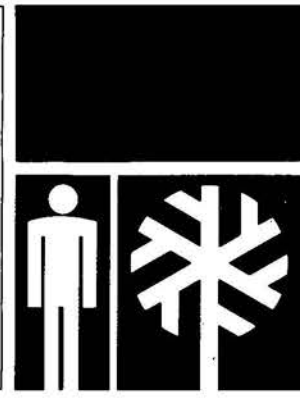
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historic resource study

CAPE HATTERAS



NATIONAL SEASHORE/NORTH CAROLINA

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Historic Resource Study
of
Cape Hatteras National Seashore

by
Louis Torres

Branch of Planning
Southeast/Southwest Team
U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Denver Service Center

PREFACE

The Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore attempts to satisfy the requirements of the Task Directive approved by the Southeast Regional Office in its memorandum of August 28, 1984. The revised study includes most of the recommendations made by the Washington Office, region, and park in their reviews. This is especially true where these offices recommended certain sources to be consulted and treatment of additional topics. In one or two instances time did not permit the author to consult recommended sources not available locally.

Ideally, a historic resource study should be a complete history of an area, but in practice this is seldom achieved. In the case of this study, it was programmed at only $30,000. The history of this park is so extensive, containing a varied assortment of topics, that it would require funding at a much higher level to accomplish the ideal. In his section on recommendations the author has proposed a number of historical topics where further research, perhaps in the form of special studies, should do much to alleviate this problem.

By far, the bulk of all primary sources, manuscript and printed, upon which most of this study was prepared has come from the park headquarters in Manteo, North Carolina. Over the years, through the persistent and diligent effort of its staff, the park was able to collect materials on almost every phase of history of the Outer Banks and especially the National Seashore, and to make it usable and readily available to the researcher. The park's extensive collection of copies of records in Record Groups 26, 27, and 77, for example, saved the author a trip to the National Archives and consequently reduced the cost of preparing a study with a tight budget. The excellent collection of local histories in the park library was another time saver.

This study does not presume to introduce anything new to a further understanding of the Outer Banks. It does attempt, however, to provide an appreciation of the historical significance of the Seashore's cultural

resources--their role in the cultural heritage of the area, their origins, and how they were employed. Time and funds may have prevented the full achievement of this goal. By making this statement, however, the author does not intend to excuse himself from his own errors of commission or omission.

The writer owes a debt of gratitude to a number of people who made his task less difficult. First and foremost, he wishes to thank the staff at the Seashore, but especially the Superintendent, Thomas L. Hartman, Bebe B. Midgette, Susan Holler, and Sue Swanson, for their assistance.

Dr. Richard Shrader of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and his staff were extremely helpful in suggesting materials for research, and this writer is deeply appreciative. A word of thanks must also go to the staff of the Government Publications Division of the University of Colorado Library in Boulder for the patience they displayed in seeking out pertinent materials for the author.

Librarian Ruth A. Larison of the National Park Service's Rocky Mountain Region deserves praise for her efforts in acquiring a number of books on interlibrary loan. Finally, a word of appreciation must go to Fred Babb, Chief of the Branch of Planning, and Jerome Greene, Supervisory Historian, of the Southeast-Southwest Team, Denver Service Center, for giving this reemployed annuitant the opportunity to prove he is not over the hill yet.

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CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF GEOGRAPHY OF THE OUTER BANKS

To appreciate the history of Cape Hatteras National Seashore and the more extensive Outer Banks of North Carolina of which the Seashore forms a part one must first understand the geography of this area, for it is this factor that has played and continues to play a major role in its history. The Outer Banks is a long sandy reef that stretches almost the entire length of the North Carolina coast. Cape Hatteras National Seashore makes up approximately eighty miles of this barrier beach, varying in width from less than one to three miles. The Banks, as the barrier beach is frequently called, form a chain of narrow islands separated from each other by narrow and shallow bodies of waters known as inlets. To the east of the Banks lies the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west are several bodies of water varying in width from less than a mile to about thirty miles. These are called sounds and they are relatively shallow as compared to the Great Lakes. The inlets connect the ocean with the much calmer waters of the sounds. To the west of the sounds is the twisted main shoreline of the North Carolina coast.

Along the Banks there are three famous capes that project into the Atlantic Ocean: Cape Hatteras, Cape Lookout, and Cape Fear. The Banks are for the most part, low, sandy, and narrow islands that are just a few feet above high water level. However, in some areas of the Banks the land rises as high as fifty to sixty feet.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore begins at Nags Head at its northern extremity and runs southward to Ocracoke Inlet. It is made up of Bodie Island, Hatteras Island (which includes Pea Island), and Ocracoke Island, each island varying in size. The sound side of the islands is covered with marsh grasses and related vegetation, but the ocean side is covered largely with sand. Marsh vegetation forms where dunes are located, but on the broader Banks there are bushes and remnants of forests covering the older and more stable dunes. Parts of Hatteras, Bodie, and Ocracoke

Islands have contained at one time or another such growth as pine, red maple, oak, cedar, sassafras, elm, locust, persimmon, hickory, gums, and cypresses.[1] Jonathan Price, who investigated the Banks and their surrounding waters in 1795, observed that small live oak and cedar grew abundantly on some of the islands, especially on Ocracoke. This island, he noted, contained several swamps and marshes which could be cultivated to great advantage.[2]

The area that makes up the Outer Banks is notorious for the hurricanes, storms, and strong ocean currents that occur. The results of these phenomena have done more to alter the geography of the Banks and affect the lives of its inhabitants than any other place, with few exceptions, in the world. These storms and currents not only changed the topography of the Banks themselves but produced shoals and bars in the surrounding waters that were a menace to the mariner. The storms and high winds caused the sand dunes to shift constantly. Mounds, which at one time were covered with trees and other vegetation, thus acting as a protective barrier, were washed away, exposing the islands to the tides and winds. The heavy winds, severe storms, and high tides eroded many parts of the Banks changing the size and shape of the islands. Ocracoke Island was a good example, albeit not the only one. It had existed as an island until the early 18th century, but because Hatteras Inlet had closed as a result of a severe storm, it became part of Hatteras Island. Ocracoke formed a a peninsula of Hatteras Island until 1846 when another hurricane opened an inlet not far from the old one, making Ocracoke an island again and almost doubling its former size.[3]

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1. David B. Quinn, ed., The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 2 vols. (London: Kraus, Nendeln, Originally published by the Hakluyt Society, 1967), II, 842.

2. David L. Corbitt, ed., "Historical Notes," The North Carolina Historical Review, III, (October 1926), No. 4, citing "A Description of Occacock Inlet . . . by Jonathan Price," 1795, p. 625 (hereafter cited as Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet").

3. Ibid.; Dora Adele Padgett, William Howard; Last Colonial Owner of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina: His Family and Descendants (Washington: The Author, 1974), p. 9.

In modern times, especially since the establishment of the Seashore, attempts were made to stem the tide of erosion and hold back the encroaching ocean. Built-up dunes were formed by fences made of lathe and twigs, and tough grasses were planted in certain locations with the hope that the dunes formed by this man-made effort would halt the erosion. In the 1930s work crews organized by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) erected six hundred miles of fences on the Outer Banks.[4]

There were several reasons that made the Outer Banks a place to be feared by most mariners and one that gave the residents of these islands a nature and character peculiar to these parts. In referring to the changes of the waters surrounding the Banks, one early 19th century government survey reported:

> The shoals of Cape Hatteras, Cape Lookout, and the Frying Pan, are known to be dangerous, especially those lying off the former Cape, which have been long a terror to navigators. With the exception of Nantucket shoals, it is supposed there is no part of the American coast where vessels are more exposed to shipwreck, than they are in passing along the shores of North Carolina, in the neighborhood of these shoals. The Gulf stream certainly approaches very near the American coast in this quarter; indeed, experienced navigators assert, that it touches Cape Hatteras shoals in its progress to the northeast, out of the Mexican gulf, and, as it runs with great rapidity hereabouts, they can place very little dependence on the ship's reckoning. Their estimated distance from land, therefore, is often found to be very erroneous, and, as no soundings are to be procured within a short distance from the outer part of the shoals, it too frequently happens that shipwrecks take place; and hardly a season passes that does not afford the melancholy spectacle of stranded ships, and a

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4. George H. Copeland, "The Graveyard of the Atlantic," Travel, Vol. 75 (September 1940), No. 5, p. 17.

great destruction of property is sure to follow; and it is fortunate, indeed, if the friendless mariner escapes with his life.

There are only two or three considerable openings in the coast of North Carolina, in its whole extent, between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear--a distance of from 45 to 50 leagues. One entrance is at Ocracock inlet, and the other principal ones at Beaufort and New Inlet; and even these afford but an incomplete protection for vessels of considerable tonnage. They cannot be safely entered by vessels drawing more than twelve or thirteen feet of water; larger vessels, therefore, are compelled to seek shelter in other harbors.[5]

The ocean currents, shoals, sounds, and inlets were all major factors in the development of the Outer Banks. The ocean currents determined which course a vessel was to take upon approaching the Banks. If the wrong course were taken, it could result in disaster. The explanation lies in the two ocean currents--the Gulf Stream and the Virginia Coastal Drift--which were present off Cape Hatteras. The Gulf Stream is a broad band of warm water, about seventy to eighty miles wide, that flows northward along the South Atlantic Seaboard. Because of the deflecting force of the earth's rotation and the eastward trend of the coast, the stream turns eastward near Cape Hatteras, and heads across the Atlantic. Before crossing the ocean, the current comes as close as ten miles from the shore of Cape Hatteras. One writer described the effects of the Gulf Stream as having a two-fold effect upon shipping. In the first place, it forms a barrier to other currents between it and the coast, having a tendency to draw vessels into shore. A second effect, and perhaps more important, is on navigation routes. A northbound vessel takes advantage of this north-flowing current, but in doing so, because it is so close to shore, a storm or fog may push it off course and

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5. 9th Cong., 1st Session, Exec. Doc. No. 109, February 27, 1806, American State Papers, VII, 639.

bring it dangerously close to shore and running the risk of colliding with another vessel.[6]

A southbound vessel had several routes to take. It could sail as far to the east as possible, avoiding the treacherous coast and the Gulf Stream, but since this course was too distant, it was seldom taken. It could sail in the Gulf Stream. Although such a course presented no great danger, there was the possibility of running up against a northbound current. Today's modern motor-driven ships could battle these currents, but the sailing ships of earlier days could be swept away. A third and most frequently used southward course was a narrow lane between the Gulf Stream and the Outer Banks. Although this route was particularly dangerous because of the shoals that lurked nearby, it was the shortest and quickest route of the three. An error in navigation, however, could spell disaster.[7]

The Virginia Coastal Drift or Artic cold current originated off Greenland and made its way southward along the coast until it reached Cape Hatteras where it was overriden by the warmer Gulf Stream. Because its velocity was much less than the Gulf Stream, this current does not present a significant barrier to navigation as the former. Nevertheless, it contributes to the silting-up of the inlets between Cape Henry, Virginia, and Cape Hatteras, developing bars and shoals.[8]

The shoals off the Outer Banks present the greatest risk to mariners. There are five major shoals off the barrier beaches upon which most of the shipwrecks have occurred. From north to south, they are designated as Platt Shoals (east of Oregon Inlet), Wimble Shoals (east of the town of Rodanthe on Hatteras Island), Diamond Shoals (extending

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6. Byron Eugene Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Parts," an unpublished doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1956, pp. 6-7.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 7.

southeast of Cape Hatteras), Lookout Shoals (located almost directly south of Cape Lookout), and the Frying Pan Shoals (located south and slightly east of Cape Fear). Only the first three shoals are within the geographic limits of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

In 1795 and later during President Thomas Jefferson's administration, Jonathan Price and Thomas Coles called attention to the dangers of these shoals after conducting extensive surveys of these waters. Their surveys were followed by other more scientific studies, also calling attention to the serious plight of the mariner and recommending the need for navigational aids. These early studies resulted in the mapping of these waters in an attempt to show vessels the exact routes they were to take to avoid the dangerous shoals.[9]

The sounds on the western side of the Outer Banks are in most cases large bodies of water that separate the Banks from the mainland of North Carolina. While they cover large areas in the north, they gradually diminish in size towards the south until by the time they reach Cape Fear River, they are practically non-existent. They constitute the largest of all inland waters of any state along the Atlantic seaboard and are generally characterized as bodies of waters that vary in shallowness, where only vessels with a small draft can navigate. Moreover, many of these sounds, particularly in the early days before dredging became a common practice, contain hidden shoals and sand bars, which if unknown to any ship captain might cause him to be grounded.

From north to south, the sounds are designated as follows: Back Bay Sound located mostly in Virginia, with an average depth of five feet; Currituck Sound, about thirty miles in length measured from north to south, with an average width of four miles and a depth of six feet; Albemarle Sound, with a maximum width of thirteen miles, an extension

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9. Price, "A Description of Occaccock Inlet"; Report of the Commissioners Thomas Coles and Jonathan Price to Survey the Coast of North Carolina (Washington: ca. 1808), a copy of which is in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

to the west of about fifty-five miles, and an average depth of eighteen feet; Croatan Sound, west of Roanoke Island, about five miles wide, fourteen miles long, and nine feet deep; Roanoke Sound, east of Roanoke Island, about fourteen miles long, two miles wide, and averaging five feet in depth; Pamlico Sound, the largest of all, some eighty miles long, thirty miles wide, and an average depth of twenty feet; Core Sound, twenty-two miles long, three and one-half miles wide, and five feet deep; Back Sound, east of the town of Beaufort and about nine miles long, three miles wide, and ten feet deep; and Bogue Sound, about twenty-three miles long, two and one-half miles wide, and three feet deep. The sounds farther south are very shallow and narrow seldom exceeding one thousand yards in width.[10]

Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, the two largest sounds, extend deeply inland along the estuaries of the Chowan, Pamlico, and Neuse Rivers. Because of this and their size, these sounds were always extremely important to the lifeline of North Carolina. This was especially true before the age of the railroad. The bottom of these sounds have no distinct channels, but are rather surprisingly level except for occasional bars, which are most common in Pamlico Sound. Along the mainland there also are bars and shallow waters, and the harbors need to be dredged frequently. Restrictions to navigation are found more near the main shore and the Outer Banks than in the center.[11]

One resident of the mainland described a voyage he took across the sounds in 1832 to get to Ocracoke. Embarking at Williamston, North Carolina, it took him almost six days to reach Ocracoke, and the reason for such a long voyage over a relatively short distance was due to the many bars and shoals the vessel encountered. During his journey

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10. Logan, pp. 16-18, citing U.S. Coastal and Geodetic Survey Charts Nos. 1227 through 1236.

11. Logan, p. 18. Other rivers where the sounds extend inland are the Roanoke, Parquotank, Alligator, and Perquimans.

through Albemarle, Croatan, and Pamlico Sounds the vessel was marooned upon uncharted bars on several occasions.[12]

The inlets were a factor which probably had the greatest influence upon the barrier islands and the mainland, particularly upon their economy. There are a number of inlets that cut through the Outer Banks. In 1956 as many as twenty-two inlets were counted. Only three of these cut through the barrier islands that make up the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. They are Oregon Inlet, approximately seven feet deep in mean low water; Hatteras Inlet, about ten feet deep; and Ocracoke Inlet, about twelve and one-half feet deep.[13]

The inlets were the only means of access through which vessels from foreign ports or ports along the Atlantic seaboard could conduct their commerce with the mainland of North Carolina. From the very first attempts to settle this part of the country, seafaring men used the inlets to gain access to the mainland. Without the inlets there would have been no commerce by sea. The severe hurricanes and storms that occurred with such frequency had a serious affect upon the inlets thereby affecting commerce. They caused the sands to shift, changing the depths and widths of the inlets materially sometimes without warning. The rivers that emptied into the sounds and then into the inlets tended to make them even more shallow by discharging their sediment into them. Thus, if the channels were uncharted, a vessel with any considerable draft could easily run aground upon a bar or reef. This was the bane of many mariners attempting to navigate the inlets. A letter written by one of Sir Walter Raleigh's captains in 1585 mentioned the difficulties encountered in passing through Roanoke Inlet.[14]

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12. "Journals of a trip from Williamston to Ocracoke in October 1832," Asa Briggs Papers, Southeastern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hills, N.C.

13. Logan, p. 14.

14. Logan, pp. 13-14, citing Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1904), VI, 299.

Equally significant to commerce and to life in this area was the closing and opening of inlets that occurred with the frequency of severe storms. Many of the inlets known to early explorers have since closed up. An excellent example was Roanoke Inlet, known to exist as early as the late 16th century. Another example was the old Hatteras Inlet. This inlet closed around the middle of the 18th century but reopened about one hundred years later approximately five or six miles north of the older site.[15] Present-day inlets are of little use in attempting to trace inlets that existed during the early periods of exploration and settlement.

Between the Virginia state line and Cape Lookout there have been twenty-five inlets that remained open long enough to acquire some permanent status by appearing on maps, and there have been dozens of others which existed only temporarily and then closed up.[16]

Oregon Inlet and Hatteras Inlet were formed during a severe hurricane that swept the area in September 1846.[17] From this time

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15. In any historical synopsis of the inlets it should be pointed out that there have been occasions when one inlet had two or more names at the same time. Moreover, there have been instances when names were so popular that they were applied to different inlets at different times. For example, there have been four separate New Inlets, one on the North Banks, a second at Nags Head, a third at Chicamacomico Banks, and a fourth at Core Banks. There was a Hatorask Inlet below Bodie Island in 1585; a Hatteras Inlet across the center of what is now Ocracoke Island from the middle of the 17th century to the 1750s or 1760s; and finally the existing Hatteras Inlet, about seven miles east of the other, which today divides Ocracoke Island from Hatteras Island. See David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 8-9.

16. Ibid.

17. The Rolinson Collection in the Southeastern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., notes that the first vessel to go through Hatteras Inlet after it was formed was on February 5, 1847. This is corroborated by an Ocracoke pilot who took credit for piloting the first vessel, a schooner by the name of Asher C. Havens, on February 5, 1847. He also stated that the new inlet was formed after the violent storm of September 7, 1846. See letter of Redding R. Twidley, April 7, 1884, in William L. Welch, "Opening of Hatteras Inlet," Essex Institute Bulletin, vol. 17 (January-March 1885), nos. 1-3, p. 40.

forward Hatteras Inlet assumed a more prominent position than Ocracoke Inlet, which up to the time of the Civil War had been the inlet most frequently used by vessels entering and leaving the ports of the mainland. At the turn of the 20th century, however, Ocracoke Inlet once again was the primary inlet used by vessels.

Ocracoke Inlet had always been an important outlet from the earliest history of that area. It provided access for most of the vessels headed inland utilizing such rivers on the mainland as the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse. Although it was some distance away from these rivers and the ports of the main coast, there was no alternative but to employ this inlet. It was the only means of access to the ocean for vessels of deep draft. It was said that a voyage from the head of Albemarle Sound to Ocracoke was equal to a journey from Ocracoke to New York or to the West Indies.[18] In time, however, as the inlet continued to widen, its depth decreased, and this, coupled with the fact that there was no harbor, rendered navigation dangerous as well as inconvenient. As Ocracoke Inlet declined in importance, Hatteras Inlet, which by then had opened, became the major inlet on the Outer Banks. The Civil War determined the strategic importance of this new inlet. First the Confederate forces and later the Union forces came to appreciate its significance.

The following table put together by the local historian David Stick reflects the principal inlets that have existed on those Banks which form the Cape Hatteras National Seashore since the Europeans set foot there:[19]

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18. Clifford R. Hinshaw, Jr., "North Carolina Canals Before 1860," The North Carolina Historical Review, January 1948, vol. 25 (January 1948), no. 1, p. 3.

19. Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 8-9.

Common Name	Other Name	Location	Opened	Closed
Roanoke	Old Inlet New Inlet View Passage	S. of Nags Head	pre-1657	1780 to 1810
Gunt	Gun Gant	Bodie Island	pre-1733	1770s
Port Lane	--	Bodie Island	pre-1585	pre-1657
Hatorask	Port Fernando Hatoras Hatorasck	Bodie Island	pre-1585	pre-1657
Oregon	--	S. of Bodie Island	1846	still open
New	Chickina-commock Chick	S. of Pea Island	1730s	1930s (periodic)
Loggerhead	--	N. of Rodanthe	pre-1851	late 1870s
Chacandepecco	--	N. of Cape Hatteras	pre-1585	pre-1657
Hatteras	--	W. of Hatteras	1846	still open
Wells Creek	West	Ocracoke Island	1840s	1850s
Old Hatteras	Hatteras Passage de Hattarxis	Ocracoke Island	pre-1657	1750's to 1760s
Ocracoke	Wokokon Wosoton Woccock Okok Ocacock Ocracock	W. of Ocracoke Island	pre-1585	still open

We can summarize this chapter by saying that the dangerous coast and the absence of any good ports in North Carolina, after the failure of the Raleigh settlement at Roanoke Island, caused English settlers to turn their backs on the Outer Banks and to colonize the Chesapeake region instead. For more than a century after the unfortunate Lost Colony of Roanoke, Europeans did not go directly to North Carolina. Any minor colonization that was taking place in North Carolina was largely the result of an overflow from other colonies like Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania. These same geographic and meteorological factors operated throughout the 19th and 20th centuries to the detriment of the state's economic development.[20]

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20. Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1973), p. 19.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ABORIGINES OF THE OUTER BANKS

Too little is known about the aborigines of the Outer Banks--who they were, how they lived, how many there were. Archeology has uncovered some evidence of Indian settlements on the Banks, most of which are isolated cases, but this is far from conclusive. Many more studies remain yet to be done. One authority has noted in his detailed study of the archeology of the coastline of North Carolina "that the bordering lands of the Carolina Sounds--that great stretch of Albemarle, Pamlico, Croatan, and Roanoke Sounds--are terra incognita to the archeologist."[1]

Perhaps one of the major reasons for this lack of evidence is due to the frequent changes that have occurred to the sand barriers and to the inlets. Because of these changes, much of the sand barriers have been eroded, causing any evidence of early Indian settlements, if they did exist, to disappear into the surrounding waters or become deeply buried by marsh silts. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to uncover Indian sites, and most of these were done in an effort to find more information concerning the fate of the Lost Colony of Roanoke Island.

Most authorities believe that the first occupation of the Outer Banks by aboriginal peoples was probably between the birth of Christ and 500 AD.[2] They have also concluded that these first settlers were Algonquin Indians, a group of aborigines of similar or related languages extending from Canada down through the Carolinas. These people were the

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1. William G. Haag, The Archeology of Coastal North Carolina: Louisiana State University Studies, Coastal Studies Institute, No. 2 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 1.

2. Haag said they settled the Banks more than one thousand years ago. Ibid., p. 126. Hayes notes that this settlement took place between 500 and 1000 A.D. D.R. Hayes, An Economic Study of Dare County, North Carolina, (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, n.d.), p. 7.

ancestors of the Poteskeets, Corees, Croatons, and other tribes reported by early European explorers. They were probably semi-nomadic, moving from one place to another. One authority believed that the Banks were settled by these Indians as a result of population pressures. He observed that they came to the Banks because of an unwillingness to "cope with more progressive peoples" on the mainland who were by then turning to agriculture. The Banks and sounds, on the other hand, were not the most attractive areas for agriculture. Those Indians who chose the Banks were limited to fishing and hunting. Their staple and dependable food were all forms of shell fish.[3] Some agriculture was later introduced particularly on Roanoke and Hatteras Islands, and maize, beans, cucurbits, and sunflower were cultivated, although fishing and hunting remained important as sources of food.[4]

The best locations for settlements were generally those of a higher elevation sufficient to support deciduous forest but yet close enough to waters where fish was plentiful. Access to fresh water was another important consideration in these settlements. Such places were probably within the areas of present day Buxton, Frisco, and Hatteras Village, all on Hatteras Island, and the west end of Ocracoke Island. In fact, these are areas where aboriginal occupation have been previously identified.[5] Because of the relatively restricted area of the Outer Banks the Indians of this area had a high degree of cultural uniformity and a considerable amount of local autonomy. Living in a geographically isolated area and without much contact with the mainland, they tended to become conservative in their habits and progress was consequently retarded. According to one authority their pottery-making in 1500 AD was similar to that of the Algonkians of 500 to 1000 years earlier in other parts of the East.[6]

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3. Haag, pp. 126-127.

4. Hayes, p. 7.

5. Timothy A. Thompson, "Archaeological Resources at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore: A Management Study," (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Archaeological Section, July 1977), p. 33.

6. Haag, p. 133.

The first early recording of the Indian inhabitants of the Banks was done by people from Raleigh's voyages. Through Thomas Hariot's and Philip Barlowe's writings and John White's drawings much has been learned about these early Indians. One thing seems to be certain, and that is that the Indians which the Raleigh expeditions found had enjoyed a cultural continuity with the culture of their ancestors. The Indians encountered by Raleigh's explorers were the lineal descendants of the first Indian arrivals to the Banks.[7]

These early explorers spoke of the Indians on what is now Hatteras Island but which was then referred to as Croatan. Hence, the Indians of this area belonged to the Croatoan Tribe. It is probable that this tribe lived near an inlet called Chacandepeco, which was then at the north end of the island. This is an area that is represented today as directly northeast of Buxton. The Mercator-Hondius map of 1606, which relies heavily upon White's recordings of 1590, notes that there were three Indian villages on Croatoan Island, one Indian village on Wococon Island (then Ocracoke Island) and a village on Paquimock Island (possibly the predecessor of Bodie Island).[8] The Croatoan Indians of Hatteras Island and the Roanoac Indians of Roanoke Island were closely related culturally and socially, but not politically, each apparently having local autonomy.[9] Hence, the cultural and social habits that have been depicted by the explorers of Raleigh's early expedition of the Indians of Roanoke Island might well have been similar to the culture of the Croatoan Indians. This conclusion has been substantiated by archeological studies of both areas, although much yet remains to be done.

After the failure of the Roanoke colony during the early voyages of the late 16th century, there is a gap in the recorded history of the Outer

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7. Haag, p. 128.

8. "Virginae Item at Floridae Americae Provinciarum nova Descriptio," drawn by Gerhard Mercator and Jodocus Honduis, original in the Cumming Collection, North Carolina. See also William P. Cumming, North Carolina In Maps (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), p. 10.

9. Ibid., p. 124.

Banks and the Indians for about one hundred years. A big change occurred during this wide span of years to the Indians of the entire coastal region of North Carolina, and perhaps the most important change was the reduction in the Indian population. The white man's diseases and his aggressiveness as he began to infiltrate North Carolina from surrounding colonies were beginning to take their toll on the natives. In some cases villages were wiped out, in others, such as on Hatteras Island, the Indian populations were drastically depleted. John Lawson, who travelled through this area in 1701 and later described the Indians, noted that the Hatteras tribe had only 16 warriors residing near Cape Hatteras.[10] Moseley's map of 1733 reveals a location called "Hatteras Indians," and he placed it near Cape Hatteras. To pinpoint the position he shows two huts, although this number might be just symbolic. The map shows no other Indian locations on the Outer Banks that make up modern-day Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[11] By this time tribal names had changed, and the Croatoan Indians became the Hatteras Indians. Because these Indians spoke of a close affinity to the white man and because some of them had gray eyes, Lawson was quick to conclude that members of the Lost Colony of Roanoke Island had been absorbed by these Indians.[12] Although some writers agree with Lawson, there are others who refuse to accept this conclusion. As one writer in this latter

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10. Patrick H. Garrow, The Mattamuskeet Documents: A Study in Social History (Raleigh: Archeology Section, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1975), p. 17). One writer notes that there were probably 80 in the Hatteras tribe. See John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 80. Two other writers concluded that there were 40 and this is probably the more likely figure. See Gary S. Dunbar, "The Hatteras Indians of North Carolina," Ethnohistory, vol. 7, 1960, who cites David Stick, the local historian, who believed there were 40.

11. "To His Excely. Gabriel Johnston Esq., Captain General & Governors in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of North Carolina in America. . .," by Edward Moseley, 1733, original map in South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina. The first map to show the Indian village is the Lawson map of 1709 which states "Ind. Towne" at Cape Hatteras. See Dunbar, "The Hatteras Indians of North Carolina," p. 416, fn. 12.

12. Haag, p. 132, citing Francis Lathan Harriss, ed., Lawson's History of North Carolina (1937; end edn. 1952), pp. 61-62.

group observes, "A lot can happen in six score years! With the evidence available at present the fate of the Lost Colony remains an unsolved mystery."[13] Until more research is accomplished, the question must remain a mystery.

In any event, between the time that Lawson visited the area and the mid-18th century there was a steady decline in the number of Indians on Hatteras Island. In his map of 1733 Edward Moseley noted that there were only "6 or 8 [Indians] at Hatteras, who dwell among the English." No other Indians inhabited this coast.[14] By 1761 the remnants of this group left the Banks for the mainland, and, except for one incident, little more was heard from them. That one incident was a 1788 deed in which an Indian called Mary Elks "of Hatteras Banks" transferred a tract of land to someone which included the "site of the old Indian town."[15]

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13. Dunbar, "The Hatteras Indians of North Carolina," p. 412.

14. Moseley Map of 1733.

15. Dunbar, p. 414; David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1958), p. 73.

CHAPTER THREE

THE OUTER BANKS DURING THE PERIOD OF EARLY EXPLORATIONS

To write a history of the period of early explorations on the Outer Banks, particularly of that area which includes the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, is not a simple task. A few of the problems facing such a project have been touched upon in Chapter One, especially as they would apply to inlets. There is no way, for example, that anyone analyzing this subject can unequivocally conclude that the early explorers came through any one of the existing inlets. The changing positions of the inlets--some closing, others (or the same) opening--as a result of storms, erosion, and other climatic factors make this almost impossible. The inlets which existed in that early period, with perhaps one exception, that being Ocracoke Inlet, no longer exist today, and those which do exist may not have existed then. When this fact is coupled with the inadequacy of early map-making one can appreciate how difficult it is to establish a positive route that the early explorers may have taken through the waters surrounding the Outer Banks.

Probably the first European to view the coast of North Carolina was the Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano. Sailing under the French flag in 1524 in an attempt to seek a short route to the Orient, he came very close to the Outer Banks. In his description of the coast, Verrazano made no references to any of the inlets, which may appear strange. In drawing the map of this voyage, his brother, Girolamo da Verrazano, observed the existence of a long and slender piece of land, which he referred to as an "isthmus," separating the Atlantic Ocean from an unnamed western sea. The map noted in Italian that "from this Eastern Ocean [i.e., the Atlantic] one sees the Western Ocean."[1]

One writer has concluded that there can be no mistake that the "isthmus" referred to by Verrazano can only mean the Outer Banks, and

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1. Gary S. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 5.

the "Western Ocean" can only mean the Pamlico Sound. No other part of the coastal waters of the eastern seaboard could be described in such a manner.[2] Of course, this writer could also have added Albemarle Sound or possibly Currituck Sound, although Pamlico Sound is the widest of all and perhaps more likely to represent a "Western Ocean." Why Verrazano did not mention any of the inlets must remain a mystery, and a still greater mystery must be that he did not enter the inlets to explore that western body of water, unless weather and the dangerous shoals wisely cautioned him against it.

After Giovanni da Verrazano, Spanish navigators were known to have sailed northward from Florida along the North Carolina coast, but they left little description of their voyages so as to identify any of the specific coastline.

The English were late-comers to the shores of America. Sir Walter Raleigh must take most of the credit for his role in the exploration and settlement of North America by the English. In 1584, while sailing under Raleigh's orders, Philip Amadas and Philip Barlowe explored the eastern seaboard of North America, and in the course of doing so came upon the Outer Banks on July 13. No exhaustive examination of the coast was undertaken at this time, however, and after Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and Roanoke Island were explored, and after several weeks passed, this expedition returned to England in September of that year. In reporting their successful voyage to Raleigh, they brought with them two friendly Indians--Manteo and Wanchese. Barlowe gave a glowing account of what they saw when they first landed on the Outer Banks. Thus he said:

> We viewed the land about us, being, where as we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on

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2. Ibid., p. 6.

the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found.

We passed from the sea side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebus-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.[3]

In attempts to trace the exact route taken by Amadas and Barlowe, historians and other writers have disagreed over which inlet they crossed to get into the sound. The historian George Bancroft said that the expedition laid anchor off the "Island of Wocoken [sic], the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracoke Inlet," thus implying it was this inlet through which they sailed.[4] Some writers have supported this thesis, but others are equally adament that Ocracoke Inlet was not the route. Among these writers are those who believed that the English entered Pamlico Sound at a point farther north than Ocracoke Inlet, perhaps at an inlet on Hatteras Island. They have even gone so far as to cite the inlet later called Port Ferdinando, named after one of the crew members, Simon Ferdinando. According to early maps, Port Ferdinando was essentially in the same vicinity as present day Oregon Inlet, although it is very doubtful whether they are one and the same. Other writers have concluded that the expedition came through an inlet known as Trinitie

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3. David Beers Quinn, Raleigh and the British Empire (London: The English Universities Press, New edition, 1962), p. 52.

4. George Bancroft, History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent, 6 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1879), I, 76.

Harbour immediately to the north of Port Ferdinando.[5] Talcott Williams, in a most illuminating and provacative article, provides a long list of writers who have taken sides on this question, but on this point he suggests that all these attempts are futile. Although he, himself, is not totally impartial on this question (for he does believe that an inlet opposite Collington Island was probably the most likely route taken by the English), he realizes how fruitless it is to determine the exact location. He summarizes this problem in these words:

> Nearly every historian of North Carolina has made an attempt to answer the geographical questions involved in the accounts of these voyages, most of them by resorting to the charts of their own day, with little comprehension of the physical history of the region, its unceasing change, and its early conditions.[6]

After the return of the 1584 expedition, followed by the glowing account of its discoveries, Sir Walter Raleigh organized a second expedition. This time, however, the object was to establish a colony in America--the first attempt by the English to do so. The destination of this voyage was also North Carolina, and the ultimate location of the settlement was the northern point of Roanoke Island. Again, as with the 1584 voyage, it is difficult to conclude with any certainty the inlet through which this second voyage did go through to reach Roanoke Island. Equally uncertain are the places on the Outer Banks where this expedition is presumed to have visited.

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5. Dunbar, p. 8; Quinn, p. 52, White's map of 1585, "La Virgenia Pars," the original of which is in the British Museum and a reproduction is in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, notes Port Ferdinando. The White-De Bry map of 1590, "Americae pars, Nunc Virginia dicta. . .," original in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C., includes "Trinity harbor." The Mercator-Hondius map of 1606, "Virginiae Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum nova Descriptio," original owned by W.P. Cumming, also notes "Trinite harbor."

6. Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1895 (Washington: 1896), pp. 50-51.

Bancroft noted that, after sailing northward past Cape Fear, two days later the seven-ship fleet anchored off "Wocoken." As the largest of the vessels entered the "harbor," it struck a shoal but was not lost. Bancroft described this inlet as Ocracoke.[7] Another writer has concluded that the expedition reached Ocracoke where it remained to explore the adjacent coastal region and the mainland. After one month elapsed, Sir Richard Grenville anchored his fleet off of "Hatorask," a short distance southeast of Roanoke Island. Here at a break in the barrier reef, almost due east of Roanoke Island, Simon Ferdinando, who was on this expedition, discovered a port which he named "Port Ferdinando." As has already been said, White's map of 1590 shows the location of this port as being approximately in the same location as present day Oregon Inlet.[8]

Local historian David Stick has also concluded that during this voyage an initial landing was made at Ocracoke Inlet where the flagship grounded on a shoal. Most of the expedition remained on Ocracoke for more than three weeks to make repairs while Lane and Grenville continued to explore Pamlico Sound.[9] From Ocracoke, or Wococon as it was then called as well as other early derivations, the expedition moved northward to an opening in the Banks opposite the south end of Roanoke Island, which was named Port Ferdinando, and to another opening farther north which they called Trinity Harbour. Both of these inlets are now closed, although the former is at or near present-day Oregon Inlet. Neither of these two ports were suitable for any settlement, although Port Ferdinando was well situated to defend itself against an enemy. Both

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7. Bancroft, I, 78-79.

8. Charles W. Porter III, "Fort Raleigh National Historical Site," The North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 20, (January 1943), No. 1, pp. 27-28; White's map of 1585.

9. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1958), p. 303. One author has observed that the location where the expedition first landed to make repairs was near modern day Ocracoke, but the exact location cannot be known. See Quinn, Raleigh and the British Empire, p. 867.

inlets were so shallow with bars that only small vessels could cross into the sound.[10]

Sir Richard Grenville reported in the journals of his voyage that on the "26th [of June] we came to anchor at Wokoken." This event occurred following the mishap of the flagship. "The 6th July . . . Captain Aubry and Captain Boniton . . . were sent to Croatan where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others by Captain Raymond some twenty days before. . . . The 21st [of July] our fleet anchoring at Wokoken we weighed anchor for Hatorask, the 27th [of July] our fleet anchored at Hatorask and there we rested."[11]

Generally speaking, many of the secondary accounts that appeared in later years have employed Grenville's journal correctly. However, the problem lies, as in the earlier voyage, in the attempt to associate inlets and areas of the Outer Banks employed by Grenville and his contemporaries with modern descriptions of these geographic areas. The solution becomes almost impossible.

The 1585 expedition finally settled at the northern point of Roanoke Island where a fort was built. In the year that followed this settlement, a contingent force constantly explored the mainland and surrounding territories as far north as Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay. Unfortunately, the aggressiveness displayed by the small English colony aroused the fear and suspicion of the Indians who sometimes retaliated with serious consequences to the white man. In the meantime, Sir Francis Drake, on his way to England from the West Indies with a fleet of twenty-three vessels, set anchor at an inlet near Roanoke Island where he supplied the small colony with much needed supplies. Tired of its existence, the colony's main body elected to abandon the fort and set sail with Drake for England. Grenville, who had left the colony to obtain supplies, arrived at Roanoke, but only to find it deserted. Rather

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10. Quinn, Raleigh and the British Empire, pp. 70-71.

11. Quoted in Jacques Busbee, "Hatorask," The North Carolina Booklet, vol. 9 (April 1910), no. 4, p. 227.

than run the risk of losing a foothold on the continent and abandoning the fort, he left fifteen of his men behind as caretakers while he set sail for England, presumably with intentions to return.[12]

Undaunted by his losses in these early ventures, Raleigh was determined to establish a colony in the New World. In April 1587 he put together a number of willing people who with a fleet under the direction of John White set sail from Plymouth. In July the expedition approached the coast of North Carolina, landing at Roanoke Island. Here they found the old fort in ruins but no sign of the fifteen men who Grenville had left behind.

There are few accounts of the details of this voyage and the part played by the Outer Banks and the inlets through which the vessels sailed to reach Roanoke Island. One writer has concluded that some of White's vessels anchored at Port Ferdinando on July 22, 1587.[13]

The same fate that befell the earlier expedition seemed to plague the new colony. Disease, hostile Indians, lack of supplies, and the elements in general caused suffering among the people. Not wanting to pronounce this voyage a failure, White, leaving his small colony behind, among whom were his daughter and granddaughter, the latter said to be the first English person born in the New World, returned to England for much needed supplies. His attempts to return to Roanoke Island at the earliest possible time were suddenly thwarted when he found his country in the midst of a war with Spain. To stop the invincible Spanish Armada, Charles Howard of Effingham and Sir Francis Drake, who were placed in command of an English fleet, needed every vessel they could lay their hands on. Hence, without adequate vessels, White's return to the New World had to be postponed. This fact plus other problems encountered later on, not the least of which were selfishly motivated on the part of crews, caused further delays. It was not until 1590 that White finally set sail for North America.

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12. Bancroft, I, 82-83.

13. Quinn, Raleigh and the British Empire, p. 110.

When he finally did arrive at Roanoke Island, he found that the colony had vanished as if into thin air. The fort, which had been rebuilt when White first arrived in 1587, was again in ruins. There was no sign of any of the colonists. The only thing that White discovered, which may have been a clue to the Lost Colony's whereabouts, were two cryptic carvings--one the word "Croatoan" appeared on a post to the fort's palisade, the other were the letters "CRO" which appeared on a nearby tree. White interpreted these as meaning that his people were on Croatoan Island with the friendly Manteo and his Indian tribe. Storms, broken anchor cables, and a near disaster occurring when one of the vessels was almost grounded, however, made the seamen unwilling to explore the treacherous coast further. The crew also lacked a pinnace to explore the sounds and conduct anything resembling a complete search. Faced with these circumstances, White's expedition decided to return to England, and the mystery of the Lost Colony remained unsolved.[14]

Among the writings of John White concerning his return trip to Roanoke Island, he appeared satisfied that the members of the vanished colony were in the friendly hands of the Croatoan Indians. Thus he said, "I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the Island our friends."[15]

John White demonstrated quite clearly that he knew where Croatan was. He was certain that it was an island to the south of Roanoke Island. He had made this journey to the shores of North Carolina more than once. His map of 1585 clearly depicts one of the Banks as "Croatoan," situated between the Banks of "Hatarask" and "Paquiak" on the north, presumably the point where present Cape Hatteras is and

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14. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the Outer Banks, p. 10.

15. Quoted in Busbee, "Hattorask," p. 225.

"Wococon" is on the south.[16] His later map of 1590 is essentially the same as his earlier map except that it is drawn to greater scale, is in greater detail, and in general more accurate.[17] Obviously, the experience he gained since his first voyage to North Carolina paid off well in better and improved maps. A 1606 map of the area is almost similar to White's earlier maps, depicting "Croatoan" between "Paquiwock" on the north and "Wococon" on the south, but here the island of Croatoan reveals the existence of three Indian settlements.[18]

There is substantial evidence both archeological and historical to prove that there were Indian settlements on Hatteras Island, but whether these Indians were the descendants of the 16th century Indians which White and others wrote about in their early accounts has not been proven. Furthermore, in spite of conjecture on the part of writers that some of the modern inhabitants have Indian characteristics and that therefore the Lost Colony was absorbed by Indians on Hatteras, the evidence is far from conclusive. Much research remains yet to be done in this area.[19]

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16. White's map of 1585. Contrary to what John Lawson believed in 1709 that the survivors of the Lost Colony had fled to the mainland where a Croatoan village was, one recent writer observed that it would be senseless for these people to have moved to the mainland where they would have been farther away from possible aid. It was more logical, as White believed, for them to move to the Banks where they might possibly be sighted by a vessel. See Busbee, p. 226.

17. White-De Bry map of 1590.

18. Mercator-Hondius map of 1606.

19. Jacques Busbee, writing in 1910, pointed to the swarthy skins and high cheek bones, straight black hair, and the nose and mouth of some of the residents of Hatteras Island as being distinctly Indian. See Busbee, p. 28. Other historians like Bancroft have accepted White's position that the Lost Colony was "hospitably adopted" by the Indians of the Outer Banks. See Bancroft, I, 86.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1670-1776)

Permanent Settlements

For more than a half century after the disaster that occurred at Roanoke Island, little attempt was made to colonize North Carolina, much less its treacherous coastline. Because the Banks and the sound areas lacked suitable harbors, they were quickly discarded as a site for a colony in preferance to the northern areas of the Chesapeake. If any settlement of North Carolina had to come, it had to first wait for the colonization of Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay area. The early discoveries and explorations of the 16th century revealed that the Outer Banks and the sounds posed extreme dangers to navigators, and, in spite of the attractiveness of the resources of the area, any attempts at colonization were unthinkable.

Meanwhile, under direct orders from England, the colonists of the newly found colony of Jamestown, Virginia, made several unsuccessful attempts to search for the Lost Colony of Roanoke. There were also sporadic attempts to settle lands around Albemarle Sound during the first half of the 17th century, but no permanent settlements ever developed from them. Disease, hurricanes, droughts, excessive rain, loss of livestock, and navigational problems hindering shipping, ultimately caused these temporary and isolated settlements to fail.[1] By 1650, settlers in Virginia began to show an interest in the area south of the James River. The quest for more land to raise livestock prompted this interest. In 1650 a pamphlet published in London urged the settlement of "Carolina," particularly the Outer Banks. The following year Edward Bland wrote a

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1. Hugh Talmadge Lefler and William S. Powell, Colonial North Carolina; a History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 47.

tract publicizing the advantages of North Carolina.[2] Lands were purchased from the Indians and grants were issued to settlers by the General Assembly of Virginia, usually along rivers like the Roanoke and the Chowan which flowed into Albemarle Sound. This occurred prior to the granting of the Carolina Charter to the Lords Proprietors. The Comberford Map of 1657 is the first solid evidence of permanent settlements in North Carolina.[3] After 1657 a number of Virginians moved southward to the shores of Albemarle Sound, taking up land to raise tobacco and livestock. The sad reputation which the Lost Colony had brought with it seemed to be finally overcome by a strong enterprising spirit bent on achieving success. This colonizing spirit ultimately extended to the Outer Banks. The first inhabitants of the Banks were stock raisers. The Banks formed an ideal area on which to raise livestock because as small islands and penninsulas there was no need to build expensive fences and palisades to hold the animals in check. Moreover, the islands produced marsh grasses which were regarded as excellent food for stock.[4]

By 1700 there was already cattle on Collington and Roanoke Islands. Stock on Roanoke Island is mentioned in a 1701 petition.[5] By 1710 Farnefould Green petitioned for a piece of land near Ocracoke Inlet to raise stock, noting that he was of good character. To be of unquestionable character was an important requirement at the time if one

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2. Gary S. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 16; Hugh T. Lefler, ed., North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 4th ed., 1965), p. 12.

3. "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina. Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map," American Historical Review, vol. 45 (October 1939), No. 1, pp. 82-89; "The South Part of Virginia Now the North Post of Carolina," by Nicholas Comberford, 1657, original map in the New York Public Library.

4. Dunbar, p. 16.

5. D.R. Hayes, An Economic Study of Dare County, North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State University, n.d.), p. 9; Dunbar, p. 18, citing North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 3 (1903), p. 152.

wished to settle on the Banks, because it was desired that no harm should come to sailors or cargoes that were cast ashore because of a shipwreck.[6] Thus, even as early as this period it was considered important to aid victims of shipwrecks.

The land grants on the Banks during the Colonial Period were generally very large for purposes of raising stock, but this ownership through grants and deeds did not mean that the proprietor actually occupied or was in full control of the land. Many of the more wealthy land owners lived on the mainland. Other less wealthy settlers acquired their property merely by settling upon it. By 1733 the whole island of Ocracoke was owned by Richard Sanderson of Perquimans County, who in that year bequeathed to his son Richard "Ye Island of Ocracock, with all the stock of horses, sheep, cattle and hoggs."[7] In 1776 it was said that "all the sea banks [are] covered with Cattle, sheep and hogs, and the few inhabitants living on the banks are chiefly persons whose estates consist in live stock."[8] By this time most settlers of the Banks were of English origin.[9]

Many of the colonists that moved to North Carolina and to the Outer Banks were those who attempted to escape the rigid laws and customs of the Virginia Colony. While many of these people were of good character, unfortunately among them were many undesirables who sought refuge from the law or who were bent on mischief. The loose control of land, particularly on the Banks where absentee ownership was prevalent,

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6. Dunbar, p. 18.

7. Dora A. Padgett, comp., The Howard Family of Ocracoke, N.C. (Washington: mimeographed by the compiler, c. 1955), pp. 1-2; J. B. Grimes, Abstracts of North Carolina Wills (Raleigh, N.C.: E.M. Uzzell & Co., 1910), p. 326; A.K. Rondthaler, "The Story of Ocracoke," The State, vol. 7 (August 19, 1939), p. 7; A.K. Rondthaler, The Story of Ocracoke (Ocracoke, N.C.: The Channel Press, 1949), p. 3.

8. Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. 10, pp. 526-527.

9. Samuel A'Court Ashe, History of North Carolina 2 vols. (Greensboro, N.C.: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908), I, Map of North Carolina Showing Evolution of Settlements and Location of Races Down to 1776.

encouraged this type of settler. Most of the settlers, however, were law-abiding people who understandably sought refuge from political and social tyranny.

The remote and isolated character of the Banks made them an ideal hiding place for those seeking to escape from the law. Here they could carry on illegal practices with some impunity, knowing the law was remote. Some of these miscreants lived upon shipwrecks that were cast ashore. Although there is no clear evidence, legends have risen to indicate that some shipwrecks were deliberately caused by these individuals by tying a lantern around a horse's head and having him run up and down a beach at night, deceiving a vessel into thinking it was a ship in safe waters. Such a trick had been used in Medieval times. Most of the illegal practices that occurred, however, for which there is substantial evidence, came from those who were quick to board a wreck to remove what they could. Since shipwrecks happened frequently, this practice could become fairly profitable.

Although stock-raising encouraged the ownership of large properties on the Banks, land that was largely owned by absentee landlords, it did not hinder the illicit occupation of certain isolated parts of these shores. As a result, what occurred was the establishment of small settlements interspersed throughout the Banks. One local historian said that most of these isolated settlers were people who were cast ashore by shipwrecks off the Diamond Shoals, most of whom preferred to remain on the Banks.[10] Little communities such as Chicamacomico, Buxton, Kinnakeet, Hatteras, Frisco, and Salvo sprang up. These areas were nearly all located in hammocks on the sound side of the Banks where they were shielded from the ocean's waves. None of these communities had sizeable populations, however. Only Ocracoke, which had different names at different times, was said to have a population of any significant size, and this was due to its location, that is, near Ocracoke Inlet, which had served mariners during early discoveries and continued to do so during

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10. David Stick, Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County Past and Present (Kitty Hawk, N.C.: The Dare Press, 1949), p. 20.

the 17th and 18th centuries. By the middle of the 17th century, both Hatteras and Croatoan Inlets closed, and vessels that had once used these inlets turned to Ocracoke Inlet to reach the sounds and the mainland. Ocracoke Inlet became an important port of entry for vessels bound for the populated northern parts of North Carolina and southside Virginia. Thus Ocracoke and Portsmouth, a settlement on the opposite side of the inlet, enjoyed extensive populations on the Outer Banks. Chiefly responsible for Ocracoke's growth was the development of ports like Bath, New Bern, and Edenton on the mainland, although they were 55 to 115 miles from the inlet.[11]

The growing advantages of Ocracoke Inlet to shipping was balanced by the dangers it presented to vessels because of treacherous bars and shoals. In 1715 the General Assembly passed a law for maintaining pilots on Ocracoke Island. These pilots and their families constituted the first permanent settlement of Ocracoke Island. Another act passed a few years later, designed "for settling and maintaining pilots at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlet," encouraged the settlement of still more pilots.[12] In 1760 a bill was passed to set aside fifty acres on Ocracoke for additional use by pilots and their families, who probably settled at Cockle Creek. By mid-century a permanent community was beginning to form. In 1753 there were about thirty families living at Ocracoke. Although maps referred to it as "Pilot Town," Ocracoke was the more popular designation.[13]

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11. Byron Eugene Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports," a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1956, pp. 33, 35.

12. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1958), p. 300; Karen G. Helms, "The Role and Function of Oral Tradition Ballad Form as Related to the Society and Culture of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina," a thesis presented to the School of Music, East Carolina University in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of MA in Ethnomusicology, May 1974, p. 22.

13. Helms, p. 23; Dunbar, p. 134, fn. 91.

By the end of the Colonial Period there were only two settlements of any size on the outer Banks--Ocracoke and Portsmouth. Some writers have concluded from this that the first settlements occurred near inlets, but others have said that the first settlements were founded near hammocks on the sound side quite irrespective of inlets.[14] On the other hand, where a community was established near an inlet, there is little doubt that the latter helped it to grow, as in the case of Ocracoke.

Although unnamed on early maps, small settlements did exist in several places on Hatteras Island especially where there are villages today. Doubtless, these settlements had names even though they did not appear on maps. On the Moseley Map of 1733 the name "Neal" appears where the village of Avon now exists and the name "Gibbs" also appears where today's village of Hatteras is located. John Collet's 1770 map shows the name "Wallaces" in the present Chicamacomico area.[15] "Neal," "Gibbs," and "Wallaces" were probably the names of large property owners.

The Indians were few in number on the Outer Banks, and most of these soon left for the mainland after the first white settlements were established on the Banks. The Mercator-Hondius Map of 1606 notes that there were three Indian settlements on Croatoan, later known as Hatteras

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14. Dunbar, p. 134, fn. 89.

15. "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina by Edward Moseley, late Surveyor General of the said Provance 1733," original in South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.; "A Completed Map of North Carolina from an actual Survey" by John Collet, 1770, original owned by W.P. Cumming. The Mouzon map of 1775 "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers . . . By Henry Mouzon and Others," original in State Department of Archives and History Raleigh, N.C. Dunbar is wrong when he says that Kinnakeet (present day Avon) was a settlement that appears in Moseley's 1733 map. See Dunbar, p. 134, fn. 89. Kinnakeet was a settlement appearing on the hammock side of Hatteras Island in the early 19th century. See Timothy A. Thompson, "Archaeological Resources at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore: A Management Study," Raleigh, N.C., Department of Cultural Resources Archaeology Section, July 1977, p. 16.

Island, and one on Wococon, later known as Ocracoke Island.[16] This is an interesting map because of its date, soon after the Lost Colony's disappearance, although it derives much of its data from the discoveries of the English in 1585 and the White-DeBry map of 1590.[17]

John Lawson first described the Hatteras Indians in 1709, who lived on the sound side in present day Buxton. Lawson referred to their settlement as "Indian Town" and some deeds called it either "Indian Town" or "Cape Hatteras Indian Town." During the early part of the 18th century there were about forty Hatteras Indians, but over the years, due largely to poverty and pressure from the aggressive English settlers who after the Tuscarora Wars may have had less fear in settling the Banks, their numbers declined rapidly. By 1733 there were only six or eight Indians living at Hatteras and these lived among the English.[18]

The Hatteras Indians were not warlike like their mainland brethren. They were perhaps docile because of their isolation. They were eventually absorbed by the white man, until no further mention was made of them. During most of the Colonial Period the Indian was not a significant factor in the history of the Outer Banks.[19]

Economy and Industry

We have already noted that one of the chief reasons for settling the Outer Banks was for purposes of raising livestock. The islands were

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16. "Virginiae Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum, novo Descriptio" by Jodocus Hondius, 1606, original owned by William P. Cumming.

17. William P. Cumming, North Carolina In Maps (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), p. 10.

18. Dunbar, p. 19. Moseley's Map of 1733 states that "The coast is now generally inhabited by the English, and [is] very safe for vessels in distress to come ashore, the soundings decreasing gradually; nor is there any danger from Indians, none now inhabiting the sea coast, but about 6 or 8 at Hatteras, who dwell among the English."

19. Dunbar, p. 19.

ideal for such purposes because they created natural barriers for grazing thereby making it unnecessary for building expensive fences. Stock raising continued in importance and was the principal means of livelihood. Hunting and fishing were largely for home consumption, although some of the latter was salted for trade as early as 1765. With improvements in communication, increases in population, and better and more efficient methods of fishing, commercial fishing became more prominent.[20]

Long before commercial fishing became important, however, whaling assumed some significance among the few early settlers of the Banks. As early as 1715, the Lord Proprietors issued instructions, inducing New England whalers to settle in the Outer Banks because of the excellent opportunities in whaling that seemed to prevail.[21] In his treatise on North Carolina in 1709, Lawson noted that the settlers of the Banks were concerned with the dead whales that were washed ashore, noting that these mammals were important to the people not only for personal consumption but for commercial purposes. The residents probably sold the blubber and other parts of the whale to mariners entering the inlets.[22]

Except in a few cases during the early Colonial Period when a little salting for trade was prevalent, fishing was almost entirely for personal use. Fishing gear was meager and simple and the boats that were used were small vessels such as rowboats and canoes. In any case, salt was seldom manufactured locally and much of it had to be imported.

With the settlement of the mainland during this period, the importance of the Banks to shipping and military maritime activities was also realized. By the time the American Revolution started, a considerable amount of valuable cargo was passing through the inlets and

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20. D.R. Hayes, An Economic Study of Dare County, North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State University, n.d.), p. 9.

21. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 33.

22. Dunbar, p. 20; Stick, Fabulous Dare, p. 19.

the sounds to and from the ports of Edenton and Bath and from Beaufort to Virginia. Inlets like Ocracoke grew enormously in popularity. In the meantime, the inlets and sounds with their treacherous bars and shoals presented dangers to the mariners of these vessels. As a result, pilots were in great demand. Wherever inlets existed, as in the case of Ocracoke, the pilot played an important role in the economy of the area.

There were other economic activities that the Banker indulged in, which in some cases may have been of a questionable nature, if not illegal, and this was the salvaging of shipwrecks and their cargoes, or "wrecking" as it was commonly called. The practice did contribute to the economic life of the Banks, nevertheless. Such practices had been a problem of long standing, and as early as 1678 the Lords Proprietors of the colony appointed Robert Houlden to "looke after, receive and recover all wrecks, ambergrice [sic] or any other ejections of the sea," but this one individual could not control an area as long as the Outer Banks and, therefore, the problem worsened. At one point in 1750, after receiving news that the Bankers had plundered a Spanish vessel grounded at Ocracoke, the colonial governor sent an armed ship to recover the property, referring to these miscreants as "a set of indigent desparate outlaws and vagabonds."[23] The wrecking business became quite lucrative and contributed to the economy of the area. One writer has denied that wrecking was a significant activity among the residents of the Outer Banks. Instead, he believed that this reputation was unfair. He believed that before the days of wreck commissioners and vendues, the Bankers sometimes took advantage of the wrecked vessels, taking ship timber and cargo that came ashore, but only when these items went unclaimed. The people did not look upon this activity as stealing because they happened to live in the vicinity. This writer concluded that since there have been only a few recorded cases of wrecking, the Bankers did not deserve the reputation as "wreckers or land pirates."[24]

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23. David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 3-6.

24. Dunbar, pp. 20-21.

Piracy and smuggling proved to be another illegal enterprise in and around the Outer Banks especially during the years between 1689 and 1718, which has been called "The Golden Age of Piracy."[25] Between 1717 and 1721 it was reported that close to forty vessels were seized by pirates off the Carolina coast.[26] A strong precedent for this maritime activity had been prevalent during the early wars between England, France, and Spain in their endeavor to control the New World. The desire for the American colonists to violate the restrictive English laws which the Mercantile System had imposed upon them was extremely great. Moreover, since North Carolina maritime commerce was second to Virginia and South Carolina, its two neighbors, it could afford to close its eyes to piracy. In fact, pirates had the encouragement and protection of North Carolina's officials, who personally profited from this activity. Since merchants could buy merchandise directly from pirates more cheaply than if they purchased it the normal way, pirates were held in high esteem by the local populace. Geographic factors like the Outer Banks, surrounding waters, and rugged coastline made this area appealing to pirates and to outlaws. The Outer Banks, inlets, sand bars, and islands near the mouths of rivers made excellent hideouts for their vessels. Pirates could easily conceal themselves and dart out suddenly into the ocean to overpower an unsuspecting merchant ship.[27]

Ocracoke Inlet became the hideout of the infamous Blackbeard or Edward Teach (or Thatch) in 1717. Blackbeard terrorized coastal shipping along the Banks and corrupted the highest officials.[28] His

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25. Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1973, ed ed.), p. 68.

26. Hugh Talmadge Lefler and William S. Powell, Colonial North Carolina; A History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 83.

27. Ibid.

28. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 28. "Teaches Hole," the Channel between the village of Ocracoke and the inlet, is named after him. Moseley's map of 1733 carries it as "Thatches Hole," and this spelling is perpetuated in later maps. See, for example, U.S.C.&G.S. Map 1232, "Cape Hatteras: Wimble Shoals to Ocracoke Inlet," 1928, reissued 1929.

piratical career seems to have been brief, however, at least insofar as his associations with the Outer Banks were concerned, for in November 1718, he met up with an expedition at Ocracoke sent by Governor Alexander Spotswood of North Carolina and was killed. The rest of his crew was either killed or captured. Teach's death brought large scale piracy to an abrupt end on the Outer Banks.[29] After Blackbeard's demise, piracy declined, but this did not halt privateering entirely, for it continued to flourish well into the middle of the 18th century. French and Spanish privateers continued to sail the coast of North Carolina plundering vessels and even towns along the rivers. One account of such an action in 1741 said "The Spaniards have built themselves Tents on Ocracock Island; Two of the Sloops lie in Teache's Hole, and the Two Ships lie at an Anchor off the Bar. . . . By the Accounts of several People who have escaped from them, they have burned several Houses, and destroyed great numbers of cattle."[30] French privateers who infested these waters, also took vessels on the North Carolina coast during the Seven Years War.[31] Many of these activities were the result of wars between Great Britain, Spain, and and France. For all intents and purposes, however, the Outer Banks ceased to operate as a haven for pirates.

Like piracy, smuggling was also an accepted practice in most of the colonies, but because of the rugged nature of the Outer Banks and the surrounding area, it flourished almost entirely uninhibited in North Carolina. Ship captains noted with considerable pleasure how easy it was to break down a cargo and load goods into small boats where they quickly proceeded to different settlements thus avoiding ports where custom duties were paid. Ocracoke Inlet was cited for several violations. On February 20, 1734, a sloop was confiscated after its captain had sold rum and Osnabruck linen without clearing customs. That same year a vessel

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29. Dunbar, p. 23; Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 28, 32.

30. David L. Corbitt, "Historical Notes," North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 3. (January 1926), No. 1, p. 128, citing The South Carolina Gazette, August 6, 1741.

31. Dunbar, p. 22.

from Guernsey loaded with French wines, brandy, tea, and woolens came through Ocracoke Inlet where these goods were placed on small vessels and shipped through Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds to Virginia without paying customs.[32]

Fortifications and Military Events

During King George's War between Great Britain and Spain, the latter had committed depredations upon the coast of North Carolina, and Ocracoke had suffered in the process. Vessels were captured by the Spanish off Ocracoke in 1742, and in 1747 several sloops from Spain's fleet operating out of St. Augustine attacked many coastal settlements, including Ocracoke, killing cattle and hogs and destroying much that was in sight. On Ocracoke the Spanish even went so far as to erect a fort during their brief invasion, which was later destroyed by the British.[33]

Under constant fear of these attacks and without the essential resources to protect themselves, the residents of the Outer Banks appealed to the colonial government for protection. Had the inlets, especially Ocracoke Inlet, not been so important to the commercial interests of the colony, the colonial government might well have listened to these pleas with some disinterestedness, but the situation was otherwise. The government knew what these inlets meant to the lifeblood of the colony if they fell into the hands of an enemy for any length of time and preferred instead to act on behalf of the residents of the Banks. From time to time both the governor and the General Assembly spoke in earnest of the need for fortifications, although insufficient money seemed

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32. Dunbar, p. 23 and fn. 79, citing David Stick's notes from "Vice Admiralty Papers," vol. 1, pp. 122-143, MS. volume in N.C. State Department of Archives and History, and Colonial Records, vol. 4, p. 170.

33. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 37, citing The South Carolina Gazette, January 9, 1742; Lefler and Powell, Colonial North Carolina, pp. 132-133.

always to be an obstacle. One plan that seemed to be near adoption in the 1740s was the construction of four forts, two large ones and two smaller ones. Ocracoke was to be the recipient of one of the larger forts. Although money was appropriated and plans were drawn for building these forts, no action seems to have been taken.[34]

In 1747 Governor Gabriel Johnson felt very strongly about building a fort on Ocracoke Island, and in making his wishes known said:

> Inside the south end of the Island lyes the Harbour which has convenient places to careen ships. Wood and fresh water in abundance. A small fort mounted with some cannon would prove in time of war sufficient security to the shipping in the harbour and to the houses on land. Ocracoke is an airy and healthy place, abounding in excellent fish and wild fowl. If a Port is settled on Ocracoke Island a town will soon be built which will become in a little time a place of great commerce.[35]

In the 1750s another attempt was also made to build a fort, to be called Fort Granville, at Portsmouth, a small town perhaps the size of Ocracoke village on the south side of Ocracoke Inlet, but this also seems to have failed. Jonathan Price, who surveyed these waters in 1795, in speaking of Portsmouth, said, "A fort was also about the same time [i.e., ca. 1753] erected--but there remains no vestige of either."[36]

In spite of all the evidence to prove that there was a strong interest on the part of the colonial government to construct fortifications on the Outer Banks, much of the evidence seems to indicate that the forts were

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34. Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 37-38.

35. Dora Adele Padgett, William Howard; Last Colonial Owner of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina: His Family and Descendants (Washington: the author, 1874), p. 21.

36. Jonathan Price, "A Description of Ocracoke Inlet," The North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 3 (October 1926), No. 4, p. 627; Dunbar, 24.

probably never built. The maps of this period, particularly Collet's map of 1770 and Mouzon's map of 1775 reveal no forts, unless they had disappeared by this time or were so small as to be too insignificant to be shown on a map. This does not seem likely, however. It is more probable that the forts were never built.[37] Contrary to what certain writers have concluded, there is no conclusive evidence that any permanent fortifications were built on the islands that now include the National Seashore, including Ocracoke, during the American Revolution.[38]

No land battles were fought on the Outer Banks and no great naval engagements took place in these waters during the Revolution, but the role of the Banks proved to be an important one. In the early months of the Revolution the British blockade had affected the large ports of Boston, New York, and those of Virginia. Because of the dangerous position of the Outer Banks, it was difficult for the British to effectively blockade these waters as they did the important harbors to the north. One person from North Carolina believed that because of this feature "no Market on the Continent at Present" exceeded Ocracoke.[39]

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37. "A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an actual Survey," by John Collet, 1770, original owned by William P. Cumming; "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers . . . From Actual Surveys By Henry Mouzon and Others," 1775, original owned by State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.; Hugh Talmadge Lefler doubts that a fort was ever built at Portsmouth. See The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1973, 3d ed), p. 166. One writer has mistakingly concluded that Fort Hancock was constructed at Ocracoke during the Revolution, but this is not so. It was built at Cape Lookout, however, although its role during the war is not clear. See Norman C. Delaney, "The Outer Banks of North Carolina During the Revolutionary War," The North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 36 (January 1959), no. 1, p. 13. David Stick provides sufficient evidence to prove that the fort was at Cape Lookout. See Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 58-62.

38. Helms and Rondthaler have said that a fort was built at Ocracoke in 1777, but they offer no evidence. Karen G. Helms, "The Role and Function of Oral Tradition Ballad Form as Related to the Society and Culture of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina," a thesis presented to the East Carolina University, May 1974, p. 25, and Alice K. Rondthaler, The Story of Ocracoke (Ocracoke, N.C.: The Channel Press, c. 1949), p. 4.

39. William James Morgan, ed., Naval Documents of the Revolution (Washington: Department of the Navy, 1976) vol. 8, p. 160 (hereafter cited as Naval Documents, Revolution).

Consequently, the inlets and the sounds provided a relatively safe route through which supplies from France and the West Indies could reach the rebellious colonies. Thus, the patriot cause was partly kept alive by this good fortune. With their large vessels, the British were helpless to enter the inlets and the sounds with their treacherous shoals and bars. An officer in the Royal Navy aptly described the problem early in the war to his superior when he reported that:

> a number of Vessels belonging to New England now trading from different places particularly from the Dutch, and French West India Islands to a port in North Carolina situated Nine or Ten Leagues to the Westward of Cape Hatteras, by name Beacon Island, which lies a little way in the inside of Ocricock Bar. . . ; there is no port on the continent so famous for smuggling; giving for reason, that no Kings vessels ever have been over this Bar, nor is there any Custom house authority near it . . . the Pilots for the Bar have orders from all the Trading people near it, not to make known to any Kings Vessel the depth of Water on the Bar, and to persist should they fall in with any, that there is not water sufficient for them . . . that there are at full Tides 15 or 16 feet . . . and that larger ships than the Canceaux Pass. I though it incumbent on me to lay this information before you. . . .[40]

Ocracoke Inlet provided the chief route for the American supplies, and this was irritating to the loyalist party. The former royal governor of North Carolina, writing to Lord Germain from New York City where he had taken refuge, said:

> The contemptible Port of Ocracoke has become a great channel of supply to the Rebels while the more considerable ports of the Continent have been watched by the King's ships. They have received through the port, and continued to receive

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40. Naval Documents, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 20.

at the inlet very considerable importation of the necessaries they most wanted for the purpose of carrying on their warfare, from the ports of France and the French West Indies. This, my lord, was reported to Com. Nothan, the Naval Commander here, who will no doubt take all proper means for shutting up that avenue of succor to the Rebels.[41]

The British made frequent attempts by commissioning privateers to halt the American vessels loaded with supplies going through the inlets sometimes with considerable success.[42] Although the Banks were a very effective barrier against such attempts, the residents of the area were deeply concerned with these successes. The British also found it useful to land raiding parties onto the Banks to slaughter much-needed cattle to supplement their diets with fresh meat. In the process, they plundered and destroyed property. At the outset of the war, the residents took matters into their own hands to defend themselves, and frequently they were successful. In 1779 the Bankers repulsed a raid by British seamen on the coast just north of Cape Hatteras, killing at least five of them.[43] The zeal of the Bankers to protect themselves sometimes led them astray. In one instance in 1778, pilots at Ocracoke boarded a vessel to pilot it through the inlet unaware that it was a British ship. After the vessel was in the sound, it captured a French brig and another vessel much to the embarrassment of everyone. The North Carolina Gazette expressed the following deep concern over the incident: "This surely shows the necessity of keeping some force on Ocracoke Island, otherwise our trade will be annihilated." The governor advised the legislature that immediate measures were needed to protect the inlet.[44] It was obvious, however, that to resist British forays onto the Outer Banks and its waters what was needed was some organized military intervention.

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41. Padgett, William Howard, p. 14.

42. Naval Documents, Revolution, Vol. 4, pp. 1345-6; ibid., vol. 5, pp. 38, 488-7; vol. 8, p. 942.

43. Dunbar, p. 22; Stick, Dare County, p. 15.

44. Delaney, p. 10, citing State Records, XIII, 397-8 and XII, 559-60.

Soon after the outbreak of hostilities the Provincial Congress of North Carolina appointed a committee to investigate the defenses of the Outer Banks. The committee noted that the residents of the Banks were defenseless in the face of British naval power. It concluded, prematurely perhaps, that if the British were prevented from raiding the sand barriers for livestock, they would eventually leave the area. It suggested a plan whereby a militia would be recruited from the residents of the Banks. The militia would be formed into five companies, one of which would be assigned to guard the sand barriers between Currituck and Roanoke Inlets, a second to guard Ocracoke Island, and the remainder to guard the Banks south of Ocracoke.[45] Each company consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, one fifer, and sixty eight rank and file.[46] The company that was eventually formed at Ocracoke had men and guns dispersed beyond Ocracoke, for at one point the company's captain received orders to transfer three pieces of iron ordnance from Cape Hatteras to Pamlico Sound where they were to be shipped to Virginia to be positioned on a new galley that was being built.[47]

The companies provided some protection to the Banks, but they were unable to prevent the capture of American vessels. Nor were they capable of halting the raids on cattle and other provisions on land. Most important, the companies could not combat the British warships that roamed the waters at will. What were needed were American warships. In any event, money to support these companies soon ran out, and they were disbanded. The full responsibility for protecting the Banks reverted once more to the Bankers who for all intents and purposes had not relinquished it even after the companies had been formed. By this time, however, their problems were compounded when the young men were

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45. David Stick, Dare County: A History, North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), pp. 14-15; Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 48-49.

46. Ibid.

47. Delaney, p. 6, citing Colonial Records, X, 687.

drafted to serve elsewhere despite pleas to keep them at the Banks where they were needed to fight the British raids.[48]

Recognizing the need to protect Ocracoke Inlet and other important inlets as vital to the supply lines of the colonies, both North Carolina and Virginia agreed in 1776 to construct two large row galleys, one of which was specifically intended to guard Ocracoke Inlet and the waters adjacent to it.[49] Virginia agreed to construct the galleys in its own shipyards, but North Carolina supplied three cannons that had been in place at Cape Hatteras.[50] The advantage of a galley was that it was large enough to fight a sizeable warship while at the same time having the maneuverability of a small vessel. North Carolina voted 2000 Pounds toward defraying the cost of the two vessels. The vessels were completed during the first half of 1778 and one, Caswell, was immediately placed in service at Ocracoke Inlet. Caswell was supplied with a tender and a company of marines consisting of 170 men. Although the galley was never adequately supplied--each state believing it was the responsibility of the other--it nevertheless served her purpose effectively, guarding the inlet and preventing British vessels from entering Pamlico Sound.[51]

Caswell lasted a little more than a year and by that time the bottom was so rotted that she sank, unable to reach harbor to be refitted. Although it took almost two years to build, she lasted just a little more than half that time.[52] Her removal left Ocracoke open to further raids although by this time its importance as an inlet began to decline. British warships continued to make raids on the Banks.

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48. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 50; Stick, Dare County, p. 15; Delaney, p. 6, citing Colonial Records, X, 971.

49. Naval Documents, Revolution, vol. 5, pp. 19-20.

50. Ibid, pp. 405, 1251.

51. Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 59-60; Delaney, p. 11.

52. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 6.

The Revolution did not necessarily instill a sense of patriotism and loyalty among the residents of the Outer Banks. Their primary interest was to defend their homes and property from the invading British. In this respect, they were no different from the inhabitants of the other colonies. Thus, in 1778, the pilots of Ocracoke refused to board friendly vessels to guide them through the inlet because they believed they were being paid too little. The captain of Caswell, which was then anchored in port, unfairly accused them of wishing "every vessel cast away, as they may plunder them."[53] The governor was later advised, perhaps from the same source, that the pilots had entered into an agreement determined not to pilot any ship. Said this source:

> the reasons they give me for this extra-ordinary [sic] step is, that having no branches, they are liable to a penalty for taking charge of any vessel, and that they will not take branches because the Legislature have rated their pilotage at too low a price, being all in a clan. I fear our trade will be hurt by the infamy of these people.[54]

This criticism of the pilots may have been a little too harsh, but it is interesting to note how the economic interests of this group, with a specialized skill, was held to be more important than the war against Britain.

The British raids continued to plague the residents of the Banks until the end of the war. The British landed on the beaches stealing cattle and other supplies. Sometimes they were successful. At other times they were confronted by the residents. At still other times their ships were wrecked on the shoals where the Bankers then took their revenge. When the war ended, "there was little physical evidence to show that the Banks had been involved in the Revolution at all."[55]

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53. Delaney, p. 11, citing State Records, XIII, 134.

54. Delaney, p. 11, citing State Records, XIII, 171.

55. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 71.

In the meantime, the importance of Ocracoke Inlet as a trade route diminished. Experience had shown that as a trade route to Virginia it was too far away and inconvenient, and ships were rerouted into different channels. According to Governor Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, even North Carolina was finding that Ocracoke Inlet was an inconvenient trade route.[56]

Early Attempts at Providing Navigational Aids

The increase in shipwrecks off the Outer Banks during the Colonial Period reflected the increase in the commercial maritime activity of the area. North Carolinians were constantly reminded of the tremendous disadvantages of this treacherous coastline with its dangerous shoals, heavy storms, strong currents, and shallow and narrow inlets. Some efforts were made to mitigate these factors, and early in the period attention was directed at the inlets where sand bars and shoals formed channels that changed overnight with the frequency of storms. "Lightering" was one of these practices introduced early in the period. John Lawson noticed this when he wrote about the Banks in 1709. Lightering was the practice of transferring all or parts of a cargo from a large vessel to small, or shallow draft, boats which could better navigate the inlets. It was used notably at Ocracoke.[57]

Piloting was another means employed from early days to aid in the navigation of inlets. Pilots were in such great demand that the colonial government found it necessary in 1715 to pass legislation encouraging the settling of pilots at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlets.[58] One writer said,

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56. Delaney, p. 14, citing State Records, XIV, 126.

57. Dunbar, p. 21; F.X. Martin, The History of North Carolina, from the Earliest Period, 2 vols. (New Orleans: A.T. Pennimant & Co., 1829), II, 61-62.

58. Dunbar, p. 21, citing State Records, Vol. 23, pp. 40-42. State Records and vol. 25, p. 160.

however, that while a pilot was appointed at Roanoke Inlet the very same year that legislation was passed, it was not until 1734 that a pilot was established at Ocracoke Inlet.[59] This seems to contradict Moseley's map of 1733, which, in giving directions on how to get through Ocracoke Inlet, advises sailors that "At Thatch's Hole [which lay just inside the sound] take a Pilot to go up the Country."[60] This is clearly an indication that pilots were already at Ocracoke and that Moseley was aware of it. As further proof of the extent to which pilots were in demand, in 1760 the legislature passed a bill setting aside fifty acres on Ocracoke for the use of pilots. This act was amended in 1766 to provide for the purchase of twenty acres to be leased to pilots for their homes. By 1770, a community known as Pilot Town arose at Cockle Creek, now known as Silver Lake. Pilot Town formed the nucleus of the present day village of Ocracoke.[61]

A great responsibility rested upon the local pilots. When the captain of a vessel approached an inlet either from the ocean side or from the sound, a pilot would board it and take over its navigation through the inlet. The pilot would then bring the vessel safely over the bar, avoiding the dangerous shoals. Because of their technical ability and knowledge of the channels, landmarks, and soundings within the inlets and sounds, they could conn vessels to their destination. On the other hand, any error on their part could prove disasterous with a great loss of cargo if not life itself. Because they were indispensable to trade and highly skilled, they were appointed and licensed by the colonial government. The pilot's fees were fixed by the colonial legislature. At one point pilots at Ocracoke were paid two shillings for every vessel piloted outside the bar into Beacon Island Road, and for every vessel piloted to Bath, North Carolina, drawing six feet of water or less, a pilot

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59. Ibid., citing Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 638.

60. Moseley's Map of 1733.

61. Dora Adele Padgett, William Howard; Last Colonial Owner of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina: His Family and Descendants (Washington: The Author, 1974), pp. 99-100.

was paid thirty-six shillings.[62] A Spaniard by the name of Francisco de Miranda had high words of praise for the Ocracoke pilots. He was very much impressed by their skill and their excellent boats.[63]

Strict requirements were imposed upon the pilots by the colony for any neglect of duty. In 1755 the General Assembly felt compelled to impose a penalty fee of ten pounds against any pilot who failed to respond to a call by a vessel to board her and take her over the bar. The penalty was paid to the master of the ship that was detained. These restrictions were imposed upon the pilots because of serious complaints made by ship masters. How justified they were is not clear, but one ship's captain complained in 1746 that when a frigate from Great Britain arrived outside Ocracoke Inlet, bringing news of the defeat of the Scotch at Colloden, pilots failed to respond to her call, leaving the vessel at the risk of being attacked by pirates.[64]

The demand for pilots and their skills was so great that the economic law of supply and demand worked effectively here as in other cases in the economic scale. The pilots' unwillingness at times to board a vessel may have had some justification. So unique was their position that they were able to unite, as some modern-day labor unions, to withhold their labor. Such intransigence, for example, during the Revolution caused deep friction between government officials, ship captains, and military commanders, on the one hand, and the pilots on the other. So exclusive did the pilots consider their position, that they resented any outsider who assumed their functions. In a petition signed by eight pilots of Ocracoke in 1773, they complained that slaves and freemen were undertaking tasks normally assigned to pilots. The petition read as follows:

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62. Rondthaler, The Story of Ocracoke, p. 2.

63. James Fred Rippy, "A View of the Carolinas in 1783," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 6 (October 1929), No. 4, p. 362.

64. Rondthaler, The Story of Ocracoke, p. 2.

His Excellency Josiah Martin Esquire General Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of North Carolina--

The Petition of the Legal Pilots of Oacock [sic] Bar Humbly Showeth that your Petitioners under the sanction of an Act of Assembly of this Province have settled at Oacock Barr [sic] in order to attend and carry on the business of their calling at great cost and expense as well as for the benefit resulting thereby as for the advantage of Mariners and Traders of the Province in general. Notwithstanding which sundry negroes as well free men as slaves to a considerable number by unjust and unlawful means take upon themselves to pilot vessels from Oacock Barr [sic] up the several Rivers to Bath, Edenton and New Bern and Bath again to the said Barr [sic] to the great prejudice and Injury of your Petitioners contrary to Law and against the Policy of this Country and to Trade in General.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly begg [sic] leave to observe to your Excellency that the Pilotage at the said Barr [sic] at present noways [sic] answers the salitary [sic] Ends Intended by Law as Great Confusion and Irregularity daily issue from the insulent and turbilent [sic] disposition and behavior of such free negroes and slaves.

Under these Circumstances your Petitioners humbly pray your Excellency would please take this matter into consideration and prevent the like for the Future by denying a License to any such Free Negroe or Slave Whatsoever.[65]

While lightering and piloting were the most common navigational aids employed during the Colonial Period, other means, more mechanical, were also coming into use. As early as 1715 proposals were made for placing

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65. Padgett, William Howard, pp. 101-102.

beacons and channel markers in Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlets.[66] It is not clear how soon these proposals were acted upon, but the legislative journals of July 7, 1733, record a petition titled "Buoying and Beaconing of Ocacock Inlet and Channel." The legislative journals of November 12, 1734, mention a proposal for buoying and beaconing Ocracoke Inlet. It was probably about this time that channel markers and beacons were deployed in Ocracoke Inlet. Moseley's map of 1733 notes that Beacon Island had "two large Beacons on it."[67] Obviously the name Beacon Island derived from the beacons that were placed upon it. Moseley's map was the first map to show this name, and it may have been the first indication of actual material improvements in the navigation of Ocracoke Inlet. Later maps of 1770 and 1775 also reveal Beacon Island although by then the island was probably eroded and reshaped into three tiny island.[68]

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66. Dunbar, p. 21, citing State Records, vol. 23, pp. 40-42.

67. Dunbar, fn. 49, citing Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 574 and Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 642; Moseley's Map of 1733.

68. Collet's map of 1770; Mouzon's map of 1775.

CHAPTER FIVE

FEDERAL-ANTEBELLUM PERIODS

The Bankers

The American Revolution had come and gone, but basically little had changed on the Outer Banks. Ocracoke was still the largest community on the barrier islands that later made up the National Seashore. Hatteras and Chicamacomico were also old communities; but by the middle of the 19th century, new small communities like Little Kinnakeet, Big Kinnakeet, and Trent were beginning to appear on maps. Noteworthy was the fact that maps showed that Hatteras Island, the longest of the barrier islands, had a road connecting Loggerhead Inlet at the north end with Hatteras Inlet, which had opened in 1846, at the south end. All the above-mentioned communities were connected by this road.[1]

By the end of the war, about 1,000 people were said to be living on the Outer Banks most of whom were residing on the sound side in wooded hammocks. In 1800 Ocracoke village had 137 people, but by 1850, the population grew to 536, or 79 families. Of that number, 432 were Whites and 104 were slaves--a ratio of more than four whites to every slave.[2]

In the 1850 census three other areas besides Ocracoke appeared. These were Buxton to Cape Hatteras (this wide area was selected apparently because of the sparseness of people in any one area), Kinnakeet, and Chicamacomico. From Buxton to Cape Hatteras there lived 661 people, 577 of which were whites and 84 were slaves. Kinnakeet

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1. "Virginia North Carolina South Carolina," U.S. Coast Guard Survey, drawn by A. Lindenbohl, 1865, original map in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

2. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1958), pp. 72, 89.

registered 318 Whites and no slaves, and Chicamacomico registered 206 residents and no slaves.[3] Thus, from these figures we can conclude that the area essentially making up the present National Seashore contained 1,721 people, a sizeable increase from the 1,000 inhabitants just following the Revolutionary War.

What made this increase possible were the changes in land ownership occurring after the Revolution. Under British rule, a large portion of the land on the Outer Banks was owned by a few relatively wealthy landowners most of whom were non residents. On the other hand, many of the people who lived on these islands were squatters. The Revolution and independence changed this status so that much of the land held by the British government or their agents was confiscated, becoming state property. Any citizen of North Carolina, particularly the squatters, could apply for a grant for a section of these state lands. Moreover, many of the large landowners, caught up in the fever of post-war land speculation, found it profitable to sell small parcels of their land to either the squatters, who were already there, or to other people.[4]

Economy

The conclusion of the Revolution saw little change in the life of the Banker. Piloting (especially near the inlets), fishing, livestock-raising, hunting, gardening, and wrecking when a shipwreck presented itself, continued to be the livelihood of the Banker. In most cases, he combined all or most of these activities to eke out a living.[5] The Banker had to become farmer, fisherman, stockman, hunter, mariner, and builder to

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3. Ibid., p. 89.

4. David Stick, Dare County: A History, North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), pp. 16-17.

5. In 1860 one writer sweepingly described the Banker's vocation as combining farming, fishing and wrecking. See Edward C. Bruce, "Raleigh and His City," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. 20 (May 1860), no. 120, p. 732.

survive on the Banks. Thus he was able to acquire a modicum of skill in all these occupations.

Piloting, particularly around Ocracoke Inlet, which at the beginning of the Federal Period was still the most important inlet on the Banks, represented the most skilled and most important vocation on the Outer Banks. Writing in 1795, Jonathan Price noted that the inhabitants of "Ocracock," as it was the called, were all pilots, "and their number of head of families is about thirty."[6] The pilot was indispensable to the merchant as is revealed in a 1788 account. Daniel C. Marsh, who was apparently a merchant selling produce in the area, wrote that he had purchased a number of items such as cheese, potatoes, onions, rum, and candles which were "brought over to Ocracoke by the pilot of a boat."[7] Although the pilot represented a small segment of the Banker population, his importance to the community lent some stability to its economy. The following account reveals the fees received by pilots in 1784:

> For every ship or vessell [sic] drawing 8 feet of water or less from inside the bar into Beacon Island road, 3 shillings per foot; more than 8 feet, 3 shillings sixpence; 6 feet of water, 40 shillings. Every vessel above 6 feet, 7 shillings sixpence; to Edenton 4 [Pounds] 10 shillings.[8]

Jonathan Price gives a more detailed explanation of the fees received by pilots in 1795 for different cases and here these figures show a change from those charged a decade earlier. Thus he said:

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6. Jonathan Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet. . .," in "Historical Notes," The North Carolina Historical Review vol. 3 (October 1926), no. 4, p. 625.

7. MS., Daniel C. Marsh Book, 1788-1792, 1 vol., Southeastern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

8. Dora Adele Padgett, William Howard; Last Colonial Owner of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina: His Family and Descendants (Washington: The Author, 1974), p. 102.

> For every vessels [sic] drawing any draft of water under 8 feet, from the outside of the Bar into Beacon Island Road or Wallace's Channel, at the option of the commander, 5 silver dollars: and for every ship or vessels that draws 8 feet water or more, and under 12 feet, 5/8 of a dollar per foot; and for every ship or vessel drawing 12 feet water or more, 1 dollar per foot; and the same fees out over the bar as in; and for every ship or vessel over either of the swashes, 2 dollars; and for every ship or vessel from the mouth of the swash to either of the ports of Newbern or Washington, drawing any draft of water, 1 dollar per foot; and for every ship or vessel from the mouth of the swash to the port of Edenton, 12 dollars, and to the port of Camden, 10 dollars; and the same allowance down as up.[9]

With the breakup of large landed estates, stockraising tended to decline as a major occupation. This did not mean, however, that it was no longer economically feasible to raise stock. On the contrary, stockraising was widespread, but like gardening, it did not take up the greatest part of the day. Although writing about Portsmouth in 1810, one observer noted that the Banks were "justly valued for their advantages in raising stock; Horses, Cattle Sheep Goats etc. are raised in considerable numbers without the least expense or trouble to the proprietors more than that of marketing."[10] Although it was difficult to determine a person's true occupation by looking only at the census, since Bankers were engaged in a variety of activities, the 1860 census noted that there were only two men on Hatteras Island who were designated as "herdsmen."[11]

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9. Price, pp. 632-33.

10. A.R. Newsome, "The Island of Portsmouth, A Miscellany From the Thomas Henderson Letter Book 1810-1811," The North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 6 (October 1929), no. 4.

11. Such a small number of herdsmen in the census may be due to the fact that some census takers included herding under farming. See Gary I. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 31.

Fishing had always been a consistently good means of supplementing one's income usually for self consumption. Although commercial fishing did not take hold until after the Civil War, it did find some adherents in the Ante-bellum Period. Although fishing was mostly done for self consumption, some Bankers did make a business out of it, sometimes trading their catch for provisions that were grown on the mainland. True commercial fishing began in the late Colonial Period, however, and continued to expand in the 19th century. In earlier days fishing was done with simple gear, but with the introduction of more modern paraphenalia, large quantites of fish could be caught in less time. This eventually contributed to an expansion of commercial fishing. Nevertheless, in spite of the eventual growth in commercial fishing, most fishing was done for personal use, and most of it occurred in the sounds and around the inlets with a little offshore ocean fishing.[12]

As fishing assumed greater importance in the economy of the Banks some of the Bankers traded their catch for corn grown on the mainland. This brought on a demand for milling, and a unique type of windmill evolved in several communities of the Banks. The windmill was not common to the barrier islands alone; it was used on the mainland as well. The windmill was mounted on a central axis so that the sails would catch the prevailing winds thereby rotating it (Illustration 1). The first windmill on the Banks was probably constructed by Blount and Wallace in the 1790s in Portsmouth where they conducted a trade. There was "Howard's Windmill" on what is now Windmill Point at Ocracoke. There were also two others in the same area. The village of Hatteras had two windmills. Still another one, known as Jennet's Mill, was at Buxton. Two were said to exist at Avon in the 1870s, and in the Chicamacomico area, that is, in Waves and Rodanthe, there were two (Illustration 2).[13]

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12. Stick, Dare County, pp. 18-19; Dunbar, pp. 35, 38.

13. Stick, Dare County, p. 19; Dunbar, p. 32 and fn. 55, citing "Map of Part of Hatteras Island," Record Group 77, National Archives, Fortification Files 143-23, and N.H. Bishop, Voyage of the Paper Canoe (Boston: Lee and Shepard 1878), pp. 175, 178.

It was obvious that because the Banks were surrounded with water that its people would adapt themselves to the sea, in short, that they would become mariners. Boats, therefore, were instruments which each Banker was very familiar. The existence of a good forest of oak and cedar on the sound side of the Banks eventually encouraged a sizeable shipbuilding industry. The village of Kinnakeet (present day Avon) was once the center of this activity. The needs of the area and the adaptability of the inhabitants led to the development of a unique type of sailboat later referred to as a Pamlico Sound fisherman, or shad boat. This boat, which was developed on Roanoke Island, was adapted for use in the shallow waters of the sound.[14] One authority described the shad boat as follows:

> While there were a number of small American working-boats fitted with the sprit mainsail and a jib . . . [the shad boat was the] only one that is known to have carried a topsail. . . .
>
> Many of the boats were built on Roanoke Island . . . and on the western shores of Pamlico Sound. They ranged in size from about 18 to 30 feet over-all length. . . . The hull was undecked except for side decks, or washboards, which ran from the bow to the transom, and was finished on the inboard side by a low coaming strip. . . . Local juniper, often called "southern cedar" in boatshops, was used throughout in building these boats, and they have lasted extremely well. . . . The frames are cut from natural crooks, probably root knees. . . .
>
> All of the boats in this section of the coast were well built in plain, workmanlike fashion. The topsides are usually painted white; some boats have black and red bands in three narrow stripes along the gunwales, which set off the strong sheer very well indeed. No local tradition as to the introduction of the

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14. Stick, Dare County, p. 19.

. . . [shad boat] could be discovered, but it seems very probable that the type was introduced after the Civil War.[15]

Although never a full-fledged industry during this period, tourism began to develop on the Banks before 1795. In that year Jonathan Price wrote the following about the Banks:

> This healthy spot is in autumn the resort of many of the inhabitants of the main. One of its original proprietors, who has attained his ninetieth year, still resides on it, an [sic] does not appear to feel any of the infirmities of age.[16]

Such views were apparently shared by many people on the main land. Soon both Ocracoke and Nags Head became favorite attractions to those who sought the ocean beaches. However, when Ocracoke Inlet declined in importance, so did Ocracoke decline as a resort, but Nags Head continued to grow, despite the closing of Roanoke Inlet. The fact that Nags Head was closer to the mainland also helped to attract visitors. Some of Ocracoke's decline as a tourist attraction in this period may be attributed to the fact that while Nags Head encouraged the construction of summer cottages, Ocracoke did not. This coupled with the fact that there were few hotels on Ocracoke made it less attractive to the tourist.[17]

Commerce

The commerce, which had dwindled during the Revolution and the years immediately following it, began a reassurgence during the

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15. H.I. Chapelde, American Small Sailing Craft: Their Design, Development, and Construction (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1951), pp. 3, 38, cited in Dunbar, pp. 56-7.

16. Price, p. 625.

17. Dunbar, p. 38; Guion Griffis Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1937), p. 188; Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1973, 3rd ed.), p. 426.

mid-1780s. In 1787 six hundred and ninety-seven vessels came to North Carolina through Ocracoke Inlet.[18] Because of the increase in commerce, new customs offices were established at New Bern and Ocracoke after 1800.[19] In addition to the fact that the inlet was wide and deep enough to permit vessels of sizeable draft to sail through with the aid of pilots, Ocracoke also acted as a point where very large ocean-going vessels, unable to navigate the sound, would transfer their cargo to smaller ships which could sail the relative shallow waters of the sounds. Because of its excellent position Ocracoke was able to achieve a significant reputation in the commerce of North Carolina as compared with other ports. One writer has surmised that naval stores and provisions, probably produced in the lower Neuse regions, made up the major foreign exports of this port. In the fiscal year ending September 30, 1816, Ocracoke handled a total value of $28,165 in commodities exported by North Carolina. This amount compared favorably with New Bern's $84,281, Edenton's $71,485, Plymouth's $36,414, Washington's $33,933, and Camden's $12,982 in commodities handled by these ports.[20]

In later years Ocracoke's importance both as an inlet and as a port diminished. By the 1840s, after Hatteras Inlet reopened, the latter assumed much of the commercial activity that Ocracoke once enjoyed. A Collector of Customs was soon appointed at this inlet. During his brief tenure as Collector, which lasted until the outbreak of the Civil War, John Rollinson noted that he boarded 66 vessels in 1859 and 43 vessels in 1860 which had come through Hatteras Inlet.[21]

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18. Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State, p. 268.

19. Byron Eugene Logan, "An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports," Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hills, N.C., 1956, p. ?

20. Logan, pp. 73, 78, citing Niles Weekly Register, vol. 13, no. 5, p. 102.

21. Ben Dixon MacNeill, The Hatterasman (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1958), pp. 272-73.

Other than providing opportunities to pilots of the areas this commerce did little for the economy of the Outer Banks. In spite of this, one or two merchants within the area of Ocracoke that shared in this commerce were John Gray and Thomas Blount, who engaged in a wide variety of business in North Carolina. They engaged in a local trade, both wholesale and retail; in a coastal trade that extended from Rhode Island to Georgia; and in a foreign trade that included the West Indies and Europe. They owned and operated a number of small industries such as sawmills, gristmills, a nailory, a tannery, fisheries, cotton gins, tar distilleries, and warehouses. They were also associated with John Wallace in operating a store and tavern on Shell Island, a tiny island adjoining Ocracoke Inlet within Pamlico Sound. In 1793 these partners improved their facilities on Shell Island and henceforth it was called Shell Castle. On the small island, which was a half mile long and sixty feet wide at low tide, Wallace lived, and in addition to his dwelling and outhouses there were warehouses, a lumber yard, and a wharf to which were anchored a number of small vessels. A notary public's office was also kept there. Since Ocracoke Inlet provided the only outlet to ocean-going vessels at the beginning of the 19th century, most of the shipping passed near Shell Castle much to the financial gain of these partners.[22] Since the large vessels were unable to navigate the sounds, Shell Castle provided small vessels called "lighters" which took some of the load from the large ship, thereby lightening it and making it easier for the vessel to move through shallow waters. The expense of providing "lighters" inevitably raised the cost of the commodity that was being imported.

So impressed with this site was Jonathan Price in 1795 as a place that facilitated commerce in an area which lacked good navigable ports that he had these glowing remarks to say about it:

> Nature seems to designate this spot as the site of a commercial town, which will one day serve as a common

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22. Alice B. Keith, "John Gray and Thomas Blount, Merchants," The North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 25 (April 1948), no. 1, pp. 195-196; Price, p. 630.

warehouse and place of shipment, for all the produce collected at Neuse, Trent, Tar, and Roanoke as well as on the smaller rivers and creeks which they receive.[23]

Blount and his partners prospered at Shell Castle for several years, but by 1820, with the decline of Ocracoke Inlet as an important waterway, Shell Castle also faltered until the business gradually disappeared.

Culture

It was inevitable that a small segment of society such as the Bankers, isolated as they were, would assume a culture somewhat distinct and unique from the Carolinians of the mainland. One observer in 1749 noted that he had received intelligence which led him "to suspect that the Bankers (a set of people who live on certain sandy islands lying between the Sound and the Ocean, and who are very wild and ungovernable, so that it is seldom possible to excite any Civil or Criminal Writs among them), would come in a body and pillage the ships, etc."[24]

Because of this isolation an aura of mystery has surrounded the inhabitants of these sand barriers. The result has been that many legends have been written about them which find their basis more in fiction than in fact. This has led to a description of the Banker that is regretably unfair. For example, his proximity to the frequent shipwrecks that occurred led writers to infer that the inhabitants removed property from the wrecks which did not belong to them. While there may have been some element of truth to this, there were others who went as far as to accuse them of an old Medieval trick of deliberately permitting vessels to ground on a shoal by placing a lantern around a horse's neck and

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23. Price, p. 630.

24. C.A. Weslager, "Place Names on Ocracoke Island," North Carolina Historical Review, vol. 31 (January 1954), no. 1, citing William L. Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: 1886), IV, 1305.

having him run up and down a beach creating impression of a vessel that was bobbing in the water, thereby deceiving a ship's captain into believing he was in safe waters.

Such unflattering and unfair descriptions failed to take note of the charitable and heroic nature of the Banker and the many cases in which, without thinking of his own safety, he set out to save a crew from a sinking ship. In objecting to such unfair accusations of the inhabitants of the Banks, one writer noted in 1860:

> Their kindness and hospitality to wrecked seamen is unfailing and unlimited. Instances have been told us of the surrender, for weeks together, of a shoreman's whole to a company of such unfortunates without the prospect of compensation. Formerly, practices were attributed to a portion of the Bankers slightly inconsistent with this description.[25]

Years before this was written, Thomas Coles was surveying the coast of North Carolina in 1807 when his vessel encountered a severe storm while it was moored off Shell Castle. The ship sank, but the report of the incident attests to the hospitality and goodness of the people of the Banks. Thus it said,

> Mr. Coles was on board of the Diligence when she sunk, consequently lost all his instruments, papers and every article of clothing. The officers and crew as well as himself were as early as possible taken off the wreck by the humane exertions of the inhabitants of Shell Castle: in that distressed situation, the officers and Mr. Coles, also as many of the crew as could possibly be accommodated, were comfortably lodged and carefully provided with every comfort by Jame Taylor, Esq.

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25. Edward C. Bruce, "Raleigh and His City," Part II, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. 20 (May 1860), no. 120, pp. 732-33.

collector at Ocracoke, to whose generous attentions Mr. Coles attributes the recovery of his health. . . .[26]

Suffice to say that there is enough evidence to support the conclusion that much of what was derogatory about the Banker was untrue. If the Banker did remove property from shipwrecks, and there seems to be little doubt about this practice, it was due largely to the isolated nature of their existence. There was little control to officially account for wrecks that occurred over a long stretch of the coastline. Many wrecks occurred without ever being reported. After a wreck commissioner was appointed to oversee the wrecks, they were unable to patrol such a long coastline. Hence, the Banker who observed a shipwreck, was left pretty much to his own actions, and any property that was washed on shore was there for the taking. It was not considered stealing but an accepted practice. Moreover, much of this behavior, as was pointed out earlier, was balanced by the selfless action of the Banker who saved lives and eased the pain and suffering of those who were victims of shipwrecks.

The family names of the residents were essentially the same then as today. The Bankers were primarily of British stock. Of 220 family names on the Banks before 1860, at least 157 were of British derivation, but there were some who could claim Italian, Danish, Greek, French, and even Arabic ancestry. Perhaps, these nationalities may have found their way to the Banks as victims of shipwrecks who decided to remain and make the Banks their home.

By the 1780s the Hatteras Indians had practically disappeared, the last known reference to them being in a deed of 1788 from "Mary Elks, Inden [sic] of Hatteras Banks" to Nathan Midgett transferring a tract of land which included the site of the old Indian town.[27]

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26. 9th Cong., 2d sess., No. 117, "Survey of the Coast of North Carolina," January 25, 1807, American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation, p. 691.

27. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 73.

Slave ownership was not widespread on the Banks, being mostly limited to one or two in a family. There were only a few free Blacks.[28]

Since many of the present day Bankers speak a language with an idiom and accent unlike that heard on the North Carolina mainland and since they are descendants of the early Bankers, many popular writers have concluded that this manner of speech has its roots in Elizabethan English. These writers were anxious to prove a connection between the English of the Lost Colony with today's Banker. Since this connection has never been proven, any thesis that attempts to tie in today's speech of the Banker to Elizabethan English is spurious.[29]

The severe storms and hurricanes that occurred on the Banks was an important factor in determining where and what kind of house the Banker would build. Most inhabitants built their homes in wooded hammocks on the sound side where they had some protection from the fierce winds and high waves, which often caused floods. Since these floods sometimes opened or closed inlets and eroded land, the average Banker was ready to relocate to drier ground. When this occurred, he would transport his small residence by horse or oxen to wherever he felt secure. As in many parts of the South, the type of home built was suited to the particular climate and geography. A type of house, two-story high with one room deep, containing a breezeway and a detached kitchen in the back, soon developed. As early as 1806 a visitor to these Banks was impressed by the "two-story houses, and comfortable living" in these small wooded communities on the sound side of Cape Hatteras.[30] Sketches drawn by a Union soldier who was stationed on

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28. Ibid.

29. Weslager, "Place Names on Ocracoke Island," p. 41; Collier Cobb, "Early English Survivals on Hatteras Islands" University of North Carolina Magazine, vol. 27 (February 1910), no. 3, pp. 7-10.

30. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 73; Stick, Dare County, p. 18.

Ocracoke Island in 1861 provide an excellent example of the type of small structure built by the Bankers (Illustration 3).[31]

Prevention of Shipwrecks and Aids to Navigation

Following the Revolution there was a sudden upsurge in commercial activity in and around the waters of the Outer Banks. Most of this activity on the Banks was centered around Shell Castle and Ocracoke Inlet where Thomas Blount and his partners were doing a flourishing business, but most of the commerce originated on the mainland. Nevertheless, in almost every case vessels had to travel along the Banks, through the inlets, and up the sounds. These waters were unavoidable and the dangers that accompanied them made the average mariner apprehensive. The problems of navigation that existed before the Revolution were forever present after, except that now, because of the increase in the number of vessels plying these waters, they were even greater and the risks were higher. Nevertheless, the dreaded currents, the shoals and bars that were forever present, the shallow sounds, and the inlets that appeared at one time and disappeared the next, did not prevent the mariner from sailing these waters, but they did take their toll.

Some attempts were made during the Colonial Period to minimize the navigational problems. Piloting and lightering were practices that helped to lighten the burden of the mariner especially through the inlets and sounds, and some attempts were made to place buoys and markers in shallow channels, but the problems and their remedies were far greater when they dealt with the fearsome currents and shoals of the ocean. Edmund Ruffin, a prominent farmer and publicist of the period, first

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31. Charles F. Johnson, The Long Roll: Being a Journal of the Civil War, as set down during the years 1861-1863 by Charles F. Johnson, sometime of Hawkins Zouaves (East Aurora, N.Y.: The Roycrofters, 1911, Duluth Edition).

described the sounds of North Carolina with some optimism and then he described the coastal waters of the Outer Banks with pessimism:

> Taking the whole space within the outlines of Pamlico, Albemarle and Currituck sounds, and their connecting waters, and of all the deep, still and unobstructed waters of the many rivers discharging therein, there is not one of the Atlantic States, which has such great extent of good and smooth navigable water--and safe from storms also, by its topographical features, and entirely secured from any invasion, or effective blockade, by a hostile naval force. . . . But these remarkable and otherwise valuable characteristics are rendered almost nugatory by another remarkable feature of this region. There is now no access to the ocean, through the sand-reef, so good and deep as the narrow Ocracoke inlet, which now only permits vessels of six feet draft to pass over the bar across the inlet, after tedious delays and much danger, and which passage opens upon an unsheltered and most dangerous sea coast. The whole ocean shore of North Carolina is a terror to navigators, and is noted for the number of shipwrecks, and especially near Cape Hatteras. . . .[32]

One German traveller to the United States soon after the Treaty of Paris was concluded further described these waters as follows:

> The road which ships must take coming in from the sea by the navigable and best channels is as much as 180 miles long, although the town itself is not more than 35-40 miles from the sea in a direct line. There would be a shorter passage if the Roanoke and other inlets were navigable for vessels even of a moderate tonnage. Coming in, vessels must first pass the Occacock Bar, where at high tide there is no more than 13 ft.

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32. Hugh Talmadge Lefler, ed., North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1965, 4th ed.), p. 260.

water; and then there lies in the way another bank, 2-3 miles wide, called the Swash, consisting of firm sand, and at the highest tide giving a depth of only 9 ft. Ships, therefore, often take 8-12 days entering and clearing the Sound, at times must wait months for a favorable opportunity, and then are subject to the very great inconvenience of lading and unlading at a distance from the town by means of lighters. And when at last a ship is freighted and past all obstacles, shortly after getting into the ocean the Gulf Stream must be contended with, which in this latitude approaches very near the main-land. In this way various circumstances unite to hamper shipping and make it difficult, but these notwithstanding are overcome by patience in times of peace, and during a war are made use of to the positive advantage of the place. By reason of this especial and unfavorable situation of the place, during the last war the trade here grew uncommonly active and flourishing. It was certain that no hostile vessels of any size could venture over the Bar and the Swash. Thus most of the American trading ships took refuge here, where they could take in or put off cargoes in security; Philadelphia merchants established themselves here; the Virginians brought hither their tobacco by land-carriage, taking in exchange West Indian or other wares, which at time were over-plentiful here.[33]

The same traveller noted that:

The entrance to Pemtico [sic] Sound is below Cape Hatteras through Occacock Inlet, and therefore the same as that ships must take bound for Albemarle Sound or into Neus River. The generally difficult and dangerous passage into the rivers and bays of North Carolina, occasioned by shoal-water,

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33. Johann David Schoepe, Travels in the Confederation (1783-1784), trans. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), pp. 111-12.

sand-banks, low islands and bars, is a great hindrance to the trade of this province which on that account was long neglected.[34]

An excellent account of the problems and frustrations encountered during a trip down a river on the mainland and through Pamlico Sound is provided by Asa Biggs in 1832. Biggs kept a daily journal of his journey from Plymouth, North Carolina, until he reached Ocracoke. Soon after leaving Plymouth at Noon, heading down river, their loaded vessel ran aground on a sand bar after an unsuccessful attempt at being towed by a steamboat. "We succeeded after a little heaving with an anchor in putting the vessel off and being near night concluded to lie to anchor all night. . . ." By then, Biggs had only gone 17½ miles since leaving Plymouth. After hoisting anchor the following morning, and narrowly missing a collision with a sloop bound for the West Indies, they reached Albemarle Sound about 1 P.M. In the Croatan Sound, which is the body of water west of Roanoke Island, the boat struck shoals "two or three times" until it finally grounded "fore and aft the tide being very low." Attempts to get off the shoals were in vain, and the boat remained there for more than one day the tide being too low to raise the vessel sufficiently. While grounded in that position, the wind and spray from the water played havoc with the passengers on board. Nevertheless, Biggs thought they were fortunate they had grounded, and in his own words said:

> Considering the violence of the wind it is perhaps fortunate that we run aground last evening for there would have been a strong probability of our seeing rough times last night if we had got into the lower sound [i.e., Pamlico]. So that we might consider ourselves well situated were it not that we are continually annoyed [sic] by the waves thumping us in the

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34. Ibid., p. 125.

> Storm So violently as to make the cabin an uncomfortable situation.[35]

After being grounded for almost two days, they sailed southward in Pamlico Sound until they reached a point opposite the Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Here the passengers went ashore to purchase milk and ducks from the lighthouse keeper. After the vessel departed this point, they finally reached Ocracoke. Biggs noted the rest of this journey with some pleasure:

> Soon after day could see the Light House at Ocracoke. It is very pleasant weather this morning & the wind more moderate. We [ran] down the Sound handsomely. About 10 oclock crossed the Swash, the pilots having come on board. We took the pilot boat from the vessel and landed at Ocracoke and took lodgings at Capt. Pikes. We were very much gratified to land & our accomodations were so materially changed. . . .[36]

Biggs' return home was by a different route. He boarded a vessel at Ocracoke for Washington on the mainland where he took a stagecoach to his home in Williamston. Although this return trip was much shorter, he had the misfortune of being on board a vessel with a young captain who he described as being "afraid of his shadow" and fearful of the waters. Since this was the captain's first voyage in these waters, it may be understandable why he felt this apprehension.[37]

It had taken Biggs about six days to sail from Plymouth to Ocracoke. Practically every moment of his trip was frought with some

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35. "Journal of a trip from Williamston to Ocracoke in October 1832," Asa Biggs Papers, No. 1241, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

danger and discomfort. His sighs of relief on occasions at encountering smooth sail, good weather, and finally land conceal what were otherwise very anxious moments on board.

Whether it was sailing on rivers, sounds, inlets, or ocean, the waters surrounding the Outer Banks caused their share of shipwrecks or near shipwrecks. David Stick has compiled an extensive list of shipwrecks which occurred off the coast of North Carolina. Except for a few cases, he did not include wrecks that occurred in the sounds or rivers adjoining the Outer Banks. For purposes of this study we have extracted only those wrecks that happened in waters adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore. No accurate account can be given of vessels that were wrecked during the Colonial Period since there were no systematic records kept of these losses before 1800. Between 1526 and 1865, seventy nine vessels of a large capacity were shipwrecked in waters off of the coast now designated as the National Seashore. This number compared with more than 600 vessels, weighing fifty tons or more, that were wrecked in all of the Outer Banks. These figures did not count those vessels that sank in the sounds nor did they include boats less than fifty tons.[38]

After the Revolution when trade increased, a greater number of shipwrecks were recorded despite some improvements in navigational aids. Because commerce increased considerably with more ships plowing these waters, however, it would be unfair to conclude that a greater percentage of vessels was being shipwrecked than before the war. Moreover, with the increased interest being given to trade and navigational aids, reporting of shipwrecks was done on a more accurate and systematic basis.[39]

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38. David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 244-48.

39. Ibid. According to Stick, shipwrecks were not newsworthy until after the War of 1812 when newspapers suddenly began featuring stories of shipwrecks. Ironically, after 1839, when Pulaski was sunk, until the beginning of the Civil War, the coast of North Carolina was the scene of so many shipwrecks, that the majority rated no more attention in the

During the Colonial Period little was done to overcome the dangers of navigation in these waters. Piloting was introduced during the first settlements of the Banks, but it was not employed on a very large scale until the early 1700s. Lightering in the sounds came later with the increase in settlements along the rivers of the mainland and with the increase in trade. The vast body of ocean adjoining the Banks with its dreaded shoals only twelve to seventeen miles from Cape Hatteras went hardly noticed although that was where the greater danger lay.

With the increased traffic in coastal waters, the young republic and the state of North Carolina became concerned early with problems of navigation along the Atlantic seaboard. Several pieces of legislation were enacted by the state's General Assembly to provide for marking channels with buoys and other navigational aids. One of the most significant acts passed by the assembly in 1787 was the incorporation of the Raleigh Canal Company to construct an artificial inlet from Roanoke Island to the ocean in the vicinity of Nags Head so that there would be direct access from Albemarle Sound to the ocean.[40] The attempt failed for the moment, but, it did not halt other similar plans put forward in 1816, 1820, 1829, 1840, and finally in 1853. These were different variations of the 1787 plan but all had one thing in common: the damming of Croatan and Roanoke Sounds. The 1853 plan was finally adopted, but after digging began through the Banks, the project was abandoned as hopeless because the dredging machine was not fast enough to remove sand when the drifting sand filled the trenches.[41]

There were many who backed this plan as one that would eliminate much of the danger that vessels faced if they went by way of Ocracoke Inlet since they would then meet up with the dreaded Diamond Shoals off of Cape Hatteras. Said one supporter of the proposed canal, "I believe it is . . . an incontrovertible fact, that more losses are sustained between

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39. (cont.) newspaper than routine automobile accidents of today. Thus, many shipwrecks went unaccounted. Ibid., pp. 9, 42.

40. Stick, Dare County, p. 17.

41. Dunbar, p. 26.

Nag's Head (a point near the proposed inlet) and Ocracoke than on any other part of the passage from Albemarle sound to New York."[42]

Although Ocracoke Inlet was still a popular inlet in the early 19th century, especially since all trade conducted out of Pamlico Sound and some of Albemarle Sound was carried on through this inlet, its use gradually decreased largely because its depth had diminished as vessels were getting larger. Meanwhile, plans were being developed to improve the inlet and for this purpose the Assembly passed legislation incorporating the Ocracock Navigation Company. Unfortunately, nothing became of this project because private companies were unable to meet the cost.[43] After persistent efforts to get the federal government involved, the Army's Corps of Engineers undertook the job of dredging the inlet to remove the swash. Although dredging was begun in 1830, by 1837 all work was abandoned. By now, however, the inlet's usefulness had begun to experience a serious decline.[44]

While some efforts, largely by the state, were being made to improve the inland water charts and the inlets, some attention was also being given to improve navigation along the Atlantic coast. The most important of these navigational aids was the lighthouse. In 1789 the state legislature passed an act authorizing the construction of a lighthouse on Ocracoke Island, the same year the federal government passed legislation encouraging states to cede land to it for purposes of building lighthouses. As a result of this legislation, in 1790 a group of men deeded to the state of North Carolina one acre of land at the southern tip

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42. 26th Cong., 1st session, Senate Rpt. 603, July 11, 1840; 27th Cong., 2nd session, House Rpt. 891, June 24, 1842.

43. Dunbar, pp. 27-28.

44. 21st Cong., 1st sess., Senate Doc. 165, March 1828; 21st Cong., 2nd sess., House Rpt. 469, February 3, 1831; 21st Cong., 2nd sess., House Rept. 40, January 10, 1831; Dunbar, p. 28.

of Ocracoke Island. The state, in turn, transferred the one acre to the federal government.[45]

Up to this point, the federal government appeared satisfied with the location of a "small wooden lighthouse or beacon" on the one acre of land granted to it. By March 1794, however, an influential group of men, consisting of pilots, merchants, ship owners, and captains, petitioned Congress to change the location to Shell Castle. The reasons they gave were several, but suffice to say that they looked upon the new site as being more helpful to vessels approaching and leaving the inlet.[46] One cannot help but wonder to what extent Blount and his partners were influential in seeking Shell Castle as the new site for a lighthouse, for it was about this time that Shell Castle was prospering and seeking to become an important port.

Though not without some reluctance, the federal government concluded to change the site to Shell Castle, and in 1795 Blount and Wallace deeded land on the island to the United States. In April 1795 proposals for the construction of a small wooden beacon were advertised, and by 1798 the structure was completed. In describing how the lighthouse was to be built the proposals noted that it was to consist of pine timber built in the shape of an octagonal pyramid. It was to be 54½ feet high and was to rest upon a stone foundation twenty-three feet in diameter. The lantern above the superstructure was to be six feet high with an added three feet for a dome. In addition, the light station was to have a frame dwelling for the keeper and an oil vault.[47]

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45. Dora Adele Padgett, William Howard; Last Colonial Owner of Ocracoke Island, North Carolina: His Family and Descendants (Washington: The Author, 1974), pp. 106-07.

46. 3d Cong., 1st sess., Senate Doc. 20, February 22, 1794; 3rd Cong., 1st sess., House Doc. 21, March 17, 1794, both in American State Papers, vol. VII, pp. 265-267.

47. "Bids to be Received to Build A Light House Near Ocracoke Inlet, Treasury Department, Revenue-Office, April 24, 1795," in "Historical Notes," North Carolina Historical Review, vol. IV (July 1927), no. 3, pp. 323-325; Padgett, William Howard, p. 109.

Unfortunately, as years passed the importance of Shell Castle Island as a commercial point diminished. Much of this was attributed to the shoaling of Wallace Channel, which made it difficult for larger vessels to approach the island. Eventually, both the island and its light beacon were a mile distant from the channel. Large vessels now turned their attention to Ocracoke village as a stopping point. The Shell Castle beacon remained in use until August 16, 1818, when lightning destroyed both its tower and the keeper's dwelling.[48]

To fill the vacuum left by the light beacon, a small light vessel was put in its place and in service in 1820, but was soon found inadequate. In 1823 the present lighthouse was built in Ocracoke village.[49] With the exception of minor renovations, this structure has remained essentially unchanged. The lighthouse was built by Henry S. Dearborn for more than $11,309. Primarily an inlet light, the tower had a fourth order lens in 1854. The Confederate army removed the lens in 1861, but three years later the Lighthouse Board installed another one. The lighthouse, with its light 75 feet above water, has never been rebuilt and is one of the oldest active lighthouses on the Outer Banks. It is the oldest of the three lighthouses in Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[50]

The same time that Congress authorized the construction of the Shell Castle beacon in 1794, it also agreed to the building of a lighthouse at Cape Hatteras. The personal interest of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, led to the establishment of this lighthouse long felt necessary because of the dangerous currents and shoals in its vicinity. Hamilton noted that a lighthouse "on some part of Cape Hatteras, would be an establishment of very general utility to the navigation of the United

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48. Francis Ross Holland, Jr., America's Lighthouses, Their Illustrated History Since 1716 (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1792), p. 116.

49. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 84.

50. Holland, p. 116; Padgett, William Howard, p. 109-110.

States." He was convinced that the lighthouse would have to be a "first rate" one.[51]

The state ceded four acres at Cape Hatteras for the lighthouse.[52] Difficulties in obtaining the deed to the land by the state because of multiple owners and securing a proper contractor postponed construction until 1799. The contractor was Henry Dearborn, builder of the Shell Island beacon. Although he completed his contract in August 1802, the lighthouse was not lit until late summer or early fall of 1803.[53] The tower was of stone and brick and was octagonal in shape. Its height was ninety feet and superimposed upon it was a twelve-foot lantern. In 1854 the tower was extended with brick until the focal plane of the light was 150 feet above sea level. In addition to the light tower, the government also built an oil vault twenty by twelve feet and a frame house for the keeper. This latter structure was thirty-four by sixteen feet with a cellar under it. In 1854, when the addition was placed on the tower, a new keeper's residence was also erected. This is the same structure, with certain modifications made over the years, that exists today.[54]

In 1848 a lighthouse just north of Oregon Inlet on Bodie Island was constructed. An appropriation of $5,000 was authorized by Congress as early as 1838, but it took ten years to complete the structure. The delay was attributable largely to difficulties in acquiring six deeds to the land and in obtaining an adequate appropriation since $5,000 was considered entirely too little. The First Auditor's Office of the Treasury

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51. 3d Cong., 1st sess., Senate Doc. 20, February 22, 1794, American State Papers, vol. VII, p. 265.

52. 3d Cong., 2d sess., House Doc. 22, December 19, 1794, American State Papers, vol. VII, p. 71.

53. Holland, p. 114.

54. For a complete history of the light station at Cape Hatteras, see F. Ross Holland, Jr., A History of the Cape Hatteras Light Station, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, N. Car., Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, N.P.S., September 30, 1968. See also Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 114.

Department, custodian of lighthouses, tried in vain for seven years to obtain an additional $7,000. Finally, in 1847 a contract was let to Francis A. Gibbons of Baltimore, and the light station was completed the following year.[55] The final cost of constructing the tower was $8,750. The structure consisted of a brick tower fifty-four feet high, and it was crowned with a lantern ten feet in diameter. In addition to the tower, a wooden dwelling for one keeper, a brick cistern, and two outhouses were built.[56]

Because of poor construction (the foundation not having been supported with proper piling because of mud), two years after it was completed, the tower "canted to eastward," one foot out of plumb. Efforts to straighten the tower cost $1,400, but by 1859, the condition of the tower was beyond repair, and a new tower was built. The new structure was built on piles and was eighty feet high. A third order lens, whose light was ninety feet above sea level, was placed on the tower. The operation of the lighthouse was short-lived, however, for in November 1861 the Confederate army destroyed it to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Union army.[57]

The establishment of lighthouses at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle Island as well as at other locations on the Outer Banks did not stop the government from giving the necessary attention to other problems encountered in these waters. Both the currents and the shoals off Cape Hatteras were a constant menace to navigators and this was reflected in the attitude of Congress in the early years of the new government. It was not until 1806, however, that adequate appropriations were passed by Congress for an extensive survey of the shoals of Cape Hatteras, Cape

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55. 29th Cong., 1st sess., House Doc. 146, February 27, 1846, pp. 1-11; Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 123.

56. For a complete history of the Bodie Island Light Station, refer to Francis R. Holland Jr., A History of the Bodie Island Light Station, Division of History, N.P.S., February 1, 1967. See also Holland, America's Lighthouses, pp. 32, 123-25.

57. Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 125.

Lookout, and the Frying Pan with the object of ascertaining whether it was practicable to erect a lighthouse, lighted beacon, on buoy on or near these shoals. Although lighthouses were already on location at Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and one was being constructed at Cape Lookout, vessels attempting to avoid the shoals by passing to the east of them found themselves so far off from shore that they often were unable to see the light. The outer perimeter of the Diamond Shoals was about fifteen miles from land. Moreover, soundings were so uneven and incorrectly documented on all extant charts that little or no reliance could be placed upon them.[58]

In the spring of 1806, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin appointed Thomas Coles and Jonathan Price to conduct an extensive survey of the Outer Banks. Price had already surveyed Ocracoke Inlet in 1795 and was therefore ably qualified. After completing their long mission, the two men concluded that the shoals at the three locations consisted of banks of loose and shifting sands, and it was, therefore not practicable to construct lighthouses on either of them. They also concluded that buoys could probably not be moored in a permanent manner under such conditions. The two-man team said:

> . . . it is impracticable to build light houses on the extreme points of the shoals, with any prospects of their standing. First, because the shoals appear to them to be formed of materials which are put in motion by every gale. Secondly, they are assured, as well from their own observations as from the best information they could procure from the inhabitants along the coast, that the several shoals are almost entirely a quicksand; but admitting that a tolerable foundation could be found, the commissioners cannot conceive that any building situated 15 or 20 miles in the ocean, could possibly withstand

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58. 9th Cong., 1st sess., House Rpt. 109, February 27, 1806, American State Papers, vol. VII, p. 639.

the continued shock of the sea, impelled by the boisterous gale for three thousand miles.[59]

The idea of placing a lighthouse on the shoals was abandoned, but the study made by Coles and Price was extremely invaluable in that for the first time a comprehensive and detailed survey was made of the ocean-side of the Outer Banks. Although an effort was made to place buoys on the shoals, these were soon washed away.[60]

Although the findings of this two-man commission were clear enough, Congress refused to relinquish the idea of a solution to the dangers which the shoals presented. As a result of a request made by the United States Senate in 1819, President James Monroe ordered the Department of the Navy to conduct a survey of the North Carolina coast. In 1821, after the Navy conducted its survey, it recommended lightships be placed near or on the shoals of Cape Hatteras, Cape Lookout, and Cape Fear.[61]

In 1824 a specially designed lightship was completed at a cost of $25,000 and anchored off the outer edge of the Diamond Shoals, or about thirteen miles east-southeast of the Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Mishap after mishap followed the lightship because of the hurricane conditions that prevailed, tearing the ship from her mooring. Finally, after a severe storm in August 1827 in which her moorings again parted, the ship drifted on to shore south of Ocracoke Inlet. Unable to get her back into the water, the vessel was broken up for salvage.[62] The idea of a lightship at the Diamond Shoals was abandoned for at least seventy years when another finally took its place.

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59. 9th Cong., 2nd sess., House Rpt. 117, January 27, 1807, American State Papers, vol. VII, pp. 690-92.

60. Stick, Dare County, p. 17.

61. 17th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Rpt. 242, January 9, 1822, American State Papers, vol. VII, pp. 520-21. For a good history of the lightships, see Holland, "A History of Cape Hatteras Light Station," pp. 28-37.

62. Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 56; Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 84-85.

Another navigational aid employed during this period was a beacon at Cape Hatteras. This was accomplished the same time that the lighthouse was remodelled in 1854. The beacon was installed at the Cape to assist coasting vessels bound for the inlets on the Outer Banks. A light that was lower than the one employed by the lighthouse was needed for these vessels to avoid the dangerous shoals. The beacon was placed at the extreme southern point of the Cape. The beacon consisted of a wooden framework structure with a lantern of the sixth order Fresnel lens. Two years after its completion, it was moved because of erosion. The beacon served its purpose well into the end of the century.[63]

Ocracoke Inlet was the outlet to the ocean for most of the commerce of North Carolina. More than two-thirds of the exports of that state passed through the inlet in one year. In terms of loaded vessels this meant that more than 1,400 ships passed through the inlet in that period. Because of the bad weather and adverse winds that prevailed, sometimes for several weeks at a time, ships were detained at the inlet. It was not uncommon to see thirty to sixty vessels anchored at the inlet at one time.[64] The result was that the village of Ocracoke was enundated with large numbers of seamen followed by a number of social problems, not the least of which were their health and welfare. Congress, through legislation passed in 1798 and 1802, had provided for appropriations to take care of seamen in ports whether in hospitals or in homes, but these funds were always meager and inadequate to take care of the needs of the majority of seamen.[65]

The result of such an unhappy situation was that very often it fell upon the inhabitants of Ocracoke Island, many of whom were already saddled with meager resources of their own, to succor the sick seamen. The problem of the sick and disabled seamen at Ocracoke had been

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63. For a history of this beacon, see Holland, America's Lighthouses, pp. 59-63.

64. 27th Cong., 2d sess., House Rpt. 889, June 24, 1842, p. 1.

65. 29th Cong., 1st sess., House Rpt. 145, February 27, 1846, p. 1.

brought to the attention of Congress on several occasions, beginning in 1842, but without positive results--each time Congress failed to make an appropriation. The Collector of Customs at Ocracoke spearheaded this drive. On several occasions he was compelled to put up sick seamen in a makeshift house that was usually dirty and unsanitary. A boathouse was frequently procured where several sick seamen were placed in one room. If a seaman were thought to have a contagious disease, such as smallpox, the problem was compounded because of the need to isolate him. In his appeal to Congress to establish a hospital for seamen at Ocracoke, the Collector had this to say:

> I have not a doubt in my own mind if a hospital was erected, not a large and expensive one, but on a moderate scale, it would lessen the expenditures in this section of the State--I mean, including all the interior towns where commerce passes in and out of this inlet. Sick seamen, not only those taken sick in our roads, or brought here sick from other parts in vessels, but those taken sick in the commercial towns, would be sent here, and very anxious to get here; for it is a well-known fact that all seamen when sick prefer going to a regular hospital, where there is a skillful physician, good nurses, good clean beds and bedding, clean rooms, etc., to being placed in some small, cramped-up house in the outskirts of a town, or some dirty lane, where nothing is studied but to make as much, by depriving them of what is required, as possible.[66]

On August 29, 1842, Congress approved a bill appropriating a sum of money for building a marine hospital at Ocracoke. A site was selected and building plans were adopted in 1843. It was not until January 1845, however, that title to the land passed to the United States. Further delays were encountered in 1845 when allegations of collusion were attributed to bidders thus causing the government to request new

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66. House Rpt. 889.

bids. By August of the same year, a bid of $5,497 was finally accepted.[67]

The saving and care of shipwrecked sailors and cargoes was a responsibility that usually fell to the Bankers. There were many acts of heroism by these people at the risk of their own lives, many of whom went unrewarded. Such life-saving activities were frequently unorganized and inconsistent. The need for better organization in a life-saving situation became more apparent with the increased commerce that took place after the Revolution and the high number of shipwrecks that accompanied it. In 1801 the state Assembly passed legislation establishing wreck commissioners and wreck districts. These commissioners, who were appointed annually by the county courts, recruited local residents to assist them in aiding shipwrecked vessels or vessels in distress. They also took charge of the shipwreck and its goods until reasonable rewards were paid by the ship's owner or the merchant whose goods were saved. If the goods went unclaimed for one year, they went on public sale or "vendue." Anyone finding property on the beaches was required to notify the local wreck commissioner.[68] Although the system did not always work properly, it did provide the mechanism for a systematic handling of problems that were of frequent occurrence. What was perhaps even more important, the system became the predeccessor of the Life Saving Service, and in this sense it deserves a proper place in history.

On the Brink of War With France

The United States tried desperately to avoid any involvement with the quarrels of Great Britain and France during the 1790s. Meanwhile, both France and England violated American neutrality with impunity,

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67. 29th Cong., 1st sess., House Rpt. 75, January 16, 1846, pp. 1-2.

68. Stick, Dare County, p. 18; Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 76; Dunbar, pp. 28-29.

seizing American ships and impressing their seamen. Without much of a navy to protect its coastline, in 1794, the United States passed legislation appropriating a large sum of money for the construction of fortifications along its eastern seaboard. A committee appointed by the House of Representatives reported on the need for fortifications in certain specified ports and harbors. Among the areas selected for the construcion of fortifications was Ocracoke. The exact location had not yet been selected, but initial plans for the proposed fortifications called for eight cannons, embrasures, powder magazine, block house (or barracks), and other related facilities. The garrison was to consist of one captain, one subaltern, two sergeants, two corporals, two musicians, and thirty-four privates.[69] The number of batteries was later increased to sixteen cannons.[70]

Secretary of War Henry Knox appointed Nicholas Francis Martinon to draw up plans and supervise the work both at Ocracoke and at Cape Fear where a second fort in North Carolina was also to be built. After making his survey, Martinon was convinced that Beacon Island was the most suitable location for the fort. "As no ship, drawing more than thirteen feet of water, can pass over the bar," said Martinon, "this fort will never be exposed to the fire of a frigate."[71]

By August 1794 work on the fortifications got underway, but construction moved very slowly. The distance of Beacon Island from the mainland made it extremely difficult to get laborers and supplies on a timely basis. The labor force exceeded fifteen or sixteen men, but, according to Martinon, they were "continually absenting themselves." More troublesome than its isolated location were the high winds and tides that caused the work to be halted frequently. As the work slowly progressed Martinon expressed doubts about the project. "I feel some anxiety," he said. "This island being very low work will be sometimes

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69. 3d Cong., 1st sess., House Rept. 13, February 28, 1794, American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. I, pp. 61-5.

70. American State Papers, pp. 95-6.

71. Ibid., p. 96.

exposed to the attacks of the sea, swollen by northerly winds, which will expose the maintenance of [the works] to be expensive."[72]

Construction of the fort reached only as far as the foundation. In 1795 work was halted. Secretary of War Timothy Pickering conceded that any fortification of the extent contemplated would be futile and expensive. In reporting to the Congress on the status of all fortifications under construction, the secretary noted that "the situation [on Beacon Island] is so far removed (about ninety miles) from any inhabitants, and so exposes any works to injuries from storms, that nothing but an impending or actual war would seem to [justify] the construction of a fort there, and furnishing it with a proper garrison."[73] Construction was ultimately abandoned. The United States had spent $1,816 to build the foundation.

In the meantime, while relations were improved with Great Britain after the signing of the Jay Treaty, relations with France worsened. The latter continued to seize American vessels, and seamen but exaccerbating matters even more was the X.Y.Z. Affair. It aroused the martial spirit of most Americans, leading to an undeclared war with France.

The question of building a fort on Beacon Island was once more raised in 1797 and again in 1799. A plan was proposed that would erect an enclosed work on the foundation that had been built in 1794. The plan went no farther, however, and once again the idea was abandoned. In explaining this vacilating attitude to the Congress in 1806, the Secretary of War observed "that two gun boats would more securely protect the harbor than any fixed batteries that might be erected."[74]

The following year the Secretary of War made a similar observation to Congress, but noted that "A battery on the shell flats, near the light

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72. Ibid., pp. 96, 98.

73. Ibid., pp. 110-11.

74. Ibid., p. 195.

house, for four or six cannon, aided by _____ [sic.] gunboats, would probably afford sufficient security."[75] Whether this small battery was ever built has never been established.

75. Ibid., pp. 220-21.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CIVIL WAR

Strategic Value of the Outer Banks

The Civil War came early to the Outer Banks and left late. Union forces invaded the Banks in August 1861 and remained to occupy them throughout the war. The strategic value of the inlets and sounds as a lifeline of supplies to the Confederacy was recognized at the outset of the war. Soon after the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter, President Abraham Lincoln ordered a blockade of the North Carolina coast in an attempt to halt the ocean trade of the South.

Three inlets remained open on the barrier islands that make up the National Seashore: Oregon Inlet (to the southeast of Roanoke Island, separating Bodie Island from Pea Island); Hatteras Inlet (which opened in 1846 and could handle large vessels); and Ocracoke Inlet. Of the three only Oregon Inlet was unable to handle large vessels as a passageway. Both Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets could be depended upon as passageways to the sounds. In explaining the value of these inlets to his superior, Lieutenant Thomas O. Selfridge of the U.S. Navy described Confederate operations in these waters:

> It seems that the coast of Carolina is infested with a nest of privateers that have thus far escaped capture, and, in the ingenious method of their cruising, are probably likely to avoid the clutches of our cruisers.
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> Hatteras Inlet, a little south of Cape Hatteras light seems their principal rendezvous. Here they have a fortification that protects them from assault. A lookout at the light-house proclaims the coast clear, and a merchantman in sight; they dash out and are back again in a day with their prize. So long

as these remain it will be impossible to entirely prevent their depredations, for they do not venture out when men-of-war are in sight; and, in the bad weather of the coming season, cruisers can not always keep their stations off these inlets without great risk of going ashore.[1]

The New York Custom House Collector reported essentially the same conditions to the Secretary of the Treasury:

SIR: Mr. Benjamin Blossom, an old, reliable, and responsible shipowner and merchant of this city, has to-day imparted to me information which I deem proper to be transmitted to you.

Two citizens of North Carolina have just passed through this city on their return home from Halifax, where they have chartered British vessels for a trade between Nassau, Bermudas, and ports on the coast of North Carolina. To Beaufort, Wilmington, and New Berne, or Ocracoke, the entrance is almost unobstructed, and no blockade has been enforced or even announced. Every day vessels are passing in or out of these ports, carrying whatever cargoes they choose. British bottoms are chartered by Carolinians and carry on this trade. At Georgetown, S.C., vessels enter and clear without obstruction. To this place the prize taken by the privateer Savannah is said to have been sent. Vessels are fitted out, armed, and sent from Ocracoke to capture coasters and whatever other craft they may fall in with. These shore privateers do not wait for letters of marque, but act without even the semblance of authority. They find no difficulty in taking their prizes into their unblockaded ports. These

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1. Selfridge to Welles, August 10, 1861, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in The War of the Rebellion, 27 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, vol. 6, p. 72 (hereafter cited as O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I).

statements are made by residents of the Carolinas, and Mr. Blossom is fully assured of their correctness and trustworthiness.[2]

While Ocracoke Inlet seemed to be declining in importance, Hatteras Inlet was gaining prominance since it was farther to the north and closer to the northern inland ports of Albemarle Sound and Virginia. Into the sound flowed a number of rivers at the head of which were several important cities and towns. If the Union Army were to gain control of the sounds as well as these rivers and parts of the North Carolina mainland, it could disrupt the main railroad line that connected the Confederate armies in Virginia with the armies and states to the south.[3] Whoever controlled these waters controlled its commerce. The Confederacy was aware of this possibility, and quickly moved to protect these waters. It was equally apparent to the Union that if the Confederacy were to be cut off from one of its supply lines, it would have to control these waters. The Union's General Benjamin F. Butler noted the strategic value of the Banks when he wrote:

> The importance of the point [i.e., Hatteras Inlet] cannot be overated. When the channel is buoyed out any vessel may carry 15 feet of water over it with ease. Once inside, there is a safe harbor and anchorage in all weathers. From there the whole coast of Virginia and North Carolina, from Norfolk to Cape Lookout, is within our reach by light-draught vessels, which cannot possibly live at sea during the winter months. From it offensive operations may be made upon the whole coast of North Carolina to Bogue Inlet, extending many miles inland to Washington, New Berne and Beaufort. In the language of the chief engineer of the rebels, Colonel Thompson, in an

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2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. John Gilchrist Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 31-32; Daniel Harvey Hill, Bethel to Sharpsburg: A History of North Carolina in the War Between the States, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1926), I, 154-55.

official report, 'it is the key of the Albemarle.' In my judgment, it is a station second in importance only to Fortress Monroe on this coast. As a depot for coaling and supplies for the blockading squadron it is invaluable. As a harbor for our coasting trade, or inlet from the winter storms or from pirates, it is of the first importance. By holding it, Hatteras light may again send forth its cheering ray to the storm-beaten mariner, of which the worse than vandalism deprives him. . . .[4]

Fortifications

The need to guard the inlets--Oregon, Hatteras, and Ocracoke, as well as other inlets on the Outer Banks--formed the strategy of the Confederacy in this area. Soon after North Carolina seceded from the Union, it ordered the construction of fortifications at these inlets. Fort Oregon guarded the inlet by that name; Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark guarded Hatteras Inlet; and Fort Ocracoke (also called Fort Morgan) guarded Ocracoke Inlet. Fort Ocracoke was built on Beacon Island. These four forts were hurriedly constructed at the outbreak of the war. Numerous obstacles were encountered while they were being built. The nearest supply depot was New Bern, some ninety miles away. Everything had to be hauled by boat. Heavy guns were transported from as far as the Norfolk (Gosport) Navy Yard. Sufficient labor was not available on the Banks, and appeals were made for slaves and freedmen from the mainland. Adequate farm tools had to be borrowed from surrounding populations. As if these were not the only difficulties; bad weather and insect infestation even plagued the workers. A Confederate doctor at Hatteras Inlet wrote at the time that Fort Hatteras was being built that:

> While one laborer worked upon the fortification another had to stand by him with a handful of brush to keep him from being

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4. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), Series 1, vol. 4, pp. 584-85. (Hereafter cited as O.R. Series I).

> devoured by them [i.e. insects]. The poor mules looked as if they had been drawn through key-holes and then attacked with eruptions of small-pox.

When war came to the Banks, the forts were not completed. Both heavy guns and ammunition were lacking.[5]

Fort Oregon was built on the south side of Oregon Inlet (Illustration 4).[6] It was designed and built by Chief Engineer Colonel Edward Morris, and Assistant Engineer C.R. Barney. The manual labor was accomplished almost entirely by 150 free blacks hired by the state. The fort mounted thirteen guns and had a sea battery of five more guns. About one hundred Confederate soldiers were encamped at the fort in July 1861. Although the fort's commander believed that the fort was well built, he was convinced that because of its position, it would serve no good.[7] Since the time that the fort was constructed, the inlet has shifted southward, and the site of the fort has eroded.[8] The site is probably now under water. (See Historical Base Map.)

There are several early firsthand accounts of Fort Ocracoke. Some of these are conflicting, but, nevertheless, they contain much detail. The first brief description of this fort was given by a Confederate inspection team. The fort, it said, consisted of earth and was pentagonal in shape. It had eight guns mounted en barbette with a capacity for fifty more. The magazines were bombproof, and although the fort was constructed of earth, it was "so protected as to not wash away."[9] Daniel

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5. Barrett, The Civil War, p. 33-34.

6. See map "U.S. Coast Survey, A.D. Bache, Supdt., Oregon Inlet. . ., 1862," 37th Cong., 3d Sess., Senate Doc. (No no.), Report of Superintendent of Coast Survey, 1862.

7. Hill, Bethal to Sharpsburg, p. 170. O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. 6, pp. 24, 80.

8. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1958), p. 118.

9. Hill, Bethel to Sharpsburg, p. 33.

A. Campbell, the captain of a brig that was shipwrecked off Cape Hatteras and who was briefly taken prisoner by the Confederacy, described the fort as an "octagon-shaped fortification."[10]

Colonel James A.J. Bradford of the Confederate Army, who inspected the fort on August 23, 1861 just before it fell to the Union, described it as a square redoubt constructed of moist sod twenty-four feet thick capable of resisting any bombardment. In the center of the terreplain was an earth bombproof mound which covered a cistern with a capacity of 18,000 gallons of water, and two large galleries for storing ammunition. The fort's armament consisted of two eight-inch columbiads and seven thirty-two pounder cannon. Nine guns were lying on platforms waiting for carriages to arrive. Bradford found that there was an insufficient supply of ammunition in the fort. In short, his account revealed that Fort Ocracoke was impregnable. Moreover, it could not be approached by heavy enemy vessels, and could be attacked only by ships of light draft and inferior firepower.[11]

The first account of the fort, given by a Union officer was during a reconnoitering mission by boat after Forts Hatteras and Clark had fallen to the Union. His description was brief and from a distance. He could see no guns mounted and no one occupying the fort. He was certain that the fort and inlet could be quickly occupied and held by a small force.[12] But by the time this Union officer had seen the fort it had been abandoned by the Confederate troops. In the process, guns were removed for use elsewhere, and what could not be taken were spiked to prevent them from falling into enemy hands.

The reconnoitering mission that was undertaken on September 18 and 19, 1861, by a force sent by the Union commander at Fort Hatteras after the latter's capture, provided a good description of this fort. Since

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10. O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. 6, p. 80.

11. Hill, Bethel to Sharpsburg, p. 172.

12. Gillis to Wool, September 5, 1861, O.R. Series 1, vol. 4, p. 590.

there was more than one eyewitness account, some contradictions were inevitable. The officer in charge of this mission wrote:

> We arrived within 2 miles of the fort on Beacon Island. . . . I sent Lieutenant Eastman in the launch to sound for the channel . . . It is called Fort Ocracoke, and is situated on the seaward face of Beacon Island; it was entirely deserted. It is Octagonal in shape, contains four shell rooms about 25 feet square, and in the center a large bombproof of 100 feet square, with the magazine within it. Directly above the magazine on each side were four large tanks containing water.
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> The fort has been constructed with great care of sand barrace [sic], covered with earth and turf. The inner framing of the bombproof was built of heavy pine timbers. There were platforms for twenty guns which had been partially destroyed by fire. The gun carriages had been all burned. There were 18 guns in the fort, viz, 4 8-inch shell guns and 14 long 32 pounders.[13]

Another witness who was on the same mission to Beacon Island noted that they found a large battery, mounting twenty-two guns, four of which had been removed to New Berne on the mainland when the Confederate force had evacuated the fort. In noting the destruction of the fort, this eyewitness said that the remaining guns were totally destroyed, the bombproof demolished, and the woodwork burned.[14] Another Union witness said there were twenty guns.[15] Colonel Rush C. Hawkins, who commanded the Ninth New York Regiment of Volunteers and

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13. Maxwell to Rowan, September 18, 1861, O.R. Series 1, vol. IV, p. 223.

14. J.H.E. Whitney, The Hawkins Zouaves (Ninth N.Z.V.): Their Battles and Marches (New York: The Author, 1866), p. 58.

15. Rowan to Stringham, September 18, 1861, O.R. Series 1, Vol. IV, p. 222.

was in command of Cape Hatteras after its capitulation, reported that his men, after reaching Fort Ocracoke, found a large battery with twenty-two guns, four of which had been removed by Confederate troops. Of the eighteen guns remaining, four were 8-inch navy guns and fourteen navy "32's," all of which were spiked and unusable. The fort also contained four bombproofs, and these were all destroyed.[16]

Forts Hatteras and Clark were within a stone's throw of one another (Illustration 5). Captain Campbell, who had seen all four forts on the Banks while a prisoner, described Fort Hatteras in some detail:

> On the right-hand side entering the inlet, and near the western point of the strip of land or beach, is an octagon-shaped fort, which completely commands the channel. The wall or embankment is built of sand, covered with turf. It is about 5 feet high, about 25 feet wide on the top, and sloping on the outer side of an angle of about 45 degrees. On the inner side the wall or embankment is perpendicular, and is formed of pieces of turf about 2 feet square and 8 inches thick, piled upon each other. This turf was brought from a place in the center of the beach about 2 miles distant. On the 19th of July they had 8 guns mounted, viz, 2 64-pounders and 6 32-pounders. Two were on pivots, 6 on ordinary ship gun carriages. They intended to mount 12 more, making 20 in all. In the center of the fort there is a bombproof tent about 100 yards long, and the covered way is about 12 feet wide and 6 feet high, built of timber and plank. The sides are covered with sand about 10 feet in thickness, sloping out at an angle of 45 degrees, and the top with sand about 5 feet in depth, the whole being covered with turf.[17]

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16. Hawkins to Wool, September 19, 1861, O.R. Series 1, vol. IV, pp. 617-19.

17. O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. 6, p. 79.

Because of Hatteras Inlet's growing importance, the forts' significance could not be underestimated.[18] Fort Hatteras was the largest and strongest of the four forts built at this time, covering nearly two acres. It was only one-eighth of a mile from the inlet and located on an elevated position commanding the Inlet and protecting the smaller Fort Clark. Fort Hatteras was described as a "roughly square dirt fort . . . approximately 250 feet wide. Its outside was sand; sheathed by planks driven into the ground in slanting positions and covered with turfs of marsh grass. Twelve thirty-two pound smooth-bore guns of short range comprised the fort's chief armament" (Illustration 6).[19] (See Historical Base Map.)

Major General Benjamin F. Butler, who must take some of the credit for the successful mission against the Outer Banks, described the fort in these words:

> Upon taking possession of Fort Hatteras I found that it mounted ten guns, with four yet unmounted, and one large 10-inch columbiad all ready for mounting. . . .
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> The position of the fort is an exceedingly strong one, nearly surrounded on all sides by water, and only to be approached by a march of 500 yards circuitously over a long neck of sand, within half musket range, and over a causeway a few feet only in width, and which was commanded by two 32-pounder guns, loaded with grape and canister, which were expended in our salute. It had a well-protected magazine, and bombproof of capable of sheltering some 300 or 400 men. The parapet was nearly of octagon form, inclosing about two-thirds of an acre of ground, well covered, with sufficient traverses

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18. In 1861 Hatteras had an annual tonnage that surpassed Beaufort and almost equaled that of Wilmington. See Barrett, The Civil War In North Carolina, p. 33.

19. Ibid.

and ramparts and parapets, upon which our shells had made but little impression.[20]

Another excellent description of Fort Hatteras was given by Lieutenant F.V. Farquhar, an engineer with the U.S. Corps of Engineers, after he visited the fort in early September 1861. As an engineer his report was in considerable detail, an indication that he had done his job well in observing the fort.

> The long forts or batteries lately captured by our troops are situated on a long sandy island known as Hatteras Island. They are on the southwest end of the island; the large one, Fort Hatteras, being about one-eighth, and the smaller, Fort Clark, about one mile from the inlet. The sketches accompanying this report will better show the relative positions of the forts and inlet. Fort Hatteras is situated S. 50° W. from the inlet, and at a distance of about one-eighth of a mile. It is a square redoubt, with pan coupes at all the salients. It is constructed of sand, well revetted with sods from the neighboring salt marshes. Its command is about 10 feet above the level of the ocean at high water. It completely commands all the approaches by land and sea. With guns of long range it can successfully defend itself from any fleet, and is so placed with reference to the land approaches that any assaulting column must experience a heavy fire during a long time before reaching it. There is room in the fort for twenty large guns--four on each face and one in each salient. At present there are twelve guns mounted, their positions and caliber being indicated in the accompanying plan. As most of the guns are on the land and sea fronts, I suggested to the commanding officer the propriety of placing some guns on the front looking toward the approaches by Pamlico Sound.
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> A causeway leads from the fort to the landing. It is made of sand, filled in between two parallel rows of plank, drivn in

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20. Butler to Wool, August 30, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, p. 584.

the sand and covered with sod, thus raising the road about 2 feet above the sand. This causeway is of importance, as with a high tide and easterly wind the whole of the beach up to the foot of the exterior slope is covered with water. On the causeway, near the beach, I found a 10-inch columbiad, together with its carriage and platform. This gun is, at the suggestion of Captain Rowan, being mounted on the causeway near the water. In this position it has a great horizontal range of fire, and will effectually prevent our shipping from being annoyed by the enemy's light-draught gunboats. A wharf and storehouse for provisions are absolutely needed if the position is to be held during the war the fort has just room enough for its own garrison, and the beach, for before-mentioned reasons, is not a secure place to place provisions. The magazine and bomb-proof shelter is large, but its top being about 5 feet above the interior crest, renders it a conspicuous mark for the enemy's artillery. It is as well constructed as possible having at least 6 feet of sand on top of the wooden casing. The floor of the magazine is on a level with the site, below which it could not be sunk on account of the water.[21]

Fort Clark was much smaller than Fort Hatteras (Illustration 6). (See Historical Base Map.) According to General Butler it was about 700 yards north of its larger sister, and it was a square redoubt mounting five siege guns and two six-pounders. When it was almost completed in July 1861, the Confederate engineer, Major W. Bevershaw Thompson, who designed the fort, had much praise for it, and this is reflected in his words:

> The day before yesterday we hoisted our glorious flag over Fort Clark, a strong battery I have nearly finished, of five heavy 32-pounders, about half a mile from Fort Hatteras, which secures to us a cross-fire upon the bar and the entrance

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21. Farquhar to Wool, September 7, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, p. 591.

to this inlet. I now consider this inlet secure against any attempt of the enemy to enter it.

While he said this, he also noted that the number of men stationed there was too weak to prevent an attack from the enemy. "If we had three or four additional companies here I should feel quite safe. . . ."[22]

The Union engineer, who examined the fort described it in detail. Thus he said:

> Fort Clark, a redoubt of irregular figure, is situated about three-fourths of a mile from Fort Hatteras, and bearing from it S. 49° E. It is midway between the sound and the ocean--the crest of the exterior slope on the ocean fronts nearly coinciding with the ridge of sand. It has about the same command as Fort Hatteras. On the sea fronts and the front farthest from the inlet the parapet is eighteen feet thick, and armed with 8-inch navy guns. The tenailled front, looking towards Pamlico Sound, has its parapet but 5 feet thick, and was arranged for a musketry defense. Since the capture of the fort three rifled and one old 6-pounder have been mounted on the latter front, small merlons having been erected to cover the cannoneers. The gorge of the work looks towards Fort Hatteras. The fort is of but little importance, as the enemy cannot approach it from the sound. No danger is apprehended from the ocean, and if the enemy approach by land, a battery of field pieces would offer more resistance. The magazine and bombproof shelter, though not as large, is constructed similarly to the one in Fort Hatteras.[23]

Both Confederate and Union forces spoke highly about the invulnerability of these two forts. For structures that were built

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22. Thompson to Winslow, July 25, 1861, O.R., vol. IV, p. 587.

23. Farquhar to Wool, September 7, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, pp. 591-92.

somewhat hurriedly there was much to be said for their quality. The fact that they collapsed before the Union onslaught after only two days of fighting was no reflection on their strength. The reason for their surrender was due to the inadequacy of their fire power, which was unable to reach the Union's naval ships, while the Union's naval guns were able to reach the forts. As testimony to the heavy pounding which the two forts were subjected to without materially affecting them, one Union soldier had these words to say:

> The forts are constructed of swamp-turf or sod (peat), brought from some distance above, and no better material can be found to resist either ball or bombshell, it being spongy yet strong and as solid as baled cotton or India rubber. The severity of the hammering that these forts, particularly Fort Hatteras, received from our fleets is evidenced by the great quantity of fragments as well as of the unexpected shells strewn about them; for these lay so thick that it seemed to have literally rained shells, as I presume it did. And yet the forts were hardly marred: scarce a dent can be discovered in their outlines from this terrific storm of iron. Commodore Barron, when told that we had not lost a man in the engagement, could hardly credit the statement, having thought that the taking of these forts would cost us thousands of lives, and it would have if the turf could have prevented shells from dropping inside the walls. . . .

In speaking about Fort Clark, this same observer noted that:

> Fort Clark is not so considerable a fort as Hatteras, but in some ways more interesting. One of the Columbiads in it is dismounted, the trunnions knocked off and the carriage shattered beautifully, an evidence of rough handling Fort Hatteras can not show, though it sustained the heavier fire, as is proven by the greater number of shells around it.[24]

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24. Charles F. Johnson, The Long Roll: Being a Journal of the Civil War, as set down during the years 1861-1863 by Charles F. Johnson,

So stable and in good condition were these forts after the battle that the Union Army immediately appropriated them for its own use. Some rehabilitation and even some modification was essential to suit the needs of the Union forces. So well constructed were they that after the capture of Hatteras, the Union engineer Farquhar, who was sent by Major General J.E. Wool to make any improvements deemed necessary, confessed he was unable to suggest any improvements, Fort Hatteras being so stable. His only recommendation was that the Union install long range and heavy caliber guns.[25]

As time went by the Union began to appreciate the need for keeping these forts permanently, and as new commanders were assiged to these posts, the need to improve them was also realized. They believed there was much to be done to make them safe installations. One commander recommended improvements at Fort Clark and then noted that at high tide the water reached the exterior slope of the parapet of Fort Hatteras so that it left a narrow sand ridge connecting the fort to Fort Clark. He implied that some work was needed to improve the situation.[26] In the meantime, a severe storm occurred which formed a deep channel between the two forts. As a result, a boat was needed to reach either fort.[27] When these severe storms occurred Fort Hatteras became an island. There was some fear that if left this way the fort could be washed away. In that case, it might be wise to find another location for a new fort. On the other hand, Major General George B. McClellan, who commanded all Union forces, and his engineers, believed that natural causes would probably fill up the channel with sand just as they had formed them. He

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24. (continued) sometime of Hawkins Zouaves (East Aurora, N.Y.: The Roycrofters, 1911, Dubuth Edition), pp. 48-50.

25. Farquhar to Wool, September 7, 1861, O.R., vol. IV, p. 592.

26. Mansfield to Wool, October 10, 1861, and Mansfield to Scott, October 14, 1861, O.R., Series 1, IV, pp. 626-27.

27. One soldier speaks of the inconvenience of this channel. Johnson, The Long Roll, p. 81.

concluded that the fort could be prevented from being washed away "by means akin to those used in protecting the dikes of Holland."[28]

Whether this advice was actually taken is not clear. However, there is strong evidence that troops spent a good deal of their time in digging ditches and trenches about the forts. Much of their work, however, seemed to be in vain, for no sooner was a ditch completed, when the waters washed it away.[29] In the meantime barracks that could accommodate at least twenty men each were built outside the forts.[30]

Fall of Hatteras and Union Occupation

While fortifications were being built on the Outer Banks, the Union fleet lay nearby viewing everything that was going on ashore. In the meantime, unable to strengthen the forts with sufficient men, priorities lying elsewhere on the mainland, the Confederacy was only able to provide about 350 men at Fort Hatteras and another 230 were distributed among Forts Clark, Oregon, and Ocracoke. At the time of the Union siege on August 28, 1861, however, a reinforcement of 365 men reached Fort Hatteras.[31]

General Butler's orders originally were to occupy the Outer Banks and to nullify the effectiveness of the inlets by sinking vessels loaded with stone into them. With a combned force of 880 men of the Twentieth New York Regiment, Ninth New York Regiment, Union Coast Guard, and

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28. McClellan to Wool, November 6, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, p. 628.

29. Johnson, The Long Roll, here & there.

30. McClellan to Wool, November 6, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, p. 628.

31. Barret, The Civil War In North Carolina, p. 34; Bern Anderson, By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1962), p. 49.

Second United States Artillery, and heavy support from the naval fleet under the command of Flag-Officer Silas H. Stringham, Butler set sail for Cape Hatteras on August 26, 1861. On the 27th this force arrived at Cape Hatteras, and on the following day the naval fleet began bombarding Forts Hatteras and Clark. Three hundred and fifteen troops, meanwhile, were landed about three miles northeast of Fort Clark. These troops worked their way down to Fort Clark, investing it, and then turning its guns on Fort Hatteras. The naval guns, meanwhile, threw a constant and effective barrage upon the two forts. After Fort Clark surrendered, all guns were turned on the larger fort. On August 29, Fort Hatteras surrendered and all fighting ceased. More than 700 Confederate troops surrendered and 25 pieces of artillery, 1,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of ordnance stores were captured.[32]

Once the two forts were captured and the significance of the inlets and sounds was more clearly realized, General Butler proposed to alter the original purpose of the mission by occupying the forts and the Outer Banks permanently. He saw this as a means of bringing under control all the area surrounding the sounds including much of North Carolina.[33]

After occupying Fort Ocracoke, which had been abandoned by the Confederacy while the attack on Forts Hatteras and Clark was taking place, the next few months saw the Union forces occupied with attempts to control the Outer Banks. Troops were sent to establish a camp at Chicamaconico (Live Oak Camp) some forty miles north of Fort Clark, and

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32. Butler to Wool, August 30, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, pp. 581-86, Stringham to Welles, September 2, 1861, O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. 6, pp. 120-03; Barron to Mallory, August 31, 1861, ibid, pp. 138-9; Martin to Adjutant General, N.C., August 31, 1861, ibid., pp. 140-02; Andrews to Adjutant General, N.C., September 1, 1861, ibid., pp. 142-44. For a first-hand account of the bombardment of Fort Hatteras by a Confederate officer, who along with his troops was taken from Fort Ocracoke to reinforce Fort Hatteras, see the Thomas Sparrow Papers, No. 1878, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C.

33. O.R., Series 1, Vol. IV, pp. 584-85. The higher command agreed with Butler that the forts should be held. See Wool to Cameron, September 3, 1861, ibid., p. 604.

other camps were set up, such as Camp Wool and at Trent, only a few miles northeast of the fort. (See Historical Base Map.) Colonel Rush C. Hawkins, who was left behind by General Butler to command Forts Hatteras and Clark, wanted advance posts to check any possible attacks on the forts by the Confederacy. He was also adament in insisting that the inhabitants of the Banks, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Union, should be protected by his troops. Advance posts would serve this purpose. One soldier who was stationed at Camp Wool briefly described the camp as a "small fortress by itself, being surrounded by water on all sides but the rear, where we have a narrow dry passage to the beach--and even this is amply protected by the Company Cook-house." In noting that the camp had a hospital, this person said, "Camp Wool was more pretty than healthy. One hundred and twenty-five sick at the hospital, of whom three died while there." There were four companies established at Camp Wool, which was only two miles north of Fort Clark "up the west side" of the island. In describing the camp at Trent, which was five miles north of Camp Wool, this soldier, who had different assignments from time to time, noted that the troops were encamped around a church which they had fortified by throwing up a small breastwork so as to enclose the entrance of the structures, making it a sort of barracks for the men. The church was used as a guard house. The men were camped in huts constructed of pine logs, forming the letter "A," and covered with pine fir.[34]

The Union forces were preoccupied with rumors and intelligence that the Confederacy was preparing to retake the forts. Similarly, the Confederacy, with headquarters at Roanoke Island, was concerned that the Union army would soon attack Roanoke Island and other areas on the mainland along the sounds. Seizing the initiative, in October 1861, a Confederate force was landed at Chicamacomico, catching the Twentieth Indiana Regiment, which was camped there, by surprise. The latter

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34. Johnson, The Long Roll, pp. 59, 60, 74; Hawkins to Wool, September 9, 1861 and Hawkins to Wool, September 21, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, pp. 616, 618; Maxwell to Rowan, September 18, 1861 and Chauncey to Stringham, September 19, 1861, O.R., Union and Confederate Navies, Series I, vol. VI, pp. 223-26.

retreated southward until they halted at the Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Either because Colonel Hawkins was sending reinforcements or for some other unexplained reason, the Confederate forces failed to exploit this success, and the Union troops returned to Chicamacomico. Because of the see-saw aspect of this skirmish, the event was termed the "Chicamacomico Races."[35]

After this incident, the Union forces were reinforced until their two regiments, numbered 1,900 men. These were all stationed at Forts Hatteras and Clark as well as at Fort Ocracoke, Chicamacomico, and Camp Wool.[36] The remainder of the war saw little action on the Banks except perhaps for the invasion of Roanoke Island in February 1862. For this sizeable effort the forts at Hatteras Inlet were used as staging areas in preparation for the invasion. Work, meanwhile, went on to rebuild the forts and to accommodate Union troops on various parts of these islands, much to the distaste of many soldiers who found that living on them, with the unending storms and winds and swirling sands everywhere, was not the most delightful tour of duty. One such soldier, who had just about enough of Hatteras, said disgustingly:

> Sand, sand, Hatteras sand! We understood no marching would have to be done, and so we had loaded our knapsacks very heavily. We soon began to sink under them when we had gone but one mile over the loose sand, into which we sank deeply at every step, and our case was aggravated still more deeply from

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35. Wright to Huger, October 2, 1861; Wool to Scott, October 8, 1861, O.R., Series 1, Vol. IV, pp. 596-97. For a good firsthand account of some of the suffering which the Union soldiers endured while retreating through the sandy beaches of Hatteras, see Johnson, The Long Roll, pp. 56-58. See also Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 134, who quotes one of these soldiers in retreat.

36. Mansfield to Scott, October 14, 1861, O.R., Series 1, vol. IV, p. 626. In a report to the Secretary of War, J.P. Benjamin of the Confederacy, Brig. Gen. D.H. Hill said that the Union had 8,000 men at Hatteras. This is obviously wrong. Hill to Benjamin, September 27, 1861, ibid., p. 660. The Confederate commander at Roanoke Island did not believe there was 8,000. Wright to Huger, October 18, 1861, ibid., p. 661.

> the fact that we had little prospect of any thing to eat or drink. . . . In the tent the following morning a messmate found his head half-buried in sand. Sand everywhere--in your hair, in your shoes, sifts through your clothes, in your eyes and nose, between your teeth, fingers and toes, in your coffee and your hose, in your plate, in your knapsack and ink-bottle. I am disgusted with Hatteras--it must be the sand-bank of creation.[37]

The reaction to the Union invasion by the Bankers was at first one of panic. So unexpected was the brief fighting (and in some cases no fighting) followed by the surrender of Forts Hatteras and Clark and the abandonment of Forts Ocracoke and Oregon, that the residents of the Banks were caught by surprise. Their first thoughts naturally were to protect themselves against the invaders, and the way to do this was to compromise with the enemy. Because of the geographical situation of the Outer Banks, the inhabitants of these islands found themselves isolated from the mainland. Such isolation produced in the Banker an independence that set him apart from the mainstream of Carolinian life. The Banker's culture enjoyed its own uniqueness. One outsider wrote: "Queer folks in this region! Several hundred are scattered along the bar, who get their living by fishing, gathering oysters, wrecking and piloting. Most of them were born here, never saw any other locality and all are happy. There are women here who never wore shoes. The people seldom see money, indeed they have no use for it."[38] When hostilities broke out, there was strong resentment against it, and this was sometimes interpreted by the Confederate cause as disloyalty. The sudden build-up of fortifications and military activity by the Confederacy was looked upon by the Bankers as interference and interrruption in their daily lives, which heretofore had enjoyed a considerable amount of independence.

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37. J.H.E. Whitney, The Hawkins Zouaves, p. 63. See also Johnson, The Long Roll for an excellent account of the soldier's life on the Outer Banks and for sketches on many aspects of life while in camp and on the Banks drawn by the author himself.

38. Stick, The Outer Banks, pp. 154-55.

Colonel Hawkins, who had been left in command of the area between Ocracoke Inlet and Oregon Inlet after the battle on Hatteras Island, understood the Bankers well. He described them as

> a class of people who subsist from fishing and hunting as well as from cargoes stranded upon the stormy coast. . . . The islanders mingle but little with the world; apparently indifferent to this outside sphere, they constitute a world within themselves.[39]

In describing his relations with the Bankers, Hawkins said:

> The people upon this strip of land have been peculiarly situated. Since the secession of this State their means of subsistence have been completely taken away from them, and now they are mostly without food or clothing. . . .[40]

Hawkins displayed great sympathy and protection for the plight of the Bankers, and in return was repayed by the assistance, military intelligence, and loyalty which they gave to him. Hawkins believed, and in this respect he was supported by Naval Commander S.C. Rowan, that the Union should furnish the destitute Bankers with much-needed supplies. Unless this was done, he was convinced there would be much suffering among them. He believed that the North should send them flour, meat, cloth for clothing, and shoes. He wisely noted that "each dollar spent in such acts of charity would bring scores of friends over the whole South."[41] If his hopes were somewhat unrealistic, at least his intentions were good, for in the final analysis, he did gain the support of the Bankers.

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39. Hill, Bethal to Sharpsburg, I, 175.

40. Hawkins to Wool, September 11, 1861, O.R., Series 1, IV, 610.

41. Ibid.

No one can question Hawkins' sincerity in seeking the Bankers' welfare. He stated on more than one occasion that one of the reasons for ordering his men to be encamped at distances far from Fort Clark was to protect the inhabitants from harm that might befall them by any Confederate force. In establishing an encampment at Chicamacomico, he realized there might be some objections to splitting his small command, but he was strongly convinced that the Bankers "must be protected." "What may not be said of a government which is too weak or unwilling to protect its own loyal subjects against its own rebels?"[42] During the "Chicamacomico Races," as the Union forces retreated southward, the inhabitants ran ahead of them for fear of being intercepted by the attacking Confederate troops. One Union soldier, who described the harrowing experience of this retreat, noted the suffering of the inhabitants:

> But the most sorrowful sight of all was the Islanders leaving their homes from fear of the enemy. They could be seen in groups, sometimes with a little cart carrying their provisions, but mostly with nothing, fleeing for dear life; mothers carrying their babies, fathers leading along the boys, grandfathers and grandmothers straggling along from homes they had left behind. Relying on our protection, they had been our friends, but in an evil hour we had been compelled to leave them.[43]

On the day after the Union forces seized the forts at Hatteras Island, a delegation of thirty inhabitants of Hatteras Island appeared before Colonel Hawkins at Fort Clark requesting protection and permission to return to their homes since, according to them, they had not taken up arms against the Union nor voted to have the state secede from the Union. In addition, as many as 250 inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to support the Union cause and to help the commander at

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42. Hawkins to Wool, September 21, 1861, O.R., Series 1, IV, 620.

43. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 134.

Hatteras by supplying him with intelligence of the enemy and in general to support his defenses.[44] Hawkins was very much impressed by this overwhelming show of loyalty, and in writing to his superior said,

> I take great pleasure in announcing to you the continued strengthening of my belief in the loyalty of the citizens of this State who inhabit the counties bordering on the Pamlico Sound. The sincerity of the people who live upon the strip of land running from Hatteras Inlet to Oregon Inlet is not to be doubted; they have all taken the oath of allegiance, which you will perceive is a strong one, and have shown every disposition to assist me in every manner possible, such as furnishing me with supplies, giving information of the movements of the enemy, etc.[45]

The evidence seems to support the conclusion that inhabitants of the Outer Banks maintained good relations with the Federal forces. This was largely because they had no alternative. As the subjects of an occupied territory they had no choice but to submit and cooperate with the occupation forces. In return, they received some measure of protection and economic benefits from trading with Union troops, a benefit which had been lost when they were cut off from the mainland.[46]

Unfortunately, relations between Union soldiers and Banker were sometime marred by vandalism and depredations committed by an

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44. Hawkins to Wool, September 7, 1861, O.R., Series 1, IV, pp. 608, 611. Although there were probably many inhabitants of the island who took the loyalty oath, there were just as many who did not. Most who did not take the oath were young men who preferred to join the Confederate army and had left the Outer Banks. See Barrett, p. 56. Hill offers the thesis that Hawkins and Rowan were deluded into thinking that the Bankers all favored the Union cause. See Hill, I, 176-180. Although the case may be arguable, much of the evidence seems to support Hawkins' position.

45. Hawkins to Wool, September 11, 1861, O.R., Series 1, IV, 609.

46. One Union soldier frequently spoke of the many instances of fraternization and good relations between Union soldiers and the Bankers. See Johnson, The Long Roll, here and there.

over-zealous invading army. This was especially true soon after the invasion of Hatteras Island. The damage done to the inhabitants was serious enough as to incur Hawkins' displeasure. He made clear that he would not tolerate such conduct, and if the perpetrators were caught, they would be severely punished. Major General John E. Wool, the Union general who commanded the Department of Virginia, was equally firm in his desire to bring this plundering to an end. After several unsuccessful attempts were made to restore the property that was plundered, Hawkins suggested to his superiors that restitution of $5,000 should be made to the owners for all lost property.[47]

47. Hawkins to Wool, September 7, 1861; Wool to Hawkins, September 10, 1861; Hawkins to Weber, September 2, 1861, all in O.R., Series 1, IV, 606-611.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MODERN ERA

Post War Changes

After the Civil War, the Outer Banks underwent changes which if not so sudden were nevertheless clearly evident. Even before the outbreak of the war Ocracoke Inlet, once an important port and waterway for commercial vessels, had begun to decline in importance. Although the newly opened Hatteras Inlet absorbed much of the marine traffic and indeed was considered extremely important militarily by both the South and the North, its popularity as a commercial route also began to decline after the war. Their inability to serve the modern and large commercial vessels and the rise of railroads and turnpikes on the mainland sounded the deathknell for these once very important waterways. The result was that without this traffic, the Outer Banks became even more isolated from the mainland. The Bankers themselves underwent changes. Where once pilots were an important segment of the local population, there was now little need for them, and by the end of the 19th century, there were only a few of these jobs left. Milling also declined so that by the beginning of the 20th century practically no mills were in use.[1]

Fishing, stockraising, and gardening had always been an activity whose products were for personal consumption. There were exceptions, however, in instances where they were needed for bartering, or when

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1. Gary S. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 145, fn. 60. Concerning these mills, one writer said in 1905 that "The one at Buxton went down in a blow last October and the only one still in active service is a few miles up the beach at Kinnakeet." See H.H. Brimley, A North Carolina Naturalist, H. H. Brimley: Selections from his Writings, ed. by E.P. Odum (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), p. 31. The business directory for 1890 noted that there were six windmills in all of Dare County used principally for grinding corn. See Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1890, vol. 7, p. 238.

they were sold to travellers. The Union soldiers, bored with army routine and army food, were excellent customers of the Bankers, who sold them fish, eggs, and poultry. Incidentally, this may have been the beginning of a monetary system on the Outer Banks. Nevertheless, this practice of selling products was relatively small, and after the war, the Banker continued to fish, hunt, and garden to satisfy his own needs. After the war, however, partly as a result of the introduction of modern netting techniques, the Outer Banks began to develop commercial fishing estalishments. Actually, in 1850, the primary occupation on Hatteras Island was commercial fishing. The Civil War strengthened the belief that there was profit in commercial fishing. Commercial fishing on the Banks included anything that swam or crawled in waters from whales and porpoises to turtles, oysters, and even seaweed.[2] Although commercial fishing assumed sizeable proportions as a primary source of income, its popularity only lasted until World War II.[3]

In the 1890s the business directory of Dare County listed Wainwright & Co. of Hatteras as manufacturers of porpoise oil and leather.[4] In 1890, one resident of Hatteras went to work for a "Mr. Furry" as a superintendent for the purpose of catching porpoises. During the winter of 1890 and the Spring of 1891, his crew was able to catch 620 porpoises, the greatest numbers being in January, March, and April. His crew was discharged in June 1891, and that same month he began to superintend B.F. Furry's factory at $15 a month. He resumed this fishing for Furry on November 25, 1891 at the rate of $20 a month.[5] Apparently, fishing for porpoises had its season, and this person was able to divide his time

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2. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. 212-13.

3. David Stick, Dare County: A History, North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, 1970), p. 42.

4. Branson's North Carolina Business Directory (1890), vol. 7, p. 238.

5. Ms "John W. Rollinson Book, Cape Hatteras, 1845-1905," Rollinson Collection Microfilm, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C.

between the sea, when it was the fishing season, and the factory to process the catch.[6]

The Cape Hatteras, Bodie Island, and Ocracoke lighthouses were established and placed in operation during the first half of the 19th century. These were all staffed by employees of the federal government many of whom were inhabitants of the islands. These employees were relatively few. It was not until after the Civil War that their numbers grew with the establishment of Life-Saving Stations in the 1870s, improvements in the lighthouse facilities, creation of post offices, establishment of a weather station, and the construction of the Diamond Shoals Lightship. The new life-saving stations provided by far the bulk of all government employees. As the most dangerous point on the Atlantic Coast, the area between the Virginia line and Cape Lookout had a total of twenty-five stations. Of this number, fourteen were established on lands now a part of the National Seashore. Many of these stations formed the nucleus of villages, such as Big Kinnakeet, Little Kinnakeet, and Chicamacomico. Most of the life-savers, or surfmen as they were alternately called, were recruited locally and lived with their families near the station. With some exceptions when a few were assigned to distant places, most Bankers who joined the service did not have to leave home.[7]

David Stick said that the Bankers were offered positions in the government service as a reward for their loyalty during the Civil War.[8] True or not, the fact is that these government jobs did help the Bankers that were being displaced by economic forces beyond their control, and in the process, they enjoyed the fruits, perhaps for the first time, of hard cash. They could now purchase products from a distant market.

Although in 1870 only two percent of the Bankers were in government service, the percentage grew to seven in 1880 as a result of

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6. Ibid.

7. Dunbar, pp. 87-89.

8. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 168.

the newly established life-saving stations. The number continued to rise in the following years. By 1920 and 1930, about one-fourth of all job holders on the Banks were in government service. By 1940, thirty-six percent worked for the federal government, largely in the Works Project Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Most of these people were employed in building dunes, grass-planting, and other conservation-related activities within the area.[9]

As early as the mid-18th century there was evidence of some tourism to the Outer Banks. This was not so much commercial tourism, which came much later, but in the form of brief summer excursions by people on the mainland. Sometimes, these excursions took the mainlander as far south as Ocracoke. The belief prevailed that the salt spray from the ocean was a good cure for the chills and fever, diagnosed then as malaria, suffered by people on the mainland.[10] It was not until the 1830s, however, that tourism as an industry began to take on some significance and this effort started at Nags Head, a village immediately to the north of what is now the National Seashore. In 1838 a hotel was built near the sound. Summer cottages were also built along the sound side to accommodate guests, but after the Civil War, the cottages were constructed near the ocean. Branson's business directory for 1890 extolled Nags Head "as a noted summer resort."[11] Schooners chartered by visitors sailed to the Outer Banks from several mainland cities. In 1849, a trip on a schooner between Elizabeth City and Nags Head took about five hours and the fare was one dollar.[12] In 1894 one broadside advertised an excursion by steamboat, leaving Washington, North Carolina, and arriving at Ocracoke. The vessel was scheduled to leave at

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9. Dunbar, p. 88.

10. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 95.

11. Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1890, vol. 7, p. 237.

12. Ibid., p. 97; Timothy A. Thompson, "Archeological Resources at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore: A Management Study," Raleigh, July 1977; Stick, Dare County, p. 55.

11 P.M. Saturday and to arrive 6 A.M. Sunday, a seven-hour trip. On the return trip, the boat was to leave Ocracoke Sunday night and arrive in Washington at 1 A.M. Monday. The round trip fare was $2.00 for adults and half price for children. The trip was billed as "one of the finest opportunities ever offered to our people to see Pamlico Sound and the Atlantic Ocean and enjoy their invigorating breezes."[13]

Nags Head and areas within the National Seashore depended upon vessels to bring in the tourist trade, because these areas were relatively inaccessible. Consequently, tourism had yet to make any significant contribution to the economy of the Outer Banks until the 20th century. By that time paved roads and bridges were constructed connecting the islands and making it relatively easy to travel the length of the Banks. With the advent of the automobile, roads were improved by asphalt, and bridges connecting the islands gradually took the place of ferries.[14] The result was that the tourist industry moved southward, increasing the number of visitors to many areas on Hatteras Island and on Ocracoke. Several hotels sprang up in these areas. As the Life-Saving Service and commercial fishing declined by the mid-20th century, the tourist industry took up much of the slack, and many of the Bankers found tourism profitable. The establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore brought to the Banks as many as two million visitors a year, some with their modern camping equipment for brief periods, others for more lengthy stays in hotels and motels.

Within the area of the National Seashore there are three townships: Ocracoke, Hatteras, and Kennekeet. From 1870 until 1920, Ocracoke township, which takes in the whole island of Ocracoke, enjoyed a steady but not significant increase in population--from 368 to 587. After 1920,

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13. Broadside, "For Ocracoke! Grandest Excursion of the Season," MS, Mary Credle Papers, No. 1853, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

14. See David Stick, "Toby Tillett and His Ferry," The State, vol. 17 (June 18, 1949), No. 3, for the ferry that operated Oregon Inlet.

there was an equally steady decline until in 1950 the population reached 509. The population has remained about the same since then.[15]

Hatteras township, containing such communities as Hatteras, Frisco, and Buxton villages, experienced the largest population increase between 1870 and 1940. In 1870, it had 673 inhabitants, but by 1940, this number almost doubled, to 1201. The following decade, however, the population dropped to 1,046.[16] One reason for this significant drop may be attributed to post-World War II changes which may have affected the economy and social values of the Bankers.

The population of Kennekeet township, which included Avon, Salvo, Waves, and Rodanthe, on the island of Hatteras, showed a more eratic growth over the years. From 1870, when it counted 599 inhabitants, it grew to 842 in 1900, but the following decade it dropped to 644. By 1920, it grew again to 712, but the following decade it declined to 663. Again, by 1940, it grew to 806, but by 1950, it dropped to 576.[17] What accounted for this alternating trend every ten years is difficult to say, particularly when this trend is compared with the more steady one experienced by its neighboring Hatteras township.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed several changes in the designation of villages and communities on the Banks. This was the result of the addition of several new post offices in these communities. Thus in 1874 Chicamacomico became Rodanthe; Cape Hatteras became Buxton in 1882, although geographically it was still referred to as "The Cape"; Kinnakeet was changed to Avon in 1883; and Trent became Frisco in 1898.[18]

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15. Dunbar, Table 1, p. 91.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 174.

Navigational Aids

The increased commercial activity enjoyed after the Civil War, which saw more vessels in the waters around the Outer Banks, was paralleled by an increase in the number of shipwrecks. Between the years 1866 and 1945, approximately 230 vessels, weighing more than fifty tons each, were known to have perished off the coast of the Outer Banks that today form a part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[19] When the smaller vessels that were shipwrecked in these waters is added to this number, it is no wonder that the Cape Hatteras area received the uncomplimentary appellation of "Graveyard of the Atlantic."[20]

The lighthouses, beacons, and lightships that were erected in this area during the Federal-Ante Bellum Periods were designed to limit the disasters that occurred so frequently. Unfortunately, because of the limited technology available at the time, these facilities often proved to be inadequate. Efforts to minimize the loss of life and sufferings of those crew members who were victims of shipwrecks were well meant but inadequate. Much of this effort was spearheaded by wreck commissioners who organized local residents as volunteers to help save and take care of such victims. It was evident, however, that much remained yet to be done to find a better solution.

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19. David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 248-57. This did not count the ships that were lost at sea.

20. A study is presently underway conducted by Historian James P. Delgado of Golden Gate National Recreational Area under the auspices of East Carolina University's Program in Maritime History and Underwater Research, Greenville, N.C., to identify shipwreck remains in Cape Hatteras N.S. Mr. Delgado's letter to the author (see Appendix A) identifies newly discovered remains and provides additional information on shipwrecks already known. His field work was conducted during the summer of 1984. The report, which will be ready in April 1985, is titled A Preliminary Assessment of Environmentally Exposed Shipwreck Remains, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina.

In the 1870s, the federal government undertook a program designed to overcome these problems. First, it constructed new lighthouses, or rebuilt old ones, so that they were taller, stronger, and contained a more effective light to be seen by vessels far out to sea. Second, it constructed a string of life saving stations, about five miles apart, on the Banks manned by a permanent crew whose purpose was to save the lives of shipwrecked crews.

Lighthouses

The Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, which was completed in 1802, was disparagingly referred to in 1851 as "the most important on our coast, and, without doubt, the worst light in the world." The United States naval commander who said this also noted the following:

> The only guide they [i.e., mariners] have is the light, to tell them when up with the shoals; but I have always had so little confidence in it that I have been guided by the lead, without the use of which, in fact, no vessel should pass Hatteras. The first nine trips I made I never saw Hatteras light at all, though frequently passing in sight of the breakers; and when I did see it, I could not tell it from a steamer's light, excepting that the steamer's lights are much brighter. It has improved much latterly, but is still a wretched light. It is all important that Hatteras should be provided with a revolving light of great intensity, and the light to be raised fifteen feet higher than at present.[21]

Although attempts were made to improve the candlepower by installing a Fresnel lens in the 1850s and a new and better lens was installed in the 1860s after the Confederate troops destroyed the existing

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21. Copy of letter of Lieut. David D. Porter, July 1851, in the files of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

one, the lighthouse still had its shortcomings. Finally, in 1867 Congress enacted legislation appropriating $67,000 for the construction of a new tower. This sum was established in anticipation of constructing a tower 150 feet high, but after altering the height to 180 feet, the appropriation was increased to $80,000. The site selected for the new structure was about six hundred feet northeast of the old lighthouse.[22] (See Historical Base Map.)

By the end of 1868, work began on the new lighthouse, and in December 1870 the structure was largely completed and the new light exhibited. Nearly three years later the tower was painted in spiral bands alternately black and white, the purpose of which was to make it more distinct at a distance in the daylight. The light flashed at specific intervals. The tower became the tallest lighthouse in the United States, serving as a primary navigational aid in one of the most treacherous waters in the world--the Diamond Shoals. A brick dwelling for the principal keeper was also completed in 1871. The tower, principal keeper's quarters built on 1854, and the assistant keeper's quarters built in 1892, which was later converted into a double keeper's quarters formed the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Station. A small oil house built in 1892 and outhouses were also a part of this complex (Illustrations 7 and 8).[23]

In early 1871 the old tower was blown up and destroyed, bringing to an end one of the earliest built lighthouses in the United States.

Over the years normal maintenance, repairs, and small additions were made to the station complex, but the one factor that presented the greatest problem to the station was the growing erosion which was slowly encroaching upon the lighthouse tower itself. In 1870, when the lighthouse was built, it was situated 1,500 feet from the ocean. By 1919,

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22. Notes from the files of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

23. See F. Ross Holland, Jr., "A History of the Cape Hatteras Light Station," September 30, 1968, and Holland, "Keeper's Dwelling: Cape Hatteras Light Station, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina," National Park Service studies, for a complete physical history of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Station.

the ocean had advanced to within 300 feet of the tower and by 1935 it was within 100 feet.[24]

Although many attempts were made over the years to halt this growing danger, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, much of it was in vain. Attempts in 1930 and again in 1935 to protect the tower with sheetpile groins failed. Satisfied that the problem was incurable, the United States Coast Guard decided to abandon the lighthouse. In 1936 it constructed a 150-foot steel skeleton tower in Buxton Woods, three kilometers from the shoreline. The light from the lighthouse was then transferred to the beacon tower. Then, while the Cape Hatteras National Seashore was in the process of being established, the U.S. Coast Guard, which by now had assumed control over this function, transferred the lighthouse station, tower, and related facilities to the National Park Service in 1936.[25]

The National Park Service continued its efforts to forestall the erosion. Strangely enough, during the 1940s the erosion subsided, an action attributable to unexplained natural causes. While erosion trends in the area were slowed, it was not clear whether they were caused by erosion control efforts or by large cyclic patterns of nature. The concensus of opinion was that erosion problems would probably continue to rise.[26]

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24. "Synopsis: Study and Report, Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, March 1982," Park files, Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Reports of actual shoreline position differ. This may be due to subjective differences of opinion concerning the position of a wide shallow beach and the time of year each observation was made. One authority said that the lighthouse was 150 meters from the shoreline in 1917. Another writer reported the shoreline as being 90 meters from the tower in 1919. "Coastal Erosion at Cape Hatteras: A Lighthouse in Danger," National Park Service Research/Resources Management Report, SER-65, NPS Rocky Mountain Region Library.

25. Director, NPS, to Sec. of the Interior, Re: Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, July 27, 1936, Park files, Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

26. Synopsis, Study and Report, Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, March, 1982.

In the meantime, changing the light to the skeleton tower confused many navigators, who, thinking the light came from the brick lighthouse, approached too close to shore. The Coast Guard regarded this as a danger, and since erosion had declined, it moved the light back to the old brick tower on November 10, 1949. An automatic light now operates on the tower, but the National Park Service owns and exhibits the tower to the public.[27]

Environmental consultants in the public and private sector have been approached for their opinions on this subject. Numerous suggestions have been put forward in recent years, some quite extensive and revolutionary in scope. Among these proposals was one developed by the United States Army Corps of Engineers which is the construction of a seawall, or revetment, encircling the lighthouse. While permanent plans such as this one were being seriously considered, temporary measures such as sandbags, dikes, and the use of seaweed were also being taken.[28]

After the destruction of the second lighthouse on Bodie Island, it was not until 1871 that work on a third tower began not far from the same site as the old ones. The following year the keeper displayed a new light of the first-order lens. The lighthouse was made of brick, extending 156 feet above sea level, and the light was visible for nineteen miles.[29] (See Historical Base Map.)

On October 15, 1953, all land and buildings, except the tower and one hundred square feet of ground upon which the tower stood, were transferred to the National Park Service, becoming a part of the Cape

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27. "Coastal Erosion at Cape Hatteras: A Lighthouse in Danger," p. 7.

28. Ibid.

29. Francis Ross Holland, Jr., America's Lighthouses: Their Illustrated History Since 1716 (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1972), pp. 125-6. For a complete physical history of this tower, see Francis R. Holland, Jr., "A History of the Bodie Island Light Station," a National Park Service Study, February 1, 1967.

Hatteras National Seashore. The light continued to operate automatically under the surveillance of the Coast Guard. The double keeper's brick dwelling, which was built at the same time as the tower and was transferred to the National Park Service, is now used as a visitor center, but the tower is closed to visitors (Illustrations 9, 10, and 11).[30]

The Ocracoke Lighthouse has remained to this day one of the oldest towers on the Outer Banks and one of the oldest active lights on the South Atlantic Coast.[31] (See Historical Base Map.) The tower that was built in 1823, after the first one was destroyed by lightning, was never rebuilt. The light station received the normal amount of maintenance and rehabilitation over the years, but in 1897 the keeper's dwelling, which was built in 1823, was converted from a single-story to a two-story structure, adding three additional rooms to the three already there.[32] By 1930, in addition to the tower, the light station at Ocracoke consisted of one oil house, two dwellings, and one coal shed.[33] This property does not form a part of the National Seashore, although it does remain an important part of the Seashore's interpretive program (Illustrations 12 and 13).

Life-Saving Stations

The life-saving stations were the latest important navigational aids to be placed into operation wherever the sea lanes were opened to commerce. In 1848 Congress passed legislation establishing the life saving stations on

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30. Holland, "A History of the Bodie Island Light Station," pp. 50-51; Holland, America's Lighthouse, pp. 125-26.

31. Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 116.

32. Notes from the files of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, citing Record Group 26, National Archives.

33. Ibid.

the east coast of the United States.[34] By 1874, seven stations were established and facilities constructed on the North Carolina coast. Of this number, two of the first to be established were at Chicamacomico and Little Kinnakeet, both on the Hatteras Island. By the end of the 1870s, there were twenty-five such stations along the North Carolina coast each spaced about five miles apart.[35] Of these, nine stations were established within the area now represented by the National Seashore. They were located in Tommy's Hummock, Bodie Island, Pea Island, Chicamacomico, Cedar Hummock, Little Kinnakeet, Big Kinnakeet, Creeds Hill, and Hatteras. The Chicamacomico Station was five miles south of New Inlet, and Big Kinnakeet Station was six miles north of Cape Hatteras lighthouse.[36]

By the end of June 1882, three more stations were in the process of being established, thus making a total of twelve stations on those Banks that now make up the National Seashore.[37] The addition of these three stations was the result of an investigation by the Assistant Inspector of the Life-Saving Service in 1879 in which he found that there were areas along the Banks where stations were too far apart, leaving wide gaps without adequate patrol. This meant that surfmen at the existing stations had to cover too wide an area in their patrols, leaving them too

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34. For an organizational account of the Life Saving Service see S.I. Kimball, Organization and Methods of the United States Life-Saving Service (Washington: 1889).

35. Annual Report of the Chief of the Revenue Marine Bureau for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1873, Showing the Operations of the Revenue Marine and the Life-Saving Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 21; Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of Finances for the Year 1874 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. XXXIV; U.S. Coast Guard Locality Map Seventh District, May 24, 1935, revised October 10, 1935.

36. Annual Report of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1880 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 151.

37. Annual Report of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1882 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 39.

exhausted to man their boats in case of a rescue mission. Adding these stations permitted greater protective coverage.[38]

While the number of stations grew rapidly on the Outer Banks, changes were made from time to time as additional needs were realized. Locations were altered, stations were inactivated (especially in the 20th century as Long Range Aids to Navigation (LORAN) and other modern techniques were introduced), new stations were established, and station designations were changed to better fit the name of the geographic location.

The station that was established in 1883 on the south side of Cape Hatteras Inlet was called Ocracoke Life-Saving Station, probably because it was on Ocracoke Island. Experience showed that most shipwrecks occurred eight to ten miles south of the station in a lonely and uninhabited stretch of Ocracoke Island known as "The Plains." The Portsmouth Life-Saving Station, which was several miles south of this point, was unable to be of help to a ship in distress. A wide unprotected gap remained between the two stations. Unfortunately, an inspector's investigation noted that the inhabitants of the nearest settlement had not shown any disposition to cooperate with the keeper of the Ocracoke Life-Saving Station in informing him of shipwrecks that occurred at this unprotected area. The only solution was to establish a station between the two existing ones, and in 1904 one was built at the lower end of Ocracoke Island. It was called the Ocracoke Life-Saving Station, and the old station at the north end of the island was redesignated the Hatteras Inlet Life Saving Station.[39]

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38. Newcomb to Merryman, January 10, 1880, Record Group 26, National Archives, copy in Park files.

39. Ass't. Inspector, 7th Dist., Life-Saving Service, to General Superintendent, June 18, 1901. Record Group 26, National Archives (hereafter referred to as RG 26, NA), copy in Park files, "History of Ocracoke (Hatteras Inlet) Lifeboat Station and of Ocracoke Life Saving Station, Ocracoke, North Carolina"; Kimbal to Sec. of Treasury, March 7, 1902, both in RG 26, NA, copies in Park files.

Fires and storms sometimes took their toll of stations, especially storms. In 1901, for example, the Oregon Inlet Station was destroyed by a hurricane. Other stations found themselves surrounded by water after heavy storms, and whenever it was feasible, they were relocated to better ground.[40] In some cases, like the New Inlet Station, the problem of erosion due to storms and high water was persistant. Even relocating it in the same general area did not seem to solve the problem. A terrible storm occurring on August 16 and 17, 1899, caused very serious damage to this station. The investigating officer noted that the land upon which this station was constructed was in many places from eight to twenty inches lower than before the storm. Although the main building was about two feet above ordinary tides, it was two to three feet under water during storms and, therefore, inaccessible.

Several deep slews were cut across the beach, making patrol duty impossible. In 1908 the Service's civil engineer warned that "I have become convinced that the station must be abandoned as soon as possible. The conditions, which have threatened the station for a number of years, have during the last month become such that the station must be considered unsafe. The very next severe storm may wreck it by washing away the land on which it stands."[41] He recommended a site about 19,100 feet from the old station and one that was about 8,400 feet north of the Chicamacomico Station. This site had already been proposed by other engineers in 1903 and 1904.[42]

At least one fire of a suspicious nature in 1880 completely destroyed the Pea Island Station.[43]

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40. Etheridge to Morgan, October 11, 1901; Clayton to Read, September 1, 1888; Clayton to Kimball, January 21, 1889; Failings to Kimball, December 2, 1889, all in RG 26, NA, copies in Park files.

41. Bausch to General Superintendent, September 23, 1908; Forchy to Superintendent of Construction, Life Saving Station, September 15, 1899, both in RG 26, NA, copies in Park files.

42. Ibid.

43. Newcomb to Kimball, September 11, 1880, RG 26, NA, copy in Park files.

The Life-Saving Service preferred to believe that the facilities at these stations were of the kind that could withstand the severest storms. In some cases where the danger of destruction was greatest, the facilities that were constructed were said to be able to sustain only little injury even if they were "overthrown." Sumner I. Kimball, the General Superintendent of the Life-Saving Service, said that there were instances where these structures had been blown long distances in a storm without suffering serious damage.[44] To some extent this was true, but as we have seen, many structures did not withstand the severe storms of the Outer Banks and instead suffered destruction. One officer who made an inspection of all the life-saving stations after one of these storms, concluded that the fault lay with the low and flat nature of the beach and the poor foundations upon which the structures were built. He did not believe that the ordinary pile and mudsill foundations that were used for the stations were the proper materials. He recommended instead that all future buildings be erected on foundations consisting of iron columns ten feet above the beach. The lower ends of the columns were to be bolted to concrete blocks on cribing six to eight feet below the surface of the soil. The upper ends were to be bolted to the house sill, the sill and columns to be properly braced in all directions.[45] Nevertheless, the Service believed that as built the structures had the advantage of being moved to other locations when they were threatened by the encroachment of the sea at relatively little cost.[46] In this sense, there was perhaps more truth to this statement.

The facilities that were constructed at these stations were in most cases uniformly built, but in a few instances they were modified to suit the individual location. Chicamacomico, Little Kinnakeet, and Oregon Inlet stations were built in accordance with specifications issued at the

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44. Kimball, p. 52.

45. Forchy to Superintendent of Construction, Life-Saving Service, September 15, 1899, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

46. Kimball, p. 52.

time.[47] Stations built after 1878 were constructed in a different style, and among these were the Bodie Island, Gull Shoal, Big Kinnakeet, Creeds Hill, and Durant stations. By 1885, all these stations plus the Oregon Inlet, Chicamacomico, and Little Kinnakeet stations underwent extensive repairs and alterations along with other stations outside the National Seashore area.[48]

The average station that was built at the turn of the century contained a dwelling, separate kitchen and mess room, boat and apparatus house, barn (for a horse or horses) with shop, fuel and day room, detached privy, and a lookout. In speaking of construction for the proposed Ocracoke station the engineer noted that the "bungalow" style house was best adapted to the locality because of its climate. He also observed that two horses were necessary at this station because one horse would be unable to pull the boat or apparatus over the heavy sand barriers. Meanwhile, the boat house would have to be large enough, about 24 by 46 feet, to hold two surf boats and two beach apparatus carts. He recommended a barn about 24 by 30 feet. Then, taking into consideration the uniqueness of the location, he proposed the construction of a skeleton lookout in order to get a full view of the beach, which was obscured by trees at one or two points.[49]

As years passed, the horses became old and lame. Some of the lameness was due to the heavy loads which they pulled through deep sands. This presented a serious problem to most stations since there was seldom money to replace them.[50] Horses were kept at several stations, but not all. The Life-Saving Service had requested an appropriation to

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47. "Specifications of Labor and Materials Required to Erect and Complete a Life-Saving Station," ca. 1874, in Park files.

48. Merryman to Kimball, May 1, 1885, and "Specification Stations of 1874," both in RG 26 NA, copies in Park files.

49. Bausch, et al, to the General Superintendent, May 12, 1903, RG 26, NA, copy in Park files.

50. Asst. Inspector to Inspector, Life Saving Stations, March 30, 1908, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

purchase horses for each station in the late 1870s, but Congress failed to enact legislation. The Service was firmly convinced that horses were essential to pull the heavy equipment, mainly lifeboats, down to the water. That journey was usually long, anywhere from one to four miles. To pull a heavy load at such distances worked a serious hardship on the surfmen who were exhausted before they even set out on their rescue mission.[51] At first horses were hired wherever there were horses owned by inhabitants in the vicinity, but where there were no inhabitants, the station would have to do without horses.[52] It was probably not until 1885 that stables were begun to be built to accommodate horses, which is an indication that horses were by then owned by the Service rather than hired.

A floor plan of a barn proposed in 1885 revealed three compartments--two box stalls and a feed room in between.[53] In 1886 the Service purchased $776.25 in materials to build ten stables in the 6th Life Saving District, which included the station within the Seashore area.[54]

Each station consisted of a keeper and a crew of about six or seven surfmen. The staff was usually selected from the neighboring area where there were always a number of fishermen and wreckers who were expert in handling boats in rough waters. The District Superintendent was responsible for appointing the keeper. In realizing the importance of the keeper's position, the regulations governing this type of appointment took great pains to point out that no such appointment would be made based upon political, social, or personal reasons.[55] Rarely was a keeper

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51. Annual Report of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1880, pp. 41-42.

52. Etheridge to Kimball, November 27, 1882, RG 26, NA, copy in Park files.

53. Clayton to Kimball, November 23, 1885, RG 26, NA, copy in Park files.

54. Clayton to Kimball, January 18, 1886, RG 26, NA, copy in Park files.

55. Kimball, p. 54.

appointed who came from another district. In general, their duties were explained as follows:

> The keepers are required to reside constantly at their stations, are entrusted with the care and custody of the station property, for which they are accountable, and govern the station premises. They are captains of their crews, exercise absolute control over them (subject only to the restriction of the regulations of the Service and the orders of superior officers), lead them and share their perils on all occasions of rescue, taking always the steering oar when the boats are used, and directing all operations with the apparatus. They are also ex officio Inspectors of Customs, and as such take care of the Government interests in relation to dutiable goods on wrecked vessels, until the arrival of other Customs officers.
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> By law they are also made guardians of all wrecked property until relieved by the owners or their agents, or until instructed by superior authority as to its disposition.[56]

The average keeper's salary was $700 a year, but in exceptional cases, it did go as high as $800.[57]

Six surfmen usually made up a station's crew, but on December 1 of each year, usually the beginning of the severe weather, a seventh man was added, who was left ashore to assist in the launching and beaching of the boat and to see that the station was prepared to receive the return of crew and any victims. The crews were selected by the keepers from experienced residents within the area of the station. Very often this led to favortism and nepotism or to selection on the basis of political affiliation without regard to an individual's capabilities. During the early years the Life Saving Service accused local politicans of interfering with

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56. Ibid., p. 55.

57. Ibid.

its work by attempting to appoint keepers and surfmen who were not qualified. The Service charged these politicians with trying to "pack the stations with their own creatures, without the slightest respect to use or competency."[58] One regulation that was instituted in later years forbade a keeper to appoint to his crew any brother, father, or son "except where adherence to the rule would be detrimental to the Service."[59] Although these rules were generally enforced, sometimes they could not prevent such appointments because of the few Outer Bankers that were available for such positions.

The establishment of life-saving stations some times led to the creation of small communities, some of which disappeared later when the stations were discontinued. The Little Kinnakeet Station had a community nearby within walking distance. Today, only three headstones of a cemetery mark the remains of this community. It is just to the south of the old station, facing the sound (Illustrations 14, 15, and 16). (See Historical Base Map.)

The stations were not open all-year round. Thus, an "active season" was a term which signified the months of the year that stations were opened and manned. The first active season for the 6th Life Saving District was from December 1, 1874 to March 31, 1875. By 1881-82, the season was extended to five months--that is, from December through April. In the 1893-94 season the stations remained open from September 1 to April 30. The seasons were further extended in later years until World War I when the stations remained open ten months of the year, August 1 to May 31. At the beginning of the war, they remained open all year round.

Surfmen patrolled the beaches only at night, or when visibility would not permit the two adjoining stations to see at least halfway to the next

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58. David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 105.

59. Kimball, p. 56.

station, in which case they patrolled around the clock or until visual conditions improved. Carrying a special flare, the surfman would signal any vessel that came too close to shore. If a vessel were grounded close inshore, a line was fired over the vessel and survivors would be brought ashore in what was known as a breeches buoy. The real heroism of these crews was demonstrated when shipwrecks occurred far out to sea beyond the reach of a breeches buoy. Boats were then launched and crews rowed out through the pounding and dangerous waters until they reached survivors. Occasionally they became the victims when boats capsized. Normally, during the daytime, the men pulled watch duty, kept the station and equipment in good order, drilled, or were off-duty on home leave for the day.[60]

The official records and newspapers are replete with stories of rescues by men of the lifesaving stations. Sometimes, despite the heroic efforts of these stations, vessels, with their entire crews, went down so fierce were the storms. Such was the case during the December 1902 hurricane when the schooner Wesley M. Oler was smashed to pieces, drowning its entire crew despite every effort on the part of the Hatteras Inlet Life-Saving Station to save them.[61] Between 1884 and 1931 the crews of the following stations on land which is now the National Seashore were awarded the Medal of Honor for rescue missions: Cape Hatteras Station, Creeds Hill Station, Gull Shoal Station, Chicamacomico Station, Big Kinnakeet Station, and Hatteras Inlet Station.[62]

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60. David Stick, Dare County: A History, North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, 1970), pp. 28-29; David Stick, Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County Past and Present (Kitty Hawk, N.C.: The Dare Press, 1949), pp. 27-28.

61. "Entire Crew Lost," The Washington Post, December 6, 1902. For an account of the many shipwreck incidents occurring off the Outer Banks in which the life saving stations played a roll in rescues, see the Annual Reports of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service (Washington: Government Printing Office).

62. Ben Dixon MacNeill, The Hatterasman (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1958), pp. 285-88.

During the first two decades of their existence the life saving stations were faced with innumerable problems, some having to do either with organization, personnel, or inadequate appropriations. Personnel presented one of the most serious problems. Because the Service was a relatively new governmental agency, local politicians asserted their influence and power by attempting to force upon the Service the appointment of their own favorites without regard to qualifications, especially when it concerned the job of the keeper. Attempts in the latter part of the 1870s on the part of the Service to insist upon legislation that would halt such practices had some effect, but accusations of political partisanship continued from time to time.[63] In answer to a charge of political partisanship made by a surfman of the Big Kinnakeet Station in 1888, the officer investigating the case spelled out the problem. He said:

> From the evidence as a whole, and from personal observation, I am led to believe that in years past partisan feeling has influenced certain keepers in this part of the Sixth District in the selection of their crews. I believe that they considered it a duty to favor men of their own political faith; but I do not believe that the practice prevails now. From crude beginnings the men had to be educated up to the idea that they are part and parcel of the grandest humane institution on the face of the earth in to which it would be a crime for politics to enter: and since the adoption of the rule some years ago requiring of the keepers good reasons, such as incompetency or misconduct, for the discharge of surfmen the service has settled down to an almost permanent establishment so far as the personnel is concerned.[64]

Other personnel problems plagued the Service, but these were the result largely of a new organization. Although crews were required to

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63. Annual Report of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1880.

64. Walker to Kimball, July 8, 1888, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

undergo frequent training at their stations to familiarize themselves with the duties of their jobs, they sometimes failed to demonstrate a capacity to fulfill their duties. At Little Kinnakeet Station the Service was forced to remove the whole crew, including the keeper, for incompetence and insubordination.[65]

As the years went by, however, with experience, the addition of more modern equipment and the introduction of improved life saving systems, many of the problems were minimized. Inspections that were conducted on a regular basis revealed that most stations were accomplishing their duties up to expectations.

There was a problem that was very unique to one of the stations, requiring a remedy from higher echelons (Illustration 17). Pea Island Station had a crew that was made up of blacks. White appointees refused to be assigned to this station. Since an eligible appointee was entitled to three certifications, rejecting an appointment to the Pea Island Station meant he had only two chances remaining for an appointment. The General Superintendent of the Life Saving Service, Sumner I. Kimball, felt that this "works a hardship toward the white eligibles who are certified to a position they cannot accept. . . ." He proposed that the Civil Service Commission amend its regulations with the object of furnishing the Pea Island Station with a "special" register of eligibles. Presumably this meant that the eligibles were to be all Blacks. Such eligibles, meanwhile, were to be "debarred" from certification to other life-saving stations. The proposal was instituted by the Civil Service Commission, and, in addition, it altered its regulations to allow eligibles who resided in an area where a vacancy exists first choice over those who resided outside the area.[66]

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65. Inspection Report from Station 10, District No. 6, for the Month of October, 1878, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

66. Bushby to Kimball, December 29, 1903; Kimball to Sec. of the Treasury, January 8, 1904; Acting President of the Civil Service Commission to Sec. of the Treasury, January 14, 1904, all in RG 26, NA, copies in Park files.

In January 1915 the Revenue Cutter Service, Life-Saving Service, and Bureau of Lighthouses were merged and absorbed by the United States Coast Guard. The introduction, meanwhile, of new and better navigation instruments and communications lessened the need for the Coast Guard stations, although both World War I and II saw a revival of activity in the waters off Cape Hatteras where German submarines were taking a heavy toll in life and shipping. When the British tanker Mirlo was torpedoed in 1918, members of the Chicamacomico Station, braving a sea of flaming oil, rescued most of the crew. Several stations were inactivated before World War II and others were decommissioned since.[67]

At the height of the Life-Saving Service the area now encompassing the National Seashore had thirteen stations. If the old Hatteras Inlet Station is counted before it was relocated to the other side of the Hatteras Inlet, there were fourteen. By 1935, three were inactivated--Oregon Inlet, Cape Hatteras, and Ocracoke. Those still operating were stations at Bodie Island (or Tommy's Hammock), Pea Island, New Inlet, Chicamacomico, Cedar Hammock (or Gull Shoal), Little Kinnakeet, Big Kinnakeet, Creeds Hill, Durants, and Hatteras Inlet.[68]

By the 1950s, several more stations were abandoned, but by this time, because of technological improvements in navigation, the original concept of the life-saving station had changed. Three of the inactivated stations were transferred to the National Park Service and to private groups. The Chicamacomico Station became the property of the

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67. Dunbar, p. 88. Work Projects Administration, Writers' Project, North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 49. For a complete account of the Mirlo rescue see Wrecks, Rescues & Investigations: Selected Documents of the U.S. Coast Guard and Its Predecessors, edited by Bernard C. Natty, Dennis L. Noble, and Truman R. Strobridge (Wilmington, Del.: S.R. Scholarly Resources Inc., n.d.), pp. 166-73.

68. Map of Coast Guard Stations, Active and Inactive, in Dunbar, p. 89. Dunbar gives the two locations of the Hatteras Inlet Station, and thus he counted 14 stations. See also U.S. Coast Guard Locality Map Seventh District, Office of Assoc. C.E., M.P. Hite, C&R, Elizabeth City, N.C., 24 May 1935, RG 26, NA, in Park files. This map omits New Inlet Station and therefore shows a total of twelve stations.

Chicamacomico Historical Association and the National Park Service, the properties being divided between them. Little Kinnakeet Station and Bodie Island Station, with all their structures, were absorbed by the National Park Service. This left the Oregon Inlet Station, Cape Hatteras Inlet Station, and Cape Hatteras Group Station on the Cape Hatteras National Seashore still owned and operated by the Coast Guard.

The remainder of this section will attempt to provide an account of the historical significance of the three stations now in the possession of the National Park Service and the Association.

Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station

Chicamacomico Life Saving Station has the distinction of being one of the first seven stations to be established on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. Chicamacomico was designated Station No. 9 in the 6th Life-Saving District. It was completed and placed into operation on December 1, 1874. When other stations were built along the coast, Chicamacomico was redesignated Station No. 18. In 1904 the district number was changed to District 7.[69]

The Chicamacomico Station was associated with a number of heroic rescues through its years of existence. In 1891 the station saved seven crew members from Strathairly. In 1898 it rescued the crew of the schooner Fessenden. The following year the station rescued the crew of Mini Beyen with the Lyle gun and the breeches buoy mechanisms.[70] Perhaps its most dramatic rescue, which directed national and international attention to this station as being "one of the most dramatic

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69. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 173. For an exhaustive physical history of the Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station, see Edwin C. Bearss, "Chicamacomico Study: Historic Structures Report Data 1876, 1911, 1918," Parts 1, 2 & 3, October 1965.

70. "Be A Lifesaver: Help Save The Most Historic Life-saving Station In America," a pamphlet published by the Chicamacomico Historical Association, Inc., Rodanthe, N.C.

rescue operations in the annals of the Coast Guard," was the saving of forty-two men from the British tanker Mirlo after she was torpedoed by a German submarine in August 1918. In return for this act of heroism, the British government awarded the Gold Lifesaving Medals to Captain John Allen Midgett and five surfmen. The British also awarded the station a silver cup. In addition, the Coast Guard presented to each of the station crew Grand Crosses of the American Cross of Honor. Only eleven of these medals had been awarded in the service up to then, and six belonged to the crew of the Chicamacomico Station.[71]

The location of the Chicamocomico Station was 35°36'40" north latitude and 75°27'5" west longitude. It was five miles south of New Inlet.[72]

The physical facilities of Chicamacomico Station, like many other stations on the Outer Banks, deteriorated rapidly because of the severe weather. After one of the worst storms in 1899, the station was left in shambles. The boat house was thrown from its foundation, landing some thirty feet from its site. The station was in such a terrible state by this time that it was condemned and not considered practical to undergo major repair. It was then recommended that a new station should be built at the earliest possible time. In the meantime, only minor repairs were done on the old facilities.[73] Years went by, however, with little effort made to build new facilities; appropriations for such purposes were always insufficient. In the meantime, a new location was proposed for the new facilities. The site selected was 3/4 mile south of the existing location. The tract of land selected was 250 feet wide extending from the sound to

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71. National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, by Janet K. Seapker and Joe Mobley, undated.

72. Annual Report of the Life-Saving Service for 1888. Other annual reports give slightly different positions but not enough to indicate the station was relocated.

73. Fourchy to Superintendent of Construction, September 15, 1899, RG 26, NA, in Park files; Superintendent, 7th District, to General Superintendent, Life-Saving Service, April 14, 1902, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

the ocean and was purchased from the heirs of David O. Midgett.[74] (See Historical Base Map.)

The Service did not act quickly to build the new station, however, and it was not until 1910 that bids were finally advertised for the construction of the station. The specifications called for the construction of a new main building with a cistern, barn, privy, cook house, and the laying of plank walks. Construction was completed by July 1911, and the station began operations at its new location in August 1911.[75] The new main building was designed by Victor Mendleheff. It had four dormers on each side instead of one, which had been a feature of the old style. In other respects, the new structure was larger than the old. The windows and glass configurations were different than the old. It was finished with shingles whereas the old structure was made of board and batten. Finally, the new lookout tower was enclosed while the old tower was of the platform-crow's nest type (Illustrations 18 and 19).[76]

The new station retained a few of the old buildings, principally the old main building, moving them to the new location. It was not until 1918, however, that the old main building was moved and converted into a boathouse. The old kitchen was also moved to the new location, but it was used as an oil house shortly after the new station was built. Its location was between the main building and the stables as it stands today.[77]

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74. Kimball to Asst. Inspector of 7th District, February 25, 1904; Maxam to Superintendent, 7th District, August 6, 1904, both in RG 26, NA, in Park files.

75. Kimball to Treasury Dept., April 29, 1910; Morgan to General Superintendent, July 13, 1911; Maxam to Morgan, July 15, 1911, all in RG 26, NA, in Park files.

76. Wick York, "The Architecture of the U.S. Life-Saving Stations," The Log of Mystic Seaport, Spring 1982, pp. 17-18; memorandum, Southeast Region, NPS, to Denver Service Center, NPS, subject: Review Comments, HRS, Cape Hatteras N.S., February 27, 1985.

77. Edwin C. Bearss, "Report of Chicamacomico Life-saving Station," Part II, p. 26.

In the 1930s two additional structures were built on the station. One was used for housing a powered surfboat used in the Mirlo rescue. This was later adapted to serve as a museum. A second building was used as a garage to store a tractor. These buildings are the two which are closest to the main highway today (Illustration 20, 21, and 22).[78]

During World War II other structures were built to accommodate an expanding crew. A dining room was added to the west side of the kitchen, and a garage, or shed, was constructed immediately west of the dining room structure. A third building, used for refrigeration and an electrical plant was also built. These three buildings were later removed, the last and most recent being the dining room in 1964.[79]

With the decline in the need for life saving stations, the Coast Guard decommissioned the Chicamacomico Station as an active post in 1954. The property, ten acres, was absorbed by the Chicamocomico Historical Association and the National Park Service. The old 1874 boathouse (formerly the main building), garage, two storage sheds, and signal tower were taken over by the National Park Service, while the 1911 main building and cookhouse were absorbed by the Association.

Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station

Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station also has the distinction of being one of seven stations to be first established (1874) on the Outer Banks. Like the Chicamacomico Station, it was on land now a part of the National Seashore. It was designated Station No. 10 when first established. The main building that was completed in 1874 cost $2,375 (Illustration 23). It consisted of a one-story frame structure plus an attic covered with board and batten constructed by James Boyle of New Bern, North Carolina.

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78. Bill Harris, "Chicamacomico Report," August 31, 1964, NPS Study, in Park files.

79. Ibid.

The original cedar shingled gabled roof building was expanded on the east side and the roof extended when the structure was moved away from the beach after the 1899 storm.[80] Before the storm, the station was already in a dilapidated condition. The storm contributed further to its destruction, and like its sister station at Chicamacomico, it too was condemned. In 1901 the foundation of the main building was rotting away and the roof leaked. Whatever measures were taken at this time to repair damages were of a temporary nature.[81] It was obvious that sooner or later new facilities were necessary. The Service also believed that a more adequate location was essential, and until a new site was found, construction would have to wait. Although efforts were made to find a new site as early as 1899, it was not until 1903 that one was finally selected. The site was 1,050 feet southwest of the old station. The new site consisted of 17½ acres.[82] (See Historical Base Map.)

Now that the site was selected, the General Superintendent of the Service was anxious to get started on construction. He leaned toward a style known as the Quonochontaug plan as suitable for Little Kinnakeet. Since such a design was used in building the station at Virginia Beach, little time would be lost in constructing the new facility. Designs were already on hand.[83]

When the Service's inspectors made their inspection of the new site, they returned with the recommendation that the station be of the

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80. Voucher. The United States to James Boyle, undated, RG 26, NA, in Park files; National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Little Kinnakeet Lifesaving/Coast Guard Station, undated.

81. Fourchy to Superintendent of Construction, September 15, 1899; Asst. Inspector to Inspector of Life-Saving Stations, June 3, 1901, both in RG 26, NA, in Park files.

82. Hooper to Superintendent of Construction, February 21, 1903, RG 26, NA, in Park files; Kimball to Abbey, et al, April 22, 1903, RG 26, NA, in Park files. The National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Little Kinnakeet Life-saving/Coast Guard Station places the new location only one hundred feet southeast of the old one.

83. Kimball to Superintendents of Construction, March 28, 1903; Kimball to Abbey et al, April 22, 1903, both in RG 26, NA, in Park files.

"bungalow" type. The main structure would be 50 by 50 feet. The old cook house and mess room, which was still in good condition, could be moved to the new site. A new boat house would be 24 by 46 feet. Both the old privy and iron tank could be moved. Finally, the inspectors believed that if the old main building were moved and repaired, it would make an excellent barn, carpenter shop, and fuel house combined.[84] In early 1904 a contract was let with the Racine, Wisconsin, firm of Jensen Brothers for the construction of the new station, and before the end of the year the station was ready for operations.[85]

Today the Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station is a complex of three buildings. The main building is a one-story frame structure with a half attic built in the shingle style. A lookout tower extends over the porch through the southwest corner of the roof. The kitchen and mess room is a second structure located just behind the main building. A third structure is the boat house (Illustrations 24, 25, and 26).[86]

In June 1954 Little Kinnakeet Station was deactivated by the Coast Guard and transferred to the National Park Service and to the National Seashore under a revocable permit that was to exist for a indefinite period.[87] In March 1958 Congress transferred the 17.5 acres at Little Kinnakeet to the National Park Service. In return, the National Park transferred eight acres of land south of the village of Hatteras to the Coast Guard, land that already had been used by the latter under a

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84. Abbey et al to General Superintendent, May 12, 1903, RG 26, NA, in Park files.

85. Kimball to Superintendents of Construction, March 10, 1904; Daniels to Inspector, Life-Saving Stations, September 30, 1904, both in RG 26, NA, in Park files.

86. For a description of these structures and other supporting facilities, see the National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Little Kinnakeet Lifesaving/Coast Guard Station, undated.

87. Richmond to Director, NPS, May 26, 1954; Revocable Permit signed by A.C. Richmond, U.S.C.G. and Hillary A. Tolson, NPS, May 26, 1954, both in File H-30, Park files.

revocable permit. The Coast Guard intended to build a new Coast Guard Station on the eight acres.[88]

Bodie Island Life-Saving Station

The Bodie Island Life-Saving Station was built in 1878. This station was part of that group of stations established to fill the wide gaps that existed on the Outer Banks after the first group of stations were built in 1874. The Bodie Island Station was called Tommy's Hummock and officially designated as Station 15 in the 6th District. It was built on a three-acre tract just two miles north of Oregon Inlet at latitude 35° 33' 20". The station consisted of a single structure that served both as a boat house and residence. In 1903 a separate boathouse was built.[89]

In 1925 the Coast Guard built a new main building (Illustration 27) and the old main structure was converted into a galley and mess hall. In April 1946 the station acquired thirty-nine acres of land surrounding the original three acres, but no development occurred on this sizeable piece of land. In October 1953 the Coast Guard transferred the station to the National Park Service and to the Seashore. The station was moved to its existing location in 1955, some seven hundred feet northwest of the old site, after an eroding shoreline and pounding surf threatened to destroy it. (See Historical Base Map.) The boathouse was also moved to its present location in 1955 and altered by the National Seashore to serve as a garage. The main structure underwent alterations over the years most of which took place around 1955. When first acquired by the National Park Service, it served as the Seashore's headquarters, but when the headquarters moved to Manteo, North Carolina, around 1967, it was used to house seasonal personnel (Illustrations 28 and 29).[90]

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88. Wirth to Greenway, May 1, 1958; Price to Regional Director, Region One, NPS with draft of Bill "To transfer administrative jurisdiction over certain lands. . . ," both in File H-30, Park files.

89. National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Bodie Island Lifesaving/Coast Guard Station, undated.

90. For a description of these structures, see ibid. Superintendent to Director, Narrative Report for June 1954, July 15, 1954, in Park files.

Hatteras Weather Bureau Station

A U.S. Weather Station was established at the lighthouse keeper's quarters at Cape Hatteras on August 16, 1874. Later it was moved to the village of Hatteras where it remained in continuous service until 1946 when it was removed to Buxton on Hatteras Island.[91] On December 1, 1880, it was moved to the Hatteras Life-saving Station, and on October 1 1883, it was transferred to a private residence in Hatteras village, known as Styron's Building.[92] A few years later the Weather Bureau built a structure for the station in Hatteras village for the sum of $250. This building was a small one-story frame structure consisting of three rooms--two small ones, each about 9 by 6 feet--and a larger one about 14 feet square. There was also a small attic that was used for storage.[93]

By 1901, the U.S. Weather Bureau sought much larger quarters for the station. The land selected was acquired from W.H. Rolinson for the sum of $100. The property was near the main road about three-quarters of a mile from the ocean and three hundred yards from Pamlico Sound. (See Historical Base Map.) In 1902 the Weather Bureau added another forty feet of land to the property already held.[94] That same year the new structure was completed and the Weather Station began operations. One inspector of the Weather Bureau upon seeing the station for the first time thought "the building is very well situated for Weather Bureau purposes." The building was a wood frame structure built on masonry pilings. The lower floor had four rooms including an office and quarters for the Weather Observer. The second story had a large observation

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91. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 174.

92. Inspection Report Station Hatteras, N.C., H.C. Bates, Inspector, August 31, 1894, RG 27, NA, in Park files.

93. Inspection Report, General Work, Hatteras, N.C. Station, October 14, 15, 16, 17, 1900, RG 27, NA, in Park files.

94. Dosher to Chief, Weather Bureau, April 15, 1901; Inspection Report, General Work, Hatteras, N.C. Station, May 14, 1914 both in RG 27, NA, both in Park files; National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Hatteras Weather Bureau Station (Old), February 15, 1977.

room with a ship's ladder leading to a walk on the roof. Porches extended across the front and west sides. A white picket fence was added to the front of the property in 1902.[95]

Probably constructed at the same time were two frame outbuildings with gable roofs and cedar shingles. One was 22 by 14 feet. The other was 18 by 12 feet. Between the two structures stood a metal signal tower for weather flags. A privy stood just north of one of the outbuildings, but this is no longer there (Illustrations 30, 31, and 32).[96]

The staff at the weather station consisted of two people--the observer and a maintenance man. The observer made hourly checks of the temperature, humidity, wind velocity, solar radiation, precipitation, and pressure. The station was equipped with telegraph communications to the District Forecast Center in Washington, D.C. The station issued coastal forecasts and warnings for the area as well as storm warnings for Dare and Hyde Counties.[97]

The Hatteras Weather Station was tolerated within the community, but not fully accepted. It is of some interest to read what one inspector of the Bureau had to say in 1914 in this respect:

> This station is, of course, of greatest importance in connection with the forecast work of the Bureau, but locally it appears to be of no consequence except as a means of communication with the outside world. The people are very peculiar, and have a code of ethics all their own, the principal element of which is a firm belief in their right to criticise the Weather Bureau and all connected with it, and to resent any criticism in return. The present official is a very capable and

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95. National Register Form; Inspection Report, General Work, Hatteras, N.C. Station, May 14, 1914, RG 27, NA, in Park files.

96. National Register Form

97. "Interesting History Attached to Weather Station at Hatteras," Coastland Times, Manteo, N.C., March 12, 1961.

gentlemanly man, and has done everything in his power to preserve peaceful relations. However, many refuse to be pacified, although, of course, others are friendly with Mr. Wilson and his family. Any other Weather Bureau man will have the same experience. The only use Hatteras has for the Weather Bureau is the money that it brings here.[98]

In 1946 the Hatteras Weather Station was moved to Buxton, and the old station was converted to a residence for Weather Bureau personnel until 1952. In that year it was declared excess property by the General Service Administration, and the Coast Guard absorbed it for use as a standby shelter for the Hatteras Life-Saving Station. In 1958 it was again declared excess property and turned over to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. In the meantime, the property was rented to Duke University which used it to conduct experiments and courses on local marine invertebrates. The property served this function until 1964 when a special use permit was issued to North Carolina State University to use it for a biological laboratory for the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. The permit was cancelled in 1976. The National Seashore then converted the main structure to a duplex residence for its personnel, however, due to fire safety codes the upper quarters were never occupied. The two outbuildings continued to be used for storage. Meanwhile, the storm warning tower was maintained by the Weather Bureau to issue storm warnings (Illustrations 33 and 34).[99]

Before concluding this brief history of the Hatteras Weather Station, a subject of some interest to the Outer Banks should be noted. Reginald A. Fessenden, the physicist who had worked for Thomas A. Edison in the latter's New Jersey laboratory and who was later to receive acclamation for his contributions to wireless radio, came to Roanoke Island in 1900. During his brief two-year stay, the U.S. Weather Bureau, which had

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98. Inspection Report, May 14, 1914.

99. National Register; "Research findings on the weather bureau station in Hatteras, N.C.," prepared by the Youth Conservation Corps, undated, in Park files.

revealed a strong interest in his experiments, provided him with laboratory facilities at Manteo on Roanoke Island from which he could conduct his experiments. In addition, the Bureau also allowed him facilities in what some have said were in or near Hatteras village, while others have said were in Buxton, the idea being that he could then experiment in wireless transmission between two points. David Stick said in one of his works that this second station was "near Cape Hatteras." In another of his books he noted that it was in Hatteras village. The facilities which the Bureau constructed for Fessenden's transmitting stations, said Stick, were fifty-foot towers. Another writer said that Fessenden's second transmitting station was at Buxton. A more recent researcher into this matter concluded that it was at the Hatteras Weather Bureau Station, thus agreeing with Stick that the transmitting station was at least in Hatteras village.[100]

The Hatteras Weather Station seems to be the logical site for such a station, but thus far there is no clear-cut evidence to prove that this was so. Certainly, there is no evidence of a tower at the existing station or at any other site whether in Hatteras or in Buxton. Much more research, possibly into the Fessenden Papers at the North Carolina State Archives or the records of the U.S. Weather Bureau (Record Group 27) at the National Archives, needs to be done to answer this and other questions on Fessenden's brief sojourn on the Outer Banks.

The U-Boat Menace

During World War I and World War II the waters adjacent to the Outer Banks were patrolled by German submarines, causing havoc to the merchant marine that sailed these waters. Both wars brought the fighting close to America's shores, and for the first time since the War of 1812 American waters were invaded by a foreign enemy.

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100. Stick, The Outer Banks, p. 180; David Stick, Fabulous Dare: The Story of Dare County Past and Present (Kitty Hawk, N.C.: The Dare Press, 1949), p. 39; Cynthia R. Buzzard, "Fessenden National Memorial Research," June 3, 1975, in Park files.

The first known German submarine to enter the waters off the Outer Banks was the U-151. Her immediate mission was to lay mines across Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Bay. After completing this mission, she sailed southward to the Carolina coast where she sank several merchant vessels. During the brief period of June 5-9 she sank four ships east of Currituck Sound and Nags Head. After a successful and almost unapposed sojourn in these waters, in June 1918 the U-151 returned to its home base in Germany.[101]

The success of the U-151 encouraged the Germans to send more giant U-boats to America. The U-140, U-156, and U-117 were active off the American coast through the summer and early fall of 1918. The U-140 and U-117 cruised in the waters off North Carolina. Within a matter of a few days after the U-140 established herself in these waters, she sank four vessels, including a ten-thousand-ton tanker and the Diamond Shoals Lightship. Had not the destroyer U.S.S. Stringhorn damaged the U-boat, the latter would probably have succeeded in sinking more vessels. As a result, the submarine was so impaired that she was forced to return to Germany.[102]

The U-140 was immediatley succeeded by the U-117, arriving on the New Jersey coastline on August 12. Within forty-eight hours it sank three vessels and then headed toward the waters of the Outer Banks.

On August 16 occured one of the most dramatic rescues in the history of the U.S. Coast Guard. The U-117 encountered the British tanker Mirlo, a 6,997-ton vessel with a crew of fifty-one, in the vicinity

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101. See Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic, pp. 193-239 for a history of the U-boat menace during World War I and World War II. See also Douglas Botting et al, The Seafarers: The U-Boats (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1979), pp. 63-69; Edwin C. Bearss, "The 'Mirlo' Rescue," The North Carolina Historical Review (Autumn, 1968), p. 384; and Edwin C. Bearss, "Documentation for the Mirlo Rescue Painting," (Part 6 - Resource Studies Project CAHA-H-1-Chicamacomico Study), October 1965, p. 1.

102. Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic, pp. 198-204; Bearss, "Mirlo" Rescue Painting, pp. 1-2.

of Cape Hatteras.[103] With one torpedo the U-boat completely disabled the Mirlo, and orders were given to abandon ship.

On land, explosions, fire, and thick smoke were observed by the surfmen of the Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station. The keeper of the station, Captain John Allen Midgett, quickly ordered his five surfmen to man the Motor Self-Bailing Surfboat No. 1046. After several unsuccessful attempts to launch the boat in the rough sea, the surfmen finally managed to get it through the surf. As Surfboat No. 1046 approached the disabled vessel, which by now had broken in two, it braved the burning oil and gasoline on the surface of the water. Although surrounded by fire, the lifesaving crew was able to pull six members of the Mirlo from the water. They were too late to save nine others who disappeared beneath the waters one by one.

After making this rescue, the surfmen from Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station discovered two lifeboats filled with the Mirlo's Captain and his crew. Realizing that these lifeboats were not making much headway because of their heavy load and the rough sea, Captain Midgett immediately tied both lifeboats to Surfboat No. 1046 and towed them nine miles to shore.[104]

On November 8, 1921, the British government awarded Gold Life-Saving Medals for "Gallantry and Humanity in Saving Life at Sea" to Captain Midgett and his five surfmen. A silver cup was also awarded to Captain Midgett by the British Board of Trade. Nine years later, on July 23, 1930, Grand Crosses of the American Cross of Honor were awarded to the six members of Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station.[105]

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103. For a complete account of the Mirlo rescue see Bearss, "The 'Mirlo' Rescue," pp. 384-398.

104. Ibid., pp. 392-6. See also "An Account of the Mirlo rescue conducted by John Allen Midgett," Wrecks Rescues & Investigations: Selected Documents of the U.S. Coast Guard and Its Predecessors, Bernard C. Nalty, et al., eds. (Wilmington, Del.: S.R. Scholarly Resources, Inc., n.d.), pp. 166-173.

105. Bearss, "The 'Mirlo' Rescue," p. 398.

After the Mirlo incident, the U-117 returned to Germany. Although another submarine, the U-152, arrived to take its place (her mission was to lay mines southeast of Currituck), she was ordered to return to Germany without an incident. Thus, submarine warfare off the coast of America in World War I came to an end.[106]

World War II seemed to be a repition of its predecessor. Having lost much of its navy at Pearl Harbor, the United States was unprepared to face the Battle of the Atlantic. The measures it took at the outbreak of war to protect its shipping along the East Coast were pitifully inadequate.[107] The coastline of North Carolina was the scene of numerous sinkings. At least three U-boats patrolled the waters off Cape Hatteras, lying on the bottom of Diamond Shoals by day and hunting vessels at night.[108] The German Navy looked upon this area as a prime target.[109]

The U-123 sailed from its position off New york to Cape Hatteras in January 1942. When it reached Hatteras two days later, it observed a number of vessels in the general area, some well lit and all unarmed. Hatteras was undefended. The submarine immediately sank a large oil tanker and a small freighter, and afterwards settled on the bottom for a brief respite. Upon surfacing again, it sank a former passenger steamer called the City of Atlanta. Her next victims were a tanker and another vessel near Wimble Shoals.[110] So many ships were going down either hit

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106. Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic, p. 207.

107. Robert E. Kuenne, The Attack Submarine: A Study In Strategy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 116.

108. Samuel Eliot Morison, History of the United States Naval Operations In World War II, 15 vols., The Battle of the Atlantic: September 1939 - May 1943 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1947), II, 133.

109. Theodore Taylor, Fire on the Beaches (New York: Morton & Company, Inc., 1958), p. 55.

110. Ibid., pp. 58-60; Wolfgang Frank, The Sea Wolves: The Story of German U-Boats of War (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 152-5.

by torpedoes or by mines that the Fifth U.S. Naval District was certain that there were two U-boats operating off Hatteras in January 1942.[111]

While these disaster's were occurring with some frequency, the life-saving stations on the Outer Banks were kept busy. Station crews viewed the one-sided fighting from their watchtowers and from the beach. At Oregon Inlet Station and Chicamacomico Station the crews had witnessed the blasts from the U-123's torpedoes and quickly manned their surfboats. Two surfboats from Chicamacomico pulled alongside the ill-fated vessel Malay, removing the dead crewmen and three wounded seamen. Meanwhile, a surfboat from the Oregon Inlet Station proceeded to the aid of another disabled vessel, the Ciltvaria. Although hit by torpedoes and lives were lost, both vessels managed to make port safely.[112]

A few days later, attacks on ships resumed. The Venore and British tanker Empire Gem were torpedoed. The Ocracoke Life-Saving Station and Hatteras Inlet Life-Saving Station, later joined by the Oregon Inlet Life-Saving Station, went to the aid of the Empire Gem. Only a few members of the crew were rescued, the rest having perished. All three stations had been on duty for almost eighteen hours in rough seas.[113]

On February 26, 1942, the lookout in the tower at Big Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station noticed a sail dipping and bobbing in the waters northeast of the station. After sending its motor surfboat to investigate, the surfmen found fourteen men in a lifeboat, part of the crew of the Marore, a vessel that was torpedoed off the Outer Banks while on its way from Chile to Baltimore.[114]

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111. Taylor, Fire on the Beaches, p. 66.

112. Ibid., pp. 61-2.

113. Ibid., pp. 65-6.

114. Ibid., p. 93.

As the war dragged on, anti-submarine warfare improved along the East Coast, and German U-boats found it more difficult to carry on their missions. Nevertheless, the U-boats still remained to menace merchant vessels in the waters off the Outer Banks. During the four years of war eighty-seven vessels were lost off the North Carolina coast, not including German submarines. More than two-thirds were sunk by U-boats, the rest either sunk by mines, stranded, or foundered at sea. In terms of size and numbers of vessels sunk, lives lost, and cargo destroyed, the period from 1942 through 1945 was the worst on record.[115]

General William (Billy) Mitchell

In his efforts to prove that air power was superior to warships General William (Billy) Mitchell was given authority to conduct demonstrations with obsolete battleships. His 1921 demonstrations were conducted off the Virginia coast with bombers flying out of Langley Field. One of his demonstrations was conducted off Cape Hatteras on September 5, 1923.[116]

The Washington Arms Conference of 1921, calling for the scrapping of battleships, provided the opportunity for Mitchell to receive two obsolete sister battleships--the Virginia and New Jersey--to conduct his tests. Constructed in 1906, these ships were 441 feet long and weighed 15,000 tons.

For the demonstration that was set for September 5, 1923, Mitchell selected an area about twenty miles off Cape Hatteras. General Mitchell sought to simulate as far as possible actual battle conditions. He

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115. Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic, p. 239.

116. This account is largely developed from Isaac Don Levine, Mitchell: Pioneer of Air Power (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1958), pp. 287-293, and Burke Davis, The Billy Mitchell Affair (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 151-156. Their accounts do not always agree on details.

improvised a temporary air base on the sand dunes of Cape Hatteras where four bombers were to take off for their bombing mission. The idea of planes loaded with big bombs taking off from a makeshift airfield whose surface was made of sand did not appeal to the pilots. Some protested to Mitchell that it could not be done. To settle these fears, Mitchell took a heavily-loaded bomber and ran it along the beach until it was in flight. His successful test seemed to settle the question.

On August 31, the War Department notified Mitchell that the bombings were to be conducted from an altitude of 10,000 feet. Since the four Martin bombers could only reach 8,000 feet when fully loaded, Mitchell had to equip them with superchargers invented by Sanford A. Moss, which would permit the planes to achieve the desired altitude. The pilots had little time to test the planes with the superchargers, and this put them in some danger.

On the morning of September 5, Mitchell awoke early to check the weather reports. Visibility was poor and light rain was falling. In addition to these natural causes, the radio did not function and telephone communications had broken down. Fortunately, by the time the demonstration took place, the weather cleared.

It took 27 minutes to sink the Virginia, and although the New Jersey withstood the attack longer, she too sank. The demonstration was viewed by Mitchell and much of the press as a complete success, but arguments over air power versus naval power were to persist for some time.

In the absence of further documentation, one cannot identify the exact location where Mitchell set up his temporary post on Hatteras Island. Possibly, a close investigation of the island might lead to inhabitants who lived during the demonstration. It is equally difficult to identify the facilities used before and during the demonstration. One writer observed that on the day before the bombings, Mitchell went to Hatteras and found his temporary installation a shambles. Quoting Mitchell, he said, "The administrative and executive organization of the bombardment group went to pieces. I had expected this. It was

necessary for me to take command . . . and issue detailed instructions in order to assure the success of the bombing." He relieved the Hatteras commander and personally took charge, working in the radio shack until midnight, giving orders to his crews at Langley Field.[117]

The reference to a radio shack is evidence that there was a structure to house the radio. If Mitchell awoke very early on the morning of the bombings, in all probability he slept at his temporary base. If his pilots took off from Hatteras, they too had to be housed in some facility nearby. Incidentally, if the writer just cited is correct, he implied that the bombers were based at Langley Field from where the pilots flew directly to their objective. This contradicts Isaac Levine who in discussing the adequacy of the temporary airstrip on Hatteras Island left the impression that the bombers were to take off from that point.[118] In any case, some facilities--at least the air strip and some structures--had to be available to carry on the mission. The structures to house Mitchell, pilots, radio, and other equipment, could possibly have been tents. In that case they would have been quickly and easily removed after the demonstration.

Civilian Conservation Corps

In August 1935, before the Seashore was established, the Cape Hatteras (Phipps Memorial) State Park, its predecessor, was occupied by an advance detachment of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) enrollees. By September 22, the full company arrived. The primary purpose of the CCC at the Outer Banks was to halt erosion and reverse the depletion of

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117. Davis, Mitchell Affair, p. 92.

118. Levine, Mitchell, p. 288.

natural vegetation that had gone on for years, the result of the natural elements, man's abuse, and livestock (Illustration 35).[119]

The CCC erected fences built of brush along the ocean front. By lowering the velocity of the wind, these fences caused sand dunes to form, which by keeping out salt water, allowed the vegetation to grow. The dunes were then planted with sea oats, hair grass, and similar species of vegetation to hold them in place. In some cases double and even triple fences were built. In less than one year about fifteen miles of fences were constructed. In bare areas suitable grass was planted to provide cover for trees and shrubs. Forty acres of grasses were planted during the first year. This work continued in succeeding years.[120] In all, about 600 miles of sand fences were erected in the creation of dunes along 115 miles of beach, and almost 142 million square feet of grasses were planted as well as more than two and one half million seedlings and shrubs. This work was accomplished on the Outer Banks covering a wide area from the Virginia border to mid-way on Ocracoke Island.[121]

The results of this work were considered remarkable. As early as 1937, they were beginning to bear fruit. It was then observed that severe storms had failed to destroy the man-made dunes, some of which had been built to heights of twenty-five feet. No erosion was experienced wherever the dunes existed.[122]

The conservation and revitalization of the natural vegetation was not the only responsibility the CCC assumed, although it was the major

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119. Sixth Biennial Report of the Department of Conservation and Development of the State of North Carolina for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1936 (Raleigh: 1936), p. 59.

120. Ibid.; Seventh Biennial Report; Eighth Biennial Report; Ninth Biennial Report.

121. Dunbar, pp. 90-91. See also Press Release, February 13, 1938, enclosure to Evison's letter of January 28, 1938, in Park files.

122. Typewritten Ms., "Cape Hatteras State Park, July 9, 1937, in CCC Briefing Book, in Park files.

function for that was the reason they had been assigned here. The enrollees were also detailed to make repairs on the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Station and State Park facilities. Under National Park supervision, they were able to construct five vacation cabins at Cape Hatteras not very far from the lighthouse. These cabins were begun in 1938 and completed in 1939.[123]

The five cabins were all one-story frame houses designed by the National Park Service. They were one and one-half miles from the village of Buxton. (See Historical Base Map.) Three of the cabins contained three rooms while the remaining two had five rooms. When they were first built, they rested on blocks anchored to the ground. In later years, however, foundations were built around them. Each cabin had running water and sewer systems. In 1940 the CCC constructed forty-four pieces of furniture for these cabins.[124] These cabins are presently used as residences for Park personnel (Illustrations 36, 37, 38, and 39).

In January 1941 all but twenty-five enrollees of the CCC left the National Seashore. The twenty-five who remained behind completed maintenance on the lighthouse station at Cape Hatteras. By February 28, 1942, even these men left the Seashore, bringing to a conclusion the work of the CCC at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. As in other areas of the National Park Service and state parks, the CCC has left a legacy that will be remembered for some time.[125]

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123. Seventh Biennial Report, p. 74; Eighth Biennial Report, p. 67.

124. National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Civilian Conservation Corps Houses H-6A, H-6B, H-6C, H-6D, H-6E, July 30, 1975; "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Project, Buxton, North Carolina, March 7, 1940, "enclosure to Memorandum for Inspector Gadsby, March 7, 1940, in Park files.

125. Ninth Biennial Report, p. 69.

The National Seashore

The idea of a national seashore at Cape Hatteras may have had its origins in the 1920s when newspapers like the New York Times suggested setting aside public recreational lands on the Outer Banks. It may also have had its beginnings in the 1920s when a number of influential local, civic-minded individuals favored such an idea. These forces became more galvanized when the 1930s witnessed the establishment of emergency relief programs that were designed to stem the tide of erosion on the barrier islands. It was seen as an appropriate time for the National Park Service to establish a national seashore, since up to then no seashore had been established in the National Park System.[126]

The first step in the establishment of the Seashore was taken by the state of North Carolina in May 1935 at which time the General Assembly passed legislation permitting the state to transfer to the United States public and private lands for purposes of establishing a national park.[127] On August 17, 1937, Congress enacted legislation establishing the Cape Hatteras Seashore Recreational Area. On June 3, 1948, Congress again passed a law reaffirming the enabling legislation by transferring existing federal lands in Dare County to the National Park Service for administration as part of the new area.[128]

Meanwhile, on March 30, 1939, the State of North Carolina created the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, authorizing it to secure title in the name of the state to any lands which the federal legislation of 1937 had requested. In 1943 the governor was authorized to make allocations for the proposed area from the state's Contingency and Emergency Fund. Pursuant to this law the Council of State adopted a

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126. Fred Roush, draft entitled "Short History of Cape Hatteras," no date, p. 18, a National Park Service study, in Park files.

127. Ibid., p. 20

128. 50 U.S. Statute 669; 62 U.S. Statute 301.

resolution on June 23, 1952, making available to the Seashore Commission $618,000 of state funds for purposes of purchasing land for the Seashore provided it was matched by federal and private sources. The matching funds were donated by the Old Dominion Foundation and the Avalon Foundation. Thus, there was now available $1,236,000 for the purchase of land for the proposed seashore.[129]

After an agreement was made between the National Park Service and the state, the former was charged with the responsibility for acquiring the land. In doing so, it set up a land acquisition office at Manteo, and within a matter of years, of the 28,500 acres scheduled for acquisition, the National Park Service was able to obtain title (or hold options to purchase) to about 28,000 acres.[130] Ultimately, the Service was able to absorb a total of 30,318.63 acres of land for the Seashore. An additional 0.55 acres was nonfederal.[131]

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129. A brief legislative summary of the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, n.d., in Park files.

130. Ibid.

131. Index, National Park System and Related Areas 1979 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 46.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE BANKER HORSES

The herd of horses that are now in the possession of the National Seashore at Ocracoke Island, affectionately known as the "Banker ponies," has presented a mystery to many who have sought to document their origin on the North American continent, and, more specifically, on the Outer Banks. The result has been a variety of undocumented assertions most of which have derived from a strong desire to romanticize the incident. Some have said that because of the horses' strong resemblance to the Spanish mustang (and considerable research has been done to prove this is probably so), the existing herd had its beginnings when the early Spanish explorers, Ponce de Leon for one, brought over Spanish mustangs to Florida. Although no one is certain at what point the Lucas Vasquez de Allyon colony of 1526 landed north of the Florida coast, some researchers have concluded that it was probably at or near Cape Fear, North Carolina. Since there were ninety horses on this expedition, these writers have readily concluded that the origin of the Ocracoke horses may date from this time.[1]

Some writers have raised the possibility that horses were left on the Outer Banks when Grenville's ship was wrecked off of Ocracoke Inlet in 1585. The horses were picked up in the Caribbean, and when the ship was wrecked, the horses, either deliberately, to lighten the load, or accidentally, were forced on to the Outer Banks. The horses then remained on the islands while Grenville's crew left after repairs to the vessel were made.[2] Other accounts have said that the horses are

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1. Jeannette Henning, "The History [of the Banker Ponies]," ca. 1974, in Park files.

2. Ibid., Dale Burrus, "History of the Banker Pony," a typewritten manuscript, n.d., in Park files; Wurm to Messenger, August 13, 1974, in Park files.

descendants of survivors of shipwrecks that were brought to the Outer Banks by pirates.[3]

The first documented evidence of the existence of horses on the Outer Banks appeared in the early 18th century at approximately the time that sizeable settlements were beginning. Pilot town, later known as Ocracoke village, was one of these settlements. In 1733 Richard Sanderson, who was an absentee owner of most of Ocracoke Island, noted in his will that there were horses on the island. William Howard, who purchased this land in 1759 from Sanderson, also mentioned horses on the island in his will in 1790. In 1851 the horses were referred to as "wild horses" by the descendants of William Howard.[4]

In 1810 one observer wrote that "there are some hundreds of horses, of the dwarfish native breed, on this part of the reef between Portsmouth and Beaufort harbor--ranging at large, and wild (or untamed), and continuing the race without any care of their numerous proprietors."[5] In 1861 another visitor to the Outer Banks and to the mainland of North Carolina observed that "all of the horses in use on the reef, and on many of the nearest farms on the mainland, are of these previously wild 'banks ponies.'" He described them as "all of small size, with rough and shaggy coats, and long manes. They are generally ugly. Their hoofs, in many cases, grow to unusual lengths. They are capable of great endurance of labor and hardship, and live so roughly, that any others from abroad seldom live a year on such food and under such great exposure." He said that when the ponies were removed to the mainland, away from the salt marshes, many died before they learned to eat grain, while others

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3. R.B. Creecy, Grandfather's Tales of North Carolina History (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1901), p. 171; F.A. Olds, "The North Carolina Wild Ponies," The Uplift vol. 19 (October 3, 1931), no. 40, p. 10. The same legends are told about the horses of Assateague Island National Seashore. See "Ponies of Childhood's Wonder," The New York Times, June 24, 1984.

4. Henning, p. 11; Wurm to Messinger, August 13, 1974.

5. Gary S. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 32.

were injured or killed in a vain attempt to free themselves from the stables or pens. The horses, he said, fed "entirely on the coarse salt grasses of the marshes" and "supply their want of fresh water by pawing away the sand deep enough to reach the fresh water, which oozes into the excavation, and which reservoir serves for this use while it remains open."[6]

In all this documented evidence of the ponies from the early 18th century onward nothing is said about their possible connection to any earlier horses that may have arrived on the Banks during some earlier European expedition. Although the possibility exists that there is a connection, it is more probable that the existing horses are the descendants of animals which the 18th century settlers brought with them to the Banks.[7]

If historical evidence has failed to provide us with an answer as to the origins of the Banker horses, a recourse to part of this problem may be a biological study that is aimed at uncovering the herd's lineage. Biological studies may provide the answer to the horses's ancestry, and indeed the several studies that have already been conducted along these lines have indicated that there is a strong relationship between the existing horses and their Spanish ancestry. Measurements of skulls and skeletons in 1973 and 1976 by Dr. William Stabler established that these horses were related to the Spanish mustangs. The measurements were similar to the 16th century horses.[8] More biological research along these lines remain to be done. In the final analysis, however, such scientific research will only confirm the ancestry. On the other hand, only historical documentation will reveal whether the horses are the

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6. David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. 90-93.

7. Dunbar and others have taken this position. See Dunbar, fn. 11, pp. 122-23.

8. Typewritten Ms entitled "Historic and Genetic Significance/Herd Management Plan Ocracoke Horse Herd," n.d., in the files of Bebe B. Midgette.

descendants of those animals which the early Europeans, be they Spanish or English, brought with them and left behind on the shores of the Outer Banks.

Some have estimated that at one time there may have been as many as five or six thousand horses roaming from Oregon Inlet to Shackleford Banks. Another source estimated that there were probably thousands of horses from Currituck Banks to Core Banks, an area that includes the Seashore, during the early part of the 20th century. One resident of Ocracoke noted there were from three to five hundred horses on Ocracoke Island at that time. Another resident confirmed this by stating there was about two hundred and fifty horses on the island.[9]

In the 1930s there were complaints that the horses that roamed Ocracoke Island were contributing to the erosion of the land by eating the grasses. Coming at a time when federal programs and ideas were being developed to combat this problem on the Outer Banks, there were some who seriously viewed the possibility of removing the horses if not by exterminating them certainly by relocating them. This element was supported by existing laws in some of the counties of North Carolina which encouraged the elimination of all ranging stock. Fortunately, there were no stock laws in effect on Ocracoke Island and north of Caffey's Inlet, but how long this condition would persist was questionable.[10]

The complaints reached Washington, but before they could go any further, voices of protest were heard. Senator Robert Reynolds of North Carolina agreed that the horses were "but few of the species of the American wild horse to be found today upon the American Continent." He firmly believed that they should be preserved.[11] One biologist of the North Carolina Conservation Commission saw the extermination of the

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9. Henning, p. 14.

10. Hughes to Reynolds, June 16, 1938; Russell to Director, NPS, June 30, 1938, both in Park files.

11. Reynolds to Hughes, June 30, 1938, in Park files.

horses as unbalancing the process of nature vis a vis other species such as waterfowl and shore birds. He believed that the presence of a few horses would be desirable in maintaining a balance. In supporting this position the Regional Director of the National Park Service's Region One believed that if the horses were eliminated, the Banks would lose a "picturesque feature." "To the Banks," he said, "they [i.e., the horses] are almost what the longhorns were to Texas."[12] The Regional Director strongly recommended that a small breeding stock, consisting of about eight mares and two stallions, be preserved and kept at such a point that vegetation would not be harmed. He proposed that if necessary a corral should be built either at the Cape Hatteras State Park or on Pea Island with the Biological Survey until the National Park Service could place them at a permanent location.[13] Ultimately, a huge corral was constructed on Ocracoke Island where it remains today. By 1984, the herd of Banker horses in the possession of the National Seashore numbered only nineteen (Illustrations 40 and 41).[14] (See Historical Base Map.)

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12. Russell to Director, NPS, June 30, 1938.

13. Ibid.

14. General Management Plan, Development Concept Plan, Amended Environmental Assessment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina January 1984, a National Park Service study.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER HISTORICAL STUDIES

The Cape Hatteras National Seashore Historical Research Management Plan, prepared in 1968 (pp. 32-44), provides a comprehensive long-range plan designed to point up the need for historical research. As a plan to aid management in fulfilling its obligations, it does an excellent job of explaining what each proposed study is designed to accomplish. The General Management Plan of January 1984 (pp. 80-81) also establishes a need for further historical studies of cultural resources.

In describing at some length the research needs of the Seashore the Research Management Plan clearly recognizes the broad and extensive scope of history that the Seashore is a part of. The plan therefore recommends the preparation of in-depth special histories of a number of subjects. Very few histories have been completed since then, and there are many more that await funding. All of them, when completed, should well serve managers, building architects, landscape architects, curators, and interpreters. The following list of recommended studies may be far from complete. The park staff may recommend other studies. The list does not establish any order of priority, although one could argue that historic structure reports should probably come first.

1. Administrative History of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. This study would contain the beginnings of the Seashore and how it was managed and operated over the years. Because of the park's designation as a recreational area, the story of how recreation developed in the area would be a significant aspect of this study.

2. Historic Structure Reports (Historical and Architectural Data Sections) of the Weather Bureau Station, Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station, and Bodie Island Life-Saving Station.

3. Historic Structure Reports (Architectural Data Section) of Cape Hatteras Light Station and Bodie Island Light Station. Historical Data sections have already been written.

4. Historic Ground Studies of Cape Hatteras Light Station, Bodie Island Light Station, Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station, and Weather Bureau Station. These studies can be combined with the Historic Structure Reports (Historical Data Section) of their respective areas if funding permits rather than have them become separate studies.

5. Furnishing Studies of Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station and the principal keeper's quarters of Cape Hatteras Light Station. Furnishing studies should provide an excellent opportunity for telling the story of how the surfmen lived and the methods and equipment used at these facilities.

As in the case of most parks of this nature and size where the history encompasses broad periods and several topics, the need for special studies is extremely important if one is to understand the history of the area. Some suggested studies may be listed here.

1. There is a great need for an ethnohistory of the area. Although local historians have made attempts along these lines, they have not been in-depth and comprehensive studies.

2. A history of the "Banker" horse herd. The Spanish records may be able to shed some light on this subject as well as upon other subjects related to the Colonial Period.

3. A special history of General Billy Mitchell and his demonstration on Hatteras Island. An attempt should be made to identify the exact location and facilities used during the demonstration.

4. The Civil War and the area covered by the Seashore. This should include the physical as well as the military history of the period. Archeological studies might be able to identify the ruins or location of fortifications including those under water. The Civil War could be combined with other periods of military history of the Outer Banks.

CULTURAL RESOURCES ON THE NATIONAL REGISTER AND TO BE NOMINATED

Those Now on the Register

Bodie Island Life-Saving/Coast Guard Station
Oregon Inlet Life-Saving/Coast Guard Station
Chicamacomico Life-Saving/Coast Guard Station
Cape Hatteras Light Station
Hatteras Weather Bureau Station
Ocracoke Light Station

To be Nominated by the Park

Bodie Island Light Station
Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving/Coast Guard Station

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United States Department of the Interior
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA
FORT MASON, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94123

IN REPLY REFER TO:

H-30 (SERO)

March 14, 1985

Mr. Louis Torres, Historian
Denver Service Center
National Park Service
755 Parfet Street
P.O. Box 25287
Denver, Colorado 80225

Dear Lou:

It was good to talk with you this afternoon. As we discussed, a total of seven new archaeological sites were recorded during our 1984 field work at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. New information and documentation of four other sites was also accomplished. We also correlated historical references to exposed shipwreck remains along the Outer Banks and specifically within the park boundaries. This correlation and the gathering of scattered references to shipwreck remains encountered during previous archaeological work identified twenty-four other sites. The report we are completing now includes a chapter on "Documented Exposures of Wooden Vessel Remains at Cape Hatteras National Seashore" and "Previous Archaeological Research" which summarizes what has been said or seen previously and in particular discusses the tourist attraction through the decades of the occasional exposure of shipwrecks in the sand in the park. There is also a chapter on "Historical Background of Identified Wrecks" which discusses the historical progression of coastal schooners (since most of what we found were vessels of this type) and the specific histories of the one vessel we conclusively indentified, three tentatively identified vessels, Altoona, and three vessels we felt were present but not visible when we surveyed the park. We also have located historical photographs of some of these vessels and have copied others of vessel remains so that we have a good graphic record of these park resources.

The vessels we have specific identifications for are listed below. These are vessels whose remains are said to have been visible in the literature• were archaeologically documented previously* or which we saw°.

Florence C. Megee (Lost 2/26/1894)•

Carroll A. Deering (Lost 1/31/1921)•

George W. Wells (Lost 9/13/1913)•

Laura A. Barnes (Lost 6/1/1921)•°

Altoona (Lost 10/22/1878)•*°

G.A. Kohler (Lost 8/23/1933)•*°

Margaret Spencer (Lost 5/18/1925)•*°

Anna R. Heidritter (Lost 3/3/1942)•*°

Gunboat #140 ?? (Lost 9/23/1814)•*

U.S.S. Oriental (5/8/1862)•*°

Sarah J. (Lost 1961)* ?

Bainbridge (Lost 2/4/1929)•*

Loring C. Ballard (lost 4/3/1915)•*

S.S. Pocahontas (Lost 1/18/1862)°

The remaining number of vessels which were noted previously or which we saw were not identified; most appeared from their construction and size to be coastal schooners.

I believe that a thematic group nomination of the ten sites which are exposed at this time (which includes Altoona and Laura Barnes) should be prepared. Of all the wrecks at Cape Hatteras which are known to be there even if we did not see them during the periods we were there, I think that Gunboat #140 would be eligible for an individual nomination if 1) her supposed remains which were documented by NPS in 1939 could be relocated, and 2) a more positive identification could be made. Of those which we did see, S.S. Pocahontas would also be eligible for an individual nomination pending more archaeological work (she lies in the surf and we took only one quick look) which would confirm her identification. These two vessels, one a Jeffersonian gunboat and the other a transport associated with Ambrose Burnside and Goldsborough's successful invasion of the Carolina sounds and the subsequent conquest of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City are individually of great significance.

Due to a backlog of work at the University we are just now completing changes and corrections to the report prior to sending it on to the park and elsewhere for review. I anticipate having the copies in the mail by April 1st at the latest. Illustrations have been completed and we are now clearing the last few errors in the computor. If you want a copy of the report I can send you one. I hope that a final product will be available this summer. Meanwhile slides and illustrations, as well as project files (which includes historical information) will be forwarded to Cape Hatteras soon.

The report itself will be reproduced in a very small number so I hope some way to incorporate some of our historical research and results into the HSR can be found. Should you want to cite the report's title its is Delgado, James P., A Preliminary Assessment of Environmentally Exposed Shipwreck Remains, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina (Greenville: East Carolina University, Program in Maritime History and Underwater Research, 1985)

Thank you for contacting me. I'm glad a HSR for Cape Hatteras is being completed and look forward to seeing it.

Sincerely,

James P. Delgado
Historian

cc: Ed Bearss
Bebe Midgette

Illustrations

Illustration 1

Windmill at Hatteras, 1861
(Charles F. Johnson, The Long Roll: Being a Journal of the Civil War . . . ., Plate XIII.)

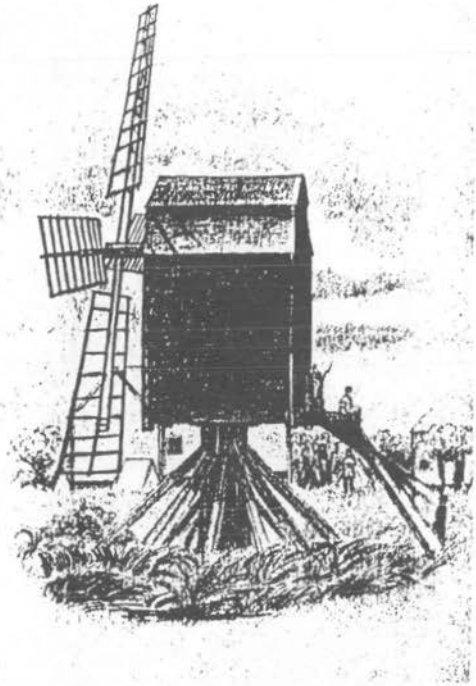


Illustration 2

Windmills on the Outer Banks
(Gary I. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks, p. 33).

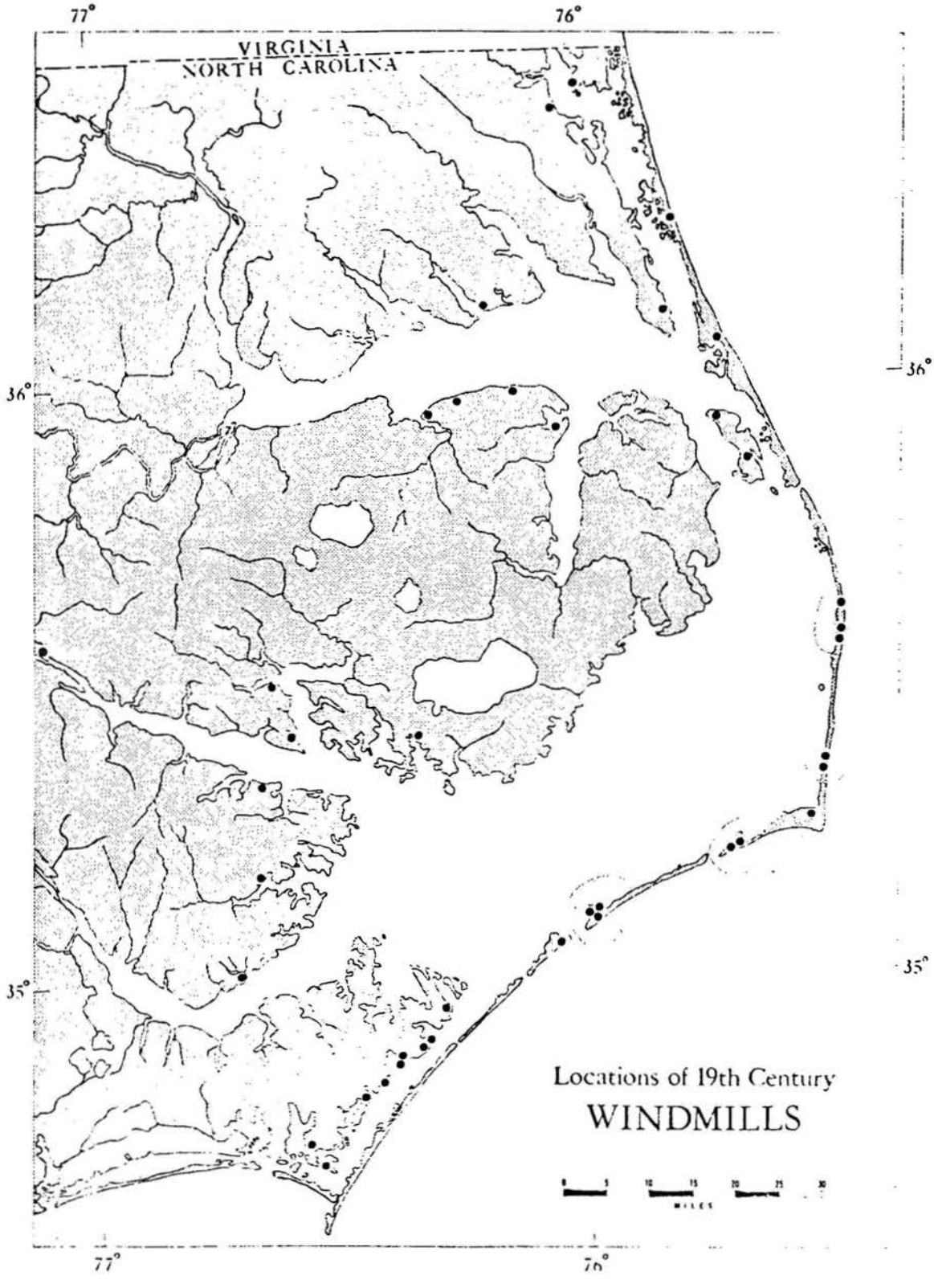

77°
76°
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
36°
35°
Locations of 19th Century
WINDMILLS

Illustration 3

Structures at Hatteras, 1861
(Charles F. Johnson, The Long Roll: Being a Journal of the Civil War . . . ., Plate XIV)



A Hatteras Landscape



The Church Picket

Illustration 4

Map showing Fort Oregon near Oregon Inlet
(U.S. Coast Survey, Oregon Inlet, 1862,
37th Cong., 3d Sess., Senate, No doc. no., 1862.)

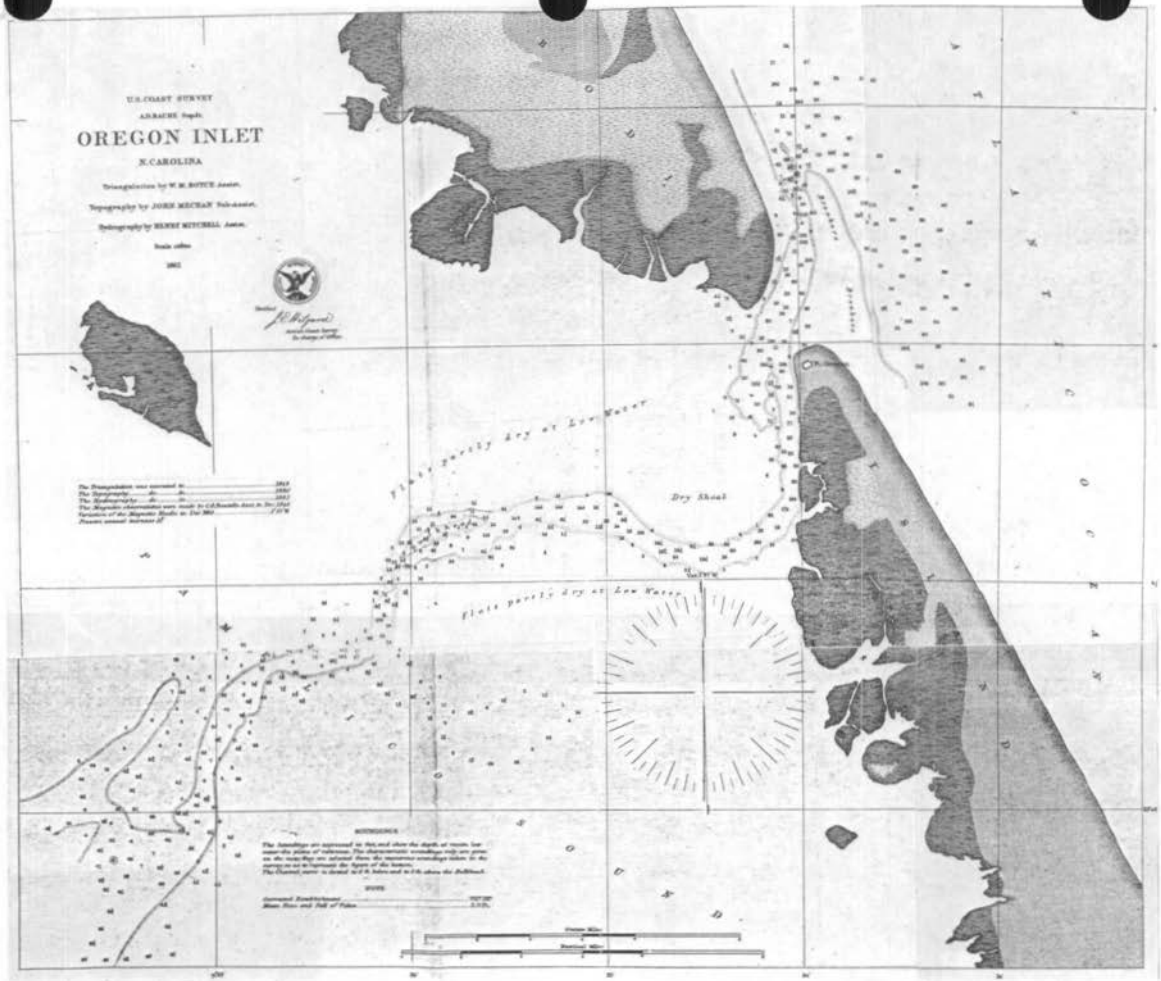

U.S. COAST SURVEY
A.D. BACHE, Supt.
OREGON INLET
N. CAROLINA
Triangulation by W. M. BOUCH, Assist.
Topography by JOHN MECHAN Sub-Assist.
Hydrography by HENRY MITCHELL, Assist.
Scale 1:80000
1862
Flats partly dry at Low Water
Dry Shoal
Flats partly dry at Low Water
REMARKS
SOUTH
Miles
Statute Miles

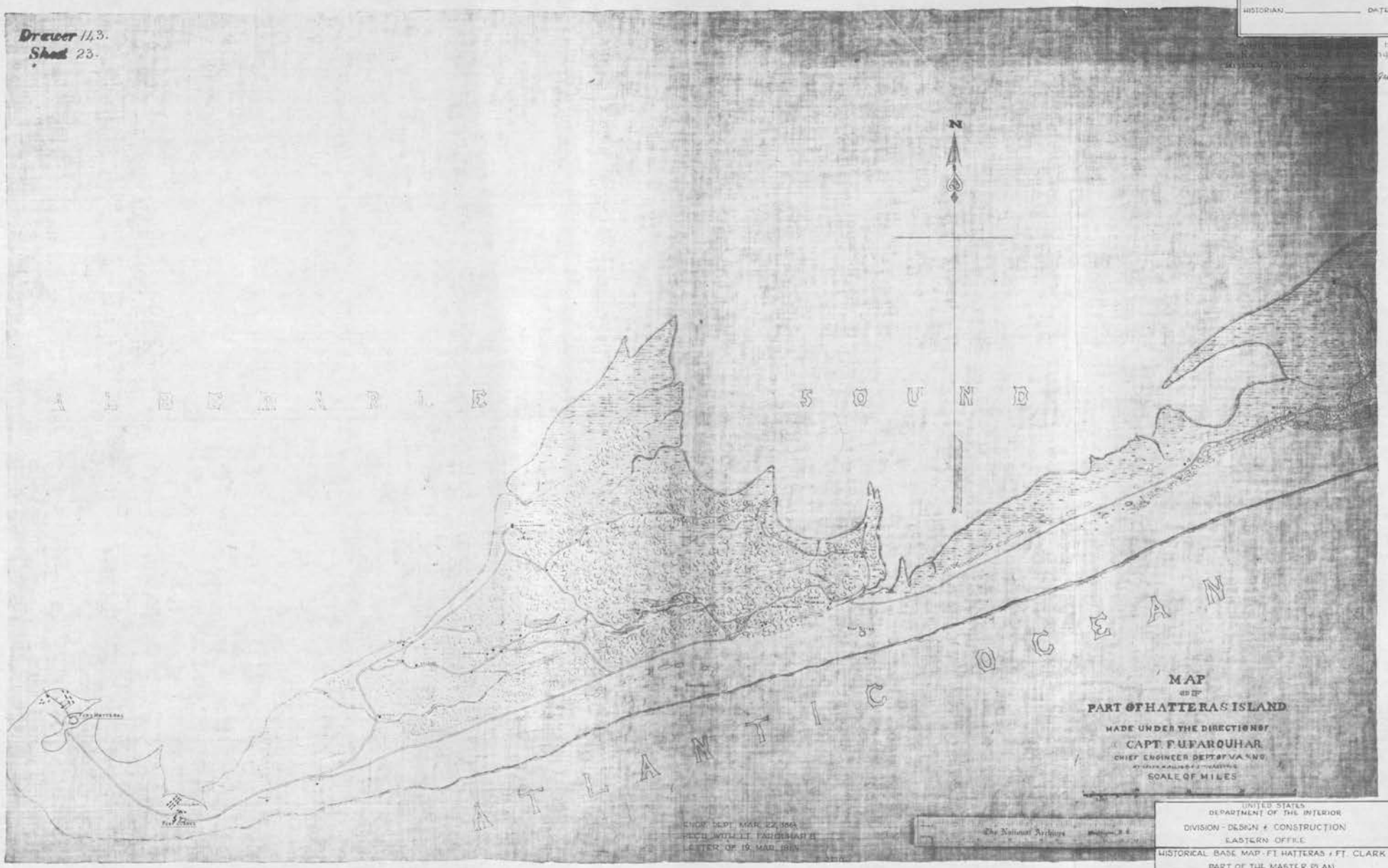
Illustration 5

Relative position of Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark
(Map of the Part of Hatteras Island made under the
direction of Capt. F.V. Farquhar, 1864, National Archives)

Drawer 143.
Sheet 23.

HISTORIAN _____ DATE _____

by Reg. Ons
ington Office
Jan 9, 1956



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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DIVISION - DESIGN + CONSTRUCTION
EASTERN OFFICE
HISTORICAL BASE MAP - FT. HATTERAS & FT. CLARK
PART OF THE MASTER PLAN
CAPE HATTERAS NATL. SEASHORE REC. AREA

REGION 1
SHEET 1 OF 2
DRAWING NO. RA-CH 3037

ON MICROFILM

Illustration 6

Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark
(Two-part drawing of Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark,
drawn by Lt. F.U. Farquhar, 1863, National Archives.)

Drawer 143.
Sheet 22.

FORT CLARK

Near Hatteras Inlet N.C.

Eng. Dept. Dec 7 1863
Rec'd this day
Transmitted with Lt Farquhar's
letter of 8 Dec 1863 (7 Lbs)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DIVISION OF DESIGN & CONSTRUCTION
EASTERN OFFICE
HISTORICAL BASE MAP - FT. HATTERAS & FT. CLARK
PART OF THE MASTER PLAN
CAPE HATTERAS NATL. SEASHORE, DIST. AREA
DSC 1 OF 2 SHEETS
MS-CH 305
DATE 12-22-59

Section on C D

Elevation of Magazine

Section on A B

Scale ¾ in = 1 foot

The National Archives Washington D.C.

Drawer 143.
Sheet 21.

FORT HATTERAS

Near Hatteras Inlet N.C.

A

B

Section on A B

Eng. Dept. Dec 7 1863
Rec'd this day
Transmitted with Lt Farquhar's
letter of 8 Dec 1863 (7 Lbs)

The National Archives Washington D.C.

143-21

ON MICROFILM

Illustration 7

Cape Hatteras Light Station, 1893
Left to right: Assistant Keeper's double quarters,
Principal Keeper's quarters, and light tower.
(Courtesy of Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 8

Cape Hatteras Light Station, 1899
Assistant Keeper's double quarters
(Courtesy of Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 9

Bodie Island Light Station, ca. 1980
Tower, oil house, keeper's quarters
(Courtesy of Denver Service Center, NPS)



Illustration 10
Bodie Island Light Station,
Keeper's Quarters, 1984

Illustration 11
Bodie Island Light Station
Light tower and oil house, 1984





Illustration 12

Ocracoke Light Station, ca. 1897
Light tower and keeper's quarters
(Courtesy of Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 13

Ocracoke Light Station
Light tower and keeper's quarters, 1984



Illustrations 14, 15, and 16

Three headstones near Little Kinnakeet
Life Saving Station, 1984
(Courtesy of Cape Hatteras National Seashore)







Illustration 17

Crew of the Pea Island Life-Saving Station, ca. 1900
(Courtesy of Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 18

Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station
Main house, 1936
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 19

Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station
Main house and other structures, ca. 1930s
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 20

Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station,
later the Old Boathouse, ca. 1930s
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)

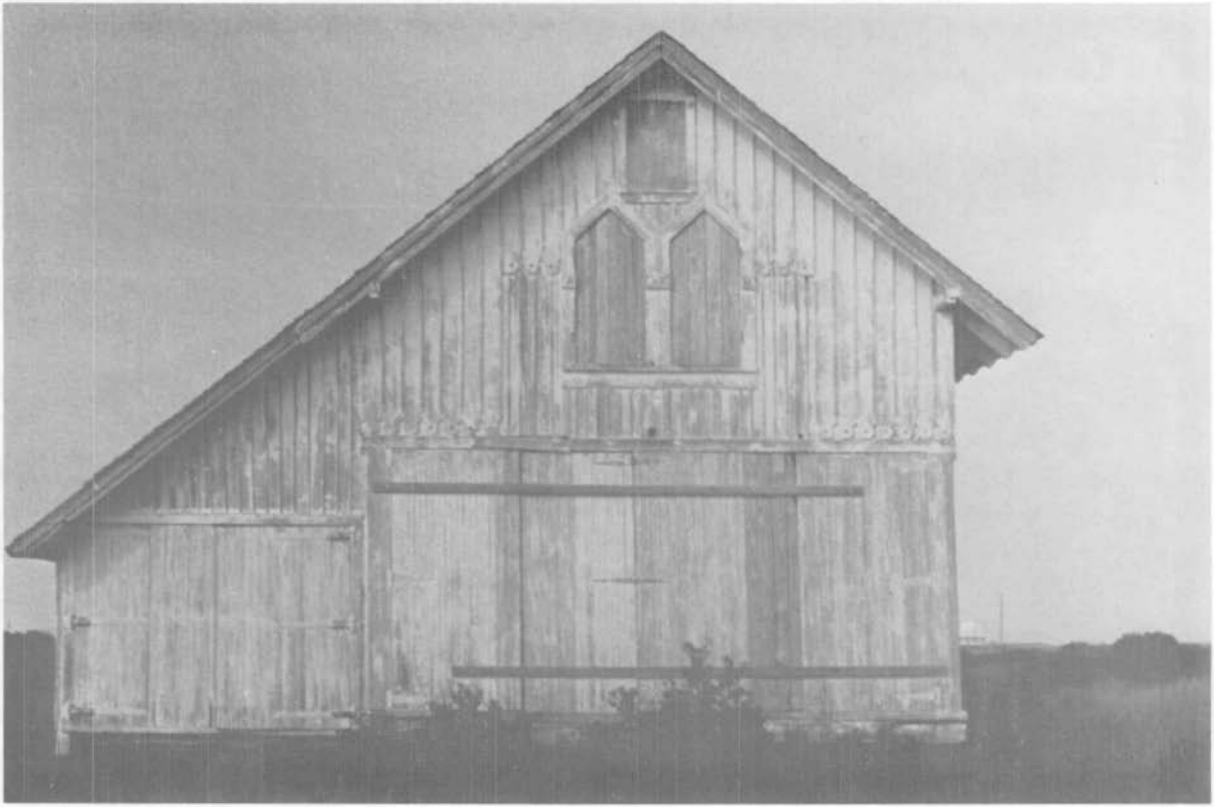


Illustration 21
Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station
Out buildings, 1984

Illustration 22
Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station
Kitchen, water tank, and fallen signal tower, 1984



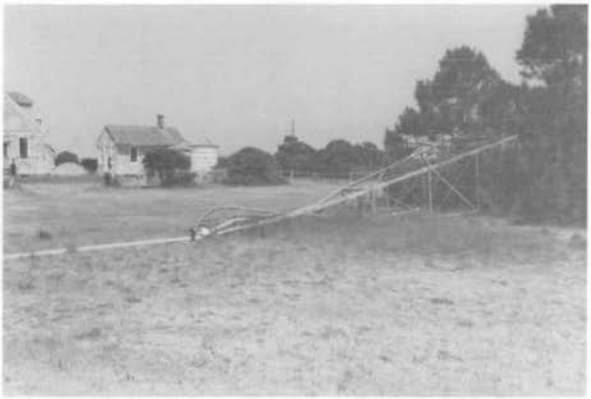


Illustration 23

Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station
Original Station, ca. 1878
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)

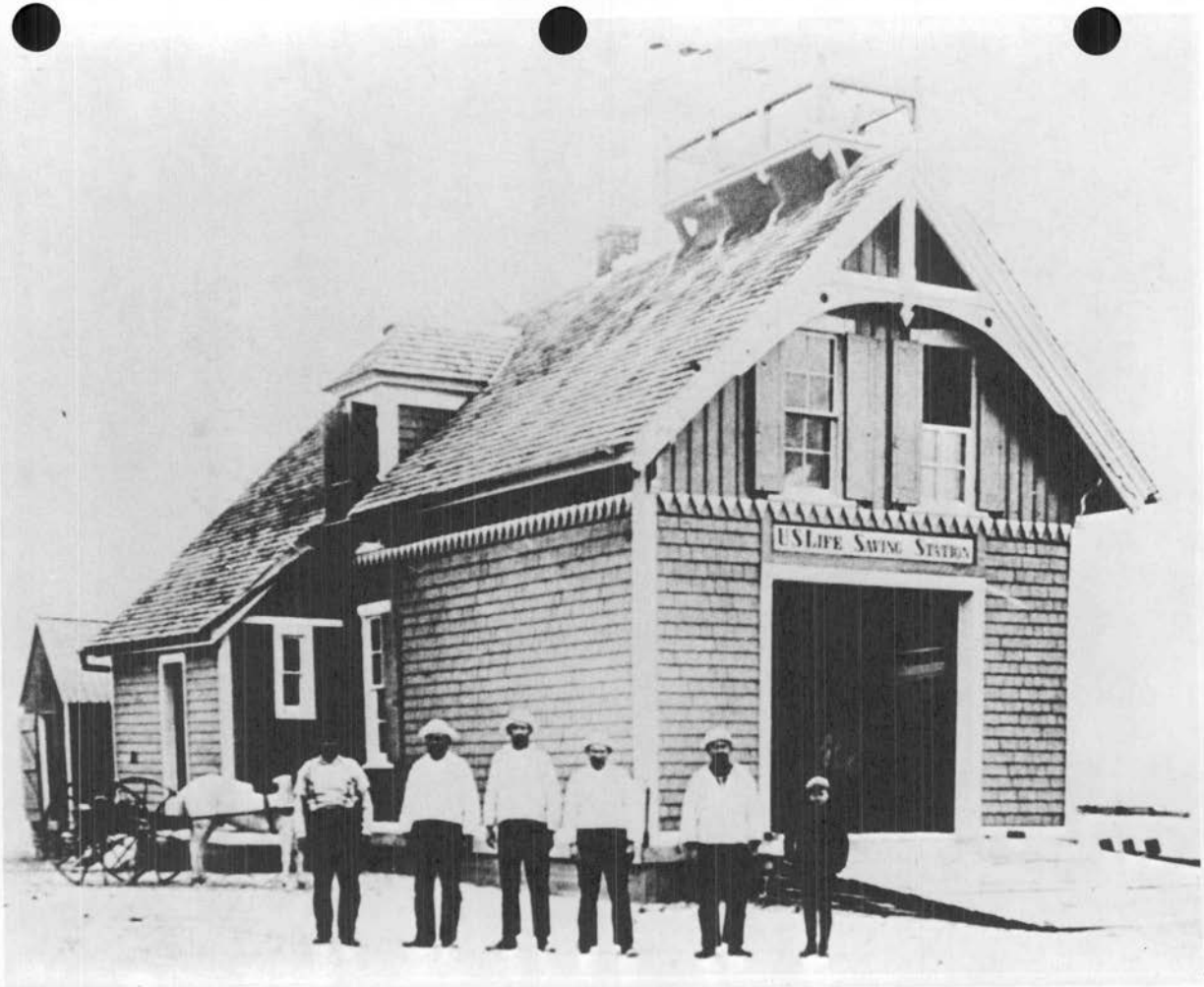

U.S. LIFE SAVING STATION

Illustration 24
Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station
Main house, 1984

Illustration 25
Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station
Kitchen, 1984

Illustration 26
Little Kinnakeet Life-Saving Station
Boathouse, 1984







Illustration 27

Bodie Island Coast Guard Station
Main house, ca, 1952
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 28
Bodie Island Coast Guard Station
Main house, 1984

Illustration 29
Bodie Island Coast Guard Station
Boathouse, 1984





Illustration 30

Hatteras Weather Station, 1925
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)

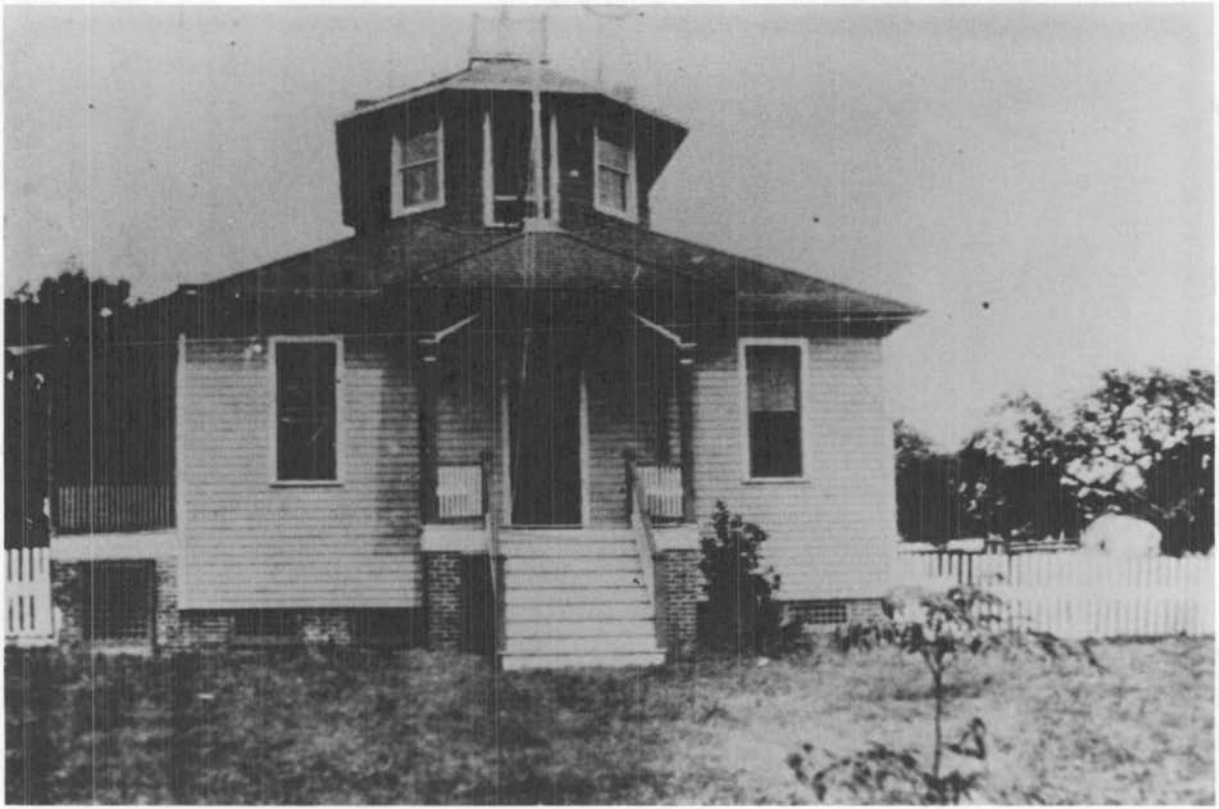


Illustration 31

Hatteras Weather Station, 1946
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 32

Hatteras Weather Station, 1980
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 33
Hatteras Weather Station, 1984

Illustration 34
Hatteras Weather Station
Out buildings and signal tower, 1984



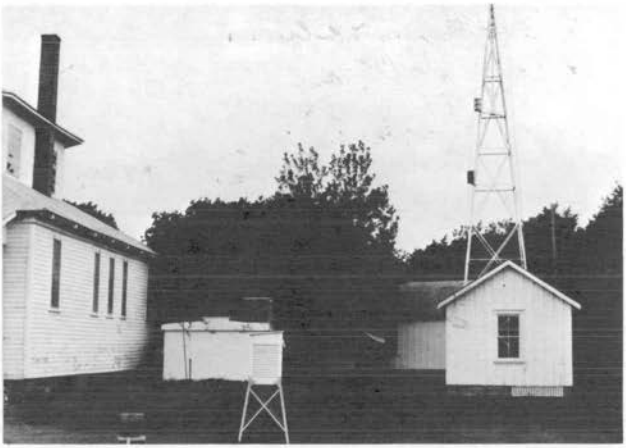


Illustration 35

C.C.C. Camp at Cape Hatteras, 1936
(Courtesy Cape Hatteras National Seashore)



Illustration 36
C.C.C. Cabin, 1984

Illustration 37
C.C.C. Cabin, 1984





Illustration 38
C.C.C. Cabin, 1984

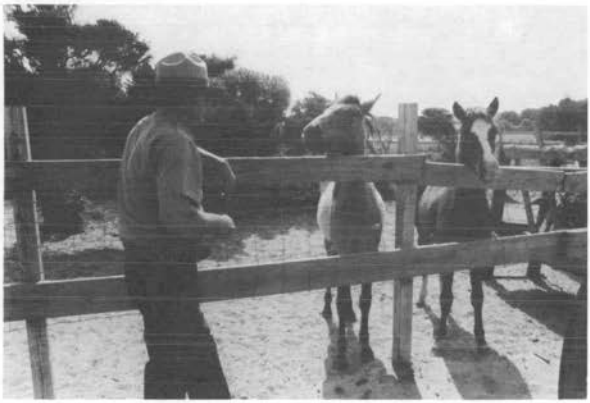
Illustration 39
C.C.C. Cabin, 1984

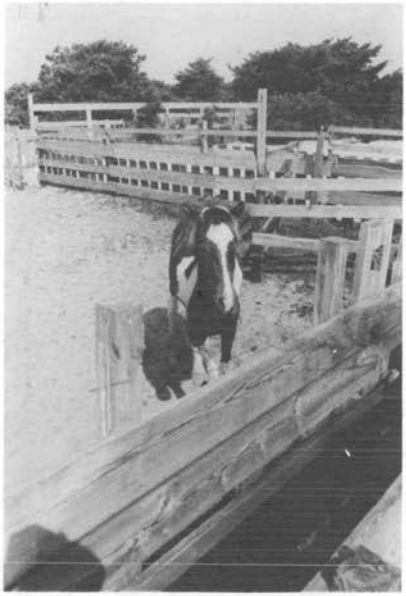




Illustration 40
Banker Horses, 1984

Illustration 41
Banker Horse, 1984

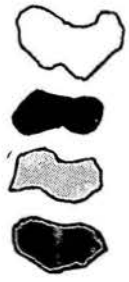




HISTORICAL BASE MAP
CAPE HATTERAS NATIONAL SEASHORE
EXTANT AND NON EXTANT CULTURAL RESOURCES

Drawn by
Louis Torres

LEGEND



CAPE HATTERAS NATIONAL SEASHORE

PEA ISLAND NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE

TOWNSHIPS AND PRIVATE LANDS

CAPE LOOKOUT NATIONAL SEASHORE

SOURCES (MAPS)

1. Currituck Beach to Wimble Shoals, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, April 1932.

2. Wimble Shoals to Ocracoke Inlet, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, December 1928, Reissued October 1929.

3. A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina, By Edward Mosely, late Surveyor General of the said Province, 1733.

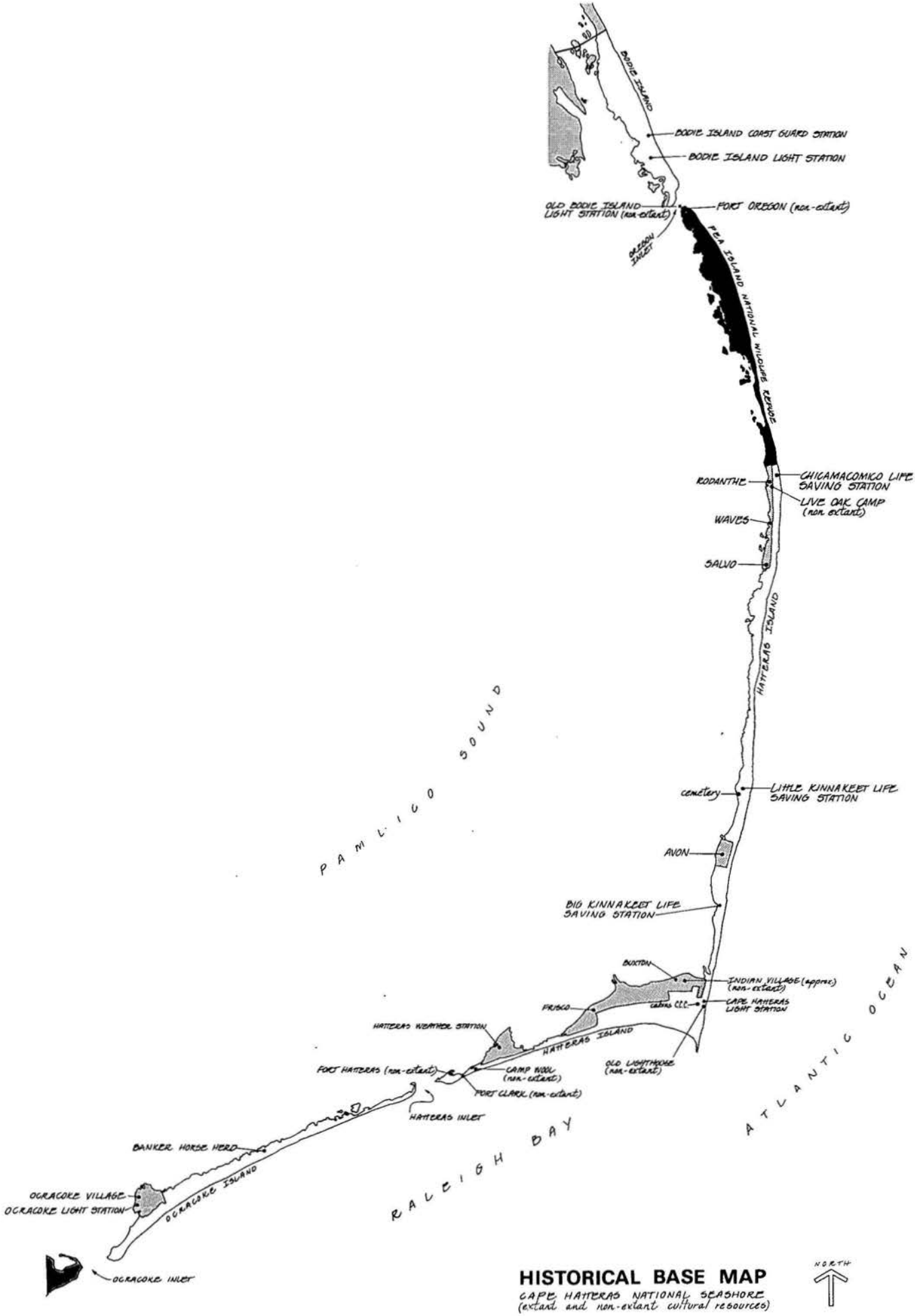
4. Department of the Interior, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreation Area, North Carolina, Revised Project Boundaries designated pursuant to Act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 669), as amended, approved affective October 27, 1952.

5. Map of Part of Hatteras Island, made under the direction of Capt. F.U. Farquhar, Chief Engineer, Dept. of Va. and N.C., 1864.

6. Preliminary Chart of Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina . . . Survey of the Coast of the United States, 37th Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Doc., 1862.

7. U.S. Coast Survey, A.D. Bache, Supdt., Oregon Inlet, N. Carolina . . . 1862, 37th Cong., 3rd session, Senate Doc.

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HISTORICAL BASE MAP

CAPE HATTERAS NATIONAL SEASHORE
(extant and non-extant cultural resources)

603 | 25.001A
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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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