

Comprehensive Architectural Survey of Bertie County
Final Report

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Introduction and Methodology

The following pages present an architectural history of Bertie County, North Carolina from the 1650s through the 1960s. This architectural history, spanning over three hundred years, is told primarily through examples of extant buildings, augmented by documented descriptions of buildings that no longer stand, along with general county history provided as a context for its building pattern. The work represents the culmination of a comprehensive architectural survey of Bertie County commissioned and administered by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) with funding from the federal Preserve America program and the state Golden Leaf Foundation. The project was supported at the local level by a core committee led by Clara Bell. The survey, conducted between August 2008 and March 2010, covered all rural and municipal areas of the county outside of the preexisting National Register historic districts of Windsor and Woodville with a purpose of identifying and recording all properties of historic or architectural merit in order to increase the knowledge, awareness and understanding of the county's built heritage and to facilitate preservation efforts.

The methodology for the survey of Bertie County followed the project outline set forth by the HPO and the HPO's architectural survey manual *Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources*. It was further defined by the physical and historical nature of the county as discovered through the windshield survey and preliminary research of the survey's planning phase. Sites of approximately fifty or greater years of age were selected for survey based on their architectural integrity and distinction, or their social or historical significance. The comprehensive architectural survey of Bertie County primarily entailed the documentation of rural resources; however, several towns were surveyed as well. In addition to domestic buildings, commercial and agricultural buildings, churches, schools, and Masonic lodges, and

other building types were documented. Cemeteries were only documented if they were related to a standing house or church or had outstanding artistic merit. Approximately 375 rural sites and 450 municipal sites were recorded during the course of the survey. Standard documentation included digital photography, mapping, oral history, floor plans, site plans, data entry, and written narratives. Municipal properties were recorded in a more limited manner with exterior documentation and minimal history. Bertie County's online tax records were used to gather some of the data for each property, particularly the GIS PIN number which was entered into the HPO database. Deed research was executed for select properties. General historical research was performed before, during, and after the survey to establish a context for the architectural history and is reflected in this report. All buildings which were not individually recorded, but appeared to be fifty years of age or older were map-coded according to building type on USGS quad maps which constitute part of the final product of this project.

At the beginning of the survey, the Survey and Planning Branch of the HPO had files for 269 properties excluding the Windsor and Woodville Historic Districts. The majority of these files were completed in 1979 by consultant Marshall Bullock for the Mid-East Commission Survey. His fieldwork identified 150 plus historic buildings and structures which he documented with field notes, plan sketches, and black and white photographs. Beyond the survey work, he contributed several National Register nominations to the research and documentation on file. In 1984-85, another large number of survey files (approximately one hundred) were completed by architectural historians Edward Chappell and Willie Graham as part of an environmental review in response to a proposed VEPCO plant in the Perrytown vicinity. Since that time, other consultants have also contributed Study List applications, and National Register nominations to the body of information on Bertie's historic buildings in the Survey and Planning Branch of the

HPO. Of the 269 individual properties outside of historic districts previously documented for the HPO, nineteen are listed on the National Register of Historic Places and twelve are listed on the North Carolina Study List. Among those on the Study List, only eight would still be eligible, since one has been moved out of the county, one has been demolished, one has been covered in vinyl siding, and one has been completely remodeled and covered in a brick veneer. Out of the total 269 properties on file, ninety-five have been removed from their original site. This number breaks down as follows: seven moved to another location, one demolished since 1969, one demolished since 1973, fifty-five demolished since 1979, thirty-six demolished since 1984, and two demolished since an unknown date. Despite the fact that these numbers represent a significant loss of some of the county's most distinctive buildings, Bertie retains a rich and varied built heritage. The survey documented approximately two hundred rural buildings that had not been recorded previously. While many of these were twentieth century buildings that fell outside the parameters of earlier surveys, there were also a number of significant nineteenth century properties that were identified. It is hoped that the following pages provide the reader with a comprehensive view of Bertie County's architecture as it has existed from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

Location, Geography and Climate

Bertie County is a land of pocosins, meaning "swamps on hills" from the Algonquin term. The names of pocosins, including Hearts Delight, Roquist, Beaverdam, Pell Mell, and Bucklesberry, dance across maps of the county. Between these swamps on hills are, of course, the low lying swamps with no rise to the land at all. Bertie County is located in northeastern

North Carolina with a great portion of its border delineated by the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers and the Albemarle Sound. The 741 square mile county is bisected by another river, the Cashie. The Cashie has the distinction of being the only North Carolina river that begins and ends in the same county. Thus Bertie County is a place of water in all forms and water has shaped its development and defined its character. The bounty of the rivers and creeks, swamps and pocosins, and the fertile land that lies between them, has long made the area one very desirable for human settlement. Waterways also provided important transportation routes prior to the establishment of railways and improved roads. Bertie's highest elevation is ninety-seven feet above sea level at the town of Roxobel. The moderate climate with temperatures ranging from a January average of forty-five degrees to a July average of seventy-nine degrees, and an annual precipitation total of approximately forty-seven inches also added to Bertie's appeal as a place for settlement. The county now shares borders with Hertford, Northampton, Halifax, Martin, Washington, and Chowan counties.

Native Americans and Early Colonial Settlement, 1650 - 1722

In the seventeenth century, English colonists ventured to this homeland of the Tuscarora and, recognizing the area's assets, began settling on tracts of land and erecting their dwellings. The context for the built heritage of Bertie County begins in this period, though the history of the Tuscarora which predates it is a long and important one. The Tuscarora are an Iroquoian tribe, but their architectural traditions shared similarities with those of the Carolina Algonquians whose longhouses at the Village of Secotan were depicted in the 1585-86 drawings of John White. These long houses were constructed of poles set into holes in the ground and sheathed in bark.

The roofs were arched with smoke holes to vent interior fires and the doorways were located on the short ends of the house.¹ Such longhouses were common to all of the six nations of the League of Iroquois, up through the northern reaches of their territory in Canada. As the Tuscarora were forced out of their North Carolina homelands, their buildings, too, vanished from the landscape. The houses and outbuildings that replaced them gradually evolved into Bertie County's built environment of today and it is this architectural history which is traced in the following pages.

Many of the first colonists to settle in the area of Bertie County moved from Virginia. In 1650, a Virginian named Edward Bland explored what is today Bertie County and was subsequently granted his request to the colonial legislature to establish a settlement in the area.² Bland would not, however, become the county's first settler. According to Bertie historian, Alan Watson, "Virginia interest in North Carolina culminated in 1655 with the appearance of Nathaniel Batts."³ A house was erected for Batts on Salmon Creek in the eastern part of present day Bertie County.⁴ This house - which appears neatly drawn and labeled on a 1657 map - is the earliest known dwelling to have been built for a permanent settler of European descent in North Carolina.⁵ The house no longer stands and little is known of its form, except that it was

¹ Charles L. Heath and David S. Phelps, "Architecture of a Tuscarora Fortress: The Neoheroka Fort and the Tuscarora War (1711-1715)" (paper presented at the 63rd Annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle, WA, January 1998); Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 8-9; Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton, *Native American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 78-86.

² Arwin D. Smallwood, *Bertie County: An Eastern North Carolina History* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2002), 30-31.

³ Alan D. Watson, *Bertie County: A Brief History* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1982), 2.

⁴ William P. Cumming, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map," *American Historical Review* 45, no. 1 (October 1939): 82-89; William S. Powell, *North Carolina Gazetteer: A Dictionary of Tar Heel Places* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 435. Salmon Creek had apparently gained its present name by 1671 when it appeared as such on a map, but was labeled as Flatt's Creek on the 1657 Comberford map which shows the "Batt's House" clearly marked.

⁵ *Ibid.*; "Marker A-10, Salmon Creek and Edenhous: Seedbed of the Colony," North Carolina Highway Historical Marker Program, <http://www.ncmarkers.com/Results.aspx?k=Search&ct=btn> (accessed October 11, 2008).

described by the Virginia carpenter Robert Bodman, who spent five months on site to build it, as being twenty feet square with a lodging chamber, buttery and a chimney.⁶ Details of its construction, such as whether the chimney was built of wood or brick, are not known. The location of the first residence for a permanent settler on Salmon Creek in Bertie County is indicative of the importance this area would continue to have for colonial settlers.

With the English settlers also came many Africans. Slaveholding was particularly encouraged by a system that rewarded residents with acres of land for every African or slave brought to the colony.⁷ Initially African slaves were moved down from Virginia, but by the early 1700s direct importation of African slaves to North Carolina was in practice.⁸ Residents of African descent, both enslaved and free, soon comprised a substantial portion of the population which has continued through the past three centuries to be an important part of the county's history and heritage.

In 1663 Charles II granted a charter for Carolina to eight Lords Proprietors and over the following decades six colonial governors selected the Salmon Creek area for their residences. The first of these was Samuel Stephens who served in 1667 to 1670.⁹ By 1676, such a community had been established at Salmon Creek that it was designated as one of three ports of entry to the colony.¹⁰ Governor Seth Sothel resided on acreage on Salmon Creek from 1685 until his banishment in 1689 for various forms of corrupt behavior, including extortion, unlawful

⁶ Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, ed. "Nathaniel Batts, Landholder on Pasquotank River, 1660," *North Carolina Historical Review* (January 1966): 73; Carl Lounsbury, "The Development of Domestic Architecture in the Albemarle Region," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (January 1977): 20. Both cite Norfolk County Deeds, Office of the Clerk of Court, Norfolk County Courthouse, Princess Anne Virginia, Book C, 180.

⁷ Smallwood, 39.

⁸ Ibid. 39 and Watson, 5.

⁹ Michael Hill, ed. "Marker A-10, Salmon Creek and Edenhouse: Seedbed of the Colony," in *Guide to North Carolina Highway Historical Markers*, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 2007 ed.), 17-18.

¹⁰ Watson, 2.

seizure of property, and unjust imprisonment of colonists. His house consisted of one room on the first floor and one in the loft above. The 1695 inventory of his estate also listed a dairy house and kitchen that were implied to be separate buildings.¹¹ At least one building on his plantation was built of logs, according to the 1709 description by the colonial surveyor, John Lawson.¹² Lawson noted that the building was the store house where goods were kept for trading with Indians, but whether this is the purpose for which it was built is uncertain. The method of constructing with logs, either left round or squared, laid horizontally one upon the other and joined at the corners with notches, half-dovetails, or full-dovetails was used for dwellings in coastal North Carolina from the late seventeenth century into the nineteenth century.¹³ It was also widely used for outbuildings, particularly buildings that demanded extra security such as those meant to hold meat or other items of value, or prisoners. This type of construction was well suited to a place with an abundance of trees and a scarcity of glass and hardware and, depending on the care taken in finishing and joining the logs, could be used to erect a house very quickly. Typically, such houses were not intended to last for generations and during the years that they did endure, they may have been repurposed after another dwelling was constructed.

Despite the active settlement and construction of homes in the seventeenth century, no seventeenth century buildings are known to survive in Bertie County or in the entire state of North Carolina. A primary reason for this is the impermanent nature of their construction. According to written accounts of the day and archaeological findings, many early colonial houses were earthfast frame, also known as post-in-ground. In this method, the posts of the house were set directly into holes in the ground instead of on sills, very much like the poles of

¹¹ Lounsbury, 21.

¹² John Lawson, *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (1714; repr., Richmond, VA: Garrett and Massie, 1951), 228.

¹³ Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 4-9.

the Tuscarora longhouses, but the colonist's construction method was based upon English tradition.¹⁴ Most of the early houses would have been one to one-and-a-half stories with a one-room or hall-and-parlor plan. By the 1690s, some homes in Bertie County were being constructed, at least partially, of brick as evidenced by the record of a Chowan bricklayer, George Chambers, firing three kilns of brick and burning 300 bushels of oyster shell for lime on William Duckenfield's Salmon Creek plantation, the former property of Seth Sothel.¹⁵

Edward Hyde arrived at Salmon Creek in 1710 to serve as the governor and in that capacity became the first governor of North Carolina when it was officially separated from South Carolina in 1712. During his tenure, the Tuscarora War erupted. Conflicts with the Tuscarora continued through the subsequent leadership of Thomas Pollock and Charles Eden whose homes "Bal Gra" and "Eden House" were also located on Salmon Creek. The Tuscarora War brought devastation to the colony and after many deaths on both sides eventually led to the forced migration of most of the surviving Tuscarora.¹⁶ In 1717 the Tuscarora Chief Tom Blount and his remaining people were moved from their town to the part of their territory in Bertie now known as Indian Woods. Chief Blount was allotted this land in recognition of his assistance to Pollock and Eden, but in later years, colonists encroached upon the parcel, taking land for their plantations. By 1722 the pressure on the boundaries of the reservation was so great that the

¹⁴ Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16, no. 2/3 (Summer – Autumn 1981): 135-196. Provides a very thorough analysis of earthfast framing in America.

¹⁵ Catherine W. Bishir, Charlotte V. Brown, Carl R. Lounsbury, and Ernest H. Wood III, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina: A History of the Practice of Building*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990): 33; Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed. *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1670-1696*, vol. 2 of *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2nd ser. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1968), 405, 410, 491.

¹⁶ Detailed descriptions of the development and course of the Tuscarora Wars are contained in Smallwood and E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina 1663-1763* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1997).

Tuscarora petitioned the Colonial Assembly for assistance in the matter, which only resulted in a redrawing of the boundaries reducing the reservation's size.¹⁷

Governor Eden died in 1722 and the town across the Chowan River known as the Town on Queen Anne's Creek was incorporated and named Edenton in his honor. As part of the incorporation, construction of a Governors House was called for and the same year an act was passed to construct a new courthouse, though neither was ever built.¹⁸ Prominent citizens continued to live in Bertie County, but increasingly a shift in the center of political activities of the colony to Edenton was effectuated.¹⁹ It was in that same year that Chowan Precinct was divided and Bertie officially became a separate precinct. The precinct was named for the brothers James and Henry Bertie who were proprietors of Carolina.

Colonial, Federal, and Antebellum Development, 1722 - 1861

Politics and Demographics

Growth in Bertie Precinct through the Revolution, 1722-1790

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, with the threat of the Tuscarora removed, the population of Bertie increased greatly and settlers took up land across the precinct. The western portion of the precinct at that time included what are today Martin, Edgecombe, and Halifax Counties. The northern part of Bertie Precinct later formed Northampton and Hertford Counties and the southern portion became Tyrrell and Washington Counties. When

¹⁷ Smallwood, 51-52.

¹⁸ Thomas R. Butchko, *Edenton: An Architectural Portrait* (Edenton, North Carolina: The Edenton Women's Club, 1992), 3-4.

¹⁹ "Marker A-10, Salmon Creek and Edenhouse: Seedbed of the Colony"

Northampton County was established in 1741, a new location for a Bertie Precinct courthouse had to be found and a site between the Cashie Bridge and the Wills Quarter Bridge on the land of James Castellaw was selected.²⁰

Eden House on Salmon Creek continued to be occupied and became the home of another governor when Gabriel Johnston, married Eden's stepdaughter Penelope Golland around 1740. As governor, Johnston caused outrage among residents of Bertie by, among other acts, supporting the complaints of his fellow Scots of the Cape Fear region who had called for equal representation and a move of the capital from Edenton to New Bern. He barely managed to avoid a schism in the colony over the matter, but continued to reside in Bertie at Eden House until his death in 1752.

During the middle part of the eighteenth century, from the end of the Tuscarora War to the beginning of the Revolution, the colony of North Carolina experienced rapid growth and an influx of new residents. Bertie's population continued to be a mixture of people of Western European, African, and Tuscarora descent. The development of its landscape progressed along an agricultural course as more plantations and farms were settled. As the cultivation of land increased, so too did the slave population. The numbers of households having enslaved laborers increased from seventeen percent in 1751 to forty-three percent in 1774.²¹ By 1763, the Bertie slave population was approximately 3000.²² During the same period, a modest population of free persons of African descent had also emerged. People of Native American descent outside of Indian Woods, who mixed with the enslaved and the free nonwhite residents, constituted another

²⁰ Watson, 66.

²¹ Watson, 6.

²² Smallwood, 59.

part of the precinct's population.²³ In 1766, approximately 155 Tuscarora moved away from Bertie County leaving only about one hundred behind at Indian Woods.²⁴

Bertie County's population was clearly stratified by class and wealth. Yeoman farmers, servants, and slaves co-existed with a very privileged planter class. The disproportionate distribution of wealth was so extreme that the richest ten percent controlled nearly sixty percent of the wealth in the county.²⁵ Education was one of the privileges obtainable only by the elite. Aspects of religion, on the other hand, which had mostly only been a chosen practice of the elite, became law and were enforced upon all residents. Acts requiring religious observance on Sundays and banning work and recreation on Sundays were not welcome among the non-religious majority.²⁶ There may have been some early Quakers in Bertie, but the Anglican Church was the established church of the colony. The first Baptist church in Bertie County, Sandy Run Baptist Church in Roxobel, was constructed ca. 1740, and additional churches were founded in 1769 and 1771.²⁷ Methodism probably arrived in Bertie County in the 1770s just prior to the Revolutionary War.²⁸

As the Revolutionary War approached, many citizens of Bertie were engaged in the civic life of the colonies. The early 1770s brought a number of important events. In 1771, disputes between western and eastern North Carolinians came to a head when 2,000 western Regulators, were defeated by Governor Tryon's militia. In 1773, England passed the Tea Act which inspired the Boston Tea Party and the Edenton Tea Party. The latter, just across the Chowan River,

²³ Smallwood, 57, 59; Watson, 9; Paul Heinegg, "Introduction," *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina*, <http://freeafricanamericans.com/introduction.htm> (accessed October 11, 2008).

²⁴ Watson, 7.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 15.

²⁶ Smallwood, 63.

²⁷ Watson, 37.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

which included the participation of fifty-one ladies from five counties, demonstrates the rising political objections and activity among area residents. Amid these events, the county seat was relocated in 1774 from the town of Cashy to Windsor, a growing town, centrally located in the county.

When the Third Provincial Congress rallied the militia, Bertie's two companies were to be commanded by Colonel Thomas Whitmell and Lieutenant Thomas Pugh. Two other prominent Bertie residents active in the politics of the day were John Campbell and William Gray, who served as representatives to the 1775 Hillsboro Convention and the 1776 Halifax Convention. John Campbell exemplifies the most privileged men of his day. Aside from large land and slave holdings, the papers from the 1781 settlement of his estate reveal the many luxuries he possessed including feather beds and a library of 358 books in English, Latin, and French.²⁹ Many colonists of his position were conflicted in their feelings about a split with the mother country. On the one hand, autonomy had its appeals, not the least of which would be unrestricted trade, however the very identity of many residents was deeply tied to England. Those not so connected to the crown, including those of African or Native American descent and all of the lower classes, seem to have been inclined to support the revolution in the hopes that it would effectuate favorable changes in their conditions. The feelings of Bertie residents were further complicated by a proclamation from Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore promising freedom to any slave who fought for the Crown. A Bertie resident who chose the side of the loyalists was William Brimerage. Brimerage was elected to the Third Provincial Congress, but did not attend, instead pursuing loyalist efforts including the Llewelyn conspiracy, for which he

²⁹ Watson, 16.

was imprisoned in Edenton and eventually ended up as an exile in England, leaving behind his wife and family in Bertie.

The prominent Patriots of Bertie had better political fates than Brimerage. In addition to John Campbell and William Gray, David Stanley, John Johnston, Charles Jacocks, and Zedekiah Stone also served in provincial congresses. The actual fighting of the Revolution never entered Bertie, but the naval blockades had a great impact. The importance of international trade to Bertie County was a factor in residents' support of the constitution.³⁰ Between the end of the war in 1783 and the ratification of the constitution in 1788, trade and currency were uncertain. The uncertainty is clearly reflected in the 1786 contract between builder Gilbert Leigh and Stephens Gray for the construction of his home, Rosefield. The contract specifies that Leigh would be paid £115 for his work, but that if money were to "grow worse" Gray would instead "make it as good as Dollars at 10 sh. and five Gallons West India Rum."³¹ Despite unwavering support from Bertie County representatives, the constitution was not officially ratified in North Carolina until 1789. The men from Bertie who attended the constitutional conventions were William J. Dawson, John Johnston, Andrew Oliver, David Turner, Francis Pugh, and David Stone. William Blount, later Tennessee governor and senator but with roots in Bertie, was a member of the Continental Congress and signed the Constitution.

While such leading individuals were negotiating independence and the shape of government for the new country, they also managed to gain control of more Tuscarora land, mostly by means of long-term leases that paid little to nothing. In 1777, further leasing was prohibited by the state legislature, but the existing leases were allowed. With very little land left,

³⁰ Watson, 68.

³¹ Contract between Stevens Gray and Gilbert Leigh, May 1 1786, Gray Family Papers #1681, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, quoted in Bishir et al, 64.

the Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina were few and many had mixed with Europeans and Africans such that by 1783, they were not considered a sovereign people in Bertie.³² The final migration of Tuscarora out of Bertie County occurred in 1803 and eventually all of their land in Indian Woods was sold. The shift in the population of Bertie County from the Revolution through the beginning of the nineteenth century was not limited to the Tuscarora. A state census, conducted between 1784 and 1787, found Bertie County to have 5,141 slaves, 349 free persons, and 7,116 whites.³³

The Shifting Scene from New Nation to Secession, 1790-1861

The first federal census was taken in 1790, after which time the population declined, only returning to the first census total in 1850. In 1790, forty-three percent of Bertie's households included slaves and, during the next seventy years, the need for slave labor on the county's plantations increased. Though the average number of enslaved people per household was 8.3 at the beginning of that period, the county did have some large slaveholders. The largest slaveholder of Bertie in 1790 was Whitmell Hill who counted 130 enslaved people in his household.³⁴ For comparison, one of the region's largest slaveholders, Josiah Collins in neighboring Washington County, had assembled an enslaved labor force of nearly 200 by the same year.³⁵ Following the tumultuous years of the Revolution more tensions arose between slaves and those who held them in enslavement.

³² Smallwood, 74.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Watson, 10.

³⁵ "Somerset Place," North Carolina Historic Sites, <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/somerset/somerset.htm> (accessed October 12, 2008); Harry L. Watson, "Planters and Slaves," in *The Way We Lived in North Carolina*, ed. Joe A. Moley (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 137-138.

The end of the eighteenth century also brought religious shifts to Bertie County. The Second Great Awakening swept through the new nation between 1790 and 1840 with particular impact on the American South. Where there previously had been little interest in religion, Methodist and Baptist churches began to host large congregations. The gospel of these Christian denominations built upon the ideals of freedom and democracy that had been espoused during the Revolution and further challenged the moral validity of the institution of slavery, though members of these congregations often supported it. At the same time, slave insurrections were occurring in the West Indies with which Bertie County still maintained trading ties. In 1798, three Bertie slaves were accused of leading a conspiracy of 150 persons and were punished by lashes and the cropping of their ears.³⁶ In 1800, those categorized as black by the census formed the majority of Bertie's population. That year the large slave revolt known as Gabriel's Rebellion occurred near Richmond, Virginia. The proximity of that event and rumors of a slave revolt in Bertie spread alarm among the county's slave holders. In 1802, a conspiracy was indeed discovered in Bertie County for which eleven slaves were executed, including one of the household of David Stone; six were deported; and another twenty were subjected to ear cropping.³⁷ This became known as the Great Slave Conspiracy.

A change was also taking place in agriculture. In 1790, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin which revolutionized the preparation of the crop for market. Cotton rapidly surpassed tobacco in profitability and Bertie became one of the largest cotton producing counties in North Carolina. Despite the potential for cotton production in Bertie, some planters began envisioning a better future elsewhere. During a hurricane in 1795 the Roanoke Inlet closed, having a negative impact on trade in the region. The inlet had been used to access the Albemarle Sound

³⁶ Watson, 11.

³⁷ Ibid.

from the treacherous Atlantic surf of the Outer.³⁸ Its closure was devastating to the profitability of the port at Edenton, which was already anticipating competition from the construction of the Dismal Swamp Canal, and could not have been without effect for Bertie County's wealth which also depended in great part on trade through the Albemarle.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 opened up an enormous expanse of land to Americans. The prospect of more land and even better soil and climate was appealing to fortune-seeking planters including many in Bertie. The 1830 census revealed a twenty-six percent decline from 1790 in the number of white residents in the county.³⁹ Although in the early 1800s, Bertie and the state as a whole seemed to be in a slumber that gained North Carolina the title "Rip Van Winkle" state, not everyone was in stagnation. In 1808, David Stone became the first governor of the state from Bertie County. Stone's political career had been very active since his graduation from Princeton in 1788. He was deeply connected to the Federalists of Edenton and served in the House of Commons from 1790 to 1795. Later, he was elected to the House of Representatives, where his political leanings shifted to the Republican side and he supported Jefferson. After serving one term in the Senate, he returned to North Carolina. As governor, one of Stone's endeavors was to improve regional banking options.

Until the establishment of New Bern and Cape Fear banks in 1804, the only banking options for North Carolinians were in Norfolk and Charleston. While the in-state options improved the situation, they were still not convenient to Bertie County. Through Stone's work, the Bank of North Carolina was established in 1810 and branches, including one in Windsor, were opened.⁴⁰ This was surely a considerable improvement for the county's wealthy in the

³⁸ Butchko, 18-19.

³⁹ Watson, 9.

⁴⁰ Smallwood, 86.

management of their fortunes. Stone's own house, "Hope", is a grand and refined building completed in 1803, and its contents reflect what was available to someone of his position.

On May 20, 1861, the state of North Carolina adopted the ordinance of secession; the country was about to become fully engaged in the Civil War. Despite the dependence of Bertie's wealthy planters upon the institution of slavery, the elected officials were pro-Union. Foreseeing the negative effects that war would have on the economy and trade, Bertie politicians spoke out against secession.⁴¹ P. T. Henry and David Outlaw were two of the county's outspoken Unionists. The outlook on the economy and trade that informed their political views was much as it had been in Bertie during the Revolution and the formation of the nation. For the poor and enslaved in Bertie, secession had different implications.

Transportation and Settlement Pattern: Rivers and Early Towns

Even after railroads began to connect other areas of the state, Bertie's transportation depended on its waterways. Boats, bridges, and ferries remained an important part of any movement through the county. Steamboats first came into use on North Carolina waterways following the War of 1812 and by the middle of the century steamers regularly traveled the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers.⁴² Because of the importance of water to transportation and industry, the locations of towns and individual properties were selected with consideration to the access to water. Just as Salmon Creek was the center of settlement in the seventeenth century, the banks of the Chowan, Roanoke, and Cashie Rivers were sites of expanding development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁴¹ Watson, 79, and Smallwood, 94.

⁴² Watson, 43, and Butchko, 19.

As noted above, when Northampton County was divided from Bertie in 1741, the Bertie Precinct court had to be relocated. The place finally chosen for the new courthouse, prison, and stocks was between the Cashie Bridge and the Wills Quarter Bridge on the land of James Castellaw.⁴³ According to research by Bertie County historian, Harry Lewis Thompson, the town was known as Cashy. In addition to the courthouse, prison and stocks, other structures and buildings in the town included the bridges over the Cashie and Will's Quarter, a warehouse, Castellaw's Mill, and an unknown number of houses. In the subsequent years, the settlement at Gray's Landing, lower down the Cashie River grew to be a more attractive choice for court facilities and in 1773, an act was passed to build a new courthouse there. While James Castellaw's Mill continued in operation, the relocation of the courthouse signaled the end of Cashy as a town.⁴⁴

The town originally known as Gray's Landing, was settled in 1722. It was renamed Windsor after the English castle and was formally established January 15, 1768. Efforts were made to assure that it would soon be a thriving town full of houses and businesses. Residents who wished to own a lot in town were required to improve it with a house at least sixteen feet square within three years. The construction of houses did not proceed quite as quickly as hoped and an extension of the original deadline was passed in 1774 when the town was made the county seat.⁴⁵ Though domestic buildings may not have been as numerous as first hoped, by the time of the relocation of the county seat to Windsor, the town did have many stores and taverns. In addition to these commercial amenities, a ferry for transport across the Cashie River and Windsor's central location in the county were important contributors to the town's growth.

⁴³ Watson, 66; Harry Lewis Thompson, "The Lost Town of 'Cashy'" (paper presented to the Bertie County Historical Association, Windsor, NC, October 18, 1967), 6.

⁴⁴ Thompson.

⁴⁵ Watson, 46.

Colerain is located on the Chowan River in the northeastern part of the county. The land on which it stands was purchased by John Campbell in 1743. Nearby was Webbs Ferry, which provided transportation across the Chowan River to Chowan Precinct. Campbell named the settlement that had grown up around his Lazy Hill plantation Coleraine, after his hometown of in Ireland. The spelling was later changed dropping the “e.” Campbell and his son-in-law, Richard Brownrigg are believed to have been the first to operate a fishery at Colerain, thus beginning the town’s long history with the industry. According to local history, during its early years, much of the town’s population, including Campbell, was driven away by a fever epidemic. When Campbell’s property was later sold, it was listed as including “a good dwelling house, kitchen store, warehouse, workhouse, barns, milk and meat house, stables. Together with a good shad and herry fishery, a good apple and peach orchard and two vegetable gardens.”⁴⁶ After the depletion of the population, the village was reinvigorated by Humphry Hardy as a trading post for such forest products as tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, and barrels. The town was established by statute in 1794.⁴⁷

The town of Roxobel is located in the northwestern corner of Bertie County near the Roanoke River and it sits at the county’s highest elevation, ninety-seven feet above sea level. It began as the eighteenth century community of Cotten's Crossroads. By the end of the eighteenth century, the town was known as Granberry; then as Britton's Store in the second decade of the nineteenth century; and finally in 1847, it was given the name of Roxobel.⁴⁸ The Roanoke River could be crossed at Norfleet’s Ferry just a few miles to the east of Roxobel and this active

⁴⁶ Bertie County, North Carolina Genealogy Project, from information by Harry Lewis Thompson, “Colerain and Lazy Hill,” Historic Homes, Bertie NCGenWeb, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncbertie/homes.htm> (accessed December 30, 2009).

⁴⁷ “History of Colerain,” *The Chronicle of the Bertie County Historical Association* 1, no. 2 (October 1953).

⁴⁸ John E. Tyler II, "Roxobel, Bertie County, North Carolina and Its Four Names," (unpublished paper, Eastern Office, State Historic Preservation Office, Greenville).

transportation route spurred the town's growth as a trading center. According to Thomas Granberry's 1794 advertisement in the *State Gazette of North Carolina*, goods available at his store included "some valuable mahogany tables, desks, plain and swelled, Windsor chairs," plank, and scantling.⁴⁹ In the early nineteenth century, local stores offered quite a wide variety of basic and luxury of items for sale, such as "nails, bricks, butt hinges, saws, files, screws," brass nails, fabrics, "ribbon, gloves, snuff boxes, coffee, coffee pots, cutlery, china, razors, chocolate, almonds, rum, French brandy, and Moroccan shoes."⁵⁰ The inventory of merchandise indicates not only that this little crossroads was thriving, but that the greater community included residents of some wealth. An important part of life for the prominent men of the area was the Davie Lodge No. 39 of the Masonic Order, organized in 1799.⁵¹

A community of a different character developed into the town of Woodville. Woodville was not a center of trade or government, but rather a residential enclave of plantation owners whose property holding extended into the rich lowlands of the Roanoke River and Indian Woods. Because the swampy nature of their fertile farmland was not very hospitable to fulltime residence, the planters established their homes on the higher land of Woodville. While such homes were typically sited on their respective plantations and thus somewhat isolated from each other, the residents in Woodville enjoyed a closer social community. The town's location at the intersection of the main road between Roxobel and Windsor, and the roads leading to Hill's and Taylor's ferries across the Roanoke River also provided advantages of transportation and

⁴⁹ Advertisement, *State Gazette of North Carolina*, June 13, 1794, quoted in Tyler, 2.

⁵⁰ Thomas R. J. Newbern and James R. Melchor, *WH Cabinetmaker: A Southern Mystery Solved* (Legacy Ink Publishing, 2009), 26, citing Merchandise journal, John D. White, 1801-1803 and Merchandise journal, Norfleet and Murdough, Bertie County, N.C., 1816-1821 in the Bruce Cotten Papers, #181, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁵¹ Tyler, 2.

communication. The antebellum houses and churches which stand in Woodville today were built between 1801 and 1863.⁵²

The Economy: Small Industry and the Rise of the Agricultural Landscape

The industries that were well established in antebellum Bertie County were wood products, fishing, and milling.⁵³ In 1736, a Colonial Act was passed to encourage the development of gristmills on any suitable property and between 1758 and 1775 there were twenty-eight petitions in the county to create gristmill operations.⁵⁴ By the late 1700s, numerous mill ponds and mills for milling grist had been established throughout the county. One such mill was Castellaw's Mill completed in 1748, now known as Hoggard's Mill (BR320), on the Cashie River at the former town of Cashie.⁵⁵ Hoggard's Mill retains its mill pond configuration and its covered gristmill building and sawmill building were reconstructed in the late twentieth century. The damming of swamps to create mill races provided enough water power for most of the mills throughout the county, but the 1863 Gilmer map depicts one windmill near Sutton's Fishery on the Albemarle Sound.⁵⁶ The structural remains of milling operations can still be seen beneath the water in some locations such as Mill Landing on Salmon Creek (BR563) (Figure 1). Products derived from the area's forests of oak, gum, cypress, and pine were tar, turpentine, barrel staves, shingles, and timber. Fishery operations began at Colerain on the plantation of John Campbell,

⁵² M. Ruth Little, "Woodville Historic District," National Register Nomination," 1998.

⁵³ Watson, 58.

⁵⁴ Harry Lewis Thompson, "Castellaw-Hoggard's Mill Pond, 1736-1998," (unpublished report, BR320, Hoggard Mills file, Eastern Office, State Historic Preservation Office, Office of Archives and History, Greenville); Watson, 58.

⁵⁵ Walt O'Neil, "North Carolina Mill Bridges," in *Hoggards Mill: Windsor, NC* (Windsor: Windsor Area Chamber of Commerce, 1992).

⁵⁶ Confederate States of America, Dept. of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's Office, "Map of Bertie County, NC: no. 2," 1863, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division.

in the 1740s. The primary catch was herring which bred in the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers. In 1807, Joseph Blount Skinner opened the county's first seine fishery at Eden House beach.⁵⁷ Aside from the abundant forests and waterways, Bertie's greatest natural resource was its fertile land. From the first days of colonial settlement, agriculture has dominated the economy of Bertie.

Between the small industrial enterprises and riverside trading towns stretched expanses of land that steadily were developed into plantations and yeoman farmsteads. The primary cash crops in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were corn, wheat, and tobacco.⁵⁸ Livestock and orchards were also a strong part of the agricultural landscape. The livestock roamed free among the woods and were not fenced into one place, but instead were fenced out of household yards, gardens, or fields.⁵⁹ Orchards produced apples, peaches, plums and apricots which were consumed both as food and drink. A significant amount of the fruit went towards the manufacture of brandy. Gardens independent of the fields provided vegetables and herbs for families. In the eighteenth century, small crops of cotton and flax were grown for household fabric.⁶⁰ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the place of cotton on the farm and plantation changed radically with the invention of the cotton gin in 1790. At the same time, England's growing textile industry provided the demand for the crop. Although some believed silk would excel as the profitable crop in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, cotton easily surpassed it and Bertie County became one of the largest cotton producers in North

⁵⁷ Smallwood, 122.

⁵⁸ Watson, 52, and Smallwood, 68, 82.

⁵⁹ Bishir and Southern, 10.

⁶⁰ Watson, 52; Will of John Nichols, February 1791, Book D, p. 161, Bertie County Wills, Windsor, NC. Nichols left his plantation to his son, but noted the "desire that my Daughters that now live with me shall have the use of the plantation where on I now live to make cotton, flax..."

Carolina.⁶¹ As all of these agricultural interests were pursued, the landscape of Bertie County was transformed. Ancient forests were cut down to expand crop fields and orchards, and a multitude of buildings were erected to serve every domestic and agricultural purpose.

Rural Domestic Architecture

Houses: Vernacular Expressions of the Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival Styles

Accommodation of a growing population in the mid-eighteenth century required the building of houses and associated outbuildings. Deed books of that period reflect much activity in acquisitions and transfer of property and note building trades such as joiner and bricklayer among the acknowledged occupations of parties in the transactions. English building traditions prevailed in the form, construction methods, and style of the settler's dwellings. Many of Bertie's residents had come to the county from Virginia and its architecture shares commonalities with that of Tidewater Virginia and Maryland. While the easy access to transatlantic trade in the eastern parts of those states supported a very wealthy elite who commissioned some buildings of academic designs, Bertie County's more remote location inspired many vernacular interpretations of current styles. The prevailing style of the region during the eighteenth century was Georgian. Named for King George I, II, and III of England, the style has its origins in Italian Renaissance and Baroque design. The influence of this style on houses in northeastern North Carolina is mainly conveyed in the use of robust raised panels on doors, wainscoting, mantels, and over mantels; and the application of bold, molded window and door architraves, chair rails, mantel shelves and other molded features.

⁶¹ Watson, 52.

New houses being constructed in the eighteenth century were most likely to be one or two-room buildings of log or wood frame construction and rarely of brick. Of the more substantial houses built during this period, the Jordan House (BR2) - a one-and-a-half story dwelling with a gable roof, interior end chimneys, a three-room plan and a full cellar - is a notable and unique extant example. It is the oldest surviving building in Bertie County; a fact which it owes to its unusually durable construction. Constructed ca. 1738, the house is built of solid brick laid in a Flemish bond with segmental arches over the door and window openings (Figure 2).⁶² In size and material, the Jordan House is similar to the ca. 1730 Newbold-White House in Perquimans County. The solid brick masonry construction of both buildings would have required a substantial investment with the employment of skilled artisans and was not the method of building used for the average house. Arthur Dobbs, appointed governor after Gabriel Johnston's death, described finding only small houses primarily constructed of wood when he arrived in North Carolina in 1754.⁶³

The production of brick at this time occurred either directly on the building site or at a nearby location. It is a myth that colonial buildings were built of English bricks transported to the New World as ballast on ships.⁶⁴ When Joseph Jordan purchased his property in 1738, the bricks and plank for the dwelling were already on site, having been procured by former owner, William Charlton.⁶⁵ To manufacture bricks, the brickmaker, who was typically also the bricklayer, first had to identify and harvest a good source of clay. Selected clay had to be broken apart and kneaded, or tempered, and mixed with sand and water until the proper consistency was achieved. When this was done, the mixture was packed into wooden molds by hand which

⁶² John Wells, "Jordan House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1971.

⁶³ Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: North Carolina* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), 28.

⁶⁴ Calder Loth, "Notes on the Evolution of Virginia Brickwork from the Seventeenth Century to the Late Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 6, no. 2 (1974): 83.

⁶⁵ Wells.

resulted in the nuanced folds observable in the surface of the bricks. Variations in the colors of historic bricks are a result both of the clay and the proximity of the brick to the fire in the kiln. The beautiful glazed headers that enliven a Flemish bond wall were produced by placing the ends of the brick especially close to the fire such that a dark color developed and the particles of sand on the surface were heated until glasslike (Figure 3). Bricks were generally two-and-one-half to three inches high, four to four-and-a-half inches wide, and eight-and-a-half to nine inches long. These dimensions developed from the ergonomic variables of the weight of wet clay and size of brick comfortably held in an average man's hand and they did vary somewhat from place to place or between makers.⁶⁶

The making of mortar was a separate task that often fell to bricklayer because there were not enough artisans in the region to afford specialization.⁶⁷ Mortar is composed of a binder and an aggregate, which was typically local sand. In colonial America, the binder in mortar was lime and in coastal areas the source for lime was oyster shells. To convert oyster shells to lime for use in mortar, they were burned in a kiln. The basic structure of a lime kiln was a chamber with openings at its bottom and top to create a draft. These needs could be met by many designs and the crudest type was dug into the ground.⁶⁸ Once the shells were burned, water was reintroduced to them in a process called slaking. This was often done in a pit on site and these slaking pits are sometimes discovered on historic properties. Inexact firing of the shells produced unevenly burned shells and those shells that were not fully burned would not slake, but would remain in their original physical condition in the mortar. This is the reason fragments of oyster shell are sometimes observable in historic mortar. The source of sand for a mortar further influences the

⁶⁶ Loth, 82- 120; Lee Perry, *The Preservationist's Guide to Technological Change in the American Home* (San Jose: Writer's Showcase, 2000), 57-59.

⁶⁷ Bishir, Brown, Lounsbury and Wood, 32.

⁶⁸ Worth Bailey, "Lime Preparation at Jamestown in the Seventeenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Second Series 18, no. 1 (January 1938): 1-12.

character through its color and degree of fineness or coarseness. Any interior plaster work would be made with the best part of the slaked lime and a fine sand. The application of any limewash, commonly called whitewash, was typically also the responsibility of the mason because of its use of lime.⁶⁹ The base of limewash was the lime putty created by the slaking of the burnt oyster shells.

The brickwork of seventeenth and eighteenth century America is distinguished, not only by the qualities of its brick and mortar, but by the types of bonds utilized in combining these two elements. English and Flemish were the two bonds in popular use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, the common bond, which uses several rows of stretchers between every row of headers, became standard. Flemish bond alternates headers (bricks with shorter end exposed) with stretchers (bricks with longer side exposed) in every row and was desirable for its eye-catching appeal. It is a tedious bond to lay and the extra craftsmanship required contributed additional status to the completed work. English bond, on the other hand, which alternates a solid course of headers with a solid course of stretchers, is an estimated twelve percent stronger than Flemish bond and easier to lay, but it was typically relegated to the foundation level below the water table.⁷⁰ At the Jordan House, the Flemish bond is extravagantly displayed both above and below the water table and the bond only shifts to English in the first few courses above grade and below. Other aspects of the detailed craftsmanship employed in the Jordan House are its T-stack interior chimneys and the herringbone fireback in the hall (Figure 4). When the significant amount of labor required for the production and assembly of the materials in preindustrial brick masonry construction is

⁶⁹ Abbott Lowell Cummings and Richard M. Candee, "Colonial and Federal America: Accounts of Early Painting Practices," in *Paint in America: The Colors of Historic Buildings*, ed. Roger Moss (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1994), 14.

⁷⁰ Loth, 87.

considered, it is no wonder that it was used sparingly in eighteenth and nineteenth century Bertie County. However, the creation of a well joined timber frame was by no means a quick and easy task.

The local forests provided an ample supply of timber; particularly cypress, pine, and oak, which are excellent building woods. Bertie County's first buildings constructed by residents of European ancestry followed Virginia examples since that was the place of origin of many settlers. There, and in the Chesapeake watershed extending into Maryland, English carpentry traditions had been in a process of adjustment to New World constraints and needs since the settlement at Jamestown. With abundant wood, but little skilled labor, a framing system developed from the first earthfast buildings that minimized complicated joinery. As everyday living became more stable, the new methods solidified into the form recognizable as the Chesapeake frame, well established by 1700.⁷¹

In the Chesapeake frame, the main load of the structure is carried by heavy posts at the corners and openings. Between these posts, lighter studs primarily served the purpose of supporting the exterior weatherboards and interior wall sheathing. The corner posts were always stabilized by diagonal braces (Figure 5 and Figure 6). Unlike their earthfast predecessors, such frames had substantial sills, typically elevated on brick or wood block piers. The posts, studs, and braces were tenoned into the sills at the bottom and into wall plates at the top. From the front of the house to the back of the house, between the sills ran floor joists and between the wall plates, ceiling joists. The connection between the ceiling joists and the rafters was facilitated by the insertion of a false plate (Figure 7). With small variations, this framing system prevailed

⁷¹ Willie Graham, "Preindustrial Framing in the Chesapeake," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 9, Constructing Image, Identity, and Place (2003): 179-196.

through the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth century in Bertie County. All of the individual wooden members that went into a frame were either hand hewn or pit sawn, or both. The pit saw required two men to push and pull each end of a long saw. The log would be laid across a scaffold with one man on top, and one man below in a pit which gives the saw its name. The action of the two men lends pit sawn wood characteristic striations at slightly alternating angles that represent each up and down of the sawn (Figure 10). Once the rough timbers were squared and cut, mortises and tenons had to be carefully chiseled in each piece so that the frame could be joined together with pegs fit through holes securing tenons into mortises. Regular placement of studs and joists allowed mortises to be cut at defined increments without much tailored layout, but the frame still required careful measuring and fitting. It is not unusual to find a mortise that was cut, but never used. Fitting together members that were not perfectly square also required scribing, not just measuring. While frame construction dominated, log and plank buildings continued to be built in smaller numbers. This type of construction also required exact joinery in the form of full or half dovetails. Because pit sawing by no means produced planks of perfectly even thickness, the laying of floorboards also demanded extra fitting work. Each board had to be gauged and undercut to lay over the joists with an even floor surface (Figure 13). This extra work was eliminated when more regular lumber from water powered sash saws was available. Though sash saws came into use in the first decades of the 1800s, pit saws continued in use as well. The marks of the sash saw are closely spaced and evenly parallel. For finer finish work required by doors, mantels, and moldings, hand planes were used to smooth the surface and create the desired profile. Hand planed surfaces have very subtle undulations between each sweep of the plane. This is typically evident on doors, wainscoting and any wide flat surfaces.

Thunderbolt (BR519), which is believed to have been constructed in the second half of the eighteenth century, is an example of a high quality timber frame house in which the brickwork was reserved for its massive Flemish bond chimney. For lesser houses, a wood and clay chimney would have sufficed. An intermediary type of construction between the solid brick house and the frame one was the house with brick end wall construction. This method has the benefit of providing the fire resistance of masonry along the entire fireplace walls while limiting the use of expensive masonry overall. The documented second oldest standing house in Bertie County, the King-Bazemore House (BR3) of 1763, is an excellent example of this type of construction.⁷² It is a one-and-a-half story, three-bay house raised on a brick foundation with brick end walls laid in Flemish bond and its front and rear frame walls are clad with flush beaded weatherboards (Figure 14). The chimneys have T-stacks like those of the Jordan House and the fireplaces have segmental arched openings. While the Jordan House lost all of the wooden elements of its interior in a 1928 fire, the King-Bazemore House retains exceptional Georgian raised panel wainscoting and paneled end walls complete with closets in the parlor and glazed cupboards flanking the hall fireplace (Figure 15). These interiors exemplify the type of handsome workmanship affordable only to the elite planter class. Its arched fireplace openings and deeply raised panels are typical of the Georgian period. A hall-parlor plan, gambrel roof, front shed porch and rear shed porch and rooms complete the ensemble of mid-eighteenth century components in a substantial home in this region. One other brick end house in Bertie survived long enough into the twentieth century to be well documented before progressive deterioration led to its collapse. Cabin Hill (BR49) was a one-and-a-half story, three-bay, side

⁷² Renee Gledhill-Earley, "King House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1980. William King purchase the property in 1758 and the construction date of the house is documented by a date brick marked "WK" for William King and "E" for Elizabeth King with the year 1763.

gable, brick end house constructed in 1770 according to a reputed date brick.⁷³ Like the King-Bazemore House, Cabin Hill's end walls were built of Flemish bond and its interiors featured arched fireplace openings and fine Georgian raised panel wainscoting and paneling.

Conveniently, these three eighteenth century houses – the Jordan House, the King-Bazemore House and Cabin Hill – each represent a different plan, allowing for a good comparison of the most popular plans and forms for sophisticated Bertie County houses of this period. With a history of use extending back to England, the hall-and-parlor plan was a popular design throughout the colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Like other traditions, in North Carolina, this plan enjoyed a prolonged popularity extending though the nineteenth century. The plan consists of a large general purpose hall into which the front door enters and a smaller parlor which could be used for more private entertaining or as a bed chamber. Typically, a winder stair ascending from the hall provided access to the second half or full story. Another stair configuration was demonstrated by Bucklesberry (BR22), a story-and-a-half, eighteenth century Georgian house that is now demolished. There, the stair rose from the back porch. The more common, interior stair arrangement is demonstrated in the King-Bazemore House. In this case, the second half story is enclosed by a gambrel roof which provides more spacious rooms than a simple gable roof. For this reason, the gambrel roof was very popular for more substantial houses in the eighteenth century – before the two-story house became prevalent – but the King-Bazemore House is the only surviving example of one in Bertie County. In addition to the hall and parlor on the main floor, the house also has two enclosed rear shed rooms that are believed to be slightly later additions.⁷⁴ One of these rooms is accessible

⁷³ Buck Carter, "Cabin Hill – Taylor Family Home," (unpublished reminiscence, Cabin Hill, BR49 survey file, Survey and Planning Branch, State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

⁷⁴ Gledhill-Early.

only from the porch, with no connection to the interior of the house. Such rooms generally were used to accommodate travelers passing through the area. By this point, the porch or piazza as it was commonly called then, had become an integral part of domestic design in the South, particularly for finer houses.

The Jordan House has a three-room plan that is sometimes called a Quaker plan because it was popular in Quaker Pennsylvania and was even promoted by a Pennsylvania pamphlet, but its use was by no means limited to Quaker areas.⁷⁵ Like the hall-and-parlor plan, the three-room plan was used widely throughout the colonies and it is, therefore, more straightforward to refer to this type of plan simply as three-room. The three room plan was similar to a hall-and-parlor plan, but the smaller room was divided again into two rooms, often used as a parlor and a bed chamber. Back-to-back corner fireplaces heat each of the small rooms while the large hall is heated by one interior end chimney. Evidence of a door in the wall between the hall and the secondary rooms indicates that the stair to the second level originally ascended from this location, but it is now accessed from the chamber.

Cabin Hill apparently had an early center passage plan. Its configuration was much like the typical hall-and-parlor plan of the King-Bazemore House, but with an additional wall creating a center passage from the front door to the rear door, with door openings to the parlor and hall. An enclosed winder stair ascended to the second floor from the center passage. It also had a winder stair tucked beside the hall fireplace. The presence of a second stair brings into question whether the center passage and stair were original, but the documentation indicates that

⁷⁵ Wells; Bishir, 17; Lane, 23; Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 505.

they were.⁷⁶ The high brick foundation or cellar is another attribute of each of these expensive, substantial dwellings. The lack of a fireplace in the ground level spaces means that they could not have been used for cooking, and were most likely utilized for cool storage.

Again, it is important to remember that these surviving buildings represent the best built houses which were available only to a small number of privileged, wealthy residents. As succinctly noted by Catherine Bishir and Michael Southern, “For nearly everyone [else], a building adequate to last a few years or a generation was a sufficient and suitable investment.”⁷⁷ Only a few small hall-and-parlor and one-room plan houses survive in the county that indicate the proportions of more modest homes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each of these houses has been moved and substantially restored with new and salvaged materials so that they cannot be examined as wholly architecturally representative of their kind, but are still of note for their size. The Samuel Cox House (BR319), originally located in the Roxobel vicinity and now on the grounds of Hope Plantation, is thought to have been built by Samuel Cox ca. 1795-1805. It is a one-and-a-half story, three-bay house with a hall-and-parlor plan (Figure 16). The hall is sixteen feet by sixteen feet with a winder stair leading to two rooms on the second floor. A rare example of a one-room plan, one-and-a-half story dwelling is the R. A. Cowan House built ca. 1795-1805 (Figure 17). The front door of the house is flanked by closely set windows. It was covered with beaded weatherboards and featured a massive chimney. By the late eighteenth century, it had become more stylish to cover all aspects of the structure than to leave them exposed, but the R. A. Cowan House demonstrates the rural perpetuation of exposed ceiling joists in its one main room. The joists are dressed with beaded edges, which was a

⁷⁶ Marshall Bullock, Freeman-Tayloe House (BR49) Survey File (Mid-east Commission Survey, 1979, Survey and Planning Branch, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh).

⁷⁷ Bishir and Southern, 18.

common decorative treatment for ceiling joists (Figure 18). At a later date, the joists were covered in plaster and a two-room wing, possibly for a dining room and kitchen, was added to the house. These two houses represent dwellings of smaller scale, but were still well-built for their place and period and do not represent the most basic of accommodations. None of the many less durable dwellings survive. One other standing building in the county is of a size and configuration that could have been a one-room house, though its original use is unknown (Figure 19). The Seay Building is the only identified plank buildings of its size in the county. Other surviving plank buildings are smaller outbuildings. The Seay Building has lost its original chimney, but appears to have had a large one. The window, stair, and roof configurations have been altered, but it retains beaded ceiling joists. Such a building could represent a first house for a settler built ca. 1780-1800, making use of the timber that was sawn at a nearby saw scaffold. A finer house may have been built on the property soon after, and this house repurposed for other uses.

While the majority of Bertie County residents continued to live in one or one-and-a-half story houses in the eighteenth century, another house form that would become an iconic part of the landscape was gaining in popularity: the I-house. Geographer, John B. Rehder stated, “If any folk house in America can claim to be ubiquitous, it might be the I-house, whose distribution extends very widely across the United States.”⁷⁸ In Bertie County, the I-house’s claim to ubiquity is unquestionable. The term I-house was coined by the geographer Fred Kniffen, and refers to the building’s side profile and its abundance in the states beginning with the letter “I”. The form is characterized by a one-room depth and two-story height. The widths of I-houses vary and the decorative elaborations applied to the core form are limitless. The main advantage

⁷⁸ John B. Rehder, “The Scotch-Irish and English in Appalachia,” in *To Build a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America*, ed. Allen G. Noble (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 110.

the I-house provided over the one-and-a-half story house was the full height second floor which could accommodate less cramped private chambers. Although center passage plans enabled greater privacy in individual rooms, the hall-and-parlor plan remained popular in I-houses. An early example of an I-house in Bertie County is the Castellow-Tarkington House. This three-bay house displays the asymmetry typical of early versions of this form. It also has a standard hall-and-parlor plan with an enclosed winder stair. The windows and interior and exterior sheathing were replaced in the early twentieth century, but the house retains some raised four-panel doors, two-part door surrounds and a wonderfully vigorous, vernacular transitional Georgian-Federal mantel. The main shift in aesthetic between the Georgian and Federal style – which was named in keeping with the new Federalist government of the time – was the move toward lighter, more delicate profiles and proportions. The mantel’s arched firebox opening is in keeping with the Georgian period while its fluted pilasters and denticulated frieze are more representative of Federal designs. It combines these elements with a molded architrave and mantel shelf to a very striking effect (Figure 21). According to family history, the house originally belonged to Edmond Dunstan.⁷⁹ It was likely constructed ca. 1790-1800. In the 1790 census, Dunstan’s household is listed as including two free white males over sixteen, two free white males under sixteen, five free white females, and twelve slaves. The house is situated on fertile land between the Cashie and Roanoke Rivers near what was then Hyman’s Ferry to Plymouth.

The Garrett-White House provides another example of a late eighteenth century I-house in Bertie County. It is believed to have been built for Jesse Garrett in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ The house may have begun with a hall-and-parlor plan, but now features a center passage. Among the early moldings and elements of the house are two mantels significant

⁷⁹ Cullen Dunstan, interview with author, Windsor, NC, December 2008.

⁸⁰ Marshall Bullock, “Garrett-White House,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1980.

for their interesting vernacular interpretation of a Georgian cushion frieze. In both examples, the frieze is flat in profile, but dramatically curved on its sides. The house also displays Georgian wainscoting with double molded lip raised panels. While the mantels of the Garrett-White House are unique among standing houses in Bertie County, several other houses have mantels of a similar aesthetic, featuring friezes with ogee or concave curved sides. Such Georgian-Federal mantels are found in the Mitchell House (BR73), the Samuel and Sallie Adams House (BR555), and the Asa Phelps House (BR549).

The Mitchell House is a five bay I-house with a ca. 1805-1815 Georgian-Federal style side and a ca. 1850-1860 Greek Revival expansion, as well as an early nineteenth coastal cottage attached to the rear. The first floor mantel of the Georgian-Federal section is composed of a two-part firebox surround with a plain ogee sided frieze and a heavily molded mantel shelf (Figure 25). In this portion of the house, there is an almost excessive use of beading on the interior flush sheathing, balusters and other elements, which, combined with the application of layered moldings at the baseboards, wainscoting, and door and window openings, produces a richly textured effect. The house also has four and six raised panel doors typical of both Georgian and Federal period houses. The Samuel and Sallie Adams House is an interesting example of a two-story, L-plan, Victorian House in which pieces of an earlier house were clearly reused. The mantels in the house probably originated with the Nicholls-Webb House which formerly stood on the site and may have been constructed ca. 1800. Though its mantels are quite similar to that of the Mitchell House, the sides of the friezes are defined by convex curves instead of ogee curves (Figure 26). One of the mantels also is embellished with crosstetted corners on its firebox surround (Figure 27).

Similar mantels are again found at the Asa Phelps House, but the first floor example in this house features a rare paneled Georgian overmantel and the frieze is embellished by a gougework diamond. This mantel would have been a striking focal point in what was a very large house for its date of construction, estimated to be ca. 1810-1815. Although the location now seems remote for such a large and well-constructed house, it was an area of early settlement in relatively close proximity to the thriving banks of Salmon Creek and the Chowan River. The building is a double pile, two-and-a-half story house with four bays on the first floor and three on the second (Figure 29). While the asymmetry of the front façade is typical for a house of this period, its double pile form is not at all common and the entire house, excepting the rear ell, appears to have been constructed in one campaign. The present floor plan consists of a center passage with four rooms on the first floor and four on the second. On the first floor, the physical evidence indicates that a wall was added in the Victorian period to create the center passage. Originally, it appears that one would have entered into a large 17' X 19'-6" hall with a parlor to the right and three unheated rooms to the rear, in which the stairs occupied the center room. Such a plan is quite similar to the projected original plan of Elmwood Plantation, built ca. 1787 on Salmon Creek and to that of the late eighteenth century Albertson House in Perquimans County.⁸¹ Thus, such a plan, while not common, was definitely in use in the Albemarle region in the late eighteenth century. These types of plans preceded the full fledged double pile, center passage house in which the rear rooms were heated as well.

Although the house was extensively updated in the Victorian period with the replacement of the porch and the installation of manufactured beaded board walls and ceilings, and two-over-

⁸¹ Thomas R. Butchko, "Elmwood," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002; Carl Lounsbury, "The Development of Domestic Architecture in the Albemarle Region," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (January 1977): 40.

two sash windows, it retains some remarkable early nineteenth century features in addition to the first floor mantel. Notable among these elements are the stair to the attic, raised four-panel doors with original paint, and second floor mantels. The steep and narrow attic stair is encased in wide hand planed boards (Figure 32). Among the original doors in the house are some with their original paint schemes of light blue with dark gray-blue bases which would have matched the original mop boards, obscuring dirt from the floor at the base of the wall (Figure 33). It is typical for the mantels used on the second floor of a house to be simplified versions of those on the first floor. For example, while the first floor mantel of the Mitchell House includes a frieze and mantel shelf, its second mantel is composed of only a molded firebox surround. At the Asa Phelps House, there is one second floor mantel of that description as well as a smaller rendition of the surround, frieze, and molded shelf example seen on the first floor. A comparison of the mantels of these houses shows how builders for the more stylish houses of this period were imitating plates from the same, or similar, builder's pattern books.

The most elaborate example of the use of pattern books is Hope Plantation (BR1), Bertie County's best known historic house and by far its most stylish (Figure 34). When it was completed in 1803, Hope introduced a grand example of the Federal style to the area. It is a two-story, five-bay, double pile house raised on a full height brick foundation with a two-story front portico. Planter and politician, David Stone referred to books from his library of 1,499 volumes to determine the design and details for his grand abode (Figure 35). Among these were William Pain's *Practical House Carpenter* and Abraham Swan's *British Architect*. It is believed to be from Swan that he derived the building's distinctive plan. Unlike the common hall-and-parlor or center hall houses, Hope has a more complex plan with a transverse arch dividing its center passage and two separate stairways allowing members of the household and their guests to travel

through the house without encountering the house slaves (Figure 36). The full height ground level included a fireplace for winter cooking or food warming before it was carried up to the first floor dining room. An especially stylish feature of the house was the placement of the drawing room and library on the second floor rather than the first. This was in tune with the most outstanding, up-to-date homes of the period, from Charleston to Boston. The house is of course finely finished with Federal mantels, wainscoting, and architraves, as well as interior cornice moldings which are uncommon in Bertie houses from this period (Figure 37). While many exceptional houses were built during subsequent years in the county with like decorative elements, none combined all of those found at Hope; nor did any replicate its distinctive plan.

The nearby Bond-Haste House (BR20), which has been attributed to the same builders as Hope, demonstrates how similar construction techniques and stylistic features could be used in a more traditional house form.⁸² It is a three-bay I-house raised on full height brick foundation and is endowed with an unusual enclosed portico that seems to date to the original construction or shortly thereafter (Figure 38). According to family tradition, the house was constructed for Thomas Bond at the time of his marriage to Sawyer Rascoe ca. 1830. If, however, it was more contemporaneous with Hope as its details indicate, it was likely built for Thomas' parents, John and Sarah West Bond.⁸³

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, one other academic house form found expression in the county. This was the tripartite house inspired by the work of Italian Renaissance architect, Andrea Palladio as interpreted in English architectural books such as William Halfpenny's *Useful Architecture* of 1752 and Robert Morris' *Select Architecture* of

⁸² Newbern and Melchor, 186-187.

⁸³ Newbern and Melchor, 186.

1757. The three part composition of the house was formed by a two-story gable front center block with one story flanking wings (Figure 39). The pedimented center block presented a temple-like appearance. A T-plan was formed by the intersection of the main part and the wings. Two examples of this Palladian farm house form exist in Bertie. The Hill-Pugh-Mizelle House (BR84), also known as Woodville, was constructed in 1801 for John Pugh Hill and Mary Whitmel Bryan Hill. The Palladian design of the house is accentuated by a fanlight over the front door and a Palladian window centered in the pedimented gable which is articulated by a heavy modillion cornice. Woodbourne (BR4) is an interesting example of a house of this type constructed in two parts. The center block is estimated to date to 1810, while the wings were added in 1819 according to date bricks in their chimneys. The interior features reeded Federal mantels and some of the finest plaster work in the county in the cornices and the architraves which frame blind lunettes above the doors and a reverse shouldered blind arch over the drawing room mantel.

Although Bertie County's white population declined between the years 1790 and 1830 as planters sought greater fortunes in the rich lands of the Deep South, those planters who remained in Bertie were able to secure large proceeds from cotton in addition to their other crops. The cotton gin revolutionized the harvest of cotton and with increasing numbers of enslaved laborers to work the cotton fields, the wealthy enjoyed several profitable decades at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One expression of wealth and success was certainly the plantation home. Many outstanding buildings that survive today were constructed or expanded during this antebellum period. These include several properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places: Oaklana (ca. 1825), the King-Freeman-Speight House (ca. 1800-1810 and ca. 1828), Ashland (ca. 1830s), Pineview (1838), Scotch Hall (ca. 1838), Liberty Hall (ca. 1850s),

Elmwood (ca. 1860), and the grand houses of the Woodville Historic District. Those built in the 1810s to 1830s typically display Federal details or a transitional Federal-Greek Revival style. By the 1850s, the Greek Revival style had essentially replaced the Federal style and saw its full expression in the grandest plantation homes built as the Civil War approached.

Although the hall-and-parlor plan and, more so, the center passage plan continued to be popular, a side passage plan was occasionally employed during this period. The King-Freeman-Speight House (BR98) is an example of the dramatic expansion of dwelling space by the construction of an entirely new house adjacent to an older one. The original one-and-a-half story, hall-and-parlor house with rear shed rooms was likely built in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The second two story, side passage house is believed to have been constructed soon after John Freeman's purchase of the property in 1828. The property later became known as the birthplace of the painter Francis Speight. While the first house is a classic coastal cottage in keeping with the form of several of the houses described in the preceding paragraphs, the second house uses the less common side passage plan. The two buildings just touch at their corners and are connected by a porch. It was perhaps because the existence of the earlier house required the addition of only a few rooms that the single pile, side passage plan was a logical choice. Side passage plans were more commonly used in double pile houses. The interior of the second house is particularly intact and features elaborately detailed woodwork which has been attributed to carpenter/joiner Jeremiah Bunch III based on similarities to his own home (Figure 41).⁸⁴ The King-Freeman-Speight House also displays some of the most extensive original decorative painting work in the county, including faux graining, marbling and stenciling (Figure 42). Although paint was difficult to come by in the eighteenth century,

⁸⁴ J. Marshall Bullock, "Bunch Family (fl. 1780s-1860s)," North Carolina Architects and Builders, <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P00155> (accessed January 13, 2010).

through this and other examples, it is clear that by the early nineteenth century, not only were a variety of colors of paints available, but they were being used to the greatest visual advantage for clients who could afford it.

An unusual one-and-a-half story side passage plan building is the Eason House (BR46). The Eason House shares similarities in its woodwork and painting, as well as its side passage plan, with the King-Freeman-Speight House and was likely constructed at roughly the same time, ca. 1820-1835. It has a double pile form with a hall and a chamber on the first floor and one large unheated room on the second floor. It is unusual to have a large plastered and trimmed room such as this with no heat. The room was, however, well lit by tri-part windows in each gable end. Another atypical feature of the Eason House is a small inset porch at the rear of the house which opens into the side passage and the chamber (Figure 43).

Rounding out the array of floor plan variations found in Bertie County in the early nineteenth century is the Bazemore House (BR12), the only known example of a center chimney saltbox type house in Bertie County (Figure 44). This form of house is common to New England, not to the South. Although the similar catslide roof extending further on the rear slope than the front can be found in North Carolina, the profile of the Bazemore house is markedly incongruent with other regional examples. Its center chimney renders it even more distinct. The house has a hall-and-parlor plan with three rear unheated rooms encompassed under the saltbox roof. A partially enclosed winder stair leads to the second floor where there are two heated rooms (Figure 46). The interior is finished with very plain Greek Revival mantels and transitional Federal-Greek Revival wainscoting, architraves, and four-panel doors (Figure 46).

Other houses which offer good examples of the more common one-and-half story and I-house forms of the Federal and transitional Federal-Greek Revival Period are the Carter House (BR30), the W. H. Lee House (BR81), the Starkey Evans House (BR566), and the William Smithwick House (BR558). The Carter and William Smithwick houses both have center hall plans while the W. H. Lee and Starkey Evans houses both began with the more traditional hall-and-parlor plan. The one-and-a-half story Carter House displays plain wainscoting and Federal mantels (Figure 47 and Figure 48). It is flanked by a single shoulder chimney and a double shoulder chimney which provide heat to both first floor rooms, but only one of the upstairs rooms. With a hall-and-parlor on the first floor and two rooms on the second floor, the plan and the well proportioned three-bay I-house form of the W. H. Lee House bespeak simplicity (Figure 49). Its woodwork, however, adds a great deal of interest to this most basic of house designs. Together, the form and the plan demonstrate the essential lightness and delicacy of the Federal style. The exterior retains beaded weatherboards and a molded cornice and door and window architraves. The interior features reeded chair rails, and mantels with both reeded and gougework details (Figure 50). The exterior form of the Starkey Evans House is quite similar to that of the W. H. Lee House except that its proportions are somewhat stouter, indicating a shift towards the Greek Revival style (Figure 51). Despite this, it has Federal mantels, some of which feature the *retarditaire* Georgian influence of raised panels (Figure 52 and Figure 53). The William Smithwick House is similar to the previous two examples in that it is a three-bay I-house, but it demonstrates a more transitional Federal-Greek Revival style (Figure 54 and Figure 55). One of the most interesting aspects of the house is the retention of its detached dining building, originally attached by a short breezeway and featuring low paneled wainscoting (Figure

56). It is a rare example of this specifically purposed space which was not part of a kitchen building. (More discussion of kitchen and dining buildings follows in the next section.)

With the exception of Hope Plantation, the above examples depict the houses of moderately well off farmers and planters in the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the late 1830s, in tandem with the growing popularity of the Greek Revival style, larger plantation homes began to take shape which by their size and grandeur accentuated the disparity between the lives of the planters and their slaves. Scotch Hall (BR99) is one of the early examples of such a house (Figure 57). Built in 1838, it includes moldings and other details of the persisting Federal style, while displaying Greek Revival mantels, one of which includes a characteristically Greek fret. It has a fully developed pattern book type of double pile, center passage plan which accommodates ample privacy and space for entertaining and personal tasks. This was not to be had in the finely crafted, yet more modest and traditional buildings like the W. H. Lee House. A contemporary description of Scotch Hall which provides a glimpse of the lifestyle it supported is provided in the novel *Bertie: Or, Life in the Old Field. A Humorous Novel*, published in 1851. Written under the pseudonym of Gregory Seaworthy by George Higby Throop, a tutor for the Capehart family at Scotch Hall, the “humorous novel” depicts the antebellum day to day family life of the elite along the Chowan River. Although Throop provided pseudonyms for the characters and houses of the story, as well as for himself, the following excerpt is clearly a depiction of Scotch Hall:

The house was large, painted white, and furnished with dark-green shutters. Huge chimneys were built at both ends outside the house; and, on the northern side, a broad piazza, supported by half a score of columns, extended along the whole length. A hospitable deal bench ran along the weather-boarding; and at one end of the piazza was a sort of shelf attached to the balustrade, on which a neat unpainted bucket, with shining

hoops and bail of brass, was always standing. In a hole of this same shelf, fitted for the purpose, was the ewer; and near this, on a roller, was a towel white as the snow. Through the centre of the building ran a hall, some ten or twelve feet in width. I may be permitted to say here, for the benefit of my northern reader, who may not have seen the south, that, for three-fourths of the year, the hall and the porch of a southern mansion are in constant requisition. You sit, lounge, or take your siesta in either. Both, but more commonly the piazza, serve for your promenade.⁸⁵

Another house of comparable scale and grandeur is Ashland (BR7). While Scotch Hall merely dipped into Greek Revival design with its mantels, Ashland is replete with pattern book Greek Revival details from the anthemion corner blocks of its architraves to the Ionic pilasters of its mantels (Figure 58 and Figure 59). In houses such as Ashland, yet another variation on the traditional plan was introduced. Ashland is essentially an I-house, but it extends to the rear with a full two story wing that gives it an L-plan (Figure 60). This type of plan came into use in the region in the 1830s, and is seen in several examples in the county, but was never widespread. Ashland also incorporated a rear stair which was likely intended for use by house slaves. To shed light on the place of a house such as this in the economic and social hierarchy of Bertie County, it is important to note that its owner, Augustus Holley was one of the richest men in Bertie by the 1860s. In 1862, he owned 160 slaves and by the time of his death, his massive land holdings had included eleven other plantations.⁸⁶ Ashland was, in fact, not his full time residence. In the summers, the Holley's departed Ashland for the Hermitage, located nearby on the Chowan River.

⁸⁵ Capt. Gregory Seaworthy [George Higby Throop], *Bertie: Or, Life in the Old Field; A Humorous Novel*, (Philadelphia: A. Hart, Late Carey and Hart, 1851): 69.

⁸⁶ Heather Fearnbach, "Ashland," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002.

Although Ashland is an excellent example of Greek Revival design, it is surpassed by the King-Grant-Alston House (BR118) as the most complete illustration of the Greek Revival style in the county. The King-Grant-Alston House is three bays wide with a low pitched hip roof and interior end chimneys typical of Greek Revival designs (Figure 61). It features a T-plan which, like Ashland's L-plan, came into mode in the 1830s contemporaneously with the Greek Revival style. The T-plan of the King-Grant-Alston House includes a transverse hall and was very likely copied from a pattern book. The front entrance provides an introduction to the details found inside with wide sidelights, a high transom topped by a pointed and crossetted crown, and raised Greek keys adorning the door (Figure 62 and Figure 63). On the interior, the Greek Revival motifs continue in the form of pointed lintels with crossettes, bold mantels with plain friezes supported by battered pilasters, and two-panel doors (Figure 64 and Figure 65).

While the Greek Revival style found a particularly suitable stage in the large plantation homes, it was by no means reserved for these buildings alone. Most houses incorporated some element of the Greek Revival by the 1850s. Two panel doors, fluted window and door surrounds with plain or molded corner blocks, and mantels with plain friezes and pilasters were widely used Greek Revival elements (Figure 66 and Figure 67). In counterpoint to the academic design found at the King-Grant-Alston House, is the splendid vernacular interpretation of the Greek Revival of the Henry House (BR237). The Henry House is a three-bay, center passage I-house which, in its proportions, looks like a Federal house. It is tall and narrow with a steeply pitched roof and nine-over-nine and nine-over-six sash windows (Figure 68). At the attic level, four pane windows are tucked beside the double shouldered chimneys. Despite the Federal appearance of its shape, the Henry House has strictly Greek Revival details that appear to be copied from a pattern book. The only hint of its *retarditaire* leanings in the interior finish work

is found in the raised panels of the second floor doors which was a very common carry over from the Georgian style (Figure 69). Other doors feature five panels like those represented in plates XXVI and XXXIX of Asher Benjamin's *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter* of 1830 (Figure 70). All of the doors and windows are trimmed in fluted moldings with plain corner blocks and the mantels are plain and blocky versions of the typical Greek revival pilaster, frieze, and shelf composition (Figure 71).

Before the commencement of the Civil War, one final style appeared in Bertie County. A Romantic Revival cousin of the Greek Revival style, the Italianate style was often used in combination with the former. The best antebellum example in the county of combined Greek Revival and Italianate style is Liberty Hall (BR68). Liberty Hall was built in the 1850s for Lewis Bond and family tradition attributes its construction to S. L. Pennoyer, a builder from Connecticut. The proportions of Greek Revival and Italianate houses were similarly stout and low pitched hip roofs were commonly found on both. These features are part of the design of Liberty Hall, which is a three-bay, double pile, center passage plan house raised on a full-height brick foundation (Figure 72). The paired four-over-four window sash are Italianate, while their pointed crowns are Greek Revival. Similarly, all of the mantels of the house share a sparse Greek Revival composition of battered pilasters, flat friezes, and plain shelves, but ogee arches lend them exotic flare (Figure 73). While most houses employed very traditional methods of timber framing adorned in the latest style, Liberty Hall's framing is nearly as up-to-date as its architectural accoutrements. Although, the building rests on traditionally large sills and employs other large members, its studs run uninterrupted to the top of the house, even projecting into the attic (Figure 74). This may be the first use of a balloon type frame in the county, and if so, could be the product of S. L. Pennoyer's northern building experience. Balloon framing enjoyed a

much greater popularity in the North, beginning in the 1830s, before it was widely adopted in the southern states following the Civil War.

Outbuildings and Plantation Complexes: A Place for Everything

While the various outbuildings associated with a main house are sometimes called dependencies, in fact it was the house that was dependent upon the outbuildings which accommodated many necessary functions from personal waste disposal to cooking. Today, the historic house often stands alone without its complement of outbuildings. In such a state, the solitary house represents only a fraction of the built environment of its household. To truly understand the house, it is important to remember the many types of outbuildings that were commonly present in the domestic yard or plantation complex. A sketch by renowned artist Francis Speight depicting the site plan of his birth place (BR98) as he recalled it looking ca. 1900 reflects the variety of outbuildings that could be found surrounding a house (Figure 75).⁸⁷ Although some of the buildings he remembered may have dated to the late nineteenth century, many would have been antebellum. It is also important to note that in Speight's drawing, there is a division of the property surrounding the house into the "Little Yard" and "Big Yard." This reflects some of the organization and hierarchy of space that was part of the house and outbuilding complex, particularly on plantations, although fences were a late nineteenth century feature. Around the perimeter of the "Little Yard" are neatly arranged the smokehouse, kitchen, dairy and office; those buildings of most immediate relevance to the house. Beyond that, scattered around and beyond the "Big Yard" are buildings related more closely to agricultural

⁸⁷ For biographical information on Francis Speight, see Maurice C. York, *The Privilege to Paint: the Lives of Francis Speight and Sarah Blakeslee* (Greenville, NC: Greenville Museum of Art, 2002).

production; the gin house, barns, stables, farm hand houses, and shop. In the antebellum period, numbers of slave houses would have extended into the fields beyond this. Not every yard followed the same arrangement, but each one did consist of a number of buildings and the larger the plantation, the more this collection of buildings lent the impression of a village unto itself.

Without question, the single most important outbuilding was the kitchen. The kitchen evolved into an independent building in the southern colonies during the seventeenth century. Previous to this, cooking was done either in the hall – as continued to be the tradition in New England – or in a separate room if the house was large enough to accommodate such. By late seventeenth century, documentary and archaeological evidence shows that detached kitchens had become more common in the Chesapeake.⁸⁸ There are indications that the development of the kitchen building followed a similar timeline in Bertie County. The description of Nathaniel Batts' house of 1655 as containing a buttery hints that cooking was done within the house as a buttery was a place for storing foodstuffs and implements near the kitchen or hall where cooking was done.⁸⁹ The 1695 inventory of Seth Sothel's plantation, however, lists a kitchen that it implies to be a separate building so that it seems the detached kitchen was present in late seventeenth century Bertie. Still, many people would have cooked in the hall of their one or two-room house at this time. It is often said that kitchens were separated from houses to remove the risk of fire and extra heat from the house. While fire was a persistent threat near all fireplaces, it was not the primary cause for separation of the kitchen. Rather, it may have been a contributing factor combined with the more important influences of the heat made especially unpleasant by the southern climate; the frame building technology which was readily adapted to

⁸⁸ Carl Lounsbury, ed. *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 201.

⁸⁹ Lounsbury, 54.

the construction of small buildings rather than large complicated ones; and the division of labor and people in a society increasing dependent on race based slavery.⁹⁰ For these reasons, it made sense to create separate buildings for a number of functions, not just the kitchen.

Because kitchens housed one of the most necessary of functions, they were built in greater numbers than other outbuilding types and survive in greater numbers. On the Speight plan, item sixteen is identified as the “Old Kitchen,” which indicates that by this point another kitchen was in use and indeed another kitchen has been attached to the rear of the house with a connected dining room; an arrangement that would endure in popularity. While that later kitchen addition is now demolished, the original “Old Kitchen” remains. This building is a good representation of an early nineteenth century kitchen. It is a one room, frame building, with one door in its long side and a few window openings (Figure 76). It is likely that these openings were not originally glazed and one retains a sliding shutter. The prerequisite massive chimney which stood on one gable end has been lost, but its base remains. On the other gable end, there is a door to the loft space not commonly seen in extant Bertie kitchens (Figure 77). It is known that in many cases elsewhere, slaves slept in the loft space above the kitchen, but the original purpose of this loft is not known. It could possibly have served as storage space.

One other kitchen building which appears to have had an upper story usable for bed chambers is that of The Hermitage (BR59). The Hermitage kitchen is a very substantial two-room building of the early nineteenth century flanked by massive reconstructed chimneys (Figure 78 and Figure 79). The second room is presently referred to as the scullery, which was a room where the washing of kitchen utensils, pots, and pans, and other items was done, but it

⁹⁰ Lounsbury, 201; Bishir, 180; Michael Olmert, *Kitchens, Smokehouse, and Privies: Outbuildings and the Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth Century Mid-Atlantic*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 35.

could also have functioned as a laundry. Generally a laundry required a large fireplace to boil water for washing, a raised wood floor through which spilled water could drain, and the cleanliness of plastered walls, all of which are features possessed by the second room of the kitchen building. No standing example of a laundry building is known to exist in Bertie County. While a kitchen was somewhat of a necessity, a laundry was far less so and was found only at the most prosperous of plantations. George Reed, who purchased The Hermitage in 1802, could be judged by his 1809 estate to be a prosperous plantation owner. He left his wife, Mary, the Hermitage plantation and fishery as well as other properties, and a full complement of fine household goods including three beds, two dining tables, a buffet, a sideboard, china, and crockery.⁹¹ Regardless of the use or uses of the second room of the kitchen building, it is the most substantial of all the standing examples of this type of building in the county and definitely represents the domestic conveniences of an affluent household supported by slave labor.

Representing a different part of the spectrum of size and time period is the John Mitchell House (BR785) kitchen constructed ca. 1860. It is a small side gable building with a post and rail, mortise and tenon frame covered by board-and-batten siding (Figure 80). The interior is unsheathed and the massive fireplace dominates the room (Figure 81). This kitchen fell out of use after another building just behind the house became the kitchen and dining room, just as was the case at the King-Freeman-Speight House. By the mid-nineteenth century the kitchen often stood just behind the main house and could be conveniently connected by a breezeway. This is well illustrated by the King-Grant-Alston House (BR118) and the Cox House (BR41) (Figure 82-Figure 85).

⁹¹ Marshall Bullock, "The Hermitage," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1980.

After the kitchen, the smokehouse was probably the most important outbuilding and likewise was built in the greatest numbers. Sometimes multiple smokehouses were built on property as is indicated on the Speight site plan. Although they vary in size, smokehouses are typically tall and narrow with one door in a non-gabled side and no other openings (Figure 85). They were either constructed of a closely studded mortised and tenoned frame or dovetailed planks. Either system supported boards spanning the interior at several different heights, from which the salted meat would be hung to smoke and cure. It was important for this process to be effective that the building be tightly constructed. As meat was a valuable commodity, it was also important for the building to be secure. For this reason, smokehouses were likely to have board-and-batten doors studded with rows of nails. This can be seen at the ca. 1810 smokehouse of the Bond-Haste House (Figure 90 and Figure 89). One of the likely reasons that a good number of smokehouses survive today, in addition to the fact that a great many were built originally, is that the tradition of curing meat in this manner persisted into the twentieth century and a few people carry on the tradition still. Even after the smokehouses were no longer used for meat, their size has made them good storage places.

Often located near the kitchen and smokehouse was a dairy, if the household was fortunate enough to have one. The South as a whole was not a big dairy producing region during the antebellum years and Bertie County was no exception to this. To have a dairy therefore represented the privilege of having dairy cows and their dairy products.⁹² Many dairies in the Chesapeake region and in eastern North Carolina followed a similar design of a small roughly square building with ventilation slats at the top of the wall and a pyramidal roof. Often, the vents have a cyma reversa pattern. There is only one standing example of such a building in Bertie

⁹² John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Bog House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 79.

County; the early nineteenth century dairy at Woodbourne (Figure 93). As was typical for dairies, the interior of the building is plastered. There are two examples of two-room outbuildings in the county that may have served as a dairy on one side and a brandy house or other purpose on the second side. These are found at the King-Grant-Alston House (BR118) and the William A. Pugh House (BR112). Both buildings have a separate door to each room and both have regularly placed holes along the cornice, suggesting that the attic space may have been used as pigeon houses, but there is no clear means of servicing the nests if so.

Yet another type of outbuilding was the icehouse. Icehouses were used for the storage of ice collected from frozen creeks or rivers in the winter and therefore needed to be kept as cool as possible. The best way to accomplish this was to set a brick lined room into the ground. Often this room was sheltered by a simple gable roof with slopes meeting the ground and a door in one gable end, but sometimes the icehouse had a greater superstructure. Both methods are displayed in the two extant examples of icehouses on Bertie County: one at Mill Landing (BR563) and one at the Thomson-Urquhart House (BR104) (Figure 95 – Figure 99). The Thompson-Urquhart House also has a separate building known as the cellar that was likely used for cool storage. Like the icehouse, it is built of solid brick laid in common bond with a gable roof. The cellar does not have the deep overhang that the icehouse features and it has ventilation in both gables, which the icehouse does not (Figure 100 and Figure 101). In some cases a planter might keep a store to sell goods to neighbors. One such antebellum store still stands in Bertie. The Cherry Store (BR35) is a diminutive gable-front, mortise and tenon building with a loft that was probably used for the storage of goods (Figure 102). The building has windows along only one side, presumably leaving the other walls for shelving. These extant examples represent only a fraction of the many kinds of outbuildings which once stood, including privies. A privy, or

necessary house, as the later name implies was generally considered a important outbuilding. Despite this fact, no antebellum privies are known to survive in Bertie County.

The aforementioned buildings all have primarily domestic functions. There were many other types of buildings on antebellum properties that were oriented towards the cultivation and harvest of crops, but very few of these survive. Two large barns and one cotton gin house offer the only examples of large agricultural buildings of the antebellum era. There is little to distinguish the ca. 1850-1860 barns which stand by the Mitchell House (BR73) from ones of a later period, but their structural details (Figure 103 and Figure 106). The early construction date of the barns is immediately recognizable by their large, projecting ceiling joists. Any specific purpose of either barn is unknown. They both appear to have accommodated storage on the main floor and the loft. A particularly handsome hasp is affixed to the solid board and batten door of one barn (Figure 104 and Figure 105). The Henry House cotton gin house is easily identifiable by its signature form. Eli Whitney's revolutionary equipment required a building to shelter it and the cotton being processed. Between 1833 and 1860, more than eight thousand gins were made at the largest of all the gin manufacturers.⁹³ Although details of cotton gin houses could vary, the essence of the form was a large, heavy structure with a raised floor beneath which mule carts could pass. Small gins were operated by hand or foot cranks while larger ones were powered by mules harnessed to a wooden crank beneath the floor. Cotton presses were also operated by mule power. The raised floor of the gin house supported the gin stand and it was here that the work of separating the cotton seed from the fiber was done. Ginned fiber would then be thrown down into a storage room or cart. These buildings were

⁹³ Vlach, 125 citing Charles S. Aiken, "The Evolution of Cotton Ginning in the Southeastern United States," *Geographical Review* 63 (1973): 200-201.

constructed with very heavy hewn timber frames. The Henry gin house displays both the raised design and the characteristically heavy framing of the building type (Figure 107).

Most important among the buildings oriented towards crop production were the great many dwellings that housed all the enslaved laborers who worked in the fields. For every sizable plantation there were numbers of slave houses stretched out in rows or in clusters near the fields. An 1863 map shows groupings of buildings all over the county labeled “Quarters.”⁹⁴ It is hard to believe that this many houses have all but vanished from the landscape, but they have. A few household slave dwellings stand directly to the rear of houses, but only one field slave house is known to survive in all of Bertie County. It is situated on what was the Lewis Thompson Plantation. Lewis Thompson was a prosperous planter with plantations in both Bertie County and Louisiana, and consequently was a very large slave holder. The sole surviving slave house, known as Jeremiah’s House (BR1115) after the last man to reside in it in the first part of the twentieth century, was likely constructed ca. 1850-1860. It follows the two-room design seen in slave houses across the South, with a center chimney and one door entering into each room from the exterior (Figure 109). There are small window openings in each gable end and in the rear of each room. These window openings would almost certainly have lacked any glazing originally and had only sliding wood shutters to close them off. The two doors of the house are board-and-batten hung on wrought, foliated hook and eye hinges (Figure 110). The center fireplaces are very large, as would be expected, since they served both for heating and for cooking (Figure 111). Circular sawn board-and-batten siding covers the exterior of the sash sawn, post and rail frame (Figure 112). The frame rests on sills laid directly on the ground. There is no interior sheathing covering the frame and traces of whitewash remain on the bricks of the chimney as

⁹⁴ Confederate States of America, Dept. of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's Office, "Map of Bertie County, NC: no. 2," 1863, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division.

well as the timbers. In all of these details, Jeremiah's House is a physical representation of the lives of enslavement which made most of the previously described houses and outbuildings possible.

Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Reorganization, 1861 – 1910

Politics and Demographics

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1877

Despite sentiments against secession, when the war began, Bertie County, like the rest of the state, sent many men into battle and suffered great losses. Once Union troops arrived in northeastern North Carolina towns, numerous slaves escaped from plantations and joined the Union cause. A number of free black and poor white residents also fought on the Union side. Some 620 men from Bertie County joined the Union forces – 222 white and 398 black.⁹⁵ The highest ranking of the black Union soldiers from Bertie was Parker D. Robbins who served as a Sergeant Major.⁹⁶ He was later elected to the state House of Representatives. On the Confederate side, 860 men from Bertie fought in the war.⁹⁷ The physical fighting of the Civil War came quickly to the coast of North Carolina and Bertie citizens were confronted by the threat of occupying Union forces camped on Hatteras Island to the east and New Bern to the south. Residents were forced to defend the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers from advancements by

⁹⁵ Smallwood, 96; Gerald W. Thomas, *Divided Allegiances: Bertie County During the Civil War* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1996), 157.

⁹⁶ Smallwood, 99-100.

⁹⁷ Thomas, 157.

the Union from the Albemarle Sound. During the war, conflicts occurred along the Chowan, Cashie, and Roanoke Rivers and raids were carried out in Windsor, Indian Woods, Mars Hill, and Colerain, with a small skirmish at the last. Though Bertie County was never occupied many nearby towns fell to Union control, including Edenton and Plymouth. The blockades, raids, and other factors of the war produced economic strain and deprivation in the previously prosperous county. Loss of life on both sides touched every family in Bertie.

Upon the conclusion of the war in 1865, Bertie Confederates and Unionists alike resumed or began rebuilding their lives and livelihoods in the county. Recognition of the freedom of the formerly enslaved and reorganization of the labor system was a slow process. Little progress was made during the first two years of Reconstruction. For most, the war left behind the residual effects of poverty and deprivation, but for some the end of the war meant resuming life as usual. As planter Lewis Thompson tried to sort out his financial affairs in 1865, he discovered that the money he had in a New York bank was intact and the bank was prepared to carry on business with him as before.⁹⁸ In 1866, some of the county's elite were busy shopping for luxury items and lining up elegant events on their social calendars.⁹⁹ Overall, however, the outlook of the county's economy was bleak. Statistical comparisons between the years 1860 and 1870 reflect the shift in financial affairs caused by the Civil War. The total cash value of the county's farms was reduced by half from 1860 to 1870 and the number of paupers in the county's care rose dramatically.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ National Bank of Commerce, New York to Lewis Thompson, June 6, 1865, Subseries 1.5. 1861-1867 in the Lewis Thompson Papers, 1723-1895, #716, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁹⁹ Watson, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Watson, 25, 54.

In 1867, the United States Congress took over the program of Reconstruction from President Andrew Johnson and gave it new life with the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments declaring civil and voting rights for African Americans. At the state level, the new voting rights meant that African Americans had an unprecedented ability to participate in and influence government and, with their support of the Republican Party, a new Constitution of 1868 was written. Bertie County's district, the Second Congressional, elected Parker D. Robbins – a member of Bertie's antebellum free black population who served as a Sergeant Major in the United States Colored Cavalry – to the House of Representatives. One of the important reforms outlined by the new constitution was a tax-supported public school system which would guarantee African Americans access to education. The small amount of progress initiated by such reforms was immediately met by racist counter measures which in no small part included the Ku Klux Klan. Bertie was not spared Klan activity. By 1870, the white Democratic Party regained control of the state legislature and attempted to reverse as much reform as possible. The remaining years of Reconstruction were marked by an atmosphere of hostility, tension, and uncertainty for all.

Collapse of Reconstruction, 1877-1910

By the end of Reconstruction in 1877, little had been achieved that would seem to fit the definition of the word itself. From 1870 on, the county's population slowly increased, but between 1865 and 1877 the county's rural white population declined significantly.¹⁰¹ During and following Reconstruction, some African American residents left to find opportunities elsewhere,

¹⁰¹ Smallwood, 109.

but a great many stayed.¹⁰² The lack of opportunities for education, property ownership, or well compensated employment for former slaves severely inhibited their control over their futures and made freedom more of a technicality than a reality. Many remained on the land that always had been their home, continuing on as tenant farmers or sharecroppers, or servants (Figure 113). In the 1880 census African Americans were just over fifty-four percent of the total population, still overwhelmingly rural; and despite small migrations out of the county, African Americans remained in the majority into the twentieth century.

Transportation and Settlement Pattern: Railroads and Late Nineteenth Century Towns

Means of transportation advanced greatly in the late nineteenth century bringing more steamers and, finally, the railroad to Bertie. The aptly named *Bertie* was one steamer to traverse the county's waters, making trips between Windsor and Plymouth. Boats such as the *Currituck* and the *Lucy*, which made trips from Windsor to Norfolk, improved trading opportunities and passenger travel as well.¹⁰³ Other vessels headed to the coast conveying those privileged to take summer trips to Nags Head. Balancing the steamers power on the water were the new railroads over land. Lewiston was the first town to be connected to rail with a logging line in 1888. In 1895, the Norfolk and Carolina Railroad came to Aulander. In 1898, the railroad reached Windsor with the completion of Wellington & Powellsville Railroad line from Ahoskie. A connection from this line to the Norfolk and Carolina line added yet another improved mode of

¹⁰² Watson, 13, and Smallwood, 110 and 116.

¹⁰³ Watson, 44.

travel between Windsor and Norfolk. Another railroad running the county was that of the Cashie and Chowan.¹⁰⁴

The railroads and other factors contributed to a increase in municipal areas at the end of the nineteenth century. Except for Windsor, Colerain, and Roxobel, all of Bertie's incorporated towns were settled or incorporated in the 1880s or 1890s. Askewville was settled in the 1890s, though not incorporated until the twentieth century. The Town of Lewiston was known as Turner's Crossroads at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵ It was officially renamed Lewiston in 1872 after its then postmaster, Watson Lewis. While neighboring Woodville was the center of several antebellum plantation operations, Lewiston experienced its economic growth at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries following the arrival of the railroad in Woodville, which served both towns. By the turn of the twentieth century, Lewiston had "three hotels, six or seven grocery stores, several dry goods stores, black smith shops, a cotton gin, livery stables, barber shops, doctors, lawyers, pool halls and a bar."¹⁰⁶

The Town of Kelford traces its beginnings to the 1848-1850 purchase of 600 acres of land two-and-a-half miles south of Roxobel by Col. S. A. Norfleet. Norfleet erected his plantation home on this land and his wife named it Kelford. The home burned in 1885, but the name endured.¹⁰⁷ Just before railroad lines of the Norfolk and Carolina (later Atlantic Coast) and the Roanoke and Tar River (later Seaboard) were laid in the Kelford area during the years 1895-1890, the Clyde Land Corporation purchased sixty-five acres from Norfleet. In 1890, the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Pike Harrington, "From Turner's Crossroads to Lewiston: One Hundred Years of History, 1881-1981," Bertie County, NCGennWeb. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncbertie/woodville/lewis.htm> (accessed October 21, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ J. M. Browne, "History of Roxobel Township cont.: Town of Kelford," *The Chronicle of the Bertie County Historical Association* 4 (October 1956).

land was surveyed and the streets and lots for the town of Kelford plotted.¹⁰⁸ Kelford was incorporated in 1892 and saw its heyday in the early twentieth century with a succession of successful hotels and businesses. The town of Powellsville was originally known as Powells Crossroads and its first postmaster was appointed in 1879. An important aspect of the town's development in the late nineteenth century was its location on the Wellington & Powellsville Railroad line, aptly known locally as the "Walk & Push," from Ahoskie to Windsor. Powellsville was incorporated in 1919.

The Town of Aulander was incorporated in 1885 with boundaries of equal lengths defining its one thousand square yard area which radiated from the crossing of Connaritsa Meeting House Road and the Winton-Woodville Road (today Commerce Street/NC305 and Main Street). It began as Harmon's Crossroads on land that had been owned by the Harmon and Dunning families. The 1853 marriage of Andrew Dunning and Sallie Harmon tied this land together. Tradition states that it was Andrew Dunning who gave Aulander its moniker after the Florida city of Orlando which he had visited and admired. The difference in the spelling is said to be due to the U. S. Post Office's reluctance to have two town's of the same name. Growth of the newly incorporated town received extra momentum with the addition of a line of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad in 1885 which connected it to nearby Kelford and to Ahoskie in Hertford County.¹⁰⁹ While the railroad was a prominent feature of all of these towns, only Aulander retains an original ca. 1885-1890 railroad depot with board and batten siding and stick style brackets (Figure 114).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Historical Committee for the Centennial Celebration of the Town of Aulander, "History of Aulander, N.C.," (Aulander, NC:, 1985).

The Economy: The Ascension of Tenantry and Sharecropping and Changing Crops

In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, agriculture endured as the dominant force in Bertie County's economy. A few of the traditional industries experienced growth during this period, but Bertie County did not experience the rapid industrialization of many urban areas. One of the industries to thrive in the post-war period was fishing. Dr. W. R. Capehart owned the most prominent of the fisheries at the family's Avoca Plantation on Salmon Creek. Some eleven or more fisheries operated along the Chowan; at Colerain the average seasonal catch from 1878 to 1883 was 15 million fish.¹¹⁰ Another post-war business success was Branning Manufacturing. Operated by men from Pennsylvania, the business took advantage of the new steamers and railroads to transport harvested timber out of Bertie County.

Among the many social and economic changes that occurred during and after the war was a shift in crop production. As it became impossible to sell cotton during the blockades and fighting, some planters such as S. A. Norfleet grew wheat and oats.¹¹¹ The count of the county's livestock declined nearly sixty percent from 1860 to 1870 and the production of staple crops decreased in numbers upwards of fifty percent.¹¹² Food shortages caused by the disruption of war contributed to a new appreciation for peanuts. This crop would later become big business for Bertie.¹¹³

Following the war, the systems of tenant farming and sharecropping took. Tenantry, in which land was leased from the property owner, was the more straightforward of the two

¹¹⁰ Watson, 59.

¹¹¹ Watson, 22.

¹¹² Watson, 54.

¹¹³ Smallwood, 95.

arrangements. Although it was not easy make a living from farming while paying rent on the land, it was less onerous than being a sharecropper. Sharecroppers were provided with the land, tools, seeds, etc. for cultivating a crop and received a portion of the crop's value for their labors after harvest. Because of the scarcity of cash, both types of farmers, as well as landowners, depended on crop lien credit to procure necessities. This was a mechanism by which stores would sell a farmer supplies on credit based on the future sale of the farmer's crop. The result was that by the time the farmer received whatever meager payment the crop brought a good deal of it would be owed to the store. Landowners and lenders pushed farmers to grow a cash crop for the payment of their debts to the sacrifice of growing their own food staples, which they in turn had to purchase on credit. Thus the end of the nineteenth century introduced many farming families to a constant state of debt that prohibited them from ever rising above a state of poverty for decades to come.

Cotton was looked to during the first decades after the war as the cash crop to rebuild wealth, but eventually its constant production was recognized as unsustainable.¹¹⁴ As long as land owners and lenders sought the most profit that could be extracted from their land through cotton, the production of food crops was sacrificed and the land was continually depleted. Eventually, in the 1890s, tobacco and peanuts surpassed cotton as the dominant cash crops. In 1899, 20,822 bushels of peanuts were harvested in Bertie County, a number which would only increase in future years.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Smallwood, 113-114, and Watson, 54

¹¹⁵ Watson, 54.

Rural Domestic Architecture

Houses: Prevailing Traditions and Decorative Elaboration

When building resumed following the Civil War, the familiar forms, building technologies, and traditional styles were repeated. In addition to the Greek Revival style, which had taken hold by the 1850s, new eclectic Victorian forms of ornamentation began to adorn the facades and interiors of houses in the late nineteenth century. The Abram Burden House (BR23) of 1871 is a prime example of this blending of decorative elements. Like some of its prewar predecessors, the Abram Burden house has a two-story L-plan, but instead of restrained Greek Revival modillions, whimsical spiral motif bargeboards enlivened the raking cornices. The corners of the building are highlighted by fluted pilasters with bracketed capitals and diamond appliqués (Figure 115). Similar bargeboards and corner pilasters were used on many rural and in town Bertie County houses of this period (mostly now demolished) and are reminiscent of the 1870s work of builder Jacob Holt in Mufreesboro, NC and Chase City, VA.¹¹⁶ They are likely derived from a pattern book of the day, though the source is unknown. Like Holt, this builder also mixed trendier Victorian sawnwork with a traditional floor plan and Greek Revival elements to satisfy the clients image of a fitting house. The parlor mantels are exceedingly plain Greek Revival designs while the dining room mantel incorporates arched elements of the Italianate style which are also found around the front entrance (Figure 116-118).

With a similar pilaster treatment featuring diamond appliqués, the ca. 1880 Myers-Davidson House (BR586) demonstrates the use of late nineteenth century ornamentation on the standard I-house form (Figure 119). The Myers-Davison House is a three-bay, center passage I-

¹¹⁶ Catherine W. Bishir, "Jacob W. Holt: An American Builder," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 461-465.

house with its kitchen building attached directly to the back of the house as was becoming standard at this point in time. The exterior is exuberantly detailed with Victorian sawnwork and brackets. The use of such elaborate details became more prevalent as the new steam powered machinery of industrialization made mass production possible. Some millwork was produced on a small scale at local shops while other doors, windows, and moldings of all kinds were manufactured by larger factories that advertised their goods in catalogues. In 1872, a Raleigh company named Betts, Vaughan, and Allen was producing and assembling all the parts needed for a building and shipping some of its “ready made” houses off to counties including Bertie. They advertised in the Raleigh *Daily News* of that year that their houses could be put together for less money than one hand-built on the farm.¹¹⁷ The Myers-Davidson House might be an example of a combination of factory and small shop materials. Its sawnwork and vernacular mantels appear to be hand crafted while elements like its brackets, doors, and two-over-two sash windows might have come from a company such as Betts, Vaughan, and Allen (Figure 120 and Figure 121). The house also retains some of its interior polychromatic paint scheme which would have accentuated its decorative features (Figure 122). Colorful paint combinations were popular in the Victorian period.

Not every house in the later part of the nineteenth century embraced new designs. Some, such as the John Mitchell House (BR785) were much more traditional in their stylistic influences. The ca. 1870 John Mitchell House is a two-bay, two-story, side passage dwelling with an enclosed winder stair (Figure 123). Its nine-over-six and six-over-six sash windows and raised panel pegged doors are in keeping with buildings of the first part of the century. Although

¹¹⁷ Bishir, Brown, Lounsbury, and Wood, 230.

its mantels demonstrate a Greek Revival influence in their composition, they are very plain and devoid of overt stylistic references (Figure 124).

A slightly more diminutive form of the I-house type appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. This was the story-and-a-jump. Story-and-jump is a colloquial term of unknown origin for a one-and-a-half story house. Although it can sometimes be seen used to refer to the older one-and-a-half story houses described in previous sections, it is more appropriately applied to those houses in which a short wall rises above the first floor ceiling joists before the roof rafters begin. This is different from the earlier houses in which the rafters began on a false plate directly on top of the first floor ceiling joists. Many story-and-a-jump houses take advantage of this extra height by incorporating short windows in the front facade over the porch, as well as in the gable ends. This form seems to have been particularly popular in the northeastern central part of the county where examples can be found that demonstrate the form both with and without windows over the front porch (Figure 125-127).

The Alfred Jackson Mizelle House (BR784) began as a single pile story-and-a-jump and was subsequently added onto shortly after its original construction with a story-and-a-jump addition that transformed it into a gable front and wing house (Figure 128 and Figure 129). The gable front and wing plan was another popular development of the late nineteenth century. A delicate scalloped band fringes the cornice of the original portion and the porch posts are elaborated by small sawnwork brackets. The interior of the house, which has plaster walls and board-and-batten ceilings, is carefully finished with hand done vernacular details (Figure 130-132). The builder is recalled as being an African American carpenter working in the area.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Mattie Jernigan, granddaughter of original owner Alfred Jackson Mizelle, interview with author, Elm Grove, NC, June 24 2009.

The gable front and wing form that the Alfred Jackson Mizelle house took on was promoted in pattern books of the day such as *Bicknell's Village Builder and Supplement* of 1878. It was rare though for a pattern book cottage of this type to be constructed in the rural areas of the county. Most builders imitated particular features or exterior shapes while retaining traditional interior plans. This is definitely the case at the Alfred Jackson Mizelle House where the original portion of the house has a center hall with an enclosed winder stair, rear shed rooms, and a detached dining and kitchen building. One exterior end chimney provides heat for rooms on the first and second floors. This is a very different configuration from pattern book designs which tended to depict side halls and kitchens within the main house, as well as interior chimneys. Just down the road from the Alfred Jackson Mizelle House is an unusual example of a house displaying some of these features (Figure 133). The Edward and Lily Mizelle House (BR792) is a one-and-a-half story gable front and wing house with a side hall and an interior chimney. Its kitchen is not incorporated under the main roof, but it is tightly tucked against the rear of the house. In the front parlor is a late nineteenth century manufactured mantel in keeping with the pattern book scheme of the cottage as opposed to the handcrafted pieces of the Alfred Jackson Mizelle House. The front of the house is wrapped by a porch with turned posts and sawnwork brackets.

Perhaps the most exuberant example of a house added onto to form a gable front and wing form is the Lecausey and Lulu Freeman House (BR124) (Figure 134). The building possibly began as a mid-nineteenth century three bay I-house with an enclosed winder stair.¹¹⁹ Lecausey and Lulu Freeman purchased the property in 1883 and probably added onto it between

¹¹⁹ Marshall Bullock, File BR124, Mid-East Commission Survey, 1979.

1895 and 1905 as their family, which eventually included thirteen children, continued to grow.¹²⁰ Their building campaign included a two-story porch and a gable front extension with a two-story bay window, as well as many decorative touches of cross gables, sawnwork and brackets.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, while new gable front and wing plans made sporadic appearances, the already popular I-house sprang up in great numbers. One of the defining features of this generation of I-houses is the center gable. The Gothic Revival style which appeared throughout the United States from the 1840s through the late 1800s never gained much ground in Bertie County. Its influence appears in the occasional lancet window and steep gable. The few houses that hint at the picturesque cottage mode of the style promoted by Andrew Jackson Downing in his *The Architecture of Country Houses* do so in a limited manner. The Cowan House (BR318) exemplifies the expression of the Downingesque mode as seen in Bertie County (Figure 135). It draws three main details from the style: a front center cross gable, barge boards, and lancet arches. A lancet window with a molded window hood is the focal point of the front elevation, framed by delicate piercework bargeboards of the center gable (Figure 136). The lancet arch motif is repeated in the panels below the sidelights of the front entrance (Figure 136). While the other features of the Gothic Revival style don't seem to have had much appeal in the county, the center gable motif was extremely popular. Often in combination with some scalloped shingles or sawnwork brackets, it was the prominent note of late nineteenth century taste and appears on one-story, story-and-jump, and I-houses alike (Figure 138 and Figure 139). The center gable house is so abundant in North Carolina, that it has gained its own local moniker. Franklin County health inspector, Thilbert Pearce coined the term "triple-A" in reference to the three gables of these houses during

¹²⁰ Larry Freeman, telephone interview with author, April 27, 2009.

a mid-1970s survey with architectural historians Catherine Bishir and Michael Southern.¹²¹ As the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth century began, numerous triple-A houses reflected all that had not changed through their deeply traditional forms and plans, while nodding to changing National styles with their decorative center gables.

Outbuildings and Farmsteads: Continuing Patterns of Organization

A mid-twentieth century aerial image of the Bazemore-Chamblee Farm (BR864) depicts a rectilinear arrangement of outbuildings surrounding the main house much like that shown in the site plan of the King-Freeman-Speight property sketched by Francis Speight. The Bazemore-Chamblee Farm was developed during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, while the Speight home place was primarily established in the early nineteenth century with some later nineteenth century additions. Although the end of slavery and the switch from cotton to peanuts and tobacco constituted significant changes in agriculture between these two periods, it is clear that the approach to organizing the built environment of the farmstead remained much the same. The changes were more specifically represented by some of the individual purposes of the outbuildings. Proceeding counterclockwise around the image of the Bazemore-Chamblee Farm from the bottom right, the outbuildings are as follows: hog house, peanut house, pack house, cotton house, smokehouse, cow stable, three stall mule barn, corn crib, sweet potato house, old kitchen and dining building, car shelter, and potato house. Other small structures obscured by the tree in the center of the image are a heating wood shelter, stove wood shelter, stilted dairy, and well. The sandy patch at the top of the image is the vegetable garden between plantings. The tobacco pack house and peanut house reflect the importance of these two crops at

¹²¹ Bishir and Southern, 452.

this period, but the cotton house demonstrates that that crop had not been totally abandoned. In this example, the buildings oriented towards agricultural production are less segregated from the domestic related buildings than was the case in early nineteenth century yards.

As previously noted, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, kitchens were moved closer to the rear of the house and often connected by a short breezeway or side porch called a colonnade. These types of kitchens are found throughout the county, but particularly representative examples can be seen in an early twentieth century photograph of the Starkey Valentine and Mary Mizelle House, and at the Alfred Jackson Mizelle, Myers Davidson, and Thadeaus A. Perry houses (Figure 141-145). Through the years many of these breezeways and colonnades have been enclosed so that the rear kitchen and dining wing appears as one solid ell extending from the back of the house. The Bazemore-Chamblee house was replaced ca. 1899 with the present house. In the aerial image, an ell can clearly be seen extending from the rear of the house with a car shelter extending off of it while the “old kitchen and dining building” sits away from the house in the yard.

Two buildings of the Bazemore-Chamblee Farm not seen on earlier farmsteads are the sweet potato house and the potato house. The Bazemore-Chamblee potato house is a very unique, tiny full-dovetailed timber building. According to family tradition, it was built by Henry Bazemore just after his return from the Civil War. Sweet potato curing houses are more common elements of early twentieth century farmsteads. The smokehouse remained an essential part of the domestic building assemblage. The late nineteenth to early twentieth century smokehouse at Overflow Farm appears just to the rear of the house in a ca. 1943 photograph (Figure 147). During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century smokehouses tended to take on a squatter shape and were often harder to distinguish from other outbuildings than

their early nineteenth century prototypes. The Hoggard-Mizelle (BR781) smokehouse is a typical early twentieth century design with a door in its narrow gable end (Figure 148).

Dairies also were important outbuildings in the early twentieth century. Most surviving examples from this period are stilted dairies. Unlike the walk-in designs, these dairies kept the dairy products in an elevated cabinet that was typically placed under a shady tree to keep it cool as at the Lane-Forehand House (BR587) (Figure 149). Pineview's (BR21) ca. 1900 dairy is an unusual example of a walk-in type with a cooling water tray and sluice gates (Figure 150).

Buggy shelters or carriage houses were yet another part of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century yard. Two can be seen in an image of Overflow Farm, further evidence that the comparison of a plantation to a small village still applied to twentieth century farmsteads (Figure 151).

Religion and Religious Architecture

One of the postbellum changes to the built landscape in Bertie County was the construction of many African American churches. The African American community churches that were formed in the late 1800s included Indian Woods (1865), Mount Olive (1865), Peterson Chapel (1865), Spring Hill (1866), Piney Woods (1870), Zion Hill (1870), Sandy Branch (1871), Speller's Chapel (1873), Ashland (1875), Wynn's Grove (1875), and many others.¹²² These Baptist churches served not only as places of worship, but as centers of community life. Civil War veterans served as some of the deacons in these churches and provided leadership in the

¹²² Smallwood, 109; Benjamin F. Speller, Jr. and Le Rae Umfleet, eds. *Historic African American Churches in Bertie County* (Windsor, NC: Historic Hope Foundation, n.d.).

newly free population.¹²³ The churches also functioned as places of education, retaining great importance through the twentieth century. While all of these congregations still exist, the buildings themselves have been substantially remodeled or completely replaced, such that none of the African American churches convey their original character. The few churches in Bertie County that retain their nineteenth century appearance belong to the Episcopalian and Methodist Churches, denominations which are greatly in the minority. It is ironically these small congregations, not requiring new or expanded buildings, that have preserved the old churches.

Churches of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were most often very plain weatherboarded, gable front buildings. One building remains in the county that exhibits this classic form unchanged. White Oak Methodist Church (BR552) was constructed in 1877, replacing an 1831 building. The heavy mortise and tenon frame is sheathed in weatherboards on the exterior and plaster on the interior. Two separate doors for men and women in the front gable end provide entrance to the church. Large sash window openings line both sides of the building and a few louvered shutters remain. The interior received some remodeling in 1914 which elaborated the chancel area with a semi-elliptical stage beneath a semielliptical arch. This arch and the front doors are faux grained. Sunday school rooms were added to the rear in the 1950s.

The base form of the White Oak Methodist Church is shared by the Powellsville United Methodist Church (BR82). James Jornigan was commissioned to erect a building for the Powellsville Methodist Episcopal Church, now known as the Powellsville United Methodist Church, in 1881. The construction was completed at a cost of \$127.50 and today it stands still fitting much of the description outlined in the contract (Figure 155), which reads,

¹²³ Smallwood, 112.

". . . the base of the building is to be thirty-eight feet long by twenty-six feet wide and fourteen feet pitch, one door in front four feet wide, with a vestibule six feet wide, and two inside doors three feet wide on the right and left, and space made for six eighteen light windows 12 by 14, two on each side of the church and one on each side of the pulpit in the northern end and to be seal above. The pulpit and seats to be built according to directions of the said commissioners, two isles to be three feet wide, sash and blinds to be fitted in and hung. The front part of the building to be extended over with some fancy work, and also with boxing on the sides and ends, with steps at the end the whole width of the building."¹²⁴

Some changes have been made to the church over time. One item not mentioned in the contract is a delicate steeple covered in scalloped shingles and bearing a plain wooden cross which now surmounts the front gable. This steeple appears to be a very early addition to the church. The steps do not extend across the whole front of the church, but the four foot wide entrance features a pair of two panel doors which do in fact enter into a vestibule with doors on the left and right for men and women to enter the nave separately. The interior was modified in the early twentieth century similar to the White Oak Methodist Church and is sheathed in manufactured beaded board with a raised platform delineating the chancel which is further framed by an arch faux grained in imitation of quarter sawn oak (Figure 156). Instead of the two eighteen light windows ordered to be placed on either side of the pulpit, the chancel now features more elaborate stained glass windows dedicated to the memory of individual church members. No bathrooms, air-conditioning or other modern amenities have ever been added to the church and it retains a pleasant plainness that characterized many churches of this period.

¹²⁴ Building Contract for the Methodist Church near Powellsville, June 7, 1881, Powellsville United Methodist Church, Powellsville, North Carolina.

For those churches that chose to follow a specific architectural style, the Gothic Revival was very popular as can be seen in the Holy Innocents Episcopal Chapel (BR61). Construction of Holy Innocents Episcopal Chapel began in 1879 on the Capehart family's property, Elmwood. The Capeharts were members of the Episcopal church. Since it was quite a distance either by land or water to the closest Episcopal churches in Windsor and Edenton, the family determined to have their own chapel built. Before the building's completion, Cadmus Capehart, died suddenly and his wife and children moved to another nearby family plantation. At this point, the beginnings of the structure were relocated to its present site and the chapel was completed in 1880. It is a picturesque example of a Gothic Revival country church of the late nineteenth century with a steep gable roof and four-over-four lancet windows (Figure 157). The interior is finished with unpainted wood walls, ceiling, and floor and fitted with very plain pews which contribute to a somber and peaceful atmosphere (Figure 158). A family graveyard surrounds the building. Another small Gothic Revival Episcopal church was built in Roxobel in 1881. These are two of only four Episcopal churches in the county; the others are located in the Windsor and Woodville Historic Districts. The Roxobel church, named St. Mark's Episcopal Church (BR95), is less overtly Gothic Revival than Holy Innocents because of its lower pitched gable roof, but it also features lancet windows which over time have received stained glass glazing (Figure 159 and Figure 160). Like Holy Innocents, its interior is furnished with plain wooden pews, but its plaster walls were originally painted and scored in imitation of stone. The exterior was originally, and is now again, painted in a stone gray color (Figure 161). Muted colors of the natural world were very much a part of the Gothic Revival style.

Twentieth Century Change and Continuity, 1910-1960

Politics and Demographics

At the dawning of the twentieth century most of Bertie County's residents still lived and worked on farms. With the United States' engagement in World War I in 1917, a number of Bertie County men went off to fight. Some residents pursued new industrial jobs outside the county. With the momentum of the start of World War II, migration out of rural areas, including Bertie County, slowly began. During World War II, many Bertie County residents served overseas while others sought jobs among the industries which grew to support the war. A large number of those who left did not return to Bertie at the War's end.¹²⁵ The census of 1950 marked the end of the steady population growth that had begun after the Civil War.¹²⁶

Transportation and Settlement Pattern: Taking to the Road

In 1912, the first automobiles were brought to Bertie by Charles H. Jenkins and Company of Aulander.¹²⁷ According to local history, this company's dealership was the only in the world with franchises for all the General Motors products under one roof.¹²⁸ The expensive machines were by no means, however, about to become a very common or feasible means of transportation around the county. Even during the 1913-1917 term of Bertie native Governor Locke Craig, when 10,000 miles of road were added to the state system, the poor dirt roads were not much

¹²⁵ Smallwood, 131.

¹²⁶ Watson, 13.

¹²⁷ Smallwood, 124.

¹²⁸ Historical Committee for the Centennial Celebration of the Town of Aulander, "History of Aulander, N.C.," (Aulander, NC:, 1985).

improved.¹²⁹ Every community had its own stores, schools, and churches within walking distance, making cars an unnecessary luxury. Mules also continued to be a viable means of transportation both on and off the farm. Eventually, in the 1930s-1950s, the impact of the automobile became recognizable in the built landscape with the advent of service stations, new home and neighborhood designs, and even motels designed to cater to the motorist. The shifts in modes of transportation in Bertie County can be traced through the moves of one company. Powell and Stokes began with a peanut warehouse on the banks of the Cashie in Windsor and when the railroad came through Windsor, Powell and Stokes opened a warehouse adjacent to the railroad line. In 1960, when Powell and Stokes moved out of the Windsor town limits and began a new facility on US 13, the road was officially the most important conduit of commerce and travel.

The Economy: The Depression and Government Intervention in Agriculture

As the twentieth century began, agriculture continued to be the driving force in Bertie County's economy. Peanuts and tobacco were the primary cash crops by this point. In addition to farming, fisheries continued to be important contributors to the county economy. When the Great Depression arrived, its impact on the majority of the county's population who sustained a modest or poor living through farming was less apparent than in the nation's big cities. Through these hard times the same small farm houses and outbuildings continued to serve their purposes. The New Deal policies meant to aid economic recovery following the Depression had the opposite effect for poor farmers. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of 1933 provided

¹²⁹ Watson, 41; "Governors of North Carolina," Office of Governor Bev Perdue, State of North Carolina, <http://www.governor.state.nc.us/HistoryCulture/governors/lockeCraig.aspx> (accessed April 13, 1010).

payments to farmers not to grow certain crops in order to regain a balance of supply and demand that would raise the value of crops. In the system of tenant and sharecropper farming, this resulted in checks for landlords with no profit passed onto the actual farm workers. In the worst cases, the tenants or sharecroppers were expected to pay to live on the land while not being allowed to earn an income from it and some were forced off of the land altogether.¹³⁰ With the implementation of the AAA the agricultural way of life was completely disrupted.

As the county's population decreased following WWII, changes to the agricultural tradition of the county continued. The landowners that remained enlarged their holdings. The farming of larger tracts with less labor was made possible by new machinery. Machinery and pesticides changed the approach to farming entirely. With larger land holdings and a smaller number of farmers actually living on the land, fewer farm houses were needed. Not only were houses not needed, but in some cases they were impediments to machinery, taking up space where crops could grow. While some of these houses disappeared from the landscape, other types of houses were constructed.

Domestic Architecture in Towns and the Country

Houses: New Styles and Manufactured Materials

By the second decade of the twentieth century, modern construction methods that had become common in more urban areas in the late nineteenth century began to effloresce in Bertie. Eastbrook, the home of Tommy Allen Smithwick and family completed in 1915 presents

¹³⁰ Smallwood, 130, and Thomas C. Parramore, "Express Lanes and Country Roads: North Carolina, 1920-2001," in Mobley, 486.

evidence of this fact. Built to replace a nineteenth century house destroyed by fire, this gable-front-and-wing house was constructed with a balloon frame of circular sawn two-by-fours and an early form of wallboard as interior wall sheathing (Figure 162 and Figure 163). All of the doors, mantels, and trim in the house are factory made, including the grand center staircase (Figure 164 and Figure 165). The fireplaces of the house were designed to connect to stoves which were vented through small interior flue stacks instead of large exterior chimneys. Although not all homeowners and builders embraced every modern material, the long, slowly fading era of mortise and tenon frames and handmade bricks had finally come to a close. This was particularly true in the towns, where families moving in from the country were having stylish new homes constructed.

In Aulander, demand for buildings and construction materials supported the development of local businesses. Two of the biggest construction oriented businesses were W. M. Nichols lumber mill and the brick mill, which by 1904 was in operation by J. A. Dunning. Ledgers and receipts of 1907-1910 from W. M. Nichols lumber mill show that the business was actively employing many men and was engaged in the work of building houses as well as producing the materials.¹³¹ In May of 1912, J. A. Dunning received a patent for his new brick making machine. Just as the production of lumber had been revolutionized by the circular saw, the manufacture of bricks was significantly changed by new technologies. In the late nineteenth century, a new method of making bricks was developed through the use of hydraulic machinery. Whereas bricks were traditionally formed by pushing a wet clay mixture into a mold, the new machinery made it possible to create a dry-press brick. These bricks were far more uniform, dense, and smooth than the wet clay variety and the technology also made it possible to mold bricks with

¹³¹ Materials transcribed by Marianne Nichols Ordway, <http://files.usgwarchives.org/nc/bertie/history/sawmill.txt> (accessed September 2008).

intricate decorative patterns. Dry-press brick technology peaked between 1893 and 1904, and was subsequently joined by the extruded method in the realm of modern brickmaking.¹³² J. A. Dunning was clearly one among many people contemplating the ways to improve brick making at this time. His invention pertained to a wet or plastic method for forming bricks into certain shapes. In particular, he proposed improvement of the die through which the material was forced in order to achieve better control of the flow and friction and thereby create a better brick than the current products which he complained were, “of unequal density and general inferior quality, lamination and early disintegration...”¹³³ The continued success of the brick mill in the 1920s-1940s is reflected in Aulander’s many substantial brick homes from that period.

New materials appeared hand in hand with new styles and forms. The housing stock of the first quarter of the twentieth century displays residual Victorian eclecticism, along with Queen Anne, and Colonial Revival styles. The latter two are often combined in the Free Classic style. Most of the Victorian houses continued to follow traditional single pile forms or gable-front-and-wing designs, but the Queen Anne and Colonial Revival houses embraced a type of house shape based on a massed plan. Balloon framing greatly increased the flexibility of house designs and irregular plans became more common. The ca. 1915 J. E. R. Perry House in Powellsville is an example of a two-story irregular massed plan house with a complex roof design that connects a side gable roof to a high hip roof. A Palladian dormer window and Doric porch columns endow the house with a Colonial Revival style (Figure 167). The asymmetrical facades, tall hip roof with lower cross gables, and sun burst motifs of the Bryant House in Powellsville are quintessential Queen Anne elements (Figure 168). In this example, the use of

¹³² Susan Begley Broeksmit and Anne T. Sullivan, “Dry-Press Brick: A Nineteenth-Century Innovation in Building Technology,” *APT Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (2006): 51.

¹³³ United States Patent and Trademark Office, J. A. Dunning, Brick Making Machine, Patent 1,025,133.

Doric porch post with these Queen Anne features results in a Free Classic style house. It too has an irregular massed plan. This type of composition was not limited to two-story houses, but also appeared in many one-story residences as can be seen in an example from Kelford where a high hip roof with lower cross gables and a pedimented dormer combine with a wrap-around porch and a bay window for the same dynamic multi-dimensional effect (Figure 169).

Following on the heels of the Queen Anne and Colonial Revival styles was the Craftsman style. Although the style had been introduced to the nation at the beginning of the century, it did not gain recognizable popularity in Bertie County until the 1920s. The Craftsman style was born out of the Arts and Crafts movement and a renewed interest in craftsmanship in reaction to mass produced, machine made products. It became synonymous with the bungalow house which was typically one to one-and-a-half stories in height and characterized by spacious porches and deep eaves of low sloped gable roofs. The concepts of exposed structural elements introduced by the Craftsman style were reflected in exposed rafter ends and triangular eave brackets. Wide, battered porch posts on brick plinths, which were another standard bungalow element, also express the structural nature of their purpose. While some Craftsman bungalows could be very elaborate, most in Bertie County are simple combinations of the preceding elements. The ca. 1924 John Peele House in Lewiston and the ca. 1925 Raymond A. Burden House in Aulander are two of the more carefully detailed bungalows in the county. The John Peele House is a side gable example with a large dormer, curved eave brackets, notched rafter ends and fluted, battered porch posts (Figure 170). Its design incorporates a porte cochere indicative of the growing use of automobiles. The Raymond S. Burden House is also a side gable type, but with a projecting front gable sheltering its porch. Its eave brackets are of the plain rectangular form more typically used (Figure 171). The ca. 1935 John Wiggins House in Powellsville adeptly demonstrates the

modest gable front form of the bungalow that is often seen, with little stylistic elaboration except its eave brackets, exposed rafter ends and battered porch posts on brick plinths (Figure 172).

Into the early twentieth century architectural melee was added the Tudor Revival style. Tudor Revival houses started appearing in Bertie County in the 1930s and 1940s and the built examples tend to be one or one-and-a-half story cottages. Steeply pitched front gables are a signature feature of this style. Other common features include arched openings, prominent chimneys, and textured wall surfaces. A ca. 1937 house in the Town of Colerain incorporates all of these elements with three steeply pitched front gables, arched windows and doors, a front chimney, and a veneer mixed of stone and brick (Figure 173). The ca.1940 Cenith Peel House in Lewiston likewise displays two front gables with rounded arches in its arcaded entrance porch and an exterior covering of skintled brickwork (Figure 174). The reduction of the Tudor Revival style to a single steeply pitched front gable applied to a side gable box is well illustrated by the ca.1937 Dr. W. P. Jordan House in Powellsville (Figure 175). This house is believed to have come from a Montgomery Ward catalogue. In the early twentieth century, an assortment of catalogues were advertising mail order houses of all shapes and styles, including affordable models such as this.

While mass produced materials spurred construction at the beginning of the century, in the 1930s and 1940s government programs contributed to interest in new home building. The Federal Housing Administration, which was developed in the wake of the Depression, made it possible for more Americans to qualify for home loans with its loan insurance programs, while the GI Bill provided veterans returning from World War II with low interest home loans. In following years new domestic construction took the form of Period Cottages, Minimal Traditional cottages, and Ranch houses (Figure 176-178). Most Bungalows, and Tudor Revival,

Minimal Traditional, and Period cottages followed narrow forms that fit onto traditional urban lots which made towns easily walkable. With the increasing use of automobiles, the width of lots was less consequential and a new house type developed that spoke to America's love affair with both bountiful land and the automobile. The sprawling Ranch house became the new ideal home type for many Americans in towns, suburbs and the country.

Outbuildings and Farmsteads: Tenant Houses, Tobacco Barns, and Other Forms

In the twentieth century, farmsteads continued to be composed of a number of different buildings for all purposes, but two particular building forms became iconic parts of the rural landscape: the tenant house and the tobacco barn. Although tenant houses were not a new type, the mass manufacturing of materials meant that new houses could be produced more quickly than ever before, thus cheaply constructed twentieth century tenant house took shape. These houses are characterized more by their one-story height, small size and standard building materials than by any specific form (Figure 183-186). Most are clad in plain weatherboards with manufactured beaded board interiors. Because they have little architectural distinction and are still relatively recent in our history, tenant houses have not been widely valued as significant historic buildings worthy of preservation and are disappearing nearly as quickly as they were erected. Vast areas of land that were covered with little squares representing houses on a 1917 map are vacant today.¹³⁴ Tenant houses do survive here and there, but it is hard to appreciate the historic context of isolated examples. There is only one remaining farm in Bertie County that shows the distribution of multiple tenant houses between fields and agricultural buildings (Figure

¹³⁴ Robert Campbell Journey and Samuel Oscar Perkins, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, United States Bureau of Soils, *Soil Map, North Carolina, Bertie County Sheet* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1918. North Carolina State Archives).

179). Willow Branch Farm (BR559) was established in the nineteenth century and it demonstrates the changing practice of agriculture from then into the twentieth century.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the property was part of the vast holdings of Augustus Holley who resided at his nearby Ashland and Hermitage plantations. On the 1863 Gilmer map, the site is labeled A. Holley's Quarters and Holley's Fishery.¹³⁵ In 1882, Augustus Holley died and left his Willow Branch Farm to his nephew Thomas D. Holley. Thomas and his wife Eva sold the farm to E. L. Gatling in 1905 along with "all fodder and peas grown in 1904, 6 mules, 400 bushels of cotton seed from the crop of 1904, the undivided one half of the seine, rope, cork, [uncertain word] fish stands and dutch nets now at the Willow Branch Fishery, the Steam Flat Dolphine (sp?), all carts, cart gear, agricultural implements except one log wagon."¹³⁶ E. L. and Ella Gatling ran Willow Branch until 1932, when they sold it to Nola Lawrence. Nola Lawrence and husband W. R. acquired a number of properties during the Depression when many families found themselves unable to hold onto their farms. The Lawrence's built their own Tudor Revival cottage perched on a bluff overlooking the Chowan River at the waterfront end of the property in 1937. Today the farm consists of 732.5 acres and multiple dwellings and agricultural buildings.

The most prominent building on the farm was likely constructed ca. 1905-1915 during the Gatling's ownership. It is an I-house with a center gable and a two-story, full-width front porch (Figure 180). The rear kitchen wing predates the construction of the house and probably served an earlier building which now stands across the road disguised as a barn. The nineteenth century house is one-story with a steep double-pitched roof (Figure 181). Although the plan is

¹³⁵ Confederate States of America, Dept. of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's Office, *Map of Bertie County, NC: no. 2* (1863. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division).

¹³⁶ Thomas D. Holley and Eva M., his wife to Edward L. Gatling, January 2, 1905, Book 128, p. 442, Bertie County Register of Deeds, Windsor, NC.

difficult to discern because of the conversion to a barn, it appears to have been a hall-and-parlor with a front and rear porch, and possibly shed rooms. This is the part of the property that was identified as A. Holley's Quarters and as this house is too large and too finely finished, with plaster and five-panel doors, to have been a slave house, it is possible that it was the overseer's house. The early twentieth century house, which may have been built as the Gatling's own home, later became the home of the Lawrences' farm foreman.¹³⁷ It seems, then, that the most prominent house on the farm in both the mid-nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth housed not the owner of the land, but the person in charge of the labor. However, instead of the tight cluster of slave quarters depicted in 1863, in the twentieth century tenant houses were dispersed more widely across the farm, along the main road, and down long dirt drives (Figure 182-187). The buildings closest to the main house are livestock shelters, pack barns, and tobacco barns.

Tobacco barns became an essential part of the farmstead as bright leaf tobacco surpassed cotton as the primary cash crop at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. Curing this tobacco required a particular type of barn where a steady warm temperature could be maintained around the hanging leaves. These barns were tall and narrow to accommodate the tiers of poles set across the interior to hold the leaves tied off on tobacco sticks. The process of curing required no windows, and only a small door for access. Many barns have attached shelters, known as grading sheds, to provide shade for the work of tying up the tobacco and removing it after the completion of the curing process (Figure 187). Furnaces fed by various fuels gradually replaced natural warm air and heat from the sun, producing steady heat inside the barns and circulating it through a flue. Log and frame were the two popular methods of constructing tobacco barns, though a concrete block example also survives (Figure

¹³⁷ Elaine Taylor, note to author, February 11, 2009.

188 and Figure 189). Multiple tobacco barns typically stood together and often a larger pack house with a space lit by windows for grading tobacco was located nearby (Figure 190 and Figure 191). Many lone tobacco barns stand throughout Bertie County, but few groupings survive. New methods of curing tobacco have rendered the old barns obsolete and most are slowly deteriorating or being over taken by vegetation. In 2003, the powerful winds of Hurricane Isabel caused the destruction of many barns and outbuildings, making the survivors even more rare and significant.

In addition to tobacco barns, a few other outbuildings types were added to the traditional assortment in the twentieth century. One was the potato curing house which shared commonalities with the tobacco barn. Some potato curing houses include vents on top, much like tobacco barns, for the heat source which was located in the foundation level of the building. A steady eighty-five degree temperature is ideal for curing sweet potatoes. An example of this type of house, probably constructed in the second decade of the twentieth century, stands on the E. W. and Pearl Taylor Farm (BR160) (Figure 192). As seen in tobacco barn construction, log building experienced a period of renewed popularity in the twentieth century. The best example of log, or skinned pole, construction in Bertie is a ca. 1935 storage shelter at the Castellow-Tarkington House (Figure 193).

The generator house was a completely new domestic outbuilding type. Prior to the introduction of electricity supplied by power lines, many homes had their own generators. Delco was the prevailing brand of generator. The Delco would be seated on a concrete pad and in many cases was sheltered by its own sturdy house (Figure 194). Chicken houses also became more common in the twentieth century. They could take on many forms, but were typically frame with a shed roof (Figure 195). One unusual brick chicken coop was constructed by builder

Leslie Holloman ca. 1940 with materials he had accumulated through his work (Figure 196). Privies remained important outbuildings in the twentieth century, though only a few examples survive. The standard form was a small frame building with a shed roof (Figure 197). Two other important elements of the farmstead yard were the well and the bell. The well was usually located in close proximity to the kitchen door and by the early twentieth century, terracotta was a common material for the well curb (Figure 198). The ring of the yard bell could be heard across fields and was an important means of communication in days long before cellular phones (Figure 199). Between the outbuildings, landscape features such as grape arbors, vegetable gardens, and pecan trees commonly completed the farmstead yard.

Religion and Religious Architecture

At the beginning of the twentieth century, church designs grew more ambitious as towers and belfries sprung up from roof lines. Holly Grove Baptist Church (BR772) is an example of this transformation from the simple gable front form. The original Holly Grove Baptist Church building which served the congregation after its organization in 1804 was replaced in 1860. This building, which was most likely of a plain gable front design and described in the church minutes to be approximately thirty-two feet wide and forty feet deep with two doors in the front, three windows on each side, and two windows in the back, was in turn remodeled in 1911 and 1912.¹³⁸ It is presumed to be during this remodeling that the present parapeted front, flanked by entrance towers was added to the building (Figure 200). When the Republican Baptist Church (BR87) which was built in 1912 is compared with Holly Grove Baptist Church as remodeled in 1912, a

¹³⁸ "Holly Grove Baptist Church, "History Brief of the Holly Grove Baptist Church," (190th Anniversary, Holly Grove, NC, September 25, 1994); Lynn McCarthy, "Holly Grove Baptist Church, Bertie County, NC," NCGenWeb Project Page, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncbertie/powell.htm> (accessed June 8, 2009).

new trend in church design is clear (Figure 202). Republican Baptist Church was built with a larger plan incorporating classroom space, but both buildings share the same parapeted gable front with flanking entrance towers of uneven heights and diamond and triangular arched louvers and windows that hint of the Gothic Revival style. The Romanesque Revival joined the Gothic Revival as a popular mode for church architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While the full massive, masonry expression of the Romanesque Revival as popularized by architect Henry Hobson Richardson is not found in Bertie County, the round arch windows that it featured are seen in a few churches. With their round arch windows, Capeharts Baptist Church (BR29) and Greens Cross Missionary Baptist Church (BR174) are interesting vernacular interpretations of the Romanesque Revival in weatherboarded frame construction. Capeharts Baptist Church, constructed in 1918, utilizes a recessed porch between its towers to encompass a round arched bay window, two round arched doors, and a roof apron with three round arches and two drop pendants. With a single tower at the center of a prow front, Greens Cross Missionary Baptist Church, completed in 1923, has very different, but no less striking façade (Figure 204). It too uses round arches for all of its windows and doors. The interior of Capeharts Baptist Church exhibits the gently sloping floor and rows of curved pews that became a popular element of churches in the late nineteenth century and appeared in Bertie in the early twentieth century (Figure 203). The remodeled interior of Holly Grove Baptist church is endowed with the same features. Another part of church planning that developed during this period was the incorporation of classroom space. Architect George Kramer advocated classrooms adjacent to the worship space and connected to it by movable partitions which became known as the Akron plan. Cashie Methodist Church (BR31) employs this idea in a manner suitable to its small rural building. The gable front core of the building is flanked by identical side gable pavillions which

house the Sunday school classrooms. Instead of tall towers, the gable front is flanked by two short entrance pavilions nestled into the juncture of the core and the wings. The exterior presents a well executed mix of the Classical and Gothic Revivals with its boxed cornice returns, pedimented gables, and lancet windows.

Perhaps, the most monumental church of the early twentieth century is Aulander Baptist Church (BR944). The imposing three-story Neoclassical edifice was constructed in 1926 at a cost of \$55,000.00.¹³⁹ It is built of a tan brick with decorative herringbone, diamond, and circular patterns that enliven the façade. The dominant element of the front elevation is a pedimented center gable supported by paired pilasters. Parapets rise above the pediment and crown the flanking recessed entrance towers. The commanding presence of the building is completed by a crenellated parapet atop the tower that faces both streets of the corner location. In total, Aulander Baptist Church represents the rapid evolution of churches from small frame buildings to large brick landmarks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Education and School Design

Educational opportunities improved in the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to a number of private schools and academies, the public school system provided education to more children than ever before. In the first decades of the twentieth century, one room school houses abounded throughout the county. Since children walked to school, many schools were located within what appears today to be a very close proximity to each other. The typical one room school house was a small gable front building. Many of these have been

¹³⁹ Historical Committee for the Centennial Celebration of the Town of Aulander, "History of Aulander, N.C.," (Aulander, NC:, 1985).

preserved because they were simply used for farm storage once the schools were closed and a few were repurposed as residences. Rays School (BR181), Elm Grove School (BR787), Connicanary School (BR872), and Cobbs School (BR884) provide just a few examples of the common execution of one room school buildings built for white students. They are all one-story gable front buildings, but display slightly different proportions, fenestration patterns and cornice treatments (Figure 207-210). The interiors of schools of this period were typically finished with manufactured beaded board on the walls and ceilings. By the 1910s and 1920s, many of the one room buildings were already being closed as larger buildings were constructed and the individual schools consolidated into one. The larger schools built in the 1910s and 1920s were also frame, weatherboard buildings with beaded board interiors. Fewer of these survive than of the one room type. The Kelford School (BR66) and Midway School (BR608) are the only two multiple teacher schools for white students built during this period that stand. They both are distinguished by gable front entrance pavilions topped by belfries (Figure 211 and Figure 212).

The school system was supposed to support the equal education of both races, but it failed to do so even in a segregated manner.¹⁴⁰ Bertie County school records from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century document the disparity between the expenditures made for white schools and those made for the black schools.¹⁴¹ The inevitable result was substandard school buildings of ill repair for African American children. In response to this failure on the part of school boards across the south, the Rosenwald Foundation was created to ensure a decent learning environment for African American pupils. This philanthropic effort was born through the vision of Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute and the funding of Julius Rosenwald of Sears, Roebuck and Company. The Rosenwald buildings were designed to

¹⁴⁰ Watson, 32.

¹⁴¹ Bertie County Schools Record Books, 1877-1924, Bertie County Board of Education, Windsor, NC.

provide quality educational space for southern black children. Following prescribed plans that were first designed at Tuskegee, these schools became a distinctive part of the landscape.

Nineteen Rosenwald schools were budgeted to be built in Bertie between 1918 and 1930.¹⁴²

Many other schools without Rosenwald funding were also built for African American students throughout the county according to similar plans. A great many of these schools still stand: most have either been converted into homes or left vacant.

Of all of the schools built in Bertie County with Rosenwald funding, Clarke's School (BR1116) remains the closest to its original appearance as shown in a photograph of the school just after construction that is held in the Rosenwald Fund Card File Database of Fisk University (Figure 213 and Figure 214). One of the dominant design concerns of Rosenwald foundation schools was quality of light. Provision of just the right amount of light so that students and teachers could see easily without ever having rays of sun directly in their eyes was a prevailing theme in the configuration of the buildings and even their paint schemes. For this reason, different plans were specified depending on whether the site was north and south facing or east and west facing. The Clark's School was built according to a plan for a one-teacher north or south facing school (Figure 215). Its window configuration is characteristic of the interest in quality of light and air: the west side of the building is lit by large banks of windows while the east side has only high "breeze windows". In addition to the main classroom space, there is a recessed vestibule flanked by cloak rooms and an industrial room which was intended to have a movable partition opening into the classroom, though it does not appear this was ever the case at Clarke's School. A school of an unknown name in the Cahaba vicinity (BR1111) clearly took

¹⁴² Smallwood, 120; Gregory Tyler, "Rosenwald Schools in Bertie County," (Unpublished report, Survey Branch, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh); Thomas Hanchett, "Beacons for Black Education in the American South," Rosenwald Schools, <http://rosenwaldplans.org/> (accessed April 13, 2010).

inspiration from the one-teacher north or south facing design, but sacrificed the additional rooms and pushed the entrance door to the exterior wall where it is sheltered by a simple gable roof (Figure 216 and Figure 217). This school is not believed to have been built with Rosenwald funds and was probably the independent accomplishment of the community. There are many other examples of non-Rosenwald schools built for African American students throughout the county. Often they resemble Rosenwald schools, but do not share exact plans. Two of the most intact examples are the two-room Cherry (BR211) and Ashland (BR564) Schools (Figure 218-221). Both exhibit a similar placement of large windows on the front elevation and high “breeze” windows on the rear elevation and both have two front doors to provide separate entrance to each classroom. The schools are not identical, however, displaying differences in their flue arrangements and other minor details.

The most architecturally distinctive African American school building surviving in the county is St. Luke’s School (BR322) (Figure 222 and Figure 223). It bears a little similarity to the Rosenwald plans, it is more in keeping with other public school designs of the 1910s like the African American Warren Grove School of Chowan County, built in 1914 according to plan 2B of “Plans for Public School houses, 1911” or the Rose Bay School of Hyde County, built in 1913.¹⁴³ Like those schools, St. Luke’s School presents a large pedimented, central pavilion with recessed entrance porches. The focal point of the pediment is a tri-part triangular arched window. The cornices are delineated by molded bands encasing a row of dentils and the corners are highlighted by pilasters. This careful detailing has been attributed to the African American, Halifax County builder Cary Pittman because of similarities to his work, but the definite identity

¹⁴³ Bishir and Southern, 146, 163.

of the builder is not known. The school complex also includes a ca. 1944 lunch room and additional classroom building and the girl's privy (Figure 224 and Figure 225).

Just as the one-room schools built for white students began to be consolidated, these African American schools also began to be consolidated into larger schools between the 1920s and the 1950s. The largest remaining example of a Rosenwald funded school is the Kelford School (BR931), a six-teacher school built in 1927-28 according to a Rosenwald plan for a six-teacher north or south facing school (Figure 226 and Figure 227). Two seven-teacher schools and a ten-teacher school were built but have been demolished. The John B. Bond School (BR534) was built according to a similar six-teacher plan, but without Rosenwald funding ca. 1935-1940 (Figure 228).

Into the Twenty-first Century, 1960-2010

As American use of automobiles increased, Bertie's roads were improved and two highways were built. During the 1960s the county lost more agricultural jobs, and some residents began to travel these roads to work in other counties and as far away as Norfolk, Virginia.¹⁴⁴ Over the course of the 1960s and the Civil Rights Movement, Bertie County lost almost twenty percent of its African American residents as people sought opportunities in places like New York.¹⁴⁵ Though the total population seemed to grow slightly around 1980, it continued to decline in the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁴⁶ In 1999, Bertie County experienced the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 55.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 14, and Smallwood, 138.

¹⁴⁶ Watson, 14, and Smallwood, 148-149.

catastrophic flooding of Hurricane Floyd that devastated areas all along the major rivers of eastern North Carolina. Just as with other tragedies and difficult times, residents displayed tremendous resiliency in recovering and resuming life.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bertie County's economy remains based upon agriculture and natural resources rather than manufacturing. The primary crops Bertie County now produces are tobacco, corn, soybeans, peanuts, and cotton. Timber continues to be an important part of the county's economy. Only small vestiges of the fishing industry now remain, since its decline was dealt a final blow by Hurricane Isabel in 2003. Poultry is a growing industry and chicken farms with their rows of metal houses are becoming icons of this landscape. While the Chowan River was originally home to many settlers because it provided a means of transportation and trade, in the late twentieth century it has attracted people to build homes or vacation cottages along its banks for waterfront views and recreation. Despite all of these changes, Bertie has been an area strong in tradition and many of the county's families today can trace their ancestry back to its beginnings. The historic buildings which remain are the witnesses to the rich history which has shaped this landscape for more than three hundred years.

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Illustrations

Figure 1: This mill site was established by Augustus Holley after his purchase of the land in 1857. An earlier mill several hundred feet away was begun in 1771 by George Ryan during Nathaniel Duckenfield's ownership of the property.



Figure 2: Jordan House, ca. 1738.



Figure 3: Detail of Jordan House brickwork showing handmade bricks with glazed headers laid in Flemish bond.



Figure 4: Jordan House herringbone fireback.



Figure 5: Castellow-Tarkington House, ca.1780-1800, exposed posts, up braces and studs.



Figure 6: Ward House, ca. 1850-1860, floor plate and ends of floor joists, studs (interrupted by new window) and down brace.

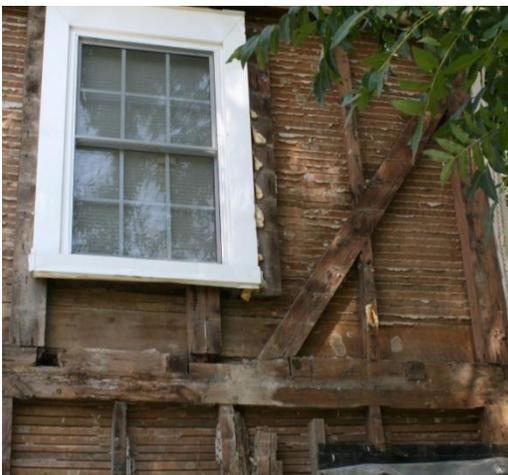


Figure 7: Asa Phelps House, board false plate at junction of rafters and ceiling joists.



Figure 8: Bond-Haste House, ca. 1800-1810, finely squared, numbered, and pegged mortise and tenon rafters.



Figure 9: Asa Phelps House, ca. 1810-1815, roughly sawn and hewn, numbered, and pegged mortise and tenon rafters. Note waney edges and varying sizes of rafters.



Figure 10: Seay Building, ca. 1780-1800, pit saw striations. The building is located near a site operated as a saw scaffold in the eighteenth century.



Figure 11: Seay Building, interior detail of corner dovetail with incised numeral.



Figure 12: Bucklesberry smokehouse, dovetail detail.



Figure 13: Sessoms House, ca. 1850-1860, underside of gauged and undercut floor boards, and hewn and sawn joists.



Figure 14: King-Bazemore House, 1763.



Figure 15: King-Bazemore House hall, paneled end wall with cupboards.



Figure 16: Samuel Cox House, ca. 1795-1805.



Figure 17: R. A. Cowan House, ca. 1795-1805 with later one story side addition photographed ca. 1895. Seated in front of the house L to R: William Julia Burden Cowan, Robert Lee Cowan, Robert Alfred Cowan, Henry Dunstan Cowan.



Figure 18: R. A. Cowan House, beaded ceiling joists.



Figure 19: Seay Building, ca. 1780-1800.



Figure 20: Castellow-Tarkington House, ca. 1790-1800.



Figure 21: Castellow-Tarkington House, hall mantel.



Figure 22: Garrett-White House, ca. 1780-1795, mantel.



Figure 23: Garret-White House, mantel frieze and shelf profiles side by side.



Figure 24: Garret-White House, double lip raised panel wainscoting.



Figure 25: Mitchell House, ca. 1805-1815 and ca. 1850-1860, mantel of older section. Note that ogee curves of frieze on each side do not match each other exactly.



Figure 26: Samuel and Sallie Adams House, ca. 1908, mantel believed to be from earlier ca. 1800 Nicholls-Webb House formerly on site.



Figure 27: Samuel and Sallie Adams House, ca. 1908, detail of mantel believed to be from earlier ca. 1800 Nicholls-Webb House formerly on site. Note crossette.



Figure 28: Asa Phelps House, ca. 1810-1815, first floor Georgian-Federal mantel and overmantel.



Figure 29: Asa Phelps House. Note the double shouldered exterior end chimneys and double pile form.



Figure 30 and Figure 31: Asa Phelps House, second floor mantels.



Figure 32: Asa Phelps House, stair to attic. The gentle undulations in the surface of the boards left by the hand plane are just visible.



Figure 33: Asa Phelps House, flat and raised sides of four panel door with original light blue paint and dark gray-blue base which would have corresponded with a mop board of the same color.



Figure 34: Hope Plantation, 1803.



Figure 35: Hope Plantation, David Stone's library.



Figure 36: Hope Plantation, hall looking from rear to front through transverse arch.



Figure 37: Hope Plantation, drawing room mantel.



Figure 38: Bond-Haste House, ca. 1800-1810.



Figure 39: Woodboure, ca. 1810 and 1819.



Figure 40: King-Freeman-Speight House, ca. 1800-1810 and ca. 1828.



Figure 41: King-Freeman-Speight House, drawing room mantel and mantel detail.



Figure 42: King-Freeman-Speight House, examples of decorative painting.



Figure 43: Eason House, ca. 1820-1835. Note inset porch to rear of side passage.



Figure 44: Bazemore House, ca. 1830-1850.



Figure 45: Bazemore House, partially enclosed winder stair.



Figure 46: Bazemore House, second floor chamber.



Figure 47: Carter House, ca. 1810-1830, original rear, now front elevation.



Figure 48: Carter House, first floor.



Figure 49: W. H. Lee House, ca. 1815-1830.



Figure 50: W. H. Lee House, hall.



Figure 51: Starkey Evans House, ca. 1850. Evans Family photograph ca. 1890.



Figure 52: Starkey Evans House, hall mantel.



Figure 53: Starkey Evans House, raised panel mantel first floor and raise panel door second floor.



Figure 54: William Smithwick House, ca. 1840-1850.



Figure 55: William Smithwick House, first floor.



Figure 56: William Smithwick House, interior of dining building and detail of window molding and wainscoting.



Figure 57: Scotch Hall, 1838.



Figure 58: Ashland, ca. 1840, anthemion corner block in center passage.



Figure 59: Ashland, parlor mantel detail.



Figure 60: Ashland. Note two-story ell extending to rear.



Figure 61: King-Grant-Alston House,, ca. 1850-1860.



Figure 62 and Figure 63: (L to R) King-Grant-Alston House, front entrance and detail of front door Greek key.



Figure 64: King-Grant-Alston House, second floor chamber.



Figure 65: King-Grant-Alston House, parlor mantel.



Figure 66: Cox House, ca. 1850-1860, hall mantel.



Figure 67: Sessoms House, ca. 1850-1860, two-panel door with faux graining and H-L hinges. Note that corner blocks are missing from fluted Greek Revival door surround.



Figure 68: Henry House, ca. 1850, family photograph ca. 1905. (L to R) Coy Vandy, Lee T., Celia A. and Evan Henry.



Figure 69: Henry House, second floor chamber door.



Figure 70: Henry House, five panel doors.



Figure 71: Henry House, mantel.



Figure 72: Liberty Hall, ca. 1850-1860.



Figure 73: Liberty Hall, mantels, ground level and second floor.



Figure 74: Liberty Hall, studs projecting into attic.



Figure 75: Site plan sketch of the King-Freeman-Speight property by Francis Speight. (Francis Speight to Arthur D. Edwards, Survey and Planning Specialist, Division of Historic Sites, July 25, 1968, Bertie County Research File, Research Division, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.)

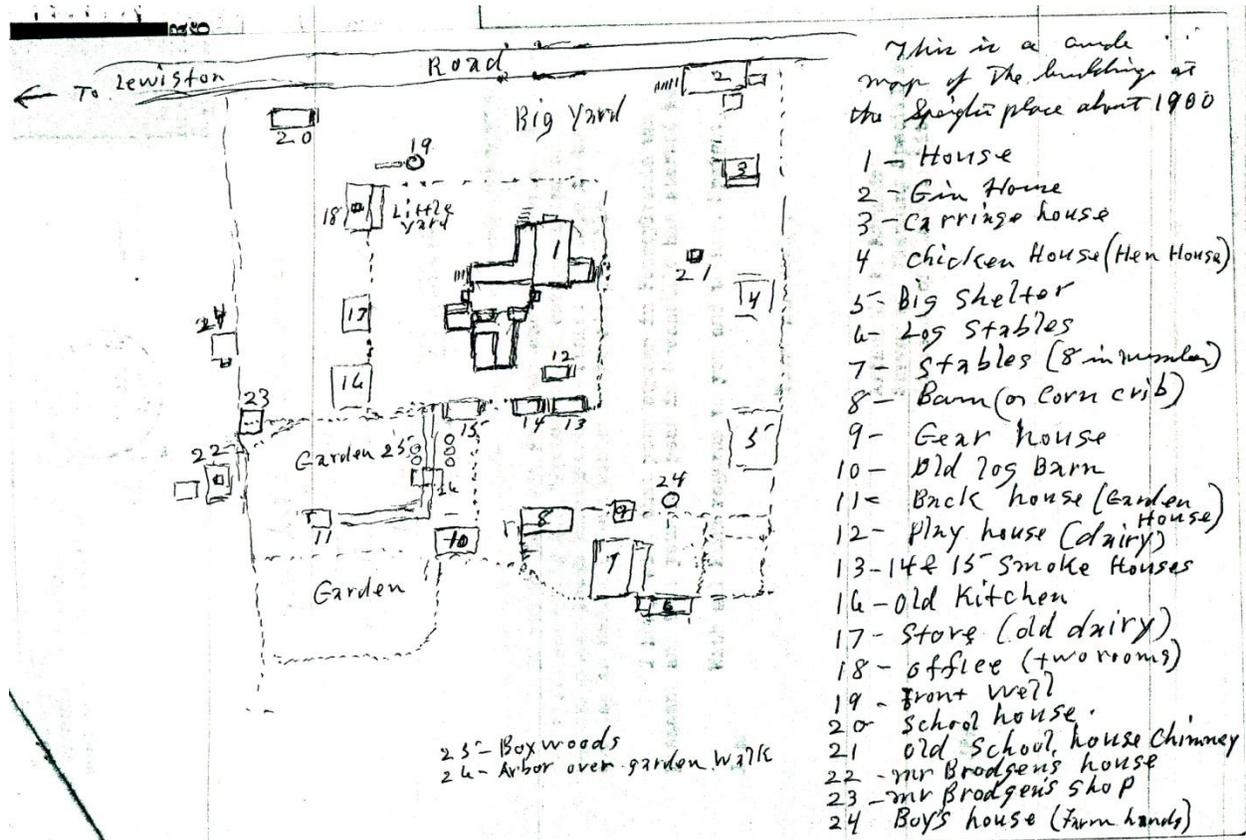


Figure 76 and Figure 77: King-Freeman-Speight kitchen, ca. 1810-1820. Note shuttered window opening and loft door.



Figure 78 and Figure 79: The Hermitage kitchen, ca. 1800-1810. Reconstructed fireplace and hearth.



Figure 80 and Figure 81: John Mitchell House kitchen, ca. 1860. Fireplace with trammel.



Figure 82 and Figure 83: King-Grant-Alston House, ca. 1850-1860 with kitchen to rear (car shelter is later addition). View of kitchen door from side porch of dining room (small gable roof between porch and kitchen is a later addition).



Figure 84: Cox House, ca. 1850-1860, kitchen with back of house to left.



Figure 85: Mill Landing smokehouse.



Figure 86 and Figure 87: Pineview, ca. 1840 smokehouse and detail of full dovetails.



Figure 88 and Figure 89: Bond-Haste House smokehouse, ca. 1810. Note close spacing of studding.



Figure 90 and Figure 91: Bond Haste smokehouse board-and-batten door and detail of wrought nails.



Figure 92: Cured meat hangs in a former kitchen building, 2009.



Figure 93: Woodbourne, ca. 1820 dairy.



Figure 94: King-Grant-Alston House, ca. 1850-1860 outbuilding (section at right edge of photograph is later addition).



Figure 95 Figure 96: Mill Landing icehouse and view looking down into interior.



Figure 97, Figure 98 and Figure 99: Thompson-Urquhart icehouse and interior of icehouse.



Figure 100 and Figure 101: Thompson Urquhart cellar and interior of cellar.



Figure 102: Cherry Store, ca.1830-1850.



Figure 103: Mitchell House barns, ca. 1850-1860. Figure 104: Barn door. Figure 105: Barn door hasp.



Figure 106: Mitchell House barn, ca. 1850-1860.



Figure 107: Henry House, ca. 1850-1860 cotton gin. Figure 108: Cotton gin plate, joist, false plate and rafter detail.



Figure 109: Jeremiah's House, ca. 1850-1860.



Figure 110: Jeremiah's House hook and eye hinge. Figure 111: Fireplace. Figure 112: Post and rail frame.



Figure 113: The 1901 gravestone of Tom Rubin (sp.?), "A most faithful slave and employee to the end." in Holy Innocents Chapel graveyard, burial place of the Capehart family.



Figure 114: Aulander Railroad Depot, ca. 1885-1890.



Figure 115: Abram Burden House, 1871, corner pilaster detail.



Figure 116: Abram Burden House, parlor mantel. Figure 117: Dining room mantel. Figure 118: Entrance detail.



Figure 119: Myers-Davidson House, ca. 1880.



Figure 120: Myers-Davidson House, porch post detail. Figure 121: Parlor mantel.



Figure 122: Myers-Davidson House, original paint colors, second floor chamber.



Figure 123: John Mitchell House, ca. 1870.



Figure 124: John Mitchell House parlor mantel.



Figure 125: Mitchell House I, ca. 1890-1910. Story-and-a-jump without windows above the front porch.



Figure 126: Mitchell House II, ca. 1890-1910. Story-and-a-jump with front over porch windows and rear chimneys.



Figure 127: Annie Baker House, ca. 1875. Story-and-a-half with over porch windows and side chimneys.



Figure 128: Alfred Jackson Mizelle House, ca. 1880-1900, side elevation. Figure 129: Front view.



Figure 130: Alfred Jackson Mizelle House, second floor chamber. Figure 131: Hand-planed, pegged door.



Figure 132: Alfred Jackson Mizelle House, enclosed stair with scalloped trim.



Figure 133: Edward and Lily Mizelle House, ca. 1890-1910



Figure 134: Lulu and Lecausey Freeman with five of their children in front of their house, ca. 1905. (Photograph courtesy Larry Freeman.)



Figure 135: Cowan House, ca. 1870-1890.



Figure 136: Cowan House, front gable detail. Figure 137: Sidelight panel detail.



Figure 138: Farless House, ca. 1907.



Figure 139: Willie Cofield House, ca. 1908.



Figure 140: Mid-twentieth century aerial image of Bazemore-Chablee Farm.



Figure 141: Starkey Valentine and Mary Mizelle House, ca. 1895, semi-detached kitchen and dining room connected to house by breezeway as seen ca. 1925. (Photograph courtesy Aubrey Mizelle, center.)



Figure 142: Alfred Jackson Mizelle House, ca. 1880-1900, side elevation of kitchen and dining building connected to house at left by short breezeway. Note pump in foreground. Figure 143: View of kitchen colonnade and breezeway from rear.



Figure 144: Myers Davidson House, ca. 1880, attached kitchen.



Figure 145: Thadeus A. Perry House, ca. 1870-1890, detached kitchen and dining building. (House has been moved away from building.)



Figure 146: Bazemore-Chamblee potato house, ca. 1870.



Figure 147: Cecial Hollomon, Sr. on the back porch of Overflow Farm with the smokehouse to the left and the livestock and corn barns in the background. (Photograph, ca. 1943, courtesy of Cecil Hollomon, Jr.)



Figure 148: Hoggard-Mizelle smokehouse, ca. 1910.



Figure 149: Lane-Forehand stilted dairy.



Figure 150: Pineview dairy, ca. 1900.



Figure 151: Lillian Hollomon and fiancé sit in front of the village like cluster of the cotton house, corn barn, and two buggy shelters at Overflow Farm. (Photograph, ca. 1943, courtesy Cecil Hollomon, Jr.)



Figure 152: White Oak Methodist Church, 1877.



Figure 153: White Oak Methodist Church, 1914 interior remodeling.



Figure 154: White Oak Church interior looking towards front entrance.



Figure 155: Powellsville United Methodist Church, 1881.



Figure 156: Powellsville United Methodist Church interior.



Figure 157: Holy Innocents Episcopal Chapel, 1880.



Figure 158: Holy Innocents Episcopal Chapel.



Figure 159: St. Mark's Episcopal Church, 1881.



Figure 160: St. Mark's Episcopal Church, window dedicated to the memory of S. A. Norfleet.



Figure 161: St. Mark's Episcopal Church interior.



Figure 162: Eastbrook, 1915.



Figure 163: Eastbrook, interior detail showing two-by-four framing and edges of wall board.



Figure 164: Eastbrook, second floor interior showing factory made mantel, door, and trim. Note that baseboard continues across the fireplace, which is fitted with a stovepipe.



Figure 165: Eastbrook, center hall showing two-by-four framing and Victorian staircase.

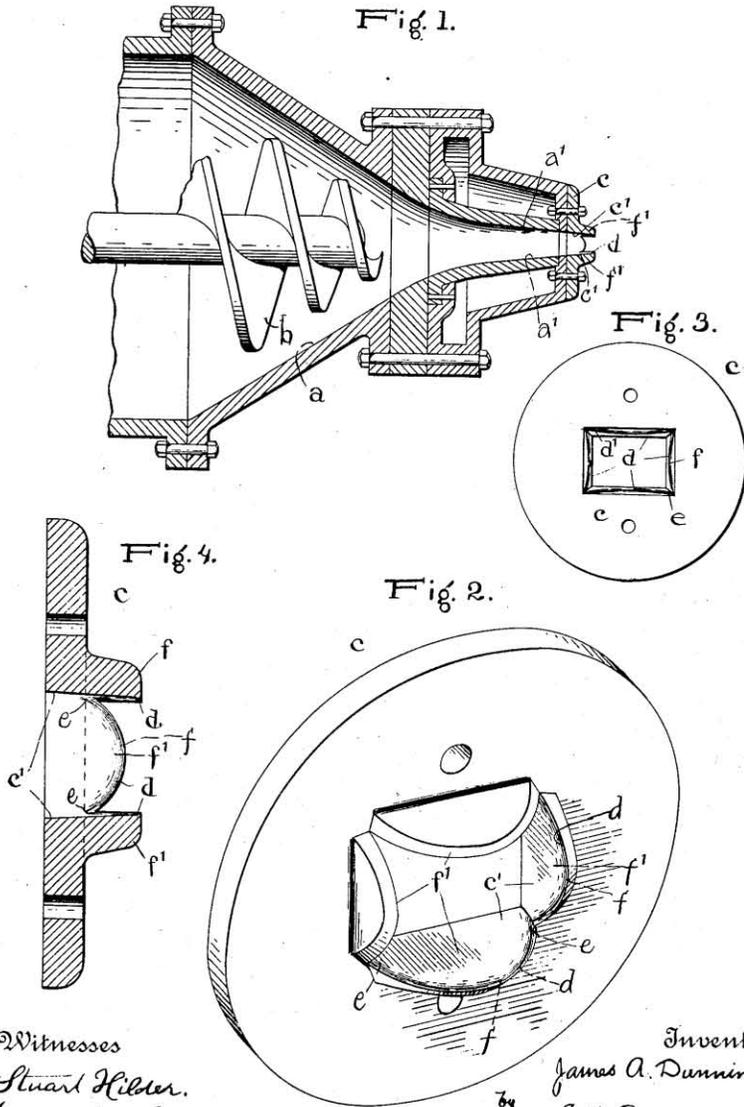


Figure 166: J. A. Dunning's patent for a brickmaking machine.

J. A. DUNNING.
BRICKMAKING MACHINE.
APPLICATION FILED JULY 12, 1909.

1,025,133.

Patented May 7, 1912.
2 SHEETS—SHEET 1.



Witnesses
Stuart Hilber.
Frances M. Anderson.

Inventor
James A. Dunning
by E. W. Anderson & Son
his Attorneys

Figure 167: J. E. R. Perry House, Powellsville, ca. 1915.



Figure 168: Bryant House, Roxobel, ca. 1902.



Figure 169: House, Kelford, ca. 1900.



Figure 170: John Peele House, Lewiston, ca. 1924.



Figure 171: Raymond A. Burden House, Aulander, ca. 1925.



Figure 172: John Wiggins House, Powellville, ca. 1935.



Figure 173: House, Colerain, ca. 1937.



Figure 174: Cenith Peele House, Lewiston, ca. 1940.



Figure 175: Dr. W. P. Jordan House, Powellsville, ca. 1937.



Figure 176: Edgar Smith House, Windsor, ca. 1936.



Figure 177: House, Colerain, ca. 1940.



Figure 178: Luther Whitmell and Piercie Powell House, Windsor, ca. 1951.



Figure 179: Willow Branch farm, barns with tenant house in background.



Figure 180: Willow branch Farm, main house, ca. 1905-1915.



Figure 181: Willow Branch, house, ca. 1850.



Figure 182: Willow Branch Farm, two tenant houses along the tree line.



Figure 183: Willow Branch Farm, tenant house, ca. 1910-1920.



Figure 184: Willow Branch Farm, tenant house, ca. 1930-1940.



Figure 185: Willow Branch Farm, tenant house, ca. 1920-1930.



Figure 186: Willow Branch Farm, tenant house, ca. 1930-1940.



Figure 187: Clarence Hoggard tobacco barn, with ridge vent and shelter over door.



Figure 188: Adams log tobacco barn.



Figure 189: Adams concrete block tobacco barn and log tobacco barn.



Figure 190: Willow Branch Farm, tobacco barns with pack house at right.



Figure 191: E. W. and Pearl Taylor tobacco barns with connecting shelter.



Figure 192: E. W. and Pearl Taylor potato curing house.



Figure 193: Castellow-Tarkington storage shelter, ca. 1935.



Figure 194: Miller-Brown generator house.



Figure 195: Hoggard-Mizelle chicken coop.



Figure 196: Leslie and Evelyn Holloman chicken coop, ca. 1940.



Figure 197: Frank Phelps House privy.



Figure 198: Paul Harrell House, terracotta well curb in front of kitchen door.



Figure 199: Wayland Alexander Mizelle House yard bell.



Figure 200: Holly Grove Baptist Church, 1860, remodeled 1911-1912.



Figure 201: Republican Baptist Church, 1912.



Figure 202: Capeharts Baptist Church, 1918.



Figure 203: Capeharts Baptist Church interior.



Figure 204: Greens Cross Missionary Baptist Church, 1923.



Figure 205: Cashie Methodist Church, ca. 1925.



Figure 206: Aulander Baptist Church, 1926.



Figure 207: Rays School, ca. 1880-1900.



Figure 208: Elm Grove School, ca. 1890-1910.



Figure 209: Connicanary School, ca. 1890-1910.



Figure 210: Cobb's School, ca. 1890-1910.



Figure 211: Kelford School, ca. 1910.



Figure 212: Midway School, ca. 1910-1915



Figure 213: Clarke's School, 1924-1925. Figure 214: Clarke's School after completion. (Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card File Database, <http://rosenwald.fisk.edu>)



Figure 216 and Figure 217: School, Cahaba vicinity, ca. 1925-1935.



Figure 218 and Figure 219: Cherry School, ca. 1920-1930.



Figure 220 and Figure 221: Ashland School, ca. 1920-1930.



Figure 222 and Figure 223: St. Luke's School, ca. 1910-1920.



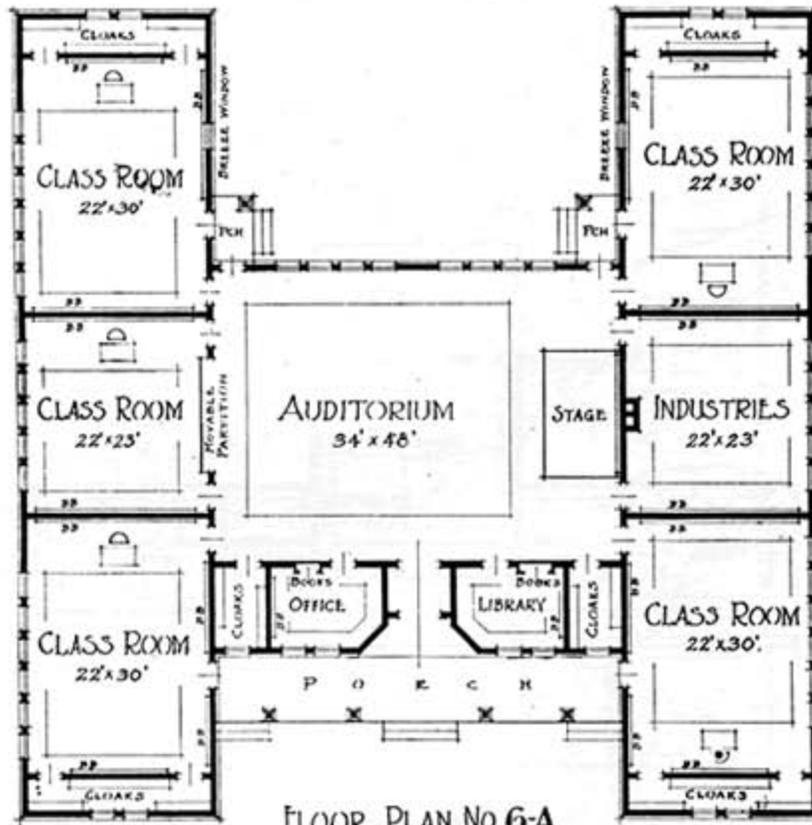
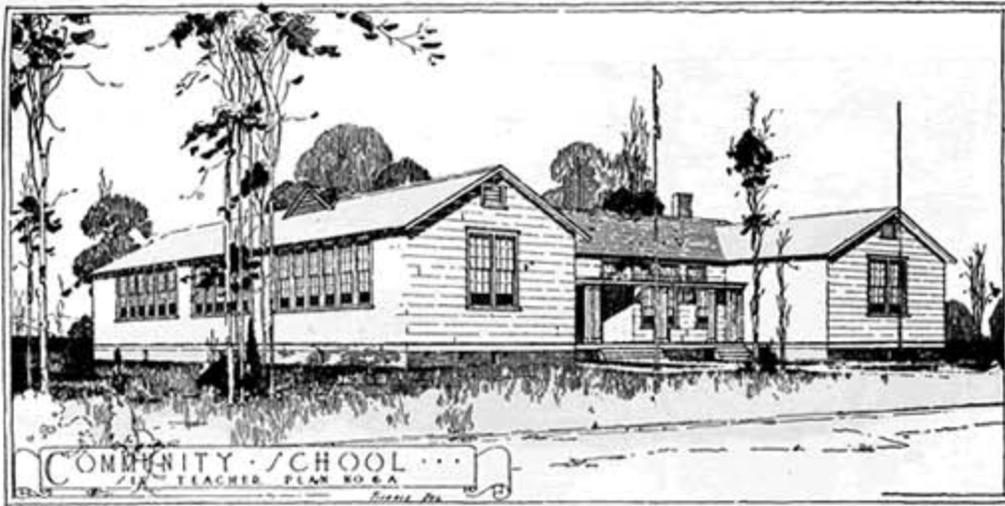
Figure 224: St. Luke's School lunch and classroom. Figure 225: Girl's privy.



Figure 226: Kelford School, 1927-1928.



Figure 227: Rosenwald six-teacher school plan. (<http://rosenwaldplans.org>)



FLOOR PLAN NO 6-A
 SIX TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
 TO FACE NORTH OR SOUTH ONLY

Figure 228: John B. Bond School, ca. 1935-1940.

