

**Comprehensive Architectural Survey of Beaufort County
Phases II and III (Rural)
Final Report**



Bright House, Haw Branch community, southern Beaufort County
Pencil sketch by Catherine Bleeker Folger
Folger Collection, BHM Regional Library, Washington, N.C.

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Introduction and Methodology

This report presents an architectural history of rural Beaufort County, North Carolina, told primarily through examples of extant buildings and structures constructed between 1790 and the early 1960s. Local history enriches this discussion with context for the county's building patterns. This report represents the culmination of a comprehensive architectural survey of rural Beaufort County commissioned and administered by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) with funding from the Golden Leaf Foundation. The survey, conducted between December 2009 and May 2012, covered all rural areas within the county, excluding the municipalities of Washington, Washington Park, Bath, Pantego, Belhaven, Chocowinity, and Aurora. The purpose of the survey was to identify and record all properties fifty years old and older having historic and/or architectural merit, thereby increasing the knowledge, awareness, and understanding of the county's built heritage and facilitating preservation efforts at local, regional, and state levels.

The comprehensive architectural survey of Beaufort County took place in three phases. In 2009, consultants with Circa, Inc. of Raleigh completed a survey of the Beaufort County municipalities listed above (Phase I). In December 2009, Gray & Pape, Inc., a cultural resource consulting firm with a regional office in Richmond, Virginia, began rural survey work in the northern half of the county and continued with the project through the summer of 2010 (Phase II). In November 2010, Elizabeth King began the survey of rural southern Beaufort County, working out of the eastern office of the HPO in Greenville, North Carolina (Phase III). King was also charged with augmenting and editing Phase II and completing the rural report and other final products of the survey.

The methodology for the survey of rural Beaufort County followed the project outline set forth by the HPO in accordance with the HPO's architectural survey manual "Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources." The methodology was further defined by the physical nature of the county as assessed during a preliminary stage that involved mapping potential survey sites on United States Geological Survey (USGS) quadrangle maps. The Pamlico River neatly divides Beaufort County into two nearly-equal segments, greatly influencing the decision to survey the rural areas in two phases. In addition to domestic buildings, commercial, agricultural, fraternal, and recreational buildings and churches and schools were documented. Cemeteries were only documented if they demonstrated a clear relationship to a standing house or church or had outstanding historic and/or artistic merit.

Approximately 550 rural sites were documented during the course of the survey, including thirty-seven previously recorded sites that were updated.¹ Standard documentation included digital photography, mapping, oral history, floor plans, site plans, data entry, and written narratives. Online tax records were used to gather data for each property. Deed research was executed selectively for properties of outstanding interest. Historical research was performed to establish a context for architectural history and settlement patterns and is included in this report. All buildings that were not individually recorded but appeared to be fifty years of age or older were map coded according to building type on USGS quadrangle maps.

At the beginning of the survey, the Survey and National Register Branch of the HPO had files for approximately sixty-seven rural properties in Beaufort County. The

¹ Access to the Archbell House near Bath (BF 143) and the North Carolina Phosphate Corporation site near Aurora (BF 165), both owned by PotashCorp, was not granted and thus these files could not be updated.

majority of these files were completed during the 1975 Tar-Neuse Survey and the 1979 Mid-East Commission Survey, both reconnaissance-level surveys of properties of exceptional importance throughout the county. Other files came about as the result of Study List applications, National Register nominations, Department of Transportation projects, and field visits by HPO staff. Three rural Beaufort County sites have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places: Belfont Plantation House, Zion Episcopal Church, and Ware Creek School. Prior to the survey, three additional sites had been added to the North Carolina Study List: Meadowville Plantation House, Tripp School, and First Loving Union Baptist Church. The survey revealed that twenty-eight of the sixty-seven previously surveyed properties (approximately forty percent) were no longer extant or had been moved from their original sites.

Location, Geography, and Climate

Located in the mid-eastern coastal plain, Beaufort County is bounded by Martin and Washington Counties to the north, Hyde County to the east, Pamlico and Craven Counties to the south, and Pitt County to the west. The county seat of Washington is located about one hundred miles east of Raleigh. Beaufort County is located on a low-lying marine terrace known as the “flatwoods region” of the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The Pamlico River, a wide tidewater estuary stemming from the Tar River and emptying into the Pamlico Sound, divides the county into northern and southern segments. The Pungo River determines the county’s northeastern border and empties into the Pamlico. The majority of the Beaufort County landscape lies a few feet above sea level, although the western portion of the county contains rolling hills and relatively high bluffs above inland

tributaries. The level topography of the entire county prevents proper soil drainage, necessitating artificial drainage in the form of ditches and canals from the earliest European settlement to the present.² The Pamlico River and its numerous inland tributaries and the level topography of the land have had the greatest demonstrated influence over the settlement and development of Beaufort County from prehistory to the present day.

Indigenous Americans in Beaufort County: Prehistory to Early European Contact

Prehistory

Indigenous people began to settle lands now included in North Carolina over ten thousand years ago; however, the recorded history of Beaufort County begins in 1585 when an English expedition sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh navigated the Pamlico River. To understand the daily life of the first people to settle the Pamlico region, archaeologists have searched for a material record of the pre-European-contact world.

David S. Phelps, a preeminent archaeologist of North Carolina's northern coastal plain, theorized that during the Paleoindian period of Native American prehistory (prior to 8000 B.C.) the coast of North Carolina had not yet taken its present form. He estimated that during this period the eastern edge of North Carolina was located 250-300 miles from the Piedmont, and thus all Paleoindian coastal sites are now submerged in the Atlantic Ocean. Paleoindian sites that remain reflect human adaptation to what would have been the inner coastal plain despite their present location along the coast. Private collectors have found, on rare occasions, fluted points in Beaufort County, a spearhead

² W. B. Cobb, et al, *Soil Survey of Beaufort County, North Carolina* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919); Robert M. Kirby, *Soil Survey of Beaufort County, North Carolina* (Washington, D.C.: Natural Resources Conservation Service, 1995).

technology that emerged during the Paleoindian period. Phelps believed that the lack of Paleoindian sites identified in the Coastal Plain is indicative of the dearth of archaeological research in eastern North Carolina rather than of settlement patterns during this period.³

In contrast to the relative obscurity of Paleoindian people, a more substantial material record of Native American life during the Archaic period (8000 – 1000 B.C.) allows archaeologists to draw more conclusions about human existence during this time. Archaic sites “literally dot” the Coastal Plain of North Carolina, occurring across every microenvironment that can be linked to fresh water access. Archaic people lived a highly mobile nomadic lifestyle based on seasonal rounds that reflected the availability of fish, game, and gathered foodstuffs. These people lived in small bands of extended families or groups of families. Phelps estimated, based on surface excavation, that seasonal procurement sites outnumbered more established base camps by about ten to one.⁴

During the Archaic period, eastern North Carolina assumed a climate resembling contemporary conditions that introduced the physical features familiar today. Cool, wet conditions during the Paleoindian period resulted in a deciduous woodland cover that was gradually supplanted by pine forests and cypress swamps as the coast of North Carolina took its present form about five thousand years ago. Late Archaic people apparently benefited from these climatic changes as they began to establish more sedentary camps along the mouths of major rivers, relying on fish and shellfish as principal sources of

³ David Sutton Phelps, “Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and Hypotheses,” in *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium*, eds. Mark A. Mathis and Jeffrey J. Crow (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1983), 18, 22; H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *Time Before History: the Archaeology of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1999), 36.

⁴ Phelps, “Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain,” 22, 24-5; Ward and Davis, Jr., *Time Before History*, 2, 73.

nourishment. A more sedentary lifestyle based on a reliable source of food led not only to increased populations, but also to the emergence of horticulture and pottery and the manufacture of other tools in Beaufort County and the rest of the Coastal Plain.⁵

For native people living on the Atlantic coast, the Woodland period (1000 B.C. – A.D. 1600) reflected a gradual shift toward an agriculture-based society that resulted in larger, more permanent settlements having greater internal complexity. Native Americans began to grow corn and beans on the outskirts of villages strategically sited because of their proximity to prime farmland. Competition for ideal sites resulted in the construction of defensive structures around villages similar to the stockade illustrated by John White at first European contact.⁶ Most of the Native American sites in Beaufort County that have been identified by archaeologists and historians emerged during the Woodland period.

During the Late Woodland period (A.D. 800 – 1650), two distinct political entities emerged in the northern Coastal Plain. Algonquian-speaking people settled territory between the Tidewater and the barrier islands of the Outer Banks. To the west, Iroquois-speaking tribes of the Tuscarora confederacy occupied the Inner Coastal Plain from the Piedmont fall line to the Suffolk Scarp, an ancient beach line left when the Atlantic Ocean receded hundreds of thousands of years ago. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Suffolk Scarp acted as a geological boundary between the Algonquians and the Tuscarora at this time. By the late sixteenth century, Algonquian-speaking people were firmly established along the Pamlico River. Trawick Ward and Stephen Davis, Jr. write,

⁵ Phelps, “Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain,” 2; Ward and Davis, Jr., *Time Before History*, 36, 75.

⁶ Ward and Davis, Jr., *Time Before History*, 3-4.

At the time of earliest European contact, the Algonkians were organized into a number of ranked societies or chiefdoms, each with a hereditary ruler who lived in a capital village of his territory. It has been estimated that the average Algonkian town at the end of the sixteenth century contained between twelve and eighteen longhouses and held a population of roughly 120-200 individuals. These towns were situated along the major streams, sounds, and estuaries where a variety of subsistence tasks, including farming, hunting, gathering, fishing, and shellfish collecting, could be carried out.

Increasing reliance on agriculture throughout the Woodland period allowed steady growth in population that resulted in fewer, larger villages along with some ancillary settlements relating to specialized activities such as shellfishing.⁷

In 1585, a band of English explorers led by Richard Grenville, Ralph Lane, and John White identified two Algonquian-speaking tribes residing along the Pamlico River. The Secotan and Pamlico people had just concluded a period of bitter open warfare, indicative of their longstanding rivalry, prior to the arrival of the Grenville expedition. The watercolors John White rendered of the Secotan people, along with notes that Thomas Hariot published as *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, offer an unparalleled account of Late Woodland life in North America. The arrival of the Grenville party introduced a new era to the Algonquian people; documentation of the Secotan confederation moved the Pamlico River from prehistory into history.

Early European Contact

During the late sixteenth century, Elizabethan courtier Walter Raleigh became very interested in the coast of present-day North Carolina. In 1524, Florentine navigator Giovanni da Verazzano had serendipitously discovered the Outer Banks after being blown off his original course crossing the Atlantic Ocean to Florida. Verazzano's glowing report of the landscape and its inhabitants, combined with his impression that the

⁷ Phelps, "Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain," 39-40; Ward and Davis, Jr., *Time Before History*, 210-3.

coastal sounds offered an immediate link to the Pacific Ocean, captured the imagination of the English, who already had an interest in limiting the extent of Spanish settlement along the Atlantic coast. Raleigh secured a patent from Queen Elizabeth I to plant the first English colony in the New World. An expedition led by Philip Armadas and Arthur Barlowe arrived in the Outer Banks in 1584 and, like Verazzano, reported such idyllic conditions on the Carolina coast that Raleigh dispatched the Grenville expedition to explore the sounds and find a suitable location for establishing a settlement.⁸

Nearly every historian and archaeologist who has worked to translate John White and Thomas Hariot's 1585 survey of the Pamlico River to the modern landscape has drawn a separate set of conclusions regarding the identity and location of the native villages the Grenville expedition visited.⁹ The development of Pamlico River shoreline, from modern towns to vacation communities to the massive open-pit phosphate mines near Aurora, combined with insufficient archaeological research, suggests that the exact route of the Grenville expedition will never be clear. Nevertheless, when applied generally to the Pamlico landscape, the products of the Grenville expedition provide documentation of late sixteenth-century indigenous American culture unparalleled in North Carolina or in North America.

John White's excellent collection of watercolors includes two village scenes: the palisaded town of Pomeioc and the open village of Secotan. Pomeioc is believed to have

⁸ Alan D. Watson, *Bath: the First Town in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2005), 1-3; Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., *A History of Colonial Bath* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1955), 1-3.

⁹ See, for example, Paschal, *The History of Colonial Bath*, 1-3; William G. Haag, *The Archeology of Coastal North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1958), 47-60; C. Wingate Reed, *Beaufort County: Two Centuries of Its History* (C. Wingate Reed, 1962), 1-4; David Sutton Phelps, *Archaeological Study of the North Carolina Phosphate Corporation Property in Southern Beaufort County, North Carolina* (Greenville, N.C.: Archaeological Research Laboratory, East Carolina University, 1976); Ward and Davis, Jr., *Time Before History*, 213-6; Watson, *Bath*, 2-4.

been located near Lake Mattamuskeet in present-day Hyde County. White's representation of the town includes pole-constructed longhouses covered in bark sheathing. Long sleeping benches are visible through the open sides of the houses. In contrast to the open plan of Secotan, structures within the palisade at Pomeioc encircle a central fire. Secotan was probably located in what is now Beaufort County. Like Pomeioc, White's depiction of Secotan reveals clusters of longhouses, located within a clearing that includes three stages of corn growth, indicating a staggered crop. Again, a communal hearth is an integral part of the village plan. John White also illustrated the native population using a weir to catch fish, either on the Pamlico River or in the Sound.¹⁰

The next major account of indigenous people living along the Tar-Pamlico River came from John Lawson's 1701 exploration of the proprietary colony of Carolina. Sometime during the interstitial century, the Secotan people disappeared from the Pamlico region, and the Pamlico nation, depleted in 1696 by an epidemic, included only fifteen warriors within a village of perhaps seventy-five people. Several historians have suggested that this village, called "Island," was located on Indian Island above the modern community of South Creek in the Pamlico River. Thanks to the interest of John Lawson, several words from the Algonquian language as spoken by the Pamlico people have been preserved, the only Algonquian people of North Carolina for whom this is true. European contact with coastal North Carolina appears to have eradicated the Algonquian-speaking people of the Pamlico River. Rather than ensure English settlers open access to the region, however, the decline of the Algonquians enticed the powerful Tuscarora

¹⁰ Kim Sloan, *A New World: England's First View of America* (London: the British Museum Press, 2007), 108-15.

confederation to spread east from their principal villages in modern-day Greene County into new territory. Hostility between the Tuscarora and the English proved the single largest retardant to English settlement along the Pamlico Sound well into the eighteenth century.¹¹

The Pamlico Frontier: Early English Settlement

Following their foray along the Pamlico River, the Grenville expedition chose Roanoke Island as the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony; however, the infamous inability of these original English settlers to gain a foothold in the New World ensured that Jamestown, Virginia would become the first permanent English colony in North America by 1609. In 1629, Sir Robert Heath obtained a grant from King Charles I for a portion of the Atlantic coast he called Carolana. Heath ultimately failed to settle his grant in an organized way, but colonists from Virginia trickled south along the Albemarle Sound seeking furs and farmland, though few settled south of the Roanoke River. In 1663, King Charles II re-granted Heath's patent to the eight Lords Proprietors, English noblemen who organized the Albemarle region into Albemarle County. By the 1680s, prime land within Albemarle County became scarce, and enterprising colonists began to show an interest in land farther south. Seth Sothel, governor of Albemarle County, issued himself a land grant of twelve thousand acres on the banks of the Pamlico River in 1684, anticipating the interest of fur traders, land speculators, and pioneering farmers during the 1690s. The Lords Proprietors wished to encourage settlement between the more established Albemarle region and Charles Town, and so authorized Deputy

¹¹ Paschal, Jr., *A History of Colonial Bath*, 1-3; Watson, *Bath*, 5; John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 170; William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886-90), 4:299-300.

Governor John Archdale to charge a moderate price for land along the Pamlico in 1694, with a quitrent no less than a halfpenny per acre.

Population growth south of the Albemarle Sound warranted the creation of Bath County in 1696, named in honor of one of the Lords Proprietors, John Granville, Earl of Bath. In 1705, Bath County was divided into three precincts that roughly correspond to the modern county system: Pamptecough (Beaufort), Wickham (Hyde), and Archdale (Craven). The Pamptecough Precinct, containing portions of the present counties of Beaufort, Martin, Pitt, and Pamlico, was renamed Beaufort Precinct in 1712. The General Assembly of North Carolina eliminated the expansive Albemarle and Bath Counties in 1739, and about this time Beaufort Precinct became Beaufort County.

Settlement in Bath County naturally occurred along the shores of the Pamlico River, where population remains thickest to this day. Eighteenth-century plantations emerged on both sides of the river, primarily inland on tributary creeks or on promontories jutting into the Pamlico. In addition to English settlers, a group of French Huguenots arrived from the James River in Virginia in 1704. Some of these Frenchmen were instrumental in establishing Bath Town the following year; others removed to the Neuse River before the founding of New Bern. English colonists noted the industrious nature of the Huguenots and admired the linen cloth and thread they produced for trade in Bath County.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, North Carolina had yet to produce an urban center, as most English colonies had. The Lords Proprietors highly desired the establishment of towns within their domain, reasoning that towns would serve as centers for commerce and trade and for defense within a hostile frontier. In the mid-seventeenth

century, the Lords Proprietors introduced legislation encouraging urban settlement, but these directives failed to interest settlers in the Albemarle and Pamlico regions, who seemed to prefer the independence of self-sustaining plantations sited to take advantage of the numerous waterways that provided mobility and encouraged trade.¹²

Of the plantation settlements that must have dotted the Pamlico frontier at the turn of the eighteenth century, nothing now remains on the landscape. Nearly the entire first wave of English settlement on the Pamlico River was lost during the Tuscarora War (1711-1713), and surviving early buildings, primarily frame structures supported by upright earthfast posts, have been lost to time over the past three hundred years. Moreover, vast stretches of Bath County remained wilderness as the first settlers claimed the choicest land along the Pamlico River and its tributary creeks, often constructing English farmsteads on land first cleared and utilized by Pamlico or Secotan people. Isolated early plantations were largely self-sustaining, with a full complement of ancillary buildings including structures designed to shelter livestock and process crops such as tobacco, wheat, and corn. Domestic buildings would have included a main residence and possibly housing for slaves or indentured servants. Kitchens, smokehouses, dairies, privies, and fenced-in gardens aided in subsistence. Based on recorded land grants in the first Beaufort County deed book, 640 acres appears to be the average size of most plantations, at least initially. Ownership of large tracts of wooded land enabled settlers to produce naval stores and lumber products, industries that provided surplus commodities

¹² Paschal, Jr., *A History of Colonial Bath*, 3-5; Watson, *Bath*, 4-9.

dispersed by means of a growing trade economy centered at the confluence of Bath and Back creeks.¹³

In 1705, the General Assembly of North Carolina succeeded in establishing a town with the founding of Bath. Numerous plantations had been established on Bath (or Old Town) Creek by the early eighteenth century, and a center of trade had developed where settlers on both sides of the Pamlico River came to exchange crops, naval stores, and furs for finished goods from England or the northern colonies. At a time when money remained in short supply, the barter system replaced currency and was essential to the eighteenth-century economy. Surveyor John Lawson, who owned a plantation on Bath Creek, may have selected the site, advantageously located at the confluence of Bath and Back creeks, a little more than a mile north of the Pamlico River.¹⁴ Bath functioned as a spoke in the wheel of scattered plantations on both shores of the Pamlico. Wealthy citizens often had a house in town as well as one or more plantation residences in rural parts of the county.

Early in the history of Bath County, settlers became concerned about the lack of religious instruction in the region. In 1704, Queen Anne's "most distressed Subjects" petitioned the Lords Proprietors for a minister of the Church of England. Arguing that they had been willing to settle their families on the Pamlico frontier, "going through incredible difficulties from the Indians" and undertaking "a vast labour and expense" in improving farmland, these citizens requested the privilege of a minister, even offering to maintain such an official at their own expense. Chief among their concerns were "near

¹³ Watson, *Bath*, 6-7; Phelps, *Archaeological Study of the North Carolina Phosphate Corporation Property*, 50. See also, Deed Book 1, Beaufort County Register of Deeds, Washington, N.C. Book 1 reflects the first ten deed books of Bath County, covering land grants through the early eighteenth century.

¹⁴ Paschal, Jr., *A History of Colonial Bath*, 7-10; Watson, *Bath*, 7, 9, 12; Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 1:714-5.

two hundred” children who had not received the Sacrament of Baptism. In the same year, Anglican missionary John Blair described the situation in Carolina from a different perspective:

Consider the distance that the new colony of Pamlico [sic] is from the rest of the inhabitants of the country, for any man that has tried it would sooner undertake a voyage from [London] to Holland than that, for beside a pond of five miles broad, and nothing to carry one over but a small perryauger, there are about fifty miles desert to pass through, without any human creatures inhabiting it.

Furthermore, Blair found that the efforts of a minister in Carolina were “inefficient,” as all precincts were

bounded with two rivers, and those rivers at least twenty miles, and to give all those inhabitants an opportunity for hearing a sermon, or bringing their children to be baptized, which must be on the Sabbath, for they won’t spare time of another day, and must be in every ten miles distant, for five miles is the furthest they will bring their children, or willingly come themselves.

Considering these stipulations, Blair calculated that a minister needed twelve weeks to make his round through a single precinct of Bath or Albemarle County. William Gordon expressed a similarly dour view of the situation in Bath County when he wrote in 1709 that “no minister would ever stay long in this place.”¹⁵ Whatever the reason, the lack of Anglican authority in Carolina led to a political rebellion that ended in open warfare on the Pamlico River.

Cary’s Rebellion, 1708-1711

Original legislation for Carolina anticipated that the Anglican Church would be installed as the official, tax-supported church of the colony; however, the Lords Proprietors failed to take steps toward establishing the Church of England, allowing Protestants within Carolina to worship as they pleased. In 1672, George Fox visited Albemarle County and established a church for the Society of Friends, called Quakers.

¹⁵ Saunders, ed. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 1:604; 1:602-3; 1:714-5.

As the only established church in the region, the Quaker faith won many converts among the settlers in Albemarle, and over time many converted Quakers held political positions in the colony. In contrast, in Bath and elsewhere, the Anglican Church struggled to attract a missionary to Carolina.

Anglican colonists who were anxious to see the Church of England officially installed attempted to introduce a Vestry Act in 1701 that would provide for the organization of parishes, vestries, and churches and introduce a tax for the support of Anglican clergy. The Lords Proprietors ultimately rejected the law, but in 1703, a second piece of proposed legislation mandated that members of the General Assembly be communicants of the Church of England and swear an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. This bill proved so unpopular with Quakers (who, as a tenet of their faith, could not “swear” an oath but would “affirm”) that they, along with other dissenting religious groups such as the Presbyterians, voted Governor Robert Daniel out of office in 1705.

Between 1705 and 1711, Anglicans and dissenters recognized opposing political leadership in the colony, appealing to the Lords Proprietors for help in the ongoing dispute. The proprietors ultimately responded to the political chaos in Carolina by appointing Edward Hyde governor in 1711. Thomas Cary, an ally of the Quakers who considered himself to be the governor, challenged Hyde’s authority, and war erupted in Carolina. Cary, an original lot holder in Bath Town, also owned a plantation on the north side of the Pamlico River from which he had acted as governor since 1705. Many men in Bath County joined an armed force opposing Edward Hyde, participating in skirmishes east of Bath on Archbell Point and in Albemarle County on the Chowan River, and in an aborted naval battle on the Pamlico River.

Defeated, Cary fled to Virginia, where he and his chief supporters were seized and sent to England to the Lords Proprietors. Cary was never punished and eventually returned to Carolina, but the effects of open warfare during the spring and summer of 1711 devastated Bath County. Plundering had destroyed farmsteads on the Pamlico River, and those men who bore arms for Cary had not been at home to make a crop. A severe drought ruined what had been planted. The courts in Bath County had not functioned in nearly three years, and a plague of yellow fever that would soon claim the life of Edward Hyde raged across Carolina. No sooner had Cary's Rebellion been quashed than a new struggle with the Native Americans along the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers began.¹⁶

The Tuscarora War, 1711-1715

As Bath Town and its network of individual plantations on both sides of the river grew more permanent, the already-tenuous relationship with the native population began to deteriorate. By 1703, the Bay River and Machapunga Indians, Algonquian-speaking people in modern-day Hyde County, had become aggressive in seizing property claimed by colonists. The colonial government had declared war on the Coree Indians for similar affronts, and although this political position did not result in military action, white traders began to refuse to sell arms and ammunition to Native Americans. During the winter of 1704, rumors spread that the Tuscarora confederation planned to enlist members of the smaller Algonquian tribes in a war against the colonists. Settlers along the Pamlico River appealed to Governor Robert Daniel for protection. Governor Daniel called leaders of the various tribes to a meeting, where both sides agreed that the colonists and the natives

¹⁶ Paschal, Jr., *A History of Colonial Bath*, 17-9; Watson, *Bath*, 14-8.

would work to keep the peace. Though this meeting prevented immediate warfare, it failed to address the issues causing conflict between the two races.¹⁷

In early-eighteenth-century Carolina, Native Americans appealed to white authorities concerning the encroachment of English settlers on open land. Plantations emerging on both sides of the Pamlico River limited access to traditional hunting and fishing territory, as farmers objected to armed hunting parties passing near their farmsteads. The trade economy that was becoming so important to colonists in the Pamlico region regularly disadvantaged Native Americans who wished to participate. Further, a slave trade had emerged in which natives were seized and sold into bondage on English plantations or to enemy tribes. Perhaps the final catalyst to war was the founding of New Bern in 1710 by a group of Swiss and German settlers under the leadership of Baron Christoph von Graffenried. With Bath established inland along the Pamlico River and New Bern planned for the Neuse, native people foresaw a future in which the farmsteads of white settlers would completely overrun the peninsula of land between the two rivers. Members of the southern Tuscarora petitioned Pennsylvania officials in 1710 for entry to the colony, citing their desire to continue living unfettered in a traditional, mobile way. Pennsylvania agreed to accept the lower band of Tuscarora if North Carolina officials would provide a statement of their good character. This statement was never obtained; instead, the colonists waged a brutal three-year war to remove the Tuscarora from the path of European settlement.¹⁸

In the fall of 1711, while Bath County still reeled from the destruction of Cary's Rebellion, warriors of the lower Tuscarora took militant steps toward expressing their

¹⁷ E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 19-20.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 20.

dissatisfaction with circumstances along the Pamlico Sound. Having discovered surveyor John Lawson and Baron von Graffenried exploring the Neuse River, the Tuscarora seized the men and delivered them to Catechna, King Hancock's stronghold on Contentnea Creek. There Lawson died a mysterious death by execution, and the rumor spread throughout the colony that he had been stuck full of lightwood splinters and set ablaze. Small Algonquian tribes living in the Pamlico region, including the Coree, Machapunga, Pamlico, Bay River, and Neusioc nations, joined King Hancock at Catechna to make war on the colonists. At dawn on September 22, 1711, bands of warriors swept down the Neuse and along the south shore of the Pamlico.

On the Pamlico River, as many as 150 settlers were killed. According to colonial accounts, the raiders desecrated the bodies of their victims. Some women and children were taken as captives, while other survivors fled. Large plantations on the south side of the river were destroyed. The Tuscarora retreated with their prisoners and plunder to Catechna, which, when fortified, became known as Fort Hancock. Baron von Graffenried, still a prisoner of King Hancock, recognized some of the captives as women and children from his settlement.¹⁹ The surviving European colonists found themselves involved in a war for which they had not prepared. Food, which would prove a constant problem during the war, was in short supply due to drought conditions in 1711 and the neglect of farm fields during Cary's Rebellion. Though the rebellion had ended, lingering political differences hampered the government, crippling the speed with which officials could or would act on behalf of the devastated colonists. On the Pamlico River, there was not a single fortified place to which the people could flee following the

¹⁹ Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina*, 22-4; Ursula Fogleman Loy and Pauline Marion Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico* (Washington, N.C.: Washington-Beaufort County Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 480.

Tuscarora raid. Very few men had military training, and arms and ammunition were in short supply due to the near cessation of trade the previous year.

Within a month, eleven garrisons were established at plantation sites between Bath and New Bern. One such garrison was located on a point of land still noted as “Garrison Point,” a promontory at the confluence of Durhams Creek and the Pamlico River. Another garrison was located between Blounts Creek and Chocowinity Bay on the Lionel Reading plantation, one of the few farmsteads to survive the initial Tuscarora raid. Fort Reading became an outpost from which settlers launched several attacks during the Tuscarora War. Bath and New Bern were also fortified. With the majority of the white population confined to these outposts, Tuscarora warriors moved easily across the countryside, destroying the homes, livestock, fences, and fields that remained.²⁰

For two years, the white population living along the Pamlico River existed in extreme isolation at the mercy of the colonial government to protect them. With settlers between the Pamlico and the Neuse divided among eleven fortified garrisons, the population remained too scattered to organize a large-scale resistance to Tuscarora raiders. The Lords Proprietors made no effort to aid the besieged settlers. Desperate, colonial leaders turned to Virginia and South Carolina for help. In Virginia, Governor Alexander Spotswood ceased trade with the upper Tuscarora, a confederation of neutral native tribes occupying the Albemarle Sound, in an effort to motivate them to join the cause of the European colonists. Governor Spotswood also sent militia to the border of Virginia and North Carolina to prevent any sympathetic northern tribes from moving

²⁰ Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina*, 24-5; William S. Powell, “Garrison Point,” in *The North Carolina Gazetteer* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1968), 187; Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 1; Edward Moseley, “Moseley Map, 1733” (Greenville, N.C.: Special Collections Department, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University).

south to aid the lower Tuscarora. In September of 1712, King Tom Blount of the upper Tuscarora agreed to deliver King Hancock to the North Carolina government in exchange for the resumption of trade.²¹

South Carolina responded by sending two armies of Native Americans hostile to the Tuscarora, the first in early 1712 under the command of Colonel John “Tuscarora Jack” Barnwell and the second in the summer of 1712 under Colonel James Moore. The majority of military engagements during 1712 occurred along the Neuse River, particularly at the Tuscarora strongholds Fort Hancock and Fort Neoheroke. In early 1713, Moore defeated the Tuscarora at Fort Neoheroke, killing almost five hundred warriors and enslaving nearly five hundred members of the Tuscarora nation. Most of the Tuscarora who escaped Moore’s men fled north to join the Iroquois Confederacy. The colonial government assigned the remaining Algonquian natives living south of the Pamlico River to a reservation, regarding these people as being under the authority of the upper Tuscarora ally, King Tom Blount. A small number of Tuscarora did not remove to New York but remained in the Alligator River Swamp until the government designated a reservation on Lake Mattamuskeet in 1715. Following the removal of the Tuscarora and Algonquian people, European colonists had unlimited access to the land surrounding the Pamlico River.²²

Beaufort County from Port Bath to the Revolutionary War

When internal and external rebellion subsided, the settlers of Bath County were finally free to establish deep roots. In the years following Cary’s Rebellion and the

²¹ Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina*, 25-6.

²² *Ibid*, 27-38.

Tuscarora War, colonists along the Pamlico River enjoyed a period of relative quiet in which a frontier outpost became an important element of the colonial economy. The site for Bath Town was chosen not only to take advantage of the Pamlico River and its tributaries, but also in light of its proximity to Ocracoke Inlet, which linked the Pamlico Sound to the Atlantic Ocean and opened a network of trade beyond North Carolina or even the American colonies. Bath lies fifty-five miles from Ocracoke, known to colonial North Carolinians as the only inlet between the Chesapeake Bay and Beaufort Town deep enough for a ship to pass. Merchant ships lightered their cargo off the shore of Ocracoke, then, riding higher on the waves, passed through the inlet's narrow sluices. Schooners full of trade goods traveled from Bath to Ocracoke; from Ocracoke, furs, naval stores, and lumber products from Bath County plantations were shipped to the West Indies and around the world.²³

In the early-eighteenth century, the Lords Proprietors made Bath Town an official port of entry for a new customs district known as Port Bath. This district included Ocracoke Inlet, the Pamlico Sound, and the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers. The General Assembly, in an effort to improve the quality of exports from North Carolina and thus enhance its commerce, established an inspection system intended to oversee the packing and shipping of goods leaving the colony. Bath, as the seat of the customs district, served as one inspection site. Other inspection sites were established in Beaufort County at Tranter's Creek, Chocowinity Creek, Blounts Creek, and Durhams Creek.²⁴

²³ Watson, *Bath*, 51-2.

²⁴ Watson, *Bath*, 52-6; Christopher P. McCabe, "The Development and Decline of Tar-Pamlico River Maritime Commerce and its Impact upon Regional Settlement Patterns" (master's thesis, East Carolina University, 2007), 77.

Exports from Port Bath demonstrate the importance of agriculture to the vast majority of people living along the Pamlico River. Agricultural practices of the day allowed eighteenth-century North Carolinians to support themselves and their families on individual farms, and when North Carolinians had access to an outside market, as the residents of Bath County did, these practices also allowed them to produce surplus commodities for sale abroad. Port Bath frequently shipped surplus corn, pork, beef, tallow, and lard, with lesser quantities of potatoes, beans, and beeswax appearing in some shipments. Important cash crops in North Carolina at this time included tobacco, wheat, rice, and indigo, but none of these crops were grown in any measurable quantity along the Pamlico River. The Pamlico region offered pines, cedars, cypress, and oaks from which farmers derived wood products, including sawn lumber, scantling, shingles, and staves. Naval stores, including turpentine, rosin, tar, and pitch, also left Port Bath in great abundance, though Port Bath ranked only fourth out of the five North Carolina customs districts in quantities of these products exported. Furs, the impetus for early settlement along the Pamlico, continued as a mainstay of Bath County's economy until the Revolutionary War. Exported skins included those of deer, beavers, raccoons, otters, and minks.²⁵

While the Pamlico River constituted a major lifeline for traveling in and out of Bath County, Bath Town was also fortunate to be located on the only major overland road through North Carolina, the King's Highway. The King's Highway ran from Suffolk, Virginia to Georgetown, South Carolina, making its way through Edenton, Bath, New Bern, Wilmington, and Brunswick along the way. From Edenton, the forty-mile journey to Bath included a ferry across the Albemarle Sound followed by a desolate road

²⁵ Watson, *Bath*, 57-61.

through the swampland along the Alligator River in modern Tyrell County. Leaving Bath for New Bern, the forty-five mile journey began with a ferry across the Pamlico to Core Point, where many people traveling in the 1760s and 1770s chose to stay the night at Mrs. Bond's tavern. In 1770, the King's Highway became part of a provincial postal road at the insistence of Governor William Tryon, thus closing the last gap in a post system that stretched from Maine to Florida.²⁶

In addition to the English colonists living in Bath County before the Revolutionary War, slaves of African descent also lived and worked on Pamlico River plantations. Most of the slaves arrived from Virginia and South Carolina or the West Indies. Slave labor was essential in clearing and improving plantations and utilized in the production of naval stores and lumber products, work that was also done by indentured servants. Slaves in Bath Town might also work on the shipping docks. In the mid-eighteenth century, about one-third of Beaufort County households included slaves. The vast majority of slaveholders owned a few slaves, while a handful of prominent citizens owned ten or more. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, at least two families of free blacks had been established in Beaufort County. Among them, "free Negroes" Benjamin, Moses, and Thomas Blango and John Moore served in the Continental Line during the American Revolution. Land records, court documents, and wills from the late-eighteenth century provide further evidence of established families of free blacks living east of Blounts Creek. Descendents of these families remain in southern Beaufort County to this day.²⁷

²⁶Ibid, 77-9, 103-4.

²⁷Watson, *Bath*, 88-90; Bobby G. Moss and Michael Scoggins, *African American Patriots in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution*, (Blacksburg, S.C.: York County Heritage Commission, 2004), 28,

In addition to the Blangos and John Moore, a number of men living in Beaufort County served in the Continental Line and the militia during the Revolutionary War. Other men stayed nearer to home, using brigs and schooners built and docked on the Pamlico River to pirate the heavy British ships patrolling the treacherous waters off the coast or running the British blockade to preserve trade with the West Indies. In 1776, Beaufort County christened a small settlement west of Bath, known as “Forks of the Tar,” for General George Washington. The town of Washington prospered, as did prominent merchants Richard Blackledge and John Gray, William, and Thomas Blount. In 1783, the provincial post road changed course so that it ran through Washington to avoid the wide ferry crossing at Bath. Mercantile and industrial interests in Bath quickly shifted west, and in 1785, a courthouse was erected in the new county seat of Washington.²⁸

Beaufort County in the Early Republic and Antebellum Era, 1789-1860

Beaufort County entered an era of prosperity following the American Revolution and preceding the American Civil War. Leading men in the town of Washington actively participated in nascent state and federal governmental proceedings and prospered as the masters of modest-sized plantations along the Pamlico River. As in colonial times, the surplus products from these plantations fueled the shipping industry in Washington, which by the mid-nineteenth century was handling more than half the waterborne commerce in North Carolina. Following the military success of the American Revolution, North Carolina and her sister states struggled with the responsibility of

163-4; Helma Moore Roberson-Witchet, “Moores: Free Persons of Color,” (John A. Wilkinson Room, George H. and Laura E. Brown Library, Washington, N.C).

²⁸ McCabe, “The Development and Decline of Tar-Pamlico River Maritime Commerce,” 59-68; Loy and Worthy, *Washington and the Pamlico*, 2-3.

independence from Britain. The Articles of Confederation, a wartime constitutional agreement among the states, proved inadequate in peace, particularly as the articles lacked a provision for strong executive leadership at the state or federal level. In addition, wartime inflation threatened to bankrupt North Carolina and left the government in chaos. Continental soldiers retiring from active duty expected to be compensated for their service, but North Carolina had no paper money, nor credit, with which to pay them. Instead, the government offered acres of Cherokee land beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains to veterans of the Continental Line.²⁹

Cherokee land was also sold to private citizens, and one of Beaufort County's most prominent residents, John Gray Blount, acquired enormous wealth through land speculation in the late eighteenth century. Blount was likely one of the largest landowners in the early republic, receiving grants in western North Carolina and what is now Tennessee that extended from the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the valley of the French Broad River. He also acquired land north and south of the Swannanoa River and west of the French Broad. When Blount could not dispose of this western land as quickly as he had hoped, his enormous debt in taxes demanded that he sell 1,074,000 acres at a sheriff's auction in 1798 to satisfy this debt alone.³⁰

John Gray Blount was a member of one of the most prominent families in North Carolina history, the descendants of Jacob and Barbara Gray Blount. In 1697, the Lords Proprietors had granted Thomas Blount 266 acres on the Pamlico River for transporting

²⁹ Reed, *Beaufort County*, 122; Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: the History of a Southern State*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1973), 254-7.

³⁰ Reed, *Beaufort County*, 123, 168-9; Lefler, *North Carolina*, 256-8, 306; Alice Barnwell Keith, ed., *The John Gray Blount Papers, 1764-1789*, Vol. 1. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1952), xxxii.

six settlers to the Carolina colony.³¹ Thomas' grandson Jacob and his business partner Richard Blackledge founded a mercantile establishment in 1761 at the Forks of the Tar that would grow to become the largest mercantile operation in North Carolina during the early republic. Jacob Blount, an active local and state politician, fathered seven sons, of whom the oldest four in particular would rise to prominence through accomplishments in military, political, speculative, mercantile, and manufacturing arenas. During the late eighteenth century, Brothers William, John Gray, and Thomas acquired wealth that remains difficult to comprehend. Between July 1794 and January 1795, at the height of the land speculation boom, agents working for the Blounts in the southern Coastal Plain and Piedmont obtained for resale 1,884,470 acres of land in less than six months. The Blount brothers were in constant legal trouble due to controversial dealings. For example, William was removed from his seat in the United States Senate in 1797 for his involvement in a plot against the Spanish in Louisiana; after William's death in 1798, John Gray and Thomas remained in court for the next decade due to accusations of fraudulent land deals struck during the speculative boom. A fourth prominent Blount brother, Reading, earned the title of major during active military duty in the Revolutionary War but afterward led a quiet life at his plantation, Belfont, in western Beaufort County.³²

William, John Gray, and Thomas Blount built sawmills, grist mills, tanneries, a distillery, gins, and a nailery at Piney Grove Plantation in Pitt County, where they also grew corn and tobacco and produced naval stores. John Gray assumed his father's

³¹ Lords Proprietors to Thomas Blount, 1697, Book 1, Page 1, Beaufort County Register of Deeds, Washington, N.C.; Keith, *John Gray Blount Papers* Vol. 1, xiii.

³² Keith, *John Gray Blount Papers* Vol. 1, xv-ii, xxiv-v; William H. Masterson, ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers, 1796-1802*. Vol. 3. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1965); John Gray Blount Papers (Raleigh: North Carolina State Archives).

mercantile business in the newly named town of Washington and, with his brother Thomas, established a network of trade that stretched from Tarboro to Washington and Ocracoke and on to the West Indies and the world. John Gray was personally interested in the daily proceedings at Piney Grove, being attuned to methods for improving agricultural output. He was also heavily involved in the slave trade in Beaufort County.³³

Through the bold and sometimes ruthless business practices of men like John Gray Blount, Beaufort County prospered, building a local economy based on shipping that would flourish through the antebellum years. Tantamount to the county's success were trade relations with the West Indies and the northern states. During the Napoleonic Wars, "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants" teetered on the brink of bankruptcy following heavy investment in a large shipping fleet in the 1790s. While England and France fought for control of the West Indies, the Blounts suffered casualties of war as ships and cargoes were seized. Sheltered by North Carolina's barrier islands, the town of Washington maintained its lines of maritime commerce during the War of 1812.³⁴

Shipbuilding had been a major industry in Beaufort County since colonial days, and schooners, sloops, brigs, and other types of ships were constructed at Bath and Washington and along the Pungo River. Washington shipyards produced at least two or three ships a year, and by 1850 the town was likely the most important shipbuilding center in North Carolina. In addition to white builders, a free black man named Hull Anderson had a shipyard in Washington between 1830 and 1841 and owned four slaves who constructed ships in his yard. He only ceased his operation as a result of the North

³³ Keith, *The John Gray Blount Papers* Vol. 1, xxii-iv.

³⁴ Alice Barnwell Keith, ed., *The John Gray Blount Papers 1790-1795*. Vol. 2. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1959), xi; Masterson, *The John Gray Blount Papers* Vol. 3, xiii-xiv; McCabe, "The Development and Decline of Tar-Pamlico River Maritime Commerce," 93-6; Reed, *Beaufort County*, 124-5.

Carolina General Assembly's restrictions on the rights of free blacks in 1841. Steam-powered ships arrived in the Pamlico River in 1835, and when local merchants began to invest in this new technology around 1850, Washington trade grew to handle more than half of the waterborne commerce in North Carolina before the Civil War.³⁵ Though railroad lines were few in eastern North Carolina until the postbellum years, Beaufort County did not experience the isolation of many rural counties due to its access to maritime travel and commerce. Established and well-maintained roads remained scarce during this period, and most settlement clustered around the Pamlico River and its tributary creeks.

Rural Industry and Agriculture

Naval stores constituted one of the largest exports in Beaufort County during the late nineteenth century. Sheriff Allen Grist, along with his son James Redding and brother Richard, participated in a major way in the production and trade of naval stores. Prior to 1830, Richard Grist operated a store in Washington with an extensive shipping interest handling tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, barrel staves, peas, corn, hams, and lard bound for the West Indies. Naval stores and lumber products were traded for sugar and rum in the West Indies and then exchanged for salt in Buenos Aires. Salt returned to Washington to complete the triangle of trade. Richard Grist also exported huge quantities of lumber and naval stores to Philadelphia in the 1830s, as well as turpentine to New York. In the 1840s, Allen and James Redding Grist shipped lumber and naval stores to New York, Philadelphia, New Bern, and Wilmington.

³⁵ McCabe, "The Development and Decline of Tar-Pamlico River Maritime Commerce," 99-101, 105-6; Michael Hill, "Shipbuilding," in *The Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2006), 1031-2; Reed, *Beaufort County*, 161-3.

James Redding Grist directly oversaw the production of naval stores, chiefly turpentine and rosin, on large tracts of land he had purchased in the Cape Fear region during the 1840s and early 1850s. Allen Grist maintained a residence near Chocowinity that survives in ruinous condition and operated a mill, no longer extant, on Blounts Creek. As naval store production began to dwindle along the Cape Fear River, James Redding returned to Beaufort County in 1855 and purchased two plantations on which he tried his hand at cotton, producing 250 bales in 1860. According to the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules, Allen Grist was the largest slaveholder in Beaufort County, owning over one hundred slaves and managing eighty-four slaves belonging to James Redding, seventy-two slaves owned by “A. & J. R. Grist, Turpentine Farmers,” and forty-eight slaves held in trust for minors. In addition, the Grists frequently hired slaves from other planters to work in their turpentine camps.³⁶

C. Wingate Reed includes the following description of turpentine production in his history of Beaufort County:

During the winter, deep notches are chopped in the base of the trees, a few inches above the ground. Above this, the bark is removed from the tree for two or three feet, and the tree scarified. About the middle of March, resinous sap begins to flow from the scarified surface. This resinous substance, or brute turpentine, runs into the notches, or boxes, as they are called, at the base of the tree. Each box holds from a quart to a half gallon of resin. This resin is spooned out and put into a barrel.

Each year, the scarifying process required that the tree be notched a few feet higher to a limit of about fifteen feet, at which time the process was repeated on the opposite side of the tree. The average yield of a single tree was reportedly twenty-five barrels of turpentine. One man could supposedly tend ten thousand boxes. This process would

³⁶ James Redding Grist Business Records (Durham, N.C.: Department of Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University); Percival Perry, “Grist, Allen” and “Grist, James Redding,” in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, D-G Vol. 2., ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1986), 379-381.

inevitably kill the trees, which could then be harvested for tar. A tar kiln, or “small, circular mound of earth, sloping in to a cavity in the center, with a conduit leading to a circular trench which surrounds the mound,” was used to slowly burn dead trees in such a way that the wood was charred and remaining resin in the form of tar flowed into the cavity of the tar kiln. From the cavity, tar passed through the conduit and into the ditch, where workers spooned it into barrels.³⁷ Producing naval stores did not require a large number of extra hands, making it an ideal surplus product for small farmers seeking to supplement their income. Raw turpentine was carried to Washington to be distilled into a usable form before it was sold on the market.

As the majority of the Grist turpentine empire was located south of Beaufort County, the manufacturing schedule from 1850 records only a modest profit for Allen Grist from turpentine manufacture in the county. With three male laborers involved in production, Grist produced three hundred barrels of turpentine worth \$550. His brother Frederick Grist produced 550 barrels at a value of \$830 with the help of five laborers. Most of the turpentine production in Beaufort County during the 1850s occurred on a similar scale. The manufacturing schedule reports forty-four men producing turpentine, none of whom were manufacturing more than Will Harvey, who with five laborers produced one thousand barrels of turpentine and tar valued at \$1,500. Only two turpentine distilleries are listed in the manufacturing schedule: Joseph Bonner produced 4,550 barrels having a value of \$1,365, and Benjamin F. Hanks, who operated the only steam mill listed in Washington, utilized this emergent technology to produce 54,000 barrels worth \$21,000. By 1860, census takers recorded 102 men manufacturing turpentine, most of whom are also among the seventy-four listed manufacturers of tar. A

³⁷ Reed, *Beaufort County*, 170-1.

barrel of turpentine was valued at \$2.25 and tar at \$1.70. Two turpentine distilleries are listed in Washington and illustrate the advantages of steam versus water power. A steam-powered distillery belonged to D. Reid, who produced \$74,000 worth of turpentine with the help of five laborers. Jos. Potts owned the second distillery and produced turpentine valued at \$9,600 using four laborers and water power.

Lumber, a related industry, represented another major element of the industrial economy integral to Beaufort County's trade with the North and abroad. Lumber was manufactured in board feet as well as in the form of scantling, shingles, and staves. Frederick Grist, in addition to his interests in turpentine, manufactured 35,500 board feet of lumber in 1850 and 300,000 shingles at a value of \$1,800 and \$700, respectively. H. A. Ellison employed eight laborers in making one million shingles worth \$3,000 the same year; however, neither Ellison nor any other rural manufacturer approached the output of Richard H. Riddick, who with the labor of seventy-five men, likely his slaves, manufactured seven million shingles at a value of \$45,000.

In the 1850 population schedule, Riddick is listed as owning \$70,000 in real estate, nearly three times the value of the real estate held by any other individual landowner in Beaufort County that year.³⁸ Riddick was an agent of the Albemarle Swamp Land Company, in which his family in Nansemond County, Virginia, maintained a controlling interest. He oversaw land in Beaufort and Washington counties acquired during the 1840s, much of it from the estate of Josiah Collins, Jr. During the 1850s, Riddick appears to have lived with his family in the southeastern portion of Beaufort County near Durhams Creek and is listed in the population schedule as a "shingle

³⁸ The second-wealthiest landowner, General William Augustus Blount, held land valued at \$25,000 in 1850.

maker.” By 1860, he had relocated to the northeastern tip of Beaufort County in the community of Leechville and owned property valued at \$30,000. Riddick, this time listed as a lumber merchant, was head of a household that included another merchant, a clerk, two overseers, and three laborers. In 1850, Riddick owned seventy-two slaves, all of whom were male and likely worked in the shingle industry. Ten years later, Riddick owned fifty-eight male and six female slaves.³⁹

Census data reveals that agricultural staples from 1840 to 1860 included hogs, corn, wheat, and oats. Though Beaufort County has always been a predominantly rural county, during the antebellum era, it did not lead North Carolina in any category of livestock or crop production but tended to produce a middling amount of the state’s more popular products. Several excellent records of antebellum farm life in Beaufort County remain from the first half of the nineteenth century. The Clark Plantation Book, kept by James F. Clark from 1825 to 1861, contains day-to-day sketches of tasks accomplished and work scheduled to be done on one or more of Clark’s plantations. Clark’s main plantation was at Maule’s Point, a promontory on the south shore of the Pamlico River south of Bath. The plantation book records that Clark also owned land on the Pungo River and would regularly use a small boat to travel back and forth between the two farms. As was typical at the time, Clark also appears to have kept a town house in Washington. The plantation book records his daily concern with corn, cotton, potatoes, hogs, turpentine, lumber, herring, and shad. Clark also devoted a considerable amount of

³⁹ Richard H. Riddick Papers (Durham, N.C.: Department of Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University). According to the Riddick Papers, the sale of cypress shingles to New York and Philadelphia commission merchants was the primary business of the Albemarle Swamp Land Company until after the Civil War.

time to clearing and improving his land. The plantation book suggests that he operated a seine fishery on Blounts Creek or on the main channel of the Pamlico River.⁴⁰

General William Augustus Blount, the oldest son of merchant John Gray Blount, also kept careful records of Meadowville, his nine-thousand-acre plantation south of Chocowinity. Blount had very specific ideas about how Meadowville should be managed in his absence. In 1856, after he had become ill and was convalescing at Jones White Sulfur Spring in Warren County, he prepared elaborately detailed instructions for his overseer, Mr. J. L. Faithful, to follow on the farm. “I am the proper judge of what I wish and I employ,” Blount informed Mr. Faithful. “You [are] to see that it is done and done promptly and correctly and cheerfully.” In addition to instructions for planting corn, cotton, potatoes, oats, wheat, strawberries, and various grasses, Blount made detailed plans for improvements at Meadowville. The bulk of the letter is devoted to instructions on enlarging and improving canals, digging ditches, cutting timber, fertilizing fields, and constructing fences. Blount gives specific orders to his most trusted slaves, George, Ben, and Willie, three of eighty or more slaves working at Meadowville in the mid-1850s. He provides a precise list of meal allowances for each slave family living on the plantation, as well as detailed instructions to Mr. Faithful on how to doctor sickness among the slaves. The manufacturing schedule from 1850 demonstrates that Blount was operating a water-powered mill at Meadowville and producing turpentine and staves.⁴¹

Both General Blount and his son, Major William Augustus Blount, operated fisheries on Blounts Bay. In the 1840s, the elder Blount wrote to J. B. Skinner in Edenton and C. Capehart on Salmon’s Creek requesting advice on how to improve his

⁴⁰ James F. Clark Plantation Book (Raleigh: North Carolina State Archives).

⁴¹ John Gray Blount Papers (Raleigh: North Carolina State Archives).

methods of catching and packing herring and shad in seines and weirs on the Pamlico River. Both men responded to the request with detailed instructions. In 1840, Beaufort County ranked fifth in the state in number of barrels of pickled fish produced (4,300), with sixty-six men employed in this industry. The 1850 manufacturing schedule shows that seven fisheries were in operation. Owners included Allen Grist, his son John Grist, General and Major Blount, C. W. Crawford, Thomas R. Crawford, and Jacob Swindell. These fisheries would have dotted the south shore of the Pamlico River and its tributaries from Chocowinity west to Core Point. Though General Blount's fisheries are noted in tax lists from 1835 and 1849, mention of them is absent from 1856 and 1860 missives concerning the proper operation of his plantation. The 1860 manufacturing schedule notes only one fishery in Beaufort County.⁴²

Religion and Education

By 1840, the Beaufort County census listed five Baptist, four Episcopal, four Methodist, one Presbyterian, and five "Free" congregations, a vast improvement from the days when Bath County clamored for an Anglican missionary to minister to the frontier. Though many of these congregations were located in Washington and Bath, rural areas were attended to by leaders of the Primitive Baptist faith. In 1765, the Kehukee Association of Primitive Baptist Churches was established in southeastern Halifax County. Early organization of the association contributed to the spread of Primitive Baptist churches throughout rural eastern North Carolina, including the establishment of some of the earliest rural churches in Beaufort County. A Primitive Baptist church was established as early as 1755 at the head of the Pungo River. Before 1820, North Creek Primitive Baptist Church was founded near Bath and remains the only active Primitive

⁴² John Gray Blount Papers (Raleigh: North Carolina State Archives).

Baptist church in the county. Prior to the American Civil War, as many as ten rural Primitive Baptist churches existed in Beaufort County.⁴³ Complete records for Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist Church, established in 1808, exist up to the church's disbandment in the 1970s. In May 1808, five men and eleven women formed a congregation as a branch of the meeting house at Swift Creek, presumably in Pitt or Craven County. From the beginning, the congregation was composed of white, free black, and slave members. Members were received into fellowship after baptism in the nearby fresh pond. Meetings, which took place on the third Sunday of the month, included prayer, communion, foot-washing, and singing hymns.⁴⁴

The Episcopal Church also established a presence in rural Beaufort County prior to the Civil War. In addition to churches in Washington and Bath, parishes were formed south of Bath on Durhams Creek and east of Washington. St. John's Church at Durhams Creek was established in 1826 with four communicants. Through the 1830s, the church averaged about ten communicants each year, though in the 1836 proceedings of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, the Rt. Rev. Levi Sillman Ives reported that "from deaths and removals" the church had "dwindled to a single family."⁴⁵ The church body remained small during the second quarter of the nineteenth century and was often reliant on a missionary or the bishop's annual visit for preaching and administering communion. The bishop often visited in tandem with appointments to the larger churches at

⁴³ Cushing Biggs Hassell and Sylvester Hassell, *History of the Church of God, from the Creation to A.D. 1885* (Middletown, N.Y.: G. Beebe, 1886).

⁴⁴ Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist meeting records, in possession of Mrs. Mary Frances Gerard Jefferson, Washington, N.C.

⁴⁵ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, 1836* (Fayetteville, N.C.: Edward J. Hale, 1836), 8-9.

Washington and Bath. Leaving St. Thomas' Parish in Bath, a minister might sail across the Pamlico River and reach St. John's in time for an evening service.⁴⁶

In the 1840 census, Beaufort County is shown to have two common schools with a total enrollment of forty-five students; however, by 1850, Beaufort County had forty-three public schools instructing 1,572 students. In addition, eight academies provided 250 students with a private education. In the ten years between the 1840 and 1850 census, widespread changes swept the state of North Carolina that are mirrored in this data. In 1839, North Carolina adopted a statewide public school system for white children that provided for the first time basic access to education in the form of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The common school system strengthened in the 1850s; however, no data is given for educational growth in the 1860 census.⁴⁷

Nothing of these early public schools remains on the landscape of Beaufort County. Presumably, prior to the establishment of the common school system, some children in Beaufort County took advantage of subscription or field schools that were privately supported by members of the community. Much of the adult white population prior to 1840 had received little or no education. Census data shows that in 1840, nearly half of the white population of Beaufort County twenty years old and older could not read or write. By 1850, the number of illiterate white adults had shrunk to little more than a third of the population, or 1,355 adults out of 3,690. The census resumed enumerating educational statistics in 1870, at which time 5,342 white residents ten years old and older

⁴⁶ A sketch of St. John's Episcopal Church is given each year in the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention*. Annual journals were consulted from 1826 to 1863, when the Civil War interrupted publication.

⁴⁷ Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 403-5; William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1989), 290-2.

could not read in a total white population of 8,379. At this time, only 412 white students attended school.

Rural Domestic Architecture: 1790-1860

Fewer than twenty dwellings and three ancillary buildings are known to survive in rural Beaufort County from the years 1790 to 1860. Such a small sample of survivals makes drawing conclusions about the representative nature of these houses difficult; however, comparative data from neighboring counties fills some of the gaps created by this loss of early housing stock.⁴⁸ Construction methods largely remained consistent throughout the period, and house types and plans were of a small variety. The greatest changes in housing that occurred between the American Revolution and the American Civil War related to the shift from the Georgian to the Federal to the Greek Revival styles as these modes were applied to the exterior and interior finishes of Beaufort County dwellings.

Construction

All dwellings remaining from this period are constructed of sawn or hewn heavy-timber framing systems, generally a mixture of sawn studs, rafters, and flooring, and hewn posts, sills, and joists. Floor joists also frequently appear in the form of half-round logs. This mixed construction reflects the availability of water-powered saw mills in the early nineteenth century to manufacture smaller structural members, relieving builders of

⁴⁸ Scott Power, ed. *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County, North Carolina* (Greenville, N.C.: the Pitt County Historical Society, Inc., 1991); Thomas R. Butchko, ed. *Martin Architectural Heritage: the Historic Structures of a Rural North Carolina County* (Williamston, N.C.: the Martin County Historical Society, 1998); Peter B. Sandbeck, *The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County, North Carolina* (New Bern, N.C.: the Tryon Palace Commission, 1988); Claudia R. Brown and Diana E. Lea, *Landmarks of Hyde County, North Carolina: the Mainland and Ocracoke Island* (Engelhard, N.C.: Hyde County Historical and Genealogical Society, 2007).

the time-consuming process of hand-hewing all lumber incorporated in a dwelling. Though some finely bonded brickwork remains from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is limited to chimneys and a few foundations. Many houses were elevated on cypress or heart-pine stumps. Plentiful lumber in the dense woodlands of Beaufort County and the continued popularity of English building techniques transferred first to Virginia and the Albemarle Sound ensured that traditional frame construction would dominate rural Beaufort County architecture before the Civil War.

Heavy-frame construction technique utilized a system of corner posts and vertical studs braced by horizontal and diagonal timbers. Thomas R. Butchko provided the following description of raising a heavy-framed house during the early nineteenth century:

The major framing members were sized and had their mortises and tenons cut on the ground, with matching pieces labeled with Roman numerals scratched into their ends as identification; the timbers were then hoisted into place and joined. . . . Once raised, the frame of a building was covered with weatherboard siding and wooden roof shingles.

Due to the decay of original weatherboard siding, the Roman numeral system used in constructing the Ormond-Midyette House (BF 68) near Bath has become visible on its rear elevation.⁴⁹

House Types and Forms

Common house types from this period are the I-House and the coastal cottage. In 1936, Fred B. Kniffen coined the term “I-House” to describe two-story dwellings having a depth of one room that were widely constructed across the eastern Seaboard during the

⁴⁹ Carl Lounsbury, “The Development of Domestic Architecture in the Albemarle Region,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 54 (January 1977): 17-48; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 43-4.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁰ Though no eighteenth-century examples remain in rural Beaufort County, this traditional house type abounded during the nineteenth century and continued to be built locally well into the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The coastal cottage evolved as a vernacular version of the traditional one-story side-gable house as adapted to the climate of the coastal and Tidewater South. The basic coastal cottage form consists of a story-and-a-half dwelling with an extended gable roof encompassing a full-width front porch and a one-story enclosed shed across the rear. The slope of the roof generally breaks as it engages the porch and shed rooms, lending it a distinctive profile.⁵¹ Two skeletal examples of the early-nineteenth-century coastal cottage survive in rural Beaufort County near Chocowinity. Material from a house on Bragaw Lane (BF 1636) has been recently salvaged, leaving its hewn framing materials exposed. The Noah Galloway House (BF 1656) survives by virtue of its twentieth-century conversion to a barn. Built on a larger scale than BF 1636, the Galloway House includes a spacious half-story and the ghostmarks of a wide chimney on its west elevation. A dovetailed threshold associated with the missing firebox remains in the half-story. Two-panel doors and early-nineteenth-century moldings retain an early paint scheme of warm brown and verdigris green. The interior walls are sheathed in wide tongue-and-groove boards studded with cut nails. Both houses were built using hall-parlor plans and contained enclosed stairs that offered access to the half-story.

Floor plans documented in rural Beaufort County for this period are limited to three basic types: hall-parlor, center-passage, and side-passage. Hall-parlor, the earliest and most common, consists of two linear rooms. The primary entrance leads into the

⁵⁰ Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* XXVI, no. 4 (1936): 179-193.

⁵¹ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 32-3; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 46.

hall, usually the larger room, and if only one side of the house was heated, the firebox is located in this room. Separated from the hall by a partition wall, the parlor frequently includes the enclosed stair needed to access the half-story above. One of the houses remaining from this period was constructed using a side-passage plan: the Smaw House (BF 177), ca. 1835, located in the vicinity of Washington. In a side-passage plan, the primary entrance is oriented toward one side of the dwelling. Behind the entry, a long hall transcends the depth of the house, offering access to other rooms (usually two) on the first floor.⁵² In the Smaw House, an open stair was included within the hall.

Center-passage plans appeared ca. 1830 in the dwellings that survive. In the plan's simplest form, a central passage transcends the depth of the house, offering access to each room on the floor and containing a stair leading to any living space above or below. Because center-passage plans delay access to private domestic space, removing visitors to a hallway rather than the hearthside, the growing emphasis on center-passage plans during the nineteenth century has been interpreted as an emergent desire for privacy.⁵³ Center-passage plans that survive in rural Beaufort County are frequently found in I-Houses, although at least two double-pile center-passage plans exist from the antebellum era. Data from surrounding counties suggests that such plans were popular among the planter elite during the mid-nineteenth century, but insufficient evidence remains in rural Beaufort County to evaluate the occurrence of this plan during the same time period.⁵⁴

⁵² Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 47-8.

⁵³ Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: a Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: UT Press, 1975).

⁵⁴ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 50; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 49-50.

Nearly a century's worth of pioneer housing is lost in rural Beaufort County. Belfont (BF 4), believed to be the oldest extant house outside of Bath and Washington, is hardly representative of the average dwelling from this period. Instead, much of the housing stock of eighteenth-century Beaufort County must have consisted of one- or two-room dwellings one story in height with habitable attics accessed by means of a rudimentary stair. This type of house dominated the Tidewater South during the period, and some evidence of this early form is (or was) available in neighboring counties. The coastal cottage and the I-House are the consequences of this form, as it could be expanded outward with shed rooms and engaged porch in the former and upward with a second floor of rooms in the latter. The expansion of the folk house footprint began to occur around the turn of the nineteenth century in neighboring counties as the local economy matured and likely took place around the same time in Beaufort County.⁵⁵

Northwest of Chocowinity, the Colonel James Redding Grist House (BF 153) appears to have begun as a one-room dwelling constructed during the late-eighteenth century that quickly grew into an I-House with one-story shed rooms. The earlier plan has been expanded several times with inelegant additions that muddle the appearance of the exterior; however, from the rear, a portion of a gambrel roof is visible, the only surviving example of such a roof form in rural Beaufort County. Within the gambrel roof is the remainder of a single dormer window, and most of an early Flemish-bond chimney with paved double shoulders remains on the northwest elevation. A twentieth-century front-gable addition containing two large rooms dominates the façade, obscuring the

⁵⁵ Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: UGA Press, 1986), 18; Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 15-6; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 46-7.

earlier parts of the house when viewed from Mill Road (SR 1143). Unoccupied for many years, the Grist House stands in ruinous condition.⁵⁶

Style

A discussion of style allows for a more detailed examination of individual houses built prior to the Civil War in rural Beaufort County. These houses display elements of three major styles that enjoyed national popularity between 1790 and 1860: Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival. Nowhere in rural Beaufort County are truly academic examples of these styles to be found; instead, vernacular interpretations of European and national designs were applied locally in adapted forms that reflect regional as well as academic influence. Moreover, styles tended to overlap one another in occurrence. Individual periods are bracketed with dates that correspond to their occurrence in rural Beaufort County, taking into account only the houses that remain.

Georgian Style

The Georgian style, the first architectural style to take hold in the colonies, appeared in America around the turn of the eighteenth century and retained its popularity for the next century. A direct import from Europe, the “Georgian” style paid homage to kings George I, II, and III of England. The Georgian style emerged in continental Europe during a revival of interest in classical Italian architecture but did not take hold in England until the mid-seventeenth century. Architectural pattern books transmitted the style to the American colonies through inexpensive, fully-illustrated guides for builders constructing houses for some of the first men of means in America. These manuals elaborated a variety of exterior and interior finishes, including door and window

⁵⁶ HPO Staff, Col. James Reading Grist House (BF 153) Survey File, (Tar-Neuse Survey, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

surrounds, cornices, mantels, and various moldings. Characteristic elements of Georgian-style architecture carried by dwellings of the period in Beaufort and neighboring counties include bold moldings, refined cornices, beaded weatherboards, raised-panel doors, and an overall emphasis on symmetry.⁵⁷

Very few examples of the Georgian style remain in Beaufort County; the best urban example is the Palmer-Marsh House in Bath. No Colonial-era dwellings are known to survive in rural areas, though the county's most celebrated rural dwelling may have appeared during the height of Revolutionary fever, just as the town of Washington emerged as an important center for trade. Belfont (BF 4), purchased by Major Reading Blount from the Lanier family in 1797, appears to date from around 1790, likely making it the oldest house standing in the Beaufort County countryside. Belfont is the only dwelling outside of Washington or Bath that can be said to possess elements of the Georgian style. The striking double-shoulder pent chimney configuration on the north elevation of the house invites comparison to the Palmer-Marsh House in Bath (ca. 1750), but historians have tended to regard Belfont as postdating the Palmer-Marsh House by several decades.⁵⁸ The house's chimney placement is the most noted feature of Belfont: on the north elevation, two double-shoulder Flemish-bond chimneys are connected at the second shoulder by a brick pent, while the south side of the house features a single double-shoulder Flemish-bond chimney. All shoulders are paved and all chimneys feature a molded brick water table.

⁵⁷ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County, North Carolina*, 17; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 51-2.

⁵⁸ Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1996), 178-9; Janet Seapker, "Belfont Plantation House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1976.

The façade of the house largely reflects a historic period of alteration, including a later application of vertical flush sheathing that surrounds the first floor windows and door beneath the one-story hip-roof porch. This sheathing, along with the distinctive sawnwork porch, originated in the first half of the nineteenth century. The entrance to Belfont, including two-panel transom and sidelight and a heavily-molded four-panel door, also appeared during the period of alteration.

Documentary photographs of Belfont taken in 1975 display simple Georgian finishes with a few later alterations. The modified center passage includes raised-panel wainscoting identical to a mixture of horizontal and vertical rectangular panels within the mantel frieze. This mantel features a modest applied molding overwhelmed by what appears to be a later mantel shelf and curvilinear brackets. Across the hall, the two rooms along the north elevation contain mantels having beautiful ogee curves and architrave moldings. Both of these rooms contain presses with double-leaf raised-panel doors built into the exterior wall in order to utilize space created by the brick pent.

The enclosed stair is perhaps the highlight of the interior finishes at Belfont. Accessed by means of the center passage featuring a molded chair rail and beaded, vertically-sheathed wainscoting, the stair is enclosed with tall raised panels to the landing. Finely-turned newels and balusters carry the molded handrail. On the second floor, the raised-panel motif from the stair continues down the hall in the form of wainscoting. Other elements on the second floor, including mantels and moldings, offer more modestly rendered examples of first floor precedents. Two rooms along the northern elevation also contain built-in presses. The second floor plan is more typically Georgian, having four original rooms oriented along a center passage. A second enclosed

stair provides access to the attic; finished with plaster, the attic appears to have been integral to the domestic scheme. Doors throughout the house feature six raised panels, many retaining H-L hinges and some with box locks. Belfont's high, vented English-bond foundation allows for a two-room basement accessed by means of an exterior cellar door.⁵⁹

Federal Style

Though the nascent United States of America had established political independence from Britain, American builders continued to take their cues from styles made popular in Europe. During the Federal period, many of the classical precedents popularized with the Georgian style were developed and refined as applied to interior and exterior finishes, and these developments reached America once again through pattern books printed in England.⁶⁰ In urban areas like New Bern, academic features such as sunbursts began to appear on mantels and in door and window surrounds; however, nothing of this nature has been recorded in rural Beaufort County. Instead, the application of reeds and dentils to mantels, the flattening of raised panels on period doors, and the overall refinement of molded trim tend to characterize the local shift toward the Federal style during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In spite of its likely eighteenth-century origins, the Colonel James Redding Grist House (BF 153) as it stands displays Federal-era finishes. The house retains four period mantels, the most elaborate of which consists of a three-panel frieze and three-part pilasters. All fireboxes feature a flat arch, and one includes a chevron pattern within the box. The Grist House retains several early six-panel and beaded board-and-batten doors

⁵⁹ Seapker, "Belfont Plantation House."

⁶⁰ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 29-31; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 52.

with a good collection of hardware, including a thumb latch and strap hinges with hand-wrought nails and leather washers intact. The early paint scheme includes clear evidence of pink, green, ocher, and blue paints. There is evidence of the original enclosed stair in the north corner of the first-floor parlor room.⁶¹

Greek Revival Style

During the three decades that preceded the American Civil War, a new architectural idiom emerged in the South. Though elements of the Greek Revival style had become popular in the northern states as early as 1820, the style took longer to capture Southern attention. In Beaufort County, it often coincided with Federal finishes during the mid-1830s. Nationally, Greek Revival architecture declined in the 1840s and 1850s in favor of romantic revivals such as the Gothic and Italianate styles, but these modes never fully developed in rural Beaufort County and the Greek Revival style remained locally in vogue until after the Civil War. Though the Greek Revival style once again referred American builders to classical precedents set in Europe, the growing number of professional architects in America and the importance of pattern books written by Americans during this period allowed the United States to develop its own adaptation of a revival style important at home and abroad.⁶² In rural Beaufort County, adaptation of the Greek Revival aesthetic generally meant that moldings and mantels became flatter and bolder than they had been during the Federal period. Several examples illustrate that the local interpretation of the Greek Revival style often was manifest in stark renderings of simple geometric forms.

⁶¹ HPO Staff, Col. James Reading Grist House (BF 153), Survey File.

⁶² Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 47-9; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 54-5.

The transition from the Federal style to the Greek Revival did not happen immediately in Beaufort County; instead, several examples demonstrate that elements of both styles shared popularity during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The Churchill Stilley House (BF 1722), a story-and-a-half side-gable dwelling east of Blounts Creek, offers a ca. 1835 example of a house transitioning in style from Federal to Greek Revival. The hall contains a transitional mantel featuring delicate molding and dentils applied to a plain frieze with heavy mantel shelf. The parlor mantel offers a modest early example of a three-part Greek Revival form containing recessed panels with a beaded edge. A third mantel in the half-story consists of simple posts and lintel with a small applied molding beneath a sturdy shelf. An original door leading from the hall to the parlor features squat Greek Revival panels rimmed with Federal fillets. Door and window surrounds carry wide, simple molding. A chimney on the west elevation includes tumbled weathering on its double shoulders, a feature found on only one other dwelling south of the Pamlico River. The half-story features its original blue paint scheme.

The Leggett House (BF 1293), north of Leggetts Crossroads, offers a second example of transitional style. Notable for finely-molded window and door surrounds as well as molded corner boards and beaded exterior siding studded with square-head nails, the façade also includes deep window sills containing nine-over-six sash windows on the ground floor. Though the house has been altered with the partial application of modern siding, the most significant exterior feature remains exposed: curvilinear modillion blocks applied to the façade and rear cornice line, surmounted by a row of moldings reminiscent of triglyphs. This highly ornamental Doric entablature offers one of the most

refined examples of antebellum exterior finishes in rural Beaufort County. Built using a hall-parlor plan, the Leggett House includes a transitional mantel in the hall, with dark paneled wainscoting rising three feet in height to a molded chair rail. An enclosed stair at the rear of the hall leads to the second floor. The parlor contains a lively vernacular mantel featuring a repeating chevron motif and fluted pilasters.

The Archbell House (BF 143), a ca. 1830 I-House near Bath, contains four mantels that illustrate a blending of Federal and Greek Revival styles. Two mantels on the east elevation feature reeded pilasters to either side of a paneled frieze. A third mantel corresponding to the west elevation chimney includes recessed panels within the frieze and pilasters, with cable molding beneath the shelf and a chevron pattern surrounding a rectangular panel within the frieze. The mantel shelf presents a serpentine profile. The final mantel, located on the west elevation of the second floor, consists of a series of recessed panels.⁶³

Meadowville Plantation House (BF 50) is one of the oldest expressions of the fully-flowered Greek Revival style extant in rural Beaufort County. Built ca. 1835 by General William Augustus Blount, the house was the seat of a nine-thousand-acre plantation southwest of Chocowinity. The house presents an important example of a house type associated with the rise of a wealthy planter class in antebellum North Carolina, the center-passage double-pile form. Though other examples of this form exist in neighboring counties, Meadowville is one of only two such houses surviving in rural Beaufort County. General Blount acquired this land from his father, John Gray Blount,

⁶³ Janet Seapker, Archbell House (BF 143) Survey File (1977, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

in 1821 at the age of twenty-nine and by the 1830s he had established one of the largest and most important plantations in the county.⁶⁴

As one of the finest antebellum houses in rural Beaufort County, Meadowville demonstrates that even the best of the houses from this time and place were executed on a modest scale. Constructed on four-foot brick piers, Meadowville features four single-shoulder chimneys laid in a four-to-one common bond with relieving arches visible beneath the house. The current owner has replicated the original Greek Revival portico (removed in the early twentieth century) using original octagonal columns stored beneath the house for many years. The portico would have included a classical entablature and pediment that have been lost; however, two dormers feature distinct, if simple, returned cornices and flush sheathing that may suggest the appearance of the original cornice and tympanum as applied to the missing pediment. An original full-width single-story rear porch having an eight-foot depth is missing from the house. A third dormer emerges from the rear elevation of the roof.

The entrance to Meadowville, one of the most attractive elements of the house, features sidelights and a transom window within a door surround composed of raised-panel pilasters and corner blocks. The entrance is further enhanced by flush sheathing applied between semi-octagonal pilasters supporting the portico. Corner boards on the façade mirror the pilaster frames and corner blocks of the door and window surrounds. Windows throughout the core of the house are six-over-six sash composed of unusually large panes of glass measuring twelve inches in width and twenty-two inches in height. Front and rear entrances contain wide four-panel doors.

⁶⁴ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 50; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 54-5; John G. Blount to William Augustus Blount, January 15, 1821, Book 12, Page 361-362, Beaufort County Register of Deeds, Washington, N.C.

The interior of Meadowville is entirely plastered, a rare occurrence in the rural houses that survive. The wide center passage includes a circular ceiling medallion above an open stair. Beautifully molded window and door surrounds feature corner blocks containing paterae. Mantels throughout the house consist of starkly-rendered post-and-lintel forms devoid of any overt style. In the half-story, unpainted four-panel doors display evidence of faux-wood graining.⁶⁵

One of General Blount's nearest neighbors was William C. Ecklin (or Acklin), who owned a small farm just north of Meadowville Plantation along what is now N.C. Highway 33. Though not nearly as fine as Meadowville, the Ecklin House (BF 1806) is an excellent example of a typical antebellum dwelling in rural Beaufort County.

According to the 1860 census, William C. Ecklin was born about 1827 and had a wife and seven children. Ecklin is listed in the agricultural census in 1850 as farming eighteen improved acres, planting corn, sweet potatoes, and peas, and raising a small number of hogs. He likely constructed his house, a coastal cottage, in the late 1840s or early 1850s to shelter his growing family. A classic coastal cottage form with a detached kitchen, the center-passage plan includes an enclosed stair offering access to the half-story. The interior wall treatments consist of flush sheathing with the modest application of a chair rail and floor molding in the main rooms on the first floor. In places, postbellum beadboard has been applied to cover the original flush sheathing. Doors consist of a mixture of two- and four-panel Greek Revival forms and batten types. On the first floor, identical mantels display a simple recessed panel in an otherwise unarticulated frieze; the mantel associated with a half-story firebox on the east elevation is gone. Shed rooms are

⁶⁵ Marshall Bullock, Meadowville Plantation House (BF 50) Survey File (Mid-East Commission Survey, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

accessed by means of interior doors as well as exterior doors within an enclosed rear porch. A portion of an older roof with original wooden shakes is visible within the rear porch, suggesting that the shed rooms are a later addition to the house. The house is supported by a mixture of brick piers and huge cypress stumps. Simple square posts supported the engaged front porch.

The Rivers-Sanderson House (BF 52) and the Ormond-Midyette House (BF 68) provide examples of ca. 1850 Greek Revival I-Houses, the former utilizing a center-passage floor plan and the latter a hall-parlor plan. Both houses are located north of Bath on Possum Run Road (SR 1744). The Rivers-Sanderson House features starkly simple interior finishes, with the exception of a wonderful sawnwork balustrade with under-stair paneling. This balustrade is the most whimsical application of vernacular Greek Revival-style woodwork recorded in rural Beaufort County, comparable to the sawnwork additions to the antebellum hip-roof porch at Belfont. In addition, the application of a well-articulated keystone motif to arched door and window surrounds on the first-floor façade exceeds most expressions of the Greek Revival style in rural Beaufort County. The front porch is also notable for the beaded sheathing surrounding the door and window treatments and the retention of boxy period porch posts having modest bases and capitals. A few miles west, the Ormond-Midyette House features simple, yet finely rendered, molded trim. Door and window surrounds, two-panel doors, and mantels are straightforward examples of Greek Revival style that nonetheless exhibit the work of a skilled craftsman. The Ormond-Midyette House is also notable for the use of brick diapering in a deteriorating chimney on the west elevation of the house. This simple

diamond pattern composed of glazed headers is the only known example of decorative brickwork in Beaufort County.⁶⁶

Two further examples of Greek Revival architecture in rural Beaufort County are notable for their unusual forms and floor plans. As surveyed in 1979, the Smaw House (BF 177) offers an example of a side-passage plan. Interior and exterior features of the Smaw House demonstrate the height of restraint in Greek Revival architecture in the study area. Though the size of the house, a two-story double-pile form with rear shed rooms and fine Flemish-bond chimneys, bespeaks wealth, the interior finishes exhibit a lack of detail that is remarkable even in a county of restrained expression. Molding is almost non-existent and corner blocks (only found on the first floor) are starkly rendered.⁶⁷ The John W. Linton House (BF 1483) is another example of an unusual form, an L-plan house, and rural Beaufort County's only example of an antebellum dwelling with a hip roof. The Linton House is massively, if not elegantly, proportioned, being much taller and wider than it appears from the road. The front door, for example, measures four feet in width. The interior of the house contains several period two-panel doors and stark mantels that consist of posts secured to a lintel.

The majority of the few resources that survive in rural Beaufort County from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are dwellings. Four outbuildings remain from the period: a smokehouse at Belfont (BF 4), a smokehouse and small barn at the John W. Linton House (BF 1483), and a reconfigured shed at the Churchill Stilley House

⁶⁶ Marshall Bullock, Rivers-Sanderson House (BF 52) and House (BF 68) Survey Files (Mid-East Commission Survey, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh); Marilyn Dee Casto, "Historic Houses of Beaufort County, North Carolina, 1744-1899" (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1982), 199-201, 216-8.

⁶⁷ HPO Staff, Smaw House (BF 177) Survey File (Tar-Neuse Survey, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

(BF 1722) that may, as the owner claimed, have been reconstructed from the framing members of slave housing. Educational, commercial, and community buildings have not survived in rural areas. One antebellum religious building, Zion Episcopal Church (BF 182), remains near Washington. Constructed in 1856, Zion Episcopal Church has a simple front-gable form and three bays of large nine-over-nine pegged sash windows and louvered shutters on the side elevations. Clad in plain weatherboards, the church building includes modest corner boards and a returned cornice. The original entrance contained a double-leaf door and a three-light transom.⁶⁸

Beaufort County during the American Civil War

As the sectional crisis centered on the slave economy escalated toward civil war, the state of North Carolina struggled to define its loyalty to the South and to the Union. North Carolina had fewer wealthy planters than many southern states and was generally less dependent on cotton and other labor-intensive agricultural and industrial processes that required a large chattel workforce to succeed. North Carolinians and their leaders believed strongly in the preservation of the Union, and several influential men in North Carolina spoke openly against the slave system during the antebellum years. Many other North Carolinians believed that slavery was a necessary evil that stabilized social and economic conditions in the state and in the region. As late as the election of 1860, a majority of North Carolinians opposed secession; however, a series of events concluding with hostilities at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops to suppress southern insurrection convinced many North Carolinians that secession

⁶⁸ Drucilla H. York, "Zion Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2000.

was unavoidable. On May 20, 1861, North Carolina left the Union to join the newly-formed Confederate States of America.⁶⁹

In Beaufort County, as in North Carolina as a whole, the population was deeply divided on the question of withdrawing from the Union. The county had few industrial magnates like Richard H. Riddick, Allen Grist, and James Redding Grist and only a small number of elite planters on the scale of William Augustus Blount; yet, prominent men like Blount enjoyed a large measure of influence in Confederate political circles. On May 30, 1862, First Lady Varina Davis wrote to her husband from Raleigh, informing him that Blount, an “original secessionist,” had made a social call that day. Nancy Blount Branch, Blount’s daughter, and her husband General Lawrence O’ Bryan Branch were close friends of Jefferson and Varina Davis, having met when both men served as legislators in Washington, D.C. Blount made a substantial financial contribution to the Confederacy, supporting withdrawal from the Union even before Lincoln’s election. On May 30, he called on Varina Davis to express his displeasure at the tepid support the Confederate army received from small farmers living in rural Beaufort and Craven counties during the military siege of New Bern.⁷⁰

Also among Beaufort County’s fervent Confederates were Captain William Henry Tripp and his sister Eliza. Tripp lived at Mount Hope, a plantation near Durhams Creek on the south side of the Pamlico River, while Eliza lived in Washington near their brother Benjamin. A captain in the Confederate army and a middling slaveholder of fewer than twenty slaves on a relatively large Beaufort County farm, Tripp’s wholehearted loyalty was to the Confederacy. His brother Benjamin F. Tripp supported the Union just as

⁶⁹ Lefler, *North Carolina*, 441-2, 446-451.

⁷⁰ Lynda Laswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 8, 1862* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1995), 205-7.

staunchly. Eliza sent a letter to W. H. Tripp on April 14, 1861, expressing her concern for Ben's outspoken support of the Union just as citizens in Washington hanged and burned an effigy of Abraham Lincoln in front of the county courthouse. In January of 1862, Tripp wrote his wife Araminta concerning his fears that Ben would take an oath of allegiance to the Union, as was rumored in Washington. "If he or any other southern man wants to loose [sic] his own and the respect of both friends and enemies," he wrote, "he can take the oath of allegiance and he certainly will accomplish his object. A man is only justified in doing so to save his life."⁷¹

Benjamin F. Tripp was not the only man in Beaufort County who remained loyal to the United States during the Civil War. A number of men settled along Long Acre Ridge in northern Beaufort County refused to join the Confederate Army and even fought for the Union, joining the First North Carolina Union Volunteer Regiment when it formed in Carteret County in 1862. Cousins Levi Stubbs and William H. Waters were two of the Long Acre boys who volunteered for Company A, earning the derisive nickname "buffaloes." Long Acre Ridge is a narrow crest of land that once divided Great Swamp from East Dismal Swamp near the Washington County line. Though this portion of Beaufort County was settled relatively early, the topography forced local families to subsist on a narrow ridge of farmland prior to the reclamation of the northern Beaufort swamplands in the early twentieth century. The slave economy had not benefitted settlers on Long Acre Ridge, and the prospect of earning a soldier's salary in U.S. dollars attracted many of these men. In addition, enlistment in the Union army had the potential to provide soldiers and their families with food, clothing, shelter, and protection. Stubbs

⁷¹ William Henry Tripp and Araminta Guilford Tripp Papers, 1801-1910 (Chapel Hill: Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina).

and Waters were stationed in Washington during the Union occupation from 1862 to 1864.⁷²

On March 20, 1862, Washington fell to Federal forces. The Union Army had captured New Bern on March 14, and the Confederate force stationed at Washington immediately evacuated, leaving the town an easy victory for General Ambrose Burnside and his army. For two years, the Union Army controlled the Pamlico River and Sound. Confederate forces under the command of General J. G. Martin attacked the Federal garrison on September 6, 1862, wreaking havoc for several hours, but did not dislodge the Union Army. General D. H. Hill returned in March of 1863, besieging Washington and depriving the Federal garrison of supplies and reinforcements. Before Hill's siege could truly affect the Federal position, Confederate forces were ordered to abandon the effort in order to reinforce the Army of Northern Virginia in mid-April.

The Union Army occupied Washington without contest for another year, until General Robert F. Hoke and his Confederate forces captured Plymouth on April 20, 1864. The Union Army received orders to evacuate Washington and the last Federal troops departed on April 30, setting the town afire as they retreated. For three days prior to the fire, Union soldiers, most notoriously members of the First North Carolina Union Volunteers, pillaged stores, churches, and private homes in Washington. The fire spread through town as Union soldiers sought to destroy a bridge over the Pamlico River, burning by some estimates nearly a third of Washington to the ground. A second devastating fire, apparently an accident, began a few days later after Confederate forces regained control of the town. Reflecting on the Union occupation of Washington,

⁷² William McCoy Stubbs Papers (Raleigh: North Carolina State Archives); Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: the Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011), 71-4.

Charles F. Warren claimed that only five hundred locals remained by May of 1864 in a town that had included thirty-five hundred residents at the outset of the war.⁷³

The occupation of Washington constituted the largest and most protracted military engagement of the Civil War to take place on Beaufort County soil, but several brief skirmishes occurred as well, on Tranter's Creek, at Blounts Creek, and along the Pamlico River. Blounts Creek was the most celebrated of these minor battles. While General D. H. Hill's men besieged Washington in March of 1863, the Federal forces at New Bern attempted to relieve their comrades by sending eight thousand reinforcements overland to Washington under the command of General Francis Barretto Spinola. Hill chose Ruff's Mill on Blounts Creek as the Confederate army's vantage point, and here the Confederates were successful in repelling Spinola's troops, depriving the garrison at Washington of reinforcements.⁷⁴ The Confederate entrenchments on Blounts Creek are still highly visible, with three clearly discernible redoubts and a series of trenches documented during the survey (BF 1807).

Though no major naval battle occurred on the Pamlico River, letters written by Captain William Henry Tripp to his wife Araminta chronicle Hill's efforts to fortify the area against Union attack. Hill appointed Tripp captain of Fort Hill, a Confederate stronghold southwest of Washington on Hill's Point. Writing to his wife on October 9, 1861, Tripp described the labor involved in shoring up the point: "My company are employed in entrenching our camp and it will take us four weeks to do it if we have no help. We have to dig a ditch four feet wide; and throw up a breastwork 4½ feet high and

⁷³ Charles F. Warren, "Washington during the Civil War," in *Washington and the Pamlico*, eds. Loy and Worthy, 37-45.

⁷⁴ Laura V. Gaskins, "The Battle of Blount's Creek Mill," *Carolina and the Southern Cross* 1, no. 8 (1913): 1-2; Thomas Kirwan, *Memorial History of the Seventeenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War from 1861-1865* (Salem, MA: The Salem Press Co., 1911), 168-176.

our ditch will be a mile and a half long I expect. And after we finish we will have to enlarge it all round.” Tripp also described a system of signals established by the Confederate forces on both sides of the Pamlico River to warn one another of Federal advancement. He explained, “You will see a lighter anchored off against [Tripp Point] which is placed there as a signal boat. Should the Yankees come she is to fire a gun and then send up rockets. She will stay there until we hear what has become of those gun boats.” By February of 1862, Tripp commanded five hundred men at Fort Hill and expected to receive one thousand more; however, in March, Fort Hill was abandoned as Tripp and his men were called to Washington. After the fall of New Bern on March 14, Tripp was stationed at Tarboro and then at Fort Fisher for much of the war.⁷⁵

Beaufort County, 1866-1962

The Federal occupation of Washington was the last event of national importance to take place on Beaufort County soil, and county history following the Civil War is best told from the farm field, the logging camp, or the railroad track. After the war, rural Beaufort County resumed its agrarian ways, but the character of small farms continued to evolve throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lumber replaced naval stores as the chief industrial concern, and the pursuit of old-growth timber in the most remote sections of the county spurred the expansion of railroad lines. In the mid-twentieth century, paved roads and rural electrification were among the innovations that ushered the county into the modern era. A new emphasis on recreational pursuits such as bathing and fishing drew locals and tourists to new summer resorts on the Pamlico River, and hotels and dance pavilions were constructed to meet the burgeoning demand. The

⁷⁵ William Henry Tripp and Araminta Guilford Tripp Papers, 1801-1910.

increase in recreational pursuits in the 1930s and 1940s foreshadowed the importance of the tourist economy in modern Beaufort County.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the rise of small villages and crossroad communities in rural Beaufort County. The focus of rural life, which had previously been tied to individual farms and plantations, shifted to small and often isolated communities that generally contained an industrial entity, such as a gristmill, sawmill, or cotton gin, and community spaces like one- and two-room public schools, churches, and country stores that often housed the post office. Though the education of white children was consolidated in municipalities ca. 1920, some African American children continued to use community-based schools through mid-century. Churches and stores remained local landmarks through the end of the study period, and many community spaces, including fraternal and civic buildings, retain a high symbolic value to Beaufort County natives today. Further context for educational, religious, commercial, and civic buildings is provided alongside the architectural discussion of these resources.

Agriculture

Agricultural census records from 1870 to 1950 provide a rich sketch of the character of Beaufort County farms following the Civil War. The number of acres being farmed remained relatively stable from 1870 to 1950 (266,701 acres and 256,796 acres, respectively), with an uncharacteristic dip in 1930 (189,017 acres) that may reflect the economic downturn of the Great Depression. With the exception of 1930 and 1940, acres being farmed generally constituted about half the total land area in Beaufort County. Though the acreage committed to agricultural use remained steady, the number of farms

increased dramatically over eighty years, beginning with 991 farms in 1870 and ending with 3,324 farms in 1950. The increase in the number of farms over the years corresponded with the decrease in acreage tended by individual farmers. In 1870, the average farm consisted of 269 acres, decreasing to around 140 acres in 1880 and 1890, decreasing again by 1910 to eighty-four acres, reaching an all-time low in 1930 at fifty-five acres, and ending in 1950 at seventy-seven acres. Another major change in the character of farms over time was the decreasing percentage of farms devoted to woodland. In 1870 and 1880, over 80% of farmland in Beaufort County existed as woodland. Not until 1930 did improved acreage on farms surpass the amount of land kept in woodland. In 1930 and 1950, about half of the farmland in Beaufort County was improved for tillage.

Of course, the average acreage per farm per census year is not equal to the median acreage. In 1870, for example, the agricultural census reported that the average farm contained 269 acres; however, less than 10% of all farms in Beaufort County at this reckoning contained more than one hundred acres.⁷⁶ Instead, the majority of farms consisted of ten to fifty acres, with nearly a third of all farms consisting of ten to twenty acres. Another 20% of farms included only three to ten acres. In 1880 and 1890, nearly half of all farms included twenty to one hundred acres, with a third of all farms containing one hundred to five hundred acres. Between 1910 and 1930, the majority of farms consisted of twenty to ninety-nine acres, while a third included twenty to forty-nine acres and another 20% included ten to nineteen acres. By 1950, almost half of all farms contained ten to forty-nine acres, with a third containing ten to twenty-nine acres.

⁷⁶ N.B. This percentage is nearly unchanged from the 1860 census, when less than 12% of farms in Beaufort County contained greater than 100 acres. This suggests that by 1870 the results of the Civil War had had only a minor effect on reducing the size of the largest plantations.

Many of the farms were operated by tenants. The 1880 census includes the first national account of tenant farming by states and counties. Tenant farming gained popularity throughout the South following the abolishment of slave labor, as wealthy landowners sought a means of cultivating large plantations without a ready workforce. The 1910 agricultural census for North Carolina noted that since 1860, large plantations had been “divided gradually into smaller parcels of land, largely operated by tenants. Each of these tenant holdings is reported as a farm and each tenant as a farmer, whether or not the owner of the property lives on the plantation and directs the operations.” The report added, “In the case of many plantations, although most of the land is now worked by tenants, each of whom is reported as a farmer and the land operated by him as a farm, yet there is supervision by the owner, so that in a sense the entire plantation may be said to constitute a single farm.” In Beaufort County, tenants rented land for cash, for a share of the crop, and for a combination of the two; however, share-tenancy, or sharecropping, was the predominant form of tenant farming practiced.

In 1910, 70% of the farms in Beaufort County were operated by landowners, three-quarters of whom were white. Tenant farmers operated nearly 30% of farms, with a tiny percentage of farms in the hands of managers. White and “nonwhite” tenants existed in a 3:2 ratio, which neatly corresponded to the roughly 60% white and 40% nonwhite population. The vast majority of tenants (nearly 80%) agreed to share a portion of their crop in exchange for the use of land. In 1930 and 1950, 75% of farm operators, whether owners, managers, or tenants, were white. White operators controlled nearly 90% of the total farm acreage in 1930. Tenants farmed about a quarter of all agricultural land, and 90% of tenants compensated landowners in a method other than cash. Data from the

agricultural census shows that the total number of farmers in 1930 was composed of a nearly equal percentage of full owners and tenants (about 43% and 42% of the total number of farmers, respectively). The 1930 census shows a decrease of 300 “full owners” and an increase of both 150 “part owners” and 350 tenant farmers since the 1920 census, perhaps a reflection of economic hardship caused by the Great Depression.

By 1950, tenant farming had begun to decline in Beaufort County, as in other counties, due at least in part to the adoption of large farm machinery.⁷⁷ In 1950, the agricultural census recorded a loss of nearly 170 “nonwhite” farmers since 1945. Full owners and part owners increased by 150 and 130 since 1945, while tenants decreased in the same five years by four hundred. Full owners constituted nearly half of all operators, tenants nearly a third, and part owners 20%. Tenants operated about 15% of farmland in Beaufort County, with “croppers” working almost 55% of this land and share-tenants another 10%. In 1950, roughly 20% of farms reported the labor of croppers.

Agricultural census data from 1870 to 1950 reveals the importance of certain crops, types of livestock, and animal byproducts to Beaufort County over time. Corn was consistently the most prolific grain produced on Beaufort County farms, distantly followed by oats. Small amounts of wheat, rye, sorghum, and barley were also produced most years. Rice was an important crop in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, though rice production in Beaufort County frequently lagged behind that of the Cape Fear River Valley in state totals. Rice production in Beaufort County likely peaked around 1880, when the county produced over five hundred thousand pounds of rice, coming a distant second statewide to Brunswick County at over one million pounds produced.

⁷⁷ Lefler, *North Carolina*, 648.

The sweet potato was also an important crop, and Beaufort County frequently ranked among the top ten producers in North Carolina, placing sixth in 1870, third in 1880, fourth in 1890, seventh in 1900, and fifth in 1950. Though Beaufort County produced a middling amount of Irish potatoes during the nineteenth century, by 1900 the county had established itself as a premiere grower, ranking first in the state in 1900, third in 1930, and second in 1950. In addition to ranking first in North Carolina, in 1940 Beaufort County ranked forty-fourth nationally in potato production, marketing over a million bushels of potatoes grown on more than seventy-five hundred acres. The Irish potato crop was particularly important to Richland Township communities in the southeastern portion of the county.

Legumes, particularly soybeans, became an important source of income in the twentieth century. In 1930, the county placed fifth statewide in bushels of soybeans harvested. Beaufort County was ranked ninety-ninth in acres of soybeans planted at the national level in 1940, though the county did not place in bushels produced, and was third in North Carolina. In 1950, the county ranked first in the state in soybeans, planting over ten thousand acres more than its nearest in-state competitor. The county also planted average or above-average amounts of various beans, peas, and peanuts.

Cotton comprised a portion of many farmers' crops but did not constitute a major cash crop for Beaufort County, even during the antebellum years. From 1880 to 1930, acres planted in cotton ranged from approximately ten thousand to fifteen thousand, comparable to neighboring Martin and Craven counties but always far behind Pitt. In contrast, tobacco became a major cash crop during the early twentieth century. In 1880, Beaufort County reported only seventeen acres planted in tobacco and none in 1890. In

1900, however, over one million pounds of tobacco were harvested in Beaufort County on nearly two thousand acres of farmland. Tradition states that in 1896 a group of farmers living near Chocowinity was among the first to cultivate tobacco, hauling the crop to the tobacco market at Danville, Virginia in mule-drawn carts. A number of tobacco warehouses were built in Washington during the first quarter of the twentieth century as the production of tobacco became a mainstay of the local economy.⁷⁸

The importance of tobacco steadily increased over the first half of the twentieth century, as nearly fifteen thousand acres produced almost eight million pounds of leaf in 1930. Agricultural innovations in the production of tobacco are reflected in census data by 1940, as 16,785 acres of farmland yielded over sixteen million pounds of tobacco, nearly doubling the pounds yielded without significantly increasing the number of acres planted. In 1940, Beaufort County was ranked twenty-fourth nationally in the production of tobacco, though only nineteenth in North Carolina. In 1950, 2,379 farms planted nearly twelve thousand acres of tobacco, averaging about five acres per farm. The crop yielded over twelve million pounds of leaf.

Orchard fruits begin to appear in twentieth-century agricultural schedules, demonstrating the importance of apples, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pears, plums, prunes, figs, cherries, cider, and vinegar for home consumption and as a cottage industry. Grapes were among the most important fruits produced. In 1900, Beaufort County ranked sixth in the state in pounds of grapes produced, as well as third in gallons of wine, closely following Columbus and Moore in quantities produced. Today, grape arbors and pecan groves are among the most visible reminders of small-scale orchards from the twentieth century.

⁷⁸ Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 356-7.

Garden produce was also grown for the home and for sale in local markets. Vegetables and fruits grown for sale included asparagus, green beans, lima beans, beets, cabbages, cantaloupes, carrots, collards, sweet corn, cucumbers, lettuce, okra, onions, peas, tomatoes, turnips, peppers, squash, strawberries and watermelon. In addition, a small number of nurseries produced seeds, bulbs, and whole flowers for sale. Some of the nurseries enumerated in the agricultural census likely include the flower-growing operations started by Dutch immigrants in Terra Ceia during the Great Depression.

Hogs were always the most important type of livestock in Beaufort County and above-average numbers were raised compared with other counties in the state. Sheep were also kept in large numbers for about fifty years following the Civil War and then gradually declined in importance during the twentieth century. Dairy and beef cattle were raised in generally equal amounts. An increase in dairy production began in the northeastern part of the county during the early twentieth century. Many farmers in the vicinity of Terra Ceia kept dairies, including a large operation established by Hendrick Van Dorp in the 1920s and one at nearby Urwald Farm operated by William Blount Rodman III.⁷⁹

Beaufort County had been noted for its output of beeswax since the establishment of Port Bath in the early eighteenth century, a pattern that continued through the first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁰ In 1880, Beaufort County produced 3,236 pounds of beeswax, ranking fourth in state totals, along with 33,277 pounds of honey. In 1890, the county ranked ninth state-wide and in 1910, Beaufort County again placed fourth, producing

⁷⁹ Personal communication, Marshall Cutler to Beth King, January 2012; William Blount Rodman Papers, 1783-1976 (Greenville, N.C.: Special Collections Department, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University).

⁸⁰ Watson, *Bath*, 52.

2,557 pounds of wax from 2,868 colonies of bees. During the same year, Beaufort County produced 22,195 pounds of honey, not enough to place among the top twenty-five producers in the state, as was fairly typical for the county. In 1930, however, 1,113 hives on seventy-seven farms produced 41,504 pounds of honey, placing Beaufort County second in state totals for honey that year. Beeswax was not enumerated in the 1930 census. By 1950, apiary had begun to wane, as only 406 beehives were reported on forty-seven farms. Twelve farms produced beeswax at a value of \$1,068.

Perhaps the most detailed account of day-to-day farm operations during this period comes from the William Blount Rodman Papers. To some degree, the Rodman Papers can be viewed as an extension of the John Gray Blount Papers, as the eldest William Blount Rodman (1817-1893) was the grandson of John Gray Blount and the ward of his uncle William Augustus Blount. Like his uncle, Rodman kept meticulous records of his plantation, Urwald, which his son William Blount Rodman II (1862-1946) and grandson William Blount Rodman III (1889-1976) inherited. Often, an overseer managed Urwald and reported to the Rodmans concerning the day-to-day operations of the farm. Their records reveal that staples such as cotton, rice, corn, oats, and potatoes were important crops on the farm during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Records concerning Urwald Farm include two contracts. The first was prepared by Rodman I in 1866 and outlines a proposed tenant agreement at Urwald. The contract states that in exchange for an unspecified amount of the crop, Rodman would furnish, as needed, a horse or mule and plow and harness to be used in cultivating the crop. The tenant would be allowed to gather fuel from certain tracts of Urwald and would be provided with rails for fencing. He would be responsible for providing his own seed and

his day-to-day schedule would be at the discretion of Rodman's manager, who would direct him in cultivating the crop. The tenant would be responsible for cleaning all ditch and canal banks within his tract and keeping ditches to their original depth. In addition, the tenant would owe Rodman one day of work per seven acres cultivated in "cleaning repairing and deepening" Urwald's main canals, at a penalty of a dollar per day of work missed. Two days of work for every seven acres would be required for general maintenance of the farm roads. The contract also specifies that tenants should conduct themselves in a "sober quiet and orderly manner," avoiding "spirituous liquor."

The second contract outlines the agreement between Rodman II or III and the manager of Urwald Farm, likely around 1930. The manager would supervise tenants and receive one-tenth of the rent in cotton. He would be provided with a house, reserving one room for Rodman's use and one room for a farm office. Rodman would provide materials needed for fencing. The manager would ensure that all ditches, ditch banks, and roads remained in good condition and would keep an inventory of all farm implements provided by Rodman, including a tractor and Ford truck. Rodman would provide mules, cattle, hogs, goats, and chickens, which the manager would feed and attend to at his own expense. The crops would include corn, cotton, wheat, oats, rye, potatoes, soy beans, and hay. Rodman would furnish the seed and the manager would be responsible for fertilizing and cultivating the crops. Cotton would be ginned on the farm and tenants charged seventy-five cents per bale of cotton for the use of the gin. Rodman would retain all cotton seed produced. At the end of the season, the remainder of the crop and excess livestock would be divided equally among the tenants.⁸¹

⁸¹ William Blount Rodman Papers.

A second account of tenant farming in Beaufort County is given in the Rufus W. Wharton Farm Account Book. Historian Sharon Ann Holt has used the Wharton account book to demonstrate that tenant farming families in Beaufort County, through incredible ingenuity, could fulfill their contractual obligation to the landowner while managing a second crop purely for their own benefit. The May family, for example, relied upon the labor of women and children to produce a second crop of cotton in addition to the one that patriarch Peter May had contracted to cultivate on Rufus Wharton's farm, Rosedale. In 1890, May's two teenage daughters picked almost seven thousand pounds of cotton that the family sold to Wharton for their own profit. Additionally, women and children who were not under contract to Wharton could work for wages as extra hands during the busy harvest season. Though the tenancy system generally disadvantaged the landless poor, farm records from Rosedale demonstrate that the most resourceful tenant families in Beaufort County identified methods of improving their social and economic standing.⁸²

The problem of labor shortage remained central to agricultural practices in postbellum Beaufort County, and large landowners such as the Rodmans sought a new source of manpower following the Civil War. The Rodman Papers reveal that William Blount Rodman was very interested in attracting European immigrants to eastern North Carolina and was involved in establishing the N. C. Immigration Association. Rodman advertised some of his land as available to immigrants in the semi-monthly periodical *Southern Cultivator*. Rodman II shared his father's interest in opening farmland in

⁸² Sharon Ann Holt, "Making Freedom Pay: Freedpeople Working for Themselves, North Carolina, 1865-1900," *The Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 2 (1994), 241-244.

eastern North Carolina to Europeans and also chose to advertise Rodman farmland in agricultural journals.⁸³

In the 1920s, European immigrants finally arrived in northern Beaufort County, persuaded to test the rich land of the Broad Creek Drainage District by a Hollander named Hendrick Van Dorp. A Dutch settlement grew near the community of Terra Ceia, primarily populated by immigrants to North Carolina by way of Canada. The Dutch community established a Christian Reformed Church and a community school. Farmers made a living growing flowers and bulbs and producing fruits and vegetables for sale on twenty-acre tracts. Dairy operations became common around mid-century, about the time that a series of Sears Roebuck and Company houses was constructed within the community. Many descendants of the first Dutch settlers continue to live in Terra Ceia to this day.⁸⁴

Industry

Following the Civil War, lumber replaced turpentine and other naval stores as the predominant industrial product of Beaufort County. Turpentine production flourished in the coastal plain of the southern United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, but the rapid destruction of forests of longleaf pine resulted in the constant southern migration of the industry as stands of pine in the Carolinas were completely exhausted through unsustainable methods of production. Based on the manufacturing schedules of 1850 and 1860, Beaufort County appears to have continued turpentin

⁸³ William Blount Rodman Papers. Though the Rodmans do not appear to have succeeded in attracting European tenants to Urwald, other large landowners in eastern North Carolina did. Hugh McRae, for example, resettled over 800 Italian, Dutch, Greek, Polish, German, and Hungarian immigrants into rural farming communities in Pender, New Hanover, and Columbus counties between 1905 and 1908. See Michael Hill, "Penderlea," in *The Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, edited by William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2006).

⁸⁴ Personal communication, Len Van Staaldouin to Beth King, January 2012.

longer than some counties in eastern North Carolina, as the majority of production shifted to Georgia and Alabama during the 1850s and to Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1893, only 55,876 acres of longleaf pine remained in North Carolina, down from four to five million acres in 1840. For various environmental reasons, virgin stands of longleaf pine did not enjoy a second growth in the state, eventually removing the naval stores industry from the local economy.⁸⁵

Though the production of turpentine, tar, and other naval stores had a considerable effect on the local landscape in Beaufort County, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the pursuit of pine, gum, and cypress to be sawn into boards altered the landscape to an even greater extent. Lumber companies cleared vast acres of pine forest and cypress swamp, opening woodland for drainage and improvement as farmland of incredible yield. A number of large lumber operations were established in Beaufort County during the late nineteenth century. Lumber companies bought timberland in rural Beaufort County and established logging camps to cut the timber and move it to sawmills by rail and by water. The product was then sold to northern markets from Norfolk to Boston. Lumber companies were also directly responsible for promoting the construction of railroads in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to move logs to their mills.⁸⁶

Some of the first lumber companies in Beaufort County were established south of the Pamlico River. Springer Lumber Company was organized in 1866. Edward D. Springer of Cape May, New Jersey, while serving as a Union navy ensign stationed in

⁸⁵ Robert B. Outland III, "Suicidal Harvest: the Self-Destruction of North Carolina's Naval Stores Industry," *North Carolina Historical Review* LXXVIII, no. 3 (2001): 309-344.

⁸⁶ Loy and Worthy, eds. *Washington and the Pamlico*, 331-350.

Washington toward the end of the Civil War, spied a vast stand of timber on the southeastern shore of the Pamlico River and returned after the war with his brother Whildin to establish one of the longest-lasting sawmills in Beaufort County. Over time, the mill village of South Creek developed. A system of short-gauge railroads moved logs to inland creeks, where a pair of tugboats named *Clyde* and *Glide* towed rafts of logs to the mill. Finished lumber was sold in Philadelphia. The Springer brothers retired in South Creek in 1906 and the mill continued to operate under other management until it burned in the 1930s. Other early lumber companies operated south of the Pamlico River in the 1880s. On Blounts Creek, the prominent Fowle family of Washington established a sawmill that produced lumber for trade with the West Indies. Moss Lumber Company also operated a sawmill on Blounts creek, moving east to Durhams Creek in 1906 and establishing a sawmill, drying kilns, and a wharf for lumber barges.⁸⁷

While several large lumber companies operated out of Washington, Belhaven also emerged as a center for the lumber industry in Beaufort County. In many ways, Belhaven was a product of the lumber industry, evolving through the promotional efforts of lumber magnate John A. Wilkinson and the advancement of the Albemarle and Pantego Railroad. The Beaufort County Lumber Company, D. C. Way Lumber Company, Pungo Lumber Company, Belhaven Lumber Company, and Wades Point Lumber Company were all established during the late nineteenth century in and around the young town of Belhaven. The John L. Roper Lumber Company of Norfolk, Virginia and the Interstate Cooperage Company (a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company) later acquired most of these operations and their landholdings. Lumber companies based in

⁸⁷ Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 333-4, 339-340, 348-350; Personal communication, John Springer to Beth King, August 2011.

and around Belhaven cleared vast acres of wooded swampland in the northeastern portion of Beaufort County.⁸⁸

The opening of the northern swamplands was aided by the inventions of a remarkable man, Surry Parker of Pinetown. Parker, a distant relation of shingle maker Richard H. Riddick, came to Beaufort County in the 1890s as an agent of the Roanoke Railroad and Lumber Company tasked with completing the Washington and Plymouth Railroad. Pinetown, founded in 1893, began as company housing rented to local workers and grew into an established community of permanent residents. Parker recognized the need for better logging equipment to remove trees from the densest parts of the Dismal Swamp and patented several machines that he built and sold from his machinery shop in Pinetown.⁸⁹

With his friend and colleague John A. Wilkinson, Parker promoted the development of land being cleared in northern Beaufort County by lumber companies. As a county road commissioner, Parker used convict labor to build roads through the Dismal Swamp. Parker and Wilkinson oversaw the construction of canals that removed standing water from newly cleared acreage. Trees not taken by the lumber industry were cut and burned. The land that was exposed during this process is some of the richest and blackest in the county and earned notoriety for its tremendous yield. Tradition states that for several years it was not necessary to till the land and that an extraordinary corn crop could be grown by broadcasting seeds over its surface.⁹⁰ In the 1920s, the Dutch community within Terra Ceia developed around this rich farmland.

⁸⁸ Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 341-8.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Roberts, *Family and Friends in Pine Town North Carolina, 1893-1918* (Durham, N.C.: 1981), 6-7, 10, 15-7, 68-9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 70-1.

Pinetown benefitted from the patronage of Surry Parker and the income generated from the local lumber industry. By the turn of the twentieth century, Parker's manufactory included a main building, a mill foundry, a patent office, a dry kiln, a paint shop, a draftsman's office, and a commissary serving his one-hundred employees, none of which stand today. In addition to the manufactory, the town featured several streets of houses, a graded school, six churches, five stores, an ice cream parlor and barber shop, a hotel, and a train depot. The streets were lit by oil lamps. The town hall in Pinetown included an auditorium furnished with a stage, dressing rooms, and tiered seating. Plays were locally produced several times a year and silent movies provided by Parker were shown free of charge. A local chapter of the Woodmen of the World met on the second floor. Pinetown also included a jail, a doctor's office, a blacksmith shop, and a post office established in 1894.⁹¹

Pinetown was one of many small communities that formed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at crossroads or along inland tributaries in Beaufort County. Though none of these rural communities enjoyed the urbane pleasures of Pinetown, they generally grew around a small industrial entity, such as a gristmill, sawmill, or cotton gin, and often included a one- or two-room graded school, one or more churches, and a post office that might have been housed in one of the local country stores. Postbellum rural communities included Acre, Bunyan, Gaylord, Haslin, Jessama, Latham, Old Ford, Pike Road, Ransomville, Sidney, Terra Ceia, Winsteadville, and Yeatesville, all on the north side of the Pamlico River, and Bonnerton, Edward, Gilead, Idalia, Prescott, Royal, and Small on the south side of the river. Shingle manufactories were among the more common rural industries, having a presence at Blounts Creek,

⁹¹ Ibid, 39, 41-9. None of these buildings now stand.

Bonnerton, Durhams Creek, and Leechville. Singular rural industries included a cotton spool manufactory operated by E. J. and Gilbert Hale at South Creek during the 1870s and a brick manufactory in Leechville organized by Frank Crary in the 1880s.⁹²

Infrastructure and Innovation

Following the introduction of steam-powered watercraft to the Pamlico River in 1835, the use of this shipping technology grew steadily and came to dominate transportation in and out of Beaufort County during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly with regard to the commercial routes established with Tarboro to the west and Norfolk to the north. A number of steam-powered vessels were constructed in and operated out of Washington. Though steamboats took advantage of newly navigable routes up the Tar River and through the Albemarle Sound, this technology introduced a new set of challenges to conducting waterborne trade, particularly on the Tar River. Steamboats could not operate if river levels dropped too low or during floods, or on the rare occasion that the river froze. Inland travel was restricted to river landings and port towns. Steam-powered vessels also required a lengthy allowance for travel time, as the shipment of cargo from Washington to Greenville could take between eight and twelve hours.⁹³ In the late nineteenth century, expanding railroads provided solutions to some of the problems inherent in operating steam-powered watercraft.

⁹² Vernon S. Stroupe, et al, eds., *Post Offices and Postmasters of North Carolina: Colonial to USPS, Volume I – Alamance through Durham* (Charlotte: North Carolina Postal History Society, 1996); Samuel L. Patterson, *Biennial Report* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell & Co., 1905), 688-9; Rev. L. Branson, ed., *The North Carolina Business Directory* (Raleigh: J. A. Jones, 1872), 29; Rev. L. Branson, ed., *The North Carolina Business Directory 1877 and 1878* (Raleigh: L. Branson, 1878), 31; Rev. Levi Branson, ed., *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1884* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1883), 134; Levi Branson, ed., *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory 1890* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1889), 96.

⁹³ McCabe, "The Development and Decline of Tar-Pamlico Maritime Commerce," 106, 172.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, transportation via rail began to surpass that by water. In 1877, the short-lived Jamesville and Washington Railroad was completed, operating one round trip per day between the Roanoke and Pamlico rivers. In order to access timber on land he leased from the Albemarle Swamp Land Company in the northeast portion of Beaufort County, lumber magnate John L. Roper constructed the Albemarle and Pantego Railroad, which appeared as early as 1881 on the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Pamlico River. When completed in 1887, the Albemarle and Pantego Railroad connected Beaufort County to Mackey's Ferry in Washington County and in 1909 to Edenton via the Albemarle Sound Trestle. In 1891, the Albemarle and Pantego line became part of the Norfolk and Southern Railroad.⁹⁴

In 1892, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad expanded into Beaufort County, first to include a line from Parmele in southwest Martin County to Washington and later a line from Washington to Vandemere in Pamlico County. En route to Washington, the Atlantic Coast Line rail from Parmele passed into Pitt County before running through two freight sidings called Bell and Grimes and a passenger station at Wharton. When completed in 1907, the Washington and Vandemere Railroad ran almost the length of the southern half of the county, passing near Chocowinity, Blounts Creek, Edward, Aurora, and Royal before running south into Pamlico County. Freight sidings at McConnell and Rover served farms between Chocowinity and Blounts Creek. During the potato boom of the early twentieth century, a number of small freight sidings appeared around Aurora,

⁹⁴ William LeRoy Vaughan Papers (Chapel Hill: Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina); U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, "Pamlico River," 1881 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina); Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 66, 344; S. David Carriker, *The North Carolina Railroad Map: A History of North Carolina Railroads, 1830-1990: Explanatory Text* (Charlotte, N.C.: Heritage Publishing Company, 1991).

including Bonner, Cherry, Hough, Hudnell, Leach, and Alfred. Royal, a crossroads community important to the potato industry, included a potato grading facility and served as a major loading point for the crop as well as a passenger station. George Leach of the Eureka Lumber Company was instrumental in founding the Washington and Vandemere Railroad, as it provided access to timberland he owned in southeastern Beaufort County.⁹⁵

In 1889, a line from Washington to Plymouth was completed. In 1906, this line became part of the Norfolk and Southern Railway, connecting Washington to Norfolk and Raleigh. The Washington and Plymouth line ran east from Washington, turning north at Bunyan and continuing northeast through Alligood, Slatestone, Walla Watta, and Pinetown, passenger and freight stations established by Surry Parker. A spur line ran from Pinetown to Pantego, passing through Acre and Wilkinson before splitting at Bishops Crossing to run north to Pike Road and south to Belhaven. In 1906, a third branch of the Norfolk and Southern Railway connected Washington to Vanceboro and Bridgeton, running past freight sidings at Frederick, Hackney, Norton, and Wilmar before passing into Craven County.⁹⁶

Several independent railroads also operated in Beaufort County, including the New Holland, Higginsport, and Mt. Vernon Railroad, which connected northeastern Beaufort County to the planned agricultural community developed by New Holland Farms, Incorporated, in Hyde County between 1920 and 1927. The Bayside and Yeatesville Railroad, which ran from Bath to Yeatesville between 1885 and 1905 and from Bath to Pamlico Beach between 1887 and 1920, moved lumber from rural parts of

⁹⁵ William LeRoy Vaughan Papers; Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 337; Carriker, *The North Carolina Railroad Map*.

⁹⁶ William LeRoy Vaughan Papers; Carriker, *The North Carolina Railroad Map*.

the county to the mill village of Bayside, which was established by Philadelphia lumber magnate Clarence Branning in the 1880s. Branning built the railroad, along with a sawmill, dry kilns, and worker housing, before selling the enterprise to the Roanoke Railroad and Lumber Company in 1887. The railroad operated until Bayside burned in 1920.⁹⁷

Though the use of railroads surpassed the use of steam-powered watercraft in the early twentieth century, as late as 1938 Beaufort County continued to rely on both methods of shipping crops and lumber to market. William L. Vaughan, as part of a project conducted for the Federal Writers' Project, collected information on the infrastructure of Beaufort County and compiled statistics regarding methods of exporting products to outside markets. Lumber was primarily shipped from Beaufort County by water, though the Norfolk and Southern Railroad shipped approximately two hundred carloads of lumber from Washington in 1938 and one thousand carloads from Belhaven. Ten million pounds of tobacco left Washington markets that year, 45% shipped by boat, 30% shipped by train, and 25% shipped by truck. Other major crops like soybeans and potatoes primarily moved by rail, with 150 carloads of soybeans and one thousand carloads of potatoes shipped via the Norfolk and Southern Railroad in 1938. Livestock, poultry, and eggs left Beaufort County by means of trucks. Inbound rail traffic included orders of brick, lime, cement, roofing, coal, agricultural implements, automobiles, fresh meat, lard, fertilizer, flour, hay, gasoline and kerosene, salt, and sugar.

In all, Beaufort County ports at Washington, Belhaven, and Aurora handled 192,581 tons of outbound and inbound freight in 1938, having a value of \$7,621,940.

⁹⁷ Carriker, *The North Carolina Railroad Map*; Brown and Lea, *Landmarks of Hyde County*, 27-30; Loy and Worthy, eds., *Washington and the Pamlico*, 341.

Freight arrived to port by means of the railroad and trucks. Freight and passenger boats on the Pamlico and Pungo rivers connected to the Norfolk-Baltimore and Carolina Boat Line, utilizing canals built to connect the Albemarle Sound to the Chesapeake. With the completion of the portion of the Intracoastal Waterway stretching from Norfolk to the town of Beaufort in 1932, communities along the Pamlico River seemed positioned to enjoy increased access to maritime commercial routes. Vaughan included this hopeful assertion in his notes:

The opening of the Intercoastal [sic] canals of the Inland Waterways has stimulated a renewed and increasing interest in water commerce, and from the ports of Washington and Belhaven now ply regular fleets. To-day, with protected harbors and channels of ample width and depth, the region of the Pamlico River is doing a telling water traffic. For those who “go down to the sea in ships”, the pristine glory of the days that were on our rivers seems about to return to Beaufort County.

Belhaven, located on the Intracoastal Waterway, boasted eleven wharves shipping 6,000 tons of fish, crabs, and oysters in 1938.⁹⁸

Roads through Beaufort County also improved greatly following the Civil War. As the population grew on both sides of the Pamlico River, more and more dirt roads began to link small communities and farmsteads, though small skiffs were also kept along inland tributaries to shorten travel time between settlements. Around 1905, Surry Parker introduced the first automobile to Beaufort County, closely followed by his friend and colleague John A. Wilkinson. Following World War I, the old corduroy road between Washington and Chocowinity became the first road in the county to be “macadamized” with a mixed asphalt pavement. During the 1930s, a number of state highway projects were completed, generally straightening and paving existing dirt roads of major importance to otherwise isolated rural communities. North Carolina Highways 33, 92,

⁹⁸ William LeRoy Vaughan Papers.

97, 99, 102, 171, 306, and 903 were constructed between World War I and II. During the Great Depression, the Works Progress Administration employed men in constructing and improving roads throughout the county. In addition, U.S. Highway 17 and U.S. Highway 264 were constructed in the 1930s, the first connecting Beaufort County north-south to Virginia and central Florida, and the second connecting the county east-west to Hyde and Wake counties.⁹⁹ Many of the first asphalt secondary state roads in Beaufort County were paved as part of Governor W. Kerr Scott's "Go Forward" program that began in 1949. Secondary state roads continued to be paved in Beaufort County throughout the third quarter of the twentieth century.

Rural electrification arrived in Beaufort County during the Scott administration. In 1949, electricity reached farms and crossroads communities throughout the county. Washington had constructed an electric plant around the turn of the twentieth century, and by the 1930s, Bath, Chocowinity, Aurora, and Edward had established connections to this plant. The town of Belhaven constructed its own plant in 1919. Prior to the installation of electricity, some private homes in rural Beaufort County utilized carbide lighting systems from around 1910 to 1940.¹⁰⁰

Small recreational establishments along the Pamlico River emerged in the early twentieth century to take advantage of access to sailing, fishing, and swimming. The summer resort at Bayview was probably the largest of several enterprises that developed in the 1920s and 1930s. The Bayview community was built on the site of Bayside, the mill village east of Bath that had burned in 1920. The resort included a large hotel with a

⁹⁹ Roberts, *Family and Friends in Pine Town North Carolina*, 91-2; Loy and Worthy, *Washington and the Pamlico*, 130, 397; William LeRoy Vaughan Papers; Personal communication, Jesse Tripp to Beth King, August 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Lefler, *North Carolina*, 626-7; William LeRoy Vaughan Papers; Personal communication, Jesse Tripp to Beth King, August 2011.

banquet room and a dance pavilion that extended over the Pamlico River. Bayview also featured a gambling casino, bowling alley, and merry-go-round, and a water slide at the bathing area. The hotel burned in 1944. A hotel and a dance pavilion were constructed in the 1930s at Pamlico Beach, located on Wade's Point at the confluence of the Pamlico and Pungo rivers. The Pamlico Beach Hotel was destroyed during a violent storm in the mid-1940s. Bathing areas, such as Hawkins Beach east of Washington and Whichard's Beach near Chocowinity, were popular during the early and mid twentieth century.¹⁰¹

Rural Domestic Architecture: 1860-1910

A far larger sample of houses survives from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in rural Beaufort County, especially from the first quarter of the twentieth century, than from earlier periods. Construction methods constituted the most dynamic factor in this period, with the transition from heavy- to light-frame construction taking place gradually over the second half of the nineteenth century. House types and plans generally followed precedents set before the Civil War, as many emergent forms tended to maintain a center-passage plan. The new forms, including T- and L-plan houses and other varieties, were developed in response to simplified processes of construction associated with light-framing. Dominant styles included traditional carryovers from the antebellum period as well as vernacular Victorian expressions popularized through mass-produced decorative elements.

Construction

Following the Civil War, a huge change in construction occurred as the South began to adopt the building technology associated with light framing. Light framing

¹⁰¹ Louis Van Camp, *Beaufort County, North Carolina* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2000), 27-9, 73.

originated in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, spurred by the availability of standardized milled lumber and reasonably priced cut iron nails. Many rural areas lagged behind, lacking the industry needed to produce new building materials quickly and cheaply. As manufacturing facilities increased in number in the postbellum years and as railroad lines expanded into even the most isolated areas, rural Southerners began to have equal access to bricks, nails, and lumber. In spite of these factors, many structures erected in rural Beaufort County prior to 1880 continued to use the early-nineteenth-century mixed construction technique of heavy-frame structural members supplemented by locally-sawn “light” lumber.

Light framing replaced the huge hewn timbers of heavy framing with closely-spaced two-inch-thick boards joined by manufactured nails. Corner posts and other principal framing members were created by nailing two or more boards together. As in heavy framing, vertical studs continued to provide stability. Other eastern North Carolina counties have also demonstrated a slow transition period between heavy- and light-framing techniques, but like other aspects of life in the postbellum South, traditional construction methods eventually subsided as Southerners grew reliant on manufactured goods and professional services.¹⁰²

Interior and exterior finishes also transitioned during this period from being predominantly the work of local craftsmen constructing elements for a specific structure to being mass-produced stock items that differed very little from one building to another. During the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, plaster interiors nearly disappeared in

¹⁰² Fred W. Peterson, “Anglo-American Wooden Frame Farmhouses in the Midwest, 1830-1900: Origins of Balloon Frame Construction,” in *People, Power, Places: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VIII*, eds. Sally McMurry and Annmarie Adams (Knoxville: UT Press, 2000), 3-16; Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 117-8; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 63.

rural Beaufort County, having been replaced with manufactured beaded tongue-and-groove boards applied liberally to walls and ceilings, particularly south of the Pamlico River. At the same time, stock doors, newels, balustrades, and mantels were purchased to update older homes and to finish new ones. Built-in corner cupboards began to appear in kitchen wings.

Traditional House Types, Forms, and Style

In contrast to significant changes that affected construction techniques during the last half of the nineteenth century, house types and forms changed very little before the turn of the twentieth century, displaying a remarkable conservatism in form and plan, as well as style. Several traditional house forms remained popular in rural Beaufort County, including the I-House, the one-story and story-and-a-half side-gable house, and late examples of the coastal cottage. Nearly uniform in size and appearance, center-passage I-Houses continued to be built in rural Beaufort County throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century and remained a popular house form in nearly every small community. Many of these houses continue to be occupied, resulting in the widespread application of modern siding and replacement windows to many houses of this type over the last twenty years. Despite the form's ubiquity, locating an I-House that retains its material integrity is challenging in modern Beaufort County.

One of the most substantially intact examples of an I-House built after the Civil War is the Leggett House (BF 453). Constructed west of Washington ca. 1870, the Leggett House retains a few retardataire elements that reference the Greek Revival style, including molded gable returns and modestly capped corner boards. The porch shelters vertical flush sheathing surrounding the door and six-over-six wood sash windows on the

first-floor façade. The Leggett House presents an early example of a new chimney placement that would become very popular in northern Beaufort County following the Civil War, though it was not observed south of the Pamlico River. Rather than locating chimneys at the gable ends of the house, builders began to place chimneys between the rear outer wall of the house and any shed rooms or rear wing that the plan included.

In addition to its chimney placement, the Leggett House illustrates what is probably the most common decorative application made to traditional houses in rural Beaufort County during the last half of the nineteenth century: decorative flush sheathing, arranged horizontally, vertically, or sometimes diagonally, surrounding the door and window treatments, usually beneath a hip-roof front porch. This common treatment is often the most overtly decorative element featured on traditional forms such as I-Houses or smaller side-gable dwellings. Further, the façade of the Leggett House includes a wide fascia board typical of I-Houses of this period in the study area. Two additional late nineteenth-century I-Houses that illustrate the features discussed above are located on Ball Road near Old Ford (BF 65) and on U.S. Highway 264 near Everetts Crossroads (BF 1430).¹⁰³

The Will Smithwick House (BF 1756) at Core Point provides another late example of the I-House type. Constructed around the turn of the twentieth century, the Smithwick House, which faces the Pamlico River, features a façade dominated by a wraparound hip-roof porch. A massive two-story wing is an early-twentieth century addition to the original plan. In rural Beaufort County, shed rooms tended to be

¹⁰³ Jennifer Cathey, Leggett Family House (BF 453) Survey File (TIP R-2510, 2001, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh); Marshall Bullock, House (BF 65) Survey File (Mid-East Commission Survey, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

eliminated from the plan of many I-Houses built during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century and kitchen wings often were attached directly to the rear of the house, sometimes via a breezeway that was later fully enclosed. One-story kitchen ells often included attic space that could be accessed from one of the second floor rooms in the core of the house. Other, larger versions of the I-House type, such as the Will Smithwick House, included two-story rear wings that afforded a considerable amount of additional living space. The interior of the Smithwick House provides an example of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century standardized finishes. The Smithwick House includes floor-to-ceiling beaded tongue-and-groove board in each room, turn-of-the-twentieth-century stock doors featuring five horizontal panels and porcelain knobs, a simple stock newel post and balustrade on the stair, linoleum floor cloths, and mass-produced, minimally-decorated post-and-lintel mantels.

Several examples of traditional story-and-a-half side-gable houses remain in rural Beaufort County from the late nineteenth-century. The Candy-Alligood House (BF 468), a house on N.C. Highway 32 in the Five Point vicinity (BF 1358), and a house on SR 1632 in Pike Road (BF 1364) are all similar houses from the late nineteenth century that feature relatively large half-stories, exterior-end chimneys, and hip- or shed-roof front porches supported by simple square posts. Decorative elements are limited to molded gable returns or flush sheathing beneath the porch. The house near Five Points and the house in Pike Road retain traditional shed rooms, while the Candy-Alligood House includes a kitchen wing. Other similar houses from this period continued to utilize

detached kitchens. The Williams House near Small (BF 1771) and a house on Austin Road in Campbell Creek (BF1780), for example, retain detached kitchens.¹⁰⁴

The coastal cottage is another traditional form that continued to be utilized in new building projects during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A house on Burbage Road near Burbage Crossroads (BF 1597), for example, retains a classic coastal cottage form, including rear shed rooms and an engaged porch, but appears to date from the early twentieth century. Slightly tapered porch posts, three-over-one wood sash windows, and a rear flue stack, all original, suggest that this traditional form was built as late as the first quarter of the twentieth century. A house on N.C. Highway 99 near Pike Road (BF 1367) provides a second example of a late coastal cottage form. Other side-gable forms from the turn of the twentieth century retain an engaged porch beneath a steeply pitched roof that does not break below the plate as in the coastal cottage form. A house on Boyd Road near Acre (BF 1396) illustrates this trend.

Emergent Forms and Styles

Light-frame construction, when adopted, had an immediate effect on the basic form of houses. Heavy hewn timbers had restricted house types to boxy, rectangular forms. In addition, the first generations of American builders had favored styles that emphasized the symmetry of a one-dimensional façade. Light framing simplified the construction of corners, wall extensions, bay windows, overhangs, and irregular plans, leading to the emergence of forms in which two perpendicular wings transected, often forming an asymmetrical façade. T-plan, L-plan, and gable-front-and-wing houses all emerged during the late nineteenth century in rural Beaufort County as new construction

¹⁰⁴ Jennifer Cathey, Candy-Alligood Farm (BF 468) Survey File (TIP B-4018, 2004, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh).

techniques allowed builders to modify conservative forms. Most of these houses retained a traditional plan, utilizing a center passage just as in an I-House.

Coinciding with changes in traditional forms, a number of “romantic revival” styles captivated Americans during the nineteenth century. The Greek Revival was arguably the most influential of the romantic styles in Beaufort County, and though subsequent Gothic Revival and Italianate styles appear to have had little effect on the rural areas, other vernacular renditions of Victorian-era styles such as the Eastlake and the Queen Anne had a measureable impact on the exterior and interior of late nineteenth-century country houses. These simplified versions of popular styles were expressed through stock pieces like spindlework or jigsaw-cut detailing that was most often applied to porches or other components of the façade.¹⁰⁵ In rural Beaufort County, elements of Victorian-era styles were applied to traditional and emergent house forms.

The Redditt House (BF 1734) in Edward exhibits the application of vernacular decorative millwork to both the exterior and interior of a traditional form. A one-and-a-half-story side-gable house, the Redditt House is astonishingly urbane given the rural isolation of tiny Edward. The house features turned porch posts accented with spindlework beneath a steeply pitched center gable. Contrasting panels of beaded diagonal flush sheathing accent the door and window treatments beneath a canted porch ceiling. The entrance includes a door containing two slightly arched, Italianate-influenced glass panes above a series of horizontal and vertical panels and a pair of sidelights. Hardware, including a mechanical twist doorbell labeled “turn,” is intact. Interior elements include a turned newel post and balustrade and an Eastlake-inspired

¹⁰⁵ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 117-8; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 63, 68-9.

miniature mantel. Decorative paint patterns have been applied to the mantel and the vertical wainscoting in the parlor.

The so-called “Triple A” roofline, in which a central or attic gable was added to the façade of side-gable houses, became prevalent throughout the state in the second half of the nineteenth century; however, very few houses in rural Beaufort County feature a central gable. A story-and-a-half side-gable house near Union Grove (BF 1472) provides an example, having a striking center gable that lends a stylish air to this otherwise typical rural dwelling.

The Carl Willard House (BF 58) near Old Ford exhibits the most effusive application of Victorian-era sawnwork found on surviving rural architecture in Beaufort County. The chimney contains date bricks bearing the inscription “AUG THE 16 1887,” and this I-House has much in common with previous examples of late nineteenth-century traditional forms. The delicately dentiled fascia board, molded gable returns, and simple corner boards are somewhat at odds with the riotously patterned posts and trim that adorn the hip-roof porch. Beneath the porch, the door surround, including sidelights, features bold paneled molding and an overarching trim having a triangular motif. On the interior, an elaborate stair includes a sunburst under-stair panel and sawnwork balusters.¹⁰⁶

Emergent house forms also carried elements of the Victorian-era styles. The J. C. Swanner House (BF 205) north of Washington is a wonderful example of the creativity light-frame construction techniques allowed. In this two-story crosswing form of ca. 1890, a projecting central bay bisects the side-gable block of the house, creating a distinctive cruciform plan. The hip-roof front porch, which wraps around the gable-front

¹⁰⁶ Marshall Bullock, Carl Willard House (BF 58) Survey File (Mid-East Commission Survey, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

bay, features chamfered posts, sawn brackets, and square balusters. Flush sheathing surrounds the doors and windows beneath the porch. Interior finishes include beaded tongue-and-groove board and unusual mantels displaying the extremely late influence of the Greek Revival style, having geometric moldings applied to heavy post-and-lintel forms.¹⁰⁷ A house located at the Acre crossroads (BF 1375) illustrates the gable-front-and-wing form. This turn-of-the-twentieth-century two-story example maintains an unusual one-dimensional façade, as the side-gable wing intersects the front-gable block in such a way as to create an even plane rather than a multidimensional façade. Exterior elements include a wraparound porch with chamfered posts and an off-center entrance within the gable-front block featuring sidelights and a transom.

The T-plan form was probably the most common of the emergent center-passage forms in rural Beaufort County during the late nineteenth century. The Whitehurst Farm (BF 1669) near Blounts Creek includes a ca. 1900 farmhouse of this form. This story-and-a-half dwelling is composed of two wings that intersect at a right angle to form a “T” with the top “bar” running front to back. A hip-roof porch wraps around the right angle that the wings create on the façade. Supported by chamfered posts, the porch shelters diagonal beaded tongue-and-groove sheathing that has been applied around the windows and door. The roof features pressed metal shingles. Another illustration of the T-plan form is the Bishop Joseph A. Beebe House (BF 210) north of Washington. Constructed ca. 1890 for an African American leader in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, the Beebe House includes two interior chimneys and a wraparound porch that features turned posts and decorative sawnwork. The interior displays simple mantels, heavily-molded

¹⁰⁷ Richard L. Mattson, J. C. Swanner House (BF 205) Survey File (TIP R-2510, 1995, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh).

door surrounds, and a staircase with under-stair coffering, turned balusters, and a reeded newel post.¹⁰⁸

Closely related to the T-plan is the L-plan form, in which two perpendicular wings intersect at a right angle to create an “L”. A two-story example (BF 1491) sits at the Winsteadville crossroads. The front-projecting wing of this house is situated beneath a hip roof. A semi-octagonal bay having a wide pedimented gable has been appended to the wing. The multidimensional appearance that results is perhaps rural Beaufort County’s closest approximation to the Queen Anne style, a Victorian-era mode noted for its irregularity of plan and massing.¹⁰⁹ This house features an asymmetrical porch that wraps around the east elevation. The pedimented gable contains a decorative trio of fixed windows. Other fixed windows are configured in the Queen Anne style with small panes of colored glass at the perimeter.

The Dr. Redditt House (BF 147) in Edward provides a second example of a house influenced by the Queen Anne style. A one-story cottage with cross-gable roof, the Dr. Redditt House features a central tower with a pyramidal roof and a small overhang braced by Stick-style bracket supports. Spindle ornaments, stained glass windows, and returned cornices appear within the house’s three gable ends.¹¹⁰ A small sample of additional houses, far more modest than the Dr. Redditt House, feature pyramidal roofs. Though this roof configuration does not appear to have been widely popular in rural Beaufort County, a few examples, including the Jimmy Norris House (BF 1720) near Blounts Creek and the W. B. Grey House (BF 1748) in Bonnerton, exist. A front-gable wing

¹⁰⁸ Richard L. Mattson, Bishop Joseph A. Beebe House (BF 210) Survey File (TIP R-2510, 1995, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh).

¹⁰⁹ Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 69.

¹¹⁰ HPO Staff, Bonner House (BF 147) Survey File (Tar-Neuse Survey, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

appended to the façade of the Grey House includes a vernacular sunburst motif beneath the gable.

Late Nineteenth-Century Community Spaces: Churches, Schools, and Commercial Buildings

Three highly significant church buildings survive from the late nineteenth century with exterior and interior finishes that reflect their period of origin: St. John's Episcopal Church (BF 175), Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist Church (BF 1634), and Sandy Grove Primitive Baptist Church (BF 63). These churches were among the first founded in rural parts of the county, as all of their congregations were established before the Civil War; however, each church building was abandoned in the 1970s after the last of the congregation members died.¹¹¹ These churches reflect the endurance of the early nineteenth-century construction technique of mixing sawn and heavy-framed timber, as even St. John's Episcopal Church, constructed in 1899, retains the use of heavy sills. All three churches utilized a traditional one-room, gable-front form that would continue to characterize rural churches in Beaufort County until the mid-twentieth century.

Though St. John's Episcopal Church was consecrated at a site on Durhams Creek in 1826, the present church building stands near the community of Bonnerton, approximately three miles inland from the creek. The original church site was chosen so that communicants could arrive by boat, the most efficient mode of travel south of the Pamlico River in the early nineteenth century. As the dominant means of transportation

¹¹¹ "Historic St. John's Church Consecrated Apr. 26, 1826," *Washington Daily News*, November 17, 1976; Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist meeting records, in possession of Mrs. Mary Frances Gerard Jefferson of Washington, N.C. and Mrs. Pamela Warren Slade of Blounts Creek, N.C.; Sandy Grove Primitive Baptist Church records (John A. Wilkinson Room, George H. and Laura E. Brown Memorial Library, Washington, N.C.).

shifted with the creation of roads in southeastern Beaufort County, St. John's Church began to suffer from low attendance due to its remote location. In the late nineteenth century, the congregation built a vernacular Gothic sanctuary near Bonnerton. The church features colorful Queen Anne windows in lancet surrounds beneath a strikingly steep gable, but today stands in deteriorated condition, held in private hands and used for storage.¹¹²

Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist Church is another example of postbellum church construction dating from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The congregation formed in 1808 and occupied the same site from 1810 through the 1970s.¹¹³ The church as it stands is a stark example of the plain Primitive Baptist aesthetic, devoid of any overt ornamentation.¹¹⁴ The church is supported by brick piers, with half-round log floor joists and replacement sills that appear to date from the early twentieth century. The interior of the church contains a small round dais and original pews. Windows have been covered with boards but appear to have contained six-over-six wood sash. Interior walls are sheathed in beaded tongue-and-groove board.

Sandy Grove Primitive Baptist Church near Small is nearly identical to its sister church at Blounts Creek. Sandy Grove Church was constructed in 1882 when the ca. 1855 congregation removed from a former meeting location on Durhams Creek. The church is located near a community named for Congressman John H. Small, who served in the House of Representatives from 1899 to 1921, but in the 1880s the area was better

¹¹² "Historic St. John's Church Consecrated Apr. 26, 1826," *Washington Daily News*, November 17, 1976.

¹¹³ Deed Book 16, Pages 176-177, Beaufort County Register of Deeds, Washington, N.C.; Blounts Creek Primitive Baptist meeting records; Sandy Grove Primitive Baptist Church records.

¹¹⁴ Timothy P. Mattimoe, "Preserving the Rural Church: North Carolina's Historic Primitive Baptist Church House," presented online, Partners for Sacred Spaces, Philadelphia, 1989; Melanie Sovine Reid, "'Neither Adding nor Taking Away': the Care and Keeping of Primitive Baptist Church Houses," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis, M.D.: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), 169-176.

known for a sandy ridge that ran nearly north-south along modern-day N.C. Highway 306. Local tradition states that Highway 306 roughly follows one of the oldest roads in the county, established by Native Americans as a trading path before white settlement. Sandy Grove Primitive Baptist Church has an adjacent cemetery with marked graves from the 1890s onward. A third Primitive Baptist church dating from the turn of the twentieth century was surveyed during the summer of 2010 but has since collapsed. Pungo Primitive Baptist Church (BF 1470) had a very similar appearance to the other churches, with the addition of a diamond louver beneath the primary gable.

Only one school from the late nineteenth century remains in rural Beaufort County, a plantation school (BF 456) near Tripp Point constructed between 1875 and 1880 for the children of William Henry Tripp and those of freed slaves who remained on his farm following the Civil War. Tripp's eldest daughter Lavinia is believed to have been the first schoolteacher to six of her brothers and sisters and children of the freed slaves. The one-room school measures twelve by twenty-four feet. Covered in board and batten and constructed of heart pine and cypress, the interior is sheathed in beaded tongue-and-groove board. Six-over-six sash windows retain most of their original glass. The school is supported by brick piers.¹¹⁵

The John Oden Store (BF 166), a late nineteenth-century store building, is a precious survival of a once common form. This long frame structure includes office and attic storage space to the rear and a dock on its west elevation designed for unloading heavy items such as fertilizer. The interior of the store is entirely intact, with floor-to-ceiling built-in wooden shelves and a counter with the first cash register purchased for the store. John H. Oden originally established his store on the banks of Bath Creek within

¹¹⁵ Sylvia Tripp Kohus, Tripp School (BF 456) Survey File (North Carolina Study List Application, 2003).

the small community of Hunter's Bridge about 1890. He moved the building a short distance in the early twentieth century to take advantage of traffic on the road that would be widened and paved as U.S. Highway 264 in the 1930s.¹¹⁶

Rural Domestic Architecture: 1900-1960

Forms and Massing

The turn of the twentieth century in rural Beaufort County was marked, for the first time, by a widespread transition in massing. Though I-Houses and other center-passage, single-pile dwellings continued to be built through the first quarter of the twentieth century, a new form emerged on the Beaufort County landscape around 1910 that did more to rival the popularity of traditional forms than any other house type before it. Across the nation, aggressive marketing of the “foursquare” house prompted many mail-order versions of this type to be constructed and inspired local builders to replicate the kits they saw illustrated in catalogues. Of the American Foursquare, Leland Roth writes, “The plan, with a broad front porch, had four or five first-story rooms, four or five bedrooms above, and a generous attic under a hip roof, often with generous dormers on all four sides.”¹¹⁷ Following the turn of the twentieth century, much new construction utilizing a center-passage plan in rural Beaufort County consisted of double, rather than single, pile massing. The early twentieth century also saw the rise of totally new floor

¹¹⁶ HPO Staff, John Oden Store (BF 166) Survey File (Tar-Neuse Survey, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh); Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*, 180; Personal communication, Lynda Oden to Beth King, October 2011.

¹¹⁷ Leland Roth, *American Architecture: a History* (Boulder, C.O.: Westview Press, 2001), 332.

plans. Many bungalow forms designed in the Craftsman style contained an open arrangement of rooms under a front gable roof.¹¹⁸

Two particularly excellent examples of the American Foursquare house stand in northern Beaufort County. The first (BF 1462), located outside of Pantego on U.S. Highway 264, bears all the hallmarks of a typical early-twentieth-century Foursquare, having a boxy two-story, four-over-four plan with a pyramidal dormer emerging from the primary hip roof. Exposed rafter tails beneath the primary and porch roof and the application of shingles to the second floor of the house are elements of the Craftsman style that began to influence Beaufort County dwellings during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The L. R. Pilley House near Gaylord (BF 1347) presents an identical form; however, features such as its wide soffits, wraparound porch with classically inspired columns, and traditional door surround including a simple, clean-cut transom and sidelights suggest that this Foursquare carries another nationally popular style, the Colonial Revival.

Style: Colonial Revival and Craftsman, 1910-1940

During the early twentieth century, the American Foursquare offered consumers a canvas on which to apply either the Colonial Revival or Craftsman style, or sometimes elements of both. The Colonial Revival style has its roots in the United States centennial celebration in 1876, when revived interest in elements associated with the construction of colonial dwellings emerged. It began to appear in rural Beaufort County in the 1910s and existed concurrently for several decades with the far more popular Craftsman style. The Craftsman style, a commercialized outgrowth of the Arts and Crafts movement in

¹¹⁸ John A. Jakle, Robert W. Bastian, and Douglas K. Meyer, *Common Houses in America's Small Towns: the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi Valley* (Athens: UGA Press, 1989), 13.

England, is characterized by elements such as the application of multiple types of exterior siding materials; exposed structural members such as rafter tails; eave brackets; shed- and hip-roof dormers; and deep porches, often engaged, featuring post-on-pier supports.¹¹⁹ Many dwellings in rural Beaufort County inspired by the Craftsman bungalow include few or none of these elements; instead, the Craftsman style's greatest legacy to rural Beaufort County is the mode's preference for the gable-front form.

The long-term effects of the Colonial Revival style on rural architecture in Beaufort County pale in comparison to the near-ubiquity of Craftsman-derived houses built throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Foursquare houses like the L. R. Pilley House demonstrate that the Colonial Revival style did trickle into rural Beaufort County. The Thad Hodges House (BF 1609) illustrates the further influence of the Colonial Revival style in the study area. In its retention of wide soffits, uniform window and door surrounds, and narrow cornerboards, the Hodges House is a good example of a twentieth-century northern Beaufort County farmhouse. The screened front porch includes original columns supporting a full-width hip roof. Fixed windows on the façade and on the south side entrance sheltered by a pedimented overhang provide a decorative element. Other windows consist of vertical four-over-one wood sash suggestive of the Craftsman aesthetic.¹²⁰

Perhaps the best blending of the Colonial Revival and Craftsman aesthetic is exhibited by a two-story, double-pile, center-passage house near Leggetts Crossroads. Surrounded by farm fields, the W. B. Cherry House (BF 1413) features paired columns

¹¹⁹ Power, *The Historic Architecture of Pitt County*, 125-137; Butchko, *Martin Architectural Heritage*, 72, 74.

¹²⁰ Penne Sandbeck, Thad Hodges House (BF 1609) Survey File (TIP R-2511, 2011, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh).

and curvilinear brackets supported by low brick plinths. The hip-roof porch wraps around the south elevation of the house to the rear. The standing-seam metal roof includes a deep overhang that shelters a wide soffit and delicate exposed rafter tails. Interior chimneys are oriented between the partition walls on either side of the center passage. Paired windows contain a vertical four-over-one wood sash configuration.

Without question, the most high-style expression of the Craftsman style in rural Beaufort County belongs to a large double-pile center-passage house in Terra Ceia. The W. C. Boschen House (BF 1451), executed on a strikingly large scale, stands two-and-a-half stories tall with a half-width English basement and an attic lighted by four hip-roof dormers. An extended front porch stretches into a porte-cochere. Exterior features include brick porch posts, second-floor shingle siding, and wide eaves sheltering exposed rafter tails. Windows consist of mixed eight-over-one and ten-over-one sash, with nine-over-one sash in the dormers. The molded door surround at the main entrance includes a ten-pane transom and twelve-pane sidelights. A hip-roof kitchen wing with wraparound porch is located to the rear of the house. A complementary carriage house stands to the north.

Elements of the Craftsman style are manifested most clearly in two houses at the Winsteadville crossroads. One is a rare Beaufort County example of a form built widely across the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century: a wide one-and-a-half-story Craftsman bungalow (BF 1490) with clipped side gables and a pronounced wall dormer carrying a bank of four windows. The house has lost many historic elements but retains a large wraparound porch and paired window configuration on the first floor. A one-story neighbor (BF 1493) possesses a higher degree of material integrity, retaining

four-over-one and six-over-one wood sash windows as well as tapered wooden columns on brick piers, shingle siding, and exposed rafter tails. The façade presents a front-facing gable with a smaller projecting bay and steeply sloping shed-roof porch. An entrance on the east side elevation contains a three-light Craftsman door.

Mail-order (or mail-order-inspired) Craftsman-style dwellings like the one-story house at Winsteadville are rare in rural Beaufort County. Builders were far more likely to apply Craftsman elements to traditional forms, predominantly the one-and-a-half-story side-gable house. Sometimes the Craftsman influence was as simple as the inclusion of a wall dormer with exposed rafter tails on a side-gable form, as the Jack Douglas House (BF 1412) demonstrates. The Douglas House, built ca. 1910 at Douglas Crossroads, appears to be one of the earliest examples that blend the Craftsman aesthetic with a traditional form. The house features a wide shed-roof dormer, latticed porch posts, and six-over-six windows. Other houses incorporating a central dormer, such as a story-and-a-half house near Ransomville (BF 1314), demonstrate the application of square porch supports within a screened porch and paired six-over-six windows. This house has the traditional form of a coastal cottage but carries the Craftsman style.

Some of the most whimsical vernacular adaptations of the Craftsman aesthetic in rural Beaufort County are applied to traditional forms. A one-and-a-half-story house in the Slatestone vicinity, built ca. 1925, features a hip-roof porch with a series of flush-sheathed spandrel arches supported by squat posts on brick piers. An eyebrow dormer emerges from the half-story. A similar porch treatment has also been applied to a ca. 1930 side-gable house west of Bath (BF 1346). Here, a gable-front bay projects onto the deep Craftsman-style front porch, giving this house the illusion of being asymmetrical.

The Craftsman style's most widespread and lasting legacy in rural Beaufort County is its association with a new emphasis on front-facing gables. The J. F. Tyer House (BF 1440), built ca. 1910 near Bath, is one of the earliest examples of a front-gable house in the study area, but this rare two-story form appears to have been influenced more by the Colonial Revival style, with wide soffit, enclosed eaves, and pedimented gable, as well as a simple, refined transom and sidelights surrounding the gable-front entrance. The wraparound porch is supported by square posts. Another unusually large front-gable house is situated on the Pamlico River at Core Point (BF 1759). This ca. 1920 story-and-a-half house with wide shed dormers positioned on either side of the gable features diamond-shaped louvers in the front and rear gable. The hip-roof porch with exposed rafter tails is supported by latticed square posts and brick piers.

These large, stylish examples of front-gable house forms are far from typical of rural Beaufort County. Much more common are dwellings like the ca. 1935 Daniel Cox House (BF 1704) in Blounts Creek, a one-story, front-gable house with a boxy, screened hip-roof porch and ornamentation limited to latticed porch posts, decorative shutters, and a single-pane attic window. Incredibly modest front-gable dwellings such as a small house near Old Ford built ca. 1920 (BF 1310) are also numerous. The front-gable house form, overwhelmingly prevalent on both sides of the Pamlico River, comprised one-third of all domestic structures identified as being fifty years old or older on the south side of the county. A variant of the front-gable form prevalent only on the north side of the river and particularly prevalent in the Slatestone vicinity features a clipped front-facing gable, as illustrated by a ca. 1930 house on Slatestone Road (BF 1328). Another Craftsman-derived form multiplied across the northern half of the county, a pyramidal-roof

bungalow featuring a prominent hipped dormer, a hip-roof porch with tapered posts on brick piers, and paired vertical three-over-one or four-over-one sash windows, is exemplified by houses near Everetts Crossroads (BF 1439) and Slatestone (BF 1324), both ca. 1930.

Other Twentieth-Century Forms and Styles

During the first half of the twentieth century, linear-plan dwellings were constructed in rural Beaufort County, particularly on the south side of the Pamlico River. In southern Beaufort County, rural examples of the shotgun house are not uncommon. The ca. 1935 Naomi Whitehurst House (BF 1717) is one of the most intact examples of this form. Three rooms are stacked behind the gable-front façade with an off-center entrance that aligns with one at the rear. Naomi Whitehurst operated Whitehurst's Grocery through the 1980s, when the store was replaced with a double-wide modular home sited next to the house on Old Blounts Creek Road (SR 1123). Side-gable houses from this period, including the ca. 1925 Rufus Lewis House (BF 1676), are also commonly composed of three rooms arranged successively. The primary entrance to these side-gable linear-plan houses commonly opens from the façade into the first or third room in sequence, or two separate entrances on the façade open into the first and third rooms.

Masonry construction, of which no examples built prior to the second quarter of the twentieth century remain, lends itself to a small sample of houses, all in the northern half of the county, that show the influence of the Tudor Revival style. A typical rural example of this style located on U.S. Highway 17 north of Old Ford (BF 1606) utilizes an off-center entrance and asymmetrical roof line to modestly recall fifteenth-century

English prototypes. The house's masonry construction and steeply pitched front-gable roof are typical of the style, as well as its arched entry beneath a miniature gable and side porch with an arched opening.¹²¹

A true anomaly in the rural Beaufort County landscape, one Modernist ranch house was recorded east of Washington. Constructed ca. 1950, the Horace Wilson House (BF 1407) was built on a slab foundation and features shingle siding and weatherboard exterior, fixed and sliding windows, and a flat roof with large interior chimney, overhanging eaves, and a carport. The façade includes corner windows and a bank of five windows.

Twentieth-Century Farmsteads

Considering Beaufort County's strong agricultural heritage, disappointingly few historic agricultural buildings survive to the present, particularly in a "farm complex" arrangement that could demonstrate a typical collection of ancillary buildings supporting the average small farm. Buildings that survive are often severely deteriorated, many having fallen out of use during the fourth quarter of the twentieth century as individuals abandoned farming or upgraded to new equipment more associated with "agribusiness." As noted earlier, only a minuscule sampling of outbuildings from the mid-nineteenth century were recorded during the survey, including a smokehouse at Belfont, a small barn and smokehouse at the John W. Linton House, and a reconfigured shed at the Churchill Stilley House that may, as the owner claimed, have been reconstructed from the framing members of slave housing.

¹²¹ Butchko, *Martin County Heritage*, 77.

Pack houses and tobacco barns are among the most prevalent historic agricultural structures in the county. Livestock barns (predominantly mules and horses) and equipment sheds are also frequently found in rural Beaufort County. Chicken houses are relatively plentiful, but hog parlors and pens are few and far between, somewhat surprising given the importance of hogs throughout Beaufort County's history. A small sample of potato houses were found, far fewer than would be expected given the prominence of Irish and sweet potatoes in Beaufort County during the first half of twentieth century. A large potato grading facility located at the Royal station on the Washington and Vandemere Railroad was destroyed during the survey before complete documentation of the facility could take place.

At the Richard Cratch House (BF 1677), a modest number of early to mid twentieth-century outbuildings survive from the full complement of ancillary buildings that supported the ca. 1890 I-House through the first half of the twentieth century. The yard includes a smokehouse, well house, chicken house, shed, and grape arbor. No wooden tobacco barns remain, but a large, frame tobacco pack house sited next to the farmhouse retains a full-size ordering pit on its east elevation and stables for mules to the south. The site includes two metal bulk barns from the last quarter of the twentieth century. While the collection of historic outbuildings is far from complete, the landscape surrounding the Richard Cratch House retains evidence of several of Cratch's agricultural interests from the nineteenth century. At nearby Cotton Patch Landing, heavy cypress piles remaining from the landing's use to move farm products to market are visible in Blounts Creek when water levels are low. On a bluff above the landing, portions of an old tram or "light rail" road that once conveyed cotton and rice to Rover's Station on the

Washington and Vandemere Railroad are visible. Perhaps most significant is the remainder of a tar kiln, the only such structure identified during the survey as a survival of the turpentine production so essential to the Beaufort County economy during the nineteenth century. Jean Cratch Gurkin attests that as late as the mid-twentieth century, tar kilns remained scattered across her great-grandfather's farm but were rooted up and destroyed by hogs seeking charcoal.¹²²

The ca. 1900 Whitehurst Farm near Blounts Creek (BF 1669), the home of three never-married sisters Becky, Sadie, and Minnie, retains one of the best collections of farm-related outbuildings in the county, including a pack house, potato house, livestock barn, equipment shed, well house, and two log tobacco barns. Similarly, the nearby Mark Taylor Farm (BF 1675) includes, in addition to a ca. 1930 Craftsman-inspired double-pile clipped-gable farmhouse, a well house, equipment shed, garage, chicken house, pack house, and two frame tobacco barns. An old farm path runs east from Gilead Shores Road (SR 1119) to Blounts Bay.

Perhaps the most intact agricultural complex identified during the survey was established south of Chocowinity by Isaac Edwards following his service in World War II. The Isaac Edwards Farm (BF 1663) includes four tobacco barns, three of which are frame-constructed and one of which is log, and a large pack house. Mrs. Edwards' chicken house is unusually large, and Mr. Edwards estimated that his wife generally kept

¹²² Personal communication, Jean C. Gurkin to Beth King, February 2011. Goose Creek State Park east of Washington is now interpreting the importance of the naval stores industry in Beaufort County by preserving three tar kilns along the park's newest trail. As stated on page 29, C. Wingate Reed provides the following description of a tar kiln in *Beaufort County: Two Centuries of its History*: "Tar kilns consisted of a small, circular mound of earth, sloping in to a cavity in the center, with a conduit leading to a circular trench which surrounds the mound. The split sticks were piled on this mound to a height of ten or twelve feet, and covered with earth. Fire was applied through an opening in the top. This burned with a slow, smoldering heat, charring the wood and causing the tar to flow into the cavity, through the conduit, and into the ditch, where it was spooned out and barreled."

around 200 laying hens. The chicken house retains its roosting boxes and sheltered runs. A pole-constructed hog parlor to the south of the front-gable farmhouse includes a concrete slab and hog pens.

The farm's domestic outbuildings are associated with the early-twentieth-century farmhouse. A detached kitchen has been moved away from the house and converted into a storage shed, but it retains its original cook stove. As a child in the 1920s, Mr. Edwards slept in this kitchen. The early twentieth-century smokehouse and washhouse stand to one side of the farmhouse. Other historic outbuildings include a two-bay garage and two small sheds. Modern features of the farm are two metal grain silos and three bulk tobacco barns that Mr. Edwards added to the farm in 1977.¹²³

In general, tobacco-related outbuildings seem to have survived to a greater extent than other agricultural support buildings, perhaps because of tobacco's position as a mainstay of the local economy throughout the twentieth century. The retention of tobacco barns allows for a more complete chronology of these forms than can be attempted for any other outbuilding type. Log tobacco barns still dot the landscape, particularly south of Chocowinity, but can be found on both sides of the river. For example, a log barn constructed of hewn, square-notched logs and mud chinking (BF 1478) still stands in relatively good condition east of Washington. Evenly spaced rows of tier poles on which tobacco leaves were hung to cure remain in place. The barn is sited on a brick foundation.

Near the Gilead crossroads, a small collection of tobacco barns (BF 1695) that once belonged to R. A. Taylor illustrates the development of this agricultural form over the twentieth century. The site includes two log barns, two frame barns, and three metal

¹²³ Personal communication, Isaac Edwards to Beth King, February 2011.

bulk barns under a pole-constructed shed. The log barns, built during the second quarter of the twentieth century, have notably low entrances that minimize the escape of heat and humidity during the curing process. Both contain four rows of tier poles and have the remnants of rolled asphalt siding that was applied to help maintain the desired level of heat and humidity inside, as well as a system of vents integral to the flue-cure process emerging from the metal roof. These log barns likely began as wood-cure barns, although evidence of the original brick furnaces was not observed. Next to the log barns are two mid-twentieth-century frame barns complete with grading sheds. Constructed on the same scale as the log barns, frame tobacco barns are almost always found wrapped in green asphalt siding and sometimes are “double-framed,” with rolled asphalt siding separating two layers of lumber, as the barns at the Taylor Farm illustrate. Grading sheds offered sheltered areas for sorting fresh-picked green tobacco leaves and bundling them before bunches were “poked up” to dry on high rows of tier poles. Metal bulk barns, introduced in the 1970s, offer greater control over airflow, temperature, and humidity and quickly replaced the flue-cured barns.¹²⁴

Closely related to tobacco barns were pack houses, such as the pack house that stands near the Richard Cratch House, where dried tobacco was hung in dug-out ordering pits. Ordering pits reintroduced enough moisture to the leaves that they did not crumble before being sold. Once bundled for sale, tobacco was packed away in these large barns and often, according to Beaufort County natives, in any other available space in outbuildings or even in the attics of farmhouses.

¹²⁴ Though oil-burning mechanisms consisting of an interior system of flues were necessary for drying bright leaf tobacco after mid-century, no intact curing mechanisms were recorded during the survey.

Few other types of log-constructed outbuildings remain, but one particularly good example of a log crib stands on the Robert and Hattie Hill Farm (BF 1688) south of Chocowinity. Log construction appears to have lingered longer below Chocowinity than in other areas of the county, and the Hill farms along Haw Branch Road (SR 1129) are especially notable for continuing this tradition. The log crib at the Robert and Hattie Hill Farm, a late example of the type, features an overhang sheltering the door, a nineteenth-century carryover observed on several Hill farms but nowhere else in the county. The framing members of this crib, both in the gable roof and the floor, present a mixture of logs and milled lumber. This crib is part of a large collection of outbuildings that reflects the unusual living arrangement of two of Robert and Hattie Hill's sons and an unmarried sister. These three adults, along with the brothers' wives, chose to remain in the ca. 1890 farmhouse following their parents' deaths. The brothers constructed two of every kind of outbuilding rather than share between them, and the farmyard retains two chicken houses, two cribs, a two-bay livestock barn with separate stables and equipment storage, and a two-bay garage. A wall hung with tools in the equipment shed bears this gentle reminder: "Pleas bring back if you take from hear this mens you." The Hill brothers and their wives managed to share a small pack house, wash house, and smokehouse (recently collapsed). Two sets of frame tobacco barns stand across the road. A square-notched log tobacco barn sited northwest of the farmyard leans precipitously but retains a heavy metal door from the original wood-burning furnace inscribed "Beaufort Co. Iron Works, Washington, N.C."¹²⁵

A significant and unique type of agriculture-related structure was discovered during fieldwork south of Chocowinity. Three so-called "labor camps," each constructed

¹²⁵ Personal communication, Don and Pam Hill to Beth King, February 2011.

ca. 1950, were documented in southwest Beaufort County, two within the Haw Branch community and one farther afield near Edward. Reportedly, at least two other labor camps existed, one at the Hackney crossroads and one near the community of Frederick. The most substantial and intact example of this form is located on Possum Track Road (SR 1127). Constructed around 1950 as a joint effort by members of the Hill, Bright, and Edwards families, this labor camp (BF 1635) served as long-term housing for members of the Lumbee Tribe in Robeson County who migrated to the Haw Branch community to work in tobacco from late June to September. Isaac Edwards remembers participating in the labor camp for three of the five or six seasons that it operated.¹²⁶ East of Aurora, farmers harvesting enormous crops of potatoes depended on migrant labor to assist with “truck farming,” but no structures associated with these laborers survive.

Located in a wooded tract within sight of Possum Track Road, the camp consists of a seven-room dwelling constructed on a linear plan with an attached rear dining area and a privy divided for use by men and women. The main domestic structure has a central kitchen, including evidence of a sink and drain, with three sleeping quarters on either side. During the camp's active use, the sleeping quarters contained military cots. The sleeping quarters to the immediate right and left of the kitchen include storage areas that once housed wall lockers. An attached shed crossing most of the west elevation served as the dining area and includes a built-in counter and seating and an exit to the yard behind the house. Exposed studs above the built-in counter were screened to create a porch. The dining area is accessed from the kitchen and the storage areas. Lumbee women prepared the evening meals after working in the fields all day.

¹²⁶ Personal communication, Don Hill and Isaac Edwards to Beth King, February 2011.

Though few complete farm complexes survive in rural Beaufort County, nearly every historic dwelling retains a few domestic outbuildings. Most domestic sites include a well house, often constructed of concrete block, and cisterns were frequently recorded in the northeast and southeast portions of the county. Some ca. 1900 dwellings included a trap door built into the deck of a side porch that allowed the cistern to be accessed a few steps from the kitchen. As noted earlier, detached kitchens were not uncommon well into the twentieth century. A number of freestanding examples dot the landscape, while others have obviously been attached to the house via an enclosed breezeway in more recent years. A small number of stilted dairies were recorded. Smokehouses and washhouses, often found as a pair, have survived surprisingly well considering that their decline in use began after World War II. Often the oldest outbuildings within a domestic site, their sturdy framing has allowed them to survive in better condition than many newer ancillary structures. Small sheds are also commonly found. Many domestic sites included a grape arbor, though fruit-bearing trees were not often observed.

Small family cemeteries are often part of rural domestic sites in Beaufort County or exist without a clear relationship to a standing building. Cemeteries frequently contain upright headstones, with a few in-ground slabs observed, primarily in cemeteries associated with African American churches. A small latticed grave house with a cypress-shingled gable roof was recorded near Gaylord (BF 1288). Constructed for Hertford Harris following his death in 1882, at least portions of the grave house appear to date from the early twentieth century, with newer materials added on occasion to maintain it. Gravehouses shelter and protect the interred body of a deceased person, and though they

may have been common once in eastern North Carolina, the perishable nature of the construction materials has ensured that very few are left on the modern landscape.¹²⁷

Twentieth-Century Communities: Churches, Schools, and Civic Buildings

Church buildings from the twentieth century abound, though few retain their historic character or material integrity. Several excellent examples remain that demonstrate, above all, a conservative preference for traditional gable-front forms. Warren Chapel Methodist Church (BF 180) near Blounts Creek presents a late example of a vernacular Gothic style executed in 1911. Moved to its present site on N.C. Highway 33 in 1941, the church features a steeply pitched front-gable roof. The façade is adorned with a diagonally sheathed diamond motif, as well as a similar pediment atop a double-leaf entrance. Lancet window surrounds contain six panes of marbled slag glass. A wide frieze board terminates in returned gable ends. The sanctuary is highly intact, containing the original pews, dais balustrade, and pump organ. The tray ceiling and interior walls are sheathed in beaded tongue-and-groove board.¹²⁸

Hunter's Bridge Church of Christ (BF 166) near Everetts Crossroads and Asbury Methodist Church (BF 144) near Bunyan also utilize the traditional gable-front form; however, both examples are dominated by ca. 1930 central towers that lend a distinctive personality to these conservatively executed churches. The tower attached to Hunter's Bridge Church of Christ may be described as telescopic, as it consists of four stages diminishing in size, surmounted by a bell-shaped steeple cap and spire. Hip-roof skirting and lancet louvers further distinguish the stages, which sit atop a vestibule having a

¹²⁷ M. Ruth Little, *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1998), 7-9, 44.

¹²⁸ Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*, 180.

pedimented portico entrance. Asbury Methodist Church boasts a three-stage tower with two false gables embellished with shingles, stained glass, and turned spindle vents. The tower features a mansard roof with flaring eaves and a fleur-de-lis finial. Unlike the church at Hunter's Bridge, the sanctuary at Asbury Church retains its historic configuration, furniture, and interior finishes. East of Bath, Athens Chapel Church of Christ (BF 145) presents a third example of a gable-front form, here updated with a commanding entrance. This early twentieth-century Colonial Revival addition utilizes a four-sided louvered belfry atop a massive pedimented portico and stocky square-paneled columns. The entrance includes a five-part fanlight and double-leaf doors within a peaked lintel.¹²⁹

Toward the end of the survey period, an architectural trend among African American churches emerged that would have a broad effect on many of these rural buildings. Though the twin-tower vestibule gained popularity in rural Beaufort County during the 1960s and 1970s, elsewhere in North Carolina this trend began as early as the late nineteenth century.¹³⁰ One of the earliest examples of the twin-tower vestibule in the study area is incorporated within the façade of St. Matthew Free Will Baptist Church (BF 1750) near Bonnerton. According to a cornerstone laid in 1953, the church was brick-veneered at that time, and the prominent vestibule presumably followed soon after. St. Matthew Church possesses many of the features associated with mid- and late-twentieth-century updates to rural African American churches, including louvered brick towers with pyramidal roofs containing colored and textured glass windows. As is typical, one

¹²⁹ HPO Staff, Hunter's Bridge Church of Christ (BF 166), Asbury Methodist Church (BF 144), and Athens Chapel Church of Christ (BF 145) Survey Files (Tar-Neuse Survey, 1975, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

¹³⁰ Catherine Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1990), 316-7.

of the towers is slightly taller than the other. Four-pane windows within the east and west elevations contain colored and textured glass within a lancet surround. These mid-twentieth-century stylistic choices marked a departure from the appearance of rural African American churches in the first half of the century, which often were indistinguishable from traditional country churches used by white congregations. African American congregations were also among the first in rural Beaufort County to incorporate masonry veneer and concrete block into their church construction methods.

Builders also chose conservative gable-front forms in constructing community-based schools during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Beaufort County public schools serving white children began consolidating in municipalities during the 1920s; however, a number of pre-consolidation-era schools have survived and were identified during the rural Beaufort County survey, including white schools Moore, Edward, Bonnerton, Piney Grove, Hunter's Bridge, Bayview, and Head o' Pungo and African American schools Clay Bottom, Maple Grove, Ware Creek, Swainsland, Rodmans Quarters, and Leechville. The majority of these schools are severely deteriorated; others remain in fair condition due to their continued use as a residence, church, or store. Bayview (BF 1300) and Maple Grove (BF 1671), simple one-room buildings, are the best preserved of this group of schools.

Rural Beaufort County also retains two Rosenwald schools, erected in 1920 and 1921 in Leechville and Blounts Creek, respectively. In the early twentieth century, Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears Roebuck and Company, founded the Rosenwald Fund, a program which contributed seed money to establish African American schools across the southern United States. Six Rosenwald schools were constructed in Beaufort County

between 1920 and 1927. Of these, “Pantego No. 2” still stands in the town of Pantego and Ware Creek (originally identified as Chocowinity in Rosenwald Fund records) and Leechville remain in rural areas. Ware Creek School (BF 215) in Blounts Creek was completed in 1921. Having an unusual plan that includes three main classrooms, Ware Creek School may have been constructed as an experimental prototype for the Fund.¹³¹ Leechville School (BF 1598) was identified during the Beaufort County survey. A “Type 2” Rosenwald school, Leechville School includes two classrooms lit by banks of large windows and an industrial arts wing projecting from the primary elevation. The school stands in ruinous condition.

Early twentieth-century civic buildings also utilized a simple traditional form, closely resembling churches from the same period. The Woodmen of the World at Old Ford and the Charitable Brotherhood near Bunyan both met in gable-front structures having minimal stylistic treatment. Woodmen of the World Camp 671 (BF 226) features a central tower with louvered, shingled belfry. Constructed ca. 1910, the one-room lodge is supported by brick piers and can be entered through doors on the front and rear elevations.¹³² The interior appears to have been updated ca. 1970 with wood panel sheathing and drop ceilings. The Charitable Brotherhood Lodge (BF 1466) is a much larger structure, standing two stories tall with an attic and having four bays of two-over-two sash windows on its north and south elevations. Molded gable returns and a three-pane transom within a modestly molded door surround are the only exterior decoration.

¹³¹ C. Morgan Williams & Bro., “Inspection and Survey Report of Beaufort County Schools” (Washington, N.C.: Williams & Bro., 1934); Thomas W. Hanchett, “The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* LXV, no. 4 (1988): 387-444; Thomas W. Hanchett, “Ware Creek School,” National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1996.

¹³² Penne Sandbeck, Woodmen of the World Lodge (BF 226) Survey File (TIP R-2511, 2011, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh).

Each transom pane contains a letter spelling “C. B. H.” (presumably standing for Charitable Brother Hood). An imprecise cornerstone dated 1892-1904 suggests that the lodge was constructed around the turn of the twentieth century. Mid-century, several community buildings were built in crossroads communities on the north side of the Pamlico River. The Pike Road community building (BF 1284) consists of a one-story rectangular building featuring fixed metal sash windows and a simple gabled entrance overhang. A frame community building stands at Winsteadville (BF 1330). The Winsteadville Community Center is covered with original asbestos shingle siding and has banks of six-over-six wood sash windows and a screened entrance of paired doors.

Twentieth-Century Commercial and Recreational Buildings

A number of small early to mid twentieth-century commercial structures stand at rural crossroads and in small communities across Beaufort County; however, with the rise of “big box” stores and the ease of travel to commercial centers like Washington, nearly all of the country stores in Beaufort County have been shuttered and abandoned, many for more than a quarter of a century. Some were as small and simply finished as a boxy frame example near Gaylord (BF 1317). Most later examples included a long gas canopy that reflected the new role of the country store as a filling station for automobiles. The Pipkin Store (BF 1755) south of Core Point includes a canopy that shelters a double-door entry with pairs of large three-over-two sash windows on either side. Mid-century gas pumps beneath the canopy and fuel tanks to the rear remain. One of the most intact examples of a one-room country store is the Joe Toler Store (BF 1645), which has been moved from its original location at the three-point intersection of Core Point Road, Mauls

Point Road, and Toler Avenue to the community of Wilmar, just north of the Craven County line. The store features a green hip roof with modest canopy and barred two-over-two sash windows.

In rural Beaufort County, country stores attached to a storekeeper's residence are fairly common. For example, the one-room gable-front Odie Moore Store (BF 1649) south of Chocowinity has a gas canopy and is attached to a small side-gable residence. Residential space appears to consist of two rooms divided by a partition wall in the main block of the house with two shed rooms to the rear. A room behind the commercial wing seems to be a stock room as well as transitional space between the store and house. Service stations such as a brick example on U.S. Highway 17 near Old Ford (BF 1304) began to appear in the 1930s. A two-bay garage abuts the boxy, flat-roofed commercial space. Commercial buildings like the Pipkin Store, along with churches, became some of the first structures to utilize brick and concrete block construction in rural Beaufort County. Belhaven Commercial Fishing Supplies on N.C. Highway 99 (BF 1445) advertises crab and eel pots beneath a stepped parapet roof. The façade of the store is brick veneered; other elevations display concrete block construction.

A small selection of other types of commercial buildings was documented during the survey. The Bonner Superette in Edward (BF 1737) offered the community "fancy meats and groceries" in a long concrete block store. Groceries were sold at the front of the store, while Billy Bonner operated a meat market in the rear. Next door, the Edward Beauty Parlor (BF 1738) was owned by Dr. Oswald O. Kafer and operated by a number of beauticians during the mid-twentieth century. The one-room gable-front frame structure featured large display windows. Although smaller windows have been

installed, the original surrounds remain.¹³³ A small barber shop south of the community of Small (BF 1774) has two-over-two windows below a front-gable roof with exposed rafter tails.

Although the riverfront today is populated by many large, modern vacation homes, a few cottages from the early twentieth century remain. Some “fish camps,” as the early prototypes are called, are simply smaller versions of popular house forms in other parts of Beaufort County. A two-room cottage at Core Point (BF 1758) presents a miniature version of the popular front-gable form, with tiny three-over-one windows and abbreviated front and rear porches. A one-room front-gable cottage at Jarvis Landing near Spring Creek (BF 1793) relied on a screened porch that wrapped around three elevations to provide extra sleeping space and storage for fishing apparatus. Other cottages have a more distinctive recreational appearance. A two-story cottage in the Summer Haven neighborhood near Washington (BF 1432) has a large screened shed-roof porch and wood awnings that overhang the porch and windows on the riverfront façade, lending a seasonal feel to an otherwise ordinary building.

Four examples of rustic architecture have also been recorded on the Pamlico River in the form of early twentieth-century log cabins that mirror building projects of the Works Progress Administration, such as a community building in nearby Belhaven. The most modest expression of the rustic style (BF 1415) is a story-and-a-half structure in the Shady Banks neighborhood near Washington that features saddle-notched log veneer and paired windows on the riverfront façade. The Leslie Cox Cabin and the Hattie Porter Cabin are more typical examples of the type, log cabins that display overt references to the style. The Leslie Cox Cabin at Hawkin’s Landing (BF 1599) consists of a long

¹³³ Personal communication, Billy and Dorothy Bonner to Beth King, March 2011.

rectangular unit with a wide canopy overhang facing the Pamlico River. A squat cobblestone chimney abuts the east elevation, corresponding to a firebox composed of blond brick within the full-width front room. Wide chinking, cheery yellow trim, and decorative hardware including strap hinges and thumb latches contribute to the whimsical appearance of this cabin. A wagon-wheel light fixture outfitted with smoky chimney globes in the front room completes the interior décor. The Hattie Porter Cabin at Pamlico Beach is another excellent example of a rustic design. This one-story side-gable dog-trot house features a full-size brick chimney on its west elevation, a full-width screened porch facing the river, and working shutters on all casement windows. The cabin has wide daubing and green trim.

Several additional recreational buildings were recorded in rural Beaufort County. On Blounts Creek, the Crisp Landing Fish Camp (BF 1678) has been a local destination since about 1960. One of the few sites permitting public access to Blounts Creek, the Crisp Landing complex comprises two frame cabins, a picnic shelter, a frame store building, a well house, a concrete block bathhouse, and five concrete block cabins, as well as a boat shed and two wooden piers. The Crisp family established the fish camp in order to market their shoreline as waterfront access for swimming, waterskiing, and fishing. The U.S. 17 Motor Court north of Washington (BF 1343) offered lodging for travelers passing through Beaufort County during the early years of automotive tourism. The complex included a pyramidal-roofed office building, a line of six front-gable one-room buildings, and a shared bathhouse.

Miscellaneous Structures

Several additional notable structures from the early to mid twentieth century stand in rural Beaufort County. A few historic bridges, such as the 1938 bridge over Long Acre Swamp on U.S. Highway 264 (BF 1377), were documented on the north side of the county. Two historic fire towers, Everett Lookout Tower near Everetts Crossroads (BF 1433) and Redditt Lookout Tower near Edward (BF 1633), were recorded. Standing approximately 110 feet high, these ca. 1930 fire towers are composed of steel framing with “X” cross bracing and a central stair that leads to an enclosed one-room hip-roof observation deck. The lookout towers remain as physical reminders of early twentieth-century state legislation protecting North Carolina’s forests from widespread wildfire.

One of the county’s most unusual and dramatic historic properties is the Voice of America Site A located near Leggetts Crossroads. This transmitting station, constructed in the early 1960s, utilized hundreds of shortwave antennae evenly spaced across 3,000 acres. Site A originally transmitted programming originating in Washington, D.C. to eastern Europe and the southwest Soviet province, where it could be received by individual radio sets or stations that rebroadcast it. The Voice of America (VOA), a part of the United States Information Agency, is the public relations arm of the United States Government. The Federal Information Service, precursor to the VOA, began broadcasting to Europe during World War II. In the late 1950s, three sites were chosen in Beaufort and Pitt County to transmit and receive VOA programming because of available flat land with moist soil, which offered good shortwave reflective qualities. Other benefits included proximity to the eastern edge of North America and to Washington, D.C. Power was also available from two separate grids, Carolina Power & Light and

National Electric Power Company. Though the establishment of Site A was hotly contested in rural Beaufort County, the land was eventually condemned and bought from local farmers. The site includes a collection of boxy, flat-roof brick and concrete Modernist buildings surrounded by a large antennae farm. Site A was in use through the first decade of the twenty-first century.¹³⁴

A second rare vestige of the Cold War is evident on the rural Beaufort County landscape: a fallout shelter at the Ralph Elks Farm south of Chocowinity (BF 1641). This is one of the few Cold War fallout shelters constructed south of the Pamlico River in Beaufort County during the 1960s Cuban missile crisis. Property owner Ralph Elks reports that his brothers were involved in the construction of a fallout shelter in the Runyon Hills neighborhood near Washington and they convinced him to build his own shelter on the farm. The fallout shelter consists of a mound of earth partially surrounded by a trench. A small door faces Elks Road and serves as the only means of entry. A ventilation pipe protrudes from the roof. Mr. Elks claims that he has not opened the door to the shelter since it was completed in 1962, when he stocked the fallout shelter with food and dug a well for it. His design included a bathroom and beds made specifically for the space.¹³⁵

Conclusion

Present-day Beaufort County continues to be primarily rural, with large portions of its land still devoted to farming corn, soybeans, and tobacco. Pulp and paper corporation Weyerhaeuser is a major landowner in the county, keeping vast acres of land,

¹³⁴ HPO Staff, Voice of America Site A (BF 179) Survey File (1985); Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*, 179.

¹³⁵ Personal communication, Ralph Elks to Beth King, January 2011.

particularly south of the Pamlico River, planted in pine. PotashCorp, located on the Pamlico River north of Aurora, is a major employer in the county, operating an enormous open-pit mine on the Pamlico River that extracts phosphates from the soil, and owns a tremendous amount of land in southern Beaufort County. Texas Gulf Sulfur Company established the mine in 1962; arguably, its operation has done more to change the rural landscape over the last fifty years than any other factor. Smaller mining interests operate near the Craven County line in pursuit of marl.

During the second half of the twentieth century, Beaufort County began to utilize its cultural and natural heritage to attract tourists, now a mainstay of the local economy. The Pamlico River provides a major impetus for tourism; the town of Washington in particular benefits from its attractive waterfront and offers local restaurants and shops to visitors by car and by boat. Since 1998, the North Carolina Estuarium in Washington has interpreted the Tar-Pamlico River estuary with aquariums, exhibits, and regional artifacts. Goose Creek State Park, located east of Washington, has offered year round land and water recreation on over one thousand acres since 1974. "Historic Bath," a division of North Carolina Historic Sites, was created in 1962. The site interprets four Georgian- and Federal-style houses from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as St. Thomas Episcopal Church. On the south side of the Pamlico River, the Aurora Fossil Museum displays geological and paleontological specimens unearthed by the phosphate mines. Modern riverfront communities on both sides of the Pamlico River contain highly desirable property attractive to retirees and those seeking vacation homes. Throughout the history of Beaufort County, the Pamlico River has always been at the center of human settlement and development.

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