BRICK WALLS DO A PRISON MAKE
AND IRON BARS A CAGE

An Architectural Analysis of the Currituck County Jail,
NIAHD Field School, Summer, 2005
BRICK WALLS DO A PRISON MAKE
AND IRON BARS A CAGE:
AN ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE
CURRITUCK COUNTY JAIL

Edited by Carl Lounsbury and Jeff Klee

National Institute for American History and Democracy Field School, College of William
and Mary, Summer, 2005
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Weisenberg

Photographs by Carl Lounsbury, except as noted

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One of the oldest county prisons in North Carolina, the Currituck jail bears witness to changing standards and attitudes toward incarceration since it was built in 1857 (figure 1). A prominent landmark in the small county seat on the western shore of Currituck Sound, the antebellum section of the jail is a two-story, brick building, which measures 32 feet in length by 20 feet in depth. The 1:3 brick bonding, gable parapets, dentillated brick cornice, and tooled stone lintels and sills are characteristic of mid-nineteenth century construction.\textsuperscript{1} The exterior brick joints, originally laid in lime mortar, have been covered in recent years by gray Portland cement. The front façade has also been covered by several coats of red wash or paint to mask the many alterations made to the building in the 1930's.

Peeling paint and failing repairs suggest a forlorn and aged facility and belie its originally solid and forbidding character, with massive brick walls and small barred windows. The present structure was built several yards to the west of the 1840s courthouse to replace an early nineteenth century wooden building. It remained substantially unaltered until the early twentieth century when changing security practices and concerns for

Figure 1. View of jail from south.
prisoners’ health and sanitation led to significant interior alterations. Renovations in 1907 and again in 1930 destroyed most of the original interior fabric but these improvements allowed the building to continue serving as the county lockup until the middle of the century. In the early 1950s, a new brick addition was constructed on the rear of the 1857 building, which allowed prisoners to be housed in expanded modern facilities.2

From the 1850s through the 1950s, the design and alterations to the Currituck County jail followed national trends. The building was designed by local officials but followed contemporary practices found throughout the South. The plan consisted of four rooms—two on each floor flanking a small central stair passage. Most, if not all, of the rooms were sheathed with stout planks to provide an additional layer of security. During the antebellum years, prisoners were usually segregated according to race, status, and the nature of the infraction. In this period, the jail likely devoted one room to the confinement of runaway slaves until they were returned to their masters. Other rooms separated the truly dangerous from the unfortunate few who were down on their luck or out of their minds. Prisoners charged with felonious crimes were usually isolated in the smallest and harshest rooms while other inmates received better accommodations. Debtors usually were held in larger rooms with more windows, better heating systems, and less security. This segregation of debtors and criminals, blacks and whites, and perhaps men and women is evident in the structure of the Currituck jail. The original building included four separate rooms of varying security, size, and levels of convenience.

In 1907, the Board of County Commissioners wanted a secure jail but one that provided a different mode of incarceration—one that contained individual cells set within the structure of the building. Instead of devising their own plans for improving the old structure, the commissioners turned to a nationally known company that specialized in the manufacture and installation of modern jail equipment. The Pauley Jail Building Company of St. Louis, Missouri, contracted to refit the antebellum jail to meet modern standards. These changes radically transformed the interior as the original staircase, partition walls, and the second floor were removed by Pauley workmen who then installed a central peripteral cage of two-story metal cells. These cells provided an additional barrier of security, better air circulation, and small but individual spaces for those incarcerated in the county jail.

In the twentieth century, concern for prisoners’ health as well as security precipitated further changes to the Currituck jail. By the late 1920s, the North Carolina State Board of Health began to play a more active role in county affairs. Seeking to conform to contemporary standards of prisoner comfort and sanitation, the Board of County Commissioners decided to insert a large central window on the second floor, enlarge the front windows on the ground floor, install new sewage and heating systems, and provide the prison cells with new mattresses, cots, and slips.3 These improvements improved somewhat the previously Spartan conditions experienced by the inmates.

Though it has been repaired numerous times, completely gutted and refitted a century ago, and finally reused as offices in the last few decades, the battered Currituck County jail is an important artifact of the manner in which we have chosen to treat the mad and bad in our penal system.

Period I: 1857-1907

Erected between May and December 1857, the two-story brick jail replaced a wooden structure erected somewhere on the courthouse grounds in 1820.4 Mindful that the earlier jail had been condemned as “insecure and insufficient for the safe custody of criminals,” the Currituck County magistrates sought to build a new jail according to contemporary standards.5 Double and triple-lined brick walls, small, iron-barred windows, double sheathed doors, strong locks and bolts and a floor plan that allowed the segregation of classes of prisoners were typical of southern prisons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The 1826 brick jail in Westmoreland County, Virginia, was similar in size and plan as the one that would be built 30 years later in Currituck. The Westmoreland jail contained two rooms separated by a central stair passage on each of two floors. The four rooms were lined with 1 1/2-inch thick planks. One of the rooms on the upper floor, perhaps the criminals’ apartment, was to be lined with sheet iron as an additional security measure. All the windows of the Westmoreland jail were secured with iron bars with flanges set deep into the adjoining masonry walls. The doors between the rooms and the passage were doubled.
Plan

Physical evidence suggests that the original plan of the Currituck jail consisted of a central front door that opened into a four-foot-wide stair passage (figure 2). The passage was defined by 8-inch-thick brick partitions that have been chopped back to the face of the exterior walls. A rough edge, just east of the front door jamb, shows where the partition was bonded into the south wall (figure 3). A similar scar, just west of the front door, is in the expected location of the west partition but the brickwork has been so thoroughly disturbed on this side of the building that the evidence is less clear (figure 4). Two rooms of unequal size flanked this passage. Because the exterior walls at the passage and in the west room were originally thicker than in the east room, the west room was more than a foot narrower than its eastern counterpart. The removal of modern plaster on all the walls indicates that not only was the west room smaller, it only had a single window on the south façade whereas the larger eastern room had two windows—one on the south façade and another of equal size in the center of the east gable wall.

The first-floor plan was repeated on the second floor. Evidence for the demolished east partition wall

Figure 2. First floor plan, period I.

Figure 3. Detail of brick scar in south wall at east door jamb.

Figure 4. Detail of brick scar in south wall at west door jamb.
reappears on the second story on the north wall where the northwest corner bonding of the east room is still in place, confirming the repetition of the ground-floor plan (figure 5). Due to the 1907 alterations in which the inside of the south, west, and north walls in the western part of the building were pared back by about 6 to 8 inches, as well as the insertion of a large central window in 1930, there is little evidence for the west partition on the second floor. However, the location of apertures on the second floor repeats the pattern on the first—a single window in the west room and two in the east room.

Nor is there evidence for the original staircase in the four-foot passage. Presumably it ran up in a very tight u-shaped configuration in the central passage. The initial flight, which must have been less than two feet in width, probably started just beyond the doorway into the two rooms along one of the partition walls, turned at the back of passage at a landing, and then returned along the other passage wall. Unless the front door had a small barred opening in it, the cramped passage would have been dark. Early photographs indicate that there was no window at the top of the passage on the second floor before 1930 (figure 6).

Figure 5. Second floor, north wall, surviving spur of east partition wall.

Figure 6. Early twentieth-century photograph of Currituck Jail. Courtesy of Barbara Snowden.
The renovations of 1907 destroyed the original second-floor framing as it was removed to make way for the stacked cells and catwalk. As on the ground floor, the brickwork in the western half of the building on the second floor was hacked back several inches during the 1907 work. This obliterated any evidence for shallow joist pockets that might have been inserted in the walls to carry closely spaced joists (figure 7). However, the absence of joist pockets on the north and south walls in the undisturbed eastern section of the second floor suggests that the second-floor joists never ran from front to back. Instead, they must have run from east to west, resting on the brick shelf in the gable ends and the robbed central partition walls.

Parts of the original 1857 roof framing survive, though most of the structure has been rebuilt and replaced at least once, possibly twice, in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Fifteen original pairs of hewn and pit sawn rafters are mortised, tenoned, and pegged at their apex (figure 8). There were never any collar ties. The rafters are either cypress or Southern yellow pine and measure 4 ½ by 6 inches, though a few pairs are slightly larger. Roman numerals that identify each pair for assembly are out of sequence. Before the first repairs made at the beginning of the century, perhaps in 1904, the rafters were likely in numeral order and were taken down and reassembled without regard to their original position. In their original configuration, the end pairs of rafters and ceiling joists were set in place before the brick gable parapets were laid up. A cavity in the east gable of the attic left from a later renovation clearly shows where the original mortar set up against the original end joist.

The rafters are the only timber elements remaining from the first period of construction. The original second-floor ceiling joists, false plate, and roof sheathing boards are all circular-sawn replacements. Measuring eight inches square, the present joists are spaced on two feet centers with a 2 by 12-inch circular sawn false plate sitting on top of their outer edge. New brickwork was installed as beam filling between the joists at the eaves. These bricks are set in mortar in the eastern half of

Figure 8. Period 1 rafters as reinstalled, looking west.
the roof above the eastern room only, suggesting that the original brick partitions were still in place when this was done. The new bricks measure 8-1/2 by 4 by 2-1/2 inches and are fairly uniform in color, unlike the early bricks in the exterior walls. Whether this reworking matched the earlier layout of the ceiling joists is unknown. If so, it was at odds with many earlier jail designs wherein ceiling joists were often spaced closely together or abutted one another to make escape through the roof more difficult. For example, the second-floor ceiling joists in a jail that was to be built in neighboring Pasquotank County in 1809 were to be laid six inches apart. The 4 by 8-inch ceiling joists and wall studs in the surviving 1824 Gloucester County, Virginia, debtors' prison are spaced four inches apart (figure 9).

The use of conventional framing around 1900 may have marked a diminishing concern for security; more likely, it followed a reallocation of interior space. A jailer's apartment or a room for minor offenders may have been kept on the second floor after this renovation. Documents note that a payment of $103.90 in October, 1904, and an additional payment of $57.21 a month later were made to T.J. Taylor. Though the entry does not specify the exact nature of the repairs, they could well have marked the rebuilding of the roof.

Finally, it is not clear whether the roof covering originally was metal or wood shingles. A metal roof would not have been unusual in antebellum jails. However, the earliest photographs of the Currituck jail, taken after the 1907 renovations, show square-butt wood shingles, three or four of which were found in the attic space during the current investigation of the building.

Security

One of the most striking features of the Currituck jail is the extraordinary thickness of the walls on the western part of the building. Originally measuring at least 3 1/2 feet in width, these walls were more than a foot thicker than the walls in the eastern part of the jail and provide unequivocal evidence for the intention of the builders to secure the most dangerous class of inmates in the western rooms. Thick walls were the principal line of defense against escape, but bare brick walls with soft lime mortar...
would have not have been left exposed to the desperate digging and scraping of those confined within. The brick walls were but the outer barrier. A secondary wall lined the interior of the jail, evidence of which had all but disappeared with the 1907 renovations. Close scrutiny of the interior brickwork indicates that there were several sets of nailers or bond timbers set in regular intervals of the walls on the first and second stories. Where the brickwork is least disturbed in the original eastern room on the second floor, there were three sets of nailers set into the brickwork at 1 ½ feet, 2 ½ feet, and 5 ½ feet from the present floor (figure 10). Even in the much abused western portion of the building where the walls have been pared back, on the north wall in the second story there is evidence of rusted ends of nails about every 4 inches where there had been a 6-inch thick bond timber imbedded in one of the courses of bricks (figure 11). These holes show the penetration of large iron spikes that were driven through a series of vertical planks, perhaps eight inches width, and into the bond timber. Another possibility was that the 1 ½- to 2-inch planks were laid horizontally and fastened into a series of closely spaced studs. Such an arrangement survives at the 1824 debtors’ prison in Gloucester County, Virginia, where the studs are 4 by 4 ¾ inches and have a series of 1 ½-inch oak boards spiked into them (figures 9 and 12). Whatever the original assembly at Currituck, this internal sheathing was removed in the 1907 renovations or slightly earlier. The brick walls in the eastern room on the second story are whitewashed, but not on the first floor, suggesting that the removal of sheathing came before the major renovations of 1907 when the second floor was removed altogether.

The size and placement of windows offers further evidence of both the original security system and use of the eastern and western rooms. Two small windows on each floor, measuring 3 feet tall by 2 ½ feet wide, lit the southern side of the jail. Heavily cross-barred with a grid of 3-inch by 4-inch openings, they provided light and ventilation for each of the four rooms while making escape difficult (figure 13). In addition, the two eastern rooms had a window in the center of the east gable wall. The thinner brick walls on this side of the building, in tandem with the second window, suggest that the less dangerous inmates were incarcerated in these rooms during this period, or perhaps that one of the rooms was used as a jailer’s apartment.

One further piece of evidence suggests that the western rooms housed the more dangerous inmates. A pintle, still...
embedded in the upper part of the west side of the lower west window, indicates that a heavy shutter provided additional security for this ground-floor room, preventing friends of the incarcerated from slipping jail-breaking tools and other items inside (figure 14). The lower pintle appears in early twentieth-century photographs of the jail but was removed with the lengthening of the front, ground-floor windows in 1930. The shutter itself does not appear in any early photographs and was presumably removed in the 1907 renovations or earlier.

Doors and locks are perhaps the weakest elements of jail security. Many antebellum jails contained specialized designed doors with stout hinges, bolts, bars, and good and strong locks. Most likely, the earliest doors in Currituck were double sheathed, measuring about 2 inches in thickness. Jails such as the one built in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1817, had iron sheathing attached to the doors to provide additional strength. A few had small openings, sometimes barred, that allowed jailers to pass food and other items through to prisoners without having to open the padlocked doors. Other jails had a double set of doors, especially the door that led into the jail from the outside. Evidence for the earliest form of these features has not survived at Currituck. Both the doors and locks were repaired and replaced often. The original front door lasted just nine years before it had to be replaced in the years immediately following the Civil War. Through the late nineteenth century, lock repairs and replacement was the most common expenditure on the jail after the cost of boarding of the prisoners.

Accommodations

The contrast between the eastern and western portions of the building indicates a marked difference in treatment of those held in each section. Beginning in the late colonial period, a desire to separate felons, runaway slaves, and debtors facilitated this disparity in accommodations. While law enforcement officials in this period also separated white prisoners from black prisoners, and men from women, there is little evidence concerning the specific detainment patterns in the Currituck County jail. During the antebellum period, it is likely that runaway slaves were kept in a separate cell from others until their masters came to claim them.
After the Civil War, documentary evidence never mentions more than four inmates in the jail at one time, perhaps suggesting the maximum capacity of prisoners. County records do not describe the location of these prisoners within the jail, but do occasionally refer to the race of the prisoners and to incarcerating “lunatics” for brief periods. It is likely that inmates were separated by race, criminal status, and apparent mental health. These records provide minimal information about the treatment of prisoners. While prison board expenditures were dutifully recorded, there are no references indicating what these disbursements provided for the inmates. An early twentieth century entry noted that purchases of a well bucket, towel, soap, and tobacco for the use of prisoners. There is nothing to indicate a sanitary system more sophisticated than slop buckets and only passing references to jail cleaning and washing of the bedding. Meals had to be supplied from offsite, perhaps from an individual contracted to supply such services. Presumably, the prison rooms contained simple beds, blankets, and chamber pots, and an occasional sweeping and whitewashing mitigated some of the filth.

Little is known about heating the jail in the late nineteenth century. Numerous references to firewood purchases indicate the use of a wooden stove in the jail. This stove may have provided heat for the jailer if one of the rooms was used as a guard room and office. A stove may also have been provided for debtors if they were housed in the jail. Such was the practice in other Southern jails to provide a modicum of warmth for the indigent or insane, who faced longer periods of incarceration than felons, who were often assigned unheated rooms. The precise location of the stove in the Currituck jail before the 1907 renovations is unknown. Scant physical evidence for an early heat source is in the east room on the second floor. Unusual twisting of some of the bars in the gable window may indicate where a stove pipe was vented through the window.

Period II: 1907-1930

Changing incarceration practices led to a major alteration of the Currituck jail in 1907. In the late nineteenth century, jailers began to place prisoners in small individual cells rather than lodging them together in rooms. Besides the physical separation of individuals, an advantage of this system was that it provided a secondary layer of security. Because these internal cells were often freestanding, the prospective jail-breaker had to find a way out of an iron cage before tackling the thick exterior walls of the jail. In 1907, the Board of County Commissioners voted to invest in this new system, choosing to modernize the old jail rather than build a new one. The board accepted a bid from the Pauley Jail Building Company of St. Louis, Missouri, to refit the antebellum prison. The company had an extensive practice in this highly specialized field and had won contracts throughout the South for similar work. Rather than relying on their own initiatives or advice from local builders, the board members chose to call upon outside experts to bring their jail up to modern security standards.

The work of refitting the building lay in the hands of Pauley workmen. In order to create a freestanding rank of cells in the center of the relatively narrow space of the old jail walls, they removed the two central partition walls, floors, and second-floor ceiling, and cut back the brick in the thickest parts of the walls in the western half of the building. With the installation of the metal cells, they also fabricated one of the earliest surviving poured-in-place, reinforced concrete floors and ceiling (Figure 15).

Plan and Security

The structure of the new jail cells made it especially hard for inmates to escape through the cell doors. Despite one break-out in Madison County, Virginia, in 1901, the Pauley Jail Building Company was reputed for the
inviolability of its jail cells. The original iron window bars remained unchanged but they no longer shouldered the primary responsibility for security.

Workmen demolished the two eight-inch-thick partition walls to make room for the steel cells. Measuring more than eighteen feet long and little over eight feet deep, the metal jail cells stood in the center of the building. Rising two stories, this block contained four cells—two on the ground floor and another two above the lower ones. As in the plan of the original prison, each pair of cells had a 4 1/2-foot passage between them (figure 16). After entering the building, prisoners passed through a door in this small center passage and then through another door to their individual cells. The cells themselves measured eight by six feet and had room for either one or two fold-down iron beds that were probably hinged on the north side of the cell. An early-twentieth-century iron cell with a similar fold-down bed arrangement manufactured by the Stewart Ironworks of Cincinnati, Ohio, survives in the antebellum prison at Hanover, Virginia (figure 17).

The thicker walls in the western half of the building were cut back about eight inches to make room for circulation space around the central block of cells. This work is evident in the broken bricks, fragments, straight joints, and absence of internal bonding at the northwest and southwest corners (figure 18). A thin coat of plaster was applied over this jagged brickwork to prevent smaller fragments from falling out and to deter idle hands from picking away at the weakened wall structure. It is not entirely clear why such an extreme measure was taken. It probably was driven by a desire to make the area outside the metal cells passable as well as putting patrolling guards beyond the grasping hands of prisoners.

A metal catwalk, spanning about 23 feet from the east wall to the west edge of the cells and extending 4 feet 6 inches from the south wall of the building, was installed to allow access to the two upper cells. Though no evidence remains of the stair used to get to the catwalk, it is likely that it ran up along the east gable wall since it was the only place where there was large enough space to contain a stair and still allow movement around the cells.

To deter escape through the ground floor and attic ceiling, the workmen from the Pauley Jail Building Company poured a 4 1/2-inch thick concrete floor, one of the earliest to survive in eastern North Carolina. The ceiling was also covered with a similar concrete slab. The concrete is reinforced with a metal mesh and half-inch diameter reinforcing rods, and used salvaged brick fragments as an aggregate. In order to lay the ceiling slab, the recently installed ceiling joists were cut off a few inches beyond the inside face of the false plate. A formwork, consisting of circular sawn boards, was raised and the concrete poured on top of
it. The dimensions of the boards that comprised this form as well as their circular saw marks are still visible in the ceiling, though now covered with several layers of whitewash and paint. In 1907, timber from the jail was sold at auction, suggesting that at least some of the woodwork in the building remained sound and may have been installed recently.\textsuperscript{21}

To provide a modicum of warmth in this large open room, workmen installed a new stove with a brick flue. Comprised of salvaged brick, the flue ran up the center of the west gable wall and vented through the apex of the roof. Necessary weatherproofing and patching would have been applied to complete the roof renovation. The wooden sheathing boards atop the rafters are circular sawn and have at least two generations of cut nails in them. In addition, a handful square-butt wooden shingles survived to the present in the attic of the jail. Photographs of the building following the 1907 renovation show a wood shingle roof. Whether these replaced an earlier generation of wood shingles is unclear.

Accommodations

The changes made in 1907 took steps toward making the jail more comfortable. The addition of a coal-burning stove and flue provided a better heating system. Heat radiated from the stove on the west side of the building throughout the two-story open room. However, even such meager physical comforts came at a cost of privacy—open metal cells meant there was little hiding from neighboring inmates or the watchful eyes of jailors. The county recorded the regular purchases of coal for the jail for the next four decades until 1950 when the coal stove was removed.\textsuperscript{22} The new cells also had a place in one of the corners for the collection of excrement, a concession to concerns about the health of the prisoners. In 1913, Mr. E.E. Walker was paid for digging a cesspool behind the jail to receive the prisoners’ waste.\textsuperscript{23} Over the next few years, periodic inspections of the jail by a grand jury led to regular cleanings of the cells. Only in 1930 were prisoners given mattresses, and the documents record frequent requests for additional blankets.\textsuperscript{24} Even with the addition of a coal stove, standards of accommodation remained modest.

Period III 1930-1950

Despite the substantial overhaul in 1907, the Currituck County jail was found to be in “deplorable condition” two decades later. In 1929, a committee determined that the jail was “improperly lighted and very unsanitary.” The county commissioners recommended that the building be thoroughly renovated. They urged that the walls be “repaired and repainted,” “a heating system…be installed, new bunks and bed clothing be furnished, and modern water system consisting of toilets, lavatories, and drinking fountains be installed and inspected regularly by the County Commissioners in their regular monthly meetings.”\textsuperscript{25}

Two months later, the board added a further list of recommended repairs, including the construction of an additional window in the second floor, improved sewage and heating system, the painting of the cells to stop corrosion, and the provision of mattresses, cots, and slips. Apparently, these renovations were not out of a deep concern for the prisoners but dictated to the county by a state review of prison conditions throughout North
Carolina to establish minimum standards of hygiene and comfort. Mr. Whitney, the head of the North Carolina Board of Health gave the county until 1931 to meet the recommendations or face removal of the regional prison to neighboring Elizabeth City.\textsuperscript{26}

An initial budget of $2,000 was set aside to repair the jail.\textsuperscript{27} The improvements made in 1930 included the insertion of a large window at the second-story level, above the front door, and the lengthening of the two ground-floor windows. New iron bars were fitted in the enlarged ground-floor openings. The efforts of the 1930s and early 1950s marginally improved the living conditions of the jail. In 1950, Cecil A. Raper was paid $670.75 to fireproof the roof, probably with asphalt asbestos shingles.\textsuperscript{28} In the same year, Mr. Raper also painted and plastered walls, waterproofed the exterior and fixed all interior and exterior cracks.\textsuperscript{29}

In either 1952 or 1953, a two-story addition was constructed on the north side of the 1857 jail to accommodate prisoners in a more modern facility. In the late 1950s, a one-story wing that ran from the new back wing of the prison and the courthouse to the east was built. These additions made the original front section redundant as a place of incarceration. The 1907 metal cells were taken down, a second floor was re-inserted, the walls were patched and painted, and a new electrical system was installed that transformed the old prison into county offices. Those offices have now been vacated and the antebellum jail stands empty. Its effective use as a place to contain the county’s prison population having run its course, the old prison now awaits its new function as a museum.
Endnotes

1 The lower part of the walls near the foundations is laid in 1:4 bonding before it switches to 1:3.
2 In 2005, the early 1950s wing was superseded by a new prison outside the town of Currituck.
4 No archaeological survey of the public grounds has made. The exact location of the 1820 jail remains unknown but was presumably located in the vicinity of the present structure.
5 Quoted in “Abstracts of the County Court Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1830-1868” in A New Courthouse of Brick, unpublished report by John B. Green III, February 24, 1857.
6 Fredericksburg, The Virginia Herald, July 15, 1826, 1:2.
7 A jail built in Green County, Georgia, in 1809 had a similar narrow four foot center passage. Washington, Georgia, Monitor, February 4, 1809, 2:1. (did these jail specs also mention a stair with a landing? This is worth pointing out as well, if so.)
8 Pasquotank County Accounts, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, September 18, 1809.
9 Currituck County, Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. II, 1891-1916, October 3, 1904, 289; November 7, 1904, 290.
10 Specifications for the Warren County jail published in the Raleigh Register, April 10, 1817.
11 Green, “Notes from Abstracts of the County Court Pleas and Quarter Sessions,” November 26, 1866.
12 Currituck County, Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. I., 1868-1891, passim.
14 Currituck County Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket Vol. I 1868-1891, passim.
15 Ibid., November 7, 1870, 35; June 16, 1880,110; Currituck County Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. II, 1891-1916, February 3, 1896, 111; May 6, 1901, 197.
16 Currituck County Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. II, 1891-1916, May 4, 1903, 249.
17 Currituck County Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. I, 1868-1891, October 1, 1888.
18 Ibid., April 3, 1893; April 2, 1894, 67.
19 Currituck County Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. II, 1891-1916, June 12, 1907, 365.
20 Madison County, Virginia, Board of Supervisors Minute Book 1892-1916, March 4, 1901, 211.
21 Ibid, December 2, 1907, 374.
22 Currituck County, Board of Commissioners, Currituck County, Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket, Vol. II, 1891-1916, June 2, 1913, 504.
24 Currituck County, Board of Commissioners, Minute Docket Vol. IV, 1929-1951, September 7, 1929, 2.
25 Ibid., November 2, 1929, 4.
26 Ibid., January 6, 1930, 12.
27 Ibid., May 1, 1950, 497.
28 Ibid., April 14, 1950, 508.
Appendix I
Public Documents Pertaining to the Jail

Notes from Abstracts of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in “A New Courthouse of Brick” by John B. Greene III:

31 May, 1820
“ordered that the commissioners to contract…jail of said county on the public Ground for the reception of a Jailor & c. to occupy, to be let to the undertaker to complete the said house & wall round the said jail…”

30 August, 1820
“ordered that sheriff have made a strong substantial outside door to the Jail of said county with a strong lock & key thereto & also have the coroner boards put on in good [ ] repairing upon said Jail & that he render [ ] the same to ext Term & c.”

30 May, 1821, p. 306 in the original book
“ordered that Isaac Baxter sheriff be allowed the Sum of $19.01⁄2 for making new Doors & Plank nails, lock, & repairs to Corner & c of the Jail as per his a/c rendered & that he be allowed the same out of the county tax & c.”

26 November, 1821
“On motion ordered that I.B. Sheriff be allowed the sum of $1.50 for 3 necessary tubs furnished for Jail by said I.B.”

27 August, 1822
“ordered that Caleb Etheridge furnish materials to repair the Jail & employ some carpenters to perform the work…”

28 May, 1823
“ordered that Caleb Etheridge examine County Jail & fix on someplace for a house & wall to be attached to the Jail…for safe keeping of Prisoners confined therein…”

25 November, 1823
“Commissioners to contract with Jeremiah Land for a Lot of Ground adjoining the jail, also that they contract with some person or persons for stones to repair & build a wall around the County Jail…”

(No minutes May 1832- February 1838)

27 November, 1838
“John C. Hatfield be authorized & directed forth with to Erect a comfortable stove in the room in which Esther Toller is now confined in Jail & to coxey the pipe through the victualing hole & Jailor of the county is ordered to furnish fuel of quality & quantity sufficient to keep her comfortable during the time of her imprisonment.”

25 May, 1840
“John C. Hatfield & Benjamin T. Simmons be appointed to have the Jail and such repairs on the courthouse as they may deem expedient.”

30 August, 1847
“ordered that Tully Williams be allowed the Sum of $23.50 for timber &c to Repair the Jail- ordered that Joseph Dey be allowed the Sum of $138.60 for Repairing Jail.”

ordered that Samuel B. Dozier be appointed to Sell the Shingles plank lead and other articles not used in Repairing the Jail on a Credit of three months and Report to the next Term of this Court.”

28 February, 1848
“ordered that Joseph Dey be allowed the Sum of $2. 20/100 for Iron work on Jail in 1847.”

24 February, 1857
“Report of Grand Jurors on Jail

The Jurors for the State upon a view & examination of the Jail in Said county, beg leave to report to your Worships that the Jail is in a very bad Condition being in the opinion of Said Jurors insecure & insufficient for the Safe Custody of Criminals that may be ordered there for Safe keeping, the dungeons having holes in them Sufficiently large to allow the escape of prisoners that may be therein Confined.

C. B. Foreman”

26 May, 1857
“ordered by the Court, that the Building Commissioners for the County Jail take bond and Security in the Sum of two thousand Dollars for the proper building of Said Jail, according to the estimate: amt of Contract being $1000.”

1 September, 1857
“ordered that Joseph Winslow be allowed the Sum of Three hundred & five dollars for taking down the Jail, Attention, extra work on C.H. & drawing Contract.”
1 December, 1857
“ordered by the Court that the Sheriff of Currituck pay over to Benjamin S. Dey & William F. Baxter Commissioners the Sum of Fifteen hundred and one dollars and Eighty Cents to be by them disbursed in payment of balance [pc]t of repairs to Court House & for costs of rebuilding the Jail.”

28 August, 1860
“ordered by the Court that the Sheriff procure proper locks for Jail.”

26 February, 1861
“Examination of the Jail by Grand Jury;

We the Jurors for the State of North Carolina Currituck County have examined the Jail and find it in Good Condition with the exception of the locks. Wm C. Mercer Foreman.”

26 November, 1866
“ordered by the Court that J.W. Baxter be allowed for making Jail door & twenty dollars for repairs of his office & table in the Same for his office- Twenty five dollars.”

Notes from the Minute Docket of the Board of County Commissioners Vol. I 1868 - 1891:

7 February, 1870 p.22
“ordered by the Board of Commissioners that Edmund Summons deliver the Jail keys to the Sheriff, & the sheriff immediately take charge of the prison.”

7 November, 1870 p.35
“ordered by the Board of Commissioners that the Jailer or Jail keeper by allowed fifty-cents per day for feeing each person lodged in jail.

In obedience to Chapter 154, of the Public Laws of 1869-70, the following Questions were asked by the Board of Public Charities & answered by the Board Commissioners viz:

1. How many prisoners under sentence on Oct 1, 1870: none
3. “ “ convicted prisoners: 3
4. “ “ charged with what crime:
   Intent to kill- 2, Larceny- 1
5. “ “ males- 3; Females- none
6. “ “ white- none; colored- 3
7. “ “ cannot read: 3
8. “ “ can read: none
9. “ “ can read & write: none
10. “ “ are temperate: don’t know
11. “ “ drink moderately: don’t know
12. “ “ are drunkard: don’t know
13. Is crime on the increase in your country- Not
14. What crimes are most prevalent: Stealing
15. From what class or classes are the criminals: colored
16. Is there any prejudice against any class or classes of persons that would hinder them of a fair trial in your county: None.
17. Is there any reason to believe that any class or classes of men could not be convicted of crime in your county though guilty: No.
18. What was the cost to your county during the last yr for apprehension, trial & maintenance or persons charges with crime: 600 dollars.

6 May, 1872, p. 71
“ordered that H.E. Baxter be, and is hereby authorized to repair the jail, and take away the stock in the front of the C.H.”

7 August, 1876, p.122 in old version, p. 90 in transcribed version
“ordered that Dennis Brabble be allowed $10.50 for cleaning the courthouse & jail Augt 7.”

16 June, 1880, p. 173/ p. 110
“Board of Commissioners met on the 16th of June for the purpose of considering the sane or insane condition of Frank Vaughn Cold, now imprisoned in the County Jail for Lunacy.”

1 December, 1884, p. 242/ p. 134
“ordered that the keeping of the County Jail be let to the lowest bidder on the 1st Monday in Feby 1885 & that clerk advertise the same.”

2 May, 1887, p. 290/ p. 151
“ordered that the register sell the material left after repairing the County Jail.”
*side note: “Poyner offers $1.50 for bricks and cement.”

5 March, 1888, p. 311/ p. 160
“ordered that W.H. Kinsey make a new key for the outside jail lock.”

1 October, 1888
“ordered that the Sheriff have the Jail thoroughly cleaned & the bedding washed.”
3 June, 1889, p. 339/ p. 124  
“ordered that A.R. Pitts be paid his bill of $3.00 for mending Jail locks.

2 December, 1889  
“ordered that Wilson Walker be paid $6.50 on account of Jail fees. Thomas Fletcher, imprisonment for 13 days.”

March Term, 1889, p. 352/ p. 182  
“E.L. Graves witness in case State vs. Court White & Josephus Baum for a contempt of Court (drunk) fined $25.”

Fall Term, 1889, p. 352/ p. 182  
“Frazier Baker indited [sic] and found guilty of fornication & adultery at this term- judgm’t be confined in jail 3 months or pay a fine of $50- he was put in jail & bonded out.”

March, 1890, p. 361/ p. 186  
“$1.50 be paid to Daniel Harris for work on Jail.”

January, 1891, p.387/ p. 201  
“Sheriff purchase stove & Jail fixtures for jail not to exceed in cost $25.00.”

January, 1891, p. 388/ p.202  
“$14.00 paid to C.H. Toler & Others acct conveying John Beasley Lunatic to Jail.”

Notes from the Board of County Commissioners Minute Docket Vol. II May 1891- 1916:

7 September, 1891  
“Ordered that 37 ½ cents per day be allowed the jailor for each prisoner put in his change to be kept in County Jail.”

3 April, 1893  
“ordered $21.00 Edward Tillett Shff. acct. summoning 69 jurors and taking prisoners from jail.”

“ordered Wilson Walker acct. 18 days board for prisoner David Etheridge, ¼ cord of wood and joint stove pipe.”

2 April 1894, p.67  
“ordered $3.75 J.W. Brabble acct. 9 days for parties in Jail ¼ cord wood putting window in C.H.”

15 October, 1894  
“$11.50 J.W. Brabble Shingling Clerk’s office $10.00 and $1.50 Jail fee acct. J.M. Thomas.”

3 June, 1895, p. 93  
“$12.25 J W Brabble, jail fees.”

7 October, 1895  
“$12.40 E.R. Johnson and company acct. 23 days board prisoner and sundry items for jail.”

6 January, 1896, p.108  
“$12.70 E.R. Johnson &c. acct. miles Mercer prisoner, & wood for Jail.”

3 February, 1896, p.111  
“$3.00 L. Roberts acct. guarding Lunatic Luster Fisher and bringing him to the jail

$2.00 for Luke Banco for guarding Luster Fisher and bringing him to the jail

2 November, 1896, p.127  
“$17.50 E.R. Johnson and co. 30 days board in jail for Garret Baxter and $1.05 worth of medicine for Henry Taylor. Jail fees 60 cents.”

3 December, 1900, p.187  
“Jail fees for Brown Garner.”

6 May, 1901, p.197  
“$32.30 E.R. Johnson acct jail fees for John Hamall (Cal) Dick ---- Matthew Williams, and Will Bunk, all colored – see bill filed”

3 June, 1901, p.200  
“E.R. Johnson acct 1 month board for 2 prisoners, $15 each.”

1 July, 1901, p.201  
“$3.50 paid E.R. Johnson 7 days board for 2 prisoners.”

5 Aug, 1901, p.203  
“$10.10 E.R. Johnson acct. Prison Caleb Forbes for 10 days.”

7 October, 1901, p.208  
“$7.37 E.R. Johnson acct. for C. H. Jail Fees.”

3 March, 1901, p.217  
“$22.82 E.R. Johnson prisoners John Achiss and Wm Beasley and mase [?] for jail.”
2 June, 1902, p.224
“$30.73 E.R. Johnson Jail Board and company. See audit book C.”

4 Sept, 1902
“$3.00 T. W . Achiss acct. watching jail to not let prisoners escape. 3 nights.”

4 May, 1903, p.249
“$12.95 E.R. Johnson acct 24 days board for prisoner, Walter Bennett, well bucket, pad lock, towel and soap and tobacco.”

7 September, 1903, p.260
“17.60 E.R. Johnson prisoner in jail and company, see audit book.”

3 October, 1904, p.289
“$103.90 T.J. Taylor, Repairs for jail, see audit book for items.”

7 November, 1904, p.290
“$57.21 T.J. Taylor, Repairs for jail, see audit book for items.”

4 June, 1906, p.340
“$18.50 Isaac Doxey Jr. 25 days board for prisoners.”

6 August, 1906, p.344
“$17.80 Isaac Doxey Jr. 35 days board in jail for prisoner Wm Booker and washing clothes.”

3 September, 1906, p.346
“$1.25 Columbus Doxey, Repairs in Jail.”

1 October, 1906, p.347
“$3.10 Isaac Doxey board of prisoners.”

3 December, 1906, p.352
“E.R. Johnson supplies to jail and court house $28.10.”

9 January, 1907, p.353
“Ordered that the Clerk of Board write to the Van [Dorne] Iron Works for prices ad specifications of steel cages for cells for jail.”

3 April, 1906, p.359
“Mr. George G. Smith representing the Pauley Jail Building Company was present and presented his plans and specifications [together] with the contract for the repairs and putting in Steel cells in said Currituck Co. jail. The said proposition was voted on after due consideration by the said Board. E.R. Johnson voted to accept the plans & specifications in said contract, Moses Lee voted to refuse said plans and contract.”

12 June, 1907, p.365
“George W. Smith representing the Pauley Jail Building Company of MO appeared before the Board and submitted plans, specifications, and a contract for the repairs of the county Jail of Currituck County. After due consideration a vote was taken and W.H. White & E. R. Johnson voted to accept the plans and specifications. Moses Lee voted to reject them. There being a majority favoring the plans. The same were accepted and awarded the said Pauley Jail Building Co. the contract for the work there in specified at thirty three hundred ($3,300.00) Dollars.

13 November, 1907, p.373
“E.R. Johnson, Chair & Moses Lee present, and the following business was transacted, the county jail was examined by E.R. Johnson, chair, and Moses Lee of the Board of Commissioners and T.J. Taylor and E.E. Walker of the building committee and upon a report of said committee the same was accepted and ordered paid for in the following manner:

It is ordered that two County orders be issued to the Pauley Jail Building Co. of Five hundred dollars, each to meet the payment of one thousand dollars, which was, as per contract due Nov 4 1907. It is ordered that one County order of Six hundred and Fifty dollars to meet the payment due January 6 1908 and one other County order of six hundred & fifty dollars, be issued to said Jail Building Co to meet the payment due March 20 1908. It is ordered that above mentioned four orders be turned over to T.W. Wells the authorized representative of the Pauley Jail Building Co. It is ordered that upon the Board issue two County Bonds of even date, here with, for the five hundred dollars each to fall due respectively on the 13th day of Nov. 1909 and Nov. 13th 1910 to meet the payment of the remaining one thousand dollars, due on said Jail Work.”

2 December, 1907, p.374
“Ordered that sale of lumber taken from Co. jail and sold at public auction.”

3 February, 1908, p.377
“Isaac Doxey three days board and turn key for jail $1.80”
3 August, 1908, p.385
“Isaac Doxey expenses of prisoners as per bill filed.
$14.60”

5 October, 1908, p.390
“Isaac Doxey boarding prisoners and serving subpoenas
for grand jury $5.30”

1 January, 1909, p.397
“$2.00 board for 3 prisoners for Jany [sic] 1909.”

5 April, 1909, p.400
“board of prisoners $21.00”

6 December, 1909, p.415
“Ordered by the Board that the treasures pay $500.00
amount of bond with interest from Nov. 13th 1908
issued by Board of Commissioners on 13th day of Nov.
1907 to Pauly Jail Building Co. due 13th day of Nov.
1909.”

3 January, 1910, p.417
“Elizabeth City Iron Works $14.81”
*also reference to female prisoner

4 April, 1910, p.421
‘E.E. Walker $22.00 for 2 tons of coal furnished Jail and
Registers Office.”

4 July, 1910
“It is ordered by the Board of Commissioners...that
enough of the special fund to pay the Pauley Jail
Building Co

2 October, 1911, p.463
“E.R. Johnson goods furnished Jail & C.H. as per bill
filed $15.89.”

2 June, 1913, p.504
“Ordered that E.E. Walker buy material to build & install
a cess pool back of the jail to receive the waste from
same.”

4 August, 1913, p.511
“E.E. Walker material for cess pool: $43.85, fitting for
same: $2.01. Hauling material from landing: $4.00, 200
ft.: $3.00. Extra Labor: $7.00, 5 days labor @ $3.50:
$17.50. [Front] on material: $15.00. 3 lbs cement: $6.75
$85.61.

2 February, 1914, p.526
“E.E. Walker… fixing jail: $3.00.”

2 October, 1916, p. 595
“Dr. F. M. [Miller], health officer for Currituck County,
makes report as to the sanitary condition of jail, and
reported same in good condition.”

Notes from the Board of County
Commissioners Minute Docket Vol.III 1916-
1929:

7 October, 1918, p. 71
“Ordered the Sheriff to get from the County Home for
use at the Jail, or 4 pairs of blankets.”

April, 1920, p. 128
“Board ordered purchased 10 gal. Of resin featured for
its use in courthouse & jail.”

7 March, 1924, p. 313
“Report of the Grand Jury:
We have visited the County Jail & find it in fair
condition.”

6 October, 1924, p. 353
“We have investigated the County Jail & find it in a poor
sanitary condition.”

March, 1925, p. 372 from the Superior Court
“We made an inspection of the County jail and find it in
good condition, clean & fairly sanitary.’

4 March, 1929, p. 522 from the Grand Jury
“We have visited the Count Jail, and find it in very bad
condition- very dirty, and very poor water system. Roof
also needs repair.”
25 March, 1929, p. 528
“The jail was examined and further action was deferred until first Monday in April.”

Letter from Inspector to Commissioner (found in between pgs. 546& 547)
“The condition of the Jails in Camden, Currituck, and Pasquotank are such that they do not meet with the requirements of the state jail laws and regulations governing the sanitary management.”

Notes from the Board of County Commissioners Minute Docket Vol. IV 1929-1951:

7 September 1929 p.2 from the Superior Court
“To the Hall, N.C. St. Clair Judge Presidency:
We the Grand Jury, of said time, report as follows: After a thorough examination of the Courthouse we find that it is in fair condition, the Court Office and Register of Deeds’ office properly equipped.

We have examined the jail and find it is in a deplorable condition. We find that it is improperly lighted and very unsanitary and that prisoners are not examined by a physician as prescribed by law.

In order to remedy said conditions we recommend that the jail be thoroughly renovated, that the walls be repaired, and repainted, that a heating system suffered to maintain the comfort of the inmates be installed, that new bunks and bedclothing be furnished, that a modern water system consisting of toilets, lavatories, and drinking fountains be installed and inspected regularly by the County Commissioners of their regular monthly meetings.

Respectfully Submitted
Carl Brunnsey

Board ordered clerk to correspond with Mr. L.G. Whitley chief sanitary inspector, Raleigh N.C, and ask that the State representative meet the Board of County Commissioners at the first convenient time and assist the board in preparing to repair and remodel the County jail.

Letter was in the hands of clerk from the Pauley Jail Building Company, of St. Louis giving prices on window guards for the jail but no action was taken, awaiting the arrival of the State Sanitary Inspector.”

2 November, 1929, p. 4
“The Board of the C.C. met today in special session with all members present. The purpose of the meeting was to hear C.G. Whitney of the State Board of Health who is chief sanitary inspector, discuss the jail situations in the county. He asked that certain immediate improvements be made as follows:

1. give jail more light by an additional window
2. improve the sewage
3. improve the heating system
4. paint cells so as to stop corrosion
5. provide mattresses, cots, slips

Mr. Whitley promise that the State Department would not interfere if the above improvements were made until 1931, and at that time arrangements should have been made to build a new jail at Currituck or a district jail including the counties east of the Chowan River. The board promised to make actions in the near future and notify the State Board how they would dispose of the situation.”

18 November, 1929, p.6
“The Board of C.C. met. The purpose of the meeting was to hire some capable man to take charge of the jail improvements work. After the matter was discussed, it was decided to employ H.E. Bruden of Coinjock N.C. to take work in charge and agreed on paying him $4.00 per day. When other employ was needed by him he was given authority to hire them, but at all times his work to be in accord with the wishes of the Board.”

6 January, 1930, p.12
“The Board of C.C. met, with members present. This being a regular monthly meeting unanimously voted upon it was resolved to amend the General Fund Budget $2000.00 for the purpose of repairing the jail.”

31 January, 1930, p.14
“The purpose of the meeting was to review the jail work that has been in progress and plan for further improvements. H.E. Bruden was ordered to conclude his repair work in the jail and then prepare the necessary buildings outside to house the water system that will be later installed and to prepare the present outdoor toilet so proper toilets can be installed in them.”

7 February, 1930, p.16
“The purpose of the meeting was to arrive at something with respect to having the sewer system compiled in the Jail and the toilets at the courthouse.”
12 February, 1930, p.16
“This being the day to retrieve bids for the plumbing and wiring job on the Jail and Courthouse. The bids were open and Hopnius Bros., Elizabeth City N.C. was the lowest and best bid on the plumbing job according to specifications agreed upon. E.G. Middleton, Norfolk VA was bidder for wiring job.

1 September, 1930, p. 36
“The Grand Jury made the following report:
“We have attended to all matter directed by the solicitor. We have visited the jail and found it in satisfactory condition.”

3 November, 1930, p. 43
“The board took matter and agreed to hire someone to care for the courthouse and the jail daily- to do particular work at and around the Courthouse and jail.”

March Term, 1932, p. 86 from the Superior Court
“We have visited the County jail and find it in good condition.”

5 September, 1938, p. 274
“W.S. Gregory, be and is authorized to execute and file an application … for a grant to aid in financing the construction of addition to and remodeling of present courthouse including heating of jail.”

3 October, 1938, p. 279
“And, whereas, the Currituck County Jail is in such condition as not to be up to standard for the safety and health of prisoners and inmates therein confined, with respect to the heating facilities, and, whereas, it is necessary that both the Courthouse and the Jail be equipped with more modern heating equipment and with running water and sanitary closets. Improvements to Courthouse and Jail said to cost $ 15,000.00”

24 October, 1938, p. 287
“Order of Governing body of Currituck County relative to the insurance of $12,500.00 in bonds.

1. Bonds of the county shall be issued to the max aggregate principal amount of $12,500.00 for the purpose of repairing the courthouse and jail and for erecting an addition to the present courthouse.”

May, 1939, p. 317
“In accordance with Grand Jury's report and upon motion by Powers seconded by Fisher and unanimously carried it was ordered that a fire alarm be installed in the jail with a switch convenient to each cell; providing it could be done at a cost of approximately $20.00.”

5 June, 1939, p. 321
“It was authorized by the Board that a fire alarm be installed for the jail in accordance with Grand Jury recommendations. Cost of same estimated to be approx. $ 45.00.”

2 October, 1939, p. 348
“It was authorized by the Board that Mr. W.C. Ezell, Director, Division of Institutions and Corrections, Raleigh, N.C. be invited to appear before them Monday, Nov. 6, 1939, at about 2:00 pm to discuss probable changes for light and ventilation of the jail.”

6 November, 1939
“After inspection, he state that he could not approve said jail, but offered suggestions as to making a better jail, such as a new window in the West end, enlarging the window in the east end, replacing flat bars in the present windows with round bars, and perhaps the installation of a shower.”

14 April, 1950, p. 508
“It was decided that they would secure an estimate for the following repairs to jail:
New roof- fireproof or resistant of a permanent nature. Roof sheathed and all rotten material replaced and papered. Plaster cell walls that need it. Waterproof outside and fix all cracks inside and out. Painted.”

1 May, 1950, p. 497
“The bid of Mr. Cecil A. Raper to repair the jail in the amount of $670.75 was discussed, and motion was made by Mr. Roberts to accept Mr. Raper's bid, and to notify him to start work as early as possible. That motion was seconded by Mr. West and unanimously carried.”

8 May, 1950, from Clerk’s file 1948-1950
“Board paid $670.75 for repairs to the jail to Mr. Raper.”

5 June, 1950, p. 557
“The repair work at the jail was examined and accepted.”
“It having been reported to the Clerk to the Board, by Mr. C.G. Wallace, VA Electric & Power Company’s linesman, that the wiring in the jail was bad and needed re-wiring, the clerk reported this to the board. The matter was tabled until another meeting.”
7 April, 1950, p. 567
“Wiring in the jail to be supervised by Mr. Edward Roberts.”

Miscellaneous Clerk Files, 1948-1950:

11 April, 1950
“Oh March 29 jail inspected, interior needed new plastering, painting, including cells, reconstruction of windows so glass will be put on the outside of bars to enable prisoners freedom of runway around cell block.

Old burned out coal stove should be removed and replaced with an oil stove with storage tank on outside of building.”

5 September, 1950
“$168.63 paid to Mr. Simpson for wiring the jail.”

Disbursement Register, Currituck County, 1933-1934:

5 September, 1932
Elizabeth City Iron Works and Supply $2.67
E.R. Johnson $4.95 Jail
R.A. Duncan $112.88 Jail

3 October, 1932
E.R. Johnson $10.80 Jail

7 November, 1932
R.A. Duncan $76.88 Jail Expense
E.R. Johnson $8.90 Jail Expense

5 December, 1932
E.R. Johnson $9.49 Jail Expense
R.A. Duncan $73.80 Jail Expense
E.R. Johnson and R.A. Duncan – Regular payments

1 February, 1933
Currituck Fuel Co. $17.00 Jail
Standard Oil Co. $5.00 Jail

6 March, 1933
Hopkins Brothers $9.00 Jail

3 April, 1933
Currituck Fuel Co. $4.25 Jail

30 June, 1933
Standard Oil Co. $5.40 Jail
Appendix 2

Drawings