

SLAVEHOLDERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE
CIVIL WAR: DAVIDSON COUNTY,
NORTH CAROLINA, 1820-1880

by

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The purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) to establish the social, political, and economic status of slaveholders in Davidson County prior to the Civil War and (2) to investigate the effects that the war and Reconstruction had on them.

An examination of each Federal census from 1820 to 1860 revealed the names of those heads of household who owned slaves. For the year 1820, the portion of the Rowan County census labeled Second and Fourth Battalions or Lexington Side was used since Davidson County was formed from this area in 1822. A survey of the 1870 census revealed which slaveholding heads of household or their families survived the war. Separate agricultural schedules of the census which were first taken in 1850 and subsequent ones through 1880 shed light on the landholding status of slaveholders and former slaveholders.

Court minutes, deeds, wills, and county commissioners' records were the major public records consulted. Contemporaneous newspaper accounts of the county were also consulted. Private papers in the form of letters, ledgers, receipts, and diaries housed in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill and at the State Archives in Raleigh were referred to as well as private documents still in the hands of the heirs of former slaveholders.

According to the available data, slaveholding in antebellum Davidson County fits many though not all previously drawn conclusions regarding slaveholding in western North Carolina.

As in other North Carolina counties, the vast majority of the heads of household owned no slaves in the years 1820 to 1860. Those who did own slaves owned on the average 5.8 slaves during the five prewar decades studied. The slaveholding minority dominated county affairs, constituting a local ruling elite for the decades under consideration. Although carpetbaggers and scalawags in alliance with freedmen have been considered the dominant figures in Southern politics during the decade following the war, this was not true for Davidson County. Former slaveholders themselves or their heirs continued to yield political and economic power through the Democratic Party, though admittedly to a lesser degree than during antebellum days. Both planters and plantations survived the war though at a significantly reduced level of prosperity. There were no large-scale land sales to either carpetbaggers or freedmen.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

How much change was wrought on slaveholders and their way of life by the Civil War and Reconstruction? Historians for decades have debated the degrees of change and continuity which marked this period in American history. To assess the effects of war and Reconstruction, there must be a clear picture of what antebellum southern society was like. Though studies of large coastal plantations with their well-preserved records have not claimed to be representative of the entire slaveholding South, they have overshadowed the study of smaller farmers who comprised the majority of slaveholding Southerners.

Yet the study of plantation culture has produced concepts that are valid for the piedmont regions of the South as well. Slaveholders were a minority of the total population. Only one-fourth of southern families owned slaves. It was, however, those slaveholders or planters who owned in the neighborhood of twenty or more slaves that were a dominant force in southern society--socially, economically, and politically. The largest slaveholdings in the piedmont were located along rivers and streams, wherever there was fertile land. Even so, slaveholding was not limited exclusively to those engaged in farming for slaveowning was found among physicians, merchants, clergymen, hotel keepers, miners, and bricklayers.

The decision to secede and the ensuing war unquestionably changed the southern way of life, but the extent of this change is still debated. Some historians have portrayed the war and Reconstruction as a "tragedy" visited upon the southern population, and others found it to be a period of revolutionary turmoil--a "second American Revolution." Northerners who came south after the Civil War and native Southerners who supported Republican plans for Reconstruction in combination with freed blacks have been considered the dominant figures in postwar southern politics. These carpetbaggers, scalawags, and freedmen gained political dominance with the advent of Negro suffrage in 1867. Greatly increased taxation coupled with declining property values were pictured as causing former slaveholders to sell or mortgage their lands to Northern speculators or freed blacks.

Recent historical research, however, indicates a somewhat different picture of the postwar South.¹ Plantations and planters survived the war and Reconstruction, though at a significantly reduced economic level. There were no wholesale land sales to Northerners or freed blacks. Despite the abolition of slavery, former slaveholders continued to till their lands using black labor. Former slaveholders or their heirs

¹James L. Roark, Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977)

continued to exercise political and economic power though to a lesser degree than during antebellum days.

Using Davidson County, North Carolina, as a specific case, the purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) to establish the social, political, and economic status of slaveholders prior to the Civil War and (2) to investigate the effects that the war and Reconstruction had on them. An examination of each Federal census from 1820 through 1860 disclosed the names of those heads of household who owned slaves during this period. Those slaveholders who survived the Civil War were identified by surveying both the population and agricultural schedules of the 1870 and 1880 censuses.

The agricultural schedules from 1850 through 1880 indicated the landholding status of former slaveholders. From viewing the number of improved and unimproved acres and the cash value of farms, farm implements, and farm products as recorded in these schedules, changes in the farming patterns of slaveholders and former slaveholders were determined. Studying the 1880 agricultural schedules revealed improvement or decline in farm values since the end of Reconstruction.

As with any historical study, limitations in the data and the investigator affect the results of this work and their interpretation. For example, the practice of listing only the names of the heads of household and not including the names of other family members in each census from 1820 to 1840 made it extremely difficult to compare, consistently, the slaveholdings of individuals of the same name for 1850 and 1860.

Despite the inclusion of age categories in the 1820 census, it was still impossible to separate the three David Smiths who appeared simultaneously in that census. Each of these David Smiths was recorded in the twenty-six to forty-five year old age group, but was listed with different numbers of dependents in various age groupings. Thus, which individual David Smith had gained or lost a specific number of slaves in 1830 was not possible to determine. Although the names of other members of the household were included in the population schedules from 1850 onward, these distinctions were not recorded in the agricultural schedules for the same period. Matching the proper agricultural holdings to the slaveholdings of two George Smiths, both of Boone Township, would have been a guess had distinguishing middle initials not been present in both the population and agricultural schedules. This, however, was not the case for other persons of the same name. In addition, recent historians have found that census figures for 1870 describe a bleaker South than was actually the case. Figures in the population schedules and the level of agricultural output recorded in the agricultural schedules are substantially below their true value. This knowledge must be kept in mind while studying the postwar era.

Wills, deeds, court minutes prior to 1868, and county commissioners' records from 1868 on were the major records consulted. Contemporary newspaper accounts of events in Davidson County, found in the newspapers of the county and neighboring counties as well, were studied for the prewar and postwar decades.

A survey of wills indicated whether slave property was divided among the heirs or whether slaves were sold. In a few cases wills indicated that certain slaves were to be hired out or allowed to choose a master from among the heirs or, even more rarely, to be emancipated. Searching the record of deeds revealed how much land was bought, sold, and mortgaged both before and after the Civil War. The deed record also contained bills of sale, deeds of gift, and deeds of trust involving slave property. The pages of the Lexington and Yadkin Flag, the only major newspaper published in the county prior to the Civil War, reported notices of slaves to be sold or hired, current political views, and local news concerning non-slaveholders and slaveholders alike. The Minutes of the Davidson County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions identified the leading county citizens and the political offices they held, indicated the way legal offenders--both slave and white--were treated, and reported the amount of local taxes that were levied. With the reorganization of state and local government initiated by the Federal Government in 1867-1868, the records of the new county commissioners replaced the court minutes. Other public records examined included documents in the North Carolina Division of Archives and History related to court cases concerning slaves and freedmen. Copies of the applications for pardon made by various of the county's former slaveholders to the Federal Government after the Civil War were found in the Archives too.

Private papers in the form of letters, ledgers, receipts, and diaries housed in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill were referred to as well as private documents still in the hands of the heirs of former slaveholders. All of these sources supplied information from which to draw conclusions on what the county's antebellum slaveholders were like and how the war and Reconstruction era affected them.

CHAPTER II

DAVIDSON COUNTY--INTRODUCTION

Until 1822 the region soon to be known as Davidson County existed as an integral part of Rowan County.¹ Currently bounded by Davie County on the west, Rowan and Montgomery Counties to the south, Randolph and Guilford Counties to the east, and Forsyth County to the north, Davidson County lies in the heartland of the industrial Piedmont Plateau. Yet a significant proportion of the county remains farm and dairy land. Numerous small streams, branches, and creeks meander toward the Yadkin River from the central regions of the county.

Relationships between the county's stream pattern and the distribution of slaveholdings strongly resembled those described by Edward Phifer for Burke County.² There the largest slaveholdings were found on lands adjoining major creeks and the Catawba River. In Davidson County, the largest slaveholdings were found where Muddy, Sandy, Potts, Swearing, Abbots, and Flat Swamp Creeks joined the Yadkin River. Moderate slaveholdings were to be found farther up the same branches and creeks.

¹David L. Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1950) 87-88.

²Edward W. Phifer, "Slavery in Microcosm: Burke County, North Carolina," Journal of Southern History 28 (May 1962), 137-165. See Tables 1, 2 and Figure 1 in the Appendix.

In 1850 the largest slaveholders (those who owned at least eleven slaves) possessed an average of 300 improved acres of land. These holdings ranged from the forty acres of John P. Mabry, tavern keeper, to the 1715 acres of Dr. William R. Holt, planter and physician. Figures for 1860 were quite similar, with the average improved acreage around 310 acres and the individual holdings ranging from the twenty-five acres of Gersham Tussey to the 1600 acres then belonging to Dr. Holt. Of the 480 heads of household who owned slaves in 1850 and the 429 who owned slaves in 1860, three-fourths were engaged exclusively in farming during this decade. According to the census, five Negroes owned slaves in the county between 1820 and 1840 but no black slaveholders were listed in 1850 or 1860.¹ There were usually more than a hundred free blacks living in the county from 1830 on. Although sixty-one family heads owned more than ten slaves in 1860, the vast majority of the population were non-slaveholders. At no time from 1820 to 1860 did slaveholding heads of household exceed twenty-one percent of the total heads of household in the county.²

¹Bill Valentine, free person of color, owned four slaves in 1820 but owned none in 1830 or 1840. Jesse Cain, Sarah David, and Tabitha Hatcher each owned one slave in 1830. Catherine Racliff owned one slave in 1840.

²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Kenneth W. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956) 29. See also Table 3.

How attached were county residents as a whole to the institution of slavery? In a June 1855 letter to the editor of the local newspaper, one might detect some criticism of the agrarian slaveholding status quo as "Macon," the signer of the letter, urged North Carolinians to start their own industries. "Times in North Carolina will never be permanently better, until we do something to stop this everlasting sending North for every thing we use."¹ Yet in the same breath, "Macon" betrayed an ingrained attachment to slavery as the products he wished to see manufactured included Negro shoes, hats, and blankets as well as horse buckets, wheat cradles, cutting knives, plows, and hoes. A survey of the court records revealed no opposition when the court ordered runaway slaves returned to their masters or sold when they went unclaimed by their masters for more than the specified number of months. Among county residents there were no examples of resistance to slaveholding. Within the available private papers written by county residents, there was no indication of latent opposition to slaveholding on the part of anyone, slaveholder or non-slaveholder alike.² A recent interview with

¹Lexington and Yadkin Flag, 27 July 1855 (LYF)

²Davidson County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions Minutes Docket, 1823-1868. Although Davidson County native Benjamin S. Hedrick, chemistry professor at UNC, Chapel Hill, lost his job in 1856 because he held anti-slavery opinions, there is no indication that those who resided in the county believed as Professor Hedrick did. In fact, while traveling to his brother's home in Davidson County that year, Professor Hedrick barely missed an encounter with an angry mob of county residents who opposed his views. John Spencer Bassett, Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina, Johns Hopkins University Series in Historical and Political Science, 16th Series, no. 6 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898).

Mrs. Allie Nooe Harris, granddaughter of Bennett Nooe who was an antebellum resident of the county, confirms that there was little resistance to slaveholding. While her grandfather and others of whom she spoke did not own slaves, they did rent them. In that way they avoided the responsibilities of slaveholding while enjoying some benefits from the use of slave labor.

CHAPTER III
INDIVIDUAL SLAVEHOLDERS

The prestige attached to slaveholding is shown in the identities of the various slaveholders. They were found among the county's founding fathers and the town fathers of Lexington and Thomasville. From the Spurgin family, highly respected since Revolutionary War days, came State Senator Joseph Spurgin (eight slaves in 1820) who, on November 22, 1822, introduced the bill to divide Rowan County. The founders and first-builders of Lexington, Alexander Caldcleugh (fourteen slaves), Benjamin D. Rounsaville (four slaves), and Jesse Hargrave (28 slaves), were prominent citizens and slaveholders as was John W. Thomas (21 slaves) who founded Thomasville in the 1850s.¹

Merchants, doctors, clergymen as well as farmers owned slaves. Methodist clergyman Thales McDonald owned fifty-three slaves in 1850 while Archibald Montgomery, pastor in the Presbyterian church, owned fourteen. Eli Carroll, pastor of Holloways Baptist Church in 1832 and later of Jersey Baptist, owned two slaves in 1830 and one in 1840 and 1850. Among the Hargrave family heads, Alfred, Jesse, Robert, and Samuel—all respected community leaders and large landowners—were found 185 slaves in

¹Jacob C. Leonard, Centennial History of Davidson County, North Carolina (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Co., 1927), 25-6, 33-4; Mary Green Matthews and M. Jewell Sink, Pathfinders, Past and Present: A History of Davidson County, North Carolina (High Point: Hall Printing Co., 1972), 34-7, 40-3, 230.

1850 and 224 in 1860. Another respected community leader and doctor, Burgess L. Beall, owned 51 slaves in 1850. The largest cotton planter in the county, a prominent doctor and magistrate, William R. Holt, owned 98 slaves in 1850 and 99 in 1860.¹

Slaveholders almost always held the important county offices such as sheriff, justice of the peace, magistrate of the county court, clerk of court, and registrar. All eight men who served as sheriff between 1823 and 1865 were slaveholders. Banker and farmer Cicero F. Lowe, who served the longest term as clerk of court during the antebellum era (1845 to 1861), owned more than ten slaves in 1850 and 1860. Of the four other clerks of court during the prewar era, all but one were recorded in the census as slaveowners. The proportion of magistrates who served at any one session of court ranged from 70 to 100 percent of the total during the antebellum era. Sixty to 90 percent of the justices of the peace who listed the county's taxable property each year before the war were slaveholders. Leading members of the bar such as James M. Leach and James A. Long were slaveholders. As commissioners to value estates, prominent slaveholders were called upon by the court not only to assess the value of slaves to be divided among heirs, but also in many cases to sell such slaves so that an estate might be divided equally among the heirs.²

¹Garland A. Hendricks, Saints and Sinners at Jersey Settlement,: The Life and Story of Jersey Baptist Church, (Thomasville: Charity and Children, 1964), 67; Census, 1830-1860.

²Court Minutes, August 1851-May 1860.

The great majority of the county's legislators were also slaveholders, including those with the longest tenure, Senator John W. Thomas (eleven slaves in 1840; 21 in 1850; 26 in 1860), Representatives Henry Walser (eight slaves in 1840; eight in 1850; thirteen in 1860), and James M. Leach (twelve in 1850; two in 1860). The only antebellum citizen of Davidson County to be appointed to the Council of State was slaveholder Dr. Charles L. Payne in 1848 (eighteen in 1840; 25 in 1850). Furthermore, the only county resident to serve in the United States Congress prior to the war was the same James M. Leach, a slaveholding member of the American Party, who served in the Thirty-Sixth Congress.¹

Slaveholders were also prominent in the leadership of their respective churches. Records of Jersey Baptist Church show that slaveholders James Wiseman, William Owen, Henry Smith, and George F. Smith were respected church leaders. Among the ruling elders of the First Presbyterian Church of Lexington were Joseph Conrad, Benjamin Rounsaville, Dr. Charles L. Payne, Henry R. Dusenberry, Dr. Robert L. Beall, and Professor Charles W. Smythe, all slaveholders. The first Methodist church organized in the county met on land donated by slaveholder Peter Byerly near Yadkin College. Among Methodists, Henry Walser, a distinguished local

¹North Carolina Government, 1585-1974: A Narrative and Statistical History (A Revised and Updated Edition of the 1973 North Carolina Manual), Issued by Thad Eure (Secretary of State), (Raleigh: N.C. Dept. of the Sec. of State, 1975), 177-8, 281-5, 287, 289, 290-304, 308-13, 315-8, 321-8, 690, (NCG); Leonard, Centennial, 67-9; Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 401-2; See also Table 4.

political leader and slaveholder, served the church in various leadership capacities well beyond the county limits. He was instrumental in establishing a seminary under church control at Yadkin College.¹

Slaveholders were prominent among the county's educational leaders. Nine of the ten members of the first Board of Superintendents of Common Schools chaired by John W. Thomas were slaveholders. These men were charged with laying off school districts and appropriating monies to run the schools. The development of private academies within the county was also due in large part to efforts spearheaded by slaveholders.²

Although the more prominent social, political, and economic leaders in Davidson County were overwhelmingly though not exclusively slaveowners, it might be contended that there was still no viable slaveholding aristocracy in the county. Edward Phifer, in his study of Burke County, argued that without primogeniture and entail and with the presence of numerous heirs, there could be no stable slaveholding aristocracy.³ The division of the estates of prominent Davidson County slaveholders would seem to bear this out. The slave property, not to mention the land, of Jesse Hargrave was divided according to the will he

¹Hendricks, Saints, 77. Land transactions involving the establishment of church buildings included not only the names of the persons selling land to churches but also the names of the individuals trusted to act upon the churches' behalf. Many who acted on behalf of the churches were slaveholders. Davidson County Deed Books 3, 4, 15, 18; Leonard, Centennial, 435, 502-3, 420, 428-9.

²Leonard, Centennial, 220, 222, 428-9; Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 405.

³Phifer, "Slavery," 147.

wrote in 1829 among his widow, six sons, daughter, and granddaughter.¹ Negroes held by Burgess Beall were divided as equally as possible by monetary value among six heirs, his widow and five children, with no heir receiving more than nine slaves. The Beall real estate was similarly divided. In general, the estates of slaveholders were divided among multiple heirs in this fashion.²

Although such divisions of property prevented the rise of a slaveholding aristocracy as defined in European terms, slaveholders remained at the center of power as presiding magistrates of the county court, members of county committees of finance, justices of the peace, sheriffs, clerks of court and registrars. Slaveholders represented the county in state and national government and were prominent in the church.

Forty-five of the 59 largest slaveholders in 1850, those who owned more than ten slaves, increased their slaveholdings by 1860. Although twelve other persons who had not owned slaves at all in 1850 entered this group by 1860, slaveholding itself was becoming concentrated in fewer hands during that decade. Whereas 480 heads of household had owned slaves in 1850, only 429 heads owned them in 1860. While the number of slaveholders decreased by 10.6 percent, the number of slaves owned in the county increased by 2.8 percent--from 2992 to 3076 slaves. The average number of slaves owned increased from six to seven.

¹Davidson County Wills, 1: 139.

²"Negroes Allotted in the Division of the Negroes of B.L. Beall dec'd, Jan 18, 1854," Original document in the possession of Mrs. Luther Pickett, Linwood, N.C. Court Minutes, August 1852, November 1857; Census, 1850, 1860.

Thus a slaveholding aristocracy in the American sense of the word, that is, an aristocracy based not upon hereditary title but upon the concentration of power within slaveholder hands and upon the increasing concentration of slaveholding in fewer and fewer hands, had developed in Davidson County by 1860.

CHAPTER IV
SLAVEHOLDERS' LIVELIHOOD

Although slaveholders invested money in economic ventures other than farming, their livelihoods were predominantly tied to agriculture. Slaveholders in 1850 cultivated almost twice the number of improved acres as did the average Davidson County farmer. They also possessed almost twice the number of unimproved acres as the average farmer. Acre for acre, the slaveholder's land was 25 percent more valuable than the countywide average. Slaveholders' farms were, on the average, worth slightly more than twice the amount of the average county farm. Similarly, the value of farm implements owned by the average slaveholder was double that of the average county farmer.

While slaveholding farmers were only 33 percent of the total farmers in the county, by 1860 they owned 40 percent of the improved acres in the county and almost the same proportion of unimproved acres. The cash value of the slaveholders' farms was 49 percent of the total value of all county farms. Slaveholders possessed by value 40 percent of all farm implements. When considering the value of real estate owned, farm and other real estate included, slaveholding farmers held by value 51 percent of the county's real property. They held 65 percent of the personal wealth.¹ Slaveholders as well as nonslaveholders grew crops like wheat, corn, oats, and hay and both

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Agriculture; Eight Census of the United States, 1860: Agriculture; See Table 5.

were interested in growing other crops like cotton or tobacco. In 1850 and 1860, however, slaveholding farmers dominated the production of cotton.¹ The nineteen largest cotton producers, ones producing more than nine bales, produced 69 percent of the 932 bales in 1850. All of these nineteen were slaveowners. Although the average number of slaves owned by these farmers equalled 36, the actual slaveholdings ranged from eight to 98. By contrast, among the 24 largest tobacco growers in the same period who grew 100 or more pounds, only eight were slaveholders.

By 1860, the countywide cotton production had fallen to 458 bales. The number of those who produced more than nine bales dropped from nineteen to eleven. Despite their decrease in numbers, these eleven farmers produced 78 percent of the county's cotton. The average number of slaves owned by these farmers equalled 45, with the actual numbers ranging from fifteen to 99. Although the available records do not indicate specifically how many slaves were engaged in cotton production, it is noteworthy that while cotton production had declined during the decade, the average number of slaves owned by the cotton growers had risen.

Apparently many slaveholding farmers joined the increasing numbers of nonslaveholding farmers who were turning to tobacco as the main cash crop by 1860. The discovery of the bright leaf variety of tobacco and a new process of curing it in tobacco barns evidently increased tobacco's popularity as a money crop.²

¹See Table 6.

²Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 263; See also Tables 7 and 8.

County wide tobacco production had almost tripled since 1850. Among the 31 largest tobacco growers in 1860, those producing 100 or more pounds of tobacco, two-thirds were slaveholders as opposed to only one-third in 1850. Their slaveholdings averaged twelve slaves. Actual numbers of slaves owned by each ranged from one to 60.

While the countywide production of wheat increased during the prewar decade, the production of corn, oats, and hay declined. But among slaveholders who farmed 200 or more acres during the same period, the production of these four crops increased, and though countywide production of swine was on the decline during that same decade, the number of swine increased among these slaveholders.

Generally speaking, these county slaveholders were more prosperous than non-slaveholding farmers. Despite the use of slave labor, slaveholding farmers used farm implements more extensively than their non-slaveholding counterparts. While the non-slaveholder was able to grow tobacco as a cash crop nearly as well as the slaveholder, it was the slaveholding farmer who excelled in cotton production. Yet by 1860, the slaveholder dominated the county's tobacco production. Slaveholders pursued the cash benefits of a crop as aggressively as the non-slaveholder. Slaveholders led non-slaveholders in the production of other major crops as well. Such agricultural achievement was obviously the result of using slave labor.

While agriculture unquestionably dominated the county's prewar economy, residents did not entirely turn their backs

on manufacturing. As mentioned previously, there were voices that urged less dependence on northern industry and more attention to developing southern industry.¹

One way to decrease dependence on northern industry was to develop textile manufacturing. This was attempted within the county with the founding of the Lexington Manufacturing Company in 1839. Apparently the most active incorporators of this company were the Hargrave family although it is said that Edwin M. Holt, owner of the Alamance Cotton Mills in Alamance County and brother of William R. Holt, also promoted the venture. The president of the company was Alfred Hargrave. It was he who oversaw three purchases of land totaling almost 85 acres on which to locate the factory. This venture was expected to be an economic success. The Western Carolinian, a Salisbury newspaper, featured an article on the yarn factory soon after its opening. Numerous advertisements for laborers were run in the paper, and other advertisements offered yarn for sale.² One of the 25 cotton mills in the state in 1840, it was destroyed by fire in 1844 and never rebuilt. A September 10, 1844 entry in the diary of Edwin M. Holt recounts the loss: "Lexington factory burns at night. Loss estimated at \$65,000."³ Although the owners were not willing to rebuild the factory themselves, they offered liberal credits to anyone else who

¹LYF, 27 July 1855.

²Western Carolinian, 17 January 1839; 21 February 1839; 4 April 1839.

³"Edwin M. Holt Diary," in Edwin M. Holt Papers, 1841-54 (SHC, UNC-CH).

was willing to do so.¹ While these slaveholders were willing to make an initial investment in southern industry, if calamity befell the venture or if the venture did not prove profitable, they were not willing to reinvest in its continuance. Apparently they considered agriculture a more dependable investment.

County slaveholders were prominent in the struggle to obtain internal improvements in the western part of the state. In 1849, the Davidson County legislative delegation, including Senator John W. Thomas and Representatives James M. Leach and Henry Walser, took leading roles in the creation of the North Carolina Railroad. Thomas was chosen to canvass the western section of the state to sell stock in the railroad. One million dollars in stock had to be sold to private subscribers in order to receive the state's appropriation of two million dollars.² Among the individuals who were unremitting in this fund raising campaign was Dr. William R. Holt. In recognition of his efforts, two stations in the county were named in his honor, Holtsburg and Linwood, which was also the name of his farm. John W. Thomas took the contract for building six miles of the railroad beginning in what was soon to become Thomasville and built toward Lexington. Another slaveholder, Valentine Hoover, built from Thomasville toward High Point. The railroad, which passed through the middle of the county for a distance of nearly thirty miles,

¹Greensborough Patriot, 10, 21 December 1844.

²Laws of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1848-49 (Raleigh: Thomas J. Lemray, Printer, 1849), Ch. LXXXII.

was finished in the county by 1855. Although celebrations of its completion within the county were held on July 4 in Lexington and November 9 in Thomasville, the railroad was not opened throughout its length (from Goldsboro to Charlotte) until 1856. Naturally, there was a building boom within the county while the railroad was under construction.¹

A majority of the men who spearheaded the development of banking in the county were also slaveholders. The first board of directors of the Bank of Lexington in 1859 were all slaveholders. When the first bank was chartered in Thomasville in 1861, those placed in charge were also slaveholders.²

¹Archibald Henderson, North Carolina: The Old North State and the New (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1941). Issued in 5 volumes, 2: 150; Leonard, Centennial, 91, 356; Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 82-3, 209.

²Private Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1858-9 (Raleigh: Holden and Wilson, Publishers to the State, 1859), Ch. LXVIII; Private Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1860-1 (Raleigh: John Speilman, Printer to the State, 1861), Ch. LXV.

CHAPTER V
VARIOUS SLAVEHOLDING RESPONSIBILITIES

Besides the economic benefits derived from it, slaveholding entailed several moral and legal responsibilities. Slaveholders were obliged to feed, clothe, shelter, supervise, and discipline their slaves. Planters who owned more than thirty slaves usually delegated at least part of this responsibility to hired overseers.¹ Farmers and small planters who owned from ten to thirty slaves usually did not employ overseers unless they operated more than one farm or combined farming with some other business or profession. The census records indicate that there were no agents or overseers employed in Davidson County in 1820 or 1830. Only a very small number of overseers were employed in the county from 1840 to 1860. Sixty-eight slaves composed the largest holdings supervised by overseers. Three employers of overseers were named in 1860. The reasons why Reubin Holmes, Jesse Hargrave, and John A. Bradshaw employed overseers are unknown at this time. Perhaps Holmes operated another farm in Rowan County and maintained his residence there. Maybe John Bradshaw found a job as a tutor in a West Indian family as he had hoped to do.²

¹Stampp, Peculiar Institution, 38.

²Holmes Folder in McCubbins' Papers, Rowan County Public Library; Noble J. Tolbert, ed., The Papers of John W. Ellis, Vol. 1 (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1964), 48. Bradshaw, nephew of John W. Ellis, the secession governor, asked Ellis to find him a job as tutor to a West Indian family. Bradshaw's doctor recommended the change of climate.

In general, while the number of southerners employed as overseers about equalled the number of plantations with more than 30 slaves in 1860, this was not true for Davidson County.¹ While there were eight plantations that held more than 30 slaves, only three overseers were named in the census. Two supervised slaveholdings of less than 30 slaves. The employer of overseer J.H. Long is not given, and only three slaves were listed by his name in the census. Possibly Long, himself, owned the three slaves. The vast majority of Davidson County slaveholders, therefore, did not hire overseers, but were themselves directly responsible for feeding, clothing, sheltering and disciplining their slaves.

The usual weekly food ration for adult slaves included a peck of cornmeal and three or four pounds of salt pork or bacon.² Some slaveholders added milk, molasses, vegetables, and fruit to the slaves' diet. Their slaves were the ones least likely to suffer from malnutrition. As corn and swine production increased among the county's slaveholders from 1850 to 1860 while the average county production of these products declined, one could assume that county slaveholders were feeding their slaves corn and pork.

Well-fed slaves were more numerous across the South than well-clothed ones.³ Unlike food, slave clothing often required cash outlays. Owners anxious to reduce operating expenses often

¹Stampp, Peculiar Institution, 38; Census, 1860.

²Stampp, Peculiar Institution, 282.

³Ibid., 289-290.

allowed their slaves to go ragged or meagerly clothed. Clothing regularly allotted to the slaves was sometimes produced on the farm and sometimes manufactured commercially. Little at present is really known about the clothing ration for Davidson County slaves. Some documents do indicate that clothing and "negro blankets" were often included as partial payment for slave hire. County residents through the local newspaper called for the establishment of southern factories to manufacture Negro rations like shoes and clothes as well as tools, thereby avoiding the need to send north for them.

Southern slaves usually were housed in cabins near the slaveholders' houses.¹ The cabins were used mainly as places to sleep and as shelters in inclement weather when slaves were not working in the fields or serving in the plantation house. Southern periodicals suggested that the cabins should never be small or crowded. A cabin of sixteen to eighteen square feet was recommended for a man, woman, and three to four small children. While the dimensions of Davidson County slave cabins are not known, the 1860 census reported 606 slave cabins in the county. This computes to an average of five slaves per cabin.

Slaveholders were legally responsible for ensuring that their slaves did not roam loose about the community. Written passes were to be provided by the slaveholder for any slaves who needed to go from place to place in the community.² When

¹Ibid., 292-3.

²Guion G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1937), 498.

slaves escaped their owners' control by running away, the community stepped in. Runaway slaves were confined in the local jail until the owners claimed them. If they were not reclaimed, they were re-sold at public auction.¹ When the slaveholder reclaimed his runaway slave from the Davidson County jail, he was liable for the cost of the slave's board during the period of confinement.

A North Carolina slaveholder who chose to emancipate a slave was responsible for following the proper legal procedure. First, he filed a petition to the State Supreme Court for permission to emancipate the slave. If permission was granted, he was required to post bond that his freed slave would leave the state within 90 days.²

Another slaveholding responsibility was to serve on the patrol. Dating from 1753 in North Carolina, the patrol was charged with searching through the county for slaves who were roaming about without official passes, with dispersing slave assemblies, with arresting runaway slaves, with detecting thefts by slaves, and with reporting persons who traded with slaves.³ Each county was divided into patrol districts led by a captain

¹Laws of the State of North Carolina, enacted in the Year, 1818, (Raleigh: Thomas Henderson, State Printer, 1819) Ch. XXIII.

²Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at the Session of 1830-1, (Raleigh: Lawrence and Lemay, 1831) Ch. IX.

³John Spencer Bassett, Slavery in the State of North Carolina, Johns Hopkins University Series in History and Political Science, 17th Series, nos. 7-8 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 332-3.

who was appointed by the county court. Patrollers were appointed by the court to serve for a year at a time and were assigned to specific patrol districts. At first, the patrol district consisted of no more than six men, but later any number considered necessary by the county could be appointed. Patrollers were exempted from road and jury duty during that year. Davidson County court records reveal that numerous patrollers also requested exemption from paying either their poll taxes or county poor taxes as a consequence of having served on patrol, and such requests were nearly always granted.¹ The basis for selecting individuals to serve on the patrol was not spelled out in the court record. Although the majority of patrollers were slaveholders, non-slaveholders served as well.

Slaveholders were expected to pay poll or head taxes on their slaves as well as on themselves and their own families. Yet sometimes exemptions were made, as when John S. Phillips was allowed in 1851 to claim an exemption for a slave girl "in consequence of her being dumb and unable to perform Labour."² The poll tax itself was set annually by the county justices. For the year 1850, a 45¢ tax per poll or head was levied for contingent purposes, plus 9¢ for the poor and 15 3/4¢ for the common schools. These taxes increased 68 percent by 1860.³

¹Court Minutes, February 1823–November 1860.

²Ibid., August 1851

³Ibid., February 1851; February 1861.

In addition to the county poll tax, slaveholders were required to pay a state tax on each slave they owned. This was 20¢ per slave when Davidson County was founded. By 1860 it had increased to 80¢ for each black poll. Though these amounts were small, the increase amounted to 400 percent since 1820¹.

¹Laws of the State of North Carolina, (1819) Ch. VII. This was still the rate in 1822. Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1846-47, (Raleigh: T.J. Lemay, State Printer, 1847) Ch. LXXV provided for the re-assessment of lands and taxable polls in 1847 and every eight years thereafter. Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1858-59, (Raleigh: Holder and Wilson, Publishers to the State, 1859) Ch. XXV still applied in 1860.

CHAPTER VI
SLAVE-MASTER RELATIONSHIP

Slaves were considered suited to perform a variety of tasks besides farm work. Among other things, slaves served as miners, wagoners, blacksmiths, tanners, cooks, and house servants. Many slaveholders regarded them as more profitable workers in their occupations than were free laborers. The stockholders of the Yadkin Navigation Company voted unanimously in 1855 to purchase slaves to do the company's work of making the Yadkin River navigable for steamboats above and below the point where the North Carolina Railroad passed over the river. They planned to sell the slaves when the work was done. Among those present at the meeting were Peter W. Hairston, Benton C. Douthit, and Henry Walser--slaveholders who evidently considered free labor less appropriate for their needs.¹ Slave labor was often used to satisfy the owners' civic responsibilities such as performing work on the public roads. In addition, the 1830 census reported that both the King & Co. Gold Mine and the North Carolina Gold Mine Company owned slaves. Slaves were later

¹Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1854-55, (Raleigh: Holden and Wilson, Printers to the State, 1855) Ch. CLXX; LYF, 14 December 1855.

employed at the Silver Hill Mine located in the heart of the county.¹

In Davidson County, hiring out slaves was apparently as common as working them on the owner's plantation. Although U.B. Phillips considered slave hire more characteristic of town than country, in Davidson County slave hire was common throughout the county--rural and town areas alike.² Often the wills of slaveholders directed, for various reasons, that upon their deaths their slaves be hired out. In his will, John Lindsay ordered that his wife either keep all the Negroes he bequeathed to her and their children or else hire them out until the children came of age. The money earned by the slaves was to be used to help raise the slaveholder's children. Samuel Dusenbury made the same request of his widow. Sometimes the deceased slaveholder requested the slaves be hired out to the heirs of the estate and the money used to support the widow while she lived. In other cases, wills provided that slaves be hired out until the heirs came of age, when they would get both the slaves and the money the slaves had earned. Only rarely were instructions found like those given in the will of Sherwood Kennedy--that his black man, Zeal, keep his own earnings by giving his bond and security for his good behavior. Though not specifically directed in a will, slaves were frequently

¹Court Minutes, February 1857; August 1858; "Washington Mine Record, 1845-6," (SHC, UNC-Chapel Hill) later became the Silver Hill Mine; "Silver Hill Mining Company Ledger, 1859-62," (SHC, UNC-Chapel Hill).

²Phillips, Life and Labor, 216.

hired out while estates were in probate, as were the slaves belonging to the Burgess Beall estate and the seven Negroes belonging to the estate of William Haden.¹

The practice of hiring out slaves continued throughout the prewar decades. Before his death, Dr. Burgess Beall made it a regular practice to hire out his slaves. A written agreement between A.F. Koontz and Dr. Beall set the terms for hire and compensation to be paid for a slave, Mary.² Koontz promised to give Mary her board, clothing, shoes, stockings, and a "good negro blanket" for services for the year. No further compensation for Beall was stated. Dr. Beall agreed to provide for Mary's medical care gratis, but if he were away, Koontz agreed to send for another doctor at his own expense. Dr. Robert L. Beall continued his father's custom of hiring out slaves after the settlement of his father's estate. Monetary considerations for the owner plus clothing for the slave seem to have been the usual terms of hiring out slaves. For the slave there was increased mobility. Sometimes slaves were hired out to persons in neighboring counties.³

Numerous slaveholders hired out their slaves to work in the Silver Hill Mine during the superintendency of Richard Pascoe. Located ten miles south of Lexington, the mine employed

¹Davidson County Wills, 1:103, 121, 125, 252,363; Court Minutes August, November 1853; February 1854; LYF, 23 November 1855.

²"An Agreement to keep Mary for the Year 1852," in Beall and Harper Family Papers, 1830-1914 (SHC, UNC-CH).

³LYF, 2 January 1857; W.J. McConnell to Robert Bell (Beall), Esq. 23 December 1854, in Beall and Harper Papers (SHC, UNC-CH).

over one hundred hands.¹ The going rate for hire seems to have varied from owner to owner and from month to month. Anna Holmes, the widow of Moses Holmes, received a monthly payment of \$25.83 $\frac{1}{3}$ for each of five slaves and \$26.14 $\frac{1}{2}$ for each of three slaves hired to the mine during 1859. For the period from May 25 through June 30 of the same year, Ephraim D. Hampton received \$12.41 $\frac{2}{3}$ each for the service of two of his slaves. From July through December, Hampton hired out four more slaves at the same rate. While Adoniram J. Owens received \$10.00 a month for the slave he hired to the mine in 1859, he received \$10.41 $\frac{2}{3}$ a month for a slave hired out in 1860. Non-residents of the county, Julius and Alexander Gray, owned slaves who were employed by the Silver Hill Mine. In 1860, Alexander Gray received \$85.83 $\frac{1}{3}$ a month for an unstated number of slaves who were employed for the year by Pascoe.²

Despite increased mobility and the chance to leave their own masters, some slaves did not welcome being hired out. Aubery (Aubrey) and Dinah, properties of John W. Thomas, ran away when they were sent to the Jones Mine. On their return to the Thomas plantation, the two slaves complained that a Mr. Hepler, in whose care they had been entrusted, had not fed them properly. Both, however, were returned to the mine as

¹"Silver Hill Mine Ledger"; LYF, 31 August 1855.

²Phillips, Life and Labor, 181 comments on the varying rate for slave hire. "Silver Hill Mine Ledger," 16, 59, 60, 64, 201.

soon as Aubory had recovered from a nettle rash which he had apparently contracted while fleeing home.¹

Although misunderstandings evidently arose in the matter of slave hirings, attempts to maintain fairness were just as evident. A Negro slave hired by Dr. Robert L. Beall to a Mr. Garnett of Salisbury complained of having a sore arm--one which the slave claimed had been sore before he was hired out. Despite the resultant inability of the slave to do the job for which he was contracted, Garnett stated that he was willing to pay for the slave's time which he had already used or to do anything else that was fair.²

Sometimes to insure fair play and the payment of just debts, the court intervened between disputing parties. In the spring of 1856 William J. McElroy and James P. Stimson lodged a complaint against Eli Harris. It seems that McElroy and Stimson had hired from Harris a Negro man named Lane at a cost of \$175 to work in the McCulloch Mine for one year. After having worked only a few days, the slave requested that the superintendent of the mine, John Rodman, send him home, which he did. The slave remained at Harris' for the rest of the year. McElroy and Stimson claimed that Harris knew before he hired Lane out that the slave had consumption and was unfit for labor. It was McElroy and Stimson's contention that the misrepresentation of

¹H.E. Rounsaville to John W. Thomas. 14 December 1848, in John Warwick Thomas Papers, 1848-1893 (SHC, UNC-CH).

²Alex Murdock to Dr. R.L. Beall. 9 February 1854, in Beall and Harper Papers (SCH, UNC-CH).

the slave's condition and the slave's failure to perform the contracted work rescinded the contract.¹ At other times the court ordered the return of hired slaves to their owners and exacted a just compensation for their use. In the case of Haden versus Pendleton, the court ordered that Lawney, Keziah, and Henry, who had been hired to Dr. Samuel H. Pendleton, be taken into custody by the sheriff along with an ivory-headed cane, a bay horse, a buggy, a harness, and a black cow so they could be turned over to Haden.²

Evidently hiring out slaves occurred more routinely than selling them outright although slave sales occurred rather frequently. Slaves were commonly sold en masse after the death of their owners, usually at public auction. This was done in order to pay debts owed by the estate or to divide it equally among the heirs. The fragmentation of slave families under these circumstances was evidently common. Between 1850 and 1860 an average of five petitions to divide slaves (separate the slave property of an estate into equal shares) appeared yearly in the court record. Yet these requests were fewer than requests to divide land among the heirs. When the court ordered slaves to be sold to settle an estate, there were no instructions to keep slave families together. The slaves were to be sold publically to the highest bidders after the upcoming sale had

¹"Civil Actions Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, 1856-9," in Davidson County Miscellaneous Records (North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh); Phillips, Life and Labor, 167-8.

²Court Minutes, May 1857.

been advertised in the local newspaper.¹

Apart from such estate slave sales, advertisements of slaves for sale became a regular feature in the Lexington and Yadkin Flag, the local county newspaper, by 1856. In one such advertisement James A. Long, editor of the Flag, a lawyer, and slaveholder, himself acted as the agent for Sarah Caldcleugh in the sale of Ensley, "a valuable Negro man...young and likely, stout, sound and healthy. A number one fellow."²

Of the eight advertisements run in the Lexington and Yadkin Flag in 1856 for the sale of slaves, half concerned slaves to be sold en masse at public auction. Some of the latter brought considerable prices as evidenced by the sums subsequently published in the newspaper:³

<u>Slave</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Price</u>
Alexander	23	\$1200
Charlotte	30	\$1035
Ailsey	21	\$1003
Adaline	17	\$1000
Henry	14	\$920
Jane	10	\$800
Ben	43	\$710
Ned	54	\$611
Betty	47	\$327
Henry	43	\$280

¹Court Minutes, 1850-60.

²LYF, 4 January 1856. The LYF began publication in July, 1855.

³Ibid., 7 March 1856; Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 475-6. Note that although Johnson states that the average price of slaves had climbed from \$800 in 1840 to an 1850 figure of \$1000, in 1856, the price of these ten slaves averaged \$788.60.

The value of the slave depended upon his age, health, temperament, and skill. Men usually brought more than women. Craftsmen such as carpenters and blacksmiths brought more than field hands. As long as a slave was classified as a prime field hand, until the age of 30 or so, his value continued to be high. After age 50, however, it declined yearly because his potential for hard labor to reimburse the owner's investment grew shorter.¹

Though the purchasers of the ten slaves above remained anonymous, there is no indication that professional slave traders were involved. Though Frederic Bancroft stated that slave dealers were less interested in North Carolina slaves than in those of Virginia and South Carolina and that most North Carolina intrastate slave traders were found in Wilmington, Davidson County resident Spruce W. McCrary listed himself as a trader in 1860. In fact the county court exempted him from paying tax on \$10,000 capital used in Negro trading for 1860.² In Davidson County as elsewhere, slaveholders first went to fellow slaveholders when they wished to purchase slaves rather than to slave merchants or speculators. In the recorded bills of sale here, only an insignificant number of non-county residents were involved, and these were residents of surrounding counties, not slave dealers.³

¹Phillips, Life and Labor, 174-5.

²Frederic Bancroft, Slave-trading in the Old South (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1931), 237-8; Census, 1860; Court Minutes, August 1861.

³Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 474.

When bills of sale for slaves were recorded in the court minutes, the names of the sellers, the buyers, and the slaves were included along with the age and sex of the slaves. The date of the transaction was also included. The bills of sale recorded in the county deed books included the names of the sellers, the buyers, and the slaves together with the prices that were paid, but seldom the age of the slaves.¹ Often bills of sale proved in open court were not found in the deed books. Thus an accurate determination of the value of Davidson County slaves based on age, sex, and skills would be difficult, if not impossible.

Throughout the antebellum period, the majority of slaves sold in the county were children. While most were sold to slaveholders residing in the county, a few were sold to persons from neighboring counties. Sometimes, but not always, a mother and her small infant were sold together. In 1860, Smith Cross sold George W. Cross a Negro woman of twenty and her seven-month-old son for \$1500. But Ham, the slave of William F. Henderson, was sold for \$300 in 1857 at the age of four months, and there was no mention of the child's mother.²

Not only were slaves sold outright, they were pledged as collateral for debts that slaveholders had incurred. John A. Oakes, for example, granted a deed of trust to Henry Walser

¹Court Minutes, 1823-1860; Deeds, 1: 309, 4: 771.

²Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 475; Deeds, 1: 36, 15: 17, 16: 331.

in 1857 which included five adult slaves and three children as collateral for a debt approximating \$1855. In August, 1861, Robert Moore, who was in debt for \$2000, put up the following property as security: three tracts of land (acreage not specified), one steam sawmill, and seven Negroes.¹

Slave families were frequently divided when slaveholders gave them to other members of their own families. Apparently it was a common practice among slaveholding families to help start their children off in independent households by giving them a few slaves. Because of this "love and affection" for his daughter Martha Raper, slaveholder Adam Motsinger conveyed to her three Negroes: Mary, Rose, and Rose's child. Joseph Spurgin gave his daughter, Jane Brown, and her husband, Haley, a Negro girl aged eleven that the Browns had already had in their possession for two years. Haley's father, John Brown of Randolph County, gave Haley the following Negroes: a woman named Lucy, Lucy's son who was two, and Alfred, age nine, who was Lucy's brother. Often very young slave children were separated from their mothers. In 1828, Burwell Rush and his wife gave their married daughter a Negro boy who was only fourteen months old. The practice of giving slaves away to members of one's own family was continuing in 1861, even as secession drew near.²

¹Deeds, 15: 288, 17: 251.

²Ibid., 5:404, 448; 4: 60, 467; 7: 408A; 14: 86, 308; 17: 315.

The transfer of slaves to new owners through inheritance also worked hardships on the slaves and their families. Most slaveholders provided for a division of slaves among their heirs without regard for family ties among the slaves. Henry Conrad directed that if any children were born to the slave woman bequeathed to his widow, such children were to be sold as soon as they were beyond nursing at the mother's breast. The proceeds from the sales were to be divided among Conrad's children. Frequently, slave families were kept together as a bequest to the widow, but after her death, the slave families were divided in lots and drawn for by the heirs.¹

A few slaveholders, however, made provisions to keep slave families together. Eli Harris specifically directed that Nathan and his wife be sold together and not parted. In dividing slaves among his heirs, Wilson McCrary specified that slave mothers and their children be kept together.² As previously mentioned, however, the division of estates including the slaves thereof was based primarily on a monetary consideration. If slaves could not be divided equally in number or value among the heirs, petitions were presented in court requesting to sell the slaves at public auction to the highest bidders. Thus any intention to keep slave families together was ultimately overruled.

¹See the following wills for the various ways slave families were divided: 1: 5, 24, 95, 241; 2: 78, 176, 263.

²Ibid., 2: 61, 155.

Besides the attempts by some slaveholders to keep slave families together, other humane provisions for slaves can be found among the wills. Some slaves were given the opportunity to choose their own masters from among the legatees of an estate. James Johnson allowed one of his slaves named Severn to do this. Peter Owens and Frederic Walser allowed one or two of their slaves to do this also, but they both made additional stipulations concerning the slaves. The Owens' legatee chosen as the slave's new master was to pay the others a proportionate part of the slave's value. Walser also stated that if the two slaves, who were allowed to choose their new masters, did not desire to choose masters from his family, they were to be sold at public sale. Reverend Thomas Cooper left instructions for his son, William, and his Negro boy Isaac to learn the tanner's trade feeling that it was best for the two to learn the same trade. While humanity in this may be somewhat vague, the more skills a slave possessed, the higher was his value, and it was more likely that he would be better treated.¹

Some masters provided in their wills for increased liberty for a slave without actually emancipating him. Thomas Yarborough desired that his old Negro woman Sally stay with his sons for the first three years after his death. If she were still living after that time, she was to be allowed to choose her home among any of his children. Yarborough requested that Sally's master stand good for her behavior and give Sally the liberty of her

¹Ibid., 1: 123, 144, 149, 296.

own freedom as long as she stayed with the master she chose.¹

After 1830 state law made it more difficult to emancipate slaves. Well-disposed masters consequently were required to make other arrangements for favored slaves. Believing Nathan Kendall to be "honest, upright, and trustworthy...with a feeling heart, willing to do good to his fellow-being," Priscilla Jones willed him the guardianship of her Negro woman, Milus Ann, along with property to support the slave during her lifetime. Kendall was to hold the legal title to Milus Ann, but the real intent of the bequest was that she be treated as a free woman. Although the law did allow a slave fifty years or older who had been freed by his master's will to remain in the state if approved by the court, Priscilla Jones apparently did not have the means to give bond as required by law that Milus Ann would behave herself and not become a ward of the county.²

The emancipation of slaves in the county was rare, but on occasion it did occur. James Ellis provided for certain, though not all, of his slaves to be freed upon his death. Although the reasons for this action were not spelled out in his will, the three slaves to be freed were the children of a mulatto slave Ellis had inherited from his brother, Henry.

¹Ibid, 1: 231.

²Bassett, Slavery, 346; Wills, 1:428. Kendall himself was not recorded in the census as a slaveholder until 1850--eight years after the Jones bequest. He owned seven slaves.

Ellis instructed his executor to convey the slaves to a free state and when they arrived to give each of them \$100 from his estate. Ellis thereby met his obligation under North Carolina law regarding emancipation.¹ Prominent citizen and slaveholder Meshack Pinkston directed that his boy George be set free at Pinkston's death and sent to any free state George chose. If George chose to stay in Davidson County, however, he was to be hired out to his benefit from year to year by the executors of the Pinkston estate. Evidently George was to keep the wages he earned. Pinkston also bequeathed George \$200 in cash. Specific reasons for freeing George were not included in the will. By 1861, the state legislature forbade the emancipation of slaves by wills, deeds, or other documents in which the emancipation occurred after the owner's death.²

While owners determined slave transfer from one person to another through hiring the slaves out, selling them, giving them away, or dividing them among the heirs of an estate, the slave occasionally determined his own transfer by running away. Indicative of both their attachment to slavery and to

¹Wills, 1: 410; Bassett, Slavery, 346; Acts Passed by the General Assembly (1831) Ch. IX.

²Wills, 2:208. For several reasons, the supposition that George was Pinkston's son cannot be made. There were no mulattoes listed in the Pinkston holdings for 1850 although there were three mulattoes listed in 1860. These three males were, however, aged thirty-three, fourteen, and twelve. The term "boy" was a common descriptive term applied to any male slave and did not necessarily imply kinship or youth. Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1860-61, (Raleigh: John Spelman, Printer to the State, 1861) Ch. XXXVII.

their property investment, however, were the efforts made by county slaveholders to recapture any slave who ran away. The slaveholders ran detailed advertisements concerning the runaway slaves in the local newspaper. Not only were physical descriptions of the runaways published, but monetary rewards were offered. Andrew Hunt advertised his runaway slave Horace as being five feet six inches tall, good looking, stout at 170 pounds, and between the ages of twenty and 25. The advertisement further stated that Horace had been seen in the neighborhood of the Chaffin plantation in Davie County; it was rumored that he was seeking freedom papers. Hunt offered a ten dollar reward for the apprehension and confinement of Horace so the slave could be returned to Davidson County. Two weeks later, the reward was substantially increased to \$200.¹ The lengthy and detailed manner in which the advertisement was written and the amount of money offered as a reward for information about the slave's whereabouts indicates the value Hunt placed upon the slave and his determination to recover him.

Runaway slaves from outside the county but apprehended within its limits were housed in the county jail while advertisements were run in the newspapers to notify their owners to claim them. If the runaways were not claimed by their rightful owners within twenty-one months of the confinement, the runaways

¹LYF, 7, 21 September 1855.

were sold at public auction to the highest bidders.¹ Mose, a runaway slave, was sold at public auction on order of the court in 1854 after having spent twelve months in jail and this confinement being advertised in the newspapers.²

Even former slaves who had previously been emancipated, taken to a free state, and then came back to the state were not permitted to retain their freedom. One such person named Jane Amanda was tried by a Davidson County jury of twelve, four of whom were slaveholders, and found guilty as charged of returning to the state. Immediately upon the declaration of the verdict, the sheriff was ordered by the court to sell Jane Amanda at public auction to the highest bidder at the courthouse door.³

Although slaveholding was unopposed locally and runaway slaves were returned to bondage, even slaveholders offered testimony when the need arose to insure the freedom of an

¹Laws of the State of North Carolina, (1819) Ch. XXIII. According to the law, the slave had to be confined to jail for twelve months, his confinement advertised for six months, and notice of his public sale given for three months before he could be sold.

²Court Minutes, November 1854. Similar cases were recorded in 1855, 1856, 1859.

³Court Minutes, May 1857. Whether or not Jane Amanda had freedom papers was not stated in the court record. For every rule, there is an exception. In the 1825 court case involving Negro Bob, the Negro sued John Nicholson for forcibly detaining him as a runaway slave. The defense contended Bob was the slave property of George Kepley, formerly of Davidson County, who was currently a resident of Corydon, Indiana. The court, however, ruled in favor of the plaintiff, Bob, in the sum of \$43.99. "Negro Bob v. John Nicholson, 1826," in Davidson County Misc. Rec. (NDAH, Raleigh).

individual who had commonly been considered free but for whom no official document stating such had been secured. Thirty-one-year-old, dark mulatto Joseph Noah's freedom was secured when slaveholder Gray Wood and two others testified in open court to having seen Noah as an infant receive nourishment from the breast of Sarah Noah, his mother, who was acknowledged to be a free white woman. Of course, the fact that Noah's mother was white was the main factor in making him free. In addition to vouching for mulattoes who were free persons of color, many slaveholders took on free blacks as apprentices or bound servants.¹

Naturally in the discussion of slaveholding, questions arise concerning slave revolts and incidents of violence involving slaves. While Herbert Aptheker concluded that discontent and rebelliousness were exceedingly common among American Negro slaves, during the period from 1823 to 1860 there is almost no evidence of actual or suspected slave revolts among Davidson County slaves. There is, however, an anonymous letter on file at the Archives in Raleigh, dated October 6, 1845, which claimed that an uprising of slaves would begin on the Rowan side of the river, spread to the Jersey Settlement in Davidson, and

¹Court Minutes, May 1857. In 1852 slaveholders confirmed in open court that Thomas Harrell was a free boy of color, not a slave, who had served out his apprenticeship to slaveholder David Hepler. The apprenticing of free persons of color by slaveholders was recorded in the following: November, 1850; May 1852; November, 1854; February, May 1856; May 1857; February, May, August 1860.

then to Lexington. Whether the letter is a hoax or genuine bears further research.¹

Proportionately speaking, fewer cases involving slaves appeared on the county court docket than those involving whites because trivial offenses involving slaves were punished by masters, overseers, or patrols without trials. For more serious offenses, the slave was considered a person by the court while, at the same time, the master and police regarded him as property. In one such case, however, Superior Court Judge D.F. Caldwell directed the solicitor not to prosecute Henry, a slave, who was charged with murder as the court had determined that Henry did not have sufficient mind to make him legally accountable for his acts.² A peace warrant with regard to Solomon, a slave of Daniel Leonard, was issued by the county court in 1854. The court ordered slaveholder Leonard to be bound in the sum of \$400 that his slave, Solomon, keep the peace for twelve months.³

Occasionally cases involved slaves and whites accused of plotting to commit or of actually committing violence together

¹Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 374; "October the 6th 1845," in Record of Slaves and Free Persons of Color (1826-1878), (NCDAH, Raleigh).

²Ulrich B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929), 165; Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 504; LYF, 12 October 1855; Stamp in Peculiar Institution indicated that North Carolina slaves accused of capital crimes were tried in superior courts, and such trials were conducted as the trials of freemen. See pages 225-6.

³Court Minutes, August 1854.

against others. Such cases were considered a rarity. When Britton Warner, a slaveholder, was convicted of inciting Silas Lambeth's slaves to kill Lambeth, the judgment was suspended. A news account of the incident remarked that the counsel for the state believed this was the first prosecution of its kind in the state.¹ In 1852, the grand jury indicted two white men, Boyd McCrary and Richard Thomason, and Henry and Gabe, both slaves of John Thomason, who did:

unlawfully assemble themselves to gether
in warlike array and in great numbers in
said county and being so unlawfully assembled
to gether in publik highway of said county
with force and arms and with a strong hand
did riotously and routously and unlawfully
obstruct the free passage of Charles Pickett
with threats and a show of force...²

It is obvious that these cases were not considered as forebodings of slave revolts.

Guion Johnson reports the most frequently committed crime by slaves to be theft while those most frequently mentioned by the newspapers were crimes of violence by slaves against whites, especially against white women.³ Investigation of the records to this point has uncovered only one case of a black man being accused of raping a white woman. This happened in 1859 when Henry, a slave of George Thomason, was accused of "ravishing and and carnally knowing" Annie Essick, a white woman.⁴

¹LYF, 12 October 1855.

²"Criminal Actions Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color 1852, 1854, 1859," in Dav. Co. Misc. Rec. (NCDAH, Raleigh).

³Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 506.

⁴"Criminal Actions, 1852, 1854, 1859," in Dav. Co. Misc. Rec. (NDAH, Raleigh).

Whites were sometimes charged with the crime of trading with slaves. As slaves were economically dependent upon their masters and possessed nothing of economic value that was their own, whatever they traded away obviously belonged to the master. In 1850, Vachel Burrow was found guilty of this offense and fined. Such cases continued to appear in the court records as late as 1860.¹

As elsewhere in the South, white men's churches in Davidson County accepted slave members throughout the antebellum period.² On September 19, 1856, the Lexington and Yadkin Flag reported the numbers of both white and black members of the county's Baptist churches. Approximately forty-five percent of the total membership were blacks.

Records of the Jersey Baptist Church located in the fertile Yadkin River Valley near Linwood, where the Beall, Ellis, Holt, and other plantations were found, provide insight into the attitude of the church towards its slave members. The church had accepted slaves into membership as early as 1826. By 1838 it was decided to impose firmer standards than heretofore on slave members, and two women, Fanny, a slave of Godfrey Ratts, and Suffiah, a slave of Robert Hargrave, were removed from membership for having had bastard children.³ As slave marriages were

¹Court Minutes, May 1850; February 1860.

²John Spencer Bassett, North Carolina Methodism and Slavery, in Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series IV (Durham: Trinity College, 1900), 1, 7, 10; Bassett, Slavery, 364, 368; Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 543.

³Hendricks, Saints, 58, 70.

not recognized by law, the exclusion of slave women from church membership for having had children born of parents not "married" to each other denotes the presence of a double standard where moral values concerning marriage and the family superseded the legal reality of the day.¹ Several other slaves were removed from membership for stealing from their owners.

Slaveholding members sometimes brought their slaves before the church for discipline that entailed a lesser punishment than loss of membership. Henry Smith reported his Negro woman Grace for "impudence," and the matter was settled without Grace losing her church membership. Grace's actual punishment was not recorded.

In 1851 the congregation again took extra pains to be firm with its slave members. Two were excluded from membership for the sin of dancing. Three slaves were expelled for stealing--a sin which had become frequent in the community. One male and three female slaves were excluded for immoral conduct. In 1856 a more forgiving spirit moved the church as one penitent slave member accused of fornication was forgiven by the church and not excluded.

The church continued to admit slave members throughout the decade preceding the Civil War and during the war years themselves

¹Bassett reports that as early as 1778, Baptists had decided that marriages between slaves, although against temporal law, should be respected. See Slavery, 378; Genovese reports that slave marriages were recognized by slaveholders practically if not legally. See Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: the World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

²Henricks, Saints, 76, 77.

In 1856 eight slaves owned by Robert Hargrave were admitted. Slaveholder John Smith and six of his slaves joined the church by experience in 1857. Large numbers of slaves were converted and baptised into membership in 1860. These included numerous Holt and Ellis slaves.¹

Methodist and Presbyterian churches also admitted slave members. As in the Baptist churches, slaves were assigned to segregated seating and received communion after the white members. Since it was against state law for slaves and free blacks to preach, exhort, or hold prayer meetings, the task fell to white preachers. They selected biblical passages to encourage slave members to be faithful servants.²

Though the details concerning miscegenation, that is, marriage, or cohabitation between white and black persons, were not spelled out in the public or private record, there is evidence that miscegenation between whites and blacks did occur in the county. In her book Ante-Bellum North Carolina, Guion Johnson recounted the story of Polly Lane, a white servant in the home of Abraham Pessinger of Davidson County, who accepted as her lover a slave with whom she worked in the kitchen. She helped the slave steal a purse of \$260 so that the two could escape to another state where the slave could be free.³ William G.

¹Ibid., 78, 80, 81.

²Leonard, Centennial, 439; Bassett, Slavery, 368, 387; Bassett, N.C. Methodism, 2, 10.

³Johnson, Ante-Bellum, 71. The census reported that Pessinger owned 7 slaves in 1820 and 15 in 1830.

Beard was indicted in Superior Court in 1843 for unlawfully performing the marriage ceremony for Amelia Waggoner, a free woman of color, and Christian Weaver, a white man.¹ There were references to mulatto slaves contained in the last wills and testaments of slaveholders. These mulattoes were divided among the heirs on the same terms as any other slaves. In only one instance were mulatto slaves born of a black woman freed, and then they were to be sent to a free state.² Numerous mulatto slaves were listed in both the 1850 and 1860 slave censuses for the county. Of the 2992 slaves residing in Davidson County in 1850, 142 were described as mulatto; in 1860, 351 of the 3076 slaves were so described. Thus the percentage of mulatto slaves increased from five percent of the slave population to eleven percent by the end of the decade--if the mulatto designation was consistently applied and reported in both census returns.³

¹"Criminal Actions...1844, 1849," in Dav. Co. Misc. Rec. (NDAH, Raleigh); Acts Passed by the General Assembly, Ch. IV (1831). The census reported that Beard owned one slave in 1830 and 1840.

²Wills, 1: 410.

³Census; Slave, 1850-60.

CHAPTER VII

INTERLUDE: SECESSION AND WAR

The secession movement in North Carolina was unlike that in other southern states. Prior to the presidential election of 1860, only a few public figures favored secession. Even after Lincoln's election, North Carolinians rejected Governor John W. Ellis' call for a convention to debate the issue. It was only after the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops that North Carolina seceded--the last state to do so. The Ordinance of Secession was unanimously approved by a state convention on May 20, 1861.¹

Although secession was essentially a slaveholder's movement, Davidson County slaveholders were not unanimous in their feelings toward secession. During an April 12, 1861 public debate at the Danbury Courthouse, James M. Leach argued for the Union cause.² Not until the state actually seceded did Leach affirm his allegiance to the Southern cause and raise a company of Confederate volunteers. Dr. William R. Holt, however, was a pronounced secessionist even before North Carolina left the Union. Once the state seceded, Holt continued to be full of confidence.

¹NCG, 399. Although John W. Ellis practiced law in Salisbury before becoming governor, his family plantation was located in that part of Rowan County which became a part of Davidson County in 1822. His mother, brother, and other family members resided on Ellis land near Linwood throughout the prewar decades. See Leonard, Centennial, 178-9.

²Henderson, North Carolina, 2: 217-8.

He believed that Southern stores were "very full" and would "for sometime supply us, at least untill England & France must have Cotton." Holt believed that France and England would recognize southern independence and that the Confederacy would win the war.¹

Despite the prewar division in opinion, once the war began Davidson County citizens closed ranks in support of their state. Not only did James M. Leach lead a company of Condederate volunteers, he served as a representative to the Confederate States Congress.² Both slaveholders and non-slaveholders fought for the Confederacy.³ The county court appointed a committee of county residents to care for the sick and wounded soldiers from Davidson County. In 1862 the county appropriated \$3000 for this purpose, and by 1865 the appropriation had been increased to \$25,000. Aid to the soldiers' families was also included in this amount.⁴

During the war, wives wrote their husbands asking which crops and how many acres of each to plant. Most often the reply told them to do what they thought was best but not to plant more

¹Samuel A. Ashe and Stephen B. Weeks, eds., Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present 8 vols. (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908), 7:178; W.R. Holt to William A. Carrigan. 29 September 1861, in James Wilson White Papers (SHC, UNC-CH).

²NCG, 389.

³Leonard, Centennial, 270-292; Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 418-9; John Moore, The Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States (Raleigh: Ashe and Gatling, 1882), vols. 1, 2, 6.

⁴Court Minutes, August 1862.

than they could tend.¹ In the beginning the ordinary, non-slaveholding farmer felt confident in his decision to fight for his state. As the war dragged on, however, war weariness and dread filled his letters home.²

Despite the many lives being changed by the war, surprisingly few references were made to the war in the county court minutes. Men were appointed to the patrol. Exemptions were granted from paying the poll tax. Deeds were recorded. The court routinely disposed of these matters as well as others. Only occasionally did news of the war or its consequences intrude into the record. Lists of magistrates who had taken the loyalty oath to the Confederate Constitution appeared during the 1862 minutes. In May of that year the court appointed the Military Committee to care for the medical needs of county soldiers. The court granted the first exemption from paying the poll tax due to service in the Confederate Army in 1863. In 1864 the court ordered Alfred Hargrave to secure enough grain to provide bread for the families of Davidson County soldiers. The court's regular routine halted in July, 1865, however, when Provisional Governor William W. Holden announced that state and local government would be reorganized. Holden appointed Davidson County resident and former slaveholder Henderson Adams to reorganize the county court.³

¹Theophilus Frank to Elizabeth Frank. 16 March 1864 in Frank Family Papers (SHC, UNC-CH).

²Jesse M. Frank to John M. Frank. 22 February 1865, *ibid.*

³Court Minutes, February, May 1862; August 1863; February 1864; July 1865.

While the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction issued by President Andrew Johnson in May, 1865, pardoned most Confederate citizens for their treason against the Union, a few Confederate leaders and men worth more than \$20,000 were required to apply individually to the President for their pardons. Several Davidson County residents who were former slaveholders applied for presidential pardons for various reasons. Some applied because they had held civil office under the Confederacy. Others applied because their postwar property value exceeded \$20,000, even excluding the value of their emancipated slaves. None of these were refused pardons.¹ With the war ended and Reconstruction beginning, how severely did the war and postwar period impair the social, political, and economic status of former slaveholders?

¹"Applications for Pardon," (NCDAH, Raleigh). C.F. Lowe, "Rebel States Depository," 12 July 1865; Henry Walser, "Rebel Postmaster," 15 June 1865; Alfred Hargrave, "Rebel Tax Assessor," 5 July 1865; W.R. Holt, "Offense \$20,000," 14 May 1865; John W. Thomas, "Offense-Worth over \$20,000," 1 June 1865.

CHAPTER VIII
THE POSTWAR STATUS OF FORMER SLAVEHOLDERS

Although some former slaveholders turned to other occupations, the majority of them continued farming during the Reconstruction era.¹ Yet it was farming with a new twist. No longer possessing slaves to labor for them in their fields, ex-slaveholders now had to hire laborers, mostly former slaves, to work their fields, plant their seeds, and harvest their crops. Many former slaveholders must have found this a difficult adjustment to make. Apparently some former slaveholders were still finding it difficult to make this adjustment even a decade later. Dr. William B. Meares of Linwood, who had purchased his Davidson County plantation in 1862 from the Ellis holdings, was most disturbed at having to hire his former slaves in order to keep his plantation working.² By the spring of 1875, Meares had given thought to selling his plantation. Not only did he find great difficulty in hiring hands; he was worried about being so greatly in debt. While the majority of former slaveholders continued to farm, the number who were physicians, lawyers, and ministers remained constant from 1860 to 1870. Only occupations as artisans or in commerce were being abandoned by former slaveholders in 1870.³

¹See Table 9.

²M.T. Meares to Federick P. Meares. 20 March 1875, in William Belvidere Meares Papers, 1851-1911 (SHC, UNC-CH).

³See Table 9.

Those who held local offices before and during the war were generally reappointed to office once the war ended.¹ Under Governor Holden's 1865 directive to reorganize the county court, a new slate of justices of the peace was appointed. Yet there were familiar names among the appointees. Of the 41 justices appointed, 39 percent of them were former slaveholders. Compared to the prewar average of 60 to 80 percent who were slaveholders, the postwar percentage represents a significant decline. However, in a county where the majority of prewar residents had not been slaveholders, it is significant that this many former slaveholders were chosen. Eighteen of these justices of the peace were singled out to administer the amnesty oath though one-third were former slaveholders. Former slaveholder Henderson Adams was elected by the magistrates of the court as their chairman.²

Isaac K. Perryman, David Loftin, and John Haines continued to perform their duties as clerk of court, sheriff, and register of deeds which they began before the court was reorganized. All except Perryman were ex-slaveholders. Former slaveholders continued to assume important public positions after the county government was reorganized. Cicero F. Lowe, as Commissioner of Public Buildings, was charged with selling specified county properties, collecting the payments due, and transferring

¹Allen W. Trelease, Reconstruction: The Great Experiment (New York: Harper and Row, 1970). Carl Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South (New York: Arno Press, and the New York Times, 1969), 11.

²Court Minutes, July 1865.

the deeds upon the completion of payments. Alfred Hargrave, James P. Stimson, and James Smith, all former slaveholders and prominent prewar leaders, were appointed to the Committee of Finance that audited the county trustee's books. Many former slaveholders continued to be active in state government as well.¹

Prominent prewar political leader James M. Leach remained active in local, state, and national politics during the Reconstruction era. Although during the war he had served in the Confederate Congress, prior to 1856, Leach had been a Whig. Only when war seemed inevitable did Leach commit himself to the Confederate cause. Perhaps having been a staunch unionist until the outbreak of war but a loyal citizen of his state during the war explains why Leach was able to resume his political career once the war ended. From 1865 to 1868, Leach served as state senator and became a state representative in 1876. As a Conservative (later called Democrat), Leach served in Congress from 1871 to 1875.²

Despite the continued participation of former slaveowners in local, state, and national government, their influence was at its lowest ebb in 1868 and 1872--during the period of greatest Republican party strength in North Carolina. Native whites who supported Republican Reconstruction, popularly called scalawags, competed with the county's prewar aristocrats and their Democratic party allies for control of county affairs.

¹Court Minutes, May 1866; February 1867; Table 10.

²NCG, 690, 695, 697.

Republicans were elected to every county commission office and to offices like sheriff, register of deeds, and clerk of superior court in 1868 and 1872. None of these Republicans had been prewar slaveholders, and none were carpetbaggers-- that is, northerners who came South during or after the war. That the black vote was considered important to Republican control and a threat to the resurgence of conservative Democrats is obvious from the following reference found in the Carolina Watchman, a postwar Salisbury newspaper. Several notable Democrats who were also suspected Klansmen were accused in 1872 of trying to intimidate the Negro voters in the Thomasville area. As the Republican party had swept countywide office that year, and it was known that the Negroes in question had voted Republican, the newspaper contended the suspects could not be accused of such charges.¹

In terms of knowledge about party affiliation, prewar and postwar county politics remain rather sketchy at this time. While in 1856 the names of the organizers of the American Party appeared in the local newspaper, the previous political leanings of all but one person is unknown. Before his affiliation with the American Party, James M. Leach had been a Whig. All of the thirty-two American party organizers listed were slaveholders. Thus far seven of these were found among the members of the

¹Carolina Watchman, 14 June 1872. The newspaper's pro-Democratic stance probably influenced this reporting of this event. Of those named, most were from prewar slaveholding families.

postwar Democratic party. The overwhelming majority of those who were active Republicans during the postwar era had not been prewar slaveholders. While the county's prewar ruling elite had been powerful enough to dominate the non-slaveholding majority, the abolition of slavery and economic disruption due to war allowed former non-slaveholders to assume control of county affairs by 1868.¹

Henderson Adams and William F. Henderson were exceptions to the description of typical postwar Republicans. Both had been antebellum slaveholders, though they rarely served as magistrates of the county court. In addition, neither were listed among the organizers of the American party. Both became postwar advisers to Republican William W. Holden.²

Perhaps Henderson's abandonment of his prewar slaveholder status to affiliate with the postwar Republican party explains why there were such heated political campaigns to discredit him and just as determined efforts by Henderson to retaliate against his Democratic attackers. An accusation attributed to Josiah Turner, editor of the Raleigh Sentinel, that "Windy Billy Henderson stole Darr's mule" found its way into state

¹LYF, 11 April 1856; Davidson Record, 15 June 1876; The Old North State, 3 March 1868; 2 April 1868; 12 August 1870; Carolina Watchman; 29 August 1872; 13 August 1874; 23 November 1876; 8 August 1878; Raleigh Standard 2 February 1868; 15 August 1868; 7 November 1868; Daily Sentinel 10 August 1872.

²LYF, 11 April 1856; Court Minutes, February 1860; May 1865; February 1867; Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1914) 497; Census, 1840, 1850, 1860.

and county politics. While Henderson had been indicted for stealing a mule a few weeks after the 1867 Republican State Convention, whether or not this charge was based on fact or political contrivance remains unclear to the researcher at this time.¹

In 1871 Henderson, now an Assessor of Internal Revenue, allegedly offered freedom to anyone accused of revenue law violations and of belonging to the Ku Klux Klan who would implicate James M. Leach as a Klan member.² Leach had previously defeated Henderson for Congress.

Through The Central, Davidson County's local Republican newspaper, Henderson accused two prominent Democratic leaders of being "carpetbaggers." As Marshall H. Pinnix and Frank C. Robbins were not native-born citizens of Davidson County, Henderson considered them as odious as northern carpetbaggers were viewed by southern Democrats.³ Yet Pinnix and Robbins, who were from Caswell and Randolph Counties, respectively, were native North Carolinians. In reality, the census records show that there were no real carpetbaggers in Davidson County at that time.⁴

¹Hamilton, Reconstruction, 246, 367, 388.

²Ibid., 580-1.

³Central, 2 September 1876.

⁴Census, 1850-70. Three former slaveholders were born in northern states. Six were born in other southern states. The remaining were native North Carolinians.

Although Democrats gained control of county politics in 1870 and 1874, their domination of county government was not secured until 1876 when the Democratic party regained political control of the governorship and state legislature. County Democrats filled every seat on the Board of County Commissioners in 1876. Prominent prewar slaveholder Alfred Hargrave was elected their chairman. Prewar slaveholder and former sheriff David Loftin was elected county sheriff. Democrats were also elected as clerk of superior court, county treasurer, and register of deeds. An 1875 state convention had amended the 1868 state constitution so that the General Assembly appointed county justices of the peace, and legislative control of county government now replaced popular vote.¹ Significant numbers of former slaveholders also comprised the roster of justices of the peace--32 percent of this nineteen member group in 1876. These justices sat annually with the county commissioners to fix a uniform rate of valuation for levying county taxes. Democratic control of county government continued throughout the remainder of the postwar period investigated by this researcher--from 1876 to 1880.²

¹Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1963) revised edition, 500-1.

²Davidson County, Minutes Board of County Commissioners, 2 vols. (1868-1884).

CHAPTER IX
EX-SLAVEHOLDERS' LIVELIHOOD

Viewing the county as a whole, the Civil War and emancipation seem to have interrupted only temporarily the steady increase in the total number of improved acres and in the total value of county farms.¹ In 1870 the total number of improved acres countywide had declined by 9787 acres from the number of acres cultivated in 1860. By 1880, however, the figure increased more than 18,000 from the previous decade.

That trend is not as evident when considering the number of improved acres possessed by former slaveholders.² Of the 274 heads of household who were former slaveholders, there were only 86 for whom farm acreage and farm values have been found for every decade considered. Some died before 1880, and most of their widows either remarried or moved in with relatives. Their farms were either divided among multiple heirs or listed under different names so that the researcher failed to select them from the agricultural schedules. Although nearly a third of the former slaveholders, for whom data is available, increased their total improved acres between 1870 and 1880, the vast majority fell further and further behind. The wartime and immediate postwar decline in the number of

¹See Table 11.

²See Table 12.

improved acres can be understood when one considers the absence of able-bodied men who left the fields to fight in the war and then the temporary dislocations caused by emancipation. But what conclusions can be drawn about the decade from 1870 to 1880 when increasing numbers of acres countywide were being put under cultivation?

One gains a better perspective of the situation when the average number of improved acres owned by the county farmer in general is compared to the average number of improved acres owned by former slaveholders who were alive in 1870 and 1880. While the average farmer owned 67 improved acres in 1870, among surviving slaveholders the average was 97.¹ By 1880 the countywide average had fallen to 42 improved acres, while among the surviving slaveholders the average improved acreage remained fairly constant at 96 improved acres. Though the total number of improved acres had declined for former slaveholders as a whole, they were able to consistently till those acres that remained while the average improved acres of the countywide farmer declined.

What reasons can be given to explain the decline in the total acres owned by former slaveholders? Land sold to pay off debts during Reconstruction can account for some but not all of the decreasing number of acres found among the former

¹Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States: 1870 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872) reported 690 farms when actually more than 1668 existed. The average acreage quoted was found using a total of 247 ex-slaveholders.

slaveholders. The actual number of land sales from 1862 to 1880 increased by less than 20 percent over sales during the period from 1820 to 1861.¹ In addition, former slaveholders sold on the average fewer numbers of acres from 1862 to 1880 than they had from 1820 to 1861.

Although the practice was not common, occasionally former slaveholders sold their land to relatives who may or may not have been ex-slaveholders themselves. Former slaveholder Jacob Lopp transferred 1500 acres of his land to his four sons. Naturally, the father was left not only with fewer acres of land but with fewer improved acres as well.²

The division of estates of former slaveholders among multiple heirs contributed to the decline in acres of farms now headed by the ex-slaveholders' widows. As there were 40 fewer heads of household among slaveholders in 1870 than 1860, there were 40 more estates whose improved and unimproved acres might be divided among multiple heirs. Part of the acreage was usually sold to pay off outstanding debts owed by the estates. Yet the number of land sales made by the administrators or commissioners of estates increased less than 20 percent from 1862 to 1880 than during the prewar years. It should be mentioned that the postwar land sales to settle

¹Index to Real Estate Conveyances: Grantors, 1823-1921. This figure excludes sales made by the administrators or commissioners of estates.

²Deeds, 19: 176, 391, 431, 433.

the debts of estates were quite similar to such prewar sales.

A survey of deeds dating from 1820 to 1880 revealed a 31 percent increase in land sales by former slaveholders during the Civil War era through 1880 as compared to antebellum sales through 1861. This figure represents all land sales including those by administrators or commissioners of estates. In a third of these sales, the buyers had the same surnames as the sellers, and most of the buyers were county residents. In many cases relatives succeeded in buying at least half of the acres that were for sale. For example, Martha Charles, widow of slaveholder Solomon Charles, bought 102 of the 168 acres of her late husband's estate which was sold at public auction. James F. Beall sold his brother Robert 291 acres of land while Harrison M. Eccles sold his son more than 267 acres.¹ In the last two sales, there is no indication that the transactions were required to pay off debts.

A few former slaveholders who were no longer county or state residents sold off their Davidson County lands to satisfy creditors. Some of these sales were court ordered. Others were made voluntarily. Former slaveholder William D. Lindsay and his wife, residents of Alachua County, Florida, by the fall of 1869, sold their landholdings in Davidson County to satisfy creditors.² Heavily in debt following the war, Anderson Ellis, brother of the late Governor John W. Ellis, first mortgaged

¹Ibid., 20: 554; 17: 193; 18: 496.

²Ibid., 20: 116, 196.

and then sold his Davidson County plantation to rid himself of debt.¹ To Hiram A. Partee of Memphis, Tennessee, Ellis sold not only some 1200 acres of fertile farm land but plantation furnishings, farming equipment, and livestock as well. Thus sometime prior to the fall of 1870, Ellis had sold out "lock, stock, and barrel" and moved with his family to Phillips County, Arkansas.²

In only three instances did the deeds reveal land deals with northerners, and all three dealings were with the same man, Max Popper of New York. While the deeds stated that Popper had the option to buy certain tracts of land in the county, he did not buy the land. He used the agreements to mine certain unspecified mineral deposits in the county.³ Neither the census nor the deed record revealed the presence of any newcomers from the North settling in Davidson County or buying land from 1870 to 1880.

So far, only two cases have been uncovered where land was transferred to Negroes.⁴ Frances Byerly deeded one acre of

¹Ashe and Weeks, Biographical History, 173; Deeds, 19: 63, 66, 68. Ellis also mortgaged half the 177 shares of stock he owned in the Western North Carolina Railroad to cover a \$2659.46 debt he owed the Memphis firm of Shugurman & Frank.

²Deeds, 20: 803.

³Ibid., 18: 125, 130, 136. The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census: June 1, 1870 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 782. The following minerals were mined in Davidson County: gold, silver, zinc, quartz.

⁴Deeds 18: 156, 408.

land to Phebe Byerly, a black woman who had been his slave, and her two sons for as long as Phebe lived. Apparently "natural love and affection" for Phebe was the only consideration for the transaction. In the second instance, James L. Dusenbury deeded Lymas Dusenbury, a man of color, six acres of land in exchange for "135 United States dollars."¹ The document does not indicate to whom Dusenbury had belonged.

Apparently plantation lands belonging to former slaveholders were not bought on wholesale scale by either carpetbaggers or freedmen, but there were evidently other blacks who received titles to land during the postwar decade. A deed book entry of 1866 states that Dr. William R. Holt was putting up his entire holding of 1939 acres for sale so he could settle with his former slaves as ordered by the Freedmen's Bureau. As Holt was bankrupt "everything he had in the world, even down to his family Bible and Prayer book" was sold to pay his debts. According to the population schedules for 1870, three black heads of household named Holt lived in areas where Dr. Holt formerly owned land. One of them, Peter Holt, owned a farm valued at \$1,500. Dr. Holt's brother Edwin and nephew Thomas also bought portions of the Doctor's holdings at public auction.²

¹The name Lymas Dusenbury appears to have first been written as Lymas Hargrave and then erased with the name Dusenbury rewritten as the surname.

²Deeds, 18: 283. Thomas M. Holt to William A. Carrigan. 2 January 1867, in James Wilson White Papers (SHC, UNC-CH).

The total cash value of farms located in Davidson County followed the same pattern of decline and recovery as did the number of improved acres.¹ Between 1860 and 1870, countywide farm values decreased by more than a half million dollars. In the next decade, however, they rose by more than one million dollars. This rise was also reflected among ex-slaveholders. While slightly more than a third of the former slaveholders suffered continuing declines in the value of their farms after 1870, a majority followed the countywide trend of increasing values.

Although many parts of the South increased cotton production by 1870, Davidson County farmers in general produced 358 fewer bales of cotton in 1870 than they had in 1860.² The 1870 statistics for cotton production among a sample of former slaveholders, who in 1850 and/or 1860 farmed at least 200 acres each, were grossly misrecorded. While the census reported that Davidson County farmers as a whole produced a grand total of 100 bales of cotton in 1870, this sample of 26 former slaveholders was reported as having produced 2303 bales of cotton. After examining the agricultural schedules of two neighboring counties, it is apparent that 2303 represents "pounds" of cotton which, when divided by the 450 pounds constituting a bale, equalled five bales. Obviously Randolph and Rowan County census takers

¹See Table 11.

²Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 191; Census: Agriculture, 1860-70.

were more precise in their record keeping. Whereas most cotton production was reported in bales, where such production was reported in pounds, the figures were clearly labeled and often notes at the bottom of the pages said "reduce Col. 25 to bales." Column 25 was, of course, allotted to cotton production.¹

Whereas postwar southern corn production fell to one-half its prewar level in 1870, in Davidson County corn production fell by only 37 percent.² Among the former slaveholders who tilled at least 200 acres before the war, however, it fell by 64 percent. The total number of swine reported in the 1870 census for the county had fallen to 31 percent from 1860. Among these former slaveholders, however, swine production fell by 57 percent. The postwar swine production in the South as a whole had fallen by 50 percent. Whereas the numbers of horses, asses, and mules fell by one-third between 1860 and 1870 in the South, the numbers of these animals fell by only 13 percent in Davidson County for the same period.³ Among the ex-slaveholders, the decline was much more serious--53 percent over the same decade.

While slaveholders had been in the forefront of manufacturing, railroading, and banking before the war began, this was not the case once the war was over. For many years industrial activity in the county centered around small shops

¹Census: Agriculture, 1870.

²Ransom and Sutch, One, 151.

³Ibid., 151, 48.

and home manufactures. Two shoe factories founded by slaveholders before the war continued to do business under the same ownership and management during Reconstruction. Prewar foundries continued to make items like plows, castings, corn shellers, cutters, and do repair work. Slaveholder Joseph Thompson's successful antebellum foundry continued to operate during the postwar years, and after Thompson's death in 1872, his sons continued to run the business. Grist, flour, feed, and saw mills founded by former slaveholders continued to operate for decades after the war ended. Soon after the war, several chewing tobacco factories were founded in Thomasville, and by 1886 some former slaveholders helped start a tobacco warehouse in the same city. Woodworking shops reopened in the late 1860s. Some were operated by former slaveholders like Henry N. Heitman. Most of the county's textile manufacturing consisted of wool carding shops and privately owned cotton gins. Owners of these included former slaveholders.¹

Prior to 1880, there was little public demand for industrial development in Davidson County. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, growing dissatisfaction with economic stagnation led to the beginnings of modern industrial development in the county. Although many former slaveholders had died by this time, members of their families were to be found among the county's new industrial leaders. William E. Holt, Sr., nephew and son-in-law of the late William R. Holt, began

¹Matthews and Sink, Pathfinders, 259, 262, 263, 265, 300.

the county's modern textile industry with the founding of the Wannonah Cotton Mill in 1886.¹ The mill employed more than a hundred employees who lived nearby in company built houses. The Wannonah village became a typical company town with its own company store, fire department, and water supply. While \$ 5.94 received for a six-day work week of twelve hours each day seems pitifully miniscule by today's standards, workers of that day were happy to receive such wages, and many moved from other areas to Lexington in hopes of being hired.

The furniture industry, which is so important to the county's economy today, did not begin until the late 1890s and early 1900s. Among the founders of the short lived Thomasville Manufacturing Company started in 1895 were members of prominent antebellum slaveholding families such as Lambeth, Ledford, and Thomas. From 1899 to 1908 at least ten chair and furniture factories were built in Thomasville. In almost half of these former slaveholders or their heirs had leading roles. Thomasville's first large manufacturing plant had its beginnings with the founding of the Standard Chair Company in 1898. Predominately a Lambeth family venture, the plant first employed twelve to thirteen hands who produced an average of 120 chairs daily.²

Tracks for the North Carolina Railroad had been laid through the county before the Civil War began, and there was

¹Ibid., 289.

²Ibid., 268-9.

no further railroad construction in the county until the early years of the twentieth century.¹ A railroad from Thomasville to Denton was completed in 1906, and the Winston-Salem Southbound completed its tracks from Winston to High Rock Lake in 1911. While there was no railroad construction in the county during Reconstruction, some former slaveholders found employment with the railroad as ticket agents and railroad hands. As railroad hands former slaveholders rubbed elbows with former slaves as both were hired.

Davidson County was without the services of a local bank from the early days of the Civil War until the late 1880s.² It was not until 1887 that a bank was founded in Lexington and 1899 that the Bank of Thomasville was opened. Former slaveholders or their heirs do not appear to have been among the postwar banking leaders as they had been during the antebellum era.

For more than twenty years following the end of the war, industrial development in the county was at a standstill. Apparently the economic emphasis of county residents was upon agricultural recovery and the preservation of small businesses that had survived the war. Not until the late 1880s were county residents in the mood to try industrial development. While former slaveholders or their heirs appear to be absent from

¹Ibid., 207-8.

²Ibid., 326, 329.

the re-establishment of county banking, they were leading initiators and participators in the establishment of textile and furniture industries in the county.

CHAPTER X

FREEDMAN-FORMER SLAVEHOLDER RELATIONSHIP

In the place of bills of sale purchasing slaves for a lifetime of service, former slaveholders now drew up annual, business-like contracts to hire the services of newly freed laborers. In addition to the labor of individuals, the labor of entire families was often hired as well. The standard payment appears to have been a share of the crops produced. There is no indication of cash changing hands in these labor contracts. Agreements varied from those which were brief, business-like documents to those which were more lengthy and often included moral directives to be followed by the Negro sharecroppers. Unlike William B. Meares, William Swicegood did not make the Negro laborers responsible for the behavior of each member of their respective families.¹ Both Meares and Swicegood did, however, hold as security for the faithful execution of services those portions of the crops which Negro laborers were to receive at the end of the harvesting season.

Although in some cases the former slaveholders provided their laborers with the needed farm implements and livestock to produce the crops and complete the harvest as well as with the land to be tilled, this was obviously a smaller economic

¹"Rufus and Co.: Contract for 1867," in Meares Papers, (SHC, UNC-CH); "Agreement between William Swicegood and Allen Ellis, Negro, and Adam Long, Negro, 1868," in Rec. of Slaves (NCDAH, Raleigh).

outlay than had been required for the total support of slaves before the war. Owners had been liable for their slaves' food, shelter, clothing, and medical expenses, but now Negro sharecroppers were responsible for obtaining these themselves. By 1870, 90 percent of the county's colored population resided in their own households, not slave quarters near former slaveholders.¹ Nearly half of these were either too young or too old to work. Thus, economically speaking, with the abolition of slavery, the payment of wages or share of crops had relieved former slaveholders of their responsibility to feed, shelter, and clothe individuals who were not productive workers.

In addition to sharecropping agreements between freedmen and white landowners, the services of freedmen could be obtained through other kinds of labor agreements. Prior to the war, numerous whites and free persons of color were bound to slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike. Persons of color were to be taught certain skills and to receive certain monetary payments at the end of the specified terms of indenture. The practice of indenturing colored persons continued during Reconstruction. While the terms of indenture had almost always provided for white bond servants to be taught how to read, write, and cipher, these directives did not appear for black servants until Reconstruction.

¹See Tables 13 & 14.

²Court Minutes, November 1866.

After the war more cases involving freedmen were tried by the Davidson County court than antebellum cases that involved slaves. Since the slaveholder had disciplined his own slaves as it suited him, only rarely was the court obligated to intervene. In the postwar cases uncovered so far, freedmen were tried for such crimes as larceny or assault, and a study of cases involving white defendants convicted of similar crimes shows that whites were not subjected to the corporal punishment and prolonged custody meted out to blacks.¹

On occasion, former slaveholders intervened in behalf of freedmen charged with crimes. Perhaps personal feeling motivated such actions. When George Loftin (colored) was accused of "jerking and abusing" a white man, former slaveholder Uriah Ingram posted bond for Loftin.² In the August, 1866, term he was tried before an all-white jury and convicted. Loftin must have possessed more money (or monied friends) than other blacks as he was fined and no lashes were assigned as they had been in other cases.

When the accused and the victim of the crime were both colored, the outcome of the cases differed from those in which one of the persons involved was white. When Henry Smith (colored) was convicted of stealing from James Redwine (colored), no

¹Court Minutes, August, November 1866; November 1867; "Criminal Actions...1866-67 (broken series)," in Dav. Co. Misc. Rec. (NCDAH, Raleigh).

²Ibid.

monetary fine nor directive to make restitution was levied against Smith.¹ Instead, the court ordered that Smith receive fifty lashes and then be discharged from custody.

As the relationship between former slaves and the court altered during Reconstruction, so did the relationship between persons of color and the churches of the former slaveholders. For the first time, separate churches for Negroes were established in the county. While slaveholders had been careful to regulate antebellum black gatherings for fear that possible slave revolts would occur, a survey of postbellum deeds reveals that former slaveholders were willing to sell land to freedmen on which Negro churches were to be established.² In 1868, former slaveholder John W. Thomas sold for five dollars a lot to the trustees of the town of Thomasville for the purpose of building a colored Methodist church and schoolhouse. Former slaveholder Richard T. Earnhardt sold three-fourths of an acre in Lexington to the trustees of the Lexington Missionary Baptist Church (colored) for the sum of thirty-five dollars. When compared to other land transactions, these were clearly in the nature of charitable donations to the black congregations.

Although freedmen were establishing their own churches, some white congregations continued to accept blacks into membership as they had done before the war. Jersey Baptist Church and Saint Luke's Lutheran Church were among those which

¹Ibid.

²Deeds, 20: 25; 25: 416.

continued to accept Negroes as members.¹ Following the war, however, Jersey Baptist Church decided to be firmer with its "members of colour," and various freedmen were expelled for adultery, theft, and other immoral conduct. White members were excluded for similar causes so that Jersey Baptist Church, which included former slaveholders as members, seems to have been firmer with all its members--not just blacks.

¹Hendricks, Saints, 82-93; St. Luke's Lutheran Church Register, 1854-1967, 3 vols. (microfilm, NCDAR, Raleigh).

CHAPTER XI
CONCLUSIONS

According to the data examined, conclusions concerning Davidson County's antebellum slaveholders conform to most but not all of the previously drawn conclusions regarding North Carolina slaveholders. Conclusions regarding how the Civil War and the subsequent abolition of slavery affected them, however, vary considerably from traditional views.

Davidson County slaveholders owned fewer slaves on average than was true for the state as a whole. The average North Carolina slaveholder, as described by Bassett, owned 10.1 slaves in 1850 and 9.6 in 1860; on the other hand, the average Davidson County slaveholding head of household owned 6.2 slaves in 1850 and 7.2 in 1860. For both the state and county, the average number of slaves per owner increased every decade from 1820 to the eve of the war. The average number of slaves per owner in the county increased from 4.8 in 1820 to 7.2 in 1860. In addition, the proportion of slaveholding heads of household in Davidson County increased steadily from 18 percent of the total in 1820 to 21 percent in 1850. Yet in the following decade, the trend in the county mirrored that of the state toward a gradual decrease in the percentage of slaveholding heads.

While the percentage of slaveholding heads decreased from 21 percent to 16 percent in 1860, the number of slaves owned per head increased by almost 3 percent during the same period. This, therefore, represented a greater concentration of wealth in slave property than before.

As in other western North Carolina counties, the majority of Davidson County heads of household owned no slaves at all during the antebellum era. While some described opposition to slavery among non-slaveholding farmers in western Carolina, Edward Phifer found no such opposition in his study of Burke County. Similarly, there was no opposition to slavery as an institution among the non-slaveholding majority of Davidson County. This majority even sanctioned the re-enslavement of emancipated slaves who returned to the county.

Whether or not the institution of slavery was actually economically profitable, Davidson County slaveholders considered their slaves to be an important economic asset, and they were determined to maintain their slave property in tact. The employment of slaves in a variety of tasks in addition to farm work, the hiring out of slaves to others, and the use of slave property as collateral for debts all indicate the slaves' economic value to their owners. That county slaveholders were persistent in seeking the return of their slave property is apparent from reading the advertisements they ran in the local newspapers concerning slaves who managed to run away and the rewards they offered for the slaves' return.

A slaveholding aristocracy based upon the concentration of political and economic power and upon the increasing concentration of slaveholding in fewer hands developed in Davidson County between 1820 and 1860. Consistently, the majority of local officials were slaveholders as were those chosen to represent the county in state and national government. To a certain degree this ruling elite survived the war in tact. Many former slaveholders continued to hold local office and represent the county in state government during the years immediately following the war. By 1868, however, and again in 1872, former non-slaveholders now affiliated with the Republican party dominated county government and sent Republican legislators to Raleigh. While the black vote was important to assure Republican control of county affairs, contrary to common belief, local Republicans were not assisted in this political domination by northern carpetbaggers. By 1874, the Democratic party composed of former slaveholders, their heirs, in-laws, and other allies regained control of county government and were able to continually dominate county affairs for years to come.

Certain other stereotyped views of antebellum slaveholders cannot be sustained by the examples found in Davidson County. While some might argue that non-slaveholders had little prewar political power to oppose slavery and the slaveholder, evidence exists to show they actually respected those who were slaveholders.

For example, slaveholders were elected to important church offices like elder and deacon by congregations composed of slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike. Although some contend that the slaveholding elite was not interested in public education, Davidson County slaveholders were among the public school leaders in the county.

While the agricultural efficiency and prosperity of slaveholding farmers as compared to that of non-slaveholders has been questioned, Davidson County slaveholders prospered more than the average county farmer. Slaveholders were able to cultivate twice the acres as the average farmer. Figures for Davidson County dispute the assumption that slaveholders used fewer and less valuable farm implements than the average county farmer. Here, the average value of farm implements owned by slaveholders was double that of the average county farmer. Slaveholders out-did non-slaveholders in the production of crops like cotton, corn, oats, hay, and of livestock like swine. Obviously, this was due to their owning the most productive farm lands and possessing the labor force to develop it.

The Civil War and the abolition of slavery, however, only temporarily interrupted the steady increase in the total number of acres cultivated throughout the county and in the rising cash value of the county's farms. Although the total number of improved acres owned by the majority of former slaveholders who survived the war continued to decline throughout

the postwar decades, this statistic does not indicate their true economic status. Comparing the former slaveholder to the average county farmer in terms of average improved acres owned presents a more accurate description. In 1870, the surviving ex-slaveholders tilled an average of a third more improved acres than the average county farmer. By 1880, the average ex-slaveholder cultivated twice the number of improved acres as the average farmer. Unlike farmers in other southern states, Davidson County farmers did not turn to cotton as a main cash crop by 1870. It was in the production of rye, oats, and Irish potatoes that county farmers excelled between 1860 and 1870. By 1880, however, countywide cotton production had increased fifteen times over the 1870 figure but only one and a half times over the 1850 figure which represents the greatest prewar cotton production in the county. Tobacco production by 1880 was more than double the 1860 figure which represents the greatest antebellum tobacco output in the county.

Despite the abolition of slavery, former slaveholders obviously were able to secure the necessary labor to work their fields, plant their seeds, and harvest their crops. Former slaveholders now hired the labor of ex-slaves. In fact, most of the ex-slaveholders' moral and economic responsibility to feed, shelter, and clothe all laborers and their dependents, whether they were productive workers or not, disappeared with the abolition of slavery. Now ex-slaveholders were obligated only

to pay wages or shares of the crops for the labor they obtained from former slaves.

Figures for Davidson County dispute the idea that former slaveholders were forced to sell practically all their plantation lands during Reconstruction to satisfy creditors and pay their taxes. Postwar land sales among ex-slaveholders increased by only 20 percent over prewar sales. Apparently no land was sold to northern carpetbaggers, and proportionately few acres were transferred to freedmen. Most of the land sold was bought by relatives or other county residents. On the whole, postwar land transactions were quite similar to prewar sales.

While agriculture was the dominant slaveholding occupation, Davidson County slaveholders did not turn their backs on manufacturing as some would have us believe. Slaveholders were in the forefront of the county's antebellum industrial development and quest for internal improvements. For nearly two decades following the war, however, the county entered a dormant state with respect to industrial development. County residents--ex-slaveholders and former non-slaveholders alike--concentrated their energies in preserving the manufacturing facilities that survived the war and re-establishing small shops and home manufactures present in the county before the war began. Not until the late 1880s and 1890s were efforts begun to start the county's textile and furniture industries. Former slaveholders, their heirs, and in-laws spearheaded this economic development. Only in the re-establishment of local banking were former slaveholders or their kin noticeably absent.

Additional research should be done to verify the effects that the Civil War and the abolition of slavery had on slaveholders and their way of life. A more accurate study could be done, first, by narrowing the antebellum period studied to the last two prewar decades, 1850 and 1860. Agricultural schedules detailing the number of improved acres, unimproved acres, cash value of farms and other agricultural statistics were not compiled until 1850. Secondly, only those slaveholders who survived the war and lived at least two decades beyond the war's conclusion should be selected. Such a sample would be free from some of the factors that were not necessarily related to the war or abolition of slavery. The main one of these involves the division of estates (resulting from the natural deaths of former slaveholders) among multiple heirs and the absorption of the ex-slaveholders' farms into holdings of others who may or may not themselves have owned slaves. Or else, the sample of slaveholding heads should be studied in connection with all family ties and the effects these had on their changed lifestyles. Finally, a random sample of non-slaveholding heads of household who lived during the same period should be selected also. Then rather than comparing the statistics of the average ex-slaveholder to the statistics of the average county farmer--which were computed from the division of combined slaveholder and non-slaveholder statistics by the total number of county farms--one could specifically compare slaveholders to

non-slaveholders. Until such a study is undertaken, however, the conclusions concerning the effects of the war and Reconstruction upon Davidson County slaveholders derived thus far will have to suffice.

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TABLE I
LARGEST SLAVEHOLDINGS IN DAVIDSON COUNTY
1850

<u>Map Key</u>	<u>Slaveholder</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
1 ^x	Dr. William R. Holt	98
2	Samuel Hargrave	81
3	Robert L. Hargrave	77
4 ⁺	Jesse H. Hargrave	66
5 [*]	Peter W. Hairston	59
6	William Anderson Ellis	57
7	Rev. Thales McDonald	53
8	Dr. Burgess L. Beall	51
9	Robert Ellis	40
10 ^m	Rebecca R. & Thomas C. Crump	37
11	Meshack Pinkston	30
12	Moses Holmes	27
13	John Smith	26
14	Henry R. Dusenbury	25
15	Dr. Charles L. Payne	25
16	Austin Bradshaw	24
17	Wilson McCrary	23
18	Alfred Hargrave	22
19	Casper Smith	22
20	John W. Thomas	21
21	William Owen	20
22 ⁺	Margaret S. Caldcleugh	19
23	Joseph Waggoner, Sr.	19
24	John Ward	19
25	John Miller	18
26	Peter F. Owen	18
27	Christian Hege	17

TABLE 1-Continued

<u>Map Key</u>	<u>Slaveholder</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
28	John Mabry	17
29	Phillip Mock	17
30	Peter Owen	17
31	Alexander F. Smith	17
32	James Wiseman	17
33	Joseph Clouse	16
34	Jesse Holmes	16
35	Joseph H. Thompson	16
36 ^o	William Walker	16
37	Franklin W. Haden	15
38	Andrew March	15
39	John Wilson, Jr.	15
40	Samuel Yokeley	15
41	Haley Brown	14
42	Rev. Archibald Montgomery	14
43	Elizabeth Payne	14
44	Joseph Spurgin	14
45	Gray Wood	14
46	Jeremiah Adderton	13
47	John Miller	13
48	John Brindle	12
49	Henry Eccles	12
50	Nancy S. Fitzgerald	12
51	James M. Leach	12
52	Cicero F. Lowe	12
53	William McElroy	12
54	James Adderton	11
55	Robert Hampton	11
56	Eli Harris	11
57	Charles Hoover	11
58	Jacob Long	11

TABLE I-Continued

<u>Map Key</u>	<u>Slaveholder</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
59	Jacob Lopp	11
60	Abram Palmer	11
61	Dr. Fletcher Stimson	11
62	Dr. Albert C. Wharton	11

Total owned by largest owners-1470

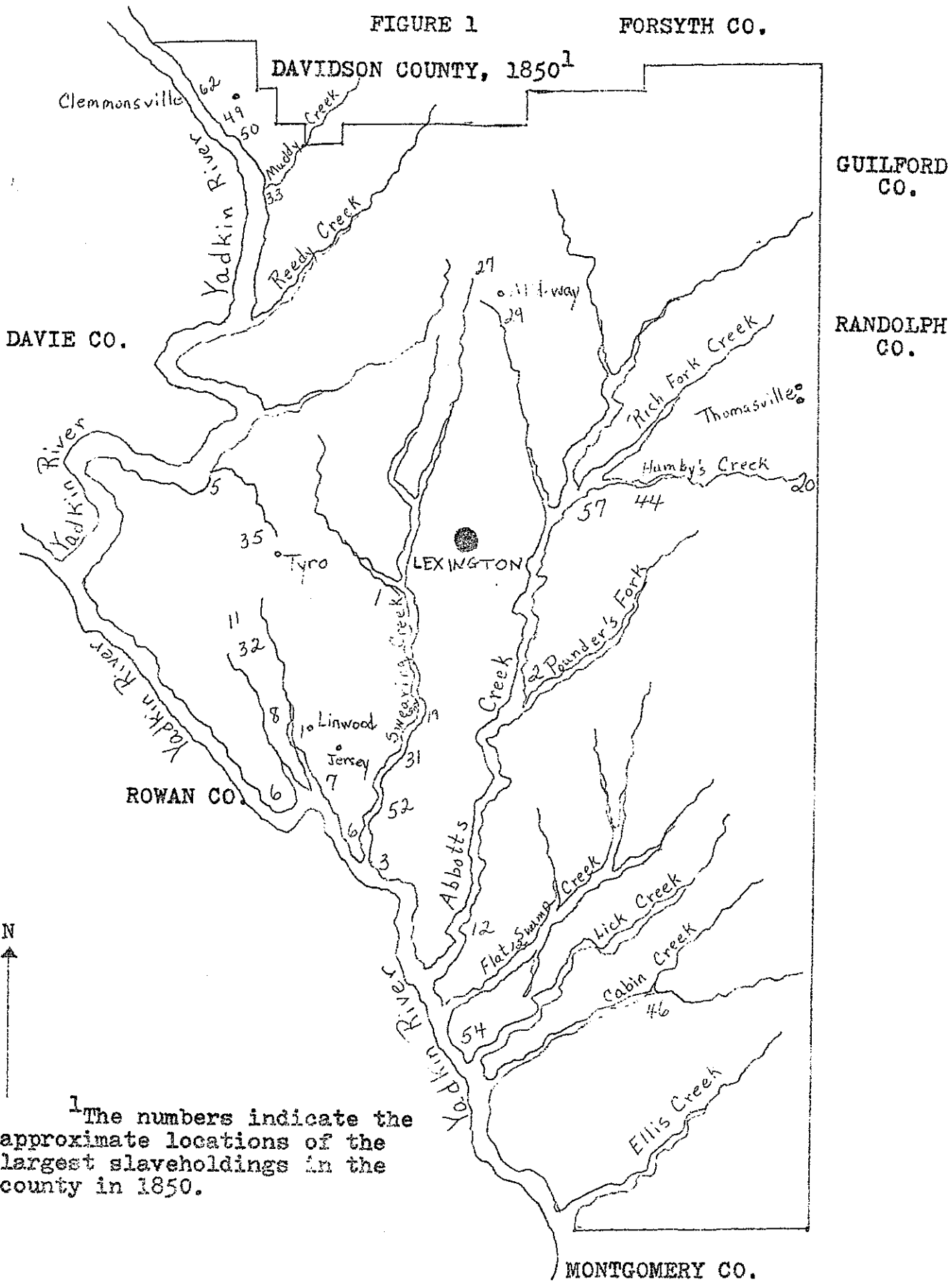
Total slaves in county-2992

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Slave Schedules, 1860.

- x Denotes plantation lands; resided in Lexington.
- + Slaveholder not head of household in 1850.
- * Denotes plantation lands in Davidson County; resided in Davie County.
- Denotes joint ownership by mother and son, with mother listed as the head of the house.
- @ Location of plantation lands or residence is unknown.

FIGURE 1

FORSYTH CO.



¹The numbers indicate the approximate locations of the largest slaveholdings in the county in 1850.

MONTGOMERY CO.

TABLE 2
TEN LARGEST SLAVEHOLDINGS
IN DAVIDSON COUNTY
1820-1860

	<u>1820</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1840</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Burgess L. Beall				51	
John Beard, Jr.	59				
Alexander R. Caldcleugh		48 (Andrew's son)			
Andrew Caldcleugh	33		.35 (widow)		
John Calloway		26	.38		
Thomas Chambers	32				
Rebecca R. & Thomas C. Crump (widow and son)				37	.45 (son)
Anderson Ellis	27		.84 (widow)		26*
Henry Ellis		38			
James Ellis	23	25	.83		
Robert Ellis				40	
William Anderson Ellis (Anderson's son)				57	71
Jesse Haden	20				
Peter W. Hairston				59	74
Franklin G. Hargrave (Jesse's son) . . . . .			.31		
Jesse Hargrave . . . . .	.28	.112 (estate)			
Jesse H. Hargrave (Jesse's son)					76
Jesse H. Hargrave (John's son)				66	60
John L. Hargrave (Jesse's son) . . . . .			.44		
Robert L. Hargrave (Jesse's son) . . . . .			.58	.77	99
Samuel Hargrave (Jesse's son)				81	26*

TABLE 2-Continued

	<u>1820</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1840</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Reuben Holmes. . . . .	.36				
William R. Holt. . . . .			.54	.98	.99
Thales McDonald. . . . .				.53	
Jacob Miller . . . . .	.21				
John Miller. . . . .					.39
Charles L. Payne . . . . .					.56
Paschal W. Ragsdale. . . . .			.45		
John Sharp . . . . .			.40		
Blair Smith. . . . .	.23				
Peter Smith. . . . .	.22				
John W. Thomas					26*
Frederick Thompson . . . . .	.22				
Joseph H. Thompson					26*
Daniel Waggoner. . . . .	.26				
Joseph Waggoner. . . . .	.19	.25			

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Population Schedules, 1820, 1830, 1840;
Slave Schedules, 1850, 1860.

* There was a four way tie for tenth place in 1860 with 26 slaves owned.

TABLE 3
 SLAVEHOLDING POPULATION AND SLAVE DISTRIBUTION
 DAVIDSON COUNTY, 1820-1860¹

<u>Heads owning:</u> ²	<u>1820</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1840</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u> ³
No slaves	1324	1619	1728	1828	2184
1-5 slaves	214	295	311	337	276
6-10 slaves	47	59	63	85	92
11-20 slaves	19	29	38	40	44
More than 20	9	11	21	18	17
Total heads	1613	2013	2161	2308	2613
Total slaves	1405	1923	2538	2992	3076
Total free ⁴	9363	11,498	12,068	12,328	13,525

¹SOURCE: U.S. Census: Population Schedules, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860; Slave Schedules, 1850, 1860.

²Refers to heads of household.

³The 1860 census recorded the total number of slaveholders as 482 while the heads of household who owned slaves numbered only 429.

⁴This category includes the following numbers of free persons of color listed in order from the 1820 census to the 1860 census: 50, 151, 131, 191, 149.

TABLE 4
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO THE STATE GOVERNMENT
FROM DAVIDSON COUNTY
1823-1861

<u>Year</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
1823-24	Alexander R. Caldcleugh	William Bodenhamer Jesse Hargrave
1824-25	Jesse Hargrave	William Bodenhamer John Clemmons
1825-26	Jesse Hargrave	Joseph Spurgin John M. Smith
1826-27	John M. Smith	Thomas Hampton John Ward
1827-28	John M. Smith	Thomas Hampton Absalom Williams
1828-29	John M. Smith	Thomas Hampton Absalom Williams
1829-30	Ransom Harris	Lewis Snyder* William W. Williams ⁺
1830-31	Ransom Harris	Joseph Spurgin William W. Williams ⁺
1831-32	Charles Hoover	John A. Hogan* John W. Thomas
1832-33	John A. Hogan*	Henry Ledford William Wiseman
1833-34	John A. Hogan*	Henry Ledford William Wiseman
1834-35	John A. Hogan*	Charles Brummell* George Smith
1835-36	John A. Hogan*	Charles Brummell* George Smith
1836-37	John L. Hargrave	Charles Brummell* Meshack Pinkston
1838-39	William R. Holt	Burgess L. Beall Charles Brummell*
1840-41	Alfred Hargrave	Burgess L. Beall Charles Brummell*
1842-43	John W. Thomas	Henry Walser Charles Brummell*
1844-45	Alfred Hargrave	Benton C. Douthit Charles Brummell* Charles L. Payne ¹

TABLE 4-Continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Representative</u>
1846-47	Samuel Hargrave	Charles Hoover Henry Walser
1848-49	John W. Thomas	James M. Leach Henry Walser
1850-51	Samuel Hargrave	James M. Leach Alfred G. Foster
1852-53	Samuel Hargrave	William Harris James M. Leach
1854-55	John W. Thomas	James M. Leach Henry Walser
1856-57	John W. Thomas	James M. Leach John P. Mabry
1858-59	Benton C. Douthit	Hiram W. Brummell Henry Walser
1860-61	John W. Thomas	Edmund B. Clark* Lewis Hanes

SOURCE: North Carolina Government, 281-2, 283-4, 285, 286-7, 288-9, 290-1, 292-3, 294-5, 296-7, 298-9, 300-1, 302-3, 304, 307, 308-9, 310-1, 311-2, 313, 314-5, 316-7, 318, 321, 322-3, 324, 325-6, 327-8.

* Were not recorded as slaveholders by any census from 1820 to 1860.

+ Was not a slaveholder at the time he served in the government, but became a slaveholder later.

¹ Appointed to fill the unexpired term of Charles Brummell who died in 1844.

TABLE 5
 AVERAGE SLAVEHOLDING AND FARM VALUES
 1850-1860

<u>1850</u>	<u>IA</u> ³	<u>UA</u> ⁴	<u>CVF</u> ⁵	<u>VFI</u> ⁶	<u>APPA</u> ⁷
Countywide ¹	63	131	\$ 641.29	\$ 70.62	\$ 3.81
Slaveholders ²	146	289	\$ 2138.08	\$ 169.27	\$ 4.76
 <u>1860</u>					
Countywide	85	146	\$ 1188.62	\$ 82.97	\$ 6.22
Slaveholders	229	348	\$ 4585.80	\$ 226.41	\$ 7.96

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Agricultural Schedules, 1850, 1860.

¹1231 farms countywide in 1850; 1067 in 1860.

²212 farms except for farm implement category for which information was given for only 210 farms both decades.

³Average improved acres.

⁴Average unimproved acres.

⁵Average cash value of farm.

⁶Average value of farm implements.

⁷Average price per acre of improved and unimproved land.

TABLE 6
LARGEST COTTON PRODUCERS
DAVIDSON COUNTY
1850-1860

	<u>1850¹</u>		<u>1860</u>	
	<u>Bales²</u>	<u>Slaves³</u>	<u>Bales</u>	<u>Slaves</u>
William R. Holt	125	(98)	63	(99)
Robert L. Hargrave	90	(77)	54	(99)
William Anderson Ellis	73	(57)	80	(71)
Jesse H. Hargrave	73	(66)	42	(76)
Thales McDonald	56	(53)		
Robert Ellis	46	(40)		
John Miller*	38	(18)	20	(39)
William Owen	26	(20)	11	(17)
Austin Bradshaw	21	(24)		
Burgess L. Beall	20	(51)		
Samuel Hargrave	19	(81)		
Jacob Long	19	(11)		
George W. Smith	18	(10)		
Peter Owen	16	(17)	12	(20)
Wilson McCrary	14	(23)		
Mathias Long	13	(8)	12	(15)
Joseph Roach	11	(9)		
Cicero F. Lowe	10	(12)	22	(20)
Henry Smith	10	(8)		
J.A. Bradshaw			33	(22)
Judith Ellis			10	(26)

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Agricultural & Slave Schedules, 1850, 1860.

TABLE 6-Continued

¹Those who produced 10 or more bales in 1850, 1860.

²Four hundred pound bales, 1850, 1860.

³Total number of slaves owned by slaveholders; number of slaves specifically devoted to cotton is unknown.

*It was impossible to match cotton production to slaveholdings of John Miller. There were three John Millers in both censuses. Their slaveholdings were as follows: 1850 (9, 13, 18); 1860 (10, 15, 39).

TABLE 7
LARGEST TOBACCO PRODUCERS
DAVIDSON COUNTY
1850

<u>Producers</u> ¹	<u>Pounds-Slaves</u> ²
Peter W. Hairston	36,500 (59)
James Wood	2,000 (3)
Andrew Swicegood	1,700 (6)
Andrew Darr	400 (7)
William Williams	300 (0)
Michael Smith	300 (0)
James Russell	300 (0)
Casper C. Smith	300 (4)
Casper Smith	300 (22)
Bazel Floyd	200 (0)
Barnabus Young	200 (1)
Margaret Stoner	107 (0)
Frederick Beanblossom	100 (0)
William Surratt, Jr.	100 (0)
John Adderton	100 (0)
James Surratt	100 (0)
James Warford	100 (0)
Richard Carrick	100 (0)
William Bean, Jr.	100 (0)
Frederick Davis	100 (0)
Absalom Rush	100 (2)
Abel Cameron	100 (0)
Martin Skeen	100 (0)
Solomon Hanner	100 (0)

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Agricultural schedule, 1850.

¹None of these were among the largest tobacco producers in 1860.

²Total number of slaves owned; number specifically used to grow tobacco is unknown.

TABLE 8
LARGEST TOBACCO PRODUCERS
DAVIDSON COUNTY
1860

<u>Producers</u>	<u>Pounds-Slaves</u> ¹
Henry C. Walser	24,000 (13)
Charles L. Payne	12,000 (53)
Samuel Whitaker	7,000 (9)
Charles Hoover	5,000 (13)
Jesse Hargrave	5,000 (60)
Ephraim D. Hampton	4,000 (6)
William E. Roberson	3,800 (6)
Lewis Hanes	3,500 (3)
John Eddinger	3,500 (4)
John Giles	3,000 (0)
Samuel Yokeley	3,000 (14)
Andrew Hunt	2,800 (20)
Solomon Cecil	2,000 (0)
Lucinda Dodson	2,000 (3)
William Scott	1,800 (6)
David Loftin	1,700 (5)
Stricklen Pearce	1,500 (1)
Harrison M. Eccles	1,500 (8)
William Hampton	1,500 (1)
William Spurgin	1,400 (1)
William F. Henderson	1,300 (8)
Sophia Swicegood	1,200 (0)
Jacob Motsinger	1,200 (0)
Hiram Brummell	1,200 (8)
William Hedgecock	1,200 (0)

TABLE 8-Continued

<u>Producers</u>	<u>Pounds-Slaves</u>
John Miller*	1,200 (39, 15, or 10)
David Hepler	1,000 (11)
Daniel Morris	1,000 (2)
Harrison Motsinger	1,000 (0)
Jane Lambeth	1,000 (4)
David Redwine	1,000 (0)

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Agricultural schedule, 1860.

¹Represents the total number of slaves owned by each slaveholder; numbers of slaves utilized specifically in tobacco production is unknown.

*It was impossible to match tobacco production to the slaveholdings of John Miller. There were three John Millers in both censuses. Their slaveholdings were as follows: 1850 (9, 13, 18); 1860 (10, 15, 39).

TABLE 9
 SLAVEHOLDERS AND FORMER SLAVEHOLDERS
 BY OCCUPATION
 1860-1870¹

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1860</u>	<u>1870</u>
Farmer ²	231	191
Keeping house	12	47
No job	-	8
Job Unknown	5	3
Professional ³	8	10
Commerce ⁴	9	5
Artisan ⁵	8	3
Other ⁶	1	7

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Population schedules, 1860, 1870.

¹Slaveholders and former slaveholders included are heads of households only. Of the 435 heads who owned slaves in 1860, only 274 were located in the 1870 census.

²Includes farming and farm laborer in 1870.

³Includes physician, lawyer, minister in both census records and editor in 1870.

⁴Includes merchant, bank cashier, miller, speculator in 1860; merchant and miller in 1870.

⁵Includes mason, cabinet maker, carpenter, carriage maker, cooper, shoe manufacturer, and blacksmith in 1860; mason and cooper in 1870.

⁶Office in 1860; Includes blacksmith, auditor of state, deputy sheriff, internal revenue assessor, and mining in 1870.

TABLE 10
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO THE STATE GOVERNMENT
FROM DAVIDSON COUNTY
1862-1880

<u>Year</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
1862-64	Henderson Adams	Robert L. Beall Henry Walser
1864-65	Henderson Adams	Cicero F. Lowe Lewis Hanes
1865-66	James M. Leach (D)	S.S. Jones* (D) Isaac Kinney* (R)
1866-67	James M. Leach (D)	Cicero F. Lowe (D) J.H. Shelton (D)
1868-69	P. Allison Long* (R)	George Kinney* (R) Jabez R. Mendenhall* (R)
1869-70	P. Allison Long* (R)	George Kinney* (R) Jabez R. Mendenhall* (R)
1870-72	Frank C. Robbins+ (D)	Jacob Clinard* (D) Jacob T. Brown* (I)
1872-74	John T. Cramer+ (R)	John Michael (R) Jacob T. Brown* (R)
1874-75	Alfred Hargrave (D)	Solomon A. Mock (D) Marshall H. Pinnix- (D)
1876-77	Burrill B. Roberts (D)	James A. Leach* (D) Marshall H. Pinnix- (D)
1879-80	James M. Leach (D)	J.C. Miller (R) George F. Smith (D)

SOURCE: North Carolina Government, 328, 331, 332-3, 334, 447-8, 449-50, 451, 454-5, 455, 457, 458-9.

*These were not recorded as slaveholders by any prewar census. Those with no markings after their names were recorded by at least one prewar census as slaveholders.

+Had not owned slaves of their own, but married into prominent slaveholding families within the county.

-Came from a slaveholding family from another North Carolina county.

(D) postwar member of the Democratic party.

(R) postwar member of the Republican party.

TABLE 11
 COUNTYWIDE FARM ACREAGE AND VALUES
 1850-1880

<u>Year</u>	<u>IA</u> ¹	<u>UA</u> ²	<u>CVF</u> ³
1850	95,243	195,114	\$1,106,746
1860	121,017	198,726	\$1,988,464
1870	111,230	133,017	\$1,395,298
1880	129,664	209,331	\$2,666,746

SOURCE: Statistical View of the United States: A Compendium of the Seventh Census; Statistics of the United States in 1860; The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the Ninth Census; Compendium of the Tenth Census.

¹Total improved acres.

²Total unimproved acres.

³Total cash value of all farms. -

TABLE 12
 DISTRIBUTION OF FARM ACREAGE AND VALUES
 AMONG FORMER SLAVEHOLDERS
 1860-1880

Degree ¹	Improved Acres		Farm Values	
	in 1870	in 1880	in 1870	in 1880
< 1860	48		66	
> 1860	27	15	16	24
= 1860	10		5	
< 1870		54		30
> 1870		25		45
= 1870		7		11

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Agricultural schedules, 1860, 1870, 1880.

¹Symbols used: < is less than; > is greater than; = is the same as. A sample entry would read: "There were 48 former slaveholders who owned fewer improved acres in 1870 than they had owned in 1860."

TABLE 13
 FREEDMEN¹ BY OCCUPATION
 1870

Occupation	Residing in Colored Houses		Residing in White Houses		Total
	Black	Mulatto---	Black	Mulatto---	
Farmer ²	732	80	109	19	940
Day Laborer ³	80	20	11	1	112
Commerce ⁴	5	1	1	-	7
Artisan ⁵	24	7	1	1	33
Professional ⁶	4	3	-	-	7
Go to School	21	8	6	-	35
Domestic Service ⁷	194	11	121	33	359
Other ⁸	1,659	307	68	23	2,057
				Grand Total	3,550 ⁹

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Population Schedules, 1870.

¹Time has not allowed for the separation of colored individuals into ex-slave and free colored groups based on the 1860 census. There were 149 free Negroes in the county in 1860.

²Includes farm laborer, field hand, and gardner.

³Includes miner, railroad hand, tobacco factory, shoe shop, housepainter.

⁴Includes miller, seamstress, sawmill.

⁵Includes blacksmith, cooper, carpenter, shoemaker.

⁶Includes preacher, physician, nurse, engineer, teacher.

⁷Includes domestic servant, cook, assists in house.

TABLE 13-Continued

⁸Includes keeping house (not as a paid position), no occupation, at home.

⁹While the 1870 census reported there were 3,546 colored residents in the county, the researcher has counted 4 additional persons as black or mulatto, perhaps erroneously.

TABLE 14
 COLORED POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION
 DAVIDSON COUNTY
 1820-1880

<u>Year</u>	<u>Colored¹ Population</u>	<u>Percentage of Colored Population</u>	<u>Total County Population</u>
1820	1455	14%	10,768
1830	2074	15%	13,421
1840	2669	18%	14,606
1850	3183	21%	15,320
1860	3225	19%	16,601
1870	3546	20%	17,414
1880	3992	20%	20,333

SOURCE: U.S. Census: Population schedules, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880; Slave schedules, 1850, 1860.

¹Colored population includes both free coloreds and slaves. The following is a list of free persons of color who lived in the county from 1820-1860: 55, 151, 131, 191, 149.

**SLAVEHOLDERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR:
DAVIDSON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1820-1880**

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