The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore

The Great Depression through Mission 66

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The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore: The Great Depression through Mission 66

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When we look up and down the ocean fronts of America, we find that everywhere they are passing behind the fences of private ownership. The people can no longer get to the ocean. When we have reached the point that a nation of 125 million people cannot set foot upon the thousands of miles of beaches that border the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, except by permission of those who monopolize the ocean front, then I say it is the prerogative and the duty of the Federal and State Governments to step in and acquire, not a swimming beach here and there, but solid blocks of ocean front hundreds of miles in length. Call this ocean front a national park, or a national seashore, or a state park or anything you please—I say that the people have a right to a fair share of it.

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, 1938

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Introduction

In 1937, Congress authorized the creation and establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore—America's first national seashore park. This authorization reflected a strong desire to preserve a significant portion of the unique and "primitive wilderness" of the Outer Banks, the chain of barrier islands that guard North Carolina's mainland coast. The legislation also directed the National Park Service to develop extensive facilities for recreational beach-goers and to allow continued use of park resources by both sport and commercial fishermen as well as by hunters. During the seashore's creation, the Park Service also committed itself deeply to combating the natural processes of shoreline erosion and accepted, grudgingly at first, enthusiastically later, the development of extensive roads along the entire length of the park.

The intrusion of roads and other facilities into a natural environment set aside for protection seems a discontinuity with the intent of the "Organic Act" that created the National Park Service in 1916. That act specified that the natural and cultural resources



FIGURE 1. Aerial view down the Outer Banks. (Photograph by Doug Stover, CAHA)



FIGURE 2. Lindsay C. Warren (l) and his successor in Congress, Herbert C. Bonner, who together represented the Outer Banks of North Carolina from 1925 to 1965. (Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, University of North Carolina)

within national parks must be preserved and transmitted "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." At Cape Hatteras, as at many other parks, the Park Service has had to face the dilemma posed by simultaneously trying to preserve and to use these protected resources. Whether a discontinuity or not, efforts to create a national seashore reflect how the Park Service expanded both its physical and intellectual domain by embracing new notions about what parks could be. Originally, NPS founder Stephen T. Mather ordained that national parks must by definition be of a type and class wholly distinct from local or state parks where more recreational and athletic pursuits were typically expected. Cape Hatteras National Seashore departed from this norm.

Things began to change in the 1920s. At the request of President Calvin Coolidge, a "National Conference on Outdoor Recreation" was held in May 1924. Conference attendees advocated a national policy to coordinate various levels of government in the promotion, development, and use of recreational resources, but also to coordinate their conservation. The National Park Service had an important stake in this area.[1] On June 14, 1926, Congress passed the Recreational and Public Purposes Act (44 Stat. 741) to stimulate state development of recreational areas by allowing the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the states by sale, lease or exchange certain public lands for park or recreational purposes.[2] Clearly, the nation was beginning to think of recreation as a federal policy issue.

In 1928, the American Forestry Association and the National Parks Association sponsored a report entitled "Recreation Resources of Federal Lands" calling for a new federal policy on recreation and land planning. The report noted that development and commercial pressure were increasing recreational use of public lands in the absence of federal planning for such use. First, it concluded that cities were responsible for urban playgrounds and ball fields. Second, while states had more sizeable areas available for "transient enjoyment and relaxation out-of-doors," the report claimed that "man cannot replace the wilderness and the remaining wilderness of America, modified as inevitably it has been, is now found only in Federal ownership." Thus, the report continued, it was "the great responsibility of the Federal Government to provide those forms of outdoor life and recreation which it alone can give and which are associated with the wilderness."[3]

By an act of July 10, 1930 (46 Stat. 1021), Congress enunciated another important principle—conserving the natural beauty of shore lines for recreational use. This idea was first applied to federal lands bordering certain lakes and streams in Minnesota used for boating or canoe travel. To carry out the act, Congress prohibited shore line logging to a depth of four hundred feet from the natural water line. The legal and policy underpinnings now existed to propel the National

1. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 107.
2. *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941), Chapter VI: Legislation.
3. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 108.

Park Service into coastal recreation and conservation planning.

NPS movement into recreational planning is an important theme underlying the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. A corollary theme is economic development. In fact, specific NPS interest in the windswept Outer Banks was motivated by the Great Depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency of the United States.

On the eve of his nomination as the Democratic Party candidate for president, Roosevelt promised the nation a "New Deal." To fulfill that pledge in his legendary "First Hundred Days" as president, Roosevelt directed the creation of a series of relief programs intended to put an army of unemployed citizens to work on projects that benefited the nation. Federal agencies soon found themselves administering numerous labor-intensive efforts in national and state parks and forests, on other federal lands, and even on private lands. The National Park Service had an especially vital role in facilitating New Deal programs like the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

The need to devise work-relief programs encouraged new thinking. Why not create national parks more suited for active recreational use instead of exclusively for the passive appreciation of nature and history? Indeed, the Park Service began planning for the Natchez Trace Parkway in 1934 (linking Nashville, Tennessee, and Natchez, Mississippi), while planning for the Blue Ridge Parkway (linking Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains national parks) began in 1936. Both parkways were conceived as work-relief programs justified on the basis of their utility in fulfilling the growing needs of an increasingly mobile public interested in recreational motoring. Similarly, the Park Service assumed responsibility for the vast reservoir created by Hoover Dam near Las Vegas, Nevada, in 1935. Later known as Lake Mead National Recreation Area, the reservoir was the first of several areas added to the park system under the justification of the need to make recreational activities more widely available to Americans.

In the same period, the Park Service initiated a national survey of coastal areas suitable for protection. Private development was rapidly consuming the nation's coasts. As it did, people who could not patronize private hunting clubs or exclusive resorts lost beach access. Such development also destroyed natural beauty and wildlife habitat.

It was no coincidence, then, that the Park Service actively sought to manage the main work-relief project on the Outer Banks—shoreline erosion control. Bankers wanted federal help to stem the threat to property by violent storms and strong ocean currents, which routinely reconfigure the topography of the fragile islands. Many locals also hoped that such efforts could provide jobs to help offset declining income from commercial fishing and private hunting. Once working on the Outer Banks, the Park Service also became more familiar with its unique character and historical significance. Roosevelt authorized the Park Service to assume greater nationwide responsibility for historic preservation in 1933 and the agency deliberately sought to use this authority to expand its responsibility in the eastern states. In North Carolina, the 16th-century exploits of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists near Roanoke Island, the aeronautical experiments of the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk, and the romantic heritage of lighthouses and of sea rescue by the U.S. Life-Saving Service (a predecessor to the U.S. Coast Guard) helped cement NPS attention. Another theme in this study is thus how NPS efforts in recreational planning and work-relief combined with historic preservation and local economics to foster a long-term conservation agenda on the Outer Banks.

Finally, this study notes the important role played by several key figures who were unrelenting in their commitment to create, establish, and develop the seashore. The first of these figures was Frank Stick (1886-1966), an outdoorsman and successful commercial illustrator. Stick was involved, at one time or another, in construction, conservation, newspaper reporting, and wildlife painting. It was Stick's involvement in real estate, however, that positioned him to appreciate how development might affect the Outer Banks. Two other key park supporters were North Carolina Congressmen Lindsay C. Warren (1889-1976) and his successor



FIGURE 3. The wreck of the *George A. Kohler,* a large schooner driven ashore at Cape Hatteras during a storm in September 1933. This ship sat on the beach for ten years before it was burned for its iron fittings during World War II. (NPS photograph by Roger A. Toll, November 8, 1934, courtesy of Harpers Ferry Historic Photograph Collection)

Herbert C. Bonner (1891-1965). Warren introduced the legislation to create the seashore. Bonner, who first served as Warren's aide, continued to champion the park through its establishment and early development. Several NPS employees were also important, most of all Conrad L. Wirth (1899-1993), who became director of the National Park Service in 1953. Wirth first gained familiarity with the Outer Banks while supervising the Service's CCC program for state parks and was a champion of NPS involvement in recreational planning. Wirth was involved with Cape Hatteras from the early 1930s until the end of his directorship in 1964.

As these themes suggest, Cape Hatteras National Seashore embodies the essence of New Deal idealism in several fundamental ways. First, the seashore's origins are tied to President Roosevelt's work-relief programs, the expansion of the National Park Service through involvement in those programs, and the Service's embrace of new parks focused upon history and recreation. Second, the seashore's creation reflects the traditional thrust by progressives to promote both conservation and economic development by establishing parks that preserve wildlife and wilderness while attracting and catering to visitors. Finally, Cape Hatteras is the first national park to recognize that the federal government has a responsibility to maintain public access to the nation's beaches.

This study is a narrative history about the creation and establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, the major characters involved, and the key decisions they made.[4] It follows a straightforward historical methodology. Park documents likely to provide factual information or to shed light on important events have been reviewed and presented in a chronological fashion. Where appropriate, the chronology is subdivided by topic as represented by various chapter and section headings. This method makes the document both easier to read and to reference. Major sources of information include park annual reports, official NPS correspondence relating to the park, newspaper clippings, and oral history interviews. Various NPS studies and publications are also used. All sources are carefully cited by notes. Where bias is obvious or points of view differ, sources are weighed against each other. The author's intent is to minimize speculation and to let the record speak for itself, although inferences and conclusions are stated where appropriate.

This history covers the origins of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the 1930s through its main period of development under "Mission 66," a ten-year program of development inspired by Conrad Wirth and pegged to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Park Service in 1966. Informational insets and charts, historic photos, detailed citations, appendices, and a selected bibliography have also been added to contribute to the reader's deeper understanding of the seashore's colorful, complex, and at times contentious past.

4. An administrative history, this study presents and analyzes the management of an individual park unit, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, from the 1930s through the 1960s. The study traces the park's origins, interaction with associated institutions or stakeholders, and over-arching themes of institutional development according to guidelines published by the National Park Service. See Janet A. McDonnell, ed., *National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2004). Administrative histories provide historical perspective that staff members and stakeholders can use to make informed decisions on current policy issues. No study could cover all the events, people, and issues that are represented in the long history of a national park. Instead, an administrative history selects key topics with the goal being to provide both a meaningful handbook and a long-term perspective.

Chapter One: Origins of a Park Movement

The story of the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore could begin at many points. No national park is suddenly brought into being except by a chain of milestones that lay the basis for an act of Congress or a presidential proclamation. Formally, Congress authorized the creation of the nation's first national seashore in August 1937, but the park was not actually established until January 1953 when the National Park Service possessed sufficient land to meet legal requirements. Subsequently, more time was needed to develop facilities to meet both visitor and management needs and this necessity forestalled the park's dedication until 1958. A span of over twenty years thus links the creation of the seashore to its formal opening. Key events in the park's history preceded its authorization, and much important development actually followed its formal dedication. In order to cover the creation and establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, one must look as far back as the early 1930s and as far forward as the early 1970s.

A good place to begin the story is 1933, the year that Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency of the United States. To address the stagnation and poverty of the Great Depression, Roosevelt immediately proposed a series of reforms and work-relief strategies known as the "New Deal." Essentially a program of progress, hope, and economic stimulation through the agency of an effective and activist government, the New Deal was to bring long-lasting change to the Outer Banks.

Nineteen thirty-three also was important to Bankers, as residents of the Outer Banks are often called, for an all too familiar reason— hurricanes. The slender spit of barrier islands, which jut out into the Atlantic Ocean some thirty miles from the mainland, was often hit by intense hurricanes, but in 1933, a record was set for the number of Atlantic hurricanes and tropical storms that would stand until 2005, and two of those storms swept the Banks that year. The second was so strong it knocked the Bodie Island Coast Guard Station off its foundation and devastated communities up and down the Banks. Indeed, at Portsmouth, a small fishing village at the northern tip of Core Banks, residents were so undone that many never returned, signaling the end of a viable community. Villages on the islands of Ocracoke and Cape Hatteras fared better, but tremendous erosion affected the beaches, including an area surrounding the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse near Cape Point that was severely eroded.

The Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, first illuminated in 1870, was by then quite famous as one of the most remarkable structures of its kind. Made of granite, brick, and iron atop timber footings, the light stood 208 feet tall, the tallest in the nation, and projected a life-saving beam twenty miles or more out to sea. The light and its keepers quarters originally stood half-a-mile west of the ocean, but previous erosion and the stormy season of 1933 left the station so perilously close to crashing waves that the Lighthouse Service decided to abandon it.[5]

5. The Coast Guard tried to stem erosion around the lighthouse by using heavy steel piling and concrete to construct a protective barrier but it was undermined and destroyed by the sea. See Hugh R. Awtrey, Associate Recreational Planner, Letter to George H. Copeland, *New York Times*, June 29, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Philadelphia.



FIGURE 4. Frank Stick, outdoorsman, nature illustrator, conservationist, and real estate man. Stick is credited with first popularizing the idea of creating a national coastal park in North Carolina. (Photograph courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC.)

Adjacent to the forty-four acre lighthouse reservation were about 1,250 acres of land owned by the family of Henry Phipps (1839-1930) where the hurricane stripped away most of the vegetation that protected the dunes from erosion, rendering the land nearly worthless. One of the nation's best-known philanthropists, Henry Phipps had made a fortune as Andrew Carnegie's partner in steel before turning to real-estate investment, becoming one of the pioneers in development of Miami and Palm Beach. The Phipps family had previously purchased large tracts of land on the Outer Banks, and much of the land they used to establish duck and goose hunting clubs, including the Buxton Club and the Kennekeet Club.

The Phipps family faced a predicament. Its land was now of little value and impossible to sell in the midst of the Great Depression. The family began to consider donating it to the State of North Carolina rather than pay taxes on it.[6] Apparently, the real estate agent who helped them to do that was Frank Leonard Stick. A man of intriguing character, Stick was to become one of the chief promoters of a great national seashore park in the Outer Banks. Stick saw the Phipps donation as the first step in that process.

Frank Stick

On July 21, 1933, Stick published an article in the *Elizabeth City Independent* promoting his "dream" to create a national seashore park. Entitled "A Coastal Park for North Carolina and the Nation," the article argued that such a park was needed "for the satisfaction of the esthetic and recreational need of the people, for the conservation of migratory wild life and for the better defense of an open and unprotected coastline in event of war." Stick envisioned Cape Hatteras and Hatteras Island as the focal point of a national seashore park that, while excluding Nags Head, Buxton, and the other villages along the Banks, would include over a hundred miles of the barrier islands as well as the site of Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island, and the recently established Kill Devil Hills National Monument (now Wright Brothers National Memorial) near Kitty Hawk. Some areas were to be preserved as wildlife refuges while others would be opened to tourists by the construction of a roadway down the banks, including bridges across the inlets. Stick thought the economic benefits of such tourism "would be enormous, and employment would be given to thousands." W.O. Saunders, the paper's publisher, had apparently raised the topic himself years before and editorialized in support of Stick's plan.[7]

Born in Huron, Dakota Territory, on February 10, 1884, Stick was a noted commercial artist before

6. Ben D. MacNeill, "Mellon Money Mysteriously Brings Hatteras National Park Project Back to Life," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives (CAHA archives).
7. As quoted by David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 2, unpublished manuscript detailing the role of Frank and David Stick in the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, no date, CAHA file, Harper's Ferry Center, (HFC), Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. See also, David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 247-248. Stick published a similar article in "A Coastal Park for North Carolina," *The State*, November 17, 1933. In that article he wrote that it is "a strange, an unfathomable thing, that no effort has heretofore been made to retain for the use of the people, in all its natural beauty and appeal, a stretch of our coastland…".

moving to the Outer Banks in 1929. He had spent his youth hunting, trapping, sketching, and painting throughout the Midwest and began to write about and illustrate his experiences for outdoor magazines before enrolling at the Chicago Art Institute in 1904. He stayed only briefly before moving to New Jersey to study with the great illustrator Howard Pyle, who also taught Maxfield Parrish as well as Stick's contemporary N.C. Wyeth. Stick married around 1907, had two children, and settled with his family at Interlaken, New Jersey, where he opened a studio. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Stick continued to work as a commercial artist, selling his work to such publications as *Sports Afield*, *Field and Stream*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*. He also illustrated stories by his friend Zane Grey that appeared in *Outdoor America*. By some accounts, Stick was one of the most successful commercial artists of the early twentieth century.[8]

Apparently, Stick became disillusioned with the art business in the 1920s, especially the necessity of "turning out pictures on demand," and began to pursue other interests, including real estate investments. He also began spending time on the Outer Banks, attracted in part by the area's superb duck hunting and fishing. By 1927, although still living in New Jersey, Stick was sufficiently involved in real estate on the Banks and in boosting its prospects that he and several other landowners contributed a few acres to help establish the Kill Devil Hill National Monument near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, commemorating the first successful flight of the Wright Brothers there in 1903.[9]

With the onset of the Great Depression, Stick retired permanently to the Outer Banks. According to his son, David, who himself later became a Banks booster and author, the elder Stick owned large tracts at Whalebone Beach (South Nags Head), Colington Harbor, Kitty Hawk Shores, Baum Bay in Kill Devil Hills, and on Hatteras Island.[10] Although Frank Stick was active in real estate, he realized sooner than most that unrestricted development would eventually destroy the Bank's basic appeal, which was as a recreational paradise. While continuing to promote economic development in the area, Stick sought to preserve significant sections of the Outer Banks for the enjoyment of his favorite recreational activities. In this way, he became an important early 20th-century conservationist in North Carolina.

Even though land was relatively inexpensive during the Depression, little precedent existed to suggest that the federal government would be willing to purchase beach property for park purposes. Land would likely have to be donated and the government would have to be persuaded to accept and administer that donated property as a park; reaching that point would be a time-consuming process. In the meantime, there appeared to Frank Stick and many others a more immediate prospect for bringing jobs and income to the Outer Banks—Federal relief programs.

In his 1933 article, Stick described the physical deterioration of the banks' shoreline and sand dunes due to weather-driven erosion as well as unrestricted livestock grazing and deforestation caused by Bankers who over-utilized their frail coastal and maritime forest environment. He proposed a labor-intensive program of barrier dune construction and re-vegetation whose goal was to restore and preserve the barrier islands, to protect private property, and to create work opportunities that would not compete with private business. The latter requirement was key for approval of New Deal work-relief programs, which were not to compete with the private sector in putting the unemployed to work. Stick's proposal was not based upon any deep scientific understanding of the physical dynamics of the coastal environment. Fifty years later the Park Service would reevaluate this early vision of how government should care for the barrier islands, but at the time Stick's proposal to promote erosion control as well as a "national coastal park" met with widespread acceptance.

One reason for optimism over Stick's proposals was the reorganization of the NPS that got under way in the summer of 1933 after President Roosevelt ordered the Park Service to assume authority for military battlefields and national monuments

8. Michael F. Mordell, *Frank Stick: Splendid Painter of the Out-of-Doors* (Tucson: Settlers West Galleries, 2004); and "Stick, Who Promoted the Outer Banks, Dies," *The Virginian-Pilot,* November 13, 1966, newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
9. Andrew M. Hewes, *Wright Brothers National Memorial: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: NPS Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1967), 10.
10. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 2.



FIGURE 5. Conrad "Connie" L. Wirth, who was Assistant Director for Land Planning during the 1930s. (NPS photograph courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center)

located on lands belonging to other departments as well as for historical sites in Washington, DC. NPS historians would later credit this occasion as being "arguably the most significant event in the evolution of the national park system."[11] The reorganization expanded the scope of NPS activities, increasing its interest in managing areas with significant historical importance, especially on the East Coast. At the same time, the Park Service began to supervise projects of the Civilian Conservation Corps or CCC. The CCC was created to employ thousands of jobless young men in a program of conservation, rehabilitation, and construction in national and state parks, national forests, and occasionally on private property.

Conrad Wirth

In 1931, NPS Director Albright hired Conrad L. Wirth as an assistant director for Land Planning. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1899, Wirth was a trained landscape architect. He followed in the footsteps of his father, a director of the much admired Minneapolis park system. Wirth joined the Park Service after serving on the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. Albright specifically wanted him to coordinate CCC projects in federal, state, and local parks.[12] Wirth was later widely praised for succeeding in this task and CCC-constructed structures, including buildings, bridges, roads, roads, trails, and amphitheaters, have become legendary for their rustic craftsmanship and ubiquity on federal and state lands. At its peak Wirth would oversee a program that employed some 120,000 enrollees and 6,000 additional professional supervisors in 600 CCC camps. One hundred and eighteen of these were based in national parks, but the rest were set up in state parks.[13]

As Assistant NPS Director for Land Planning, Wirth was also responsible for recreational development. For the Park Service recreation planning and the concept of establishing recreational areas within national parks was a new idea in the early 1930s. Progressive reformers had long pushed the importance of open-air recreation for maintaining social health in burgeoning industrial cities. There was a growing interest in bringing national parks, generally located in remote areas, closer to where the majority of people lived, since many could not afford long-distance travel. The Service had supported a state park movement since 1921. It particularly promoted the idea that local parks should include recreational areas to meet regional outdoor activity needs. Traditionally, the principal purpose of national parks was seen to be aesthetic enjoyment by hikers, campers, and those who could afford expensive resorts of the type built in many national parks in the early twentieth century. Recreation, *per se*, was not thought to be consistent with the National Park Service ideal of federal protection of iconic landscapes, such as Yosemite and Yellowstone, or highly significant cultural sites, such as Mesa Verde. Yet, the Park Service was drawn into recreational planning when it assumed responsibility for coordinating relief work in federal and state parks. Many states did not have sufficient park plans, and some had no state parks at all. The National Park Service had to push for legislation to promote comprehensive planning. In 1936, Con-

11. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (U.S. Department of Interior, Washington, DC, 2005), 28.
12. Douglas Caldwell, "Conrad L. Wirth, 1899-present [1993]," online at <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/sontag/wirth.htm>, accessed July 2006. Conrad L. Wirth was widely known widely as "Connie."
13. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 46.

gress passed the Park, Parkway, and Recreation Study Act, which enabled the Park Service to work with other federal agencies, state governments, and others to plan parkways and facilities at federal, state, and local levels across the nation.[14] The final report from this important nationwide survey was not published until late in 1941 by which time the onset of World War II delayed significant action on its recommendations.[15]

Conrad Wirth's long interest in the development of recreational resources in parks, an interest that continued throughout his NPS career, proved critical to the ultimate achievement of Frank Stick's dream to create a great coastal park for the nation. These two men, whose stories are at the heart of the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, overcame often tense and problematic relations to advance a shared conviction that conservation could both preserve precious natural resources and serve as an engine for regional economic growth and development.

The interests of Frank Stick and Conrad Wirth first began to come together in the summer of 1933. Officials in North Carolina were heartily supporting Stick's proposal for a coastal park that included erosion control and reforestation as goals. R. Bruce Etheridge, a former state legislator whose family had deep roots in the Outer Banks, was chosen to head the newly formed North Carolina State Department of Conservation and Development.[16] He became an early proponent of coastal conservation but also later resisted the creation of a national coastal park.

The New Deal and "National Ocean Beaches"

In September 1933, Etheridge sent his representatives to meet with local citizens, including D. Brad Fearing of Manteo, chairman of the Dare County Board of Commissioners. After a tour of the area conducted by the Chicamacomico Lifeboat Station crew, several state officials gave their opinion upon the prospects for coastal erosion control to the *Elizabeth City Daily Advance*. J. S. Holmes, State Forester, stated that he was "satisfied, after seeing the section, the stumps of the trees that were here not so long ago, and having examined the soil, that this beach section can be made one of the finest timber producing areas in the country." If trees would grow there, thought H.J. Bryson, State Geologist, then "there is no question but that reforestation along this beach would stop the erosion in a large degree. Fill this long stretch of sand banks with trees and grass, and the land will build up more rapidly than anyone expects." Access was an issue, but H.D. Panton of the State Highway Department stated that "the road building program is not near so hard as one might think. . . .and the building of it so it will stay here is only a matter of good engineering."

Finally, Paul Kelly, a spokesman for Etheridge, summed up the state government's reaction to the scheme: "I am carried away with the prospect and the promise of such a wonderful site, and I know the state, through my department, will back the proposition with every influence it has." He "found the dream of a few farsighted men like Frank Stick and his own chief, Mr. Etheridge, and the Governor of the state [J.C.B. Ehringhaus], more of a practical probability than he had ever dared to hope for."[17] The *Daily Advance* agreed and stated on October 3, 1933, that it "can see no reason why Frank Stick's once seemingly extravagant and remote dream of a great national park along the banks from Currituck to Carteret and perhaps beyond, with all that it would involve from roads to schools for the banks people, may not be realized."[18]

Etheridge next called a meeting with coastal officials and representatives of the Federal Public Works Administration (PWA) in Greenville, North Carolina. This group passed a resolution directing Etheridge to call another meeting to create "an organization for the promotion of the purchase of national parks and forest in Eastern North Carolina." Specifically, North Carolina Congressman Lindsay C. Warren, whose Third District

14. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 46.
15. See *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem in the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941).
16. For more about the political career of R. Bruce Etheridge, see David Wright and David Zoby, *Fire on the Beach: Recovering the Lost Story of the Richard Etheridge and the Pea Island Lifesavers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 254-255.
17. As quoted by David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 5-6. See also Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 248.
18. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 7.

included Dare County, proposed that "Governor Ehringhaus be requested to appoint a coastal planning commission consisting of five members representative of the entire eastern section of North Carolina to study and recommend developments for the preservation of the natural resources of the area."[19] As requested, Governor Ehringhaus enacted Warren's plan and created a North Carolina Coastal Commission with Frank Stick as chairman.[20]

Stick soon met with relief-agency officials in Washington and Baltimore. He reported that up to $1,420,000 was going to be made available for the Outer Banks. *The Independent* quoted Stick as saying "excepting the appropriation for the airport at the Wright Memorial and that for restoration work at Fort Raleigh, the $640,000 so far allocated by the Public Works Administration between Currituck and Carteret will be for beach rehabilitation in the interest of preventing erosion through sand fixation and reforestation."[21]

This program would not only create jobs on the Outer Banks, it would bring the transient workers to fill them. At the time, the Federal Works Projects Administration (WPA) was attempting to address the plight of "transients," or homeless and unemployed workers who roamed the country by the thousands looking for work. In July 1933, the WPA's Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) established a Transient Division, which proposed to fund transient work programs in any state that had an approved plan. Virginia established a camp at Fort Eustis near Richmond. In October 1934, FERA took over the management of Fort Eustis and appointed A. Clark Stratton as assistant director and business manager in charge of the camp's sixty-five hundred or so transients.[22] Stratton, who later became an NPS associate director, was destined to play an enormously important role in the creation of the future national seashore.

On January 1, 1934, the *Daily Advance* published remarks by Frank Stick. Stick said that the federal government was planning to put four or five



FIGURE 6. View north of Bodie Island Coast Guard Station in 1930. By then electrical power lines had been run down the island, but as yet no road. (CAHA archives)

19. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 7-8.
20. Ibid., 11. R. Bruce Etheridge and Public Works Commission chairman E. B. Jeffries sat on the board.
21. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 11-12.

thousand men to work in the Outer Banks, although these numbers later proved overly optimistic. Camps and schools were to be established immediately and "transient labor is to be used on the beach project," Stick said. In fact, he went on, the federal government planned to place men to work "from other more congested sections where there are not enough projects nor sufficient quota allotted to take care of them." Stick said fifteen thousand men "were afoot in Florida with no work and no means of subsistence and many in other states." Still, Stick also promised jobs to local people whom he planned to hire as "head men."[23]

By the spring of 1934, efforts were well under way to establish transient worker camps in the Outer Banks. According to David Stick, that project began in June 1934 when accommodations were made to base the "initial transient force" of some one hundred laborers at the Parkerson's Hotel (later known as the Nags Head Casino). These men were to construct the camps where larger numbers of men would be housed. Stick recalled how his father with local help spent the summer designing and constructing "portable barracks" at several sites along the coast to house the expected workers. Unfortunately, if predictably, given similar experiences elsewhere, the "Transient Service" got off to a hard start. Landowners and summer vacationers near the hotel became "incensed" that men whom they thought vagrants would be brought into the area. This attitude worsened when locals further heard that some of the forthcoming transient camps might be manned "entirely by colored people" although Frank Stick tried to tamp down such concerns.[24] However, full-scale deployment of workers did not start until early in 1936.

In the meantime, Stick prepared a detailed prospectus and work plan for the "North Carolina Coastal Reclamation Project," as he called it. Stick was concerned about project management. "It is my firm conviction," he stated in the plan's introduction, "that unless this highly specialized project is properly supervised from the beginning by a bureau or a department divorced from political interference, prejudice and exploitation by selfish interests, the undertaking will not only fail of accomplishing any real benefit, but it may and in all probability will prove to be seriously detrimental to a vast territory, both from an economic, a physical and an aesthetic standpoint."[25]

In the spring of 1934, as preparations for the beach reclamation project went forward, NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer submitted a memorandum to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes that "recommended the investigation of areas suitable for national beach parks." Whether Banker interest in a "national coastal park" had anything to do with this memorandum is unknown, but Ickes approved a preliminary survey and the study of some twenty U.S. coastal and shoreline areas was launched on June 30, 1934. As Cammerer wrote two years later, the "Service proceeded to investigate the Atlantic, Gulf, Pacific, and Great Lakes shores in search of areas of great recreational value which could be acquired at a reasonable cost."[26] Cammerer hoped to protect some of the last vestiges of unspoiled coastlines as public recreation areas and to include these in the national park system. The Florida land boom of the 1920s had demonstrated how quickly private development could overwhelm such landscapes and seriously reduce public access to shoreline areas, especially near major population centers. It was feared that the trend would continue once economic conditions improved.

When the brief national survey was completed in 1935, it recommended twelve areas for national seashore status and thirty areas to be protected by states as state parks.[27] One of these areas was the Outer Banks of North Carolina, which the survey envisioned as a park stretching from the Virginia

22. A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 2, in CAHA file, HFC. Many of the Fort Eustis transients were World War I veterans who had come to Washington, DC, to participate in the "Bonus Marches" and to seek aid during the Depression. A politically volatile situation, the Army, under General Douglas MacArthur, forcibly removed these men from the capital. Many ended up at Fort Eustis, as explained by Stratton. See A.C. Stratton, Project Manager, Letter to Herbert Evison, February 12, 1954, National Park Service Records, Record Group 79, Box 318221, "K58 Special Articles Proposed by Other Than Service Personnel, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
23. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 13.
24. Ibid., 7.
25. Frank Stick, "North Carolina Coastal Reclamation Project," no date [ca.1935], Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
26. Director Arno B. Cammerer, Memorandum for the Secretary, April 9, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 7. Early NPS surveys recommended "restricted driving along the ocean beach when and where consistent with other uses," but also recommended roads because, as the caption on this photo noted, "auto travel on the sand roads is difficult and severe on mechanical parts." (NPS photograph of automobile on Hatteras Island, 1937 from "Report on Recommendations for Boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore," (NPS, January 1938))

line in the north to the tip of Ocracoke Island in the south. Some evidence suggests that the project originally hoped to include Cores Banks south of the village of Portsmouth. However, the Park Service did not consider this area, probably due to the issue of grazing. David Stick recalled that after the Kill Devil Hill National Monument was established, a fence was erected. Grass and trees soon returned and it was apparent that any dune stabilization program could not succeed if stock was allowed to continue to range freely.[28] In the spring of 1935, the state's General Assembly passed legislation that prohibited free-range grazing along the banks north of Oregon Inlet. Similar legislation was introduced for Ocracoke Island in Hyde County and for Core and Shackleford Banks in Carteret County to the south, but these bills failed to garner support. With the exception of Portsmouth Island, free-range grazing continued south of Oregon Inlet and erosion control measures were not introduced in those areas until much later.[29]

On the same day in 1934 that the Park Service began its preliminary survey of possible coastal parks, President Roosevelt issued an executive order establishing the National Resources Board. The board's mandate was to create a "program and plan of procedure dealing with the physical, social, governmental, and economic aspects of public policies for the development and use of land, water, and other national resources."[30] Recreational land use was one area that seemed particularly suited to the work of the National Park Service, and the board soon asked the agency to assume responsibility for recreational land-use planning and to report quickly on the nation's needs. The Service's brief report, published on November 1, 1934, and titled "Recreational Use of Lands in the United States," was intended only as a preliminary survey, but it offered some important conclusions. Its foremost finding was that the combined recreational area of all national, state, and local parks, bird and wildlife refuges, and privately owned areas amounted to twenty-one million acres. That figure was only a quarter of what was recommended merely to meet the existing recreational needs of the United States. The report urged an exhaustive national survey of recreational needs and facilities.[31]

The "North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project" formally began on October 11, 1934, when CCC Camp Virginia Dare was established near Manteo. At first supervised by the North Carolina Division of Forestry, the camp's efforts were pioneering in the field of beach erosion control. At the time, the work was cited for being among the first attempts to control beach erosion by building fences to facilitate the formation of sand dunes that could then be stabilized by plantings of beach grass.

Beach erosion protection amounted to small fences being erected along the forebeach far enough inland to avoid most high tides. The fences caught enough sand on both sides to create small mounds upon which subsequent fences were erected until sizeable mounds were created. Grasses and scrubs were then planted on the lee-side to prevent erosion of the mounds. The purpose for protecting the beaches was to redress the historic loss of trees that had

27. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 156.
28. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 22-23.
29. David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1984-1958*, 249. The law was fully in effect by February 1, 1937, in Dare County, North Carolina.
30. Executive Order 6777 Establishing the National Resources Board, June 30, 1934, as provided by *The American Presidency Project*, online at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=14715&st=6777&st1=>, accessed September 2007.
31. Unrau and Wilis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, 112.

accompanied human settlement. After early inhabitants cut down the trees, their livestock overgrazed and eventually destroyed whatever vegetation remained. It was believed that the effect was to allow much more salt water into the bays, which damaged a local fishing industry dependent on fresh water fish. Water fowl habitat had also been the basis for hunting and the establishment of hunting clubs in the Outer Banks, which were in decline. Similarly, the old Cape Hatteras Lighthouse was by 1930 so threatened by the sea and erosion that the Lighthouse Service abandoned the structure, which the Park Service later took over. Part of the erosion control effort, under NPS administration, thus became to save the lighthouse. According to Clark Stratton, who oversaw NPS efforts in the Outer Banks, erosion control work also made it possible to build a roadway to allow the villagers "to go to and from the mainland by automobile to do their business with the outside world." Incidentally, grass seeding proved unsuccessful and revegetation was accomplished by transplanting tuffs of four main types of grass—wire, cord, "sea oats," and Bermuda, which was hand-planted.[32]

In 1962, Stratton described the methods of WPA-era erosion control to interviewer Herbert Evison:

> You see, this erosion control work is not something like a building: you build it and then you go off and leave it and it doesn't need any maintenance for ten or fifteen years. If we endeavored to build something like that to beat the ocean, it would ruin the character of the land, so to speak. So instead of groins and jetties and that sort of thing, we felt that this barrier dune type of control would be more in keeping with the natural seashore; so we realized from the very start that storms would come along and tear down at times part of what we had accomplished. . . . So, we knew as we went along that we would continually have to reconstruct and maintain this type of erosion control.[33]

CCC/WPA funds for sand fixation projects on the Outer Banks included $675,772 in 1937, $421,224 in 1938, $268,769 in 1939, $189,757, and $186,454 in 1941, when the program ended.[34] By then, the erosion-control projects on the Outer Banks had installed some 4,126,000 linear feet of sand fences, planted 283,841,000 square feet of grass and 3,452,359 trees and shrubs, laid 5,100,228 square feet of brush blanketing, and built 393,881 linear feet of dikes and jetties.[35]

On April 15, 1936, the CCC camp at Manteo was turned over to the U.S. Agricultural Department's Biological Survey, and enrollees worked on land then being acquired for a wildlife sanctuary on Pea Island. Camp technicians also continued to study the utility of various fence designs, some of which were used to plant nineteen hundred acres with beach grass. These techniques were also credited with extending the beach into the sea between 75 and 150 feet near Kitty Hawk Coast Guard Station and the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. At Pea Island the project was deemed a success for increasing the land's capacity to support more migratory water fowl, as reported by local hunters, although there was some debate over whether this was due to erosion-control or more restrictive hunting laws.[36]

In late November 1934, Roger W. Toll, superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, offered an appraisal of the suitability of the Outer Banks for national park purposes to Director Cammerer. Toll had participated in the national coastal area survey. Toll concluded that Cape Hatteras is "most suited to development as a national ocean beach." He offered several reasons: First, "the area is primitive in character. There are no summer homes nor public resort developments in the area." Second, the remoteness of the Outer Banks tended to keep land costs low. On the other hand, Toll noted that the area was reasonably close to large populations, had a good

32. A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 7-11; 23, in CAHA files, HFC.
33. Ibid., 22.
34. Some additional $900,000 was spent on the CCC camp at the state park for six years and for the transient camp under Federal Emergency Relief Administration work prior to 1937. Newton B. Drury, Director, Letter to Victor Meekins, December 8, 1942, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
35. A. C. Stratton, Field Supervisor, "Erosion Control on North Carolina's Outer Banks," August 13, 1942, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
36. William Mangham, ed., *A Guide to Forestry Activities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee* (Appalachian Section, Society of American Forests, January 1939), 107-112.

climate, and good beach recreational opportunities, such as fishing, boating, and swimming. He further recommended the creation of a migratory bird habitat, which the Biological Survey was already considering. He even found the area's narrowness a plus for management, despite a high degree of beach exposure. Toll reportedly was in contact with "real estate man Frank Stick" who estimated the price per acre at $12.00 such that thirty thousand acres could be acquired for $360,000 or less than $10,000 per mile for fifty miles of ocean beach. That was less than the cost to build a roadway of equal length. If funding were available Toll recommended "Chicamocomico Island," that is, "Hatteras Island," as the first acquisition, with further extensions to Nags Head and the area around Kill Devil Hill National Monument.[37]

On the matter of land acquisition, Toll provided rough cost estimates on the basis of a map supplied by Frank Stick. The villages were to be excluded from the boundaries of the park. At the time their population was between 1,600 and 1,800 people whose livelihoods were still tied to the sea. Toll believed that the activities of the hunting clubs had declined with the loss of waterfowl and increased hunting restrictions. Absent funds, he thought many club owners might donate land and even abide by some hunting restrictions near the park as long as they could keep their buildings and continue to hunt. Some of these lands, notably the five or six thousand acres owned by the Phipps family, were actually bought with ultimate public ownership in mind.[38]

Toll also described the land transportation situation. There were various routes on Hatteras Island, but moving a vehicle any distance meant travel over sand, either by wending through the dunes or along the beach, preferably at low tide. In either case, travelers had to deflate and inflate tires and were routinely required to dislodge vehicles stuck in the sand. Because both beach driving and the sand problem on inland routes involved significant uncertainties, Toll recognized the need for roads within the proposed park boundaries on Bodie and Hatteras Islands. First, he thought a hard-surface road should be extended south to Oregon Inlet



FIGURE 8. Yellowstone Superintendent Roger W. Toll led an NPS party to investigate the suitability of the Outer Banks as a national seashore in 1934. Toll took this photograph as the party prepared to cross Oregon Inlet. (NPS photograph courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center)

37. Roger W. Toll, Memorandum to Director Arno B. Cammerer, November 26, 1934, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
38. Ibid. Toll's memo includes a map drawn by Frank Stick describing the various areas that might be included in the proposed seashore along with cost estimates.

from the bridge to Manteo, a point known as Whalebone Junction. Second, he advocated "an oiled road from Oregon Inlet to Hatteras Inlet." Toll was cognizant of impairing the scenic view, but thought "this road may be kept well back from the beach and will be inconspicuous." Finally, regarding the crossing of Oregon Inlet, Toll suggested the inevitable need for a bridge, but that such a bridge was undesirable in the early stages of park development as it would "destroy the feeling of remoteness."[39]

Finally, Toll recommended to Cammerer a set of potential guidelines for his use in thinking about national seashore parks. His idea was to establish at least one national seashore park on each of the three main coasts, and the lake shore area if funding permitted, near dense population centers. Toll's memorandum to Cammerer suggests that the Park Service thought of the Outer Banks as the prototypical coastal park. His findings are also the first record of the Park Service's initial evaluation of the Cape Hatteras area for park purposes. It is notable that from its earliest assessment, the Park Service described the essential elements that would ultimately characterize Cape Hatteras National Seashore. These elements included both accessible and remote beach areas suitable for public bathing and fishing, villages set apart from the park but linked by a paved road to remove the cumbersome problem of driving over sand, and a vague awareness that some accommodation with hunting would be necessary.

Within a few weeks of Toll's favorable assessment, the Park Service dispatched a party of officials under Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson to confirm the potential of the Outer Banks as a future national park. "In our opinion," the party reported, "the Cape Hatteras area is decidedly interesting and important enough to justify its inclusion in the National Park system." Their views were similar to Toll's, but the group suggested a decidedly smaller park. Instead of a park stretching south from the Virginia state line, the boundary was set below Whalebone Junction. This plan included all of Hatteras, excepting the villages, with bathing facilities on Bodie Island. More importantly, the group recommended reforestation on previously logged or grazed over lands, a significant indication of deepening NPS interest in a coastal erosion control program. Finally, the party noted that any road on Hatteras "should be constructed down the inshore side of the Island only, allowing automobiles to do restricted driving along the ocean beach when and where consistent with other uses." Like Toll, the group considered a bridge at Oregon Inlet likely but were also "in favor of preserving the wilderness character of the area by keeping paved roads out, if it is possible to do so."[40]

In late December 1934, Frank Stick was still supervising the limited relief operation at Nags Head, but in the wake of Toll's report he heard more definitely from NPS Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray that "this Office is interested in the general area as a possible National beach park." However, despite the fact that several NPS and state Emergency Conservation Work people were impressed with the area, "no one had been authorized to approach any one about any definite proposition." Still, Stick was probably encouraged, especially by learning that if Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes were to approve a plan, NPS staff "have had you in mind as one sincerely interested in such a project and who would be of help to use working it out."[41]

On January 2, 1935, Cammerer submitted to Secretary Ickes the Service's findings on twelve potential national seashore areas along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.[42] However, conservative opposition to the New Deal was becoming more outspoken, culminating with the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in May 1935 that the National Industrial Recovery Act was unconstitutional. Subsequent congressional wrangling over the use of emergency funds imposed severe limitations on the ability of the Service to purchase seashore park land until well after World War II. The Service could still move

39. Ibid.
40. Charles E. Peterson (Deputy Chief Architect), Hillory A. Tolson (Assistant Director), and Thomas C. Vint (Chief Architect), "The Cape Hatteras National Park Project," February 16, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
41. A.E. Demaray, Associate Director, Letter to Frank Stick, Supervisor of T.C.C.E.R.A projects, December 22, 1934, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
42. Director Arno B. Cammerer, Memorandum for the Secretary, April 9, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 9. Lindsay C. Warren in his office, date unknown. (Photograph courtesy of the UNC)

ahead in support of such areas but land could only be acquired with local or state funds and donations, a situation not immediately clear at the time.

Cape Hatteras State Park

On February 27, 1935, Frank Stick wrote to inform Acting Director Demaray "that I have succeeded in procuring the donation of the beautiful beach and woodland tract right at the point of Cape Hatteras, which, with a smaller piece I own in common, will give over a thousand acres."[43] This not-yet-announced donation by members of the Phipps family, whom Stick represented as a land agent, was the first tangible real estate available for park purposes. From the beginning the idea was that this land donation would form the heart of a future Cape Hatteras National Seashore, but in early 1935 it was quite unclear how that might come about. For one thing, Secretary Ickes had not yet acted on the Service's national seashore findings. More importantly, Congress had not weighed in on the matter; some general resistance to New Deal programs certainly affected park funding.

Meanwhile Director Cammerer sent a memorandum to Demaray, Tolson, and Thomas C. Vint, who had accompanied Tolson on the recent trip to the Banks. Cammerer questioned the idea of Cape Hatteras as a national park: "I see no conclusive presentation on its candidacy under existing standards as a member of the national park system. In other words, I cannot see why the area should be created a Cape Hatteras National Park." Instead, he recommended that the area be included in the national beach projects, which presumably meant as a recreational area, an idea not yet precisely defined. Some staff disagreed, including Tolson, who wrote in the margin of the memo: "It is probably the outstanding example of a type of characteristic scenery not now preserved in a national park. I would say it met the standard prescribed for national parks."[44] Creation of a national park solely on its attributes as a seacoast was unprecedented and many NPS officials were not quite certain how to proceed.

Stick's jubilant note to Demaray in February also revealed another important fact: He had been showing land in the Outer Banks to L.A. Sharpe, on Conrad Wirth's staff. Wirth was using his broad authority to coordinate CCC work in North Carolina. According to Stick, Sharpe and state officials were interested in getting work underway in the spring with the aid of the CCC camp. Stick was concerned that any work done on the donated land around Cape Hatteras not interfere with NPS plans to include the area within a national seashore. Stick wondered if Demaray might be interested in "the establishment of a state park, under your jurisdiction…".[45] Demaray replied that "it would be irregular to establish a state park under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service." Demaray was not concerned that the area might be set aside as a state park and advised that the state could still apply for emergency conservation development funds. "Should the area, at a later date, be favorably considered as part of National Seashore Recreational Area, or some other federal unit," he told Stick, "the state would be in a position to transfer the area to the Government."[46]

43. Frank Stick, Chairman, N.C. Coastal Commission (on Atlantic Coast Sportsmen's Association letterhead), to A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, February 27, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
44. Memorandum for Mr. Demary, Mr. Tolson, and Mr. Vint (signed by all as read by March 5), March 2, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
45. Frank Stick, Chairman, N.C. Coastal Commission (on Atlantic Coast Sportsmen's Association letterhead), to A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, February 27, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
46. A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to Frank Stick, Chairman, N.C. Coastal Commission, March 15, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

Would Cape Hatteras become a national or state park or some yet to be defined "national beach"? It was unclear in early 1935. What Stick knew for sure—Conrad Wirth, as NPS coordinator for CCC work in national and state parks, was moving into the Hatteras area.

With the Phipps land gift forthcoming and NPS views ascertained, North Carolina moved to create a state park at Cape Hatteras. On May 7, 1935, the General Assembly of North Carolina enacted a law (HB 795) authorizing the state to transfer donated or state-owned lands in Dare and Currituck Counties to the federal government for the purpose of creating a national park.[47] This law did not require the state to hand over any park land to the Park Service, but the bill's intent was to remove any obstacle that might prevent the future creation of a national park out of an existing state park. At the same time, the legislature adopted a stock law to restrict grazing in Dare County hoping to encourage more federal beach erosion control work. When Stick reported this good news to the Park Service, however, he sounded a note of caution. "Several northern men," he told Demaray, "are attempting to procure options on lands which would come in the park area, with the idea of benefiting through the project." Deeply involved in real estate, Stick thought he could block such developments for a short time, but urged the Park Service to act quickly.[48]

In June 1935, following the passage of these two bills, the Phipps family donation was announced. John Shaffer Phipps (1874-1956), Henry Carnegie Phipps (1879-1953), Amy Phipps Guest (1876-1959), and Bradley Martin, Jr. (widower of Helen Phipps Martin) intended to donate a thousand to thirteen hundred acres to the state for the purpose of creating a national seashore. The announcement indicated that the National Park Service would assume responsibility for all work-relief development of the area.[49]

At the same time, D. Bradford Fearing of Dare County sponsored a successful bill in the legislature "to create a commission to be known as the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and to provide for the acquisition of lands in the Cape Hatteras Region of North Carolina for national seashore purposes and to authorize the conveyance of the same and other lands to the United States of America." Frank Stick was named secretary of this commission with the mission to continue to work to secure additional donations of land to create a national park.[50] Prior to Stick's official appointment by North Carolina Governor J.C.B. Ehringhaus, he had already signed some correspondence with the Park Service as the "Acting Chairmen, coastal commission." The idea to organize a coastal commission may have originated with him.

That June, as Stick continued to promote an expansion of the erosion control project, local politicians switched their attention to the government's plans to staff the CCC camps. There were two major issues. First, they pressured the Park Service to appoint local people as camp superintendents and foremen. Second, they pressured the Park Service not to station "colored" CCC units at Cape Hatteras State Park. Bruce Etheridge, Director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, told Rep. Lindsay Warren: "The people locally will bitterly resent it and I fear that trouble may arise. Placing myself in their position, I know that I should resent it to the better end. Two hundred or more strange and wild negroes placed in a small community such as Buxton, just what their action might be is unknown." Etheridge wanted any such units stationed near military reservations so that white Southerners would feel more secure.[51]

Warren assured Etheridge that he would "push the local boys" with the Park Service. Moreover, he agreed with Etheridge's assessment of the proposed camp for black workers at Cape Hatteras. "I am shocked and surprised," he said, "to hear that a

47. Copy of "An Act to authorize the transfer or gift from the state of North Carolina to the Federal Government of certain lands…," attached to memorandum from H.E. Weatherwax, to Mr. Chatelain, September 15, 1936, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, National Center for Cultural Resources (NCCR), National Park Service, Washington, D.C..
48. Frank Stick, Acting Chairman, Coastal Commission, to Mr. A.R. Demaray, Associate Director, April 20, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
49. Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," 24.
50. Ibid., 24-25.
51. R. Bruce Etheridge, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, House of Representative, June 19, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 226 (June 18-24, 1935), Special Collections, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (UNC).

negro camp is contemplated near Buxton and I agree with you that it would be best to have no camp at all than to have a negro camp in that locality."[52] Warren told Lee A. Wallace, whom he had recommended to the Service for camp superintendent, that there might not be any camp at all, because he was fighting to keep it a white camp. He also told Wallace to keep quiet about his potential job to avoid press criticism of political appointments.[53] Unlike Etheridge, there is little evidence that Warren was especially hostile to African Americans, but he was no novice to North Carolina politics and racial attitudes, having represented the state's First Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1925. Before that Warren served two terms in the North Carolina Senate, stood as Senate president pro tem in 1919 and 1920, and was also elected in 1923 to serve in the North Carolina House of Representatives, from which position he was elected to Congress.

Warren knew what had to be done. First, he wrote the commander of Fort Bragg at Fayetteville, North Carolina. While various agencies usually directed work-relief projects, the War Department actually oversaw camp administration and the assignment of units. Then, he phoned NPS headquarters in Washington. The Park Service responded by sidestepping the issue—it simply claimed that since the CCC camp was in a North Carolina state park, the issue was something for Governor Ehringhaus to decide.[54] The governor then wrote the Army about how its plans were "jeopardizing a friendly racial relationship and unsatisfactory to local citizenship."[55] Apparently, local politicians got their message across for the CCC camp set up at Cape Hatteras State Park was a white camp.

That July the Biological Survey was also in the Outer Banks to conduct "a serious investigation" of lands suitable for inclusion in a game reserve of some twelve thousand acres. Frank Stick was not concerned that a large wildlife refuge would somehow compete with his coastal park plan. Instead, as he told Warren, such a refuge would reduce materially any cost for such a park. His only worry was that land north of Ocracoke Island be under NPS jurisdiction as these lands were the most accessible for recreational purposes. Stick thought this land less valuable as a wildlife refuge.[56] The Biological Survey was mostly interested in Pea Island, a spit between Bodie and Hatteras Islands, but Stick was correct that the existence of the refuge would help establish the park.



FIGURE 10. Two views of the cabins at Cape Hatteras State Park during the 1930s. (NPS photographs from CAHA archives)

52. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, June 20, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 226 (June 18-24, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
53. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Lee A. Wallace, July 2, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 228 (July 1-8, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
54. Warren to R. Bruce Etheridge, June 20, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 226 (June 18-24, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
55. J.C.B. Ehringhaus, Telegram to Lindsay C. Warren, July 11, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 229 (July 9-12, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
56. Frank Stick, Chairman, North Carolina Coastal Commission, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, July 10, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 229 (July 9-12, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.

Also that July, Frank Stick wrote Secretary Ickes to propose a "Cape Hatteras Coastal Park." Stick noted important attributes that might make the area attractive for park purposes, including its "unrivaled fishing," the existence of Fort Raleigh and the Wright Memorial monument, and the ongoing beach work to include the forthcoming CCC camp at Cape Hatteras State Park. Stick claimed that many land donations could be expected. He urged the secretary to "seize this opportunity" with its "unrivaled advantages and possibilities." Unfortunately, Stick acted completely on his own in writing Secretary Ickes and was quickly admonished by North Carolina Senator Josiah W. Bailey. Bailey, having received a copy of the proposal, informed Stick that it was necessary to work together and await the completion of the NPS survey before taking up the matter with the Secretary himself. Nevertheless, since Stick had already sent the proposal, Warren and Bailey arranged a meeting with Secretary Ickes on July 16 or 17.[57]

Warren outlined to Ickes the merits of preserving the area as a national park and emphasized the point he was probably most familiar with himself. "Conservatively speaking," he emphatically wrote, "this area is the greatest game and fishing spot on the American continent. Visitors go there almost the year round from every section of the nation, and just 18 miles off Hatteras is the Gulf Stream with its unrivaled fishing. If this was made a National Park, it would become one of the most frequented spots in the nation, and I am told on reliable authority that it is the only beach property that can be obtained for practically nothing." Warren also suggested that the park include the distance between Oregon Inlet and Cape Hatteras and even an area north of the Wright Memorial "so that this great Monument may be preserved for posterity free from unsightly surroundings." Like Stick, from whom he may have gotten the information, Warren thought several wealthy landowner would be willing to make important donations, which would limit the amount necessary for land acquisition to around $871,000, with little required for maintenance after that. "I do hope," he concluded, "that you will seize this opportunity to give the people of the nation this great stretch of beach with its unrivaled advantages and possibilities."[58]

Ickes told Warren that he would look into the matter, but doubted he had the legal authority to create any such park. Nevertheless, Warren informed Brad Fearing that "I am enthusiastic about this proposition and believe it would bring invaluable benefits to Dare County."[59] On July 18, apparently after meeting with Secretary Ickes, Senator Bailey again wrote Warren saying that "we will have to go to bat about this matter." The senator realized that legislation would be necessary if a national coastal park was to be created.[60] Soon afterwards, Warren submitted a bill to Congress that would authorize creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina.[61]

Meanwhile, Warren managed to speak with Harry Hopkins, one of President Roosevelt's closest advisors and chief administrator of federal relief programs. Hopkins expressed his interest in going ahead with beach erosion control work along the Outer Banks from the Virginia line to Cape Lookout. He was willing to place 1,500 to 2,000 men to work on the project.[62] Hopkins was extremely influential and his support virtually guaranteed action if North Carolina officials were receptive. Warren wrote Etheridge urging him to act: "As Mr. Hopkins stated to me today this will probably be the only chance that we will ever have to get this work done." Warren worried that either the transient or racial issues might obstruct the project. "Now we have a chance to save our entire North Carolina beach if the people will just cooperate and if they

57. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Frank Stick, July 13, 1935; Senator Josiah W. Bailey, Letter to Frank Stick, July 15, 1935; Frank Stick, Letter to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, July 16, 1935; and Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Frank Stick, July 17, 1935; All in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 320 (July 13-17, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
58. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Harold L. Ickes, July 16, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
59. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to D. B. Fearing, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, July 24, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 232 (July 21-24, 1935), Special Collections, UNC. Incidentally, the chamber, supportive of the park under then Secretary Fearing, was far less so under later secretaries.
60. Senator Josiah W. Bailey, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, July 18, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 231 (July 18-20, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
61. "Hatteras Park Grows," *New York Times*, January 11, 1942, xx3.
62. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to George W. Coan, Jr., Director, Works Progress Administration, July 18, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 231 (July 18-20, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 11. Lindsay Warren (third on left) poses with other men standing behind fish caught at Oregon Inlet. Warren's aid, Herbert C. Bonner, is also shown (first on left) in this undated image. (Photograph courtesy of the UNC)

desire same," he told Etheridge. "As you know it can only be done through transient labor and they have assured me that they will use only white transients." Warren pointed out that the camp at Nags Head, run by Stick and initially opposed by locals, was not causing any trouble and pressed Etheridge to contact George Coan, Director of the WPA, which continued the work of FERA, and work with him to get a CCC camp set up near Buxton.[63] Etheridge replied that he had agreed to the transient proposition.[64] Incidentally, Warren was working to get local people on board with the Park Service, including Calvin W. Meekins. In thanking Warren for his help, Meekins, who was in charge of a "gunning club in Avon," invited the congressman to come down to go fishing or hunting at any time.[65] These two old friends would not always see eye-to-eye on matters concerning the Park Service.

On July 23, 1935, Director Cammerer informed Secretary Ickes of NPS plans and priorities for land acquisition, as requested by the President's Advisory Council. The council was reviewing federal land acquisition needs under authority of the National Resources Committee (NRC), a successor to the National Resources Board that had been established by a previous executive order.[66] Cammerer defined two main aspects of NPS need. First, he sought to eliminate private lands in NPS units and to make further additions to the system. Second, he promoted the establishment of a new type of park—the seashore recreational area.[67]

The NRC had specifically requested that the Park Service investigate recreational areas. Having done so, the Service was asked to prioritize its land acquisition needs. Priorities included land to complete Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and for Yorktown, now part of Colonial National Park, acquisition of privately held lands in national parks, and land acquisition to round out military parks and battlefield sites, responsibility for which the Service acquired through the reorganization of August 10, 1933. Last on the list of NPS priorities, but on the list nonetheless, were funds requested specifically to meet the NRC's interest in recreational seashores. Within this category, Cammerer prioritized four sub-areas. First on that list was some 34,465 acres around Cape Hatteras and Kitty Hawk for which Cammerer requested $710,000. The director expressed his confidence "that we can justify the above estimates as a reasonable program" but also indicated his willingness to make cuts, if necessary.[68]

The internal debate over the appropriateness of Cape Hatteras as a national park went back and forth for several months. In August 1935, Ben H. Thompson, Personal Assistant to the Director, advised the director that Cape Hatteras "is not suitable for national park status, because…a national park is not built; it is preserved."

63. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, July 18, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 231 (July 18-20, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
64. R. Bruce Etheridge, Western Union Telegram to Lindsay C. Warren, July 24, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 232 (July 21-24, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
65. Calvin W. Meekins, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, July 29, 1935, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 234 (July 25-31, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.
66. Executive Order 7065 The National Resources Committee is Created, June 7, 1935, as provided by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara: University of California (hosted), Gerhard Peters (database). (Available at: www.presidency.ucsb.edu). NRC authorities were changed as a result of the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, but NRC personnel and purpose, if slightly more refined, were essentially identical to the NRB.
67. Director, Memorandum for Secretary Ickes, July 23, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
68. Ibid. The other three, in order of priority, were funds for Cape Henry, Virginia; Padre Island, Texas; and Barnegat, New Jersey.

Thompson argued that there were no existing roads or accommodations and the land had been almost entirely de-vegetated. Similar to Tolson, however, he recommended Bodie and Hatteras Islands south of Whalebone Junction as appropriate for "a National Beach," if developed according to the criteria for that type of park. He found the area "unspoiled, extensive and suitable for a national playground." There should be some restriction on recreational use, which should be limited to uses that were sympathetic to the area's natural features. Thompson recommended that land be acquired quickly so that the Park Service could begin initial development by overseeing CCC operations, since the Park Service was only authorized to cooperate with North Carolina in support of its state parks. Thompson also wanted to limit development to Bodie while preserving the fishing villages, and, in cooperation with the Biological Survey, to immediately establish a wildlife refuge on the sound side of the islands. In fact, the Biological Survey was already acquiring land for that purpose, and Thompson noted that "our action in the matter therefore depends upon theirs."[69]

Thompson also recommended the Park Service not seek to acquire Ocracoke or Core Banks as they were "too low [on the map] to be safe for investment, development, or human occupancy" and to avoid pressure "to force a through highway [down Core Banks, which] would destroy most of the character of the area."[70] Significantly, the Park Service would not seek to incorporate Core Banks into Cape Hatteras National Seashore, although Frank Stick had included the area in his 1933 proposal. Sparsely populated, Core Banks also lacked an anti-grazing law, which prevented effective erosion control and limited the opportunity for federal work-relief in that area.



FIGURE 12. "CCC boys" standing in formation before their barracks at Camp "Diamond Shoals," which was established near Buxton, North Carolina, and was assigned to work at Cape Hatteras State Park. (NPS photograph from CAHA archives)

69. Ben H. Thompson, Personal Assistant to the Director, Memorandum to the Director, September 10, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
70. Ibid.



FIGURE 13. A major element of erosion control work as conducted in the 1930s and later was the planting of vegetation, notably salt-tolerant grasses, to help stabilize beach areas and artificially created barrier dunes. (NPS photographs courtesy of the NARA and CAHA archives)



FIGURE 15. Vegetation needed for cover could be obtained by transplanting from nearby locations where erosion was not a problem or from commercial nurseries on the mainland. Nurseries were also established at work-relief camps, as shown in this image of Camp Wright during the late

In 1935, the Park Service was not quite sure how to define a national coastal park, but it knew Cape Hatteras was at the top of its list of candidates. The conjunction of the idea to use relief-workers to conduct beach erosion control as a prelude to the creation of a major, albeit new type, of national park was a potent elixir.

Certainly, Harry Hopkins was convinced by this logic. On August 2, 1935, he approved the Outer Banks beach erosion and rehabilitation project.[71] On August 5, Raleigh's *News and Observer* triumphantly reported that Warren had obtained some 1,800 transient workers who were to operate from eight separate camps in the Outer Banks, five of which were to be in Warren's own district. These men were to spend two years building a sand fence the length of the entire beach after which the mounds would be grassed. On August 7, the *Daily Advance* also issued an editorial entitled "Saluting Frank Stick." The paper noted Stick's role in obtaining a million dollars "to stay the ravages of erosion on the Carolina coastal beaches, and preserve these barrier banks for the protection of the tidewater section behind them."[72]

Clark Stratton later attributed this success to Warren who was invited to spend a weekend with President Roosevelt on his yacht on the Potomac River along with Harry Hopkins. Apparently, Warren told the president about the sand fixation project during one of their meetings. According to Stratton, "the President was quite interested in Mr. Warren's request for assistance, and he asked Mr. Harry Hopkins to see what could be done." Hopkins then organized a follow-up meeting with North Carolina congressional legislators and state officials. Stratton attended that meeting at which he was asked to move some three thousand of his workers at Fort Eustis to the Outer Banks and to establish the eight camps from which erosion control work could be conducted. The project was to stretch from a place called Carolla near the Virginia line south all the way to Ocracoke Island.[73]

By September 1935, the failure of the Service to clarify its plans for the Outer Banks drew the concern of George M. Wright, who was in charge of the NPS Wildlife Division. Wright was long remembered for his pioneering efforts to establish baseline flora and fauna inventories in national parks and he certainly did not want to derail the pending establishment of a new wildlife refuge. Wright wrote

71. "May Boost the 'Banks' More than We Dreamed: News of Great Developments in Hatteras Section Promises Much for Future," Coastal *Times,* August 2, 1935, 1.
72. As reported by David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 18-19.
73. A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 3, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore files, Harpers Ferry Center Library, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Others at the meeting included Rep. Warren, his assistant Herbert , Senator Bailey, Hopkin's assistant Aubrey Williams, Bruce Etheridge. David Stick heard that Harry Hopkins was so impressed by Warren's proposal that his request for just $700,000, already above North Carolina's allotment for WPA funds, was increased to one million. See David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter one, 19.

several senior NPS officials stating his concern that the lack of a clear position by the Park Service over its intentions for Cape Hatteras might result in the Biological Survey abandoning its own interest in establishing a refuge. Such an event was possible because the Survey had indicated its willingness not to compete with NPS plans. However, if the Survey dropped its own plans to establish a refuge on Pea Island but the Park Service later failed to establish a national park there, then the result might well be that neither bureau obtained a protected area in the Outer Banks.

In his memorandum, Wright complained that the Service had not yet taken a concrete stand. "Some investigators say it [Cape Hatteras] should be a national park," Wright wrote, "others that it should be a national beach, which is a new category yet to be legally defined." Wright argued that there was a strong need to come to a resolution and to inform J.N. Darling, who headed the Survey, as to "whether we have come to any decision to date." Demaray asked Wright to talk with Darling.[74] It is unknown if Wright spoke to Darling, but two months later Wright advised Conrad Wirth that the Survey was securing options for its Pea Island refuge. He also disagreed with Wirth about the status of the park, stating "that the recommendation was that this area be designated a 'national beach' rather than a 'recreational area.'" Wirth, a major proponent of "recreation," replied that "the nature of the project will require close cooperation and the meeting of minds between your outfit and mine."[75]

Internal squabbling within the Service over how to define a coastal park may explain why Warren complained to Director Cammerer about NPS slowness in moving forward with its Cape Hatteras and Roanoke Island plans. In September 1935, Warren wrote that he had "discussed both of these matters with Secretary Ickes and several months ago he called for a report about both of them. Since then I have heard nothing." Acting Director Demaray replied that while several field reports on the area had been completed, the NPS had not yet made any decisions and would keep the congressmen posted.[76]

The National Park Service and Frank Stick

As the internal debate over the nature of a "coastal park" continued in August 1935, Horace Dough, Caretaker of Kill Devil Hills National Monument, wrote Director Cammerer regarding a local press clipping of a recent trip to the Outer Banks by NPS personnel. The article revealed much about NPS intentions. The information in the clipping was attributed to Frank Stick. "You will note, Dough told Cammerer, "that there is little need for me to try to keep these investigation trips comparatively secret, so long as Mr. Stick continues to give the newspapers so much information."[77]

The Park Service had only just begun to consider the creation of a national coastal park. With publicity about NPS activities being provided on the ground by Frank Stick, local interests soon began contacting the Service about their real estate. Some offers were well intentioned. A Mr. R.S. Wahab of Baltimore, who owned some five hundred acres of beach land on Ocracoke Island, wrote to donate it. According to his attorney, Wahab was "a native of Ocracoke and is very much interested in the development, as well as the preservation, of the land there. He feels that the Government will be able to do more to prevent erosion and to establish a park and thereby preserve and improve the beach property than he or any other individual could do and that the people of the island are entitled to the protection."[78] The Park Service was not in a position to accept donated land at such an early state, although the offer did support Stick's claims about potential land donors for a park.

74. George M. Wright, Chief, Wildlife Division, Memorandum to Mr. Demaray, et al, September 26, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
75. George M. Wright, Chief, Wildlife Division, Memorandum for Mr. Wirth, November 25, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
76. Lindsay Warren, Letter to Arno B. Cammerer, Director, September 27, 1935, and A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to Hon. Lindsay C. Warren, October 17, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
77. Caretaker Horace A. Dough, Letter to the Director, August 24, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives. Until it was dropped about 1950, the term "caretaker" or "custodian" was generally used by the National Park Service to distinguish small park managers from those managing larger units, referred to as "superintendent."



FIGURE 16. An aerial view of Camp Wright, which was established by A. Clark Stratton, under the jurisdiction of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1936. Camp Wright was located near Manteo, North Carolina, and housed Stratton's "transient" workers. When the Park Service assumed responsibility for its activities, Stratton joined the Service. (Photograph courtesy of the NARA as obtained by the NPS Southeast Archeological Center, whose employees conducted an archeological survey to locate the camp site in the early 2000s)

In other cases, local publicity generated real estate sales offers. For example, a businessman named L. U. Bailey, whose family owned land on Hatteras Island, wrote that "we naturally would gladly turn over this property for such a public park or game preserve at a very reasonable price that could be agreed upon by ourselves and your land procurement division." Bailey even noted that "several would-be speculators are interested in obtaining the property, apparently with the idea of disposing of it at a profit to the government."[79] Such offers were upsetting to NPS officials who realized their quiet efforts to nurture the conditions for creating a national beach park in the Hatteras region might be jeopardized by speculators driving up the price of land. Assistant Director Wirth explained to Bailey that the local press "have seized upon fragmentary facts and drawn unjustifiable conclusions" and "it has not been definitely decided to establish a national park in this region." Wirth explained further that "whenever speculation sets in, the policy of the Park Service will preclude further investigation."[80]

Wirth sent a memorandum to Demaray with a draft letter for transmittal to Frank Stick (and to Horace Dough). In his note to Demaray, Wirth explained that two NPS personnel who had gone to Cape Hatteras were mentioned in local news accounts credited to information supplied by Stick. They had gone to work out a program with the Biological Survey as it proceeded toward the establishment of a wildlife refuge and to coordinate in case funds requested by the Secretary for land purchases were appropriated. However, the purpose of their visit had been misinterpreted in local news accounts. Wirth expressed considerable dissatisfaction with Stick:

> While he had been interested in this area, I believe—in fact, I know—that he has other motives. Apparently, he is quite closely associated with Albert Lewis of Lewis and Valentine, big nursery men in the East, who are controlling factors in large property holdings in the Hatteras area. As a matter of fact, the last time Stick was in my office, I had to be quite abrupt with him as he kept putting leading questions to me in reference to our land program. If the Hatteras purchase program goes through, I feel we must look elsewhere for confidential assistance in the optioning of the land.

Stick was an invaluable advocate and booster of the park idea and had helped to secure the donation of land for the state park at Cape Hatteras. Nevertheless, Wirth feared that Stick also stood to gain by rising property values, which the Service had to keep down, or possibly because an expanded erosion control program might reward Stick through other business ties. The Park Service did not want publicity at this stage in the process and clearly disapproved of Stick's action.

On September 13, 1935, Acting Director Demaray notified Frank Stick that local press accounts of August 22 had referred in detail to NPS inspection

78. Carroll B. Spencer (attorney for R.S. Wahab), Letter to Department of the Interior, September 7, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives. According to NPS architectural historian Tommy Jones, "Wahab" is a name that appears in Federal census records for Ocracoke Island as early as 1820.
79. L. U. Bailey, Letter to the United States Department of Public Parks, Washington, D.C., September 10, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
80. Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to L. U. Bailey, September 18, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

trips around Cape Hatteras. "It is regrettable," the letter stated,

> that this information has been given general publicity. . . . In the past publicity in connection with acquisition programs of the Federal Government has, in may cases, made the projects under consideration almost impossible, and in some cases, completely destroyed them. We have spoken to you about publicity before, and hoped that you would adhere to our wishes. We solicit your full cooperation and request that in the future any activities we might undertake in the Hatteras area that come to your attention be kept out of the papers.[81]

Stick immediately apologized, but stated his belief that land values in the area remained stable and that no damage was done by the publicity. He also said that the released information came from Washington and North Carolina press releases regarding relief-work in the area. Reporters had confused funds for relief work and state park work, which were forthcoming, with funds available to buy land for a national park, which were not. Still, Stick admitted to mentioning some news about the NPS park plans. He explained his interest in promoting the notion of "voluntary" donations as opposed to purchases, presumably to dissuade land speculation. "One thing sure," he said, "is that the people of this entire territory are enthusiastically in favor of the national park plan, with one or two exceptions, and God help the man or the group of men who might attempt to obstruct the project." He also noted that "a different feeling prevails in many quarters regarding proposed large land acquisitions by the Biological Survey, particularly as regards their acquiring ocean frontage which might eventually be incorporated in the park."[82] In fact, some locals did later express discomfort with the refuge, the purpose of which was to protect wildlife, not provide recreational opportunity. Indeed, the creation of the Pea Island Wildlife Refuge probably precast views about later NPS efforts to create a coastal park, even though its purpose would be quite different.

Despite Wirth's recommendation to cease working with Stick, Demaray chose to maintain the relationship. His response to Stick's apology was frank in revealing significant set-backs for the park project having nothing to do with Stick. Governor J.C.B. Ehringhaus of North Carolina had sought some seven million dollars in federal funding, mostly for use in highway and bridge construction. These plans included a hard surface road to Cape Hatteras and funds to purchase land to help establish a national park there, which Ehringhaus saw as a companion to the development of the Blue Ridge Parkway.[83] Demaray noted, however, that both the governor's and NPS effort to secure park-related funds had fallen through. Regarding NPS control over the relief work being planned by other agencies, which Stick hoped NPS would oversee, Demaray stated only that "one important step has occurred in the assignment of a CCC camp to the Cape. Now we can be assured that on state-owned lands, at least, developments will not be undesirable."[84] Stick had been critical of faulty manage-ment of the initial erosion control work-relief crews. At least he and the Service saw eye to eye on the question of NPS management of erosion control efforts.

From Stick's perspective, the Park Service moved at a glacial pace. In November 1935, Stick wrote to express careful surprise to Demaray that no decisions had been made as to the location or proposed development for a park in the Outer Banks "or that you had finally passed on it in even a general way." "It occurs to me," he added, "that the sanction of the National Park Service is an absolute requirement before any action can be taken on the plan."[85]

Trying to speed up federal action, Stick paid another visit to Conrad Wirth at NPS headquarters in Washington. According to Wirth, Stick wanted the Park Service to issue "a definite statement on its stand on the Cape Hatteras Area," grant him explicit approval to use local publicity so that he might be able to secure subscriptions for land purchases from wealthy conservationists, and make certain development

81. Acting Director A.E. Demaray to Frank Stick, September 13, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
82. Frank Stick, Letters to Acting Director A.E. Demaray, September 16 and 21, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
83. "Expenditure of Seven Million in East Sought," *Elizabeth City Daily Advance,* September 20, 1935, pp. 1, 2, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
84. Associate Director A.E. Demaray, Letter to Frank Stick, November 12, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
85. Frank Stick, Letter to Acting Director A.E. Demaray, September 16, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

funds available to help increase those sub-scriptions. Perhaps Stick had unrealistic expectations about what New Deal activism could accom-plish; NPS officials had no authority to buy private land and remained constrained by fear that the acceptance of land donations in relatively small parcels would fuel speculation that prevented future acquisitions.

Wirth replied to Stick that he had no authority to take the initiative, "but that if the state or local people can secure a promise of several hundred thousand dollars from private subscriptions, without publicity or commitment from the Park Service, we would be glad to hear their story." Indeed, Wirth reported to Director Cammerer and Associate Director Demaray that he had told Stick "that this was up to him and other outside interests and we would not be involved in it in any shape or manner." Thus, Wirth continued, "I am proceeding with this proposed area as a project that falls entirely within the jurisdiction of the Branch of Planning and State Cooperation." In other words, the Park Service would continue its CCC efforts while engaging state officials and local citizens interested in establishing a national park, but without taking the lead. Wirth also noted that he had not told Stick that Secretary Ickes had approved ten thousand dollars in Public Works funds to prepare a development program.[86] No doubt, Wirth remained anxious not to further fan local expectations regarding NPS intentions.

Once again, the Park Service found out how difficult it was to control the flow of information when, just before Christmas, press reports appeared announcing that "plans for four national beaches and seashore recreational areas in North Carolina are under consideration by the National Park Service." According to one account, the agency was planning to study these areas to determine suitable sites, cost, desirability and type of development. In fact, despite NPS efforts to prevent the disclosure of misleading information, the account stated that "following the purchase of land by the Park Service," the areas were to be suitably developed to meet their intended purpose. The article more accurately noted NPS interest in preserving public access to free beaches, especially for "people of the low income groups," at a time when many desirable beaches were being quickly developed commercially. Finally, it was reported that PWA funds of ten thousand dollars were to be spent on a beach park feasibility study.[87]

The North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project

Late in 1935 or early in the spring of 1936, Clark Stratton began to move his men from the Fort Eustis Transient Camp in Virginia to the Outer Banks. There he eventually established eight or so federal work camps.[88] At Cape Hatteras, Stratton settled some 1,600 transients who were assigned to various projects for controlling the erosion of sand dunes. Stratton also assumed authority over the CCC camp near Buxton (North Carolina SP-6), which was assigned to work on Cape Hatteras State Park. The camp was engaged in constructing facilities for the park but much of its work also involved erosion control. In total, Stratton cited responsibility for some three thousand men, including the relocated transients from Fort Eustis and the existing CCC camps.

Stratton established transient camps at Carolla and Rodanthe, at Kings Point near Buxton, and on Ocracoke Island. Two were also established on the mainland at Manns Harbor and Coinjock, the purpose for these camps being the acquisition of myrtle and bay bushes, which were then used to construct fences for dune building on the banks themselves. Incidentally, it was also necessary to buy stock for some plantings from the North Carolina State Nursery. The nurseries were used because outside nurseries were not able to produce all the native grass species needed for the project.[89] The area's first CCC camp, Camp Virginia Dare,

86. Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth, Memorandum to Mr. Cammerer and Mr. Demaray, November 20, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
87. Unattributed press clipping from Baltimore, Md, entitled "Consider Plans for Free Beaches," December 19, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
88. William Mangham, ed., *A Guide to Forestry Activities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee* (Appalachian Section, Society of American Forests, January 1939), 107-112; and A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 3, in CAHA files, HFC. There are some discrepancies in timing and numbers of workers in accounts of the time and Stratton's later memory of events.

remained under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Biological Survey.

The Biological Survey was cognizant of the internal NPS debate over the nature of a "recreational area." It doubted whether the Park Service would be able to establish any type of national park at Cape Hatteras. The Biological Survey thus pushed ahead with its own plans and Congress authorized its Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge in the spring of 1937.[90] Eventually, it was to purchase or acquire some 5,834 acres from waterfowl hunting clubs on Pea Island. To improve this land for habitat purposes, CCC crews from Camp Virginia Dare excavated a series of artificial ponds after first building a line of barrier dunes for their protection.

The erosion control methods the Biological Survey pioneered for its wildlife refuge were an important benefit to Stratton, who could easily draw upon Biological Survey expertise after he established his own headquarters near Manteo on Roanoke Island in the spring of 1936. In similar respect to the establishment of Camp Virginia Dare, which preceded the creation of the Pea Island refuge, the establishment of Stratton's work-relief camp near Manteo marked the true beginning of NPS efforts on behalf of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

In May the Park Service moved toward greater de facto involvement at Cape Hatteras. The status of the area remained uncertain, but the Park Service began to assemble experts for a team of supervisors who could manage a "soil fixation" project. According to Assistant Director H. C. Bryant, "an attempt will be made to anchor the existing dunes, to build barrier dunes, and to retard the process of shore erosion in Cape Hatteras State Park and the adjoining area."[91] Soon after, a multi-agency conference was held at the park on erosion and the migration of sand dunes. C. W. Cooke, a geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, attended and filed a report. According to Survey Director W.C. Wendurhall, the "report describes present and recent geologic processes, an appreciation of which is essential to those undertaking sand-dune control."[92]

In his "Notes on the Hatteras Region," Cooke outlined the peculiar geological characteristics of the Outer Banks. He began by describing how melting continental ice caps at the end of the Pleistocene epoch had raised global sea levels by some twenty-five feet. The rising sea flooded Pamlico plain leaving small peaks above water to form barrier islands while submerged areas became shoals. According to Cooke:

> Conditions similar to those of the present may be expected to continue for a long time—perhaps for as long as the sea maintains its present level. The barrier islands will continue to be pushed gradually landward and may eventually merge with the mainland. The sounds will continue to be slowly silted up by sand blown from the barrier islands and brought down by streams from the mainland. Much of them will be converted into tidal marshes penetrated by ramifying systems of tidal channels. Inlets will continue to migrate; new inlets may open and old ones close, subject dominantly to the forces of the prevailing winds but temporarily modified by the vagaries of storms. These processes cannot be stopped nor can they be much retarded.[93]

89. A.C. Stratton, Project Manager, Letter to Herbert Evison, February 12, 1954, National Park Service Records, Record Group 79, Box 318221, "K58 Special Articles Proposed by Other Than Service Personnel, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia; A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 3-4, in CAHA files, HFC; and William Mangham, ed., *A Guide to Forestry Activities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee* (Appalachian Section, Society of American Forests, January 1939), 107-112.
90. The Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge was authorized by an act of Congress on May 17[?], 1937 [PL?] and established by Presidential Executive Order 7864 on April 8, 1938 (3 Federal Register 863, April 12, 1938). Congress provided funds for the purchase of lands to be included in an expansion of the wildlife refuge system in 1933 but many of the lands purchased were considered sub-marginal. The CCC was thus employed to improve these for wildlife habitat purposes, as in the case of Pea Island. Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge (16 U.S.C. 459-459a-9) -- The Act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 669), as amended by the Act of June 29, 1940 (54 Stat. 702), established the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, and provided that although the refuge would continue as such, it would be administered by the National Park Service. Public Law 229, approved October 29, 1951 (65 Stat. 662), authorized granting a road easement through the refuge.
91. Assistant Director H. C. Bryant, Letter to Dr. Douglas W. Johnson, May 9 , 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
92. Director W.C. Wendurhall, U.S. Geological Survey, Letter to A.E. Demaray, National Park Service, June 10, 1936, pages 1, 8-9, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
93. C. W. Cooke, "Notes on the Hatteras Region," Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

Thus, the barrier islands were slowly and unalterably migrating toward the mainland, but that movement could be somewhat retarded by constructing groins and wind breaks. Cooke also discussed how to grow vegetation on sand dunes and the need to increase the height of the dunes to prevent storms from opening new inlets. He advised against the closing of existing inlets but offered suggestions on how to encourage natural forces to do so. He recommended that the steepness of slopes be reduced before attempts were made to grow grass.[94] These basic facts would serve to dominate NPS management themes at Cape Hatteras throughout the relief era and beyond.

Cooke's report shows that the Park Service was aware of the dynamic environmental characteristics of the Outer Banks at the time that it first began to consider coastal areas as national parks. It was also clear that agency management would have to adapt to those characteristics. Much enterprise in the Outer Banks required government to support efforts to the maintenance of stable infrastructure. For example, to gain War Department support for its plans during the summer of 1936, the Park Service had to convince the War Department's Beach Erosion Board that it would not interfere with navigational work at Oregon and New Inlets. Acting Director Demaray explained that while the agency sought to acquire enough property to build "a complete and adequate biotic and recreational unit" to preserve it from being "built up with the cheaper type of cottage, and beach development," efforts to keep the channels open would only benefit recreational use of the area.[95]

As long as the Park Service continued to define a national seashore as a "recreational" area that protected a "biotic" environment it would continue to retain an inherent contradiction that considered some types of development as beneficial for recreational uses while others were seen as negative from a "biotic" point of view. The dividing line between these two notions would shift with time, but those shifts would have less to do with the forces of nature than the forces of politics. As if to illustrate the point, Congress passed a beach improvement act on June 26, 1936 (49 Stat. 1982).[96] This act declared it to be federal policy to assist in the construction (but not maintenance) of works that improved and protected beaches along shores where federal interests were involved, including the prevention of erosion due to the action of the waves, tides, and currents. Congress wanted to prevent property damage and to promote and encourage the healthful recreation of the people. This act, in conjunction with the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Act of 1936 (discussed below) moved the Park Service decisively toward deeper involvement in the Outer Banks.

On August 1, 1936, following passage of the beach improvement act and possessing some scientific basis for its operations, the National Park Service assumed full responsibility for the "sand fixation project" on the Outer Banks.[97] The agency had provided technical supervision for the transient work camps since their inception, but now the WPA turned over equipment, too, including an observation plane powered by a 450-horsepower motor. The plane was used to check on erosion-control operations from the air as well as for emergencies. This aircraft was reported by the *New York Times* as the first ever owned and operated by the National Park Service.[98]

Eventually, the project deployed two. In fact, according to Stratton, the beach erosion control project was not only novel and experimental, it was the largest relief-era project administered by the Service. Besides aircraft and thousands of transient and CCC workers, the operation was equipped with a radio-system and at one point Stratton oversaw a fleet of up to twenty-seven barges and nine tugboats used to ferry supplies.[99]

94. Director W.C. Wendurhall, U.S. Geological Survey, Letter to A.E. Demaray, National Park Service, June 10, 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
95. A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to Captain Frank Bowman, U.S. Beach Erosion Board, August 20, 1936, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, National Center for Cultural Resource.
96. See, Act of June 26, 1936 (49 Stat. 1982), as cited in *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941).
97. "Bi-weekly Report of the Branch of Recreational Planning and State Cooperation," August 25, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
98. "Park Service Gets Plane," *New York Times,* September 16, 1936, Section III, 5.
99. A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 5-6, in CAHA files, HFC.

An advance detachment of CCC Company 3423 assigned to Cape Hatteras State Park arrived on August 12, 1936. Initially, CCC quarters were established in the vacant lighthouse keepers dwellings and camp enrollees began work on September 27, 1936.[100] The camp at Buxton was administered in cooperation with the state, but from its inception it was under the formal jurisdiction of the National Park Service. According to Stratton, administration of the erosion control work at Cape Hatteras was transferred to the Park Service due to the efforts of Assistant Director Conrad Wirth by virtue of his authority as the NPS coordinator for the state parks and recreation program. Stratton recalled meeting with Wirth and Rep. Warren not long after his arrival in the banks. They in turn met with WPA officials. Eventually, an agreement was reached, in Stratton's words, "that the administration of this project should be turned over to the National Park Service because it would be the forerunner of the National Seashore." To honor Wirth's effort, Stratton decided to call his main camp on Roanoke Island "Camp Wirth." However, when Secretary Ickes heard about it, he made it known that it was not appropriate to use the names of living persons, so the camp was renamed in honor of the late aviator Wilbur Wright. Excepting Camp Virginia Dare, the Park Service remained in charge of the North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project until it was terminated by the onset of World War II.[101]

Soon after the Park Service took over administration of the project, Frank Stick wrote Acting Director Demaray advising him that it was not wise to pursue further land donations until the Service finalized its plans for the Outer Banks. Stick was trying not to agitate NPS officials, but was apparently frustrated about having lined up certain land donations for the national seashore project and could not act on them. Nevertheless, he was pleased with the erosion control program. In October he



FIGURE 17. Relief workers constructed hundreds of miles of sand fences during the 1930s along the Outer Banks. (NPS photographs from CAHA archives)

told Demaray that "since the National Park Service took over the W.P.A. camps, we have perceived a vast improvement both in the morale of the camps and in actual achievement."[102] Stick was not alone in that assessment. A few weeks earlier Rep. Warren had written Director Cammerer that "this project is being operated to the entire satisfaction of everyone who has any interest in it including the Department of Conservation and Development of North Carolina and myself. On account of its efficiency it has attracted widespread attention."[103] The reason for Warren's praise, however, was sudden concern about a major NPS management change.

On August 15, 1937, the Park Service implemented a plan to divide its administrative management structure into regional divisions. This plan meant that responsibility for NPS work-relief projects at Cape Hatteras would be transferred from direct Washington oversight to the new regional office in Richmond. Warren was quite concerned about this change, which was driven by the need for the NPS organizational structure to mirror that of the CCC and other government bureaus. "It is with the greatest regret," Warren wrote, "that I hear of this contemplated move and I am urging you to reconsider and operate the work upon the present basis."[104] Cammerer received similar letters from U.S. Senators Josiah W. Bailey and Robert Reynolds.

100. E.J. Byrum, Project Superintendent, "Summary of Work Done on Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Area," [ca. 1939], in "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.
101. A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 6, CAHA files, HFC; A.C. Stratton to Herbert Evison, February 12, 1954, NPS Records, Record Group 79, Box 318221, "K58 Special Articles Proposed by Other Than Service Personnel, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
102. Frank Stick, Letter to Acting Director A.E. Demaray, October 24, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
103. Lindsay Warren, Letter to Arno B. Cammerer, August 23, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

Cammerer explained "the work that has been assigned to Mr. H. E. Weathermax [under Conrad Wirth] here in Washington has grown to such proportions that it must have his full time. The project is well organized and operating smoothly, and we shall see that no change is made that will impair its functioning."[105] Cammerer explained that all functions within a region had to be placed under the control of the local administrator, but assured Warren that no local officials would be changed. Cammerer was serious about not disrupting the erosion control project and specifically told the newly created Region One director: "Make no change whatsoever in any procedure now in effect without first obtaining the approval of this office. . . . There is a very good and sufficient reason why this project should not be disturbed any more than is absolutely necessary at this particular time. We are relying upon you to carry out these instructions to the letter."[106] An absence of further congressional complaints suggests that implementation of the reorganization, at least regarding the Outer Banks project went smoothly.

Ultimately, relief-era efforts to control erosion along the Outer Banks were considered successful and were revived during the 1950s. However, no genuine final report or detailed analysis was ever produced "because of the outbreak of war and our subsequent loss of engineering personnel."[107] Between 1937 and 1941, several million linear feet of fencing was posted, millions of trees and shrubs along with several hundred acres of grass were planted, and miles of dykes and jetties constructed. The most authoritative account of the matter may be a report by Clark Stratton in 1942. He found that coastal erosion control efforts had stopped tides from flowing over the islands to harm transportation, vegetation, and beach. As a result, transportation on the island had improved while fresh water in Currituck Sound was restored. Moreover, coastal reclamation had brought much needed economic benefit to many in the Outer Banks while the wintering grounds for migratory water fowl had increased, which, of course, promoted better hunting and fishing. Finally, Stratton claimed that the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse itself had been saved from collapsing into the sea because dunes constructed by CCC crews had restored several hundred feet of beach lost previously to erosion.[108]

One further problem threatened to undermine this burgeoning list of accomplishments, and that was racism. The establishment of work-relief camps employing African-Americans continued to bedraggle NPS erosion control operations in the Outer Banks. During the summer of 1937, resentful locals pressured the Currituck County Board of Supervisors to remove a "colored" camp that had already been established, but not all Bankers were so bigoted. Worth Guard, for example, complained to Rep. Warren that ninety percent of the people favored the camp and it should remain. Warren was sympathetic, but he knew that the Park Service might accede to local demands. Warren informed Coast Guard Capt. S. C. Gray, that the Park Service was planning to follow the county's decree. Thus, he expected "the Negro camp would be removed" at an early date. If the camp left Currituck County, NPS erosion control efforts there would end.[109]

Guard persisted, however, and planned to organize a mass meeting to save the camp, because, he insisted, a lot of people wanted the work to be done

104. Ibid.
105. Arno B. Cammerer, Letter to Lindsay G. Warren, August 30, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
106. Assistant Director, Letter to Regional Director, Region I, August 28, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
107. According to A.W. Burney, Chief Engineer, NPS, Chicago, Letter to Theodore C. Maurer, Headquarters, Fourth Service Command, Office of the Commanding General, Atlanta, July 19, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6,NARA, Philadelphia, the Army Corps of Engineers had sought information about the success of NPS sand dune stabilization work during the 1930s. Burney replied as cited, and also said, "for the most part the work was done "on a basis of trial and error."
108. A. C. Stratton, Field Supervisor, "Erosion Control on North Carolina's Outer Banks," August 13, 1942, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Philadelphia.
109. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to S.C. Gray, July 20, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 293 (July 20-31, 1937); Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Capt. G.G. Snow, August 10, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937); and Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Worth Guard, Colington, August 12, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937); all in Special Collections, UNC.

whether by a white or black work-relief unit. Warren advised him that it was better to work quietly with the county commissioners.[110] An agile administrator, Clark Stratton saved the project by successfully negotiating a compromise with the Currituck County Commission. The Park Service agreed to speed up its erosion-control work so that the Currituck camp could be closed by January 1, 1938. Stratton was ready to move immediately and this plan seems to have been implemented.[111]

In the meantime, the white CCC camp at Cape Point also faced problems. The state had to manage its several hundred acres as a state park until Congress, the National Park Service, and North Carolina could negotiate mutually accepted terms for the establishment of a nationally protected area. Because it was impossible to know how long that process was to take, Bruce Etheridge directed his state parks branch to develop a master plan for its new Cape Hatteras State Park. The plan was completed in early 1937 by Thomas W. Morse, the Assistant-in-Charge of State Parks, who was challenged to plan for an area that had to maximize the contributions of the existing CCC camp while not conflicting with potential development sought by the Park Service. Fortunately, state officials envisioned the area's development in terms similar to NPS officials and believed that the park existed "to restore, protect, and preserve a portion of the 'banks'," to allow public access to sport fishing and "reasonable accommodations for sportsmen and vacationists," and to "promote wildlife welfare."[112]

Still, differences of opinion existed between state and NPS officials over park development. NPS officials did not want structures constructed at the site until the still experimental sand erosion work had proved itself satisfactory. The Park Service also wanted to delay construction until it was more clearly known whether the area would become part of a national recreation area. Morse, on the other hand, thought that the erosion control work done up till early 1937 demonstrated the feasibility of such development. In fact, he thought that the state park "was almost immune from damage" from the sound side. To provide certain services, new construction was needed. Such development, Morse argued, would be in no more jeopardy than Fort Macon State Park, which was located on Bogle Banks across from Morehead City, or private buildings at Nags Head. Morse stated emphatically that "Cape Hatteras State Park is the first reasonably safe place for structures between Oregon and Hatteras Inlet." The existence of the lighthouse and its facilities strongly suggested this truth. Morse did not foresee a larger park developing in the near-term, but was willing to defer to NPS wishes in temporarily delaying state action.

With some reservation, he concurred with the work plan for the CCC camp, which was jointly overseen by the state and the Park Service.[113] The existence of Cape Hatteras State Park was a milestone in the creation of a national seashore; but a state organization with potentially different views about the future of the area as a public trust was now in charge of the core component of what the Park Service

110. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Worth Guard, Collington, August 31, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 295 (August 16-31, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.

111. A. C. Stratton, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, September 15, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 296 (September 1-15, 1937), Special Collections, UNC. NPS erosions efforts apparently continued after this date using white CCC enrollees because the Park Service was concerned by an effort to repeal the county's ordinance prohibiting free-ranging livestock. "In the event this bill passed," said Edward B. Rogers, Acting Superintendent of Recreation and Land Planning, "it would, of course, be impossible for the Service to continue the beach erosion project in that county." Herbert Evison, Memorandum to R. Bruce Etheridge, March 1, 1939; and Edward B. Rogers, Acting Superintendent of Recreation and Land Planning, Memorandum to the Regional Director, February 13, 1939; both in Records Group 79, Records of the NPS, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

112. Thomas W. Morse, Master Plan Report to accompany Master Plan for Cape Hatteras State Park (North Carolina, SP-6), February 25, 1937, in "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

113. Thomas W. Morse, Master Plan Report to accompany Master Plan for Cape Hatteras State Park (North Carolina, SP-6), February 25, 1937, in "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. Note, Morse was not in charge of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. However, after the Coast Guard transferred the light to the Park Service, at least one report indicated some willingness by NPS officials to turn the light itself over to state authority with the understanding that it was to be included in any future national seashore. The Park Service did surrender control of the light during World War II, but not to the state. See "Doris Duke Cromwell Named on Park Board," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 14 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

hoped would grow into a national park. At a later date, the dynamic inherent in this situation was to become more pronounced.

The Acts Creating "Cape Hatteras National Seashore"

On June 23, 1936, President Roosevelt signed an "act to authorize a study of the park, parkway, and recreational-area programs in the United States, and for other purposes" (49 Stat. 1894). Like the Historic Sites Act of 1935, the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act of 1936 significantly expanded the range and type of land areas that could be preserved and managed by the National Park Service.

The act authorized the Park Service to conduct broad studies to gather data helpful in developing a nationwide plan that coordinated the creation of public park, parkway, and recreational-area facilities. It also recommended specific additions to the national park system to provide recreation opportunities. Section 2 of the act also authorized the Secretary of the Interior through the Park Service to aid states and their political subdivisions to establish parks and recreation areas. The Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act capped and sanctioned a decade of discussion about the need and availability of recreational resources in a nation with a burgeoning population. The resulting study was to include extensive surveys, analysis, and recommendations of existing recreation facilities at all levels and their potential for development.[114]

The Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act departed from past agency practice by directing the Park Service to embrace recreational land use planning. It still emphasized the philosophy of NPS founder Stephen T. Mather, who wanted parks to constitute lands only of national-level significance. Nevertheless, the study, published in 1941, was the first to review and propose many of the now existing national seashores, lakeshores, parkways, and recreation areas.[115] According to Wirth, the act also spurred an extraordinary blossoming in the development of state parks. Some forty-six state park system plans were drafted primarily because states were not likely to receive CCC camps and their work-relief projects without such plans.[116]

In January 1937, the Park Service issued a brochure detailing the issue of land use and the need for a comprehensive survey as authorized by the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act. The brochure defined conservation as "the dedication of particular natural resources to the use for which they are best suited." According to the brochure, the study and analysis of land use in a particular area might conclude that recreation is the highest or the only use to make of some areas while in others it might be one of several concurrent uses.[117]

More importantly, the brochure announced a new way to classify recreational areas. Before, a recreational area was defined by its administrative status. For example, a local park was deemed a location for the pursuit of recreational activities without any necessary regard for the protection of natural or cultural resources. A national park, on the other hand, was mainly established to protect such resources. The president's National Resources Committee reviewed the terms and definitions then in use by federal and other agencies and proposed instead the classification of recreational areas under four principal headings: primitive, modified, developed, and scientific.[118] These categories of land use were applied to newly designated recreational areas, including Cape Hatteras. Unfortunately, even these categories, especially as applied to Cape Hatteras,

114. *Procedure for Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area Study* (National Park Service January 1937), 2, cited in Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 120.
115. Larry M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994), 113.
116. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).
117. Ibid. See also, *Procedure for Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area Study* (National Park Service January 1937), 2, cited in Unrau and Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, 120. Incidentally, the brochure also defined the types of recreational activity that should be considered in parks: Physical: sports of all kinds—hiking, riding, etc.; Aesthetic: appreciation of beauty as manifested in nature, art music, drama, etc.; Creative: self-expression through handicraft, writing, painting, etc.; Intellectual: avocational pursuits such as study of history, archaeology, geology, etc.; Social: group or family gatherings, games, and the like. Because these activities could be pursued in all parks, the use of these categories faded with time.
118. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*.

faced serious testing and later modification. Nevertheless, according to NPS historians Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, the national recreation study led the Park Service to establish four new types of parks in the Park System: Recreational Demonstration Areas, national parkways, national recreation areas, and national seashores. Heavy NPS involvement in all of these areas where recreation was emphasized, as opposed to natural beauty or history, signified its emergence as the lead federal authority on the subject.[119] The Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act forced the Park Service to begin serious thought about how recreational areas should be developed and managed. Cape Hatteras, as the first national seashore, played a central role as a test case while the Park Service sorted out its new responsibilities. The act also played an important role in boosting the influence of Conrad Wirth, who was tasked to oversee these innovations and who remained involved in the Cape Hatteras project throughout what proved to be a remarkable NPS career.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore relates to the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Act somewhat as Mesa Verde National Park relates to passage of the American Antiquities Act. The latter two were authorized by Congress in 1906 to staunch the looting of ancient Native American ruins. The supporters of these archeological protection acts, and their arguments, were overlapping. Similarly, supporters of the park, parkway, and recreation study, which included much focus upon the protection and use of coastal areas for recreational purposes, saw Cape Hatteras as the foremost example of a possible seashore recreational park. Additionally, concurrent congressional interest in erosion control, as demonstrated by passage of the beach improvement act in June 1936, also motivated interest in a national park in the Outer Banks. Undoubtedly, the recreational and erosion control acts of 1936 spurred Rep. Warren to begin work on "an act to provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore." He had a preliminary draft of this bill by January 5, 1937.[120]

Warren understood the need to work with the Park Service to ensure that his bill incorporated its technical requirements, at least as far as they had been developed. Indeed, he had asked the Park Service to draft the bill.[121] Senior NPS officials, including Demaray, Wirth, Assistant Director George A. Moskey, and others, as well as NPS officials involved with the erosion project in North Carolina, such as H.E. Weatherwax, informed Warren's draft legislation. These officials debated the bill's main provisions, including the question of whether it should be "a Departmental bill" since by that time it was understood that a national seashore would encompass the Biological Survey's wildlife refuge.[122] In fact, an agreement was reached between the two agencies to include the refuge within the seashore park before either the refuge or the park was actually authorized by Congress. The two agencies would cooperate closely over the years. By agreement the refuge was to be administered by the Biological Survey under NPS authority to allow recreational opportunities consistent with the refuge's purpose to protect water fowl habitat.

Some reviewers, such as Ben Thompson, thought it best not to leave Roanoke Island and Fort Raleigh in the bill. However, for reasons unknown, that concern fell away and the final bill would seek to include the northern area of Roanoke as well as the Wright Brothers Memorial. The final draft was approved by Moskey, Demaray, and Branch Spalding, the Assistant Director for Historic Sites and Buildings.[123]

On March 18, 1937, Demaray told Thompson that the Cape Hatteras draft bill "looks to me very satisfactory." He recommended that the bill be sent to Secretary Ickes for his approval. To ensure that approval, Demaray told Thompson to remind Ickes of his previous support for authority to conduct surveys of national seashore possibilities and that

119. Unrau and Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, 129.
120. "An Act To provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore," January 5, 1937, Copy of bill in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 7, Folder 273 (January 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
121. It is not known when Warren first consulted the National Park Service about his bill. The Service probably provided him with an informal draft bill long before he formally requested its assistance. It appears that Warren began to work on the legislation to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1936.
122. J. Lee Brown, Memorandum to Ben Thompson, March 11, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
123. Ibid.

the Park Service had been working with North Carolina to supervise erosion control work at Cape Hatteras. By then, the Park Service had also acquired the "Old Cape Hatteras Lighthouse," and wanted now to make the whole area a park.[124]

In April, Director Cammerer submitted the proposed Cape Hatteras legislation to the Secretary for his signature. The Outer Banks had emerged as the first and foremost of the twelve areas studied by the Park Service as potential national beaches. The region's strength was its relative proximity to nearly ten million people, "an atmosphere of remoteness which is relatively unspoiled by commercial recreational development," and protected water for bathing and other sports. Cammerer did remind Ickes that a sand fixation project was already underway with North Carolina providing WPA funding and that the old lighthouse, with the Secretary's approval, had been transferred from the Bureau of Lighthouses. North Carolina was willing to turn over the adjacent state park for use as a national park. Cammerer recommended that a suitable portion of the area be acquired and designated as a national seashore, which was to include the islands of Chicamacomico, Ocracoke, Bodie, Roanoke, Collington, and adjacent waters. The villages in the area were not included within the park area but commercial fishing by village residents was to be allowed within park boundaries. Cammerer provided the Secretary with a copy of the draft legislation along with Warren's request for the draft. He then asked for the Secretary's approval to supply the bill to Warren. Finally, Cammerer pointed out the special provision that the necessary lands must be acquired by the state and donated to the federal government within ten years. This element of the bill, later amended, and often confused, was to play a key role in the establishment of the seashore. On April 9, 1937, Acting Secretary of Interior Charles West approved the draft bill and it was sent to Warren.[125]

After submitting the bill, Warren still sought advice on its contents. Frank Stick noted in mid-May that donors might be reluctant to grant land to the federal government, fearing that it would be returned to the state of North Carolina if the Park Service eventually decided not to accept the land for a national seashore. Stick suggested that any reconveyance go back to the original donor, if that was not the state, and that some kind of recognition for donors would encourage generosity.[126] The legislation did not provide such recognition, but the final bill did specify that all non-state land donated for the seashore was to be returned to the original donor if the park was not established.[127]

Warren's bill, introduced as H.R. 7022, was referred to the House Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. On May 18, 1937, the committee asked the Secretary of the Interior to comment on the bill, which he did on July 19, 1937. That same day, "after careful consideration of this proposed legislation," the committee reported to the full House its recommendations to pass H.R. 7022 "to provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes." The report added two main amendments both of which were also suggested by Acting Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman. Chapman recommended that the legislation make explicit that no federal funds could be used to create the seashore and he suggested a procedure to abandon the project if the conditions of the legislation were not carried out. The first amendment was somewhat redundant as the bill provided no such funds, but made plain that Congress was not going to pay for the park. Why Chapman offered the second change is unclear, but its effect was to release the federal government from commitment to the project if North Carolina failed to secure the land needed to create the park. Possibly, Chapman wanted North Carolina to understand that it alone was fully responsible for raising the funds and/or land to create the park. Earlier, some in North Carolina had mistakenly hoped the federal government might do so.[128]

In addition to Chapman's two amendments, Warren added his own clarifying amendment, agreed to by all, that dictated that the anticipated national

124. Associate Director A.E. Demaray, Memorandum to Ben Thompson, March 18, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
125. Director Arno B. Cammerer, Memorandum for the Secretary, April 9, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
126. Frank Stick, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, May 17, 1937 [attached to returned mail], in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 295 (August 16-31, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
127. "Cape Hatteras National Seashore, N.C.," *Congressional Record*, August 2, 1937, 8020-8021.

wildlife refuge being established on Pea Island by the Biological Survey was to be included within the national seashore under the administration of the Park Service. However, the Park Service was only responsible for managing compatible recreational use. Jurisdiction for protecting migratory water fowl was to remain under the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture, who at the time had oversight of the Biological Survey.[129]

In his letter to the House committee, Chapman also made several important points regarding the purpose of the seashore, which by explicit and favorable reference of both the House and Senate Committees on Public Lands, represent the intent of Congress:

> The area would be preserved as a primitive wilderness, except for swimming, boating, sailing, fishing, and other recreational activities of a similar nature. . . . One of the outstanding types of landscape which is not adequately represented in the National Park System is that of the seashore. It is a recognized fact that the seashore has a strange appeal to a wide range of the population. . . . The scenic theme of Cape Hatteras is that of the sand beach, which is of excellent quality for a distance of 150 miles. The fact that these barrier islands are almost inaccessible from the mainland has preserved them from private and commercial recreational development. Also of scenic interest is Diamond Shoals, which extends out into the ocean about 6 miles from the extreme easterly point of Cape Hatteras. Here the current from the south meets the current from the north, resulting in a wild, spectacular battle of surf, in contrast to the quiet, protected waters of Pamlico Sound across the narrow barrier. The area is rich in bird life. It is one of three principal migration lanes of the United States for ducks, geese, and other migratory waterfowl. . . . There are definite historical values attached to Cape Hatteras [graveyards, lighthouses, Fort Raleigh]. . . . The area is particularly adapted to concentrated use for water sports, so necessary for the densely populated sections of the central eastern seaboard [swimming, fishing, boating].

On August 2, 1937, the House Committee on Public Lands recommended passage of the bill to the whole House, which voted on it the same day.[130] Immediately following this vote, Warren telegrammed his friend Sheriff Victor Meekins in Manteo: "House passed unanimously Cape Hatteras park bill."[131]

North Carolina Senator Josiah W. Bailey, sick in bed after the Senate's battle in July with President Roosevelt and his proposal to "pack" the Supreme Court, wrote to tell Warren that his park bill should come up and would be favorably reported from the Senate Committee on Public Lands.[132] Bailey was right. In recommending passage of the bill to the whole Senate on August 13, 1937, the committee also cited Chapman's letter for "complete facts with regard to this bill."[133]

On August 14, 1937, the Senate passed the bill and sent it to the President. Warren again promptly telegrammed Victor Meekins.[134] The bill authorized the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, contingent upon the donation of ten thousand acres of land by the state of North Carolina or private gift within a period of ten years. No record exists of any debate or protest of the legislation. Chapman's suggested amendments were incorporated almost verbatim into the legislation. Again, his views, published as explanation for recommendations in two congressional committee reports, are reasonably read as reflecting the intent of Congress in authorizing creation of the national seashore.

President Roosevelt had been invited to attend the Virginia Dare ceremonies at Fort Raleigh, Manteo, North Carolina, on August 18, 1937, where he was

128. House Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina*, 75th Congress, 1st sess., 1937, H. Rep. 1271, 1-3.
129. "Cape Hatteras National Seashore, N.C.," *Congressional Record*, August 2, 1937, 8020-8021.
130. House Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina*, 75th Congress, 1st sess., 1937, H. Rep. 1271, 1-3.
131. Lindsay C. Warren, Western Union Telegram to Sheriff Victor Meekins, August 2, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
132. Josiah W. Bailey, to Lindsay C. Warren, August 7 and 12, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
133. Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, N.C.*, 75th Congress, 1st sess., 1937, S. Rep. 1196, 72.
134. Lindsay C. Warren, Western Union Telegram to Sheriff Victor Meekins, August 14, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 18. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, along with North Carolina Governor Clyde R. Hoey, on board the president's yacht on August 18, 1937. Roosevelt visited Roanoke Island to attend a showing of *The Lost Colony* play and to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare, the first Anglo-American child born in North America. (Photograph courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library)

scheduled to make a political speech and take in a viewing of the popular new play, *The Lost Colony,* by Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Paul Green. The Waterside Theatre, where the play was presented, had been built with WPA funds through the president's Federal Theatre Project. Many of its actors were also paid through WPA funds.[135] With the theater project at Manteo and the erosion-control program along the Outer Banks, the area was a showcase for New Deal activism in the South.

On August 16, 1937, Warren wrote a letter to Miss Elsie G. Cambridge, a New York writer, and happily announced that the Cape Hatteras seashore bill had passed both houses. "It was today signed by the Vice-President and Speaker and we are rushing it to the White House hoping that the President may sign it tomorrow before we leave for his visit to Roanoke Island."[136] Cambridge herself was concerned about whether the Department of Agriculture, which oversaw the Biological Survey, was going to maintain control of the Pea Island refuge. She feared that if the refuge became part of the national seashore, as opposed to becoming a national wildlife refuge, then hunting would continue within the area. "I had the impression that the entire seashore area was to be maintained as an inviolate sanctuary for birds and mammals," she stated. What was the purpose of the national seashore, she asked?[137] Apparently, NPS officials were not the only ones confused about the meaning of a "recreational" national park.

Warren told Cambridge that since 1935 the Biological Survey had acquired about three thousand acres south of Oregon inlet for use as a sanctuary for snow geese where no hunting would be allowed. Land titles were obtained by condemnation in the federal district court at Elizabeth City. The Biological Survey wanted to retain control of its new refuge, but was willing to cooperate in establishing a national seashore under NPS authority. Warren explained that he had helped to resolve some of the jurisdictional issues between the two agencies, including that after establishment of the seashore the Park Service was to absorb the refuge. However, Warren agreed with Cambridge that the Biological Survey should retain control over the area and prevent hunting and his late amendment to the Cape Hatteras bill reflected this position. The Park Service was to manage the area for compatible recreational purposes that did not conflict with the purposes of the refuge.[138]

As Warren corresponded with Cambridge, M. H. McIntyre, President Roosevelt's secretary, transmitted Warren's bill to D. W. Bell, Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, "with request for advice as to whether there is any objection to its approval." On August 17, 1937, Bell replied that "I have contacted the Departments of Agriculture and Interior informally and I am advised that these Departments interpose no objection to the approval of the bill." Bell stated that the land to create the park will be donated, although "there will be an operating cost after the monument is established which is estimated at not to exceed $50,000 per annum." There being no issue, he stated simply that "I recommend

135. Cameron Binkley and Steven Davis, *Preserving the Mystery: An Administrative History of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 2003), 28.
136. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Miss Elsie G. Cambridge, August 16, 1917, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 295 (August 16-31, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
137. Elsie G. Cambridge, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, August 15, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 294 (August 1-15, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
138. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Miss Elsie G. Cambridge, August 16, 1917, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 295 (August 16-31, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.

approval of the bill, which is returned herewith." Bell reminded McIntyre that "Representative Warren has requested that this bill receive the attention of the President prior to his trip to Roanoke Island."[139]

On August 17, 1937, as Warren had hoped, the President signed the bill prior to setting out for North Carolina. The White House immediately informed Warren, according to a note Warren sent to Frank Stick the same day.[140] The president arrived at Fort Raleigh on August 18 to give his first major address after losing the bruising political battle to "pack" the Supreme Court, whose rulings had frustrated some of his New Deal ambitions. According to one press account, written two years later, President Roosevelt asked Warren to announce from the platform at Fort Raleigh that he had signed the Cape Hatteras seashore park bill.[141]

Oddly, there was little if any fanfare accompanying the signing despite much coverage of the president's visit to Roanoke Island. If an effort was made to keep the project low key to reduce potential opposition, it also went unmentioned in letters between Warren and his contacts. More likely, the issue was of less interest to reporters than the President's visit, which was probably the biggest event to take place on the small island since the Civil War.[142] In later years the haste and confusion regarding how the bill was signed without ceremony led to the romantic story that the Cape Hatteras National Seashore act was signed by the president while en route by train to Elizabeth City to attend the Virginia Dare ceremonies the following day at Fort Raleigh.[143] That story is plausible, but Warren's letter to Frank Stick indicates that the bill was signed before the president set forth.[144]



FIGURE 19. The Congressional Delegation that attended the Virginia Dare ceremony on August 18, 1937. Congressmen Lane and Deal from Virginia, Lyon, Warren and Kerr from North Carolina, Gasque from South Carolina, Abernathy, North Carolina. (Photograph courtesy of the UNC)

Somewhat belatedly, the *New York Times* announced on September 5, 1937, that President Roosevelt had signed "one of the most important conservation measures ever voted upon by Congress, a bill providing for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in North Carolina." The paper thought it especially significant that the seashore would be the first extensive ocean frontage to be proposed for inclusion in the national park system. The *Times* predicted that at least eighty miles of the outer coast of the "old North State" would be converted to national recreational use because of its great scenic and historic significance and abundant wild-life.[145] The paper's prediction was accurate, but it would take much longer than anyone expected.

139. Bureau of the Budget Acting Director D. W. Bell, Letter to Mr. McIntyre, August 17, 1937, in President's Official File (OF 5708): Bureau of the Budget (Box 9), Enrolled Public Bills, Folder: August 15-17, 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. The author thanks Raymond Teichman, Supervisory Archivist, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Nation Archives and Records Administration.
140. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Frank Stick, August 17, 1937, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 295 (August 16-31, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
141. "Doris Duke Cromwell Named on Park Board," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 14 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, NARA, Philadelphia.
142. Given much fanfare over President Roosevelt's visit, as well as the celebration of Virginia Dare's 350th birthday and attention to Paul Green's new play, Warren's announcement about the seashore, probably brief and coming after Roosevelt's speech, was simply overshadowed by these other events.
143. In fact, the Interior Department even issued a press release incorrectly stating this myth on January 5, 1959. See, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Establishment Day, January 5, 1959, press release in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, File 318219, "A8215 Special Events—Dedications, Anniversaries, Similar Observations, 1952-1959," Morrow, NARA, Georgia.
144. There are no other materials relating to Cape Hatteras in Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal papers. What the president thought of the bill, other than implied by his signature on it, is unknown. Information supplied by Raymond Teichman, Supervisory Archivist, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Nation Archives and Records Administration, Email to Cameron Binkley, September 19, 2001.

Indeed, without funding from Congress, no park could be established on private property simply by signing it into existence. One of the first problems to overcome was the question that had concerned Miss Cambridge—hunting. No provision was made in the bill submitted by Lindsay Warren to ensure the continuation of hunting within the national seashore area. As time went on the absence of such a provision became a liability helping prevent the park's establishment.

Years later, Warren claimed that he had intended from the beginning to ensure that "the people were fully protected forever in their hunting and fishing rights."[146] However, the National Park Service had actually written the legislation, and, true then as it is true today, had a mandate and a culture that strongly opposed hunting. It is entirely possible that NPS drafters left out a hunting provision as a matter of course and Warren left it out as an oversight. Warren might not have thought the issue as important as it later became, especially if insisting on hunting would face NPS resistance. Water-fowl hunting had been a tradition in the Outer Banks, but it was the basis of few livelihoods. Most of the hunting clubs, after all, were doing poorly and the interest of their owners in relieving themselves of their holdings was part of the rationale for establishing a park. Fishing, which had been the basis of much of the Banks' economy, was not an issue for the Park Service, and there was never any debate about provisions in the legislation to allow Bankers to continue in this enterprise. But hunting was different and the authority to allow hunting within the seashore was not spelled out in the bill Warren submitted and which became law in August 1937.

By late November, however, hunting was on the NPS agenda. Possibly Warren was already seeking to address his oversight, for the Service had begun considering a proposal to allow hunting within the seashore boundaries. Most staff probably felt like Chief Forester J.D. Coffman, who protested that "National park and monument areas have always been characterized by their inviolability to hunting." He noted that there was an effort being made by local hunters to incorporate a provision for hunting in the proposed "Mount Olympus National Park." In that case, he continued, "if the bars are let down in Hatteras in this respect it will simply encourage demands for modification of national park principles elsewhere. If that occurs it may not be long before there would be little distinction between national parks and national forests except as to the greater value and use of national parks for recreational purposes."[147]

In July 1938, NPS personnel stationed in the Outer Banks for the erosion-control project were encountering "local landowners, local people who hunt for the market and the wealthy sportsmen" who were violating existing game laws. To deal with this problem, the government briefly considered issuing NPS officials commissions as game wardens, allowing them to cite violators. Clark Stratton was opposed to doing anything about it. "While we are not in sympathy with game violation in the area," he told his NPS supervisor, "it is felt that what little we might preserve acting under these commissions that it would only cause hard-feelings and hardships against ourselves and the Park Service in the present work program and the proposed National Seashore." In defining what "recreation" was to mean at Cape Hatteras, the Park Service was to face some uncomfortable choices.[148]

By February 1940, Warren was clearly seeking a method by which to ensure hunting within the seashore. He conferred with Cammerer, Ben H. Thompson, who was chief of the Land Planning Division, and others to discuss how the national seashore might allow hunting. The Biological Survey had authority to permit and regulate hunting within its refuges. Warren had alerted NPS officials that hunting would have to be permitted, but the fear of precedent-setting probably stifled cooperation. Instead, the Park Service proposed that land be donated to the refuge where hunting could thus

145. Hamilton Gray, "First Federal Beach Mapped: North Carolina 'Banks,' Including Cape Hatteras and Near-By Historic and Scenic Areas, to Be Set Aside for Recreation," *New York Times*, September 5, 1937.
146. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General, Letter to Ben Dixon MacNeill, June 25, 1952, Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 447, May-June 1952, Special Collections, UNC.
147. Chief Forester J. D. Coffman, Memorandum for Mr. Sager: Report on Cape Hatteras National Seashore, November 24, 1937, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, "Correspondence 1936-1939," folder NCCR, NPS, Washington, DC.
148. A. C. Stratton, Project Superintendent, Memorandum to the Regional Director, July 7, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

continue under the other agency's authority. This approach would not require legislation, but Warren was against it because the Secretary of Agriculture could close the refuge to hunting at will, that is, hunting would not be legislatively protected. The subject was raised with Secretary Ickes who agreed to accept amending legislation.[149] There are no accounts in Warren's papers about the amendment he soon offered that would allow hunting at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. It was probably a sore spot for him. By 1940, however, lack of progress in establishing the national seashore made it evident that hunting was a stumbling block. The culture of the Park Service was resistant to hunting while the culture of the Outer Banks was infused by it. Additional legislation was needed.

On May 1, 1940, Rene L. DeRouen, Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, took up H.R. 9274, a bill to allow hunting in Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Secretary Ickes informed the chairman that hunting on a limited basis was necessary because of very strong local support. He justified it on the basis that the seashore was a new type of park, a so-called "national recreational area." Any hunting allowed was to be compliant with the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 and banned from intensive use areas.[150]

The Migratory Bird Treaty Act implemented an international agreement between the United States and Great Britain in 1916.[151] It regulated the hunting of waterfowl species whose extensive migratory patterns meant that they traveled through or inhabited portions of the United States, Canada, and various countries in Central and South America during some part of the year. It was widely recognized by sport hunting enthusiasts and their associations at the time that unless hunting of migratory species was regulated by international agreement, then those species might be hunted out of existence.

North Carolina's barrier islands are a resting stop and breeding area for several migratory bird species that travel the main migratory route between North and South America on the "Atlantic Flyway." Beginning at the end of the 19th Century, as previously noted, several so-called "rod and gun" clubs were established in the Outer Banks, mainly by wealthy Northerners who bought up large swaths of land to provide hunting opportunities, which subsequently went into decline. The Pea Island Wildlife Refuge was created in 1937 as a waterfowl habitat preserve. Hunters supported the creation of such reserves, but, of course, they also wanted to continue hunting.

On June 29, 1940, Congress amended the 1937 authorizing legislation for Cape Hatteras National Seashore to permit hunting. The amendment to allow hunting specifically referred to compliance with the Migratory Bird Treaty Act. This provision would later be key in determining how the Park Service actually interpreted "hunting" within the seashore, but perhaps for the first time in the history of the Park Service, legal hunting was now authorized within a national park. The same amendment also changed the formal title of the park to "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area."[152] The term "recreational area" was derived clearly from the Secretary's justification to allow hunting and by the Service's desire to limit the setting of any precedent for more traditional types of parks. However, the Park Service had already defined a "national seashore" as a recreational area in its 1937 brochure explaining the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Study Act and the anticipated recreational purposes of the park were established by Congress through Acting Secretary Chapman's letter to the House Committee on Public Lands cited above. Thus, including the term "recreational area" in the title was redundant. In 1954 the Park Service authorized the original park name to be used for all administrative purposes except for formal memo-

149. Ben H. Thompson, Chief, Land Planning Division, memo to files, February 2, 1940, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
150. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Rene L. DeRouen, Chairman, Committee on the Public Lands, May 1, 1940, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
151. See, 16 U.S.C. 703-712; 40 Stat. 755 (July 13, 1918).
152. Amended 1937 act in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia. See also 54 Stat. 702.

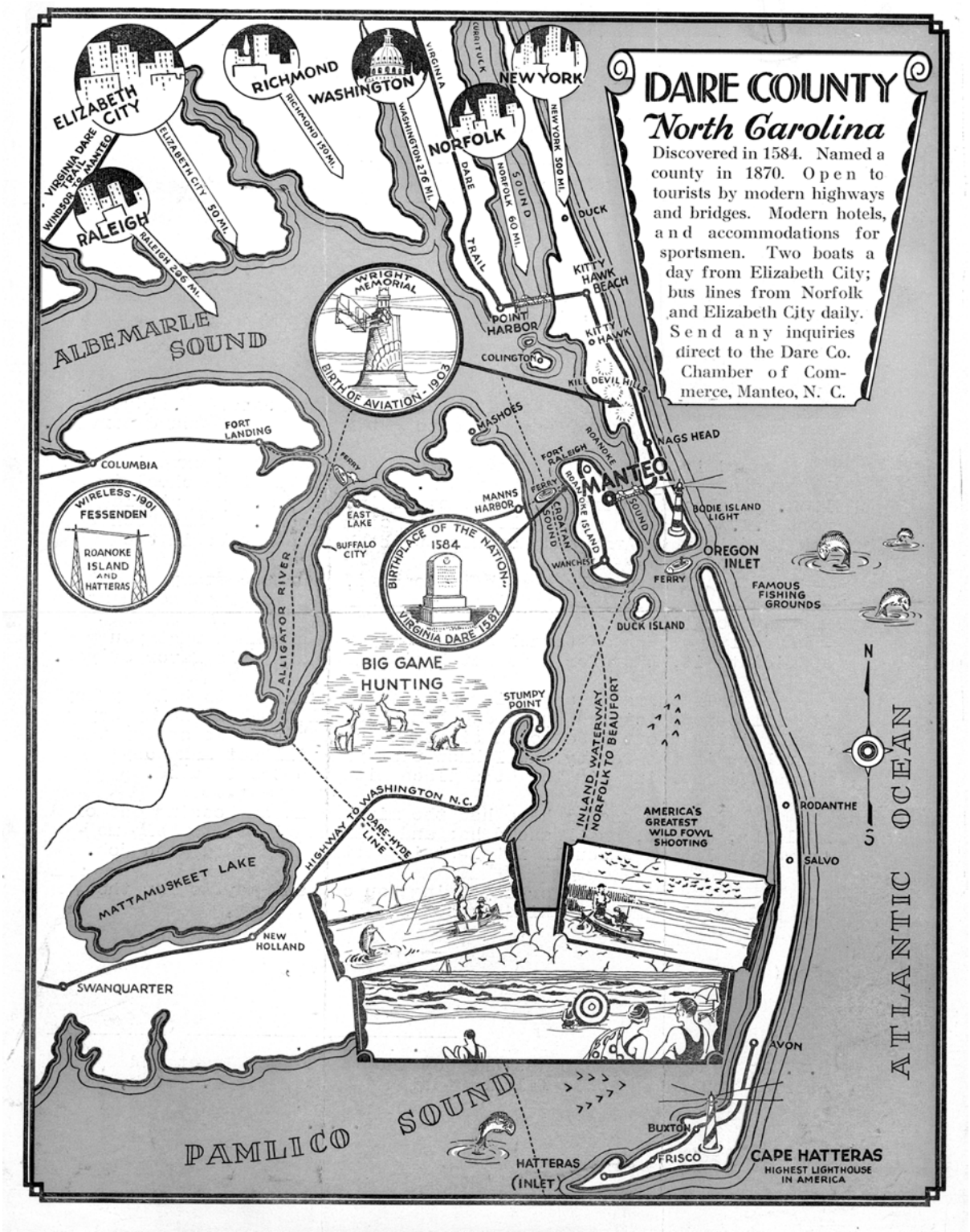


FIGURE 20. This 1935 map, located in Lindsay C. Warren' s papers, was used to advertise the attractions of Dare County, prominent among them being hunting and fishing.(Map courtesy of the UNC)

randa and documents requiring the full legal name.[153] Subsequently, the term "recreational area" fell from use in most official references to the park.[154]

In thinking about the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore it is important to realize that the park was not authorized by a singe act, but by several. The seashore's origins lie with congressional acts in 1936 that sanctioned movement by the National Park Service into the field of recreational land management and planning and that directed the federal government to prevent beach erosion. Pre-existing legislation authorizing compliance with international obligations to protect migratory waterfowl was another influence. These acts provided the basis for Congressman Lindsay Warren to submit his specific park authorizing legislation for the first national seashore in 1937 while his amending bill of 1940 was necessary to ensure a favorable political climate without which the other bills were likely superfluous in terms of the actual establishment of the park.

153. Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson, Memorandum to the Washington Office entitled "Short Title for Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project," May 10, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR. See Appendix D for a copy of this document.

154. Critics of NPS policy in the Outer Banks have sometimes claimed ulterior purposes for why the National Park Service abandoned common use of the term "recreational area" in the park's name. That argument is groundless. The expression is both redundant and awkward and what the park is called is immaterial to the purposes for which it was created. Those purposes are clearly stated by the park's authorizing legislation and Warren's amendment to allow hunting.

Chapter Two: Progress and Problems

The inauguration of work relief projects and the signing of congressional legislation authorizing a new national park in the Outer Banks were vital steps in the process of establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Many issues first had to be resolved, however, before progress could be made in actually establishing the park. For example, the National Park Service had to assert its authority over the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse while navigating uncertainty as to its ultimate administrative status. More importantly, the Service had to designate the overall park's future boundaries without fueling land speculation in the process. For their part, local park supporters had to learn how best to work with and coordinate their actions with state and federal officials, who had a variety of motivations and were often bound by departmental policy or confounded by the complexities of planning. The New Deal had brightened the outlook of many Bankers through NPS aspirations in the field of recreational land management but nothing yet was a done deal.

Disposition of the Cape Hatteras Light Station

In March of 1936, the *New York Times* announced that the U.S. Lighthouse Service was preparing to abandon one of the nation's most well known nautical landmarks, the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. According to Captain Harold D. King, Lighthouse Commissioner, "the lighthouse service has a great sentimental attachment for this old tower. It was built at the time that some of our most picturesque lighthouses were put up. We hate to see it go." The tower was originally built a mile from the ocean, but shoreline erosion had reduced that distance to a hundred feet. The Lighthouse Service attempted to controll erosion by driving steel sheet piling into the sand to form groins extending at right angles to the shore, but those efforts were unsuccessful. Instead, the Lighthouse Service replaced the old tower by erecting a utilitarian—and decidedly less scenic—tower farther inland.[155] The old lighthouse flashed its last official warning on May 15, 1936.

The National Park Service sensed an opportunity. It was now deeply involved in the experimental but promising project of coastal dune construction and erosion control. What the Lighthouse Service had been unable to do, the CCC workers might still accomplish if given enough time. If the barrier dune system worked, it would create new beaches and thus extend the life of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. No one could doubt that the light would be the central, even iconic, feature of any park bearing the name "Cape Hatteras."

Curiously, the Park Service did not itself seek to acquire the light, at least not at first. Conrad Wirth, chief of the NPS Branch of Planning and State Cooperation, had urged Bruce Etheridge at the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development to obtain the lighthouse for the purpose of developing the state park. Such encouragement was within Wirth's portfolio; acquiring property was not. That probably explains why the Service did not immediately seek to get the light under its own authority. Lindsay Warren actually considered legislation to enable this transfer, but Associate Director Demaray had one important concern—that any such legislation include the provision that if the area became a national park then the lighthouse would revert to federal ownership.

155. "To Abandon Light at Cape Hatteras," *New York Times*, March 26, 1936, Section XIII, 5.



FIGURE 21. Cape Hatteras Lighthouse showing brush fences constructed by CCC crews. Note how close the ocean surf is to the lighthouse. (NPS photograph, 1937, from "Report on Recommendations for Boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore" (NPS, January 1938))

Congress never passed such a bill, however, and the light never left federal control.[156] Instead, the National Park Service acted according to the guidelines of the national Historic Sites Act, which made it national policy "to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people." The 1935 act gave specific authority to the Park Service to acquire historic sites. The Cape Hatteras Lighthouse had played a historic role as the primary guardian for vessels traveling along one of the most dangerous strips of coast in the United States, a strip that included the infamous Diamond Shoals, known by mariners as "the Graveyard of the Atlantic." And so on July 31, 1936, under the provisions of the Historic Sites Act, Secretary Ickes approved a plan to transfer the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse property (about forty-four acres) to the Park Service for designation as a National Historic Site.[157] His reasons included that the light could be obtained without cost, it was historic, and it was "an outstanding example of a picturesque and fast-disappearing type no longer constructed." Moreover, the light fit in well with general NPS plans for development along the North Carolina coast that was also associated with the historic sites of Wright Brothers Memorial and Fort Raleigh. With Icke's approval, the lighthouse became one of three, along with Derby Wharf National Historic Site in Massachusetts and Cabrillo National Monument in California, permanently preserved by the Park Service as "key sites and structures intimately associated with the history of maritime America."[158]

Warren fully supported NPS efforts to acquire the property. When he was considering a bill to secure the surplus lighthouse for state park purposes in North Carolina, he wrote Rear Admiral C. J. Peoples, Director of Procurement for the Treasury Department, to tell him that any bill introduced by Warren should not interfere with any NPS plan to designate the same lighthouse as a national monument instead. He explained that Bruce Etheridge, Director of Conservation and Development in Raleigh, North Carolina, agreed.[159] Warren's letter shows that North Carolinians clearly preferred to see the lighthouse become part of a national park.

On November 9, 1936, with all parties in agreement on its disposition, the Superintendent of the Lighthouse Service formally transferred the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Reservation to the National Park Service, with its "illuminating apparatus and other objects which add to the historical background of the lighthouse tower" left intact until such time as they might again be needed by the

156. Associate Director A.E. Demaray, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, April 6, 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
157. Acting Director A.E. Demaray, Memorandum for the Secretary, July 29, 1936 (approved July 31, 1936), Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives. The Acting Secretary of the Treasury approved the transfer of the Cape Hatteras Light Station Reservation from the Department of Commerce to the Interior Department in accordance with 49 Stat. 855 (August 27, 1935) on the same date.
158. A number of other lighthouses are now under NPS ownership.
159. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Rear Admiral C.J. Peoples, Director of Procurement, Treasury Department, August 17, 1936, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, NCCR.

Lighthouse Service. Mr. E.J. Byrum of Buxton took physical custody of the installation on behalf of the Park Service on that date.[160] Byrum was the Project Supervisor for the Buxton CCC camp and had been designated custodian of the property in September 1936.

After acquisition of the lighthouse and its designation as a National Historic Site, the Park Service initially planned to seek a presidential proclamation establishing a Cape Hatteras National Monument. The monument would have been composed of the forty-four acre lighthouse reservation and several hundred acres of the adjacent Cape Hatteras State Park, which North Carolina was willing to transfer to the federal government for the purposes of establishing such a national monument. In fact, even at this early date the Park Service was working to acquire the required deeds and title abstracts. It even began to draft a proclamation establishing the Cape Hatteras National Monument.[161]

On December 6, 1936, the government announced that the "historic warning beacon that guided ships through the 'graveyard of the Atlantic' for many years, has been transferred from the Commerce Department to the Department of the Interior." The Lighthouse Service had "abandoned" the light in favor of more modern facilities and the National Park Service was to maintain the site "as a valuable relic of America's maritime history." Funds for the new NPS lighthouse were provided by the Public Works Administration, but no decision had yet been made about the final status of the surrounding area. Apparently, the Service had too many uncertainties about whether the lighthouse should become part of a national monument or a recreational area or just left alone as a historic site. The Park Service said it was awaiting the completion of further studies. In the meantime, a CCC enrollee was stationed at the light to serve as watchman.[162]

On December 17, 1936, Conrad Wirth wrote to Byrum about repairing the lighthouse. The Park Service now owned the light but had no official representative on site. Wirth advised Byrum to use CCC labor and funds from Stratton's work camp at Manteo. Wirth's memorandum shows how the Park Service brought together the resources of work relief in cooperation with state officials to manage a new federal property that it did not actually staff.[163] At times, however, cooperation was less than easy.

On February 14, 1939, the Park Service appointed Horace A. Dough, Custodian of Kill Devil Hill National Monument, as acting custodian of both the Cape Hatteras and the Currituck Lighthouse reservations.[164] This action upset Byrum, who was not notified and may have felt threatened. However, it was reasonable for the Service to assign responsibility for the light station to an NPS superintendent. At a March 9-10 conference, an agreement was reached whereby Byrum continued to manage CCC projects, but he was to report to Dough, who would sign necessary forms on behalf of NPS interests. In reporting this arrangement on March 15, "Inspector" C. G. MacKintosh told the Regional Director that "the work program at Cape Hatteras SP-6, North Carolina, is expected to reach an impasse about the end of April due to the completion of construction jobs in the vicinity of cabins and lighthouse and restrictions imposed on the area due to the National Seashore."[165]

Despite minor conflicts, between 1936 and 1942, NPS and state officials made significant progress in refurbishing the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and associated buildings. CCC workers repaired the

160. Assistant Secretary of Commerce J. M. Johnson, Letter to Secretary of the Interior, November 25, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
161. G.A. Moskey, Assistant Director, Memorandum for files, September 11, 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
162. Department of the Interior, Memorandum for the Press, December 6, 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
163. Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, Letter to Mr. E. J. Byrum, Cape Hatteras State Park, December 17, 1935, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
164. C.C. Stutts, Chief, Personnel and Records Division, memorandum to [unknown], March 9, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
165. Inspector C. G. MacKintosh, Memorandum to the Regional Director, March 15, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

tower's ironwork, wooden floors and doors, and windows and walls. In 1938, complaints by Rep. Warren and a local minister, Frederick B. Drane, helped prompt the Park Service to repaint the lighthouse after funding and concerns about the safety of CCC crews were overcome.[166] Eventually, the Park Service repainted the interiors and exteriors of all the station's buildings, built a new sewage and plumbing system, and landscaped the grounds.

For unknown reasons it took the Park Service some time to establish the formal historical importance of the Cape Hatteras Light Station. It was not until November 1940 that Chief Historian Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, succeeded in convincing Newton B. Drury, who had become the fourth Director of the National Park Service in August 1940, to approve his request to designate the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse as a national historic landmark under provisions of the Historic Sites Act. While Lee had hoped that the designation would "have a stimulating effect upon the Cape Hatteras National Seashore project," it had no impact on the establishment or administration of the seashore; the historic site could be included within a future national park or managed separately without any further change in status.[167]

Related to this issue, on January 4, 1941, Lee recommended to Associate Director Demaray that the adjacent state lands not be included within the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse National Historic Site. At the time, Lee felt these lands no more or less significant than many other areas and authorization already existed to include those lands within the park were it to be created.[168] Then, on January 16, 1941, Lee revised this view, with Drury's approval, and recommended that the lighthouse and surrounding state park lands be together designated as a national historic site that would eventually be absorbed by the newly re-designated Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area.[169] The apparent willingness of North Carolina to transfer state land for inclusion in the park perhaps prompted this reappraisal, but NPS officials continued to vacillate on the best administrative approach.

On December 7, 1941, military forces of the Japanese Empire struck broadly against American interests throughout the Pacific region. Suddenly, the Great Depression was over and the United States found itself at war. On the Outer Banks, the onset of World War II renewed Coast Guard interest in many of its stations and other facilities that had been closed during the 1930s. On January 29, 1942, the Coast Guard leased the Cape Hatteras lighthouse under a special permit for use as a coastal watchtower to scout for German "U-boats," which were menacing shipping lanes even before U.S. entry into the war and sunk dozens of ships in the early months of 1942.[170] The Coast Guard, which absorbed the Lighthouse Service in 1939, was also interested in restoring the Cape Hatteras light as a coastal beacon. Amazingly, by the early 1940s, coastal reclamation work done by the CCC under NPS supervision had actually restored enough shoreline in the vicinity of the light station that it was removed from danger, at least for a time.

In the first days of the war, CCC crews actually manned the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. As Clark Stratton recalled, "we used the lighthouse as a watchtower for our CCC boys to watch for torpedoed ships at sea, so that we could report them to the nearby Coast Guard station. And as a matter of fact, one fall [winter] night in 1942, I myself counted five burning ships from the lighthouse tower, in sight; these ships were burning out toward Diamond Shoals." Stratton thought the light's renewed service as a coastal beacon and watchtower was "a very good example of what you can do with methods of sand fixation and beach erosion control." The "CCC boys" to whom Stratton referred were not from the camp at Buxton, however, which was shut

166. A. E. Demaray, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, September 8, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
167. Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, Memorandum for the Director, November 4, 1940, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
168. Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, Memorandum for Mr. Demaray, January 4, 1941, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR
169. Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, Memorandum for the Director, January 16, 1941, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR
170. Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, information sheet titled "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse," no date, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

down on March 31, 1940.[171] The Park Service had to scramble to staff the lighthouse, which was left unattended by the departure of the Buxton CCC camp, some of whose staff had also attended to lighthouse visitors.[172] Stratton's main camp at Manteo, however, remained in operation until the entire CCC program was terminated due to the war.

The Park Service itself had never manned the lighthouse before it leased the site to the Coast Guard, whose personnel proved less diligent than CCC workers in their stewardship of the facility. After the war, with the seashore park plans delayed by oil exploration, proper administration of the light suffered. For reasons never made entirely clear, the Coast Guard left the tower unguarded.

In December 1946, NPS Historian Roy Appleman and Wright Brothers Memorial Custodian Horace Dough toured the site. They discovered that vandals had broken down the door and destroyed scores of the light's antique and irreplaceable French-made prisms that composed the light's fresnel lens. Some of the lens had been shot out. Appleman and Dough wanted to get replacements, but not before an NPS guard could be posted at the site to prevent further vandalism. They reported their feelings that the damage had actually been committed by Coast Guardsmen stationed nearby. The light was still under Coast Guard authority, and Dough, after putting a lock on the door, notified the Coast Guard that the Park Service was not assuming custody but simply acting to protect government property. The Park Service had already initiated steps to terminate the lease, but wanted the Coast Guard to return the light in the same condition as it was provided before the war, as per an existing cooperative agreement.[173] Park Service authority over the lighthouse was restored on August 15, 1947.[174]

In April 1948, the Coast Guard requested a special-use permit to continue its use of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, now mainly as an aid to navigation. It proposed to install a new more-modern light and to pay considerable costs to restore the lighthouse to use. However, the Coast Guard resisted NPS demands regarding costs and care of the antique lens, which had been severely vandalized under Coast Guard administration. The Park Service wanted the Coast Guard to help restore the damaged lens rather than replace it, and it adopted a similar stance for other requested modernizations. "We appreciate the fact that the resumption of use of the old tower by the Coast Guard will add additional years of historic service to the fine old historical record of the Caper Hatteras tower and are anxious to cooperate with you toward that end," said Director Drury. Nevertheless, Drury held the line on preserving NPS standards at the lighthouse, which was "a subject of considerable correspondence" during 1948. Following further discussions, the two agencies worked out the terms of the permit. The Park Service wanted to work with the Coast Guard to tell its historic story and wanted Coast Guard aid to find replacement parts for the light. Gradually, however, NPS staff began to realize that the old French lighting apparatus had few spare parts. The Fresnel lens was so well built from brass and glass that when a light was badly damaged for some unusual reason, the unit was simply replaced in its entirety. Finally, the Park Service accepted an offer by the Coast Guard to replace the broken light with a similar one retired from another light.[175]

171. A. Clark Stratton, "Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison," 1962, 12, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore files, Harpers Ferry Center Library, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The burning ships Stratton saw off the coast were probably struck between February and May 1942 before the U.S. Navy adopted British-style convoy procedures for commercial shipping.
172. Horace A. Dough, Custodian, Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Memorandum for the Director, March 19, 1940, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.
173. Roy E. Appleman, Regional Historian, Memorandum to Regional Director, December 20, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
174. Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, information sheet titled "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse," no date, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA.
175. Merlin O'Neill, Rear Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard, Letter to the Director, May 10, 1948, and Newton B. Drury, Director, Letter to Rear Admiral Merlin O'Neill, May 20, 1948, Acting Director A.E. Demaray, Memorandum to Regional Director, Region One, August 10, 1948, Merlin O'Neill, Rear Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard, Letter to A.E. Demaray, May 21, 1951, and A.E. Demaray, Letter to Merlin O'Neill, Rear Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard, June 13, 1951, all in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR

Unfortunately, no new Fresnel lens was ever found and a modern fixture eventually had to be installed. Until then, according to local writer Ben Dixon MacNeill, inhabitants of the seven villages on Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands were eagerly awaiting the day when the light was "liberated and brought home." "Life," he continued, "has never seemed quite right in the villages since the light was moved away. . . ."[176]

Origins of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission

Frank Stick was an important facilitator of land donations at the Wright Memorial and Cape Hatteras State Park, but what stands forth in his correspondence with NPS and congressional officials are constant promises of land donations and evidence of tempered frustration derived from federal indecision and unsatisfactory state aid. Most of Stick's pledged land donations were never fulfilled and NPS officials continued to have concerns about Stick. Nevertheless, Stick was influential in the creation of a mechanism that became a central focus in the story of Cape Hatteras National Seashore—the North Carolina Seashore Commission.

In September 1936, Stick reported to Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray that he was now working quietly to secure guaranteed donations for ten to twelve miles of ocean frontage below Oregon Inlet. To secure these donations, Stick wanted them made directly to the Park Service, because his donors were otherwise hesitant to hand over their land to the State of North Carolina. The problem was dissatisfaction with handling of the previous Phipps family donation for the state park at Cape Hatteras. Stick explained that a "notable lack of consideration displayed to contributing parties by state officials, once the land was acquired, was extremely discouraging to any seeker after further benefactions." For that reason, he wanted the Park Service to manage such donations directly. Another problem was that Stick's potential donors were politically at odds with several state officials. His "people would hesitate to negotiate with any department or bureau under known definite political control." Moreover, Stick claimed his own fealty to the project depended upon NPS jurisdiction. If not a federal project, he expressed worry that it would serve merely as "a ripe field for political patronage or aggrandizement, or a monument to some political satrap or office seeker." Thus, he alerted Demaray, "if it is conceived of simply as an extension of the present state park, to continue under state control, then I am automatically out of the picture."[177] It should be noted that Stick now represented himself as the "acting chairman" of the "North Carolina Coastal Commission," an authority that was not formally sanctioned or funded by either the state or the federal government and that had no governing council or legal power to accept land or cash donations.

And there was yet another problem. Even in 1936, Stick realized that Congress was not going to provide funding to create a national coastal park, so he also sought cash donations for land purchases. At Cammerer's suggestion, Stick had sought funding from state parties. However, Stick reported to Demaray, "after some wasted effort, the futility of this has become apparent to me." Instead, noting the example of Colonial Williamsburg, created in large part by the philanthropy of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Stick stated "we must look, I believe, to nationally minded individuals north of the Mason-Dixon line; to that class sometimes referred to down here . . . as "damned Yankees." On this point, Frank Stick proved quite prescient.[178]

But who would receive that cash? Stick expressed frustration to Demaray at not knowing precisely what NPS plans were as it was difficult for him to work with his donors when no one knew what lands the Park Service might want for park purposes and without an organization to handle such matters. Stick expressed the need for a body with greater authority than that provided by his "chairmanship"

176. "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Now Being Repaired," unknown newspaper, April 29, 1949, and Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Lighthouse Back in Service," unknown local newspaper, October 28, 1949, both in Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
177. Frank Stick, Acting Chairman, North Carolina Coastal Commission, Letter to Mr. A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, September 16, 1936, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
178. Ibid.

of an informal commission of which he was the only member and which had no legal standing. Stick correctly understood that a party with greater authority than his, but still independent from the state, was necessary. At first, Stick looked to the Park Service to provide the type of assurance he thought needed to alleviate the concerns of potential donors, such as J. S. Phipps, whose family had given the land for the state park. Later, he promoted an independent coastal commission.

L. A. Sharpe, who was working on the Recreational Act study, reported in April 1937 that there had been no effort to acquire additional land for Cape Hatteras State Park since March of 1936. Surveys had indicated that additional land was needed to round out the park. The failure, according to Sharpe, was "due to the fact that the entire coastal area on either side of the existing State Park was being openly mentioned as a National Coastal Park. Mr. Phipps, on the advice of Mr. Stick, declined to donate additional land."[179]

It is not clear why Stick advised Phipps not to make another donation. He was concerned about the uncertainly of NPS plans and what lands might be included in the park. Another issue was that if the Phipps donated more land it might fuel speculation on adjacent land by helping to define the likely park boundaries. NPS policy left potential donors confused, but its vagueness likewise confused land speculators. There was no reason to make things any clearer as long as the Park Service itself remained unclear. Suspicions of involvement with land speculators had also soured Stick's early relations with Conrad Wirth. Wirth even visited the Banks while Stick was there and the two did not meet, which prompted Stick to write Wirth in late July 1937 for an appointment during the President's forthcoming trip to Roanoke Island.[180]

Sharpe also noted a final point hampering land acquisition. After the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse buildings and grounds adjacent to the state park were transferred to the Park Service in 1936, it proved difficult to clear land titles. The reason was not just that land originally came in two separate tracts in two separate counties and that some records were lost in a courthouse fire, but the boundaries described in the deeds themselves were unclear and many boundary landmarks had been lost to erosion. No one was sure what land the Park Service actually owned. Because of these uncertainties and the time needed to clear them, Sharpe was worried that nearby private development might raise the cost of acquiring more land.[181] The lack of precise boundaries and clear title to the land was a major obstacle that would help delay the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1937 and beyond.

To his credit, Stick sought to tamp down land speculation. On July 27, 1937, he published an essay in the *Daily Independent* (Elizabeth City), in which he stated that "if any individuals or group feel that he or they are to profit through this altruistic project, from the sale of lands or other property, they are due disappointment." In fact, he continued, "the entire 75 miles of land which will probably be involved, must be presented as gift, free and clear of all encumbrance." Stick even explained that the park was not going to happen unless a "Rockefeller" appeared. Still, he promoted the commercial opportunity:

> Where the Albemarle district now entertains a few thousand tourists and sportsmen each season, there will be hundreds of thousands. It will mean growing and lasting prosperity to a people, many of whose normal source of income is diminishing with changes in economic conditions. But above all, only with this stretch of ocean front under control of the National Park Service may we hope for the retention of all its native pristine attractions.[182]

On August 17, 1937, the Cape Hatteras National Seashore act passed Congress and Frank Stick immediately informed Demaray that he had "sufficient land lined up for outright donation to complete the 10,000 acres required under the act, if combined with the Biological Survey tracts and the Cape Hatteras Parks lands which we already

179. L. A. Sharpe, State Supervisor (Recreational Study), Memorandum to A. P. Bursley, Regional Supervisor (Recreational Study), Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
180. Frank Stick, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, July 28, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
181. Sharpe Memorandum to A. P. Bursley.
182. Frank Stick, "Grand National Seashore Park for North Carolina," *Daily Independent* (Elizabeth City), July 28, 1937, 8, 16.



FIGURE 22. This rustic log chapel was located at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site until demolished in 1952. The building was one of many at the park similarly designed by Frank Stick. All were determined to be inauthentic and were torn town by the National Park Service. (NPS Photograph, April 1952. CAHA archives)

donated." Stick also advised that it was better "to arrange sufficient funds to purchase all the lands desired, before any additional property is acquired and even before options are asked for. This done very quietly in order to prevent speculative increase in values." Certainly, this strategy made sense in keeping speculation under control. The problem was where to get the money and who to give it to.[183] "I am quite sure," Stick said, "after working on the matter for some years, that we can hope for no donations of either land or money from either the citizens of this state or through state legislative action. Moneyed people of this state are simply not national minded, and there is too much political and sectional jealousy to hope for real cooperation from our Western legislators."[184]

Nevertheless, Stick offered his "material assistance" to Demaray and continued to claim that he had potential donors willing to help, although "it is necessary, of course, to know just what areas and tracts are desired under the Seashore Park plan." Stick may well have had "moneyed backers," but he knew he was asking for inside information that made the Park Service uncomfortable. "If the intent and purpose and the integrity of this writer have been questioned and I feel sure they have been," Stick added, "It might be well to bear in mind that every foot of land which has been donated for the Wright Memorial, the Cape Hatteras Park and Fort Raleigh has come either direct from myself or through my personal efforts. My personal expenditures in these matters has run into several thousand dollars, and I have no penny's profit thereby or ever expect to."[185]

Acting Director Hillary A. Tolson responded to Stick acknowledging his representation that he had "been able to line up sufficient land for donation to complete the 10,000 acre minimum required under the Act." However, Tolson also informed Stick that NPS had "as yet established no definite policy as to acceptance of small donations and no funds are available at present for purchase." Despite previous, albeit cursory, boundary studies, the Park Service was not certain that the land Stick had in mind was within that boundary. Tolson also noted NPS plans to soon start efforts to define the park's "maximum boundaries." In response to Stick's query about making a visit to NPS offices in Washington, Tolson informed him politely that it was not necessary at the time.[186]

During this period, the Park Service was also beginning to grapple with historical reconstructions at Fort Raleigh that were designed by Frank Stick. Stick, an outdoor illustrator and artist by trade, had become involved in *The Lost Colony* theatrical production and had designed the historical "reconstructions," that is, the log-cabin-style stockades and similar structures featured at the site to help attract tourists. As the Park Service considered adopting Fort Raleigh as a national historic site it became nervous about the historical accuracy of these designs. Indeed, once the historic site was established, the Park Service declared Stick's reconstructions inauthentic, found they had upset archeological remains, and later removed all of them to the discontent of some locals, a few of whom were married in his rustic log chapel.[187] Frank Stick was a man who clearly had the intent and where-

183. Frank Stick (on Atlantic Coast Sportsmen's Association stationary), Letter to A.E. Demaray, August 17, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
184. Ibid.
185. Frank Stick (on Atlantic Coast Sportsmen's Association stationary), Letter to A.E. Demaray, August 17, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
186. Acting Director Hillary A. Tolson , Letter to Frank Stick, August 26, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

withal to significantly advance the establishment of a national park, but aspects of his personality, both his creative vision and business relations, made NPS officials wary. This was the state of affairs at the time that the Cape Hatteras National Seashore act passed in August 1937.

Stick's concerns about speculation and the need for the Park Service to act quickly were not his alone. Warren agreed with Stick that speculation would drive up the cost of the park and that potential donors might sell out if offered a price for their lands in lieu of a donation. Stick wanted no park established until options could be taken on all the land to be included in it. Warren wanted to see action while Harold Ickes was still Secretary. He told Stick that the ten-thousand-acre clause of the enabling law was "merely permissive. Some other Secretary of the Interior might not exercise that authority."[188]

One of Stick's possible land donors was R. S. Wahab. With five hundred acres on Ocracoke Island, he continued to claim an interest in offering it to the Park Service. Like Stick, however, he wanted to know what the park's boundaries were to be. Perhaps he had speculative interests. Eventually, Wahab emerged as a park opponent. Demaray told Wahab's attorney that the Service was interested in his offer, but it did not know what the boundaries would be until a forthcoming study on the proposed seashore was completed.[189] That study got underway on October 11, 1937, and was conducted by Wirth's Branch of Recreational Planning and State Cooperation.[190]

Unfortunately, NPS representatives sent to survey possible park boundaries projected the impression that they were scouting out land values. Advised by Warren and others, Stick protested to Demaray that locals were not well enough informed about land values, as they simply relied upon tax rolls. He was also upset that the Service had not consulted him. To avoid speculation, he advised Demaray, "the idea of land donation should be kept before the public mind." He again claimed to need only a few weeks to procure donations for the minimum acres required by HR 7022.[191]

On the basis of its first cursory boundary investigation, Acting Director Demaray suggested limiting the park to territory south of Oregon Inlet, which would have excluded all of Bodie Island. For Stick, this suggestion was a non-starter because it meant limiting easy access by tourists to open beaches. In Demaray's scenario, to get to park beaches, a ferry would have to be taken and a trip made down the shoreline because no road yet existed on Hatteras Island. Stick told Demaray that he had "always been heartily in accord with your every aim and objective, which includes preserving the 'Hatteras Banks' section in its more or less primitive aspects." Nevertheless, he also insisted that "some contiguous area of ocean frontage" had to remain "accessible to vast majority of the public" who would otherwise "be barred from enjoying the privileges of the Hatteras territory through comparative inaccessibility." Moreover, he warned Demaray that if the eight-mile-long section of beach between Oregon Inlet and Virginia Dare Trail at Whalebone was not included in the park, it would be commercialized, especially if a park was created farther to the south.[192]

Finally, Stick tried to counter local fears about lost tax revenues if Bodie Island were included in the park. "The entire Oregon Inlet territory," he stated, "is held by clubs, now inactive, and all far in arrears in tax payments." Dare County was also gaining seventeen miles of highway-accessible ocean frontage

187. See Cameron Binkley and Steve Davis, *Preserving the Mystery: An Administrative History of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 2003).
188. Frank Stick, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, September 24, 1937; and Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Frank Stick, September 27, 1937; Both in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 8, Folder 297 (September 16-30, 1937), Special Collections, UNC.
189. A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to Mr. Spencer, Attorney and Counsellor, September 24, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
190. R.F. Lee, Acting Assistant Director, Letter to Regional Director, Region One, October 7, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
191. Frank Stick, Dare County Development Company, Letter to A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, October 14, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
192. Frank Stick, Chairman, Coastal Development Council, Letter to Acting Director A.E. Demaray, October 23, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.

to the north. Stick thought that all that was needed to secure the donation of these hunting-club lands was a promise to the owners that their hunting rights would be retained for several years. After airing these new concerns about NPS activities, Stick again raised the prospect of creating an association to involve individuals who could provide favorable press and give donors an active role in creating the park.[193]

On October 28, Acting Director Demaray responded that while he could not comment on the boundary until the study was completed, he was, nevertheless, "glad to have your suggestions regarding the inclusion of the area north of Oregon Inlet" and promised that Stick's views would "be taken into consideration when the final decision is made." More importantly, Demaray agreed with Stick that an association should be formed to faciliate land acquisition for the national seashore. In fact, Demaray said, such associations had been used successfully to create other eastern parks.[194]

The first NPS boundary study of the Cape Hatteras region was completed in late October 1937. Acting Regional Director Herbert Evison transmitted the historical study by Charles W. Porter to the Director on October 27, 1937.[195] H.E. Weatherwax submitted the main report on October 29, 1937. In congruence with Frank Stick's concerns, Weatherwax stated: "It is felt that the area on Bodie Island . . . south of the Virginia Dare Highway, would constitute sufficient beach area for any intense beach development which may at some future date be necessary." Areas north were too scattered and deemed too hard to supervise.[196]

A short time later, the General Assembly of North Carolina took up the idea of a formal governing body invested with sufficient authority to oversee private and state funds, manage land transactions, and offer formal recommendations to the state. In addition to the obvious need, the issue was moved forward by NPS concerns over Frank Stick's credibility and persistent badgering by Stick and other influential North Carolinians such as Lindsay Warren.

The legislation was introduced by State Senator D. Bradford Fearing of Manteo, and on March 30, 1938, the General Assembly ratified an "act to create a commission to be known at the North Carolina Cape Hatteras National Seashore Commission." The purpose of this act was "to provide for the acquisition of lands in the Cape Hatteras region of North Carolina for National Seashore purposes and to authorize a conveyance of the same and other lands to the United States of America." The act also provided twenty thousand dollars for the commission's operating expenses.[197] Authorization is not the same as establishment, however, and more effort by park supporters was needed to get the commission staffed and functioning.

Beach Preservation Spurs Park Planning

In April 1938, Arthur R. Kelly conducted an archeological reconnaissance of the proposed Cape Hatteras park area. Kelly was well-known for his supervision of the archeological excavations at "Ocmulgee Old Fields" in Georgia, which were then still underway, and had only recently accepted a position as senior NPS archeologist. Kelly found significant evidence of both English and aboriginal occupation, including a major village site vanishing into the sea due to tidal action, and recommended that major surveys be completed as soon as possible. Kelly also discussed the area with Clark Stratton, whose views he conveyed to Region One Director Carl P. Russell. According to Kelly, Stratton was "entirely conscious of the fact that he had no definite work program calculated to meet the needs of developing a National Monument area. The

193. Ibid.
194. A.E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to Frank Stick, Chairman, Coastal Development Council, October 28, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
195. Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to the Director, October 27, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
196. H.E. Weatherwax, Memorandum to Mr. Sager, October 29, 1937, Box "Proposed National Park, Cape Hatteras, Part I (12-22-1934 to 10-31-1937)," Drawer "CHNS Historic Files," Vault, CAHA archives.
197. North Carolina Commission Act found in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

program of erosion control was the original object and continues to be the program under Park Service auspices."[198]

Kelly had overseen hundreds of relief workers at Ocmulgee, the largest archeological excavation east of the Mississippi, and he thought Cape Hatteras "a great opportunity," with some five hundred laborers available, for an "expanded and more diversified program of development." Kelly argued for a large-scale archeological survey of Cape Hatteras, but specifically questioned the wisdom of beach erosion control involving sand fixation and reforestation undertaken without regard for the historical character of the landscape. Stratton, after all, had begun work in the area before it was authorized for park status. Kelly argued that "the ultimate aim of any well-thought out developmental program would be to restore as much as possible, the original sixteenth-century natural setting." He recommended a master plan to guide activities and in the meantime closer coordination between various officials.[199] In transmitting Kelly's findings to Washington, Regional Director Russell noted that he had already taken action to begin the drafting of a comprehensive plan and to formulate a new work program more in keeping with the future of the area.[200] It certainly was not too soon. The Park Service had been thinking about the area for at least three years.

The plan Russell had begun drew, at least indirectly, upon the preliminary report for the proposed Hatteras seashore recreational area commissioned by Conrad Wirth in 1934.[201] However, it drew much more heavily upon the "Planning Prospectus" published in March 1938. As mentioned previously, when Congress passed the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act and the Cape Hatteras National Seashore authorizing legislation, it gave the National Park Service an opportunity to develop a standard policy for the adoption and development not only of Cape Hatteras as a national seashore, but of all such areas.[202] The 1938 prospectus, therefore, was understood to be a model for the development of future similar areas and enunciated a broad program:

> Primarily a seashore is a recreational area. Therefore in its selection, the boundaries should be placed in such a manner that the maximum variety of recreation is provided. Thus, while the provision of bathing may be the first consideration of these areas, it must be kept in mind that a far greater number of people will be more interested in using a seashore areas for other recreational purposes. It is desirable therefore to provide ample shoreline for all types of beach recreation.
>
> Adjacent lands should be of sufficient interest for their historical, geological, forestry, wildlife, or other interests to justify federal preservation.
>
> Sufficient additional land and/or water areas should be included to protect the areas intended for preservation.
>
> The development and operation of the Seashore areas shall follow the normal national park standards with the understanding that recreational pursuits shall be emphasized to provide activities in as broad a field as is consistent with the preservation of the area. It shall be the policy of the Service to permit fishing, boating and other types of recreation under proper regulations and in designated areas where such activities may not conflict with other factors of greater importance.[203]

Regarding Cape Hatteras specifically, the prospectus outlined significant development for beach recreation on Bodie Island and perhaps on Roanoke Island. However, it also specifically stated, "It is definitely the desire of the National Park Service that the section between Oregon Inlet and Hatteras Inlet remain in its natural condition without any roads so that future generations may see this and other unde-

198. Arthur R. Kelly, Memorandum entitled "Archeological Reconnaissance to Dr. Carl P. Russell, April 28, 1938, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
199. Ibid.
200. Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, April 28, 1938, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
201. H.E. Weatherwax, "National Seashore Recreational Area: 'Hatteras' North Carolina," report filed with letter of transmittal to Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, December 29, 1934, in "Recommended Projects, Hatteras, North Carolina" binder, "CHNS Papers on Proposal, Land Tracts, CCC Projects, Mission 66, NPS War Work, 41-44, etc." box, Vault, CAHA archives.
202. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 157.
203. National Park Service, "Prospectus of Cape Hatteras National Seashore" (Washington, DC: National Park Service, March 1938), 1-2.



FIGURE 23. The extensive nature of relief-era erosion control efforts along the Outer Banks, including the construction of hundreds of miles of sand fences, forced NPS resource managers to debate the merits and limits of such work to ensure compliance with the original intent of Congress to preserve the area in a natural state. (NPS photograph, ca. 1930s. CAHA archives)

veloped sections as they are in our day." This position may have found favor with the Park Service in 1938, but it may not have reflected local sentiment. The prospectus conceded, as state park officials had complained, that some additional accommodations might be needed for visitors to the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and that some alterations were required for those areas beyond the current state park. There was no mention of hunting.[204]

On the basis of this prospectus, in late May 1938, Region One staff offered their advice on a master plan to guide development of the newly authorized but yet-to-be-established national seashore. Regional Geologist H.S. Ladd, Assistant Historian C.W. Porter, Regional Wildlife Technician W. Howard, and Regional Forester Fred H. Arnold signed the report. Like Kelly, they recommended that the area should be maintained as nearly as possible in a "natural condition." By natural condition they meant one similar to that which existed prior to the arrival of European colonists in 1584. They recognized "inevitable landward movement of the entire bar," but also that certain parts of the area had been altered by human agency—by logging, burning, hunting, grazing, and other uses, which they concluded had tended to accelerate the natural tendency toward migration. Thus, where much alteration of the existing landscape could be demonstrated, they recommended attempts to restore natural conditions through beach erosion control and dune construction. Elsewhere, they recommended that existing vegetation be protected.[205]

The idea was for the park to establish and maintain vegetation in the form of native grasses, shrubs, and/or trees in all areas where sand fixation was to be attempted. Only "such treatment will be effective," staff remarked. As for Ocracoke Island and the area north of Caffey Inlet, staff wanted these areas left untouched "as biotic succession research areas." Moreover, to avoid fresh water loss, no marshes should be drained. Finally, the group recommended attempts to protect historic areas, towns, monuments, Coast Guard stations and other development from erosion. The foremost NPS concern was that erosion control not undermine the purpose of future park areas.[206]

An example of the problems NPS managers faced in managing erosion work at Cape Hatteras came to light in August 1938. Apparently, CCC workers from nearby camps were conducting unauthorized excavations on their leisure time. Supervisor of Historic Sites Ronald F. Lee wrote Regional Director Russell to complain that "we will not be satisfied until better arrangements have been effected to control this sort of thing."[207] The area was well known for its historical association to the "Lost Colony" while recreational diversions were limited on the isolated Banks, making such activity no surprise. The second concern was more significant as it related to pro-

204. National Park Service, "Prospectus of Cape Hatteras National Seashore" (Washington, DC: National Park Service, March 1938), 11; In November 1937 the Park Service considered deleting northern Roanoke Island, including Fort Raleigh, from the seashore despite the fact that the 1937 authorizing legislation included it. Regional Director Carl P. Russell argued strongly against this action as did existing NPS historical reports. See Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director entitled "Boundary Study: Proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore," November 22, 1937, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, "Correspondence 1936-1939," folder National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Washington, DC. Eventually, provisions of the Historic Sites Act were used to create Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, which existed as an independent management entity until Cape Hatteras National Seashore was established in the 1950s.

205. Regional Geologist H.S. Ladd, Assistant Historian, C.W. Porter, Regional Wildlife Technician W. Howard, and Regional Forester Fred H. Arnold, Memorandum to Regional Director entitled "Objectives to be Considered in the Development of Cape Hatteras National Seashore," May 31, 1938, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.

206. Ibid.

207. Supervisor of Historic Sites, Letter to Regional Director, August 8, 1938, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.

grammed CCC activity that was out of sync with the goals of a future park. That November, Charles W. Porter, as Acting Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites, reported on CCC plans to conduct dune protection near Nags Head:

> In our opinion the sand fixation work should be rigidly limited to its original purpose—beach erosion. Any attempt to fix the big dunes will be in direct conflict with the bill authorizing the establishment of the National Seashore, inasmuch as the avowed purpose of that Congressional Act is to preserve the Seashore Area in its natural condition.[208]

NPS officials remained concerned. In May 1939, Porter wrote to Roy E. Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites, that tree planting should be "rigidly limited to places where woods exist today or where it can be demonstrated by old maps and other reliable historical evidence that trees once existed in historical times." Porter noted that maps collected by the Regional Geologist agreed with this view and that in May 1938, Region One staff had concluded that "the historical appearance of the barrier islands remained much the same from 1585 to 1932." Porter feared that "if planting continues at the present pace, the historical appearance of the whole area will be changed." Porter concluded that the seashore's authorizing legislation explicitly required the area to be preserved "in its primitive condition." He hastened to emphasize that he did not want the CCC work camps removed, but that NPS offices in both Washington and Richmond do better planning.[209] Conrad Wirth also became concerned with CCC erosion control activities during this period. In late April 1939, he reported that "there have been rumors to the effect that material is being taken off the Cape Hatteras Area." He found some erosion work was explicitly in conflict with NPS plans for the area. "Of course," Wirth continued, "any removal of trees or brushes for the purpose of building sand fences, etc., would be entirely adverse to the purpose for which we are asking that the national seashore area be established."[210]



FIGURE 24. Sorting materials for use in fence construction. NPS officials grew concerned that CCC erosion control projects might be harming the future national seashore. Some material used for sand fences, for example, was taken from the maritime forest near Buxton until NPS officials called a halt to the practice. (NPS photograph, late 1930s. CAHA archives)

Director Cammerer agreed that the North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project might be removing vegetation from Buxton Woods near the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse for fence fabrication, which would damage the remaining maritime forest. He ordered an investivation by Regional Wildlife Technician O.B. Taylor. Taylor reported that some ten acres had been cut, although it was mostly understory and not pines, so he deemed the damage minimal. Taylor also discovered, however, that workers had carved new roads into the area. These roads allowed locals to drive into the forest to collect fire wood, which all agreed was destructive.[211] At the same time, according to Regional Forester Fred H. Arnold, NPS officials were "stalemated . . . over the open question of whether certain existing forest stands shall be

208. Charles W. Porter, "ERA-North Carolina, LD-13, North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project, Job No. 8, CCC Classification 2008, Brush Blanket," November 29, 1938, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
209. Charles W. Porter, "Future Work Program and Plans for the Beach Erosion Control Project LD-NC-13, Cape Hatteras," May 31, 1939, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
210. Conrad L. Wirth, Supervisor of Recreation and Land Planning, Letter to [unknown], April 25, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
211. E.M. Lisle, Acting Associate Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, August 22, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia. Taylor talked to Hatteras Camp Work Supervisor H.E. Tandy, Project Engineer James R. Holland, and Project Manager Clark Stratton.

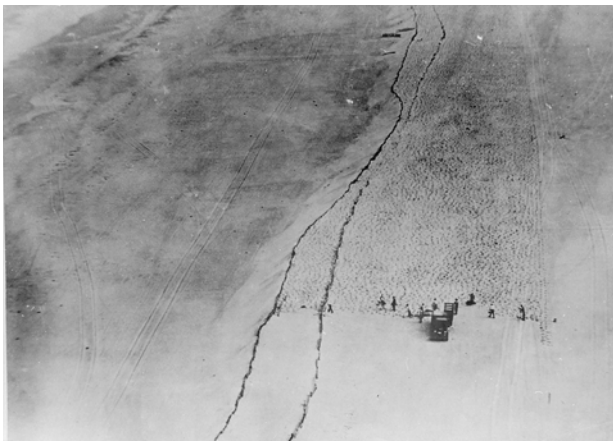


FIGURE 25. A view of workers planting grass to help stabilize dunes created behind sand fences around the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, from which this photograph was taken. (NPS photograph, late 1930s. CAHA archives)

protected against encroachment and extinction by dunes." He recommended that Director Cammerer make the final decision.[212]

Because of these problems in interpreting the master plan, a regional conference was held in October 1939 to discuss the plan's recommendations and to address other NPS concerns with the erosion control efforts on the Banks. During the conference, instructions were issued that "no work of any nature should be performed on active dunes. All efforts should be directed towards completion of barrier dunes along the beach." Similarly, because the master plan called for an airport, conferees discussed its placement to ensure a minimum disturbance to wildlife. They also requested that the area's geology and biology be studied first, and not just the archeology of Ocracoke Island, as recommended in the master plan.[213]

Initial NPS efforts to draft a master plan to manage a national seashore were problematic. There were numerous conflicts in managing what was essentially a jobs-creation program intended to stem coastal erosion and only secondarily meant to support the establishment of a national recreational area, a term whose definition was still not fixed. Nevertheless, NPS officials remained active in overseeing erosion work in the Outer Banks. In April 1940, Ronald Lee recommended against a grass-planting project on Ocracoke Island on the grounds that the project was inconsistent with the act authorizing the seashore and the preservation of its natural condition. By then he could also cite an authoritative NPS survey of historical maps by Charles W. Porter, entitled "Report on Forest Cover of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Area in Historical Times," published May 16, 1938, and documenting that the area, with only a few exceptions, was already similar in appearance to what the first English colonists had encountered. "It is therefore indefensible to either plant grass or plant trees except in those areas in which it can be demonstrated that fire or human agencies have altered the original aspect of Ocracoke Island," wrote Lee. He was concerned planting might disrupt soils holding archeological evidence relating to the Lost Colony.[214] By July 1941, such concerns finally led the Park Service to map out zones to protect Indian village sites (where clues to the colony's fate might be found). These zones allowed for a wide margin of error in guessing their limits, and the sites were then marked on the master plan being developed for the proposed seashore.[215]

As the Park Service resolved conflicts with its master plan and CCC management, concern grew that federal Biological Survey management of its own CCC operations might be threatening NPS land acquisition prospects. By September 25, 1939, the Biological Survey was using CCC workers to clear significant tracts of land. This clearing produced materials for constructing sand fences and, possibly, made land available for agricultural purposes. While brush-cutting was not deemed a threat to archeological sites, land clearing might raise real-estate

212. Fred H. Arnold, Regional Forester, Memorandum to Regional Landscape Architect, September 21, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
213. H.S. Ladd, Regional Geologist and C.B. Taylor, Regional Wildlife Technician, NPS Field Technician's Comment (form) about Cape Hatteras National Seashore Master Plan and Report, October 4, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
214. Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, "Beach Erosion Control, Project No. 42: Grass Planting on Ocracoke Island, North Carolina," April 1, 1940, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
215. Acting Supervisor of Historic Sites, Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One, July 16, 1942, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.

values. Throughout the establishment of the seashore, the Park Service remained sensitive to any activity that might make development easier, induce speculation, or otherwise hamper NPS land acquisitions that depended on large donations. The Biological Survey did not have such concerns because Congress authorized funding for it to purchase land. While raising this issue, the Park Service also informed survey officials about unauthorized excavations or "pot-hunting" by CCC workers. As Roy Appleman explained, "it was extremely undesirable for a government agency, especially CCC enrollees, to lend assistance to such work in the light of the national policy established by the Historic Sites Act of 1935."[216]

In response, James Silver, Regional Director of the Biological Survey, stated that he had been unaware of the problem. He blamed a lack of coordination and uncertain boundaries. After the Park Service supplied Silver with a map of the proposed seashore, he promised that the Biological Survey "would do no more cutting of brush or clearing of land within the recommended boundaries." The simple act of coordination with Silver apparently resolved NPS concerns.[217]

Acting Regional Director H. K. Roberts then assigned Clark Stratton to coordinate the exact determination of the boundary.[218] Ultimately, the Park Service and the Biological Survey established an official boundary respective to their properties, although it was set mainly through a de facto process because the Biological Survey had a land purchase program and funding to implement it. While the Park Service developed its plans, consulted with North Carolina officials about land acquisition, and continued to debate the seashore's overall boundary, the Biological Survey proceeded to buy and develop land for its Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge. Along with the existing Cape Hatteras State Park, the refuge thus became the second major anchor of the seashore, although NPS officials had little to do with establishing either.

Another obstacle hampering NPS planning for the seashore was road construction. In 1930, North Carolina State Highway 34 had been extended across Currituck Sound via the Wright Memorial Bridge, which provided motor access to the northern Banks. In 1932, a hard surface road was then extended down the coast past Nags Head to Whalebone Junction where the route turned west over a new causeway to Manteo. Along this corridor most development in the area was occurring. A group of locals, led by Theodore S. Meekins, a real estate dealer and former game warden, began lobbying the state's highway department to extend the roadway eight miles farther south to the Oregon Inlet, where ferry service could then connect the lower villages. In May 1938, concerned NPS officials noted that Meekins "commands attentive political ears here, at the state capitol and in the North Carolina delegation in Washington."[219]

State highway officials wanted to extend the road to Oregon Inlet, but "because of our objections," said Arthur Demaray, "these plans have been deferred pending further study to determine whether such would be in accordance with our master development plans for this area."[220] NPS Inspector MacKintosh had written the State Highway Commission to delay the project, but state funding problems may also have held up work.[221] In any event, the Park Service saw the road as imperiling its park project, because a road would raise land values

216. Roy E. Appleman, Memorandum for the Regional Director, September 25, 1939, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
217. Ibid.
218. H.E. Roberts, Acting Regional Director, Letter to James Silver, Regional Director, Biological Survey, September 27, 1939, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, NCCR.
219. Hugh R. Awtrey, Associate Recreational Planner, Memorandum to the Regional Director, May 19, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 3, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
220. A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, Letter to the *Springfield Republican*, September 20, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
221. Carl P. Russell, Memorandum to the Director, July 7,1938; and Arno B. Cammerer, Director, Memorandum to the Regional Director, July 26, 1938, both in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

and make the area less desirable as parkland.[222] In June 1938, Director Cammerer told the Branch of Plans and Design to get the master plan completed as soon as possible, since that would give the Park Service an effective tool to argue against a road.[223]

Initially, the Park Service opposed any road down the Banks south of Whalebone, but NPS officials realized that development went hand-in-hand with the creation of the park. Commercialization was to be, but the Park Service wanted to concentrate it in the villages and channel visitors into these locations in order to help the local economy and to limit the number of guest cottages, for example, like those that had been established in the state park. To accomplish this goal, Cammerer, Demaray, and others hinted that road development was probably inevitable, but that such roads should be resisted south of Oregon Inlet.[224]

Moreover, while NPS planners may have engineered a postponement of the road to Oregon Inlet, they, too, had development plans. In May 1939, the *New York Times* reported that Cape Hatteras "is now rapidly being developed into a vast recreational area." The Park Service was planning bathhouses and the development of the area's potential for "big-game fishing." According to the *Times*, "additional plans include the construction of a hard-surfaced bicycle trail from Oregon Inlet to the Cape, with stop-over lodges and huts every few miles. Aside from these improvements the country is expected to be preserved in its natural ruggedness." The paper also noted, almost in passing, the difficulty encountered by drivers heading south from the Wright Memorial. After deflating their tires to drive over sand, motorists had to follow a path along the beach depicted as nothing more than a "two-rut gash in the sand." "This beach road," said the *Times*, "is not State maintained and is called a road only by courtesy and custom. Shifting sands make impossible a hard-surfaced highway."[225] A hard-surfaced highway was possible, however, if expensive to build and maintain, and when one was finally built, it would change the Outer Banks forever.

By the end of the 1930s, the Park Service had invested heavily in its coastal reclamation project in North Carolina. It had largely adopted the theory and methods of relief-era beach erosion control and sand fixation. Nevertheless, it sought to apply these methods only to areas where evidence existed that past human activity had changed the landscape by logging or grazing and to avoid their use in those areas that appeared to be naturally created. The goal was the same: to restore or preserve natural conditions. The Park Service did not see itself as being in the business of generating new forests where none had previously existed and it did not want erosion control work or workers to damage archeologically sensitive sites. NPS officials were willing to protect beaches, however, and were beginning to think about the dilemmas of transportation. These issues would continue to influence NPS views about how to manage a coastal environment long after the actual establishment of the seashore and after scientific understanding of coastal dynamics had greatly changed.

Problems with the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission

Park advocates may have hoped for the newly minted Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to move quickly and efficiently to acquire land and donations for the seashore project and to transfer these to the National Park Service. That did not happen. In fact, on August 25, 1938, Secretary Ickes

222. Much NPS correspondence expresses concern about how new roads might raise property values. See, for example, Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, May 20, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 3, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
223. Thomas C. Vint, Chief Architect, Memorandum to the Regional Director, June 7, 1938; and Arno B. Cammerer, Director, Memorandum to Regional Director, June 7, 1938; both in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
224. A.E. Demaray, Associate Director, Memorandum to Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, June 10, 1938; in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
225. Robert Winfield, "Seashore Park Taking Form: The Outer Banks of North Carolina Being Developed by Government as Vast Ocean Playground," *New York Times*, May 28, 1939, xx1.

had to write Governor Hoey to ask him specifically to facilitate the transfer of lands to the federal government to help establish the seashore park. The reason for these delays is not clear, especially given Frank Stick's repeated promises of imminent land donations, the existence of a preliminary boundary survey, and approval to create a seashore commission. One hint, perhaps, was offered by Ickes himself when he informed the governor that "the seashore will be closed to gunners, but bathers, sailors, and fishermen will retain their rights."[226] Closing the seashore to "gunners" was not going to be an option if Cape Hatteras National Seashore was to become a reality, but that truth was not clear in the beginning. However, while hunting certainly was going to pose enough of a problem for Lindsay Warren to amend his authorizing act to specifically legalize it, the more immediate issue was probably the genuine availability of land donors and the willingness of state officials to move ahead.

By November 1938, Bruce Etheridge was also becoming frustrated by delay. He and Warren sought help from Director Cammerer. Etheridge told Cammerer that the Seashore Commission had appointed a committee after passage of the park bill to acquire land "but, seemingly, their efforts have met with little success." Knowing the area, Etheridge, stated, "I have realized that men of vision and wealth will have to be interested before any worthwhile acreage could be acquired."[227] Apparently, the acres Stick had promised were not as readily available as he had once thought, but there were other problems as well.

With Cammerer's help, Etheridge arranged a meeting in his office on December 13, 1938, to discuss progress and policy for acquiring land for a Cape Hatteras national seashore. In attendance were several NPS personnel, including Herbert Evison, who served as Acting Regional Director, E. M. Lisle, an NPS Assistant Regional Director, Inspector C.G. MacKintosh, and Clark Stratton as Project Manager of the North Carolina Beach .

North Carolina Seashore Commission Members, 1939

R. Bruce Etheridge, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development (Commission Chairman)

J.C.B. Ehringhaus, former North Carolina Governor

Mrs. J.A. Buchanan of Durham

Sanford Martin, Editor, Winston-Salem *Journal*

Josh Horns, Jr., Editor, Rocky Mount, North Carolina, *Evening Telegram*

R. Stanley Wahab, Ocracoke and Baltimore

Coleman W. Roberts, President, North Carolina Motor Club

Mrs. James H.R. Cromwell (Doris Duke), tobacco heiress and one of the world's richest women

Van Campen Heilner, New York City, best-selling author of *Salt Water Fishing* (1937).

Erosion Control Project. Lindsay Warren was there with his assistant Herbert C. Bonner, who, like Warren, would become quite significant in the history of the seashore when he succeeded Warren as North Carolina's First District Congressional Representative. State Rep. Bradford Fearing, local land owner Theodore S. Meekins, State Forester J.S.. Holmes, and Director of Parks Thomas W. Morse, who worked under Etheridge, were also present. And, of course, Frank Stick was there. Stick had been designated in the spring to acquire land but had only obtained two gifts of less than five hundred acres. He remained enthusiastic about the possibility of obtaining the required ten thousand acres and insisted that the roadblock was that the state commission had not yet been set up to facilitate the project. Others said little had been done aside from placing responsibility on Stick's shoulders. Warren was also critical of having heard nothing from the National Park Service regarding ideas he had submitted on how to proceed with fund-raising. Warren wanted the commission to seek private funds for use in acquiring seashore lands before soliciting state funds to do so. He retained this view despite Evison pointing out how

226. Department of the Interior, Memorandum for Press, August 25, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia; and "Conservation: National Seashore," *Time*, September 5, 1938, 9.

227. R. Bruce Etheridge, Letter to Arno B. Cammerer, November 9, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

well state matching contributions had worked to further park plans in California. Others felt the same.[228]

The conference also raised several questions about which many were confused. First, could current federal land be counted as part of the minimum required? Warren thought not, but others disagreed. Second, was there already an existing ten-thousand-acre federal area within the park that could be counted? There was not. Or, third, did all the federal areas have to be contiguous? Stratton said they had to be, but Warren was undecided. Warren also wanted better guidance, although to some extent that was part of the purpose of the commission itself—to recommend policy to further the acquisition of land and the establishment of the seashore park. Warren and Etheridge also wanted the Park Service to continue its beach erosion control work in the Outer Banks. They did not think erosion control would affect land values for many years and thus should not be an issue restraining NPS officials. "Both stated," according to Evison, "that if the Service were to discontinue work, the W.P.A. would pick it up, and that the W.P.A. regretted having surrendered the project to this Service in the first place."[229]

Despite this important congress, it took several months for North Carolina Governor Clyde R. Hoey to appoint the commission's nine members, five of whom he selected, with the remainder chosen by Bruce Etheridge. They were announced by the *New York Times* on November 13, 1939.[230] Frank Stick was appointed at the same time to be "Secretary to the Commission," continuing the role he had had before but now with a firm legal grounding and the oversight of a board of directors.[231] This situation was a major improvement over the previous arrangement and probably helped Stick's standing with NPS officials as well. Moreover, both Lindsay Warren and Stick got along well with the new board's chairman, Bruce Etheridge, who was from the Outer Banks and supported the national park project. Unfortunately, the appointment of the head of the state's Department of Conservation and Development to also be chairman of the Seashore Commission created a potential conflict of interest, which turned into an issue after Etheridge retired. Initially, however, the arrangement ensured that the governor had a clear voice in the commission's undertakings.

Warren was intimately involved in selecting commission membership, according to Etheridge who told the Park Service that "considerable thought and care have been given to the selection of the personnel to compose the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Commission. I am divulging no secret to say that Congressman Warren has minutely and thoroughly canvassed the field in selecting those who, in his opinion, would give the most careful consideration and impart to the cause enthusiasm as well as intelligent guidance."[232] Perhaps that was so, but the Seashore Commission continued to remain virtually inactive. In March 1941, Assistant Regional Director E. M. Lisle and Clark Stratton met with Bruce Etheridge. Their main concern was the apparent inactivity of Frank Stick. They told Etheridge that unless the commission became more

228. Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, December 15, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia. Note, the California State Park Commission was established in 1928 and became a precedent-setting model for the establishment of other state parks systems across the United States. The commission matched state funds against private donations to promote land acquisition to develop and expand state park lands.

229. Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, December 15, 1938, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia. Note, the California State Park Commission was established in 1928 and became a precedent-setting model for the establishment of other state parks systems across the United States. The commission matched state funds against private donations to promote land acquisition to develop and expand state park lands.

230. "Doris Cromwell is Named on Seashore Commission," *New York Times,* November 14, 1939, 15.

231. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Chester S. Davis, Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel*, May 29, 1947, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.

232. R. Bruce Etheridge, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to H.K. Roberts, Acting Regional Director, November 3, 1939, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 1, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

active the Park Service was going to lose its interest in the seashore project. Stick was facing pressure to make a report on his efforts at the next meeting, Etheridge told the two, and invited the Service to attend the meeting.[233] Etheridge, however, was more concerned about NPS opposition to road construction in the Outer Banks. The Park Service had previously protested the construction of roads south of Oregon Inlet but the North Carolina Highway and Public Works Department was planning to build one anyway. Apparently, the effort was largely without regard to how this road would fit into the development of a national seashore. Etheridge did not think the road would affect property values immediately, but Lisle and Stratton expected Nags Head-style cottages to be cropping up soon. Nevertheless, the point, according to Etheridge, was that the area south of Oregon Inlet might never become part of the seashore if the Park Service persisted in opposing roadways. According to Lisle and Stratton, Etheridge "believes that a statement by the Service to this effect has hindered the acquisition program more than any other thing."[234]



FIGURE 26. Bruce Etheridge, Director of North Carolina's Department of Conservation and Development during the 1930s. (Photograph courtesy of the UNC)

Frank Stick had not acquired the land he had once promised for the seashore, but he did keep in contact with NPS officials. Like Etheridge, he complained that local opposition was based upon an old NPS brochure that opposed connecting Hatteras and Ocracoke with the Virginia Dare Trail. Moreover, Stick noted, because the road issue had been ignored during the sand fixation project, now damage was occurring to wildlife and plantings as a result of vehicles meandering along the beaches and meadows. Stick suggested that the Park Service should be more interested in recreation and less in its original focus on scenic-preservation and that a statement in support of a road would help build local support for the seashore. "Enemies to the project," he said, "which unfortunately include men of local political prominence, have used and are continually using the statement contained in the brochure to our constant disadvantage."[235]

To prepare for the upcoming meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, regional NPS staff pleaded for Washington involvement. "We believe," the acting regional director wrote, "this meeting may have far reaching effects on the establishment of the Area and it is strongly urged that if at all possible Mr. Wirth attend this meeting."[236]

On April 29, 1941, a dramatic meeting of the Seashore Commission was held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Conrad Wirth and Clark Stratton both attended as did Commission Chairman Bruce Etheridge, and several other commission members. One major notable absence was by Seashore Commission Secretary Frank Stick. According to Stratton's account of the meeting, Assistant Director Wirth told the committee, "in a very firm manner":

233. E. M Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, and Clark Stratton, Inspector, Memorandum to the Acting Regional Director, March 18, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
234. Ibid.
235. Frank Stick, Secretary, Letter to A.E. Demaray, February 24, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
236. Fred T. Johnson, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, April 18, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

> It had been five years since the Act creating the Seashore had become a law and that they, as the acquisition committee, had done little or nothing towards making progress in acquiring the land for donation to the Federal Government. Mr. Wirth further informed them that actually the only work that had been accomplished had been done by the National Park Service and the point had been reached where the Park Service would consider withdrawing its interests unless the Commission became more active and made better progress than they had in the last five years. He informed them that unless they did show some progress the entire project would, in all probability, be lost.[237]

After Wirth spoke, the commission members present blamed Frank Stick for lack of progress. Stick had already suggested that he might resign as Secretary, so the Seashore Commission decided that "they would send him a letter accepting his vague resignation." After this there was some discussion about the road being planned to link Whalebone Junction with Oregon Inlet. The Park Service persisted in urging the commissioners to consider the impact of the road on land values, apparently still unwilling to accept the political reality that local support for the park depended upon NPS support for a road. The main success of the meeting, according to Stratton, was that "it brought the matter to a decision as to the inactivity of the Secretary."[238]

It was not obvious who should replace Stick, so the Seashore Commission asked the Park Service for advice. Wirth recommended R. Baldwin Myers of Washington to be commission secretary. The Park Service felt that an outsider, in Stratton's words, "could do much more than a local appointment who would probably be politically connected." But the commission, not willing to pay Myers, appointed Victor Meekins, who was also the local sheriff and who was willing to serve gratis.[239] Stratton's inference about political connections was that Stick had been appointed more for his associations than his abilities, making some wary of him.

Stick left no account of his "resignation" as Secretary of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission.[240] However, he had promised major land donations on several occasions, had mailed numerous letters to senior government officials and political figures to move the Cape Hatteras proposal forward, had authored several newspaper articles and publicity pieces for the same purpose, and had helped engineer the donation of lands near the federally owned Cape Hatteras Lighthouse that became Cape Hatteras State Park. He had made important contributions. At the same time, while the Park Service found it difficult to work with Stick, it itself had moved slowly in developing plans and boundaries for the national seashore. Seeking to thwart speculation, the Park Service may have helped to thwart any land donations Stick may actually have lined up. Neverthess, at the end of the day, the issue was that the commission had acquired no land for the seashore.

George L. Collins, Acting Chief, Land Planning Division, described the new commission secretary, Victor Meekins. According to Collins, Meekins was a former sheriff of Dare County who "appears to be an excellent man for the Commission" and who understood the people, their property, and its value. "He made an excellent impression," said Collins, after a meeting with Meekins to rehash old issues. Meekins wanted to know whether the Park Service was willing to assume control with just ten thousand acres, did all park land have to be contiguous, and would the Park Service grant gun club owners who donated land exclusive use during the hunting season or a portion thereof? Finally, was the Park Service willing to accept a road? Meekins saw the road as key because so many people now had automobiles that boat service between the villages had become unprofitable and roads were needed, especially between Avon, Buxton, and Hatteras, which had twenty-five hundred residents. The Park Service was still uncomfortable about the road, but Meekins clearly favored it. He informed Collins that

237. A.C. Stratton, Inspector, Memorandum to the Regional Director, May 2, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
238. Ibid.
239. Ibid.
240. No comment is made about the matter by his son, David Stick, in his unpublished history of the family's efforts to help foster the creation of the seashore. (That history is accessible through the Outer Banks History Center in Manteo, North Carolina.) Likewise, there is no further record of correspondence with Frank Stick in NPS archives until the late 1940s.

the state appeared more willing to fund construction as well.[241]

By late November, Meekins was working with John S. and Ogden Phipps, whose family had made the previous donation to create the Cape Hatteras State Park. The brothers were also seeking approval for a national monument if the family were to make an additional gift of three thousand acres.[242] Creation of a Cape Hatteras National Monument was certainly a possibility that could be achieved under the president's authority as granted by the Antiquities Act of 1906. Land donated by William Kent to the federal government in 1908 had allowed the creation of Muir Woods National Monument near San Francisco. Thus, there was precedent for a donation to create an iconic small park managed by the Park Service, even if that was short of what NPS officials wanted. The Phipps family did donate another seven hundred acres for the park in January 1942.[243]

The generosity of the Phipps family was considerable, but further donations were problematic. According to Ben H. Thompson, Chief, Land Planning Division, some land that might be donated by the Phipps, or other donors, was fragmented. If obtained, much intervening land between the donated tracts would still have to be purchased.[244] This problem was the reason the Park Service opposed establishing a park simply on the basis of the ten-thousand acre figure. It would be difficult to manage a park with many "inholdings" and those properties would immediately be subject to speculation.

In May of 1941, according to Thompson, the Park Service still believed that sufficient contiguous gun club lands could be gained by donation as long as some privileges were extended to the potential donors during future hunting seasons.[245] By then Rep. Warren had amended his original legislation requiring any Cape Hatteras national seashore park to allow hunting. This matter was now a question of law, not philosophy, so the issue should have been less of an NPS sticking point. Certainly, the bleak years of the Depression had left many club owners willing to relieve themselves of the tax debt and maintenance costs associated with their club houses. Even so, some land was already being held as speculative and would have to be condemned, which would require cash. In spite of that, the Park Service's outlook in mid-1941 was guardedly optimistic.

In discussing the state of the Seashore Commission's work with Bruce Etheridge, Thompson made the following assessment. Prior to May 10, 1941, he held, little or nothing had been done to acquire lands in the project and no land had actually been acquired. In fact, Thompson stated, "negotiations that had been carried on have been of doubtful value." Moreover, he continued, "representations made in the course of these negotiations have had a decidedly bad affect on the resident owners." He said many now were suspicious of the intent of the commission, which reportedly had sought options at "ridiculously" low prices. In general, Thompson continued, the commission's members were "prominent in social and business life of the State. They are all actively engaged with their own business interests and give but little time or attention to the project, so that at the present time practically nothing is being accomplished toward its fulfillment." Moreover, none of them were seeking donations from private owners or employing someone for that purpose. Thompson concluded that nothing was going to happen without an active fund-raising campaign. It might further that cause, he asserted, if the commission handed over what land acquisition funds it then had to the Park Service, and with active com-

241. George L. Collins, Acting Chief, Land Planning Division, Memorandum to Conrad L. Wirth, September 10, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
242. D. Victor Meekins, Secretary of Commission, Letter to Newton B. Drury, Director, November 24, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia. Drury discouraged the marker unless it was from a major donor or key to the park.
243. "Hatteras Park Grows," *New York Times*, January 11, 1942, xx3.
244. Ben H. Thompson, Chief, Land Planning Division, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, September 2, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
245. Ibid.

mission cooperation, allow it to seek further donations of lands and funds.[246] In essence, Thompson was saying that the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission was failing.

On the eve of America's entry into World War II, very little progress had been made since 1937 in acquiring land to create the first national seashore. Despite the enthusiasm of Victor Meekins and others, time had all but run out for the pre-war effort. As far as New Deal shoreline stabilization efforts were concerned, the end was already at hand. On August 20, 1941, Conrad Wirth, acting as CCC and ERA Coordinator, agreed with the Regional Director that the WPA project for the Cape Hatteras national seashore area was no longer "efficient or economical." Wirth concurred that he should close all camps and dispose of all federal property by the end of the current fiscal year.[247]

246. Ben H. Thompson, Chief, Land Planning Division, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, September 2, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
247. Conrad L. Wirth, CCC and ERA Coordinator, Memorandum to the Regional Director, August 20, 1941, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 4, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

Chapter Three: Hiatus and Uncertainty

In 1941, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes authored an introduction to a special report in which he stated boldly that "the proper use of leisure time is a fundamental problem of modern society." Claiming that industrial progress had given Americans "more free time and greater opportunities for employing it to good purpose than any previous era," Ickes argued that the same circumstances also sped up production, intensified the strain of present-day living, and created a need for periodic relief. "Outdoor recreation answers this need," he offered.[248]

Ickes was introducing *A Study of the National Recreation Problem,* a major report produced by the National Park Service on potential recreational areas as required by the Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act of 1936. The Secretary asserted that the management of public recreation was a legitimate role of government, but to meet the public's need "separate, unrelated attempts at planning" by various levels of government had to be replaced by "coordinated, correlated recreation land planning among all agencies" having responsibility for parks and recreation. That was the point of the study, and it reflected much NPS experience in cooperation with the states, experience gained not only through the study but through the Service's involvement in and management of numerous emergency relief efforts.[249] The cooperation of various federal agencies and the State of North Carolina was critical to the recreation-related projects centered on the Outer Banks, which had become a testing ground of sorts for the National Park Service as it had once been for the Wright brothers.

In contrast to its preliminary 1934 report, the National Park Service thoroughly considered the term "recreation" in 1941. In his autobiography, Conrad Wirth noted that the agency "endeavored to use the word consistently in its broad sense rather than in the narrow sense of mere physical exertion." Wirth admitted that the concept was somewhat new to NPS managers, but argued that the dictionary definition of recreation was "the act of recreating, or the state of being recreated; refreshment of body or mind after toil; diversion; amusement." Thus, the Park Service found justification within a broad definition for classifying national parks and monuments as recreational areas. Referring to the NPS Organic Act, Wirth especially noted:

> Such areas are to be conserved for enjoyment, which surely includes refreshment not only of body and mind but of the spirit as well. The service has consistently maintained that its dominant purpose has been to stimulate refreshment of mind and spirit; that this purpose can be fulfilled only if the inspirational qualities of the areas it administers, whether based on natural scenery or on scientific, historic, or prehistoric values, are safeguarded to the utmost; and that provisions for physical recreation should be limited so that they do not impair inspirational qualities.[250]

Summarizing the law to 1941, the report on the "parks and recreation problem" concluded:

> It is apparent that the trend of Federal legislation is to broaden the responsibility of the Federal

248. *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941), accessed online at <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/park_rec/>.
249. Ibid.
250. Conrad L. Wirth*, Parks, Politics, and the People*, 7.

> Government, not only in respect to the administration of areas and facilities directly under its supervision, but also in extending the recreational movement by cooperation with States and local communities in a Nation-wide program."[251]

Thus, during the New Deal period, the National Park Service envisioned a new role and set of responsibilities for itself as a land management agency. Horace Albright had engineered the dramatic move of the Park Service into the management of historical and battlefield parks in 1933, and Congress had enlarged that role with passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Then, under the oversight of Assistant Director Wirth, the Park Service established its authority to develop and promote recreational areas at both the national and state levels and used the opportunities of New Deal work-relief programs to foster the development of those areas. Wirth is now best remembered for the legacy of his famous Mission 66 program but he made his career through New Deal projects, especially those on the Outer Banks. The Park, Parkways, and Recreational Study Act of 1936 and the concurrent efforts to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore continued a shift in NPS thinking, as expressed by the 1941 final report. Unfortunately, at the moment that all of these things were coming together, recreation was the last thing on the nation's mind.

World War II

On December 7, 1941, the United States was attacked and within days was at war in a great global struggle to defeat Japanese militarism and European fascism. Millions of Americans, including many of the "CCC boys," pulled on new uniforms, while on the home front many women would find new lives working in a variety of war industries. Americans soon experienced rationing, including gasoline rationing, which dramatically limited long-distance travel. The national parks saw the steepest dive in visitation that they had ever experienced.

NPS stewardship of the nation's parks continued, but in a mode of retrenchment. The Park Service moved its headquarters to Chicago to make room in the capital for the rapidly expanding operations of war-related bureaus. It fell to Newton B. Drury, who assumed the directorship from Arno Cammerer on August 20, 1940, to undertake this task. The former Executive Secretary of California's Save the Redwoods League, Drury had come to the attention of Secretary Ickes twice for the top job in the Park Service. He was well regarded as a fund-raiser and had excellent rapport with the elite circles where one would expect to find funds so much needed to complete the Cape Hatteras project. Unfortunately, Director Drury had to focus NPS resources upon preserving the existing national parks, rather than acquiring new ones, as pressure mounted to open up park resources for exploitation under the pretext of war needs.

With the onset of war, CCC camps across the nation, including on the Outer Banks, were shut down. For a time, Clark Stratton and some of his CCC enrollees staffed the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse to watch for enemy warships and to alert the Coast Guard of stricken vessels, many of which were were torpedoed off Diamond Shoals in the early days of the war. After 1942, all coastal beach erosion control efforts ceased, including dunes maintenance and would not resume again until land acquisition began for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1952. Unfortunately, it had never been the intent of the project to build up the barrier dunes so that they could be left unattended for years at a time. Stratton, in fact, stated explicitly that the erosion control system was not built like a permanent structure, which would have required groins and jetties constructed of solid materials. Instead, to maintain "the character of the land," in Stratton's words, the barriers were made of sand and grass and were thus subject to the effects of weather and time. Salt water overflows could kill off plantings and erode barrier walls, and severe storms could destroy entire sections of the system. Simply put, the barrier dune system required constant maintenance. Indeed, particularly severe hurricanes in 1944 and 1948 did great damage to much of what the WPA-era erosion control efforts had accomplished.[252]

Despite the beginning of World War II, Victor Meekins continued his efforts to secure land donations for a national seashore. During the week of September 20, 1942, the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission met at Ocracoke to hear Meekins

251. *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States*. See Chapter VI: Legislation.
252. A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 22, in CAHA files, HFC.

report that only two thousand acres were needed to complete requirements to establish the seashore park. The *New York Times* noted that "Sheriff Victor Meekins of Dare County, secretary of the commission, reported he had over 8,000 acres donated for the project and hoped by Nov. 1 to get the rest."[253]

"Donated" may not have been an accurate word choice. The acreage available in September 1942 for park purposes, according to Conrad Wirth, included 314.4. acres at Kill Devil Hill National Monument, 30 acres at Currituck Beach Lighthouse Reservation, 44 acres at Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Reservation, and 5,880 acres at the Fish and Wildlife Service's Pea Island Migratory Waterfowl Refuge for a total of 6,268.4 acres.[254]

Meekins had secured another seven hundred acres for the park in January 1942, although he may have hoped for more.[255] When added to the figure reported by Wirth, roughly seven thousand acres were thought available. When added to the acreage available in Cape Hatteras State Park, the total should have been over nine thousand acres, which was very close to the ten-thousand-acre threshold required to begin considering the actual establishment of a park.

Meekins continued his work, and according to Bruce Etheridge, by July of 1943 had made considerable progress. With advice from the Park Service and from Etheridge's office, Meekins had developed a plan of land acquisition and had even obtained options, which were set to expire in August 1943. The plan called for a three-unit approach. Unit One included the area of highest priority for the seashore. These lands included those on Roanoke Island associated with Fort Raleigh, those on Bodie Island south of Whalebone Junction, all of Cape Hatteras Island, and all of Ocracoke Island. The other two units were composed of lands north of Whalebone Junction. Unit Two consisted of land up to the Wright Memorial Bridge while Unit Three included land from there to the northern seashore boundary.[256] Division of the project into three separate units was necessary because the North Carolina General Assembly had imposed limits on

Harold L. Ickes on outdoor recreation, from the foreword to *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941)

THE PROPER USE OF LEISURE TIME is a fundamental problem of modern society. The industrial age has given the people of the United States more free time and greater opportunities for employing it to good purpose than any previous era, but the very circumstances which shorten working hours also speed up production, intensify the strain of present-day living, and create a need for periodic relief. Outdoor recreation answers this need.

It has become generally recognized in recent years that, while the provision of areas and facilities for public recreation is a proper function of government, separate, unrelated attempts at planning for this purpose cannot adequately provide for the increasing requirements of our people. The ultimate objective of the Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area Study, now being made by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior under authority of the Act of June 23, 1936 (49 Stat. 1894), is to establish a basis for coordinated, correlated recreation land planning among all agencies—Federal, State, and local having responsibility for park and recreational developments.

As a contribution toward this objective, the National Park Service has prepared this report, A Study of the National Recreation Problem. It reflects to some degree, the preliminary findings of the various States cooperating in the Study, and embodies the recommendations of the Service for coordinated Nation-wide planning.

I believe that this general plan and report will be a useful guide to correlate planning by agencies on all levels of government cooperating in this Nation-wide program.

253. "Cape Hatteras Park Nearing Completion," *New York Times*, September 20, 1942, D9.
254. Conrad L. Wirth, Supervisor of Land Planning, Letter to Stephen G. Thompson, ed., *Shore and Beach* (Bogota, NJ), September 25, 1942, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
255. "Hatteras Park Grows," *New York Times*, January 11, 1942.
256. R. Bruce Etheridge, Letter to Newton B. Drury, Director, May 15, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

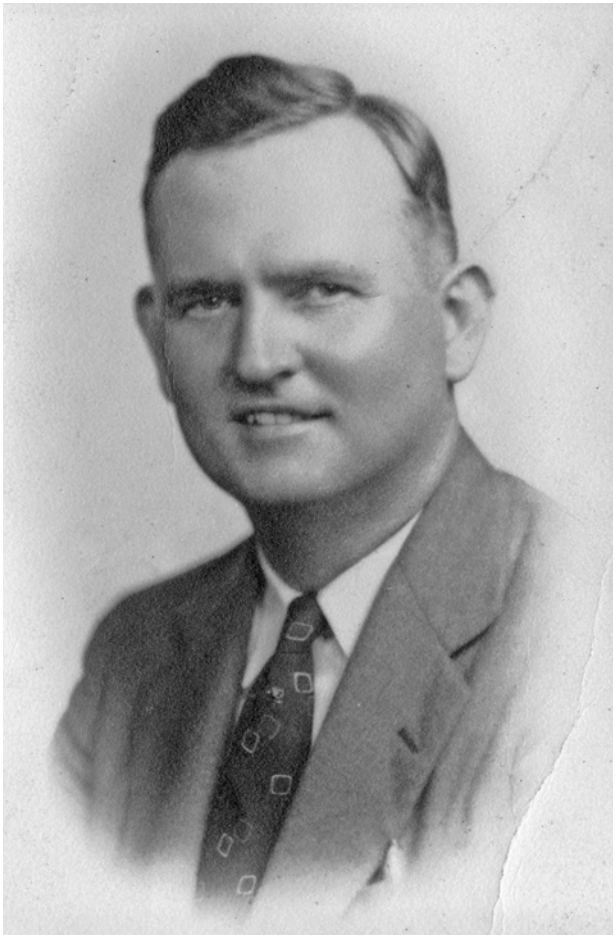


FIGURE 27. D. Victor Meekins, ca. 1940s. Meekins headed the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission until 1943. Later, as editor of *The Coastland Times*, he was both a constructive critic of NPS policy and a champion of the national seashore. (Photograph courtesy of Mary Blanche (Meekins) Harwell through assistance of the Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, North Carolina. Used by permission)

how its Contingency and Emergency Funds could be used. The good news was that the 1943 session of the General Assembly had amended its Chapter 257, Public Laws of 1939, which had established the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, to allow the state to provide some state funding for seashore land acquisitions. The bad news was that the limitations imposed meant the land would have to be acquired in separate years.[257]

Nevertheless, Associate Director Demaray informed Director Drury that Governor Broughton was probably willing to provide a hundred thousand dollars, subject to passage of the legislation. Moreover, according to Meekins the commission had lined up 11,341 acres for the project (including the state park and state-owned land on Ocracoke Island), subject to clear titles.[258]

Horace Dough, "knowing the inside story of the North Carolina Seashore Commission's ups and downs," also attributed the successful effort to amend the legislation to Victor Meekins. "Considering the status of its land acquisition problems when Mr. Meekins was appointed secretary," Dough wrote,

> and knowing how tirelessly he struggled on when the cause appeared hopeless even to the Commission and how hard he worked in interesting the Governor of North Carolina and prominent members of the legislature in the Seashore Park, I do not hesitate to say that too much credit can not be given Sheriff D.V. Meekins for the successful progress made by the Commission.

Indeed, he was heartened enough to think that establishment of the seashore was near.[259]

There was a major stumbling block to overcome, however. Members of the Seashore Commission and state officials worried that the Park Service might fail to establish a national park by being unable to acquire the ten thousand acres required by the authorizing legislation. They needed a further guarantee that the Park Service would establish the national seashore with the minimum acreage and not return land to the state if all the land was not acquired. There were some tracts whose acquisition was expected to take time due to lack of funding or for other reasons. Apparently, the state did not want to end up responsible for any lands rejected by the National Park Service and did not want to provide funding without a strong NPS commitment to

257. Horace Dough, Memorandum to Acting Regional Director, April 30, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

258. A.E. Demaray, Associate Director, Memorandum to the Director, November 18, 1942, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

259. Horace A. Dough, Memorandum to the Director, March 4, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

assume authority over any lands purchased.[260] That summer of 1943 there were many consultations between NPS and North Carolina officials trying to clarify which properties the Park Service considered a priority. The goal was to obtain recommendations for the governor, who appeared ready to act.

Director Drury favored this approach and recommended to the Secretary that he accept Unit One and designate it as the national seashore if time began to run out.[261] Similarly, Drury informed Etheridge that "it is impossible to make any commitment more binding than we already have as to our position under the Act of August 1937, authorizing the project." Drury further noted the beach erosion control work (which ran to over $1,700,000 between 1937 and 1941), several general studies relating to the project, and considerable discussions between NPS and state officials. The National Park Service was willing to accept Unit One—if all of it, excluding the villages, were acquired.[262]

At its meeting on September 9, 1943, the Seashore Commission established an executive committee empowered to act for the whole commission. Region One Director Oliver G. Talyor offered Committee Chairman Bruce Etheridge "hearty congratulations . . . on the fine start in progress."[263] At its meeting, the commission heard reports focused upon Roanoke Island, Bodie Island, and north Cape Hatteras Island and actually gave detailed consideration to suitable tracts for purchase. Title and condemnation matters were also discussed.[264] Meekins had accomplished much and had developed a better rapport with NPS personnel than had Frank Stick. Unfortunately, Meekins still lacked the money to acquire the necessary real estate.

"A Prospective Oil Boom"

In the spring of 1944, oil exploration efforts began in the Outer Banks. Several major petroleum producers, including Standard Oil and Sinclair Oil, had obtained leases covering most of the area, including lands proposed for inclusion within the national seashore. The state of North Carolina had also provided off-shore leases for the adjacent bottom lands of Pamlico Sound, Currituck Sound, and Roanoke Sound.[265] The companies were driven to find new sources of crude oil by the now massively mobilized U. S. war-time economy. That May, North Carolina Attorney General Harry McMullan specifically asked NPS officials if they would accept land for the proposed Cape Hatteras national seashore if mineral rights were reserved for the purpose of oil exploration. Tolson, again as Acting Director, told McMullan: "It is possible, in our opinion, that the park resources sought to be preserved would become so damaged, due to oil explorations and related activities, that the area would lose its unique and relatively unspoiled character and not be at all satisfactory for national seashore purposes."[266] The Park Service was reluctantly willing to sanction reg-

260. R. Bruce Etheridge, Letter to Newton B. Drury, Director, May 15, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
261. Newton B. Drury, Director, Letter to Secretary of the Interior, June 3, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
262. Newton B. Drury, Director, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, June 3, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
263. Oliver G. Taylor, Regional Director, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, September 17, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
264. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, September 9, 1943, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 6, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
265. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Chester S. Davis, Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel*, May 29, 1947, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.
266. Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, Letter to Harry McMullan, Attorney General, North Carolina, May 26, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

ulated hunting, but drilling for oil was incompatible with any vision of "recreation."

McMullan's inquiry marked an ominous turn of events in the effort to establish the seashore. In August 1944, Seashore Commission Secretary Victor Meekins was hoping to put together some 1,500 to 2,000 acres of land near the state park, another 2,500 acre block on Bodie Island, and one condemnation on Roanoke Island. Even though the commission would not act unless he had ten thousand acres, Meekins thought the acquisitions would get the ball rolling and encourage further donations.[267] Regional Director Allen urged him to accelerate his efforts, but the "prospective oil boom" on the Outer Banks soon removed the matter from the hands of park supporters.[268]

Indeed, oil exploration created a new political dynamic. In December, residents of Collington, North Carolina, filed a petition against the seashore with thirty-six signatures. Their opposition was based upon the fear of lost taxes and the belief that since private business was developing the beach resort character of the area before the war, no park was needed. Moreover, they opposed any "primitive wilderness" provision and feared the loss of their fishing rights, even though the law allowed it. The main point of the petition came last: "experts agree that every scientific estimate indicates that petroleum and natural gas will be found under these lands." It was "unfair," the petition concluded, to restrict Dare County to a state of "primitive wilderness" leading to its bankruptcy while residents "overwhelmingly prefer private industry and development" based upon petroleum development.[269]

Another petition was signed by residents from all over the Outer Banks, but those on Collington Island were so insistent that they decided to draft their own. An attorney named J. Henry Leroy later told Herbert Bonner that the petition was "spontaneous" and not gathered by one or two individuals for private use. He claimed that residents were upset that so much land was being taken that little would be left for ordinary civilian affairs. In addition, he reported that some were simply disgusted with "the lack of discretion emanating from many of the Washington bureaus."[270]

On March 19, 1945, the North Carolina General Assembly ratified a bill submitted by Theodore Meekins, recently elected as state representative for the Hatteras area. The bill was entitled "An Act to Authorize the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to Postpone the Acquisition by Purchase and Condemnation of Lands within the National Seashore Area, and to Discontinue pending condemnation proceedings without prejudice to their renewal, and for other purposes." The preamble to the Act was clear about its impetus (see Appendix for the full text of the act):

> WHEREAS, it has been brought to the attention of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission that there is a possibility of the discovery of oil and gas in commercial quantities in the areas in which the commission has been laboring to establish the Cape Hatteras National Seashore; and
>
> WHEREAS, this possibility has been presented to the commission, through petitions and otherwise, as an urgent reason for delaying steps to acquire the lands necessary for the establishment of said park; and
>
> WHEREAS, the members of the commission feel that the citizens and landowners in the area involved should not be deprived of the possibility of realization of the benefits from the discovery of oil and gas in commercial quantities and that, under the circumstances, the work of the acquiring said lands by gift, purchase or condemnation should be delayed for a reasonable time pending the determination of this possibility.

267. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, August 15, 1944, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
268. Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, Memorandum to Regional Director, August 24, 1944, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
269. Petition from residents of Colington, December 1944, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 12, Folder 400 (October-December 1944), Special Collections, UNC.
270. J. Henry Leroy, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 10, 1945, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.

The act prevented the Seashore Commission from acquiring park lands for two years while oil and gas explorations continued. Afterwards, at the determination of the governor and the Council of State, this bar could be extended on a year-to-year basis if oil explorations continued for up to two additional years. Simultaneously, the General Assembly passed a joint resolution petitioning Congress to extend the time allowed for the state to acquire lands for the national seashore by ten years. The resolution stated the reason for its request was that the work of the Seashore Commission "has been delayed by the existing state of war."[271] The resolution was also ratified on March 19, 1945.

North Carolina failed to consult the National Park Service regarding this legislation, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen complained to Bruce Etheridge. Although NPS officials were aware of oil lease activity, he said, "we had no advice that such legislation was even being considered." Allen wondered frankly whether the commission itself was involved in instigating the legislation "or if perhaps this is a direct attempt to cancel the efforts toward establishment of a national seashore in North Carolina."[272] Exasperated, Victor Meekins resigned as Secretary of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. In the words of Regional Director Allen, his action "was perhaps prompted by the fact that these delays and press of personal affairs prevented him from making any headway with the land acquisition program. He was greatly disappointed."[273]

Meekins himself told Allen that his reason for resigning was the anti-NPS sentiment in the Hatteras area, largely due to the old NPS statement opposing roads in the seashore. Still, Meekins said he had acquired options and had some money for land purchases, but the oil explorations, and Park Service refusal to accept land with mineral rights reserved, had made working for the seashore impossible. According to Meekins, the oil companies "waged a vigorous campaign and told the people they would lose their hunting and fishing privileges, and of course the old mistake some of the NPS folks had made in saying no 'roads should ever be built in this region,' was remembered and revived. As the NPS may not know, the matter of roads is nearest to the heart of these people." Meekins further noted that state representative Theodore Meekins, who had previously been paid to help evaluate park lands, was more recently employed by Standard Oil Company. Theodore Meekins, said Victor Meekins, was no longer a park supporter.[274] Left unsaid was the fact that the two Meekins had been political adversaries.

Allen sympathized with the decision by Victor Meekins to resign. He lamented that "whether the present action of the State of North Carolina ruins our chances of reviving the project later on is something that neither you nor I can judge at present. Only time and whatever the oil exploration may do to the area can answer that."[275] The North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission was now inactive. Allen later told a reporter that "Mr. Meekins tackled the job of land acquisition in a most vigorous manner and much was accomplished during the years, 1942 and 1944. Much of the necessary basic information was obtained, options were taken, donations were promised, and at least one condemnation suit was prepared. Still, no actual purchases of land were made by the Commission."[276] As Secretary of the Seashore

271. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Chester S. Davis, Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel,* May 29, 1947, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives. See Appendix, "A Joint Resolution Petitioning Congress to Postpone for Ten Years the Time the National Park Service Can Take Over the Cape Hatteras National Seashore."
272. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Letter to R. Bruce Etheridge, April 13, 1945, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
273. Thomas J. Allen to Chester S. Davis, May 29, 1947.
274. D.V. Meekins, Letter to Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, April 17, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
275. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Letter to Victor Meekins, April 21, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
276. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Chester S. Davis, Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel,* May 29, 1947, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.

Commission, Victor Meekins had accomplished as much, if not more, than Frank Stick but the result was the same—both had resigned in frustration. Fortunately for the Park Service, neither was quite through with the seashore project.

Out-waiting the General Assembly

On July 11, 1946, the Standard Oil Company announced the results from its first exploratory drilling in Pamlico Sound near Buxton. Although the well was "unexpectedly expensive," the company stated, "the information gained was well worth the cost."[277] Further tests were planned, but no oil was ever found in the Outer Banks.

In September 1946, Region One Director Thomas Allen updated Conrad Wirth on the oil situation. Standard Oil had drilled to an "excessive depth" but came up dry and, despite having permits, drilled no other wells.[278] The failure to find oil kept hope for the seashore project alive, but just barely. The delay had caused other problems. First, as Allen reminded Wirth, Victor Meekins had become "so disturbed when the State waived its rights to the oil companies that he dropped out of the land acquisition picture."[279] Meekins had also lined up one individual willing to donate considerable lands north of Oregon Inlet, but the potential donor had since died. Now, all of Meekins's work had to be redone. Delay had also allowed time for property owners and developers around Nags Head to lay out lots along both sides of the highway. Meanwhile, Allen remarked, "the State of North Carolina intends to continue giving the oil companies all of the opportunity in the world as long as present legislation authorizes them to hold up on the Cape Hatteras land acquisition."[280]

Herbert C. Bonner agreed with Allen. Bonner had succeeded to Lindsay Warren's seat in the U. S. House of Representatives in 1940 after Warren accepted an invitation by President Roosevelt to join his administration as Comptroller General. Bonner had served a long apprenticeship as Bonner's aide and was familir with the political issues affecting the Outer Banks. As requested by the state legislature, Bonner submitted an amendment to the 1937 legislation that authorized the seashore to extend the time allowed for North Carolina to acquire land. The General Assembly wanted this bill because the authorizing act stated "that if all the lands described in section 1 of this Act shall not have been conveyed to the United States within ten years, the establishment of the aforementioned national seashore may, in the discretion of the said Secretary, be abandoned."

Clearly, the North Carolina assembly's action to delay the Seashore Commission's work expressed exactly the type of attitude for which Congress had intended the original clause to address—state apathy in continuing the project. NPS officials had not been consulted on the matter, and as indicated by Regional Director Allen, the Park Service was not pleased. Perhaps knowing this, Bonner's bill only extended the deadline by five years, not ten, which translated into fifteen years from the date of the original act. The new deadline, which passed Congress on March 6, 1946, thus became August 17, 1952. This provision provided the state of North Carolina more time to complete the seashore project but also more time to search for oil.[281]

The Park Service did not oppose the bill. Instead, Acting Director Carl P. Russell told Regional Director Allen to wait out the expiration of the North Carolina law delaying land acquisition.[282] Unfortunately, that wait got longer in March 1947. North Carolina, having secured an amendment

277. "Oil Well Fails at Buxton; Seen Worth Expense," *The Virginian-Pilot,* July 11, 1946, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
278. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Memorandum to Conrad L. Wirth, Chief of Land, September 12, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.
279. Ibid.
280. Ibid.
281. See 60 Stat. 32, March 6, 1946.
282. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Memorandum to Director, August 16, 1946; and C. P. Russell, Acting Director, Memorandum to Regional Director, August 29, 1946; both in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

extending the time allowed to create the seashore, then extended its existing prohibition preventing the Seashore Commission from purchasing land. The extension, which was now set to expire in March 1949, gave the oil companies two additional years for oil exploration. This move both perplexed the Park Service and marked the nadir of the Cape Hatteras project. If any significant oil reserves had been found in the Banks, further delays would have ensued, roadways that were coming anyway may have been built quicker, and development pressure on land values would have pushed any remaining hope for a national seashore out the door.

By May 1947, the Standard Oil Company had drilled at least two test wells, one on land on Hatteras Island and one in Pamlico Sound. Neither well produced oil and the company ceased explorations. On May 5, Allen queried Gov. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina for an update on the state's efforts to acquire land for the seashore. He wanted to know why the state had again extended the measure preventing work on the seashore project in the absence of any positive petroleum findings. Cherry simply informed the Park Service that he and the Council of State had exercised the provision of the General Assembly's act of March 19, 1945, which allowed them to delay the Seashore Commission's efforts for two more years, specifically until March 6, 1949. Allen thought it was "somewhat dubious now as to the ultimate outcome."[283]

In the meantime, delays fostered by the General Assembly, Governor Cherry, and the Council of State were indeed driving up the cost of the seashore. Development was proceeding at a rapid pace along the North Carolina coast, especially around Nags Head and Kitty Hawk, as Allen reported to Drury in August 1946 after an inspection trip. He reminded the director that these areas were included within the proposed park boundary. Properties were selling at $800 to $1,500 an acre in some areas along the state highway where new hotels, cottages, and other tourist facilities were rapidly going up. Such costs would make acquisition impossible. Allen found that a substantial beach resort was being composed. "It would appear," he forlornly



FIGURE 28. Lindsay C. Warren was the Democratic Congressman who represented Dare County from 1925 to 1940, when he was appointed Comptroller General of the United States, serving in that position until May 1954. Warren remained influential and active on behalf of his former constituents and continued to support creation of the national seashore. (Photograph Folder 3. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of North Carolina)

wrote, "that our plans for the Cape Hatteras project will need to eliminate consideration of acquiring any properties north of Whalebone." Even worse, he also noted that an experimental road, using an "oil mix," was being laid for one mile south of Whalebone Junction. Land values were fast rising there, too, he noted. The long anticipated road to Oregon Inlet was on its way and, while the seashore project was not dead, ongoing development was changing the scope of pre-war plans.[284]

In a follow-up assessment in November 1946, Allen informed Drury "that beach properties miles North and South of Nags Head, including the area of Currituck Beach, have become valuable enough to be involved in important court litigation. Even if acquisition work was resumed for our objectives

283. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Chester S. Davis, Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel*, May 29, 1947, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Lodge, CCC Camp, and other Structures, Cape Hatteras NS" folder, "CHNS Historic Files" drawer, Vault, CAHA archives.

284. Thomas J. Allen, Memorandum to the Director, August 16, 1946, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 29. The Carolinian Hotel at Nags Head, North Carolina, as it appeared during its heyday. This venue was the site of many meetings held to discuss the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. (Photograph courtesy of the Outer Banks History Center/David Stick Collection, Manteo, North Carolina)

immediately, the present values would curtail results." Indeed, the Bureau of Lighthouses had wanted to transfer 30 acres surrounding the Currituck lighthouse to the Park Service, but NPS officials did not want the land.[285] They already knew that the Nags Head area had become prohibitively expensive and could never be included in the national seashore. The Park Service took no immediate action to adjust its formal plans, but staff had no illusions about what years of delay had cost the seashore project—and the American public.

In March 1947, at the same time North Carolina was acting to delay the seashore project two more years, Guy Lennon, owner of the Carolinian Hotel Corporation, was building a new $200,000 beach hotel at Nags Head. Ironically, these expensive accommodations became a future venue for Seashore Commission meetings. New waterworks were also being constructed on a thirteen-mile stretch of beach that was formerly bare. Real-estate prices were fifteen dollars per foot of lot and rapid development was expected, pending the availability of materials. One building was a dance hall, another was a bowling alley.[286] This was the type of beach sprawl the park had been intended to counter or at least control.

By 1948, park opponents were apparently so emboldened by their string of successes, that a final measure was proposed for the 1949 North Carolina General Assembly: "A Bill to be Entitled An Act to Repeal the Act Creating the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and Other Laws Relating Thereto, and Authorizing the Reconveyance of all Real Property Acquired by Said Commission to the Former Owners Thereof, and Providing for the Liquidation of Said Commission." According to David Stick, "many people on the lower banks were anticipating a tremendous resort boom and attendant prosperity for the area, despite the fact that only a relatively small part of the Outer Banks land had been retained by local owners." Both he and his father, Frank Stick, had to acknowledge "that the prospects were slim for ever resurrecting the park project."[287]

Similarly, Bruce Etheridge was still "much discouraged." He lamented to Allen in May "the difficulties we encountered when the oil companies moved in for exploratory operations" and which "prevented us from making any progress." [288] Allen had wanted to meet with him, anticipating the demise of the state's prohibitions on the Seashore Commission, but Etheridge would soon retire as Director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development. He had apparently lost enthusiasm for the Cape Hatteras project, but the Park Service had not, in spite of the steady stream of unwelcome news from North Carolina. Despite their own doubts, Frank and David Stick met with Conrad Wirth, who was then Chief of Land and Recreational Planning, and Arthur Demaray, who was still Associate Director, in early December 1948. They discussed what to do when the Seashore Commission was again authorized to procure property for the project. The first major problem was the threat of any legislation to kill the commission. The second problem was that the Seashore Commission

285. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Memorandum to Director, November 22, 1946, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 5, Mid-Atlantic Records Center, NARA, Philadelphia.

286. "New $200,000 Beach Hotel at Nags Head Just Start of Fast-Developing Boom," unidentified press clipping, March 16, 1947, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

287. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 4-5.

288. R. Bruce Etheridge, Director of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, May 19, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

was all but defunct. It had no secretary or apparently any real board members.[289]

According to David Stick, because neither Demaray nor Wirth were in policy-making positions at the time, he and his father wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug, which was signed by Frank Stick as the former chairman of the seashore commission.[290] Wirth also acted by asking Clark Stratton to evaluate the prospect of renewing efforts to create a Cape Hatteras national seashore park. Stratton was not an NPS employee, but he had married an Outer Banks woman, maintained close ties to the area, and was, of course, close to Wirth. Despite encountering some local hostility, Stratton filed a positive report.[291]

Frank Stick told Demaray that the proposal to revive the seashore project would be "generally favorable." He acknowledged recent criticism by Bankers of the Park Service, including by such erstwhile supporters as Victor Meekins. After resigning as secretary of the Seashore Commission, Meekins had gotten into the newspaper business and was now editing The *Coastland Times*. Stick thought he "will come around" eventually. Similarly, he noted that some local politicians wanted to repeal the enabling act for the park, including Bruce Etheridge and state Attorney General Harry McMullan. Nevertheless, Stick felt they, too, would come around "when the facts are made manifest." Stick told Demaray that "if motives and purposes of the National Park Service are somewhat clarified in the letter from the secretary, we will be able to kill the bill designed to liquidate the project." Stick thought locals had misconceived notions based upon past NPS opposition to new road construction and fishing rights in waters near the reserve.[292] The former point was increasingly moot, given the recent completion of a seventeen-mile hard-surface strip linking Hatteras Village with Avon.

On December 13, 1948, Frank Stick wrote to Secretary Krug. He highlighted the 1937 authorizing legislation, previous NPS interest in establishing a national seashore, the end of oil exploration activities on the Outer Banks, and the forthcoming expiration of North Carolina's act delaying park land purchases. Stick plainly asked "whether the Department of the Interior, through the National Park Service, plans again to proceed with the acquisition and development of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore?"[293] Others were soon enlisted to the cause. A newspaperman from Rocky Mount, North Carolina, wrote Herbert Peele, founder and publisher of the Daily Advance, for help with the "handcuffed" Seashore Commission, which was unable to buy any land with the $70-80,000 the governor had set aside. He wanted to get things moving again by having Bonner or Warren talk to the press.[294] Frank Stick told Bonner something similar: "My thought is that through weight of public interest and editorial approval, we may immediately eliminate the local opposition, which, as a matter of fact has been manifested almost entirely through the men who engendered it in the beginning."[295]

As it turned out Bonner needed very little prompting, although an embarrassing letter would later reveal that in 1947, he, too, had all but lost hope for the park project. Bonner wrote Peele, remarking on Stick's letter to Secretary Krug and his own interest in the park. He noted that recent congressional legislation submitted to create seashore parks in Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland all originated as a result of the Cape Hatteras model. According to Bonner, if these states succeeded in passing and securing land and turning it over to the Interior Department, "it will certainly show us up as not very progressive in North Carolina."[296]

Now that the "bubble is over," Bonner contacted Victor Meekins to ascertain the status of land when Meekins was secretary. "In my opinion," he said, the

289. Frank Stick to J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, December 13, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA; and David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," Chpt. 2, 6.
290. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 7-9.
291. Ibid.
292. Frank Stick, Letter to A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, December 13, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
293. Frank Stick to J. A. Krug, December 13, 1948; David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 6.
294. "Josh" [Horne of *Evening Telegram*, Rocky Mount, NC], Letter to Herbert [Peale], December 24, 1948, copy to Herbert C. Bonner, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.
295. Frank Stick, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner [on Spindrift, Southern Shores stationary], January 10, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.

park "will be of inestimable value to Dare County and the state."[297] Bonner made the same argument to North Carolina Assemblyman Dewey Hyman and explained to him how he had extended Warren's park legislation for another five years when it was set to expire in 1947. "I hope you will be successful," he said, "in reactivating the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and that through the Commission, we can secure the necessary lands to establish the Park in 1949."[298]

Reinvigorating the Project

Rep. Bonner was overly optimistic in his hope "to establish the Park in 1949," but it was to be a happier year for seashore advocates than the one just past. On December 30, 1948, Assistant Secretary of the Interior C. Girard Davidson replied to Frank Stick's letter of December 13. On behalf of the Secretary, Davidson stated that "the Department has never lost interest in this worthwhile seashore project." In fact, he continued, "the Department and the National Park Service are interested and anxious to go ahead with the establishment and development of the proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore Area." He added, however, that "this, of course, will require the active participation and support by the State of North Carolina and the people in the Cape Hatteras vicinity." Davidson observed that it was Governor Cherry who had delayed the project by extending the ban preventing the Seashore Commission from acquiring land until March 9, 1949.[299] Although diplomatic, Davidson did not feel the National Park Service deserved any blame for this delay.

The national and state elections of 1948 brought political change to North Carolina that was more favorable to the park project. Regional Director Allen wrote the new governor-elect of North Carolina, William Kerr Scott, a former farmer and dairyman who had served as State Commissioner of Agriculture before running for governor. Allen introduced Scott to the Cape Hatteras project and expressed continued NPS interest in establishing a national seashore.[300] In the same election, Dare County chose Dewey L. Hayman to represent it in the General Assembly, replacing Theodore Meekins. Hayman indicated that he would investigate what state legislation was needed to revive the seashore project.[301] No new legislation was needed, but Hayman might have to thwart potential bills aimed at abolishing the Seashore Commission or renewing the ban on land acquisitions. The park project mattered mostly to Hayman's district, so his support was key.

Immediate press accounts were favorable. According to one, there was now "no bunker in the way of turning over to the Interior Department the minimum of 10,000 acres required as a nucleus of the project." Bonner also broadcast his support:

> It is my firm opinion that the completion of this area (by purchase and donation) and the development of it as a National park would be the greatest thing that has happened in our lifetime in Dare County and Eastern Carolina. The small loss of income from the taxable property to Dare County would be overwhelmingly made up by new money brought in by tourists."[302]

In mid-January 1949, Regional Director Allen and Kill Devil Hill National Memorial Superintendent Horace Dough began composing a list of prominent individuals who might support a revived seashore park project. Warren and Bonner were still supporters, and a few others, but aside from Frank Stick and Victor Meekins, most members of the former seashore commission were not included as "these people may no longer be in a position to continue their interest."[303] Aside from the men just listed,

296. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Herbert Peele, January 13, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.
297. Ibid.
298. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Dewey Hyman, North Carolina House of Representatives, January 13, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.
299. Assistant Secretary of the Interior C. Girard Davidson , Letter to David Stick, December 30, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
300. Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Governor-Elect Scott, December 28, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Propose National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
301. "Hayman to Push Hatteras Project in Legislature," *Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], January 12, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Propose National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
302. "Hatteras Recreational Project to be Revived by Joint Governments," *Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], January 12, 1948, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Propose National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

Dough could not provide any further names, since "the project has been practically dormant since 1945." He explained to Allen that "several changes have taken place that have caused many of the Hatteras Banks people, most of Dare County officials, and some of the State leaders in Raleigh to openly oppose the project." Still, Dough suggested North Carolina Senators Clyde R. Hoey and J. Melville Broughton, who might have more of a state-wide view.[304]

The sources of park opposition, as Dough saw it, were "Dare County's fear of loss of taxable property; land owners' fear of loss of land; inhabitants of the Banks fear of Park Service opposition to a paved road; hunters' and fisherman's [sic] fear of elimination or drastic regulation of hunting and fishing." Dough added that these fears were "nurtured by a few business groups" who sought to develop the area privately rather than as a public recreational area for use by millions of visitors. Unfortunately, Dough noted, one of these groups was Dare County's Chamber of Commerce.[305]

On the basis of Dough's views, and a similar account by Fort Raleigh Superintendent Robert H. Atkinson, it was clear that the Dare County Chamber of Commerce was considering backing legislation to prevent the establishment of the seashore. At a mid-January meeting the chamber in fact strongly opposed plans to create a park, and although it did not pass a formal resolution, the chamber asked Representative Hayman to hold off on submitting any pro-park legislation to the General Assembly. Hatteras residents also reportedly filed an anti-park petition with Attorney General Harry McMullan, who had a summer cottage in Avon and might also oppose the park.[306]

On January 29, 1949, Dare's Chamber of Commerce met again. Former state assemblyman Theodore Meekins, now described by Horace Dough as a local real estate dealer, was prominent in taking a stand against the seashore. Meekins quoted an old NPS brochure answering questions about the park project in 1941. The board's reaction to the NPS response to such questions as "Will hunting be permitted?" or "Will fishing be permitted?" or "How extensively will the area be developed with roads?" was, in Dough's words, "about the same as a mad bull's to a red flag." Board members asserted that there was nothing the Park Service would do to develop the area economically that private business could not do while also paying taxes. Dough tried to explain the current NPS position, that the villages would have ample set-asides and that increased income would follow "an ever-increasing number of visitors who would prefer regulated development to gyp-joints and honky-tonks," but to no avail. The board voted unanimously against establishment of the national seashore, but set a date for a public meeting, which Dough thought might determine the fate of the seashore.[307]

Meekins may or may not have known what the current NPS policy was, but he apparently obtained the outdated brochure from Bonner who in turn had obtained it from the Park Service after requesting a policy statement. According to David Stick, Bonner had received the brochure and then sent the outdated briefing to various citizens and the county's two chambers of commerce who had asked him for such information. Stick was caustic in expressing how this simple incident almost irretrievably damaged the park proposal and wondered if anyone had even read it before it was transmitted to the congressman in 1949.[308]

303. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Memorandum for the Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, January 14, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
304. Horace A. Dough, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, Memorandum for the Regional Director, January 21, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
305. Ibid.
306. Elbert Cox, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum for the Director, January 24, 1949; and Robert H. Atkinson, Superintendent, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Memorandum for the Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, January 20, 1948 [sic: 1949]; both in "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
307. Horace A. Dough, Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, Memorandum for the Regional Director, February 1, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. The brochure was titled "Questions and Answers Concerning the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project, North Carolina" (National Park Service, 1941).
308. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 26.

Any failing was less about the brochure than the underlying problem, however, which was that the Park Service had not actually updated its own policy. Indeed, the 1941 brochure was probably the most current policy statement about the seashore that had been sanctioned by a formal NPS review process. Thus, despite having completed its major study on recreation and having out-waited state resistance, now the National Park Service suddenly was caught without a proposal appropriate to the situation of 1949, not 1941.

As Allen had pointed out two years previously, the seashore could not afford to acquire developed land north of Whalebone Junction. The 1941 brochure still listed total park size as about 62,000 acres, which was not realistic. Moreover, the brochure stated that most of the park area would be "permanently preserved as a primitive wilderness and no development will be undertaken which would be incompatible with the preservation of the unique flora and fauna or the physiographic conditions now prevailing." The brochure allowed for roads, but stated that any specifics regarding road construction could not be laid out until after the land had been acquired. Finally, the brochure, perhaps needlessly, remarked that if locals could not provide adequate facilities for park visitors, the Service would hire concession operators. Such statements were inflammatory to some.

Bureaucratic ineptitude was not the sole reason for the chamber's opposition to the seashore, however. Mulling things over, Victor Meekins offered his assessment to Herbert Bonner and, later, to readers of his paper. "It is easy to understand what has happened," he asserted, "when you understand Dare County—or particularly the Manteo—political set up, which is interested first, last and all the time in milking money out of anything, regardless of what or how." After a few even more colorful comments, Meekins noted how some on the chamber, including Theodore Meekins, were happy enough to draw government pay during the WPA days. "Like a weather vane," the *Times*' editor continued, when it comes to money, "they offer opinions from day to day depending on which way the wind is blowing." Meekins told Bonner that the chamber was interested in real estate propositions and feared NPS interference. According to Meekins, they also resented concessions made to the Park Service to establish Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, which had limited direct profit-making from performances of *The Lost Colony.*[309]

Meekins offered some criticism of the Park Service as well, criticism more revealing than he probably intended. Meekins found "great public disgust with the way Park Service affairs are managed in this county, and particularly the vandalism that was permitted to the Cape Hatteras light, which is a disgrace to the Park Service, and makes me even wonder if they should be entrusted with much of anything." On this matter, the editor was not well informed, for the light was damaged after the Coast Guard reoccupied it during the war. That a newspaper publisher was so poorly informed about NPS matters was indicative of the public relations problems the Park Service faced in restarting its seashore project.[310]

Bonner was disappointed at what Meekins had to say about the commissioners but encouraged him to publish items illustrating how a park might benefit commerce and national defense as opposed to being just about fishing at Oregon Inlet. Newpaper clipping services might pick up such pieces, allowing them to be seen by the Board of Engineers. Bonner, as early as 1949, saw the possibility of a bridge at Oregon Inlet, but needed more support.[311] Whatever the Dare Chamber of Commerce, the Park Service, or Victor Meekins thought of the park, Bonner saw how it could help him build a bridge.

The Dare County Chamber of Commerce objected to the park proposal, believing that private enterprise was the best means to develop the Outer Banks. Park supporters met this challenge head on. In February 1949, Herbert Peele's *Daily Advance,* without explicitly favoring a park, strongly encouraged readers to consider its economic merits. How might a park develop the Albermarle region through new roads, bridges, and a general prosperity? Would the current generation "deserve the

309. Victor Meekins, Editor, *Coastland Times*, to Herbert C. Bonner, January 31, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.
310. Ibid.
311. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Victor Meekins, Editor, *Coastland Times*, February 3, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC.

forgiveness of our children if we fail to take advantage of it?" Peele also printed a letter by David Stick countering arguments by Dare's Chamber of Commerce against the seashore.[312] Stick addressed the four points opponents emphasized, including that the Park Service opposed new roads and that the park would reduce the county's tax base, would compete with existing businesses, and would force people to move from their homes.

The first point was the most truthful in that it was based upon a ten-year-old NPS brochure. However, Stick explained that the brochure was no longer NPS policy and the National Park Service now supported roads to allow tourists to travel along the seashore. Moreover, Stick argued that, because North Carolina was not planning any near-term road improvements, the only way to get these was to support federal development of the area. The second point was true to the extent that taxable land would be eliminated from the county tax roll, but Stick argued that future tourist-related development would far outweigh reduced taxes from lands that otherwise produced little income anyway. The third point, according to Stick, "is completely without foundation of fact." It was not then, nor ever was, NPS policy to compete with established businesses. In fact, the Service planned to offer services to tourists only where locals failed to meet their needs. On the last point, there was just confusion. It was not NPS policy to develop a continuous reservation. Areas around Nags Head and Kitty Hawk, and the Hatteras villages that were already developed were to be excluded from the park. After seeing these items in print, Horace Dough wrote Regional Director Allen that both Herbert Peele and David Stick could be added to the list of park supporters.[313]

Victor Meekins soon joined that list, although he was at first more motivated by antagonism with the Chamber of Commerce than by support for the seashore. According to David Stick, Meekins published several editorials in his paper in early 1949 accusing the Dare chamber of hypocrisy for abandoning its previous support for the park and then concocting a scheme to revitalize the seashore project solely so that it could use the hostility created as a straw man to mobilize support for the newly reorganized chamber as it led the fight against such a proposal. As it turned out, according to Stick, Meekins was running for a seat on the Dare County Board of Commissioners and would later become its chairman. His political opponents included the chamber's president, hotelier Guy Lennon, who was actually running for the seat Meekins wanted. Thus, though Meekins thought "the old seashore park is dead," he came out swinging on its behalf.[314]

In early March 1949, Demaray and Wirth both wrote Frank Stick about his concerns that misinformation and rumors regarding the attitude of the Service toward phases of the Cape Hatteras project were harming prospects for creating a park. Demaray admitted that he had sent Rep. Bonner the now infamous "Questions and Answers" brochure that Theodore Meekins used to antagonize the Dare County Chamber of Commerce.[315] It is unclear exactly what stipulations Demaray may have attached when he transmitted the brochure to Rep. Bonner, but it is clear, at least in retrospect, that even senior NPS officials should not have distributed policy-related documents to Congress that did not reflect current policy.

In explaining the situation, Demaray then supplied Stick with a copy of the same outdated 1941 brochure, but this time he carefully stated several reservations. Most importantly, the Service no longer opposed road construction on the Outer Banks and he acknowledged the need for revised park boundaries. However, Demaray said that "a detailed statement as to our road plans cannot, of course, be prepared until we know the limits of the area and have developed plans for its best public use." He assured Stick, however, that the Service would use meticulous care to promote the interests of the residents of the villages and that "it is the

312. Editor, "Let's Not Fail Our Children Here," and David Stick, "Here are Answers to Objections to Seashore Park," both in *Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City, NC], February 18, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
313. Horace A. Dough, Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, Memorandum for the Regional Director, February 23, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
314. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 18-20, 29.
315. A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, Letter to Frank Stick, March 3, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

policy of the Service not to provide concessions facilities within an area of the National Park System, if these facilities could best be provided by private initiative in adjacent communities. The Cape Hatteras project is ideal from this standpoint." Demaray thought it best for Bonner and Broughton, accompanied by Conrad Wirth, to talk to the people of Dare County about the project.[316]

Wirth regretted that too much time had been spent "on our legislative program and other matters" and so he had not given as much attention to Cape Hatteras as he would have liked. He told Stick, however, that he was cooperating closely with Bonner, including supplying him with information so that local people would have a "true picture" of the importance of the project. He also thanked Stick, who had purchased for Wirth a subscription to the *Coastland Times*. Wirth acknowledged the need for him to go along with Bonner to talk with locals about the project.[317] The Park Service had not fully developed a formal process for soliciting public feedback. In fact, NPS experience establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore helped refine its process for airing controversial issues with the public.

Like Demaray, Wirth understood "that because of increased development and land values along the Cape Hatteras banks, the project cannot be carried forward to completion in accordance with its original conception." The problem, he told Stick, was that the Service could not resurvey the seashore's proposed boundaries until North Carolina determined its interest in having a national seashore. "I feel very strongly," Wirth assured Stick, "that if the project is supported in North Carolina, the Service can readjust the boundary line so that it will be supported by the majority of the local people." After these discussions with Stick, Wirth set to work revising the Cape Hatteras "Questions and Answers" brochure.[318]

On March 7, 1949, the Dare County Chamber of Commerce held a public meeting in conjunction with the Dare County Beaches Chamber of Commerce, the latter of which, a few nights before, had resolved to oppose the park because of fishing and development concerns. Despite efforts by both Dough and Atkinson to explain current NPS views on the matter, the tenor of the meeting was confrontational.[319] After Dough's talk, Alvah H. Ward, a member of the chamber, requested that the body ask Dare County's representative, Dewey Hayman, to sponsor legislation in the state assembly to kill the park plan. Immediately following, however, "Major" J. L. Murphy of the North Carolina Wildlife Service, a resident of Kitty Hawk, motioned that the chamber request Hayman to try to delay by two years any acquisition of land for the park so that the Park Service could discuss its plans with local citizens and redraw its boundaries to include the minimum amount of land necessary for a park. This motion was passed. Murphy also requested that Hayman introduce a bill to hold a referendum in June 1950 to allow the citizens of Dare County to vote on the matter. In commenting upon these events, Dough stated, "that unless the citizens of Dare County are changed in their convictions by convincing them that the county would derive more benefits from an increased tourist business that a National Seashore Area would provide than it would derive from a private development they will vote against the establishment of the area."[320]

The Park Service did have some friends in the chamber. David Stick had become a member of the board and was trying "to convince that body of the worth of the park." He sought NPS guidance, uncertain about which priorities to work toward. Demaray replied that no new federal or state legislation was necessary once the state's Act of March 19, 1945, expired; but the state needed to appropriate any required funds for acquisition and the governor needed to reactivate the now defunct Seashore Commission. The re-establishment of the commission, advised Demaray, should follow upon the referendum in Dare. Otherwise, the Congressional act of 1937 provided the Service with

316. Ibid.
317. Conrad L. Wirth, Chief, Land and Recreational Planning, Letter to Frank Stick, March 4, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
318. Ibid.
319. "Opposition Shown to Seashore Park by Dare Beaches," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], March 2, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
320. Horace A. Dough, Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, Memorandum for the Regional Director, March 7, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

authorities to conduct a new boundary survey and accept land. He also noted, however, that the Interior Secretary had the discretion whether or not to continue the project after August 17, 1952. If the state remained uninterested in pursuing the project, the Secretary could decide to abandon it after that date. Demaray also noted that while the Secretary could "accept" a minimum area of 10,000 acres, actual "establishment" of the park required that title to as many acres be vested in the United States.[321]

News accounts of the meetings in Dare County were somewhat more encouraging than the meetings themselves. One citizen reportedly said, "right now they seem to want all the land, sea, and sky between Manteo and Hatteras to which most of us are opposed. If they would modify their demands to require less territory I feel Dare County would approve the project." A similar article noted that both Bonner and Broughton now thought it best for the citizens to decide the issue about whether or not to continue the seashore project.[322]

The two Dare County chambers of commerce felt differently. On March 14, their representatives met and drafted legislation for Representative Hayman. This legislation sought to block creation of a park by preventing land acquisition for six months. The proposed state bill stated that "the people of Dare County . . . are of the opinion that the future welfare of Dare County lies in the continued development by private enterprise of its beaches and on Roanoke Island rather than in the acquisition thereof by the Federal Government for park purposes."The proposed bill further spoke about the importance of taxable valuations whose loss would "seriously impair the economic welfare of Dare County and its ability to carry on governmental requirements." The legislation was also skewed to favor park opponents in that it would have required that twenty-five percent of qualified voters express their interest in holding a referendum to have a referendum. If they did not, the ban would stand.[323]

Despite opposition by commercial interests in Dare County, the North Carolina act preventing land acquisition by the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission expired on March 9 without the General Assembly extending its provisions. The act's main purpose had been to allow oil explorations, but no oil had been found. For reasons unknown, the assembly also failed to direct that a park referendum be held in Dare County prior to the end of the 1949 session. The way was thus clear to reactivate the Seashore Commission.

The Second Campaign Begins

On the afternoon of June 28, 1949, the National Park Service sponsored a conference at the Carolinian Hotel in Nags Head. The main reason for the meeting was to allow NPS officials to counter negative views on the Cape Hatteras seashore project as expressed by Dare County business interests. Conrad Wirth, as Chief of the Land and Recreational Planning Division, made several important announcements, including that the National Park Service had greatly reduced the scope of the seashore project. "The Park Service never indicated definite boundaries for the park," Wirth said, "although most of the area from the Virginia line to Ocracoke Inlet was included in the original survey." Now, because the park was not going to include developed areas, Wirth continued, "any land north of the causeway which leads to the Roanoke Sound Bridge will be automatically eliminated."[324]

Thus, the Park Service removed from consideration areas near Nags Head, Kitty Hawk, Collington Island, Kill Devil Hills, and much of northern

321. David Stick, Letter to Mr. Demaray, March 10, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; A E. Demaray, Associate Director, Letter to David Stick, March 29, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
322. "Federal Seashore Park Referendum Requested by Residents of Dare," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], March 4, 1949, and "Bonner and Broughton Say Dare Citizens Must Reach Own Decision about Park," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], March [unknown], 1949, both in "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
323. "Bill Would Give Residents Time to Express Reaction to Hatteras Park," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], March 15, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. As a measure of how intense the chambers' opposition to the park project was, David Stick later recalled that he was a member of both chambers. Normally, he noted, they did not cooperate and warred with each other over control of the local tourist promotion trade. After trying to encourage their cooperation, Stick found it ironic that the one time they did unite was in mutual opposition to the national seashore. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chpt. two, 16.

Roanoke Island. The village areas of Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands remained excluded, of course, which meant that the total park area had been reduced by half, to about 30,000 acres. Wirth stressed the benefits of a national park as "an economic asset to the local communities." He claimed its value to include "increased business, development of adjacent communities, and employment." He also explained NPS policy of not competing with local business to supply visitor services. Most importantly, Wirth emphatically assured locals that "the Park Service fully realized that the communities along the banks have to be served, and will cooperate fully with the State in providing roads."[325]

Region One Director Thomas Allen also spoke at the conference. He added that "no curtailment of fishing and hunting rights in the sound water will be enforced." Indeed, the Park Service would have no greater authority to regulate hunting or fishing than the Secretary of Interior already exercised under his authority for the Fish and Wildlife Service.[326] Harkening back to its New Deal origins, NPS officials generally stressed how economically important a park would be to all Dare citizens, especially in the absence of oil development. As public works projects had brought employment to the Banks in the 1930s, now so, too, would a great national park. The next step in the process was for the state to appoint a commission to buy undeveloped land to turn over to the federal government.

This meeting was a good beginning in restarting the seashore project, but there were still critics. One problem was that the meeting was held at a fancy hotel and attended only by those in the north Banks area, all of which was now outside the proposed park. Beside facts, patience, and flexibility, NPS officials had to sharpen their public relations skills.

In July, Allen wrote to George R. Ross, newly appointed to replace Bruce Etheridge as the head of the Department of Conservation and Development, telling him about the Dare meetings and reviewing the legislative history of the project. According to Allen, both he and Wirth "saw indications that objections hinted at prior to the meeting were now disappearing." Specifically, he thought this due to "the willingness of the National Park Service to eliminate from the Cape Hatteras project any lands north of Whalebone."[327] The Service still wanted some additional lands to buffer the Wright memorial, but it had essentially abandoned any hope of including areas north of Whalebone in the park. This NPS decision was a key factor in overcoming business opposition to the plan, and from that point forward, the main NPS opposition was to come from large property owners of the lower banks.

With the state act barring land acquisition now defunct, the way was clear to begin land acquisition once again. Allen and Wirth wanted Ross to assume responsibility for further hearings or community meetings. Though the Park Service would help in every way possible, Allen and Wirth believed it up to

324. Horace A. Dough, Superintendent, Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One, July 1, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. Guy H. Lennon, President of the Dare County Chamber of Commerce, had agreed to the meeting in March to clarify the objectives of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project. After the failure of the General Assembly to take any stand on the seashore project, he and Demaray postponed the meeting until it was more convenient for NPS staff, the Sticks, and others, to meet. See Guy H. Lennon, Dare County Chamber of Commerce, Letter to A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, March 12, 1949, and A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, Letter to Guy H. Lennon, Dare County Chamber of Commerce, March 29, 1949, both in "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
325. "Proposed Hatteras Seashore Park Will Not Include Developed Areas of Dare Federal Officials Reveal," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City] June 29, 1949, 1, 2, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. Attendees of the meeting included Conrad L. Wirth and Thomas J. Allen of the Park Service; businessmen Guy Lennon, I.P. Davis, O.J. Jones, and Alvah Ward and former state parks official R. Bruce Etheridge, all of Manteo; Representative Dewey Hayman and Neal Midgett; Frank and David Stick, Walter Perry, J.L. Murphy, and Clayton Tillett of Kill Devil Hills; Edgar Perry and Jess Baun of Kitty Hawk; George Ross and Tom Morse of the North Carolina State Department of Conservation and Development; Robert H. Atkinson, Superintendent, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site; and C. P. Lewis and Horace A. Dough, Superintendent of Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial.
326. "Proposed Hatteras Seashore Park Will Not Include Developed Areas of Dare Federal Officials Reveal," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City] June 29, 1949, 1, 2, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
327. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Letter to George Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, July 5, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

the state, through the Seashore Commission that Ross chaired, to decide whether or not to go ahead with the project.[328]

On July 16, David Stick wrote Wirth with two immediate needs. First, the state had to appoint new Seashore Commission members. Second, Dare citizens needed to be informed about the advantages the park would bring. Stick thought that the Park Service ought not rely upon the commission members alone to inform the people for "there is always the possibility that the commission appointed by the Governor will not include individuals who are thoroughly conversant with the project and are vociferous enough to explain the many phases of the plan." Stick was prescient with this advice and also when he suggested to Wirth that "it will be extremely helpful if, at some later date, you can again come to Dare—this time to the lower banks—and repeat the forthright and convincing statements which you made in the presence of the chamber of commerce representatives."[329]

The reason for Stick's advice would gradually become clear—George Ross was not, at least initially, a full supporter of transforming Cape Hatteras State Park into a national one. In writing Wirth, Ross noted that while "practically everyone on Ocracoke is favorable to the Recreational Park, practically everyone on Hatteras seems to be against it."[330] Ross himself apparently reassured residents while visiting Buxton that "no lands on Hatteras Island will be ceded to the National Park Service without the expressed approval of the people of the island." Pending that decision, he added, "the state will proceed, with any funds that are or may be made available, with the development of the Cape Hatteras State Park, 'orphaned' for a decade by official indecision and neglect."[331] According to David Stick, after Ross encountered what he took to be "massive resistance" by locals to the national seashore project, he began to think of the state park as a viable alternative, despite whatever the land deeds had specifically said about turning the area over to the federal government.[332] This position may have been perfectly reasonable, especially for the head of the state's parks bureau. However, because Ross also sat as chair of the Seashore Commission, his attitude quickly became a serious obstacle for park advocates.

In August, Wirth wrote Victor Meekins about a six-hundred-signature petition from people of Hatteras stating their desire for a road. Wirth had apparently been reading his subscription to the *Coastland Times*. He re-emphasized NPS support for the road and also that the park boundary would be revised to allow sufficient land to develop the villages and their economy. "In other words," he told the fence-sitting editor, "the combination of a properly thought-out park boundary, together with a good road, will make all the difference in the world to the future prosperity and happiness of Hatteras Island."[333]

By the end of September, however, David Stick was worried, and asked Wirth to prod Governor Scott to re-establish the Seashore Commission. According to Stick, he and his father had met the governor in August and had found him "both indulgent and interested when we discussed the Seashore project." Scott even solicited their advice on potential commissioners and implied that he would appoint them soon.[334] With no response from the governor forthcoming, Stick turned to Wirth. As an aside, Stick also noted "that you will be surprised to learn that Vic is now solidly behind the park." Apparently, "Vic" Meekins had taken a trip to Gatlinburg, Tennessee, near the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. According to Stick, Meekins was impressed by the amazing growth, said so on a local radio program, and stated that no one from the Banks who had visited that town could fail to believe that similar development would follow after the creation of a national seashore.[335] Stick later published an

328. Ibid.
329. David Stick, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Chief, Land and Recreational Planning, July 16, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
330. George R. Ross, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, July 18, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
331. Ben Dixon MacNeill, Title unknown, *The Daily Advance,* July 13, 1949,as quoted in David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 8-9.
332. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 8-9.
333. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Victor Meekins, Editor, *The Coastland Times,* August 22, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
334. David Stick, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, September 28, 1949, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

article in the *Coastland Times* comparing the opportunity for the Hatteras villages to that of the property-owners in Gatlinburg. There, Stick noted, most of the property is still owned by locals, "many of whom have become persons of means." Those who could not develop their property, often leased it and thus still accrued wealth from lease income and rising property values. Because residents of Ocracoke and Hatteras had long been reluctant to sell their land, they would probably benefit from proximity to a national park as had the residents of Gatlinburg.[336]

In October 1949, David Stick reported to Wirth that George Ross preferred to see Cape Hatteras be a major state park instead of a national seashore. This belief was apparently based upon the fact that David's father, Frank Stick, had received no replies from Ross about re-establishing the Seashore Commission.[337] Finally, in late January 1950, Governor Scott re-activated the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. Its members were George R. Ross, who was chair by way of his position; Brig. Gen. Don Scott (retired), a Nags Head cottage owner and local fisherman; Maurice Burrus, a member of the Dare County Board of Commissioners; Roy Hampton, vice-chairman of the Board of Development and Conservation for fourteen years; "Major" J. L. Murphy, President of the Dare County Chamber of Commerce and district commissioner of the State Wildlife Federation; Carlton Kelly, proprietor of the Green Island Hunting Club on Ocracoke Island; and Mrs. Roland P. McClamroch of Chapel Hill, who was a member of the Board of Conservation and Development and the state Democratic executive committee.[338]

One individual not appointed was Frank Stick, who was busily engaged in his development of Southern Shores near Kitty Hawk and probably carried too much baggage from his work as the commission's secretary. Similarly, Victor Meekins was too involved with local politics but through his paper probably had as much if not more influence on the project's fate than anyone.

George Ross later asked David Stick to become the publicity agent for the Seashore Commission. After it was established, Stick said he carried on a considerable correspondence with such individuals as Wirth, his father, commission member Don Scott, and especially letters to George Ross; but complained that Ross did not reply or allow him to do much publicity work to promote the national seashore. Stick also applied to be secretary of the commission as it was seen as a key position to advance the seashore.[339] Curiously, however, no executive secretary was chosen and the Seashore Commission instead appointed subcommittees to do its work.

On February 7, 1950, Ross wrote to Wirth that "there seems to be building up right much opposition to this proposition" of a national seashore. On behalf of the Seashore Commission, he thus asked Wirth to formally answer five key questions, which articulated the nature of local concerns about NPS plans: What was NPS policy on road construction, this time from Nags Head south? What restrictions, if any, were to be on hunting and fishing? Was the Park Service going to compete with local business? Were businesses in the villages to be regulated by the Park Service? Was the Park Service going to continue to fix sand and do erosion control?[340] David Stick drafted these questions after the first Seashore Commission board meeting resolved to contact the Park Service to ascertain its policy. At the time, Ross suggested the letter should come from him as Director of the state parks agency. Ross did write Wirth, but Stick complained that Ross failed to follow-up in apprising the commission of Wirth's response or other issues prior to the next commission meeting at Nags Head in March 1950. In fact, Stick felt the next two commission meetings,

335. Ibid.
336. David Stick, "Impressions as to Possibilities Seashore Park," *The Coastland Times*, February 17, 1950, 1, 4, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
337. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 13-14. Stick recalled the date years later and it may not be exact.
338. David Stick, "Park Group to Hold Discussion in Dare County," *The Coastland Times*, March 3, 1950, 1, 8, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; and "National Seashore Officials Meet at Nags Head," *The Daily Advance*, March 10, 1950, 1.
339. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 17-18, 19.
340. George R. Ross, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, February 7, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

one in the cottage of Don Scott at Nags Head, the other in Avon, to be unproductive. "I came away," he stated, "with the distinct impression that there was more effort being expended in killing the park project than in reviving it."[341] Indeed, he recounted telling Wirth that commissioners Murphy, Hamilton, and Mrs. McClamrock wanted the governor to commit funds from his Contingency and Emergency Reserve for the park. If not, it would indicate a lack of state support and that the commission should thereafter focus upon extending the state park rather than creating a national one.[342] Murphy made it no secret that his support could fall either way, and in the first days of the new commission, members' loyalties remained divided.

Conrad Wirth was taken aback by Ross's comment of "building opposition." It was the first he had heard of it. Wirth had attended the initial meeting of the Seashore Commission held in late January, specifically to meet Ross, his board, and the new commissioners.[343] For unknown reasons, however, Ross did not attend, and Wirth had formed a completely different impression of the member's views. He told Ross on February 13 that he thought the commission understood what the Park Service was trying to do. "I was left with the impression," Wirth said frankly, "that the commission was all of one mind with possibly a little hesitancy on the part of one or two of its members."[344] Nevertheless, Wirth answered Ross's questions and also sent copies to Warren, Bonner, and Regional Director Allen. Wirth's answers, in essence, established NPS policy:

On the issue of roads, Wirth stated that "a road to the communities south of Nags Head is inevitable." Given that position, Wirth wanted to cooperate with the state to ensure that the road met the purposes of the villages, but also those of the park, including erosion control and protection of plant life. In fact, Wirth said, "The road would also channel the people and traffic on the Cape and thus eliminate much damage from car traffic on the dunes which destroys plant life. This plant life is essential if erosion is to be controlled. In short, we are in favor of the road which the state is building."

Concerning hunting and fishing, Wirth believed that "the establishment of the monument will have no effect on sport or commercial fishing in the area." He quoted extensively from Section 2 of the act of June 29, 1940 (54 Stat. 702), which codified a prior agreement between the state and the Service that ensured that hunting was to continue under NPS administration. Wirth was sensitive to the issue of competition with local businesses and stated categorically that there would be none

> so long as the local people will furnish these facilities to serve the people who visit the area. We will do everything in our power to encourage and urge local people to provide all of the necessary overnight accommodations, restaurants, gasoline service stations, etc., in the communities excluded from the proposed area but adjacent to it.[345]

In answer to the question of whether or not the Park Service would regulate village businesses, Wirth stated, "Definitely no." The agency would help local communities plan, but only on a voluntary basis.

Finally, regarding whether or not the National Park Service would continue its erosion control projects, Worth wrote,

> We most assuredly would be, and we would do everything with our power to see that the area is held in place and restored wherever possible to approach its original, natural condition. Our work in the '30s trying to restore the area is evidence of what we would like to do, and an indication of the way we would treat the area.[346]

With these statements on NPS intentions, the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held a joint meeting with the National Park Service, once again at the Carolinian Hotel in Nags Head, on March 8 and 9, 1950. A later meeting was also held at Avon on Hatteras Island. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss the proposed park boundary and to outline to the public the proposal

341. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 20-21, 22.
342. Ibid., 22-23.
343. Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, Letter to George R. Ross, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, February 1, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
344. Ibid.
345. Ibid.
346. Ibid.

to create the park. Both Ross and Wirth attended.[347] It was at or immediately following this meeting that a new general NPS boundary for the proposed seashore was established. David Stick later criticized NPS handling of the Avon meeting. Although open to the public, the meeting took place in a crowded auditorium with officials up on stage. Stick thought this arrangement intimidated citizens and gave them little opportunity to converse with NPS officials or to get detailed explanations regarding their own situations.[348] The Service still needed to hone its public relations skills. NPS policy was now more appealing to residents of the Outer Banks, but the ferocity of the anti-park publicity campaign that opponents were preparing to mount would obscure that accomplishment.

"The Shuffler Report"

On March 16, 1950, Regional Director Thomas transmitted a memorandum to George Ross at the North Carolina Conservation and Development. The memorandum discussed the boundaries for the seashore park as tentatively understood by the National Park Service and the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission after their March 8 meeting.

In this memo the Park Service formally agreed with the Seashore Commission that the proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore was to be substantially reduced from the boundary authorized by Congress in 1937 and was not to include any lands north of Whalebone Junction, except for Kill Devil Hill Memorial, which NPS officials still hoped to extend to the sea, and Fort Raleigh. Actual lines around the villages would also have to be devised later in consultation with the villagers.[349] Not quite a *quid pro quo,* the commission and the Park Service then agreed that the latter was to assume responsibility for land acquisition, contingent upon the State of North Carolina transferring all funds for that purpose to the Park Service.[350] Since Ross and the commission had agreed to this condition, Allen informed him that the NPS officials were ready to assume responsibility for land acquisition. Nevertheless, until North Carolina transferred its responsibility, Allen told Ross, "we are without authority or funds to handle any negotiations with the villages or to place a representative in such negotiations." In closing, Allen added, "I am becoming more and more encouraged by the chances of establishing the Cape Hatteras area."[351]

Ross, however, was not quite ready to turn everything over to the Park Service. On March 23, 1950, in order to advance planning, Allen agreed to let Ross send a state-sponsored delegate to conduct a detailed study of the Hatteras area to help determine precise boundary lines.[352] The man Ross chose for this task was Marion J. Shuffler, a well-connected political operative who had formerly worked for North Carolina Congressman J. Bayard Clark before the latter retired from office in 1949. Shuffler did work with NPS officials but was paid as a temporary employee by the state, which would be an issue of future contention. In conjunction with Shuffler's appointment, David Stick contacted Ross about publicity and later reported that he received in response to his query the most substantive correspondence he was ever to get from Ross—a simple note telling him "to mark time for a little while." Apparently, Ross had received a petition by Buxton residents against the seashore and was concerned about publicity a survey might generate.[353]

347. "National Seashore Officials Meet at Nags Head," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], March 10, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
348. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 23.
349. At some point during this dialogue and for unclear reasons, Regional Director Allen threw up the possibility of eliminating Ocracoke Island from the seashore's boundary. The Chief Historian vigorously protested adoption of this proposal due to the importance of the Island and its "Croatoan" Indians to the Raleigh colonies. The discussion of this option was apparently an internal NPS matter and was not put forward by the Service to the Seashore Commission. See Chief Historian, Memorandum to the Director, March 8, 1950, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.
350. The state also had to sign an official assurance binding it to pay any balance required to complete the acquisition process.
351. Thomas J. Allen, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to George B. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, March 16, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
352. Ibid.
353. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 24. Stick stated that he was prevented by Ross from conducting any publicity on behalf of the commission and press information was based only upon what Ross released to the media or from what reporters obtained from commission members.

Meanwhile, as Shuffler went to work, Assistant Director Wirth explained NPS policy regarding the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore to W. L. Scarborough, Secretary of the Buxton Civic Club, who had forwarded the above-mentioned anti-park petition to the Park Service.[354] Opponents of the seashore were re-grouping.

Four months later, on July 28, 1950, Shuffler submitted his findings to George Ross, as Chairman of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, who transmitted the "Shuffler Report," as it was later known, to Governor W. Kerr Scott and the other members of the commission. The report identified areas adjacent to the villages within the proposed park boundary that could be set aside for development in accord with the wishes of local people. The report directly responded to Regional Director Allen's memorandum of March 16, 1950, requesting the state follow through with the Avon meeting. It represented a major step forward in executing the necessary arrangements to address the concerns of local residents about the seashore and how it would affect their lives and property.[355]

Shuffler found that most residents of Hatteras were "courteous, but aloof and unwilling to discuss the proposal" either way. Thus, he sought out opposition leaders to ascertain the basis of their objections. It was soon clear to him that most opponents of the proposal did not understand it while others simply had a lot of "distrust of governmental controls." A few ocean-frontage owners feared confiscation and there were "some who resent any disturbance of the century long isolation."[356]

However, Shuffler found that a state proposal to build a consolidated school, which had nothing to do with the seashore, was a far more contentious issue at the time. That proposal was causing ill will toward the state by residents. Shuffler's conclusion was "that a majority of the residents of the Islands are not concerned about the proposal and will be satisfied with the establishment of a National Park,



FIGURE 30. This image depicts the Bodie Lighthouse, a nearby pond, and raft of ducks in January 1958. During 1950, the Park Service and the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development tussled over the best strategy to acquire land, especially on Bodie Island. (NPS photograph by W. V. Watson, courtesy of Harpers Ferry Center)

provided the Federal Government gives due consideration to public relations in the process." In each area he listed possible local advisory committee members, "selected because they are considered intelligent and fair minded, and without regard to their attitude on the National Park proposal."[357]

Shuffler noted that Hatteras was only slightly less isolated from the mainland than a century past. Only a hard-surface road connected the villages of Avon, Buxton, and Hatteras while ferry service to the mainland was limited. This isolation was soon to change with pending road, air travel, and communications improvements. Shuffler foresaw rapid change for the villagers and understood their need to face that change "with vision or its destruction could be irreparable." He noted that most of the timber on Hatteras was cut down without regard to conservation—large stumps gave evidence of more extensive forests of the past—and recommended the state consider passing zoning regulations to protect the remaining forest in the area of the state park. This would be the area most welcoming for tourist development. Other than in the villages, however, property development was unlikely because of wave

354. Conrad L. Wirth, Assistant Director, Letter to Mr. W.L. Scarborough, Secretary of the Buxton Civic Club, March 31, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
355. George R. Ross, Chairman, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Letter of transmittal to Governor W. Kerr Scott and Members of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, July 28, 1950, Shuffler Report file, Vault, CAHA archives.
356. Marion J. Shuffler, Special Representative to the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development and the National Park Service, "Report of Investigation Relative to the Proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," July 20, 1950, Shuffler Report file, Vault, CAHA archives.
357. Ibid.

action and erosional forces. He noted one valuable club house property situated midway between Buxton and Avon that was swept away by high tides and wind in the great hurricane of 1944. Shuffler remarked as a layman that "in a few years the Island will become a chain of small islands connected by sand bars if thrown open to competitive development without scientific control of sand beach erosion."[358]

Shuffler also commented on the economic life of the villages. Fishing, seafaring, and service to the Coast Guard and Life-Saving Service were the main sources of Hatteras Islanders' income, but all were in serious decline. Improvements in communications and ocean transport and the decline of the local fisheries had made that lifestyle impossible. Shuffler found that accommodating tourism and sportsmen was the only viable alternative. The area could not support any agriculture, fish processing, or other industrial developments. The economy of Hatteras was tied to a way of life whose basis no longer existed. As Shuffler poetically put it, "strong men acquainted with storms at sea, and oarsmen manning a life boat have written their pages in history at the Grave Yard of Ships," but those days were over.[359]

The Shuffler Report recommended boundary lines for each village area, starting from Oregon Inlet and working South to Hatteras Inlet. He recommended that Rodanthe and Waves be linked by an exempt village area, which proved favorable to the Park Service and was later adopted. Other than his recommended zoning for the Buxton-Frisco area to protect the island's few remaining trees, most of the boundary lines were logically derived in apparent consultation with residents to allow both NPS management of beach areas and room for each village to grow. Importantly, Shuffler confirmed that most residents owned very little land outside the villages, and if the area did not become a park, "it is possible that they would bear much of the brunt of private development of the Island without profit other than a small increase in land values." Shuffler also recommended sites for an airport and yacht basin, but his main conclusion was "that the unsurpassed beaches of Hatteras Island ever remain open to the public for bathing, fishing and hunting, and…that the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area be established."[360]

Shuffler and Ross were friends as well as associates, but if Ross had hoped that Shuffler's findings would argue for an expanded state rather than a national park, he was disappointed. Shuffler's positive and enthusiastic report cleared the way to renew serious land acquisition efforts. Despite some expected donations, however, much land would have to be purchased. A lengthy acquisition process was likely, which is why Shuffler recommended zoning changes to protect the remaining forest. Shuffler's boundaries faced some later modifications to address direct negotiations between the Park Service and Outer Banks villagers, but his work forged the basis upon which the future national seashore would be established. Immediately following release of the Shuffler Report, Regional Director Allen attended a meeting of the state Board of Conservation and Development. He told Director Drury and Conrad Wirth that not much happened regarding the seashore but the board "was interested in discussing the subject and the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, for once, indicated a real desire to make some headway." Allen added that "Director George R. Ross was not present at the commission meeting and General Scott, who had been designated as chairman in the absence of Mr. Ross, took charge."[361]

The Seashore Commission asked Allen what he thought it should do next. He simply advised that the commisson should acquire land for the park and either turn the funds or the land over to the Park Service so the park could be created. He also noted that further delays in the project might mean that legislative authority would expire. Indeed, Allen announcement that "at this late date we must consider the entire project and skip over any consideration of a previously discussed 10,000 acre minimum area" for purposes of establishing the park. He thus advised the state to move immediately to appraise the land in the proposed park and to use the current balance of $65,000 to start acquisitions.

358. Ibid.
359. Ibid.
360. Ibid.
361. Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to the Director, entitled "Report on Meetings Regarding Cape Hatteras National Seashore Project," August 1, 1950, Shuffler Report file, Vault, CAHA archives.

Allen thought most commission members wished to advance the project and were not put off by a minority of disgruntled residents (such as those in Buxton).[362] Clearly, the Park Service was ready to move, but there had been too much delay, and the Service would no longer accept a piecemeal approach. If North Carolina was not ready to act, Allen hinted strongly that the federal government was prepared to walk away.

On August 30, 1950, the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and the National Park Service met at Kill Devil Hill National Monument to discuss Shuffler's findings, which no one had had time to digest at the last meeting.[363] Assistant Regional Director E.M. Lisle and Horace Dough represented the Park Service. In addition to Chairman George Ross, Seashore Commissioners attending were Morris Burrus, Major James L. Murphy, Mrs. Roland McClamroch, Roy Hampton, and Fred P. Latham. During the meeting Ross challenged NPS priorities, arguing that obtaining more land for Fort Raleigh and the Wright memorial was unjustifiable, given that these were already established areas, and that efforts should concentrate on the seashore. It is not clear if the Park Service agreed to this approach at the time, but Ross's view prevailed. The Wright memorial was never extended to the sea and Fort Raleigh had to await the 1990s before it saw a major expansion.

David Stick, who was also present, stated that land on Bodie Island would cost $400,000. He asked if the Service would consider dropping lands north of Oregon Inlet. Lisle flatly refused this suggestion, pointing out that the Park Service had already reduced the size of the seashore by half and was not in favor of further reductions. The commission debated this for some time without consensus, but Ross finally acknowledged that Governor Scott was favorable to the project, if the commission was convinced that it was good for the majority of the people of the Banks. Mrs. McClamroch then moved that the commission go on record as approving the establishment of the seashore with its boundaries as most-recently proposed by the National Park Service. The motion was carried, but was not unanimous.[364]

Instead of handing land acquisition to the Park Service, Major Murphy moved to establish a committee to appraise the lands shown on "Plan 2020A." Also, given an earlier disagreement over who would pay Shuffler, he wanted specific authority to expend funds for obtaining appraisals. Ross reacted by expressing his desire to see the funds turned over to the Park Service, as long as the commission observed a cap of $150,000 in further requests for funding from the state. The funds so delivered, he further stipulated, should be given to the Park Service with the expectation that they be used to acquire only land that was not highly priced. This stipulation would have limited land purchases to south of Oregon Inlet. In this manner, Ross argued, were the national park not created, then any lands otherwise purchased could be used to expand the existing state park.

Lisle's reaction was to restate that the Park Service had already materially reduced the area to be obtained for park purposes. Thus, while the Secretary had discretion to establish the park at ten-thousand acres, the Park Service was only going to establish the park on the basis of its latest plan. In effect, there would be no park without the southern portion of Bodie Island. Opposed to Ross's motion, Lisle argued that the commission should appraise the entire area and then request from the governor the full amount needed for purchase. A motion for this was proposed and carried and a committee was appointed for the appraisals. The members of this committee were Murphy, Hampton, and Morris Burrus. Lisle was disappointed about the inability to expand Fort Raleigh and the Wright Memorial, but

362. Ibid.

363. E. M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Memorandum to the Regional Director entitled "August 30 Meeting of Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," September 1, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA. See also Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, Letter published in the *The Cape Codder*, March 21, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

364. E. M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Memorandum to the Regional Director entitled "August 30 Meeting of Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," September 1, 1950, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. As David Stick noted, the vote was between accepting Shuffler's plan, which considered a park that began south of Oregon Inlet and provided five-hundred-foot set-backs for NPS control of beach areas, and the minimum NPS plan, which proposed a park that began north of Oregon Inlet with beach set-backs of one thousand feet. The Park Service plan prevailed, although the set-backs later were reduced. See David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 26.

happy that the commission had made some progress. The appraisals were to be completed by the end of the year.[365] Unfortunately, that did not happen. In fact, the Seashore Commission did not meet again until 1952, when it was spurred to do so by the march of events.

The Dark before Dawn

In September 1950, a "mass meeting" was held on Hatteras Island to rally support for those who opposed the national seashore project. The meeting was reportedly organized by Winfield A. Worth, who was also circulating anti-park petitions.[366] Worth was an attorney with a practice in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, and was also the largest landowner in the lower Banks, owning some twenty-four-hundred acres on the southern portion of Bodie Island, an area that also included the popular fishing center at Oregon Inlet. Worth said he was representing the Gooseville Club, one of the last surviving rod and gun clubs and well known to locals both as an excellent fishing site and because the owner paid an armed guard to keep non-members from fishing on club property. By October, Worth was chairman of a group of delegates, one from each village, who planned to see Gov. Kerr Scott himself in a bid to stop the seashore project.

During this period, David Stick started a local tourist-oriented craft shop and became president of the Dare Beach Chamber of Commerce in 1951 and of the Kitty Hawk Civic Club in 1952. Frank Stick was involved in subdividing a large tract of land he had purchased in the late 1940s five miles north of Kitty Hawk. His "Southern Shores" was to be the first planned community in the Outer Banks, and Stick both designed and built some of the cottages.[367]

While Worth prepared to meet the governor, another park opponent, Preston Basnett, sent Herbert Bonner a new petition. Basnett said he had been "elected" to voice Outer Banks concerns and told Bonner that the proposed park would take over 52,000 acres. He claimed that "98 percent" of villagers were against it and complained that there would be no land left to live on. He also said that hunting was to be prevented except on Ocracoke Island and fishing was to be regulated by the Interior Department. "We need your support to keep us a 'FREE PEOPLE'," he told his congressman.[368]

Bonner replied that he would abide by what the majority wanted, but told Basnett that he thought there was a misunderstanding about the facts of the matter. The congressman knew the park could not be more than thirty-thousand acres and told Basnett that the tourist trade was the largest industry in America and would bring more dollars to the area than anything else. He reminded Basnett that "this idea originated in the mind of Lindsay Warren, whom I am sure loves the people of the Outer Banks as well as one man could love another, and I am confident he would not have fostered a proposal that would have taken away the privileges mentioned in your letter, or would have been the instrument of causing his friends to lose their freedom."[369]

NPS officials now spent months waiting for the Seashore Commission to make progress. In June 1951, solid arrangements for a transfer of property for park purposes finally occurred, albeit courtesy of the U.S. Navy. During World War II, the Navy had established a naval amphibious training base within the village of Ocracoke at the south end of Ocracoke Island. The base was no longer used and the Navy transferred the property to the Department of the Interior, with custody vested in the Park Service. Disposition of the property was somewhat compli-

365. Ibid. Lisle also suggested that if the state certified that it would obligate the funds for the minimum acreage needed (which was not 10,000) to establish the park, the Park Service would gladly handle land appraisals. Apparently, there was no motion to vote on this offer.
366. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 28-29.
367. Ibid., 30-31.
368. Preston Basnett, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 9, 1950, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2206 (1950-1951), Special Collections, UNC. An undated petition signed by 266 people opposed to the seashore is located in the Warren papers for this time period. Residents claimed they had long waited to get a hard surface road to allow development, but now that one existed, "the National Park Service is very persistent in stepping in and taking away from us the very thing we have hoped for for years. Should this come to pass all future prospects for development and progress would be killed. We consider such steps as an aggression." The petitioners also feared that their taxes would go up due to loss of revenue. See Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 444 (January 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
369. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Preston Basnett, October 16, 1950, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2206 (1950-1951), Special Collections, UNC.

cated because the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development had a federal permit to use various of the Navy's facilities for its own fishery activities. The Park Service was willing to continue these permits, if that suited the needs of the state agency.[370]

While the state fishery occupied part of the site, the remainder had been extensively looted, probably by locals, while under the jurisdiction of North Carolina State College. The state college had acquired use of the property for educational purposes under war surplus rules in 1948, but had neglected the site and failed to provide for its security. Title was thus returned to the United States. In adjudicating the damages, it was determined that the former naval base was already in such poor repair that the government would have to pay to demolish the buildings and cart away the debris. Since the looters were thorough and provided this service for free, it was decided that no major financial loss to the government had occurred. The state college also made a monetary settlement.

On July 6, 1952, by an interagency agreement, the old Navy property was transferred without cost from the Federal Security Agency to the National Park Service. On March 12, 1952, the Park Service issued a permit to the state Department of Conservation and Development to use and repair remaining structures.[371] The following year, probably to clear title and jurisdiction, Congress passed Public Law 114, transferring twenty-two acres on the site to the Interior Department for inclusion in Cape Hatteras National Seashore once it was established.[372]

With no progress being made, George Ross wrote Conrad Wirth, now Associate Director, in late August 1951. Ross professed his pleasure that the Seashore Commission had again expressed its interest "that we keep the project alive." To that end, he offered to help draft a new bill "to extend the time and the area." By time he meant the legislative deadline of 1952 to establish the park, which he understood as an absolute deadline but which the Park Service saw only as the date beyond which the Interior Park could walk away from the project. At any rate, the Seashore Commission had failed to accomplish much one year after completion of the Shuffler Report.[373]

Acting Directory Hillory A. Tolson suggested Ross seek congressional aid to extend the time in which the seashore might be established.[374] On January 20, 1952, Representative Bonner did contact Wirth expressing his willingness to introduce any NPS-drafted resolution for the purpose of authorizing the continuation of the seashore project.[375] It was now a year and a half since the joint decision by the National Park Service and the Seashore Commission to establish the whole park all at once. If the North Carolinians were worried that NPS patience was nearing an end, they were right.

In the fall of 1951, Director Newton Drury resigned, and on December 9, 1951, Conrad Wirth was appointed the fifth director of the National Park Service. Drury had opposed Secretary Oscar L. Chapman's support for another Interior agency that was trying to build a dam within Dinosaur National Monument on the Green River in Colorado. Wirth was no less enthusiastic about building dams in national parks, but he had led NPS recreational initiatives in the 1930s and was not a foe of planned park development. Wirth's reputation as a "can-do"

370. E. M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Letter to George R. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, June 21, 1951, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
371. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to the Attorney General, March 4, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
372. See, 16 USC 459a-5; and *United States Code Congressional and Administrative News* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1953), 181.
373. George R. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Associate Director, August 29, 1951, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
374. Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, Letter to George R. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, September 14, 1951, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
375. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Associate Director, January 30, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. Note, Bonner was apparently unware that Wirth had just become the new "Director."

bureaucrat was also well-known and he was quickly selected to succeed Drury. The hallmark of Wirth's remarkable directorship was to be his famous plan to develop and buttress park recreational facilities, which had severely eroded and were ill-equipped to meet the burgeoning recreation needs of the post-war era. Wirth's program, known as Mission 66, was established after President Dwight D. Eisenhower supported congressional legislation that provided nearly a billion dollars in funding to address park infrastructure needs in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the Park Service in 1966.

Wirth's appointment as director came at a critical juncture in the campaign to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Wirth had been personally involved at a high administrative level in NPS matters on the Outer Banks since the early 1930s. His involvement in coordinating NPS policy with state efforts, his oversight of work-relief activities, and his promotion of a recreational land management philosophy were central issues in the creation of the seashore. Because the seashore was to be a prototype for the development of subsequent recreational parks, Wirth had a vested interest in seeing the Cape Hatteras project succeed, both because it was linked to his own career and because it clearly tied into his vision of the mission of the Park Service. Of course, Wirth knew, probably better than anyone, the difficult politics of the Outer Banks. Nevertheless, he also knew that whatever the outcome, the time had come to act.

On February 20, 1952, Wirth replied to Representative Bonner with an authoritative statement on NPS policy and intent regarding the Cape Hatteras National Seashore:

> It is our feeling, based upon field studies and other information which we have obtained concerning the project, that because of highway developments in that region which will lead to further commercial expansion, if this project is to be consummated according to the original plan, positive steps must be taken to acquire the necessary land for the project.

Wirth then reviewed the statutory language regarding the timeframe of the authorizing legislation. His conclusion was that "the termination of the park project is discretionary with the Secretary of Interior." While the Service might support new legislation to extend the authority and allow "interim administration of a 10,000-acre area," this authority was the only section of the park's creation legislation facing expiration. Thus, he added, "if Federal legislation could be introduced and enacted that would be of material assistance toward consummation of this project, we would be very happy, of course, to recommend it."[376]

Wirth was opposed to legislation that merely extended the deadline, benefited speculators, developers, and park opponents, not the establishment of the park. He wanted a national seashore that was some thirty thousand acres in size and nationally significant. Already, some ten thousand acres was held by state or federal agencies. If the park were established using lands already held by the government, such as the state park and the wildlife refuge, and the purchase of the least costly lands, then the acquisition of the more expensive lands subject to near-term commercial development would be jeopardized as would the long-term goal of establishing a nationally significant national seashore. Driving the issue home, Congress granted an easement in September 1951 allowing North Carolina to build and maintain a roadway through the Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge.[377] Once this road was laid, it would further erode the character of any park subsequently established by accelerating development and increasing land values. The tone of Wirth's letter expressed frustration with North Carolina for not moving forward and indicated that the patience of the Park Service was nearing an end.

On April 4, 1952, Secretary Chapman wrote to Governor Scott on behalf of Director Wirth to clarify "a general misunderstanding to the effect that the act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 669) . . . would expire automatically on August 17, 1952, unless further extended by the Congress. Such is not the case." Indeed, he went on, "only the authority of the Secretary to accept a minimum of 10,000 acres for interim administration expires on August 17, 1952, and that the main purpose of the act remains valid

376. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, House of Representatives, February 20, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
377. The bill was submitted by Rep. Bonner. Copy of HR 4808, July 13, 1951, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Speeches, Box 48, Folder 2244 (1950-1955), Special Collections, UNC.

and in effect until it is fulfilled by the establishment of the area or until the project is abandoned by the Secretary of the Interior." If not already obvious, the Secretary explained, "I am writing you to clear this point because I am informed that the erroneous assumption concerning the authority of the act has tended to impede progress in the acquisition of land for the recreational area project. I have no intention of abandoning this project if it can be avoided and if progress is continuing on it." In closing, Chapman pointed out that the Great Smoky Mountains National Park had been a great boon for North Carolina and he expected a national seashore park at Cape Hatteras to be the same.[378] In addition to opposing any further delay by North Carolina, Wirth re-hired Clark Stratton, the man who had overseen NPS beach erosion activities at Cape Hatteras during the 1930s. Stratton left the Service during the war and then took up private employment. He later gave two reasons for why he agreed to rejoin the Service. First, "his close friend and associate" had been appointed director; second, "he had a very deep interest in seeing" Cape Hatteras become a major park.[379]

Next, the Park Service issued an updated "Questions and Answers" brochure discussing frequently asked questions and current NPS policy regarding the proposed seashore. This brochure detailed a much smaller project than authorized in 1937, including a provision to bring the park's sea boundary closer to shore, thus reducing restrictions on fishing. More land was also available for village expansion and the Park Service was only seeking thirty thousand acres. No lands in Currituck County were sought nor any north of Whalebone Junction, the provision that had eliminated opposition from Collington Island and Nags Head property owners. The brochure announced the stated aims of the park as being to provide fishing, hunting, boating, and swimming along with enough space to maintain the natural environment. The brochure emphasized that the villages would supply visitor services and that the government would not regulate businesses in those villages. It also promised to continue beach erosion control.[380] This brochure was a much more convincing document than the one from 1941. With the arrival of Director Wirth and his special assistant Clark Stratton, the Park Service finally began an effective public relations campaign in the Outer Banks.

NPS Estimate of Land Costs for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, 1952, Stratton's "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project."

Location	Acres	Cost
Bodie Island	5,330	$337,270
Hatteras Island	8,713	$975,000
Ocracoke Island	4,153	$62,295
Total land to be acquired	18,196	
Total Cost		$1,374,565
Land in state or national ownership	11,604	
Total Land to Establish Park	29,800	

Immediately, Wirth sent Stratton to Hatteras to gather information, especially on real estate values. Stratton spent about ten days in late March and encountered "almost total indifference of the people towards the project, lack of activity on the part of the Seashore Commission, and State and private development that has skyrocketed land prices."[381] His assessment was apparently so negative that David Stick, upon meeting Stratton, was certain he was returning to Washington to kill the project.[382] But he did not. Shuffler had also found

378. Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to W. Kerr Scott, Governor of North Carolina, April 4, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA.
379. A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 13-14, in CAHA files, HFC.
380. National Park Service, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project North Carolina: Some Questions and Answers*, 1952, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
381. A. C. Stratton, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project," March 26, 1952, 1, a special report to the Director, National Park Service, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
382. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 7-8. Stick reported this visit by Stratton as being in December 1948, but he may have remembered the time incorrectly. Stratton did not rejoin the Service as an NPS employee until after Wirth became director in December 1951, although he may have visited the area in 1948 as an NPS consultant. The outlook for the park was bleak in 1949, but it was even bleaker in March 1952 after a second failed effort by the commission. Stratton's trip in March 1952 is documented, the other is not, so this trip is probably the one Stick recalled.

indifference toward the project by residents who seemed oddly out of touch with the economic possibilities that the seashore offered, given they would mostly fail to benefit from private development while their traditional economy was in decline. Shuffler blamed simple distrust of the government, along with the fear of hunting restrictions, but did not find this attitude fatal if good publicity could be brought to bear. Indeed, Stratton found that "public relations to the Park Service are none too good at best." He found most people were misinformed about the project, a situation caused by park opponents. He noted that Theodore Meekins and Winfield worth had organized damaging anti-park meetings before and after Wirth's and Allen's visit. The vandalism at the lighthouse while under Navy administration was also a sore point (even though it was not the fault of the Park Service). He described how the Fish and Wildlife Service had recently given into public pressure for a road. That project was actually underway and was to be completed within sixty days. With a road now running north to Rodanthe and one coming south to Oregon Inlet, a continuous road, bridged by a planned ferry at Oregon Inlet, was soon to be in existence, and all of Hatteras Island would be subject to development. The roadway, Stratton found, was the chief source of escalating land values. Tourist courts and hotels were already going up in the villages, including one built on land shown by maps to be state property and once seen as a possible donation.[383]

Stratton consulted those who would qualify as appraisers in condemnation proceedings, including J. L. Murphy, David Stick, and R. Bruce Etheridge, among others. The consensus appraisal was between one and three million dollars. Murphy, the chair of the Seashore Commission's land acquisition committee, told Stratton that he was "confused" and frustrated. After the 1950 meeting at Kill Devil Hills, the committee, which was then headed by Roy Hampton, was to have appraised all lands needed for acquisition, but nothing was accomplished before Hampton's death in early 1951. No other meetings were held by the commission in 1951 and few acquisition members even bothered to attend the meetings that were held. "Murphy," according to Stratton, "has nothing but criticism for Mr. Ross of the Conservation Department." According to Murphy, however, Ross would be out of office soon and would not be reappointed.[384]

Murphy further complained that two previous acquisition committees, presumably those under Frank Stick and Victor Meekins, had done nothing but pass on their files to him. Most previous options had expired and most pledges had been withdrawn. Murphy claimed responsibility for pushing the state road through Pea Island and for getting Ross to commit $52,000 for picnic development at Cape Hatteras State Park. According to Stratton, Murphy basically did not think the park as proposed was possible and was trying to expand the state park. Murphy had some $68,000 remaining for this purpose and thought it would take six million dollars to buy all the land in the proposed national park.

Stratton told Wirth, "you too, as well as I, can agree with Mr. Murphy that he is a bit confused."[385] In retrospect, Murphy's figure was too high, but NPS estimates would prove too low.[386] Certainly, Stratton's talk with Murphy was illuminating by demonstrating the difficulties of trying to create a national park while many in the state government and on the Seashore Commission persisted in trying to create a state park. Of course, Stratton made his own evaluation of the costs needed to purchase land for the national seashore, as noted in the inset. His estimate would form the basis upon which state and private funds would be solicited for the project.

Stratton then outlined the major problems the effort faced on each island. On Ocracoke Island, Stratton noted that Sam Jones of Norfolk held land that would have to be condemned, but no other problems were expected there.[387] On Hatteras Island, Stratton found that some 8,087 acres were already in public ownership; but, ominously, he found private land sales were being conducted on a

383. A. C. Stratton, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project," March 26, 1952, 1-2, a special report to the Director, National Park Service, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
384. Ibid., 3.
385. A. C. Stratton, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project," March 26, 1952, 3-4, a special report to the Director, National Park Service, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
386. Ibid., 8. The eventual purchase price for lands condemned to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore would approach two million dollars.
387. Ibid., 4-5

by-the-foot basis, not by acre.[388] On Bodie Island, the main issue was the property of Winfield Worth, who was leading the fight against the seashore. He held about 2,621 acres, including a hunting lodge and fishing facilities. Worth had purchased the land for $6,000 a few years previously and was now selling some three hundred lots at $1,250 a piece. Stratton thought acquisition would cost the Park Service $250,000. Some land north of this area was state-owned and could be had for free, but it was important to get both tracts because Bodie Island had prime beach areas, was closest to the mainland, and could serve as an NPS contact point for visitors heading farther south. Ocean-front land closer to Whalebone Junction was almost prohibitively expensive ($800 to $1,800 per 50 foot lot), so Stratton did not include it in his estimate.[389]

Stratton had to be discreet to avoid publicity that might spur speculative interests and this hampered his research. He noted that condemnation would be necessary in many cases just to clear land titles. "The people as a whole do not want the seashore area as most feel they will do as well or better without it." Many thought it was the fastest way to get bridges built across the inlets. Stratton recommended speed in acquiring this land as every month brought a price increase. Most importantly, Stratton stated that "I do not feel that much faith or dependence can be placed on the Seashore Commission or acquisition committee."

Stratton did not recommend condemnation unless the government had one million dollars to spend. If funds were available, however, a public-relations campaign was urgent to correct misunderstandings and to encourage donations. Finally, he recommended against any effort at the time to take in Portsmouth Island, Core Banks, or Shackleford Banks, all south of Ocracoke Island. Noting the possibility of dropping the project, Stratton advised Director Wirth to eliminate further criticism by liquidating all other holdings in the area except Fort Raleigh and Kill Devil Hill.[390]

Before Stratton's report, it was not completely clear to Director Wirth what the report made obvious: further progress toward completion of land acquisition for the Cape Hatteras project was dependent upon the National Park Service itself. It had to assume responsibility from the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission before the price of such land truly did reach six million dollars.

388. Ibid., 6.
389. Ibid., 6-7
390. A. C. Stratton, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project," March 26, 1952, 9-10, a special report to the Director, National Park Service, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

Chapter Four: Patrons and Opponents

On January 23, 1950, the U. S. Coast Guard reactivated Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, the nation's tallest and most famous lighthouse. Under joint management with the National Park Service, the Coast Guard had installed commercial power lines and a new forty-inch lens made by Corning Glass Works that emitted three times the light of the old French-built Fresnel lens, which vandals had damaged during the war after the lighthouse was left unprotected by the Coast Guard. The new light was fully automatic and utilized a Swedish-built clock to turn the light off and on and to adjust it for differences in the length of days.[391]

By 1935, as noted earlier, high tide brought Atlantic waters to the base of the tower, which forced the Coast Guard to abandon it. Reactivation of the lighthouse in the late 1940s was possible mainly because experimental erosion-control efforts conducted under NPS oversight during the 1930s were successful in extending the shoreline, at least in the immediate vicinity of the light. The unsightly steel-framed lighthouse tower that had replaced the historic lighthouse had never endeared itself to locals, and its location two miles from shore limited its use as a daymark. The old lighthouse continued to serve as a daymark, but the considerable distance between it and the night light confused mariners and was blamed for at least one ship sinking.[392] Thus, for entirely practical reasons, the Coast Guard worked with the Park Service to return the lighthouse to service, and in 1950 the Park Service reopened the tower to visitors on a limited basis.

When Conrad Wirth became director of the National Park Service in August 1951, the outlook for a national seashore was bleak. Clark Stratton's report to Wirth offered a fairly clear picture of what had to be done, and who had to do it, to salvage the project. However, the single apparently insoluble problem was a lack of funding. The state of North Carolina simply had not provided adequate funds to purchase lands while some state officials did not fully support the project. While there was hope for private land donations in the 1930s and 1940s, those hopes had all but evaporated by the early 1950s. Despite the oil bust, road construction and residential and commercial development continued, especially around Nags Head and points north. Such development only bolstered park opponents, whose resistance remained strong.

The Heirs of Andrew W. Mellon

In the spring of 1952, Director Wirth received a phone call that would transform the fate of the Cape Hatteras project and the lives of all those on the Outer Banks. The phone call came from the Old Dominion Foundation, a Virginia charitable and educational foundation created by Paul Mellon, eldest son of Andrew W. Mellon, the wealthy banker and industrialist who had served as Secretary of the Treasury under President Herbert Hoover. In retirement, the elder Mellon was one of the nation's

391. Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Being Repaired," unknown newspaper, April 29, 1949, in Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives; and "Description of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse compiled by the Project Manager of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore and the Information Officer from the U.S. Coast Guard, Fifth District," March 3, 1954; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

392. Bill Sharpe, "Old Cape Hatteras Light Returning to Service," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 31, 1949; *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library.



FIGURE 31. Cape Hatteras Lighthouse as it appeared about 1950. In the foreground can be seen ruins of the original 1803 tower, which later eroded into the sea. The grass around the tower was planted by the CCC. (NPS photograph. CAHA archives)

greatest philanthropists and, among other things, donated his extensive art collection and $10 million to establish the National Gallery of Art in 1937. His son Paul Mellon was also a prominent philanthropist with a strong interest in conservation. He had instigated the call to Wirth over the possibility of purchasing land in North Carolina that could be donated to the federal government for park purposes. In his dealings with the Park Service, Paul Mellon would also represent the Avalon Foundation, a Delaware charitable trust created by his sister, Mrs. Aisla Mellon Bruce, which merged with the Old Dominion Foundation in 1969 to form the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

The land Mellon was considering for purchase and donation was on the mainland. Wirth did not think the Service would find it of interest but said he would have the situation investigated. However, before much could happen the foundation called again with news that this land had already been sold. According to Wirth's memoir, Mellon asked him if there was any other worthwhile project that might benefit from a charitable donation. Wirth immediately expressed his interest in seeing the Cape Hatteras project completed. Soon thereafter, Wirth and Ben Thompson, who headed the NPS Branch of Lands, and Paul Mellon met for lunch at the Hay-Adams House in Washington, D.C. Wirth and Thompson expressed their enthusiasm for a Cape Hatteras national park, so much so that Wirth even worried that he had soured Mellon on the proposal. However, a week later the NPS director received a telephone call inviting him to join Mellon on a flight over Cape Hatteras, which Wirth readily accepted. A few days after that, Mellon paid a visit to Wirth in his office in Washington. As Wirth recounted,

> I felt sure as we talked that he was going to offer to purchase land for us that we had estimated to cost about one and a quarter million dollars. But I thought that the state should help buy it, and I told Paul that I would like to go to North Carolina, talk to Governor [William Kerr] Scott, and find out whether the state would be willing to put in half the cost of the property if we could get some matching funds.

Wirth then made an appointment to see the governor the following week.[393]

It was a wise idea to gauge the State of North Carolina's willingness to support the park by having it contribute matching funds. Private funds might have provided enough land to create the park, but it was important for the state to invest in the outcome both to maximize the amount of property that could be acquired and to ensure better relations between the Park Service and the state. State aid would also serve to weaken local opposition to the park.

Just prior to this meeting with Governor Scott on June 11, 1952, Wirth met with George Ross, director of the state's Department of Conservation and Development. By then Wirth was probably skeptical of Ross's support for efforts to create a national seashore at Cape Hatteras, but he again discussed the issue with Ross in light of Paul Mellon's potential donation. With Wirth believing that he and Ross agreed that the latter would support Wirth's request for the state to match the Mellon donation, they both went to see the governor.[394] After Wirth made

393. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 55-56.

his case for state matching funds, Ross stated, in Wirth's words, "that if the state did anything, it should buy the land and keep it as a state park." This comment irritated Wirth enough that he turned to Ross "and demanded to know why he had reversed his stand since walking into the governor's office." At that point Governor Scott opened his desk drawer and brought out his chewing tobacco, which Wirth thought a good sign. Then, according to Wirth,

> in a rich southern drawl he asked me how much money I was talking about. I told him, and the governor rang for an assistant and asked him how much money they had in the "kitty." While the man went to find out, Scott gave me a plug of his chewing tobacco; although it was risky for me to do so, I took a bite and started chewing. The assistant came back in a few minutes and said, "You have slightly over $600,000." The governor looked at me and said, "Mr. Wirth, have you been looking at my books?" I answered, "I didn't know how much you had left, but our estimate was still $1,250,000, and it just happens to match." He smiled and said, "Well, I'll tell you what I will do. My cabinet meets on Thursday of next week, and if they approve this I'll let you know."[395]

By "cabinet" Scott meant the Council of State. Since colonial times the governor of North Carolina has negotiated his policy decisions with those department heads whose offices are filled by direct election, including the Secretary of State, the Treasurer, the Commissioners of Agriculture, and several others. Scott needed their support for spending his contingency or emergency funds.

Wirth found Governor Scott congenial, but Ross opposed the initiative and the Council of State had not weighed in. Interior Secretary Oscar L. Chapman increased the pressure by writing Scott on June 13. "We both realize," he said, "that there is opportunity now to purchase only a portion of the area originally authorized by Congress, and that the chance to establish the area is now almost gone. If we are unable to act effectively now, the State of North Carolina and the people of the rest of the United States will have lost forever the opportunity to create this great national seashore recreation area." Chapman emphasized that the fate of the project now depended on the state providing matching funds. He promised to return any funds provided by the state not actually used for land purchases. "I profoundly hope that you and the Council will be able to see your way clear to give this support to Cape Hatteras Seashore Area."[396] If North Carolina backed away now, the project was dead.

On June 16, to confirm his intent, Paul Mellon filed a confidential letter with the Secretary Chapman committing the trustees of the Old Dominion Foundation and of the Avalon Foundation to a grant not to exceed $700,000. These funds were given jointly by both foundations and were contingent upon the State of North Carolina providing matching funds for land acquisition for Cape Hatteras National Seashore. The funds were available for one year.[397] There were no other significant conditions except for a general understanding that the donors' identities were to be kept anonymous. This seemingly innocuous stipulation was later to provoke intense controversy.

The actual amount that was available to Scott without going to his council turned out to be $68,000, of which $40,000 was already allocated for a road to be built to the point of Cape Hatteras, and $50,000 originally appropriated for Hiwassee State Park, which was abandoned in favor of Cape Hatteras, for a total of $118,000. Since the head of the highway department was appointed, Scott simply directed him to make up for the lost road funds from the highway department's own surplus account. The rest of the available funds, $500,000 split between the 1952 and 1953 fiscal years, came from the state's contingency and emergency account. For this money, Scott had to go to the

394. Wirth did not give the person's name or official title in his memoir, but Ross was the one who accompanied Wirth to meet Gov. W. Kerr Scott, and Ross acknowledged that he accompanied Wirth to see Governor Scott in the minutes of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. See, "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Atlantic Beach, North Carolina," June 21, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. Incidentally, Clark Stratton, according to Stratton's oral history, also accompanied Wirth when he met Scott.
395. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 56-57.
396. Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Governor W. Kerr Scott, June 13, 1952, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 447 (May-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
397. Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Mr. Donald D. Shepard, October 21, 1953, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

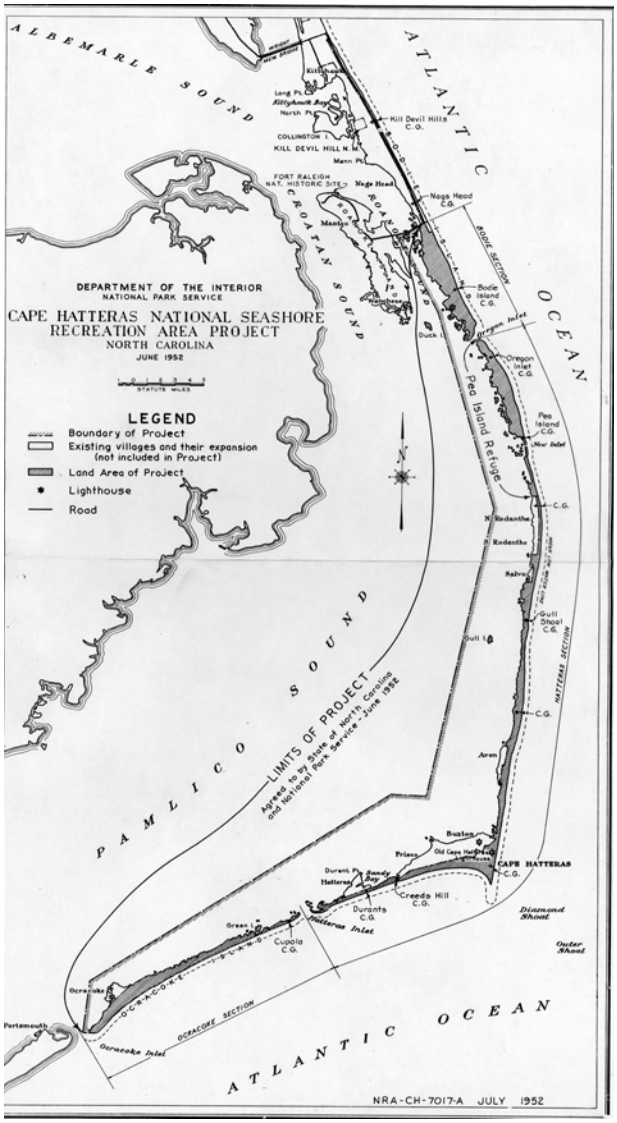


FIGURE 32. In June 1952, the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission voted to request state matching funds to acquire land for the national seashore. The National Park Service then published a map representing the seashore's official boundaries as then recognized by the state of North Carolina and NPS officials. (Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Box 47, Folder 2208. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

Council of State. If the council approved the appropriation, Scott could actually contribute $618,000.[398]

On Thursday, June 19, Governor Scott met with the Council of State to discuss the request by the Park Service for funds to back its national seashore proposal. The council was agreeable, but on the advice of the Attorney General, the request had to be made by the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission.[399] That determination made the decision more subject to political pressure. On Saturday, June 21, the Seashore Commission met in Morehead City to consider asking the Council of State for $500,000 to purchase land to establish the park. The venue was later criticized by park opponents for being inaccessible to residents of the Banks. There was also criticism of the short notice of the meeting, but it was short notice for commission members as well and was their first meeting since 1950. The commissioners in attendance at the meeting were Mrs. Roland McClamroch, J. L. Murphy, Carleton Kelly, Buxton White, Morris Burrus, and George R. Ross. The first order of business was to read and approve the minutes from the meeting of August 30, 1950, apparently the last time the Seashore Commission had actually met.

Clark Stratton, representing the National Park Service, explained the agency's proposal and read Interior Secretary Chapman's letter to Governor Scott. Stratton noted that plans for a park on the Outer Banks had been under consideration for some fifteen years and that he was confident the federal government would abandon the project unless the state took action within 30 days. He informed the commissioners that the Park Service still planned to go as far as possible in acquiring all lands within the boundary approved by the Seashore Commission in August 1950. George Ross, the commission's chairman, noted the strong support of both Congressman Bonner and U.S. Comptroller General Lindsay Warren and later added that road construction programs would not be affected by the park proposal. Also at the meeting was Calvin Meekins of Avon, a sizeable property-owner and old friend of Lindsay Warren who stated his opposition to the park. Meekins claimed that Bankers preferred the area to be developed by private capital and that they favored a state park and not a national park. In response to a question from Ross, Meekins acknowledged his understanding that fishing, hunting, and village rights would be protected. David Stick asked him if he would favor private

398. Ben D. MacNeill, "Mellon Money Mysteriously Brings Hatteras National Park Project Back to Life," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
399. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Atlantic Beach, North Carolina," June 21, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

development even if it were by non-residents and Meekins replied that he would.[400]

After Meekins spoke, Major J. Leo Murphy rose to offer the motion, seconded by Buxton White, a new commissioner appointed to replace Lee Hampton, who had recently died. Murphy's motion called for a request for $500,000 in state contingency and emergency funds. "The said request is made," the minutes record, "for the said allocation in order to enable the Commission to carry out the plan agreed to at a meeting of the Commission on August 30, 1950, accepting the boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area proposed by the National Park Service and limited to the area of said Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area as agreed to at the time." The motion was carried unanimously. Morris Burrus later requested that he be recorded as not voting; although he personally favored the park proposal, he felt he could not vote against the wishes of the villagers on Hatteras Island whom he represented.[401]

On Monday, June 23, the Council of State met. Murphy, representing the Seashore Commission, requested state contigency funds as per the NPS proposal. However, before the council could vote it heard from attorney James H. Pou Bailey, apparently hired to represent certain property owners on the Outer Banks. Bailey asked the council to delay action on the request by the Seashore Commission for funds so that Outer Banks residents could vote on the proposal. He echoed the view of Calvin Meekins by saying that Banks' residents preferred to develop the area themselves. However, Governor Scott released letters from Interior Secretary Chapman and Comptroller General Warren, who both urged the Council of State to approve the requested appropriation. According to Raleigh's *News and Observer*, Chapman stated that "the barrier islands off the coast of North Carolina, extending in both directions from Cape Hatteras, presented the finest opportunity remaining in the United States to establish and preserve as a national seashore (park) an area of great scenic beauty, historic value, biological interest, and recreational appeal."[402] With that, Attorney General Harry McMullan asked the council for $200,000 from that year's fiscal contingency and emergency fund and $300,000 from the same fund which would be available on July 1 with an allocation by August 1. The request was then authorized to supplement the $118,000 available from the governor's own accounts.[403] The total amount the state could make available for park purposes would be $618,000.

Soon after, Wirth received a wire from Governor Scott stating that North Carolina would supply funds to purchase land for Cape Hatteras National Seashore if the Park Service could match them within ten days. Wirth immediately called Paul Mellon to read him the wire. The following Monday morning, Wirth received a check from Mellon to be deposited and held to match the state's contribution.[404] Wirth then wired Governor Scott stating: "I've just received a donation of $600,000 to be held to match the state's funds. Where is your money?" A week later, the Park Service received a similar check from the State of North Carolina.[405]

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400. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Atlantic Beach, North Carolina," June 21, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA; and "Seashore Park Fund Sought," unknown paper [Morehead City, NC], June 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
401. Ibid.
402. "Council Approves $618,000 for Seashore Park Project," *The News and Observer* [Raleigh], June 24, 1952, 1, 3, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
403. Ibid.; George R. Ross, Chairman, N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Memorandum to Members of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, June 25, 1952, in "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
404. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 56-57. Governor Scott apparently sent a telegraph to Wirth on Saturday, June 21, after the Seashore Commission elected to request formally from the Council of State funds to match the potential donation.
405. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 56-57. According to Wirth it was on Friday, June 27, 1952, that the Old Dominion Foundation and the Avalon Foundation specifically provided $618,000 to purchase land to help establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore. This grant matched in full what the State of North Carolina was able to provide in kind. Presumably, funds up to $700,000 were available. The Foundations required progress reports be submitted by the Park Service with regard to the status of funds and land acquisition. Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Mr. Donald D. Shepard, October 21, 1953, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

Following the meeting of the state council, state and NPS officials met to discuss creation of a "joint office for land acquisition," subject to approval by the Seashore Commission.[406] The officials who made this arrangement were NPS Assistant Director Thomas J. Allen, who had been only recently promoted to that position; NPS Regional Director Elbert C. Cox, who had just replaced Allen; Major Murphy, representing the Seashore Commission; and Thomas W. Morse, representing the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development. In light of the troubles that had plagued land acquisition by the Seashore Commission from the beginning, a consensus was reached that this function should now be taken over by the National Park Service. The funding that the agency had brought to the table also bought clout and there was no argument from state officials.

A memorandum of agreement was soon negotiated between the Seashore Commission and the Park Service. The parties agreed to each expend a sum "not less than $618,000," but that "the land to be acquired with state funds for the project shall be negotiated for by the land acquisition project office established by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior as agent for the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, except when condemnation may be necessary." The Seashore Commission ceded most of its responsibility although it retained the right to "authorize payments for acquisition of lands with state funds." Other important provisions of the agreement included that the state would turn over to the Park Service all lands acquired by the Seashore Commission, except those that it would keep for highway purposes. In addition, wherever possible, condemnation proceedings were to take place in federal courts and be handled by the Attorney General of the United States, which would reduce state costs. If condemnation in state courts was necessary, that would be handled by the State Attorney General. The Park Service accepted these terms and the agreement was signed on July 15, 1952.[407]

Ten days later, Secretary Chapman announced NPS plans to establish a land acquisition office on the Outer Banks. His press release, and resulting press articles, emphasized the exclusion of the villages and "liberal areas surrounding them, to leave adequate room for their expansion." Chapman made several points, including the park's commercial advantages, its backing by such politicians as Lindsay Warren and Herbert Bonner, the large amount of landed already in state and federal hands, and its conservation objectives. He also stated that NPS officials planned to hold further meetings with residents, which was to prove as important as reaching an agreement with the state.[408]

The Mellons' interest in the project stemmed directly from their father's strong commitment to philanthropy. As Paul Mellon later told a reporter, "in an indirect way my father made it plain that people who had a lot of money had an obligation to use it wisely." Mellon was broadly interested in supporting liberal education, psychiatry, conservation, and his chosen state of Virginia, where he owned a four-hundred-acre farm. "It sounds corny," he said, "but I live in Virginia because I like the way of life, Virginia's way of looking at things. I guess at heart I'm a conservative." He was perhaps hoping to try to save both a landscape and a way of life and was thus naturally interested in the long struggle to create a national seashore just south of his home state. "The more I thought," Mellon added, "I felt that if somebody doesn't do something right away there'll be nothing left at all."[409]

406. George R. Ross, Chairman, N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Memorandum to Members of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, June 25, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
407. Memorandum of Agreement between the United States National Park Service and the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, [no date] 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; and "Federal-State Agreement Signed for Park at Hatteras: Land Office Soon Opens," *News and Observer* [Raleigh, NC], July 16, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
408. "National Park Service to Start Purchase Program at Cape Hatteras," Department of the Interior press released, July 25, 1952; and "Park Service Sets Up Plans for Acquisition of Lands for Seashore," *The Coastland Times,* July 25, 1952; both in "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
409. Guy Friddell, "Hatteras Park Project Helped Along by Mellon Money," *Ledger-Dispatch & Star,* December 12, 1956, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

Park Opponents Have Their Say

The generosity of the Mellon family foundations completely transformed the outlook for Cape Hatteras National Seashore. News of the historic meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission hit the Outer Banks immediately and, on Sunday, June 22, newspaperman and local author Ben Dixon MacNeill informed Lindsay Warren that he had "spent the day…writing letters for about the maddest set of people I've seen in a decade." Continuing, MacNeill said "it is an outrageous business. Done secretly by the Murphys and the Sticks, and by I don't know who else. (These people are anathema on this Island, and not without reason.)" MacNeill was upset that no one who lived on Hatteras Island had had any say in the matter and also complained that the recent meeting in Morehead City made it difficult for locals to attend, and so few did. He supplied copies of the letters he had written and sent to the governor at the request of his neighbors, who complained about the secrecy of the park agreement and the "Star-chamber proceedings" of the Seashore Commission. "Well, Lindsay," he went on, if "they take it they will have the damnedest fight on their hands." MacNeill wanted Director Wirth himself to come to Hatteras and negotiate a resolution with the people of the villages.[410]

Before Warren knew about the anonymous donation, he had thought the park proposal "done to death…by land speculators." Thus, he was personally gratified by the generosity that now made it possible to think otherwise. Warren and MacNeill had known each other since 1919, when the young writer had written a critical article on the young politician. Still, they were friends and colleagues and had remained so for over thirty years. Perhaps because Warren was no longer an elected official, he could offer a frank and open defense of the seashore proposal. Fifteen years after he submitted the act to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Warren offered what may be the purest surviving expression of his intent in doing so:

> When I introduced the bill for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1937, I would have nothing to do with it unless the people were fully protected forever in their hunting and fishing rights, and unless there was a guarantee of a hard-surface road if the Government came into the picture, and unless all of the villages were exempt. At that time there was very little prospect for a paved road, but I extracted a promise from the National Park Service that they would favor such a road to be built, whenever possible, either through State or Federal Aid funds. Frankly, I think that this Park will mean more to the people of Dare County than anything that could ever happen to them. I do not say that because I was the author of the bill, but I say it because I had studied the history of all Parks, before I came into the picture back in 1937.[411]

Warren noted how Great Smoky Mountains National Park had poured millions of visitors and cash into western North Carolina and how he was certain the Hatteras villages would experience the same phenomenon. For that very reason, Warren told MacNeill, he had chosen to own no land on the Outer Banks. The former congressman had sought to avoid the type of controversy surrounding some park supporters, both of whom had or were closely associated with others who had significant real estate interests in the area. "I feel too close to the people of Dare County and Ocracoke," he told MacNeill, "to favor for a minute anything that I thought might be injurious to them. No one can ever hurl the charge of politics at me when it comes to that region."[412]

Thus, Warren assured MacNeill that local landowners were to be well compensated for any losses because the government had always paid a fare price. He encouraged his old friend "to weigh this whole thing and see if you can not come to a conclusion that there are great benefits to be derived."[413] Eventually, MacNeill did come to that conclusion.

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410. "MacN" [Ben Dixon MacNeill] to Lindsay (C. Warren], June 22, 1952, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 447 (May-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
411. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General, to Ben Dixon MacNeill, June 25, 1952, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 447 (May-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
412. Ibid.
413. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General, to Ben Dixon MacNeill, June 25, 1952, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 447 (May-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.

In a similar vein, Calvin Meekins complained to Warren and also to Herbert Bonner. In Bonner's papers are roughly a dozen letters against the park from Meekins. All three men knew each other quite well. Warren had even helped Meekins to get a job with the Park Service in the 1930s. They were fishing buddies. One last time, Warren explained his position to Meekins:

> I know that a large part of the opposition that has sprung up to this proposed Park in the last few years started with outside land speculators. This type has no interest in Dare County, and it is the same type that has opposed the establishment of every park in the United States. I have always believed that if the Cape Hatteras National Seashore should become a reality, it would prove in the early future the greatest thing that could happen for Dare County. It would bring hundreds of thousands of visitors and tourists to the area and the money they would spend in the villages would soon become their largest source of income, and there would be no government interference. I cannot, therefore, share your views that this park would deprive anyone of a livelihood.[414]

Meekins forwarded Warren's letter to Bonner and replied to both of them. He continued to insist that the park was a bad idea and that all of the local people were against it. However, he also understood the gravity of the situation and so swore to Bonner that he would cease debating the matter. Their correspondence returned to the more comfortable and congenial talk of tobacco farming. To Warren, Meekins also made one last argument against the park and then told him that he hoped their difference of opinion would not hurt an old friendship. Indeed, he wanted Warren to retire to North Carolina and run for governor soon enough for the elderly Meekins to vote for him again.[415] Calvin Meekins certainly was no sore looser—he was determined but gracious in the face of defeat and later even helped Clark Stratton clear up some title problems with NPS properties.[416]

Bonner received a fair number of letters that summer from constituents opposed to the park. Many authors were still poorly informed as to the facts, with some still thinking their homes would be confiscated. Bonner confided to Warren that he thought all of these letters had been "promoted by Mr. Austin and Mr. Worth." There were also, however, some letters from average citizens writing in support of the park.[417]

On Tuesday, June 24, the day after the North Carolina Council of State agreed to provide matching funds, Interior Secretary Chapman made a speech in Norfolk, Virginia. Unexpectedly, he was visited by a group of thirty Bankers protesting NPS plans to create the national seashore. Chapman told the protesters that the government would not build parks where people did not want them and that there would be an opportunity for their views to be aired. "If and when the Federal government has anything to do in this matter, I will have a public hearing," Chapman stated. The group did not want "their homeland to become a national park," since they expected land values to rise. Moreover, some were upset, as Lloyd Styron reportedly said, that Seashore Commission officials had held "secret" meetings and misrepresented the true feelings of Banks residents. He compared the situation to "an act of aggression" as with Hitler or Mussolini, which is why the group felt it necessary to appeal to the highest federal official in charge. In closing, Styron also read a surprising letter from Rep. Herbert C. Bonner, addressed to A. S. Austin, in which the congressman stated: "Now that 95 per cent, as you say and others say, do not want it, I am sure there will never be a National Seashore Park. So I think you can rest at ease and forget the matter."[418] The group before Chapman felt they had been had.

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414. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Cavlin W. Meekins, June 24, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
415. Cavlin W. Meekins, Letters to Lindsay C. Warren and Herbert C. Bonner, June 27, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
416. Calvin Meekins, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 23, 1954, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2211 (January-March 1954), Special Collections, UNC.
417. Various constituents, Letters to Herbert C. Bonner, Summer 1952; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, August 1, 1952; All in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2208 (July-August 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
418. "Outer Banker Lodge Protest Against Park," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* June 26, 1952; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to A. S. Austin, November 8, 1950, both in "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; "Outer Banks Reassured by Park Director," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* November 1, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

Bonner's letter further illustrates the public relations problem park proponents had to confront. It was not solely an NPS problem. Bonner had written the letter and several like it to park opponents in November 1950 when the park project appeared hopeless. His letters came back to haunt him because park opponents, namely Winfield Worth, started passing copies around. Bonner took exception to such use and was forced to write his opponents to state his enthusiasm for the park. "Something must be done," he specifically told Worth,

> to preserve a few of the privileges, pleasures and benefits of this world for the majority of the people. When it gets to the point that the average citizen cannot get to the ocean for recreational purposes without paying a fee, then I think we have a sorry state government and national government. There is plenty of room for land speculation, and I respect the rights of property owners; yet, in this case the people will not be deprived of their rights and privileges. I am sure you have read the law under which this park would be created, and it is not fair to say "If the property is taken and conveyed to the federal government, all fishing, hunting and other rights will be those and those only as prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior." The law specifically reserves the now hunting privileges and fishing privileges as well as exemption of the villages and it is misleading to tell people otherwise. In addition, no person's land will be taken without just compensation.[419]

If he did not have his congressman's support, Winfield Worth was an able opponent, and fast becoming the biggest thorn in the side of park advocates. Undaunted, Worth replied that the people of Dare County would be "greatly distressed to know that you are against them." He chose not to debate some of Bonner's more salient points but did remark that people were fishing all over his own land without being charged.[420]

Park opposition coalesced on July 2 when the Dare County Board of Commissioners gathered to hear local residents' views. Prominent at the hearing was Bruce Etheridge, retired head of the Department of Conservation and Development and a former park supporter. However, he was now Dare County's representative in the General Assembly, and accordingly, Etheridge had a new view:

> We have been taught to believe in democracy and the democratic form of government. . . . We have been denied any such liberty or anticipated privileges. Unless and until the Governor and Council of State will rescind this order, the Park Service will take over. I suggest that you do all you can and quickly get them to rescind it.

Melvin R. Daniels, the Dare County Register of Deeds and a business booster, also spoke against the park because it would take land off county tax rolls. Moreover, he opposed the way the Park Service managed the sixteen-acre Fort Raleigh site, claimed that "the liberty and freedom of those who are yet unborn" was being taken, and ended by asking "why don't they let us alone?" Others who spoke against the park were L.W. Midgett, N.F. Midgett, Grave Midgett, Brock Meekins, Theodore Meekins, Lloyd Stryon, Preston Basnett, and, of course, the largest landowner, Winfield Worth. The tenor of the meeting can be gauged best by noting how those present reacted to Seashore Commissioner Morris Burrus, who had to defend himself and deny that he had "sold his friends down the river."[421] Burrus was recorded as not voting at the commission meeting and so technically did not support the park, but it was a fine line and his position was not well received. With this hostile testimony, the Dare County Commissioners resolved to oppose establishment of a national seashore. It was an important event in that it catalyzed park opposition and support alike.

Later that month, George Ross contacted Melvin Daniels about the NPS-North Carolina agreement. He was characteristically sympathetic. "Your people must be assured," he wrote, "and we must be assured that hunting and fishing rights and the opportunity for the development of private

419. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Mr. W.A. Worth, July 1, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
420. W.A. Worth, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, July 8, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
421. "Dare Board Against Park at Hatteras," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* July 3, 1952, 7, 8; text of the resolution was printed in "Dare Explains Objections to Hatteras Park," *Virginian-Pilot* [Norfolk], July 4, 1952; both in "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. The resolution claimed that no citizen of the proposed area was advocating a park and that 98 percent of the valid voters in the opposed the park, although that determination was apparently based upon anecdotal evidence.



FIGURE 33. Fishermen on boat "Jackie Fay" at Hatteras, December 10, 1952. These Bankers faced an uncertain future as change threatened their traditional life ways at mid-century. Most saw tourism as the way forward, but park opponents championed traditional values and private property rights over public ownership and conservation. (Photograph by Raymond H. Gregg, ca. 1952. Negative Number: WASO-A-885, CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

property will be forever protected." Ross also had a plan. He was "very anxious" to set up committees through the County Commissioners in each village on the island. He said he would stand with them to protect "their long-time growth and development." Ross, perhaps like Calvin Meekins, had recognized the futility of his position, and now sought to help residents in light of the probability of a park being established. Helpfully, he sent Daniels an updated "Questions and Answers" brochure.[422] Finally, an accurate account of NPS policy was being distributed to Bankers. Indeed, it became well known and park opponents later adopted its format for use in their own anti-park literature.

For his part Victor Meekins gave favorable press to the park proposal. He explained to Bankers that hunting and fishing were to be no more restricted than they already were by existing laws while few residents would lose land since the villages and adjacent growth set-asides were outside park boundaries. Meekins also began to clarify who he thought park opponents were. In his view, most were large absentee landowners interested in the profit of private development. He said private development interests would not benefit all local residents while the park would spur immediate growth that would benefit all. He compared the villages to Gatlinburg near Great Smoky Mountains National Park. He said it would foster quicker bridging of Hatteras Inlet, and pointed out that some funds used for land acquisition would be spent locally, too.[423]

After the County Board meeting, Meekins responded furiously to Melvin Daniels for his attack on NPS management at Fort Raleigh. Meekins told readers that had it not been for dedicated outsiders (North Carolinians outside Dare County) and the Park Service, there would be no fort, no play, and no business associated with them. Locals had done nothing but despoil the site. Meekins called the opinion of Daniels "a ridiculous statement."[424] Region One Director Elbert Cox thanked Meekins for his editorial. Cox was confidant "that when the facts are clearly known to the great majority of the people in Dare County" they would be grateful for the park.[425] A follow-up editorial discussed land ownership. On this topic Meekins wrote: "Nothing in our time has been more grossly misrepresented than the seashore park plan in recent months." He claimed that eighty percent of Outer Banks landowners were not residents. While these landowners surely had an interest in the disposition of that land, they had not bought the land with the local public's benefit in mind. Meekins then addressed "entirely incorrect" allegations that the Park Service planned to prevent people from hunting or fishing. In fact, many people no longer had these rights "because they own no land to go upon." By listening to "demagogues and grafters," Meekins asserted, the people had been led astray.[426]

422. George R. Ross, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to Melvin R. Daniels, Register of Deeds, July 22, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
423. "Million Dollars Ready to Buy Lands to Form Hatteras Seashore Park," *Coastland Times*, June 27, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA.
424. "A Ridiculous Statement," *The Coastland Times,* July 4, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
425. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Letter to Victor Meekins, Editor, *Coastland Times,* July 17, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
426. "Whose Land is Involved?," *The Coastland Times*, July 28, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

David Stick also reacted to the Dare County Commissioners' resolution. On July 3, he wrote George Ross with a frank assessment of the situation along with some recommendations that he also shared with the other Seashore Commission members and several NPS officials. He did not blame the commissioners for submitting to "a high-pressure campaign against the project. . .waged by a group of non-resident property owners." Instead, he blamed the Seashore Commission for its indolence in making no progress on land appraisals and the Park Service for its inexplicable habit of continuing to distribute the outdated and inflammatory "Q&A" from 1941. He complained that the commission---and by his later accounts it is clear that Stick meant George Ross--- had stifled publicity arrangements that were agreed to at the January 24, 1950, commission meeting. According to Stick, the Park Service was to provide details on the proposal for publicity use and the Seashore Commission was to have traveled down the banks to speak about the project with residents. Instead, only one meeting was ever held—the one in the large auditorium in Avon, which Stick denigrated for having intimidated residents and prevented their interaction. "It would be absurd," he said, "to expect a majority of the residents of the affected area to actively support a park plan about which they have never been give first-hand accurate information, but have had to rely instead on the erroneous information supplied them by non-resident real estate promoters and others who for selfish reasons are opposed to the project."[427] Thus, said Stick, the process intended to acquaint locals with the facts had broken down.

Furthermore, Stick stated, "I can find no other reason for the secrecy that has prevailed, except to attribute it to a lack of thought and planning, or to plain blundering on the part of those responsible." He urged the Seashore Commission and the Park Service to hold a series of meetings with residents of the Banks, "remaining in each village as long as is necessary to talk, personally, with each resident, and give each resident an opportunity to examine all of the maps, and to ask questions."[428] Representative Bonner fully agreed with Stick's analysis: "You have absolutely put your finger on the trouble with respect to the creation of the National Seashore Park. For certain reasons many people have spread misinformation up and down the banks."[429]

In assessing the adequacy of the hearing given to park opponents during the critical month of June 1952, it can be said that events transpired rapidly and little attention was given by public officials to soliciting local input. Nevertheless, Seashore Commission minutes reflect opposition views. Calvin Meekins, at least, was able to learn about and attend the key commission meeting, and an attorney lodged a protest with the Council of State prior to its action in authorizing the transfer of contingency and emergency funds. Local citizens certainly expressed their concerns to their congressman, Herbert Bonner, and gained the backing of the Dare County Board of Commissioners. Still, the Park Service was not providing adequate information to residents of the area, as even several supporters pointed out. Despite increased engagement, NPS officials still held state officials to be in charge. Until the state transferred land acquisition responsibility to the federal government, NPS officials felt they had no authority to hold public meetings.

Meanwhile, the Seashore Commission, which had the power to publicize the park, failed to do so, apparently because George Ross, who sat both as chair of the commission and as Director of the Department of Conservation and Development, favored an expanded state park instead of a national seashore. Locals perceived this lack of federal-state coordination or confusion as an effort to conceal government activities. And, to be fair, NPS concerns over land speculation did inspire deliberate efforts to keep things low key. Nevertheless, the Park Service could not bring the issue to the people until funding was at hand and North Carolina was a willing partner. Once that agreement was finally reached, pressure intensified for NPS officials to address residents of the Banks directly. Indeed, the National Park Service no longer had a choice but to engage the Bankers, if only to tamp down the furor unleashed by an incident involving the Stick family.

427. David Stick, Letter to George R. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, July 3, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

428. Ibid.

429. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to David Stick, July 7, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2207 (January-June 1952), Special Collections, UNC. Bonner also admitted to Stick writing a few letters in 1950 when he was disgusted with the turn of events, but swore that he never lost hope for the project

The Murphy-Cairns-Stick Affair

In his July 3 letter to George Ross, David Stick made an oblique reference to having helped with "interesting private sources" in donating more than half-a-million dollars for land acquisition.[430] Possibly, this remark launched the climatic episode in the saga to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore. A few weeks later, on August 18, 1952, the North Carolina Council of State met and heard a delegation of forty Outer Banks citizens led by Winfield Worth, who owned twenty-four hundred acres on Bodie Island. They had traveled to the state capitol as part of their campaign to stop the seashore project. More importantly, it was at this meeting that Cape Hatteras Seashore Commissioner Major J. Leo Murphy suddenly announced his resignation.

In a short formal letter, Murphy stated his reason as being that he had learned that Frank and David Stick and their friend Huntington Cairns of the National Gallery of Art were "involved in interesting the anonymous donor of $618,000 toward the purchase of lands in the proposed Cape Hatteras National Recreational Area." Murphy asserted that "no person engaged in the real estate business in Dare County should be associated with this important undertaking." Because Murphy believed that both Sticks were involved in such transactions which he said "did not appear in the public interest," he resigned from the commission.[431] Upon hearing this news, the Council of State broke into discussion. It was the first open accusation that there was anything amiss regarding the Mellon gift. Governor Scott summed up the situation nicely when he said, "it seems to me that Major Murphy's statement puts it where you have to rest a little before doing anything." With that, the Council moved to have Murphy provide a fuller explanation.[432]

Murphy's resignation brought into the open a spat among members of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission that had probably been brewing for some time. Murphy was a real estate broker and twenty-year resident of the Banks who had been named chairman of the land acquisition committee by Governor Scott. Murphy had also worked as an engineer during the WPA-era days under NPS sponsorship. He had known Frank and David Stick long enough to have built up some grievances. That, at least, was how the now staunchly pro-park *Coastland Times* saw it. The paper characterized Murphy as resigning "in a huff" over the identity of the private donor who had re-energized the long-moribund Cape Hatteras seashore proposal. Murphy was "apparently motivated from a dislike of Frank and David Stick," reported the *Coastland Times*, and had asked attorney Huntington Cairns to reveal the source. When Cairns refused, Murphy went public.[433]

The relationship of Huntington Cairns to the seashore project was the topic of much speculation in August and September 1952. According to local writer Ben Dixon MacNeill, Cairns was an officer and councilor for the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., established in 1937 by Andrew W. Mellon. He was also the spouse of the daughter of deceased North Carolina Senator Marion Butler, an Outer Banks homeowner, and a friend of playwright Paul Green, author of *The Lost Colony.*[434] In fact, according to David Stick, his father built Cairns a cottage next to the elder Stick's own home near Kitty Hawk. Through this means, Stick stated, "Dad's knack for having close associations with people of prominence who were in the right place at the right time was demonstrated."[435]

Indeed, Frank Stick was associated with men of prominence, probably mostly through his real estate connections, which is how he became associated with senior NPS officials in the 1930s. That con-

430. David Stick, Letter to George R. Ross, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, July 3, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
431. J. L. Murphy, Letter to W. Kerr Scott, Governor (copied by Governor's office), August 17, 1952, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A22 Associations, 1952-1957," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
432. *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 19, 1952, quoted in David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter four, 4-7.
433. "Outer Banks Park Principals Explain Their Role in Issue," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 21, 1952, and "State Upholds Contract for Seashore Park: Murphy Resignation Boomerangs Against Opposing Forces in Raleigh," *The Coastland Times,* August 22, 1952, 1, 10, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
434. Ben D. MacNeill, "Mellon Money Mysteriously Brings Hatteras National Park Project Back to Life," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
435. As quoted in David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 31.

tinued to be true. In his memoir, Conrad Wirth remarked on Stick's association with David Rockefeller, for whom Stick acted as a land agent in the creation of the Virgin Islands National Park in the 1950s. As noted above, in 1947, Frank Stick, having resigned as the first head of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, began development of Southern Shores near Kitty Hawk, and he stood to benefit from the establishment of a large national park just south of his development.

The relations of the Cairns with the Sticks and the sudden appearance of an anonymous donor that turned out to be the Mellon family certainly seems too curious to be mere coincidence. Although Wirth claimed in his memoir to have suggested the Outer Banks to Paul Mellon, he also acknowledged that the Mellons contacted the Park Service first, so it seems credible that someone with good information and contacts alerted the Mellons to the philanthropic possibilities on the Outer Banks. If it was not the Sticks, through Huntington Cairns, which as MacNeill said "has been stated, denied and reasserted," then who else?[436]

At any rate, Murphy believed that efforts to create the park would rapidly increase demand for property near its boundaries. Thus, he asserted "that no person should be associated in any way whose interest could not be dissociated from the element of private gain." Murphy told the press that he resigned in part because of his feeling "that Cairns and both Mr. Frank Stick and Mr. David Stick should be given public recognition for their activity and that they should be awarded their just due." He said "it was unfair to cloak the activity of the Messrs. Stick and [Cairns's] own interest in obtaining a donor behind the veil of anonymity that we had been asked to extend only to a donor."[437]



FIGURE 34. Huntington Cairns, Secretary of the Mellon Art Museum, right; poet Robert Frost, center; and Superintendent Robert H. Atkinson, left, view the painting by Sidney King, "The Baptism of Manteo," at Fort Raleigh NHS, July 2, 1953. (NPS photograph, July 2, 1953. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, July 1953, CAHA archives)

David Stick called Murphy's resignation statements "absurd." "I can't understand what motivated them," he said. Stick claimed his only interest was "for the good of Dare County, North Carolina, and the rest of the nation." He added that he was asked by Governor Scott to serve as the publicity agent for the Seashore Commission when it was organized and that both he and his father had worked for the seashore since that time. Stick said that "Major Murphy owns land and I don't," but added that "certain conflicting situations have been cleared up." He admitted that his father was in the real estate business, but that "writing books and operating a craft shop are my principal activities." Stick said he had also helped establish a museum at Kill Devil Hill and a public relations program for Dare County.[438]

Whether or not either of the Sticks had a material interest in the creation of a national seashore, neither was actually a member of the Seashore Commission. David Stick was retained by it for pub-

436. Ben D. MacNeill, "Mellon Money Mysteriously Brings Hatteras National Park Project Back to Life," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

437. "Outer Banks Park Principals Explain Their Role in Issue," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

438. "Outer Banks Park Principals Explain Their Role in Issue," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 21, 1952, and "State Upholds Contract for Seashore Park: Murphy Resignation Boomerangs Against Opposing Forces in Raleigh," *The Coastland Times,* August 22, 1952, 1, 10, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives. By "certain conflicting situations," Stick presumably was referring to his service as a commissioned real estate agent for the Phipps family, which he quit in order to work for the Seashore Commission. In his unpublished history of the seashore, David Stick later accounted for his falling out with Leo Murphy due to personal reasons between the two over the commission. Stick wrote that Murphy convinced Ross and other commission members that Stick's involvement would hamper the work of the commission. Both Ross and Murphy gave at least partial support for an enlarged state park, which the Sticks never did. See David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 29.

licity purposes, but he could not vote. Murphy, on the other hand, was a voting member, who lost that vote by resigning. The question was why? The point contemporaries focused upon was the timing of Murphy's resignation, which coincided with the arrival of Worth and others in Raleigh to protest the national seashore. Murphy claimed that the timing of his resignation with the arrival of the park protesters was just coincidence. However, as he resigned, he offered suggestions for boundary changes to the proposed seashore that he himself admitted seemed more favorable to property owners who opposed the park. First, he wanted to exclude several areas on Bodie Island that he deemed to have "neither scenic or use value." Second, he wanted large areas around the villages set aside so that property owners could "exercise their privileges of developing" the services needed for tourists. Finally, he stated "I do not feel that it is either right or just to purposefully channel all such development to areas north of Oregon Inlet." Murphy thought his recommendations would reduce or eliminate all substantial opposition by owners, and condemnations would only be needed to clear title.[439]

Whatever Murphy's motivation for resigning, by the time the Council of State received his follow-up letter, Secretary of State Thad Eure had already discounted Murphy's views. In fact, he was so troubled by Murphy's resignation that he also discredited the anti-park comments by Worth and the other Bankers who had come with him and whose actions he thought Murphy may have instigated. Eure did not think that the park boundary was readjusted for the sake of Frank Stick and noted that the boundary had been moved years before (at the NPS-Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission meeting on March 8-9, 1950). Governor Scott also reported that Director Wirth had assured him that the grant was legitimate and came from two foundations that had given millions over the past decade. Eure further accused Murphy of vacillating between support for the national seashore and support for an enlarged state park. He said opposition on the Banks was driven by a few large land-owners who had spread misinformation about hunting and fishing rights under the seashore in order to anger residents. On a motion by Eure and seconded by State Treasurer Brandon Hodges, the Council of State resolved "that we have no intention of repudiating the contract that has been made" with the National Park Service to establish the park. However, to help pacify opposition, the Council of State requested that the Seashore Commission hold public hearings on the Outer Banks to give residents "a true picture" of the park proposal.[440]

On September 30, 1952, at the next meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, NPS Director Wirth offered a formal response to the Murphy-Cairns-Stick affair. During the meeting, the Seashore Commission heard comments from two men who were major opponents of the project. The first was Samuel Jones of Norfolk, Virginia, who owned extensive tracts on Ocracoke Island. Jones wanted the commission to exempt from the project the southern and northern tips of the island, so that he could continue to operate his hunting club on his lands there. He said, however, that he was not flatly opposed to the national park. The second man to speak was attorney Winfield Worth, who questioned whether funds were sufficient to buy his twenty-four-hundred acres on Bodie Island and stated his flat opposition to the seashore. After his presentation, Worth mentioned his understanding that Frank and David Stick and Huntington Cairns of the National Museum of Art were responsible for soliciting the interest of the Mellon family foundations in Cape Hatteras. Worth hoped to use this topic to further his anti-park campaign, but it also gave the National Park Service the opportunity to offer for the record its own take on the controversy.[441]

Director Wirth told Attorney Worth that this statement was "absolutely not true" and that "the Stick family had nothing to do with obtaining the money," nor did Huntington Cairns. In fact, he said, "if anyone had anything to do with it, it was yours truly." Worth replied that he had been led to believe the opposite. Wirth replied that the Sticks had

439. "Outer Banks Park Principals Explain Their Role in Issue," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

440. Ibid.; "State Upholds Contract for Seashore Park: Murphy Resignation Boomerangs Against Opposing Forces in Raleigh," *The Coastland Times,* August 22, 1952, 1, 10, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives,; Woodrow Price, *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 20, 1952, quoted in David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter four, 10-11.

441. "National Park Director Plans Outer Banks Visit," *Raleigh News and Observer,* September 30, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

worked on behalf of the creation of the seashore and Frank Stick had been executive secretary of the seashore commission; but, he continued, "every time we establish a new park there are 10 or 12 persons who claim they were responsible."[442] Years later, Wirth repeated this story in his memoir. "In the spring of 1952," he wrote, "I received a telephone call from Paul Mellon's office stating that there was a piece of land in North Carolina that was up for sale and asking whether the National Park Service would be interested in this acreage as a gift for park purposes." As noted before, Wirth wanted to have the Park Service investigate before giving Mellon a response. Before that could happen, however, the director received another call informing him that the land in question was no longer available but also asking if there were any other property in North Carolina in which the National Park Service might be interested? To this question, Wirth recalled, "I immediately replied that we were interested in Cape Hatteras seashore."[443]

The Mellons also weighed in through their spokesman Donald D. Shepard, whom Wirth contacted as the controversy broke to assure the Mellons that neither the National Park Service nor North Carolina state officials were concerned about Murphy's sudden resignation. Since he had "caused difficulties in the past" as a member of the seashore commission, his resignation would "not be a source of embarrassment for the Foundations, the State, or the National Park Service," Wirth asserted.[444] "I have to assure you," Sheppard informed Wirth in late September 1952 that

> neither of the Foundations were influenced in their decisions by either Mr. Cairns or the Messrs. Stick or any other individuals, other than possibly your good self and Mr. Ronald Lee, your assistant. They were governed in the decisions solely by the inherent merits of the project and particularly its resultant good to our country and its citizens. Mr. Huntington Cairns, to my knowledge, never urged the Foundations or their officers to act favorably in their contributions to the project.[445]

This is what Wirth later told the press and related in his memoir. Moreover, Wirth credited Shepard specifically for his role in helping bring about the Mellon foundations' interest in Cape Hatteras when he took the issue before the National Advisory Council.[446]

Whatever the role Cairns played in interesting the Mellons, it was not because of his link to the Park Service. In early August 1952, Acting Regional Director E. M. Lisle had instructed Clark Stratton to contact "a Mr. Huntington Cairnes." Ronald F. Lee, it seems, had recently heard the name and advised regional officials that Cairns had a cottage in the vicinity of Frank Stick's home and should be freely informed about NPS land-acquisition matters. "Mr. Cairnes," Lisle stated, "is tied in very closely with the Avalon Association and assisted in obtaining a private donation for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Project." Stratton knew about Cairns but had not contacted him, he told regional officials, "because others than myself down here are aware of his connection with the Avalon Association and my being seen there may start some speculation as to the private donation." Stratton also remarked that Cairns was well-advised about the project through his connection to Donald Sheppard. Stratton, it seems, was aware of how sensitive an issue the donor's identity was. After Murphy's resignation, the Service and the Mellon foundations denied that Cairns or his relationship with the Sticks was responsible for the donation, but the circumstantial

442.Ibid.

443. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 55-58. The back story to Wirth's account is given by David Stick: In his account, both Leo Murphy and Frank Stick were attempting to find a buyer for 157,000 acres of peat bog on the mainland shore of North Carolina owed by Fred Maloof, who seemed willing to sell at a low price to create a wildlife refuge. Frank Stick appealed to Cairns and his invaluable contacts to help find a philanthropist. Cairns contacted Paul Mellon, who was willing to put up two hundred thousand dollars, but Maloof soon after sold the property to a paper mill for a million dollars. Embarrassed, the two men suggested to Mellon that the Cape Hatteras National Seashore might be a worthy project, given that it, too, seemed to be bogged down. See David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter three, 32-33.

444. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter Donald D. Shepard, August 28, 1952, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A22 Associations, 1952-1957," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

445. Donald D. Shepard, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, September 22, 1952, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A22 Associations, 1952-1957," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

446. "Excerpt from November 17-18, 1952 Meeting of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Washington, DC," *Cape Hatteras History,* a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library. Wirth did not specifically mention any involvement of Frank or David Stick or Huntington Cairns.

evidence that he was the original contact for Mellon family interest in the Outer Banks is considerable.[447]

With all of this going on, it was no longer possible to keep secret the identity of the private donors, and on August 22, 1952, Secretary Chapman made a hasty announcement to publicize the intended contributions to the nation by the heirs of Andrew W. Mellon. According to the *Coastland Times*, their foundations had insisted on remaining anonymous "to avoid an avalanche of requests from other sources."[448]

Conrad Wirth Meets the Villagers

On August 6, 1952, Clark Stratton established a land acquisition office in Manteo, the seat of government for Dare County. His assignment was to research land titles and obtain appraisals, negotiate with residents for land within the authorized boundary, and make purchases from those with clear title. He also had authority to launch "friendly" condemnations where that was necessary to clear title, and in late summer 1952, one of his first actions was to file three blanket condemnation suits, one per island.[449] For a small number of large land-holders who would not negotiate, and for strategic lands and those facing imminent threat from development, Stratton sought declarations of takings. This strategy was intended to allow the acquisition of complete holdings so that a well-run and well-planned development of the park could ensue.[450]

In early September, as Stratton began formal negotiations with landowners, a headline in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot announced "Seashore Park Plans Advance Despite Foes."[451] Similarly, the *New York Times* proclaimed the seashore "preserved" and wrote that the process was "getting fully under way," thanks to the Mellon family.[452] The paper was not completely in sympathy, however, and complained about "an unfortunate amendment to the original act" that allowed hunting on inshore waters and "on a very considerable part of the land of the recreation area proper." It also lamented that Cape Hatteras "is not intended as a national park," but would instead "protect the way of life—the enjoyment of hunting and fishing for example—to which the people of the Outer Banks have been accustomed for generations." Notwithstanding such accounts, some Bankers thought the issue hardly settled.

Stratton faced strong resistance by many who thought that a state road down Hatteras Island would transform the area into another Miami Beach or Atlantic City. As Stratton later recalled, "people who at one time had even donated little tracts of land for it were now violently opposed to it. As a matter of fact, I would say that local opposition in eastern North Carolina was almost 100 per cent against it."[453] State Attorney General Harry McMullan confirmed this feeling. "There is undoubtedly widespread misunderstanding," he told Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, "which, in part, has grown out of the experience of the people on Hatteras Island with the game refuge area. They have some idea that a National Recreational Area will be as restrictive and as great an interference with their freedom of action as the refuge."[454]

447. E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, "Personal and Confidential" Memorandum to Project Manager, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project, August 6, 1952; and A.C. Stratton, Acting Project Manager, Memorandum to Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Contacts," August 8, 1952; Both in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A22 Associations, 1952-1957," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
448. "This Answers the Question—Who Gave Money for the Park?" *The Coastland Times,* August 22, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
449. A "friendly condemnation" is an intermediate solution between acquisition from a willing seller and acquisition by eminent domain, where the property is condemned outright. It is so named because it acknowledges that the government has the right to acquire property through eminent domain, yet there is an understanding on both sides that there will be no legal proceedings.
450. E.T. Scoyen, Acting Director, Letter to Governor Hodges, March 15, 1957, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2219 (January-March 1957), Special Collections, UNC.
451. "Seashore Park Plans Advance Despite Foes," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* September 12, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
452. J. B. Oakes, "Conservation: Seashore: Famous Outer Banks of North Carolina Preserved With the Aid of Trust Funds," *New York Times*, September 7, 1952, 23.
453. A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 17, in CAHA files, HFC.
454. Harry McMullan, Attorney General, North Carolina, Letter to Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, August 6, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2208 (July-August 1952), Special Collections, UNC.

That month, park-opponent Preston Basnett of Frisco began circulating a pamphlet entitled "It is Not Too Late to Correct this Great Wrong," which mimicked the format of the new NPS brochure outlining the seashore park proposal. Basnett's brochure complained about a lack of transparency and public input into the decision-making process, a problem the National Park Service had acknowledged, but in other ways the brochure was an exercise in sheer propaganda. It was riddled with selective fact-picking, factual misrepresentations, undocumented opinions and conspiracy theories, as well as a few outright lies, including, for example that the park would ban hunting.[455] Basnett also accused the Stick family of meddling and undue influence in helping to solicit the Mellon funding. Although state officials found these complaints to lack merit, the Murphy-Cairns-Stick affair continued to stoke opposition.[456]

On September 22, Melvin Daniels, the Dare County Registrar of Deeds, spoke at a gathering in Rodanthe where he went so far as to claim that the Park Service "was throwing the Outer Banks into bondage similar to the bondage of the South after the Civil War." Congressman Bonner, who attended the event, rolled his eyes, but many people spoke to him after the speech. In summarizing their feelings to Lindsay Warren, Bonner complained that "the National Park Service has done a miserable job of public relations. In fact, I could find no evidence of there having been made any effort to inform the people just what the whole thing is about." He berated the National Park Service for its irresponsibility in not holding meetings to inform the public. "Had they made some effort in the beginning," Bonner wrote, "I think there would be an entirely different situation."[457] Emphasizing the point a couple of days later, the school master on Ocracoke Island advised Bonner that the people had not even seen any maps and some were confused by the legal terms being used.[458]

This lack of information in the face of a serious misinformation campaign by park opponents was a key reason that the opposition made headway with locals. Again, as if to emphasize the point, Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neal Howard complained to Bonner that her father had signed a petition without being "properly informed." She knew he would not be against anything that Lindsay Warren or Herbert Bonner supported and said the petition was circulated by Stanley Wahab and Samuel Jones, who owned a lot more land than her father.[459] Bonner was clearly annoyed with the inability of the Park Service to get a clear message across. Warren consoled him by saying that he met with Conrad Wirth to plan meetings on the Outer Banks. "I told him that it was a matter that he personally should attend to, and he readily agreed. As you know, he is a fine fellow, absolutely fair and just, and in my opinion, one of the very best in the Government." Warren agreed with Bonner that the Park Service had handled its public relations poorly but also noted that "you and I know the propaganda that is being put out and those who are fostering it."[460]

Bonner, concerned about opposition on Ocracoke Island, arrived there on September 26 to take stock of the situation and to talk with his constituents about the seashore project. According to Jim Rush, a *Coastland Times* reporter, the congressman "minced no words. He said he was wholeheartedly in favor of the park, and that he was sure all of the Outer Bankers would be, too, when they knew the facts." Rush found "that an observer could most easily determine what was on the mind of the residents." He said that those who met Bonner had no opposition to the park, "merely a desire to find out just what the park would mean to Bankers." One issue

455. In fact, the 1937 authorizing legislation neither prevented nor allowed hunting, but a specific amendment in 1940 did provide for hunting. Basnett's statement that "the act makes no provision for hunting" was thus ill-informed or disingenuous. Preston Basnett, unpublished pamphlet entitled "It is Not Too Late to Correct this Great Wrong," [ca. September] 1952, in Legislative Binder, Resource Management Library, CAHA archives.
456. Ibid.
457. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, September 22, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
458. Principle Theodore Rondthaler, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 25, 1952; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to A. C. Stratton, Project Manager, September 30, 195; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC. Bonner duly passed the advice to Clark Stratton to let Director Wirth know.
459. Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neal Howard, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 24, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC.
460. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 25, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 35. Official NPS photograph of Conrad L. Wirth, ca. 1960. (NPS)

was that the Park Service would have to negotiate precise boundaries with the villages, none of which had a mayor, but Bonner met seventy-five or so people, a considerable number for a population of only a few hundred. They were most interested in road construction from Ocracoke to Hatteras Inlet, which Bonner assured them the Park Service was planning. They were also concerned with hunting and fishing rights, and Bonner again reassured them that, despite what some park opponents were saying, Congress had explicitly protected those rights. Finally, Bonner explained that if the park were not created, the villagers could expect to see the type of development that had already occurred near Nag's Head, where he said, "there is not a single foot of public bathing beach left from north of Nags Head down to Whalebone." Without a park, private development would probably be financed by outsiders to whom much of the income would flow; with a park, tourists would bring "new" money to the area, which would benefit all residents. "When the meeting at the Ocracoke School recreation hall broke up," Rush concluded, "it was evident that, for the first time citizens of the island had been given an understandable picture of what the park would mean to them. If there was any opposition to the park at the beginning of the meeting, and it wasn't obvious, if there was, the residents seem to feel that insofar as Ocracoke is concerned, the park looked like the answer to a lot of prayers."[461]

That same day, Victor Meekins ran an editorial in the *Coastland Times*. In an atmosphere of distrust and misunderstanding fed by large landowners opposed to the park and exacerbated by NPS bungling of public relations, Meekins wrote, "Let's have the Park Service boys come in and give the people complete information." The *Times* had given much space to both sides of the issue and had criticized both the government and the "land hogs," but the paper opposed any more closed meetings in which the Seashore Commission, the Park Service, and the big land-owners talked about boundaries. Declaring impartiality, the *Times* stated "we can enumerate a lot of stupid things done in the past by Park Service employees and Park advocates. We will score one side as quick as we will the other. Without these mistakes, the willful purveyors of misinformation who have done so much harm, and who have made so many people unhappy, could never have accomplished the dire results they now are gloating over." To correct this mistake, Meekins wrote:

> The Park Service people, no less than the Director himself and others who will be working on the project, should come down to the area, and confer with the people. By the people, we do not mean the land hogs, the speculators, the money-grabbers, and the double-crossers. We mean the rank and file of the people, people who own homes, who own land, whether in the Park or not, people who have to make a living in the area. No concessions that can be made will ever satisfy the land speculators, or those who wish to continue to hog the 'Banks' for their own benefit. It would be a waste of time to traffic with them. . . . The people the Park Service officials should see are the folks who make up some of the best people on earth, and who like most everyone else, believe in a square deal."[462]

461. Jim Rush, "What the Seashore Park Can Mean to Ocracoke Island," *The Coastland Times* [Manteo], September 26, 1952, as reprinted from the Winston-Salem Journal, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
462. "What the Park Service Might Do to Clear Up Misunderstandings," *The Coastland Times,* September 26, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

On September 30, 1952, Director Wirth acted to address very serious criticism of the National Park Service and its failure to provide adequate information about the seashore project to inhabitants of the Outer Banks. At a meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, he announced plans to visit the area specifically to talk personally with anyone who was willing to do so. In his memoir Wirth recalled how he decided to meet with the villagers of Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands. "The main stumbling block was the group of some fifteen or twenty caretakers of the several hunting clubs owned by well-to-do northern people," he wrote. "Fully aware that misunderstandings and lack of information cause most of a public official's troubles, we felt that public airing of the proposal with full explanation of all its aspects was the only way to win local public support."[463] Accompanied on the trip by Bonner and Buxton White, representing the Seashore Commission, Wirth planned no formal meetings, wanting only to meet informally with the villagers to address their concerns and to provide them with accurate information on NPS plans for the seashore project.[464]

After driving down from Fort Raleigh the day before, Wirth and Clark Stratton met with some two hundred villagers on Ocracoke Island on October 6, 1952. Bonner was unable to attend, but he had recently visited Ocracoke Island and knew what the villagers were thinking. At this meeting, villagers wanted to hear from the NPS Director himself, and they did. After laying out the basic plan for the seashore, Wirth took questions, most of which came from R. S. Wahab, Jr., who represented his father and the village. The villagers were interested especially in hunting and fishing rights and how these might be restricted. Wirth explained that the Park Service would allow commercial fishing, sport fishing, and hunting, although these would continue to be subject to existing regulations. The authorizing act, he explained, spelled this out. Wirth was emphatic, however, that it was NPS policy to prohibit grazing on park lands, but also clearly stated that all commercial services would come from the villages.[465]

The villagers were also much interested in a paved road from Hatteras to Ocracoke, although some residents were also against such a road. Wirth said that the Park Service would attempt to reestablish the natural vegetation of the Banks, and although he had an open mind on the issue, the Service had not discussed the road question. Clark Stratton quickly pointed out that the state already had a right-of-way and had in fact built roads in other parks.[466] In recalling his meetings in the villages of Ocracoke and Frisco, Wirth stated that they encountered few strong objections, just some "reasonable requests" for boundary adjustments.[467]

Herbert Bonner joined Wirth and Stratton for the next meeting, held at the Hatteras schoolhouse, where none but hunting club employees attended. "It turned out," Wirth recalled in his memoir,

> that the other townspeople didn't show up because they knew what might happen and didn't want to be a part of it. Clark Stratton made a few opening remarks, got a few Bronx cheers, and introduced me. I started right in to tell them about the project as authorized and the boundary we had worked out around the town of Hatteras, but I didn't get very far. They really went at me. I would stop talking until they quieted down and then try to go on, but to no avail. This went on for about ten minutes, although it seemed longer, and I was about to blow my top when Representative Bonner got up and told me to sit down, that he wanted to take over.
>
> He proceeded to tell them in no uncertain terms that he didn't care what they wanted, that the area was going to be established the way the Park Service wanted it, and that they and their New York bosses could go to hell. He told them that they had acted in a way that was a disgrace to the South and that they were just a bunch of puppets for the Yankees. Further, he stated that the Cape Hatteras National Seashore would be a great thing for the cape, the state, and the entire country, and that he intended to see it through to completion. Finally, he said that we didn't want their kind of support and that he had more votes in his backyard than they could deliver on the

463. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 193-195.
464. "National Park Director Plans Outer Banks Visit," *The News and Observer* [Raleigh], 15, September 30, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
465. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.
466. Alice K. Rond Thaler, "Seashore Recreation Plan Aired," *The News and Observer,* October 9, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
467. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.

whole cape. With that he turned to Clark and me and said, "Let's get out of here; it stinks." We walked out and left them sitting there.[468]

Stratton himself later said that "the opposition was so great that there were people paid to do their best to insult us." Indeed, at the Hatteras meeting someone in the audience even accused Stratton, who oversaw beach erosion-control work in the 1930s, of failing to allow a man injured in a bar room brawl to be treated in a WPA hospital. Stratton said the story was untrue, and since it had no bearing on the merits of the project, he thought it an obvious attempt to derail substantive discussion.[469] The next day, the party had a more favorable reception. Not many turned out at Buxton, but at Avon, as Wirth recounted, "low and behold we were received like heroes! A lot of the Hatteras and Buxton people were present, and they had joined with Avon's people to arrange an old-fashioned fish fry. They knew full well what had happened at Hatteras and were pleased with what we had done and what Herb Bonner had said, and believe me, we were pleased that they were pleased."[470]

In Manteo, having visited with residents of all the villages, Wirth issued a statement: "We have nothing to conceal, and we are making every effort that no one can be able to say they are not informed about the project. We found that the fears of the people and the opposition expressed heretofore had largely been the outgrowth of misinformation spread by a few who oppose the park." He noted that they might continue to do so. Wirth also acknowledged a failure of the Park Service when he expressed regret for not having made the trip long before. "Had this been done," he said, "maybe a lot of misunderstanding would have been avoided."[471] Indeed, County Commissioner J. M. Scarborough of Avon, who had introduced Wirth to the villagers of Avon, stated that his people now understood what the park proposal was all about and agreed with Wirth that if these meetings had been held at an earlier date, there would have been less dissension.[472] Wirth knew that the establishment of the boundary of Cape Hatteras National Seashore "was no easy task." Not only did the Park Service have to protect shorelines and sand dunes and preserve the natural wildlife habitat, it also had to provide public use areas and space for reasonable growth of the existing villages. However, most of the oceanfront and the sound-side hunting areas were owned by northern interests while local people still considered the land to be theirs because, except during hunting season, they had continued traditional patterns of use.[473]

After these meetings on the Outer Banks, Lindsay Warren wrote Bonner to tell him that Wirth thought his performance "was simply magnificent at Hatteras, and showed outstanding courage and ability." Wirth also thanked Bonner for his help at Hatteras. He was already receiving reports that things had improved since their visit to the Outer Banks, and it was much due, Wirth thought, to Bonner's aid.[474] A week later Warren again wrote Bonner to inform him about a special letter that Conrad Wirth was preparing, a letter that Warren had edited. It was to appear in the next issue of the *Coastland Times* and would lay out the Park Service program for the Outer Banks. Warren thought it one of the finest things he has ever read. He added that former park opponent Levene Midgett had told him that the current NPS park proposal "meets objections of every single human being except the three land hogs, and they will have to go into court."[475]

A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks

Even before Conrad Wirth met with the people of the Outer Banks, North Carolina Attorney General

468.Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.

469.A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 20-21, in CAHA files, HFC. Despite their ontentiousness, the Cape Hatteras meetings, along with those used to create Grand Teton National Park, were the forerunner of later public meetings used by NPS to gain public support.

470.Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.

471."Parks Director Completes Trip on Outer Banks," *The Coastland Times,* October 10, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

472."Outer Bankers Hear Recreation Plans," *The News and Observer,* October 10, 1952, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

473.Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.

474. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 15, 1952; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 21, 1952; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC.

Harry McMullan had advised him to take a liberal view on the boundary designations, including the lines separating the villages from the ocean. The map provided in the Shuffler Report had boundaries of a thousand feet, which meant that Avon had no ocean front and would have been confined to the Pamlico Sound side of the island. The situation was similar in other villages. Most property had been sold with boundaries described as running from sound to ocean, and locals considered the ocean-side land in front of the villages as part of the villages themselves. Based upon his own conversations with villagers, McMullan had suggested limiting the seashore boundary to 400 feet on the ocean side. If done, McMullan argued, opposition would virtually disappear. This change would still allow for erosion control and recreational use and provide NPS control of all beaches. It would also lessen acquisition costs and eliminate several law suits.[476] In fact, this outcome is almost exactly what took place, but to ensure that opposition would not continue following Wirth's visit to the Banks, villagers had to receive the details of the proposed park, including its revised boundaries. Wirth needed the widest coverage possible. He called upon Victor Meekins.

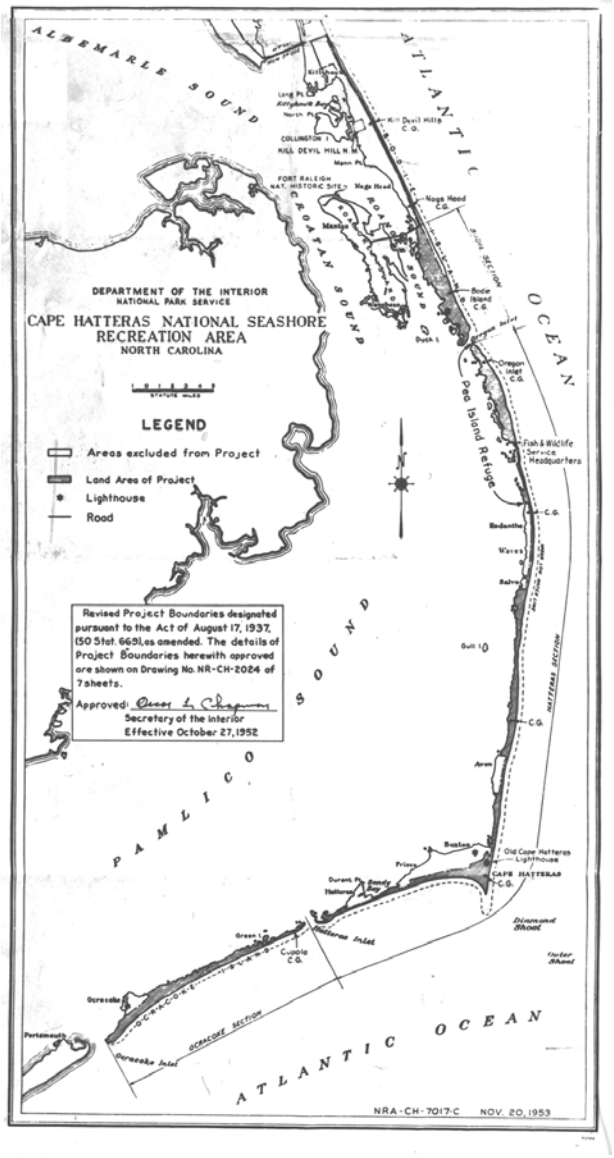


FIGURE 36. This map shows the final boundary for Cape Hatteras National Seashore as approved October 27, 1952, after extensive revision and consultations between the National Park Service, the state of North Carolina, and the citizens of the Outer Banks.(NPS map, November 20, 1959, Drawing Number: NRA-CH-7017-C, CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

On October 31, 1952, at Wirth's request, Meekins published a special edition of the *Coastland Times* showing NPS maps and statements and assured Wirth that "every family within the project, whether a subscriber of the newspaper or not, got a copy."[477] In an open letter from Director Conrad Wirth addressing all those affected by the proposal to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Wirth laid out the plans and intent of the National Park Service and made certain key promises.[478]

Wirth outlined park boundaries that had been adjusted to address some of the concerns of residents that he had heard during his three-day tour. Once again, the total size of the park was reduced, this time to 28,500 acres. The new boundary left more room for expansion of the villages toward the ocean, which had been a major complaint, but left the beaches under NPS control. Wirth said the Park Service would need "on the ocean side of the towns,

475.Into that letter Warren was able to get his own advice, including that locals should keep and not sell their lands so to enjoy the benefits of the park, but his most significant input was probably in regard to the right of way on Ocracoke Island, the Service's promise to allow or even build a road that it was reluctant to do. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 29, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209 (September-December 1952), Special Collections, UNC.

476.Harry McMullan, Attorney General, North Carolina, Letter to Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, August 6, 1952, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2208 (July-August 1952), Special Collections, UNC.

477.Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 193-195.

478.Conrad L. Wirth, "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks," *Coastland Times,* October 31, 1952, 5, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives. The letter has been circulated and republished in a variety of formats over the intervening years. The full letter as drafted by Wirth is included in Appendix C.

only those lands along the ocean which are necessary to protect and control the sand dunes, to reestablish them where necessary, and hold them to protect the communities from the intrusion of the ocean."

The boundaries were also closer to the Pamlico Sound shoreline. These had met approval by Secretary Chapman on October 27, 1952, and George Ross of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development. The new tighter boundaries recognized that, under the basic legislation authorizing the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, fishing and hunting rights were reserved to the people. That being the case, there was no real need to include Pamlico Sound waters in the seashore since state and federal fishing and hunting laws and regulations would still apply to waters both inside and outside the seashore boundaries.

Wirth simply set an arbitrary distance of 150 feet that would allow hunters and fishermen to clearly know when they were in or out of the park. Also, several small islands were excluded from the proposed park area, apparently also for reasons relating to hunting. Wirth also explained that the authorizing legislation provided for the continuation of hunting by residents on Ocracoke Island, on the waters of the sounds, and on not more than two thousand acres of the Recreational Area outside the Pea Island Refuge. The specific two thousand acres where hunting was to be allowed was to be defined by a committee, two members of whom were designated by the Governor, along with one representative each from the Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Residents had been concerned with beach access as well and on this account Wirth plainly stated that the seashore would be a public park open to all, including those of the Banks and visitors. "However," he stated,

> it will be necessary to establish certain regulations, such as to designate places for vehicles to get to the beach, in order to reduce sand dune erosion to a minimum; to manage ocean fishing where large numbers of bathers are using the beach; and to confine bathing to certain areas. The latter are for safety measures, as it would be dangerous to permit surf fishing where there are large numbers of people bathing and, likewise fishermen would not want bathers to interfere with their fishing.

Wirth expressed his opinion that "we have found a reasonable solution that meets the needs and desires of a majority of the local people as well as the needs of the Recreational Area. . . . I might add," he continued, "that if, at any time, the State is in a position to build a road on Ocracoke, we can easily reach an agreement on the right-of-way for it." For the future, Wirth noted "the National Park Service proposes to resume the sand fixation work; to re-establish the natural plant and wildlife within the area; and to provide access to the beach for everybody. We plan also to tell the story of the sea." On the latter point, Wirth promised to build a museum to tell the story of the Banks, which he thought would help make the area one of the top tourist destinations in the country, and called upon locals to help in that effort by providing their own stories and artifacts.

Wirth concluded his letter by warning the people of the Banks to

> hold your lands within your communities; don't let outside speculators come in and take over; join together and you people in the communities whose families have lived there for generations care for the visiting public yourselves and enjoy the prosperity that you so rightfully deserve because of your long occupancy of these lands.

Wirth's "Letter to the People of the Outer Banks" effectively countered the disinformation campaign waged by park opponents, laid out a clear vision of NPS management of the national seashore, and created a key document that was later often solemnly referenced by locals in discussion with NPS officials on park matters.

Victor Meekins spoke about the letter he published, explaining that owners who had duck blinds on many of the islands, now excluded from the seashore, had been a big source of opposition. "A very vicious campaign," he said, was carried out against NPS plans by influential people. He said that most residents who had talked to him said they would not have opposed the original proposal "if they had known the straight of it to begin with." Commenting upon Wirth's advice to locals to keep their land, Meekins noted it probably came too late as outsiders owned about ninety percent of the Banks already. Natives had bought the land when it was offered by the state at $1.50 per acre and resold it to wealthy Northerners for $7.00 or $8.00 per acre

when they began frequenting the Outer Banks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[479]

On November 17-18, 1952, Director Wirth went before the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments.[480] He sought to explain progress made in the creation of the seashore and to ask for the board's support of the recent boundary changes negotiated by the Park Service with local citizens and agreed to by Secretary Chapman on October 27, 1952. Wirth explained how the donations by the Mellon foundations, the state aid, and subsequent negotiations with citizens had made a breakthrough possible. He noted that the interest of Paul Mellon in the seashore project was obtained through the help of Old Dominion Foundation and Avalon Foundation cotrustee Donald Shepard. Wirth discussed Winfield Worth, who had actively opposed the project "and was to some extent successful in stirring up the local citizenry." For this reason, Wirth and Congressman Bonner had gone to the Banks to speak with the public directly. The Board passed a resolution in support of the boundary changes and another praising the efforts of the many who had worked to create the national seashore.[481]

On November 20, 1952, Clark Stratton made a few remarks about the meetings between Director Wirth and the people of the villages and was quoted as saying, "We in the National Park Service feel greatly indebted to Congressman Bonner and Mr. Buxton White for their assistance." The attitude of the people toward the project had "vastly improved," said Stratton, and his land-acquisition office had been open three months, doing surveys and land appraisals. Actual negotiations with landowners were expected to be in full swing by early in the year.[482]

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479. "Outer Banks Reassured by Park Director," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* November 1, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

480. The Advisory Board was established by the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and charged with providing advice "on any matter relating to national parks" and with recommending policies to the Secretary of the Interior "from time to time pertaining to national parks and to the restoration, reconstruction, conservation, and general administration of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and properties."

481. "Excerpt from November 17-18, 1952 Meeting of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Washington, DC," *Cape Hatteras History,* a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library. Wirth did not mention the involvement of Frank or David Stick or Huntington Cairns, whose involvement in matters relating to the Mellon Foundations had been controversial.

482. "Park Lands Now Being Acquired," *Greensboro News,* November 19, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

Chapter Five: Establishment of the National Seashore

At 11:00 on Monday morning, December 22, 1952, the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission was called to order by Chairman George R. Ross for the purpose of recommending to North Carolina Gov. W. Kerr Scott the transfer of several thousand acres of state-owned land in Dare and Hyde counties to the United States to create the nation's first national seashore. Commissioners Buxton White and Woodrow Price submitted a resolution recommending this action and describing the land to be transferred.

As expected, the recommendation was adopted unanimously. The transfer, which was covered by three seperate deeds, included 2,219 acres on Hatteras Island, 3,347 acres on Ocracoke Island, and another 924 acres on Hatteras Island for the Phipps tract, that composed Cape Hatteras State Park, for a total of 6,490 acres. After the meeting, commission members recessed to Governor Scott's office where the Council of State approved a motion for him to execute and convey the deeds to the National Park Service, represented by Director Conrad Wirth, in a brief noontime ceremony.[483]

A front-page photograph published in the *Raleigh News and Observer* the following day showed the governor stamping the deeds with the State's seal. Wirth stood alongside the governor in a tailored, double-breasted suit, sporting a relaxed demeanor and a pleasant smile. Wirth's portfolio had contained the Cape Hatteras project for nearly twenty years and the ceremony in the governor's office symbolically represented the first great accomplishment of his career as NPS director. He was clearly pleased. To the newly acquired lands was added some existing federal property, including the small Cape Hatteras Lighthouse reservation and the 5,880-acre Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge, which was incorporated into the park by law but was still operated by the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Roughly thirteen thousand acres were now available for park purposes, which surpassed the legal threshold of ten thousand acres. Wirth planned to ask Congress for funds to administer the area beginning July 1, 1953, and hoped optimistically to acquire all the land by the end of 1953.[484]

On January 12, 1953, Wirth recommended that Secretary Chapman approve an order, consistent with Section 4 of the Act of August 17, 1937, directing that certain lands on the Outer Banks of North Carolina be "administered, protected, and developed by the National Park Service for national seashore recreational purposes for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." This order marked the formal establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, although the date was not immediately observed, however, because the land acquisition process was not complete. In 1959,

483. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina, December 22, 1952 (279415) [Electronic records: www.archives.gov]; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; NARA, Morrow, Georgia. Attendees included Gen. Don Scott, Mrs. Roland McClamroch, George R. Ross, Fred P. Latham, Woodrow Price, Buxton White, James W. Scarborough, and Governor-elect William B. Umstead. Also present were NPS Director Wirth, Regional Director Elbert Cox, Project Administrator C. Clark Stratton, and Superintendent of State Parks Thomas W. Morse. Secretary of Interior Oscar L. Chapman and U. S. Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren had both wanted to attend the ceremony but were detained.

484. "Hatteras Park Land Transferred," *Raleigh News and Observer,* December 23, 1952, 1, 6, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives. See also, press release entitled "National Park Service Given Administration of Federal Lands in Cape Hatteras Seashore Project, North Carolina," January 16, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

the year after the park's formal dedication, Region One Director Elbert Cox authorized the park's second superintendent, who had no record of when the park was officially established, to use January 12 as the date for annual observances of the park's creation.[485]

The Secretary's order establishing the park was also duly transmitted to the Federal Register and to Project Manager Clark Stratton, who was directed by the NPS Chief Counsel to post the order in the land acquisition office along with an accompanying map "where it may be seen by the public." Stratton was also asked to have the contracted law firm furnish title evidence for the 6,490 acres transferred by North Carolina to the federal government as soon as possible to allow the U. S. Attorney General to register an opinion of satisfaction.[486] The basis of the Secretary's order was Wirth's determination that sufficient land had been acquired to justify federal acceptance of responsibility for managing the Cape Hatteras project area.[487] Difficulties in clearing titles, however, would make that request hard to fulfill, and the lion's share of property still needed to be acquired through negotiation and condemnation proceedings.

The seashore's establishment was proclaimed just a few days before the end of the Truman administration. A few park opponents held out faint hope that the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the first Republican president in twenty years, might turn back the clock on the seashore project. Wirth made no mention of this concern in his memorandum to the Secretary requesting that he sign the establishment order. Instead, he merely noted that private and state funds had been made available and land for the seashore was being condemned in federal court, though awards were not yet rendered.[488]

Hatteras writer Ben Dixon MacNeill thought that the Park Service wanted to proclaim the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore before land for it had been completely purchased and cleared of title so that the new park could be included in the new Congress' first appropriation bill. If funding for operations could be obtained, it would be possible to begin actual work at the park on July 1, 1953.[489] That view resonates with Wirth's own statements, and operational funding was soon made available. Still, Chapman made it clear a few days after signing the order that the Park Service could not begin to develop the seashore until all lands for it had been acquired through negotiation or condemnation and that full establishment of the park had to await the clearance of all titles.[490]

No matter what drove the timing of the seashore's establishment, the rush of events certainly signified a great turn-around. Only a few months before, most Bankers thought the idea of a park completely dead. MacNeill, less a park opponent than an NPS critic, recalled how Congressman Bonner had even certified the park's death in letters to Winfield Worth and a few others. MacNeill's main point was that "in the seven villages of Hatteras Island there will be few cheers" for the seashore's establishment. "The residents," he said,

485. Copy of order published in the *Federal Register*, signed by Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, January 12, 1953. See Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, November 20, 1957; and Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, November 22, 1957; both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

486. Chief Counsel Jackson E. Price, Memorandum to Project Manager, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Project Area, entitled "Order Assuming Administration of Minimum Area within Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project," January 13, 1952, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

487. "Park Project Okay Given by Secretary," *Raleigh News and Observer,* January 14, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

488. NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth, Memorandum to Secretary of the Interior Oscar L Chapman, entitled "Acceptance for Administration by the National Park Service of Minimum Area within Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project," January 12, 1952, and attached "Order" by Secretary Chapman, January 12, 1952; both in "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

489. Ben D. MacNeill, "Mellon Money Mysteriously Brings Hatteras National Park Project Back to Life," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

490. "U.S. Wants Title to All Land Needed before Developing Seashore," *Raleigh News and Observer,* Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA; and press release entitled "National Park Service Given Administration of Federal Lands in Cape Hatteras Seashore Project, North Carolina," January 16, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

> are, as of today, too bewildered by the resurrection of a deceased and entombed problem. . . . Bewildered by, rather than opposed to, what has happened very well describes the state of mind of the residents of the seven villages. The majority are passively in favor of it, since it appears to be inevitable. It is the nature of the Hatterasman to accept the inevitable.[491]

MacNeill also pointed out that primary opposition to the seashore had come from a small group of large speculative landowners led by Winfield Worth, but as many as 235 other inhabitants did not want to sell because their families had lived on the land for generations. MacNeill ended his article on a less melancholy note by informing his readers that in March the state highway department was to begin building a road past the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse to the point of the cape. Moreover, with NPS crews all over the area, he hoped that people "back yonder in the United States" would come to relate to Bankers as "adults."[492]

Land Acquisition under Clark Stratton

Conrad Wirth assigned his old friend Clark Stratton to the Cape Hatteras project because he was uniquely qualified to help create a national park on the Outer Banks. Stratton had good ties to many local people because of his previous work in charge of relief-funded shoreline erosion control and also because his wife had grown up on the Banks. Stratton had also accompanied Wirth to his meeting with Governor Kerr Scott to help convince North Carolina to match the grant of the Mellon foundations. Socially well placed, he would handle land acquisition, establish the first park budgets, and create an organizational nucleus to staff the new seashore. He gladly accepted the assignment.[493]

On January 22, 1953, ten days after Secretary Chapman's order to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Region One Director Elbert Cox ordered Stratton to take whatever actions were necessary to exercise federal authority over the Cape Hatteras project area. "It is realized," Cox stated, "that no funds have been allotted for carrying out this responsibility," but Stratton was directed to rely upon Superintendents Atkinson at Fort Raleigh and Dough at the Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial and to work within available resources.[494] Although his chief responsibility was land acquisition, Stratton was now in charge of the park and effectively the area's first NPS manager. Stratton began immediate efforts to purchase land and to clear titles. He soon assembled a staff that included an assistant, Charles Marshall, as well as an engineer, a stenographer, and at least two appraisers. Stratton would contract out responsibility for land title searching.[495]



FIGURE 37. "Visitor viewing sound from Bodie Island." (NPS photograph by W. Verde Watson, October 4, 1955. Negative Number WASO-A-930, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

Even though Cape Hatteras National Seashore was established on January 12, 1953, major property owners were still fighting the park and had not given up hope that they could overturn the achievement. President Eisenhower appointed Douglas McKay Secretary of the Interior on January 21, but according to the *Coastland Times,* those "mercenary land grabbers" hoping that Secretary McKay would tear up the plans for the seashore were disappointed. In early March, McKay spoke about Cape

491.MacNeill, "Mellon Money. . .," *Greensboro Daily News,* December 21, 1952.
492.Ibid.
493.A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 13-14, in CAHA files, HFC.
494.Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to Project Manager, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project entitled "Order Assuming Administration of Minimum Area, etc.," January 22, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
495.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, July 22, 1953, "1953" file, Vault, CAHA archive.

Hatteras National Seashore before the North American Wildlife Conference:

> I am sure that all of you have been as pleased as I am that the joint efforts of the State, the National Park Service and two private foundations are making possible the permanent dedication of this beautiful strip of unspoiled coastline to the enjoyment of all citizens. I understand that it took 15 years to complete the arrangements, but it is worth it. Since the seashore is a limited resource of great importance to the people of the United States for wholesome recreation, all levels of government should cooperate in acquiring enough of it to meet the public needs.[496]

It was an important endorsement. In fact, Director Wirth was to establish singularly good relations between the Park Service and the Eisenhower administration. Despite strong administration backing, however, the seashore's establishment was an ongoing game of "two steps forward, one back." The day after McKay's speech, the North Carolina General Assembly held a hearing before the House Committee on Conservation and Development prior to passage of a bill to allow the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and the National Park Service to create a single account from which to disperse funds for land acquisition.

A bill and hearing were necessary because State Attorney General Harry McMullan had determined that the Seashore Commission lacked authority to combine accounts on its own, and unless the funds could be combined, duplicate administration would increase the cost of land acquisition. More importantly, condemnation suits would also have to be filed, depending on the funding source, in state and in federal courts, greatly complicating the project. It was necessary to file a great many court actions to establish the seashore, many merely to clear title even in cases of friendly condemnation. Thus, it was desirable to seek legislative authority to combine the funds. It was agreed that the Seashore Commission would retain final say in the allocation of the state's portion of the account, but the General Assembly opposed ceding too much control.[497]

State Representative Bruce Etheridge authored the bill (House Bill 396) that would allow the state to transfer to the Park Service the $618,000 it had accumulated to match the Mellon foundations' funds. Ironically, after challenging the commission's authority, McMullan supported the bill to give it more. In fact, he drafted the bill for Etheridge, who had apparently rethought his stance as well. The Park Service, of course, supported the bill, but it did not go unopposed. At the hearing, attorney L.P. McLendon, representing Winfield Worth, argued that one government could not delegate the power of eminent domain to another and that the state park commission only had authority to acquire land in the name of the state. Worth speaking for himself called the plan to turn over state funds to the Park Service "atrocious from the beginning." He argued that the loss of taxable land would mean an unbearable tax burden for Dare citizens and cited a $30,000 NPS contract for title services as evidence, reasoning that a lot of taxable land was being removed from the tax roles if the title search was so expensive. C. C. Duvall, Chairman of the Dare County Board of Commissioners, said "I don't know of anybody who wants it unless he does not own property or wants a park job." Lloyd Styron of Hatteras said "We'd like to have our rights the same as you have got." To this statement, Preston Basnett of Frisco agreed. Clark Stratton denied that any land would be condemned without prior negotiations and said offers to buy some six thousand acres had already been made. Moreover, Stratton reminded them that areas around other national parks, like Blue Ridge Parkway and Great Smoky Mountains, were built up, not torn down by new parks.[498]

In support of the bill, testimony was given by J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr. (son of the former governor), and William J. Dunn, who were hired by Stratton to research land titles. Ehringhaus countered Worth's complaint about the title search cost by noting that "there are no more complicated title claims than in

496. "Douglas McKay Solidly Behind Seashore Park," *The Coastland Times,* March 27, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection,CAHA archives.

497. "Statement by National Park Service before the House Committee on Conservation and Development of the North Carolina General Assembly at a hearing on Bill 396, Raleigh, North Carolina, March 10, 1953," in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318221), "F9019—Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

498. "Bill About Land Along Outer Banks Runs into Stormy Weather," *Raleigh New and Observer,* March 11, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

Dare" because of the topography, geography, and tradition, including land lines drawn from once prominent ship wrecks that had long since eroded into the sea.[499] After six months work, Stratton had not cleared a single title of the 251 cases he was working, and in some cases his only recourse was to assign the current most obvious names to the various tracts, publish a notice for any title claimant to appear, and subsequently have the court decree title and distribute purchase funds.

Stratton was still sensitive to local feelings and was adamant that property owners on the Outer Banks, who may not have been responsible for faulty titles, should not be penalized. He planned to exhaust all means to reach a fare exchange and hired three independent teams of appraisers to negotiate with resident owners, with each property separately evaluated. If court action were necessary, it would be pursued only to clear title and not to condemn it, since Stratton said only five landowners appeared willing to force condemnation. The largest actions were against Worth's tracts on Bodie Island and Stanley Wahab's lands on Ocracoke Island, with both cases to be heard before federal district court Judge Don Gilliam at Elizabeth City. Despite having fourteen flawed titles, Worth had refused NPS offers, and Stratton thought it would take another year to clear the titles, where normally it would have taken two months.[500] In fact, it would take considerably longer.

Also testifying before the committee was the attorney for Samuel G. Jones, who owned nearly half of Ocracoke Island. In fighting establishment of the park, Jones, who resided in Norfolk, Virginia, claimed his clubhouse was worth $70,000. The *Coastland Times* found that valuation curious, noting that Jones must have owed the county a great deal in taxes because the total taxable value for all Ocracoke property in 1952 was only $124,371. "It is interesting always," the *Times* noted, "to see what extremes men of character will go to, to oppose something which is for the public benefit, but may keep them out of a little personal profit."[501]

State representative Etheridge argued in favor of the bill, stating that initial opposition to the park plan "has largely changed" and that the "backbone of opposition are the real estate people," but several committee members indicated they would vote against the report anyway.[502] One problem had been that only bill opponents and no one from Dare County who supported the park had managed to show up to testify. Regional Director Cox had expected opposition from Worth but admitted to State Parks Director Thomas Morse that he was "surprised at the extreme hostility to the proposed bill." Worried, he acknowledged that NPS representatives were outgunned at the hearing by those "skilled in the techniques of the trial attorneys." Later, he also wrote to reassure Etheridge that opinions expressed at the hearing represented "a vociferous minority." He hoped that the committee's members would judge the bill on its merits, but informed Director Wirth that the argument about hearing condemnation suits in state courts might have pull and that its fate would depend upon how much support Etheridge was willing to give his bill. Even if it passed the lower house of the state assembly, Cox thought the bill still faced a bleak outcome in the state senate.

Land acquisition was on hold while the state debated House Bill 396 and Judge Gilliam considered motions to stay land condemnations. Cox actually asked Wirth to attend the next hearings in person on March 31. "I cannot overemphasize the importance of a favorable decision," he stated, but expecting a negative outcome, the Park Service went ahead and developed procedures for filing condemnation suits in separate state and federal courts.[503] It was a wise decision, since despite the pleas of park supporters, the bill did not pass. In fact, Etheridge, as Chair of the House Committee on Conservation and Development, apparently held the bill in his

499. Ibid.

500. Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Deeds to Land on Hatteras Hard to Find," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* March 1, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

501. "Over Half of Oracoke Value Owned by Jones," *The Coastland Times,* March 13, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

502. "Bill About Land Along Outer Banks Runs into Stormy Weather," *Raleigh New and Observer,* March 11, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

503. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, letter to Bruce Etheridge, March 13, 1953, and letter to Thomas W. Morse, March 13, 1953; and Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director entitled "Hearing on H.B. No. 396—Cape Hatteras Land Acquisition," March 13, 1953; all in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318221), "F9019—Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

committee so that it would not be voted down. Condemnation proceedings were thus divided between federal and state courts, giving seashore opponents a short-lived victory.[504]

On April 4, 1953, Judge Gilliam ordered those landowners bringing suit against condemnation actions to prepare briefs. The three main cases involved Winfield Worth and the southern portion of Bodie Island, Frank E. Britton and others on Hatteras Island, and Samuel Jones on Ocracoke Island. The motions made several allegations and the government moved to have them struck from the record as invalid. The three cases were key, according to a U.S. attorney arguing the case, because other landowners were awaiting an outcome before offering their own lands for sale for the park.[505] Many of the claims had been made before, and some appeared frivolous, including that the government had no authority to take the land because the boundaries of the park had not been set, even though the boundaries had already been established, or that the taking of the land denied due process, although that was preciseily what the court proceedings were about. The plaintiffs also argued that the government had not made an effort to secure lands at a reasonable price and the taking would retard development of the region. One complaint that appeared to have some merit, given differences in appraisals, was whether the government had on hand sufficient funds to pay for the condemnations.

Meanwhile, Clark Stratton was finding it difficult to cooperate with the Dare County Commissioners, who had turned down his offer to pay $50,000 for a tract of six hundred acres of county-owned land on Bodie Island. The commissioners wanted $125,000 despite the fact that this land had been willed by a man named David L. Lindquist, who had added the proviso that it only be used for the public benefit. Stratton remarked to Herbert Bonner that the commissioners had not been very friendly except when they needed help with the ferry service.[506]

On a positive note, Theodore Meekins, perhaps sensing the direction the court proceedings were going, decided in May 1953 to turn over his land for the seashore project without a fight.[507] Stratton believed this event a turning point in overcoming resistance by locals to selling their land. Meekins was originally for the park in the 1930s, but later became a major opponent and as a state legislator authored bills to block the project when oil-drilling was in the air. A few years later, Stratton recalled how Meekins finally decided to sell "just out of personal friendship." He said:

> I had been very close to him through all the years I had worked down there, and I think Mr. Meekins felt sorry for me. But he didn't realize when he sold me that tract of land that he was pulling the stopper out for everybody else, because he was one of the most loved and most prominent men in the whole county, and consequently when it became known that he had sold a tract of land to me, why, then I had plenty of other people start dealing with us. I don't remember now the figures, but in the two-year interval after that first sale, we cleaned up much of the acquisition problems.[508]

With land acquisition finally making progress, Stratton hired Gus Hultman as the seashore's first ranger. Hultman reported for duty from the Great Smoky Mountains on May 18, 1953, to man the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, which was now open to the public, except on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.[509]

In June rumors about the prospect of extracting ilemnite from sand on the Outer Banks re-surfaced. The presence of the weakly magnetic mineral, used in titanium production, had been investigated by the DuPont Company in 1945. Company officials, however, had reported to Director Wirth that "it is our considered judgment, after studying these areas,

504. "May 4, 1953," Typed memorandum of phone call from A. Clark Stratton, May 4, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.
505. "Federal Judge Studying National Seashore Park Condemnation Requests," *The Daily Advance* [Elizabeth City], April 3, 1953, 3, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; and "Briefs Ordered in Park Action," *The News and Observer* [Raleigh], April 5, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
506. A. C. Stratton, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 28, 1953, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2210 (January-December 1953), Special Collections, UNC.
507. Ibid.
508. A. Clark. Stratton, Oral History Interview by Herbert Evison (1962), 18, in CAHA files, HFC.
509. "May 4, 1953," Typed memorandum of phone call from A. Clark Stratton, May 4, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

that no commercial production of titanium minerals will ever be profitable in that area."[510] Thomas H. Miller of the Bureau of Mines was also quoted as saying that despite continuing reports about mineral wealth in the area, none had ever been found that would warrant commercial operations. Rumors resurrecting the possibility of ilemnite mining seemed to be a deliberate last minute attempt to derail court proceedings or to raise the cost of land condemnations. The *Coastland Times* derided such rumors as "humbugg'ry" and labeled them the propaganda of park opponents. Any profit to locals, the newspaper reported, would be small, while the land would be devastated and twenty years spent stabilizing dunes would have been for naught.[511]

The ilemnite rumors had no impact, and Justice Gilliam ruled in the government's favor on all counts in suits brought to block establishment of the park. Gilliam's rulings cleared the way for Stratton, on behalf of the U. S. Government, to begin condemnation proceedings in Federal District Court, Elizabeth City, North Carolina. On June 25, 1953, some four thousand acres of land were condemned on behalf of the nation to create Cape Hatteras National Seashore. There were sixteen properties involved, some of which were "friendly condemnations" to clear title, but the lands of Worth, Britton, Jones, and others who had sued the government were now seized.[512]

Park opponents had had their day in court and lost, but Winfield Worth, an experienced attorney, was not about to abandon his opposition to the seashore merely because of Gilliam's ruling. Worth no longer owned his tracts within the park boundary, but the issue of just compensation was still a matter before the court. In further litigation on this subject, he was to prove a more successful plaintiff. In the



FIGURE 39. Clark Stratton, second from right, shown with his peers, May 11, 1952. This NPS photograph was labeled: "When the Regional Boys Were Fishing at Oregon Inlet…"Yes! That's Sam Weems, Blue Ridge Parkway, in the center" Also shown are, L. to R.: Mike Watson, Ray Mulvany, Elbert Cox, Butch Stratton [boy, and future NPS ranger], Bill Bahlman (Washington Office), and Buck Lisle next to Stratton." (Photo from Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, May 1952, CAHA archives)

meantime, Worth had to vacate the fishing center at Oregon Inlet that now belonged to the government, although the Park Service issued him a special use permit authorizing him to continue operating the fishing center until December 31, 1953, so that he could close out his business in an orderly fashion. At the same time, the Service issued a request for proposals for a concessionaire to take over the operation.[513] J.B. Tillett of Roanoke Island was awarded the contract to run the fishing center for a period of ten years.[514]

On July 26, 1953, the Park Service announced that it had taken title to the condemned acreage and was in possession of 17,000 of the 28,500 acres authorized within the park boundary, most of it obtained from donations or through negotiations with owners. Shortly after Judge Gilliam's ruling and Meekins' sale, the owner of the Gooseville Gun Club, Detroit

510. Aycock Brown, "Outer Banks Wealth Rumor Spiked," *Raleigh News and Observer,* June 6, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

511. "Claim of Riches form Ilmenite is New Humbugg'ry," *The Coastland Times,* May 1, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives. Aycock Brown, "Outer Banks Wealth Rumor Spiked," *Raleigh News and Observer,* June 6, 1953. The mining of ilmenite from shore sand was done in Florida and Georgia, and was also briefly considered on Cumberland Island. However, ilmenite mining became commercially impractical all along the Atlantic coast around 1957, when the global price of titanium precipitously declined. See, Larry M. Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 59-62.

512. "Park Service Proceeds with Acquired Land," *The Coastland Times,* July 3, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

513. A. C. Stratton, Project Manager, Memorandum to Regional Director entitled "Weekly Progress Report for week ending August 14, 1953," August 17, 1953, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 461 (August 1953), Special Collections, UNC.

514. Clair Engle, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to Herbert C. Bonner, February 10, 1955, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2214 (January-March 1955), Special Collections, UNC. Tillett's administration later proved unsatisfactory and his contract was bought out by another concessionaire.

millionaire G. Albert Lyon, decided to negotiate rather than litigate his opposition. That decision, which involved the largest tract purchased by negotiation, was another important milestone in the creation of the seashore.[515]

The Gooseville Gun Club property, a fishhook-shaped tract of land just west of Hatteras Village, included several miles of beach and was considered one of the finest surf fishing spots on the Atlantic Coast. The club was the last of its kind when it closed on May 1, 1954, signaling the end of an era. Lyon sold his land, which still had to be condemned to clear title, for some $47,000, and purchased a million-dollar estate on the island of Bimini in the Bahamas. Immediately after the court transferred Lyon's property to the Park Service, the Coast Guard occupied and converted his clubhouse into a lifeboat station under a special use permit. The Coast Guard had been forced by erosion to abandon its Hatteras Inlet Station and agreed to exchange it and another on Bodie Island with the Park Service, which sought to use the latter as park headquarters. Locals and tourists swamped the site on the first day that public access was allowed. Ironically, the Coast Guard had to be called to rescue three bathers who were unfamiliar with the currents and were swept out to sea.[516]

Some lands were also donated, including forty-four acres given by the Hatteras Holding Corporation, a real estate company whose president was Frank Stick. Director Wirth welcomed the donation and hoped there would be more.[517] By July 22, the Seashore Commission, the Governor's Council, and the Park Service had reached an agreement, signed by the governor, to transfer land acquisition to the Park Service with payments from state funds being authorized by the commission.[518] State and federal accounts continued to be maintained separately and condemnation proceedings continued to take place in both state and federal court because North Carolina had not authorized the parties to operate as a unified body.

Stratton achieved another breakthrough in his land acquisition efforts on August 20, 1953, when the Dare County Board of Commissioners voted to turn over the six hundred acres of county land to the Park Service for public use at a reasonable price as Lindquist, the original donor, had intended. Stratton had gotten both Bonner and Lindsay Warren to step in to help persuade the commissioners. This acquisition brought NPS holdings to eighteen thousand acres. The county, which had opposed the seashore, was still unwilling to donate the land, but the Park Service agreed, per Stratton's original offer, to pay $50,000 for the tract.[519]

The decision by the county commissioners was not the end of the story, however. On March 2, 1954, A.S. Austin, Lloyd Stryon and Leo Peele of Hatteras and Preston Basnett of Frisco sought an injunction against the sale of the Lindquist property for $50,000 instead of their original offer of $125,000, claiming that this land, if developed, was worth $1.5 million. This suit put Dare County in the position of defending a decision that it had made under pressure from several influential leaders. Justice Carr of Currituck County Superior Court indicated he was unlikely to sign a restraining order.[520] Possibly, the plaintiffs hoped that by forcing a higher sale price, they could use the precedent in establishing greater land values to justify increased awards in their own condemnation cases.

515.A. C. Stanton, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, August, 18 1953, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 461 (August 1953), Special Collections, UNC.

516."Lyon Property Again Becomes Public Domain," *The Coastland Times,* May 7, 1954, and Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Last of Hatteras Plush Rod-and-Gun Clubs Goes Out of Existence After Thirty Years," *Norfolk-Virginian Pilot,* May 16, 1954, both in Newspaper clippings collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

517.Press release entitled "National Park Service Now Has 17,000 Acres in Hatteras Seashore Project," July 26, 1953, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives; and "Parks Acquire More Hatteras Land," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* July 26, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

518.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to Superintendent, Kill Devil Hill Monument National Memorial, July 22, 1953, "1953" file, Vault, CAHA archives.

519."Land Transfer Approved," *Raleigh News and Observer,* August 21, 1953, and "Park Service Passes 18,000 Acre Land Mark," *The Coastland Times, November 20, 1953, both in* Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAH archivesA; and A. C. Stratton, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, August 7, 1953, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 461 (August 1953), Special Collections, UNC.

520."Dare People Seeking to Halt Bodie Island Sale to Park Service," *Daily Advance*, March 2, 1954, press clipping in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Box 47, Folder 2211 (January-March 1954), Special Collections, UNC.

In October, 1953, Director Wirth reported to the Old Dominion and Avalon Foundations on the progress of land acquisition for Cape Hatteras National Seashore. "There have been acquisition complications," he admitted, "because of the scattered and incomplete records of land ownership and lack of title evidence for many of the tracts within the project area." Though slowed, Wirth still felt that "excellent progress" was being made. Moreover, he thought that Stratton's negotiations were helping establish reasonable values that would reduce the possibility of excessive awards for those parcels that had to be condemned. Although the Park Service would not know the actual cost of condemnation until the cases were settled, Wirth expected that the $1,235,000 dollars provided by the foundations and the State of North Carolina would be sufficient for acquisition of the necessary lands.[521]

As fall turned to winter in 1953, the Park Service believed it had overcome the major obstacles in the acquisition of land to establish the seashore. In addition, with more help from the Mellon and Avalon Foundations, the Service was able to expand the Wright memorial to the north and east, although not all the way to the sea as originally intended. The Wright Memorial had once been planned to become part of the seashore and not all of its historic elements, including some of the Wrights' flight paths, had been included within the memorial's boundaries. These were now threatened by rapid real estate development, and Wirth asked the Mellon foundations to consider donating the remaining $82,000 for the purpose of acquiring this land, which they did. In conjunction with that expansion, on December 1, 1953, Interior Secretary ordered Kill Devil Hill National Memorial renamed Wright Brothers National Memorial.[522]

On February 16, 1954, Clark Stratton wrote a sad note to inform Herbert Bonner that he was returning to the regional office in Richmond. Handpicked by Director Wirth for a dicey assignment, Stratton had met every expectation. He had acquired the long-sought park lands through a thoughtful strategy based upon patience, diplomacy, and an intimate understanding of the Outer Banks and its people. Stratton was replaced by his assistant Charles Marshall, who had apprenticed with Stratton. With Stratton's continued advice, Marshall was qualified to finish acquiring the remaining lands for the project, but he would not exercise administrative authority over the seashore as had Stratton. In Stratton's place the Park Service appointed Deputy Superintendent Allyn F. Hanks of Everglades National Park, who became the first superintendent of the first national seashore on March 5, 1954. Stratton did not know Hanks personally but told Bonner that "both Connie Wirth and Elbert Cox assure me that he is one of the outstanding field men in the Park Service system." He promised to "keep a hand" on Hatteras matters.[523]

On March 2, 1954, a newly re-appointed Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission met for the first time on the Outer Banks and authorized the state Attorney General to initiate condemnation proceedings in state court for some two thousand acres within the seashore project area and also to authorize the chairman of the commission to make further requests for similar condemnations in conjunction with the requests of the NPS land acquisition project office in Manteo.[524]

On March 17, 1954, Judge Carr upheld Dare County's sale of the Lindquist land to the National Park Service. As a result, land acquisition moved rapidly, and the Park Service announced its intention to reduce the staffing in its land acquisition office. At the same time the fishing center concession, having been turned over by Worth, was soon expected to be in operation again. According to the Park Service, "the local criticism that accompanied the beginning of the land acquisition program has been dissipated, and only a small minority of landowners now object to the completion of the project."[525]

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521. Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Mr. Donald D. Shepard, October 21, 1953, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR. In his letter, Wirth also noted that originally the Foundations had been willing to support up to $350,000 apiece in donations, but the state only authorized an appropriation of $618,000.
522. Andrew M. Hewes, *Wright Brothers National Memorial: An Administrative History* (NPS, 1967), 77.
523. A. C. Stratton, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, February 16, 1954, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2211 (Jan-Mar 1954), Special Collections, UNC.
524. "Organization Meeting, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," March 2, 1954, in Record Group 79, Records of the NPS (318221), "F9019—Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina" file, NARA, Morrow, GA.

In late winter, the Park Service announced its intent to establish park headquarters in the former Bodie Island Coast Guard Station. A complex of several historic buildings, the station had evolved around the old Bodie Island Life-Saving Station, built in 1878 as one of the first of several life-saving stations constructed on the Outer Banks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1915, the U. S. Life-Saving Service and the Revenue Cutter Service were merged to create the U. S. Coast Guard, and in 1925 a new station was constructed near the old 1878 station. In May 1954, renovation began on the 1925 building for use as park headquarters, and it was occupied later that year. In 1955, the old 1878 life-saving station and the nearby 1916 boat house were relocated away from the encroaching shoreline and adapted as a residence for park staff.[526]

Also in 1954, the Coast Guard decommissioned the Little Kinnakeet Coast Guard Station and conveyed the buildings in that complex to the National Park Service. Like the Bodie Island station, Little Kinnakeet, which is located about ten miles north of Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, began as a life-saving station in 1873 as one of the first seven life-saving stations constructed on the Outer Banks in the early 1870s. A seperate kitchen was constructed in 1892, followed by a larger station in 1904.[527]

In May the Park Service reported to the commission that some $163,000 of the original $618,232 had been expended for land purchases while some 20,000 of 28,500 acres had been acquired. By then, the Park Service had filed several condemnations, although most were "friendly" cases necessary only to clear defective title. Still, the few non-negotiated disputes would remain in adjudication for some time as the court determined a fair value for the condemned properties. Meanwhile, NPS officials invited the commission to remain active to advise the park after its establishment, but it was only char-



FIGURE 40. View northwest of Bodie Island Coast Guard Station in April 1935, ten years after its original construction. In 1954, the building was adapted for use as park headquarters. (CAHA archives)

525. National Park Service, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area: A Report on Progress," March 20, 1954, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318221), "F9019—Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

526. By the early 21st century, the entire Bodie Island Coast Guard complex was again threatened by shoreline erosion and planning got underway to relocate both buildings to a site near the Bodie Island Lighthouse. See Joseph K. Opperman, *Bodie Island Coast Guard Station Historic Structure Report* and *Bodie Island Life-Saving Station and Boat House Historic Structure Report,* both published by the NPS in Atlanta in 2005.

527. The Chicamacomico Life-Saving Station was the first life-saving station established on the Outer Banks. Its five buildings, which are thought to comprise the nation's most-intact life-saving station, are now in private ownership, operating as a museum.

tered to serve during the land acquisition process and was dissolved when that process was completed.[528]

Oregon Inlet, Ferries, and Roads

In 1937 Conrad Wirth published an eloquent description of the primitive qualities of the Outer Banks at a time when much of the area could still not be reached by road. In fact, at the automobile service station at Whalebone, which was a small shack distinguished by the huge skeleton of a whale propped up nearby, the road south to Cape Hatteras simply ended. "Here," Wirth wrote, "the pavement swings to the right and leads into the village of Manteo about six miles to the west. Now you are at the point where the primitive begins. You drive off the road onto the sand, stop, and let about half of the air out or your tires, because the rest of the riving will be over the almost trackless beach."[529] Wirth went on to explain that Bankers depended on boats to get to the mainland, that their cars were mostly unlicensed and, considering the rough conditions, second-hand. Most were of little use "except for traveling from one part of the banks to another, unless one wishes to make the 60-mile trip up the beach and ferry over to where the highway begins near Manteo."[530]

This was how things remained until the late 1940s, when paved roads were first built to connect some of the villages on Hatteras Island. Later, Highway 12 was completed south from Whalebone to the ferry at Oregon Inlet, and in late 1952 a road was completed from there through Pea Island to the village of Hatteras. The romantic trail Wirth had followed in 1937 was nothing but a memory, and "Whalebone Station," sans the bones and station, had become "Whalebone Junction." If Wirth regretted this loss—as did at least a few Bankers—he was willing, if not eager, to push the key improvements in public access that facilitated the seashore's establishment, seeing that improved access reinforced the seashore's success.



FIGURE 41. View of Little Kinnakeet Coast Guard Station with original 1874 life-saving station at top center outside the compound fence, November 14,1951. (CAHA collection)

Almost immediately after establishment of the seashore, life on the Outer Banks began to change. Residents started to turn their homes into guest houses and began to build new restaurants, lodges, and other tourist facilities.[531] The success of the road to Hatteras spurred the Morehead Chamber of Commerce to announce plans in March 1953 to build a coastal highway that would include a ferry across Hatteras Inlet, a road down Oracoke Island, and another ferry from Ocracoke to the mainland.[532] Various components of such a plan were already underway and, as early as May 1953, the state-contracted operator of a two-car ferry at Hatteras Inlet opened a toll ferry with improved

528. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Nags Head, North Carolina," May 6-7, 1954, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. See also: "Group Ends Dare Meet," *The News and Observer* [Raleigh], May 10, 1954, 7 and "N.C." Seashore Commission with National Park Service Meets Jointly in Dare," *Coastland Times*, May 14, 1954, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives; and "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," May 6-7, 1954, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

529. Conrad L. Wirth, "Cape Hatteras Seashore," in Harlean James, ed., *American Planning and Civic Annual* (Washington, DC: American Planning and Civic Association, 1937), 98.

530. Ibid., 101.

531. Aycock Brown, "Building Booming on Hatteras with Establishment of Park," *Norfolk Virginian*-Pilot, February 13, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

532. "Morehead Chamber Advocates Coastal Highway," unknown paper, March 2, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 42. VIew of the 1878 Bodie Island Life-Saving Station and the 1916 boat house after they had been relocated and adapted for use as park housing. (CAHA archives)

facilities to carry several cars. The toll was five dollars one-way.[533]

The major problem was the bottleneck at Oregon Inlet where a fast-growing volume of visitors quickly overran the existing state ferry operation. The Park Service recognized the problem immediately, as did the Dare County Chamber of Commerce, who found a common cause in the search for improved facilities at Oregon Inlet. To alleviate the bottle neck, the Park Service, through the office of Orme Lewis, Assistant Secretary of Interior, contacted the Department of Defense to secure from it the service of a surplus Landing Craft Utility, better known as an "LCU," a WWII-era landing craft, for use as a civilian ferry.[534] The Navy agreed and in April 1953, it provided an LCU to the North Carolina State Highway Department for use at Oregon Inlet. The urgency with which all parties cooperated to address the problem was impressive, although no doubt spurred on by negative publicity and complaints from motorists who had been stranded on the south side of the inlet when the ferry contractor simply closed at the end of the day. Director Wirth thus interceded with the Navy on behalf of the State of North Carolina, which was unable to find and purchase a ferry boat of its own. The LCU remained a commissioned naval vessel subject to recall in the event of a national emergency, but it was leased by the state through the Park Service on behalf of the Navy.[535] The new ferry began service on May 1, 1953, after first being prepared for public use by being stripped of sensitive military gear.[536]

Even this type of aid annoyed some on the Outer Banks. Local writer Ben Dixon MacNeill wrote a sarcastic note to Representative Bonner complaining about the "free ferry service," apparently because it was eliminating a business opportunity for locals. Bonner met this complaint with his own annoyance—"Guilty as charged," he replied to MacNeill, for involving the Park Service in improving ferry service at Oregon Inlet. Without NPS support, Bonner said, there was no way that the state highway commission would have obtained a military vessel from the Navy, and the state simply did not have the funds to buy its own ferry. The main reason the scheme was possible was that there were other federal activities on the Outer Banks that needed unimpeded transportation across the inlet, and the service had to be free to them and to travelers because both the Park Service and the Navy insisted upon it. Tax payers, after all, had already paid for the LCU.[537]

Shortly after opening, this new ferry also proved inadequate to meet increased need.[538] Two more ferries were thus obtained through the help of the Park Service and put to work by the summer of 1954.[539] The state highway commission was very pleased by this aid. These three military landing craft were subsequently christened in honor of two North Carolina governors, William B. Umstead and

533. "Hatteras-Oracoke Car Ferry Begins Schedules on May 1," *The Coastland Times,* May 1, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
534. Orme Lewis, Assistant Secretary of Interior, Letter to the Secretary, Department of Defense, March 17, 1953, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2210 (January-December 1953), Special Collections, UNC.
535. Lynn Nisbet, "Hatteras Seashore Park has Acquired Most Needed Lands," *Daily Dispatch Bureau*, August 15, 1953, and "Park Service Gets Ferry for Inlet," *The Coastland Times,* April 17, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
536. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to H.W. Jordan, Chairman, State Highway and Public Works Commission, April 21, 1953. in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2210 (January-December 1953), Special Collections, UNC.
537. Ben Dixon MacNeill, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 19 and 27, 1953; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Ben Dixon MacNeill, March 20, 1953; All in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2210 (January-December 1953), Special Collections, UNC.
538. "Oregon Inlet's New Ferry Boat Also Inadequate," *The Coastland Times,* August 14, 1953, Newspaper clipping collection, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA archives.

R. Gregg Cherry, and National Park Service Director, Conrad L. Wirth.

On May 9, 1954, an op-ed entitled "The Ferry Scramble" by Manteo publicist Aycock Brown was published in the *State Magazine*. In the piece, Brown criticized the bottlenecks and delays on the road from the mainland to Manteo and the Outer Banks caused by the ferries at the Alligator River and at Croatan Sound as well as the congestion caused by the ferry at Oregon Inlet. Brown said it was the same problem as in the previous year and that the state should have fixed the ferry problem before improving the roads.[540] In 1955, the state asked Wirth to help it obtain a fourth ferry. The justification, according to Assistant Secretary Lewis, was that traffic had increased

> far beyond expectations due to the expanded activities associated with visitation to the National Seashore area, the operation of the Coast Guard installation located there, the activities of the Fish and Wildlife Service of this Department, the need to keep communications open to the villages on Hatteras Island, and increased activities associated with the national defense in the Cape Hatteras area.[541]

Eventually, congestion at the bottleneck of Oregon Inlet became so bad that a bridge was the only solution. Because the traffic jams caused such a



FIGURE 43. In 1957 the state of North Carolina began to provide a free ferry service to Ocracoke Island from Hatteras village. The biggest transportation problem of the time was the bottlenecks caused when there were too few ferries. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, August 1957. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, August 1957, CAHA archives)

539. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to A. H. Graham, Chairman, State Highway and Public Works Commission, March 8 and 19, 1954, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2211 (January-March 1954), Special Collections, UNC.
540. Aycock Brown, Press Release dated May 12, 1953, with editorial from "The Ferry Scramble," *The State Magazine*, May 9, 1953 (279409) [Electronic Record: www.archives.gov]; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
541. A.H. Graham, Highway Commissioner, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 21 1955; and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orme Lewis, Letter to Secretary of Defense, April 20, 1955; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2214 (January-March 1955), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 44. Travel to the Outer Banks was inconvenient enough in the 1950s that North Carolina political figures arranged to use military helicopters whenever possible. (Photograph by U.S. Coast Guard, July 1955. Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Box 47, Folder 2216. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

headache for the Park Service, and because a bridge would benefit other federal agencies working on the Outer Banks, Congress authorized the Park Service to help fund the needed bridge. Completed in 1963, the bridge was named after Representative Herbert Bonner and was one of his last major achievements before his death in 1965.

The Wright Memorial Bridge, the first bridge to the Outer Banks, had been constructed across Currituck Sound in 1930, and in 1954 construction began on a second bridge to the Outer Banks. Completed in 1956, that bridge crossed Croatan Sound to link the mainland directly with Roanoke Island. Named in honor of the late Governor William B. Ulmstead, the new bridge shortened the travel time from thirty-five minutes by ferry to just four or five by automobile.[542]

While transportation improvements continued to be made in areas north of Hatteras Inlet, residents of Ocracoke Island remained concerned about the NPS attitude toward building a road on their island. In late August 1953, the Ocracoke Civic Club, claiming to speak for most households on the island, criticized Director Wirth's "we-would-not-encourage-it-but-neither-would-we-oppose-it" attitude regarding extension of the road from Hatteras to Ocracoke village via a ferry linking the south end of Hatteras to the north end of Ocracoke Island. Wirth, the club complained, viewed Ocracoke Island as "a hide-away for the escape type of touring visitor," but "we who are residents here are after all the creators of any community that may exist. And if economic conditions do not permit any community at all, where is the picturesqueness to which the escapist tourist escapes?"[543]

Lindsay Warren, often consulted by islanders though no longer their congressman, attempted to address such concerns. He explained that Wirth included in his October 1952 letter to the people of the Outer Banks a provision committing the Park Service to negotiate the right-of-way for a road on Ocracoke Island, and if the state failed to build it, the federal government would. He assured the residents of Ocracoke that the Park Service was not opposed to a road there and, in fact, considered it a necessity.[544]

The difficulties in constructing a paved road on the island's sandy soils led some in the Park Service, including Assistant Chief Naturalist H. Raymond Gregg, to recommend that the Service consider beach-vehicle rentals. In January 1953, Gregg noted that of the many recreational activities a park might be expected to furnish, jeeps were a possiblity for Ocracoke Island, exactly because there were no roads beyond the village itself. Gregg thought few visitors would operate personal vehicles outside of the village even after good ferry connections were established, and so jeep rentals might be needed to allow visitors to drive up the beaches. However, on Hatteras, he wanted to see rigidly enforced restrictions on operating motor vehicles off roadways or on beaches except for specific purposes in well-defined areas.[545] A similar and contemporaneous report, however, by Albert S. Burns, a landscape architect, made no mention of beach-driving among expected activities, even for fishing. Burns also

542.1957 Souvenir Program for the Third Annual Dare Coast Pirates' Jamboree, April 26-27, 1957, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA.

543.Ocracoke Civic Club, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, Comp., August, 20 1953, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 461 (August 1953), Special Collections, UNC.

544.Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Mr. I.S. Garrish, Ocracoke, August, 28 1953, in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 13, Folder 461 (August 1953), Special Collections, UNC.

545.Assistant Chief Naturalist H. Raymond Gregg, Memorandum to Assistant Director R.F. Lee, January 21, 1953, *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library.

thought a road unlikely to be built on Ocracoke Island. Both were wrong.

On March 6, 1955, Governor Luther H. Hodges flew on a military helicopter to Ocracoke Island, where he announced to 250 islanders that he was making $300,000 available to construct a road across the island. Hodges acknowledged receiving letters from people all over the country in opposition to the road. However, he said he was ready "to do something for Ocracoke" because "you must have outlets." Knowing the road would bring change, the governor asked residents "to try to preserve the traits of character which made you great and simple—to me these are synonymous." Former park opponent Stanley Wahab of Ocracoke, district vice-president of the All Seashore Highway Association, was credited for bringing attention to the matter.[546] Director Wirth had promised the island's residents in 1952 that the Park Service would not oppose a road, and that promise was kept, but because the agency had title to most of the land on the island, it intended to have a say in where the road was built.[547]

Scattered protests against the planned road continued in 1956. That September, students from the University of Pennsylvania conducted a survey that indicated popular support nationally for leaving both Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands roadless and without bridges. The students sent their survey to Director Wirth and Governor Hodges and the publicized survey immediately aroused a hostile reaction from the Dare County Commissioners. Park Superintendent Allyn Hanks moved to calm local concerns and told the commissioners that the Park Service viewed the survey as "a private project for educational purposes." Although the agency sought to keep the area in its natural state, it also had to provide for the convenience of visitors.[548]

The county commissioners later passed a resolution condemning the student survey, urged roads to be



FIGURE 45. A group of North Carolina politicians, NPS staff, and military personnel posing in front of a Coast Guard helicopter on the beach at Cape Hatteras. Rep. Herbert C. Bonner, left of center, strikes a pose while looking at Governor Luther H. Hodges. (Photograph by U.S. Coast Guard, July 1955. Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Box 47, Folder 2216. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

paved the distance of all the islands, and termed a bridge across Oregon Inlet "an ultimate necessity" for the livelihood of the seven villages of Hatteras. At the same time the commissioners expressed opposition to any regulation of the villages by the Park Service except in a purely advisory role, even thought the Park Service had no authority to "regulate" the villages, which were excluded from the national seashore.[549] Clearly NPS officials had to tread lightly in any controversy to avoid misunderstandings.

An important boost in the Park Service's local reputation came with an NPS announcement on October 19, 1956, that $100,000 was being made available for long-range efforts to rebuild and stabilize the national seashore's protective dunes. The purpose, coordinated with state and county agencies engaged in similar work, was to protect highways and other improvements. These plans required substantial annual allotments to continue the program "until an unbroken barrier is achieved and to maintain the results on a sustaining basis."[550]

546. Woodrow Price, "Oracoke Island Road Project Announced by Governor Hodges," *The News and* Observer [Raleigh], March 6, 1955, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
547. E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, March 9, 1955, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 25, Cape Hatteras Correspondence 1954-1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.
548. "Survey Stirs Dare Citizens," News and Observer, September 9, 1956, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
549. "Group Accepts Dare Resignation," *News and Observer,* October 7, 1956, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
550. "Park Service to Spend $100,000 to Combat Sea Tides," *Coastland Times*, October 19, 1956, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 46. The caption that accompanied this photograph in the June 1957 monthly report for the seashore read: "Three miles of steel matting and eleven of black-top paving now make it possible to drive a conventional car from Hatteras Inlet to Ocracoke village."(NPS photograph by Verde Watson. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Repor, June 1957, CAHA archives)

Building a road on Ocracoke Island presented a variety of challenges, especially given the unstable and sandy soils of the island. By March 1957, Governor Hodges had become much concerned over the cost and status of the Ocracoke road and its "terminal inadequacies," that is, problems with sustaining paved surfaces, especially at the inlets. He wanted to know "whether or not the Service could speed sand stabilization as a means to protect the road feature."[551] Dune stabilization was not a sufficiently rapid solution and in June 1957, Director Wirth solicited from the Navy a loan of fifteen thousand steel landing mats to use over a three-mile section of road on the northern end of Ocracoke Island. The mats were needed to help move island traffic between the end of the paved road from Ocracoke Village to the landing where ferries departed to Hatteras Island.[552]

On April 25, 1957, as the state struggled to complete the road on Ocracoke, Director Wirth, Regional Director Cox, and Superintendent Hanks attended a dedication ceremony for the William B. Umstead Memorial Bridge, which spanned Croatan Sound to connect Roanoke Island with the mainland at Manns Harbor. This bridge, along with a similar one spanning the Alligator River, allowed much easier access to the Outer Banks from the west, especially for those living in Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill.[553] The Park Service was not involved in constructing this bridge, but the presence of key NPS officials at the dedication was a strong signal to local politicians and their constituents that the Park Service was genuinely committed to improved transportation links to the national seashore.

Once the road on Ocracoke was completed, the North Carolina Highway Commission began ferry service linking Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands, using one of the LCUs from Oregon Inlet. As it had at Oregon Inlet, ferry service to Ocracoke was quickly overwhelmed and, in March 1958, Congressman Bonner and the state yet again sought Director Wirth's aid to obtain another two LCUs from the Navy.[554] The state also authorized ferry service from Ocracoke Island to Cedar Island and by the time the national seashore was formally dedicated in April 1958, most of the elements of the modern road, bridge, and ferry system linking the park and the mainland were in place.[555]

Management and Interpretation in the First Years

The Park Service had some experience in managing coastal park areas, including Acadia National Park in Maine and Olympic National Park in Washington State, but these were not "recreational" beach parks. Despite long involvement in the Outer Banks, the

551. Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, March 25, 1957, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
552. "Many Work Willingly to Bring Oracoke Island in Touch with Outside," June 7, 1957, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.
553. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, April 1957, CAHA archives.
554. Director of Highways, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 17, 1958; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, March 24, 1958; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2222 (March-April 1958), Special Collections, UNC.
555. "Oracoke Ferry Service Approved," *The Virginian*-Pilot, January 4, 1958, 13, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

Park Service needed a better understanding of the various resource-protection issues of a rich coastal region prone to great natural and human-induced change. It thus began a coordinated research program to cover many areas of geology and the physical sciences, including problems relating to ground water, littoral processes, zoology, botany, and ecology. It also began to conduct studies in archeology, ethnology, and history. All of these studies were intended to aid park development and program planning.[556]

In September 1953, Chief Park Ranger G. P. Hultman, in reviewing a field-operations manual, made several cogent observations about security and conservation at the seashore and how to further these through interpretation. Many factors limited his recommendations, including that the land acquisition program was far from complete and that wildlife and waterfowl protection, including hunting, was an unsettled issue, and, therefore, "ultimate problems cannot be visualized." Hultman was nevertheless insightful in observing that commercial development over the last decade had greatly reduced the area available for public seashore recreation, that plant growth was far more extensive than during the era of grazing, and that "the power and changing characteristics of sea and wind seem to be greatly under-estimated." Indeed, they were, as major changes in the management of erosion control in the early 1970s would prove. Moreover, Hultman further recognized that "driving conditions, including sand and water on the very pavement serving as access to the area, are aggravated by unlimited access to the beach" and that the ability of park visitors to drive off-road at will was likely to become an increasing problem.[557]

Local residents were quick to criticize the National Park Service and to offer assistance. To some, for example, NPS interpretive exhibits seemed "unsubstantiated," as Dora Padgett complained in



FIGURE 47. Allyn F. Hanks, the first Superintendent of the seashore, 1954-1957. (NPS Photograph, October 1957. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, October 1957, CAHA archives)

November 1953. Her family had deep roots on Ocracoke Island. The park included Padgett as a reviewer when the next historical brochure on the area was issued.[558] Two months later, Robert L. Terrell wrote the park to discuss local interest in creating a system of markers to provide information about the various shipwrecks that could be seen along the Cape Hatteras shoreline. He hoped it would improve park relations with locals. "There is but little doubt," he said, "that the acquisition of so much of their land by the Park Service has created a feeling of bitterness among those living on the Outer Banks." Terrill hoped his marker project might allow "the people of the Park Service and those who are the natives of the Outer Banks" to work "hand-in-hand with one another towards a common goal." He added that this might "lead to the creation of a spirit of unity which today is sadly lacking on the coastland."[559] The Park Service responded favorably to this proposal and sustained engagement with the public, especially local citizens and groups,

556. Assistant Director Ronald F. Lee, Memorandum to Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Coordinated Field Studies, Cape Hatteras," April 16, 1953, and report entitled "Preliminary Outline of Coordinated Research Studies for Cape Hatteras National Seashore," Apirl 1, 1953, both in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

557. G.P. Hultman, Chief Park Ranger, Memorandum to Project Manager, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, entitled "Review of FO-54-53, Securing Protection and Conservation Objectives through Interpretation," September 22, 1953, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "K1815 Interpretative Activities Services, 1952-159" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

558. Ben H. Thompson, Memorandum to Mr. Evison entitled "Mrs. Dora Padgett's Interest in the History of the Hatteras Project Area," November 16, 1953, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

559. Robert L. Terrill, Letter to Director, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, January 17, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

became *de rigueur* for park personnel, especially the park superintendent.

On March 8, 1954, Allyn F. Hanks arrived at Cape Hatteras to assume his duties as the first operational superintendent of the seashore.[560] Hanks established his offices at Fort Raleigh NHS while the land acquisition office remained under the separate management of Charles Marshall in Manteo. With Hanks's arrival, the co-management of Fort Raleigh and Cape Hatteras began. As prelude to Hanks's arrival, on October 15, 1953, Superintendent Robert H. Atkinson ended his tour as manager of the Fort Raleigh site, having accepted a promotion to superintendent of Fort McHenry National Monument in Baltimore. The transition was a bitter-sweet affair for the staff of Fort Raleigh who felt "a pang of sadness because of his leaving."[561]

Hanks was born in Logan, Utah, and claimed kinship with Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln. He joined the Park Service in 1928 after attending forestry and administrative management courses at the University of Montana, Colorado State Agricultural College, and the University of Michigan. His first assignment was as a ranger at Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks in Wyoming. Hanks also served with the Coast Guard during World War II and in 1947 was appointed superintendent of Theodore Roosevelt National Monument in North Dakota. From there he served as assistant superintendent at Everglades National Park in Florida before his appointment as superintendent at Cape Hatteras.[562] Hanks was a popular superintendent, and according to the *Coastland Times,* made many local friends. While at the seashore his work mostly concerned park planning.[563]

One of Hank's first responsibilities would be to oversee the transfer of Cape Hatteras headquarters offices from Fort Raleigh to the old Bodie Island Coast Guard Station on June 21, 1954.[564] As noted earlier, the Park Service obtained this facility by trade with the Coast Guard for the Gooseville Gun Club property, but during the course of Mission 66 developments, park headquarters would be permanently relocated back to Fort Raleigh. In October 1957, Hanks was promoted and transferred to Washington, DC, where he became the first Chief, Branch of Visitor Protection in the new Division of Ranger Activities.[565] Hanks retired in 1964 after several years as superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park.

Another management task assumed by Hanks was liaison with the newly appointed Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. The commission met at Nags Head for its first, formal, working session on May 6-7, 1954. Its new chairman was State Director of Conservation and Development Ben E. Douglas, who had assumed his position after the departure of George Ross. All other members were also newly appointed. After the many tensions with previous commissioners, NPS personnel were understandably "apprehensive" about attending the meeting. Regional Director Cox even told Director Wirth that he had hoped to postpone the meeting in fear that it would "turn into a free-for-all re-hashing of old issues." However, Douglas, whom Cox called "a forceful personality," insisted on the meeting. Cox even asked Wirth to attend the meeting to help "keep the proceedings in hand," but Wirth declined to attend and sent Assistant Director Thomas J. Allen instead.[566] Cox's concerns were soon put to rest, however, as the new commission had a different agenda than its predecessor.

During this meeting, the commission returned to Stanley Wahab deeds for land that he had conveyed to the Park Service on condition it be used for park purposes but which ended up not being included in the national seashore. Clark Stratton, as previously

560.Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, March 10, 1954, CAHA archives.
561.Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, November 6, 1953, CAHA archives.
562."Seashore Park Manager Named; Begins March 1: Allyn F. Hanks Will Be Administrative Official of Banks Area and Fort Raleigh," *The Coastland Times*, February 5, 1954; "Stratton Gets Transfer from Seashore Park: Charles Marshall to Take Over Management of Land Acquisition Office," *The Coastland Times,* February 5, 1954, "Seashore Recreational Director Named," *Raleigh News and Observer,* February 25, 1954, all in Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.
563."Hanks Departs for Washington Post; Gibbs is Successor," *The Coastland Times,* November 1, 1957, Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.
564.Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, July 15, 1954, CAHA archives.
565.Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, November 13, 1957, CAHA archives.
566.Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to the Director entitled "Meeting of North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," April 6, 1954, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

noted, then advised the commission on the status of land acquisition. On other matters, Douglas thanked the Service, represented also by Assistant Director Thomas J. Allen and Regional Director Elbert Cox, for helping his department by getting four boats from the Army for use in commercial fisheries work. During the meeting Superintendent Hanks pledged to cooperate with the commission at all times.[567]

By May 1954, the Park Service was working on a new master plan for the national seashore, since the old plan begun in the 1930s was predicated on a much-larger, less-developed park than was actually created. A common theme was the focus that both plans placed upon issues essential to a beach management program. Regarding interpretive matters, the new Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler commented on the draft plan to note the omission of facts concerning the history of piracy and the Civil War. He was also critical that the Park Service not repeat the story that the Outer Banks were once completely forested and that logging and overgrazing had turned the landscape into a wasteland, which, Kahler believed, Charles Porter's 1938 study had refuted.[568] It was increasingly clear, however, that it was Porter's conclusions that were flawed and not those of the master-planning team. Nineteenth-century logging operations on the Outer Banks have since been documented, and storms routinely expose the stumps from lost forests at many locations.[569]

The Park Service also soon began to create a museum at the old Cape Hatteras Light Station, a complex of buildings that included the famous lighthouse, the double-keeper's quarters, the princpal-keeper's quarters, and a brick oil house.[570] Ronald Lee, NPS Chief of Interpretation, sought advice and assistance from Dr. Christopher Crittenden, the Director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, in establishing a maritime-history exhibit for the seashore.[571] His department offered much advice on development of historical exhibits for the seashore.

Solid cooperation between state and the Park Service helped clear the way for NPS officials to concentrate on matters beyond land acquisition, including transportation improvements, as discussed above, and on other management concerns. President Eisenhower's budget request to Congress for fiscal year 1955 included $270,350 in total funds to operate Cape Hatteras National Seashore. These funds would allow the Park Service to proceed with management, protection, maintenance, rehabilitation and construction projects at the seashore. Director Wirth thought this budget "will provide a sound basis for the administration of this great area," but it contained no funds for research. Thus, in May 1954, Wirth found himself writing Paul Mellon for funds to support a major study concerning beach erosion.[572]

The National Park Service was fully committed to erosion control on the Outer Banks, but it was also concerned about the underlying science. Despite long involvement in the area, the Service felt its knowledge of natural coastal processes insufficient for management purposes. Thus, the Service became involved in a joint project with the Office of Naval Research and the Coastal Studies Institute of Louisiana State University (LSU) under the direction of the eminent geologist and dean of the graduate school Richard J. Russell. NPS officials asked the institute to conduct a study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, because the institute had already conducted similar detailed coastal studies

567. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, Nags Head, North Carolina," May 6-7, 1954, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives. See also: "Group Ends Dare Meet," *The News and Observer* [Raleigh], May 10, 1954, 7 and "N.C." Seashore Commission with National Park Service Meets Jointly in Dare," *Coastland Times*, May 14, 1954, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives; and "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," May 6-7, 1954, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

568. Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler, Memorandum to Chief of Interpretation entitled "Master Plan Development Outline-Cape Hatteras National Seashore," May 13, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

569. Personal communication of park historian, Doug Stover, October 12, 2007.

570. All of these buildings, including the lighthouse, were relocated further inland in 1999.

571. Chief of Interpretation Ronald F. Lee, Memorandum to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, June 11, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

572. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Mr. Paul Mellon, May 11, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

for the Navy. In collaboration with the Office of Naval Research, scientists from other institutions, including Henry Stetson and John M. Zeigler of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, were also expected to participate.

The purpose of the study was to develop conservation data to use in managing and interpreting the seashore's natural resources. The research

> will lead to fundamental knowledge of beach processes; wave and current actions; the origin and modification of the Outer Banks; the opening, closing, and migration of inlets; the stabilization of dunes and beaches; the botany of the area; the ecology of the area; and the story of the Indian and the white man along the Outer Banks.

Wirth hoped the Avalon and Old Dominion Foundations would help fund the project, though he regretted asking in light of the enormous support they had already provided. According to the director, the project had come up so suddenly that the funds required, some $25,000, could not be budgeted.[573] Paul Mellon agreed to the request.

In August 1954, with funding from Mellon secured, the Park Service announced the beginning of a major study of natural and cultural features of the Cape Hatteras seashore area. The study sought specifically to investigate the effect of storms and recent vegetative changes as well as geologic changes as the Outer Banks slowly migrated toward the mainland and how these changes might help predict future trends.[574] Under the direction of Russell, LSU geographer Gary S. Dunbar and archeologist William G. Haag were contracted as lead investigators to research published and archival collections pertaining to the area. By 1957, this investment produced two reports, the first by Gary S. Dunbar and Fred Knives, *Geographical History of the Carolinas* (NPS Technical Report 8, Part A), Wirth praised as "a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the history of the Outer Banks." Although he noted "the capable studies of Mr. Stick and others" this work was important "because it provides a scholarly and, therefore, a firm foundation for the preparation of National Park Service literature and for the conduct of our interpretive program."[575] In 1958, Dunbar refined his work further by publishing his *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*.[576] This well-regarded work has informed two generations of scholars working on seashore-related projects. The book focused upon the historical occupation of the Banks, the source, numbers, and distribution of its inhabitants and changes in land use while tracking the long-isolated region's broader cultural evolution.

As the Park Service began these studies, David Stick was writing his own book on the history of the area, and briefly the interests of the two parties clashed. NPS officials, especially Ronald Lee, intervened quickly to steer the parties away from competitive conflict and toward a sharing of their respective research. Lee also assured Stick that the assignment of historian Albert Dillahunty to Fort Raleigh would not conflict with Stick's purpose as Dillahunty was going to be too concerned with managing the park and planning interpretive materials for Cape Hatteras. Stick probably had some reason to be concerned with Dillahunty's arrival as local press reports had described the work of the new historian as being "to move forward with its project to collect and assemble the history of settlement, development and maritime activities of the 'Bankers'," which overlapped with Stick's work. Nevertheless, Lee assured Stick that the two projects will have a "mutually helpful character" and that Stick's own work "will be both scholarly and of prime usefulness to the National Park Service in its interpretive program."[577] Stick eventually published his book as *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*,

573.Ibid.

574.NPS press release entitled "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area to be Surveyed by Coastal Studies Institute," August 13, 1954, "Proposed National Seashore, July 1950-August 1954 (Part 2)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA archives.

575.Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., January 10, 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019—Special Funds-Donations" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

576.Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.

577.Lambert Davis, Director, The University of North Carolina Press, Letter to Ronald F. Lee, October 15, 1954, and Ronald F. Lee, Chief of Interpretation, Letter to David Stick, The Dare Press, November 12, 1954, both in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Washington, DC, and "Park Historian is Now on Job for Seashore: Albert Dillahunty Located in Dare County in Connection with Project," *Coastland Times*, September 10, 1954, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives.

1984-1958, which was written for a popular audience and is still in print. The NPS-contracted study, on the other hand, was intended for park management purposes and for an academic audience. As a result Dunbar avoided certain topics in his research, including, as he says, "[David] Stick on certain marine matters, [Maurice A.] Mook on historic Indians, [William P.] Cumming on Cartography, and [David B.] Quinn on early explorations and the Roanoke venture."[578]

The Old Dominion Foundation also provided funds to underwrite an agreement signed on January 11, 1955, between the National Park Service and the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, a non-profit association that supports the national parks. This agreement, authorized by the Historic Sites Act, allowed the Service and Eastern National to cooperate in promoting mutually desired goals for historic preservation and education relating to the national seashore. Eastern National received initial funding of $8,400 and the Park Service expected to receive usable documents for its interpretive programs.[579] Vice-President Ernest Brooks, Jr., stated that the Old Dominion Foundation "is glad to furnish the necessary support in this particular case because of its interest in and prior support of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project."[580] In thanking the foundation for its support, Director Wirth mentioned that the Association "contemplates utilizing the specialized knowledge of local writers acquainted with local history." Wirth cited as examples author David Stick and journalist Ben Dixon MacNeill.[581]

A year later, the Old Dominion Foundation supported another NPS cooperative project with the



FIGURE 48. Park Rangers disseminate information at a kiosk on , July 1957. Information gleaned from scholarly studies educated both NPS management and visitors about the coastal environment. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, July 1957, CAHA archives)

University of North Carolina Press and the British Museum in London.[582] With foundation funding, the UNC Press agreed to reproduce a portfolio of watercolor images painted in America between 1584 and 1586 by artist, scholar, and Lost Colony Governor John White. The images were and are considered the most important graphic depictions of native North Americans in the sixteenth century. According to Director Wirth, the portfolio was intended to bring "a distinctive contribution to the public appreciation of the fauna, flora, and Indian culture of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore area at the time of the Roanoke Island expeditions sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh." The White drawings and

578.Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*, v. See also David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1984-1958* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), Maurice A. Mook, "Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound," William P. Cumming, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map," *American Historical Review*, vol. 45, no. 1 (October, 1939): 82-89, and several works by David B. Quinn, including "The Failure of Raleigh's American Colonies," in *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd*, ed. by H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody, and D. B. Quinn, (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1949) and David B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1885-1590,* 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955). This project also included a botanical survey, which included recommendations on sand stabilization, as well as a study by Frederick B. Kniffen who investigated aboriginal history, early settlement, piracy, shipping and economics, and the Civil War.

579.Copy of cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and Eastern National Park and Monument Association, January 11, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR. Incidentally, Herbert E. Kahler, retired NPS Chief Historian, signed the agreement on behalf of Eastern National.

580.Ernest Brooks, Jr., Vice President, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, December 23, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

581.Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., January 7, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

582.Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., Vice President, Old Dominion Foundation, May 20, 1955, and Ernest Brooks, Jr., Vice President, Old Dominion Foundation, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, June 14, 1955, both in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

maps conveniently related to the entire seashore area, but an agreement to use the images had to be negotiated with the British Museum, which owned them. Amazingly, they had not been reproduced in color since first appearing as engravings by Theodor De Bry to accompany Thomas Harriot's influential account of the Raleigh expeditions, published in 1590. The university press was required to pay part of the transaction fees upfront, although its costs could not be recovered until after publication. Either it would have to take out a loan or receive a grant. The grant ensured a timely publication, a certain number of copies of which were to be supplied to the Park Service for official use.[583] Unfortunately, it took much longer than the Park Service or the university press expected, with technical problems apparently delaying the project for several years.[584] The work was finally published in 1964 as *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590,* edited by Paul Hulton and David B. Quinn.[585]

Along with these studies, which included ongoing botanical and zoological studies, NPS officials also renewed interest in a more-thorough archeological survey of the seashore. Although noted NPS archeologist Arthur Kelley and historian Charles Porter had found evidence for potential archeological sites during a trip in the 1930s, neither NPS nor Smithsonian research had firm documentation for such sites and no systematic survey had yet been completed. As a result, another important survey was completed during this period: William G. Haag's *The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina* (NPS Technical Report 8, Part B), which synthesized existing archeological knowledge and provided new survey information.

Archeology could also inform interpretation of another important and yet untapped resource, which was the numerous shipwrecks along the Outer Banks. Off Cape Hatteras, the cold waters of the Labrador Current collided with the warm waters of the Gulf Stream, creating strong rip-currents, and in the days when maritime communication was limited to visual signals, stormy weather could be disastrous. As a result, at least two thousand ships and an unknown number of lives were lost along the Outer Banks since the first recorded wreck in 1526. Most of these occurred in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras' Diamond Shoals, and with good reason, sailors had long called the area "the graveyard of the Atlantic." In 1952 David Stick published a successful and popular book *Graveyard of the Atlantic*, and perhaps stimulated by this work, the Park Service briefly considered the possibilities of underwater archeology off Cape Hatteras.[586]

In the 1950s, underwater archeology was not widely practiced, although the basic technology for scuba diving had been developed during World War II. In a memorandum to the chief of the NPS Division of Interpretation in April 1955, NPS Chief Historian Herbert Kahler outlined how an underwater archeological investigation might be pursued, beginning with traditional historical methods to discover any records of wrecks that were of sufficient historical interest or likely to contain artifacts of significant interpretive value to justify further inquiry. With that information, the Park Service could salvage "complete vessels of known historic interest," including the famous Civil-War ironclad *USS Monitor*, which sank during a storm in 1862, and perhaps "objects of antiquity and historical interest from sunken vessels, such as period piece bronze cannons. Suitable items of this nature can be used in museum displays in any of our areas to which they are pertinent."[587]

Not until the 1960s, however, did the Park Service establish a program for underwater archeology,

583.Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., Vice President, Old Dominion Foundation, July 1, 1955, and Lambert Davis, Director, University of North Carolina Press, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, June 23, 1955, both in Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

584.Ronald F. Lee, Chief, Division of Interpretation, Letter to Lambert Davis, Director, University of North Carolina Press, November 9, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

585.See Paul Hulton and David B. Quinn, ed., *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590* (London: The British Museum, 1964). According to the University of North Carolina Press, the reproduction was done in France "using the techniques of collotype printing in color and pochoir, the application of secondary colors by hand, using foil stencils. The resulting image is in fact a watercolor on a printed base." The difficulty of the production method meant that the publication had to be a limited edition and only 620 copies were printed. The $225 book sold out within months of publication. In early 2006, rare book-sellers were asking a thousand dollars for an original copy.

586.See David Stick,*Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952).

587.Chief Historian, Memorandum to Chief, Division of Interpretation entitled "Underwater Archeology at Cape Hatteras," April 15, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

which was a nascent academic field in the 1950s with no major U. S. academic institution actively engaged in the enterprise. The Park Service itself lacked any previous experience in the area and turned to the Navy for advice in determining the location of wrecks near Cape Hatteras National Seashore and the degree of difficulty of any sort of salvage operation. A lieutenant in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations "promised to study its files on the Fort Caroline project and also discuss the possibility of similar operations at Cape Hatteras."

What underwater project the Navy was involved in concerning Fort Carolina National Memorial (established in 1950) is unknown but may have involved a search for the site of the French fort whose precise location on the banks of the St. Johns River in Florida has never been determined.[588] A week later Kahler reported to Lee that writer Ben Dixon MacNeill was also looking for the *Monitor*, and that he even "had two divers on hand to see if they can locate it for him." MacNeill was unsuccessful, however, "due to bad weather."[589] NPS staff thought that interpretive displays should be planned in the event that any artifacts from the *Monitor* were recovered, but the wreck site was not discovered until 1973 and it was 2001 before the ship itself was actually salvaged.

While little came from this early interest in archeology, the desire to interpret maritime history at the first national seashore remained strong. In July 1955, Walter E. Fowler of Charlottesville, Virginia, wrote Director Wirth about the possibility of establishing a museum at the park to feature a beached "Liberty Ship." Fowler was interested in establishing a private memorial association at Cape Hatteras to honor the Merchant Marine seamen lost during World Wars I and II. Fowler thought such a memorial "would be a Park attraction of interest and very appropriate to the scene." He wanted to vest ownership and control of the memorial in the National Park Service.[590] The Park Service was wary of this proposal for a number of reasons. Acting Director Ben H. Thompson politely cautioned Fowler that preserving an old ship was "exceedingly expensive" and it might be more practicable to establish such a memorial at a major seaport which could help "in meeting the continuing cost of maintenance."[591] Fowler, however, persisted in pressing the Park Service for a definitive policy statement to explain why it was so reluctant to embrace his Liberty Ship proposal.

In December 1955, Division of Interpretation Chief Ronald Lee explained NPS policy to Fowler. "Each area of the National Park System is set aside to preserve for the people certain specific parts of their national heritage," Lee began. "To carry out its obligations," he continued, "the National Park Service endeavors to keep the development and use of the parks in line with the features they preserve." At Cape Hatteras, Lee noted, that purpose was "to preserve for public enjoyment an unspoiled example of Atlantic coastal beach." Lee acknowledged that enjoyment of the beach might be increased for visitors interested in learning about the natural and human forces that pertained to it.

Small museums and other interpretive devices concentrating on such aspects of the seashore were thus appropriate for the park's purposes. Unfortunately, Lee concluded, "the Liberty Ship Museum would be an intrusion because Cape Hatteras has been traditionally a place shunned by merchant shipping. The maritime story appropriate to Cape Hatteras is of shipwreck, rescue, navigation aids and related specific events occurring close by." Lee also turned away any notion Fowler had of establishing a monumental structure at Cape Hatteras for the Merchant Marine. Thus, while Lee supported the idea of a suitable Liberty Ship exhibit, he said the Park Service could not support this exhibit at Cape Hatteras or at any other then existing national park.

588. Details of the Navy's underwater project at Fort Caroline National Memorial are unknown. Acting Historian Charles W. Porter, III, writing to Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler (in care of the Regional Director, Region One, on NPS letterhead stamped "confidential") noted that "there should be no publicity regarding this matter as the Navy may want to have the operation classified as before." See Acting Historian Charles W. Porter, III, Letter to Herbert E. Kahler, c/o Regional Director, Region One, June 8, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

589. Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler, Memorandum to Ronald F. Lee entitled "Programs of Ben Dixon MacNeilland Dave Stick," June 16, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

590. Walter E. Fowler, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, July 26, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

591. Ben H. Thompson, Acting Director, Letter to Walter E. Fowler, August 9, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Washington, DC.



FIGURE 49. The derelict Liberty ship *Antonin Dvorak* struck shore south of Little Kinnakeet on Hatteras Island at 1:40 pm on March 28, 1959. The vessel had been in tow when set adrift by strong northeast winds. NPS interpreters willingly explained such shipwrecks to visitors, but most firmly opposed plans to deliberately sink ships off the coast as a tourist attraction. (NPS photograph, March 29, 1959. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, March 1959, CAHA archives)

Again, he urged Fowler to investigate a major seaport as more suitable venue.[592]

With this determination, the Park Service ruled out all subsequent maritime exhibits at Cape Hatteras National Seashore that did not relate directly to the area's history. With the archeological investigation and salvage of actual wrecks years away, if they ever happened at all, park boosters proposed another idea that horrified NPS historians and interpreters. In late July 1958, the North Carolina Seashore Commission asked Congressman Bonner to support a plan to have the Park Service sink surplus government ships off the shore of Hatteras Island. Visible remains of most of then existing shipwrecks had all but disappeared and the commission worried that seashore visitors would not have sufficient visual evidence of what the wrecks looked like. The Seashore Commission was sure that sinking modern ships off the Hatteras coast would be good for tourism.[593]

The Park Service took an immediate and decisive stand against this plan. Park Naturalist Verde Watson remarked frankly that "I sincerely hope the Park Service does all possible to keep any such action from ever taking place. If it does come to pass, I hope that I as an interpreter am not here to explain such utterly silly doings to the public." Watson went on to say that there would probably be more "scoffers among the visitors than approvers."[594]

Director Wirth told Bonner that "the wrecked steel ships would become a hazard to navigation along the coast, especially to small vessels, and, in any case ships would break down, too, creating more problems. Moreover, NPS staff would have endless difficulties explaining to visitors that the surplus ships were not wrecks. While rejecting the proposal, Wirth offered his assurance that if any more wrecked sailing ships were to appear off the shores of Hatteras, the Park Service would work to preserve them rather than let them be salvaged for scrap for a few hundred dollars, as had happened before the park was created.[595] With the eventual development of various museums at the park and in the area, including the privately owned Graveyard of the Atlantic Museum at Hatteras, the problem of having no wrecks to display diminished.

Another important management issue was also addressed in this period—hunting. Agreeing to the local residents' insistence on hunting and fishing rights had been a crucial decision by the Park Service as it sought local support for establishing the seashore. So, in September 1954, after some discussion, representatives of the Interior Department

592. Ronald F. Lee, Chief, Division of Interpretation, Letter to Walter E. Fowler, December 16, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR. Two Liberty Ships survive today, both restored and preserved by private not-for-profit organizations: the SS *Jeremiah O'Brien,* birthed at the National Liberty Ship Museum at Fisherman's Wharf, San Francisco, California, and the SS *John W. Brown*, berthed at Pier One, Baltimore, Maryland.

593. William P. Saunders, Director, State of North Carolina, Department of Conservation and Development, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, July 31, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

594. W. Verde Watson, Park Naturalist, August 8, 1958, note attached to "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held July 16 and 17, 1958, at Manteo and Ocracoke," July 16 and 17, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, Morrow, Georgia. The issue of sinking vessels off the coast of Cape Hatteras National Seashore was also discussed at this meeting. On a motion by Julian Oneto, the commission resolved to ask Governor Hodges and Representative Bonner to seek approval from the Park Service for this plan.

595. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, August 12, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.

and the state of North Carolina agreed on where to designate legal hunting within the boundary of the seashore. The 1940 amendment to the authorizing legislation that created the park mandated that once the seashore was established, hunting would be allowed in two thousand acres of the park, in addition to Oracoke Island (excepting the village). On Bodie Island, fifteen hundred acres were designated by a line drawn parallel to and two thousand feet west of Highway 158, between the "north dike of the Goosewing Club property on the north to the north boundary of the Dare County tract on the south." On Hatteras Island, five hundred acres were designated in three separate locations, all under NPS jurisdiction and within 250-foot-wide strips between Salvo and Avon, Avon and Buxton, and Frisco and Hatteras.[596] Hunting would still be governed by various existing state and federal regulations. These regulations were not immediately posted because not all lands to be administered by the National Park Service had yet been acquired, so the hunting regulations were set aside for the moment.

With so many resource and interpretive issues being addressed, Chief Historian Kahler visited the park in June 1955. He found no crises, but did report the need for more interpretive signs at various sites, such as the lighthouse, and for more seasonal employees, especially to staff points of greatest visitor interest. "The lack of this personal touch is really quite noticeable," Kahler reported.[597] Park staff now consisted of fifteen personnel, and Kahler commented that, "while I believe Superintendent Hanks has built up a fine staff, I noted evidences of a longing to be at other Park Service areas." Kahler thought that "the isolation and environment seems quite different from the isolation in the West," and even suggested that the staffing of seashore areas might deserve special study.[598] The seashore was a palpably lonely assignment in its first years, if the photographs of park naturalist W. Verde Watson are any indication. Verde arrived from Yellowstone in January 1955 and assumed responsibility for developing a new natural history interpretive program at Cape Hatteras and completing the natural history museum being set up in the old lighthouse Keepers Quarters at the Bodie Island Lighthouse.[599] Verde was an avid amateur photographer and many of his revealing photographs appear within the pages of this report.

Meanwhile, Soil and Moisture Conservation funds had permitted the beginning of erosion-control work, the first NPS efforts of this kind since the end of the New Deal-era program. The Park Service was also planning camping facilities, more parking, better beach access, and other improvements that had suddenly been made possible by a stunning new Service-wide park development program, discussed in greater detail below and famously known as "Mission 66."[600]

The Wild Ponies of Ocracoke Island

Another thorny issue for NPS managers at Cape Hatteras National Seashore was the "wild" horses that roamed freely on Ocracoke Island. The "ponies," as they have long been called, are thought by some to be descendants of early Spanish stock or shipwreck survivors. Not really wild but rather feral, they were allowed to graze freely on the island for at least part of the year. Uncontrolled grazing by horses, cattle, and other livestock clashed with NPS efforts to control erosion because the animals ate coastal grasses planted to stabilize the sand dunes which were needed to protect roads and other park developments. On November 29, 1954, Conrad Wirth directed Region One Director Elbert Cox to proceed with the elimination of the wild ponies on Ocracoke Island within the park's boundary. Superintendent Allyn Hanks began to develop a program

596. Press release entitled "Management Plan for Public Hunting at Cape Hatteras National Seashore," September 10, 1954 (279416), Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; Morrow, Georgia.

597. Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian, Memorandum to Ronald R. Lee, June 16, 1955, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.

598. Ibid.

599. Park Service Plans Outlay of $214,280 in Coming Year on Cape Hatteras Seashore," *Coastland Times,* January 28, 1955, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives. Although the Coast Guard declared most of the old Bodie Island Light Station surplus and transferred it to the NPS in 1953, the lighthouse itself was not officially transferred to the NPS until July 2000.

600. "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," May 2, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.



FIGURE 50. The famous 'sea-going' ponies of Oracoke Island near 'Parker's Plantation' in May 1953. (NPS photograph by H. Raymond Gregg. Negative number 529-6 or WASO-A-88-1, CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

of elimination, as outlined in the park's master plan.[601]

In late February 1955, residents of Ocracoke Island heard the news and many were distressed. It was not a new issue. In 1938, State Senator Robert R. Reynolds had contacted the Park Service with constituent concerns about these semi-domesticated horses. By then local ordinances had banned free-range grazing in Currituck and Dare Counties, which had facilitated the beginning of New Deal beach erosion control efforts. However, such ordinances did not apply to Hyde County, which included Ocracoke, or Carteret County, which included the Outer Banks south of Ocracoke where the ponies remained free to roam. Even then, residents were concerned at what the establishment of the park might mean for the ponies. At the time, Director Arno Cammerer allayed any fear by telling Senator Reynolds that the Park Service would treat the ponies as "a unique historical feature of the North Carolina Coast." Cammerer concurred with Region One Wildlife Technician William J. Howard's view "that the Banks would lose a picturesque feature if all the ponies were gone."[602]

By 1955, however, NPS policy had changed. Superintendent Hanks had to convey a new NPS policy to Marvin W. Howard, who was the local Boy Scout Master, and explain why the Park Service now sought to ban free-range grazing by the Ocracoke Island ponies. "Long range planning," he said, "must strive to diminish deteriorating agencies and strengthen those that build up the land or all that is done otherwise may eventually be lost." Free-ranging horses damaged artificial sand dunes, and as with other livestock, this type of grazing had to be banned. Howard appealed to Bonner for help.[603]

In his letters to Bonner, Howard set forth the basic reasons why the Ocracoke ponies should be kept and appealed to Hanks to abide by NPS rules to protect the historic and natural features of the area while providing for recreation. According to Howard, the ponies were of original strain and were an Outer Banks tradition "both from a native point of view as well as adding spice for the visitor who likes to see the uniqueness of the island. They are part and parcel of this little village." Howard admitted that the ponies might cause some erosion problems, but he noted that they ate different plants than cattle, and did not cause the same type of damage.

He also noted that wild ponies had freely grazed during and since the NPS-led erosion control projects of the 1930s and had not stopped those projects. "I fail to see where grazing has done a great deal of damage, except by cattle browsing on brushes," Howard concluded. Howard offered a few other points, but the one with the most pull was that the ponies deterred juvenile delinquency. According to Howard, Ocracoke Island Boy Scout Troop No. 290 was the only known mounted troop in the world because in few places could an entire troop of boys afford a pony. As mounted scouts, Howard said, boys spent their time usefully tracking and riding, which they could only afford with ponies that grazed freely on salt grass and small supplements of grain.[604]

601. Director, Conrad L. Wirth, Memorandum to Regional Director, Region One entitled "Acquisition of Ponies on Oracoke, Cape Hatteras," November 29, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, NCCR.
602. Carl P. Russell, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, June 30, 1938; and Arno B. Cammerer, Director, Letter to Senator Robert R. Reynolds, July 6, 1938; both in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Central Classified Files, 1936-1952, Entry 81, Box 48, File Number 0-35 Proposed Monuments, Cape Hatteras National Seashore to Kill Devil Hill National Monument, Folder 2, NARA, Philadelphia
603. Marvin W. Howard, Ocracoke, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, April 7, 1955, with attached letter to Allyn F. Hanks, Supt, February 12, 1955, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2215 (April-June 1955), Special Collections, UNC.

Howard had no trouble gaining local support. School principle Theodore Rondthaler also complained. In early 1956, he wrote Bonner that "there is no evil in a boy on a pony." He, too, believed that use of the ponies deterred juvenile delinquency, and the "Mounted Boy Scouts" could not continue unless the ponies, costly to feed all of the time, could be allowed to graze in the marshes at least part of the time.[605]



FIGURE 51. Members of the mounted Ocracoke Boy Scouts with their semi-wild ponies at the "Pirate's Jamboree," held on Cape Hatteras, April 27, 1956. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 1956, CAHA archives)

The Park Service, however, had developed a clear mindset after striving for years to prevent erosion along the beaches of the Outer Banks. It believed that it had given attention to the ponies' place in its long-range plans and had weighed the impact of grazing against its perceived mission to save the island from the sea. Still, even prior to these formal complaints, Regional Chief of Interpretation Jean C. Harrington had advised NPS officials to tread lightly on the pony issue. In October 1954, he commented that the Park Service had already abandoned the goal of restoring the seashore to its "original" biological conditions, whatever that might mean, because the historic period was a long continuum, one that included the wild ponies. "I believe, he said, "that the ponies on Ocracoke Island are proper and desirable, and that we are in a sense obligated to retain them, unless there are insurmountable obstacles to their retention. They have become a part of the 'scene.'" Raymond Gregg had studied the issue from a scientific perspective, Harrington noted, and had determined that there were no significant problems in retaining the ponies, and, Harrington believed, they would surely add interpretive value.[606] Without making any commitments, senior officials asked Superintendent Hanks to reach some sort of compromise while they planned a study.[607]

The pony question became a source of major concern within the Department of the Interior. In reply to an attorney representing the islanders, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger C. Ernest stated that its position was based upon historical, ecological, and engineering studies and was drafted with cooperation from local and state officials who were also concerned with village and road areas. "The Park Service," he told Attorney E. J. Schoomaker, "could hardly support any plan that contemplates the continuation of free-ranging habits of domestic livestock." Nevertheless, growing ever more familiar with the level of grass roots resistance that locals could raise, the Park Service bent a little. Ernest went on:

> But the presence of a representative band of Ocracoke ponies, under suitable controls, is naturally quite a different proposition from a large and uncontrolled band. The North Carolina Board of Conservation and Development and the National Park Service have agreed that representatives of each agency will jointly develop a management plan for the ponies."[608]

By 1958, there were some fifty ponies still left wild on Ocracoke with about thirty-five belonging to the local Boy Scout troop. No local or state law mandated the elimination of the ponies, but the state

604. Marvin W. Howard, Ocracoke, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, April 7, 1955, with attached letter to Allyn F. Hanks, Supt, February 12, 1955, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2215 (April-June 1955), Special Collections, UNC.
605. Theodore Rondthaler, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, January 20, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.
606. J.C. Harrington, Regional Chief of Interpretation, to Assistant Regional Director, October 27, 1954, *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library.
607. Theodore Rondthaler, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, January 20, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.
608. Roger C. Ernst, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Letter to W.J. Schoomaker, Attorney, June 13, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.

Attorney General believed that the ponies could be removed or corralled if the Director of the Department of Conservation and Development determined that they were causing significant damage to the island. A committee representing the local Boy Scout troop then suggested that a portion of the marsh be set aside to allow fenced grazing by the ponies. The committee even offered to raise the funds necessary, which they thought could be easily done since the villagers were "unanimous" in wanting to expel the free-roaming ponies from within the village itself. When the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission weighed in to favor maintaining the wild ponies, it was certain that a compromise would be struck. Park management strongly favored the proposal as it had been delaying erosion plantings until a decision was reached.[609]

In the end, the solution to the free-roaming pony problem was to fence some three dozen ponies in a marshy area to the west of the new road. Owners of the few remaining ponies were encouraged to fence or remove their animals out of consideration for NPS concerns about damage the animals might cause. This compromise was also made necessary because the reality of a paved road across the island would endanger both the ponies and drivers.

At the June 1959 meeting of the Seashore Commission, Theodore Rondthaler reported the pony problem under control. A campaign to save the ponies by building a fence had raised some $1,300, mostly in $5.00 donations from around the nation and even from overseas. The Park Service had authorized a three-mile stretch of land to enclose the ponies and had even provided fence posts. Rondthaler reported that only six problem ponies were left on the island. The state chipped in to feed the ponies through two seasons after which they would be maintained by annual sales of their own off-spring.[610]

The Fishing Pier at Rodanthe

In September 1955, a new issue emerged to strain relations between the National Park Service and local residents when J. Henry Leroy filed a petition signed by many in the village of Waves on Hatteras Island calling for an exemption to the seashore boundary that had set NPS control at 500 feet from the shoreline. Leroy, an attorney, represented Roland D. Owens, who with his wife wanted to build a private fishing pier.[611] According to Leroy, "a great many people in Dare County are in open revolt at the dictatorial attitude of the Park Service and at their effort to take the entire ocean front." Leroy asked Congressman Herbert Bonner to help exempt from NPS control three miles of beach at Rodanthe and a mile at each of the other villages.[612] After all the negotiations and concessions made to establish the park, Bonner was not sympathetic and told Leroy that "the entire ocean front is available for the natives as well as the tourists so there can not be any misunderstanding for I was present when the statements were made." Leroy persisted, however, and Bonner reluctantly queried the Park Service on behalf of his constituent.[613]

Wirth took the issue seriously and made a careful, but firm response to the Waves petition, pointing out that the petitioners were familiar with his open letter and its assurances. "We have lived up to them and expect to continue to do so," he said. He then defended the 500-foot strip of land along the ocean in front of the villages as an absolute requirement for public use. According to Wirth:

609. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held July 16 and 17, 1958, at Manteo and Ocracoke," July 16 and 17, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

610. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held June 26, 1959, at the Arlington Hotel in Nags Head, North Carolina," June 26, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

611. J. Henry Leroy, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 2, 1955; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to J. Henry Leroy, September 6, 1955; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2215 (April-June 1955), Special Collections, UNC.

612. J. Henry Leroy, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 18, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (Jan-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

613. J. Henry Leroy, Letters to Herbert C. Bonner, September 2, 1955, and May 22, 1956; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to J. Henry Leroy, September 6, 1955; All in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folders 2215 and 2217 (April-June 1955 and January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

> The petitioners, overlook the fact that by placing the ocean frontage in public ownership the villages are assured of a permanent, attractive, tourist objective, at no cost to themselves, which would otherwise soon disappear. . . . The construction of piers or other privately-controlled commercial developments within this strip would not be consistent with the use of the area by all the people coming to the area, whether local or from distant places.[614]

Another reason for Wirth's firm response was that the Park Service was already considering building public fishing piers to be operated by concessionaires. In fact, it had conducted negotiations with Owens, whom Leroy represented, on that very matter; but these went nowhere and Owens began to develop his property anyway, forcing NPS officials to initiate condemnation proceedings. "We regret very much that such action was necessary," Wirth told Bonner, but he also felt that the Park Service had made all possible considerations to land owners in public hearings and land acquisition negotiations. Moreover, all of them, including the Owens, he assured the congressman, had known about NPS plans for three years.

An additional complaint in Leroy's petition was the pace of NPS development of the seashore, but that was dependent on land acquisition. Addressing that issue, Wirth told Bonner, "we expect to complete our land acquisition program in the not too distant future. Development for public use will come along gradually over the years."[615]

In February 1956, the Park Service issued a request for proposals to construct, maintain, and operate one or more ocean piers, which drew much criticism in Dare County. In March 1956, the Nags Head Chamber of Commerce lodged letters of protest with the Secretary of Interior and the state's congressional representatives over NPS plans to let construction contracts for a fishing pier on Bodie Island, which the chamber thought a threat to private development at Nags Head. Bonner was already on top of what was apparently another misinformation campaign. The Park Service, he counseled the chamber, had no plans to build fishing piers on Bodie Island, and indeed, none were ever built north of Oregon Inlet, apparently for the very reason of avoiding competition at Nags Head and to avoid a conflict with the use of the area for swimming.[616] According to Acting Director Tolson, the source of most complaints about the pier prospectus was NPS rules that "the operator of any commercial operation conducted [within the park] be required to maintain the type of service, quality



FIGURE 52. The construction and operation of fishing piers, such as this modern pier at Rodanthe, raised important issues during the development of the seashore. (CAHA photograph)

614. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 20, 1955, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2216 (July-December 1955), Special Collections, UNC.
615. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 20, 1955, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2216 (July-December 1955), Special Collections, UNC.
616. Nags Head Chamber of Commerce, Letter of Protest to Secretary of the Interior, North Carolina Senator W. Kerr Scott, and Herbert C. Bonner, March 3, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

of merchandise, and standard of operation that is required of all concessions in areas administered by the Service."[617]

In July, Owens himself wrote Bonner about his ongoing dispute with the Park Service, since he was then seeking a concession permit in lieu of being able to build his own pier on the condemned beachfront adjacent to his motel. Owens complained that he was being discriminated against for contesting the condemnation of his land and that the Park Service had thus delayed action for eighteen months on his application, claiming that he was the sole applicant. The Park Service denied any such retaliation was occurring. Assistant Director Jackson E. Price explained to Bonner that there were "complications" in the Owens matter.[618] Owens also later complained to U.S. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., who wrote Director Wirth about the matter.[619]

Soon after this exchange, Owens apparently got the Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club to support him by passing a resolution setting forth a series of complaints about NPS administration of the area but largely focused upon beach ownership, which the resolution sought to keep in private control. The resolution also played up the increasing importance of tourism to the Outer Banks and, thus, the reason for new facilities, such as fishing piers. Ironically, while the document noted that such tourism was made possible by paved roads and the new free ferry service at Oregon Inlet, it failed to note that the free ferry service and other road improvements were made possible by NPS efforts.[620] Owens sent the resolution to all the state's relevant political representatives. Senator Ervin conveyed a copy to Director Wirth, stating his hope that "the National Park Service will conform its practices to the suggestions set forth in this resolution to the fullest extent possible." Bonner's note was similar in requesting a rapid NPS response, but, more deeply informed than Senator Ervin, he wanted the Service to meet the club "for the purpose of further explaining."[621] To Senator Kerr Scott, the former North Carolina governor, Wirth himself replied that while the Park Service took the matter seriously, he had thought the series of meetings in 1952 in the villages had cleared up the boundary issues and "that residents of the villages in general were satisfied." Accordingly, Wirth stated that "it is hard to believe that a complete reversal of opinion is widely held in the communities."[622]

With this development, Acting Director E.T. Scoyen asked regional officials to arrange a meeting with the club. Regional Director Cox then asked Superintendent Hanks "to look into the situation carefully," although the Regional Director was suspicious about having a public meeting "if such a gathering will merely serve the purposes of one or two persons who are opposed to the Seashore Project now as they have been from the beginning." Cox's suspicion was shared by *Coastland Times* publisher Victor Meekins who read the resolution and commented, in Cox's words, that it "does not really reflect the sentiments of the Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club." Like Cox, Meekins felt the resolution was probably prepared by just one or two members. He even questioned whether it was formally adopted by the Club."[623]

In spite of these concerns, the Park Service agreed to meet at the Rodanthe-Waves club house on October 4, 1956, so that both sides could review the relevant issues and the NPS position on the boundary question. Wirth felt his staff was well enough received and told Bonner he remained "confidant that a policy of mutual trust and cooper-

617. Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, Letter to J. Henry Leroy, Attorney, June 13, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.

618. Roland D. Owens, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, July 5, 1956; and Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, July 19, 1956; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2218 (July-December 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

619. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Sam J. Ervin, Jr., U.S. Senate, October 23, 1956, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

620. R. D. Owens, Resolution of the Rodanthe Waves Civic Club, signed by Woodrow W. Edwards, et al, sent to Herbert C. Bonner, no date, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2218 (July-December 1956), Special Collections, UNC. An unsigned copy of the resolution, dated August 5, 1956, is found in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

621. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., U.S. Senate, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, September 6, 1956; and Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, September 5, 1956; Both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

622. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to W. Kerr Scott, U.S. Senate, October 4, 1956, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

ation will benefit all concerned in the long run."[624] Cox gave a more frank account to Wirth in which he noted that neither he nor Superintendent Hanks attempted "to reply to charges of 'communism,' 'land grab,' and similar accusations," although he thought that the group "generally" did not subscribe to such charges. According to Cox, the main thrust of the meeting was to attack the basis for the 500-foot boundary limit on the beaches in front of the villages. An attorney hired to represent the club argued that because the Park Service had made previous boundary changes since the 1937 act to create the park, excluding the northern areas entirely, exempting a sliver of beach front on Bodie Island south of Whalebone Junction, etc., it should now make further changes to accommodate the villages.[625]

One question raised by the club's attorney was whether the Park Service fully considered changes since 1937 in the establishment of the boundaries in 1952. Wirth was not at the meeting, but he received a full report and Cox drafted a letter of response to Owens for the director, which he signed with few changes. Bluntly, Wirth informed Owens:

> I have been very familiar with conditions along the Hatteras Banks from the early thirties when the proposals for establishment of a National Seashore were first considered. I am fully aware of the changes that have taken place, particularly in the village areas, since the construction of the State highway, the coming of electrical power to the communities, and related changes. It was because of these changed conditions that I personally visited the area and held meetings during the week of October 6, 1952, first in Ocracoke and then at Hatteras, in Avon, and Rodanthe.[626]

Wirth further pointed out that Owens himself had attended these meetings and must have read Wirth's open letter of October 27 in the *Coastland Times*. The boundaries that were then drawn took into account local concerns, Wirth stated, including the reasoning behind the 500-foot strip. "By placing the ocean frontage in public ownership, the villages are assured of the permanent public use of this strip without cost…[and]…every property owner, regardless of whether he owns a village lot or a 100-acres tract, has an opportunity to use the beach along the ocean front." Wirth categorically rejected any claim that the Service was purposefully delaying action on pier permits in some kind of conspiracy to later claim that the villages had not acted to provide visitor services thus allowing the Park Service to provide them instead. Wirth called this claim a "misunderstanding" and insisted that the application by Owens for the pier had been all but approved. Delay had only resulted because Owens had failed to provide financial assurance that he could, in fact, both build and operate the facility to NPS standards.[627]

"It appears that Mr. Owens' problem boils down to a personal one," Bonner advised Wirth in November 1956. "If there is any legal way that you can grant him permission to build a pier, I think it would be a great help to all concerned."[628] Nevertheless, Owens was never able to provide "reasonable assurance of proper financing" and

623. Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, entitled "Resolution of Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club Concerning Cape Hatteras Boundaries," September 17, 1956, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia. Allegations were made by NPS officials that the club did not formally vote on this resolution and, according to NPS records, Victor Meekins refused to publish or comment on the affair in his paper believing that the resolution was sent on behalf of the whole group without actually having been adopted. The October 4, 1956, meeting between NPS and the Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club apparently included between fifteen and twenty club members who discussed issues raised by the resolution. Nevertheless, there is no indication that the club in its entirety affirmed the resolutions. Available records fail to indicate whether the resolution was formally adopted or not. The overall context of this matter, however, suggests that the issue was a late ruse by the faction fighting the seashore. See Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Resolution Allegedly Adopted by Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club," September 6, 1956, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia. See also note 136.

624. Acting Director E.T. Scoyen, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 13, 1956; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 23, 1956; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2218 (July-December 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

625. Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to the Director entitled "Meeting, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club," October 9, 1956, in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A22 Associations, Rodanthe-Waves Civic Club 1956" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

626. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to R. D. Owens, October 23, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2218 (July-December 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

627.Ibid.

"after adequate notice and offer of assistance, the proposal was discarded."[629] Eventually, the Park Service reissued its requests for proposals to build fishing piers along the beach south of Oregon Inlet. Three contracts were awarded and three public fishing piers were built and operated by NPS-licensed concessionaires, including the fishing pier at Rodanthe.

The Rodanthe issue reinforced the cautious attitude of NPS managers toward any action that might provoke local hostility, and this caution held up other projects that stood to benefit Rodanthe residents, including the construction of a museum or visitor center. In fact, retired Coast Guard officer Levene Midgett felt compelled to organize a petition drive, signed by a hundred residents of Rodanthe and dated March 15, 1957, requesting that the Park Service establish "a kind of museum called a Visitor Center" to tell the history of and exhibit items related to the Coast Guard in the Outer Banks. Midgett wanted a museum established in the Chicamacomico Life Boat Station, but this facility first had to be transferred from the Coast Guard and the Park Service did not want to take action unless there was local support, which now had to be proven.[630] Unlike the Rodanthe fishing pier, however, acquisition of the Chicamacomico Life Boat Station proved to be quite popular.

Condemnations and Awkward Judgments

On May 2, 1955, the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission met at Nags Head. The commission elected a new member, Ben Dixon MacNeill, the well-known local writer and occasional NPS critic, to replace Commissioner Don Scott, who had recently died. Afterwards Charles Marshall reported that "good progress" was made in advancing the NPS land-acquisition program for the seashore. He was probably even more pleased to announce that "it appears that a great deal of the local opposition, which was formerly a major problem, now seems to have subsided."[631]

Not discussed at the meeting was NPS delinquency in making payments to property owners of condemned land, some of whom had executed deeds but had not been paid. Subsequently, rumors spread that the Park Service had exhausted its land-acquisition funds. Marshall explained to Bonner that the problem stemmed from the ongoing trouble in clearing titles. Bonner wrote his constituents urging them to have some patience and noting that business with the government took more time than with private individuals. He confidently informed them that the government was not going to run out of money to pay them. He sent the note to Wirth, too, who apologized for the delay and said "I'll push these," which apparently he did, because the problem soon disappeared from the record.[632]

On May 16, 1955, the largest single condemnation suit was finally scheduled to be heard in federal court.[633] This case involved the government's main and most recalcitrant opponent to the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore—Winfield A. Worth. Worth's case was critical to resolving all other pending suits and was expected to set the pattern for doing so. Worth had lost his fight to prevent creation of the seashore in June 1953, but he continued to refuse NPS offers for his land and

628. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, November 12, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2218 (July-December 1956), Special Collections, UNC.
629. Acting Director E.T. Scoyen explained to Bonner that Owens simply could not meet the financial terms of his accepted bid proposal. Acting Director Hillory Tolson said that same to J. Henry Leroy. Acting Director E.T. Scoyen, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, November 28, 1956; and Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, Letter to J. Henry Leroy, June 13, 1958; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folders 2218 (July-December 1956) and 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.
630. Petition, March 15, 1957, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2220 (April-December 1957), Special Collections, UNC.
631. "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," May 2, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
632. Robert S. Wahab, Jr., Attorney, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 2, 1955; Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Robert S. Wahab, Jr., Attorney, May 5, 1955; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 11, 1955; All in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2215 (April-June 1955), Special Collections, UNC.
633. "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," May 2, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

sought in court to prove that the government offer was too low.

Shortly after World War II, Worth had paid around $30,000 for his land on the north shore of Oregon Inlet, while the Park Service had deposited $185,000 with the court in 1953. The government's valuation of the land was established by appraisals from private appraisers and from the U.S. Geological Survey. Worth, however, wanted $1,250,000, and because he would not settle willingly, the case had to be adjudicated in court.[634] Worth specifically argued that his land was worth more than the government's estimate due to the presence of certain minerals, namely ilemnite. NPS officials argued this assertion was untrue and that the mining companies that had assayed the area had not found commercial opportunities in the Outer Banks. Under cross-examination, Worth's own mineral expert witnesses also revealed major shortcomings in this claim.[635]

The court rejected the appraisals of Worth and the National Park Service, and instead set the value of Worth's Bodie Island real estate at $484,000. A small award of $4,000 and accumulated interest of $45,000 brought Worth's total award to $533,400.[636] This determination far exceeded the expectations of the NPS appraisal, which was suddenly short on funds to pay the award and to complete the land acquisition process. The decision was immediately appealed by the U.S. Attorney General and was to remain in litigation for some time.

To pay the immediate judgment and to prevent further interest charges, Director Wirth used the remaining balance of Mellon foundation funds plus some $213,000 from an account made available by an unrelated but fortuitous bit of legislation passed the year prior. The act in question, passed on August 21, 1954 (68 Stat. 1037), had authorized the Park Service to expend up to $500,000 per year to acquire privately held tracts within existing national park boundaries. The law's major caveat was that it applied only to "national parks," not "national seashores," and $125,000 of these funds had to be repaid. In "borrowing" these funds, Wirth went clearly out on a limb, and probably knew it. The Service quickly asked Representative Bonner for help.

Bonner duly offered an amendment to extend the national park in-holdings bill of 1954 specifically to Cape Hatteras National Seashore. This amendment essentially classified the seashore as a national park for the purposes of the act, and authorized the use of not more than $250,000 to complete the acquisition of in-holdings within the boundary of the seashore. In considering the amendment, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs found "that the circumstances warrant the expenditure of Federal funds for the purpose," and on August 6, 1956, Congress passed the Bonner amendment (70 Stat. 1066).[637] This legislation allowed Director Wirth to repay his account, but the Worth parcel on Bodie Island was only 1,800 acres while another 3,000 acres were still awaiting condemnation. These remaining parcels were now expected to cost much more than their original estimates.[638]

The Park Service briefly considered asking North Carolina officials to refrain from further condemnations to allow the Park Service to regain its financial footing, but that action would negatively affect completion of the land-acquisition program, leaving out areas that might never later be reacquired. Gradually, it became apparent that the director would have to seek additional funding from the state and the Mellon foundations.[639]

The Mellon foundations were always supportive, and donations were immediately forthcoming. Ernest Brooks, representing both the Old Dominion Foundation, Inc., and the Avalon Foundation, advised NPS officials on November 26, 1956, that

634. *United States Code Congressional and Administrative News* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1956), 1258, 4418-4420.
635. Charles S. Marshall, Project Manager, Letter to Huntington Cairns, July 26, 1955, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A22 Associations, 1952-1957," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
636. *United States Code Congressional and Administrative News* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1956), 1258, 4418-4420.
637. Ibid.
638. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., September 26, 1956, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019—Special Funds-Donations" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
639. Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to William P. Saunders, Director, Department of Conservation and Development, October 8, 1956, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019 Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.



FIGURE 53. Control over Oregon Inlet Fishing Center, shown here in this aerial photograph, and the southern end of Bodie Island was at the heart of the struggle to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore.(Photograph by Verde Watson, December 1956. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, March 1957, CAHA archives)

each would provide $100,000. On January 9, 1957, the Avalon Foundation gave Director Wirth a check for $100,000 for "expenses directly incident to acquisition, required for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area." A similar check was provided by the Old Dominion Foundation, Inc., the following day.[640] Wirth was quite relieved because he had pending court judgments to pay as well as "additional deficiency awards" that were expected. Another $125,000 of general land acquisition funds also had to be repaid for the Service to make other commitments (these were the funds "borrowed" from the in-holding acquisitions account). With the final payment by the state of $150,000 to match fully the original foundation donations of $618,000, Wirth told Brooks that "the State and the supplemental Foundation funds will now see us over the critical emergency period that has been confronting us. It is really difficult to express adequately my appreciation for your further assistance in our time of need."[641]

The National Park Service was still short on funds, however, and so Wirth wrote to Governor Luther H. Hodges to explain that the recent court condemnation decisions, plus other delays, had increased the cost of land from earlier estimates. The Cape Hatteras seashore project could not now be completed without further aid. This unfortunate situation meant, Wirth informed Hodges, that he "was compelled to seek additional funds to complete the project." Fortunately, the Mellon foundations had offered an additional $200,000. Wirth wondered if the state could match these funds as it had previously. He suggested that "proper completion of the project is also desirable to protect the investment in the Area already made by the State." While Wirth greatly regretted the situation, he said there was little that could be done, and he hoped the governor could convince his own people to provide the required funds.[642]

Understandably, Governor Hodges was a bit wary. He asked "Colonel" Harry E. Brown of the North Carolina Hurricane Rehabilitation Program to follow up with the Park Service. Brown did some querying, apparently in an effort to ascertain whether the $400,000 then being discussed would, in fact, be sufficient to complete the process fully. If not, how did the Park Service plan to acquire further funds?[643]

On March 10, 1957, Lindsay Warren, now retired as Comptroller General and trying to recover from an illness, got himself out of bed and to his typewriter to send a special note to Bonner. Warren had heard about Judge Gilliam's ruling in the Winfield Worth case, which he thought "outrageous." He offered his advice for both Bonner and Wirth about getting $200,000 from the state and how to make the total $400,000 last long enough to meet the needs of the Cape Hatteras project. Mainly, he told Bonner that

640. Francis T. Carmody, Vice President, Avalon Foundation, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, January 9, 1957; and Ernest Brooks, Jr., Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, January 10, 1957; Both in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019—Special Funds-Donations" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

641. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Ernest Brooks, Jr., December 17, 1956, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019—Special Funds-Donations" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

642. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Governor Luther H. Hodges, December 17, 1956, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959"; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

643. Harry E. Brown, Hurricane Rehabilitation Program, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, March 7, 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019 Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

legislation seeking more state funds was a bad idea until Gilliam decided the other cases. First of all, the judge might not agree with their appraisals, but also if it were known that more funds were available, Warren felt sure the "non-resident claimants would gobble it up." Given the real value of the lands, and to best use the public's money, he suggested that Bonner and Wirth secure a binding promise from the governor to supply funds from his emergency fund after the legislature had adjourned. He cautioned them to be very careful about what they said in public before Gilliam had issued final rulings in the condemnations.[644]

Governor Hodges expressed his understanding and willingness to cooperate, especially if North Carolina was not again asked for funds. However, by this time the state had committed more than $200,000 to construct a road on Ocracoke Island. That road, Hodges said, went through NPS property and cost more than what the Park Service was seeking. Moreover, the state was only building the road because NPS officials had said that it would take the agency years to do so on its own. Thus, Hodges asked, "cannot such expense on the part of the State be taken into consideration?" The governor further noted that the state expected to fund a ferry to link Ocracoke and Hatteras Islands.[645]

As delicately as possible, Acting Director E. T. Scoyen explained to Colonel Brown that the Service saw these two issues as separate. The most important priority, he maintained, was to complete the land-acquisition program so that other major developments could be planned appropriately. He acknowledged that it would be some time before the Park Service could build the road. "We certainly appreciate the action on the part of the State in building it," Scoyen offered, but the Park Service still needed the funds.[646]

NPS officials continued to lobby state officials, pointing out that in addition to many new visitors, the Park Service would bring millions of dollars in Mission-66 development funds to the coast of North Carolina. On March 16, 1957, Congressman Bonner met with Governor Hodges to explain the situation. Bonner advised the governor that it was better to get the funds from the state's emergency reserve than through the legislature in order to avoid any negative influence on the court's decision-making. The governor agreed to comply with the NPS request after the legislature had adjourned.[647]

True to his word, Governor Hodges waited until the end of the legislative season before taking his request to the Council of State, which on September 27, 1957, approved Director Wirth's request for an additional $200,000 for land acquisition at the national seashore. Some 4,850 acres still needed to be acquired, but that was expected to be completed by July 1, 1958.[648] Wirth particularly thanked Bonner for his influence in maintaining good contacts between the NPS and state officials.[649]

On October 22, 1957, Governor Hodges advised the Park Service that the state would provide the additional $200,000. With condemnation judgments pending, Wirth acted quickly to have the state supply the funds immediately. He assured the governor that any unexpended funds would eventually be returned to the state and the Mellons on a 50/50 percent basis. "I have every confidence that the generous contributions of the State of North Carolina, private donors, and our own development and administration of the Area, will prove to be a most worthwhile enterprise."[650]

With this infusion of funding, the Park Service was able to meet the remaining uncontested judgments.

644. Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 10, 1957, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2219 (January-Mar 1957), Special Collections, UNC.
645. Governor Luther H. Hodges, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, March 5, 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019 Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
646. Acting Director E. T. Scoyen, Letter to Governor Luther H. Hodges, March 15, 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019 Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
647. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, March 27, 1957, , in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2219 (January-Mar 1957), Special Collections, UNC. Technically, the Emergency and Contingency funds were for emergencies, and the governor should probably have taken the matter to the legislature. His willingness to delay doing so indicates his actual support for the project in spite of his initial grumbling about the Ocracoke Island road.
648. "$200,000 Allocation Made for Seashore Park Lands," *The Coastland Times,* September 27, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
649. Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, October 2, 1957, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2220 (April-December 1957), Special Collections, UNC.

Moreover, in August 1958, Judge Gilliam, having heard relevant appeals by federal attorneys in the W. A. Worth case, dropped Worth's award from $484,000 to $343,000.[651] Other settlements could not immediately be awarded because of crowded court dockets, according to new seashore Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs, but in April 1958, Charles Marshall reported that 24,705 of 28,500 acres were under federal ownership.[652] Uncertainty over the outcome of the still-pending court actions had hampered further acquisitions, and Marshall noted that no negotiations were in progress, nor had any further acquisitions been completed during the past year. The failure to secure all lands authorized had begun to hinder the planning and progress of the park's development program, including its Mission-66 initiative, so Marshall felt justified in amending the previous condemnation suits. He filed Declarations of Takings against all lands on the three islands not previously acquired, reserved, or specifically exempt by agreement. These actions effectively vested title in the United States to the outstanding lands authorized for the seashore and removed their status as a roadblock to park planning and development. Except for payment of the final court awards, and a deed for near-shore submerged lands (from shoreline to 150 feet out), Marshall expected all acquisition matters to be completed by July 1, 1958, after which his office would shut down.[653]

Meanwhile, a few smaller property transactions took place, the main one relating to the "Girls Club" of Hatteras village. During the war, this local community-services group had surrendered its property to the War Department, but beginning in October 1957 and continuing into 1958, Herbert Bonner worked to help the "Girls Club" to re-acquire its property, which consisted of two buildings. The property had been used for awhile by the weather bureau before being abandoned, and at Bonner's request, the General Services Administration wanted to turn the property over to the Park Service, which in turn would lease at least one of the buildings back to the Girls Club for a nominal fee. The other building could be used for NPS administrative office space. The legislation that authorized the national seashore, however, prevented the Park Service from "invading" the villages, which made congressional action necessary. Victor Meekins complained to Bonner that while few locals cared about the club, some might not like the idea of the Park Service owning the buildings. Bonner insisted, however, that the action was for the benefit of the Girls Club with the Park Service the means. Although much paperwork was required to authorize the transactions, no controversy erupted. Bonner's bill was introduced on February 20, 1958 and was approved on July 18, 1958 (Public Law 85-540; 72 Stat. 398).[654]

After the Winfield Worth case was settled, the court proceedings bogged down, and final settlements in the remaining Cape Hatteras seashore condemnations took another decade to resolve. The main problem was that Judge Gilliam suffered a long illness before finally dying. After Gilliam's death, his seat was vacant for some time, a problem compounded by the death of a member of the commission appointed to fix compensation. After a new judge was assigned, his first priority was to work off a backlog of criminal cases. Thus, the compensation commission was unable to file its final reports for two cases known as 263 and 401 until April and May 1966. The latter case, which consisted of some 4,440 acres in 52 tracts, was appraised at $1,506,540. The U. S. attorney objected that the

650. Director Conrad L. Wirth, Letter to Governor Luther H. Hodges, October 31, 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "F9019 Special Funds—Donations, State of North Carolina," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

651. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, August 12, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.

652. Robert F. Gibbs, Letter to William P. Saunders, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, June 26, 1959, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

653. "Status of Lands Acquisition: Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 18, 1924," unattributed report received by Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 21, 1958, [presumably authored by Charles Marshall, land acquisition Project Manager], in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

654. Various items, late 1957-1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2220 (April-December 1957) through Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In 1961, Congress authorized the Park Service to dispose of a few acres of land north of Kitty Hawk previously acquired for the seashore (Public Law 87-313; 75 Stat. 675). In 1965, Congress also authorized the transfer of one and a half acres of property in Hatteras Village to the Board of Commissioners of Dare County for use as a health clinic (Public Law 89-147; 79 Stat. 583). The clinic was sorely needed and the act was an excellent public-relation move.

awards for both were excessive, but lost one of the cases (401) on January 11, 1967. Because of the circumstances of the delay, the government made no appeal since interest would accrue during any appeal and the remaining case would likely be decided against the United States as well. The matter was brought before Congress, where new NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. testified that the Park Service had attempted to have a substitute judge appointed after Gilliam's death, but was unsuccessful. Although the House was interested in discussing how to avoid this situation in the future (and some members were clearly upset by the lengthy proceedings), it agreed that the Park Service was not at fault, that the delay was a flaw of the justice system, and that the property owners needed to be paid promptly. On June 4, 1968, Congress authorized an appropriation (Public Law 90-326; 82 Stat. 168) of whatever was needed to satisfy the final judgments for all condemnations and appeals in the Cape Hatteras matter. The award was for $2,514,462 with interest added.[655] With the payments made in these cases, the last land for the seashore was acquired.

655. "Authorizing Appropriation of Funds for Cape Hatteras National Seashore," October 31, 1967, Senate Report no. 694, 90th Congress, 1st Session; and "Authorizing Appropriation of Funds for Cape Hatteras National Seashore," April 11, 1968, House Report no. 1294, 90th Congress, 2nd Session. These reports included a letter from Clarence F. Pautzke, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Hon. Henry M. Jackson, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, providing a details on the condemnation history. Hartzog also explained that "Land and Conservation" funds were not eligible for use in making this court settlement and the Service was otherwise not able to pay the judgment.

Chapter Six: Developing the National Seashore

On December 21, 1953, Conrad Wirth sent to all field offices of the National Park Service. a copy of Bernard DeVoto's article, "Let's Close the National Parks," published in *Harper's Magazine* in October 1952.[656] The article recounted the many deficiencies within the park system due to a significant lack of funding, especially during World War II. DeVoto's solution, given that Congress seemed unwilling to do anything about the matter, was simply to begin closing the major parks, beginning with Yellowstone, Yosemite, Rocky Mountain, and Grand Canyon National Parks. He suggested letting the army patrol the parks to keep people out so that at least the damage being done by the current crowds could be avoided and the majestic scenery and areas of great significance for the disciplines of archeology, history, and biology could be preserved for more enlightened times. Whatever the impact on Wirth's own thinking, he embraced with enthusiasm DeVoto's underlying theme that the nation's parks urgently needed funds to meet the increased visitation demands of the post-war period. Wirth used DeVoto's article to send a clear message—now was the time to do something about the sorry state of the nation's parks.

DeVoto was correct in noting that the national park system had stagnated during World War II. Its budget had also been cut further during the Korean conflict that began in 1950. Park roads, structures, campgrounds, and even employee housing had all fallen into disrepair by the time Wirth became director in 1951. Only six million visitors were reported in 1942, in large part due to war-time gasoline rationing, but thirty-three million visitors were reported in 1950 and seventy-two million were projected for 1960.[657] The system was being overwhelmed, and Wirth realized that action would "require a big sum of money to bring all the various elements back into full bloom to be of service to the public." Conditions were so bad, Wirth wrote in his memoir, that funds averaging a hundred million a year for ten years would have to be provided to do the job right. The Park Service was ready and willing to roll up its sleeves and go to work, he said, if the administration and Congress would pitch in.[658]

In January 1956, Wirth pitched this concept to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who readily agreed. On February 2, 1956, Eisenhower wrote Congress to announce his support for plans by the National Park Service to launch a ten-year program of "vigorous action" intended to prepare the nation's national parks to meet an ever increasing number of visitors. These visitors were being frustrated due to over-taxed facilities and services while causing resource damage that could be averted with better preparations. The NPS plan, stated the president, "provides for a well-balanced schedule for protection, development, and staffing which can begin immediately."[659] Not all agreed with him, but Congress supported the NPS program, which was planned for completion by the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service in 1966, and so was duly christened "Mission 66." Visitor centers, which were largely unknown prior to Mission 66, would

656.Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Memorandum to All Field Offices entitled "DeVoto Article 'Let's Close the National Parks'," December 21, 1953, Records of the National Park Service, Records Group 79, Box 318221, "K28 Special Articles Prepared by Other Than Service Personnel, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

657.Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System,* rev. ed., (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2005), 64.

658.Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), see chapter 8.

659.Dwight D. Eisenhower, Letter to Mr. Vice President, February 2, 1956; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

become one of the main legacies of the program, which incidentally, also made Conrad Wirth one of the most highly regarded directors in the history of the National Park Service. By the end of the program, the Park Service had constructed 584 comfort stations, 221 administrative buildings, 36 service buildings, 1,239 employee housing units, and more than 100 new visitor centers.[660] Cape Hatteras had long been a focus of Wirth's attention and, as a new park in need of immediate development, the seashore became something of a showcase for Mission 66.

Mission 66 at Cape Hatteras

In April 1955, Superintendent Allyn Hanks submitted to Director Wirth and his "Mission 66 Committee" a draft of what policies and practices should guide the Mission-66 program at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Hanks noted that "problems derived from factors other than those of public use are related to the area's location and exposure to the forces of nature." Indeed, he continued,

> The National Seashore is part of the 'Outer Banks' and a sensitive balance exists between the forces of nature seeking adjustment and the inclinations of the people to whom it belongs. Development for recreational purposes requires a building up of the land against the sea and a vegetative bonding of the shifting sand. This calls for the application of sound engineering principle in cooperation with nature on the grand scale.

In order to accomplish this balance, the plan specifically called "for the control of all activities contributing to the deterioration of the barrier reef." All other protection issues at the seashore, according to Hanks, were dependent upon the "increase in travel" and resulting development.[661] He also believed that past efforts to protect development using barrier dunes had demonstrated "a reasonable degree of practicability [sic] and the cost is not believed to be inconsistent with the objective to be achieved."[662]

This basic understanding underlay all efforts to create, establish, and develop the seashore in its first years. With little reservation, Mission 66 accepted previous justifications for the need for beach stabilization and erosion control. While top NPS officials and the local community were in full support of efforts to control natural processes, this and other elements of Mission 66 drew a number of critics, especially among wilderness advocates.[663] Moreover, NPS and Interior Department officials would later re-assess the efficacy of the perpetual and expensive attempts to control seashore erosion. In 1955, however, Hanks did not have sufficient science-based information to counter strong political support for the resumption of erosion-control work. In the mid-1950s, nothing short of a full-scale erosion-control program seemed to make sense, and that was the first guiding principle of Mission 66 development at Cape Hatteras.

Hanks also thought that increased visitation would eventually link most, if not all, of the islands of the seashore. North Carolina was making important transportation improvements during the period of Mission 66 both around Pamlico Sound and along the Outer Banks, including the construction of major roads and bridges. Hanks therefore predicted visitation at the seashore would reach two million by 1966, and as a result, he said, "it will become increasingly difficult to preserve unimpaired primitive wilderness conditions." While roads would fulfill the NPS promise to provide public access and economic opportunities for locals, they would put millions of visitors within a day's drive of the seashore and give them easy access to its natural areas. This reality created another potential conflict aside from the conflict between legislative purposes and understandings with locals regarding commercial fishing and hunting, and Hanks worried that motor

660. See, Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (NPS, 2000), and Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Boston: University of Massachussetts Press, 2007).

661. "MISSION 66 Prospectus Brief—Cape Hatteras National Seashore," March 6, 1957, 5 (279406), Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

662. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Director, Attention Mission 66 Committee entitled "Mission 66: Policies and Practices…," April 8, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

663. See, for example, Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 473-478.

vehicle use would conflict with recreational pursuits and preservation.[664] The legislation creating Cape Hatteras National Seashore did not specifically mention motor-vehicle use or beach-driving, and historical records from the park's establishment and early years do not indicate significant local concerns about preserving the right to drive vehicles on the beach. Quite the opposite, as documented earlier in this study, local residents and state officials sought NPS support for roads, ferries, and bridges to avoid using beaches as roadways, and in return for their support of the park, local residents demanded NPS agreement to allow commercial fishing and hunting. The law did, however, clearly specify NPS authority to regulate the beaches for uses consistent with the purposes for which the park was established.

By November 1955, Hanks had developed a draft Mission 66 prospectus. He was already revising it after input from upper management, but it would be batted back and forth for some time. The prospectus was revised to include comments from Director Wirth, the national Mission 66 Committee, and the Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), whose architects designed the park's new development. Hanks laid out the national seashore's significance as well as its needs in protection, interpretation, development, and operations. A full interpretive program was discussed.[665] His plans encouraged park development near the villages for the convenience of the public, to promote village growth, and to concentrate development so to leave miles of beach front undisturbed. In the end, Hanks' prospectus determined the location and layout of most major developments at the park, including the fishing piers and camping sites.[666]

Another item that concerned Hanks was the need to keep "an open mind" regarding air transportation facilities that might be necessary on some part of the seashore. Such facilities would serve both local and management needs. Aircraft-landing fields were eventually established on NPS land near Frisco and Ocracoke villages, but the existence of a civil airport at Manteo later proved key in determining the location of park headquarters. The Mission 66 prospectus also encouraged the development of a roadway along the entire length of the park. Although the agency now acknowledged the popularity of roads, it sought to use them to channel traffic from more sensitive areas in the park. Finally, during Mission 66, Hanks hoped to acquire some employee housing, which was limited in the area, especially for park seasonal staff who had to pay vacation rental rates.[667] Wirth approved the Mission 66 Prospectus for Cape Hatteras National Seashore on November 15, 1956.[668]

Beach Development and Wilderness

During Mission 66, the impact of driving on the beaches was a major concern. Superintendent Hanks declared that "driving along the ocean shore by the public must be controlled" to reduce its impact on the recreational purposes the park was established to meet, specifically picnicking, swimming, and surf-casting, all of which "require assurance of non-intervention by shore driving." Hanks further noted that "such protection has long been recognized by the more developed areas north to Kitty Hawk." There local property owners had

664. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Director, Attention Mission 66 Committee entitled "Mission 66: Policies and Practices…," April 8, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

665. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Director entitled "MISSION 66 Prospectus," November 10, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

666. Acting Chief, EODC, Memorandum to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore entitled "Mission 66—Prospectus," August 23, 1955; and Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to Acting Regional Director, Region One entitled "MISSION 66 Prospectus, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, August 11, 1955; Both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia. For example, the development of a camp site at Cape Point occurred because the area was already heavily used for surf fishing.

667. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Director entitled "MISSION 66 Prospectus," November 10, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

668. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Memorandum to Regional Director, November 15, 1956, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956, A98 CAHA-A98 EVER HM 6-89, Box 22, A98 CAHA File, NARA, Philadelphia. The draft was dated April 19, 1956.



FIGURE 54. A ranger provides directions to campers parked on the beach, 1956. The Park Service has always maintained its authority to regulate beach driving to conform with the recreational purposes for which the seashore was established. (NPS photograph by Rex Schmidt, 1956. Negative Number: WASO-G-399, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC.)

themselves restricted beach driving because of the damage it caused. Hanks thus planned to limit driving, even by NPS personnel, except for emergencies. In addition, during Mission 66, the Park Service was dedicated to maintaining its barrier dune system in the Outer Banks, and Hanks sought to limit "indiscriminate access over the dunes to the ocean where in the past has been a large contributing factor in deterioration of the original barrier dune. Such practice must be curtailed to obtain overall greater protection benefits."[669]

At the same time, Hanks acknowledged that minimum shoreline driving and limited access over the dunes "must be flexible to allow commercial fishing in general as provided for in the original Act." Because shoreline driving negatively affected recreational activities, the superintendent told Director Wirth that "it may be necessary, however, to exclude commercial fishing from certain portions of the Seashore by Secretarial Order to protect those portions for recreational use." NPS policy was to protect the dunes from damage and to provide for recreational needs, which meant that vehicle use along some portions of the beach had to be entirely excluded. In other areas, access would have to be allowed for commercial fishing by locals using, for example, "haul nets" that required motorized power.[670]

Not everyone was as pleased as Wirth that, as he said, "Cape Hatteras plays an important part in the over-all National Park Service MISSION 66 program." NPS Advisory Board member Walter L. Huber complained to Wirth about the Coquina Beach bathing facilities. Huber had the impression from Advisory Board discussions that Cape Hatteras, Cape Cod, and Cumberland Island in Georgia, were all areas that the Service planned to administer for preservation "and not for amusement purposes," as Huber put it. Wirth defended the Mission 66 program at Cape Hatteras by explaining to Huber the basic planning precepts employed for the park and that the long-range program complied with those provisions "of preserving the area as a primitive wilderness and developing certain portions for recreation, as set forth by Congress." Wirth thought "that a family group, if they desire, should always be able to find a spot to absorb alone things natural and on the grand scale. Such places for miles must remain inviolate."[671]

Huber's concerns were not without reason. Mission 66 brought much development to Cape Hatteras National Seashore, even if some stretches of beach were left undeveloped. As envisioned in the 1930s, the Park Service had hoped to preserve a far more natural environment than it was forced by compromise to accept in the 1950s. By then, the practical necessity for fairly robust park development to meet the needs of large beach crowds and other visitors brought in on modern roads and bridges was greatly increased. Nevertheless, similar complaints about Wirth's system-wide emphasis upon visitor needs over preservation would lay the ground for the long-serving director's eventual retirement.

The need to accommodate large crowds demanded infrastructure, a reality that few contested. However, the architectural design philosophy of Mission 66 was modernist, and this exacerbated tensions with those who emphasized the importance of preserving the natural and historic qualities

669.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Director entitled "MISSION 66 Prospectus," November 10, 1955; Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

670.Ibid.

671.Walter L. Huber, Crocker First National Bank Building, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, April 16, 1956; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Walter L. Huber, Crocker First National Bank Building, May 8, 1956; both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

of the landscape.[672] Mission 66 abandoned the rustic-style architecture that had characterized most pre-war park structures and emphasized new and experimental design parameters employing modern construction techniques. Mission 66 utilized efficient and economical building materials, such as concrete, glass, and steel, which were thought less difficult to maintain and suited for high-traffic use.[673] Cape Hatteras, both as the first national seashore and as a recreational area, seemed to offer NPS designers an opportunity, often characterized as "bold," to present the visiting public with a "modern" vision of the National Park Service. Although designers hailed the seashore as "a new type of park dominated by soft sand dunes, clumps of wax myrtle, and beach and the Atlantic Ocean," they deliberately sought to differentiate seashore development from established architectural traditions familiar to visitors of the great western landscape parks.[674] The modernist approach to park design, along with increased NPS acceptance of road construction, ensured ongoing conflict with naturalists and preservationists alike.



FIGURE 55. The national seashore's employees at park headquarters at the old Bodie Island Coast Guard Station, September 1957. First row, left to right: Balfour Baum (Supervisory Park Ranger), Louise Meekins (Tour Leader), Allyn Hanks (Superintendent), Verde Watson (Park Naturalist), Gus Hultman (Chief Park Ranger). (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, September 1957, CAHA archives)

General Development under Mission 66

In 1957, park staff included new Superintendent Allyn F. Hanks, four rangers, an engineer, naturalist, historian, landscape architect, tour leader, receptionist and three office assistants plus an eight-man maintenance crew. The permanent staff was supplemented by seasonal employees, including four additional rangers and other laborers as funds permitted. By then, park visitation was around 300,000 per year, and park management now claimed that sales-tax proceeds and general commercial benefits from tourism did in fact outweigh the county's reduced property-tax revenues that resulted from loss of land to the national seashore.[675]

A full outline of Mission 66 as planned for Cape Hatteras National Seashore was presented to the media in January 1957. Expenditures of $4,375,000, exclusive of funds for increased staff and operational costs, were anticipated over the course of the development.[676] By 1966, the service-wide target date set for completion of Mission 66, the Park Service expected annual operations to administer, protect, and maintain the seashore to be $609,000.[677]

Erosion control was the single largest allotment under this program. Besides park visitor and interpretive facilities, the plan called for the construction of major recreational facilities at Coquina Beach on Bodie Island and the rehabilitation of the Silver Lake Marina on Ocracoke Island. These subjects are discussed further below.

672. In 1939, the stark, Art-Deco design of the Visitors Center at Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia provoked a similar outcry from those accustomed to the typical NPS rustic-style architecture.
673. McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction*, 464.
674. "Completion Report: Coquina Beach Day Use Area and Comfort Station," December 3, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 17, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Project 1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.
675. Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, Letter published in the *The Cape Codder*, March 21, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.
676. Allyn F. Hanks, "A General Summary of Plans for Development of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," *Coastland Times*, January 11, 1957, Newspaper clipping file,CAHA archives.
677. MISSION 66 Prospectus Brief—Cape Hatteras National Seashore," March 6, 1957, 5 (279406); Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.



FIGURE 56. The former Double Keepers' Quarters at Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, site of the Museum of the Sea, in September 1957. (NPS photograph by W. Verde Watson. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, September 1957, CAHA archives)

Between 1955 and 1958, the Park Service completed major developments that established the park's basic recreational infrastructure. Numerous local contractors were employed to build comfort stations, utility buildings, loop roads, parking areas, overlooks, walkways, picnic areas, and campgrounds, which were especially necessary near the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse after casual camping was banned nearby to protect the fragile dunes. A redesigned entrance road from Whalebone Junction was completed and water sources were located and developed, including a water tower installed at Buxton for NPS use.[678]

Thought was also given to building maintenance facilities and employee housing at the seashore, although critics complained that such planning promoted the kind of development the park was supposed to prevent. Employee housing, however, was justified as an aid to security and resource protection; but citing the 1952 "Questions and Answers" brochure, Superintendent Hanks stated that "the National Park Service does not plan to construct hotels, tourist courts, restaurants, gasoline service stations and other commercial establishments within the area, so long as the local people will furnish these facilities in the villages to serve those who visit the area."[679]

In addition, as noted earlier, the Park Service planned to let concessionaires construct up to four fishing peers near coastal communities. Since these facilities necessarily crossed NPS land, they had to be regulated by park authorities, which fact led to the complex problem already noted around construction of a pier at Rodanthe. Most boat services were also to be provided by private commercial operations in the villages, except at the remote Oregon Inlet concession. The Park Service would not provide any special facilities for hunters, who were allowed, subject to certain state and federal regulations, to hunt in designated areas.[680] Since it was a wildlife refuge, Pea Island saw little development, although a nature trail was constructed.

Interpretive Facilities

Mission 66 envisioned major interpretative improvements, including a modern visitor center doubling as park headquarters, which was tentatively planned for Bodie Island and which was at first envisioned as the gateway to the park. The Service also sought to construct additional visitor centers at Chicamacomico, Cape Hatteras, and on Oracoke Island to acquaint the public with the park and its resources. Eventually, however, concerns developed over the suitability of some of these sites. Various issues, including safety, visitor needs, and inappropriate adaptation of historic structures impeded planning.

One problem was evident by early 1958. While the headquarters for the seashore was briefly moved to Bodie Island, park management resisted EODC plans to make this venue the main operational base. Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs, who replaced Hanks late in 1957, wanted the main Cape Hatteras visitor center to be located at the cape and not on Bodie Island. "The Bodie Island Visitor Center," he said, "will never, in our opinion, be as popular as the

678. Various monthly reports, 1954-1958, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 15, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Progress Report 1955-1958 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

679. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Memorandum to Regional Director, November 11, 1956, in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956, A98 CAHA-A98 EVER HM 6-89, Box 22, A98 CAHA File, NARA, Philadelphia; Allyn F. Hanks, "A General Summary of Plans for Development of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," *Coastland Times*, January 11, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

680. Hanks, "A General Summary of Plans for Development . . . ."

Cape, even with the rapidly expanding developments along Kitty Hawk-Kill Devil Hills-Nags Head area. We will no doubt have more contacts at Bodie Island but they will be seeking information rather than interpretation."[681]

Another source of disagreement between park management and EDOC related to the level of development necessary for the planned centers. In 1958, Regional Director Elbert Cox complained to Director Wirth that EODC plans were "excessive and would be difficult to justify." He also thought EODC was guilty of "over-planning in such details as dark rooms in visitor centers, sound proof studios and projection rooms in all visitor centers."[682] Apparently, EODC continued to push its designs because Gibbs was still complaining about this plan to his superiors in early 1961.

A major source of contention was EODC's plan to remodel the old lighthouse-keepers' quarters at the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. The site had been in use as the Museum of the Sea, but EODC wanted to turn it into a full-blown Mission 66-style visitor center. Gibbs doubted that any new visitor center could accomplish much more than the present one was then doing, but his main complaint was that "the buildings are now being used [as a museum] because they happen to be there. To attempt to convert these buildings into an appropriate visitor center is certainly not in keeping with the MISSION 66 program for the Service." He went on to say that "the buildings in the lighthouse group present a beautiful and interesting display of exhibits in place" and he did not want to see the historic structures damaged. This view was progressive in the years before passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 ushered in an era when superintendents were required to account for management decisions that affected historic resources.[683]

Debates over whether to locate the Bodie Island visitor center at Coquina Beach, where most visitors were expected to flock, or at Whalebone Junction, which was at the park entrance but on problematic and swampy terrain some distance from the ocean, were inconclusive. Eventually, it seemed reasonable to await the completion of the Bonner Bridge over Oregon Inlet before making a decision.[684] With the bottleneck at the inlet removed, a major visitor center on Bodie Island might not be needed because most beach-goers would not be seeking thorough interpretation.

By the time a master-planning conference was held in early June 1961, major changes to the original plan were being considered. These included establishing the main visitor center at Cape Hatteras itself, known locally as Cape Point, instead of Bodie Island, but the main question then was whether a new facility was needed at all, given the previously discussed concerns about damaging the historic lighthouse-keepers quarters.[685] That August Regional Historian James W. Holland reported continuing disagreement about these issues and strongly argued against the construction of "large modern-design visitor centers" that would not as easily blend with "the distinctive atmosphere of the Outer Banks." While some concessions to visitor use might be necessary, he asserted that "I can see no reason for gratuitously introducing foreign structural elements to replace the indigenous ones which now serve their purpose so well and unobstrusively." He said the existing facilities were only crowded on rainy days and it would be a shame to spend $300,000 to replace "charming structures" for rainy day guests.[686] This argument prevailed and the

681. Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, March 21, 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

682. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director, Conrad L. Wirth, March 12, 1958, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1957-1958 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

683. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, March 21, 1961.

684. Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, July 7, 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956, D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File; and E.M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Memorandum to Superintendent, December 5, 1962, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1957-1958 File; both at NARA, Philadelphia.

685. V. Roswell Ludgate, Regional Landscape Architect, Memorandum to Regional Chief of Operations, May 25, 1961, *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library. Planners were also still debating where to place the Hatteras campground, adjacent to the fishing center or not, due to concerns about the water supply.



FIGURE 57. View of sand fences near Hatteras after Hurricane Helene. (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, September 1958, CAHA archives)



FIGURE 58. Hurricane Helene damage at the "Great Swash" northeast of Ocracoke Village, September 1958. The caption on the original print reads: "The State's new black top highway did not fare too well for several hundred feet." (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, September 1958, CAHA archives)

Service erected a separate visitor center near the lighthouse.

As for a visitor center on Bodie Island, the factor with the strongest effect on NPS thinking was probably the weather—winter storms, called "Nor'easters," and seasonal hurricanes wreaked such havoc that they often forced adjustments in planning. Major storms hit the Outer Banks in 1955, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, and 1964. All caused flooding and extensive damage to the artificial dune system.[687] Even a moderate storm, such as Hurricane Gladys, which hit the Banks September 21-23, 1964, could cause extensive damage. Gladys mainly affected the dune system on Pea Island and the barriers around Oregon Inlet, including those protecting the new Bonner Bridge. Despite the damage from these storms, NPS managers continued to insist that erosion-control methods were effective, noting for instance how dune areas covered by grass plantings faired better than those without such protection. It soon became obvious, however, that Bodie Island was a precarious place to establish critical facilities. After all, the Bankers had never built a village there.

The Impact of Hurricanes on Park Planning

In September 1958 Hurricane Helene hit Cape Hatteras with winds of a hundred miles per hour that tore up the new road and destroyed seventy-five percent of the dune-stabilization work completed on Ocracoke Island. Hurricane Donna, which struck on September 11, 1960, was even worse. One of the five strongest storms on record, Donna hit the Outer Banks with winds up to 123 miles per hour, causing extensive damage to the dune system on Ocracoke Island and scattered damage to dunes, buildings, roads, walks and vegetation throughout the park. On Ocracoke Island, waves as high as ten feet destroyed about thirty percent of the barrier dunes constructed during the stabilization project of the 1930s as well as a portion of the road at the north end of the island. Because the storm tracked slightly west of the Outer Banks, there was no wave action on the sound side, and the villages and park facilities there escaped major damage, except for the Chicamacomico and Little Kinnakeet Coast Guard Stations. These buildings were then being used as

686. Regional Historian James W. Holland, Comment on the Cape Hatteras General Development Plan, August 18, 1961, *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library.

687. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, September 1958, CAHA archives. "Hurricane Gladys, September 21-23, 1964, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Damage Report and Repair Program," Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968, 07/98 HM, Box 28, File A7627 CAHA—Hurricane Gladys 1964, NARA, Philadelphia. Nevertheless, the weight of the cost of repairing damage caused by repeated hurricanes of this magnitude began to concern federal officials.

quarters for NPS personnel and suffered much damage due to wind and water from the sound which flooded into their yards. Sound tides reached heights of between six and eight feet on the north end of Hatteras Island. NPS official accounts reported that most of the dune damage was to areas that had not been stabilized yet by grass planting while, according to Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs, "in those areas where grass had been firmly established, the ocean waves washed over the grass with very little damage." Still, "considerable expense" was required to clean up after the storm, including the need to remove sand and large deposits of debris from developed areas. It was the worst recorded hurricane to hit the Outer Banks, briefly inundated Manteo with five feet of water, and cost three lives on the causeway connecting Manteo with Bodie Island. The estimated damages were $3 million in Dare County alone.[688]



FIGURE 59. Damage from Hurricane Helene, showing steel landing mats from the State Highway that were moved several hundred feet, September 1958. According to the photographer, "but for the pole maybe they would have gone clear to the sound." (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, September 1958, CAHA archives)

The impact from Hurricane Donna required Gibbs to reprioritize his construction spending for Mission 66 "in order to set up a program of reconstruction for the dune stabilization project."[689] Overall about thirty-five percent of the dune system was destroyed. It was perhaps a small consolation, but Gibbs noted that this figure was only about half of what had been destroyed during two hurricanes in 1958. The park's new buildings held up well, too, and the state quickly set to work rebuilding damaged and destroyed roads and getting the ferries back into operation.[690] Despite the damage and the need to reprogram funding in the aftermath of the hurricane, no personal injuries occurred in the park, and Assistant Regional Director E. M. Lisle praised Gibbs for his "adequate preparations for Donna."[691]



FIGURE 60. Damage resulting from the Ash Wednesday Storm of March 7, 1962. (NPS photograph, no date. CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

The storm that most affected planning, however, was probably the "Ash Wednesday Storm" of March 7-9, 1962, a nor'easter that was considered one ofthe ten strongest storms of the twentieth century.[692] For three days, the storm battered the Mid-Atlantic coast, killing dozens and causing hundreds of millions of dollars in property damage. Coinciding with another master-planning exercise

688.Superintendent, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Report of Storm Damage at Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site—Hurricane of September 11-12, 1960," October 17, 1960 (279411) , Records of the National Park Service; Record Group 79, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

689.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Emergency Repair for Hurricane Damage," September 19, 1960, (318219) Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A7627 Protection—Floods, Storms 1954-1960" folder, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

690.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Report on Hurricane Damage," September 16, 1960.

691.Assistant Regional Director, Memorandum to the Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, entitled "Emergency Repair for Hurricane Damage," September 14, 1960, (318219) Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A7627 Protection—Floods, Storms 1954-1960" folder, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

692.Sometimes referred to as a "northeaster," these storms are extra-tropical, low-pressure systems whose center rotates just off shore, bringing strong northeasterly winds to coastal regions.



FIGURE 61. View of employee residences behind the barrier dunes about a half mile north of park headquarters on Bodie Island, November 1959. (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, November 1959, CAHA archives)

at Cape Hatteras, the Ash Wednesday Storm also helped produce unanimous agreement among NPS staff that administrative offices for the seashore should not remain on Bodie Island. The Ash Wednesday Storm made it particularly obvious that environmental conditions were superior on Roanoke Island for the location of facilities not essential on Bodie Island, which was directly exposed to the sea. Weather conditions on Roanoke Island were also more favorable for staff during the winter and there were many more services available, including schools, shopping, and medical facilities. A key concern also was the presence of a commercial airport at Manteo that would be near at hand for staff use. A park plane was necessary from the beginning to ferry staff because the distance between the Wright Memorial and the village of Ocracoke was some 175 miles, and storms could destroy roads or open new inlets that could disrupt land access at any time. On Bodie Island, dunes in the area approved for expanded day-use beach facilities were also affected by the storm, which again suggested the island as a poor location for park headquarters. Storm damage also forced the park to relocate existing employee housing.[693]

Museums, Observation Decks, and Ocean Views

During Mission 66, the Park Service established its main museum in the former Double Keepers' Quarters at Cape Hatteras, but it also sought to set up a museum to interpret the history of the United States Life-Saving Service and the Coast Guard at Chicamacomico Coast Guard Station. Problems arose here because the site was outside the authorized boundary of the seashore, and Director Wirth had forbidden adjustments of the seashore boundary due to Mission 66 activities. However, he approved a cooperative agreement with the Coast Guard to interpret its Chicamacomico Station, if locals approved, and as long as the agency did not take over the facility as owner. The station was thus leased from the Coast Guard, which also granted a revocable use permit for similar NPS use of the Little Kinnakeet Coast Guard Station. Related development, such as for parking, was governed by these restrictions.[694]

In 1961 and 1962, complaints similar to those raised with regard to the Museum of the Sea's use of historic buildings led the Park Service to re-evaluate other aspects of EODC's original plans for the seashore. For example, Acting Regional Director E.M. Lisle objected to any thought of an observation tower at Cape Point because it would "intrude on the scenic spectacle of Diamond Shoals," although he thought a "low observation platform," perhaps at the comfort station, might be appropriate. He also rejected EODC designs to reconstruct an historic windmill that Gibbs thought "not a vital feature in the Cape Hatteras presentation."[695] Another site where an observation platform was wanted was Ocracoke Island so visitors could see the harbor and village.

The issue of visitors having panoramic views was actually a general concern for NPS officials. Ironi-

693.H. Reese Smith, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, November 5, 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia. Another affect of operating in a harsh coastal environment was that the Park Service had to manage deterioration of equipment due to salt air, which corrodes metal and necessitates maintenance buildings to protect gear that in other climates might be left outside.

694.Gustaf P. Hultman, Acting Superintendent, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, June 15, 1956, and Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, June 14, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1954-1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

695.E. M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, September 25, 1962, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

cally, the dune system built up to protect the banks from erosion, which was a key feature in efforts to create the national seashore, also often blocked ocean views, especially from the roadway. This situation led to press criticism about "a monotonous sandy landscape, with only the rare chance to see the ocean," a problem compounded by a relative lack of parking and a hike of from three hundred to three thousand feet from parking lots to the beach.[696] Associate Director E. T. Scoyen expressed understanding with regard to the public's desire "to seek out some elevation" from which to catch an ocean view, but he insisted that "unpredictable possibilities in construction and maintenance . . . prevents us from accepting this idea."[697]

Nevertheless, complaints about the inability to easily view the ocean were considerable within the Service as well. "All members of the [Master Plan Study Team] were concerned with the fact that it is difficult to see the ocean," said Superintendent Gibbs in July 1961. According to Gibbs, "the continued development of the dune stabilization program and establishment of vegetative cover give the visitor the feeling of traveling in a vacuum where it is impossible to view the seashore, which is the primary reason for coming to the park." To rectify this problem, the Master Plan Study Team proposed to construct a scenic bypass road somewhere along the middle of Hatteras Island that might for a mile or so provide a direct ocean view from the roadway.[698] Some elevated platforms would be constructed, especially in the Pea Island Refuge where terrain features facilitated the enterprise, but the scenic drive was not to be. The expense and inefficiency of maintaining an unprotected road so close to the ocean was not feasible, and the lack of ocean views from the road remains an issue at the seashore to the present time.

Coquina Beach

Coquina Beach, the seashore's primary beach for swimming and sunbathing, saw some of the park's most notable developments during Mission 66. Initially, there was a debate about what to call the beach. Historian Dillahunty and Chief Ranger Hultman questioned the use of the term "Coquina" and suggested "Bodie Island Beach," but Superintendent Hanks stated that "I rather like that catchy euphonious nature of the word and recommend retention of that title," which was the outcome.[699] EODC completed preliminary studies for development at the "Coquina Beach Day Use Area" on Bodie Island in November 1954, and Director Wirth approved the design on March 3, 1955.[700] The facilities, which included a bath house and shade structures, were clearly intended to be a signature piece for the park and a representation of Mission 66 style. "Thus," commented the project's completion report, "the architectural design was not limited by traditionally rustic characteristics still expected by a large group of the public in wooded wilderness parks. It was felt that the design should be gay, a structure that would reflect the fun of a day at the beach."[701]

Donald F. Benson and John B. Cabot, NPS architects at EDOC, designed the beach facilities, which included shade structures intended to resist wind and storm damage as well as sand accumulation. This task was to be accomplished by concrete, cantilevered beams and horizontal metal louvers that allowed even hurricane force winds to pass through

696. Lynn Nisbet, "Tar Hell Capital,' *Greensboro Record*, December 15, 1959, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

697. E.T. Scoyen, Associate Director, Letter to Miss Lynn Nisbet, Bureau Manager, North Carolina Association of Afternoon Dailies, December 29, 1959, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

698. Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, July 7, 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956, D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1959-1962 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

699. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to Chief, February 14, 1955; Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, February 11, 1955; and Edward S. Zimmer, Chief, EODC, Memorandum to the Director, July 20, 1955; all in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 32, Cape Hatteras Project Correspondence 1954-1955 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

700. "Completion Report: Coquina Beach Day Use Area and Comfort Station," December 3, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 17, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Project 1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

701. Ibid.

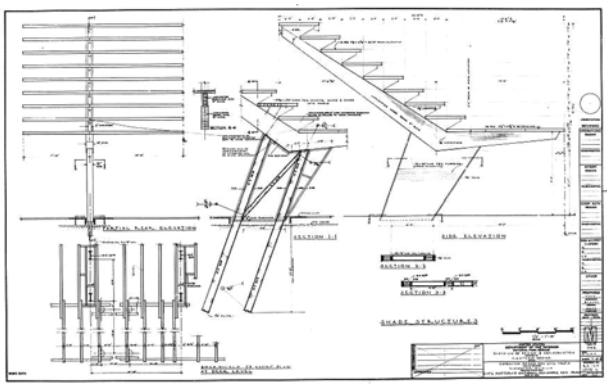


FIGURE 62. Plan for Coquina Beach shade structure. (NPS drawing, no date. Denver Service Center Technical Information Center)

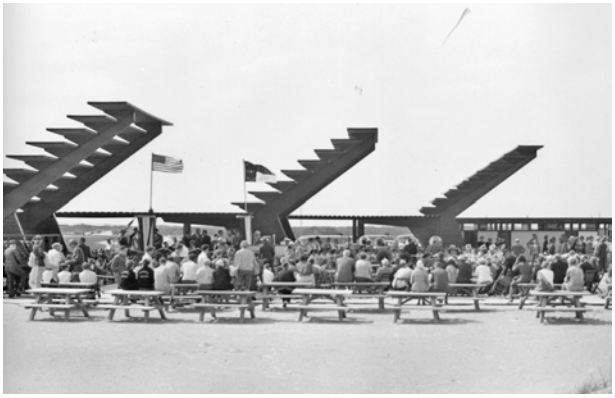


FIGURE 63. View of Coquina Beach bath house and shade structure at the park's dedication. (NPS photograph, CAHA collection, HFC)

without damage while also preventing passage of sunlight until the sun's vertical angle was less than thirty degrees. As a result, the structures "generally cast a shadow considerably greater than their area of horizontal projection."[702] Wirth called the design a practical solution for an area plagued with winds of great velocity, but felt compelled to add that "the new type of structure will not detract from the primitive character of the area."[703]

Like the award-winning Wright Brothers Memorial Visitor Center at Kitty Hawk, the Jackson Lake Lodge at Grand Teton National Park, and other contemporaneous NPS buildings built to modernist designs during Mission 66, the Coquina Beach shelters attracted a great deal of public comment, if not all of it was positive. The shelters were featured in *Progressive Architecture* and won a national award from the American Institute of Architecture, but the *Virginia Pilot* warned that "until people got used to the modern trend," the shelters at Coquina Beach would "cause as much comment as three nude men on a Republican Convention Program."[704]

The Coquina Beach facility was designed to accommodate three to five thousand visitors per day, but twelve thousand people hit the beach on July 4, 1955. Whatever critics thought, the National Park Service needed to build the most structure that it could with available funds. Regional Director Cox thus approved the design "in spite of some serious misgivings about the shade structures," which he saw both as a costly experiment and as a potentially unfortunate precedent for other seashore areas. If the facility did not perform well, or the public disliked it, the design did not allow much to be salvaged. NPS officials debated whether to complete the facility as planned or risk architectural criticism by modifying it to save on costs. Departing from the architect's vision, reinforced concrete was replaced with laminated wood.[705]

On March 13, 1956, the Service awarded a construction contract for the Coquina Beach facilities to Daniels Building Supply and Shanaberger Lumber Company of Nags Head. They completed the project in October 1956.[706] Closed during construction, Coquina Beach and its "ultra-modern designed sunshades" opened in the spring of 1957. The shelters withstood Hurricane Donna, the Ash Wednesday Storm, and the many other storms that

702.Ibid.

703.Allyn F. Hanks, to Herbert C. Bonner, March 13, 1956; and NPS Press Release, March 13, 1956; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

704.Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (NPS, 2000), 14-15.

705.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to Chief, February 14, 1955; Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, February 11, 1955; and Edward S. Zimmer, Chief, EODC, Memorandum to the Director, July 20, 1955; all in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 32, Cape Hatteras Project Correspondence 1954-1955 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

706.Allyn F. Hanks, to Herbert C. Bonner, March 13, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and "Completion Report: Coquina Beach Day Use Area and Comfort Station," December 3, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 17, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Project 1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

raked the Outer Banks in the late 1950s and 1960s, but over the long term, the laminated wood weathered poorly, and the entire structure was replaced in the early 1970s by more mundane facilities.[707]

Another issue regarding Coquina Beach was the desirability of erecting an observation tower. Director Wirth was in favor, as long as it was not too high or out of character with the locality.[708] Wirth again weighed in on the EODC design of the employee housing area near Coquina Beach, which he did not like. He argued that setbacks should be varied to avoid "the straight row arrangement of the dwellings" and that they should be decreased in size to reduce long term maintenance costs.[709]

The Navy's Old Docks and Secret New Base

On the same day that the contract was let for the Coquina Beach project, March 13, 1956, the National Park Service also issued a construction contract for a marina at Ocracoke's Silver Lake, which was no lake at all but rather the salt-water harbor around which the village had originally developed.[710] The Park Service sought to rehabilitate the dilapidated harbor, formerly a naval amphibious training base and known by locals as the "old Navy docks," to improve public access both to Ocracoke Island and to the park. The Park Service acquired the twenty-two-acre site within the village of Ocracoke from the Navy at no cost, with the transfer accomplished by an act of Congress passed without debate on July 14, 1953.[711]

The project, which required the removal of some structures as well as major repair work on others, also provided an opportunity to improve NPS relations with local inhabitants. Once completed, in fact, the docks were considered a major blessing by leaders from the town of Ocracoke, bringing jobs, growth, and needed port facilities. In September 1955, the Service began tearing down and removing debris. Inside one renovated harbor building, it built a new NPS visitor center, conveniently located in the heart of the village. There was never much debate within NPS planning circles about the need for a visitor center on the hard-to-get-to island.[712]

The marina project was completed without a hitch, but a separate issue relating to the Navy came to light around December of that year that caused a brief stir on Capitol Hill. The Park Service had developed a good rapport with the Navy when it helped acquire surplus LCUs for use as NPS ferries on Pamlico Sound, and the Navy had also transferred the old Navy docks at Ocracoke for NPS use. NPS staff were also used to working with the military and Coast Guard in North Carolina and thus saw no problem when, on April 27, 1955, they issued an exclusive permit that allowed the Navy to use twenty-five acres of NPS property near the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse.

When informed, the Interior Department's Advisory Committee on Conservation took exception to this use and saw it as a bad precedent. The Advisory Committee recommended that the Park Service not issue permits to the armed services without first holding full public hearings on any action affecting the status of public lands. Secretary

707. "Completion Report: Coquina Beach Day Use Area and Comfort Station," December 3, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 17, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Project 1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia. Information about the shade structures per NPS historian Brian Coffey, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta, July 2006. An NPS map from the "List of Classified Structures" shows new Coquina Beach facilities planned for construction and records that the old structures were "to be obliterated" in 1973. "Coquina Beach to Open on Hatteras in 1957," *Ledger-Dispatch and Star,* February 27, 1957, 19, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

708. Dick Sutton, Acting Chief, Division of Design and Construction, Memorandum to Chief, EODC, June 26, 1957, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D18 ROVA-D18 CASA HM 6-89, Box 29, D18 CAHA 1957-1958 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

709. Ibid.

710. Allyn F. Hanks, to Herbert C. Bonner, March 13, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC.

711. "An Act To provide for the addition of certain Government lands to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project, and for other purposes," approved July 14, 1953. (67 Stat. 148; 16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-5.) See also, *United States Code Congressional and Administrative News* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1953), 181.

712. Theodore Rondanthaler, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, September 20, 1955; and Jackson E. Price, Acting Director to Herbert C. Bonner, September 21, 1955; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2216 (July-December 1955), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 64. View of the main building of the abandoned Navy Base at Ocracoke as it appeared early in 1955 prior to rehabilitation. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, October 1956, CAHA archives)



FIGURE 65. The Mission 66 Ocracoke Visitor Center, grounds and piers after rehabilitation, May 22, 1957. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, May 1957, CAHA archives)

of the Interior Douglas McKay expressed general agreement with the committee.[713]

The nature of the military's activity on its newly leased land was secret—the Navy had declared its need for the permit "absolutely essential" to the security of the United States. The operation required the Navy to send in teams of "Seabees," or military construction units, to prepare a facility on the very tip of Cape Hatteras, about a thousand feet north of the lighthouse. The Seabees arrived in May 1955. One reason for the Advisory Committee's concern was that the Seabees were engaged in major construction projects, including road-building at the military site. Concurrently, Wirth, who began his career as a landscape architect, had envisioned a new access road to the lighthouse farther west than the existing route, one that would provide park visitors with a more dramatic approach. The Navy had the equipment needed and was apparently willing to facilitate this otherwise costly project. Wirth expected that funds for the Service to build the road would run half a million dollars and probably take ten years to appropriate from Congress. The Navy was apparently willing to facilitate this otherwise costly project, since the new access road to the lighthouse would route park visitors around the military base. As a result, the Navy graded the road, which EODC designed, and the State of North Carolina paved. Huntington Cairns, according to writer Ben Dixon MacNeill, was a friend of Senator Kerr Scott and of Admiral Arthur W. Radford, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and helped arrange the deal, but whether the road construction work was an afterthought to the Navy's permit, or a type of quid pro quo, is unknown.[714]

Apparently, the Advisory Committee's rebuke was sufficient to alert NPS managers of the trouble they could get into by being too cooperative with the military. In March 1957, the Park Service denied a request by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for a permit to construct and operate dredge-mooring facilities at Oregon Inlet, where the concession-run charter boat operation was based. The denial followed efforts to accommodate the Corps but eventually the decision was made that the Park Service had an obligation to preserve the long-term character of the land under its protection. Indeed, Superintendent Hanks "feared the establishment of a construction precedent on the point will allow subsequent encroachment under later conditions." The same argument might have been made to the Navy two years earlier. He also thought much more erosion control development would be necessary to safeguard any mooring facility than was put forth in the Corps original proposal. Finally, the location of the facility on Bodie Island was in conflict with NPS

713. "Hatteras Project 'Hush-Hush': Hearings Urged before Military Takes Parks," *The Portsmouth Star,* December 11, 1955, and "The Navy's Need in Building Secret Facility Realizes Wirth's Dream of Seashore Road," *The Virginian-Pilot,* December 11, 1955, both in Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

714. Ibid; also Chief, Bureau of Yards and Docks, Memorandum to Commander Services Forces (Navy), February 10, 1956; and Jackson Price, Assistant Director, Memorandum to Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, September 5, 1956; both in Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 25, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Progress Report 1954-1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

plans to develop the area under Mission 66 for swimming, boating, and surf fishing. The Corps seemed to have taken the issue up to the director's level when turned down by the region, but to no avail.[715]

A Management Review

In September 1958, a major management review was conducted at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. The management review was generally positive but it recommended that a revised Mission 66 prospectus be completed after the final Master Plan and Interpretive Development Plan, both then in review, were completed. By revising the prospectus the superintendent would have an opportunity to consolidate some of the long-range planning elements, including the Area Management Study completed in December 1957 which had made certain organizational recommendations. Specifically that study drafted an administrative organization plan for park staff who would be deployed by division (Administration, Protection, Interpretation, and Engineering and Maintenance). The new idea was to further divide staff by park district according to the natural geographical division of the islands.



FIGURE 67. The Visitor Center as it appeared in September 1957. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore,



FIGURE 68. An aerial view of the naval base (top, center) shows both the old road, left, and the new road, right, from Buxton to Cape Hatteras Lighthouse on December 4, 1956. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Supeintendent's Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, December 1956, CAHA archives)

The management review recommended other changes as well, which new Superintendent Robert Gibbs gradually accomplished. For example, a maintenance supervisor position was established to oversee routine operation of park facilities allowing the park engineer more time for programming and planning functions. The management review found that park staff were well acquainted with their mission, including the management of commercial fishing matters. Regulations to control hunting were still being developed, so this management activity was not reviewed, but it was found that the park urgently needed to place vehicular access ramps that would allow commercial fishermen access to the beach and stop them from building their own makeshift access points. The review also noted that the concentration of campers near the only existing comfort facility at the Cape Point campground was damaging the dunes. Although the facility was to be augmented by two additional comfort stations, the park also needed to enforce camping restrictions to help prevent dune damage.

The management review praised Superintendent Gibbs for developing a plan to construct a fence to contain the thirty-five free-ranging Banker ponies authorized on Ocracoke island, but also found that the recently improved ferry service had increased visitation which in turn had created a demand for more staff. Gibbs was also advocating more employee housing near park headquarters, which

715. Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Region One, Letter to Lt. Col. W. K. Shaffer, March 15, 1957; Superintendent, Memorandum to the Regional Director entitled "Proposed Mooring Facilities for Corps of Engineers at Oregon Inlet," March 22, 1957; and Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to the Director entitled "Proposed Mooring facilities for Corps of Engineers at Oregon Inlet," March 27, 1957; All in Records of the National Park Service; Record Group 79 (318219), "A44 Cooperative Agreements with Federal, State, and Local Agencies, 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

were still at the the old Bodie Island Coast Guard Station five miles south of Whalebone Junction. At the time Gibbs was the only NPS employee living at park headquarters; but, as discussed above, the location's exposure to violent weather soon convinced the Park Service to relocate park headquarters to Roanoke Island. Finally, the review found that the park needed to keep better records on dune stabilization and storm damage, but overall performance was excellent.[716]



FIGURE 70. View of beach grass being planted in an area immediately north of the old Phipps Gun Club near Buxton on Hatteras Island, December 20, 1956. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, December 1956, CAHA archives)

Erosion Control under Mission 66

In February 1956, Director Wirth met with North Carolina Gov. Luther B. Hodges, the state highway commissioner, congressional representatives, and others to discuss beach erosion control, roads, and Mission 66, which as separate projects were becoming increasingly entwined. All wanted the NPS erosion control program to pick up where it had left off in 1941, but the Park Service wanted state assistance. Wirth noted that North Carolina was responsible for protecting its roads through the park and that meant going beyond the basic right-of-way. The group discussed the sensitive subject of convict labor, which the state routinely employed on its roadways, but Stratton pointed out that the Park Service could not use such labor, which might be seen as denying local job opportunities. NPS officials did not object to the state using such labor, however, and were willing to allow state-managed convict laborers to be camped at park sites for work on state rights of way. The state program would begin with little funding, but the Park Service was to provide initial training on how to construct erosion-control fences. With full funding, the Park Service expected that "over a period of years it will produce excellent results."[717]

Governor Hodges remained vitally interested in NPS erosion-control measures at the seashore. In May 1956, the Park Service announced plans to spend $1,400,000 over the ten-year course of Mission 66 on sand stabilization and beach erosion-control work at the park. This amount was the largest single item of the overall expected $4,375,000 appropriation, which was itself in addition to the costs of increased staffing and operations. Hodges was delighted and even wanted Wirth to allow NPS personnel to provide advice to the state on its own plans to conduct erosion control along other areas of the North Carolina coastline.[718]

Mission 66 erosion-control funding was intended to carry on the work done by the WPA and CCC some twenty years previous. As Superintendent Hanks recalled, the most spectacular accomplishment of that effort was to reclaim beach around Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, a project that allowed the light to become a useable navigation beacon once again. To restart the work, there was a special $100,000 appropriation for constructing needed dunes, with funds gradually being shifted to maintenance after that. With the help of the North Carolina highway department, Mission 66 saw thousands of feet of snow fencing installed, tens of thousands of cubic yards of dunes created, and thousands of square feet

716.H. Reese Smith, Regional Chief of Operations, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Management Inspection," September 4, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A6435 Organization—Field Offices, 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

717.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum to Director, March 14, 1956, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 25, Cape Hatteras Project Correspondence 1954-1956 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

718.Luther H. Hodges, Governor, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, May 15, 1956; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Governor Luther H. Hodges, June 7, 1956; Both in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318220), "A9815 Mission 66, 1953-1955" file; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

of grass planted to protect the seashore and the state highway from erosion and storm damage.[719]

Despite announcements about NPS funding for erosion control, some locals were critical of federal efforts to address storm damage. On June 8, 1956, David Stick, as head of the Dare County "Storm Rehabilitation Committee," complained that the Park Service was not repairing storm damage by the three major storms that had struck Hatteras the previous year but was giving money for similar repairs to private property owners. Stick thought the president should declare the whole coast a disaster area to release emergency funds. He said that repairs had to be made to the dune line before the next storm season to prevent damage to life and property.[720]



FIGURE 72. Tractor-driven mechanical grass planters near Coquina Beach facilities, March 1959. (NPS photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, March 1959, CAHA archives)

In the middle of October 1956, the Dune Construction and Beach Rehabilitation Project began. Reprising its historic role in beach erosion control , the Park Service established its priorities by consulting with locals, including Dare County's Hurricane Disaster Relief Committee and with residents on Ocracoke Island. This expertise brought changes to original plans, and work began in the areas recommended by citizens most acquainted with the conditions. After considerable discussion and field meetings, the Park Service elected to use the same design for sand fences as was used by the CCC during the 1930s, although dunes were also constructed using bulldozers provided by the North Carolina highway department. While this work went on, six road ramps were constructed using salvaged steel matting to provide beach access for vehicles, with three on Bodie Island and three on Hatteras Island. As the completion report for 1957 stated, "the objective of the Dune Rehabilitation Project is to provide a series of so-called barrier dunes, up which abnormal tides can expend their energy." According to the completion report, these dunes would preserve intact park buildings, roads, and recreational development, and "thus, at the National Seashore it becomes a continuous project, spread over several years, to safeguard and keep the unrivaled sandy beaches (seventy miles in length) for use and recreation of the American people." In its first year the project employed six crews of up to fifty men each (mostly African-American laborers), and their foremen.[721]

A series of hurricanes in July, August, and October 1955 and northeasters in January and April of 1956 caused so much damage to the coastline that it was "considered a disaster area." As noted above, local critics were quick to accuse the government of not acting quickly enough to address storm damage concerns, and over time, changes were made in NPS procedures that marginally improved beach restoration work. One change was the abandonment of brush fences composed of local materials, which had been a CCC method, for snow fencing, which was first used in 1957. Of course, bulldozers were used, mainly along sections of the beach closest to the ocean where dune construction using natural processes was not easy to accomplish. The seashore used a bulldozer year round for this purpose, with fences often constructed in conjunction with these

719.Allyn F. Hanks, "A General Summary of Plans for Development of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," *Coastland Times*, January 11, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives. Various monthly reports, 1954-1958, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 15, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Monthly Progress Report 1955-1958 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

720.David Stick, Chairman, Dare County Storm Rehabilitation Committee, Letter to Acting Superintendent, Gustaf P. Hultman, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, June 8, 1956, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2217 (January-June 1956), Special Collections, UNC. Incidentally, Rep. Bonner submitted his letter of complaint about the Park Service to the Congressional Record

721."Completion Report: Dune Rehabilitation Project, 1957 Fiscal Year, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1960; HM 7-97, Entry 402, Box 17, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Completion 1958 File, NARA, Philadelphia.



FIGURE 73. This 1956 photograph shows long buried drainage pipes and gates uncovered by a storm that also cut heavily into barrier dunes and ridges, January 1956. (NPS photograph by W. Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, January 1956, CAHA archives)

artificial dunes to help maintain and increase their size.

Beyond these methods, stated a project completion report, "the Cape Hatteras National Seashore staff firmly believes that vegetation is the final sand stabilization media." A variety of salt-tolerant grasses were used, planted by hand and machine. Mechanical grass planters were first deployed in 1959 and much appreciated by park staff who reported that "the use of mechanical planters has truly been a milestone in the Dune Rehabilitation Program. Their use eliminated a costly bottle-neck, since a five-man crew can plant four times as much as they can by hand." In addition, the elimination of grazing on Ocracoke Island apparently engendered improvement in the stabilization and re-growth of the dunes on that island.[722]

Regardless of the method, however, neither fences nor bulldozed dunes would stop the westward movement of the dunes, although that fact was not yet universally accepted as inevitable. On January 26, 1957, Governor Hodges dramatically asserted that the Outer Banks were slowly receding "due in part to the action of the winds and ocean currents and to the destruction of the dunes and vegetation by man." Unless every effort is made," declared Hodges, "to rehabilitate, stabilize and protect the Outer Banks, huge expenditures will be required in the future to provide protective work for the mainland after the Outer Banks are gone." The governor called upon state and local officials and private property owners to improve conditions themselves by constructing sand fences and shore protective works and by maintaining the dunes.[723] Despite some improved efficiencies, it was beginning to seem as if unlimited NPS funding would be required to control beach erosion.

The following month, federal, state, and county officials gathered to investigate and inspect erosion damage along the Outer Banks. This group included Maj. Gen. Charles G. Holle, head of President Eisenhower's Beach Erosion Board; several technical advisors from the state and Army Corps of Engineers; and a local delegate, David Stick. According to Holle, "erosion is not a new phenomenon that is taking place, but . . . it definitely changes the economy of coastal areas." Holle explained that erosion control became a federal issue during the Depression when the economic impact of erosion first became widely understood.

As a result, the federal government established beach erosion-control boards, which sought to work in cooperation with the people of affected areas, investigate solutions, and report to Congress with recommendations. He noted that the government could provide grants of up to one-third the project costs when local governments contribute as well. In a bid to secure further federal aid, Stick explained how Diamond City on Shackleford Banks, now part of Cape Lookout National Seashore, was once a whaling community of five hundred people. After the infamous San Ciriaco hurricane in 1899, one of the strongest hurricanes on record, residents completely abandoned the town. Similarly, Portsmouth Village on Portsmouth, across Ocracoke Inlet from Ocracoke Island, had been the state's principal seaport in the late eighteenth and early ninteenth century. By 1957, said Stick, all but seven residents of the historic village had moved away due to storms and erosion of the islands.[724] Driven by such concern, Superintendent

722. Completion Report of Construction Project, Sand Fixation Program, July 1956 date work started, date work completed June 30, 1961," 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968, HM 07/98, Box 44, File D3423—CAHA Sand Fixation Program and Beach Erosion Control/Dune Stabilization; NARA, Philadelphia.

723. "Action Needed to Save 'Banks,' Hodges Asserts," *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch,* January 26, 1957, Newspaper clipping file, CAHA archives.

Hanks and several state officials announced that 21,000 pine seedlings from the state nursery would be planted to help prevent erosion on the islands of the Outer Banks. The species had proven successful for twenty years at Corolla north of Kitty Hawk and at Fort Macon State Park on Bogue Bank, south of Morehead City.[725]

In March 1957, Hanks issued a summary of the Mission 66 prospectus which re-emphasized that most other facets of the park's development program were "dependent upon success in the fields of erosion control."[726] Erosion control absorbed a great deal of park management's attention, and in April, it prompted Director Wirth to accompany Governor Hodges on a Coast Guard helicopter tour of the Outer Banks from Manteo to Ocracoke. The trips coincided with a dedication ceremony for the three-million-dollar William B. Umstead Memorial Bridge over Croatan Sound. Hodges expressed "a deep concern of the necessity of providing tidal wave protection" for Ocracoke Island.[727] That June Wirth was again on the Outer Banks to attend a performance of *The Lost Colony* at the Waterside Theatre at Fort Raleigh. While there, he announced that Cape Hatteras National Seashore would be dedicated in 1958. He also briefed locals about Mission 66 and the successes in obtaining further donations for the seashore.[728]

Despite improved efficiencies, park efforts to stabilize its coastal dune system suffered repeated setbacks, due largely to the many hurricanes during the period. State aid helped to maintain those dunes adjacent to the highway and the Dare County Hurricane Disaster Relief Committee helped considerably in developing priorities, but bad weather often simply erased the gains made by the erosion control program. In 1958, for example, the park reported that its dune rehabilitation efforts were "rudely shattered by Hurricane Helene . . . and the northeast storm of October 18 through 21." Indeed, some 85 percent of beach improvements on



FIGURE 74. View of dunes where, the original caption reads, "well vegetated ridges and dunes…cut back 30 feet or more, now present steep 20 foot cliffs of raw sand," January 1956. (NPS photograph by W. Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, January 1956, CAHA archives)

Ocracoke Island had been destroyed. That was the year the park began contracting Danish civil engineer Dr. Per Bruun, a pioneer in beach erosion control who had founded the Coastal Engineering Laboratory of the University of Florida in 1954, to prepare a report on "the natural phenomena at work shaping and reshaping the Outer Banks" and to recommend protective measures in detail. In September 1960, Hurricane Donna ripped across the Outer Banks, destroying, among other things, one-third of the protective dunes on Ocracoke Island and leaving much of the remaining barrier system badly weakened. Still, in 1961, NPS staff remained certain that academic research by North Carolina State College, as well as that of Per Bruun, "portend development of a sound approach to our problem based on factual information of seaside and shore processes and phenomena."[729]

Even the Ash Wednesday Storm did not keep park officials from celebrating the achievements of federal erosion-control efforts on the Outer Banks. In March 1963, after the Army Corps of Engineers had completed a year-long, four-million dollar

724. "Outer Banks Erosion Eyed by Experts," *The Virginian-Pilot*, February 20, 1957, 7B, Newspaper clipping file, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA. Residents also left due to declines in the fishing industry and lack of alternative employment.

725. "21,000 Pine Seedlings to be Planted in Park Area," *The Coastland Times,* February 22, 1957, Newspaper clipping collection, CAHA archives

726. "MISSION 66 Prospectus Brief—Cape Hatteras National Seashore," March 6, 1957, 2, 4-5 (279406); Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

727. Luther H. Hodges, Governor, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, April 4, 1957, in Record of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A6435 Organization—Field Offices, 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

728. "The Lost Colony to Open Its Seventeenth Season at Manteo Saturday Evening," *The Coastland Times,* June 28, 1957, Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.



FIGURE 75. Countering powerful erosional forces involved "grass planting by the mile." (NPS Photograph by W. Verde Watson, March 1957. Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, March 1957, CAHA archives)

project to close a new inlet that had opened near Buxton, an NPS report jubilantly declared that "for the first time since the inception of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore the ocean-side barrier dune was continuous and complete."[730] More truthfully, the "Great Wall of Carolina," as later critics would label the barrier dunes, required continuous and expensive maintenance, and there were more serious concerns than these.[731] Despite their continued faith in erosion control and sand fixation, NPS officials were increasingly concerned about the efficacy of their techniques. Even before the Ash Wednesday Storm, an experimental site was set up on a Bodie Island beach by Dr. Bruun to gather data about the performance of barrier dunes and beach erosion. After the Ash Wednesday Storm, the site demonstrated massive change, with its large barrier dunes eroded over one hundred feet from the sea.[732] Bruun authored a number of important studies relating to erosion, beginning with the "Mechanics of Dune Building through Sand Fences," which he published that year. W. W. Woodhouse, of the Department of Soil Science, North Carolina State University, also began to study the effectiveness of proposed "beach nourishment" plans. Such research was intended to help determine what emergency-response skills and engineering needs were required at the park, to establish baseline measurements for comparison with old CCC shorelines, and to aid with contracting procedures.[733]

Sobering news reached Director Wirth on June 13, 1963, when Hillory A. Tolson informed him that "an alarming amount of beach has disappeared" near the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. In fact, several hundred feet of beach had been lost to erosion near the Cape Point comfort station, amphitheatre, and parking lot. Worse, Tolson informed Wirth, at a point one half mile north of the lighthouse itself "our 500 feet of protective strip has been reduced to 150 to 200 feet and the sea is now at the base of the protective dune in this vicinity." He added ominously that "this whole situation is alarming because the erosion is steadily progressing rather than resulting from violent storms." To address the immediate problem, the Park Service sought a million dollars to dredge sand and rebuild eroded beaches.[734]

In the 1960s, new scientific studies and clear direct evidence began to shed light upon coastal processes, including the affect of beach over-wash during extreme events, but these did not at first prompt NPS officials to abandon erosion-control efforts. Instead, new techniques were applied in pursuit of the same policy. In 1964, the Park Service began its first "beach nourishment" program, which also took

729. Completion Report of Construction Project, Sand Fixation Program, July 1956 date work started, date work completed June 30, 1961," 1961, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968, HM 07/98, Box 44, File D3423—CAHA Sand Fixation Program and Beach Erosion Control/Dune Stabilization; NARA, Philadelphia.

730. National Park Service, "Seventh Year of Dune Rehabilitation at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1963," 1963, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Northeast Field Office, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968; HM 07/98, Box 44, File D3423—CAHA Sand Fixation Program and Beach Erosion Control/Dune Stabilization; NARA, Philadelphia.

731. As quoted in an NPS presentation on the history of erosion control at Cape Hatteras National Seashore provided to the author by Cape Hatteras officials and in possession of the author.

732. Ibid.

733. "Narrative Report, Dune Study Group, 1963 Fiscal Year (July 1, 1962-1963)," Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Northeast Field Office, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968; HM 07/98, Box 44, File D3423—CAHA Sand Fixation Program and Beach Erosion Control/Dune Stabilization; NARA, Philadelphia.

734. Hillory A. Tolson, Memorandum to Director, Resources Program Staff, June 13, 1963, Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1956; D22 APCO-D22 EFMO HM 6-89, Box 35, D22 CAHA 7/60-6/63 File, NARA, Philadelphia.

place on Hatteras Island near Buxton. Beach nourishment operated on a different principle than barrier dunes or sea walls for that matter. Dunes constructed along a beach absorbed wave energy to protect structures behind them. However, the Service now knew that the beaches were still shrinking. With beach nourishment, contractors were hired to pump some 75,024 cubic yards of sand onto the beaches. Seen as a more natural approach, this project was itself problematic in that it was more expensive than dune construction and there was the problem of where to get the sand. Moreover, the nourished beach still eventually eroded away, so that, in evaluating this project, the Park Service found that some sixty percent of the material used was simply lost to erosion. This led NPS officials to find "the beach nourishment part of the contract disappointing." Discouraged, but undaunted, seashore managers conducted other experiments, including the use of helicopters to spread fertilizer for beach grasses instead of relying upon mechanical planters towed by tractor. Meanwhile, fifty-thousand feet of new sand fencing was also erected, seventy acres of grass were planted by hand, and two hundred acres were planted by mechanical means.[735] In 1969, the Navy offered to fund a new $1,250,000 project to install groins near its base at Cape Hatteras that would also benefit the lighthouse, but the groins began to fail even before construction was complete.[736]

Well before the end of Mission 66, NPS officials understood that the beach management situation they faced was dire. As park naturalist Verde Watson titled the beach erosion control photo section of the 1957-1958 annual reports, it was "Man against the Sea." The Park Service was waging a fight against a fundamental force of nature, but what was not quite as crisply understood was the futile nature of that struggle and how a commitment to preserve a "primitive wilderness" had been transformed into a commitment to protect human-made structures using techniques that actually undermined the preservation of natural beaches.



FIGURE 76. In 1968, an effort to check beach erosion near Cape Hatteras, three groins were installed. During construction, the groins began to fail, as is evident in the photograph. (NPS photograph, no date [ca. 1968]

Conrad Wirth on Vehicle Access, 1963

As the work continued to stabilize dunes, vehicular access to the beaches became a more pressing issue. In March 1963, Director Conrad Wirth and Rep. Herbert Bonner discussed the use of automobiles on beaches, specifically regarding vehicle ramps. Bonner had received complaints from locals who wanted ramps set near their own property. By then, according to Wirth, eighteen ramps had been set up to allow commercial fishermen beach access, which Wirth said was prescribed by the law creating the seashore. The ramps were needed to protect the barrier dunes, which had been erected at a cost of a million dollars and years of effort. While these ramps had been set up to allow commercial fishermen to access the beach, Wirth said that the public could use the ramps also to gain access to the shore. According to Wirth, "past history has shown that each vehicular access is a vulnerable spot for the ocean to break through and cause extensive damage to the barrier dune and natural features of the area." To provide more access would jeopardize NPS stabilization efforts, Wirth said, while providing ramps near one private property owner would only inspire others to ask for similar access.[737]

735. Cape Hatteras National Seashore, "Eight Years of Dune Building at Cape Hatteras National Seashore (1964 Fiscal Year-July 1963 to June 29, 1964)," Records Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, General Correspondence Files, 1954-1968, HM 07/98, Box 44, File D3423—CAHA Sand Fixation Program and Beach Erosion Control/Dune Stabilization; NARA, Philadelphia.

736. Cost data from an NPS presentation on the history of erosion control at Cape Hatteras National Seashore provided to the author by Cape Hatteras officials and in possession of the author.



FIGURE 77. An example of "haul net" fishing on Pea Island Beach, December 1955. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, December 1955, CAHA archives)



FIGURE 78. View of NPS ramp over a barrier dune near Ocracoke village, October 1957. (NPS Photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, October 1957, CAHA archives)

Automobile driving on the beach is an infrequent topic in NPS and congressional correspondence from this period, but clearly the National Park Service saw vehicular access to the beach as being necessary to fulfill an obligation to allow continued commercial fishing by legal residents of the villages. This position, however, was an interpretation of the law authorizing the seashore and its amendments, since neither made specific reference to automobiles or how beach access was to be provided. It only specified that commercial fishing by legal residents was to be allowed. One practice in use by Bankers was "haul fishing," a technique whereby fisherman used a jeep or similar vehicle to drag a net from the sea to the beach. Vehicle use was integral to this practice and not merely a means for trans-portation. The Park Service established beach access ramps to enable commercial fishermen to continue to use vehicles to fish from shore while mitigating damage to the barrier dunes by controlling the points of entry, but these ramps also allowed general visitors motorized access to the beach.

Dedication of the First National Seashore Park

Robert F. Gibbs oversaw the dedication of Cape Hatteras National Seashore after his appointment on December 6, 1957, as the park's second superintendent. Gibbs previously served as assistant superintendent of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, a post he had held only since August 1956. He was born in Madison, Virginia, and joined the National Park Service in 1934 at Shenandoah National Park where he rose to become Chief Ranger. He served in the Army from 1940 until 1945 and was awarded a Bronze Star. Later, he was assistant superintendent of Big Bend National Park in Texas and superintendent of Isle Royal National Park in Michigan.[738]

Between December 9 and 13, a few day after Gibbs's arrival, an important Area Management Study was conducted for the seashore and the separate Fort Raleigh National Historical Site. In fact, the review's first major finding was that Fort Raleigh should continue to be managed as a distinct administrative entity under the direct supervision of the Cape Hatteras superintendent. An assistant superintendent was recommended to assist with this function while other administrative recommendations included the

737. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 4, 1963, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 48, Folder 2233 (January-March 1963), Special Collections, UNC.

738. "Cape Hatteras Seashore Park Will Be Dedicated Next April," *The Virginian-Pilot*, July 18, 1957, and "New Superintendent of Cape Hatteras Seashore," *The Coastland Times,* December 6, 1957; both in Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.

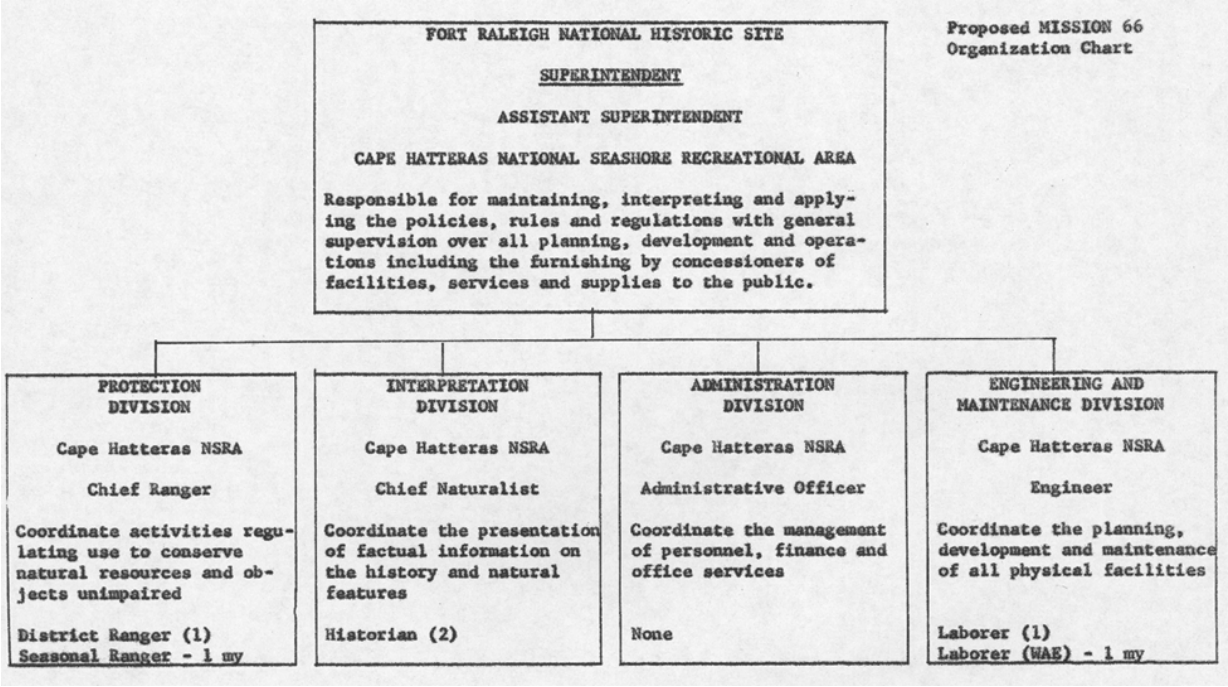


FIGURE 80. Chart showing staff organization at the seashore proposed under Mission 66 plans. (National Park Service, "Area Management Study: Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," December 1957. Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A6435 Organization—Field Offices, 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia)

creation of an administrative division. The review also recommended that the park acquire an improved communications system (especially needed during stormy weather), all-wheel drive vehicles for protective purposes, the institution of guided ranger tours, the construction of roadside exhibits for interpretive purposes, the establishment of a maintenance supervisor position to help oversee engineering matters, and continued studies to find sources of potable water for the park.[739] The review proposed reorganization of the staff at the seashore and Fort Raleigh and included the creation of several new positions expected to be funded under Mission 66.

On April 23, 1958, the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission met in advance of the dedication of the park. Writer Ben Dixon MacNeill and Theodore Rondthaler, the influential school principal, were sworn in as members. Like MacNeil, Rondthaler supported the park but resisted certain NPS policies, especially regarding the wild ponies. They were sworn in by Calvin S. Meekins, the Clerk of Superior Court of Dare County and formerly one of the park's most indefatigable opponents, who now appeared reconciled to its existence. Another notable on the commission was the local publicist Aycock Brown. George Ross, the former Director of the Department of Conservation and Development also attended. Several NPS officials besides Wirth were present, including Clark Stratton.

North Carolina Gov. Luther H. Hodges commended all attending for what could be accomplished through federal, state, and local governments working with local communities and individuals and private foundations. He suggested the commission continue on in the future to work with the Park Service as the major liaison between the park and the governor and other interested parties and cooperate closely with the park to support its Mission 66 program. Director Wirth seconded what the governor had said and noted that the seashore was the first of its kind and therefore of great importance. He also "stressed that the primary purpose of the National Seashore was the preservation of a heritage and the purpose of the Seashore

739. Area Management Study: Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Study and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, December 1957, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A6435 Organization—Field Offices 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.



FIGURE 81. Raymond R. Guest, grandson of Henry Phipps, left, poses with North Carolina Gov. Luther H. Hodges during the unveiling of the Phipps plaque near Cape Hatteras Lighthouse on April 24, 1958. (USG photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 1958, CAHA archives)

was basically that of preserving natural conditions and also providing for public use in such a way that these natural conditions are not harmed." He hoped for the commission's continue support.

After these remarks a motion was made and seconded requesting that the governor approve an important conveyance "of such land under the water of the Atlantic Ocean, the Pamlico Sound and such other lands as the State of North Carolina owns within the exterior boundaries of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area." One of the most important land acquisition issues to be resolved, the matter was not controversial, but Ronthaler noted that the Park Service should not be given authority by this action to restrict the traditional right of sports and commercial fishermen who "had always been free to use the area between the high and low water marks of the ocean without restriction or hindrance." Governor Hodges responded that the Park Service needed this control to protect wrecks, stop pollution, and similar reasons, but that if Ronthaler or anyone else still had questions about the advisability of making the transfer, those questions should be addressed to himself and the Council of State that had to approve the transfer. The motion passed. Commission member Cecil Morris expressed his hope "that fishing can be handled within the Seashore in such a manner as to not create ill will among fishermen."[740]

The following day, Thursday, April 24, 1958, was a notable date in the history of Cape Hatteras National Seashore—several long-anticipated ceremonies were held to dedicate the park. That morning the Park Service held a special ceremony at the visitor center adjacent to the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse to dedicate a bronze plaque recognizing the donation of 2,700 acres to the seashore by the children and grandachildren of the late Henry Phipps, who made the first donation to help establish the seashore.[741] This part of the ceremony was organized in direct response to criticism of the festivities by publisher Victor Meekins, who had complained that the Park Service should hold the dedication on Hatteras Island, which "would have a better effect among the people there and would strengthen the few friends the park has down there." Wirth explained to Herbert Bonner that it was simply too complicated to get many people across Oregon Inlet, but acknowledged the need for a small ceremony on Hatteras.[742]

The main dedication ceremony was held at 2:30 pm at Coquina Beach on Bodie Island. On behalf of Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, who could not attend, Assistant Secretary Roger C. Ernst delivered the keynote address. Ernst's remarks were brief, but he thanked the many in the audience

> who worked so unselfishly to preserve these grounds. . . . Your foresight and magnificent determination were important contributions toward the preservation of these sunny sands. Our shoreline is disappearing quickly into private development, and the entire country is indebted to the persons and agencies who fought together to save Cape Hatteras.

740. Moris noted the need for ferry service to link Ocracoke Island with the mainland via Cedar Island. Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held in the Carolinian Hotel, Nags Head, North Carolina, on Wednesday, April 23, 1958," in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service (318219), "A18 Advisory Boards, Field N.C. Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, 1953-1959" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

741. *The Coastland Times*, April 25, 1958, Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.

742. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, February 18, 1958; and Victor Meekins, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, February 7, 1958; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2221 (January-February 1958), Special Collections, UNC.

He paid a special tribute to Sen. W. Kerr Scott, the former governor who had recently passed away and whose willingness to cooperate with the Park Service had helped to make the seashore possible. Ernst also noted that the seashore would see record visitation in coming years and that "now that we have this new member of the park areas, we must keep it in fine repair. The sea will see to it that we do not lack for work."[743]

Director Conrad Wirth presided as waters from Old Faithful Geyser in Yellowstone National Park, the first national park, were blended with those of the Atlantic Ocean. In a draft of the remarks he gave at the event, the Director credited the park's inspiration to "[M]en of forethought such as the Honorable Lindsay C. Warren, R. Bruce Etheridge, the late former Governor J. B. C. Ehringhouse, Mrs. Maude White, Tom Morse, Miles Clark, Victor Meekins, Frank Stick, Theodore S. Meekins, Bradford Fearing, Ben McNeil [sic] and many others [who] gave unselfishly of their time and effort to advance the cause of a national seashore."[744]



FIGURE 82. The highlight of the seashore dedication program on April 24, 1958, was the "mixing of the waters" from Old Faithful Geyser and the Atlantic Ocean by Supt. Gibbs and Coast Guard Gen. H. C. Moore at Coquina Beach. Shown, left to right, are former Superintendent Hanks, Governor Hodges, Superintendent Gibbs, Admiral Moore, Director Wirth (at speaker's podium), former Rep. Lindsay Warren, Rep. Herbert C. Bonner, Assistant Secretary of Interior Roger Ernst, and Clark Stratton. (NPS photograph, Chief Park Naturalist's Monthly Narrative Reports for Cape Hatteras and Fort Raleigh, 1958-1960, CAHA archives)

Wirth also observed that the critical aid of local supporters for the seashore was originally derived from the 1930s sand-fixation programs, which were, of course, designed to protect property and put the unemployed to work. A natural enough extension of this effort was to back the creation of a park that might bring tourists to the remote area whose fishing economy was in decline even before the Great Depression. Aside from noting key local supporters, Wirth highlighted the importance of NPS leadership in sponsoring a seashore study "that called public attention to the fact that less than one per cent of the Nation's total coast line was in public ownership and undeveloped seashore areas were fast vanishing."[745] After passage of Warren's bill in 1937 and the establishment of the Seashore Commission, many years had to be spent by all involved in land acquisition work, which was initiated by the family of the late Henry Phipps who donated a large tract near the lighthouse to establish a state park as a waypoint to a national seashore. Like Ernst, Wirth mentioned the important cooperation of the late Governor Scott and the vital contribution made by the Mellon foundations. Most importantly, he noted that it was "with the understanding of the majority of the residents of the villages of the Outer Banks that agreement was reached in 1952 on the final boundaries of the seashore area." Wirth also thanked Bonner and the "understanding efforts" of the Seashore Commission. Most of the 28,500 acres sought for the park had been acquired and the rest were expected in the near term.[746]

Paul Mellon, representing both the Old Dominion and the Avalon Foundations, next addressed the

743. Remarks of Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger C. Ernst at the Dedication of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," April 24, 1958, (279407), Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

744. Draft of Speech by Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, for the Dedication of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," April 9, 1958 (279408), Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

745. Draft of Speech by Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, for the Dedication of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," April 9, 1958 (279408), Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

746. Ibid.



FIGURE 83. Philanthropist Paul Mellon speaking at the Coquina Beach Day Use Area during the dedication ceremony for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 24, 1958. (USG photograph, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, April 1958, CAHA archives)

crowd and made a memorable impression, according to writer Inglis Fletcher. His talk, she said, "showed deep appreciation of the natural beauties of the region. He spoke of things seldom mentioned in dedicatory speeches. One could feel the flight of seas birds; the blue of the sea and the great expanse of natural country which would now be open to the people."[747]

Mellon, whose written remarks were actually quite brief, emphasized that of all the appeals that had come across his desk as President of the Old Dominican Foundation the Cape Hatteras project was "the most appealing, self-selling, and most unanimously acceptable one." He felt that the ultimate and non-monetary value of the area would only be realized a generation or two in the future when by comparison "so many more wild and beautiful areas will have disappeared under the waves of population, pollution, profligacy, and what some call progress." Quoting biblical scripture, Mellon concluded:

> "Man shall not live by bread alone." No, nor by cars (even with tail fins), deep freezers, split levels, split atoms, and TV. We hope that this beautiful area will give deep pleasure to many citizens in the future, not only for their well-deserved rest and recreation, but for their realization of quiet hours of contemplation in settings of great natural serenity; the silent renewal of their spirit. And let us not forget the wildlife, and especially the birds of both land and sea: may it give them rest and safety in their travels, and the wherewithal more surely to survive and multiply for many centuries of the future.[748]

Lindsay Warren, former congressman and U.S. Comptroller General, and Rear Admiral H. C. Moore, U.S. Coast Guard, Fifth District were the remaining dignitaries who participated in the dedication, which was timed to coincide with the fourth annual "Dare Coast Pirates Jamboree," an off-season festival intended to boost Dare County tourism. In fact, Aycock Brown of the local tourist bureau had specifically asked Director Wirth to hold the dedication during the jamboree. Wirth also coordinated with Brown to make the initial announcement of the planned dedication, which occurred during the director's visit to the area in June 1957. That visit had coincided with a national gathering of state governors, which thus assured great publicity for both the park and local tourism boosters. Wirth was happy to cooperate in making the announcement at the time, and Brown was happy in return to promote Wirth's Mission 66 program. Their cooperation was a good illustration of how the interests of the Park Service and those of locals could neatly dovetail.[749]

After the dedication, Wirth wrote Bonner thanking him for his aid in establishing the seashore, especially for his support during the contentious meetings with local residents in 1953:

> Believe me, Herb, I have not been unaware of the great help that you have been to the National

747.Inglis Fletcher, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, April 25, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A8215 Special Events C.H.N.S. Dedication, April 24, 1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia. She went on to say that "the Mellon Foundations…have given the freedom of the sand and the water and the sky, and a place for unlimited pleasure."

748.See Appendix E for full text of Mellon's remarks.

749.Aycock Brown, Dare County Tourism Bureau, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, June 14, 1957; and Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Aycock Brown, Dare County Tourism Bureau, [date illegible, reply to Brown letter of June 14, 1957]; Both in Record of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A8215 Special Events, Anniversaries, Similar Observances, 1952-1959," NARA, Morrow, Georgia; and "Tourist Bureau Gives Report on Spring Publicity," *The Coastland Times,* June 14, 1957, Newspaper clippings collection, CAHA archives.

> Park Service and to "yours truly" down through the years in the establishment of this Area. Those famous three days on the Cape will stand foremost in my mind as an experience one should have only once. Your support and protection during those three days was a true test of friendship and belief in a principle. I wish I could find more adequate words to thank you, Herb, but I know you understand what I mean.[750]

To Lindsay Warren, he similarly wrote to say "Gosh! I don't know how I can ever thank you for all the help and assistance you have given not only 'yours truly' but the entire National Park Service down through the years in establishing the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area. We shall always be indebted to you."[751] Finally, on behalf of the Park Service, Superintendent Gibbs also wholeheartedly thanked the entire staff of Cape Hatteras. He described the event as "probably the greatest that will ever occur in connection with this area" and attributed its success to the work of "each employee."[752]

Hunting in a National Park

On September 10, 1958, Superintendent Gibbs issued hunting regulations for the national seashore, which were among the first such rules issued for a national park.[753] The Park Service had long anticipated and dreaded this day, but it could not be avoided. The orders were published in the *Federal Register* on November 21, 1958, as per the authorizing legislation and agreements with locals that underwrote the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[754] The regulations were published with special expedience to match the beginning of the fall waterfowl hunting season in North Carolina, which opened on November 17, 1958.



FIGURE 84. Rep. Herbert C. Bonner speaking at a small ceremony held at the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse during the dedication of the seashore, April 24, 1958. (U. S. Coast Guard Photograph, Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Photograph Folder 2. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

The legislation that authorized Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1937 initially left out a specific provision for hunting. Representative Lindsay Warren remedied this oversight with an amendment to Section Three of the act on June 29, 1940 (54 Stat. 702), which provided that "hunting shall be permitted, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior in conformity with the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755)." At the same time the term "Recreational Area" was added to the park's name to address NPS sensitivity to the issue of hunting and to further emphasize the "recreational" nature of the seashore as a destination for beachgoers and fishermen.

Areas open to hunting specifically designated in Warren's 1940 amendment were Pamlico Sound within the park's boundary, all of Ocracoke Island (except the village), and "within not more than two thousand acres of land in the remaining portion of said national seashore." The latter lands could not

750. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 7, 1958, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2223 (May-December 1958), Special Collections, UNC.
751. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, May 7, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A8215 Special Events C.H.N.S. Dedication, April 24, 1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
752. Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Memorandum to all personnel, April 30, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318219), "A8215 Special Events C.H.N.S. Dedication, April 24, 1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia. Note, the Manteo Garden Club had also assisted the park in organizing the festivities.
753. Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs, NPS Press Release entitled "Management Plan for Public Hunting at Cape Hatteras National Seashore," September 10, 1958, Records of the National Park, Record Group 79 (279416), NARA, Morrow, Georgia.
754. 23 *Federal Register* 9070, November 21, 1958, Part 20, Section 20.58: 1-3.

be specified until the park was actually created, however, so Warren worked out an agreement with NPS Director Cammerer, whom he wrote on March 20, 1940. On April 1, 1940, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes agreed to Warren's proposal that a joint committee be established and composed of four individuals, two from the Department of the Interior and two appointed by the governor of North Carolina, to determine the specific lands within the park where hunting was to be allowed at a later date. When it was eventually set up, this joint committed included NPS Regional Director Elbert Cox, Regional Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service James Silver (replaced upon retirement by Regional Director Walter Gresh), Director Clyde P. Patton of the North Carolina Resources Commission, and Woodrow Price, a member of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission.[755]

On May 22, 1953, a meeting of the members of this committee met in Manteo but made no decision as they awaited the result of studies conducted by North Carolina intended to provide a basis for specific recommendations regarding the designation of hunting lands on Bodie Island. By May 20, 1954, Cox and Price had consulted and made recommendations that Wirth approved and proposed to the Secretary who duly issued an order designating "certain lands in Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area upon which hunting shall be permitted" on July 14, 1954. The order was signed by Acting Secretary Tudor and published in the *Federal Register* on July 30, 1954.[756] As in the 1940 legislation, the order designated all of Ocracoke Island (except the village) for hunting, 1,500 acres on Bodie Island in an area between the sound and Highway 158, and three disconnected strips totally 500 hundred acres between the separate villages of Salvo and Avon and Buxton, and between Frisco and Hatteras, which facilitated access by locals to the permitted hunting zones.

This notice was all the fanfare given the designations as much of the land on which the designation applied was on Bodie Island and owned by Winfield Worth whose condemnation case was still pending. "This makes it undesirable to give a great deal of publicity to hunting on these particular lands," stated one official.[757] The Park Service had no control over lands it did not own and did not want the public to think otherwise.

While hunting of waterfowl was clearly permitted by the legislation creating the seashore, incorporated by reference to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918, the Park Service initially had some difficulty in defining the broader parameters of the term "hunting," whose meaning Warren's bill had not precisely defined. For example, was the hunting of land animals allowed? The question was open to interpretation because the law did not state which specific animals could be hunted. Warren's congressional papers offer some indication, however, of the concerns of his constituents, which were mostly issues pertaining to potato and tobacco farming but which also discuss waterfowl habitat protection along the coast of North Carolina.[758] Writers were concerned with the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 and any issue that might negatively impact the plentiful supply of ducks and geese that brought hunters as well as their wallets to the eastern side of the state. In 1935, in reply to an officer of More Game Birds in America, Inc., Warren expressed his own worry that the loss of waterfowl habitat "will prove fatal to North Carolina."[759] Thus, it seems that "hunting" in the Outer Banks during the 1930s mostly pertained to "waterfowl."

755. "Meeting of Committee [held in Manteo, N.C.] to Designate 2,000 Acres of Lands for Hunting in Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," May 15, 1953, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

756. NPS report entitled "Management of Legal Hunting in Cape Hatteras NS: A Summary of Action Leading to Development of Hunting Plan," [ca. November 1958]; Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior entitled "Designating Lands for Hunting, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," June 17, 1945; and Ralph A. Tudor, Acting Secretary of the Interior, "Order Designating Lands for Hunting," July 14, 1954; All in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

757. E.M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director, Memorandum to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore entitled "Order Designating Lands for Hunting," August 20, 1954, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

758. For example, see Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 227, June 25-30, 1935; Folder 228, July 1-8, 1935; and Folder 229, July 9-12, 1935, Special Collections, UNC.

759. C. Huntington, Vice-President, More Game Birds in America, Inc., Letter to Lindsay C. Warren, June 26, 1935; and Lindsay C. Warren, Letter to C. Huntington, Vice-President, More Game Birds in America, Inc., July 2, 1935, both in Lindsay C. Warren Papers (3172), Box 6, Folder 227 (June 25-30, 1935) and Folder 228 (July 1-8, 1935), Special Collections, UNC.

In February 1954, when the joint committee first met, Regional Director Cox had stated a few basic facts that clearly implied strong NPS desire to curtail the extent of hunting allowed within the seashore. In his opening address to the committee, Cox noted that the 2,000-acre figure was "a maximum and does not specifically require that that much land be dedicated to hunting." He also pointed out that originally seashore planners sought a park composed of 62,000 acres whereas in 1953 the park's authorized boundary was set at less than half of that figure. Moreover, Cox stressed that "the establishment of the Seashore area will improve hunting conditions generally since many lands on which there is good hunting are now in private ownership and not open to the public." This conservative stance of designating less than 2,000 acres was mitigated in discussion, however, apparently due to "hunting pressure and to hunting potentialities."[760]

In a memorandum to Cox in May 1954, Wirth interpreted Warren's 1940 amendment to allow hunting rather broadly and meaning that it "prohibits the issuance of regulations which would permit hunting contrary to the terms of that act." Thus, he thought, the legislation "does not provide that only the birds and mammals covered by that act may be hunted in the area."[761] This interpretation was news to Project Manager Charles S. Marshall, who told Superintendent Hanks, regarding the act's reference to the Migratory Bird Treaty, that "all of us have assumed that this would limit hunting to migratory waterfowl." The interpretation advanced by the NPS Legal Division, wrote Marshall, allowed for the hunting of "deer, antelope, bear, peccaries, squirrels, hares, rabbits and perhaps some others." However, Marshall comforted Hanks by noting that "the seriousness of this interpretation is limited somewhat by the fact that very few, if any, of the above animals would ever be found on the land which the joint committee has recommended as being open for hunting."[762]

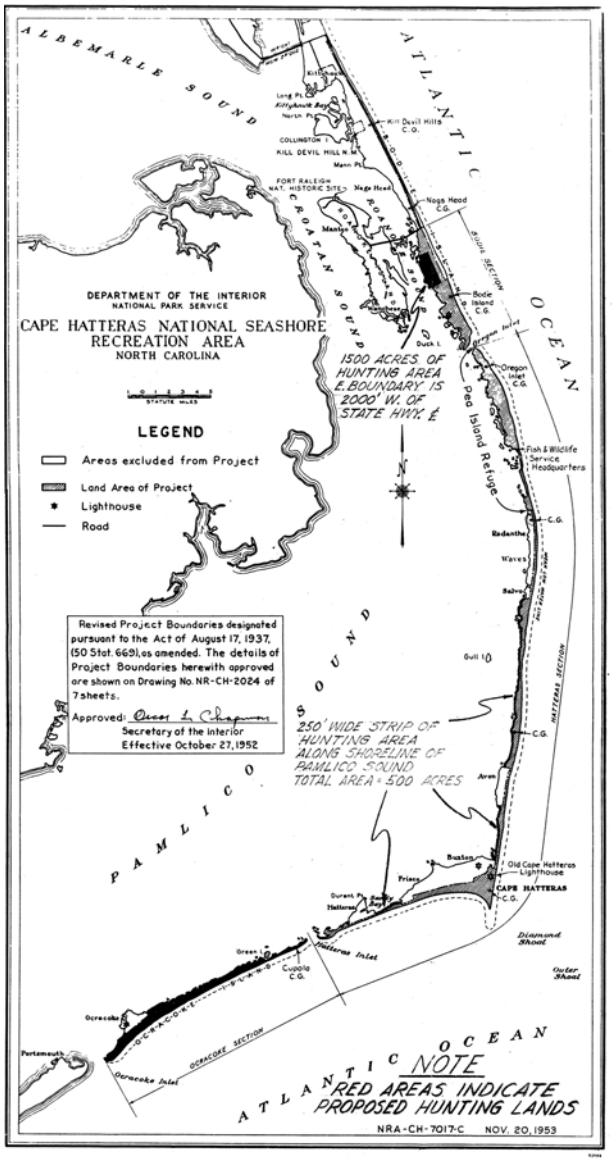


FIGURE 85. This map, dated November 20, 1953, shows areas designated for hunting at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. (Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management-History, 1952-1958" file, NARA, Morrow, Georgia)

Director Wirth, perhaps mindful not to unduly irritate local sentiments after his own heated encounters with some Hatteras hunters, proceeded with a more liberal interpretation of the law than offered up by the joint committee. The draft order that he forwarded to the Secretary did not define

760. "Meeting of Committee [held in Manteo, N.C.] to Designate 2,000 Acres of Lands for Hunting in Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," May 15, 1953, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia..

761. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Memorandum to Regional Director entitled "Designating Lands for Hunting, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," May 4, 1954, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

762. Charles S. Marshall, Project Manager, Memorandum to Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore entitled "Proposed Hunting Regulations," May 4, 1954, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

the term "hunting," nor did the order as signed and published in the *Federal Register* on July 20, 1954. It only designated the areas where the undefined activity of hunting was to be allowed.

Superintendent Allyn Hanks, and his successor Robert Gibbs, were now left with the task of developing the park's first set of hunting regulations. Director Wirth had pronounced that other forms of hunting were not precluded by reference to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act in the 1940 amendment, but his was not the final word on the definition of "hunting."

In early 1956, the question arose as to whether the Service was to allow the trapping of fur-bearing animals at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Clark Stratton, as acting regional director, told Hanks that "the original intent of the Act was to allow the hunting of waterfowl only."[763] Again, this was the concern of Congressman Warren's constituents and, of course, the islands' hunting clubs, which were established for waterfowl hunting. Certainly, some hunters may occasionally have shot at other species, but such activity was not the attraction that brought them to the Outer Banks. Hanks quickly deemed "trapping" a purely commercial activity while "hunting" was recreational. Commercial fishing was a traditional way of earning a livelihood in the Outer Banks and this activity was specifically protected by the authorizing legislation. Commercial hunting, on the other hand, was not. Local officials duly cautioned NPS officials that there were few fur-bearing animals that could be considered "commercial" in the area. Thus, requests to trap were likely nothing more than a guise by hunters who might use the possession of a legal trap to also carry an otherwise illegal firearm within the park. Such a circumstance would provide an easy start to anyone bent on out-of-season waterfowl shooting because they could not be cited merely for carrying a firearm. Trapping, not specifically allowed by legislation, was thus quickly prohibited.[764]

In June 1958, Superintendent Gibbs was still struggling with the issue. "It is quite difficult for me to conceive of legal hunting in a National Park area," he stated in an opening remark to Regional Director Cox. Gibbs acknowledged "that definite commitments have been made and hunting will be conducted on all three islands." However, because legal hunting was such an unprecedented activity for a park, Gibbs at first wanted the state of North Carolina to accept responsibility for hunting management, especially on Bodie Island. Many NPS personnel and also the Fish and Wildlife Service opposed this idea, however. They did not want an outside agency responsible for what was both a touchy subject and an issue that could possibly interfere with other management concerns. Gibbs himself thought that he was "faced with a management problem different from any other area in the Service." With obvious reluctance, he recommended that the Service take full responsibility for managing hunting "and draw up a plan that is practical and workable so far as we can with our limited knowledge and personnel."[765]

NPS personnel had been discussing this problem since the designated hunting areas had been determined in 1954. Management had not addressed the issue with any urgency because certain lands in these designated hunting areas had not yet been acquired. With the park's dedication set for August 1958, followed by the first hunting season to begin under full federal ownership that fall, the matter became more pressing.[766] Intensive consultations began between NPS personnel, the state's game wardens, and the Fish and Wildlife Service to complete a management plan to regulate the permitted hunting by the November 17 deadline. There were many disagreements, for example, over "jump shooting," the use of hunting blinds, and the

763.A. C. Stratton, Acting Regional Director, Region One, Memorandum to the Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore entitled "Trapping Within Lands Designated for Hunting," December 30, 1955, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

764.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director entitled "Trapping Within Lands Designated for Hunting," January 18, 1956, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

765.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director entitled "Management of Legal Hunting," June 27, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

766.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Letter to Walter A. Gresh, Regional Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, May 12, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

licensing of guides, but the various parties of the various agencies worked with commitment to develop a mutually agreeable set of regulations.[767] Regional Director Walter Gresh of the Fish and Wildlife Service advised that because some seventy miles of coastline was subject to some form of hunting, the Park Service should craft simple regulations to limit the administrative burden. For example, Gresh stated that "no regimentation of the hunt [should] be attempted insofar as the issuance of permits . . . or the organization of guides." Similarly, Gresh recommended that the hunt be conducted "on a no charge" basis. Of course, he wanted the Park Service to manage the plan.[768]

Despite a responsible history of negotiations and careful attention, implementation of the hunting management plan elicited "considerable dissension on Ocracoke Island." Some residents insisted they were promised hunting without any regulation by the National Park Service.[769] Superintendent Gibbs also learned at the July meeting of the Seashore Commission "that members of the Nags Head Chamber of Commerce were disgruntled about how we propose to handle the public hunting on Bodie Island." Julian Oneto, a member of the chamber, was upset about the issue without apparently knowing anything about NPS deliberations. Superintendent Gibbs noted that neither Oneto nor anyone from the chamber had bothered to contact the Park Service with any concerns, but once informed were satisfied by NPS plans.[770] The Park Service had anticipated such resentment in the immediate wake of the new regulations, but also felt that this resistance would die quickly if the rules were equitable and fairly implemented.

Conservationists also complained about some aspects of the hunting rules. J. L. Murphy, Regional Director of the World Wildlife Federation, admonished Superintendent Gibbs that

> [i]n view of the paucity of waterfowl in this section of the Atlantic Flyway over the past few years and the predicted reduced numbers for the coming season, it has long been my hope that all blinds be limited to one bag per hunter per day. I think that good conservation requires attention to this situation and that, if practiced, the results in increased use of the Flyway would be rewarding.[771]

The Park Service was compelled to adopt less stringent rules on Ocracoke Island and around the villages on Hatteras than it did on Bodie Island, which lacked villages and where the Park Service could, for example, prohibit jump shooting.[772]

As far as implementation of the new rules was concerned, the Park Service seemed satisfied "that the hunting plan appears to be working out smoothly." In the first days after the season began, some seventy hunters had taken eighty ducks, apparently only within the designated hunting areas, while park personnel had received appropriate training by state and FWS officials regarding the plan and the enforcement of applicable laws.[773] Although Director Wirth had at first sought the most liberal interpretation of the law as applied to hunting within the national seashore, when the Park Service finally posted its hunting regulations in 1958, they specifically stated that "hunting will be restricted to waterfowl, and more specifically to Canada geese, ducks, and coot."[774] The Ocracoke Island Civic Club formally protested this determination in

767.NPS report entitled "Management of Legal Hunting in Cape Hatteras NS: A Summary of Action Leading to Development of Hunting Plan," [ca. November 1958], Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

768.Walter A. Gresh, Regional Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Letter to Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, June 13, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

769.Elbert Cox, Regional Director, Memorandum entitled "Hunting in Cape Hatteras NS," December 3, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

770.Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," July 17, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

771. J.L. Murphy, Regional Director, National Wildlife Federation, Letter to Robert F. Gibbs, Superintendent, September 11, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

772.23 *Federal Register* 9070, November 21, 1958, Part 20, Section 20.58: 1-3.

773.NPS report entitled "Management of Legal Hunting in Cape Hatteras NS: A Summary of Action Leading to Development of Hunting Plan," [ca. November 1958], Record of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (318221), "N16 Wildlife Management—Hunting, 1952-1958," NARA, Morrow, Georgia.

December 1960 and requested permission to hunt rabbits, dove, pheasant and other land animals. Superintendent Gibbs said no. The club complained to Congressman Bonner, who queried Wirth. Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson's reply indicated that the Park Service had completely abandoned any liberal definition of "hunting."

He told Bonner that public hunting was prevented in all national parks, but Cape Hatteras National Seashore was an exception because the legislation that established the park allowed for hunting, which was defined, he now asserted, by reference to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918. "The hunt program," he said, "based upon legislative authority, provides for the taking of Canada Geese, brants, ducks, and coots. All other species of wildlife are protected."[775] A similar, even more definitive response was made by Associate Director E. T. Scoyen to Jack C. Willis, President of the Ocracoke Civic Club, in March 1961:

> We are in agreement with Superintendent Gibbs that existing laws do not permit the hunting of rabbits, doves and pheasants on Ocracoke Island in the same sense that such hunting is not permitted in other National Parks and Monuments. It would require congressional legislation to change the law in this respect and this Service would be impelled to report unfavorably on such a proposal as it is contrary to the fundamental principles for preservation of natural conditions and is not in the public interest.
>
> We are mindful of and have accepted the situation which justified the hunting of waterfowl on Ocracoke, but to go beyond that will defeat the purpose of the National Seashore and the long-range benefits it can bring you and others.[776]

To build local support, the National Park Service had supported the creation of a national seashore that permitted waterfowl hunting, but there it drew the line. It should be noted that before NPS administration of the park, hunting was by membership to a private club or done by trespassing. Now any hunter with the required valid state license and federal migratory bird stamp could legally hunt in designated areas for free or at low cost. Public access did bring a drawback from the hunter's perspective—a lottery system to ensure fair distribution of hunting permits when the number of hunters exceeded the number of permits available. Nevertheless, one of the fundamental goals of park proponents was to make equity, not privilege, a key attribute associated with the Outer Banks. And this goal was achieved.

The Herbert C. Bonner Bridge

In August 1961, Manteo newspaper publisher Victor Meekins wrote NPS Director Conrad Wirth encouraging the National Park Service to commemorate the efforts of Lindsay Warren and Herbert Bonner in creating and establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Meekins said that Warren, as a congressman, did indeed most want to be remembered for this accomplishment.[777] On July 13, 1966, the suggestion was accepted when the Park Service dedicated the Lindsay C. Warren Visitor Center at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site.[778] To commemorate the efforts of Herbert C. Bonner, who succeeded Warren in representing the Outer Banks region, another project was chosen.

On August 30, 1961, the Park Service issued a press release discussing its support for congressional legislation that would allow the agency to help the state of North Carolina build a bridge across Oregon Inlet. The bill was submitted by Bonner on May 1, 1961, and sent to the whole House on August 28, 1961 (HR 6729). Bonner's motivation was simple—

774.23 *Federal Register* 9070, November 21, 1958, Part 20, Section 20.58: 1-3. Apparently, up to this point there was a hunting season for deer and rabbit, which began on November 28, which roughly coincided with the opening of the waterfowl hunting season. *Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Fort Raleigh National Historic Site*, November 1957.

775.Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, February 16, 1961, Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2228 ("Jan-Aug 1961"), Special Collections, UNC

776.Associate Director E.T. Scoyen, Letter to Jack C. Willis, President, Ocracoke Civic Club, March 1, 1961, Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2228 ("Jan-Aug 1961"), Special Collections, UNC.

777.Victor Meekins, Letter to Conrad L. Wirth, August 25, 1961, *Cape Hatteras History*, a bound folder of historical correspondence, SERO Cultural Resources Library.

778.See Cameron Binkley and Steve Davis, *Preserving the Mystery: Administrative History of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site* (NPS, 2003).

the congestion at Oregon Inlet was a nightmare that could not be alleviated by additional ferries. Bonner was personally experienced with the problem. As he told Merrill Evans in 1958, Chairman of the State Highway Commission, "I was in Dare County Sunday. The congestion is something terrible across Oregon Inlet and will grow worse from year to year." The Park Service was interested in helping to pay for the bridge, which reversed its early position, if for no other reason than the congestion generated frequent criticism both by the public and in the press. Traffic congestion also put pressure on NPS facilities north of the inlet, forcing establishment of a temporary camping area in the parking lot at the Coquina Beach Day Use Area, normally used only for picnicking and swimming.



FIGURE 86. Traffic waiting in line for the ferry at Oregon Inlet, August 1956. (NPS photograph by Verde Watson, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for Cape Hatteras National Seashore, August 1956, CAHA archives)

Cape Hatteras National Seashore was thought the only example of a park where the state maintained a road within the NPS system. The Park Service acknowledged that such a bridge was a long-sought goal of the state and those living in the Outer Banks but was a cost beyond their means. NPS staff also realized what a benefit it would be for the park and its visitors to have the bottleneck at Oregon Inlet eliminated. Three quarters of the bridge was to be paid by the U. S. Government through NPS and Bureau of Public Roads accounts. In the same press release the Park Service stated that "The National Seashore Park, which was brought into existence primarily through the efforts of Mr. Bonner, has proven so successful that five other similar parks are now being planned in various parts of the United States."[779] There were some minor complications, however, that perhaps harked back to NPS sensitivity over the issue of wilderness preservation in the 1930s, when the Park Service had hoped to preserve a vast expanse of wild seashore on the Outer Banks.



FIGURE 87. Temporary camping facilities in the parking lot at Coquina Beach in the summer of 1963. After the bridge over Oregon Inlet opened, the heavy camping pressure north of the Inlet eased considerably. (NPS photograph by "Rundell," July 1963. CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

Compromise was unavoidable, namely NPS agreement to allow road construction, which was necessary to secure local support for the park. The compromise made it more difficult for the Park Service to establish and maintain a "primitive wilderness" as provided for by the 1937 authorizing legislation. At the same time, NPS officials were becoming more sensitive to the movement afoot to mandate that the U. S. Government more forcefully sanction wilderness preservation. Critics of federal policy, especially the Wilderness Society and its influential head Howard Zahniser, wanted Congress to establish wilderness areas that would remain undeveloped. Both the Park Service and the Forest Service initially opposed this legislation, claiming it would undermine their administrative authorities.

Conrad Wirth thought that wilderness legislation should not apply to national parks, since the Park Service already recognized and protected wil-

779.Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Merrill Evans, Chairman, State Highway Commission, August 7, 1958; and NPS Press Release, August 30, 1961; Both in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2228 (January-August 1961), Special Collections, UNC.

derness; but critics looking at the history of the development of national parks, including Cape Hatteras, found ample evidence to challenge this argument. In the end, Congress did not exempt the National Park Service from the Wilderness Preservation Act, which passed with strong support from Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall and was signed into law in 1964. By then, Wirth, who had been enormously successful in his efforts to update the nation's parks through Mission 66 but who was at odds with Udall, was on the verge of his sixty-fifth birthday and decided to retire from the National Park Service at the end of 1963.[780] Cape Hatteras National Seashore was not to have any designated wilderness areas despite the language of its own authorizing legislation. The Park Service considered the seashore a recreational area and, besides, the area had long been inhabited and most villagers on Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands sought to escape their rustic lifestyle, not perpetuate it.

Secretary Udall did not object to the Park Service helping to fund the much-needed bridge over Oregon Inlet, but he did express worry that use of NPS lands in construction of the bridge might go against wilderness preservation. Moreover, he asked for the bill to be amended so that only specifically designated funds in the NPS budget could be used for the bridge's construction. Funds from other NPS park road construction accounts could not be touched. The bridge was expected to cost several million dollars and be a sum far larger than normally available for park roads. Thus, to avoid a negative impact on other NPS projects and any precedent in using such funds in a wilderness area, the Secretary wanted Congress to appropriate a specific allotment for the bridge, which was done.[781]

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, head by Colorado's Wayne Aspinall, reported favorably on the bill, having made a minor technical change for the Commerce Department and the aforementioned request by Secretary Udall that the Park Service not be imposed upon to finance the bridge. The Insular Affairs Committee noted other reasons for approving the bill, which included that much of the park land was donated or willingly sold by citizens and that the bridge would be maintained



FIGURE 89. The original caption for this photograph read: "Cape Hatteras National Seashore–May 1963 Aerial view of Oregon Inlet Fishing Center reconstruction subsequent to March 7, 1962 storm. Ferry landing shown in upper right. Approach to new Herbert Bonner Bridge upper left." (NPS photograph by "Rundell," May 1963. Negative Number 63-36, CAHA file, NPS Historic Photography Collection, HFC)

780. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*. (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2005), 69-70.

781. Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Wayne N. Aspinall, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, March 6, 1962 re HR 8983, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2230 (January-June 1962), Special Collections,UNC. The Secretary of Commerce also favored the bill with some minor modifications. Secretary of Commerce, Letter to Wayne N. Aspinall, March 9, 1962, in same folder.

by the state while nevertheless being a benefit to the nation as a whole.[782] These arguments were persuasive, and on October 11, 1962, Congress authorized funds for construction of a bridge to cross Oregon Inlet within Cape Hatteras National Seashore. The law (Public Law 87-79; 76 Stat. 909) allowed the Secretary of the Interior to pay $500,000 toward the cost of the bridge as long as this amount came only from funds specifically designated for that purpose and the state agreed to pay for upkeep. The remainder of the costs would be borne by the federal government. Congressman Bonner was the main force behind passage of this bill. As a memento, President John F. Kennedy gave Bonner the pen he had used in signing the bill.[783]

Construction of the bridge over Oregon Inlet took approximately two years and made a huge impact upon the village life of Hatteras Island and on the island's wild flora and fauna. Upon completion, the bridge brought in waves of tourists whose numbers increased with each passing year, an indisputable and considerable economic benefit to all the villages on Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands. More immediately, there would no longer be frustrating wait times or dread by visitors over the possibility of being stranded on the other side of the inlet if one were unlucky and missed the last scheduled ferry. To accommodate the engineering needs of the project, as Secretary Udall had foreseen, some changes to the landscape on the southern end of Bodie Island were necessitated. A new approach road to the causeway had to be built to the east of the fishing center.

On August 29, 1963, Director Wirth wrote the head of the North Carolina State Highway Commission and stated that he would like to have the commission name the bridge over Oregon Inlet in honor of Congressman Herbert C. Bonner.[784] There was nothing to debate. This gesture by the soon-to-retire director was a fitting tribute to the man who had done much for his constituents by first helping to create the national seashore and second by getting the bridge built. He had been associated with the seashore project throughout his congressional career. Soon to suffer a terminal illness, Bonner passed away in November 1965. It was a windy day in early May 1964 when the new causeway linking Bodie and Hatteras Islands was duly dedicated as the Herbert C. Bonner Bridge in a special ceremony presided over by North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford.



FIGURE 90. North Carolina Governor Sanford speaking during the dedication of the Herbert C. Bonner Bridge, visible in the background, which established the first land route between Hatteras and Bodie Islands, May 2, 1964. (Photograph credit unknown, Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Photograph Folder 3. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

In some ways, the Bonner Bridge had taken as long to create as the park itself. It might even be said that neither would have been possible without the other, since to some extent, existence of the park was predicated upon the faith of Bankers in the Park Service to protect and promote their interests, which included both the preservation of an idyllic coastal recreation environment that attracted increased tourism but also the development of transportation links between the remote islands and the outside world. Access was a key issue if the growing potential of a tourist-based economy was actually to be realized. In the years ahead, this fundamental dilemma, common to many national park areas, would pose great challenges to managers of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Within a decade of completion of the Bonner Bridge, the Park

782. Report N. 1833, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, "Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to Participate in Financing the Construction of a Bridge at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, N.C.," June 1962.

783. Copy of Public Law 87-799 (76 Stat. 909), October 11, 1962, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2232 (August-December 1962), Special Collections,UNC. See also, Hillory A. Tolson, ed., *Laws Relating to the National Park Service: Supplement II* (Washington, USGPO , 1963), 503-506.

784. Conrad L. Wirth, Director, Letter to W.F. Babcock, Director of State Highway Commission, August 29, 1963, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2237 (April 1964), Special Collections, UNC. Incidentally, Lindsay C. Warren was ill and unable to attend the ceremony.

Service was facing serious public complaints on two related fronts.

The first concerned the presence of off-road vehicles or "beach buggies," especially at Cape Point near the famous Cape hatteras Lighthouse. Such vehicles, then mainly used by fishermen, concentrated near the best fishing sites in groups of up to fifty or so, leaving piles of beach trash and making it difficult for other visitors to enjoy the scenic vista. The problem may have existed for awhile, but by 1972, as one writer informed Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., a person "literally could not take a photograph of the waves by themselves without two or three hip-booted intruders in the viewfinder." This visitor did not want a total ban on the buggies but did want some restrictions. He protested that the NPS mission was to leave the land "unimpaired" and noted that if there were fifty buggies this year, when would it stop? "You might as well call it the Hatteras Parking Lot," he concluded.[785]

The stock NPS response was that "in contrast to natural areas, the recreation area is supposed to serve many needs." Indeed, according, to Deputy Assistant Director Joseph C. Rumberg, Jr., "a closure of the cape to allow full aesthetic appreciation of the power and wonder of the ocean, at the expense of fishing and beach buggy use, would be a matter fraught with controversy." Nevertheless, Director Hartzog was appointed by Udall in part because he agreed with Udall's vision for a more activist park policy, and he was willing to entertain new regulations to manage congestion by vehicles on the beach. Hartzog directed the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta to arrange with the superintendent to study the possibility of changes, limitations, or even the elimination of beach buggies. Hartzog hoped the study would develop recommendations that might provide the park with a better means of controlling vehicle use on the beach.[786]

The problem was actually more serious than suggested by visitors annoyed over compromised scenic views. The Bonner Bridge had also brought increasing numbers of fishermen who were not residents of the Outer Banks but were bent on using more sophisticated means to exploit commercial opportunities. The basic issue involved fishermen using dories loaded with nets that were pulled along the beach by truck until a school of fish was located. Then, a boat was lunched and part or all of the school was surrounded by the net tied to the truck onshore, which hauled in the line. According to the account of a sport-fishing newsletter, an existing practice became an acute problem by 1972. During the 1930s, only a half-dozen locals practiced this technique, some using nets that were up to two-hundred yards in length. Between 1936 and the early 1960s, the number of fishermen had remained fairly constant, and with up to ten such fishermen working, their nets were still no longer than four hundred yards.

After the Bonner Bridge opened in 1964, however, commercial fishermen from elsewhere began participating in the fish harvest, some coming from as far away as New York. Now as many as twenty commercial fishermen were using nets up to sixteen-hundred yards in length. This activity was wiping out striped bass because such huge nets took in twenty- to fifty-pound fish in catches weighing up to ten-thousand pounds. Worse, non-commercial fish were merely left to die and rot on the beach. By 1972, the problem was acute, and local fishermen began to complain, noting especially how they brought in cash much needed by the villagers whereas outside commercial fishermen merely depleted the fishing stock. After several years of competition between these various groups of fishermen the situation began to threaten violence, and calls for new legislation were voiced.[787]

One congressman from New Jersey, Edwin B. Forsythe, complained to Secretary of Interior Rogers C.B. Morton that he was "exceedingly concerned"

785.Bradley H. Patterson, Jr, Letter to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., February 7, 1972, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 13, Folder 149 (Cape Hatteras Lighthouse: April 1957; July 1969-November 16, 1972), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

786.Deputy Assistant Director, Joseph C. Rumberg, Jr., Letter to Bradley H. Patterson, Jr, April 6, 1972, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 13, Folder 149 (Caper Hatteras Lighthouse: April 1957; July 1969-November 16, 1972), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

787.Ken Lauer, "A Cape Hatteras Report," *Fenwick Newsletter*, Volume 1: 2, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, Box 84, Folder 1059, Routing Slips [daily reading files], Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina. The author was a sport fisherman writing for a sport fishing newsletter and a member of the "National Sea Shore Conservation Effort."

about commercial fishermen abusing their privileges and ruining fishing for sport enthusiasts. As he saw it, the Department already had authority to address the interests of his fishing constituents and he wanted some action. "It would obviously be a big boost to me, personally, in this election year," he added. [788]

Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks Nathaniel P. Reed replied that the seashore's authorizing act allowed both sport and commercial fishing from the beach. A complicating problem, however, was that the park boundary only extended to the mean low water mark beyond which jurisdiction was vested in the State of North Carolina. Nevertheless, Reed emphasized that the Park Service was "keenly aware" of the tensions between sport and commercial fishing groups and was actively working with state and other federal agencies, including the National Marine Fisheries Service, for a cooperative solution. Reed explained that the Park Service was going to inaugurate new measures, including consultations with local commercial fishing interests and the publication of new regulations to try to exclude non-legal residents from commercial fishing, which was not allowed at Cape Hatteras. Reed acknowledged public disgust had been generated by commercial fishermen who left fish to die on the shore, but that was already against the rules. Reed wanted park staff to enforce this rule against those who violated it. Separate zoning for sport and commercial fishing also began to be considered. Superintendent Robert Barbee met with Reed himself in July, who particularly wanted the Service to follow up with Congressman Forsythe on the zoning issue.[789]

By October, the Interior Department had created a Cape Hatteras National Seashore task force to address congressional concerns regarding the conflict between commercial and sport fishermen at the seashore. The intent of the task force, which consisted of professionals from various agencies who might be expected to be sensitive to the relations of the park with its neighbors, was to produce findings that would apply to similar situations at other national seashores. The Interior Department further sought the cooperation and advice of the governor of North Carolina and the inclusion of his representatives on the task force. As in years past, the solution to sensitive problems at the seashore required the cooperation of several federal and state agencies but was also being managed in light of what precedents were being set for the newer seashore parks then under development.[790]

In the coming years, many heated debates were to erupt between commercial, sports, environmental, and park-access groups, but a further accounting of that story is not possible here. It should be noted, however, as this study has shown, that between the 1930s until well into the 1960s, the public lodged few complaints about fishing, beach-driving, or conflicts between vehicle-users and other beach-goers. At first, the few Bankers with vehicles, and occasional visitors, did not relish the notion of beach-driving and did so simply because there were almost no roads on which to drive. After World War II, improved automotive technologies allowed more villagers and visitors to drive along the seashore, but without roads this activity still entailed the onerous rituals of deflating and re-inflating tires, digging out from occasional sandpits, and risking getting stuck. Such experiences were unpleasant but whether they bothered the typical "Hatterasman" as writer Ben Dixon MacNeill phrased it, was another question.

Bankers were by tradition and necessity a people of the sea and were adept at using it for transportation. They did not need roadways for their own transportation or lifestyle needs, rather an absence of roads limited economic growth. As their traditional life ways declined, Bankers increasingly sought the roads and bridges needed to sustain a tourist-based economy. As far as the National Park Service was concerned, a major reason it began to reappraise opposition to an island parkway was that random beach driving led to destruction of the artificial

788. Edwin B. Forsythe, Member of Congress, Letter to Honorable Rogers C.B. Morton, Secretary of Interior, May 9, 1972, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 13, Folder 149 (Caper Hatteras Lighthouse: April 1957; July 1969-November 16, 1972), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

789. Nathaniel P. Reed, Letter to Honorable Edwin B. Forsythe, June 7, 1972; and L. H. McDowell, Follow-up Memorandum to Mr. Brown, July 14, 1972; both in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 13, Folder 149 (Caper Hatteras Lighthouse: April 1957; July 1969-November 16, 1972), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

790. Curtis Bohlen, Acting Secretary of the Interior, Letter to Honorable Walter B. Jones, October 24, 1972; and Curtis Bohlen, Letter to Honorable Robert W. Scott, Governor of North Carolina, October 27, 1972; both in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 86, Folder 1067 (Routing slips [daily reading files]), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

dunes and harmed native flora and fauna. Ironically, the very road that boosted tourism and was suppose to better protect the environment by eliminating the chore of beach driving was also what made commercial and recreational access to the beach ever more possible and brought those separate interests into conflict. Of course, some commercial fishermen used jeeps early on to operate shore-based fishing nets while the Park Service set up ramps to help channel sport fishermen away from the more sensitive dune areas. These early ramps also gave access to increasing numbers of tourists. Still, such uses did not begin to elicit great controversy until after the Bonner Bridge opened in 1964. With the bottleneck at Oregon Inlet removed, there was no limit to the number of park visitors who in a day's span could drive down the banks and out onto the beach. Completion of the Bonner Bridge, therefore, marks a key demarcation point in the history of the first national seashore.

Epilogue: A Model for Later Parks. . .

Although it took twenty-one years to create, establish, and dedicate Cape Hatteras National Seashore, once accomplished, success was immediately obvious to almost everyone. Conservationists, including those within Congress, began to consider further possibilities for protecting the nation's coastal areas and offered proposals for similar parks even before Cape Hatteras was actually established. In the 1940s, legislation was drafted to create national seashores in Virginia, Delaware and Maryland, which Herbert Bonner claimed was a direct result of the then-yet-unrealized Cape Hatteras model.[791] Like Bonner, Conrad Wirth also claimed that the national seashore at Cape Hatteras set the pattern for later coastal parks: "It was the seashore studies of the thirties, the CCC, and the Cape Hatteras authorization by Congress that initiated the program under which they were established."[792]

Seashores and Lakeshores

The most direct early link between Cape Hatteras National Seashore and subsequent national seashores, however, was the special national seashore and lakeshore studies conducted in the 1950s and made possible by funding from none other than the Avalon and Old Dominion Foundations. The result of these studies was an influential report entitled *Seashore and Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts* published by the National Park Service in 1955. The survey evaluated numerous potential sites that remained after some two decades of intervening development since the original NPS seashore area studies of the 1930s. It was known from the beginning that many of those areas could not be saved, but the Park Service duly set about to answer the query about what "remaining opportunities to preserve outstanding stretches of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts" still existed. As in the 1930s, the Park Service sought those areas that could be preserved for public recreation and that might also be "desirable as sanctuaries for unique or rare plant and animal communities."[793]

Mellon funding made it feasible for Wirth to assemble a professional team which, with the assistance of Coast Guard reconnaissance aircraft and various state officials, was able to resurvey the entire Atlantic and Gulf coasts as well as the coastal areas of the Great Lakes. This team recorded data on 126 areas over an eighteen-month span. After touring 3,700 miles, it was determined that only 240 miles of coastal area were in public ownership, and 50 percent of that total was mostly due to Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Acadia and Everglades National Parks. Of twelve areas recommended for recreational park status by the studies of the 1930s, only one, Cape Hatteras, had been protected. Ten of the remaining eleven areas were already under private or commercial development. The study team recommended sixteen new areas along the Atlantic

791. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to Herbert Peele, January 13, 1949, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205 (1937-1941; 1945-1949), Special Collections, UNC. The proposed seashore area in Maryland and Virginia was probably the future Assateague Island National Seashore, which, like Cape Hatteras, was one of the original national seashores proposed by the 1934 survey. Authorized in September 1965, the history of its establishment is recounted in Barry Mackintosh, *Assateague Island National Seashore: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1982), which traces a history parallel in many respects to that of Cape Hatteras.

792. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 197-199.

793. *Seashore and Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts*, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1955), ii.



FIGURE 91. Surf fishing on Hatteras Island is only one example of the many recreational opportunities available to all Americans at a seashore recreational area. The success of Cape Hatteras National Seashore was a model for future such coastal parks. (NPS photograph, no date. Req. number 1104, CAHA File, NPS Historic Photograph Collection, HFC)

coast that met specific criteria for permanent protection, criteria that compared the importance of their natural and recreational qualities, ease of access to metropolitan areas, and realistic potential for acquisition.[794]

The new coastal study was done concurrently with the planning for Mission 66, which was a grand effort to realign the national parks to meet the recreational needs of post-war America. Although not all the areas recommended by the study team were later protected, many were, and five of the top seven recommended sites became national seashores. In 1960, the Mellon-funded coast park study allowed the Park Service to make recommendations that Congress create three new national seashores at Cape Cod, Massachusetts; Padre Island, Texas; and Oregon Dunes, Oregon. The Park Service also continued studies that year regarding recommendations for seashores at Point Reyes in California and Cumberland Island in Georgia.[795] Wirth also believed the coast area study influential in laying a basis for the eventual creation of Cape Lookout National Seashore, which would include the Outer Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet.[796]

Soon after the dedication ceremonies at Cape Hatteras, Senator Richard L. Neuberger submitted a series of articles about Cape Hatteras National Seashore to the *Congressional Record* in support of efforts to create the seashore at Oregon Dunes. The articles had appeared in the *Register-Guard* in Eugene, Oregon, where a reporter, A. Robert Smith, had surveyed residents of the Outer Banks about their views on the establishment of the nation's first national seashore. An early and independent assessment of the success of the Cape Hatteras project, the series cast the national seashore in a generally positive light, and in his own comments about the series, Neuberger expressed strong support for creating a similar park in Oregon. "In my opinion," he wrote,

> one of the major benefits from the series of articles from the Oregon newspaper is the emphasis that has been given to the different status of seashore recreation areas, as compared with national parks. National parks are primarily for preservation of some exceptional and unique beauty, with recreational activities they are a secondary category. The seashore recreation areas, on the other hand, underscore outdoor recreation activities such as swimming, fishing, sailing, boating, and waterfowl hunting, just as their names implies. The two types of development cannot be safely compared because of different basic functions.[797]

As they had during the struggle to create Cape Hatteras, park opponents in Oregon played on fears of restrictions that would be imposed on a national seashore recreational area. Unlike at Cape Hatteras, however, they were successful in preventing creation of Oregon Dunes National Seashore. Instead, the first post-war coastal park to be established was in Massachusetts.

794. Seashore and Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1955), ii-iii, 3-9.

795. Annual Report of the Director, National Park Service, to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1960), 292-293.

796. These top seven sites were, in order of priority: Cape Cod (Massachusetts), Cumberland Island (Georgia), Fire Island (New York), Shinnecock Inlet (New York), Padre Island (Texas), Smith Island (North Carolina), and Bogue Banks (North Carolina). Shinnecock Inlet was set aside as a state park while Smith Island (Cape Fear) was not protected.

797. Senator [Richard Lewis] Neuberger, "A. Robert Smith, of *Eugene Register-Guard*, Surveys Cape Hatteras National Seashore on North Carolina Seacoast, *Congressional Record,* Vol. 105, No. 131, August 4, 1959, in Cape Hatteras National Seashore files, Box 2, HFC.

Cape Cod National Seashore, which the Cape Hatteras-inspired seashore study had listed as the top priority for national park status, became the nation's second national seashore in 1961. The creation of Cape Cod National Seashore also set a new precedent, which was that Congress should, as a matter of routine course, authorize the expenditure of federal funds to purchase park land.[798] Needless to say, such authority would have made establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore a much simpler task.

As other states began to press for additional protected coastal areas, some in North Carolina and the Outer Banks offered new proposals to expand the boundaries of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. There were roughly three major possibilities. In 1962, Wirth, Representative Bonner, and others, tentatively explored the possibility of applying the Hatteras model to Virginia's Back Bay barrier islands, which were geologically an extension of North Carolina's Outer Banks. "If there is any foresight in the State of Virginia," said Bonner, "the state will want to have a place where people can go for seashore recreation." Bonner noted that there was fierce opposition in 1945 and 1946 to the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, but by 1962 the "benefits from the National Seashore have been so great some of those most bitterly opposed in the beginning are now sold on the park." Why was the Outer Banks so attractive to tourists? Bonner said: "It's clean, it's not full of honky tonks, and you have room to stretch out." Secretary Stewart Udall thought it "one of the most exciting projects being studied," but it never came to fruition, although a False Cape State Park and Back Bay National Wildlife Refuge were established a few years later.[799]

The National Park Service also revived the idea of extending Cape Hatteras seashore to the north and to the south. Unfortunately, the shoreline north of Bodie and Hatteras Islands was already extensively developed, and as they had done before, those with real-estate interests quickly stepped forth in opposition. The commercially successful model of protected coastline and private development around protected villages did not impress the commissioners of Currituck County, North Carolina, who wanted the entire coastline open to development. They soon sent Bonner a resolution opposing any northward extension of the park into Currituck county.[800] Acting Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver responded by noting that North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford had appointed a commission to review the coastal situation. Carver acknowledged opposition to the park but expressed his belief that a proper balance could be had between private and public interests that would preserve the coastline while providing opportunities for public recreation and private development.[801]

In March 1963, Bonner received petitions from Currituck and Dare Counties stating opposition to any extension of the seashore park. Bonner defended his support for expanded protection of the state's seashore, but he also sounded a cautious tone, noting that the governor had set up a special committee to look at the issue.[802] Wirth had suggested that the Park Service participate in a joint study of the Currituck Outer Banks with the county's commissioners and the Currituck County Resources Council, but opposition was too great and plans to expand national park status to the north of Cape Hatteras National Seashore quietly died.[803]

Efforts next focused upon the Outer Banks south of Ocracoke, which were still largely undeveloped. By 1958, the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission was in full support for further federal coastal acquisitions in the state. At the behest of commission member Cecil Morris of Atlantic, North Carolina, the Seashore Commission recommended that the state acquire the remaining islands between Ocracoke Inlet and Beaufort Inlet, which

798. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 197-199.
799. Luther J. Carter, "Va. Sounded on Reef Park," *Virginian-Pilot*, July 17, 1962, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2231 (July 1962), Special Collections, UNC.
800. William Brumsey, Jr., Clerk of the Board, Currituck County, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, August 9, 1962, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2232 (August-December 1962), Special Collections, UNC.
801. John A. Carver, Secretary of the Interior, Letter to William Brumsey, Jr., August 26, 1962, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2232 (August-December 1962), Special Collections, UNC.
802. Herbert C. Bonner, Letter to County Board of Commissioners, March 11, 1963, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 48, Folder 2233 (January-March 1963), Special Collections, UNC.
803. Ben H. Thompson, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, March 11, 1963, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 48, Folder 2233 (January-March 1963), Special Collections, UNC.



FIGURE 92. Many of those responsible for the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore were present at its dedication on April 24, 1958, including, left to right, Assistant Secretary Roger C. Ernst, Rep. Herbert C. Bonner, Director Conrad L. Wirth, Paul Mellon, Gov. Luther H. Hodges, former U.S. Comptroller General and Representative Lindsay C. Warren. (State of North Carolina photograph by Bill Gulley, Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), Photograph Folder 3. Courtesy of Special Collections, UNC)

lies at the southwestern end of Shackleford Bank, and convey the land for inclusion in Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[804] Wishing to secure "permanent protection" for Portsmouth Island, Core Bank, and Shackleford Bank, the commission motioned that the state's Board of Conservation and Development determine how to extend the seashore to Beaufort Inlet.[805] The details of this story exceed the scope of this study, but with this beginning, proponents began the process that in March 1966 resulted in congressional authorization to establish Cape Lookout National Seashore. As with Cape Hatteras, some years were required to bring this park into being, and it was not established until 1976 when the state of North Carolina officially transferred state property to the National Park Service.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore was an important model for subsequent similar parks around the country. As its creators had hoped and foreseen, it was the first of a new class of national park that safeguarded the seashore from extensive development while guaranteeing the American public unencumbered access to beaches. The effort to create "A Coastal Park for North Carolina and the Nation" was not what anyone had expected, but the final assessment, as this narrative supports, is that the project was greatly successful in achieving the essential vision and aims of its founders.

The End of Erosion Control at Cape Hatteras

In 1937, Conrad L. Wirth published an article entitled "Cape Hatteras Seashore" in which he discussed how conservation work under NPS supervision had given a renewed "impetus" to the park and recreation movement in the United States. "The American people," wrote Wirth,

> are acquiring a new concept of outdoor recreation, and an appreciation of the value and importance of natural park areas. For that reason, and in line with its general policies, the Service is interested in the acquisition of certain natural, coastal areas to be set aside as national seashores where the people can get acquainted with and enjoy the beauty of the seacoast in its unspoiled state.[806]

Cape Hatteras, Wirth confidently announced, was one of the finest examples of this new kind of park. The rustic character of the banks and its villages deeply appealed to him, and Hatteras and the other barrier islands off the coast of North Carolina, were the first choice of the National Park Service for the first American national seashore. Unfortunately, Wirth noted, wild ponies, cattle, and logging had cleared the Outer Banks of timber and had made necessary an erosion-control program then being administered by the Park Service. "A trip over this region by air shows clearly how the uncontrolled sand dunes, slowly moving westward, have been crushing trees and other plant material under their weight," he wrote.[807] Wirth concluded his essay by

804. Superintendent, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One, entitled "Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission," July 17, 1958, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, East Point, Georgia.

805. "Minutes of the Meeting of the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission held July 16 and 17, 1958, at Manteo and Ocracoke," July 16 and 17, 1958, in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, "A18 Advisory Boards, Field, North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission 1953-1959" folder, (318219), NARA, East Point, Georgia.

806. Conrad L. Wirth, "Cape Hatteras Seashore," in Harlean James, ed., *American Planning and Civic Annual* (Washington, DC: American Planning and Civic Association, 1937), 97.

stating that "it is the intention of the National Park Service to keep as much of the area as possible in a primitive state" and that NPS facilities for swimming, fishing, and other accommodations were to "be carefully planned and controlled to avoid any serious modification of the natural character of the area."[808] Implied in Wirth's comments, if not directly stated, was a clear NPS intent to maintain a permanent beach erosion-control program with the expected establishment of the national seashore.

In 1937, political leaders believed that human activities had artificially accelerated shoreline erosion; or rather, and more convenient for their purposes, they imagined that human agency could artificially foster a return to "natural" conditions. After all, the essential idea of early-twentieth-century biology was that systems move toward an unchanging plateau of stability where they remain unless their "natural balance" is disturbed by, for example, human-induced deforestation. By the late 1960s, however, biology as a field was moving away from such notions and towards newer concepts of dynamic change. Biologists began to see that large-scale natural systems must respond and constantly adapt to myriad environmental forces and thus can only be "stable" under conditions that allow change. Likewise, partially through NPS support and private foundation funding, science began to acquire a better understanding of the inherent dynamism of certain coastal processes, including the requirement of "oceanic overwash" of the Outer Banks as an important factor in maintaining a natural and healthy ecosystem. In 1970, Paul J. Godfrey overturned established thinking on this topic with publication of his seminal analysis of the topic.[809] In 1972, Robert Dolan, of the Department of Environmental Sciences at the University of Virginia, stated in the prestigious journal *Science* that NPS erosion control practices at Cape Hatteras, in use from the 1930s through the 1960s, were denying basic principles of nature.[810]

Godfrey and Dolan demonstrated that while barrier dunes might provide temporary protection for structures from direct wave action, the dunes also simultaneously increased the force applied to the beach itself. In other words, barrier dunes caused greater erosion than they prevented when new deposition of sediment was less than the force applied, which was usually the case. One reason why this situation may have worsened since the 1930s was continuous sea- level rise, measured at three inches between 1963 and 1972.[811] The conclusion was that barrier dunes constructed since the 1930s had actually served to foreshorten the seashore's beaches by up to 150 feet and had dramatically altered both the ecological and the topographical characteristics of the Outer Banks.

At the same time, the villages had experienced dramatic growth. For generations, substantial construction was limited to relatively protected sound-side enclaves that had proven safe havens from recurrent hurricanes and nor'easters, but after the completion of roadways and, especially, the Bonner Bridge, growth sprawled up to the very edge of the NPS boundary. Property owners who built out toward the beach may have thought that NPS policies would protect their holdings from historic forces of nature, and some apparently did, but it was an undeniably risky venture. Then, despite continued barrier dune maintenance and beach nourishing projects, the beaches began to narrow. In fact, science revealed, the dunes themselves were contributing to that phenomenon.

In the summer of 1971, a major report to the Secretary of the Interior by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments found that NPS policies regarding the construction and maintenance of artificial dunes and groins at Cape Hatteras National Seashore were having a deleterious impact on the ecosystem. Inflexible artificial dunes so seriously interfered with natural processes that swamps and shallow inland waters no longer provided a habitat for

807. Conrad L. Wirth, "Cape Hatteras Seashore," in Harlean James, ed., *American Planning and Civic Annual* (Washington, DC: American Planning and Civic Association, 1937), 79, 100.
808. Ibid., 102.
809. See Paul J. Godfrey, *Oceanic Overwash and Its Ecological Implications on the Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Washington, DC: Office of Natural Science Studies, National park Service, 1970).
810. Robert Dolan, "Barrier Dune System along the Outer Banks of North Carolina: A Reappraisal," *Science*, Vol. 176, No. 4032 (April 21, 1972): 286-288.
811. Robert Dolan and Paul Godfrey, *Dune Stabilization and Beach Erosion: Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina,* Dune Stabilization Study No. 5 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1972).



FIGURE 93. Sandbags placed by the Park Service to prevent destruction of a private motel near Buxton on Cape Hatteras. (NPS photograph, CAHA archives)

wildlife or seabed for oceanic life. The use of groins was found to be equally destructive since these devices interfered with the natural flow of ocean currents, altering the shape, size, and character of the coastal beach habit. Criticism was also leveled at the Park Service for assuming responsibility for some historic structures, including the dock at Ocracoke Island and various Coast Guard stations, because while historic these buildings were expensive to maintain in a rugged environment.[812]

Meanwhile, Robert Dolan pointed out that large expenditures on erosion control were concurrent with "the rapid deterioration of the barrier dune systems." He called upon the Park Service and the Army Corps of Engineers to "consider very carefully the long-term implications of our present decisions." Dolan thought it particularly desirable to rethink these polices because the Park Service now administered several large national seashores and was considering others.[813] Erosion control at Cape Hatteras was expensive, had not produced the desired results, had no end in sight, and if applied system wide, would dramatically escalate NPS expenses.

Nathaniel P. Reed, who was Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks from 1971 to 1977, began to rethink the conventional wisdom. A Floridian later interested in the Everglades, Reed was open to ecological thinking. Director Hartzog had recommended the youthful Reed for the assistant secretarial job when he himself turned it down. Reed took up his work with gusto and was known for active interventions in the affairs of the agencies below him. This was especially true with regard to the Park Service after Director Hartzog stepped down at the end of 1972. After giving the erosion control issue some thought, Reed soon began to intervene in Cape Hatteras management.[814]

In July 1972, an NPS official reported that Reed objected to "any proposal to 'nourish' the dunes to protect private property." Reed specifically criticized a $4.3 million project for dune work to protect a private motel near Buxton. Reed's view was certain to conflict with Banker interpretations of Conrad Wirth's commitment, especially as stated in his "Letter to the People." The Service was aware of this understanding, and was in fact considering the option of further erosion-control actions, but it was also facing a body of scientific evidence and years of experience that demonstrated with great certainty that beach erosion control was not only hugely expensive, but ultimately ineffective. Indeed, the anticipated costs for beach erosion control at Cape Hatteras probably worried Reed less than the precedent-setting actions that might affect areas beyond the Banks. Reed told NPS staff to develop a long-range plan for the seashore that better reflected the Service's role as a resource manager, asserting that the Park Service was neither in the business of counteracting natural processes nor protecting private property. Now NPS officials would need the Assistant Secretary's clearance to initiate further erosion-control projects.[815]

No further approvals would come, however, because on July 26, 1973, Director Ronald Walker wrote to Reed seeking his concurrence with a

812. "Report to The Secretary of Interior, Rogers C.B. Morton, Inspection of Certain Field Areas of the National Park System, Summer 1971 by Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments," 142-143, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 1, Folder 111, "Advisory Board on National Parks, January 4, 1971-September 9, 1971," Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, SC.

813. Dolan, "Barrier Dune System along the Outer Banks . . .," 286-288.

814. Reed's thoughts are outlined in: Nathaniel P. Reed, "How Well Has the United States Managed Its National Park System?: The Application of Ecological Principles to Park Management," page 6 of draft speech dated March 29, 1972 and intended for Second World Conference on National Parks, Grand Teton NP, September 22, 1972, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 95, Folder 1188 (Speeches, Reed, Nathaniel P.), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, SC.

decision to "terminate erosion control at the completion of the present contract." Walker planned to seek Congressional approval to use the remaining funds appropriated for that fiscal year, $1,436,800, for a joint study and planning effort with the State of North Carolina to develop transportation alternatives for the area. Reed concurred.[816] Congressional hearings were held on this major reversal in NPS policy, and many local and even national newspapers attacked the Park Service for abandoning the coastal communities. In spite of the opposition, the Service had accepted an essential tenet of life on a coastal island: it was a high risk environment and man had to work with the sea, as Dolan had said, not against it.



FIGURE 94. Contractors place sand in a Beach nourishment project in the early 1970s near Buxton. (NPS photograph, CAHA archives)

The Park Service issued a briefing statement, at the urging of Supt. Robert D. Barbee, on September 28, 1973. Probably influenced by Reed's draft speech in March (intended for delivery in September), the briefing statement explained the new government view that erosion control, far from saving the banks, was actually helping precipitate their demise. The statement cited as evidence the Ash Wednesday Storm of 1962 that had opened a new inlet on Hatteras Island north of Buxton, and stated the NPS perception that this breach occurred or was made worse because of artificial barrier dunes.[817]

Thus, in 1973, the Park Service adopted an entirely new approach to seashore management that accepted as a primary principle that permanent structures in a natural beach setting were unsustainable and that important or historic facilities might require occasional relocation to preserve them from the relentless processes of erosion. As Dolan and Godfrey noted in a joint report, "it is important to stress that the dune lines, road lines, utility lines, or property lines have *no natural significance*" (original emphasis).[818] This new policy was to have far-ranging implications. Most notably, an actual determination was made in the 1990s to move Cape Hatteras Lighthouse to save it from the sea, and planning began in the early twenty-first century to relocate the historic buildings at the Bodie Island Coast Guard Station as well. Despite this fundamental shift in federal policy, the State of North Carolina had little choice but to continue to protect its roadway by maintaining the established dune system. The Park Service cooperated with the state in this regard, but no longer funded such activity itself. Accumulated scientific data and the intervention of the ecologically minded Reed had decisively ended a thirty-seven-year commitment by the National Park Service to continuous erosion control along the beaches of the Outer Banks.[819]

After abandoning its policy of erosion control at Cape Hatteras, the Park Service claimed that statements by Conrad Wirth and others that park

815.L. H. McDowell, Follow-up Memorandum to Mr. Brown, July 14, 1972, in George B. Hartzog, Jr. Papers, MSS 74, Box 13, Folder 149 (Caper Hatteras Lighthouse: April 1957; July 1969-November 16, 1972), Special Collections, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

816.Ronald H. Walker, Director, Memorandum to Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary of Interior, July 26, 1973, as quoted in Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark, "Termination II: How the National Park Service Annulled Its "Commitment" to a Beach Erosion Control Policy at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, working paper, November 1976, 51, copy located in Resource Management Library, CAHA.

817.National Park Service, "Briefing Statement," September 28, 1973, as quoted in Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark, "Termination II: How the National Park Service Annulled Its "Commitment" to a Beach Erosion Control Policy at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, working paper, November 1976, 51-52, copy located in Resource Management Library, CAHA.

818.Dolan and Godfrey, *Dune Stabilization and Beach Erosion. . . .*

819.A similar but far more detailed account of how this policy was overturned is given by Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark in: *Termination II: How NPS Annulled Its Commitment to a Beach Erosion Control Policy at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore* (Durham: Institute of Policy Sciences, Duke University, 1976). This work is further synthesized as Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark, "The Termination of Beach Erosion Control at Cape Hatteras," *Public Policy* (Winter 1979), Vol. 27, No. 1: 99-127.



FIGURE 95. A road on Hatteras leads into the ocean due to the effects of beach erosion that NPS erosion control efforts were unable to prevent after years of effort. (NPS photograph, Harpers Ferry Center)

boundaries were drawn to allow the Park Service to conduct erosion-control efforts on behalf of the seashore and its villages, did not provide a guarantee in perpetuity. NPS officials even denied that erosion control was a policy, despite years of spending on erosion-control projects.[820] Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark, who used the Park Service's decision to terminate erosion control activity at Cape Hatteras as a case study in how governments affect the termination of a long-standing policy, did not agree.[821] The National Park Service had committed itself, they concluded, to a policy of erosion control from the time it first considered creating a national seashore during the Great Depression and continued that policy through the Mission 66-era. Numerous NPS officials, including Wirth and Clark Stratton, residents like Frank and David Stick, and Banker representatives Lindsay Warren, Herbert Bonner, and those who followed saw the creation of the seashore through the lens of erosion control. NPS involvement in erosion-control efforts along the banks deepened and was required in the early 1950s as one factor that helped convince some Bankers that supporting a national seashore was a good idea. Subsequent decisions, in everything from beach-driving to wild pony management were influenced by how those decisions might relate to erosion control. Millions of dollars were spent over the years on erosion-control projects, which were also justified as a way to preserve and restore natural beaches thought to have been disrupted by human actions. In this sense, the goal remained unwavering. In authorizing Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Congress mandated that the Park Service secure the area's natural environment for wildlife and for the recreation of future generations of Americans. Between 1937 and 1973, the Park Service was convinced that a policy of erosion control was the best means to obtain this objective, but after 1973, in light of much experience and new scientific insight, it found that the best method for achieving this goal would be a new approach.

While NPS officials understood the need for change when presented with clear evidence, property owners in the Outer Banks were not happy with that change. Bankers as a group, however, were used to change. Their acceptance of the national seashore was predicated on the necessity of adapting historic life ways to the changing conditions of a modern national economy both as it stumbled during the Great Depression and as it surged anew during the 1950s. While Bankers had to adapt their ways, the National Park Service also had to compromise to gain their acceptance—but both have also had to contend with the sea herself, the silent partner in their relations. Survival in a rugged maritime environment requires certain attributes. Among these: flexibility in the face of strong force, persistence in the face of difficulty, and enduring patience. Such traits have characterized both the people of the Outer Banks and NPS management of the first national seashore.

820. David D. Thompson, Jr., Regional Director, Southeast Region, Letter to Robert D. Behn, Duke University, February 7, 1977, attached to manuscript entitled Robert D. Behn and Martha A. Clark, "Termination II: How the National Park Service Annulled Its "Commitment" to a Beach Erosion Control Policy at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, working paper, November 1976, copy located in Resource Management Library, CAHA.

821. See Behn and Clark, *Termination II: How NPS Annulled Its Commitment. . . .*

Appendix A: Chronology of Selected Events in Park History

July 21, 1933	Frank Stick's article proposing "A Coastal Park for North Carolina and the Nation" is published in the *Elizabeth City Independent*.
September 16, 1933	The second hurricane in a month strikes the Outer Banks, causing severe beach erosion, especially near Cape Point on Hatteras Island, some of which is owned by the Phipps family. Subsequently, the family decides to donate the land for use in the establishment of Cape Hatteras State Park, envisioned as the core of a larger national park.
November 17, 1933	Stick's article "A Coastal Park for North Carolina," is published in *The State*, November 17, 1933. In that article he wrote that it is "a strange, an unfathomable thing, that no effort has heretofore been made to retain for the use of the people, in all its natural beauty and appeal, a stretch of our coastland…".
January 1, 1934	The *Daily Advance* announces that the federal government was planning to put four or five thousand men to work on erosion control on the Outer Banks.
October 11, 1934	The "North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project" formally begins with the establishment of CCC Camp Virginia Dare near Manteo.
August 2, 1935	Harry Hopkins, in charge of relief administration under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal," approves a beach erosion-control and rehabilitation project on the Outer Banks, which brings thousands of men to work in the area under the leadership of A. Clark Stratton.
November 1935	Year-long nation-wide survey recommends preservation of twelve coastal areas as national seashores, with North Carolina's Outer Banks considered the most promising.
March 1936	The U.S. Lighthouse Service prepares to abandon the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. The tower, once a mile from the ocean, is now only a few hundred feet from the waves. Use of groins to forestall erosion fails. The light goes out on May 15, 1936.
June 23, 1936	Passage of the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act (49 Stat. 1894), authorizing the National Park Service to conduct studies "to gather data helpful in developing a plan for coordinated and adequate public park, parkway, and recreational-area facilities development for the people of the United States" and to assist state and local governments in planning such facilities. It authorizes a broad review, conducted with willing participation of state and local governments and all federal agencies, with the exception of the Department of Agriculture whose lands were exempted from the study.
June 26, 1936	Congress declares (49 Stat. 1982) that, where federal interests are involved, the government will assist in the construction (but not the maintenance) "of works for the improvement and protection of beaches along U.S. shores" and for erosion control, "thus to protect property and to promote and encourage the healthful recreation of the people." Between 1935-1941, the U.S. Government spends several million dollars on erosion-control on the Outer Banks, putting unemployed men to work and preparing for the creation of a national seashore.
July-August 1936	Cape Hatteras Lighthouse acquired by National Park Service and designated a National Historic Site under provisions of the National Historic Sites Act of 1935. A proposal is offered to create a Cape Hatteras National Monument by combining the small lighthouse property with the adjacent state park. At the request of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Park Service assumes complete responsibility for the Cape Hatteras beach erosion-control project. As a consequence, equipment for the project is handed over and this includes an observation plane powered by a 450-horsepower motor. The plane is used to check the progress of erosion-control operations from the air as well as for emergencies. This aircraft is reportedly the first ever owned and operated by the National Park Service.
August 17, 1937	Act of Congress authorizes establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore on North Carolina's Outer Banks. The envisioned park is to stretch from the Virginia state line to Hatteras Inlet, some 62,000 acres. Its purpose is to preserve the area's "primitive wilderness" and to provide recreational access to the general public.
March 1938	The first Planning Prospectus by the Park Service for the proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore is developed, with a goal of providing a standard policy for the development of subsequent national seashores. The Prospectus states "the desire of the National Park Service that the section between Oregon Inlet and Hatteras Inlet remain in its natural condition without any roads so that future generations may see this and other undeveloped sections as they are in our day."

March 1939	North Carolina General Assembly creates the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to acquire land for the proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
November 1939	Gov. Clyde R. Hoey appoints Seashore Commission members. Frank Stick chosen as secretary.
June 29, 1940	Congress amends Cape Hatteras National Seashore authorizing legislation to permit hunting, later defined in relationship to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 to mean "waterfowl" hunting. "Recreational Area" also added to title to help emphasize the "recreational" orientation of the proposed seashore.
November 5, 1940	Herbert C. Bonner elected to succeed Lindsay C. Warren to represent North Carolina's First Congressional District, which includes Dare and Hyde Counties after Warren resigns to become Comptroller General of the United States.
April 1941	Frank Stick resigns as Secretary of the Seashore Commission and is succeeded by Victor Meekins.
December 7, 1941	Japanese Empire attacks U.S. possessions and military bases across the Pacific. As the United States musters for war, progress in establishing the seashore slows and all work-relief erosion-control efforts halt, including maintenance on existing dunes.
March 1943	North Carolina General Assembly amends 1939 legislation creating the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to authorize its continued functioning and use of state funds.
December 1944	Residents of Collington Island, North Carolina, petition in opposition to a national seashore. They fear loss of fishing rights and that designation as a "primitive wilderness" will prevent future development, including oil and gas exploration.
March 1945	After oil companies become interested in the Outer Banks, the North Carolina General Assembly authorizes discontinuance of land acquisition efforts for the seashore for two years. Exasperated, Victor Meekins resigns as Secretary of the Seashore Commission, which becomes defunct.
March 6, 1946	Congress amends the Act of August 17, 1937, by granting a five-year extension to allow North Carolina to continue oil explorations without fear that the National Park Service will abandon the project.
July 11, 1946	Standard Oil announces results from its first exploratory oil well beneath Pamlico Sound near Buxton. The well was "unexpectedly expensive," the company states. Further explorations are similarly fruitless.[a]
December 13, 1948	After consultations with NPS personnel and Rep. Herbert C. Bonner, Frank Stick writes Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug to renew federal interest in the Cape Hatteras project. Oil explorations had ceased while the state act delaying park land purchases was about to expire.
January 29, 1949	The Dare County Chamber of Commerce votes unanimously against establishment of a national seashore in the area, partially on the basis of outdated information supplied by NPS staff.
March 9, 1949	The state act preventing efforts to purchase land for the proposed national seashore expires.[b]
January 23, 1950	The U.S. Coast Guard reactivates Cape Hatteras Lighthouse, CCC-era erosion control projects having temporarily created enough beachfront to protect the facility. The following day, North Carolina Gov. W. Kerr Scott reactivates the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission.
July 28, 1950	A report by Marion J. Shuffler is transmitted to Governor Scott and the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. The report outlines areas to set aside for development near local communities, in accordance with their concerns, and establishes the basis upon which new seashore boundary lines are proposed.
Aug. 30, 1950	A joint meeting of the National Park Service and the Seashore Commission is held to approve revised national seashore boundaries resulting from the Shuffler report. The size of the potential seashore is reduced from 62,000 acres to about 30,000 acres.
Fall 1951	An easement is granted by Congress to allow the state of North Carolina to construct and maintain a roadway through the Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge. Potential development increases the pressure to establish the national seashore.

Dec. 9, 1951	Conrad L. Wirth becomes Director of the National Park Service. Involved with the Outer Banks since the 1930s, Wirth is an enthusiastic supporter of recreational areas, and gives personal attention to the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
Early June 1952	Paul Mellon, representing the Old Dominion and Avalon Foundations, contacts Director Wirth to discuss a possible donation to help establish the national seashore.
June 11, 1952	Wirth and A. Clark Stratton meet Gov. Scott and Seashore Commission Chairman George R. Ross to ask the state to match private funds made available for land acquisition for the Cape Hatteras project.
June 13, 1952	Secretary Oscar L. Chapman follows up Wirth's June 11 meeting by writing Governor Kerr for his support to help establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
June 21, 1952	The North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission votes to ask the North Carolina Council of State for $500,000 in funding for use to purchase land to establish the park, which the Council of State approves. Another $118,000 in state funds already available for park land purchases brings the total to $618,000. This amount, matched by the Mellon foundations, makes $1.2 million available for land purchases.
June 24, 1952	Secretary Chapman, while making a speech in Norfolk, unexpectedly encounters a group of protesters from the Outer Bankers angry about NPS plans to create a national park there. He promises them that there views will heard.
July 15, 1952	Governor Scott, Seashore Commission Chairman Ross and Secretary Chapman sign an agreement outlining respective responsibilities of the State and National Park Service in the land acquisition program.
July 25, 1952	Secretary Chapman announces NPS plans to establish a land acquisition office in Manteo, North Carolina, which follows in August.
August 18, 1952	The North Carolina Council of State hears delegation of Outer Banks citizens led by Winfield A. Worth, who protest plans to create a national seashore. Simultaneously, Seashore Commissioner "Major" J. Leo Murphy suddenly resigns to protest the alleged involvement of Frank and David Stick in soliciting the private donors, whose identity had been kept secret, through mutual acquaintance Huntington Cairns.
August 22, 1952	Secretary Chapman announces the source of private funding for Cape Hatteras land purchases is the Old Dominion Foundation, a Virginia charitable and educational foundation created by Paul Mellon, and the Avalon Foundation, a Delaware charitable trust created by Mrs. Aisla Mellon Bruce, his sister, both heirs of industrialist Andrew W. Mellon.
late September 1952	Preston Basnett of Frisco circulates an anti-park document entitled "It is Not Too Late to Correct this Great Wrong." The document, modeled upon a NPS informational brochure, contains several misleading or incorrect assertions.
September 26, 1952	Manteo's *Coastland Times,* edited by Victor Meekins, calls upon "the Park Service boys" to hold meetings with the villagers, not just with state officials or the "land hogs," and calls upon Director Wirth himself to visit the area. It claims the people of the Banks "believe in a square deal" and will listen to a balanced argument about the proposed seashore.
October 6-9 1952	Wirth, Stratton, and Bonner meet with villagers to discuss their concerns about the proposed seashore. Despite intense opposition that forces Rep. Bonner to lead the delegation out of a meeting in the village of Hatteras, most Bankers appear willing to work with the Park Service in crafting additional boundary changes that meet their main objections.
October 27, 1952	Secretary Chapman agrees to revised boundary designations after NPS meetings with villagers in the Outer Banks. The proposed seashore's official size is now 28,500 acres. More land is provided for village expansion while NPS control of the ocean beaches around these villages is narrowed.
Oct. 31, 1952	Wirth publishes "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks" in the *Coastland Times*. The letter lays out NPS intentions in establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore and forges what many hold to be a social contract between the Service and residents of the villages.
Nov. 17-18, 1952	Wirth explains to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments progress made in creating the seashore and asks it to support recent boundary changes negotiated by the Park Service with local citizens. The Advisory Board concurs.

Dec. 22, 1952	The Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission recommends unanimously to Gov. Scott that he transfer several thousand acres of state-owned lands in Dare and Hyde Counties under three deeds to the United States to create the first national seashore. The Council of State approves and Governor Scott formally conveys the property to the federal government.
Jan. 12, 1953	Secretary Chapman issues an order directing certain lands of the Outer Banks of North Carolina to be "administered, protected, and developed by the National Park Service for national seashore recreational purposes for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."
Jan. 22, 1953	Region One Director Elbert Cox orders Clark Stratton to take whatever actions are necessary to exercise federal authority over the Cape Hatteras National Seashore project area.
March 9, 1953	Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, appointed on January 21 by newly inaugurated President Dwight D. Eisenhower, disappoints park opponents by endorsing efforts to establish Cape Hatteras National Seashore while speaking at the North American Wildlife Conference.
April 1953	The Park Service acquires surplus landing craft from the Navy and loans these to North Carolina for use as ferries to help it alleviate congestion at Oregon Inlet. More are obtained later.
May 1953	First permanent NPS personnel arrive at the seashore for duty while park development begins on a limited scale.
June 1953	Federal District Court Judge Don Gilliam rules on all counts in favor of the federal government in a case testing the legality of the right of the National Park Service and the State of North Carolina to condemn property to create a national seashore park.
July 14, 1953	Congress transfers the "Old Navy docks" on Ocracoke Island to the National Park Service for inclusion in Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
Dec. 21, 1953	Director Wirth sends a copy of an article by Bernard DeVoto, "Let's Close the National Parks," published in *Harper's Magazine* in October 1952, to all field offices of the National Park Service. This action marks the beginning of the drive by Wirth to convince the Eisenhower Administration and Congress to support a massive program to rejuvenate the park system after years of under-funding and ever increasing visitation. The success of this effort led to "Mission 66," a ten-year, billion-dollar park aid program that will much benefit the development phase of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
Feb. 1954	Representatives of the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the National Park Service meet to determine areas within Cape Hatteras National Seashore will allow migratory water fowl hunting as prescribed by law.
April 1954	Approximately 20,000 of 28,500 acres have been acquired for inclusion within the national seashore.
May 10, 1954	The Park Service determines administratively that the name "Cape Hatteras National Seashore" may be substituted in all but the most formal memoranda and legal documents, for the cumbersome "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area."
August 21, 1954	Congress authorizes the Park Service to expend up to $500,000 per year to acquire privately held lands within existing national park boundaries. The law's major restriction is that it applies only to "national parks," not "national seashores."
May 15, 1956	The Park Service announces plans to spend $1,400,000 over the ten-year course of Mission 66 on sand stabilization and beach erosion control work at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. This amount was the largest single item of the overall expected $4,375,000 allotment, which was itself in addition to the costs of increased staffing and operations.
May 16, 1955	The largest single condemnation for Cape Hatteras National Seashore is heard in federal court. Unexpectedly, the court awards $533,400 in the case of Winfield A. Worth, far more than NPS officials had anticipated, thus creating a fiscal crisis. Director Wirth "borrows" from funds authorized by the Act of August 21, 1954, to meet this unexpectedly high court judgment. To pay back this account and to meet additional high judgments, he must seek new funds to complete the Cape Hatteras project.
August 12, 1955	Hurricane Connie comes ashore near Cape Lookout. Two more hurricanes strike southeastern North Carolina in the next month, leading to severe beach erosion.

August 6, 1956	Congress amends the act of August 21, 1954, to extend its authority to Cape Hatteras National Seashore. The amendment essentially classifies the seashore as a national park for the purposes of the act, which allows the Park Service to use up to $250,000 to complete the acquisition of in-holdings within the boundary of Cape Hatteras National Seashore. This authority allows Wirth to pay down the Worth judgment but the Service calculates the need for an additional $400,000.
November 15, 1956	Final Mission 66 Prospectus for Cape Hatteras National Seashore approved by Director Wirth.
December 17, 1956	Conrad Wirth writes North Carolina Gov. Luther H. Hodges to explain that the Cape Hatteras seashore project cannot be completed without further aid. He asks Hodges to match additional funds offered by the Mellon foundations.
January 9-10, 1957	The Mellon Foundations provide $200,000 dollars in additional funds to help overcome the financial crisis created by unexpectedly high court awards in the land condemnation proceedings. Matching state aid takes longer to acquire.
September 27, 1957	The North Carolina Council of State approves Director Wirth's request for an additional $200,000 in aid to complete land acquisition efforts at Cape Hatteras. Wirth is notified on October 22, 1957.
April 1958	Charles Marshall, Cape Hatteras project manager, reports that 24,705 of 28,500 acres are under federal ownership.
April 24, 1958	Dedication ceremonies are held at Coquina Beach with a small ceremony also held at the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse.
July 18, 1958	Congress approves a provision transferring some forty-three acres of federal land in the village of Hatteras to the national seashore without any exchange of funds. The purpose is to benefit a local non-profit.
September 10, 1958	Hunting regulations are issued by Superintendent Robert F. Gibbs as per the authorizing legislation and agreements with locals. The rules had been delayed until the Service held most of the lands to be regulated.
September 27, 1958	Hurricane Helene hits Cape Hatteras with 100 mile per hour winds, tearing up the new road and destroying some 75 percent of the dune stabilization work completed on Ocracoke Island.
September 11, 1960	Hurricane Donna hits the Outer Banks with winds up to 123 miles per hour causing extensive damage to the dune system on Ocracoke Island and scattered damage to dunes, buildings, roads, walks and vegetation throughout the park.
August 7, 1961	Congress authorizes the creation of Cape Cod National Seashore, the second of several additional national seashores. Funding for land acquisition is also authorized.
March 7-8, 1962	The "Ash Wednesday" Storm, a "nor'easter," opens an inlet north of Buxton on Hatteras Island which takes the Army Corps of Engineers one year to repair.
October 11, 1962	Congress authorizes the Interior Department to contribute $500,000 toward the cost of constructing a bridge across Ocracoke Inlet, the purpose being to facilitate visitor travel within the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.
January 1964	Director Conrad L. Wirth retires and is replaced by George B. Hartzog, Jr.
May 2, 1964	North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford dedicates the Herbert C. Bonner Bridge, the first bridge between Hatteras and Bodie Islands.
September 21-23, 1964	Hurricane Gladys causes extensive damage to the seashore with high waves and winds at 55 mph and gust up to 68 mph. Many dunes destroyed on Pea Island and around Oregon Inlet, including those protecting new Bonner bridge.
August 28, 1965	Congress approves the transfer of an acre and a half of land in the village of Hatteras to the Board of Commissioners of Dare County for the purpose of establishing a public health center.
November 7, 1965	North Carolina Representative Herbert C. Bonner dies in office.
March 10, 1966	Congress authorizes the creation of Cape Lookout National Seashore.
November 1966	Conservationist, outdoors illustrator and artist, real estate developer, and Outer Banks promoter Frank Stick dies.

April 1970	Paul J. Godfrey publishes an influential NPS report entitled "Oceanic Overwash and Its Ecological Implications on the Outer Banks."
July 1970	A. Clark Stratton, NPS Deputy Director, dies prematurely after a heart attack.
September 1971	Department of the Interior Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments concludes that "artificial dunes should be abandoned."
April 6, 1972	After protests over the number of "beach buggies" and trash associated with their use reach high NPS officials, the Service directs its Southeast Regional Office to study the possibility of changes, limitations, or even the elimination of these early off-road vehicles from park beaches. NPS officials hope the study will develop recommendations to provide park staff with a better means of controlling vehicle use on the beach. Eventually, this process leads to an Interim Management Plan for Off-road Vehicle Use, devised under the leadership of Superintendent Bill Harris in 1978.
April 21, 1972	Robert Dolan publishes "Barrier Dune System along the Outer Banks of North Carolina: A Reappraisal" in *Science.* He calls for the Park Service to "consider very carefully the long-term implications of our present decisions" in light of what was now known of the geological and ecological impacts of its efforts to hold back the sea.
December 31, 1972	Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. retires. He is replaced by an NPS outsider with close ties to President Richard M. Nixon. Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks Nathaniel P. Reed, an environmentalist, involves himself in erosion control policy.
July 26, 1973	Director Ronald Walker writes to Assistant Secretary Reed seeking his concurrence to "terminate erosion control at the completion of the present contract" for beach nourishment.
September 28, 1973	NPS briefing statement is issued to explain the termination of erosion control program in the Outer Banks.

a. "Oil Well Fails at Buxton; Seen Worth Expense," *The Virginian-Pilot,* July 11, 1946, "Proposed National Seashore (Part 1)" file, "Proposed National Seashore, 1930s-1950s" box, Vault, CAHA.
b. David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," chapter two, 4, unpublished manuscript detailing the role of Frank and David Stick in the establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, no date, CAHA files, HFC.

Appendix B: Selected Congressional Acts, Executive Orders, and State Legislation Relating to Cape Hatteras National Seashore

An Act To authorize a study of the park, parkway, and recreational-area programs in the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior (hereafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized and directed to cause the National Park Service to make a comprehensive study, other than on lands under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, of the public park, parkway, and recreational-area programs of the United States, and of the several States and political subdivisions thereof, and of the State officials, boards, or departments, having jurisdiction over such lands and park areas. The said study shall be such as, in the judgment of the Secretary, will provide data helpful in developing a plan for coordinated and adequate public park, parkway, and recreational-area facilities for the people of the United States. In making the said study and in accomplishing any of the purposes of this Act, the Secretary is authorized and directed, through the National Park Service, to seek and accept the cooperation and assistance of Federal departments or agencies having jurisdiction of lands belonging to the United States, and may cooperate and make agreements with and seek and accept the assistance of other Federal agencies and instrumentalities, and of States and political subdivisions thereof and the agencies and instrumentalities of either of them. (16 U.S.C. sec. 17k.)

Sec. 2. For the purpose of developing coordinated and adequate public park, parkway, and recreational-area facilities for the people of the United States, the Secretary is authorized to aid the several States and political subdivisions thereof in planning such areas therein, and in cooperating with one another to accomplish these ends. Such aid shall be made available through the National Park Service acting in cooperation with such State agencies or agencies of political subdivisions of States as the Secretary deems best. (16 U.S.C. sec. 17l.)

Sec. 3. The consent of Congress is hereby give to any two or more States to negotiate and enter into compacts or agreements with one another with reference to planning, establishing, developing, improving, and maintaining any park, parkway, or recreational area. No such compact or agreement shall be effective until approved by the legislatures of the several States which are parties thereto and by the Congress of the United States. (16 U.S.C. sec. 17m.)

Sec. 4. As used in sections 1 and 2 of this Act the term "State" shall be deemed to include Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia. (16 U.S.C. sec. 17n.)

Approved June 23, 1936. (49 Stat. 1894.)

An Act To provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when title to all the lands except those within the limits of established villages, within boundaries to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior within the area of approximately one hundred square miles on the islands of Chicamacomico, Ocracoke, Bodie, Roanoke, and Collington, and the waters and the lands beneath the waters adjacent thereto shall have been vested in the United States, said area shall be, and is hereby, established, dedicated, and set apart as a national seashore for the benefit and enjoyment of the people and shall be known as the Cape Hatteras National Seashore: *Provided,* That the United States shall

not purchase by appropriation of public moneys any lands within the aforesaid area, but such lands shall be secured by the United States only by public or private donation. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459.)

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, structures, and other property, within the boundaries of said national seashore as determined and fixed hereunder and donations of funds for the purchase and maintenance thereof, the title and evidence of title to lands acquired to be satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided,* That he may acquire on behalf of the United States under any donated funds by purchase, when purchasable at prices deemed by him reasonable, otherwise by condemnation under provisions of the Act of August 1, 1888, such tracts of land within the said national seashore as may be necessary for the completion thereof. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a.)

Sec. 3. The administration, protection, and development of the aforesaid national seashore shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," as amended: *Provided,* That except as hereinafter provided nothing herein shall be construed to divest the jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government now exercised over Federal-owned lands within the area of the said Cape Hatteras National Seashore: *Provided Further,* That the provisions of the Act of June 10, 1920, known as the "Federal Water Power Act," shall not apply to this national seashore: *And Provided Further,* That the legal residents of villages referred to in section 1 of this Act shall have the right to earn a livelihood by fishing within the boundaries to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to such rules and regulations as the said Secretary may deem necessary in order to protect the area for recreational use a provided for in this Act. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-l.)

Sec. 4. Except for certain portions of the area, deemed to be especially adaptable for recreational uses, particularly swimming, boating, sailing, fishing, and other recreational activities of similar nature, which shall be developed for such uses as needed, the said area shall be permanently reserved as a primitive wilderness and no development of the project of plan for the convenience of visitors shall be undertaken which would be incompatible with the preservation of the unique flora and fauna or the physiographic conditions now prevailing in this area: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, accept for administration, protection, and development by the National Park Service a minimum of ten thousand acres within the area described in section 1 of this Act, including the existing Cape Hatteras State Park, and, in addition, any other portions of the area described in section 1 hereof if the State of North Carolina shall agree that if all the lands described in section 1 of this Act have not been conveyed to the United States within ten years from passage of this Act, the establishment of the aforesaid national seashore may, in the discretion of the said Secretary, be abandoned, and that, in the event of such abandonment, the said State will accept a reconveyance of title to all lands conveyed by it to the United States for said national seashore. The lands donated to the United States for the purposes of this Act by parties other than said State shall revert in the event of the aforesaid abandonment to the donors, or their heirs, or other persons entitled thereto by law.

In the event of said abandonment, the Secretary of the Interior shall execute any suitable quitclaim deeds, or other writings entitled to record in the proper counties of North Carolina stating the fact of abandonment, whereupon title shall revert to those entitled thereto by law and no further conveyance or proof of reversion of title shall be required. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-2.)

Sec. 5. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, lands and waters now or hereafter included in any migratory bird refuge under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture, within the boundaries of the national seashore as designated by the Secretary of the Interior under section 1 hereof, shall continue as such refuge under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture for the protection of migratory birds, but such lands and waters shall be a part of the aforesaid national seashore and shall be administered by the National Park Service for recreational uses not inconsistent with the purposes of such refuge under such rules and regulation as the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture may jointly approve. The proviso to section 1 of this Act shall not limit the power of the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire lands for any

migratory bird refuge by purchase with any funds made available therefore by applicable law. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-3.)

Approved August 17, 1937. (50 Stat. 669.)

An Act To amend the Act entitled "An Act To provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes," approved August 17, 1937. (50 Stat. 669.)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the words "national seashore recreational area" are hereby substituted in lieu of the words "national seashore" wherever such words occur in the Act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 669).

Sec. 2. That section 3 of the aforesaid Act is hereby amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and the addition of the following: ": *And provided further,* That hunting shall be permitted, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the secretary of the Interior in conformity with the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755), as follows: (a) Upon the waters of the sounds included within the national seashore recreational area, (b) in the area north of the Currituck County line, (c) on Ocracoke Island, and (d) within not more than two thousand acres of land in the remaining portion of said national seashore recreational area, as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior; except on lands and waters included in any existing or future wildlife or migratory bird refuge and adjacent closed waters."

Approved June 29, 1940. (54 Stat. 702.)

An Act To amend the Act of August 17, 1937, as amended, relating to the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area in the State of North Carolina.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the proviso in the first paragraph of section 4 of the Act approved August 17, 1937, as amended (U.S.C., 1940 edition, title 16, sec. 459a-2), relating to the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area in the State of North Carolina, is amended to read as follows: "*Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, accept for administration, protection, and development by the National Park Service a minimum of ten thousand acres within the area described in section 1 of this Act, including the existing Cape Hatteras State Park, and, in addition, any other portions of the area described in section 1 hereof if the State of North Carolina shall agree that if all the lands described in section 1 of this Act have not been conveyed to the United States within fifteen years from August 17, 1937, the establishment of the aforesaid national seashore recreational area may, in the discretion of the said Secretary, be abandoned, and that, in the event of such abandonment, the said State will accept a reconveyance of title to all lands conveyed by it to the United States for said national seashore recreational area. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-2.)

Approved March 6, 1946. (60 Stat. 32.)

An Act To provide for the addition of certain Government lands to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That there is hereby transferred to the Secretary of the Interior without reimbursement or transfer of funds, administrative jurisdiction over an area of approximately twenty-one and eight-tenths acres of federally owned land, formerly known as the Naval Amphibious Training Station, together with any improvements thereon which may exist at the time of the transfer, situated on Ocracoke Island within the village of Ocracoke, County of Hyde, in the State of North Carolina. The property transferred shall be administered by the Department of the Interior and shall become a part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, when established. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-5.)

Approved July 14, 1953. (67 Stat. 148.)

An Act To facilitate the acquisition of non-Federal land within the existing boundaries of any national park, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That, in order to consolidate Federal land ownership within the existing boundaries of any national park and to encourage the donation of funds for that purpose, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept and to use in his discretion funds which may be donated subject to the condition that such donated funds are to be expended subject to the purposes of this Act by the Secretary only if Federal funds in an amount equal to the amount of such donated funds are appropriated for the purposes of this Act. There are authorized to be appropriated such funds as may be necessary to match funds that may be donated for such purposes: *Provided,* That the amount which may be appropriated annually for purposes of this Act shall be limited to $500,000. (16 U.S.C. sec. 452 a.)

Approved August 31, 1954. (68 Stat. 1037.)

An Act To amend the Act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1037), relating to the acquisition of non-Federal land within the existing boundaries of any national park, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the Act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1037), is hereby amended to extend the authority of the Secretary of the Interior, contained therein, to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-6.)

Sec. 2. Any funds appropriated to the Department of the Interior for the acquisition of non-Federal lands within areas of the National Park System shall hereafter be available for the acquisition of non-Federal lands within the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, and the appropriation of funds for the acquisition of such lands is hereby authorized. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-7.)

Sec. 3. The total amount which may be expended for the land acquisition program at Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, pursuant to the authorizations contained in the Act, is hereby expressly limited to $250,000. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-8.)

Approved August 6, 1956. (70 Stat. 1066.)

An Act To provide for the addition of certain excess Federal property in the village of Hatteras, North Carolina, to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the tracts of excess Federal lands and improvements thereon in the village of Hatteras, Dare County, North Carolina, bearing General Services Administration control numbers T-NC-442 and C-NC-444, comprising forty-three one-hundredths and one and five-tenths acres of land, respectively, the exact descriptions for which shall be determined by the Administrator of General Services, are hereby transferred, without exchange of funds, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior to be administered as a part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, authorized by the Act of August 17, 1937, as amended (50 Stat. 669; 16 U.S.C. 459-459-a-4), and shall be subject to all the laws and regulations applicable thereto. (16 U.S.C. sec. 459a-5a.)

Approved July 18, 1958. (72 Stat. 398.)

An Act To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in financing the construction of a bridge at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That in order to facilitate visitor travel within Cape Hatteras National Seashore the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to pay $500,000 toward the cost of construction of a bridge across Oregon Inlet between Bodie and Hatteras Islands, in the State of North Carolina, exclusive of any financing for which the project may qualify under the Federal aid to highway laws: *Provided,* That the bridge referred to section 1 of this Act only from funds specifically appropriated for that purpose.

Approved October 11, 1962. (76 Stat. 909.)

An Act To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property to the county of Dare. State of North Carolina, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to convey the tract of land and improvements thereupon situated in the village of Hatteras, Dare County, North Carolina, and administered as part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, formerly bearing General Services Administration excess property control

numbers C-NC-444, comprising one and five-tenths acres of land, the exact description for which shall be determined by the Secretary, to the Board of Commissioners of Dare County for the purposes of providing thereon a public health facility: *Provided*, That title to the land and any improvements shall revert to the United States upon a finding and notification to the grantee by the Secretary that the property is used for purposes other than a public health facility. The conveyance herein authorized shall be without monetary consideration.

Sec. 2. Upon transfer of title to the grantee, the property herein conveyed shall cease to be a part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

Approved August 28, 1965. (79 Stat. 583.)

An Act To authorize the appropriation of funds for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to satisfy any final judgments rendered against the United States in civil actions numbered 263 and 401 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina, Elizabeth City Division, for the acquisition of land and interests in land for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. The sums herein authorized to be appropriated shall be sufficient to pay the amount of said judgments, together with such interest and costs as may be specified by the court.

Approved June 4, 1968. (82 Stat. 168.)

Secretary of the Interior's Order Establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore

ORDER

WHEREAS, the act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 669), as amended by the act of June 29, 1940 (stat. 702; 16 U.S.C., 1946 ed., sec. 459-459A-3), provides for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area in the State of North Carolina when title to all the lands except those within the limits of established villages, within boundaries to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, shall have been vested in the United States; and

WHEREAS, section 4 of the act of August 17, 1937, as amended, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion, to accept for administration, protection and development by the National Park Service a minimum of 10,000 acres within the boundaries of the area so designated; and

WHEREAS, the United States has recently acquired, through deeds of donation from the State of North Carolina, approximately 6,490 acres of land within the designated area; and

WHEREAS, there are now situated within the area designated for establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area in Federal ownership approximately 5,880 acres of land comprising the Pea Island Wildlife Refuge, and 44 acres of land comprising the former Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Reservation:

NOW, THEREFORE, pursuant to the authority contained in section 4 of the act of August 17, 1937, as amended, it is ordered that hereafter the following lands shall be administered, protected, and developed by the National Park Service for national seashore recreational area purposes for the benefit and enjoyment of the people:

Those certain pieces and parcels of land on Hatteras Island, in Dare County, North Carolina, as more particularly described in the deed form the State of North Carolina to the United States of America, dated December 22, 1952, and containing approximately 2,219 acres;

Those certain pieces and parcels of land on Ocracoke Island, in Hyde County, North Carolina, as more as more particularly described in the deed form the State of North Carolina to the United States of America, dated December 22, 1952, and containing approximately 3,347 acres;

Those certain pieces and parcels of land on Hatteras Island, in Dare County, North Carolina, known locally as the Cape Hatteras (Phipps) State Park, as more particularly described in the deed from the State of North Carolina to the United States of America, dated December 22, 1952, and containing approximately 924 acres;

The lands comprising the Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge situated on Hatteras Island, in Dare County, North Carolina, and containing approximately 5,880 acres; and

The lands comprising the former Cape Hatteras Lighthouse Reservation situated on Hatteras Island, in Dare County, North Carolina, and containing approximately 44 acres.

All of said tracts of land aggregate approximately 12,414 acres and are shown in green color on the attached map No. NRA-CH-7017-B, which is entitled "Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project, North Carolina," a copy of which shall be filed with this order in the Division of the Federal Register and a copy of which shall be kept in the offices of the Project Manager of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project, Manteo, North Carolina, for public inspection.

As provided in section 5 of the act of August 17, 1937, as amended, the lands comprising the Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge shall continue to be administered as a Refuge by the Fish and Wildlife Service and shall be administered by the National Park Service for recreational uses not inconsistent with the purposes of the Refuge, pursuant to this order.

Issued this 12th day of January 1953.

(SGD)

Oscar L. Chapman

Secretary of the Interior

A Note on the General Authorities Act of 1970

In the early 1960s, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall proposed that the national parks be administered according to three separate administrative policies determined by whether an area was deemed primarily recreational, natural, or historical.

In 1968, following Udall's suggestion, the National Park Service implemented new guidelines through three handbooks that defined how parks were to be managed as recreational, natural, or historical areas. These administrative policies acknowledged that cultural and natural features key to the purpose of a recreational area would still be protected. However, park activists, building upon the strength of the modern environmental movement of the 1960s, complained that this division would allow the National Park Service to treat parks unequally. The resistance of former Director Conrad Wirth to the Wilderness Preservation Act and extensive development of parks under Mission 66 fueled this concern.

In August 1970, after Udall left office, Congress passed the General Authorities Act (84 Stat. 825) in which it stated specifically that the National Park Service would treat all parks equally according to the Organic Act and other related laws. The law stated that all types of park areas, in all U.S. controlled lands administered by the National Park Service:

> though distinct in character, are united through their interrelated purposes and resources into one national park system as cumulative expressions of a single national heritage that individually and collectively, these areas derive increased national dignity and recognition of their superb environmental quality through their inclusion jointly with each other in one national park system preserved and managed for the benefit and inspiration of all the people of the United States; and that it is the purpose of this Act to include all such areas in the System and to clarify the authorities applicable to the system."[822]

In essence, Congress directed the National Park Service to treat cultural and natural resources according to all existing laws, which made the three handbooks enunciating guidelines for the management of park areas on the basis of whether they were primarily natural, cultural, of recreational defunct. All parks are part of "one system" and must be treated equally according to the specific laws that apply to them. The immediate impact of this legislation on Cape Hatteras was to further eliminate the significance of the term "recreational" in the park's formal title. Regardless of a park's title or NPS administrative policies, the purposes of a national park are found in the authorizing legislation that created it and in any additional legislation pertaining to it.

Summary of Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina regarding Cape Hatteras National Seashore

May 7, 1935, Chapter 332, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1935

An Act to authorize the transfer or gift from the State of North Carolina to the Federal Government of certain lands to be acquired near Cape Hatteras and along the North Carolina banks in that vicinity, and to transfer other state-owned lands for use as a national park.

March 30, 1939, Chapter 257, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1939

An Act to create a commission to be known as the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission and to provide for the acquisition of lands in the Cape Hatteras region of North Carolina for national seashore purposes and to authorize the conveyance of the same and other lands to the United States of America.

March 8, 1941, Chapter 100, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1941

An Act to authorize the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to condemn land for national seashore purposes according to the procedure contained in the Public Works Eminent Domain Law, the same being Chapter 470 of the Public Laws of 1935.

822.Which the act further proceeded to do. See National Park Service, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service: Supplement III* (February 1963-December 1972), (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1974, 1-3.

March 5, 1943, Chapter 475, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1943

An Act to amend Chapter 257, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1939, establishing the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission, and to provide for the continued functioning of same and also to authorize the Governor to provide funds.

March 19, 1945, Chapter 811, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1945

An Act to authorize the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission to postpone the acquisition by purchase and condemnation of lands within the national seashore area and to discontinue pending condemnation proceedings without prejudice to their renewal, and for other purposes.

June 23, 1952, Resolution, North Carolina State Council

Made available the matching fund of $618,000 to the North Carolina Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission.

Appendix C: Conrad L. Wirth's "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks"

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 27, 1952

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE OUTER BANKS:

When I visited with you earlier this month, I told you that we would study further some of the problems that were bothering you and see if some adjustments in the boundary of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area could be made to meet our joint problems more satisfactorily. This we have done. Rather than make another three-day trip to your Islands, I believe that the best way to get the results of these studies to all of you in a clear and concise way is to print them in your local paper. Victor Meekins has agreed to see that every family on Ocracoke, Hatteras, and Bodie Islands, south of Whale Bone, gets a copy.

This issue of The Coastland Times contains a set of maps and descriptions which show in detail the new boundary lines for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area. In general, the new lines leave more room for expansion around the towns and they bring in the boundary at Pamlico Sound to within 150 feet of the shores of Ocracoke and Hatteras Islands. The new boundary lines have the approval of the Secretary of the Interior; and I have discussed them with Mr. George Ross, Director, North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, who also approves of them.

During the week of October 6, I met with many of you individually and in public meetings held in the towns of Ocracoke, Hatteras, Avon, and Rodanthe, to answer questions about the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project. We discussed its purposes, boundary lines, and the programs for its acquisition and development. Congressman Herbert C. Bonner and others joined in several of the meetings and discussions. You asked many questions; many of these were on how the establishment of the Recreational Area would affect you personally, your business, or your property. I hope, and believe, that those questions were answered to the satisfaction of those who asked them.

In the public meetings, you brought out four main points:

1. Many of you were uncertain as to just where the Recreational Area boundary lines would be around the communities and felt that not enough room was being left for community expansion.

2. There was the question as to the rights of individuals to continue commercial and sport fishing.

3. There was concern as to whether your present hunting rights would be affected.

4. There was a feeling that once the Recreational Area is established the local people would be denied access to the ocean beach.

I wish to re-emphasize the answers to these questions, with the aid of the accompanying maps:

As to the first question, I promised you that we would restudy the boundaries and change them if necessary and desirable. The study was based on a personal visit to all of the communities involved, an analysis of the land needs of the communities and the Recreational Area, as well as the statements made to me by many local people personally and in public meetings. Our studies showed that the old Recreational Area boundary lines were too confining, so we have changed them in all cases by moving the boundary lines around the communities closer to the ocean. On the ocean side of the towns, the new, approved boundary lines include in the Recreational Area only those lands along the ocean which are necessary to protect and control the sand dunes, to re-establish them where necessary, and hold them to protect the communities from the intrusion of the ocean. The National Park Service intends to resume the sand fixation work that it started in the 1930's and more firmly establish the dunes.

The boundary line has also been changed on the Sound side. It has been moved in to a distance of 150 feet from the shore lines of Ocracoke and Hatteras Islands, except in front of the communities, and the offshore islands outside of that line are eliminated from the Recreational Area. The boundary line of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Area does not extend in front of the communities on the Sound side. In the case of Bodie Island it was more practical to describe a meets and bounds line, as

shown on the accompanying maps, than it was to use an irregular line 150 feet offshore.

In regard to fishing and hunting (questions 2 and 3),-- under the basic legislation authorizing the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, fishing and hunting rights in the Sound were reserved to the people. That being the case, there is no real need to include Pamlico Sound waters in the Recreational Area. This is so because the North Carolina fishing and hunting laws and regulations and those of the Federal Government which have been in effect for a great many years in the Sound area will still apply to waters both inside and outside the Recreational Area boundaries. Therefore, the new boundary line in the Sound has been set only 150 feet offshore from Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands. That is purely an arbitrary distance. It brings the line close enough in so that everyone can know definitely where it is. Due to the irregularity of the shore line, it may be necessary to make minor adjustments in some places so that any small offshore islands will be either wholly in or wholly out of the Recreational Area. In other words, the line won't split any islands.

The following larger islands are excluded from the Recreational Area:

Off Bodie Island--these, among others: Pond, Grun, House, Warren, Headquarters, Bells, Bowser, Cedar, Cutoff and Herring Shoal, Big Tim, and Little Tim Islands.

Off Hatteras Island--these, among others: both Great Islands, Midgett, Noache, Gull, Big, and Kings Islands.

Off Ocracoke Island--these, among others: Outer Green, Cockrel, and Nebro Islands.

The guarantees in the laws relating to hunting and continuation of commercial fishing in the waters of the Sounds will apply within this 150 foot offshore strip exactly as they do outside of it. The State and Federal fishing and hunting regulations within this strip cannot be affected by any National Park Service regulation.

The law says that hunting will be permitted on Ocracoke Island, on the waters of the Sounds and on not more than 2,000 additional acres of the Recreational Area outside of the Pea Island Refuge and its waters. The law requires the Secretary of the Interior to designate the 2,000 acres to be open to hunting. At the time the law was passed, the Secretary of the Interior made an agreement with Mr. Lindsay Warren, then a Member of Congress, that the 2,000-acre hunting area would be selected by a committee composed of two representatives of the State of North Carolina, to be designated by the Governor, and one each from the Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior. The National Park Service will move toward the establishment of this committee and the designation of these lands at the earliest possible moment, after the lands have been acquired. Of course, no part of the 2,000 acres will be in the Pea Island Refuge.

Concerning access to the beach (question 4),--when I met with you I explained that when the lands for the Recreational Area are acquired and become public property there will always be access to the beach for all people, whether they are local residents or

visitors from the outside. However, it will be necessary to establish certain regulations, such as to designate places for vehicles to get to the beach, in order to reduce sand dune erosion to a minimum; to manage ocean fishing where large numbers of bathers are using the beach; and to confine bathing to certain areas. These latter are safety measures, as it would be dangerous to permit surf fishing where there are large numbers of people in bathing and, likewise, fishermen would not want bathers to interfere with their fishing.

With the changed boundary lines in the Sound and the enlargement of the areas excluded for community expansion, as indicated on the accompanying maps, the establishment of the committee to determine the 2,000 additional acres of land on the islands to be open to hunting, and making clear the problem of access to the ocean beach, I feel that we have found a reasonable solution that meets the needs and desires of a majority of the local people as well as the needs of the Recreational Area. I might add that if, at any time, the State is in a position to build a road on Ocracoke, we can easily reach agreement on the right-of-way for it.

Now, a word concerning the future development of the Area. As stated above, the National Park Service proposes to resume the sand fixation work; to re-establish the natural plant and wildlife within the area; and to provide access to the beach for everybody. We plan also to tell the story of the sea. Cape Hatteras

has perhaps one of the most interesting and heroic sea histories in the entire United States, if not in the world. It is the plan of the National Park Service to establish a museum to tell the story of the sea, and especially the part that the Cape Hatteras coast line and you people have played in it. The fascinating history of the Outer Banks, combined with the story that is told at the Wright Memorial and at Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island will make this part of North Carolina one of the most important tourist objectives in the United States.

As our plans move forward we will call upon the people of the communities on Ocracoke, Hatteras, and Bodie Islands to work with us in establishing the museum. Many of you have relics of the past and stories of great accomplishments handed down through your families that are needed to record and relate this history. It is hoped that when the museum is ready you will see fit to donate or loan appropriate objects for exhibit purposes. When our plans are formulated in more detail they will be made known to you, and we are going to ask for your advice and suggestions.

The National Park Service has always believed in free enterprise, and has practiced it in all the areas of the National Park System. In the case of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, we expect the people in the communities on the Islands of Ocracoke, Hatteras, and Bodie to take care of the tourists. No developments for tourist accommodations are planned or will be permitted on government property. Consequently, the property within

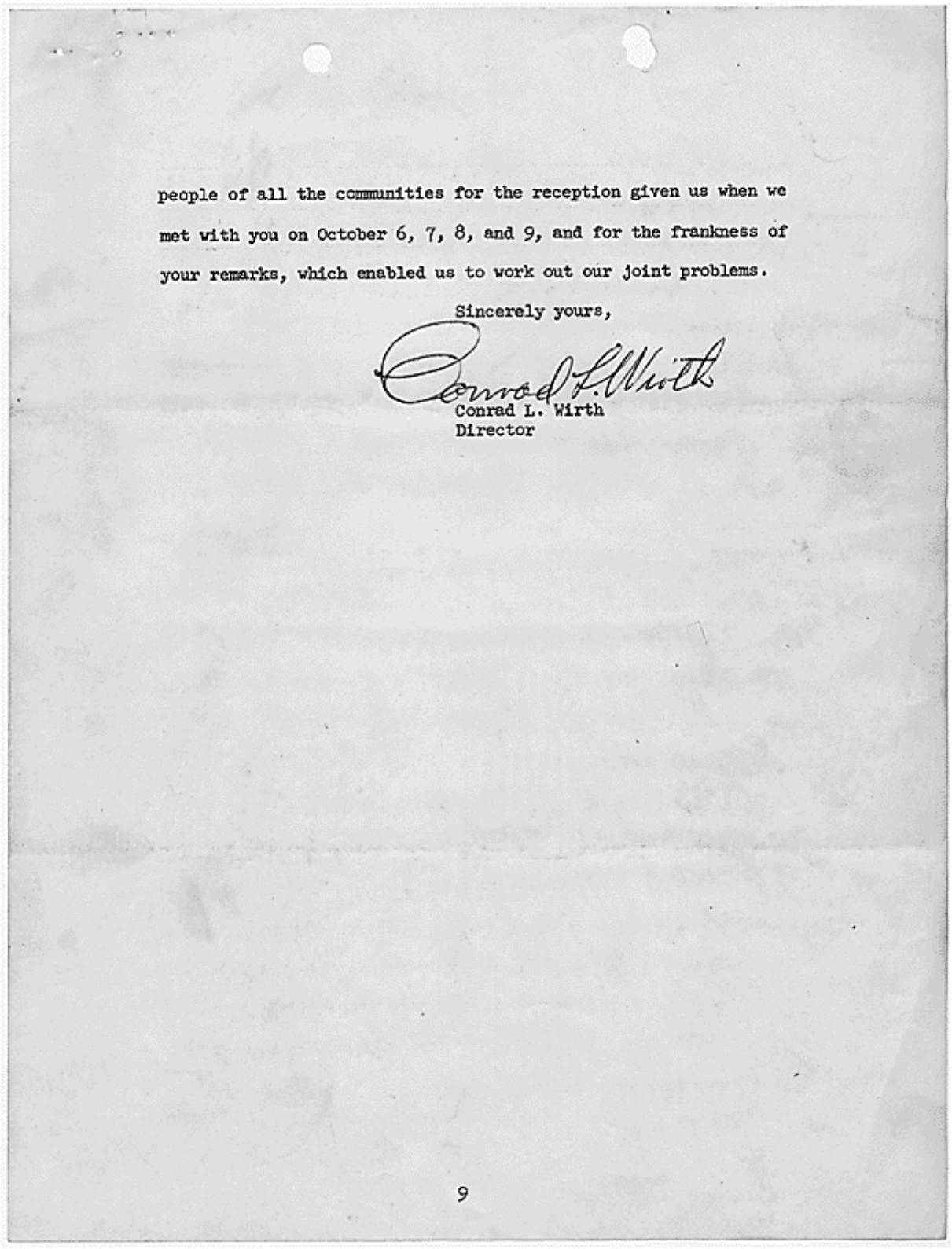
the communities will, without any doubt, have an increasing commercial value because of the existence of the Recreational Area; its greatest value will be for use in taking care of the public.

You have never experienced this kind of a development before, but we in the National Park Service have seen it many, many times throughout the United States when national areas are established. Business interests outside of your communities know what this development is going to mean to the communities; they are already among you and are acquiring land in anticipation of the establishment of the Area. They know that there will be a large influx of people and that land values will rise.

I would like to give you a word of caution: Hold your lands within your communities; don't let outside speculators come in and take over; join together and you people in the communities whose families have lived there for generations care for the visiting public yourselves and enjoy the prosperity that you so rightfully deserve because of your long occupancy of these lands.

The National Park Service and its staff stand ready to cooperate with you at all times in the development of your communities, if you want us to. I hope we can work together as partners, and that we can look forward to a long and pleasant association that will bring enjoyment to millions of visitors and prosperity to you.

In closing this message, I should like to thank the



people of all the communities for the reception given us when we met with you on October 6, 7, 8, and 9, and for the frankness of your remarks, which enabled us to work out our joint problems.

Sincerely yours,

Conrad L. Wirth

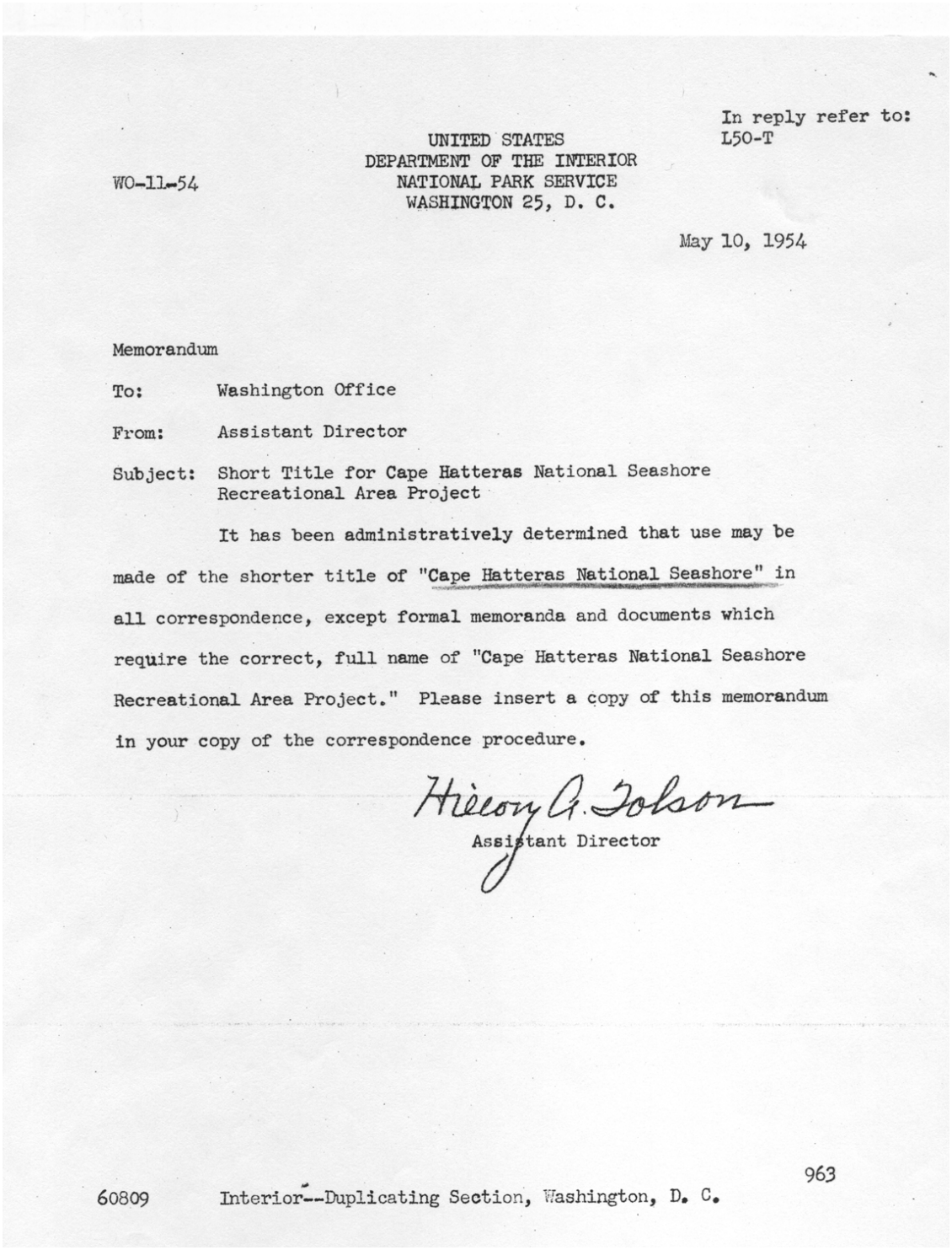
Conrad L. Wirth
Director

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Source: Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks," October 27, 1952; in Electronic Records (ARC Identifier: 279414); Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives and Records Administration, Southeast Region, Atlanta.

Appendix D: “Short Title for Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project”

Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson, Memorandum to the Washington Office entitled "Short Title for Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project," May 10, 1954, Cape Hatteras National Seashore file, "Correspondence 1940-1955" folder, National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Washington, DC.



In reply refer to:
L50-T

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

WO-11-54

May 10, 1954

Memorandum

To: Washington Office

From: Assistant Director

Subject: Short Title for Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project

It has been administratively determined that use may be made of the shorter title of "Cape Hatteras National Seashore" in all correspondence, except formal memoranda and documents which require the correct, full name of "Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project." Please insert a copy of this memorandum in your copy of the correspondence procedure.

Hillory A. Tolson
Assistant Director

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60809 Interior--Duplicating Section, Washington, D. C.

Appendix E: Dedication Speeches,Cape Hatteras National Seashore

Roger Ernst, Assistant Secretary of the Interior

REMARKS OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ROGER ERNST AT THE DEDICATION OF CAPE HATTERAS NATIONAL SEASHORE RECREATIONAL AREA, APRIL 24, 1958

It is a privilege to represent the Department of the Interior at this dedication of the country's first national seashore recreational area. Secretary Fred A. Seaton asked me to convey his greetings and his regret over not being able to be with you today.

It is always a delight to participate in ceremonies which increase the national park areas. The occasion today is particularly happy, since we have met to celebrate acquisition of the first National Seashore. Its rescue for the people of the Nation was due to a remarkably cooperative effort between Governments and individuals. Members of this audience can be credited with a major role in winning this shore for the entire country's use. Your foresight and magnificent determination were important contributions toward the preservation of these sunny sands. Our shoreline is disappearing quickly into private development, and the entire country is indebted to the persons and agencies who fought together to save Cape Hatteras.

I do not want to take your time to single out again those persons who worked so unselfishly to preserve these grounds. However, I must pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator Scott. I join with all of you in mourning his passing. His leadership as governor in 1950 was vitally helpful in the work climaxed here today.

These storied Outer Banks were judged particularly desirable because of their great potentials for public use. Actually, they are just beginning to come into their own as a recreational site.

As our population soars and as available seashore dwindles, we should be increasingly grateful for the wisdom of the far-sighted persons who recognized the need to save the barrier islands from the attack of tides and winds.

Cape Hatteras has been a familiar phrase in the romance of the seas for centuries. It is remarkable that it remained so secluded for so long. Perhaps it is also fortunate. Commercial development has swallowed up mile after mile of the Carolina coasts. But here we have a broad doorstep to the ocean available to all. It requires no crystal ball to predict that within a very few years visitation will climb to new records here. By 1966, when the National Park Service celebrates its 50th anniversary, this area will be teeming with summer visitors. There is still much work to be done to insure that the area is kept to its highest standard of service. Now that we have this new member of the park areas, we must keep it in fine repair. The sea will see to it that we do not lack for work.

In a few minutes we will mix the waters of the Cape, the first National Seashore, with water from Yellowstone, the first National Park. It is very fitting that we have this mingling of the oldest and newest park areas. Both are devoted to the same primary goals--the fullest enjoyment and appreciation of the natural and human values.

In a sense it is paradoxical to refer to Cape Hatteras as the junior to Yellowstone. These blue sounds and their outer bastions were in use long, long before white men adventured into Yellowstone and discovered its wonders.

Mariners noted its treacherous shoals early in the days of transocean shipping. Shipping commerce recognized it as an entrance to a raw and rich continent. Pirates pounced on it as a convenient base for their plunders. Yet it went along for years as a sort of out-of-the-way piece of real estate. Those times are past.

Out in my home State of Arizona we have an abiding respect for water values. It is somewhat breathtaking to contemplate the watery playground available here. If time permitted I would like to get a line into the water and try out some of the fantastic fishing I've heard so much about on this all too brief visit. I intend to return some day and see how generous the Gulf Stream will prove.

It is somewhat of an engineering marvel that we have a Cape Hatteras to dedicate. Nature is an insistent opponent and the persistent reinforcement of the Cape against the ocean is a masterpiece of Man's ingenuity. I would like a closer look at the measures taken to keep the Cape above water, and like any tourist, I want to learn more about the shipwrecks, wildlife, lighthouses, fort, Indians and geological phenomena. I haven't heard enough yet about the heroic rescue feats or the pirates.

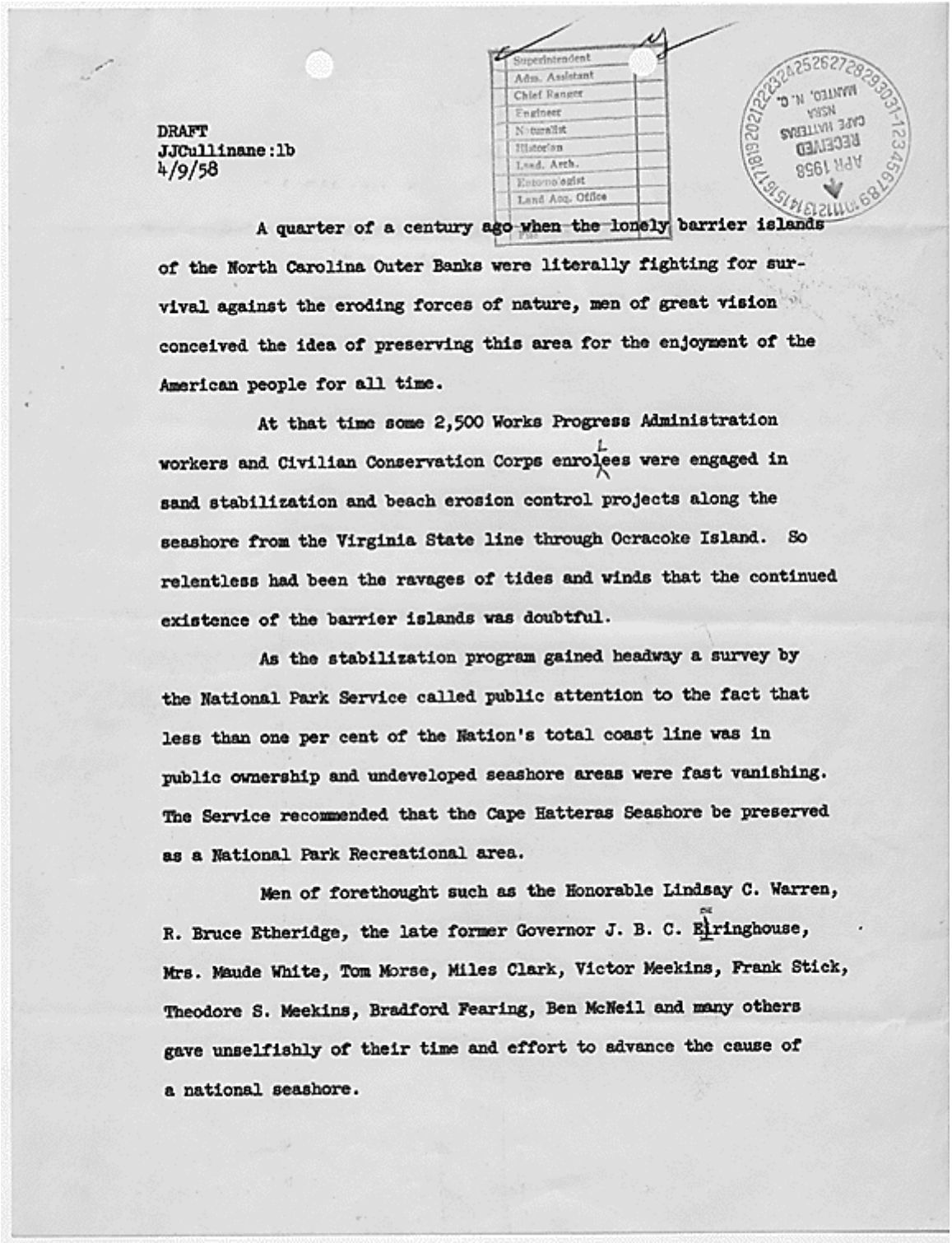
We had better get on with the rest of the program and the coronation of the royalty for the Pirates' Jamboree. Thank you for coming here today, and on behalf of Secretary Seaton, thank you again for your assistance in giving all our citizens this splendid gift. I am confident it will be an inspiration.

x x x

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Source: Electronic Records (ARC Identifier: 279407), "Remarks from Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Roger Ernst, at the Dedication of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, April 24, 1958," April 24, 1958; in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives and Records Administration, Morrow, GA.

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service



DRAFT
JJCullinane:lb
4/9/58

Superintendent
Adm. Assistant
Chief Ranger
Engineer
Naturalist
Historian
Land. Arch.
Entomologist
Land Acq. Office

RECEIVED
APR 1958
CAPE HATTERAS
NSRA
MANTEO, N. C.

A quarter of a century ago when the lonely barrier islands of the North Carolina Outer Banks were literally fighting for survival against the eroding forces of nature, men of great vision conceived the idea of preserving this area for the enjoyment of the American people for all time.

At that time some 2,500 Works Progress Administration workers and Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees were engaged in sand stabilization and beach erosion control projects along the seashore from the Virginia State line through Ocracoke Island. So relentless had been the ravages of tides and winds that the continued existence of the barrier islands was doubtful.

As the stabilization program gained headway a survey by the National Park Service called public attention to the fact that less than one per cent of the Nation's total coast line was in public ownership and undeveloped seashore areas were fast vanishing. The Service recommended that the Cape Hatteras Seashore be preserved as a National Park Recreational area.

Men of forethought such as the Honorable Lindsay C. Warren, R. Bruce Etheridge, the late former Governor J. B. C. Ellinghouse, Mrs. Maude White, Tom Morse, Miles Clark, Victor Meekins, Frank Stick, Theodore S. Meekins, Bradford Fearing, Ben McNeil and many others gave unselfishly of their time and effort to advance the cause of a national seashore.

In August 1937 the Congress of the United States enacted into law a bill which had been introduced by Mr. Warren authorizing the establishment of the Nation's first national seashore.

Many complex problems had to be solved before the national seashore could become a reality. Under the organic act no appropriated Federal funds could be used to acquire land in the area. The North Carolina General Assembly in March, 1939, created the North Carolina Seashore Commission to acquire seashore lands for eventual transfer to the Federal Government.

The nucleus for the seashore project was established when the family of the late Henry Phipps donated a large tract of land at Cape Hatteras Point to the State of North Carolina for eventual transfer to the Federal government.

The outbreak of World War II and the subsequent critical era resulted in a temporary lull in the seashore movement, but in 1950, the Honorable Kerr Scott who was then governor of North Carolina reactivated the North Carolina Seashore Commission and directed that the acquisition of seashore lands proceed.

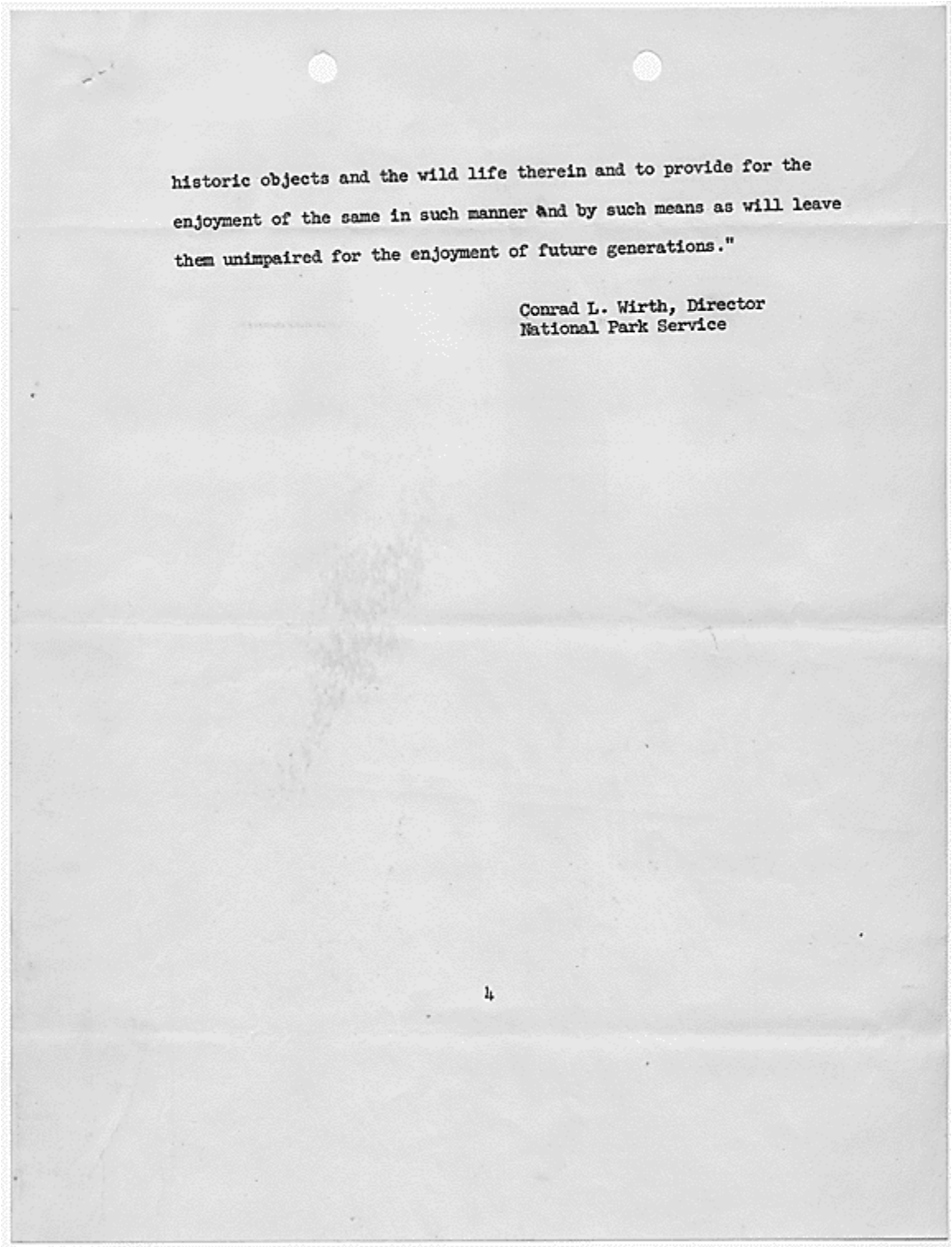
By 1952 several thousand acres of State lands and lands donated to the Seashore Commission were available for transfer to the Department of the Interior but the acreage fell short of the minimum of 10,000 acres required before the seashore could be established.

In this emergency the Avalon and Old Dominion Foundations, philanthropic organizations established by the children of the late great Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, generously agreed to match funds which the State would appropriate to acquire necessary seashore lands. Under this arrangement and through the interest of Governors Scott and Hodges the State appropriated over $800,000 and the Foundations contributed an equal sum.

With the understanding support of the majority of the residents of the villages of the Outer Banks, agreement was reached late in 1952 on the final boundaries of the seashore area. In gaining this support, the National Park Service is appreciative of the understanding efforts contributed by Representative Herbert Bonner and members of the North Carolina Seashore Commission.

In December 1952 the State owned lands in the seashore area were contributed to the United States and the Secretary of the Interior formally established the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreation area. Most of the 28,500 acres within the seashore boundaries have been acquired and the remainder will be acquired in the near future.

The Department of the Interior and the National Park Service wish to thank our friends in North Carolina and the Old Dominion and Avalon Foundations on behalf of all the people of our great United States for making it possible to dedicate this area as a unit of the National Park System. We take great pride in being intrusted with the administration of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreation Area in accordance with law "to conserve the scenery and the natural and h



historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Conrad L. Wirth, Director
National Park Service

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Source: Electronic Records (ARC Identifier: 279408), "Draft of speech prepared by Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, for the Dedication of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," April 9,1958; in Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives and Records Administration, Southeast Region, Morrow, GA.

Paul Mellon, President of the Old Dominion Foundation

(Remarks of Mr. Paul Mellon at dedication of
Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational
Area, April 24, 1958)

You know, even to look at a map of these barrier banks of Hatteras is an exciting adventure. So I found one day in 1952 when I returned to my office from a late lunch and had the map delineating this project called to my attention by my colleague Donald Shepard. The map, and the story behind the map had, in turn, been left on his desk by Conrad Wirth and Ronald Lee of the National Park Service. Chiefly because of the intervention of the War it was, even then, all but too late to set the wheels in motion again to accomplish the magnificent purpose envisaged in the Bill introduced into Congress by Mr. Lindsay Warren in August 1937: the establishment of the Nation's first National Seashore.

But there was a magic emanating from that lifeless map that none of us who have been concerned in the project from the beginning could ever have resisted: the magic of sunlight on the waves and the white froth of surf, sea birds, salt winds, the gold of warm and seemingly endless sands, the silver of dune grass waving in the wind: pirate legends, skeletons of old ships, hostile Indians, rum, and murder. It was the magic of names from history: Raleigh, Drake, Ralph Lane, John White, Virginia Dare, Bluebeard. It was the magic of the hardy and precarious life of fisher folk and other men of the sea, and the timeless resourcefulness and individualism of the men of these islands, even to today. In fact, the map gave out an aroma, a kind of distilled essence of Nature, Man, America, and History.

I won't labor the story of how this Hatteras National Seashore Area came into being by details, nor try to give credit to all the individuals

and organizations involved. Many are mentioned in the Dedication Program, and much of the story is being told by others. What I do want to say is, that of all the undertakings and appeals that have come across my desk as President of Old Dominion Foundation and as Trustee of several others, this was the most appealing, self-selling, and most unanimously acceptable one in my experience. From the first day it had the eager and enthusiastic support of my sister, Mrs. Mellon Bruce, and her co-Trustees of the Avalon Foundation, and the eager and enthusiastic support of the Trustees of Old Dominion Foundation. /Speaking of the Old Dominion, there were perhaps slight reservations. Some among us wondered why God, in his infinite wisdom in every other respect, had not seen fit to put Cape Hatteras off the coast of Virginia!/

I speak with feelings of real appreciation, both on behalf of these two Foundations and for myself personally, for the most happy and stimulating relationship we have had with the National Park Service and with the State of North Carolina, her elected representatives, and her people. It is a great honor and privilege for the Foundations to have them as partners in this significant undertaking: an undertaking that will redound to the benefit of, and assure the pleasure of millions of Americans. I am sure that the real value of this area (not its monetary value) will not be fully realized for another 25 to 50 years, by which time so many more wild and beautiful areas will have disappeared under the waves of population, pollution, profligacy, and what some call progress.

They will have disappeared like so many other native and natural resources in the past; the great stands of beech trees and other native hardwoods, many of our forests and much of our grassland: like the clear

water from our springs, wells, and rivers: like much of our topsoil that has spilled into the sea. They will have disappeared like the passenger pigeon, the heath hen, the Eskimo curlew, the wild turkey, the Atlantic salmon, the Eastern puma. It is a sobering thought that no amount of money in the world, not all the resources of all individuals, foundations, nor governments can ever buy back one passenger pigeon. And at one time they darkened the skies, even here.

"Man shall not live by bread alone" -- No, nor by cars (even with tail-fins), deep freezers, split levels, split atoms, and TV. We hope that this beautiful area will give deep pleasure to many citizens in the future not only for their well-deserved rest and recreation, but for their realization of quiet hours of contemplation in settings of great natural serenity; the silent renewal of their spirit. And let us not forget the wildlife, and especially the birds of both land and sea: may it give them rest and safety in their travels, and the wherewithal more surely to survive and multiply for many centuries of the future.

Source: Mellon Foundation, used by permission.

Appendix F: Superintendents of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, 1952-1973

A. Clark Stratton, Acting Supt.	11/28/1952	-	2/13/1954
Allyn F. Hanks, Supt. [1]	3/05/1954	-	11/02/1957
Robert F. Gibbs, Supt.	11/03/1957	-	4/07/1962
H. Reese Smith, Supt. [2]	4/08/1962	-	2/02/1963
James B. Myers, Supt.	3/03/1963	-	5/30/1964
Karl T. Gilbert, Supt.	8/02/1964	-	1/14/1967
Kittridge A. Wing, Supt.	8/13/1967	-	12/27/1970
Bertram C. Roberts, Supt.	1/24/1971	-	4/02/1972
Robert D. Barbee, Supt.	4/16/1972	-	9/15/1973

[1] Administered Ft. Raleigh NHS from 3/05/1954.
[2] Administered Wright Brothers NM from 7/01/1962.

Source: Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1991).

Appendix G: Visitor Statistics, 1955-1973

Year/Month	January	April	July	October	Total
1955	4,033	6,102	75,304	16,109	264,545
1956	6,622	15,449	77,081	10,171	301,675
1957	7,122	17,182	89,602	16,412	324,206
1958	2,674	10,492	99,330	23,474	348,335
1959	7,609	17,648	115,277	28,551	471,472
1960	12,168	27,155	97,184	31,294	467,309
1961	8,502	28,757	141,900	23,045	547,336
1962	12,627	25,640	161,896	33,632	649,280
1963	21,169	446,398	185,541	45,024	873,281
1964	25,162	56,422	234,445	47,982	1,070,535
1965	20,825	50,986	256,384	54,538	1,089,263
1966	23,047	53,665	257,294	60,244	1,133,003
1967	19,517	42,763	229,617	51,173	997,361
1968	17,811	65,360	228,736	61,759	1,094,020
1969	17,732	60,537	248,657	67,265	1,142,436
1970	18,695	50,286	261,918	87,596	1,227,106
1971	18,549	98,359	375,154	77,449	1,696,888
1972	18,875	85,330	444,888	99,308	1,783,737
1973	22,143	116,729	342,078	126,468	1,710,102

Note: No official count was taken previous to 1955.

Appendix H: Frank Stick, an Early Conservationist on the Outer Banks

Frank Leonard Stick was an outdoors man, artist, writer, and land developer. He was also a conservationist, who helped establish three national parks in North Carolina. Stick was bornon February 10, 1884, in the Dakota Territory but later moved with his family to Oglesby, a small mining town in Illinois. Stick began his career as a trapper but also earned an income guiding fishing and hunting trips in Wisconsin. He then began to write and illustrate his experiences for outdoor magazines. In 1904, he enrolled in the Chicago Art Institute, later opened a studio in New Jersey, and eventually sold his work to such publications as *Sports Afield*, *Field and Stream*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*. He even illustrated stories by Zane Grey that appeared in *Outdoor America*. Stick is noted as being one of the most successful commercial artists of the early 20th Century.[823] With the onset of the Great Depression, however, Stick retired to the Outer Banks of North Carolina, where he became involved in the real estate business and sought to promote the area's attractions as an outdoor destination for tourists. To protect real estate investments and to help bring jobs to the isolated Bankers, Stick also promoted shoreline erosion control work. Such work brought significant involvement of the National Park Service in the area during the Depression to oversee work-relief projects involving the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Through his real estate activities Stick became associated with several wealthy Northerners who had established large hunting preserves on the islands of the Outer Banks. In 1927, with help of several others, Stick contributed land to help establish the Wright Brothers Memorial near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. On July 21, 1933, Stick published an article in the Elizabeth City *Independent* calling for a national seashore park on the Outer Banks.[824] It was a timely idea during the Depression given that many of the large land-owners seemed willing to donate or cheaply sell their holdings rather than pay the taxes on properties that produced little income. Stick also promoted the development of Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island as a tourist destination and designed a picturesque reconstruction of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony," conceived by Stick as a stockade and village in log cabin-style. Later, however, scholars determined these artistic representations to have no basis in fact and the National Park Service eventually removed all of the structures designed by Stick to the chagrin of several locals, some of whom were married in the rustic-looking chapel building.[825]

In the late 1930s Stick was appointed by North Carolina Governor J.C.B. Ehringhaus to chair the Cape Hatteras Seashore Commission. In 1937, Congress authorized the creation of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, but little progress was made because land had to be donated. Frequent pledges by Stick that land was available for donation were never fulfilled, although he was associated with the early Phipps family grant to the state of some nine hundred acres for park purposes at Cape Point near the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse. This act of philanthropy was an important milestone that proponents hoped would form the core of a much expanded national seashore. In 1941, however, Stick resigned as commission chair, probably due to complications over his involvement in real estate matters. World War II and a speculative oil bubble then forestalled efforts to establish the seashore until the late 1940s and early 1950s when the National Park Service, under Director Conrad L. Wirth, made a final effort to complete the project. Once again, stiff local resistance prevailed until two private foundations offered a major donation, to be matched by state funds, to buy land for the park. This private donation by heirs of industrialist Andrew W. Mellon reinvigorated the project, but not without controversy. Opponents of the seashore accused Frank Stick and his son David, then the official publicist for the Seashore Commission, of undue influence in soliciting Mellon interest. Opponents claimed the Stick family would benefit from the establishment of the park and had used their connections to exempt themselves from land condemnation that faced several of the project's opponents. The basis of the accusations was mainly that Frank Stick had founded in 1947 a large real estate development near Kitty Hawk, now the town of Southern Shores, and stood to be advantaged by the creation of a major park to the south. The allegations were not substantiated. Nevertheless, all park supporters sought to place distance between the donation and any role Stick played in bringing it about. The subject was extremely sensitive and stiffened the resentment of opponents, some of whom had much in common with

823.See Michael F. Mordell, *Frank Stick: Splendid Painter of the Out-of-Doors* (Tucson: Settlers West Galleries, 2004); and "Stick, Who Promoted the Outer Banks, Dies," *The Virginian-Pilot,* November 13, 1966, Newspaper clipping file, Cape Hatteras National Seashore archives, CAHA.

824.David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1958), 247.

825.See Cameron Binkley and Steve Davis, Preserving the Mystery: An Administrative History of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (Atlanta: National Park Service, 2003).

Stick, except for finding themselves on the wrong side of the park boundary. The historical record suggests that Stick did help bring about the Mellon contribution, the key event that made the park possible. However, it also confirms that Stick's real estate ties, and his use of artistic license at Fort Raleigh, at times hampered the work of conservation and greatly complicated his relationship with officials of the National Park Service. Despite any failings, Frank Stick is much loved and remembered by Bankers as a recognized artist whose contributions in helping to establish the three national parks of the Cape Hatteras group are clearly important. Frank Stick died at Elizabeth City, North Carolina, in 1966. He was 72 years old.

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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