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. North Carolina Office of Archives and History.

Most infamous of all was U-117, which torpedoed the British tanker *Mirlo* off Cape Hatteras, leading to a heroic, six-hour rescue of her forty-two surviving crew members by the legendary Midgetts (five of them, led by John Allen "Captain Johnny" Midgett) of the Chicamacomico station. Fortunately, the rescue crew was equipped with a gasoline-powered self-bailing surfboat and draft horses to drag the boat six hundred yards to the launch site.[63]

World War II

World War I had been, at least for the United States, a brief war, and its impact on the southern Banks was comparatively small and brief. But World War II was a different matter entirely. By late 1939, military recruiting stations were opening across the state, and after the Selective Service Act was passed in September 1940, Governor Clyde R. Hoey declared that "America is now thoroughly aroused and patriotically united." In May 1941, President Roosevelt proclaimed an "unlimited emergency," and German and Italian consulates were soon closed as the United States committed to aiding Great Britain. In September, more than 400,000 men participated in unprecedented military exercises across the middle of the two Carolinas.[64]

After Pearl Harbor, all efforts were directed toward the war. The mild southern climate, relatively low land costs, and low population density argued (as did powerful southern legislators) for establishing military bases in southern states, and nearly twenty were sited in North Carolina, a number of them close to the Outer Banks. By war's end, more than two million troops had trained at more than one hundred facilities in the state.[65] World War I-era Fort Bragg became the largest artillery post in the world; more than 100,000 troops eventually trained

63 Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*, 155–161. Another U-117 was built later and saw service in World War II. A contemporary development that could have had a major effect upon Carteret County, but apparently did not, was the influenza epidemic of 1918–1919, which infected approximately a million North Carolinians and killed nearly 14,000. Wilmington was hard hit, as were several other coastal towns and counties. *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1919), 1–5, included in W. S. Rankin, ed., *Annual Report of the North Carolina State Board of Health* (Raleigh, NC, 1919).

64 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 499–500; Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 587.

65 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 500; Sarah Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in World War II* (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1964), 12–14; Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 1231–1233.

on its 122,000 acres.[66] Both Camp Lejeune and the Marine Air Station at Cherry Point opened in 1942, the latter partly because long stretches of beach offered excellent opportunities for simulated landings. More than 60,000 men got their training at Camp Davis in Onslow and Pender counties, which came to serve as temporary home to more than 100,000 artillery trainees. Camp Mackall, adjacent to Fort Bragg, trained glider pilots, and New Hanover County's Blumenthal Field became a base for coastal patrol bombers and fighter training. Elizabeth City's Coast Guard Air Station (opened in 1940) provided coastal and antisubmarine patrols (though vastly insufficient ones, as it turned out); Weeksville Naval Air Station (1942) was a blimp base for the same purposes; Seymour Johnson Air Base was located near Goldsboro.

North Carolina's war production efforts were extraordinary, even in the context of such extensive national commitment. The war production boom began in late 1940, and some $2 billion in federal funds flowed into the state. Following the governor's wartime slogan ("No idle labor, no idle land, no idle machines"), some factories built rockets, bombs, and radar equipment; others turned out airplane assemblies. Submarine chasers came down the ways at Elizabeth City, and mine sweepers at New Bern. Wilmington's shipyards turned out large numbers of vessels, including the first Liberty Ship, launched the day before Pearl Harbor. The North Carolina mountains offered new sources for critical minerals no longer available from abroad, including half of the nation's mica. Forest and agricultural production went up dramatically; to alleviate the labor shortage, some POWs were put to picking cotton and harvesting peanuts.[67] North Carolina delivered more textile goods to the effort than any other state, and the Ethyl-Dow plant at Kure Beach manufactured all the tetra-ethyl lead used in the war.[68]

The production boom had a positive economic effect as federal funds flowed, builders bought supplies and paid workers, and troops and their families bought goods and services. The downside, however, was that it was difficult to provide housing, food, equipment and supplies, and entertainment for so many troops so quickly, and vice (including gambling and prostitution) and social costs (e.g., divorce) mounted. Additional stresses issued from the rationing of sugar, shoes, coffee, meat, cigarettes, tires, and other essential goods.[69]

An early sign that the Outer Banks were going to be a site of major military activity was the large numbers of ships sunk by German submarines off the North Carolina coast during the first half of 1942, beginning with the *Alan Jackson* on January 18.[70] Efforts were made to keep news of the carnage from the public, but as 287 men died in sinkings off Hatteras alone (giving the area the name "Torpedo Junction"), burning oil slicks could be seen offshore, bodies washed up on beaches, and strict blackouts within twenty miles of the coast emphasized the danger, there was no hope of keeping the danger secret.[71] Ocracoke Navy man Jim Baum died when the *Caribsea* was torpedoed; his framed license washed up on the beach.[72]

Until the United States belatedly learned how to mount adequate defenses (finally adopting in May 1942 the convoy system that the British had been using since World War I) and the carnage decreased, it had been, as Cheatham aptly termed it years later, "the Atlantic turkey shoot." Surfacing offshore after sunset, as Cheatham describes it,

> the U-boat commanders could see—through binoculars—people walking around porches of homes close to the water. They saw sleepy little fishing villages and resort towns with lights blazing. Even the buoys and lighthouses were

66 Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in World War II*, 11–14.

67 Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in World War II*, 20–24; Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 502.

68 Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 589–590.

69 Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in World War II,* 18–27.

70 Timeline on U.S. Naval Air Station (LTA) Weeksville, North Carolina, website (http://www.elizcity.com/weeksnas/timeline.htm). This source places losses at seventy-five. James Cheatham, *The Atlantic Turkey Shoot: U-Boats Off the Outer Banks in World War II* (West Columbia, SC: Wentworth Printing, 2002), is the most thorough examination of submarine warfare off the Outer Banks. Cheatham, 11, puts the number much higher: "over 200 ships" sunk between January and the end of April 1942.

71 Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in World War II*, 49–51.

72 Ballance, *Ocracokers*, 196. Ballance's narrative contains considerable detail about Ocracokers' encounters with the effects of submarine warfare.

> in full operation, as well as radio stations to provide navigation assistance.[73]

A U-boat commander reported incredulously that

> There was . . . no evidence that the Americans were switching over to wartime conditions. . . . [Ship captains] chatted . . . over [the radio] and . . . the coastal defense stations sent out . . . details of rescue work in progress, of where and when aircraft would be patrolling and the schedules of anti-submarine vessels.[74]

With regard to the southern Banks, the war had a number of related impacts. Barbara Garrity-Blake and James Sabella note, for example, that the opening of the Cherry Point Navy Air Station offered jobs with steady pay and benefits to Harkers Island residents.[75]

The war brought numerous changes to the Core Banks. Cape Lookout Bight, now protected by a submarine net, became a shelter for convoys going to Europe, and troops from the 193rd Field Artillery were assigned to defend it. Emplacements for heavy guns followed soon. The Portsmouth Coast Guard Station was reactivated and coast watch personnel stationed at Core Banks and Cape Lookout stations as well. More than 400 acres near the Cape Lookout Coast Guard station were appropriated for wartime purposes. Local lore has it that the "Coca-Cola house" in Cape Lookout village was the scene of Saturday night dances for troops.[76]

At war's end, the southern Banks slowly returned more or less to their prewar state. Military personnel departed, and most of the Cape Lookout property they had used passed back to Coast Guard control.[77] The buildings that comprised the military base were dismantled for salvage.[78] On top of a sand dune along the main road that once served the military camp in Cape Lookout Village, the remains of a machine-gun nest stood a half-century later as a silent reminder of the 360,000 North Carolina troops who had served in the war, and of the thousands who lost their lives.[79]

73 Cheatham, *The Atlantic Turkey Shoot*, 13. Cheatham discusses the convoy system at length, 24–28.

74 Ibid., 13–14.

75 Garrity-Blake and Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study*, 6.5.18.

76 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2-15; Jones, *Fishing Cottage #2,* 19; Jones, *Lewis Davis House,* 17–22; Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 30; Cape Lookout Village National Register Nomination, C3.

77 Jones, *Life-Saving Station* , 28. Jones notes that the Army's lease on 95 acres south of the Coast Guard station expired in 1949.

78 Ibid., sec. 7, 4.

79 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 500, says that about 4,000 died, but Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 589, say they totaled approximately 7,000. Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination, sec. 7, 3–4, 13.

Down East, Far West, and Hoi Toide:
Thinking About Culture and the Outer Banks

In recent years, popular discourse about the Outer Banks has been unrelievedly positive and romantic. But it has not always been so, especially with regard to culture. At various times, Bankers have been disparaged as unkempt and uncouth pre-moderns, reviled as unprincipled "wreckers" who steal the clothing and valuables of shipwreck victims, honored and decorated as lifesaving surfmen and Coast Guardsmen, romanticized as whalers and fearless fishermen.

This chapter maps some long-wave changes in such views, tests them (when available evidence permits) against historical fact, and examines in some detail the most central current in current view: *hoi toide* speech. In the process, we will examine a regional linguistic and cultural analogy (to Appalachia) featured in the work of *hoi toide*'s most skillful analyst.

From Depraved "Adamites" to Unforgettable Folks: The Conundrum of Outer Banks Culture

In North Carolina, the locales most often represented as offering the spiritual and cultural boons of travel and exploration are the western mountains and the coastal counties, especially the Outer Banks. Oddly, two regions are associated more deeply and frequently than one might suppose. Consider an eloquent statement distributed by the Core Banks Waterfowl Museum on Harkers Island:

> It is not an easy place to get to, Core Sound. The region begins where most folks' geographic knowledge of North Carolina ends . . . . It is wild country over there on the Banks. Not a soul lives there. It was not always so.
>
> These are the two ways to get here: . . . Either way, it's a trip through time and space, into the heart of North Carolina's true Down East. This is a place fashioned by the sea and sand and wind, and the people who call it home. Here, history is a patchwork quilt of ancient whaling stories and round-stern workboats, crabpots and clam rakes, and waters where fishermen and hunters navigate their boats by the church steeples rising over the mainland. And waterfowl, always waterfowl. . . .
>
> There is no other place like Core Sound. There are no other stories like these . . . [told by] unforgettable folks . . . [rooted] in a necklace of working communities with one foot in the water and the other on land. . . . Knowing where you are Down East means knowing that the beam from the Cape Lookout lighthouse flashes every 15 seconds . . . . To the sons and daughters of the Bankers, it means home. . . . [T]here is no way of drawing a line between who you are and the world of marsh and beach and tangled piney woods . . .. [H]istory and lore cling to this sliver of coastal North Carolina like barnacles to a skiff bottom.[1]

The themes are beguiling: a wild and remote place, mysterious and appealing, inhabited by people who know and love it deeply, reachable only by magical space-time travel. Compelling history infused with irresistible lore. A fusion of nature and culture that brings uncommon happiness, commitment, and knowledge. A sphere of meaningful work. Families that endure. A home one belongs in, returns to perennially, and never tires of telling engrossing stories about.

This wholly positive construction of the Banks has become so normalized in popular discourse that it is rarely challenged. But that has not always

1 Core Sound Waterfowl Museum, "This Is Core Sound" (http://www.coresound.com/coresound.htm).

been the case. Indeed it appears that almost the only widely agreed upon "fact" is that the Outer Banks is "remote" and "isolated," and therefore to be understood as "different." As such, they are comprehensible only in terms not applicable to mainstream society. Whether those terms should be negative or positive is not a completely settled issue, but in the early years, they were frequently negative.

As early as 1728, Virginian William Byrd, a member of the commission to survey the disputed Virginia-North Carolina boundary, described a "marooner" couple living in a "rude bark habitation" near Currituck Inlet. The man "neither sowed nor plowed," and the woman stole milk from a neighbor's cow. He had only his long beard for clothing, and she her long hair "like one of Herodotus's East Indian pygmies." Thus, Byrd said, "did these wretches live in a dirty state of nature, and were mere Adamites, innocence only excepted." On Knott's Island, by contrast, William Harding's plantation had plentiful healthy stock, including large sheep. Royal Governor Gabriel Johnston (1734–1752) shared Byrd's view of Outer Banks residents, referring to them as a "set of people who live on certain sandy Islands lying between the Sound and the Ocean, and who are Wild and ungovernable, so that it is seldom possible to Execute any Civil or Criminal Writs among them." Those people, Johnston claimed, "would come in a body and pillage [wrecked] ships."[2]

Such negative characterizations of Outer Banks residents remained durable for many years, though the image of stalwart Banks fishermen and boatsmen was emerging as well in the mid-nineteenth century. A hundred and fifty or so years after Governor Johnston castigated Outer Bankers for pillaging wrecked ships, however, the northern press again took up the theme. Following the wreck of the *Metropolis* off Currituck in January 1878, the press railed against the local people who it said


AN EMINENT BANKER.

Figure 8-1. An eminent Banker. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1860, 733.

(groundlessly, as it turned out) robbed victims of their valuables.[3]

Twenty years later, as the bitter electoral battle between old-line Democrats and their Republican challengers raged, Democratic stalwart A. W. Simpson dismissed Hatteras Island Republican voters as "Yeopon choppers, Mullet-Gillers, and Beach-Combers"—all sharply derogatory terms.[4] As many commentators have noted, the Democrats of the period were not highly selective in their use of epithets, but their choice in this case nevertheless bespoke confidence that "Yeopon Choppers" (a local variant of "white trash" in use since the 1820s) would resonate sufficiently to have the desired effect.

Somewhere on a spectrum reaching from William Byrd's naked and depraved Adamites to the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum's "unforgettable folks . . . with one foot in the water and the other on land," watching the nearest lighthouse flash "Home" every fifteen seconds, lie the multiple (and tangled) truths about life and culture on the Outer Banks.

2 Byrd quotation from David Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 7–10. Stick quotes from William K. Boyd (ed.), *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), 38–50. Johnston quoted by Joe A. Mobley, *Ship Ashore!,* 10.

3 Mobley, *Ship Ashore!*,, 74. Mobley has a fairly extensive discussion of these charges and of their refutation.

4 Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 176–177.

The *New York Times* Comes to Harkers Island: 1924

In the spring of 1924, *New York Times* correspondent G. S. Carraway ventured to Harkers Island in search of some truths.[5] Her visit came at a key cultural moment: after the close of World War I, midway into the Jazz Age, and prior to the Great Depression. Visiting such a place, "removed decades and leagues from the coast [Beaufort] in habits and customs," Carraway said, "a visitor . . . might easily think that he was in a foreign country." "Very few Americans," she continued,

> have ever heard of the place; fewer have ever been there. Up until ten years ago the inhabitants were isolated, illiterate and almost barbarous. There were no laws, no roads, no schools. The natives [have] squatted on the little land that they desired for their rude shacks . . . . Marriage with outsiders was so rare that the race was beginning to lose its strength and vitality.

On the other hand, Carraway granted, the area was a nearly idyllic "haven of beauty," with low-growing water oaks, "their branches sloping gradually higher in perfect ascension . . . . jungles of yapon [sic] trees with . . . scarlet berries . . . undergrowth with wild flowers . . . [and] winding byways . . . meander[ing] invitingly through the woods." There were few crops, she observed, but some people had good gardens and a few chickens.

The idyllic natural scene was in some respects matched by a healthy social order. The "old-fashioned natives," she reported, "are original and interesting . . . wholesome and kind-hearted people." Their health was good, except for some malaria and hookworm (a nearly universal plague of the time) among the children. Early marriage and large families were the norm, longevity was common, and the death rate low. The adults, she said, were "easy-going, good natured, congenial and contented. As a rule . . . [they are] intelligent and shrewd, with hard common sense and a keen sense of humor." They were "peaceful, law-abiding citizens, rarely ever getting in trouble or court," little whiskey was made or drunk, and they knew "Bible stories and old legends."

Music (played on parlor organs, a lone piano, a couple of fiddles, mouth harps, and an accordion) formed Harkers Islanders' "chief pleasure." The richest inhabitants, Carraway observed, owned Edison cylinder phonographs.[6] Some had organs, and there was at least one piano. At local square dances, Carraway was surprised to observe, "the whiskered old fishermen with their thin, wiry wives are marvelously light and graceful."

But Carraway was more skeptical and ambivalent than this idyllic portrait would indicate. Parlor organs not withstanding, the "main musical instrument" on Harkers Island, she was careful to point out, "is the tin dishpan . . . beaten rhythmically with both hands," and accompanied by combs covered with tissue paper and sometimes a kerosene funnel used as bugle. As it turned out, dishpan drums, tissue-covered comb trumpets and kerosene funnel bugles pointed the way—for Carraway, at least—to a dark underside of Harkers Island culture. Fishing was the only industry, she reported, and it could be very lucrative, but "all of this money is spent, extravagantly and foolishly at times, or is buried." Men spent so much of their time fishing, Carraway said, that "the heads of many are box-shaped, cut square, with the forehead sloping abruptly backward" (rather ape-like, one wonders if he was thinking).

Back at home, the men were idle, "usually whittling or loafing" while the women did all the work. Worse, "[m]any of the fishermen go dirty and unkempt," and shoes were "only a recent acquisition." Tobacco "often takes the place of food," with the men smoking and chewing, and the women (and even four to five-year old children) dipping or using snuff. "Hardly any of the adults are educated," Carraway said. Superstitions were rife, and people were "great believers in ghosts, 'h'ants,' and the like." There were church services, but "babies squall, boys eat oranges, peanuts and

5 G. S. Carraway, "Quaint Harkers Islanders Live Without Government," *New York Times*, June 1, 1924. All quotations in our discussion are from Carraway's article.

6 The Edison cylinder phonograph was invented in 1877. Early tinfoil cylinders wore out rapidly, and were replaced first by wax cylinders in 1902, and then by hard plastic ones after 1906. Disc recordings appeared in 1908 and quickly became dominant; cylinders were last manufactured in 1929. Thus in 1924, Harkers Islander cylinder machines would have been examples of still current – but not the latest – technology.

candy, the girls primp and giggle, and the adults talk or chew, occasionally spitting on the floor."

With regard to Harkers Island culture, then, Carraway judged that it was a very mixed bag. "During the last decade," she reported, "rapid strides have been taken in the direction of progress and prosperity." Although there were "none of the so-called modern conveniences and no prospects of any, . . . [there] was a regular mail and passenger boat from Beaufort, and a school in a modern, new building." Older inhabitants "heartily disapprove of these changes," s he said, preferring to "retain their primitive and peculiar customs and manners of living," but there were ten automobile owners, "the flappers are demanding the latest styles in clothes and bobbed hair," and the children are doing "remarkably well" in school.

Hoi Toide (or Not): Defining and Promoting the Culture of the Southern Banks After World War II

The decades following Carraway's *New York Times* article were times of great change for the southern Banks, and not necessarily in a positive direction. Portsmouth had been in decline ever since the Custom House closed in 1867, and all but a few stalwart residents had left after major hurricanes in 1933 and 1944. Diamond City was completely wiped out by the San Ciriaco hurricane of 1899, a year or so after the last whale had been caught. Lifesaving and Coast Guard stations had come and gone, as had wartime population surges. A planned tourist development on Shackleford Banks had never materialized. The mostly post-Civil War commercial fishing industry had waxed and waned; menhaden production had continued to rise, but shad fishermen were catching only a fraction of what they had in 1900. And Core Banks was littered with the rusting hulks of automobiles converted to fishing buggies by rising numbers of sport fishermen. And at least from World War II onward, many long-time residents had been drawn away from the Banks to steady jobs at military installations in the surrounding area.[7]

During the more than three-quarters of a century since Carraway presented his ambivalent picture of Harkers Island, the popular image of Outer Banks culture has shifted in a more positive direction. Several factors have contributed to the shift: the post-World War II emphasis on tourism and the intensive tourism promotion efforts of coastal counties, towns, and chambers of commerce (especially those of Aycock Brown in Dare County); the arrival of two major national seashore parks; the rise of multiculturalism with its emphasis on the value of non-mainstream cultural systems; and the growth of heritage tourism in the 1990s.[8]

Contemporary tourist promotion sites on the Internet invite visitors to make "a historic and cultural pilgrimage through the [area's] rich past," to explore its "rich maritime legacy," and to understand its "unique place in American history."[9] At one level such language is no more than the standard tourist-attraction boilerplate, of which examples abound from innumerable "attractions." But like many such promoters, Outer Banks marketers advance a historical basis for their claims. They posit, for example, that through much of its long history, the area's isolation contributed to its uniqueness.

And indeed the area is almost always described as isolated. During the Civil War, a Colonel Hawkins, Union commander of the area between Ocracoke and Oregon inlets after the battle on Hatteras Island, observed that "The islanders mingle but little with the world. . . . [A]pparently indifferent to this outside sphere, they constitute a world within themselves."[10] A century later, local Carteret

7 Garrity-Blake and Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study*, 6.5.18.

8 The Town of Nags Head's promotional website says the town explicitly links two of these factors. The town, it says, "is working to build a community populated by diverse groups whose common bond is a love of the Outer Banks. . . . We recognize that those who have lived on this land before us have forged our path and that we must learn from them and respect their memory" (http://www.townofnagshead.net/). On Aycock Brown, see Aycock Brown and David Stick, *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks* (Norfolk, VA: Donning, 1976), and Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 201–202. On heritage tourism, see Stephen W. Boyd and Dallen J. Timothy, *Heritage Tourism* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2003), and Betty Gray, *Washington / Beaufort County Cultural Heritage Tourism Initiative Final Report* (Washington, NC: Washington Tourism Development Authority, 2001).

9 Outer Banks of North Carolina Official Site: Fact Sheet (http://www.outerbanks.org/visitor_services/outer_banks_news/outer_banks_of_north_carolina_fact_sheet.asp).

10 Quoted in Louis Torres, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*, 106.

County ferry operator Josiah W. Bailey described Cape Lookout as "isolated, wave washed, and windswept . . . unfamiliar to present generations." "Bypassed by time," he said, "[it] remains largely as it was when first observed by the . . . explorers of the sixteenth century."[11] And one could cite innumerable other examples.

Another frequently invoked basis for popular characterizations of Outer Banks culture is the existence of putatively stable, multigenerational maritime occupations (frequently family-based), including fishing, lighthouse keeping, and work for the Life-Saving Service and Coast Guard—the latter two groups especially appealing because their occupations frequently required heroic action. And there is indeed some historical basis for these claims of culture-defining importance for particular occupations, as we have noted in previous chapters. The 1790 Carteret County census includes many family names (Davis, Roberts, Dixon, Fulsher/Fulcher, Gaskin, Lewis, Salter, Styron, Wallace, Willis) still in evidence, more than two hundred years later, in the same traditional occupations listed then.[12]

There are, however, several problems with these definitional and promotional claims. One is that the claim of isolation is easily falsifiable for every period of Outer Banks history, especially from the eighteenth century onward, as we have been at pains to point out in the foregoing chapters. The arrival of the first slaves, who—whatever else they were—were undeniably cultural *others,* ended anything that might legitimately have been called cultural isolation on the Banks. And Cecelski's analysis of the world of slave watermen shows conclusively that the area was anything but isolated or monocultural afterwards. Slavery was, and remained throughout its existence in the maritime world, a domain of cultural exchange at odds with any notion of isolation. Persistent Atlantic world trade and communication, in which slaves played a key part, created and sustained important and durable linkages that worked against isolation.

Even though one might justifiably observe that the coastal counties of North Carolina were, as we pointed out in a prior chapter, excluded from the growth of textile mills, tobacco factories, or furniture manufacturing that shaped so much of the history and social structure of the adjacent piedmont region, they were the locus of the naval stores industry which developed after 1700 and of much of the state's forest products industry (especially shingles, staves, and sawn lumber), both of which were de-isolating in their effects.[13]

Claims for a stable, coherent and durable Outer Banks culture (however defined) are also historically problematic. This is true, the record makes clear, even within the commercial fishing industry itself, long-lived as it has been. Commercial fishing did not arrive to any extent on the Outer Banks until after the Civil War, and its various sectors, each with its own identifiable season, fishing technology, labor patterns, and work culture, have waxed and waned continuously and dramatically. Four of the major commercial fishing sectors (clams, menhaden, mullet, and shad) arose in a clump at the end of the century, but followed distinct developmental curves. Clam production peaked very quickly and declined fairly slowly, descending to less than half of peak production levels by the 1970s. Commercial shad fishing followed a similar pattern: early emergence (ca. 1895), quick peak, and steady decline from the 1930s on, falling to about one-ninth of its highest level by the 1970s. Mullet fishing also arose in the 1890s, peaked early (around 1900), and by the mid-1930s was on a steady decline toward about a sixth of its peak level. Menhaden fishing, present to some degree in the mid-nineteenth century, became a major industry in the 1890s, reached its highest level around 1918, and by the 1960s had dropped to about half that level. Its technology,

11 Josiah W. Bailey, "Cape Lookout—Place That Time Passed By," *Carteret County News-Times*, December 28, 1965, unpaged clipping.

12 U.S. Census for 1790, Carteret County (ftp://ftp.us-census.org/pub/usgenweb/census/nc/carteret/1790).

13 On commercial lumbering see Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, 93–97; Peter C. Stewart, "The Shingle and Lumber Industries in the Great Dismal," *Journal of Forest History* 25, no. 2 (1981): 98–107; and Cecelski, *A Historian's Coast*, 28, 105–110. Cecelski sketches the history of Buffalo City (1885–1925) on the Alligator River, a long-abandoned sawmill village. Once home to 300 people, it was the largest town in Dare County, with its own general store, school, churches, and hotels. Book-length analyses of the industry are available in de Boer, *Nature, Business, and Community in North Carolina's Green Swamp,* and Lawrence Earley, *Looking for Longleaf*.

using much larger vessels and consequently larger crews and onshore factory processing, was quite distinct from that of any other sector.[14]

Thus, although one might legitimately claim that commercial fishing has long been a basis for certain aspects of Outer Banks life and culture, even a cursory analysis of that generically totalized industry leads quickly to an awareness of change and diversity that have profound social and cultural effects. To expand the time frame to its maximum extent, the lives, work, and culture of shore-based whalers in the eighteenth century were about as different as they could be from those of menhaden crews in the twentieth century. Other change factors have also been persistently in evidence for at least that length of time. With the capricious opening and closing of inlets by storms and hurricanes, piloting and lightering became less–common occupations and many men took up fishing instead. Travel and trade patterns as well as means of livelihood altered as canals opened (and closed); the coming of roads, bridges, and ferries had similar effects. Even tourism, now pervasive on the Banks, arrived at different times, brought different clienteles in different places, produced different developmental patterns, and impacted whatever cultural distinctiveness existed at different locations in different ways, to different degrees, and at different rates.

Broad claims of cultural distinctiveness, stability, and durability also mute critically necessary attention to race and class, as we have argued in Chapter 5. Necessary attention to gender is also backgrounded or omitted. As Garrity-Blake was careful to point out in her study of the menhaden industry, the lives of fishermen's wives (and of women more generally, including those who worked in the processing factories) were impacted by the industry in ways quite different in some respects from those of their husbands.[15] Paradoxically, evidence of the ultimate insupportability of any claim to a unique, stable, tradition-based Outer Banks culture emerges most convincingly from careful study of its most often cited feature: "hoi toide" speech.

Hoi (but Ebbing) Toide: A Close Look at the Brogue

A Google search for "hoi toide" produces more than 3,000 references to scholarly and popular books and articles, journalistic accounts, National Educational Television's nationally distributed *The Carolina Brogue* (1994), the Outer Banks Chamber of Commerce's "Outer Banks Lexicon," and the BBC's characterization of Ocracoke as "the Galapagos of language."[16] No other single feature of Outer Banks life has received so much commentary or is so widely trusted as a marker of its character. Long denounced as substandard English, it has in recent years been rehabilitated as a valued cultural feature, perhaps partly because it sounds vaguely British (and hence culturally preferred).

In 1962, University of North Carolina linguist Robert Howren described some salient features of the Carolina brogue, as it is called, in Ocracoke village.[17] As early as 1910, Howren noted, it was already viewed as endangered by the advent of daily mail boats, ending what he (incorrectly) believed to be the island's century-long isolation. The brogue-eroding communication was increased by the completion of a road from Oregon Inlet to Ocracoke in 1957 and the inauguration of ferry service to Atlantic three years later.

Presaging what later investigators would also conclude about the brogue, Howren observed that its system of characteristically stressed vowels "differs structurally only in minor details from the systems of the other dialects of the Atlantic states."

14 These characterizations follow graphs in Michael W. Street, Thomas R. Rickman, and Walter Godwin, *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Commercial and Sports Fisheries, 1971), which we reproduced in Chapter 4. On the menhaden fisheries, see Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, also extensively cited in Chapter 4.

15 Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, 32–34, 39–40, 84, 99–102.

16 The lexicon may be found at http://www.outerbankschamber.com/relocation/history/names.cfm. BBC quotation from WUNC-TV announcement of the film (http://www.unctv.org/carolinabrogue/index.html).

17 Robert Howren, "The Speech of Ocracoke, North Carolina," *American Speech* 37, no. 3 (October 1962): 163–175.

Two of its "most immediately evident phonological features" were the postvocalic /r/ ("Cubar" instead of "Cuba") and the *oi* diphthong in *tide*. Lexically (that is, with regard to vocabulary), mainland/general coastal/Ocracoke overlap was high. Hence the degree of uniqueness was low. Many words were current in all areas, but there was a "sizeable" group of Ocracoke expressions encountered infrequently or not at all in the rest of the state (e.g., the New England term *comforter* for a padded bedcover, instead of *comfort*, the more frequently encountered southern term; *hummock* for a small tree-covered hill; and a few nautical terms, such as *fatback* for menhaden). Howren concluded tentatively that Outer Banks speech "differs markedly from the Southern dialect" with regard to a few phonological and lexical features, but that those differences "should not be permitted to obscure the numerous similarities between [it] and that of the upper South."[18]

Several years after Howren, Hilda Jaffe completed her Michigan State University Ph.D. dissertation on the Carteret County version of the brogue.[19] Jaffe based her study on data from a then-recent linguistic atlas and a dozen local informants, lamenting "the overwhelming reluctance of the people of these isolated communities to be interviewed."[20] Unfortunately, Jaffe (like Howren before her) did not question the "isolation" of the Outer Banks. From the eighteenth century onward, she said, Bankers "stayed where they had settled" and had been left "virtually undisturbed until . . . the early part of the twentieth century." Only since the 1940s, she judged, "has the outside world begun to encroach on their isolation." Their speech thus remained "surprisingly unlike the general speech of the rest of eastern North Carolina," despite the influence of public schools and the media. Jaffe found that the brogue was still "distinctive enough to bewilder strangers" and that people's "communal solidarity," tightly linked families, and prior experiences with journalists who stigmatized them made them reluctant to trust or mingle with strangers from outside.[21]

Clearly, Jaffe's understanding of the area's demographic and cultural history was quite rudimentary. The volume on state history she used dated from 1858, and the later sources she referenced were few and limited; her chapter on settlement history was three pages long.[22] Her dozen informants, male and female, ranged from high-school age through their mid-fifties, with the majority in their twenties and thirties. A few were descended from what Jaffe called "original settlers," but they had lived in the area for varying (sometimes fairly short) periods of time, some having been born (and/or having spent much of their young, or even adult, lives) elsewhere. At the time of the interviews, several were living in Morehead City, and others in Marshallberg, Harkers Island, Williston, and elsewhere in Carteret County.[23] Clearly they were not a promising array for the study she undertook. Working out of a limited and skewed set of data, Jaffe argued that pronunciation (especially the diphthong of *tide* / *toide*) was the brogue's most distinctive feature, rather than vocabulary or grammar, although she also examined a range of distinctive verb forms and a few other vocabulary features.[24] Overall, her study turned out to be thin in every respect, and consequently of little use.

Fortunately, linguist Walt Wolfram took up the task anew several decades later, publishing a much more thorough study of the Carolina brogue.[25] Besides being a superior linguist technically, Wolfram was a more sophisticated analyst of historical context and social/cultural change. His view of language was capacious enough to comprehend the dynamic processes through which the brogue emerged, changed, adapted, and distinguished itself (or did not) from other bordering or even distant language areas. Wolfram established at the outset of his

18 Ibid., 164, 168, 171–174. Howren's detailed phonological and lexical analysis need not be recounted at length here.

19 Hilda Jaffe, "The Speech of the Central Coast of North Carolina: The Carteret County Version of the Banks 'Brogue' " (Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1965).

20 Ibid., 2. The atlas Jaffe worked from was Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, eds., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).

21 Ibid., 2.

22 Ibid., 10–12. By the mid-1960s, reliable secondary sources on aspects of North Carolina history pertinent to Jaffe's study were readily available.

23 Ibid., 13-17.

24 Ibid., 9, 18–25, 81ff.

25 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*. With other colleagues, Wolfram also published a later book on the same topic, Kirk Hazen, Natalie Schilling-Estes, and Walt Wolfram, *Dialect Change and Maintenance on the Outer Banks,* Publication of the American Dialect Society 81 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999).

study that early settlers on the Banks came from several contributing areas, England, tidewater Virginia, and Ireland salient among them. Early Ocracokers, he explained, spoke several varieties of Early Modern English (EME), themselves in evidence in many other places and characterized by considerable inner diversity. The Civil War resulted in other significant contributing streams from the northeastern United States, and both the Great Depression and the growth of tourism after World War II introduced other change elements.[26]

Wolfram struggled with—but proved unable to resolve—the question of cultural isolation. On the one hand, he argued that isolation was an important factor in local language development, and even posited that despite the presence of fairly large numbers of slaves, the brogue "does not seem to have been influenced" by African American speech. The area, he said, has been "well removed from the language evolution that occurred [on the mainland] from Elizabethan times to the present day." On the other hand, Wolfram recognized that whatever part isolation played, it was episodic and conditional. "One key factor in the development of the unique Ocracoke brogue," he said,

> was the isolation of Ocracokers from the mainland, although in its earliest days Ocracoke Village was probably not as isolated as one might think. Rather, the village was a booming port town . . . . Thanks to all [the] ship traffic, early residents of Ocracoke would have come into frequent contact with travelers from throughout England, the colonies, and the world.

Hatteras Inlet began to close in the 1730s, Wolfram notes, routing traffic through Ocracoke, but a storm in 1846 reopened it, shifting traffic again. Canals and railroads introduced analogous dynamics, as did hard-surface highways and ferries in later years.[27] Was it then isolated, or not, one must ask, and when, for how long, and how thoroughly? The historical record suggests fairly clearly (see especially Chapter 2 above on the Atlantic world) that it never was—certainly not very thoroughly, or for very long.

Whatever the truth about isolation, how did Wolfram describe the brogue? In his detailed linguistic analysis, Wolfram focused on the phonological, lexical, and structural features that had interested Howren and Jaffe before him. His fieldwork was far more extensive and careful than Jaffe's, however, stretching over several years and involving large numbers of informants. With regard to the perennially fascinating matter of pronunciation, Wolfram observed that "To a large extent, the association of the Ocracoke brogue with British English comes from the classic pronunciation of the /i/ vowel in hoi toide." The vowel was regularly seized upon by commentators, he said, because it contrasts so strongly both with standard /i/ and with the characteristic southern /ah/. Unlike former commentators who cast the /i = oi/ as universal in the brogue, Wolfram was careful to note that how local speakers use it "depends upon age, social setting and even micro speech context or other words they are using at the moment." High tide is always hoi toide, he said, but the same /i/ in *tire* or *fire* is rendered as a southern /ah/, resulting in *tar* and *far*.[28]

The postvocalic /r/ is similarly used, Wolfram found. Ocracoke is "an r-pronouncing dialect," Wolfram argued: *far* instead of *fah*, *cart* instead of *caht*. At the time of early settlement, he observed, r-lessness was considered low and rustic; it achieved higher status only at the end of the eighteenth century. Such shifts reveal the essential fickleness of language, Wolfram cautioned, going further to insist that there is "nothing intrinsically 'better' about certain pronunciations than others. . . . Social judgments about pronunciations can change as rapidly and arbitrarily as the pronunciations themselves."[29]

Wolfram also examined both vocabulary and sentence structure, finding a long list of identifiable Ocracoke words and sentence patterns. Nonnatives are *dingbatters*, menhaden are *fatback*, to *mommuck* means to harass or bother, *down Sound* is south of Ocracoke, and *offshore* can mean crazy or silly. Local sentence structure employs repeated negatives, a-prefixing (*"I'm a-goin' to . . .)*, and completive dones *("I done forgot to get the mail"*), as well as the socially stigmatized but etymologically grounded and useful pan-southern *y'all* and

26 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks,* 7–20.

27 Ibid., 2, 15–18. It is paradoxical that Wolfram credited isolation as a factor to the extent that he did, given his generally dynamic and processual conception of language development.

28 Ibid., 50–60.

29 Ibid., 64–72.

ain't.[30] Hence if one tries simply to describe the most characteristically recognizable features of the brogue, one easily comes up with a substantial list of items.

But what about the age-old claim that the brogue is unique, handed down in isolation from generation to generation, durably resistant to contamination, jealously guarded and cherished as a cornerstone of local identity, and often troublesomely unintelligible to outsiders? Wolfram's conclusion is: a little bit yes, a lot more no, and it depends on the context within which one views it. And in any case, the system is far more complicated than most people (whether locals or outside journalists or even some scholars) argue that it is. Many of its features, Wolfram says, "are not unique to this island specifically or even to the Outer Banks in general, but are found in other regions of the United States as well." Not all of those features are used by all Ocracokers, especially younger and middle-aged speakers, and some who use them don't use them all the time. Wolfram's "overall impression" of Ocracoke English, he said, is that it "is distinctive not because of the many structures found only in this dialect, but because of the way in which . . . patterns have been joined together in the formation of this particular variety." [31] What makes the Ocracoke dialect unique, to the extent that it is, he says, is "the particular way in which [these] features are combined . . . [like] a new recipe that has been created by mixing some well-known ingredients with a few lesser-known [ones] in an imaginative way." [32]

The brogue, that is to say, is a continuously evolving product of the same processes of change that affect all language, all the time, everywhere. Our foregoing chapters have chronicled many of those change processes: early settlement; later in and out-migration; the opening and closing of inlets and the consequent modifications in shipping; the dramatic and destructive interventions of hurricanes; the advent of maritime slavery with its particular patterns; the disruptions of war; the coming (and going) of government programs, institutions, and personnel; the development of tourism; and the designation of vast swaths of the Banks as national seashores.[33]

In sum, it appears that Wolfram characterizes the Carolina brogue as a distinctive assemblage of elements deriving in the earliest period from several dialects of Early Middle English and Irish brought by early settlers, adapted over the years through the creative admixture of northeastern and southern elements, with all components of which it shares recognizable features of pronunciation, vocabulary, and structure. Those explanations we find easily demonstrable and unarguable. But we are aware of no historical evidence to substantiate any claim of isolation as a significant contextual factor, and much evidence to the contrary.

Down East and Far West: Bankers' Linguistic Cousins in the Mountains

Wolfram's aim was not only to describe and analyze the way Ocracokers talk, but also to understand the relationship of their language system to those of other areas, wherever situated: other Outer Banks communities, the lowland South, and the non-South (from New England to the Midwest). He quickly concluded that the Ocracoke system was closely related in some respects to near-shore inland North Carolina, to non-Southern systems, to general "Southern" speech, and to some northeastern speech areas. With regard to vocabulary, he observed that "The bulk of the current Ocracoke vocabulary has a decidedly southern flavor to it, seasoned with some special Outer Banks terms and spiced up with a few words found only on the island."[34] Once one passes beyond the near-shore area, however, the next area of linguistic congruence, Wolfram argued, was not the adjacent piedmont, as one might expect, but rather the mountainous western counties. "One of the regions whose dialect most resembles the brogue," he wrote, "is Appalachia." In many respects, it turned out that the speech of Ocracoke "is more like speech in the mountains of western North Carolina than that of the intervening lowland areas."[35]

30 Ibid., 74–94.
31 Ibid., 70.
32 Ibid., 27.
33 Ibid., 22–28. The impact of television, studies show, has been less than is commonly supposed.
34 Ibid., 104–105.
35 Ibid., 27, 114–115.

This rather surprising turn in Wolfram's argument appears to have arisen for several reasons. The most obvious was that as a linguist intimately familiar with American dialects, he simply noticed some similarities in pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentence structure between the Carolina brogue of the Outer Banks and the speech of the western North Carolina mountains. He had after all been studying speech variations in the Appalachian region for about twenty years (with some two hundred informants, he reported) before he turned to the Outer Banks and was especially familiar with the data those investigations had produced.[36] Indeed the many similarities in pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentence structure he cited were striking: a-prefixing of verb forms (*a-fishin'*), the completive *done* (*She done went*), double modals (*might could*), possessive pronouns ending in –n (*hisn*), and others. The vowel pronunciation *bar* instead of *bear* he said was "so strong in the Appalachian dialect that it even surfaces in songs about the mountains" such as "The Ballad of Davy Crockett"—an unfortunate choice of example, since the song actually derived from a Walt Disney movie of the 1950s.[37]

Another reason for Wolfram's having concentrated on the Appalachian comparison appears to have been that he understood (*mis*understood, as it turned out) the region to be (and to have been for a very long time) "isolate[ed] from other American dialect areas," and in that sense analogous to the "isolated" Outer Banks, and consequently useful for comparative purposes.[38] "Many parts of Appalachia," he observed, "far distant from regular transportation and communication routes because of the difficult mountainous terrain, existed in a kind of isolation similar to that created by the stretch of water that separates the Outer Banks from the mainland."[39]

The Outer Banks and Appalachia, it turns out, share more than the specific dialect ties Wolfram asserted. For more than two centuries, both areas have been viewed as remote, isolated, and "different." Appalachia has been widely (but wrongly) understood as a home to old-stock whites descended from noble English forbears. Hence early settlers and the generations that came after them spoke, as many a commentator fancied, "Elizabethan" English. Steering clear of modernity it all its forms, they (it was thought) cherished the old ballads and folkways, told quaint folk tales, played haunting modal tunes on ancient instruments (the "Appalachian" dulcimer being favored), cooked in the old ways and used the old cures, and hewed to old-time religion in their little country churches. Such notions combined to cast Appalachia in popular understanding and popular media as *exceptionalist*—a region outside (or exceptional to) mainstream history, experience,

36 Wolfram seems to have begun his Appalachian work as principal investigator on a National Institute of Education study, Sociolinguistic Variables in Appalachian Dialects and Their Effect Upon Evaluation of Children's Reading, around 1974. With Donna Christian, he published *Sociolinguistic Variables in Appalachian Dialects* (final report of National Institute of Education Grant No. G-74-0026; 1975) and *Appalachian Speech* (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1976). Several articles on Appalachian language appeared in *Appalachian Journal* in the 1970s and 1980s (4:224–35, 5:92–102, 11:215–226). Shortly before he began his Outer Banks work, he published with Donna Christian *Variation and Change in Geographically Isolated Communities: Appalachian English and Ozark English* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988). These and other data on Wolfram's work come from his North Carolina State University *curriculum vitae* (http://www.ncsu.edu/linguistics/wolfram.php#cv).

37 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*, 99, 109. The song was introduced in Walt Disney's *Davy Crocket, King of the Wild Frontier* in December 1954. It was first recorded by Bill Hayes the following February, and then by Tennessee Ernie Ford on March 19, 1955. As a key item in the ensuing Davy Crockett craze, it eventually sold 10 million copies. Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits,* 5th ed. (New York: Billboard Books, 1992), 178, 214, 518. More useful and reliable data on Appalachian dialect usage in traditional and commercial song was available to Wolfram in the vast field and commercial country music holdings in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, which were by 1990 the second or third largest in the world.

38 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks,* 109. Wolfram mentions isolation as a factor several times (e.g., 11, 78, 114)

39 Ibid., 27.

and norms.[40] It was a myth (and an analytical trap) that Wolfram fell headlong into. Many pronunciation features of Appalachian English, he said, are analogous to those that have been preserved "mainly in regions that historically have not had much contact with speakers of mainstream English."[41]

This misstep is particularly surprising in view of the fact that Wolfram conducted much of his Appalachian research in two West Virginia counties (Mercer and Monroe), the first of which had (as he himself pointed out) experienced the dramatic rise of industrial coal mining, with its attendant social, economic, cultural, and political dislocations, after the turn of the twentieth century.[42] Coal mining linked Mercer County tightly not only to national but also, given the structure of the coal industry, to international markets. Many Mercer County miners, like others throughout the coalfields, lived not on rural farms but in turbulent mining towns.[43]

Since the late 1960s, however, many scholars have reconsidered, redocumented, and rewritten the history of the region. Their work has led inexorably to the consensus, already strongly emergent by the mid-1970s when Wolfram began his Appalachian work, that that history cannot be adequately understood from an exceptionalist perspective congruent with any notion of "isolation." Scholars have documented again and again that all parts of the region were thoroughly connected to the "outside" from the eighteenth century onward, first by drovers' roads and market paths; later by turnpikes, highways, and railroads; and through a succession of periods by print journalism and advertising, mail order merchandising, film and recorded music, and radio and television.

It has in fact been relatively easy to document that the region has *not* developed outside mainstream norms and processes, is *not* and has never been all white (or even all English-speaking), has *not* remained stubbornly and pervasively rural and agricultural, and therefore has *not* escaped the turmoil and dislocation associated with industrialization and modernization.[44] Hence the current meticulously documented perspective on the Appalachian region (however it is mapped) is *anti*-exceptionalist. In all of these respects, the western mountains are very like the Outer Banks.

40 Scholarly literature documenting the origins, forms, and social and political uses of these mostly groundless but widely cherished notions is vast. On popular understanding of the region as exceptionalist, see Henry Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1970–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978); W. K. McNeil, *Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture,* 2nd ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); and David Hsiung, *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997). On early twentieth-century deployment of such notions in cultural institutions and by commercial merchandizers, see Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine,* and Jane S. Becker, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk, 1930–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

The noble "Elizabethan" image had a negative counterpart in the image of the hillbilly. See Altina Waller, *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), Williamson, *Hillbillyland*, and Harkins, *Hillbilly*. The notion of a geographically or culturally definable "Appalachia" itself is problematic; we cannot engage those problems here. Suffice it to say that the region has at various times and for various purposes been mapped to include anywhere from fewer than 200 to more than 400 counties in from six to thirteen states. Maps are widely available online.

41 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*, 11.

42 Despite the crucial differences between the two counties themselves, and the even stronger differences between Mercer County and any random county outside the coalfields of Central Appalachia, Wolfram and Christian maintained in *Appalachian Speech*, 5–6, that the two counties were "representative of central/southern Appalachia."

43 See Wolfram and Christian, *Appalachian Speech*, Figures 1 and 2 at 7, 9. Wolfram and Christian used data from the same two counties in their later (1982–1984) National Science Foundation report *Variation and Change in Geographically Isolated Communities*. For the statewide context of such dramatic transformations in many West Virginia counties, see John Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003). The rapid and socially disruptive urbanization and industrialization of the region has been a major preoccupation of Appalachian scholars since the early 1960s and was already by the early 1960s convincingly (if not yet fully) documented.

44 See for example Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*; Ronald Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880–1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982); Pudup, Billings, and Waller, *Appalachia in the Making*; and John C. Inscoe, *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

Whether Wolfram was sufficiently grounded in his understanding of Appalachian history and culture is not in itself overwhelmingly important for our purposes, but neither is it irrelevant. The important issues here are two: (1) Wolfram's meticulous and irrefutable demonstration that the Carolina brogue is not a linguistically unique product of its own isolation, but rather a special mix of linguistic elements drawn from diverse sources and sharing most (but not all) of its defining features with other language systems, and (2) the implications of the nearly universal belief that the Outer Banks were always "isolated" and that *hoi toide* thus survived both as product of the isolation and as a useful index to the exceptionalism of "Outer Banks culture." It is past time, we suggest, for this romantic notion about the Outer Banks to be subjected to the sort of scrutiny recently brought to bear upon its dialect-linked sister area to the west.

Why did that scrutiny arise with regard to the mountains, and of what use might it be with regard to the Outer Banks?[45] It arose primarily because in the early 1960s a number of disturbing social and economic issues (poverty, poor schools, black lung disease among coal miners, stripmining, and others) claimed the attention of both the general public and of younger scholars already energized by and engaged with broader issues of the period (e.g., school desegregation and civil rights, the Vietnam War, environmentalism). Finding the then-meager existing literature on the region to depend on a romantic narrative that could not be squared with the fairly easily available historical record, those scholars set out to rewrite the region's history. Though initially occupied with producing a revisionist but still to some degree exceptionalist narrative, they moved slowly but inexorably toward an anti-exceptionalist analysis. That move consistently highlighted the analytical uselessness of the old narrative, which reinforced exceptionalism in what was clearly not an exceptional region. That old perspective had obscured whole areas of the region's historical experience: industrialization and urbanization, race and race relations, labor history and class structure, women's experience, trade and cultural exchange, intraregional diversity.[46]

We suggest that an analogous misconception has prevented a long-overdue reexamination of Outer Banks history and culture. A useful first step might be to ask why a historically unsupportable narrative of an isolated, culturally unique, universally *hoi toiding* Outer Banks came from, and why it has survived for so long. As we pointed out earlier, early readings of the thinly-scattered population were rather negative, from William Byrd's culturally lapsed Adamites to media outlets' heartless scavengers of shipwrecks. Those depraved images seem to have waned in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century and thus were not picked up and developed by popular media, as were those of depraved mountaineers. Moreover, as these negative images of mountaineers were spreading in the media, the Life-Saving Service and the Coast Guard supplied publicly attractive images of courage and heroism linked to Outer Banks families, the Midgetts perhaps preeminent among them.

It also happened that the textile mills and tobacco factories of the piedmont did not extend to the coastal counties and the Outer Banks, and thus did not produce the very visible class and racial tensions that attended such development—the "linthead" stereotype, for example. What industry there was in the region at various periods was located inland rather than on the Banks themselves: turpentine and naval stores from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century; rice and tobacco culture in the antebellum period; logging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; phosphate mining mostly later, first in the Castle Hayne area north of Wilmington around 1900 and then in the vast Pungo River Formation of Beaufort County from the late 1950s onward. Further, especially after World War II, the Outer Banks / coastal counties tourism industry organized itself to flood the media with positive images of Outer Banks folk and their maritime

45 By this line of inquiry we do not mean at all to suggest that there has as yet been no analogous analysis of the Outer Banks. Examples come easily to mind. Stick's popular but carefully researched *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, though written in the 1950s, is still useful. Cecelski's *Along Freedom Road* and *The Waterman's Song* both examine the crucially linked elements of race and culture, as does Garrity-Blake's *The Fish Factory*.

46 For a detailed discussion of this analytical shift, see Dwight B. Billings, Mary Beth Pudup, and Altina Waller, "Taking Exception with Exceptionalism: The Emergence and Transformation of Historical Studies of Appalachia," in Pudup, Billings, and Waller, *Appalachia in the Making*, 1–24.

environment (a topic to which we will return at length in the following chapter).

All of these factors combined to allow and even support the dissemination of a positive, romantic image of Outer Banks history and culture seriously at odds with important aspects of its actual history. That story of isolation and miraculous cultural survivals has proven widely attractive in some respects, but the much richer (anti-exceptionalist) story could be far more attractive, even to the tourists so assiduously courted by the little coastal towns and the chambers of commerce.

Cultural Survival and Revival: An Endangered Dialect

Wolfram's analysis of the Carolina brogue brought him at length to a contradiction. "For two and a half centuries," he insisted near the end of his book, "Ocracoke was isolated geographically, economically, and socially." But now, oddly enough, it was suddenly an "endangered dialect," beset by social and cultural changes on every hand. How could this be? Had these change factors been belatedly and suddenly introduced?

Wolfram had linked the Outer Banks to Appalachia partly through what he took to be their shared isolation and exceptionalism. But his own examination of language in West Virginia's Mercer County had revealed that notion to be groundless. More careful attention to coastal North Carolina history would have shown it to be equally so for the Outer Banks. Whether framing his study of the brogue within the broader history of the change-infused social, economic, cultural, and political systems of which the Banks were perennially a part would have led to a substantially different linguistic analysis cannot be known. But it would at least have made the brogue's endangered status in the 1990s less paradoxical.

To his credit, Wolfram responded to the fact of that change and endangerment in a socially sensitive and imaginative way by engaging the complex issues of the survival and revival of endangered language in other settings (Hebrew in Israel and Irish in Ireland, for example) and by working with local teachers and students to examine and engage issues of language change, survival, and revival. Not overlooking the difficulties of such revival, Wolfram and his colleagues for several years taught weeklong courses on the dialect in schools as part of the social studies curriculum and also produced a short video on the brogue. In his concluding discussion, Wolfram explored the complicated examples of Ocracokers who migrated out, experienced a variety of changes through education, travel, and employment, and then returned to the Banks, some becoming "more . . . islander than ever" and stronger users of the brogue.[47]

Wolfram's hopes were modest, however. He admitted that if the brogue were to be revived, the impetus for that revival had to arise from within the community; that it could in any case hardly be expected to recover its former vitality, since most young people were not embracing it; and that what linguists themselves could do to encourage revival was limited.[48] "It may be ebb tide for the *hoi toide* dialect," Wolfram cautioned, "but its legacy deserves to be indelibly preserved."[49]

In what appropriate and effective ways Cape Lookout National Seashore might involve itself in this discourse deserves thoughtful and extended consideration. At the very least, it should be careful that its interpretation of life and culture on the Banks does not reinforce or legitimize further the analytical confusions of the past.

47 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*, 126–133.

48 Other examples come to mind: Cajun French in Louisiana, various American Indian languages including Cherokee in western North Carolina, and Welsh.

49 Wolfram, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks*, 136.

Outer Banks Tourism and the Coming of Cape Lookout National Seashore

People who accept the expense and physical challenges of travel are motivated by widely varied factors: the spiritual significance of revered sites; the restorative power of baths and springs and mountain air; the rarity and beauty of creatures to be found in distant habitats; the magnificence of monumental landscapes, structures, or great art; or the contact with history to be found on the hallowed ground of heroic battles. Travelers who have come to the Banks for pleasure and recreation (in evidence as early as the 1790s but in growing numbers since World War II) have been attracted by the spectacular maritime environment and by what they understand to be the uniquely compelling features of local culture. From such places, travelers seek spiritual enlightenment or redemption, treasured objects, historical understanding, physical or emotional healing, sensual satisfaction, enhanced social standing, or behind-the-scenes views of authentic cultural practices.[1]

Figure 9-1. Sherrill's Inn, 1834. Hickory Nut Gap, NC. Sherrill's Inn Collection, D. H. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville.

1 These and related issues are explored by Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), and by numerous other scholars of tourism.

Language used to describe such sought-after sites and their boons tends to be essentializing, romanticizing, and extravagant in its promises, promises that may be only loosely (if at all) related to fact. At one level that is not a problem, since the main task of the language is to locate human needs and desires and to promise to satisfy them through some particular experience. But language deployed in this way inevitably contributes to the (frequently unverified) core of popular discourse about "the South," Appalachia, the Catskills, the Alps, the Rhine valley, or the Pampas. Or the Outer Banks.

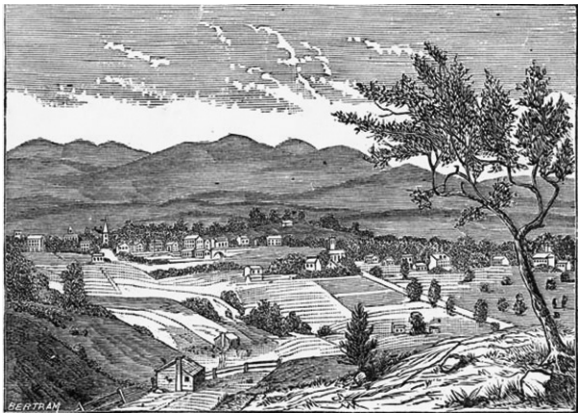


Figure 9-2. Mountain sanatarium for pulmonary diseases, 1870s. Asheville, NC. Documenting the American South. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Areas that have attracted tourists over long periods of time have distinctive life histories. North Carolina's two most developed and visited areas—the Outer Banks and coast to the east and the mountains to the west—have both been attractive tourist destinations since the late eighteenth century. But travelers to the mountains and the coast have sought very different experiences,

distributed themselves very differently, and shifted their preferences over time in distinctive ways.[2]

Early nineteenth-century western North Carolina travelers and tourists clambered out of stagecoaches into tiny inns, but their numbers grew with the opening of the Buncombe Turnpike in 1828, and accommodations improved.[3] Wealthy lowland families came every summer, many believing that hot springs, sulphur springs, and mountain air had curative properties, and some built lavish summer houses.[4] Small inns and hotels proliferated in the antebellum period: Buncombe County's Sherrill's Inn opened in 1834 and Walker's Inn in Andrews in the 1840s; Flat Rock's Woodfield Inn followed a decade later, Haywood County's Battle House before 1850, and Blowing Rock's Watauga Inn in 1888. Later hotels were grander. The sumptuous White Sulphur Springs Hotel in Waynesville (1878, 1893), the Green Park Hotel in Blowing Rock (1891), the Eseeola Inn in Linville (1892), Asheville's massive stone Grove Park Inn (1913), and Blowing Rock's Mayview Manor (1922) drew thousands year after year.[5] The railroad punched through the Swannanoa Tunnel into Asheville in 1880, and electric trolleys arrived in 1889.[6] From then until the Depression, the city witnessed boom development, much of it linked to tourism, some to its growing reputation as a health center for tubercular patients.[7]

Asheville experienced more of such growth than anywhere else in the North Carolina mountains, but other areas became tourist magnets as well, especially those along the Blue Ridge Parkway that linked the new Great Smoky Mountains and Shenandoah National Parks in the late 1930s.[8] After World War II strings of new motels sprang up in places like Maggie Valley, followed by ski resorts (Cataloochee was first in 1961) and posh gated communities such as Hound Ears and Invershiel, some of them developed by multinational corporations.

Four hundred miles to the east, on the Outer Banks, distinctive geography, climate, and other factors configured tourism very differently. Visitors were drawn to the bathing beaches of Ocracoke as early as the 1750s and to Nags Head by the 1830s. By1853, wealthy yacht owners had already formed an exclusive club.[9] During the last half of the century, tourist accommodations sprang up from Currituck to Calabash. In the mid-1870s, Dr. G. K. Bagby bought and renovated Brunswick's Atlantic Hotel and beguiled guests with promises of "A BAND OF MUSIC, FAST SAILING BOATS, BATH HOUSES, SURF BATHING, TEN PINS," and a dining table supplied "with all the luxuries from land and water." The closing years of the century witnessed the proliferation of hunting lodges on the sounds. Around Wilmington and Wrightsville Beach, trolley and railroad lines were soon carrying throngs to brightly lit music and dance pavilions and elegant hotels. From the 1920s onward, highways, bridges and ferries brought ever-larger streams of tourists, and hard-surfaced roads relieved the challenge of driving in the sand.

2 For an exploration of the patterns in another region, see Brown, *Inventing New England*.

3 The 75-mile Buncombe Turnpike (begun in 1824) led from the North Carolina/South Carolina line through Flat Rock and Asheville and then along the French Broad River to Warm Springs.

4 See for example Philip Noblitt's account of Piedmont textile magnate Moses Cone's mountain estate (1899 ff.) in *A Mansion in the Mountains: The Story of Moses and Bertha Cone and Their Blowing Rock Manor* (Boone, NC: Parkway Publishers, 1996). George Vanderbilt's lavish 255-room Biltmore House, situated on 125,000 acres of mountain land adjacent to Asheville, was completed in 1895. On early tourist hotels in Waynesville and Madison County, see Duane Oliver, *Mountain Gables: A History of Haywood County Architecture* (Waynesville, NC: Oliver Scriptorium, 2001), 55–74.

5 Michael R. Hill, *Guide to North Carolina Highway Historical Markers,* 10th ed. (Raleigh, NC: Office of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 2007), 25–27. Michael T. Southern, Jennifer F. Martin, and Catherine Bishir, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), offer detailed data on these and many other hostelries. See also Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway*, 271–275.

6 Hill, *Highway Historical Markers*, 27.

7 See for example Edwin A. Gatchell, *Western North Carolina: Its Resources, Climate, Scenery and Salubrity* (New York: A.L. Chatterton Publishing Co., 1885). Physician William Gleitsmann (1840–1914) helped to put Asheville on the map for pulmonary treatment when he established the Mountain Sanitarium for Pulmonary Diseases in the 1870s.

8 Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway,* chronicles the development of the Parkway, especially its links to the tourism industry and to the tourist sector of Asheville's business community.

9 Ray McAllister, *Wrightsville Beach: The Luminous Island* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publisher, 2007), 27.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

ATLANTIC HOTEL,

BEAUFORT, N. C.

The undersigned having leased the above POPULAR SUMMER RESORT for a term of years, will have it thoroughly renovated, repaired, and opened for the accommodation of such guests as he may see fit to accommodate, by July 1st, 1877. A BAND OF MUSIC has been engaged for the Season. FAST-SAILING BOATS to be had at all times for sailing and fishing parties. BATH HOUSES for both ladies and gentlemen. SURF BATHING, as good as any upon the Atlantic Coast. TEN PINS, and other amusements, for the young. THE TABLE will be supplied with all the luxuries from both land and water. In fact, the Proprietor determines to GIVE SATISFACTION to all who may visit him.

Terms, $2.50 per day. Special contracts made with parties wishing to remain longer than one week.

Dr. G. K. BAGBY, Proprietor.

July 1877

Figure 9-3. Advertisement for Brunswick's Atlantic Hotel, July 1877. Kell, *North Carolina's Coastal Carteret County During the Civil War*, 16.

After the Depression and World War II, boom times returned. Beach resorts for people of modest means multiplied up and down the coast, and vacation homes and cabins stretched row on row behind (and sometimes *on*) the dunes. Legendary Outer Banks photographer Aycock Brown began his publicity blitz in 1952, and Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout national seashores were established in 1958 and 1966.[10] Within a few years, subdivisions for beach homes stretched north toward the Virginia border, matched by gated inland golf communities. Sport fishermen began competing for water and fish with commercial fishermen. Taking advantage of new technologies, kite boarders now maneuver across the waves and hang gliders soar over the dunes.

Thus, despite the fact that tourism appeared at about the same time on both ends of the state and has developed steadily in both locales since, it was configured in each place by particularities of terrain, climate, flora and fauna, public policy, and entrepreneurial and corporate activity. In this chapter, we explore the eastern sector of this history, one of the most important contexts for the establishment, development, and operation of CALO.

10 See Brown and Stick, *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks*.

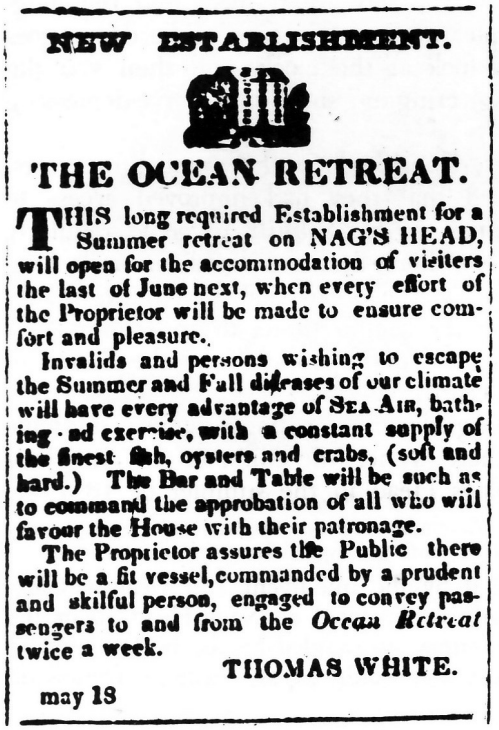
The Nags Head and Ocracoke Nodes: Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Tourism

The earliest inn-like establishment along the Banks that we have seen reference to was the Eagle Tavern, owned by Charles Jordan. Situated at Hertford on one of the long fingers of Currituck Sound, the Eagle was accepting guests as early as 1762. Opened initially in the owner's home, it grew to twenty-five rooms spread across six lots. George Washington reportedly stayed there while surveying the Great Dismal Swamp.[11] Charles Jordan's tavern in Hertford did not spark a tourism boom on Currituck Sound, however. Early beachgoers preferred Ocracoke or Nags Head. "This healthy place," Jonathan Price wrote of Ocracoke in 1795 in his publicity brochure promoting Shell Castle, "is in autumn the resort of many of the inhabitants of the main."[12] In the early years of the nineteenth century, Washington, North Carolina, businessman and entrepreneur John Gray Blount took his extended family on summer vacations to Ocracoke, where they were entertained by John Wallace, Blount's partner in the development of Shell Castle.[13]

Even tiny Portsmouth, which did not attract a significant number of tourists until the boom in sport hunting toward the end of the nineteenth century, had become a vacation haven for some families by the 1840s and 1850s. Among them was the Havens-Bonner family from Washington, NC, members of which frequently made month-long trips to Portsmouth for health reasons, during which they enjoyed the delights of seaside life. "Dear Husband," Mary Havens wrote from Portsmouth on September 15, 1857,

> Fryday [sic] evening we went to the beach . . . on horseback . . . . We went up past the habitable part of the Island then across to the beach riding all the way down . . . . The sun had just sunk to rest, when we got there. There were 25 [of us] in all . . . . It was the wildest sight I ever looked upon, the children were in the surf while the older ones were handing out supper . . . . It was a delicious repast, though

11 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 616–617.
12 Price, *A Description of Occacock [Ocracoke] Inlet*, 1.
13 Keith, "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics," 29–30.



NEW ESTABLISHMENT.

THE OCEAN RETREAT.

THIS long required Establishment for a Summer retreat on NAG'S HEAD, will open for the accommodation of visiters the last of June next, when every effort of the Proprietor will be made to ensure comfort and pleasure.

Invalids and persons wishing to escape the Summer and Fall diseases of our climate will have every advantage of SEA AIR, bathing and exercise, with a constant supply of the finest fish, oysters and crabs, (soft and hard.) The Bar and Table will be such as to command the approbation of all who will favour the House with their patronage.

The Proprietor assures the Public there will be a fit vessel, commanded by a prudent and skilful person, engaged to convey passengers to and from the *Ocean Retreat* twice a week.

THOMAS WHITE.

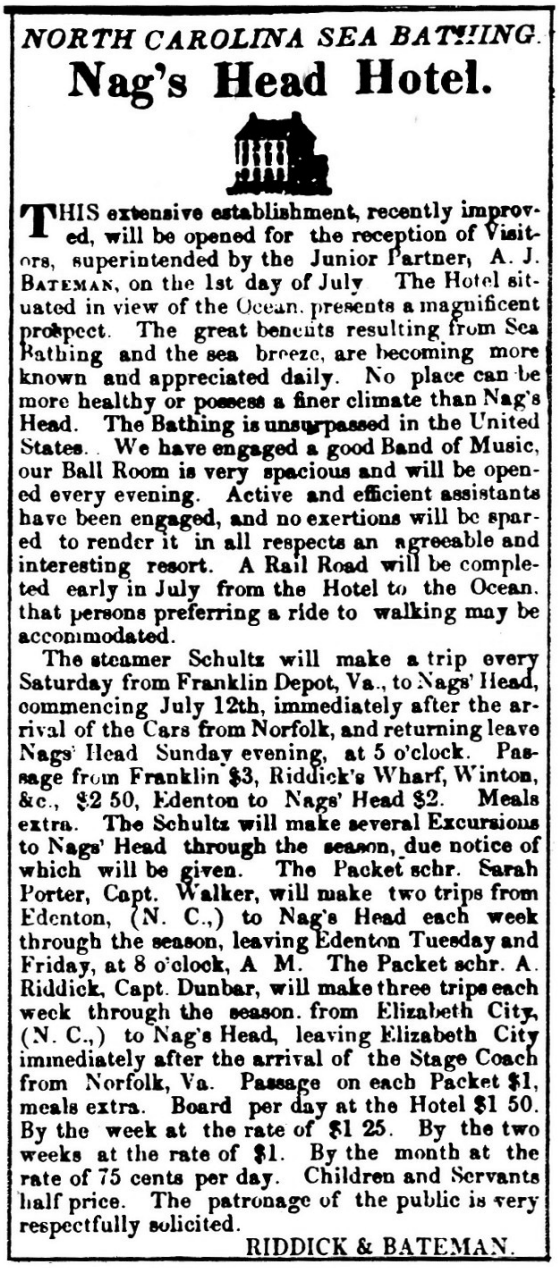
may 18

Figure 9-5. Ad for Ocean Retreat Hotel, 1841. *Old North State and Nags Head Advocate* (Elizabeth City), May 25, 1841. Reproduced from Bishir, "The 'Unpainted Aristocracy': The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head," 7.

> ordinary food. Then with one accord all threw themselves on the bosom of old Ocean. Such delightful enjoyment was never mine before (in that way). All were happy. I suppose we remained an hour, the moon rising, but still greater enchantment when we turned our faces homeward, where we arrived all safely and were soon wrapt in the arms of Morpheus.[14]

Nags Head received early interest from Perquimans County planter Francis Nixon, who bought 200 acres there and built a summer house. He later sold lots to others, but within a few years shifting sands were threatening summerhouses built on the lots he had sold. Nevertheless, by 1838, the area had its first hotel, and by 1841, the Ocean Retreat was also being advertised as a "new hotel."

By 1850, it was clear that the difficulty of reaching Nags Head was a major problem. Soon a steamer began to ferry guests down the Blackwater River from Norfolk into the Chowan and across Albemarle and Roanoke sounds to Nags Head. A new half-mile railroad carried tourists back and forth between the beach and the hotel. The strategy



NORTH CAROLINA SEA BATHING.

Nag's Head Hotel.

THIS extensive establishment, recently improved, will be opened for the reception of Visitors, superintended by the Junior Partner, A. J. BATEMAN, on the 1st day of July The Hotel situated in view of the Ocean, presents a magnificent prospect. The great benefits resulting from Sea Bathing and the sea breeze, are becoming more known and appreciated daily. No place can be more healthy or possess a finer climate than Nag's Head. The Bathing is unsurpassed in the United States. We have engaged a good Band of Music, our Ball Room is very spacious and will be opened every evening. Active and efficient assistants have been engaged, and no exertions will be spared to render it in all respects an agreeable and interesting resort. A Rail Road will be completed early in July from the Hotel to the Ocean, that persons preferring a ride to walking may be accommodated.

The steamer Schultz will make a trip every Saturday from Franklin Depot, Va., to Nags' Head, commencing July 12th, immediately after the arrival of the Cars from Norfolk, and returning leave Nags' Head Sunday evening, at 5 o'clock. Passage from Franklin $3, Riddick's Wharf, Winton, &c., $2 50, Edenton to Nags' Head $2. Meals extra. The Schultz will make several Excursions to Nags' Head through the season, due notice of which will be given. The Packet schr. Sarah Porter, Capt. Walker, will make two trips from Edenton, (N. C.,) to Nag's Head each week through the season, leaving Edenton Tuesday and Friday, at 8 o'clock, A M. The Packet schr. A. Riddick, Capt. Dunbar, will make three trips each week through the season, from Elizabeth City, (N. C.,) to Nag's Head, leaving Elizabeth City immediately after the arrival of the Stage Coach from Norfolk, Va. Passage on each Packet $1, meals extra. Board per day at the Hotel $1 50. By the week at the rate of $1 25. By the two weeks at the rate of $1. By the month at the rate of 75 cents per day. Children and Servants half price. The patronage of the public is very respectfully solicited.

RIDDICK & BATEMAN.

Figure 9-6. Nag's Head Hotel advertisement in *North State Whig* (Washington), June 11, 1851. Reproduced from Bishir, "The 'Unpainted Aristocracy': The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head."

worked; other steamers increased the frequency of trips, and hotel rooms were filled by satisfied visitors (including newspaper editors from Norfolk who wrote glowing reports of the growing resort).[15]

George Henry Throop, who visited Nags Head in the late 1840s, lamented the passing of what one could already describe as old Nags Head, when

14 Havens and Bonner Family Papers, 1829–1890, collection 5140, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

15 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina,* 96–104. Stick's narrative does not distinguish clearly between the Ocean Retreat and Nags Head Hotel. Which one he is referring to here is not clear.

Figure 9-7. The beach at Nags Head, 1860. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1860, 729.

only three families had houses there, no roads had been cut or hotels built, and the "restraints of fashionable life" had not yet appeared.[16] He was nevertheless charmed to see "the contrast between the white sand-hills and the dark, beautiful green of its clusters of oak . . . the neat white cottages among the trees, the smoke curling lazily from the low chimneys, the fishing-boats and other small craft darting to and fro . . . ." Throop reported that

> Planters, merchants, and professional men usually have a snug cottage at Nag's Head, to which they remove their families, with the plainer and more common articles of household furniture, one or more horses, a cow, and such vehicles as are fitted for use on sandy roads. . . . [S]ometimes half a dozen servants accompany the family. . . . It costs but little, if any more, to keep them here than it would to leave them at home.

To supply the needs of the visitors and their retinues, three or four packets ran weekly from Elizabeth City, Hertford, and Edenton. Amusements were abundant: fox hunting, fishing, bowling, taking local excursions, strolling on the beach, and swimming in the surf.

But the main attraction was the hotel, thronged, Throop said, by "[s]cores of children and youth, whole regiments of young ladies and young gentlemen . . . , until the worthy innkeeper stood aghast." He added that,

> A siesta after the late dinner leaves you time for a short stroll about sunset; and after tea, dressing is the universal occupation. At length . . . the musician makes his appearance. The . . . sets are formed, and the long-drawn "Balance, all!" gives the glow of pleasure to every face.

About local people, Throop appeared puzzled and divided. "Where, who, and what are the bankers?" he asked.

> To say the truth, I have seen but little of them. . . . I know that they are the landholders along the ridge[s] . . . I have seen them mending their nets, I have chatted with them, and yet I know but little of their character and habits. My friend Dr. A-- tells me that many of them are miserably poor . . . . Altogether, they seem to be a peculiar people. They are isolated from the social intercourse, which, in the more densely-peopled communities of the mainland, refines and elevates the individual. They look very jealously, I am told, upon strangers; but are clannish, and therefore honest and social among themselves.

Throop's uncertainty about what to think with regard to the bankers foreshadowed themes that would become nearly ubiquitous in the years ahead. What was already clear to him, however, was that trying to build a durable resort in such an unstable environment was fraught with difficulty. All around him, he saw

16 George Higby Throop, *George Higby Throop, 1818–1896. Nag's Head: or, Two Months Among "The Bankers." A Story of Sea-shore Life and Manners.* (Philadelphia, PA: A. Hart, Late Cary & Hart, 1850), 96–97 (online version at http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/throop/throop.html). Subsequent quotations from this source unless otherwise noted. As Richard Walser explained in "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop (1818–1896)," *North Carolina Historical Review* 33, no. 1 (January 1956): 12–44, Throop was a rather mysterious character. Designated as a "novel," Throop's narrative was actually a journal of his two-month stay at Nags Head, part of his perhaps seven months in North Carolina in 1849. The narrator is a tutor to the children of a wealthy North Carolina planter, a situation possibly based on Throop's stay in Bertie County with the wealthy Capehart family, who owned a summerhouse at Nags Head. The facts of Throop's life are not well known, as Walser discovered. He was a New Yorker and achieved note as a schoolmaster, poet, composer, and musician. Unfortunately, he had a drinking problem (perhaps part of the cause of a failed marriage that produced a son he never knew until late in his life). During drinking bouts, he wandered erratically. Throop seems to have taught intermittently in other southern states, perhaps longest in Hampshire County, West Virginia, where he died in 1896.

> the gradual entombing of whole acres of live-oaks and pines by the gradual drifting of the restless sands from the beach. Not a more melancholy sight in the world. In a morning's walk, you may pass hundreds of enormous oaks, the topmost branches barely visible above the surface, while their roots may be scores of feet beneath the surface, strangled by the merciless sands.

The summer cottage and hotel culture of Nags Head proved long-lived. A visitor from Norfolk in 1851 found a settled community already twenty years old. Its members were accustomed to pass the weeks, he said,

> in refined social intercourse, surrounded by the health reviving breezes of old Ocean, the season of the year that would expose them to sickness on their plantations. [The cottages were] of considerable size . . . built in the fashion of regular homesteads with spacious porches and balconies and convenient out houses as if for permanent occupancy. They are generally situated on high hills with beautiful wooded sides commanding a magnificent prospect of the ocean and sound . . . .[17]

The hotel housed federal troops during the Civil War, but the cottagers returned as numerously as ever at war's end, and a new hotel and new cottages were soon erected.[18] Twenty years later, memories of elegant social life were undimmed. "At the house," recalled a Raleigh student,

> we find the usual throng of summer boarders . . . lounging or promenading on the piazzas: here a party starting for a drive, there a crowd of excursionists landing from a sloop . . . . We wander over . . . one of the [hotel's] upper verandas. . . . [A] familiar, longed-for voice calls to us, and . . we are soon on our way to the ocean. Along the beach extends a row of houses grown old and gray under the suns and rains of many summers . . . .[19]

Storms, fires, and wars interrupted the idyll at times. A fire in 1903 destroyed the hotel, by then

Spend Your Vacation at Nags Head and Roanoke Island

SEASHORE BATHING, BOATING and FISHING

GET really acquainted with this remarkable section of your own state, with its enchanting waters, its rich history, its hospitable and interesting people. Only 45 miles from Elizabeth City, in the heart of the wildfowl and fishing country where ocean breeezes blow. Bathing boating, and fishing for drumfish and ocean trout, that weigh 20 to 60 pounds apiece. See its picturesque and historical scenery, where the first English colonists landed nearly 400 years ago, and built the cradle of American history. Visit the lighthouses, the Coast Guard Stations, and the towering sand hills where the first airplane was made.

Take your car down. Nowhere can you have so good a time for so little money. Nowhere, will you find less noise, confusion and hustle that takes away the joy of vacations in other places. Reduced rates in effect on railroads and steamers.

These Comfortable Steamers Will Take You There:

Steamer ANNIE L. VAN SCIVER
Of the North River Line

Excursions every Sunday until September 12 inclusive, to Nags Head direct. Large Swift and Comfortable vessel. Leaves Elizabeth City 8 a. m. Returning leaves Nags Head at 5 p. m. arriving at 9:30 p. m. Low round trip fares. For further information address:

C. H. BROCK, Supt.
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Str. TRENTON
of Eastern Carolina Transportation Company

Capt. Martin Johnson, Master

Operating daily between Elizabeth City, Nags Head and Manteo. Leaves Eliz. City at 1:30 p. m. daily except Sunday, for Nags Head and Manteo. Returning leaves Manteo at 5 a. m. and Nags Head at 5:30 a. m. Meals on Boat and Automobile Accommodations.

Wanchese Line
Operating the Steamers:
HATTIE CREEF, POMPANO and O. T. & LLOYD, JR.

To Wanchese on Roanoke Island, Manns Harbor; Stumpy Point except Saturday. Steamers leave Elizabeth City at 12:30 daily. Automobile accommodations, at reduced round trip rates. For further information address

R. E. BLACK, Agt.
Elizabeth City, N. C.

Figure 9-8. Advertisement for Nags Head featuring steamers to Elizabeth City. Elizabeth City *Independent*, July 2, 1926. Reproduced from Bishir, "The 'Unpainted Aristocracy': The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head," 14.

a 150-room structure.[20] The steamers continued to arrive nevertheless, and in the mid-1920s, Nags Head thrived, as it has continued to do since.

The Closing Years of the Century: Hunting Clubs

"Hunting," says Stuart Marks in his insightful study of that enterprise in the South, "is not a timeless pursuit within a cultural void. Its means and practices [evolve] in keeping with the political, economic, social and cultural tempos of the time."[21] There is a whole "ecology of meanings" associated with hunting, Marks argues:

> For many men, hunting is the quintessential masculine activity, for it links their youth, when they were just learning about becoming men, with their [present]. . . . It recalls that early learning, often under the tutelage of

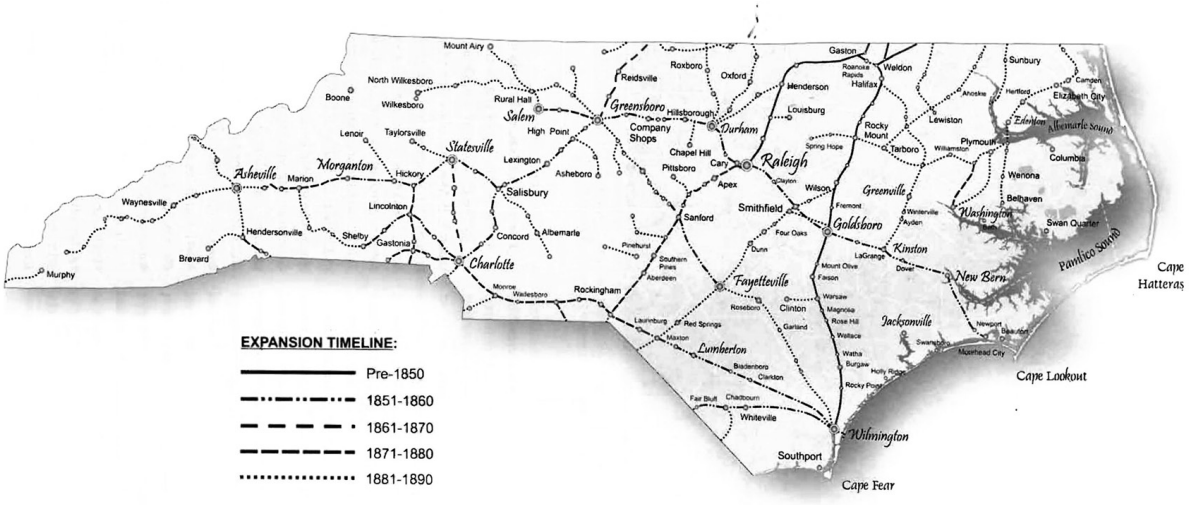
17 Bishir, *The "Unpainted Aristocracy,"* 8.
18 Ibid., 9–11.
19 Ibid., 16.
20 Ibid., 18.
21 Stuart Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 53–54. Subsequent quotations are from this source unless otherwise noted.

> their fathers, the close associations of men engaged in a common pursuit, the triumphs over subjects capable of evasion, the mastery over technology and dogs, and the pleasures associated with the land. . . . Hunting is also a way by which some men reaffirm their masculine identities. . . . . [It is]a timeless activity, for when the game is killed, butchered, and served, men still command the homeside turf as providers . . . . Hunting is part of a man's . . . obligations to family, church, work, and friends. . . . . As a seasonal recreation and as a bastion of masculinity, hunting in many rural Southern communities persists as a product of history and of its associations with regional myths and values.

Much of the tourism that occurred on the Outer Banks during the final third of the nineteenth century revolved around hunting lodges, many of them located on the sounds, that attracted hunters, some from far-flung locations and many who had both the means to afford such endeavors and the elevated social and cultural sense of themselves that the endeavor reinforced. "A person socialized in hunting," Marks observes, "reads its symbols for their formal, explicit signs as well as for their implicit meanings of rank and power, of wealth and status, of the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' that participants declare by the tone of their voice and by their actions, by the style of their clothes and by their dispositions, and through their use of space and time." On the Outer Banks, the waterfowl sport-hunting enterprise (for such it mostly was) marked the intersection of the maritime environment, the local culture of hunting guides, the social and cultural intervention of wealthy northern hunter-vacationers, the dynamics of class and race, and the slow evolution of the local economy.[22]

Class differences had long been at the core of the hunting enterprise in Europe, and associated norms and practices had come to the New World. In North Carolina as throughout the colonies, the "conflict of two legacies" was in evidence from the beginning. There was the English legacy, which "restricted the taking of wild animals to those of privileged social standing." But there was also a "countervailing tradition of revolting against such prerogatives," and both crossed the Atlantic with early settlers.

In the American South, pre-Civil War structures of inequality, Marks explains, played out in the culture of hunting as "men of property" tried to enforce class differences through game laws and regulations. But in general, their ploy was unsuccessful, since the courts tended to favor "the opening lands for public access and allowing the free taking of wildlife as an economic asset." The abundance of wildlife and frontier conditions also



Principal railroad lines, 1890. Map by Mark Anderson Moore, courtesy NCOA&H.

Figure 9-9. Principal railroad lines in North Carolina, 1890. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 939. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. North Carolina Office of Archives and History.

22 Commercial waterfowl hunting ("market gunning") was discussed in a previous chapter.

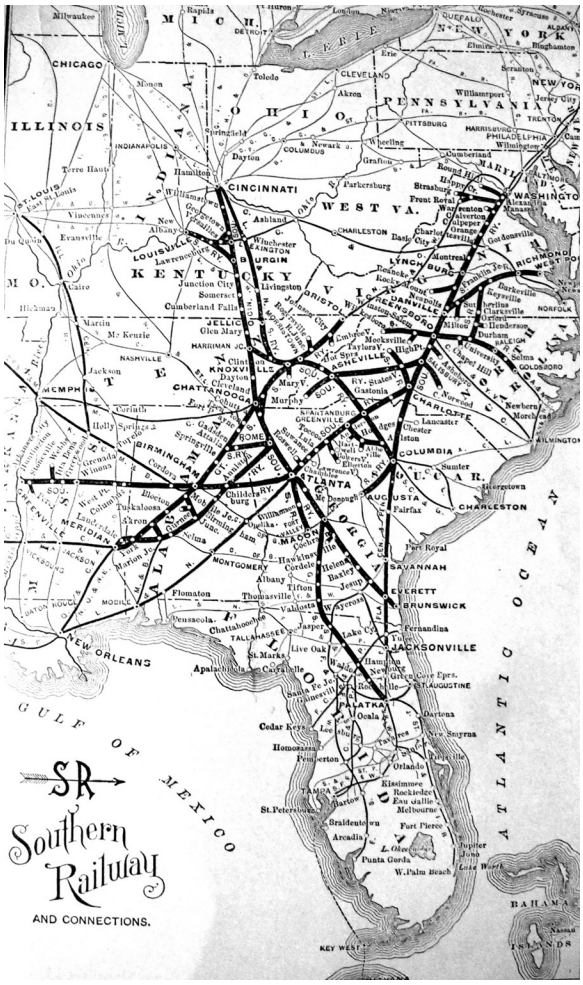


Figure 9-10. Map of Southern Railway system in 1895, with branch line from Greensboro to Goldsboro. Leffingwell, *The Happy Hunting Grounds*, 1895.

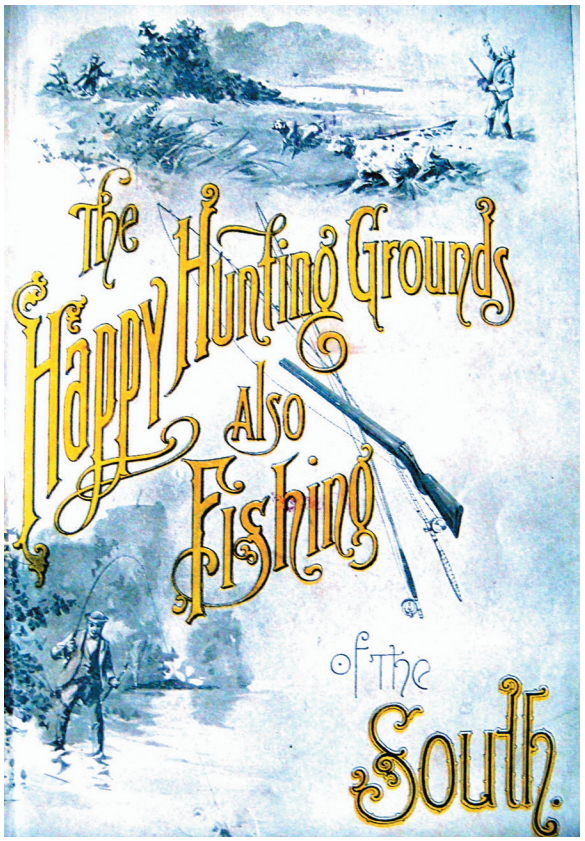


Figure 9-11. Cover of brochure published by Southern Railway to entice hunters to the South, 1895. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

weighed against restrictions on hunting, so the few statutes spoke only to encouraging the destruction of predators and vermin, regulating the harvest of valuable species to preserve breeding stocks, restricting the hunting privileges of certain groups (such as slaves), and regulating trespass.

The military defeat of the Old South and the emancipation of slaves changed the relationship of elite planters to their land and to other social groups, and that in turn changed their motives and methods of taking game. On the whole, elite southerners switched from mammals to birds as prey and became concerned with distinguishing themselves, through their styles of hunting, from farmers, factory workers, and commercial hunters. At the same time, the closing of hunting lands, long considered a sort of commons, for agricultural purposes trapped blacks as laborers and forced poor whites into a market economy.

At the close of the Civil War, Marks argues, the general public was rather indifferent to the whole issue of wildlife, but that indifference "changed into a melee of crusades for the wildlife that remained" after 1870. Consensus swung away from viewing wildlife as an exclusively economic resource, "toward a more elitist tradition of sport for amusement and of species preservation."

Three interrelated factors spurred the rise of sport waterfowl hunting on the Outer Banks (as in many other locales) after 1870: the coming of railroads, improvements in firearms, and the rise of sportsmen's associations. In 1850, Marks notes, North Carolina had about 250 miles of railroad track, but by 1890 it had more than 3,000. As important as the additional miles of track, however, was the fact that many of those miles linked non-plantation areas to markets. In the 1880s, small shortline railroads were consolidated and tracks were changed to a standard gauge. The huge Southern Railway was officially brought into being in 1894 by combining many small predecessors. One of its two long north-south routes extended from Washington, DC, through

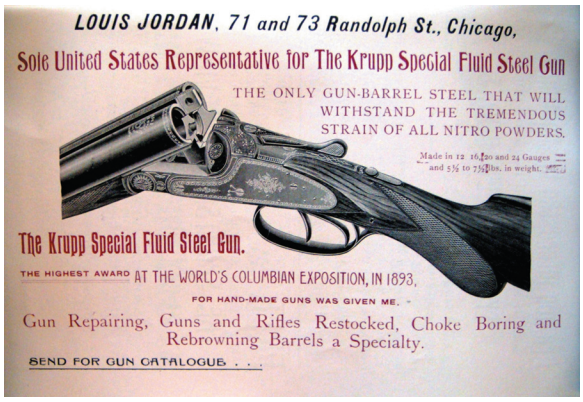


Figure 9-12. Advertisement for breech-loading shotgun, from Southern Railway promotional brochure for hunters. Leffingwell, *The Happy Hunting Grounds* (1895). North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

Charlotte to Jacksonville, Florida; a branch track ran from Greensboro east to Goldsboro, where it connected with shorter regional lines that reached to Wilmington, Morehead City, New Bern, Washington, Edenton, and Elizabeth City.[23] New cold-storage technology allowed railroad cars to be filled with perishable items, including waterfowl killed by hunters (48).

In fairly short order, "The second Northern invasion of the South came," Marks observes, "by way of refrigerated, Pullman, and private [railroad] cars." The railroads published pamphlets and advertisements in journals and newspapers urging northerners to "visit the South and hunt game where it is more plentiful than in any other section of the United States."[24] Such brochures provided the names of guides, hotels, and boardinghouses, as well as summaries of state and local game laws, which varied bewilderingly. "[W]e invite you to come South and visit her hospitable people," the Southern Railway brochure said, "promising you shooting and fishing such as you never enjoyed before."[25]

The guns those outsiders carried also soon underwent changes that made them safer, faster, and more accurate than the older muzzle-loading black-powder guns that preceded them. Hammerless, breech-loading guns and center-fire cartridges had appeared in Europe as early as the

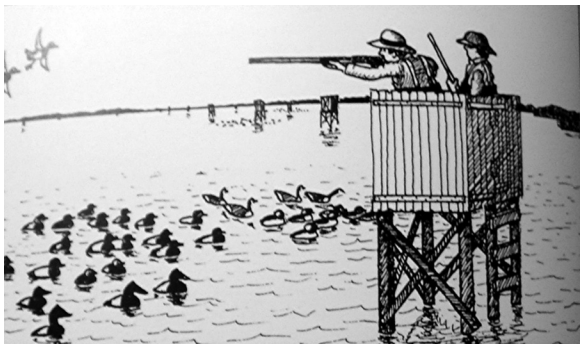


Figure 9-13. Carteret County waterfowl hunters in an elevated shooting platform. Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*, 74.

1850s but were not adopted in the United States until the 1880s. But when they became available, hunters bought them enthusiastically.

An additional piece of the sport-hunting complex that fell into place in the 1870s was the rise of game reserves and sportsmen's associations. The first large-scale preserve (12,500 acres) was the Blooming Grove Park Association in northeastern Pennsylvania. Only four and a half hours from New York City by train, it opened in 1871 and quickly became a model. Soon sportsmen's interest turned southward. "The recently subdued South," Marks says, "offered potential as preserve land to wealthy, well-organized Northern entrepreneurs . . . [who were] attracted to the idea of the Southern plantation as a haven from winter weather and as a hunting preserve."

Most of the Outer Banks counties bordering the sounds experienced the influx of hunters, and Carteret County got at least its share. The "golden era" of the clubs extended from the 1870s to the 1950s. Clubs appeared with considerable frequency but are not well documented, partly because they were bought and sold, and their names (and sometimes locations) changed.[26]

During the early years, private homes were converted into small lodgings for hunters, but soon clubs began to buy land and construct their

23 See map in Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina,* 940.

24 A representative example is William Leffingwell, *The Happy Hunting Grounds, also Fishing, of the South: A Book Descriptive of the Best Resorts in the South* (Chicago, IL: Donohue & Henneberry, 1895).

25 Ibid., Introduction [no p.].

26 Jack Dudley's *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage* (Burtonsville, MD: Decoy Magazine, 1993) offers the best discussion available. Our account draws heavily from Dudley.

Figure 9-14. Pilentary Gun Club on Core Banks, December 1915. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

own buildings.[27] The Harbor Island Club, whose members were mainly from New York, bought land on Core Banks as early as 1887. The Harbor Island Shooting Club was incorporated in 1896. Its (apparent) successor, the Harbor Island Hunting Lodge, had wealthy Union Carbide Corporation inventor and industrialist (and University of North Carolina benefactor) John Motley Morehead Jr. (1870–1965) among its two dozen shareholders. The building was badly damaged by storms in the 1930s and was last used by a hunting party in the mid-1940s.[28]

The Pilentary [Gun] Club, which dates from the turn of the century, had its heyday between 1905 and 1920. Members of the wealthy Mott family from New York were major members, for whom the local Mason family worked for years as caretakers, assisted by an ex-slave cook.[29] The

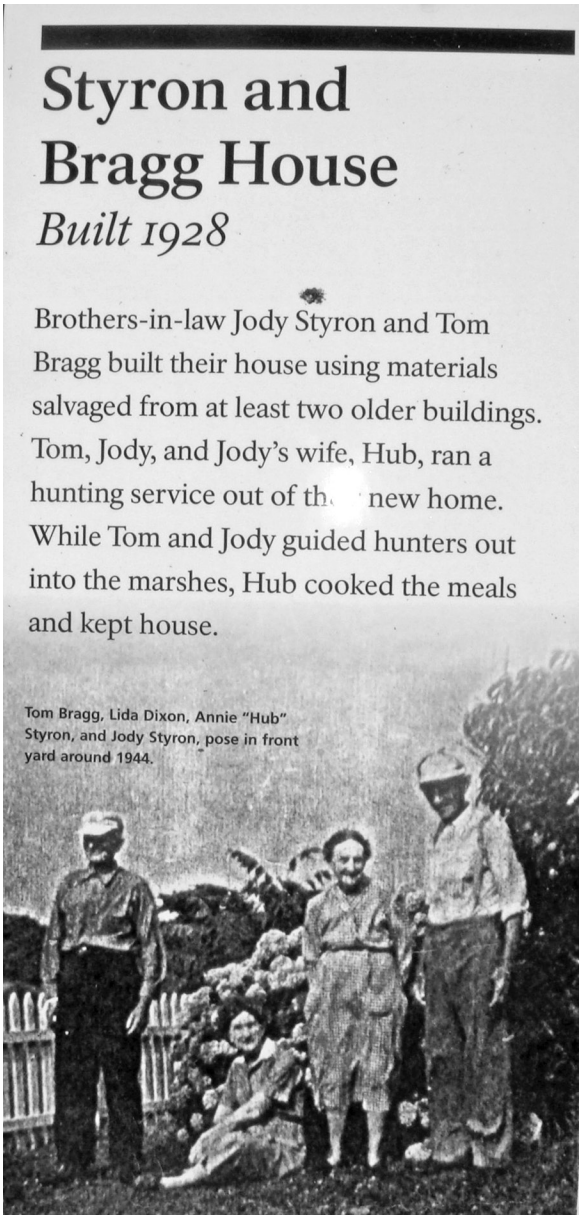


Figure 9-15. Interpretive sign for Styron and Bragg House, Portsmouth.

club's building, sold to a Charlotte textile executive in 1920, was destroyed by a hurricane in 1933. Roughly contemporary with the Pilentary Club was the Carteret Gun and Rod Club, founded about 1902 and located east of Davis on the Banks. All of its members but one were from New York; membership was around sixty in 1915. It was renamed Cedar Banks Club in 1933, the year of a huge hurricane, after which most members left. In 1947, the club was bought by a corporation made up of about thirty sport hunters and renamed Core Banks Rod and Gun Club; its original clubhouse burned in 1970. The Hog Island Hunting Club was a late addition to the roster of clubs, dating

27 The largest and most splendid of the hunting-oriented buildings, the lavish 21,000-square-foot Whalehead Club (http://www.whaleheadclub.org) on the shores of Currituck Sound near Corolla was built (and primarily used) as a private residence in the early 1920s by Philadelphia industrialist Edward Collings Knight, Jr., as a setting to pursue his passion for waterfowl hunting.

28 Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*, 26–31. Though buildings came and went, some of the clubs themselves survived for many decades. The current list of donors for the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum at Harkers Island includes the Carteret Gun and Rod Club, Harbor Island Shooting Club, Davis Island Hunting Club, Hog Island Hunting Club, Pilentary Hunting Club, and Nine Island Lodge as major donors (http://www.coresound.com/s-capitalcampaign.htm#huntclub).

29 This may be the same "clubhouse cook" (Joe Abbot) referred to in Holland, *Survey History*, 12. Holland says circumstantial evidence suggests that Abbot worked for the Pilentary Club, but he does not say specifically that he was black. Abbot lived for a time (perhaps as late as 1939) in the Washington Roberts House, the oldest surviving house in Portsmouth.

from the late 1940s and apparently including some remaining members of the Harbor Island Gun Club. Its clubhouse was built from World War II surplus materials.[30]

Marks's observations about the class dimensions of hunting were well borne out in the social and business relationships that developed around the hunting clubs. Many local men, and some women, worked for wealthy hunters as guides, caretakers, and cooks. A number of Portsmouth men worked for the clubs. Henry Pigott worked as a cook in the 1960s for hunters who used the abandoned Coast Guard building as a clubhouse. John Wallace Salter (1873–1950) and his sons, also from Portsmouth, worked as guides. Tom Bragg and Jodie Styron called the house where they lived together with Tom's sister (Jodie's wife) Annie, the Bragg-Styron Hunting Lodge. Tom (who also worked as a market gunner) and Jodie worked as guides, and Annie as a cook. The nearby town of Davis supplied numerous guides, especially from the extended Murphy family, including Albert (1880–1957), Francis (1883–1974), Henry (1898–1955), and his brother Willie Gray (1882–1953), who had worked as a market gunner before becoming a guide for the Carteret Rod and Gun Club, and John Wesley Paul (b. 1903). Albert Mason came from Stacy (1892–1970).[31]

The hunting clubs were already in decline by the end of World War I, partly as a result of increasing state regulation of hunting laws. Those laws had long lacked uniformity from state to state, or even from county to county within states. The North Carolina General Assembly had long had power over wild game, but enforcement had been left to the individual counties. The result, Marks says, was a "baffling array of county-specific game laws" regarding the length and timing of seasons, bag limits, trespass regulations, and the like.[32] For a half-century after 1890, game laws in North Carolina underwent continual change, and public disagreement over the changes revealed schisms within various constituencies situated in the coastal counties. Those counties' residents had welcomed the jobs and income that accompanied the coming of the hunting clubs, for example, but at the same time, some came to resent the hordes of tourist-hunters, who decimated local wildlife.[33]

By any measure, the threat to wildlife was severe. Sport hunters and their commercial hunting predecessors had depleted many species, and coastal birds were among the hardest hit. To stem the destruction, the so-called Audubon law established the Audubon Society in 1903. Taking the protection of game and birds as a main task, the Society encountered substantial opposition in eastern counties. Local game wardens arrested violators but could rarely get local juries to convict them. The Audubon law was actually repealed in fifty-two counties; forty-four counties retained it until a state game commission was established in 1927.[34] Certainly by the end of the 1920s, the legal frameworks and other factors that had given rise to and sustained sport/tourist hunting in North Carolina's coastal counties had changed definitively, ending the heyday of the hunting clubs. Some few survived the changes, however, and a few new ones continued to be created for some years thereafter.

One such entity, the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge, dating from 1945, still stands on Sheep Island as part of CALO's historic landscape.[35] The Salter family came to the island with the earliest settlers and remained associated with it (and particularly with Portsmouth) for the better part of two centuries. Though some of the Salters moved inland in the 1920s so their children could get better schooling, they returned to Portsmouth seasonally to fish and hunt, and their house/lodge on Sheep Island eventually became known as the Salter Gun Club. It was moved to Atlantic after a hurricane in 1938, but in 1945 the Salters dismantled another building in Atlantic and moved it to Sheep Island as a new lodge. Three years later, they sold the building and a small plot to a group of men who made up the Portsmouth

30 Dudley, *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*, 13–19, 33–35, 37–45.

31 Ibid., 52–65. Dudley supplies numerous brief biographical sketches of these and other guides.

32 Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White*, 51–53. A 1926 statewide game law established the State Game Commission. It was followed in 1947 by the Wildllife Resources Commission, which controlled all functions of game conservation in the state.

33 Ibid., 49.

34 Ross, "Conservation and Economy" 21–27.

35 The discussion that follows is taken from Keane, Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration.

Hunting and Fishing Club, for whom some of the Salters continued to serve as guides.[36]

Throughout the post-Civil War history of sport hunting, racial divides were fully as important as class differences, as Scott Giltner's recent *Hunting and Fishing in the New South* makes clear.[37] Since the early colonial period, Giltner observes,

> For both blacks and whites, exploitation of the sporting field became a key marker of racial and class status. For well-to-do whites, the ability to hunt and fish freely, to use certain methods and equipment, and to employ black laborers to attend their excursions became ways to publicly display their wealth and social standing. . . . For blacks themselves, hunting and fishing were vivid symbols of an economic cultural, and spatial separation from whites that reflected the struggle for control over their own lives and labors.

For whites, that is to say, sport hunting and fishing were importantly about marking social status and class privilege. For slaves, especially, the ability to feed themselves, pride in providing for their families, and the intervals of quasi-independence afforded by hunting and fishing were more important than any other consideration.

Figure 9-17. Lumina, Best Dancing Pavilion on the South Atlantic Coast, ca. 1917. Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

Since maintaining the white-defined culture of sport hunting and fishing required the labor (and acquiescence) of blacks, however, blacks' assertion of their right to hunt and fish freely by and for themselves after emancipation was viewed by whites as a form of usurpation. Viewed as a challenge "to white sportsmen's monopoly over Southern hunting and fishing," such an assertion was bound to lead to conflict. Much of that conflict took the form of race-based rhetoric, efforts to restrict black access to wildlife (and to convince lower-class whites to accept those restrictions as a means of controlling blacks), the prejudicial hiring of blacks in menial positions to complete the "old plantation South" picture of hunting and fishing projected by upper-class whites, and the exclusion of blacks from what became a lucrative industry toward the end of the nineteenth century.[38]

Figure 9-18. Interior of Lumina dancing pavilion at night, ca. 1912. Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

Early Twentieth-Century Tourism

As the sport-hunting era faded, the beaches became the major scene of vacation activity—swimmers and sunbathers in the daytime and boardwalk strollers and dancers in the evenings. One vacationer recalled turn-of-the-century Nags Head evenings at an early dance pavilion lighted by lanterns. On slow evenings, music came from scratchy records played on an old windup Victrola, but the dancing picked up when someone banged out tunes on a piano or accordion. Better yet, Howard Weaver sometimes brought his three-piece dance band.

36 In 1980, the Battle family, who had come to own the property, entered into a 25-year lease agreement with Cape Lookout National Seashore. Ibid.

37 Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure After the Civil War* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1–10. The following brief discussion is based on Giltner's work, from which all quotations are taken.

38 Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South*, 1–9. Giltner skillfully explores all of these dimensions in illuminating detail.

Figure 9-19. Movies "over the waves" at Lumina. Postmarked July 22, 1926. Postcard's caption says "A novel feature of the Lumina entertainment is 'Movies over the waves,' music and dancing in the background, the ever changing sea and starry sky excelling in grandeur painted decorations, and with balmy ocean breezes instead of artificial ventilation." E.C. Kropp Co., Milwaukee, WI. Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

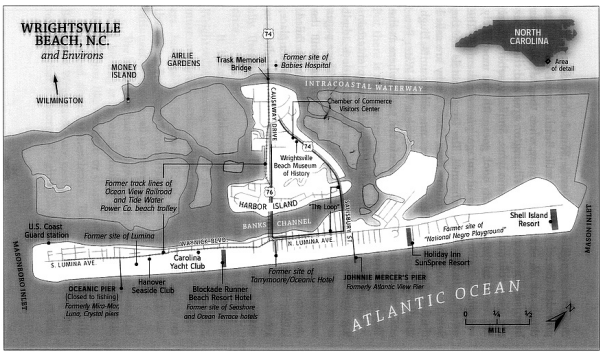


Figure 9-20. Map of Wrightsville Beach showing former site of Lumina Pavilion and railroad/trolley lines that served it, Shell Island Resort, and several large clubs and hotels. Map by Roy Wilhelm. McAllister, *Wrightsville Beach: The Luminous Island,* xii.

The possibilities of the beach pavilion were developed to their full potential many miles to the south, however, at Wrightsville Beach, which began to develop as a pleasure ground after the Island Beach Hotel opened in 1888 and the short-line Sea View Railroad reached the area from Wilmington in 1889. Local promoters were soon touting the area as "The Playground of the South."[39] The first extravagant beach holiday party took place on July 4, 1889, with a regatta, fireworks, and dancing in the pavilions.

By the end of the 1890s, growth was explosive. The three-story, 150-room Seashore Hotel showplace opened in 1897, and two years later the town of Wrightsville Beach was incorporated. The area rebuilt quickly after the monster San Ciriaco hurricane of 1899. By 1902, families from Wilmington could take an electric trolley to the beach in 45 minutes; beach cottages were multiplying rapidly; and Consolidated Railways, Light and Power Company had built a 400-seat vaudeville theater. A widely celebrated central feature of Wrightsville Beach during the first third of the twentieth century was the gigantic, lavish, and brightly lit Lumina Pavilion, opened on the south end of the beach in June 1905.

Excursion trains brought thousands from Wilmington and as far away as Atlanta to "The Fun Spot of the South." Hundreds crowded into its 6,000-square-foot ballroom to dance to the music of the biggest bands of the day—Sammy Kay, Tommy Dorsey, and Kay Kyser. There was something for everyone: a bowling alley, a shooting gallery, slot machines, food, movies (shown on a large screen in the surf after 1914), a huge promenade, and major athletic and aquatic events.

By the 1920s, other pavilions, hotels, and beach houses were spreading in every direction, and fill was dumped to provide more building room. The state built the Wilmington-Wrightsville Beach causeway in 1926, and the first automobiles arrived in 1935. The coming of World War II troops, military bases, and shipbuilding doubled the population of New Hanover County, and Wrightsville Beach became a year-round community. Threats from German submarines forced the dousing of the Lumina's lights, but they came back on in 1943 and the big bands returned, drawing countless service personnel. The big bands played on into the 1950s, but with increasing competition from the new jukeboxes. In 1954, hurricane Hazel blew down the huge lighted LUMINA sign on the roof, and the crowds dropped off. Much of the building was closed in the 1960s, and it was torn down in 1973.

As was the case everywhere at the time, the dancers, swimmers, and boardwalk strollers at Wrightsville Beach were all white, but McCallister's engaging history of Wrightsville Beach provides an interesting capsule history of a brief effort to establish a black resort on the then-separate Shell Island. Since the late nineteenth century, blacks had had a small pavilion at Ocean View Beach, but in 1923 plans developed for a larger "National Negro Playground" that would draw both local blacks and those from surrounding states. After a

39 Our account here is drawn from McAllister, *Wrightsville Beach,* 19–145.

Figure 9-21. Gaskill-Guthrie House, 1939. Jones, *Gaskill-Guthrie House*, 24.

series of fires "of undetermined origin" destroyed some buildings, the plan was abandoned in 1926. In the 1960s, the inlet separating Shell Island closed, merging it with Wrightsville Beach.[40]

Cape Lookout Village and the Cape Lookout Development Company

Between the resort developments at Nags Head and Beaufort and areas further south, the only substantial node of development after the obliteration of Diamond City in the hurricane of 1899 was at the south end of Core Banks near the lighthouse. This small aggregation of structures, which at some indeterminate point came to be referred to as Cape Lookout Village, was only partly and belatedly related to what would usually be thought of as tourism, but it eventually was used by local people for recreational purposes.[41]

An 1853 U.S. Coast Guard survey of Shackleford Banks shows a small settlement called Lookout Woods located about a mile west of the lighthouse on Shackleford Banks. After the devastating 1899 hurricane, a few Diamond City fishing families relocated between the Life-Saving Station and the lighthouse, and by 1910 as many as eighty people were living there. For a little more than a year (April 1910–June 1911), they had the services of a post office, but it was discontinued because newly motorized boats placed both Harkers Island and Beaufort in easy reach.[42] Around 1915, local schoolteacher Clem Gaskill built what later came to be called the Gaskill-Guthrie house there.[43] By 1920 there were about thirty houses in the area.[44]

In some quarters, however, there were high hopes for the development potential of Cape Lookout. Around 1913, Beafort entrepreneur C. K. Howe and some associates formed Cape Lookout Development Company, with plans to establish both a resort and a commercial port.[45] They began to buy land, and an ambitious plat showed many streets and hundreds of lots awaiting eager buyers. A large clubhouse and hotel completed the scene. Contemporaneously with these developments, the Corps of Engineers began in 1915 to construct a jetty in Cape Lookout Bight to create a coaling station and "harbor of refuge." Cape Lookout Development Company principals apparently viewed this move as promising not only resort, but also commercial, potential for the area.[46]

Many were apparently convinced. "Cape Lookout to Be a Great Port," a *Beaufort News* headline proclaimed a decade later.[47] "It seems probable," the article said, "that the long deferred development of Cape Lookout is now about to take on a new life and that it may yet realize the

40 Ibid., 67–72.

41 Extensive detailed information on Cape Lookout Village is available in John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*; in Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination (included as Appendix B of the *Cultural Landscape Report*), which includes in Sect. 7, 5–18, a structure-by-structure list of properties in the district; and in historic structure reports for individual contributing structures. The extraordinarily thorough and detailed *Cultural Landscape Report* includes a vast number of useful maps (see our Appendix A for several examples), photographs, and other illustrations. Our brief précis here is drawn mostly from these existing reports; it is in no way a substitute for them.

42 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2-7–2-12.

43 See Jones, *Gaskill-Guthrie House,* 23. Gaskill was related to William H. Gaskill, superintendent of the Cape Lookout Life-Saving Station, 1887–1912, and he himself worked for the Life-Saving Service from 1917–1919. Jones, *Lewis Davis House.*

44 Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination, Sec. 7, 2.

45 A major proponent of the plan was District 1 (Beaufort) Representative John H. Small. Cheney, *North Carolina Government,* 707–714. Cape Lookout Development Company may have been a successor to a previous entity called Cape Lookout Land Company. See Jones, *Lewis Davis House,*, 28

46 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report,* 2-12–2-14.

47 "Cape Lookout to Be a Great Port," *Beaufort News*, August 4, 1924, unpaged clipping.

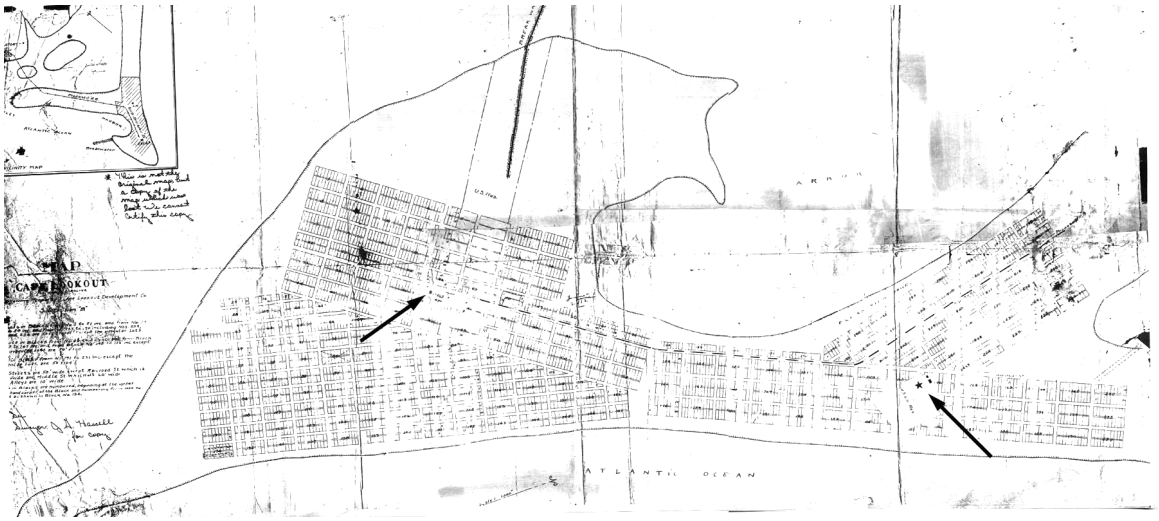


Figure 9-22. Cape Lookout Development Company plat, 1915. Jones, *Lewis-Davis House*, 13.

hopes of those who have desired to see a seaport and resort city established there." Cape Lookout Development Company officials had already obtained a charter and were advertising and selling property. "Quite a number" of lots had been sold, the article reported somewhat vaguely, a "good many houses" were expected by the following summer, and a clubhouse and "possibly a large hotel" were planned. To increase public awareness, company officials had recently hired a boat and taken fifty or so newspaper reporters out to look at "the magnificent harbor," which many of them saw as "North Carolina's best chance to build up a seaport of the first grade." Pennsylvania Governor Gifford Pinchot, who thirty years earlier had pioneered scientific forest management on the Vanderbilt estate in western North Carolina, came to look and was "greatly impressed."

The Cape Lookout developers hoped to interest the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad in building a line to the Cape but were prepared to build their own trolley line like the one from Wilmington that had helped spur development at Wrightsville Beach. "There are many persons who believe," the *Beaufort News* reported,

> that important as the possibilities of converting Cape Lookout into a big Summer resort [are,] . . . its commercial possibilities are even greater. The naturally fine harbor there has been greatly improved by the breakwater which the Federal Government started there some years ago . . . . When the railroad is finished, the harbor can be used for a coaling station. A fuel oil station may also be established there and it is possible that a cotton export business may be built up there some day.

The plans were both grand and vague, but in the next year, the article concluded, the developers "hope to have some big results to show for their hopes and activities."

The signs were not encouraging, however. In early 1922, the company sold Coast Guardsman Odell Guthrie a lot for $100; the sale included Clem Gaskill's small ten-year-old house, which the company had bought from Gaskill after he moved to Harkers Island.[48] A half-dozen years later, Charles A. Seifert, owner of the Coca-Cola franchise in New Bern, bought two lots and built a house (popularly known as the Coca-Cola House), one of the first vacation houses built at Cape Lookout by someone who was not native to Carteret County.[49]

Two or three houses do not a development make, however. Demand for the commercial harbor never developed, the railroad (or trolley) was never built, only a few lots were sold, and sand eventually buried the only partially completed breakwater. The date of Charles Seifert's purchase of land for the Coca-Cola house (1927) shows that the Cape Lookout Development Company continued to push the project at least until that date, but it was

48 Jones, *Gaskill-Guthrie House,* 24.

49 For full details on this house, see Jones, *Coca-Cola House*. The house is also referenced in the literature as the Seifert-Davis house. Seifert sold it to Harry T. Davis in 1953 (Jones, *Coca-Cola House*, 32).

Figure 9-23. O'Boyle-Bryant house as it looked in 1939. Jones, *O'Boyle-Bryant House*, 28.

Figure 9-24. Cape Lookout Village as it looked in 1942. Jones, *Gaskill Guthrie House*, 21.

not to be. Three interrelated factors seem to have doomed the development: the failure to build the railroad or trolley line, the federal government's abandonment of the jetty construction, and the coming of the Depression two years later. Their relative importance is not clear.

What did happen, however, was that existing residential houses at Cape Lookout were slowly converted to vacation use, eventually resulting in a small resort community. The O'Boyle-Bryant house, built about 1939, was used by military personnel during World War II and bought by N. C. State forestry professor Ralph Bryant in 1961. It was later used by his daughter and her husband and incorporated into Cape Lookout National Seashore in 1976.[50] The Guthrie-Ogilvie house was similarly repurposed for vacation use. The Coca-Cola house was bought by long-time state geologist Harry T. Davis, who used it as a base for his bird studies and as a retreat for the North Carolina Shell Club.[51] Around 1930, a Mr. Baker built a large summer cottage in the area (Casablanca). At about the same time, the Bryant house was built, and Carrie Arendell Davis built a house and a dance hall and snack bar (a mini-Lumina?) that was the scene of popular weekend parties.[52] Around 1940, George Allen Holderness and several other Tarboro families purchased a home with a part-interest arrangement and shared its use for many years.

The Cape Lookout Village area underwent considerable expansion during World War II, but buildings associated with the expansion were removed at the end of the war. Les and Sally Moore, who owned a store at the Cape, constructed several rental cabins from the 1950s until around 1970. The second lighthouse keeper's quarters was sold as surplus property in 1958 to Dr. and Mrs. Graham Barden, who moved it south and used it for many years as a vacation cottage. Several other buildings (including two jetty workers' houses) were also sold at this time and converted to occasional use.[53] Fishing Cottage #2, possibly built by a Coast Guardsman for his family, also dates from the 1950s.[54]

The Era of Roads and Bridges

It is paradoxical that some part of the failure of the Cape Lookout Development Company's grand design owed to their failure to build some form of railroad or trolley to the Cape, because their hopes emerged on the cusp of what turned out to be a period of sustained construction of roads and bridges onto (and on) the Outer Banks.

These local developments occurred in the context of two major developments: the often-chronicled Good Roads Movement, spearheaded in North Carolina by the indomitable Harriet Berry but

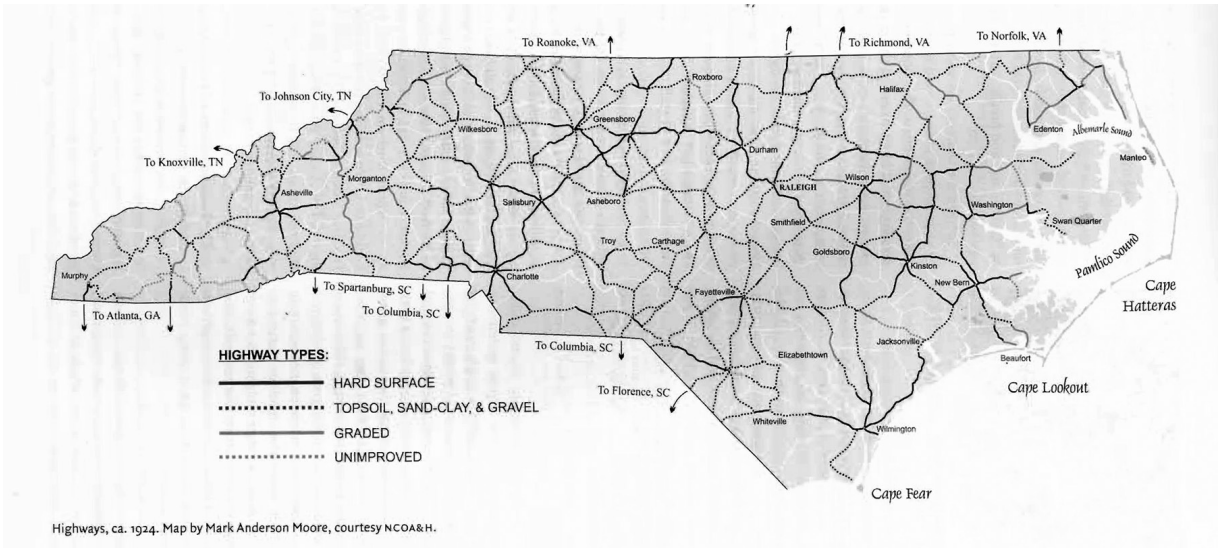
50 Tommy Jones, *O'Boyle-Bryant House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003), 1–2, says that the house was built "in the spring of 1939 by Earl O'Boyle, who was stationed at Cape Lookout from 1938 to 1942 as one of the personnel manning the Navy's . . . radio compass station at the Coast Guard Station. . . . [T]he house was occupied by O'Boyle and his family until the fall of 1942 . . . . [It was] occupied by military personnel for the remainder of World War II . . . ."

51 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report,* 2-17.

52 Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination, Sec. 7, 3.

53 Ibid., Section 7.

54 See Tommy Jones, *Fishing Cottage #2*. On the simultaneous buying up of the surviving residences at Portsmouth for vacation use, see Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks*, 130.



Highways, ca. 1924. Map by Mark Anderson Moore, courtesy NCOA&H.

Figure 9-25. North Carolina highways as of 1924. Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 566. Map by Mark Anderson Moore. North Carolina Office of Archives and History.

part of the larger national movement for good roads (1880–1916), initially led partly by bicyclists, oddly enough, but more closely tied afterwards to a push for better farm-to-market roads, and the state's 1921 Highway Act, which provided new tax funds to construct hard-surface roads connecting county seats and principal towns.[55] As the highways lengthened (to 7,551 total miles in 1928) and became better, the number of automobiles multiplied. Between 1920 and 1928, the number of registered automobiles in the state grew from 127,405 to 418,864, a better than threefold increase.[56]

All up and down the Outer Banks, there were efforts to build bridges and improve roads. In the early 1920s, Dare County moved toward bridging Roanoke Sound. The bridge was finished by 1928, but did not go much of anywhere. On the Roanoke Island end, it connected with the only hard-surfaced road in the area (built by the state in 1924 between Manteo and Wanchese), but on the beach side it connected only to sand tracks. Such lacks were pervasive in the coastal counties; a 1924 map shows virtually no hard-surfaced highways east of Wilmington, New Bern, Washington, and Edenton except for a north-south segment from Wilmington to Jacksonville (perhaps constructed during World War I). Indeed there were not a lot of roads anywhere in the state.[57]

Other bridges followed. The 1925 state legislature authorized funds for a bridge on old N.C. 342 (now U.S. 17) across Albemarle Sound, and another spectacular three-mile bridge was built on U.S. 32 in 1938.[58] To the south, Carteret County residents watched as the 8,200-foot causeway linking Morehead City and Beaufort across Bogue Sound was completed in late 1926.[59] By 1930, the 3-mile-long Wright Memorial Bridge stretched across Currituck Sound, and the next year a state highway was completed through the Kitty Hawk and Nags Head beaches, making it possible to drive on modern roads from Currituck to Manteo.[60] Several decades passed before other new bridges were built, but the 2-mile Oregon Inlet (later Herbert C. Bonner) Bridge opened in 1963.[61] And virtually everywhere the new bridges and roads went, tourist development followed, bringing new motels and tourist housing.

The new roads and bridges were part of a transportation system that also included—

55 For a discussion of the 1921 Act's provisions, see Walter Turner, *Paving Tobacco Road: A Century of Progress by the North Carolina Department of Transportation* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2003), 12–13. On the Good Roads movement, see also Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway*, 17–21.

56 Cecil Kenneth Brown, *The State Highway System of North Carolina: Its Evolution and Present Status* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), 190, 210.

57 Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 566.

58 Turner, *Paving Tobacco Road*, 21, 41.

59 "Linking Up Morehead City and Beaufort with Concrete Bridge Over 8,000 Feet Long," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 7, 1926, unpaged clipping.

60 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 243–246.

61 Turner, *Paving Tobacco Road,* 69.

importantly for the Outer Banks—a new, state-operated ferry system as well. Private ferries had operated throughout the state since colonial times, but by the 1920s few of them remained. In 1934, however, the Highway Commission began subsidizing one private ferry at Oregon Inlet; the state bought the ferry in 1950. Another acquisition and a new state-run ferry across the Alligator River in the late 1940s led to the organization of a state ferry service by the mid-1950s. In time, the state came to operate twenty-four ferries on seven routes, the second-largest ferry system in the country, and each of them critical to the tourism industry.[62]

Post-World War II Private Tourism Development

The end of World War II brought a dramatic increase in travel and tourism virtually everywhere. Reunited families, the arrival of small children, the availability of new automobiles, the growth of roadside motels, the building of new highways and bridges, the opening of theme parks and other attractions, and (especially in Florida) the use of DDT to control mosquitoes and air conditioning to make the heat bearable were some of the most important factors spurring tourism.[63] On the North Carolina coast, four developments were central to the expansion of tourism after the war: publicist Aycock Brown's efforts in Dare County (and those of towns and counties that quickly copied his model), sport hunting and fishing, and the coming of two national seashores at Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout.

There is nearly complete consensus that Aycock Brown was a publicity wizard who virtually singlehandedly generated a tourist boom in Dare County. The northern Banks were in a state of crisis at the close of the war.[64] Commercial hunting had decreased, shad production was down, military bases had closed, and even the Coast Guard was boarding up its stations. Returning servicemen looked for work in vain. Tourism seemed like a promising direction for development,

Figure 9-26. Aycock Brown photograph of a bathing beauty and Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Brown and Stick, *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks*, 41.

but long-established resort areas to the south offered stiff competition.

Brown turned out to be more than equal to the challenge. He had done public relations work for the old Pamlico Inn and worked as a reporter for the Beaufort *News*. He had even had an unsuccessful term as a police reporter for the Durham *Herald*. His duty station on the coast during the World War II had broadened his knowledge of the Outer Banks. After the war, he had worked in publicity for the outdoor drama *The Lost Colony* and was freelancing for the Sanitary Fish Market and even a dog track at Moyock. Then, in 1952, he began a 26-year stint as director of the Dare County Tourist Bureau, a position from which

62 Ibid., 115–118.

63 On the post-war Florida experience with tourism, see Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*.

64 David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 200–202.

he planned, pushed, cajoled, beguiled, and finagled the county's explosive tourism growth into being.[65]

Many Outer Banks counties and towns were forming chambers of commerce at the time Brown came to Dare County, but most of these organizations amounted to little more than a post office box, and they were accomplishing little. But the garrulous and indefatigable Brown knew how to get the job done. Neither a swimmer nor a fisherman himself, he took countless photographs of (preferably female) swimmers, fishermen, and anything else he thought he could place somewhere, anywhere. Lawrence Madry of the *Virginian Pilot* recalled that Brown

> will get a story printed in your newspaper or magazine—the *New York Times* or the *National Geographic*, it doesn't matter—by inundating you with his own stories or photographs, or completely knocking you off guard with the depth of his kindness, or spilling you into some deep well of laughter, pushed by the overwhelming force of his zany personality.

Jim Mays, an editor for Norfolk's WTAR, said Brown knew

> how to conjure up via long-distance telephone a compelling conviction in the minds of faraway journalists that a dead whale washed up on the beach at Rodanthe is a story of major international significance.[66]

Whatever Brown's strategies and tactics, tourism quickly became, and has remained, Dare County's main industry. The new Southern Shores development opened in 1947, and Dare County's Atlantic Township (including Kill Devil Hills, Kitty Hawk, and Southern Shores), which in 1926 had had a tax value of slightly over $100,000, increased in value to more than $6 million in 1957.[67]

Figure 9-27. National Park Service group embarking at Oregon Inlet for tour of the Outer Banks as potential national seashore site, 1934. National Park Service photograph courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center; reproduced in Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 14

Fortuitously, Brown's assertive and imaginative promotional activities came on the very eve of major state and federal involvement in tourism development on the Outer Banks.

Public Tourism Development: Two National Seashores

"When we look up and down the ocean fronts of America," Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes observed with alarm in 1938,

> we find that everywhere they are passing behind the fences of private ownership. The people can no longer get to the ocean. When we have reached the point that a nation of 125 million people cannot set foot upon the thousands of miles of beaches that border the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, except by permission of those who monopolize the ocean front, then I say it is the prerogative and the duty of the Federal and State Governments to step in and acquire, not a swimming beach here and there, but solid blocks of ocean front hundreds of miles in length. Call this ocean front a national park, or a national seashore, or a state park or anything you please—I say that the people have a right to a fair share of it.[68]

Clearly, however, if citizens were to be shown the delights of unspoiled nature on North Carolina's barrier islands, that nature would have to be not only protected by public ownership and prudent regulations, but also recovered and rebuilt. That certainly became abundantly clear with the

65 Our brief characterization of Brown's work on behalf of tourism in Dare County is drawn from Vera Evans, "Ad Man, Con Man, Photographer, and Legend," in David Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 200–202, and Brown and Stick, *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks*, 8–16, 38. The latter source contains a large selection of Brown's Outer Banks photographs, a major archival collection of which is at the Outer Banks History Center, which also houses Stick's papers.

66 Brown and Stick, *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks*, 14, 38.

67 Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 252, 260.

68 Quoted in Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Administrative History*, v. See esp. the chapter on "The New Deal and 'National Ocean Beaches,'" 9–15.

formation of the first of the national seashores on the Outer Banks, at Cape Hatteras.

As early as the 1930s there were plans for a state park in the area.[69] In 1934, the National Park Service sent a reconnaissance team to examine the site, and they returned very enthusiastic. The creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore was authorized by Congress in 1937. Key North Carolina Congressmen Lindsay C. Warren and Herbert C. Bonner, along with North Carolina illustrator, outdoorsman, conservationist, and real estate man Frank Stick, promoted the project skillfully and unremittingly.[70] The project received a key boost when the Phipps family, having established hunting clubs at Buxton and Kennekeet, found themselves with other land they couldn't sell during the Depression and didn't want to continue paying taxes on. Stick helped them to arrange to convey it to the state for use as a park (along with adjoining land of his own) as the first land in the nascent preserve. It remained unclear for years whether the area would be a state park, a national park, or a national seashore. After years of indecision (both state and federal), conflict, negotiation, and planning, Cape Hatteras National Seashore was finally established in 1953 and formally dedicated in 1958.

Significantly with regard to tourism, the legislation directed the NPS to develop "extensive facilities" for recreational beachgoers and to allow the Seashore's use by commercial and sport fishermen and hunters. To satisfy that requirement while continuing and extending the conservation efforts that had been integral to the Seashore's establishment would prove a daunting task, as indeed it had been in virtually all national parks throughout the entire history of the Park Service.[71]

This charge was rendered especially difficult by the presence of already-established residential and commercial areas on the part of the Banks occupied by the seashore, such as Rodanthe, Salvo, Avon, Buxton, Frisco, and Ocracoke. Rising populations and increased building in those locations put pressure on the Seashore, whose annual visitorship between 1955 and 2002 rose from about 260,000 to almost 3 million.[72] In 2008, the Seashore had approximately 71 visitors per acre of land, four times as many as Great Smoky Mountains National Park (17/acre/year), and fifty times as many as Yellowstone National Park (1.4/acre/year).[73]

For better or worse, then, North Carolina's first national seashore shared a boundary at numerous points along its length with areas intensively developed (and developing) for tourism. The best that could be hoped for was a mostly positive synergy between the two systems. That hope would be tested again on the new National Seashore created between Ocracoke and Beaufort Inlets a few years later.

The history of Cape Lookout National Seashore has always (indeed, even before it was founded and officially opened) been inseparable from the history of tourism and related recreational use on Core and Shackleford Banks, partly because early planning got underway in the late 1950s, when tourism was viewed as the next quick fix for economic development. In 1959, the state of North Carolina passed legislation to establish an Outer Banks state park south of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, and land acquisition began. Three years later, the North Carolina Seashore Park Commission urged transferring state-owned Outer Banks property to the NPS for Cape Lookout National Seashore. Between 1963 and 1966, various bills were introduced in Congress to establish the Seashore.[74] By mid-1964, both the

69 "Hatteras Park Almost Certain," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 28, 1935; unpaged clipping.

70 Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 1ff. Binkley has an excellent précis of the relevant precursor legislation, 1–4, and of Stick's work with the Park Service to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore, 22–26. Unless otherwise indicated, our brief account of the founding of Cape Lookout National Seashore is drawn from Binkley. Stick published an early article advocating for such a park, "A Coastal Park for North Carolina," *Elizabeth City Independent*, July 21, 1933. See Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 247–248, and Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 6–7.

71 Binkley examines the entire protracted process in all of its legislative, legal, political, social, and cultural dimensions in *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 43–159.

72 Ibid., Appendix G, 259.

73 Visitors/acre/year calculated from data provided by National Park Service Public Use Statistics Office (http://www.nature.nps.gov/stats/).

74 Beal and Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea*, 125–127.

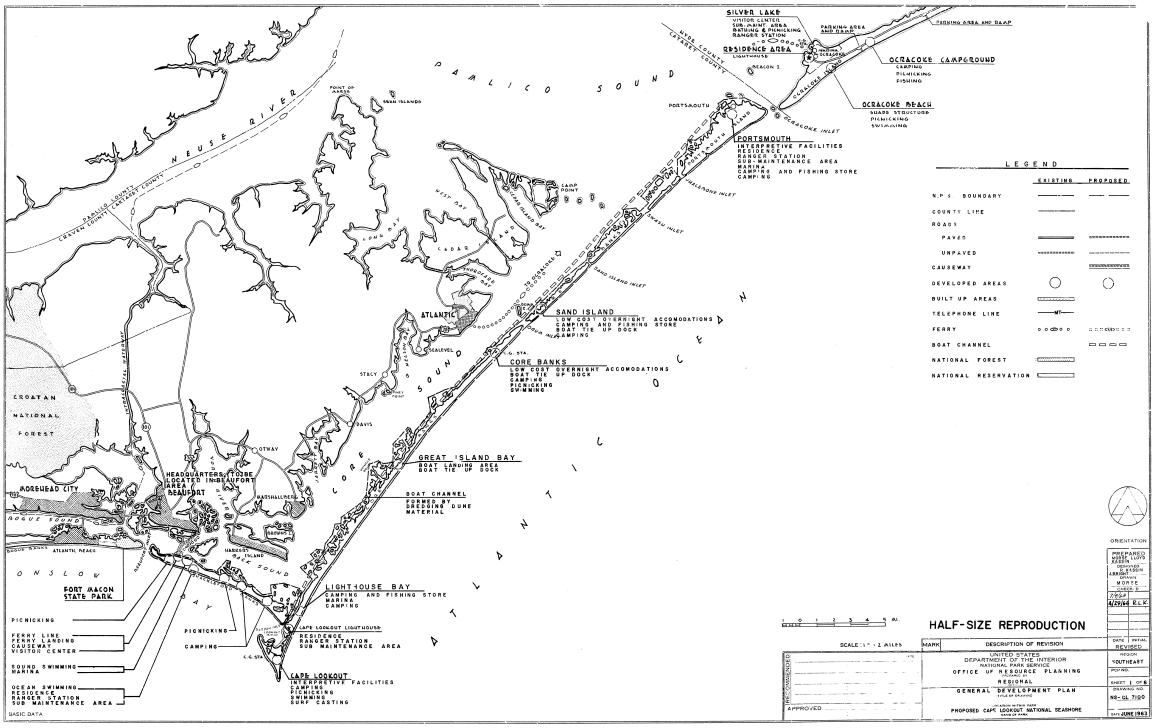


Figure 9-28. 1963 General Development Plan map, Cape Lookout and Shackleford Banks. National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Secretary of the Interior and the President had signed on to the plan. Congressional approval followed in early 1966.[75]

Earliest detailed planning for the new National Seashore assumed that fairly dense facilities for tourists, and for moving them from place to place, would be central. As early as 1963, an NPS development map showed a possible "highway causeway bridge" and a ferry crossing North River Channel and Shackleford Slue to Shackleford Banks. It also showed a motor road leading all the way up Shackleford Banks almost to Barden Inlet, with picnic and parking areas, docks, a "marine supplies" store, beaches with dressing rooms and shelters, a ranger station, and a visitor center along the way. It was, in a word, a plan premised on intensive tourist facilities development consistent with the Park Service's Mission 66 program, which was drawing to a conclusion in 1966.[76]

The new Seashore was located, said a Congressional report two years later, within 250 miles of 5 million people, large numbers of whom could be expected to visit.[77] Local boosters

Figure 9-29. Landing strip next to Portsmouth Life-Saving Station, March 2008. Photo by David E. Whisnant.

75 Roy Parker, Jr., "National Seashore Endorsed by [Interior Secretary Stewart] Udall," *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 1, 1964; Roy Parker, Jr., "White House Approves Cape Lookout National Seashore," *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 20, 1964; "National Seashore Gets Congressional Approval," *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 27, 1966; "Lookout Approved," *Raleigh News and Observer*, March 1, 1966.

76 General Development Plan Map (1963), National Park Service, Denver Service Center. We have discovered no comparable map for Core Banks. On Mission 66, see Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), and Conrad Wirth, *Parks, Politics and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

77 Report from Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on S. 251, 89h Congress, 1st Session, July 23, 1965, 2.

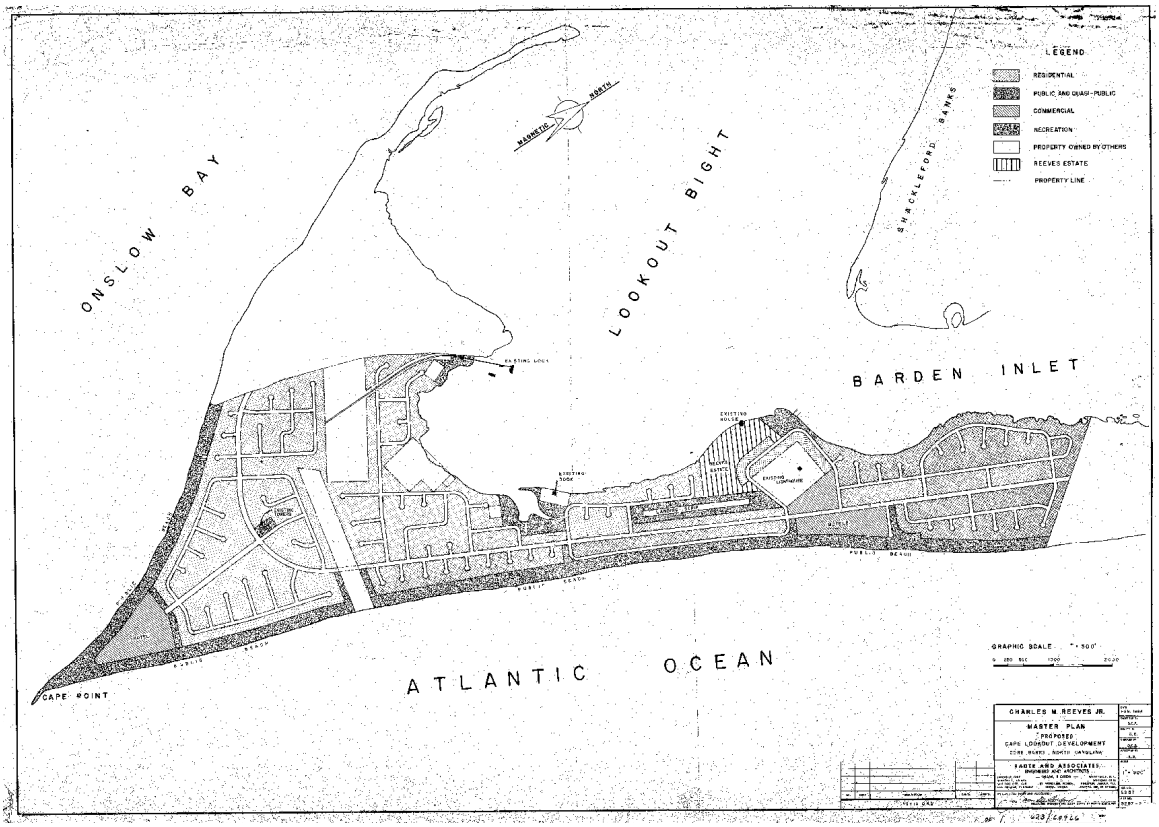


Figure 9-30. Charles M. Reeves, Jr., Master Plan, Proposed Cape Lookout Development, 1964. Rader and Associates, Miami, FL. National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

were quick to take up the theme. Raleigh *News and Observer* reporter Roy Parker, Jr., wrote in midsummer of 1965 that "Cape Lookout Expects to Attract Million in Five Years," and a few months later his fellow writer Roy Hardee reported that local officials were predicting "a bright future for the economic and tourist development of Carteret County" with the opening of the Seashore.[78] Besides the causeway or ferry, Hardee reported, the sound side of the Banks was to be dredged to create a boat channel "running the entire length of the new Seashore area" and the dredging spoil used to build a 50-foot protective berm on the ocean side.[79]

The expected gains from tourism were welcomed, but a few worries surfaced early on about a possible down side. Entrances to the Seashore must be carefully protected, Hardee wrote, so that no "honky-tonks and shacks" would be allowed, and highways crossing the Banks (between ocean and sound, presumably) had to be avoided.[80] As it turned out, tourist facilities for the new National Seashore were scaled back, and tourism gains proved much smaller than anticipated. No causeway or ferry was installed; no Shackleford Banks facilities of any kind were built. And many fewer than the anticipated number of tourists came; even by the mid-1980s, annual visitation was still only about 100,000.

Initially, however, the major problem was not how much tourist development the National Park Service was to do, of what kind(s), and where to put it, but how to finish acquiring the final few necessary parcels of land. They were in the hands of powerful people, who were well aware of the quick rise in land values following the announcement that the new Seashore was to be built, and committed to private models of development.

78 Roy Hardee, "National Seashore Tourist Gains Seen," *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 7, 1966.

79 Even as late as 1971, the possibility of bridging Core Sound with some sort of mass transit system was still being considered. A master plan of that year referred to "a system bridging Core Sound and arriving on the island. This mass transit system could then connect with or become a part of the island transport system. . . . Such a mass transit system is to be considered superior to an alternate desire to construct a motor vehicle bridge over the sound." Cape Lookout National Seashore, *Master Plan, 1971,* 90.

80 Roy Hardee, "Cape Lookout Development Aired," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 1, 1967.

From the 1920s through the late 1960s, latter-day sport hunters organized and established hunting clubs and lodges, although these were generally less grand than their predecessors from the late nineteenth century. Several such groups used buildings in Portsmouth into the 1950s and 1960s. The small, two-room Ed Styron House was leased for that purpose until 1989. In the early 1950s, the former Portsmouth Life-Saving Station (built in 1894 and decommissioned in 1937) was sold to a private hunting club. The club built a landing strip adjacent to it, obliterating the old Marine Hospital site. The recently established Salter Gun Club also began in 1965 to use the Dixon-Salter House, which dated to 1900.[81] And in 1930, the Raleigh *News and Observer* reported that "a big club owned by northern interests" was being planned for Salvo and that the wealthy Phipps family, owners of "private shooting estates" in several counties, had bought 800 acres near Buxton on which to develop "a great shooting property."[82] The Core Sound Gun Club bought what would turn out to be a key 900+-acre parcel.

Simultaneously, private developers with visions of major tourist enclaves bought large parcels on the Outer Banks. Powerful Sanford industrialist (and member of the state Banking Commission) Charles M. Reeves, Jr., owned 230 acres near the lighthouse and 500 acres at Drum Inlet.[83] On the smaller parcel, he planned to lay out roadways and more than 700 residential building lots. Other space was reserved for motels, and Cape Point itself looked to Reeves like a prime site for a hotel. Reeves was willing to sell his property, providing he could get what he thought it was worth. In the late 1960s, he sold his 500 acres at Drum Inlet for only $46 an acre, but the 230 acres near the lighthouse brought him $1.5 million ($6500 an acre) when he sold it in 1974.[84]

Figure 9-31. Model A Ford modified for fishermen's use, ca. 1975. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

Negotiations over the Core Banks Gun Club land dragged on for more than nine years, nearly derailing plans for the entire park at the outset. Expected difficulty in acquiring the Club's land led to its being excluded from the original legislation in 1963. A half-dozen years later it had still not been acquired. Condemnation proceedings were halted when the state Supreme Court ruled that the state lacked authority to condemn it. Meanwhile, even the 1.5 acres owned by the much less powerful Salter Gun Club had to be obtained through what a state official called a "painstaking, cat-and-mouse process."[85]

To get the Gun Club's land, the Supreme Court said, special legislation would be required. It was introduced and passed quickly in mid-1969.[86] As late as 1974, legislation to establish the park still excluded the land.[87] Meanwhile, more and more titles were turning out to be complicated and obscure, and the estimate for acquiring all the necessary land had risen from $265,000 to $13

81 Jones, *Ed Styron House,*1; Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 31, 70, 121, 126; Keane, Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration.

82 D. V. Meekins, "Cape Hatteras Getting on Map," *Raleigh News and Observer*, March 23, 1930; unpaged clipping.

83 Apparently Reeves had acquired some part of his property by purchasing the tauranization rights of the Cape Lookout development company. See Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register Nomination, Sec. 8, 29.

84 Beal and Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea*, 135; Jack Childs, "State to Acquire Core Banks Tract," *Raleigh News and Observer*, December 10, 1970.

85 Russell Clay, "Cape Lookout Seashore: It's Coming, but When?," *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 26, 1969. The state paid $16,000 for the Salter Gun Club's land and a two-story house, and only $150/acre for 1,000 acres south of the Core Banks Gun Club's land. Russell Clay, "State Acquires Seashore Tract," *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 30, 1969.

86 Jim Lewis "Law Needed to Take Gun Club Land," *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 20, 1969; follow-up articles also appeared on June 7 and 12.

87 Steve Berg, "Park Land Bill Is Introduced," *Raleigh News and Observer,* June 17, 1974.

Figure 9-32. Removing junk cars from Cape Lookout National Seashore with lighthouse in background. Car on bottom appears to be a ca. 1962 Chrysler; one in middle probably a Ford, ca. 1962–1963; one on top likely a 1955 Chevrolet. Note fishing rod receptacles on front bumper of middle car. Since the cars would presumably not have been abandoned when new, the 1960s models were probably abandoned after the National Seashore was created. Southeast Regional Office archive, National Park Service.

million. The Gun Club's land was finally bought for $3,000 per acre at the end of 1974. The Club was given a 25- ear lease on part of the property. The lease expired in late 1999, and eighteen months later, Governor Holshouser presented deeds for 16,600 acres to the National Park Service. [88]

The Reeves and Gun Club purchases could have marked a full and decisive shift from private to public ownership and development, from private clubs and subdivisions on the southern Banks to a national seashore that would fully realize Secretary Ickes's vision of nearly forty years earlier, but they did not quite swing the balance. Another round remained to be fought with another group of private interests.

After World War II, sport fishing had become a major business on the Outer Banks. A major impetus at the southern end had come unbidden in 1933, when a hurricane opened Barden's Inlet, separating Core Banks from Shackleford Banks.[89] "It was almost as if, when the water rushed out, the twentieth century rushed in," islander Irvin Guthrie reported. Anthropologists Barbara Garrity-Blake and James Sabella note that the new inlet provided easy access to the ocean for sport fishermen, transformed Harkers Island into a "jumping off place" for tourists, and led to tourism-related development. Mrs. Harkers Lodge, located at Shell Point, became the island's first motel and an attractive lodging for fishermen. Between 1930 and 1950, Harkers Island population grew almost 50 percent (from 854 to 1244).[90] By the mid-1950s, a National Park Service survey counted thirty to forty fishing cottages on Core Banks.[91]

Sport fishing in coastal North Carolina would eventually grow into a $1 billion a year industry. In 1991, a million individual anglers, more than a quarter million recreational boats, nearly 200 charter and "head" boat operators (nearly a third of them out of Carteret County) were pulling nearly 14 million pounds of fish of more than 200 species out of the water every year. Suppliers of boats and motors, fishing gear and clothing, and other services added to the industry's importance. Shore fishermen were responsible for roughly half the harvest in any year.[92]

The obliteration of the Marine Hospital site was by no means the only damage that decades of tourism and recreational used had wrought on the Outer Banks. By the 1950s, when the formation of Cape Lookout National Seashore first began to be contemplated, it was already clear that

88 "Aid Sought to Acquire Land at Cape Lookout," *Raleigh News and Observer,* July 3, 1974; "N.C. to Acquire Key Section of Land on Cape Lookout," *Raleigh News and Observer*, December 4, 1974; Bean and Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea*, 135; *Durham Morning Herald*, June 7, 1976.

89 John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report,* 4-11.

90 Garrity-Blake and Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study*, 6.5.21 and Table 6.5.1: Population of Harkers Island Township: 1970–2000 [*sic*; figures are actually given for 1930–2000].

91 National Park Service, *A Report on the Seashore Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1955), "Undeveloped Seashore Areas in North Carolina."

92 Detailed data from North Carolina Division of Marine Fisheries, *Description of North Carolina's Coastal Fishery Resources, 1972–1991* (Morehead City, NC: Division of Marine Fisheries, 1993), 1–3, 47–52, and Appendix 2. Shore-fishing percentage taken from Figure 17.

repairing those damages would have to be an early order of business. As early as 1968, F. Ross Holland reported that fishermen and other users had left their imprint upon the banks. "Clusters of fishermen's shanties," he said

> dot the landscape; for the most part they are tarpaper shacks that would be a disgrace in the worst city slum. Worn out and broken down dune vehicles in all their unsightliness are much in evidence. These rusting cars or small trucks with snow tires or extra wide tires on the drive wheels are collected together in various spots in what appear to be Core Banks junkyards. Many individual buggies dot the Banks, abandoned by their owners where they broke down. All the vehicles are gradually being covered by the drifting sand, and one wonders how many sand dunes with their crowns of sea oats hide earlier versions of dune buggies.

Eight years later, the Raleigh *News and Observer* reported, a "rusty fleet of more than 2,500 abandoned vehicles"—automobiles, pickup trucks, vans, and even Model A Fords—lay on the beaches, waiting to be crushed on site, buried, or hauled off in a barge.[93]

Nearly ten years after the new National Seashore was authorized, but before it actually opened, *Durham Sun* writer Bill Noblitt lamented both the rusty automobiles and the shacks and old trailers (250 or more of them) that littered the landscape around five fishing camps frequented by doctors, insurance men, and workingmen "serious [enough] about fishing" to build the flimsy structures and haul them out to the Banks.[94] "Don't call them sportsmen," *News and Observer* writer Bob Simpson cautioned a year later in an article on the "squatter boom" on the Banks. Simpson explained that "squatters" ("upstate greedies") were "claiming the right to the land" by throwing up shacks on it "when the rightful owners were in good faith selling it to the state."[95]

Obviously there was room to maneuver with regard to the terminology concerning the fishing-related structures that dotted Cape Lookout National Seashore's acres, but there was no denying that scores of them were out there. A map of existing development prepared by the NPS in 1977 showed 51 such structures on Shackleford Banks. Nearly 275 were on Core Banks, scattered from just below Shingle Point to around Swash Inlet.[96] Unsightliness was only part of the problem. In his 1976 study of barrier island ecology, Paul J. Godfrey took a broader approach. Unfortunately, he said,

> a good many people have shown no respect for the Outer Banks environment and have spoiled a great deal of it . . . . There are a great many [surf fishing] camps on the island where the fishermen stay; clusters of them are sometimes surrounded by rings of abandoned cars towed there in an effort to protect the buildings from the sea. Fishermen bring to the island an old car which they drive up and down the beach until it wears out or gets hopelessly stuck. This in itself does no real harm unless the car is driven over dune grass or through bird nesting grounds, but the car is eventually left to rust on the beach . . . . There are probably over a thousand such hulks on Core Banks.

As for the camps themselves, Godfrey observed, some are made up of "neat, decent little buildings," but many "are unsightly, vermin-infested hovels surrounded by rubbish."[97]

A challenge even more legally, politically, and (especially) culturally complicated than that on

93 Holland, *Survey History,* 3; *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 30, 1976, unpaged clipping.

94 Bill Noblitt, "People Mess Up Core Bank," *Durham Sun*, December 4, 1975, unpaged clipping.

95 Bob Simpson, "Core Banks Squatters: 'Don't Call Them Sportsmen,'" *Raleigh News and Observer*, December 7, 1975, unpaged clipping.

96 Map supplied by Denver Service Center, National Park Service [623-20018 – Scanned images – 151768.pdf]

97 Godfrey and Godfrey, *Barrier Island Ecology of Cape Lookout National Seashore* See especially Figures 115–118. As early as 1933, future Cape Hatteras National Seashore partisan Frank Stick wrote of the destruction of the Banks by erosion, overgrazing, and deforestation. See Binkley, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 7. The action of winds, tides, and storms over the decades since the national seashore was established sometimes uncovers more cars long buried by those same processes. The policy of CALO management is to remove newly uncovered cars if they still have enough structural integrity to permit it, especially if several are discovered near to each other, as happened as a result of Hurricane Isabel in 2003 (telephone conversation with Barry Munyan, Chief Ranger, December 18, 2009).

Core Banks awaited the Park Service when it began in 1978 to acquire land on Shackleford Banks. Considered broadly, the land the state and federal governments had to deal with on Core and Shackleford Banks might be thought of as falling into a handful of categories:

(1) Historically "settled" land, such as Portsmouth, Diamond City (before it was blown away), and other small early fishing villages on Shackleford Banks (e.g., Lookout Woods);

(2) Historically public or "commons" land, such as beaches, to which the public's increasingly restricted access so troubled Harold Ickes in 1938;

(3) State institutional lands, such as those appropriated at various times (and for varying lengths of time) for lighthouses, lifesaving stations, military installations, or the Coast Guard;

(4) Privately held speculative lands, bought as investments or for speculative development; and

(5) What one might call legacy lands, bought (or not) and occupied long enough to have acquired deep and complex cultural and social meanings.

The difficulty of acquiring land for the new National Seashore depended to some extent upon the category to which it belonged. Shell Castle Island had been abandoned for a century and a half, and Portsmouth had been almost completely depopulated for decades. In those areas, remaining property owners were fairly easy to deal with. Access to public beaches was not under threat, as it would soon be further north and south, where private tourism development was burgeoning. State institutional lands could fairly easily be conveyed and repurposed as governmental needs and priorities changed. Acquiring private speculative lands (such as those of Charles Reeves, Jr.) could be legally challenging and expensive, but they could ultimately be obtained.

Legacy lands could be a much more complicated matter, as they proved to be on Core and Shackleford Banks. The Core Banks buildings were mostly clustered on lands between the lighthouse and the Coast Guard station. Some had been purchased when they were decommissioned by the Coast Guard; others had been built in the area. Years of regular use had formed a tight-knit and supportive community. Families who owned and used the houses were loath to see their community come to an end.

A *Coastwatch* article in 2003 evoked the ties individuals and families had formed to the area and their relationships with other families who used the cottages regularly year after year. Some houses had been updated with generators, but most had changed little. June Long's father had started coming in the 1920s and continued visiting until his death in 1972. "This place means everything to me," said Wilson Davis of the Coca-Cola house his family had been returning to every year since the 1950s. "It is my family's history." Some of the owners were given 25-year leases when the land was transferred to the National Park Service in 1976, but negotiations and lawsuits continued for years.[98]

As Beal and Prioli have outlined it, the more contentious Shackleford Banks challenge was focused around two groups: seasonal surf fishermen and local people who had long maintained cottages for seasonal and occasional use. The surf fishermen were disturbed by planning for the park that proposed a wilderness designation for Shackleford Banks. That designation would ban all structures and private motor vehicles, including those taken to the Banks by the fishermen for more than twenty-five years—many of them ingeniously designed and built with great care.[99] The fishermen, most of whom were not from Carteret County, fearing the elimination of their sport, responded immediately and negatively. They finally agreed to the Shackleford Banks wilderness designation, but asked to retain their customary practices on Core Banks and Portsmouth Island. For the most part, state officials and agencies

98 "Core Banks Cottages Rich in History, Tradition," *Coastwatch*, Winter 2003.

99 Beal and Prioli, *Life at the Edge of the Sea*, 135–143.

agreed, rejecting the position of conservationist groups, which sought to ban surf fishing throughout the National Seashore.

Having reached an agreement with surf fishermen, the state turned to acquiring Shackleford Banks land. In that effort, they faced the full array of issues attaching to legacy lands. The many beach cottages and houses on Shackleford in some respects resembled buildings used by tourists and seasonal visitors, but those who had built them were by no reasonable definition "tourists." Certainly they were not squatters like those further north on Core Banks, though in fact only a very few of them actually owned the property on which the more than fifty cottages stood. They were mostly local people who had built the structures and occupied them for years, and who practiced what Beal and Prioli called "gentle land use," contrasting sharply with the Core Banks squatters' practices. For generations these owners had considered the land commons or communal property. The buildings, Prioli notes, were not just weekend retreats, but rather "extensions of their primary homes" that "connected them spiritually with a past that was increasingly threatened by the tourism and commercialism that were rapidly overrunning their mainland environments."

So distressed were these cottage-owners that their houses were going to be destroyed that they burned them one night in December 1985. For good measure, outraged owners also torched the only two houses that had qualified for 25-year leases. Unknown parties also burned the Cape Lookout National Seashore visitor center on Harkers Island, destroying data on important wildlife research. Despite an FBI investigation, no one was ever charged with the arson.[100] Conflicted feelings lingered between local people and Park Service personnel for years.

The history of tourism on the southern end of the Outer Banks bequeathed a complicated social, cultural, political, and economic dynamic to the developers and managers of Cape Lookout National Seashore, one within which the constant challenge of mediating between private rights and the public good, cold legalities and intense sentiment could not be avoided.

100 Ibid., 143. The Beal and Priori version of this history is not the only one that might be (or has been) told. Other versions contend that the Park Service itself burned the structures and that local people stood on the shore of Harkers Island and cried as they watched the flames. It is beyond the scope of this present study to present, evaluate, or judge among the various versions. To do so would require a separate study.

Management, Interpretive, and Research Recommendations

The Scope of Work (SOW) for this study notes that an HRS "supplies data for resource management and interpretation [and . . . identifies any need for special history studies, cultural landscape reports, or other detailed studies and may make recommendations for resource management and interpretation as appropriate." Given the extensive work already done in nominating CALO structures for the National Register, the SOW specifies that "National Register amendments or new documentation [are not included in this scope of work; however, the researchers will make recommendations for the same" as needed. This chapter responds to the Scope of Work's requirements in the following ways:

- Discussing briefly the especially problematic relationship between *historic resources* at CALO and meaningful historical *interpretation* at this park;
- Suggesting how reframing and enlarging the analytical and interpretive contexts, themes, and perspectives for CALO to bring them up to date with current historical scholarship could correct, enhance, and deepen historical and cultural interpretation across the park as a whole and at particular locations, especially through the creative use of new technologies; and
- Making recommendations for further research that could help round out understanding of specific aspects of CALO history as reflected in previous studies, National Register documents, and the List of Classified Structures.

Especially in light of the park's intention to write a new general management plan and a comprehensive interpretive plan in the near term, we hope these recommendations will help connect the contexts and perspectives we have developed here to the elaboration of themes and programming of specific activities that those planning processes will entail.

"Historic Resources" and Interpretation

Because of the imperatives imposed by historic preservation legislation and the National Register, the idea of "historic resources" in the National Parks dictates a focus on *extant* physical resources, especially historic buildings, structures, and, to some extent, landscapes (including vegetation and circulation networks). At CALO, which was designated as a park largely due to its natural and recreational value and whose physical cultural resources are predominantly fragile, impermanent, and somewhat scattered in terms of thematic or narrative unity, tying history-telling too tightly to existing physical resources invites presentation of a narrative that is fragmented and less connected to the large, important, and interesting stories that have unfolded on and around Core Banks for more than three hundred years.

As we suggest in Chapter 1, the National Register process has been especially problematic as a guide for interpretation at the park. By dictating rigid periods of "significance," it has identified a fairly short contextual timeframe for the histories of areas within the park (approximately 1857 to 1957) that may fit the time for which there is some physical integrity, but that is out of phase with the much longer time period that needs to be looked at to understand the historical importance of this region.[1]

1 For an incisive critique of the National Register, see Thomas F. King, *Thinking About Cultural Resource Management: Essays from the Edge* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), especially 19–25.

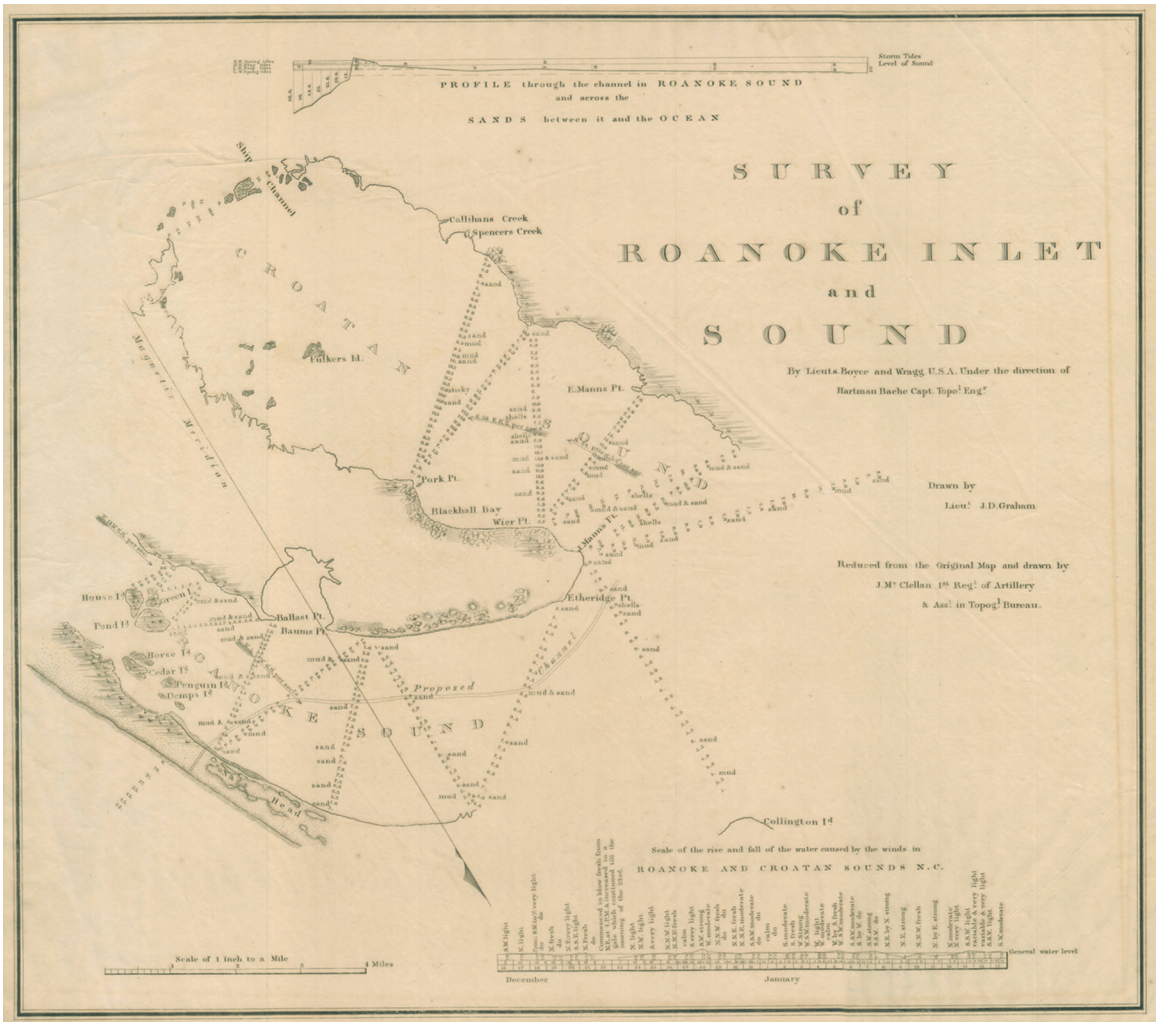


Figure 10-1. Survey of Roanoke Inlet and Sound, 1829. Map by James D. Graham, United States Corps of Engineers. Courtesy of Outer Banks History Center, State Archives of North Carolina.

Particularly in the case of Portsmouth, where as many as half of the identified "historic resources" of the park are clustered, the on-the-ground remnants of the past (dating largely from 1900 on) do not represent the period of the site's greatest importance (1753 to approximately 1860). Creative uncoupling of interpretive materials from physical resources could enhance the interpretation of this site and help better explain why a community developed there and achieved importance in the first place. In this regard, we concur with recommendations contained in the recent cultural landscape report for Portsmouth Village.[2]

Similarly, with regard to other social and cultural elements that are crucial to represent at the site—including race, gender, class, and culture—new interpretations need to take a larger view, which may help to pull together apparently fragmentary remains into narratives that draw out these neglected elements of how life was lived on and around Core Banks.

In the spirit of loosening the overly tight linkage between "historic resources" (extant physical structures) and "history" (a narrative of what happened on and around this land in the past), we suggest below some ways to broaden the context in which the history of Core Banks is understood. Narratives that flow from that broadening will encompass many of the resources still found on the site, but will not be completely dictated by them. See Appendix D for an indication of how we have moved from thinking about historic resources in a National Register context to defining major "locations of activity" that encompass but are not defined by historic resources.

2 Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc. *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2007.

In an age when new technologies are vastly expanding our ability to visualize the pasts of places that are no longer physically present, the opportune moment to widen the frame at CALO seems at hand. In this connection, we suggest that CALO staff study carefully the North Carolina digital mapping website recently developed by the University of North Carolina library.[3] The aim of this project is to digitize all known North Carolina maps produced before 1923, nearly 120 of them supplied by the Outer Banks History Center. Offering particularly promising possibilities is the interactive Historic Overlay Maps subsection of the site, which includes two sample georeferenced Carteret County overlay maps, one of them centered on Beaufort Inlet. All of the maps can be overlayed on Google Earth. These new digital technologies offer CALO significantly expanded possibilities for historical documentation, resource management, and interpretation.

Widening and Updating the Historical Frame

More than identifying previously untouched topics or newly discovered information (not unimportant tasks, certainly), our recommendations suggest that what the park most needs is to take advantage of the new *perspectives* on history that have developed as a result of the flowering of historical scholarship that has taken place since the park's founding. The park needs to begin thinking differently about what history is, what domains and topics are appropriate for historical analysis, how historical information can be organized and narrated, and how the fragmented remains of what we know about the past can be brought together and made coherent to visitors. These new perspectives will allow the park and the public to understand CALO's resources in a fresh light and offer new ways to invite visitors to understand the fluidity of the past, the way power relations of all kinds have shaped lives and landscapes, the challenge of understanding histories only partially visible, and the perpetual layering of our physical settings as the new overwrites the old.

Connectedness Instead of Isolation

Our primary recommendation is that, for interpretive uses, CALO should reconceptualize the park area's history in a much broader frame, which should include not just the Outer Banks themselves but also the coastal counties and communities that border the sounds, the rest of North Carolina, and the wider Atlantic world. This frame should, most importantly, emphasize the park area's essential but ever-changing *connectedness* both to mainland North Carolina and to the larger maritime worlds to which it has always been joined by the sea.

The domain of analysis in the already existing historical and cultural studies (HRSs, HSRs, CLRs) and in current park interpretation is too often limited to the Outer Banks, which themselves, following an established discourse perhaps more appropriate to natural history, are conceived of principally as "barrier islands." As we have explained at numerous points, however, such a conception has the effect of bracketing off the history of the Outer Banks from larger histories with which it has had demonstrably close, persistent, and important connections for several centuries.

Although the entire park would benefit from such a reconceptualization, Portsmouth Village offers the greatest unrealized possibilities in this regard. At present, the interpretive materials for Portsmouth give little hint of how significant this site was for North Carolina commerce after the mid-eighteenth century, how connected its fortunes were to other parts of the colony/state and world, how shaped its early social development was by slavery and race, or why it became much more isolated in recent times than it originally was. In most currently available interpretative materials, the story—a fascinating episode integral with many of the most important themes in early American history—is buried in bland, too-small narratives that are at best misleading and at worst incorrect.

3 Available at http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps. As a part of its large "Documenting the American South" collection (http://docsouth.unc.edu/), UNC-Chapel Hill is developing numerous digitization projects (already funded and under way) that involve georeferenced historical materials, including "Going to the Show," which uses the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for North Carolina, and "Driving through Time: The Digital Blue Ridge Parkway," which includes historical Parkway land maps and for which Anne Whisnant is the scholarly adviser.

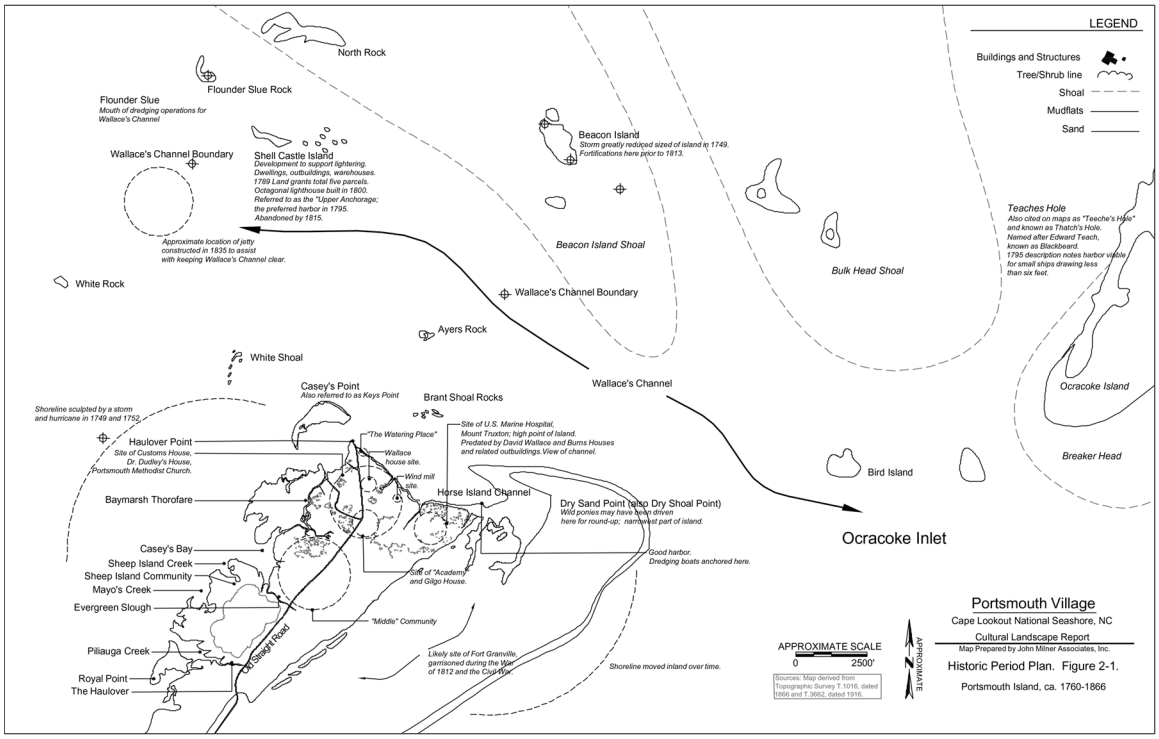


Figure 10-2. Historic Period Plan, Portsmouth Village, ca. 1760–1866. John Milner and Associates, Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report, 35.

Take, for example, the interpretive wayside that greets visitors arriving at Portsmouth by ferry at Haulover Point. The sign says that after its charter in 1753, Portsmouth became a "bustling seaport" and "one of the most important lightering ports on the eastern seaboard." It explains that "goods from Europe" were loaded onto smaller ships here "for the last leg of their journey to the mainland" and notes that "the Civil War and the opening of other inlets on the Carolina coast reduced Portsmouth's importance."[4] However, it makes no mention of early North Carolina's colossal transportation problems or Ocracoke Inlet's singular (but increasingly problematic) role as the main outlet to the sea for much the colony and state's early coastal trade. Additionally, it neglects to mention *export* trade and wrongly characterizes most of the imports coming through the inlet as being from Europe, when in fact very little transatlantic shipping was handled at Portsmouth. (Most of the trade through Ocracoke Inlet went to and from either other American ports or the Carribbean, as we have shown in Chapter 2).

A 2007 brochure, *Historic Portsmouth Village*, currently posted on the CALO website, does a better job of explaining that Ocracoke Inlet is key to the story of Portsmouth, but also contains other information that is either misleading or erroneous. It repeats the dubious claim (based on the Congressional report supporting establishment of a marine hospital at Portsmouth) that in 1842 "two-thirds of the exports of the state passed through Ocracoke Inlet." This statement would not be possible within a broader framing that sets the history of Portsmouth in relation to the larger changes in trade and transportation in the rest of North Carolina, including the growth of the port of Wilmington, which had already eclipsed all other state ports in importance decades before the 1840s, when the brochure notes that "changes were on the horizon for Portsmouth."[5]

As we argue in Chapter 2 on the Atlantic world, Portsmouth needs to be situated and interpreted with reference to Ocracoke inlet, Shell Castle, and Ocracoke village. John Gray Blount and his entrepreneurial enterprises need to be comprehended and taken account of for visitors.

4 Interpretive wayside, Portsmouth Village, near Haulover Point dock, Cape Lookout National Seashore, March 15, 2008.

5 Watson, *Wilmington: Port of North Carolina*, 45. *Historic Portsmouth Village* brochure is available at http://www.nps.gov/calo/planyourvisit/brochures.htm.

Yet neither the wayside nor the brochure says anything about how shipping magnate John Gray Blount's Shell Castle enterprise shaped the site, nor in fact even mentions Shell Castle at all.

With the availability, especially, of Phillip McGuinn's extensive and well-researched thesis on Shell Castle and of new technological tools, some steps should be taken to help visitors to visualize what was there during Portsmouth's and Shell Castle's zenith. Would it be possible, for example, to design an onsite map that represents the relationships among Ocracoke village, Portsmouth, Shell Castle, and eastern North Carolina, including the historically relevant (and changing) configurations of the channels and inlets and the Blount trading networks? The recent *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, in fact, includes such a map. Additionally, could a ferry route allow visitors to pass by the remnants of Shell Castle on their way to Portsmouth from Ocracoke?

As McGuinn notes, despite shifting sands, Ocracoke Inlet is configured today much as it was in 1713, allowing for the use of new technologies to provide useful interpretive tools.[6] Could a virtual exhibit georeference and layer the numerous available historical maps onto a present-day Google satellite image, so the viewer might envision how what is there now looks both similar to and different from what was there in 1800, 1850, or 1900? Such a project might be carried out in collaboration with the North Carolina Maps project.

Better representing the wider context of Portsmouth and Shell Castle in this and other ways could help visitors better appreciate the significance of even the small and otherwise easily overlooked "sea captains' graves" site at Portsmouth. While a sign here presently notes that the families of the deceased "shipped the stones here from the New England area," we see from one of the headstones that the sailor who died at Portsmouth in 1810 was from Providence, Rhode Island (one of the major ports in the United States at that time). These small facts take on new meaning when one understands the graves as a small but significant physical representation of the period when Shell Castle and Ocracoke Inlet served as a hub of North Carolina's coastwise (not transatlantic) trade with northern American ports.

Figure 10-3. Gravestone of Capt. Thomas W. Greene (d. January 17, 1810), from Providence, RI. Photo by David E. Whisnant.

Race

We have not attempted to evaluate specifically all of the current interpretive infrastructure with regard to race generally and African American history specifically, but our general impression is that it is far from adequate. Certainly the written historical studies are insufficient in this regard, although some of them contain scattered information about African American history; even this information remains at a purely demographic level and thus does not take account of race as a factor shaping power relationships between different groups.

Again, with regard to interpretive materials at Portsmouth, both the 2007 Portsmouth brochure and the Haulover dock wayside elide the history of race and slavery. The wayside is silent about the hundreds of enslaved workers who helped give the town its "bustle" and who handled much of the heavy work that lightering entailed. And through liberal use of the passive voice, the brochure masks slaves' work: Ships "were forced to transfer their

6 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," 13.

cargo" to lighters. "At Portsmouth were built the warehouses and docks" that lightering required. With all due respect to the memory of Henry Pigott and the black Pea Island lifesavers, the romantic images of Pigott dutifully rowing the mail boat to Portsmouth or of the lifesavers' heroism does not even begin to engage race as a central constitutive part of the history of CALO or its broader historical context.

Our chapters on the Atlantic world and on slavery and class offer some starting points for a more adequate consideration: slavery in Portsmouth and on Shell Castle (including the importance of black pilots, the lives of slave watermen, and their role in attempted escapes), African Americans' abandonment of Portsmouth after the Civil War, the legacy of slavery in the coastal counties and towns, race relations in the many and varied embodiments of the fishing industry (as outlined, for the menhaden industry, in Garrity-Blake's *The Fish Factory*), or the work of black women in the fish packing houses, to take a few of many examples. A first task would be to pull together scattered information about race and African American history and to update or augment the waysides at Portsmouth with (at the very least) a chart showing the waxing and waning of the African American population, the shifting of occupations, and the changing proportions of blacks and whites.

Class

The essentially reductionist and romantic public discourse that has long dominated encounters with the Outer Banks (discussed in our chapter on Outer Banks culture) slights and misconstrues a number of key features of Outer Banks history and life. Central among them is the issue of class. The cozy narratives of life in Portsmouth or Cape Lookout Village or Harkers Island notwithstanding, it is relatively easy to demonstrate that the history of the Outer Banks and of the counties and towns from Wilmington north—like the history of any place, at any time—is inseparable from issues of race and class.[7]

Our Chapter 2 on the Atlantic world pays considerable attention to John Gray Blount and his protégé John Wallace, one of whom was an established and determinedly powerful member of the upper class and the other of whom had major class aspirations. In Chapter 5 on slavery, race, and class, we explore the interrelationships among those categories, especially during Reconstruction and the Fusionist period, paying particular attention to class position and relationships as tools used by the elite to maintain established racial mores, usages, and boundaries. From a much later period, as Chapter 9 on tourism explains briefly, many owners and users of the much-contested beach cottages on Core and Shackleford Banks had considerably higher class positions than did working class residents of Harkers Island or surrounding communities. And the class dynamics of sport hunting are impossible to ignore, as the National Register nomination for the Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge as well as our discussion in the chapter on economic activities make clear.

Thinking about class as a relevant category might aid development of interesting interpretive materials incorporating the Salter-Battle site or Cape Lookout Village, where tourism development plans emerged in the early twentieth century, where recreational use flourished, and where conflicts between homeowners and the National Park Service persisted into the present century.

Gender

The existing historical narrative about CALO is largely a narrative of men's lives: the houses

7 To make this observation is in no way to belittle or dismiss the actual existence of small pockets of racial harmony and cooperation, as chronicled, for example, in Cecelski's portrait of "The Last Daughter of Davis Ridge" in *A Historian's Coast*, 63–69. Noeleen McIlvenna's *A Very Mutinous People* presents a succinct but detailed and dramatic account of the Albemarle area in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, when refugees from the developing plantation system in Virginia and ideological and religious opponents of the Restoration in England established an insistently (and even militantly) egalitarian political and social system in the Albemarle/Dismal Swamp region.

they built, the organizations they worked for, the buildings they worked in, the dangers and rigors of the work they did. With few exceptions, existing studies and interpretive infrastructure neither take explicit note that they are describing a male-centered narrative nor pay any systematic attention to women—their status, their lives, or their work—except as they appear in conventionally supporting roles as wives, cooks, postmistresses, storekeepers, and the like. To urge the reexamination of the lives of women in our focal area, moreover, is not merely to "add women in." Recent analyses of women and their lives invariably conclude that their roles, social and political involvements, range of activity, and impact upon historical processes was far greater than established narratives have admitted. And perhaps more significantly, the study of women invariably calls us to understand better how ideas about gender have shaped the lives of *both* men and women. A serious and detailed reexamination of the lives of women in the CALO region, therefore, could be expected to open a new window on the entire way of thinking about how life has been structured on Core Banks.

There are a few images of women on wayside panels in Portsmouth, but not much more than that. Women who are referred to in existing studies are generally classed generically as "wives." The HSR on the Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling, for example, mentions two wives, about whom we learn only that Amy Clifton served as postmistress. The HSR on the Portsmouth Life-Saving Station mentions women hardly at all, in any role; the 1982 Portsmouth Village HRS (in many respects an excellent study) contains only two minor mentions of women.[8]

Portsmouth Village interpretive signs tell or show us that Jodie Bragg's wife, Annie, cooked for hunters, and that Annie Salter was postmistress and storekeeper, but nothing more about them. We learn that Jessie Lee Babb and Mildred Robertson played guitar; that Walker Styron met his wife, Sarah, on a boat ride from Portsmouth to Okracoke and they lived in Portsmouth for 23 years; that Cecil and Leona Gilgo built their house in 1936; that there were almost as many girls as boys in the

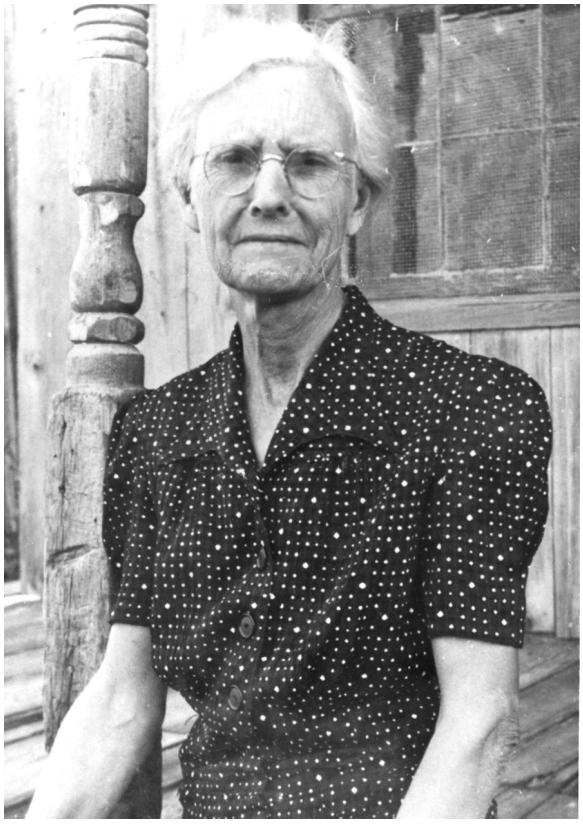


Figure 10-4. Portsmouth postmistress Annie Salter, ca. 1935. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

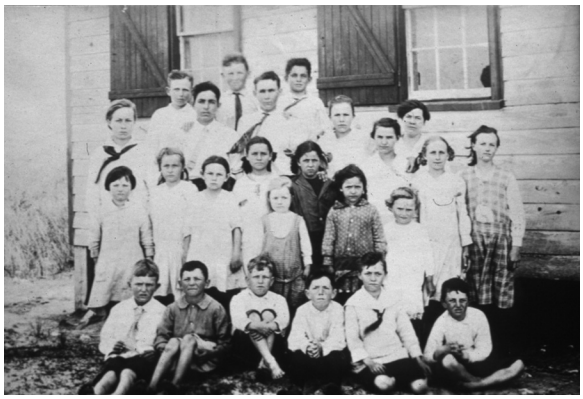


Figure 10-5. Children (thirteen boys and twelve girls) of Portsmouth School, 1916. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

Portsmouth school in 1916 and that Mary Snead was their teacher; that Patsy Dixon was also a storekeeper (Were all the storekeepers women, one wonders, and if so, what status or economic import attached to their position?); that Washington Roberts had a sister named Jonsie; that Ed Dixon lived with his sisters, Elma and Nora; and that Henry Pigott's sister Lizzie was the barber. Leah Pigott's and Rose Pickett's gravestones remain, but we know little or nothing about what their lives were like. A half-century into the current phase of

8 Jones, *Portsmouth Life-Saving Station*, 23,40, 174, mentions the Women's National Relief Association briefly twice and makes note of two wives who died, one of them that of substitute surfman George Dixon.

Figure 10-6. Sadie [? and Nora Dixon, ca. 1917. Cape Lookout National Seashore archive photo.

Figure 10-7. Gravestone of Rose Pickett (1836–1909) in Portsmouth cemetery. Photo by David E. Whisnant.

feminism, women's history, and women's studies, such an interpretive lapse should not continue.

Culture

A careful new look needs to be taken at the interpretive requirements and possibilities of culture on and proximate to the Outer Banks (*not* some kind of unique "Outer Banks culture," a phrase rooted in numerous problematic assumptions). Virtually the entire current literature on culture and cultural studies has rejected long-held essentializing notions of cultural isolation and uniqueness in favor of analyses that emphasize cultural borrowings and sharings, dynamic processes, cultural syncretism, and broadly contextualized change.

While current interpretive materials for CALO, to the park's credit, do not fall into the trap of projecting a singular, unique culture on Core Banks, there are opportunities to engage cultural topics more fully at several places. Portsmouth's eighteenth and nineteenth-century position as a key point in North Carolina's trading networks, for instance, undoubtedly brought many avenues of cross-cultural encounter and exchange as ships passed in and out through Ocracoke Inlet, and people and goods from around the Atlantic world intermingled. Cecelski's discussion of slave watermen repeatedly emphasizes the multicultural experience and perspectives of many of the black watermen. McGuinn's analysis of the inventory of goods owned by John Wallace uses possessions to assess Wallace's cultural position and social aspirations. And as Garrity-Blake demonstrates, changes in the occupational demographics of Core Banks spurred the development of discrete work-based subcultures and hierarchies within certain occupations. (Her analysis focuses on the cultures and subcultures around menhaden fishing, but similar conversations could be had about workers in lifesaving, other government employment, sport hunting, and other pursuits).[9] As recreational use flowered in the twentieth century, what cultural distinctions (e.g. regarding land use, conservation, or other matters) emerged, one might usefully ask, between those who made their living in and around Core Banks and those who used it as a playground?

9 McGuinn, "Shell Castle," Chapter 5; Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*; Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*.

The National Seashore Itself: Land Use, Conservation, and the Future

A final area of interpretive possibility for the park is to bring these perspectives on interconnection, race, class, gender, and culture and the region's history before the park into seamless conversation with the dialogues about land use and conservation that ultimately led to the creation of Cape Lookout National Seashore and that have shaped the park for the past forty years. Rather than approaching the history of the site as if it ceased when the National Seashore came into being, highlighting the connections between the pre-park past and the park-dominated present could help the public appreciate the park's current management challenges and understand continuities that shape the environment in which the park operates.

A first step would be to supplement the recently completed interpretive film with something far less romantic. The "unspoiled nature" interpretive theme that this film carries should be modulated by reference to the prior destruction and reclamation of the Banks.[10] As it is, the film does not prepare visitors for the human history in (or of) the park. It offers next to no historical context and hardly any information at all on the centuries of human habitation and enterprise on the islands. And it provides no framework within which visitors might be assisted to think about how the park came to be, paths not taken (e.g., to develop the area commercially), challenges that the Park Service faced in returning the land to a more "natural" state (e.g., picking up all the junk cars), and the multiple and not easily harmonizable agendas (e.g. between the NPS and former cottage owners, recreational and commercial fishermen, local citizens with a stake in the area's history, concessions operators, etc.) that must govern the preservation and use of the resource as it stands. It is, unfortunately, a romantic, visually seductive, "feel good" film that severs the park from its history and does not provide visitors with the necessary historical, social, political, or cultural frame to understand and appreciate the park or evaluate its probable future needs.

10 See for example Binkley's discussion of Frank Stick in *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*, 6–7, and Godfrey and Godfrey, *Barrier Island Ecology of Cape Lookout National Seashore*.

Research Needs

Topical Research

The new interpretive directions outlined above suggest additional research and/or studies on the following specific topics:

- *African American history on Core Banks and adjacent mainland areas*. This would include bringing together scattered details on black history from the earlier studies on Portsmouth, especially, and extending them into later periods and into other areas through both primary research and targeted use of recent secondary scholarly materials. Scholars David Cecelski and Barbara Garrity-Blake have done groundbreaking work in this area that suggests many other possibilities for documentation and analysis. Our Chapter 5 suggests many points of entry.
- *Women's history on Core Banks*. Similarly, developing the story of women on the Banks would involve bringing together scattered pieces (augmented by additional primary research) into a narrative about women's lives in, around, and on the Banks and broadening and extending that narrative with reference to the socially and culturally shaping influence of gender on both women and men. Within existing CALO studies, consideration of this area has been even more deficient than has been the limited attention to race.
- *Cape Lookout National Seashore administrative history*. A competent administrative history linking the NPS site's development to its pre-park history would be very helpful in developing interpretive materials pertaining directly to social, cultural, and environmental issues that have engaged park managers and citizens since the 1960s. Such a history ought in particular to explore in detail the complex relationship that CALO has had to its surrounding communities.
- *Class as a constitutive factor in the history of the Outer Banks*. Dominant popular narratives and discourses (elements of which are by no means absent in existing CALO interpretive materials) for the most part fail to engage the whole matter of class, even when class differences inhere in the materials under discussion (e.g., slavery, sport hunting, tourism, the fishing

industry, trade and shipping) and are engaged seriously by recent historical studies.

Updating Existing Documents and Completing Draft or Partial Studies

Two existing studies need to be updated and/or completed:

(1) Tommy Jones, Historic Resource Study of Washington Roberts House: partial draft completed 2003.
(2) Barbara Garrity-Blake and James Sabella, *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study of Cape Lookout National Seashore Including a Case Study of Harkers Island: Draft report of Phase I (Harkers Island)* completed December 2007. If the other projected portion (Wades Shore/West Shackleford Banks) has been completed, it has not come to our attention.

Updating or Adding National Register Nominations

While we do not anticipate major new National Register work lying ahead, we do have some modest recommendations:

(1) Setzer-Dawsey House: On May 1, 2007, Tommy Jones reported in a memo that "On 25 April 2007, Mike McGee, CALO chief of maintenance, escorted me to Cape Lookout village to re-evaluate the architectural integrity of the Setzer-Dawsey House. When the Cape Lookout Village historic district was listed in the National Register in 2000, the house and two adjacent outbuildings were judged non-contributing. At the request of the NC SHPO the house was re-evaluated as were the two adjacent outbuildings. Based upon this evaluation, the house and one of the outbuildings should be considered contributing buildings in the district." Jones's fairly detailed memo, illustrated with eight photographs, provides an excellent beginning for an amendment to the Cape Lookout Village Historic District National Register nomination.
(2) Cape Lookout Light Station: This National Register nomination was prepared in 1972. Its four pages were intended to cover the lighthouse, the keeper's dwelling, the generator house, the coal and woodshed, and the oil house. Areas of significance indicated omit architecture and engineering. The technical description is very scant for the lighthouse and keeper's dwelling, consisting of two paragraphs for the former and one for the latter; no technical description at all is offered for any of the other structures. Comment on the site of the first lighthouse is conjectural only. Since Jones's HSR on the Keeper's Dwelling (2003) and Opperman's on the lighthouse (2008) are now available, a much more thorough National Register nomination could be prepared. Slightly more detailed information on these structures is available in the Cape Lookout Village Historic District nomination.
(3) Portsmouth Village: As this is arguably the most significant historic site within CALO's boundaries, we concur with the recommendations in the recent *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* that the Portsmouth Village National Register nomination be updated to expand and define the period of significance to encompass 1753–1971; to elaborate significance under Criteria A, C, and D in the additional areas of community and maritime history, vernacular architecture, and archaeological potential; and to expand the boundary to include the Middle Community and Sheep Island, possibly based on archaeological investigations.

    Additionally, we suggest that the park consult with Philip Horne McGuinn at East Carolina University to determine whether the archaeological findings he uncovered at Shell Castle might merit expansion of the Portsmouth Historic District's boundaries to include the remains of Shell Castle as well. Despite the fact that Shell Castle is outside the park boundaries, its importance to understanding the history of Portsmouth cannot be overstated. Even if the site does not merit National Historic Landmark status, it might qualify to be raised to national rather than statewide significance, possibly making the structures eligible for grant support to aid in stabilization and preservation.
(4) Cape Lookout Village: We concur with the recommendations in the *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report* (2005), 4-1 through 4-8, that the Cape Lookout Village

National Register nomination could use revision to include other themes of significance (e.g., military history for the World War II period) and to extend the historical period of significance (4-2 through 4-5).[11] The CLR urged consideration of 1812 as a beginning date for the period of significance, rather than 1857 (4-6). The CLR also urged archeological investigation (4-5), which seems justified. All of these recommendations are congruent with our treatment of the Outer Banks as a complex and dynamic region interacting from at least the late seventeenth century onward with an Atlantic world, rather than as an isolated set of "barrier islands."

We do not agree with the CLR's observation, however, that "recreational activities" should not be included as "a significant theme in the history of Cape Lookout Village" (4-6) because year-round residence was not normal since World War II and recreational activity was "less connected to the aspecific geographic features that made Cape Lookout an important locus for maritime safety and commercial fishing." We think this final assertion, in particular, warrants more careful analysis.

Additional Studies Needed

We concur with the recommendation in the *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* that HSRs be prepared for historic buildings in the village; that a systematic archeological investigation (to encompass McGuinn's findings at Shell Castle as well, if possible) be undertaken; and that oral history interviews be done with descendents and longtime residents of the area.

11 See also Cape Lookout Village National Register nomination, 4.

Bibliography

Books and Articles

Abramson, Rudy, and Jean Haskell, eds. *Encyclopedia of Appalachia*, 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006.

Alanen, Arnold R., and Robert Z. Melnick, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Alexander, John, and James Lazell. *Ribbon of Sand: The Amazing Convergence of the Ocean and the Outer Banks*. 2nd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Alford, Michael. *Traditional Work Boats of North Carolina*. Beaufort: North Carolina Maritime Museum, 1990.

Anderson, Eric. *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872–1901: The Black Second*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

Angley, Wilson, and David Stick. "Inlets." In Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 614–615.

Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company. *Hunting and Fishing in Eastern North Carolina*. Goldsboro: Atlantic and N.C. Railroad, 1905.

Ballance, Alton. *Ocracokers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Barfield, Rodney. *Seasoned By Salt: A Historical Album of the Outer Banks*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Barnes, Jay. *North Carolina's Hurricane History*. 3rd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Barrett, John. *The Civil War in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

Barrett, John. *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground, 1861–1865*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1980.

Barrow, Thomas. *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660–1775*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Bassett, John Spencer, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896. Electronic ed. Documenting the American South, Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002.

Beal, Candy, and Carmine Prioli. *Life at the Edge of the Sea*. Wilmington, NC: Coastal Carolina Press, 2002.

Becker, Jane. *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of An American Folk*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Belasco, Warren. *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979.

Billings, Dwight B., Mary Beth Pudup, and Altina Waller, "Taking Exception with Exceptionalism: The Emergence and Transformation of Historical Studies of Appalachia." In Pudup, Billings, and Waller, *Appalachia in the Making*, 1–24.

Bishir, Catherine. *The "Unpainted Aristocracy": The Beach Cottages of Old Nags Head*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1980.

Bishir, Catherine, and Michael Southern. *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Blunt, Joseph. *The Shipmaster's Assistant, and Commercial Digest*. New York: E. and G. W. Blunt, 1837.

Boyd, Stephen W., and Dallen J. Timothy. *Heritage Tourism*. New York: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Branch, Paul. "Fort Macon and the Spanish-American War. Part II: Peparing the Fort for War." *The Fort Macon Ramparts,* Spring 1999. http://www.clis.com/friends/SpanAmer-2.htm.

Brimley, H. H. "Whale Fishing in North Carolina." *Bulletin of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture* 14, no. 7 (1894): 4–8.

Brinkley, M. Kent. "The Hurricane History of Colonial Virginia to 1775." *The Electronic Journal of Disaster Science Issue 1*, 1999. https://facultystaff.richmond.edu/~wgreen/ejem0102.htm.

Brown, Aycock, and David Stick. *Aycock Brown's Outer Banks*. Norfolk: Donning, 1976.

Brown, Aycock, Walter V. Gresham, and David Stick. *The Ash Wednesday Storm: March 7, 1962*. Kill Devil Hills, NC: Gresham Publications, 1987.

Brown, Cecil Kenneth. *The State Highway System of North Carolina: Its Evolution and Present Status*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931.

Brown, Dona. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

Browning, Judkin. "Visions of Freedom and Civilization Opening Before Thee: African Americans Search for Autonomy during Military Occupation in North Carolina." In Escott, *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 69–100.

Burke, Kenneth E. *The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina, from Its Founding in 1753 to Its Evacuation in the Face of Federal Forces in 1861*. Rev. ed. Washington, DC: Insta-Print, Inc., 1976.

Burns, Walter. *Captain Otway Burns, Patriot, Privateer and Legislator*. New York, 1905.

Butchart, Ronald E. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862–1875*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Butler, Lindley S. *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Butler, Lindley S., and Alan D. Watson. *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Capps, Michael A., and Steven A. Davis. *Moores Creek National Battlefield: An Administrative History*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1999. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/mocr/index.htm.

Carr, Ethan. *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press in association with Library of American Landscape History, 2007.

Carraway, G. S. "Quaint Harkers Islanders Live Without Government." *New York Times*, June 1, 1924.

Cecelski, David S. *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Cecelski, David S. "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast." *North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (January 1993): 1–13.

Cecelski, David S. *A Historian's Coast: Adventures into the Tidewater Past*. Winston-Salem: J.F. Blair, 2000.

Cecelski, David S. *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Cecelski, David S, and Timothy B Tyson. *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Cheatham, James. *The Atlantic Turkey Shoot: U-Boats off the Outer Banks in World War II*. West Columbia, SC: Wentworth Printing Corp., 1990.

Cheney, John L. *North Carolina Government, 1585–1979: A Narrative and Statistical History*. Raleigh, NC: Department of the Secretary of State, 1981.

Clay, James W., et al. *Land of the South*. Birmingham AL: Oxmoor House, 1989.

Clifford, Mary Louise, and J. Candace Clifford. *Women Who Kept the Lights: An Illustrated History of Female Lighthouse Keepers*. Williamsburg, VA: Cypress Communications, 1993.

Cloud, Ellen F. *Federal Census of Portsmouth Island, North Carolina*. Ocracoke, NC: Live Oak Publications, [1995?].

Cloud, Ellen F. *Portsmouth: The Way It Was, vol. 3, Island History*. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2006.

Cobb, John. *Investigations Relative to the Shad Fisheries of North Carolina*. Raleigh: E.M. Uzzell & Co., 1906.

Combs, Edwin L. "Trading in Lubberland: Maritime Commerce in Colonial North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2003): 1–27.

Cordingly, David. "Anne Bonny." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison. London: Oxford University Press, 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/view/article/39085.

"Core Banks Cottages Rich in History, Tradition." *Coastwatch*, Winter 2003.

Crittenden, Charles. *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763–1789*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936.

De Boer, Tycho. *Nature, Business, and Community in North Carolina's Green Swamp*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008.

Delaney, Norman C. "The Outer Banks of North Carolina During the Revolutionary War." *North Carolina Historical Review* 36, no. 1 (January 1959): 1–16.

Dudley, Jack. *Carteret Waterfowl Heritage*. Burtonsville, MD: Decoy Magazine, 1993.

Dunbar, Gary S. *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.

Dunbar, Gary S. *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks: Technical Report No. 8, Part A*. Baton Rouge: Coastal Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, 1956.

Dunn, Durwood. *Cades Cove: The Life And Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818–1937*. 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988.

Earley, Lawrence. *Looking for Longleaf: The Fall and Rise of an American Forest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Eller, Ronald. *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880–1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982.

Escott, Paul D. *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850–1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Escott, Paul D., ed. *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Escott, Paul D. "Unwilling Hercules: North Carolina in the Confederacy." In Butler and Watson, *The North Carolina Experience*, 265–271.

Escott, Paul D., Flora J. Hatley, and Jeffrey Crow. *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*. rev. ed. Raleigh: Department of Cultural Resources, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2002.

Evans, Vera. "Ad Man, Con Man, Photographer, and Legend." In Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 200–205.

Eyck van Heslinga, E. S., Jaap de Moor, and David J. Starkey. *Pirates and Privateers: New Perspectives on the War on Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997.

Fenn, Elizabeth. "'A Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign': Slave Society and Jonkonnu." *North Carolina Historical Review* 65 (April 1988): 127–153.

Fenn, Elizabeth A., and Joe A Mobley. *The Way We Lived in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Gallman, Robert E., Karin Gleiter, and Lance Davis. *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 741–757.

Garrity-Blake, Barbara J. *The Fish Factory: Work and Meaning for Black and White Fishermen of the American Menhaden Industry*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.

Gatchell, Edwin A. *Western North Carolina: Its Resources, Climate, Scenery and Salubrity*. New York: A.L. Chatterton Pub. Co, 1885.

Giltner, Scott E. *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Godfrey, Paul, and Melinda Godfrey. *Barrier Island Ecology of Cape Lookout National Seashore and Vicinity, North Carolina*. NPS Scientific Monograph No. 9 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1976). http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/science/9/index.htm.

Goldenberg, Joseph. "Names and Numbers: Statistical Notes on Some Port Records of Colonial North Carolina." *American Neptune* 29, no. 3 (July 1969): 155–166.

Gragg, Rod. *Confederate Goliath: The Battle of Fort Fisher*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.

Grandy, Moses. *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave in the United States of America*. Electronic ed. Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1843. http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/grandy/menu.html.

Greene, Jack P., and Philip D. Morgan. *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Hall, Timothy D., and T. Breen. *Colonial America in an Atlantic World: A Story of Creative Interaction*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2004.

Hanchett, Thomas. "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (October 1988): 387–444.

Harkins, Anthony. *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Harris, William. *North Carolina and the Coming of the Civil War*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000.

Harrison, Molly Perkins. *It Happened on the Outer Banks*. Guilford, CT: TwoDot, 2005.

Hatfield, April. *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Hawks, Francis. *History of North Carolina: With Maps and Illustrations*. 3rd ed. Fayetteville, NC: E.J. Hale & Son, 1859.

Hazen, Kirk, Natalie Schilling-Estes, and Walt Wolfram. *Dialect Change and Maintenance on the Outer Banks*. Publication of the American Dialect Society no. 81. Tuscaloosa: Published for the Society by the University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Hendricks, Bonnie L. *International Encyclopedia of Horse Breeds*. Forward by Anthony A. Dent. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Herndon, G. Melvin. "The 1806 Survey of the North Carolina Coast, Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear." *North Carolina Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (1972): 242–253.

Hill, Michael R. *Guide to North Carolina Highway Historical Markers*. 10th ed. Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2007.

Howren, Robert. "The Speech of Ocracoke, North Carolina." *American Speech* 37, no. 3 (October 1962): 163–175.

Hsiung, David. *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.

Hughson, Shirley Carter. *Blackbeard and the Carolina Pirates: The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670–1740*. Preface by Donald Grady Shomette. Hampton VA: Port Hampton Press, 2000.

Hurteau, Fred. "Wild Horses of the Outer Banks." *Outerbanksguidebook.com*. 2003. http://www.outerbanksguidebook.com/horses.htm.

Inscoe, John C. *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Inscoe, John C. "Buffaloes." In Powell, *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, 154.

Iredell, James. *A Digested Manual of the Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina: From the year 1838 to the Year 1846*. Raleigh, NC: Weston R. Gales, 1847. http://www.archive.org/details/adigestedmanual00carogoog.

Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. 2nd ed. 1861; Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003. http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/jacobs/menu.html.

Johnson, Guion. *Ante-bellum North Carolina: A Social History*. Electronic ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/johnson/menu.html.

Jolley, Harley. *That Magnificent Army of Youth and Peace: The Civilian Conservation Corps in North Carolina, 1933–1942*. Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2007.

Kars, Marjolene. *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Keith, Alice. "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants, 1783–1800." *North Carolina Historical Review* 25 (1948): 194–205.

Keith, Alice Barnwell; William H. Masterson; and David T. Morgan, eds. *The John Gray Blount Papers*. 4 vols. Raleigh: State Deptartment of Archives and History, 1952–1982.

Kell, Jean Bruyere. *North Carolina's Coastal Carteret County During the Civil War*. N.p.: J.B. Kell, 1999.

King, Thomas F. *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*. 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008.

King, Thomas F. *Thinking About Cultural Resource Management: Essays from the Edge*. Walnut Creek CA: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Kirk, J. S., Walter A. Cutter, and Thomas W. Morse. *Emergency Relief in North Carolina: A Record of the Development and the Activities of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1932–1935*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, 1936.

Klausmann, Ulrike, Gabriel Kuhn, and Marion Meinzerin. *Women Pirates and thePpolitics of the Jolly Roger*. New York: Black Rose Books, 1997.

Larkins, John. *The Negro Population of North Carolina: Social and Economic*. Raleigh: North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1944. http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/larkins/menu.html.

Leffingwell, William. *The Happy Hunting Grounds, also Fishing, of the South: A Book Descriptive of the Best Resorts in the South*. Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1895.

Lefler, Hugh T. *North Carolina History Told By Contemporaries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Lefler, Hugh T., and Albert Ray Newsome. *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954; rev eds. 1963, 1973, 1979.

Lefler, Hugh T., and William S. Powell. *Colonial North Carolina: A History*. New York: Scribner, 1973.

Lemmon, Sarah. *Frustrated Patriots; North Carolina and the War of 1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Lemmon, Sarah. *North Carolina and the War of 1812* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1971).

Lemmon, Sarah. *North Carolina's Role in World War II*. Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1964.

Link, William. *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State*. Wheeling IL: Harlan Davidson, 2009.

Littleton, Tucker R. *Late Laurels for a Local Hero: The Ceremony for the Unveiling of the Otway Burns Statue, Swansboro, North Carolina, May 6, 1983: Souvenir Program*. Swansboro, NC: The Committee, 1983.

Littleton, Tucker R. "Pumping and Grinding." In Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 163-167. Reprinted from *The State*, October 1980.

Long, Tony. "Aug. 23, 1899: First Ship-to-Shore Signal to a U.S. Station." *Wired,* August 23, 2007. http://www.wired.com/science/discoveries/news/2007/08/dayintech_0823.

Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005.

MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Maiolo, John R. *Hard Times and a Nickel a Bucket: Struggle and Survival in North Carolina's Shrimp Industry*. Chapel Hill, NC: Chapel Hill Press, 2004.

Mallison, Fred M. *The Civil War on the Outer Banks: A History of the Late Rebellion Along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck, with Comments on Prewar Conditions and an Account of Postwar Recovery*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998.

Marks, Stuart. *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Marvel, William. *Burnside*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

McAllister, Ray. *Wrightsville Beach: The Luminous Island*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 2007.

McIlvenna, Noeleen. *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660–1713*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009

McNeil, W. K. *Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture*. 2nd ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Merrens, Harry. *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.

Merryman, J. H. *The United States Life-Saving Service—1880*. Silverthorne, CO: Vistabooks, 1997.

Meyers, Barton E. "A More Rigorous Style of Warfare: Wild's Raid, Guerilla Violence, and Negotiated Neutrality in Northeastern North Carolina." In Escott (ed.), *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 37–68.

Michigan Lighthouse Conservancy. "Lighthouses: A Brief Administrative History" *The United States Lighthouse Service*. 2010. http://www.michiganlights.com/lighthouseservice.htm.

Minchinton, Walter E. "The Seaborne Slave Trade of North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (1994): 1–61.

Mobley, Joe A. *Ship Ashore!: The U.S. Lifesavers of Coastal North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: State Division of Archives and History, 1994.

"Morgan v. Virginia." *Encyclopedia of Virginia*." Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2009. http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Morgan_v_Virginia_1946.

Mormino, Gary. *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.

Murphey, Archibald De Bow. *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*. Edited by William Henry Hoyt. Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell & Co. State Printers, 1914.

Noble, Dennis. *Lighthouses & Keepers: The U.S. Lighthouse Service and Its Legacy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1997.

Noble, Dennis. *Rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard: Great Acts of Heroism Since 1878*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005.

Noble, Dennis. *That Others Might Live: The U.S. Life-Saving Service, 1878–1915*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994.

Noblitt, Philip. *A Mansion in the Mountains: The Story of Moses and Bertha Cone and Their Blowing Rock Manor*. Boone, NC: Parkway Publishers, 1996.

North Carolina Division of Marine Fisheries. *Description of North Carolina's Coastal Fishery Resources, 1972–1991*. Morehead City, NC: Division of Marine Fisheries, 1993.

North Carolina Maritime History Council. *List of Ships Built in North Carolina from Colonial Times to circa 1900*. n.d. Excel spreadsheet available from "Maritime History Research Resources" at http://www.ncmaritimehistory.org/

Odum, Eugene Pleasants, and Herbert Brimley. *A North Carolina Naturalist, H. H. Brimley; Selections from His Writings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949.

Olds, Fred A. Cape Lookout Lonesome Place, vol 46, no. 26, *The Orphan's Friend*. Oxford, NC: The Grand Lodge of Masons of North Carolina.

Oliver, Duane. *Mountain Gables: A History of Haywood County Architecture*. Waynesville, NC: Oliver Scriptorium, 2001.

Order Book for the Carteret Regiment in the Military Campaign Against the Regulators, April 23, 1771–June 23, 1771. In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina [electronic resource]*. Vol. 8.

Outland, Robert B., III. "Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835–1860." *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 1 (1996): 27–56.

Paige, John C. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933–1942: An Administrative History*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/.

PalletMaster's Workshop. "History of U.S. Lightships." 2004. http://www.palletmastersworkshop.com/lightship.html.

Pareles, Jon. "Chanteys and Chants of the South." *New York Times*, November 29, 1990.

Patton, Robert H. *Patriot Pirates: The Privateer War for Freedom and Fortune in the American Revolution*. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 2008.

Paul, Grayden, and Mary C. Paul. "The Last Whale Killed Along These Shores." In Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 153–156.

Pepper, Terry. "Seeing the Light: Argand and Lewis Lamps." 2007. http://www.terrypepper.com/lights/closeups/illumination/argand/lewis-lamp.htm.

Pilkey, Orrin H., Jr. *From Currituck to Calabash: Living with North Carolina's Barrier Islands*. 2nd ed. Durham: Duke University Press, 1982.

Pilkey, Orrin H., Jr. *The North Carolina Shore and Its Barrier Islands: Restless Ribbons of Sand*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Pilkey, Orrin H., Jr., and Wallace Kaufman. *The Beaches Are Moving: The Drowning of America's Shoreline*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1983.

Pitkin, Mrs. James Sherman, and Mrs. Harry Van Nuys Wade. *Three Centuries of Custom Houses*. Washington, DC: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1972.

Platt, Virginia Bever. "Tar, Staves, and New England Rum: The Trade of Aaron Lopez of Newport, Rhode Island, with Colonial North Carolina." *North Carolina Historical Review* 48, no. 1 (1971): 1–22.

Powell, Anthony L. An Overview: Black Participants in the Spanish-American War. http://www.spanamwar.com/AfroAmericans.htm.

Powell, Katrina. *The Anguish of Displacement: The Politics of Literacy in the Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007.

Powell, William S. *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Powell, William S., ed. *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. 6 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Powell, William S., ed. *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Price, Jonathan. *A Description of Occacock [Ocracoke] Inlet: And of Its Coasts, Islands, Shoals, and Anchorages, with the Courses and Distances to and from the Most Remarkable Places, and Directions to Sail Over the Bar and Thro' the Channels*. Newbern [New Bern, NC]: Francois X. Martin, 1795.

Prioli, Carmine A., and Edwin Martin. *Hope for a Good Season: The C'ae Bankers of Harkers Island*. Asheboro, NC: Down Home Press, 1998.

Pudup, Mary Beth, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller. *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Randall, Duncan P. "Wilmington, North Carolina: The Historical Development of a Port City." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 58, no. 3 (September 1968): 441–451.

Ready, Milton. *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005.

Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Reid, Richard M. *Freedom for Themselves: North Carolina's Black Soldiers in the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

"Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, 26 Sept. 1878–25 Feb. 1950." In Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. http://docsouth.unc.edu/browse/bios/pn0000339_bio.html.

Robinson, Charles M. *Hurricane of Fire: The Union Assault on Fort Fisher*. Annapolis, MD: US Naval Institute, 1998.

Robinson, Jack. *Remembering a Local Legend: Captain Otway Burns and His Ship Snap Dragon*. Wilmington, NC: Lulu, 2006.

Ross, John R. "Conservation and Economy: The North Carolina Geological Survey 1891–1920." *Forest History* 16, no. 4 (January 1973): 21–27.

Rothman, Hal K. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

Ruffin, Edmund. *Agricultural, Geological, and Descriptive Sketches of Lower North Carolina, and the Similar Adjacent Lands*. Online ed.; Academic Affairs Library, UNC. Raleigh: Printed at the Institution for the Deaf & Dumb & Blind, 1861. http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/ruffin/ruffin.html.

Scott, Edward Van Zile. *The Unwept: Black American Soldiers and the Spanish-American War*. Montgomery, AL: Black Belt Press, 1996.

Shaffer, Marguerite S. *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880–1940*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.

Shanks, Ralph C., Wick York, and Lisa Woo Shanks. *The U.S. Life Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues, and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard*. Petaluma, CA: Costano Books, 1996.

Shapiro, Henry. *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1970–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Simpson, Bland. *The Inner Islands: A Carolinian's Sound Country Chronicle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Simpson, Marcus B., and Sallie W. Simpson. *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast*. Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1990.

Simpson, Thelma P., and David R. Taylor. *1850 Federal Census of Carteret County, North Carolina*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub. Co. 1972.

Smathers, George Henry. *The History of Land Titles in Western North Carolina*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

Smith, Hugh. *The Fishes of North Carolina*. 2 vols. Raleigh, NC: E.M. Uzzell, 1907.

Southern, Michael T., Jennifer F. Martin, and Catherine Bishir. *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Starnes, Richard D., ed. *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

Steelman, Joseph F. *North Carolina's Role in the Spanish-American War*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1975.

Stevenson, Charles H. *Shad Fisheries of the Atlantic Coast of the United States*. Washington, DC: US Commission of Fish and Fisheries, 1899.

Stewart, Peter C. "The Shingle and Lumber Industries in the Great Dismal." *Journal of Forest History* 25, no. 2 (1981): 98–107.

Stick, David. *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952.

Stick, David. *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584–1958*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

Stick, David, ed. *An Outer Banks Reader*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Taylor, Mark. "Sharpies, Shad Boats, and Spritsail Skiffs." In Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 168–174.

Throop, George Higby. *George Higby Throop, 1818–1896. Nag's Head: or, Two Months Among "The Bankers." A Story of Sea-shore Life and Manners.* Philadelphia, PA: A. Hart, Late Cary & Hart, 1850.

Turner, Walter R. *Paving Tobacco Toad: A Century of Progress by the North Carolina Department of Transportation*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2003.

USCG Lightship Sailors Association International. "Early U.S. Lightships." 2008. http://www.uscglightshipsailors.org/lightships/station_hist/lv_ships/EarlyL.htm.

Walker, David. *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829*. Boston, 1830. Electronic edition. http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/walker.html.

Waller, Altina. *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860–1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Walser, Richard. "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop (1818–1896)." *North Carolina Historical Review* 33, no. 1 (January 1956): 12–44.

Waters, Harold. *Smugglers of Spirits: Prohibition and the Coast Guard Patrol*. New York: Hastings House, 1971.

Watson, Alan D. "Pilots and Pilotage in North Carolina to the Civil War." *American Neptune* 55, no. 2 (1995): 142–157.

Watson, Alan D. *Wilmington: Port of North Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992.

Wharton, Don. "The Mighty Midgetts of Hatteras." In Stick, *An Outer Banks Reader*, 188–190.

Wheeler, John. *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*. Electronic edition. Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001.

Whisnant, Anne Mitchell. *Super-Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Whisnant, David. *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in An American Region*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Whisnant, David. *Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, Power, and Planning in Appalachia*. Rev. ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.

Whitburn, Joel. *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits*. 5th ed. New York: Billboard Books, 1992.

White, James E. "The Clubfoot Creek Canal." *Journal of the New Bern Historical Society* 19 (May 2006): 3–14.

Williams, John. *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003.

Williamson, Jerry. *Hillbillyland: What the Movies Did to the Mountains and What the Mountains Did to the Movies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Willis, Dot Salter, and Ben B. Salter. *Portsmouth Island: Short Stories, History*. Montville Publications, 2004.

Willis, James Newman. "The Ca'e Bankers and Their Brogue." 2002. http://www.downeasttour.com/diamond/hist-brogue.htm. Rpt. from *Our Shared Past* (Harkers Island, NC: Core Sound Waterfowl Museum, 1995).

Wirth, Conrad Louis. *Parks, Politics, and the People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Wolfram, Walt. *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of the Ocracoke Brogue*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wolfram, Walt, and Donna Christian. *Appalachian Speech*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1976.

Wolfram, Walt, and Donna Christian. *Variation and Change in Geographically Isolated Communities: Appalachian English and Ozark English*. Washington, DC: National Science Foundation, 1984.

Wright, David, and David Zoby. "Ignoring Jim Crow: The Turbulent Appointment of Richard Etheridge and the Pea Island Lifesavers." *The Journal of Negro History* 80, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 66–80.

York, Wick. "The Architecture of the U.S. Life-Saving Stations." *Log of Mystic Seaport* 34, no. 1 (1982): 3–20.

Government Documents, Studies, and Reports

Cultural Landscape Reports

John Milner Associates, Inc., and Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. *Cape Lookout Village Cultural Landscape Report, Cape Lookout National Seashore [Final Submission]*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2005.

Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. and John Milner Associates, Inc., *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report*, 2007. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Region Office, National Park Service. http://www.nps.gov/calo/parkmgmt/upload/CALO%20Portsmouth%20Village%20CLR.zip

Historic Resource Studies

Olson, Sarah. *Portsmouth Village Historic Resource Study*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1982.

Olszewski, George. *Historic Resource Study for History of Portsmouth Village*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1970.

Torres, Louis. *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historic Resource Study*. Manteo, NC: Cape Hatteras National Seashore, ca 1985.

Historic Structure Reports

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Coast Guard Station: Historic Structure Assessment Report, U.S. (Building Number 501 A)*. Harkers Island, NC, 1993.

Jones, Tommy. *Coast Guard Station Boat House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *Coca-Cola House, Cape Lookout Village: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *Ed Styron House, Portsmouth, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *Fishing Cottage #2, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004).

Jones, Tommy. *Gaskill-Guthrie House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *George Dixon House, Portsmouth, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *Guthrie-Ogilvie House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003.

Jones, Tommy. *Lewis Davis House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003.

Jones, Tommy. *Life-Saving Station Boat House, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003.

Jones, Tommy. *Life-Saving Station, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *Lighthouse Keeper's Dwelling, Cape Lookout: Historic Structure Report*, Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2004.

Jones, Tommy. *O'Boyle-Bryant House, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2003.

Jones, Tommy. *Portsmouth Lifesaving Station, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2006.

Jones, Tommy. *Washington Roberts House, Portsmouth: Historic Structure Report [Partial Draft]*, October 2003.

Oppermann, Joseph K. *Cape Lookout Lighthouse Historic Structure Report*. Atlanta, GA: Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Region, National Park Service, 2008.

National Register Nominations

Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station: National Register of Historic Places Nomination. September 3, 1988. http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/88003436.pdf.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. Cape Lookout Light Station: National Register Nomination. September 12, 1972. http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/72000097.pdf.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. Cape Lookout Village Historic District: National Register Nomination. March 23, 2000. http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/00000692.pdf.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. Portsmouth Village: National Register of Historic Places Nomination. November 29, 1978.

Keane, Beth. Salter Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge: National Register of Historic Places Registration. September 22, 2004.

Resource Management and Master Plans

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Master Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1971*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Resource Management Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1990*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Resource Management Plan for Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1997*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, 1983*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Holland, F. Ross. Preliminary Draft of Parts 1 through 6, Master Plan Report, Cape Lookout National Seashore. 1967.

National Park Service. *Final Environmental Impact Statement on General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan, Cape Lookout National Seashore*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 1982.

National Park Service. *General Development Plan Map, Proposed Cape Lookout National Seashore*. Washington, DC: National Park Service Office of Resource Planning, 1963.

Superintendents' Annual Reports

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1995*. December 15, 1995. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1997*. January 18, 1998. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1998*. December 22, 1998. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 1999*. January 21, 2000. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 2000*. December 26, 2000. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for 2001*. December 14, 2001. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Cape Lookout National Seashore Annual Superintendent's Report, 2004*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore.

Cape Lookout National Seashore. *Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2003*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 2003.

Theses and Dissertations

Jaffe, Hilda. "The Speech of the Central Coast of North Carolina: The Carteret County Version of the Banks 'Brogue.'" Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1965.

Keith, Alice Barnwell. "Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783–1812." Ph.D. diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1941.

Logan, Byron. "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1956.

McGuinn, Phillip Horne. "Shell Castle, A North Carolina Entrepot, 1789–1820: An Historical and Archaeological Investigation." M.A. thesis, East Carolina University, 2000.

Rutz-Robbins, Kristi A. "Colonial Commerce: Race, Class and Gender in a Local Economy, Albemarle, North Carolina, 1663–1729." Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2003.

Other

1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission. *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2006. http://www.history.ncdcr.gov/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm.

Binkley, Cameron. *Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Administrative History*. Atlanta, GA: Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 2007.

Cass, Lewis, John Bragg, Charles Goadsby Ferris, Bomford, Geo., Alexander J. Swift, and Department of War, et al. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Showing the Condition of That Department in 1835*. November 30, 1835. Washington, DC: Department of War.

Colonial and State Records of North Carolina. 26 vols. Chapel Hill: University Library, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2008. http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr.

Ehrenhard, John E. *Cape Lookout National Seashore: Assessment of Archeological and Historical Resources*. Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1976.

Faber, Sabrina, and Paul E. Fontenoy. A Guide to Naval and Maritime History Resources in the East Carolina Manuscript Collection. Greenville, NC: East Carolina Manuscript Collection, J.Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, 1996.

Garrity-Blake, Barbara J., and James Sabella. *Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment Study of Cape Lookout National Seashore Including a Case Study of Harkers Island: Draft Report of Phase I*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 2007.

Goode, George Brown. *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887.

Gray, Betty. *Washington / Beaufort County Cultural Heritage Tourism Initiative Final Report*. Washington, N.C.: Washington Tourism Development Authority, 2001.

Greer, Rob Leon. *The Menhaden Industry of the Atlantic Coast: Appendix III to the Report of the US Commissioner of Fisheries for 1914*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Fisheries, 1917.

Hill, Edward E., and Renee M. Jaussaud. Inventory of the Records of the National Park Service Record Group 79. 2007. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/RG79/NPSrg79_inventory.pdf.

Holland, F. Ross, Jr. *Survey History of Cape Lookout National Seashore*. Raleigh, NC: Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1968.

Hudgins, James E. *Tropical Cyclones Affecting North Carolina Since 1586: An Historical Perspective*. NOAA Technical Memorandum. Blacksburg, VA: National Weather Service, 2000. http://www.erh.noaa.gov/er/hq/ssd/erps/tm/tm92.pdf.

Impact Assessment, Inc. *Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages Adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage: Final Technical Report, Volume II*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2005. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/caha/caha_ethno_v2.pdf.

Jateff, Emily. *Archeological Reconnaissance Survey for Shore Whaling Camps Associated with Diamond City, Cape Lookout National Seashore: Final Report*. Harkers Island, NC: Cape Lookout National Seashore, 2007.

Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina 1879. Raleigh, NC: The Observer, State Printer and Binder, 1879.

McGehee, Lucius Polk, Harry W. Stubbs, Atwell Campbell McIntosh, and Harry Browne Skillman. *Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina, Prepared Under Public Laws 1917*. Raleigh, NC: Commercial Printing Co., State Printers, 1920.

National Park Service. *NPS Policy 28: Cultural Resource Management*. 1998. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/nps28/28contents.htm

National Park Service. *A Report on the Seashore Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1955.

North Carolina Secretary of State, *The Legislative Manual and Political Register of the State of North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: Josiah Turner, Jr., State Printer and Binder, 1874.

Peeling, Ruth. "Captain Otway Burns, Firebrand of 1812: Historical Drama in Three Acts." 1968. University of North Carolina Library.

"Portsmouth Island's History and Development." n.d . CALO archive.

Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly. Raleigh, NC: Howards & Broughton, 1899.

Rankin, W. S., ed. *Annual Report of the North Carolina State Board of Health*. Raleigh, NC, 1919. "Ribbon of Sand," Cape Lookout National Seashore Orientation Film. 2008.

Street, Michael W., Thomas R. Rickman, and Walter Godwin. *History and Status of North Carolina's Marine Fisheries*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Commercial and Sports Fisheries, 1971.

United States Census Office. *Population Schedules of the Census of the United States, 1870*. Washington DC: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1960–.

United States Fish Commission. *Report of the Commissioner [of Fish and Fisheries] for the Year Ending June 30, 1903, Part XXIX*. Washington, DC: US Commission of Fish and Fisheries, 1905.

Watters, Christina F. *"A Review of the Rangewide Regulations Pertaining to Diamondback Terrapins* (Malaclemys terrapin)." Stone Harbor, NJ: Wetlands Institute, 2004.

Repositories and Collections Consulted

Archival and print research methodology has changed greatly, and for the better, in recent years as the result of the digitization of vast troves of historical records: primary documents, photographs and maps, serials, newspapers, and published books. We have made extensive use of those resources, as well as of non-digitized materials. Repositories and databases consulted for this study have included:

African-American Newspapers: The Nineteenth Century [online digital resource]: Cultural life and history during the 1800s. First-hand reports of major events and issues.

America's Historical Newspapers [online digital resource]: Early American Newspaper Series, 1690-1900

America History and Life: Digitized index for North American history consisting of journal articles, books, book chapters, dissertations and book reviews. Full-text searchable.

Cape Lookout National Seashore Archives: Print and computerized records

Documenting the American South (http://docsouth.unc.edu/): Fully searchable internet access to texts, images, and audio files related to southern history, literature, and culture: books, diaries, posters, artifacts, letters, oral history interviews, and songs, including the 26-volume *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (1886-1907).

Havens and Bonner family papers, 1829-1890. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

H-Atlantic: International online discussion list for scholars who study British North America and the United States, Europe, West Africa, the Caribbean, and South America in a transatlantic context. Component unit of Humanities and Social Sciences Online (H-Net), housed at the Center for Humane Arts, Letters, and Social Sciences Online, Michigan State University.

JSTOR: Online digital full-text scholarly journals in a variety of fields

LexisNexis Congressional: [online digital resource] Index and abstracts for congressional committee documents, prints, reports and published hearings, legislative histories, bill texts

Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill:

Davis Library: Print, archival and microform resources

North Carolina Collection: Published, microform, and photographic materials on all aspects of North Carolina history including extensive newspaper clipping files.

Making of America (Cornell University Library): Digital library of primary sources in American social history from the antebellum period through reconstruction. Especially rich in nineteenth century periodicals.

National Park Service Denver Service Center (ETIC): Extensive digital collection of CALO maps, reports, planning documents, and drawings.

National Park Service Southeast Regional Office: Digitized photographic materials

New York Times Historical Newspaper [online resource]: Full-text and full-image articles covering the entire publishing history of the newspaper (1851-2001).

North Carolina Maps (http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps/): Comprehensive, online collection of more than 3,000 historic maps of the state from the North Carolina State Archives, the North Carolina Collection at UNC-Chapel Hill, and the Outer Banks History Center.

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office: Extensive holdings on all aspects of historic preservation, including National Register nominations

Outer Banks History Center, Manteo NC: Regional archives and research library administered by the North Carolina State Archives.

ProQuest: Full text online database of Ph.D. dissertations

Appendices

Appendix A: National Register Nominations

Note: All of the National Register documentation for CALO's National Register nominations (except Salter-Battle Hunting Lodge) is now available online, with PDFs of nomination documents, including photographs, at the National Register of Historic Places website (http://www.nps.gov/nr/).

Year Listed	Entity	Contributing Resources (in original nomination)	Period of Significance	Contexts of Significance	Level of Significance
1972	Cape Lookout Light Station	5	19th century (1857–1859; 1873)	Communications; transportation. Prototype of Outer Banks lighthouses. Part of system of Atlantic navigation aids.	State
1978	Portsmouth Village Historic District	48	1800–1900; 1900–	Commerce; social/humanitarian. "Only existing village on Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet"; Shell Castle; role as "major shipping and trading center"; sea-related commerce; "zenith" in 1850s; lifesaving.	State
1989	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Historic District	7	1900– (1916–1945)	Commerce; military; transportation. History of lifesaving; maritime heritage of NC; one of rescue stations in NC when built in 1917; marine search and rescue along deadly Cape Lookout shoals area in critical transit route; connection to families in region, as many had a relative work there.	State
2000	Cape Lookout Village Historic District	27 (10 previously listed in 1972 and 1989)	1857–ca.1950	Social history; maritime history; architecture. "Unique Outer Banks community"; "relatively intact" with history in navigation, lifesaving, fishing, and resort uses. Connection between architecture and natural environment. Home of "hardy Banker fishing families."	State (Criteria A, C)
2005	Salter-Battle Hunting & Fishing Lodge	4	1945–1957	Recreational hunting and fishing along Core Banks. Larger history of area as prime location for waterfowl hunting from 1870 to 1950s. Local peoples' role in supporting northern hunters.	State (Criteria A)

Appendix B: Calendar of Hurricanes

Note: For tracking maps of all Atlantic hurricanes since 1851, including Saffir-Simpson categories and individual storm details and tracking information, see Atlantic Tropical Storm Tracking by Year (http://weather.unisys.com/hurricane/atlantic/).

Date (year, month, day(s) [if known])	Name	CAT	Max. Wind	Main Impact Points	Property Damage (NC)	NC Deaths
1750 08	"Great Storm"			Cut several new inlets		
1761				New inlet near Bald Head Island		
1769				Devastated New Bern		
1803				New Bern area		
1804 09 07–08				NE course from GA to MD; unknown NC impact		
1806 09 06				Wrecked large number of ships at Okracoke Inlet		
1813 08 27–28				Hit Charleston; probably passed over inland NC		
1815 09 03–04				New Bern and Elizabeth City		
1820 09 10–11				Turned to sea near Cape Hatteras; gales, heavy rains		
1821 09 02–03				New Bern, Morehead City		
1825 06 03–04				New Bern, Okracoke	20 vessels ashore at Okracoke, coastal plantations inundated, crops and livestock lost	
1827 08 24–25					Broke Diamond Shoals lightship from anchors at Hatteras, driven aground at Portsmouth; widespread damage	
1830 08 15–17				Wilmington, New Bern	All vessels blown from moorings in New Bern; many damaged at Wilmington	
1837 08 18–20				Wilmington	Bridges washed out; high tides	
1837 10 09	"Racer's Storm"			Ocracoke, Core Banks, Bodie Island	Steamer *Home* sank (90 deaths), *Cumberland, Enterprise* lost	
1839				Washed away sheep and cattle, some houses, at Portsmouth (Olson 1982, 63)		

Date (year, month, day(s) [if known])	Name	CAT	Max. Wind	Main Impact Points	Property Damage (NC)	NC Deaths
1839 08 28–30				Cape Hatteras, Elizabeth City, Washington	Bridges	
1842 07 12–15				Severe damage from Portsmouth northward	Perhaps one of the most destructive ever; many ships believed lost; many drownings; houses wrecked/washed away; livestock	
1842 08 24				Okracoke, Hatteras	3 ships (*Kilgore, Pioneer, Congress*) lost	8
1846 09 07–08				Opened Hatteras (7th) and Oregon (8th) inlets	*Mary Anna* lost off Hatteras	
1853 09 07				Passed off Cape Hatteras	Unnamed brig lost on 7th	
1856 09 4–5				Wilmington, Wrightsville Beach, Wrightsville	Severely reduced width of Wrightsville Beach and swept off all oaks	
1857 09 9–12				Cape Hatteras, Wilmington, coast generally	Several ships lost; high tides at New Bern	
1861 11 01–?				Cape Hatteras	75-vessel Union fleet scattered, 2 ships lost	7
1874 09 28			75	Wilmington, Cape Hatteras	Houses, buildings in Wilmington; high water; Spanish ship *Arrina*	
1876 09 17			73	Wilmington, Cape Hatteras, Wrightsville	British ship *Excelsior;* New River military camp; unprecedented high water	
1877 10 3–4				Albemarle Sound	Swept away all bridges, wharves	
1878 09 12			75	Cape Lookout		
1878 10 23				Wilmington, Morehead City, Cape Lookout	Steamer *City of Houston* lost off Frying Pan Shoals; many others lost/damages	
1879 08 18		4	168	Morehead City, Beaufort, Diamond City	Atlantic and Ocean View hotels destroyed; all wharves washed away; heavy destruction at Diamond City	40+
1881 09 09			90+	Wrightsville, Wilmington	Buildings, trees; vessels driven ashore; most severe storm since 1822, 1838	
1882 09 21–23				Cape Lookout, Wilmington	Wilmington and Weldon Railroad damaged	
1883 09 11		3	100+	Wilmington, Hatteras	Vessels wrecked, driven ashore	53
1885 08 25			approx. 125	Wilmington, Morehead City, Hatteras		
1887 08 20			82	Hatteras, Pamlico Sound, Kitty Hawk	Vessels lost	

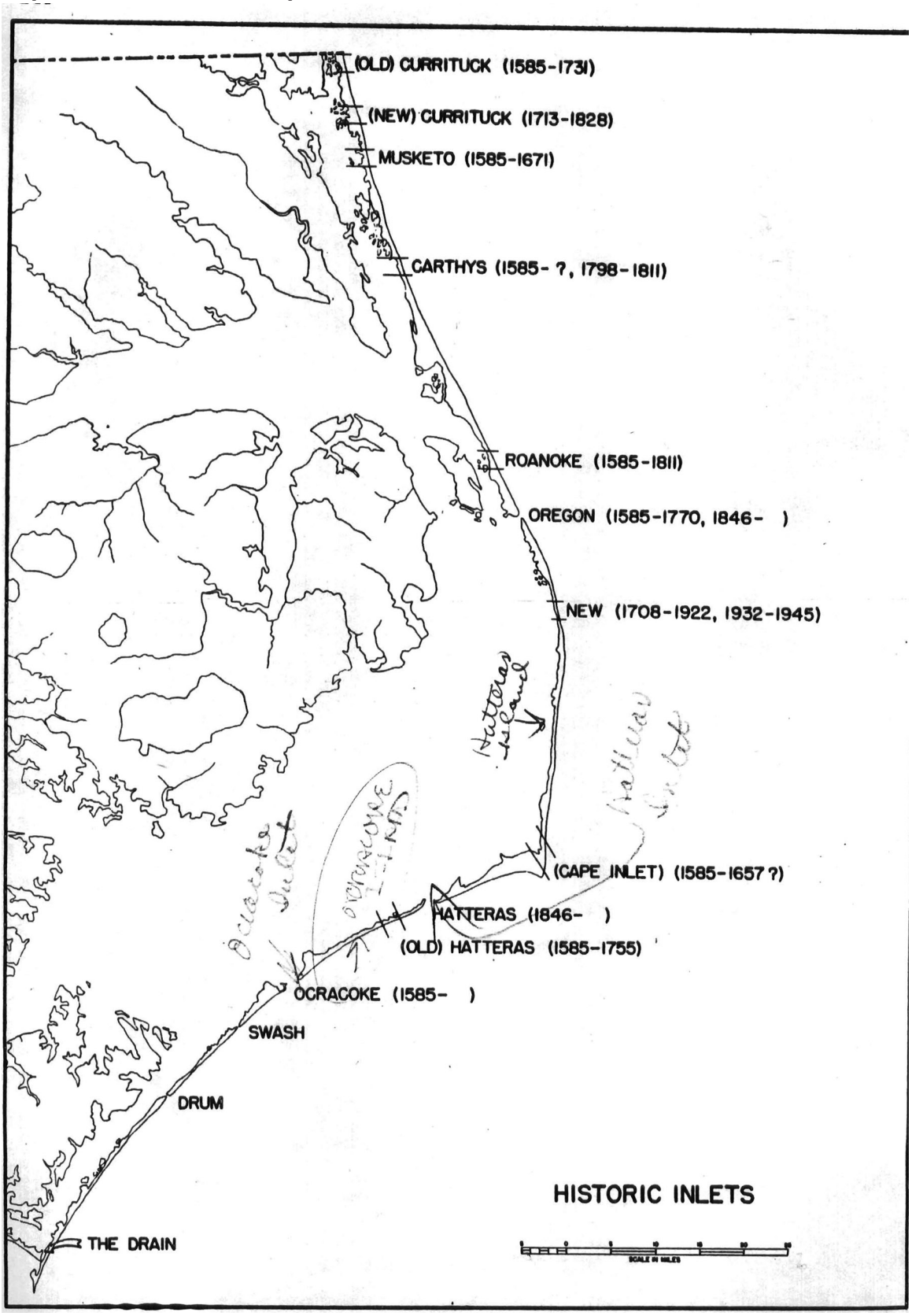
Date (year, month, day(s) [if known])	Name	CAT	Max. Wind	Main Impact Points	Property Damage (NC)	NC Deaths
1887 10 31			70	Kitty Hawk	Telegraph poles down	
1899 08 16	"San Ciriaco"	4	140	Diamond City	Wiped out Diamond City; Shackleford Banks residents left	20–25
1889 09 9–12				Nags Head		
1899 10 30–31			72	Wrightsville Beach, Wilmington, Kitty Hawk		1
1893 08 27–29	"Great"		72	Wilmington, Kitty Hawk	Several vessels lost at sea, some washed on shore at Wilmington	
1904 11 13		3	68	Hatteras	Destroyed Life-Saving station at New Inlet, drowning 4 men; several schooners wrecked	
1908 07 30		1	58	Beaufort, Morehead City, New Bern	Heavy flooding	
1913 09 02–03		1	74	Core Banks, Pamlico Sound, Portsmouth, Washington, New Bern	Railroad bridges at Washington, New Bern, Methodist and Primitive Baptist churches at Portsmouth; $3 million	5
1933 09 15–16		3	125	Beaufort, Pamlico Sound, Core Banks, New Bern, Portsmouth	$3 million; washed over Core Banks; opened Drum Inlet; almost all Cedar Island homes destroyed; flooded Portsmouth, destroyed houses	21
1936 09 18		2	80	Hatteras		
1944 08 01		1	80	Oak Island, Wilmington, Carolina Beach, Wrightsville Beach; Brunswick, New Hanover, Pender, Onslow counties	Major crop damage; $2 milliion	
1944 09 14	"Great Atlantic"	3	110	Portsmouth, Avon, Nags Head, Elizabeth City	Portsmouth devastated; most residents left; catastrophic flooding at Avon; two Coast Guard cutters capsized; $1.5 million	1
1953 08 13	Barbara	1	90	Morehead City, Okracoke, Nags Head	Crop damage; $1 million	1
1954 08 30	Carol	2	90+	Cape Hatteras	Crops; $250,000	
1954 10 15	Hazel	4	150	SC line to Cape Fear, Cape Lookout	Dunes, practically all buildings, trees; record rainfall; $100 million	19
1955 08 12	Connie	3	<80	Southport to Nags Head	Flooding	
1955 08 17	Diane	2	74	Wilmington	Beach erosion, flooding; farmlands	
1955 09 19	Ione	3	107	Salter Path	Unprecedented rain; major damage to dunes, Cape Lookout to Drum Inlet; Drum Inlet choked by sand; $88 million	7

Date (year, month, day(s) [if known])	Name	CAT	Max. Wind	Main Impact Points	Property Damage (NC)	NC Deaths
1958 09 27	Helene	3	85	Wilmington to Hatteras; Pamlico Sound	Beach erosion; crops; $11 million	
1960 09 11	Donna	3	100+	Wilmington to Nags Head	$25 million	8
1968 10 19–20	Gladys	1	90	Wilmington, Cape Lookout		
1971 09 30 to 10 01	Ginger	1	92	Pamlico Sound; Cape Hatteras	High water levels, rainfall; crops; $10 million	
1984	Diana	3	115	Counties south of Carteret	$85 million	3
1985 09 26–27	Gloria	3	100+	Wilmington, New Bern	$8 million	1
1989 09 21–22	Hugo	3	100	Brunswick County	Beach houses; beach erosion; dunes; costliest ever to hit U.S. mainland; $70 million	1
1991 08 18–19	Bob	3	98	Cape Hatteras	$4 million	1
1993 08 30–31	Emily	3	111	Pamlico Sound, Hatteras Island	Homes; $35 million	0
1996 07 12	Bertha	2	115	Wrightsville Beach, Topsail Island, Belhaven, Washington, New Bern	Storm surge; 5,000 homes damaged; $270 million	2
1996 09 05	Fran	3	120	Brunswick to Carteret counties; Wrightsville Beach, Emerald Isle, Topsail Beach	Storm surge; beach erosion; river flooding; $2 billion	21
1999 08	Dennis		110		$100 million	0
1999 09	Floyd	2	110		$6 billion	52

Source: Jay Barnes, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); James E. Hudgins, Tropical Cyclones Affecting North Carolina Since 1586: An Historical Perspective, NOAA Technical Memorandum (Bohemia, NY: National Weather Service, 2000), 8–59.

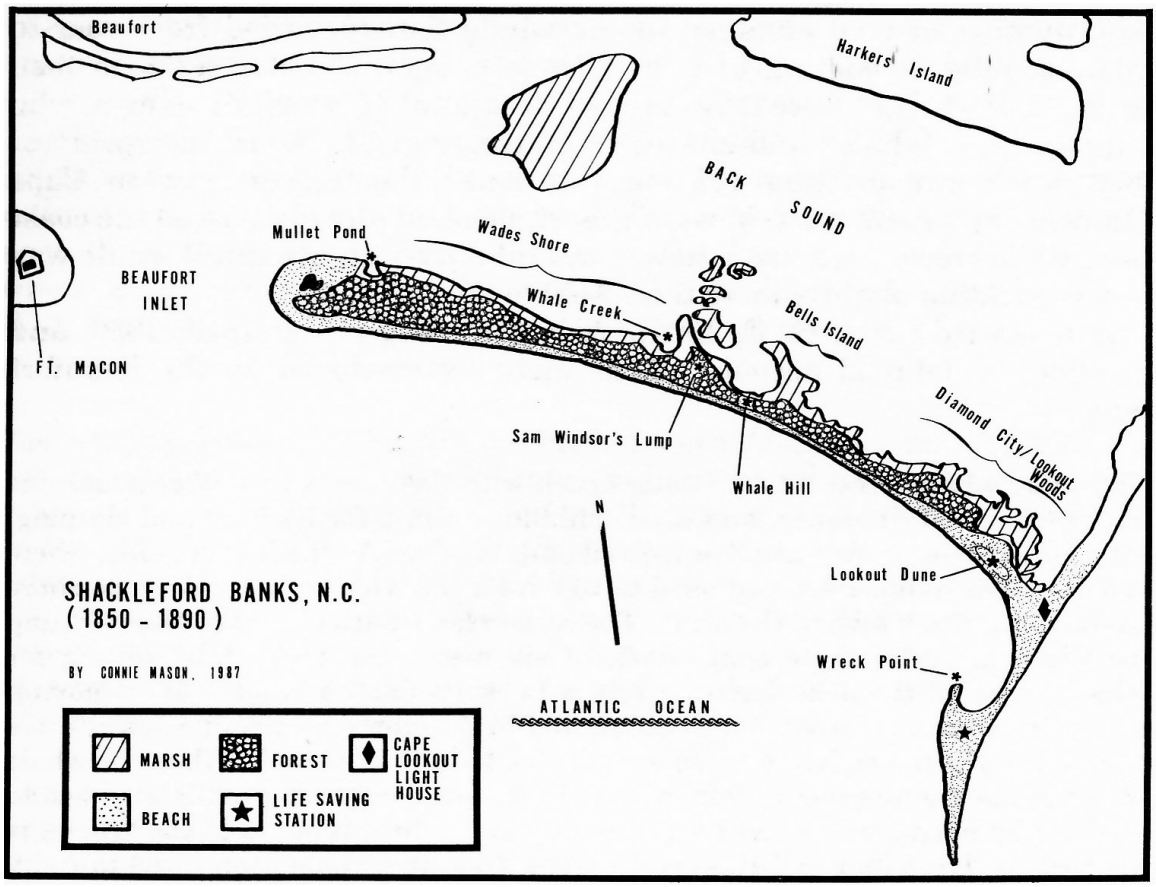
Appendix C: Maps

Map 1: Historic Inlets Map.



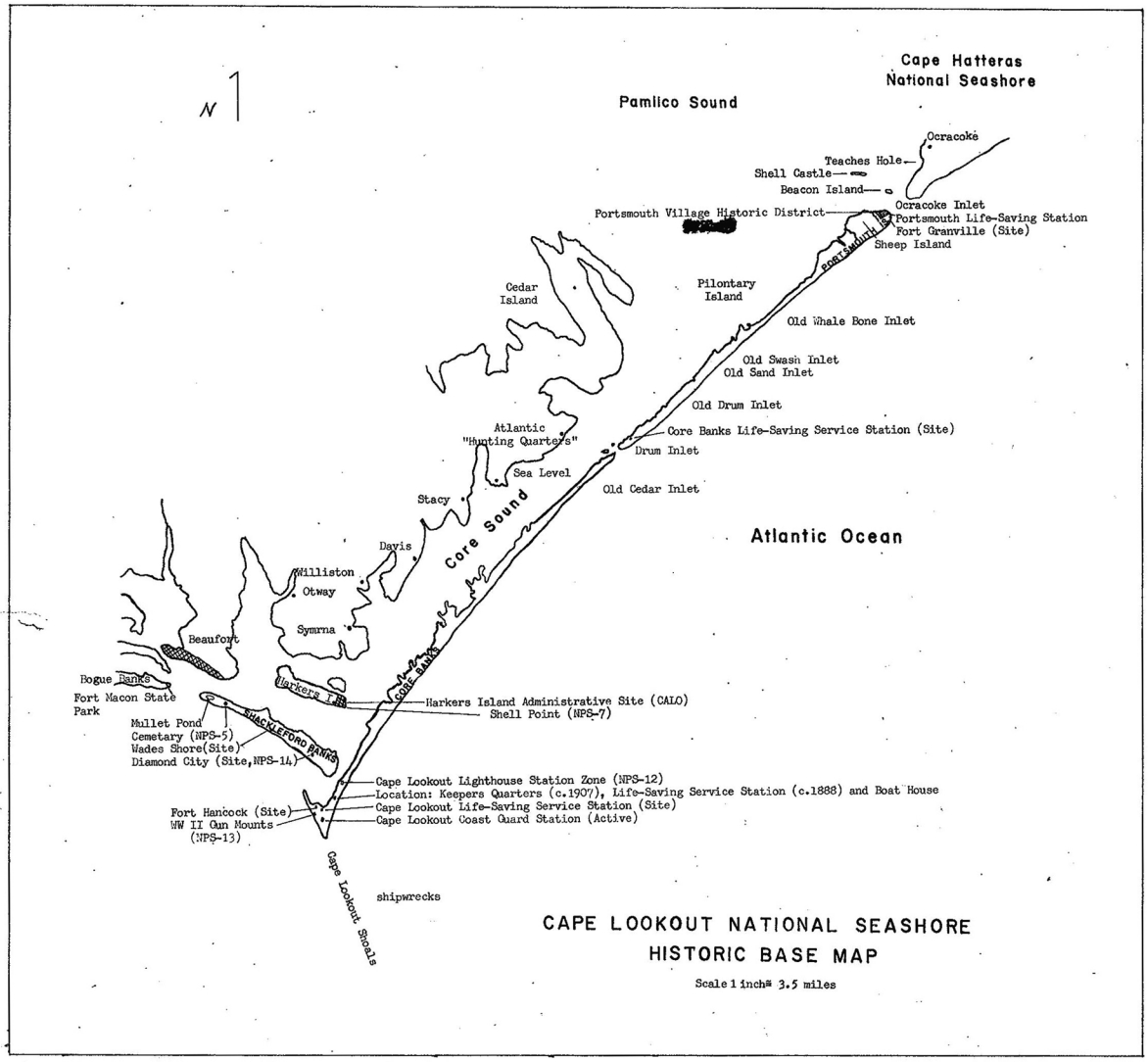
Source: Gary S. Dunbar, *Geographical History of the Carolina Banks: Technical Report No. 8 Part A* (Baton Rouge: Coastal Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, 1956), 218.

Map 2: Shackleford Banks, N.C. (1850-1890). Simpson and Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast.*



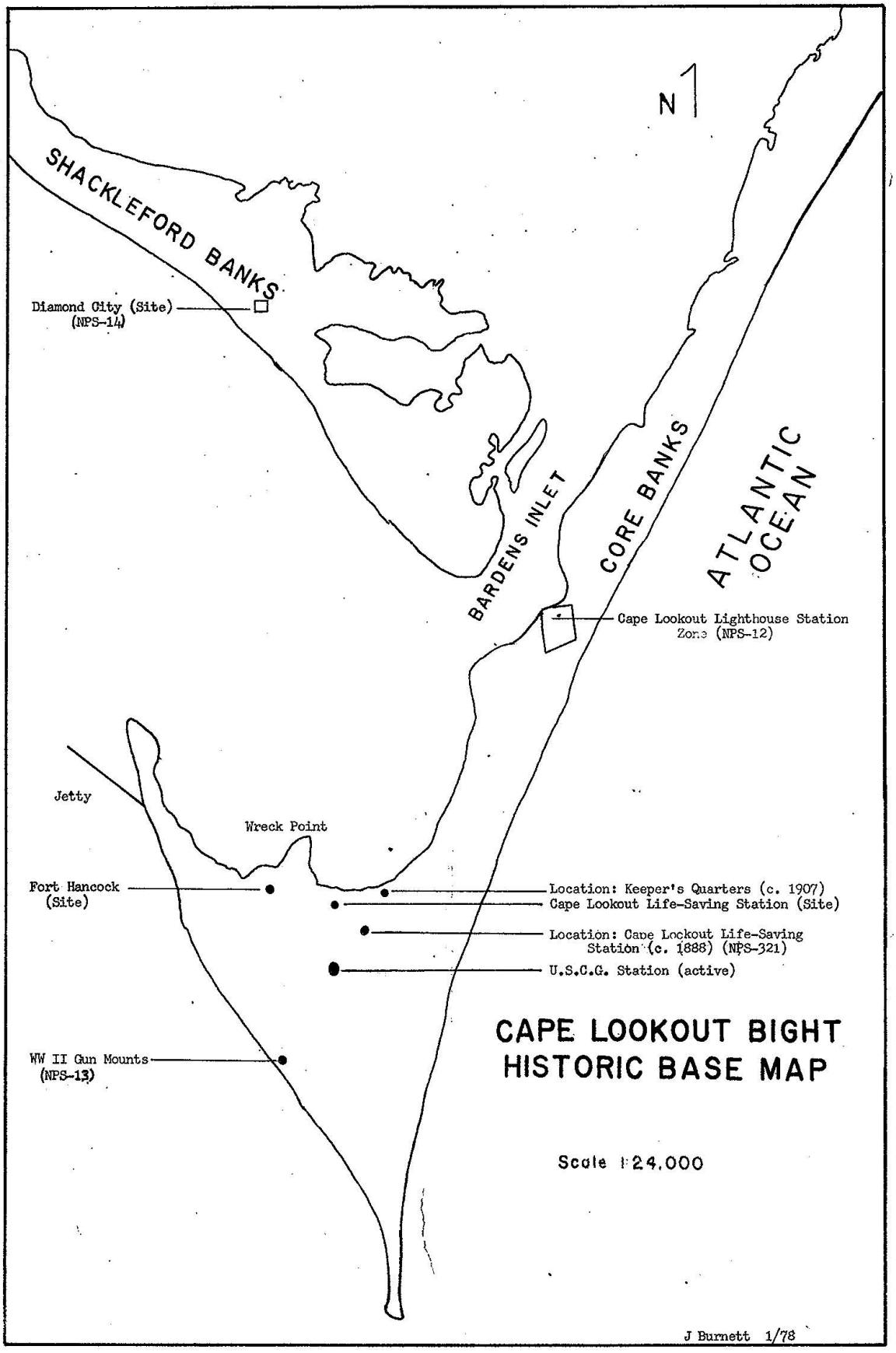
Source: Marcus B. Simpson and Sallie W. Simpson, *Whaling on the North Carolina Coast* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1990), 33.

Map 3: Cape Lookout National Seashore Historic Base Map.



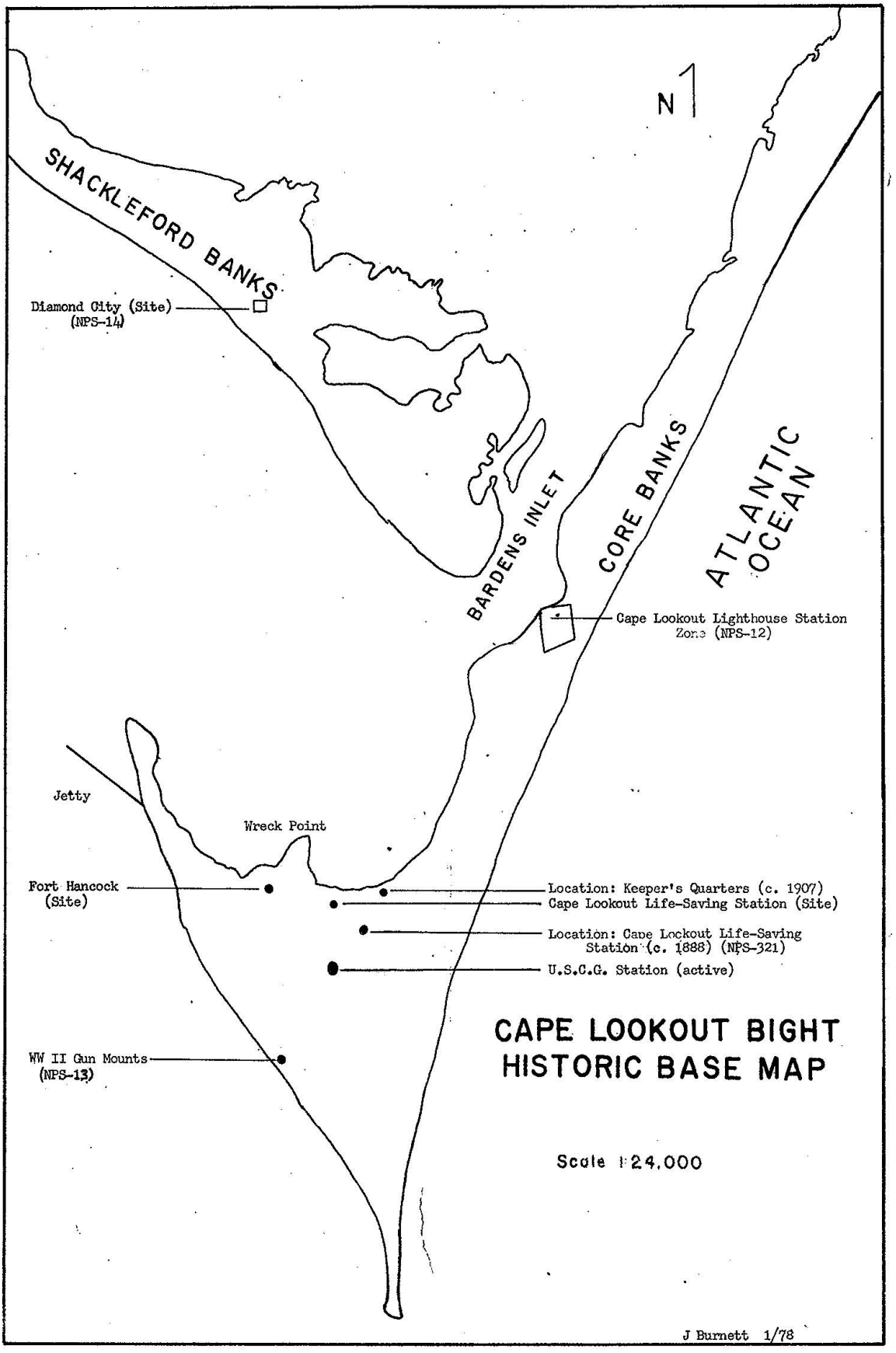
Source: National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Map 4: Cape Lookout Bight Historical Base Map.



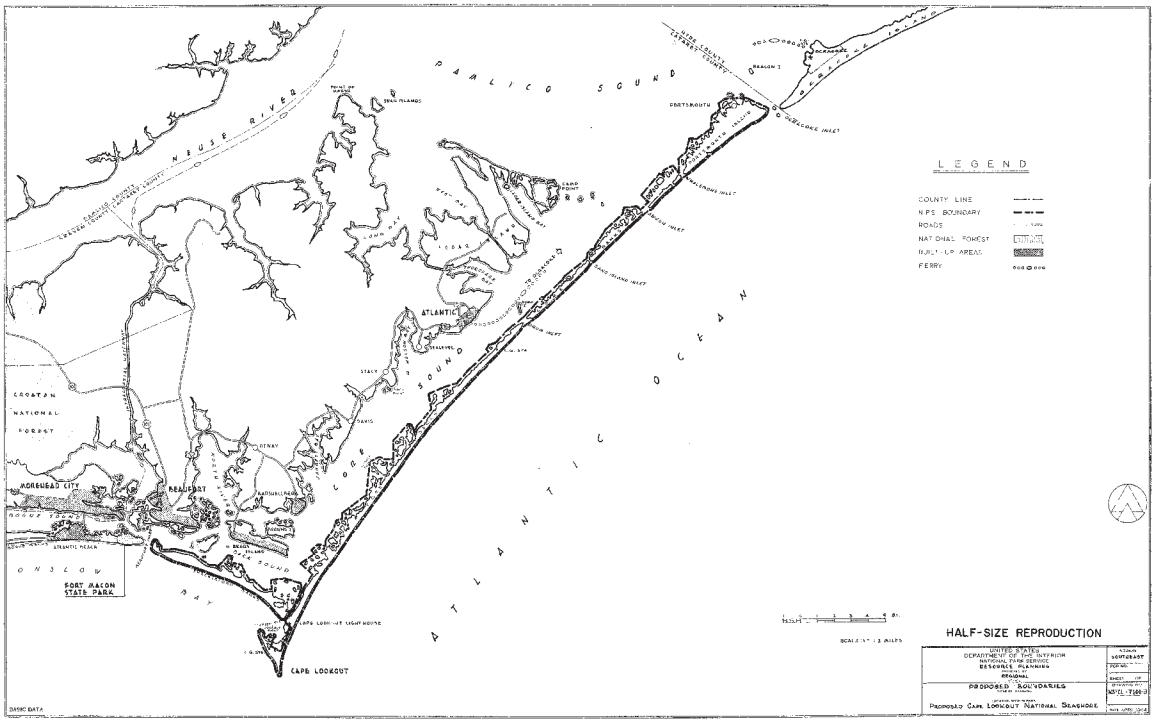
Source: National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Map 5: 1963 Development Plan Map with Causeway Bridge to Shackleford Banks.



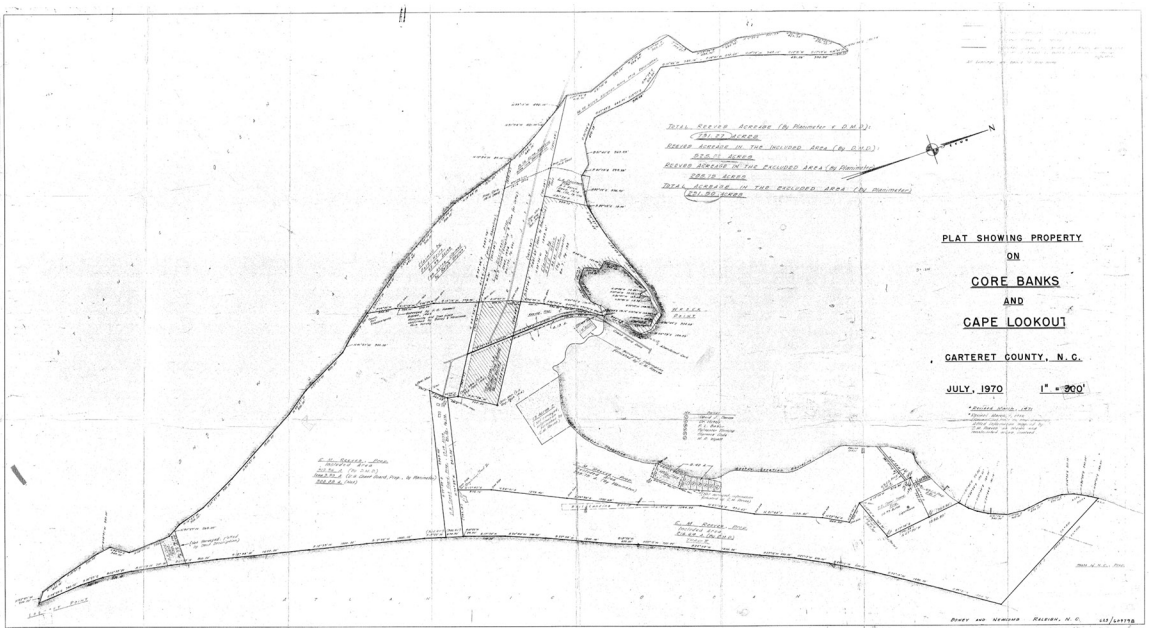
Source: General Development Plan: Cape Lookout and Shackleford Banks, 1963; National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Map 6: Proposed Boundary, Cape Lookout National Seashore, April 1964.



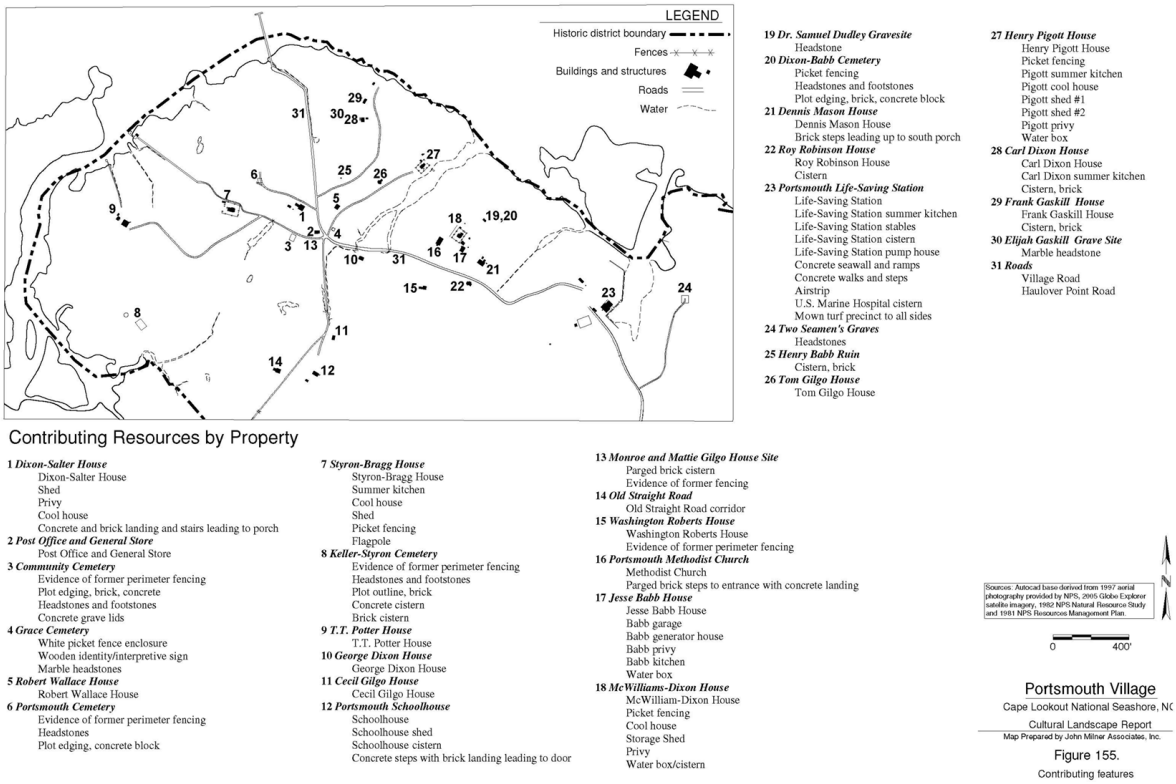
Source: National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Map 7: Plat of Property on Core Banks and Cape Lookout, 1970.



Source: National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Map 8: Contributing Features, Portsmouth Village.



Source: Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., and John Milner Associates, Inc. *Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report* (2007).

Appendix D: Coastal County and State Election Results

Elections of 1896-1908

Coastal County and State Election Totals, Elections of 1896-1908																		
County	1896						1900				1904				1908			
	Dem.	Rep.	Pop.	Total	Rep + Pop	R+P %	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Rep. %	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Rep. %	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Rep. %
Beaufort	2073	2165	513	4751	2678	56.4	2933	1525	4458	34.2	1943	770	2713	28.4	1914	1209	3123	38.7
Bertie	1372	2247	346	3965	2593	65.4	2675	996	3671	27.1	1327	148	1475	10.0	1328	274	1602	17.1
Brunswick	820	890	410	2120	1300	61.3	915	948	1863	50.9	631	415	1046	39.7	671	774	1445	53.6
Camden	511	584	45	1140	629	55.2	545	567	1112	51.0	412	36	448	8.0	405	141	546	25.8
Carteret	**1147**	**979**	**107**	**2233**	**1086**	**48.6**	**1363**	**957**	**2320**	**41.3**	**1020**	**608**	**1628**	**37.3**	**1173**	**998**	**2171**	**46.0**
Chowan	722	1184	92	1998	1276	63.9	1055	948	2003	47.3	625	95	720	13.2	658	176	834	21.1
Currituck	778	475	121	1374	596	43.4	1002	874	1876	46.6	548	26	574	4.5	734	49	783	6.3
Dare	408	463	1	872	464	53.2	524	406	930	43.7	429	351	780	45.0	43	354	397	89.2
Hyde	861	810	205	1876	1015	54.1	971	905	1876	48.2	686	228	914	24.9	701	177	878	20.2
New Hano	2218	3145	75	5438	3220	59.2	2963	3	2966	0.1	1284	56	1340	4.2	2110	283	2393	11.8
Onslow	1154	671	310	2135	981	45.9	1548	637	2185	29.2	908	439	1347	32.6	988	559	1547	36.1
Pamlico	503	649	343	1495	992	66.4	657	599	1256	47.7	612	397	1009	39.3	671	478	1149	41.6
Pasquotan	938	1510	123	2571	1633	63.5	1502	926	2428	38.1	1001	211	1212	17.4	1048	275	1323	20.8
Pender	1089	1159	186	2434	1345	55.3	1260	276	1536	18.0	972	124	1096	11.3	1019	294	1313	22.4
Perquiman	684	1006	127	1817	1133	62.4	959	732	1691	43.3	663	311	974	31.9	598	427	1025	41.7
Tyrrell	305	489	109	903	598	66.2	591	410	1001	41.0	392	274	666	41.1	357	345	702	49.1
Washingto	591	1270	159	2020	1429	70.7	976	571	1547	36.9	500	354	854	41.5	534	526	1060	49.6
Totals	**16174**	**19696**	**3272**	**39142**	**22968**	**58.7**	**22439**	**12280**	**34719**	**35.4**	**13953**	**4843**	**18796**	**25.8**	**14952**	**7339**	**22291**	**32.9**
NC Total	**145286**	**154025**	**30943**	**330254**	**184968**	**56.0**	**186650**	**126296**	**312946**	**40.4**	**128761**	**79505**	**208266**	**38.2**	**145102**	**107760**	**252862**	**42.6**
Dem. = Democrat; Rep. = Republican; Pop. = Populist; Rep.+Pop. And R+P = Fusionist																		
Source: John L. Cheney, *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979: A Narrative and Statistical History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 1981), pp. 1406-1407.																		

Appendix E: Historic Resources and Their Contexts: A Quick Reference Guide

Part I: Historic Resources, the National Register, and Other Relevant Studies

Structure Information, Current National Register Status, and Other Relevant Studies	Those with no structure # were enumerated in NR Noms but were not on Fall 2009 LCS.

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Cape Lookout Lighthouse	HS-100-A	18	Cape Lookout Light Station 1972; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1972	A & C	State	19th c.	Prototype of all lighthouses to be erected on the Outer Banks of North Carolina.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2008	CLV 3-45, 3-63, 3-64, 3-69
Cape Lookout Light Station Oil House	HS-100-B	91821	Cape Lookout Light Station 1972; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1972	A & C	State	19th c.	Prototype of all light stations to be erected on the Outer Banks of North Carolina.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-65
Cape Lookout Light Station Keeper's Quarters	HS-100-C	91766	Cape Lookout Light Station 1972; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1972	A & C	State	19th c.	Prototype of all light stations to be erected on the Outer Banks of North Carolina.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-66, 3-127, 5-29; Photo Pair 6 (2)
Cape Lookout Light Station Coal and Wood Shed (destroyed in a hurricane since listing)			Cape Lookout Light Station 1972	1972		State			CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-68
Cape Lookout Light Station Generator House			Cape Lookout Light Station 1972	1972		State			CLV CLR, 2005	
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station (aka Coast Guard Station)	HS-501-A	12512	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978		State	19th c.; 20th c.	Association with the U.S. Life-Saving Service on the Outer Banks and for its role in the history of Portsmouth Village.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 LSS HSR, 2003	PV Figs. 63, 76, 109 (well house), 108 (pump house), 157B, 158B, 160B, 161B, 162B
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station Kitchen (aka Sugar Shack?)	HS-501-B	91745	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978		State	19th c.; 20th c.	Association with the U.S. Life-Saving Service on the Outer Banks and for its role in the history of PV.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 LSS HSR, 2003	PV Figs. 63, 77

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station Stable	HS-501-C	12534	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978		State	19th c.; 20th c.	Association with the U.S. Life-Saving Service on the Outer Banks and for its role in the history of PV.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 LSS HSR, 2003	PV Fig. 78, 159B, 163B, 164B
Robinson, Roy, House (aka Lionel Gilgo House?)	HS-502	12513	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Fig. 79
Mason, Dennis, House (aka Dave Willis House?)	HS-503-A	12514	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 80, 124, 189B
Babb, Jesse, House (aka Marion Gray Babb House?)	HS-504-A	12515	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 62, 81, 101 (water box), 171B, 172B
Babb Kitchen (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-B	91752	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Babb Garage (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-C	91746	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Babb Generator House (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-D	91753	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Babb Privy (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-E	91754	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A &C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Fig. 125 (septic tank)
Babb Barn (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom; later destroyed in hurricane)	HS-504-F	91764	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Styron, Ed, House	HS-505	12516	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 HSR, 2002	PV Fig. 83
Dixon/Babb Cemetery Headstones (Batch)	HS-506	12517	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
McWilliams-Dixon House (aka Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-A	91779	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 72, 82, 118, 148
McWilliams-Dixon Cool House (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-B	91780	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
McWilliams-Dixon Shed (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-C	91781	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
McWilliams-Dixon Privy (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-D	91782	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Portsmouth Church	HS-508	12518	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 49, 84, 112, 165B, 166B, 167B, 196B
Washington Roberts House	HS-509	91783	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 HSR, 2003	PV Figs. 85, 177B
Dixon, George, House	HS-510-A	12519	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007 HSR, 2003	PV Figs. 86, 121, 186B
Pigott, Henry, House	HS-511-A	12520	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 88, 119, 126 (septic tank), 181B, 182B, 183B
Pigott Summer Kitchen (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-B	91747	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Pigott Cool House (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-C	91748	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Pigott Shed #2 (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-E	91750	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Pigott Privy (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-F	91751	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Gilgo, Tom, House	HS-512	12521	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 58, 89
Wallace, Robert, House	HS-513	12522	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 69, 90, 178B, 179B, 180B
Grace Cemetery Headstones	HS-514	12523	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Gilgo, Cecil, House (aka Ben Salter House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-515	91784	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Fig. 94
Schoolhouse	HS-516-A	12524	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 45, 95, 168B

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Schoolhouse Shed (included with Schoolhouse in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-516-B	91755	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Fig. 169B
Schoolhouse Cistern (included with Schoolhouse in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-516-C	91756	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 98, 170B
Community Cemetery Headstones	HS-517	12525	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 129, 130, 131, 199B, 200B
Post Office and General Store	HS-518	12526	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 60, 68, 71, 87, 187B, 188B
Dixon-Salter House (aka Theo Salter House/ Salter Gun Club in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-519-A	12527	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 59, 93, 190B, 191B
Dixon-Salter Cool House (not mentioned in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-B	91757	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Dixon-Salter Shed (included with Theo Salter House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-C	91758	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Dixon-Salter Privy (included with Theo Salter House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-D	91759	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Dixon, Carl, House	HS-521-A	12528	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Fig. 91, 127 (septic tank), 193B
Dixon, Carl, Summer Kitchen (included with Carl Dixon House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-521-B	91760	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV 192B [?]
Gaskill, Frank, House (1978 NR Nom also included several outbuildings not mentioned here)	HS-522-A	12529	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 92, 184B
Styron-Bragg House	HS-523-A	12530	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 31. 96, 115, 144, 173B, 174B, 175B, 176B
Styron-Bragg Shed (included with Styron House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-523-B	91761	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Styron-Bragg Cool House (was this the privy or the boat house from the 1978 NR Nom?)	HS-523-C	91762	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Potter, T. T., House (aka Armfield House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom; shed and boat house mentioned in 1978)	HS-524-A	12531	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of PV HD; however, property may be less than 50 years old. If historic structure does exist, it has been heavily altered and has no architectural integrity.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	PV Figs. 54, 61. 97, 123 (septic tank), 146, 185B
Roads in Portsmouth Village (Batch) (mentioned in 1978 NR Nom, but not included explicitly in list of resources)	HS-550-A	12532	Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.	Contrib. feature of the PV HD, only existing village on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.	PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
George Willis House (collapsed ruins only in 1978)			Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.		PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Portsmouth Boathouse (501D in NR Nom)			Portsmouth Village 1978	1978	A & C	State	19th c.; 20th c.		PV HRS, 1982 PV CLR, 2007	
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Equipment Building	HS-100-C	91771	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station	HS-200-A	91769	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-17, 3-23. 3-97, 3-100, 3-135, Photo Pairs 12 -16, 18-21 (2)
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Galley	HS-200-B	91770	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-98, 3-130, 3-137
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Cistern	HS-200-D	91772	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Generator Bldg. Ruin	HS-200-E	91773	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-101
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Storage Bldg. Ruin	HS-200-F	91774	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Cistern #2	HS-200-G	91775	Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station 1988; also ref in Cape Lookout Village 2000	1989	A	State	1916-1945	Prominent role in the maritime heritage of NC.	CLV CLR, 2005	
Lewis-Davis House, Cape Lookout Village (same as Carrie Arrendale Davis house, mentioned in CLV NR nomination?)	CLV-1	91828	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-95, 3-96
Guthrie Ogilvie House (aka Luther Guthrie House)	CLV-2	91829	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-90
Gaskill-Guthrie House	CLV-5	91832	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-93, 3-94
Fishing Cottage #2	CLV-6	91833	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	
Life Saving Station, Cape Lookout Village	CLV-8	91835	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-36
Cape Lookout Light Station Kitchen (1906)	HS-100-D	91767	Cape Lookout Village 2000 (listed as NC)	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Prototype of all light stations to be erected on the Outer Banks of North Carolina.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-67
Cape Lookout Light Station Cisterns (Batch)	HS-100-E	91768	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Prototype of all lighthouses to be erected on the Outer Banks of North Carolina.	CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-67
Coca-Cola House (aka Seifert-Davis House)	HS-3	91837	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. building in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-19, 3-77

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Relevant NR Nominations	Year Listed on NR	NR Criteria Identified	NR Signficance Level Identified	NR Period of Significance	Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)	Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures	Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers
Keeper's Dwelling (aka "Barden House" 1907)	HS-4	91838	Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950	Contrib. resource in the CLV HD.	CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-78, 3-79, 3-80
Baker-Holderness House (Casablanca) (ca. 1930)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-16, 3-59, 3-104
Baker-Holderness House (Casablanca) Outbuilding (ca. 1930)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-59, 3-105, 3-106
Cape Lookout Village Circulation Network (19th c to present)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	
Cape Lookout Village Landscape			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	
Carrie Arendell Davis House (ca. 1930) (same as Lewis-Davis House or not?; spelling of name is "Arrendale" in Jones HSR)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	
Former Coast Guard Dock (ca. 1950)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	
Gordon Willis House (ca. 1950)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-84
Jetty Worker's House No. 1 (ca. 1915)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-81
Jetty Worker's House No. 2 (ca. 1915)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005	CLV 3-82
Life Saving Station Boat House (David Yeomans House) (ca. 1887, moved 1958)			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005 HSR, 2003	CLV 3-90
O'Boyle-Bryant House (ca. 1928) (referred to in NR nom as "Bryant House")			Cape Lookout Village 2000	2000	A & C	State	1857-ca.1950		CLV CLR, 2005 HSR 2003	CLV 3-91, 3-92

Preferred **Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)**	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Relevant NR Nominations**	**Year Listed on NR**	**NR Criteria Identified**	**NR Signficance Level Identified**	**NR Period of Significance**	**Nat Register Contexts/ Significance Statement (Edited, from LCS)**	**Other Relevant Studies Providing Specific Detail on Structures**	**Recent Photographs in Cultural Landscape Reports: CLV (2005) and PV (2007) figure numbers**
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge			Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge 2004	2005	A	State	1945-1957			
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Cemetery			Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge 2004	2005	A	State	1945-1957			
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Cistern			Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge 2004	2005	A	State	1945-1957			
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Storage Shed			Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge 2004	2005	A	State	1945-1957			
House #3, Coast Guard Village	CGV-3	91830						Draft National Register nomination for Coast Guard Village currently being completed. Eligibility of individual structures is unknown until nomination completed.		

Part II: Historic Resources and HRS Contexts

Those with no structure # were enumerated in NR Noms but were not on Fall 2009 LCS.

Where Primarily Discussed in CALO HRS Contextual Chapters "D" Indicates Structure Specifically Discussed

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Cape Lookout Lighthouse	HS-100-A	18		D			D		D	D
Cape Lookout Light Station Oil House	HS-100-B	91821					D			
Cape Lookout Light Station Keeper's Quarters	HS-100-C	91766		D			D		D	D
Cape Lookout Light Station Coal and Wood Shed (destroyed in a hurricane since listing)										
Cape Lookout Light Station Generator House							D			
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station (aka Coast Guard Station)	HS-501-A	12512					D		D	D
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station Kitchen (aka Sugar Shack?)	HS-501-B	91745					D			
Portsmouth Life-Saving Station Stable	HS-501-C	12534		D			D			
Robinson, Roy, House (aka Lionel Gilgo House?)	HS-502	12513					D			
Mason, Dennis, House (aka Dave Willis House?)	HS-503-A	12514								
Babb, Jesse, House (aka Marion Gray Babb House?)	HS-504-A	12515		D		D	D			

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)	Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Babb Kitchen (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-B	91752		D		D	D			
Babb Garage (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-C	91746		D		D	D			
Babb Generator House (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-D	91753		D		D	D			
Babb Privy (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-504-E	91754		D		D	D			
Babb Barn (was included with Marion Gray Babb House in 1978 NR Nom; later destroyed in hurricane)	HS-504-F	91764		D						
Styron, Ed, House	HS-505	12516								D
Dixon/Babb Cemetery Headstones (Batch)	HS-506	12517					D			
McWilliams-Dixon House (aka Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-A	91779				D	D			
McWilliams-Dixon Cool House (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-B	91780				D	D			

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	LCS Structure Number	LCS ID	Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)	Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
McWilliams-Dixon Shed (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-C	91781				D	D			
McWilliams-Dixon Privy (included with Elma Dixon House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-507-D	91782				D	D			
Portsmouth Church	HS-508	12518		D		D				
Washington Roberts House	HS-509	91783	D			D				D
Dixon, George, House	HS-510-A	12519		D						
Pigott, Henry, House	HS-511-A	12520	D			D			D	D
Pigott Summer Kitchen (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-B	91747				D				D
Pigott Cool House (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-C	91748				D				D
Pigott Shed #2 (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-E	91750				D				D
Pigott Privy (included with Henry Pigott House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-511-F	91751				D				D
Gilgo, Tom, House	HS-512	12521								
Wallace, Robert, House	HS-513	12522								

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Grace Cemetery Headstones	HS-514	12523								
Gilgo, Cecil, House (aka Ben Salter House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-515	91784								
Schoolhouse	HS-516-A	12524				D				
Schoolhouse Shed (included with Schoolhouse in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-516-B	91755				D				
Schoolhouse Cistern (included with Schoolhouse in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-516-C	91756				D				
Community Cemetery Headstones	HS-517	12525								
Post Office and General Store	HS-518	12526	D							D
Dixon-Salter House (aka Theo Salter House/ Salter Gun Club in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-519-A	12527		D						D
Dixon-Salter Cool House (not mentioned in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-B	91757		D						D
Dixon-Salter Shed (included with Theo Salter House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-C	91758		D						D
Dixon-Salter Privy (included with Theo Salter House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-519-D	91759		D						D

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Dixon, Carl, House	HS-521-A	12528								
Dixon, Carl, Summer Kitchen (included with Carl Dixon House in 1978 NR Nom)	HS-521-B	91760								
Gaskill, Frank, House (1978 NR Nom also included several outbuildings not mentioned here)	HS-522-A	12529								
Styron-Bragg House	HS-523-A	12530			D					D
Styron-Bragg Shed (included with Styron House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom)	HS-523-B	91761			D					D
Styron-Bragg Cool House (was this the privy or the boat house from the 1978 NR Nom?)	HS-523-C	91762			D					D
Potter, T. T., House (aka Armfield House in 1978 Portsmouth NR Nom; shed and boat house mentioned in 1978)	HS-524-A	12531								
Roads in Portsmouth Village (Batch) (mentioned in 1978 NR Nom, but not included explicitly in list of resources)	HS-550-A	12532	D							

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
George Willis House (collapsed ruins only in 1978)										
Portsmouth Boathouse (501D in NR Nom)										
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Equipment Building	HS-100-C	91771					D			
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station	HS-200-A	91769					D	D	D	
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Galley	HS-200-B	91770					D			
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Cistern	HS-200-D	91772					D			
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Generator Bldg. Ruin	HS-200-E	91773					D			
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Sta. Storage Bldg. Ruin	HS-200-F	91774					D			
Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Cistern #2	HS-200-G	91775					D			
Lewis-Davis House, Cape Lookout Village (same as Carrie Arrendale Davis house, mentioned in CLV NR nomination?)	CLV-1	91828					D			D
Guthrie Ogilvie House (aka Luther Guthrie House)	CLV-2	91829								D

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Gaskill-Guthrie House	CLV-5	91832					D			D
Fishing Cottage #2	CLV-6	91833								D
Life Saving Station, Cape Lookout Village	CLV-8	91835					D			
Cape Lookout Light Station Kitchen (1906)	HS-100-D	91767					D			
Cape Lookout Light Station Cisterns (Batch)	HS-100-E	91768					D			
Coca-Cola House (aka Seifert-Davis House)	HS-3	91837						D		D
Keeper's Dwelling (aka "Barden House" 1907)	HS-4	91838					D		D	D
Baker-Holderness House (Casablanca) (ca. 1930)										D
Baker-Holderness House (Casablanca) Outbuilding (ca. 1930)										D
Cape Lookout Village Circulation Network (19th c to present)					D	D	D	D		D
Cape Lookout Village Landscape				D	D	D	D	D		D
Carrie Arendell Davis House (ca. 1930) (same as Lewis-Davis House or not?; spelling of name is "Arrendale" in Jones HSR)								D		D

Preferred Structure Name (from LCS or NR nomination)	**LCS Structure Number**	**LCS ID**	**Context: Atlantic World (Chap. 2)**	**Context: Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)**	Context: Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	Context: Slavery, Race, and Class (Chap. 5)	Context: Government Activity (Chap. 6)	Context: Wars (Chap. 7)	Context: Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	Context: Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)
Former Coast Guard Dock (ca. 1950)							D			
Gordon Willis House (ca. 1950)										
Jetty Worker's House No. 1 (ca. 1915)										D
Jetty Worker's House No. 2 (ca. 1915)										D
Life Saving Station Boat House (David Yeomans House) (ca. 1887, moved 1958)										
O'Boyle-Bryant House (ca. 1928) (referred to in NR nom as "Bryant House")										D
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge					D				D	D
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Cemetery					D					D
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Cistern					D					D
Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Storage Shed					D					D
House #3, Coast Guard Village	CGV-3	91830					D			

Part III: HRS Contexts and Major CALO-Related Locations of Activity

HRS Contexts (Chapters and Chapter Sections)	Major CALO-Related Locations of Activity
Atlantic World (Chap. 2)	Portsmouth and Ocracoke Inlet
Hurricanes and Changing Physical Environment (Chap. 3)	"Portsmouth Cape Lookout Cape Lookout Light Station Shackleford Banks General Outer Banks, Inlets, and Coastal North Carolina"
Maritime Economy (Chap. 4)	"Southern Outer Banks Core Sound Pamlico Sound"
Stock raising and agriculture	Portsmouth
Whaling	"Shackleford Banks (Diamond City) Cape Lookout "
Fishing	
Dolphin	"Portsmouth Cape Lookout Shackleford Banks"
Menhaden	"Portsmouth
Cape Lookout	
Harkers Island"	
Mullet	"Shackleford Banks Core Banks Portsmouth"
Shad	Outer Banks
Oysters	Outer Banks, Coastal North Carolina
Shellfish	Outer Banks
Loggerhead Turtles and Diamondback Terrapins	Outer Banks
Shipbuilding	Portsmouth
Work boat building	Shackleford Banks
Commercial hunting	Portsmouth
Extra-legal maritime activities	Portsmouth
Slavery, Race, and Class(Chap. 5)	"Portsmouth Shackleford Banks Outer Banks, Coastal North Carolina"
Government Activity (Chap. 6)	
Portsmouth Custom House, marine hospital, weather station	Portsmouth
Cape Lookout Light Station and Lighthouse Service	"Cape Lookout Cape Lookout Light Station"
U.S. Life-Saving Service	"Portsmouth Cape Lookout"
U.S. Coast Guard	"Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Cape Lookout
Portsmouth"	
Great Depression and New Deal	Coastal North Carolina
Wars (Chap. 7)	
Revolutionary War	"Portsmouth/Ocracoke Cape Lookout
Carteret County"	
War of 1812	Portsmouth/Ocracoke
Civil War	"Portsmouth/Ocracoke Outer Banks Coastal North Carolina"

Spanish-American War	Coastal North Carolina
World War I	"Carteret County Outer Banks"
World War II	"Cape Lookout Outer Banks"
Outer Banks Culture (Chap. 8)	"Cape Lookout/Harkers Island Portsmouth/Ocracoke Outer Banks"
Tourism and Coming of CALO (Chap. 9)	
Nags Head and Ocracoke Nodes (eighteenth and early nineteenth century)	"Portsmouth Northern Outer Banks"
Hunting clubs (late nineteenth century)	"Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge Portsmouth
Early twentieth century	
Cape Lookout village and Cape Lookout Development Company	"Cape Lookout Shackleford Banks"
Era of roads and bridges	Outer Banks
Post-World War II private tourism	Outer Banks
Public tourism development: Two National Seashores	CALO and CAHA

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

NPS CALO 623/128134

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Cape Lookout National Seashore
131 Charles Street
Harkers Island, North Carolina 28531

www.nps.gov/calo