

## CHAPTER 6:

### A COUNTY DIVIDED: BERTIE COUNTY FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE COLLASPE OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1861 - 1877

At the start of the Civil War in Bertie County as in the rest of North Carolina and the Confederacy there was no solid South. Blacks both slave and free tended to be pro-Union and since 59.4 percent of the county's population was black, white supporters of the war, who were in the minority, remained fearful throughout the conflict (Figure 6.1). Even among the county's whites there was division during the war.<sup>1</sup>

White Southerners who opposed the war showed their opposition in many ways. Some moved north and joined the Union Army to fight for the Union. Some moved west to avoid the war altogether. Others chose to remain in their home states and counties and wage war for Union where they were. Pockets of resistance to secession and the Confederacy have been well documented throughout the Appalachian mountains of eastern Tennessee, Northern Alabama and Georgia, and western North Carolina and Virginia. In fact West Virginias were so opposed to secession and the "Planters War" that they refused to give up their seats in Congress and seceded from Virginia, earning statehood as a reward after the war.<sup>2</sup> Violent clashes between pro-Union southern guerrillas and Confederate soldiers are also well documented in these counties. However in the east it has been assumed even by local people that support for the war was nearly unanimous.<sup>3</sup>

When the war began, Lincoln gathered his advisors together to come up with a plan to defeat the South and preserve the Union. The resulting plan became known as the Anaconda Plan. This plan held three main objectives: to blockade southern ports using the Navy; to gain control of the Mississippi River and cut the Confederacy in two; and to

capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. The first objective, blockading and capturing southern ports, began by August 1861 in North Carolina. This task became a joint Army and Navy exercise, carried out by Major Generals Benjamin Franklin Butler and Ambrose Everett Burnside and Commodore Silas H. Stringham.<sup>4</sup>

Their goal was to seize control of the forts on the Outer Banks, which would give them control of the Currituck, Albemarle, Pamlico, Core and Bogue Sounds and the Chowan, Roanoke, Tar-Pamlico and Neuse-Trent Rivers that emptied into them (Figure 6.2).<sup>5</sup> By December of 1861, Butler and his men, with the support of Commodore Stringham and support of loyal whites and Blacks living in the coastal counties, won control of Hatteras on the Outer Banks of North Carolina where he declared slaves who were under his control as “contraband” which he not only refused to return to slave holders but he armed and used as soldiers and laborers to support his advance. He captured Hatteras and the Hatteras Inlet in late August of 1861 opening the Outer Banks, sounds, and eastern North Carolina to Burnside’s attacks. Which included forts on Roanoke Island, the Outer Banks, and ending in at New Bern and Beaufort.<sup>6</sup>

Burnside then proceeded to attack, raid and confiscate materials such as food and supplies from forts and towns from Elizabeth City to Williamston in northeastern North Carolina. As a result the residents of Bertie County were heavily involved in the Civil War from the start of the conflict.<sup>7</sup> The county, in conjunction with the neighboring counties of Hertford, North Hampton and Martin, fought off coastal attacks and defended the Roanoke-Chowan River valleys. Most of the residents of Bertie County supported the Confederacy with money, military service and labor.<sup>8</sup> Many plantation owners in Bertie feared that the huge Union Army, which was camped at New Bern and had control of all of eastern North Carolina by way of the Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, would

raid their plantations for supplies and destroy what they could not use. In fact there were raids on Windsor, Winton, Washington, Williamston, Hamilton, Plymouth, Edenton, and Elizabeth City during the war.<sup>9</sup>

After 1863, fighting involving both black and white residents of Bertie County took place on the Chowan, Cashie and Roanoke Rivers, at Winton, Windsor, Plymouth, Williamston, and Hamilton where North Carolina erected Fort Branch. Union troops, including many runaway slaves from Bertie County, battled the sons of slaveholders from the county for control of the fertile Roanoke River Valley, which supplied Lee's Army of Northern Virginia with vital foodstuffs. To defend the Roanoke River valley the Confederates in North Carolina constructed Fort Branch on the south side of the Roanoke River in the town of Hamilton. Fort Branch was adjacent to Indian Woods and was built from February to October of 1862. To block Union gun boats from supporting their ground forces attacking Williamston and Hamilton the Roanoke River by Bertie County was obstructed with a gigantic linked chain, mined with torpedoes, and guarded by a rifle pit with sharp shooters who killed Union soldiers attempting to remove either the chain or the torpedoes. No Union gun boats ever made it beyond this point, but if they had, they would have been met by the heavy guns of Fort Branch, which was staffed by whites from Bertie County (Figure 6.3).<sup>10</sup> Because many of the Confederate soldiers stationed at Fort Branch were from Bertie County, civilians from there often laundered their clothes, brought them meals, and performed other tasks for them.<sup>11</sup> Fort Branch was maintained until the end of the War in 1865. The fort was then abandoned, and the cannons were thrown into the river to avoid confiscation by the advancing Union Army in 1865.<sup>12</sup>

North Carolina Confederate soldiers including some from Bertie County were involved in the first battles of the war when members of the North Carolina First

Regiment, on June 10, 1861, in the first battle of the Civil War, soundly defeated a larger Federal Army under Major General Benjamin F. Butler at Big Bethel near Yorktown, Virginia.<sup>13</sup> Later, some were present when three North Carolina regiments were involved in the rout of Federal troops at First Manassas on July 21 of the same year, under General Irvin McDowell. In fact, in spite of the state's reluctance to fight and its position as the last to secede, it lost more men in the conflict than any other southern state.<sup>14</sup>

At the start of the Civil War Bertie County's total population was 14,310. Of this number 59.4 percent were blacks who along with a number of poor whites supported the Union during the war by being spies, scouts, and soldiers.<sup>15</sup> In all the Union raised four regiments of white Union troops wholly or partly in eastern North Carolina. A number of whom were held and died in the notorious Confederate Prison in Georgia called Andersonville (Figure 6.4). These whites who were called "Buffaloes" by local Confederates made up several regiments including the First Regiment North Carolina Union Volunteers, Second Regiment North Carolina Union Volunteers, Second Regiment North Carolina Mounted Infantry, and Third Regiment North Carolina Mounted Infantry. William David Thomas of Bertie was enlisted in Company B, Second Regiment North Carolina Union Volunteers escaped capture at Plymouth on October 10, 1863 and transferred to Company I, First Regiment North Carolina Union Volunteers he was mustered out of service on June 27, 1865 at New Bern (Figure 6.5).<sup>16</sup> Black Union troops served in at least eight regiments including the Thirty-fifth Regiment USCT, 34 men; Thirty-sixth Regiment USCT, 73 men; Fourteenth Regiment U.S.C. Heavy Artillery, 172 men; First Regiment U. S. Colored Cavalry, 2 men; Second Regiment U. S. Colored Cavalry 22; Eighty-fifth Regiment New York Infantry, 2 men; 103<sup>rd</sup> Regiment Pennsylvania Infantry, 2 men. The most well known of these soldiers from Bertie was

Parker D. Robbins who was a free black who enlisted in the second Regiment U.S.C. Calvary. Parker was appointed a Sergeant Major and was the highest ranking black from Bertie County to serve in the Union Army. He was mustered out of service at Brazos Santiago, Texas on February 12, 1866 (Figure 6.6).<sup>17</sup> Of the fifty-seven Bertie County men who served in the U.S. Navy during the war, forty-nine were blacks and eight were whites. These sailors served aboard over twenty-four gunboats of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron which patrolled the sounds and rivers of eastern North Carolina, primarily slowing and stopping the movement of Confederate arms, men, and supplies. They also rescued runaway slaves, conscription evaders, the families of Union Soldiers and white refugees who were fleeing the fighting by boat. Many of these people ended up in Edenton across the Chowan River from Bertie County by 1862 the city was under Union Control and heavily fortified against Confederate attacks.<sup>18</sup>

The majority of white men from Bertie chose to fight for the Confederacy and were in over 37 departments, regiments, and in the Bertie County Militia and Homeguard. Dr. W. R. Capehart, of Avoca on Salmon Creek, whose family after the war would help develop the herring fish industry in the county was a surgeon during the war (Figure 6.7) and David Outlaw's son Edward of Indian Woods served as a captain in the Confederate Army during the war, leaving his plantation to be run by his wife and trusted slave. There was also one Black from the county who was known for his Confederate service (Figure 6.8). Benjamin Gray served as a powder boy aboard the Confederate ironclad Albemarle and was granted a pension by the state of North Carolina for his service during the war.<sup>19</sup> This is worth noting because during the war from 1861 to 1865 whites in Bertie County actually placed added restriction on slaves and free blacks living in the county to prevent slaves from revolting or running away. These restrictions limited

free blacks' and slaves' ability to travel, gather in groups even to worship, or have contact with loved ones living on nearby plantations. The restrictions made it easier however for the remaining few white men not called to serve in the Confederate Army to control the county's huge slave population which had outnumbered the white population in the county since 1800.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of restrictions on movement and gatherings slaves were able to maintain contact with one another during the war by using what they called the "Grape Vine."<sup>21</sup> The "Grape Vine" was a sophisticated system of passing information from plantation to plantation by word of mouth. With this system information could be passed freely when slaves were sent on errands by their masters or were secretly visiting friends and family throughout the war. As a result, from the start of the war slaves were very much aware that there was a great war taking place and that they were at the center of it. Slaves in Bertie County, eastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia would use the "Grape Vine" very effectively as spies for the Union and to pass on information about the war to each other in the region.<sup>22</sup>

The Union naval blockade and attacks on forts and towns in eastern North Carolina and Bertie and Martin Counties including Windsor, Winton, Indian Woods, Williamston, and Hamilton, from 1861 to 1863 greatly concerned the slave owners of Bertie. Because most plantation owners were dependent on the Cashie, Roanoke, and Chowan Rivers to transport their tobacco and cotton to the towns of Windsor and Edenton and then on to European markets, the capture of coastal forts like Plymouth and attacks on these towns caused them to become alarmed.<sup>23</sup> For slaves, and white Unionists however, it meant they did not have to take dangerous overland routes avoiding Confederate patrols to Union lines but could float down the Cashie, Roanoke, and

Chowan Rivers to Union lines in and along the Albemarle Sound and the coast. The slaves and Union supporters were encouraged even more when between January and July of 1862 Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and Admiral L.M. Goldsborough captured Roanoke Island, Elizabeth City, Winton and Edenton, across the Albemarle Sound from Bertie County.<sup>24</sup> By July, General Burnside had also gained control of New Bern, Washington, Plymouth, Havelock, Carolina City, Morehead City, Fort Macon and Beaufort.<sup>25</sup> With these victories, the Union successfully won control of eastern North Carolina. General Burnside then established his headquarters at New Bern.<sup>26</sup>

During these battles for control of eastern North Carolina and Bertie county it is worth noting that many of the county's residents who served in the Union Army were aided by Tuscarora Indians who along with the other members of the six nations joined the Union Army during the war. Many of these Tuscarora although they could prove their ancestry, were forced to fight with the U.S. Colored Troops because many appeared to be Black.<sup>27</sup> Other Tuscarora from the state, particularly Robeson County, distinguished themselves during the war as fierce fighters. The most famous, or infamous if you were white, of these Tuscarora was Henry Berry Lowery of Roberson County, North Carolina. Lowery, who was part Tuscarora, and his men terrorized whites in Robeson county and the state after the killing of his father and brother by local white Confederates during the war. For six years he and his men, at least one of whom was of Tuscarora-African ancestry lived in the swamps of the county and hunted down and killed nearly all of the men who participated in the slaying of his family or sought the \$10,000 dollar bounty placed on his head by the state of North Carolina. Although members of his group, including another of his brothers, were killed, Lowery was never captured and disappeared into legend by the early 1870s.<sup>28</sup>

Wherever Union troops marched in eastern North Carolina they encountered large numbers of slaves. Many of these slaves served as spies or were willing to do anything to assist the advancing Union troops. Although Butler and Burnside were instructed to return runaway slaves by Lincoln, both men felt the policy of returning slaves to the enemy was counter productive. They also felt that the armies in the field could make better use of the slaves as laborers for the Union cause.<sup>29</sup> Although slaves in Bertie County were aware of Union successes in eastern North Carolina from 1861 to 1862, they remained quiet and cautious rather than escaping to Union lines only to be returned to their angry masters or put in filthy disease ridden internment camps. However, when Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862 following the Battle of Antietam in Maryland, more slaves flooded into Union held cities or created all black towns, for protection against confederate soldiers. Blacks also joined the Union army. Once safe behind Union lines in areas like New Bern, slaves from all over eastern North Carolina, including Bertie County, sought protection in all African-American communities such as James City.<sup>30</sup>

Black and white union troops from Bertie County were also used to defend New Bern on February 1, 1864, when Robert E. Lee asked President Jefferson Davis to launch an attack on the city to capture much needed supplies stored there by Union soldiers.<sup>31</sup> With the support of these troops from Bertie this attack was foiled. One of the most well known battles during the war involving black troops from Bertie County occurred from April 17 - 20, 1864 at Plymouth.<sup>32</sup> On April 17th over seven thousand confederate soldiers surrounded fort Plymouth. One day later an Ironclad christened "The Albemarle" steamed down the Roanoke River past Bertie County from Edwards Ferry, where it had been constructed. With the help of the Ironclad, the Confederates were able to sink and



drive off U.S. naval ships that guarded Plymouth and the mouth of the Roanoke River. Without the support of Union naval artillery, the fort was soon overrun by Confederate forces.<sup>33</sup>

After accepting the surrender of Union troops a number of whom were Buffaloes from Bertie County Confederate troops proceeded to massacre Black troops, many of whom were from Bertie and surrounding counties. Although area whites deny this today descendants of black Union soldiers who survived the battle and massacre by escaping into the swamps as did some white soldiers insist that it did occur.<sup>34</sup> With the help of Union naval reinforcements and the crippling of the ironclad Albemarle at the “Battle of Batchelor’s Bay” on May 5, 1864, Plymouth was retaken and remained under Union control for the rest of the war.<sup>35</sup> The Battle of Plymouth however, demonstrates the courage and bravery of the county’s former slaves who joined and fought in the Union Army. For unlike whites, if blacks were caught in Union uniforms, as a rule they were killed by Confederate soldiers throughout the South. The Confederate Congress, upon hearing of Lincoln’s move to enlist Blacks, mandated this action as early as 1863. As slaves were aware of the movement of Confederate and Union forces, they were also aware of this brutal fact but still signed up and fought for their freedom. Therefore, as with the 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, and black soldiers at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, who were massacred by Nathan Bedford Forrest, there was no surrender for them.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of this blacks from the county enlisted and fought from 1863 until the end of the war in 1865. Six of those soldiers who served after the war married and settled in the Indian Woods township where they became founding members of Indian Woods Baptist and Spring Hill Baptist Churches. Their graves are marked in the church

cemeteries with military head stones including; Robert Smallwood of Company I 14th U. S. C.H. A., Luke Smallwood, Company I, 14th U. S. C.H.A., Sgt. Eli Jones, Company E 37th U. S. C.I., Rich D. Whitaker, Company I 14th U. S. C.H. A., Lewis Williams, Company C 14th U. S. C. H. A., and Corpl. Joseph Cherry, who was buried with other veterans of the war in a slave cemetery, Company K 35th U. S. C. I.<sup>37</sup>

Corpl. Cherry's grandson, Lord Cornwallis Cherry, who still lived in Bertie County when this book was published stated in a tape recorded interview,

“ My Granddaddy, Joseph Cherry, was a slave but when the war started he ran away and joined the Union Army to fight to free his family. During the war he was wounded but fought on, and when he ran out of bullets yelled for more to continue fighting. After the war, having been wounded, he was given a pension by the Army and used it to buy a small farm in Spring Hill.”<sup>38</sup>

Mr. Cherry, who was 78 years old at the time of the interview, continued saying that the white soldiers were so impressed with his grandfather's bravery that they began to cheer together, “A Bullet for Cherry!” After the war Corpl. Joseph Cherry purchased land in the Spring Hill area of the Indian Woods township which his grandson Lord Cornwallis Cherry still possesses. L. C. Cherry also still has his grandfather's tombstone, which he saved when the slave cemetery which marked his grandfather's and other slaves and civil war veterans burial site was bulldozed for farming land in 1980 by a local white farmer.<sup>39</sup> When the Civil War ended in 1865, over 620 black and white men had served from Bertie County for the Union and 142 had died while serving.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the white residents of Bertie County joined the Confederate Army during the war. Edward Outlaw, the son of David Outlaw and grandson of Ralph Outlaw, became a captain, and other planters or their children joined the officers' ranks. Other planter families and poor whites deserted or refused to join the army and welcomed the

occupying Union troops that moved into the area as early as 1862. However, due to the seizure and destruction of property by Union troops such as their raids on Winton, Windsor, Plymouth, Williamston, and Hamilton, and the enlisting and arming of runaway slaves from the county, support for the occupying Union armies soon eroded.<sup>41</sup>

For Edward Outlaw of Indian Woods, the choice was simple. He believed, as had his father David, that America was and always had been a confederacy, and his father had even referred to the United States as the American Confederacy of States while serving in Congress. The Outlaws firmly believed that the issue was “states’ rights” and not slavery, and David Outlaw noted in his letters and speeches that the two were separate. Outlaw did want compromise and hoped that one could be worked out that would save the country -- a country that he believed had a bright and promising future.<sup>42</sup>

Outlaw and other white slave holders failed to see the contradiction in believing in states’ rights and individual freedom for themselves and their families while denying these same freedoms to slaves, poor whites, and their families. Outlaw did point out quite correctly in his public addresses that white northerners, who did not own slaves or have large numbers of blacks in their states, condemned the South while harboring the same ill feelings against the black race.<sup>43</sup>

During the Civil War and throughout slavery most whites viewed slaves as mentally slow and ignorant. As a result they often openly discussed politics, business, and family problems around them. Slave owners also trusted their slaves to the degree that many found it hard to believe their trusted slaves could or would plot against them as a parent would not expect a child to. Paternalism which was practiced throughout slavery caused whites to trust their slaves as they would their own children even during the Civil War. For example when Edward Outlaw left his plantation in Indian Woods, he left his

wife and trusted slave in charge and expected that the slaves on the plantation would carry on as if there was no war.<sup>44</sup>

Whites also openly discussed military strategies around house servants and the “Mammies” who cared for their children, never believing that these slaves had the ability or will to forward this information to the Union Army. Although most whites in the county were not sure if slaves understood what was taking place, it was clear that slaves throughout Bertie County were very much aware of what was happening and as they had done since colonial times they used the information they obtained to help protect themselves and their loved ones on nearby plantations in the county. They also did what they could to undermine the Confederate Army in the county by serving as spies, guides and soldiers for the Union Army during the war.<sup>45</sup>

By the end of the Civil War white Confederates from the county had been involved in numerous battles from eastern North Carolina as far away as Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Men from Bertie served in companies that fought at Big Bethel near Yorktown, Virginia, the first battle of the Civil War, where over half of the Confederate troops were a part of the North Carolina First Regiment as well as at Appomattox, Virginia, and Durham Station, North Carolina where they, along with other North Carolinians, were the last to turn in their guns.<sup>46</sup>

The Civil War, and later Reconstruction, left many white residents of Bertie County dazed. Many, like Dr. W. R. Capehart a surgeon and Edward Outlaw, a Confederate officer, had served in the Confederate Army and saw friends and family wounded or killed. Everyone in the county knew someone who died or was wounded during the war. Although most of the plantations continued to operate by growing cotton during the war, they were beset by work stoppages, runaway slaves, and blocked trading

routes by land and water.<sup>47</sup>By the close of the war, in 1865, residents of Bertie County white and black had fought and died for both sides (Figure 6.9a, 6.9b, 6.9c, and 6.9d).

When the war ended, those former slaves and poor whites who left to participate in the war as Union Soldiers returned to their homes in the county. Some, like Joseph Cherry, had been wounded in the war, while others were unharmed.<sup>48</sup> Upon their return these men helped build churches, schools and lives for their families and neighbors. They, with others in the community, sought to legalize their marriages and purchase land on which they could farm and raise livestock.

Immediately following the Civil War, the African Americans of Bertie County began to construct community churches. These churches were built all over the county from Merry Hill to Roxbel (Figure 6.10). Spring Hill Baptist church of Indian Woods, for example, was founded in 1866 by former slaves who wanted to worship together. This had been forbidden before emancipation. After worshipping together for nine years, the deacons of the church, on January 5, 1875, purchased the church and land from James Winslow Copeland for \$30.<sup>49</sup> Indian Woods Baptist Church also records its founding following slavery when its founders gathered around the “Gospel Oak” to worship in secret before building the church after emancipation ( Figure 6.11).<sup>50</sup> As quickly as these former slaves returned to their rural communities and built homes and churches white plantation owners fled and relocated to the nearby towns between 1870 and 1890, leaving these former slaves to develop their own communities and churches without any direct interference from whites. These churches nearly all of which were Baptist would be deeply involved in the Civil Rights Movement by the 1960s.<sup>51</sup>

As the twentieth century dawned, the African-American churches founded in Bertie County following the Civil War began to play a greater role in the everyday lives

of the residents. The churches had opened and maintained schools and, in times of economic distress, provided financial assistance for members in need. Little could be or was done about politics or race-based discrimination, however, until the 1960s. The churches along with their members tended to be mostly concerned about church affairs and the families of their members. The churches stressed godliness, hard work, and basic education for its members.<sup>52</sup>

After the war, Bertie County underwent both Presidential, and Congressional Reconstruction. The whites of Bertie County, many of whom held political offices in the Confederacy, or served as officers in the Confederate Army, applauded Presidential reconstruction under which both Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson pardoned participants in the war and allowed them to return to their homes to rebuild without any penalties. When Lincoln was assassinated anger towards the South and southern whites grew in the North. This anger and a feeling that the South should be punished for Lincoln's death and causing the war led to the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, a southerner, and Congress taking control of reconstruction from the President in 1868.<sup>53</sup> This began what has become known as Radical Republican, or Black, Reconstruction. During Congressional Reconstruction Bertie County became part of an important political district in the state and nation for the Republican Party, which was a northern based party. As a result of the black vote in the county and in eastern North Carolina, blacks elected Parker D. Robbins, who lived in Bertie, to the North Carolina House of Representatives from 1868 to 1872.<sup>54</sup>

Newly freed slaves, some of whom helped win their freedom by fighting in the Civil War, were given the right to vote and as a result were able to influence local, state, and national elections. While the slaves of Bertie County were enfranchised, many of the

whites who previously held political office or were high ranking military officers in the Confederate government were disenfranchised by Congress, which barred them from voting or holding local, state or national office. This impacted many of the whites of Bertie County who before the war were some of the wealthiest and most powerful people in the state. They were further crippled by the 15th amendment which, along with giving blacks the right to vote, forbade former Confederate states from repaying individuals who had invested in the Confederacy through loans to the government or war bonds. As a result, all of the money invested in the Confederacy along with several million dollars worth of slaves owned collectively by the white slave holders of Bertie County, was lost.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of all these things, many whites in Bertie County who had been Whigs before the war became devout Democrats. They mourned the loss of their way of life and sought ways to end northern occupation and “Negro Rule.” During Congressional Reconstruction from 1868 to 1877, the whites of Indian Woods, with most others in North Carolina, began to join and support terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Through these groups and white citizens’ groups, both blacks and white Republicans were bribed, beaten, and murdered. Blacks in the state and around the South saw their homes burned, crops destroyed and daughters and wives raped and beaten. In spite of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which was supposed to eradicate these groups, they were successful in terrorizing blacks across the South during Reconstruction. Because of this terror, white Democrats regained control of the state as early as 1870 (Figure 6.12).<sup>56</sup>

In spite of their return to power from 1865 to 1877, the number of white residents in the rural areas of Bertie County declined sharply. Although there was also some later drop in the rural African-American population due to the Black Exodus in 1879 and

Great Migration beginning around 1914, for the most part the African-American population remained near its pre-slavery levels during these years. It is not clear why the white residents of the county moved out of the rural areas, but they began their migration after the Civil War, which suggests that the freedom of their former slaves may have been an important factor.<sup>57</sup>

When the war ended, most slave owners in Bertie County struggled to rebuild their economy by growing cotton, tobacco, and a new cash crop that gained in popularity during the war, peanuts. The days of wealth, prestige, and prosperity in the county however, seemed to die with emancipation. For although Bertie County remained a major agricultural area, the whites of the county and other rural farming areas in the northeastern part of the state saw their population, wealth, and political power begin to shift to the western and more urban parts of the state.<sup>58</sup>

At the end of the Civil War Bertie County's black and white population dramatically declined, from 14,310 people in 1860 to 12,950 people in 1870. Bertie County's population actually increased in 1880 to 16,399 people, of which blacks made up 58.4 percent. The most reasonable explanation for this decline followed by such a large increase is the many residents, white and black, were displaced by the war and that following the war they searched the state for loved ones before returning to their homes in the county sometime after 1870.<sup>59</sup>

From 1865 to 1870 many slaves were reunited with loved ones who had been sold to other plantations in or out of state. Others refused to work any more for masters who had treated them cruelly. Charles Smallwood, for example, lost nearly all of his slaves in Indian Woods because he severely punished them during slavery. Other former slave owners, such as Edward Outlaw, Whitmell T. Sharrock, and William Grimes, who were



respected for their fair treatment of slaves, found huge numbers of slaves asking to work and live on their farms following emancipation (Figure 6.13a, 6.13b, and 6.12c).<sup>60</sup>

As with the rest of the South following the Civil War, many of the plantation owners in Bertie County attempted to reinstate the old plantation system that existed prior to the Civil War. Whites still owned nearly all of the farmable land in the county and controlled the only means through which most blacks could make a living and provide for their families. Through tenant farming and sharecropping contracts, many former slave owners continued to grow cotton, tobacco, wheat, corn, and, by the 1880s, peanuts. Because of the out-migration of whites many became absentee landlords and merchants and found “peonage” to eventually be as profitable as slavery.<sup>61</sup>

The abolition of slavery and the end of the Civil War in 1865 brought many changes to former slaves of Bertie County. One of the greatest was the introduction of a class system among blacks. There had always been differences in slavery in the South. Slavery in the lower south was harsher than slavery in the upper south. Rural slavery was more difficult than urban slavery, and house servants were sometimes treated better than field hands. Added to this was the status of free blacks and mulattos, many of whom had received education. Even during slavery, the slave community was stratified. With emancipation came the opportunity for economic gain and those lucky enough to own their land, rather than sharecrop or tenant farm the lands of their former masters, held an economic advantage.<sup>62</sup>

To own land however, one had to have money to buy it. Additionally there had to be someone willing to sell land to blacks. The former slaves who fought in the “African Brigade” did have money. As a result, many were successful in purchasing land from whites leaving Bertie County for nearby towns. Because of their land ownership, these

African-Americans became leaders in their churches and communities. Land-owning African-Americans expanded their farms by marrying other landowners. In fact, it was viewed as marrying beneath oneself if one's spouse did not also own property. As stated earlier, the black landowners became leaders in their local churches, around which the communities revolved. There were a number of churches in Bertie County that were established by former slaves. Even today, by comparing the churches, it is clear which had members with greater wealth. Following emancipation, life began to center around these churches.<sup>63</sup>

Blacks were also concerned about legalizing their marriages. On August 30, 1866, the North Carolina General Assembly passed an act allowing blacks to declare their slave marriages, which were not legal, for 25¢. In response, many former slaves in Bertie County went to the county courthouse in Windsor to legalize their marriages.<sup>64</sup>

During Reconstruction, blacks in Bertie County were concerned about five things. The first was freedom and the limits of that freedom, which they tested by relocating loved ones and moving off their old plantations, usually only a few miles away. The second was education, which had been denied them by their masters while they were enslaved. The third was religion, which they had also been denied under slavery due to fear of revolts. The fourth was economic freedom, which many associated with the prosperity that their masters enjoyed. Finally, voting was a concern as Union soldiers and other officials told them they now had the right to vote.<sup>65</sup>

Although blacks in Bertie County did vote in large numbers and were successful in electing Parker D. Robbins from the county to the North Carolina General Assembly from 1868 to 1872 and George Mebane from the county to the North Carolina General Assembly in 1876, they seemed to be more concerned with the first three issues. In some

of the county's rural townships, some blacks lived daily under the fear of violence and the loss of their jobs because of their voting power.<sup>66</sup> As a result blacks, as well as poor whites, focused on raising and taking care of their families which they were very capable of doing. They were used to being self-sufficient on their plantations and small farms. They helped feed their families by having gardens, raising livestock, particularly hogs and chickens, fishing and growing foodstuffs like corn and wheat, which could be milled into flour and corn meal.<sup>67</sup> Flour was used to make biscuits, puddin' bread (a baked mixture of molasses and flour), and several types of sweet breads. Corn meal was used to make corn bread, hush puppies, and cracklin' bread, a mixture of corn meal and pork skins eaten with molasses. Since they were not accustomed to being paid for their labor, most continued working, happy for just being able to eat better than they could under slavery.<sup>68</sup>

Reconstruction, particularly Black Reconstruction, helped blacks most by aiding those who could buy land from their former masters obtain it and laying the foundation for a good public education system. By the collapse of Reconstruction in 1877, most African-Americans and poor whites in the county were sharecroppers or tenant farmers. However, a surprisingly high number were land-owning independent farmers.<sup>69</sup> After the passage of the Landlord and Tenant Act in 1876, and the County Government Law of 1877, a number of blacks from Bertie County and northeastern North Carolina chose to leave between 1876 and 1894 rather than be cheated and oppressed.<sup>70</sup>

Some Blacks from Bertie County supported the "Back to Africa" movement which lasted from 1876 to 1894. Others from Bertie County supported the move to Kansas proposed by "Pap" Moses Singleton of Tennessee and Henry Adams of Louisiana in 1879.<sup>71</sup> The migration to Kansas lasted from 1879 until the 1880s. The vast majority

of blacks from North Carolina however, moved to Indiana, over 6,000 from Johnston and Wayne counties alone.<sup>72</sup> None of these destinations seemed to hold much fascination for the blacks of Bertie County. There are several possible reason for this. First, as earlier mentioned, there were large numbers of black farmers in Bertie County who owned their land and would not have been directly affected by the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1876. Second, although the Blacks of Bertie County did vote and hold political office, most did not value voting as the most important issue in their lives. They were more concerned about educating their children, building churches, and feeding their families. As a result, they were not as concerned about losing the right to vote for county and local officials, taken away by the County Government Law of 1877.<sup>73</sup>

Because of the need for black labor to grow and harvest cotton, tobacco and, by the 1880s, large amounts of peanuts, most whites did not want blacks to leave the state. As a result, whites used many methods, including force, to keep blacks from going.<sup>74</sup> This last reason seems not be much of a factor, however, when considering the large number of Civil War veterans who braved death to fight, only to return to their homes at war's end. What appears a more likely explanation, therefore, is the black population's ties to their churches. The Civil War veterans who lived in Bertie County were deacons in these churches. In 1879, the Negro Baptist newspaper, *The National Monitor*, urged Blacks to "work and pray where they were," and "trust in God for the rest."<sup>75</sup> The blacks of Bertie County continued to heed the words of the church and its elders and build a thriving self-sufficient black community throughout the county that still exists today.<sup>76</sup>

Many blacks began to take full advantage of their new freedoms as they came together to worship, build communities for themselves, and vote for and hold political office.<sup>77</sup> George A. Mebane, born a slave in Bertie County, was the first black to be

elected to the North Carolina Senate in 1876. In 1989, Rosetta Bond recited the story of how blacks lost their right to vote. It was corroborated by George and Catherine Bond, Lord Cornwallis Cherry and many other residents of Bertie County. Bond stated she was told by her parents that a black elected official, whose name was not repeated, sold the black ballot box to whites who did not want the votes counted, for a barrel of flour. When he got home however, only the top of the barrel was flour. The rest was sand, and so went the Blacks' right to vote until 1964.<sup>78</sup>

Before Reconstruction collapsed in 1877, Southern Democrats, predecessors of the “Dixiecrats” in the Twentieth Century, had regained control of many state legislatures and congressional seats. North Carolina Democrats, with the aid of terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, had already regained control of North Carolina’s General Assembly by 1870. In northeastern North Carolina however, where several counties had black majorities including Bertie, the Union League continued to register and encourage Blacks to vote in local, state, and national elections. As a result, blacks in counties like Bertie continued to be politically active until restrictions such as the State Government Law of 1878 began to limit their voting rights.<sup>79</sup>

During the years from 1865 to 1877 most blacks and whites in the county returned to the cultivation of cotton. From 1870 to 1899, white plantation owners throughout Bertie County complained about the lack of interest shown by tenants and sharecroppers in the growing and cultivation of the cash crop cotton. The sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Bertie County were no different than many others in the state. Landowners forced sharecroppers and tenant farmers to grow only cotton on all available farm land. This left no time or land to grow foodstuffs. To supplement their diets, many Blacks tended private gardens where they grew cabbage, beets, tomatoes, cantaloupes, peaches,

berries and nuts. They gleaned fields for corn, potatoes, rice, wheat and peanuts. They also trapped, fished and hunted, including deer, squirrel, quail, and duck. Occasionally someone would get pork from a neighbor.<sup>80</sup>

Vegetables and fruit were canned for the winter months, and meats were salted in wood barrels or boxes after being covered with molasses and spices (usually pepper). Fish and pork were smoked and hung from the ceilings of small smokehouses, which also contained pork sausages, when available. All members of the community shared what they had with others.<sup>81</sup> If someone had an abundance of corn or pork, she or he exchanged it for fish or deer. If someone had canned or fresh fruits and vegetables, she or he exchanged them for flour or cornmeal. During Sunday service, if it was reported that someone was sick or doing without essentials, church members attended to their needs and those of their family.<sup>82</sup>

Corn was especially desired because not only could it supplement diets, but it was necessary to feed livestock such as cows, hogs, chicken and mules, used to plow the fields. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers were expected to buy these commodities from the local general store, owned at this time by merchants throughout the county.<sup>83</sup> Sharecroppers were forced to buy fertilizer, which became very popular following the Civil War, to enable cotton planters to continue growing cotton year after year, without depleting and destroying the soil as had been done growing tobacco during the colonial period and cotton during the antebellum period. Buying fertilizer, seed, feed for mules, and farming implements at inflated prices left many residents in debt at the end of the year and without enough money to pay creditors and the other white land owners, who were generally given half of the crops or the profits generated from the sale of the crops. Thus many blacks in Bertie County fell victim to the system known as “peonage.”<sup>84</sup>

With the end of the Populist Movement, life in Indian Woods returned to a state similar to that of the antebellum period. By 1900, blacks continued to do agricultural work on large cotton, tobacco, and peanut plantations. The residents labored during the week and socialized and worshiped together on Sunday in their various community churches. For blacks in Bertie County, the years following the collapse of Reconstruction were years of stagnation and struggle. Because Bertie County had been a majority black county since the colonial period, whites often feared black domination and passed laws to disenfranchise and control them. This did not, however, stop blacks from showing their dissatisfaction by attempting to register to vote.<sup>85</sup>

There were carpetbaggers who moved to Bertie County during Reconstruction and decided to stay. Some attempted to improve political, economic, and educational opportunities for blacks and poor whites in the county. Others became a part of the culture of the county either because they feared terrorism if they spoke out or because they agreed with the unfair system in the county.<sup>86</sup> By 1877 Bertie County was still recovering from the trauma of the Civil War and the confusion and instability of Reconstruction.

## Chapter 6

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<sup>1</sup> Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina and Statistical Services Center-Budget Division Department of Administration-State of North Carolina, County Population Trends North Carolina 1790-1960 State Region County Residence Color, 1969, 13; Gordon B. McKinney, North Carolina Historical Review "Zebulon Vance and His Reconstruction of the Civil War in North Carolina," LXXV (January 1998):69; Robin Baker, North Carolina Historical Review "Class Conflict and Political Upheaval: The Transformation of North Carolina Politics during the Civil War," LXIX (April 1992):148-178.

<sup>2</sup> Robin Baker, "Class Conflict and Political Upheaval: The Transformation of North Carolina Politics during the Civil War," LXIX North Carolina Historical Review (April 1992):148-178; Albert B. More, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy (New York, 1924); James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York, 1988); Allan Nevins, War for the Union, 4 vols. (New York, 1971); Gordon B. McKinney, "Zebulon Vance and His Reconstruction of the Civil War in North Carolina," LXXV North Carolina Historical Review (January 1998):69.

<sup>3</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Divided Allegiances: Bertie County during the Civil War, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1996); Gerald W. Thomas, Bertie in Blue Experiences of Bertie County's Union Servicemen during the Civil War, (Plymouth, NC: Beacon Printing Inc.); John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 14-25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 26-43; Louis S. Gerteis, From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973).

<sup>7</sup> John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 44-74.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; D.L. Corbitt and Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Civil War Pictures (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-52.

<sup>10</sup> Shiman, Philip, Fort Branch and The Defense of the Roanoke Valley 1862-1865, A Research Report presented to The Fort Branch Battlefield Commission, March 15, 1990; Plan of Fort Branch, showing placement of torpedoes in Roanoke River, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (National Archives, Washington, DC), entry 453; Lieutenant Walter G. Bender (?), Roanoke River, NC., to W.H. Stevens, March 12, 1863, defenses of Rainbow Bank, map collection of the Jeremy Francis Gilmer papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

<sup>11</sup> Bagley, Warren. Diary containing accounts of Confederate activity at "Fort Branch in Hamilton, near Indian Woods, on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865. Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Clark, David. Papers concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Clark, William J. Papers concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.; Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men. (Microcopy 331). File: Walter G. Bender. Service Records of Confederate soldiers who served in the Roanoke Valley and defended "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 109 (War Department Collection of Confederate Records). Washington, D.C.; Confederate Engineer Bureau. (Microcopy 628). Papers concerning the building and maintaining of "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River and the Confederate defense of the Roanoke Valley, 1862-1865. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 109 (War Department Collection of Confederate Records). Washington, D.C.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Warren Bagley, diary containing accounts of Confederate activity at Fort Branch in Hamilton, near Indian Woods, on the Roanoke River, fighting in the Roanoke Valley, work on the fort and the importance of the entire valley, including Indian Woods, to providing food stuffs and other supplies for the Confederacy during the Civil War, 1862-1865, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham NC; David Clark papers, concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.; William



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J. Clark papers, concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men, file Walter G. Bender, 331, National Archives; Service Records of Confederate soldiers who served in the Roanoke Valley and defended "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, RG 109, National Archives; Confederate Engineer Bureau, letters and telegrams concerning the building and maintaining of "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River and the Confederate defense of the Roanoke Valley, 1862-1865, 628, RG 109; Jeremy Francis Gilmer papers, concerning activity in the Roanoke Valley During the Civil War particularly "Fort Branch" built on the Roanoke River just north of Indian Woods, 1862-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; William Alexander Hoke papers, containing Henry T. Guion's journal detailing activity in the Roanoke Valley During the Civil War, particularly "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River north of Indian Woods, 1862-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>13</sup> John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 14.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina and Statistical Services Center-Budget Division Department of Administration-State of North Carolina, County Population Trends North Carolina 1790-1960 State Region County Residence Color, 1969, 13; Gordon B. McKinney, North Carolina Historical Review "Zebulon Vance and His Reconstruction of the Civil War in North Carolina," LXXV (January 1998):69; Robin Baker, North Carolina Historical Review "Class Conflict and Political Upheaval: The Transformation of North Carolina Politics during the Civil War," LXIX (April 1992):148-178.

<sup>16</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Bertie in Blue: Experiences of Bertie County's Union Servicemen during the Civil War, (Plymouth, NC: Beacon Printing, INC., 1998), x, 1; Gerald W. Thomas, Divided Allegiances: Bertie County During the Civil War, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1996), 177-185, xi-xiiv; Norman C. Delaney, "Charles Henry Foster and the Unionists of Eastern North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 37 (July 1960): 348-366; Charles B. Smallwood diary, entries concerning plantations in western Indian Woods, a plantation journal for 1854, doctor's accounts for 1864-1865, 1843-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>17</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Bertie in Blue: Experiences of Bertie County's Union Servicemen during the Civil War, (Plymouth, NC: Beacon Printing, INC., 1998), 60; Gerald W. Thomas, Divided Allegiances: Bertie County During the Civil War, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1996), 177-185, 84; Benjamin F. Speller's paper "Bertie Honors its African American Soldiers & Sailors From The Civil War"; Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class, 1975-76, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862, 1976, 1-9.

<sup>18</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Bertie in Blue: Experiences of Bertie County's Union Servicemen during the Civil War, (Plymouth, NC: Beacon Printing, INC., 1998), 76-77.

<sup>19</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Divided Allegiances: Bertie County During the Civil War, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1996), 152; Confederate Hospital Records, 1860-1865. 3 vols. 3093. (High Point NC) Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Outlaw, David, 1806-1868, Papers 1847 1866. 375 items. 1534. Letters from Outlaw to his wife in Indian Woods concerning the state of his plantation while he was away his plantation was run by one of his slaves, life in Washington D.C. while a member of Congress, two speeches given on the floor of the House of Representatives. Speeches also include comments on, the Mexican American War, the slavery question, sectionalism, the Wilmot Proviso, and the Missouri Compromise. Outlaw lived in Indian Woods all his life, his son Edward Outlaw served as a Captain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, and after the war as the sheriff of Bertie County. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Gerald W. Thomas, Divided Allegiances: Bertie County During the Civil War, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1996), 163-176; David A. Norris, "For the Benefit of our Gallant Volunteers": North Carolina's State Medical Department and Civilian Volunteer Efforts, 1861-1862,"North Carolina Historical Review, LXXV (July 1998): 297-326.

<sup>20</sup> United States Census Office. Second Census of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Duane Printer, 1801); United States Bureau of Census. Third Census of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Duane Printer, 1811); United States Bureau of Census. Fourth Census of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1821); United States Bureau of Census. Fifth Census of the United States, (Washington,

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas C. Parramore, "Conspiracy and Revivalism in 1802: A Direful Symbiosis," Negro History Bulletin 43 (1980): 283; Taylor, "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," 20-34; David D. Oliver, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications 9 (1910): 1-23.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Aptheker, The Negro in the Civil War, (International Publishers, 1962); Spies, Scouts, and Raiders: Irregular Operations, (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1993); Crow and Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina; John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> Williams, Edmund Jones, 1841-1926. Letters, 1861-1864. 34 items. 866. Describes life in the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry and the 31st North Carolina Regiment of the Confederate States of America. Discusses his travels through Bertie County, eastern North Carolina, and Virginia. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Devereux, John. Papers, 1712-1883. 3,500 items. 34. Petition to Congress protesting the seizure of Cotton by Federal troops in 1865 in Bertie County. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Winston, Francis Donnell, 1857-1941. Papers, 1828-1943. 1,800 items. 2810. Materials on Winston's life and contains papers of his father-in-law Dr. S. B. Kenney a member of U.S. Navy during the Civil War, originally from Maine but moved to Windsor in Bertie County following the war. His commissions and orders during the Civil War are present. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>24</sup> Heckstall Papers, 1834-1864. 17 items. 582. Letters to Thomas J. and William H. Heckstall of Bertie County from friends and relatives and from a Unionist in Plymouth, NC, threatening retaliation for activities by Heckstall and others against Union Sympathizers (n.d.). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Johnson, F. Roy Collection, 1960-1962. 1 volume. 367. Newspaper reprints, The Roanoke-Chowan Story, Vol. 1 by F. Roy Johnson and Thomas C. Parramore, also reprints of articles on, the Civil War, and Union sympathizers or "Buffaloes." Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Norman, Ellie C. Correspondence, 1857-1865. 1857-1865. 5 items. Letters concerning family matters back in Bertie County, the horror of the Civil War, and efforts to capture Confederate deserters; John G. Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991): 26-52.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Stuart, Jeremiah Papers, 1862-1865. 21 items. 11. Jeremiah Stuart was a private in the 13th Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteers during the Civil War. In a letter written to his aunt on March 30, 1864, Stuart wrote that two black regiments and a company of Indian sharpshooters had arrived in Annapolis Maryland. Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham North Carolina; Coolidge, Oliver S. Papers, 1861-1864. 43 items. 39. A letter of June 21, 1862 contains a disparaging comment about Mrs. Fanny Worrall of New Bern, North Carolina, who was half Choctaw Indian and married to a black man. Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham North Carolina.

<sup>27</sup> Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 72.

<sup>28</sup> Laurence M. Hauptman, The Iroquois in The Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Laurence M. Hauptman, "Into the Abyss," Civil War Times 35 (February, 1997): 46-59; Lowery, Henry Berry, Folder Newspaper clippings of the Lowery gang who terrorized Roberson County, North Carolina from 1861-1879. Lowery was part Tuscarora and his family had lived in Roberson County, since 1756 North Carolina. Special Collections, Sampson-Livermore Library, University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

<sup>29</sup> Legal and financial documents on slaves and slavery in the United States, 1756 Jan. 19-1869 Oct. 27. 2 boxes (143) items. Bills of sale, bonds, writs, promissory notes, summons, wills, of slave owners, and inventories of slaves of Bertie County; Skinner Family, Papers, 1705-1900. 800 items. 669. Mostly letters between family members. Particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several Plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807. His son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly, 1846-1848. Tristram Lowther Skinner would also serve as a Captain in the 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment,

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Confederate States of America. There are also letters written by women family members concerning education and reading, courtship and marriage, pregnancy and childcare, household and social activities, politics the Whig party, and the War of 1812. There are many other interesting letters and papers including materials documenting relationships between brothers and sisters, differences in male and female education, plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Slave Collection, 1748-1856. 38 items. 1629. Items include deeds of gift and bills of sale for slaves, including small children. Permission for slaves to marry, given by owner, public records and court records relating to murder trials, and to reimbursement of owners for executed slaves; and depositions by slaves and letters concerning an insurrection conspiracy in Bertie in 1802. Deeds, letters and petitions concerning emancipation of slaves. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>30</sup> Louis S. Gerteis, From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973); John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 230; Joe A. Mobley, "In the Shadow of White Society: Princeville, A Black Town in North Carolina, 1865-1915," North Carolina Historical Review, LXIII (July 1986): 340-384; Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 72.

<sup>31</sup> Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865, 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>33</sup> Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865, 69; Robert G. Elliott, The Ironclad of the Roanoke.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*; Joseph Blount Cheshire, Nonnulla: Memories, Stories, Traditions, More or Less Authentic, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 144-149.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 70; Robert G. Elliott, The Ironclad of the Roanoke.

<sup>36</sup> Tape recorded interviews with local African-Americans see Bart F. Smallwood Papers; John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation, (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1995); Herbert Aptheker, The Negro in the Civil War, (New York: International Publishers, 1962); Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Civil War, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1989).

<sup>37</sup> Photos of all these men's grave head stones can be found in the Bart F. Smallwood Papers. Although most of these men also are listed in Civil War records held by the Historic Hope foundation in Windsor and in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill others do not. I must conclude therefore that these list are incomplete since the grave head stones are government issue and oral interviews with descendents note that the individuals mentioned above received pensions from the U.S. military after the war which they used to purchase land. In the county. Furthermore roles previously unknown with thousands of names on them were found in the National Archives as recently as the 1990s.

<sup>38</sup> These numbers can be documented by the landscape when visiting the various church cemeteries in Indian Woods. The number is most likely much higher as one of the largest slave cemeteries containing the remains of Civil War veterans was bulldozed in the late 1980s by Spruill; Lord Cornwallis Cherry of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 25, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recording in Bart F. Smallwood Collection.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Gerald W. Thomas, Bertie in Blue: Experiences of Bertie County's Union Servicemen during the Civil War, (Plymouth, NC: Beacon Printing, INC., 1998), ix.

<sup>41</sup> Heckstall family papers, #582, letters to Thomas J. and William H. Heckstall of Bertie County from friends and relatives in Mississippi and Arkansas (1835-1841), a free Black in South Carolina wishing to buy one of his grandsons (1841), Norfolk merchants (1848-1858), and from a Unionist in Plymouth, NC, threatening retaliation for activities by Heckstall and others against Union Sympathizers, 1834-1864, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>42</sup> Outlaw, David, 1806-1868, Papers 1847 1866. 375 items. 1534. Letters from Outlaw to his wife in Indian Woods concerning the state of his plantation while he was away his plantation was run by one of his slaves, life in Washington D.C. while a member of Congress, two speeches given on the floor of the House of Representatives. Speeches also include comments on, the Mexican American War, the slavery question, sectionalism, the Wilmot Proviso, and the Missouri Compromise. Outlaw lived in Indian Woods all his life, his son Edward Outlaw served as a Captain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, and after the war as the sheriff of Bertie County. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.; Harriet E. Wilson, Our Nig Or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); In fact, their actions were self preserving as were the actions of the South, noted in Our Nig.
- <sup>44</sup> Skinner Family, Papers, 1705-1900. 800 items. 669. Mostly letters between family members. Particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several Plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807. His son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly, 1846-1848. Tristram Lowther Skinner would also serve as a Captain in the 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America. There are also letters written by women family members concerning education and reading, courtship and marriage, pregnancy and childcare, household and social activities, politics the Whig party, and the War of 1812. There are many other interesting letters and papers including materials documenting relationships between brothers and sisters, differences in male and female education, plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- <sup>45</sup> David Outlaw Papers; Donna Johanna Benson, "Before I Be a Slave": A Social Analysis of the Black Struggle for Freedom in North Carolina, 1860-1865," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1984); Yasuko Shinoda, "Land and Slaves in North Carolina in 1860," (Ph. D. diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971); Maxine Deloris Jones, "A Glorious Work: The American Missionary Association and Black North Carolinians, 1863-1880," (Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, 1982).
- <sup>46</sup> S. A. Ashe, "The Charge at Gettysburg," North Carolina Booklet, vol. 1 no. 11 (March 10, 1902): 1-28; Henry T. Bahnson, "The Last Days of the War," North Carolina Booklet, vol. 2 no. 12 (April, 1903): 3-22.
- <sup>47</sup> See oral interview with Lord Corn Wallis Cherry in Bart F. Smallwood Papers; Ansley Herring Wegner, "Phantom Pain: Civil War Amputation and North Carolina's Maimed Veterans," The North Carolina Historical Review, LXXV (July 1998): 277-296; S. A. Ashe, "The Charge at Gettysburg," North Carolina Booklet, vol. 1 no. 11 (March 10, 1902): 1-28; Henry T. Bahnson, "The Last Days of the War," North Carolina Booklet, vol. 2 no. 12 (April, 1903): 3-22; Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, concerning the Whig Party, planting, the Civil War, life growing up in Bertie County, 1860-1944, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.
- <sup>48</sup> Bart F. Smallwood Papers Interview with Lord Corn Wallis Cherry
- <sup>49</sup> Spring Hill Deed, Spring Hill Church Records, copy in Bart F. Smallwood Papers; Also see Benjamin F. Speller Jr. The St. Luke Guide To African American Churches in Bertie County.
- <sup>50</sup> See Bart F. Smallwood Papers for tape recorded interviews with the pastors of the Spring Hill Baptist Church Rev. Andrew Jackson Cherry, and Indian Woods Baptist Church C. Melvin Creecy in the late 1980s, also see Duke University Music School Library and Film school for documentaries made on traditional Negro spirituals from slavery still sung at the church. Films done between 1999 and 2002.
- <sup>51</sup> Arwin D. Smallwood, "Indian Woods, North Carolina: A History of Three Cultures 1585 to 1995," (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1997); Mechal Sobel, Trablen' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); Karin L. Zipf, "Among These American Heathens": Congregationalist Missionaries and African American Evangelicals during Reconstruction, 1865-1878," The North Carolina Historical Review, LXXIV (April 1997): 111-134; James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988; Roberta Sue Alexander, "Hostility and Hope: Black Education in North Carolina during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867," The North Carolina Historical Review, (April 1976): 115-132; Mark Andrew Huddle, "To Educate a Race: The Making of the First State Colored Normal School, Fayetteville, North Carolina, 1865-1877," The North Carolina Historical Review, LXXIV (April 1997): 135-160.
- <sup>52</sup> Bart F. Smallwood Papers.
- <sup>53</sup> King, Henry T. Collection Newspaper clippings about President Lincoln's Assassination in 1865 and other materials on Bertie County, North Carolina. Special Collections, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina; Slave Collection, 38 items. 1629. Deeds, letters and petitions concerning emancipation of slaves. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.
- <sup>54</sup> Elizabeth Blanoff, "Negro Legislators in the North Carolina General Assembly, July, 1868-February, 1872," The North Carolina Historical Review, XLIX (January 1972): 22- 55; Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 75-90; Daniel J. Whitener, "The Republican Party and Public Education in North Carolina 1867-1900," North Carolina Historical Review 37 (1960): 382-396; Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 1-50; Elizabeth Y.

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<sup>55</sup> The United States History Class 1975-76, Roanoke Chowan Academy, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862; Earl M. Maltz, Civil Rights, The Constitution and Congress, 1863-1869 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 2-25; Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, materials on Winston's life as a lawyer, Judge, member of the democratic party, and Mason in Bertie County, his commissions and orders during the Civil war are present, 1857-1941, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Patrick Henry Winston papers, #963, relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia, constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Lyceum and Windsor Debating Club, 1820-1886, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, letters, financial records and other materials; Capehart Family Papers, #1494, relating to 'Scotch Hall Plantation' of Bertie County, the hardships of the Civil War, slaves, and behavior of former slaves in years following the Civil War, 1782-1983, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>56</sup> Bill Sharpe and W. B. Wright, "Bertie County," The State, (April 25 1964) vol. 34: 10,24; Robert Winstons, A Far Cry; E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1977 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965); David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 3rd. ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); George C. Rable, But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984); Allen W. Trelease, White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1995); Francis Donnell Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Patrick Henry Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Robert Watson Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Capehart Family papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>57</sup> Wheeler, Samuel Jordan 1810, Diaries, 1825 1876. 13 v. 766. Discusses Wheeler's life as a planter and physician in Bertie County after 1867. Includes a discussion of his medical practice, farm activities, the weather, and neighborhood news. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Diary, 1843-1865 2 v. 1905. Entries concerning plantation in western Indian Woods; a plantation journal for 1854; doctor's accounts for 1864-1865. Planter and physician. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Woodville Papers, 1853 1895. 4 items. 801-z. Memoir of Woodville Township records memories of local families, an academy, hunting, stories about the colonial period and the Revolutionary War. Their are also 3 vol. on treatments for patients, accounts of patients, and a ledger of goods purchased. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>58</sup> Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 78-90; Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, selected items illustrating civic and political activity; Patrick Henry Winston papers, #963, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, Southern Historical Collection; and Capehart Family papers, #1494, which deal with planters' problems, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>59</sup> Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina and Statistical Services Center-Budget Division Department of Administration-State of North Carolina, County Population Trends North Carolina 1790-1960 State Region County Residence Color, 1969, 13; US Bureau of Census, The Census of Population: 1880, Each State and Territory, Tenth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881), 236.

<sup>60</sup> Sharrock, Whitmell T. (1808-ca. 1872) Papers, 1722-1874, 1898. 5 ft. 1218. Papers concerning trade, slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters; labor agreements with freedmen (1865-1869). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Taylor, John Douglas (1831-1912) Papers, 1909, 1912. 2 items. 984. Memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery) comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History,

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Raleigh, NC; Thompson, Lewis, 1808-1867, Papers, 1723 1895. 4,650 items. 716. Papers concerning Thompson's plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods). Contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related. There are business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation. There are also a group of papers relating to land controlled by the Tuscarora Indians of Indian Woods. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Winston, Patrick Henry, 1820-1886, Papers, 1848 1877. 100 items. 963. Business papers some relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

<sup>61</sup> Pete Daniel, The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Pete Daniel, Breaking the land: The Transformation of Cotton Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Sharrock, Whitmell T. (1808-ca. 1872) Papers, 1722-1874, 1898. 5 ft. 1218. Papers concerning trade, slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters; labor agreements with freedmen (1865-1869). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Taylor, John Douglas (1831-1912) Papers, 1909, 1912. 2 items. 984. Memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery) comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Thompson, Lewis, 1808-1867, Papers, 1723 1895. 4,650 items. 716. Papers concerning Thompson's plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods). Contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related. There are business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation. There are also a group of papers relating to land controlled by the Tuscarora Indians of Indian Woods. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Winston, Patrick Henry, 1820-1886, Papers, 1848 1877. 100 items. 963. Business papers some relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia. A constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Skinner family papers, #669, mostly letters between family members, particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807 and his son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly from 1846-1848, also materials on plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves, 1705-1900, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>61</sup> R. C. Lawrence, "David Stone," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina, 12, no. 44 (1945): 8; David Stone papers, #82, concerning leased Tuscarora Indian lands in Bertie County, also listing of taxable slaves and land in Bertie County (1813), and notebooks containing slave births and deaths from 1741-1837, 1703-1837, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; David Outlaw papers, letters from Outlaw to his wife in Indian Woods concerning the state of his plantation while he was away his plantation was run by one of his slaves, life in Washington D.C. while a member of Congress, two speeches given on the floor of the House of Representatives, speeches also include comments on, the Mexican American War, the slavery question, sectionalism, the Wilmot Proviso, and the Missouri Compromise. Outlaw lived in Indian Woods all his life, his son Edward Outlaw served as a Captain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, and after the war as the sheriff of Bertie County, 1806-1868, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>62</sup> For more about class in rural Black communities see Arwin D. Smallwood "A History of Three Cultures: Indian Woods, North Carolina 1585 to 1995" (Ph.D. Dissertation The Ohio State University, 1997) also see the Bart F. Smallwood Papers particularly interviews with residents particularly families of Black land owners and former share croppers. Although no one actually stated that they, their parents, or grand parents married according to property ownership it is clear from talking with residents and looking at land records in the county court house that is what occurred.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Bernetta McGhee White, Somebody Knows My Name: Marriages of Freed People in North Carolina, County by County vol. 1 (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1995); Raymond Parker Fouts, Marriage Register of Bertie County North Carolina 1869 - June 1972, (Raleigh: North Carolina Genealogy, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1990).

- <sup>65</sup> Leon F. Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery. (New York: Knopf, 1979; Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977; George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974); Paul S. Pierce, The Freedman's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly press, 1970); Claude F. Oubre, Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black land Ownership, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978);
- <sup>66</sup> Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1982), 63-70; United States Bureau of Census, The Tenth Census of the United States, 1 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1883), 236.
- <sup>67</sup> Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Diary, 1843-1865 2 v. 1905. Entries concerning plantation in western Indian Woods; a plantation journal for 1854; doctor's accounts for 1864-1865. Planter and physician. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Woodville Papers, 1853 1895. 4 items. 801-z. Memoir of Woodville Township records memories of local families, an academy, hunting, stories about the colonial period and the Revolutionary War. Their are also 3 vol. on treatments for patients, accounts of patients, and a ledger of goods purchased. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Wheeler, Samuel Jordan 1810, Diaries, 1825 1876. 13 v. 766. Discusses Wheeler's life as a planter and physician in Bertie County after 1867. Includes a discussion of his medical practice, farm activities, the weather, and neighborhood news. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- <sup>68</sup> Lois Marie Smallwood, Catherine W. Bond, and Lord Cornwallis Cherry, of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 28, 1989, March 5, 1990, December 25, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recordings, in the Bart F. Smallwood Papers.
- <sup>69</sup> Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977; George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974); Paul S. Pierce, The Freedman's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly press, 1970); Claude F. Oubre, Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black land Ownership, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).
- <sup>70</sup> Frenise A. Logan, "The Movement of Negroes From North Carolina, 1876-1894," North Carolina Historical Review, 33 (1956): 46.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>73</sup> Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 65-81.
- <sup>74</sup> Logan, "The Movement of Negroes From North Carolina," 45-54.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.
- <sup>76</sup> Bart F. Smallwood Papers oral Interviews with County residents.
- <sup>77</sup> Bart F. Smallwood Papers, Indian Woods Baptist Church History, Windsor, NC, 1865-present.
- <sup>78</sup> Rosetta Bond of Indian Woods, interview in Bart F. Smallwood Papers.
- <sup>79</sup> Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 90-91.
- <sup>80</sup> Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 54; Pete Daniel, The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Pete Daniel, Breaking the land: The Transformation of Cotton Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Sharrock, Whitmell T. (1808-ca. 1872) Papers, 1722-1874, 1898. 5 ft. 1218. Papers concerning trade; labor agreements with freedmen (1865-1869). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Taylor, John Douglas (1831-1912) Papers, 1909, 1912. 2 items. 984. Memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery) comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Thompson, Lewis, 1808-1867, Papers, 1723 1895. 4,650 items. 716. Papers concerning Thompson's plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods). Contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related. There are business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation. There are also a group of papers relating to land

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controlled by the Tuscarora Indians of Indian Woods. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Winston, Patrick Henry, 1820-1886, Papers, 1848 1877. 100 items. 963. Business papers some relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia. A constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Skinner family papers, #669, mostly letters between family members, particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807 and his son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly from 1846-1848, also materials on plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves, 1705-1900, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Woodville Papers, 1853 1895. 4 items. 801-z. Memoir of Woodville Township records memories of local families, an academy, hunting, stories about the colonial period and the Revolutionary War. Their are also 3 vol. on treatments for patients, accounts of patients, and a ledger of goods purchased. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Wheeler, Samuel Jordan 1810, Diaries, 1825 1876. 13 v. 766. Discusses Wheeler's life as a planter and physician in Bertie County after 1867. Includes a discussion of his medical practice, farm activities, the weather, and neighborhood news. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Smallwood, Charles B. 1828, Diary, 1843-1865 2 v. 1905. Entries concerning plantation in western Indian Woods; a plantation journal for 1854; doctor's accounts for 1864-1865. Planter and physician. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; "Bertie County," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 9, no. 32 (1942), 18-19.

<sup>81</sup> Catherine Bond and Lois Marie Smallwood of Indian Woods, interview by author in Bart F. Smallwood Papers.

<sup>82</sup> Lord Cornwallis Cherry, interview by author in Bart F. Smallwood Papers.

<sup>83</sup> Askew Papers correspondence between Askew and family and business associates from 1853 to 1869 in Bertie County, North Carolina. Special Collections, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina; Biggs, Kader. Papers concerning Biggs's work as a merchant in Windsor, NC, types and prices of general Merchandise, and the hire of slaves, 1787-1870. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina; Britton, William. Ledgers from Britton's General store in Roxbel, Bertie County, North Carolina containing detailed accounts, transactions, records of customers, and types of merchandise at store, 1815-1872. Items 1-4. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>84</sup> Pete Daniel, The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Pete Daniel, Breaking the land: The Transformation of Cotton Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Sharrock, Whitmell T. (1808-ca. 1872) Papers, 1722-1874, 1898. 5 ft. 1218. Papers concerning trade, slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters; labor agreements with freedmen (1865-1869). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Taylor, John Douglas (1831-1912) Papers, 1909, 1912. 2 items. 984. Memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery) comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction. Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Thompson, Lewis, 1808-1867, Papers, 1723 1895. 4,650 items. 716. Papers concerning Thompson's plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods). Contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related. There are business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation. There are also a group of papers relating to land controlled by the Tuscarora Indians of Indian Woods. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Winston, Patrick Henry, 1820-1886, Papers, 1848 1877. 100 items. 963. Business papers some relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia. A constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Skinner family papers, #669, mostly letters between family members, particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807 and his son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly from 1846-1848, also materials on plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves, 1705-1900, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.



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<sup>85</sup> John Douglas Taylor papers, #984, memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36<sup>th</sup> Regt. NCT (2<sup>nd</sup> Regt. NC Artillery), comments on US Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; William M. Brewer, "Poor Whites and Negroes in the South Since The Civil War," The Journal of Negro History, ():26-37.

<sup>86</sup> Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, materials on Winston's life as a lawyer, Judge, member of the democratic party, and Mason in Bertie County, also materials on his term as Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina, US District Attorney, President of the North Carolina Bar Association, and trustee of the University of North Carolina, papers of his father-in-law, S.B. Kenney, 1828-1943, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.