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A HISTORY OF THREE CULTURES: INDIAN WOODS, NORTH CAROLINA,  
1585 TO 1995

Volume 1

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

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\* \* \* \* \*

The Ohio State University  
1997

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## ABSTRACT

This is a study of the various residents of a ten-square-mile area of Bertie County, North Carolina known as Indian Woods. The primary focus of this work is the development of the Native American, European, and African communities there since 1585.

Archival records from the Southern Historical Collection and the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and from the Special Collections Department of Perkins Library at Duke University were consulted, particularly plantation and land records from the late colonial and antebellum periods that dealt with Bertie County and Indian Woods. Archival records from the North Carolina Division of State Archives and History for the same periods were also consulted. Private collections from residents, churches and community organizations of Indian Woods were also used, particularly with regards to the twentieth century. Numerous scholarly articles were consulted, including those from the North Carolina Historical Review, but also from the Journal of Negro History,

Journal of Southern History, and a number of other periodicals. A number of M.A. Theses and Ph.D. Dissertations were consulted, along with oral interviews, local, county, state, and federal records. Education and census records, along with public documents, including the Colonial and State Records of the State of North Carolina were also utilized. Finally specific histories of churches and organizations in Indian Woods also served as sources of information. A comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources was compiled, examined, and utilized.

It has been concluded that the Indian Woods community has a rich history that spans over 400 years of recorded history, and encompasses three very distinct races and cultures. These races, particularly Native Americans and Africans who resided in eastern North Carolina, mixed more readily and thoroughly than previously believed, due to the similarity of their cultures. This occurred not only in Indian Woods but throughout eastern North Carolina from Roberson to Hertford County, including communities like Ahoskie, Enfield, Wilson, Goldsboro, and Maxton. As the Tuscarora, migrated

north, similar communities can be documented in nine states along the North Atlantic seaboard from St. Helena Island, South Carolina to the Catskill, Kittatinny, and Ramapo mountains of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, near Niagara Falls, New York, along the Grand River in Oshwegan, Canada and even in the British Caribbean as a result of the North American Native-American Slave Trade.

It has also been concluded that the most significant changes within the present day community of Indian Woods have occurred in four periods 1585 to 1715, 1717 to 1803, 1804 to 1865, and 1957 to 1995. Finally, today the mixed-blood African-American residents of Indian Woods have created their own culture which is a combination of all three cultures and they have made outstanding contributions to their community, county and state.

Dedicated to the memory of my Native-American and African ancestors and to my Grandfather, Lord Cornwallis Cherry, born June 12, 1912 who never went beyond the 12th grade but is one of the most gifted historians I have ever known. For the years he lived in Indian Woods, no primary or secondary source could surpass his memory of events. His influence is evident throughout this work and evident over his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to give thanks to God, for without His grace none of this would have been possible, and my wife, Alisa Mayfield Smallwood, for her continued support and assistance. I must next acknowledge the guidance and assistance of my advisor, Dr. Warren Van Tine, whose patience never wore thin and who kept me on track, not only during the writing of this work, but throughout my studies at The Ohio State University. During my darkest days he offered me alternatives and advice which proved most valuable. Thanks are also due to my committee members, each of whom has contributed to my personal and professional growth, beginning with Dr. John C. Burnham whose research skills are without peer. The skills I learned as his research assistant have served me well and opened my eyes to the infinite possibilities of research. Secondly, Dr. Joan Cashin, who suggested individuals to interview and materials to read that shed light on Native Americans and Antebellum slavery. Finally I would also like to thank, Dr. John A. M. Rothney, whose good humor and

philosophical views both intrigued and inspired me when I took his Historiography classes, for “What is History?”

I would also like to thank the Vice President and Provost of Academic Affairs of Bradley University, Dr. Sharon Murphy, for her words of encouragement. While I was completing this work as a new faculty member, she constantly reminded me not to overextend myself and remain focused on the task at hand.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank the residents of Indian Woods, the members of the Tuscarora Nation, particularly Chief Leo Henry and Chief Kenneth Patterson, and the members of the Six Nations, particularly Jonathan Garfield and his wife. These people and their ancestors are what this work is really about and without their cooperation and assistance, none of this would have been possible. Their story and that of their ancestors has finally been told.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study documents the history and subsequent merging of three distinct cultures in a small, ten-square-mile area of Bertie County, North Carolina, called Indian Woods. It examines the landscape of Indian Woods and how that landscape has sustained three very distinct cultures and their descendants for more than 400 years. The work also examines the impact that these people have had on the landscape of Indian Woods.<sup>1</sup>

Through this work we see documented for the first time, the merging of three cultures in the rural South. This dissertation combines southern history, colonial American history, Native-American history, African-American history, and community history to tell the story of the multicultural residents of Indian Woods.

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<sup>1</sup>The Bart F. Smallwood Papers, which have been heavily cited in chapter 9, tape recorded interviews, and pictures found in the appendix of this work, are now part of the Bart F. Smallwood Collection which, after August 30, 1997, will be permanently housed as part of the Southern Historical Collection in the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



Finally, the work discusses the merging of Native American, European, and African culture among the mixed-blood peoples who currently live in the community.

This work integrates several fields of history, appropriately demonstrating history's inclusiveness. It also supports the thesis that there are people currently living in the rural South and on the Atlantic seaboard who combine Native-American, European, and African heritages.

Part one of this work describes what has happened to the landscape of Indian Woods over the past 400 years. It begins with the arrival of the Native Americans 2,000 to 5,000 years ago and illustrates how, through respecting nature, animals, plants, rivers, streams, and creeks, Indians were able to establish a prosperous town, known as Moratuck (or Moratoc), on the banks of the Roanoke River. It continues with the arrival of the English, and how their interaction with the landscape was radically different from that of its original inhabitants. The English were primarily concerned with utilizing the landscape for its commercial value-- furs, fish, timber,

and the clearing of forest land for large-scale farming. This chapter ends by discussing the arrival of African slaves into Indian Woods and their role in farming the English plantations and cutting and clearing forests. It concludes with the explanation that even during slavery, members of the African-American community, who would become the last inhabitants of Indian Woods, fished the streams, planted the “three sisters” (corn, beans and squash), gathered wild fruits and berries, and hunted in much the same way the Tuscarora had 400 years before.

Part two of this work, which includes chapters two and three, deals primarily with the history of the Tuscarora Nation and Indian Woods as a Tuscarora community with important towns and villages. Indian Woods later became one of the first Indian Reserves in North America. The section begins by showing the Tuscaroras’ ties to the Iroquois Confederacy, their role in the destruction of the first English colony at “Roanoke,” their five-to-seven year trips to trade with the Iroquois Confederacy, and the Tuscarora War, which lasted from 1711 to 1713. It also describes the role of the War in the forced

migration and dispersion of the Tuscarora across nine states, two nations, and the Caribbean. As a result of the war, the Nation was split into two sections, one remaining in Indian Woods and the other migrating to New York and becoming the Sixth Indian Nation. Part two also discusses the Tuscarora role in the Seven Years War from 1754 to 1763, their participation in the American Revolution from 1776 to 1783, the final departure of the Tuscarora from Indian Woods in 1802, their role in the War of 1812, and the religious dispute at the New York reserve that caused many of the mixed-blood Tuscarora from Indian Woods to move to the Grand River reserve. There they joined the Six Nations in 1829 -1830, where their ancestors still reside today. It concludes by discussing the various mixed-blood Tuscarora who, because of enslavement with Africans, remained in Indian woods and today still claim Indian Woods as home.

Part three of this work, which includes chapters four, five, and six, discusses the arrival of the English in Indian Woods. It describes the area's first contact with Europeans in 1585 and the first

settlements of 1655. It also describes the early government of the region, and identifies the first land and plantation owners of Indian Woods. Major emphasis is placed on colonial and antebellum slavery, and the rise and fall of the tobacco and cotton cultures in Indian Woods. Part three also analyzes the post-Civil War years and the rise of peonage and the peanut plantations in Indian Woods. It discusses the impact of the Civil War and the subsequent end of slavery on the white population of Indian Woods. It concludes by discussing the white minority in Indian Woods and their mass migration to the mostly white towns nearby, even as they retained control of most of the land and housing of Indian Woods.

The fourth and final part of this work, which includes chapters seven, eight, and nine, deals with the black community of Indian Woods. As with the three previous sections, part four begins by discussing the arrival of the first Africans into North Carolina in 1526 with the Spanish explorer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. It notes the release of 300 African and West Indian Slaves at Roanoke, by Sir Francis Drake, in 1586. It then traces the spread of African-

Americans and whites into Indian Woods by 1650. It also explores the merging of Native American and African cultures. The role that enslaved African-Americans from Indian Woods played in the Civil War is examined, as well as how, following the war, African-Americans of Indian Woods built and established churches that also served as schools by 1866. It discusses the building of the Rosenwald schools of the early 1900s and the impact of the Great Depression and the New Deal on the Blacks of Indian Woods. The section concludes by discussing the impact of the civil rights movement, community activism, the great migration, and drugs and crime on the community. It notes the improvements in living conditions, political empowerment, and education from 1954 to 1995.

Although the work draws on many sources, it is unique in approach, subject matter, and findings. I have found that the mixed-blood people who consider themselves African-American are totally unaware of the reasons behind many of the things that they do, and can note only that they learned from their parents or grandparents. In this fascinating manner they have passed on many customs and

beliefs that are more Native American than African, a finding that often conflicts with various Afrocentric approaches. Finally, they have accepted as their own many customs, including their religion, from Europeans. Yet it is also noticeable that as it pertains to their food, one can observe the African influence in the dishes they prepare, as in the case of the origins of hush puppies. There is even evidence that the blacks in Indian Woods, who were from Guinea on the west coast of Africa, introduced peanuts to Indian Woods and Bertie County after having them introduced into Guinea by the Spanish and Portuguese from South America. Thus represented in Indian Woods is 400 years of history, combining the culture of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans.

## PART I: THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE

### CHAPTER 1

#### AN ECOLOGICAL HISTORY OF INDIAN WOODS

The lives of the various inhabitants of Indian Woods over its 400-year recorded history have not only shaped but have been shaped by the surrounding landscape. Whether by its natural rivers, creeks, and streams, and the fish and fowl they sustain, or the old Indian dwellings and forts that were replaced in the 1700s and 1800s by plantation houses, slave cabins, and one-room shacks, the landscape and the human relationship to it tells much about the history, life, and culture of the region.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, much can be learned about present-day Indian Woods by doing a historical examination of

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<sup>1</sup>John R. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-142; Bayard Wooten, and Archibald Henderson, Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 1-49; Elizabeth W. Wilborn, The Roanoke Valley A Report for the Historic Halifax State Historic Site (Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, 1974), 1-5.

its landscape and studying how that landscape has altered and has been altered by the various people who have lived in and near its boundaries.<sup>2</sup>

Indian Woods is one of nine townships of Bertie County, North Carolina (see map, Appendix, Figure 1). Bertie County occupies part of the western coastal plains of northeastern North Carolina and is bordered to the east by the tidewater region and to the west by the piedmont region. The county is also bordered by five other counties that at one time or another were politically attached to Bertie County.<sup>3</sup> These counties include Hertford County to the north, Northhampton and Halifax Counties to the northwest, and Martin and Washington Counties to the south (see map, Appendix, Figure 2). Bertie County is also bordered to the east by the Chowan River and the Albemarle Sound and is divided from its southern and western neighbors by the Roanoke River, which runs from Roanoke, Virginia

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<sup>2</sup>Frank Roy Johnson Collection, 1960-1962, bound newspaper reprints titled, The Roanoke-Chowan Story, Vol. 1, concerning the prehistory, explorations, and settlements of Bertie County, reprints of articles on the Tuscarora Indians, witchcraft and superstitions, the Civil War, and Union sympathizers or "Buffaloes," Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>3</sup>William P. Cumming, North Carolina in Maps (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1985), 5.



to the Albemarle Sound, where it drains into the Atlantic Ocean (see map, Appendix, Figure 3).<sup>4</sup> Bertie County is one of the oldest counties in North Carolina and was established in 1722 by the proprietors of Carolina as the Bertie Precinct (see map, Appendix, Figure 4). It would be settled primarily by the English, most of whom migrated down from the Virginia colony.<sup>5</sup>

Indian Woods is located in the southern part of Bertie County on the banks of the Roanoke River (see map, Appendix, figure 4). All of the past and present inhabitants of Indian Woods have benefitted from its easy access to the rivers, sounds, and outer banks of North Carolina. Being located in the subregion of the costal plains known as the Western Coastal Plains, Indian Woods is above sea level and not as adversely affected by the tides as is the tidewater region along North Carolina's coast. As a result, its inhabitants, including Native American, European, and African peoples, have been successful in

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<sup>4</sup>North Carolina Geological Survey (1883-1905) Papers, 1885-1914, see items relating to North Carolina's forest, drainage, fisheries, and roads, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>5</sup>William S. Powell, The Proprietors of Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1968), 11.

developing and sustaining a wide variety of agricultural crops. <sup>6</sup>

The second subregion of the Coastal Plains, the tidewater region, which is just east of Indian Woods, differs in terrain from Indian Woods. The area is generally damp and contains a number of small swamps and a portion of the Great Dismal Swamp. It also contains a number of natural lakes and savannas.<sup>7</sup> Altogether, the tidewater region and the western coastal plains region make up the coastal plains of North Carolina and contain two-fifths of the state's land area and end at the fall lines of the Chowan, Roanoke, Tar-Pamlico, Neuse-Trent, and Cape Fear rivers, covering a distance

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<sup>6</sup>Cornelius O. Cathey, Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1974), 2-3; W. Neil Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 3 (1926): 539-574; Bryan J. Grimes, "Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina: 1700-1750," North Carolina Booklet 5 (1905): 90-149.

<sup>7</sup>Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 18; William P. Cumming, North Carolina in Maps (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 1-36; Jasper L. Stuckey, North Carolina: Its Geology and Mineral Resources (Raleigh: Department of Conservation and Development, 1965), 1-110.

inland of 100 to 150 miles.<sup>8</sup>

Along the coast of North Carolina there is a broken chain of islands known as the Outer Banks which range in height from a few feet to a hundred feet above sea level. Among these islands is historic Roanoke Island, which was the site of the first English settlement in North America. The island is near two great sounds, the Albemarle and Pamlico (see map, Appendix, Figure 5).<sup>9</sup> The region's five major rivers drain into these large sounds as well as several smaller sounds including the Boque, Croatan, Core, and Currituck. These sounds, with several inlets, including Ocracoke, Topsail, and Oregon, are shallow and filled with shifting sands that make the waterways too treacherous for the large-scale commercial

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Huntington Cairns, This Other Eden: Aspects of Natural History of the Outer Banks of North Carolina (Manteo, N.C.: Times Printing Company, 1974), 1-45; Cordelia Camp, The Influence of Geography Upon Early North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 15-72; Gray S. Dunbar, Geographical History of the North Carolina Outer Banks (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 8-123; David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1958), 1-55; David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 12-125; David Stick, Roanoke Island, the Beginnings of English America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 1-193.

shipping which many Europeans desired as they migrated into the region. However, the waterways were ideal for canoeing, which the coastal and inland Native Americans did in search of fish, crabs, clams, and an assortment of sea shells (see map, Appendix, figure 5).<sup>10</sup>

The region was first populated by Native Americans of both Algonquin and Iroquois heritage between 2,000 and 5,000 years ago.<sup>11</sup> These early people erected three towns that were recorded by Europeans in 1585. They were Metpcuuem, located on the Chowan River at the mouth of Salmon Creek, Tandequemuc, located on the Cashie River, and Moratuck, located in what is known today as Indian Woods, located on the Roanoke River (see map, Appendix, Figure

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<sup>10</sup>David Stick, Indian Canoes In Coastal North Carolina 400 Years Ago (Raleigh, N.C.: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), 1-23; Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast, 1-85.

<sup>11</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources Division of Archives and History, 1982), 1; Dean R. Snow, The Archaeology of North American Indians and Their Origins (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1981), 6-135.

6).<sup>12</sup> Moratuck, unlike Metpcuquem and Tandequemuc, was a Tuscarora town. The others were inhabited by Algonquin tribes (see map, Appendix, Figure 7).<sup>13</sup> These early people supported themselves by fishing, farming, and hunting with wood and stone tools.<sup>14</sup>

The relatively calm waters of the rivers and sounds assisted Native American fishermen in their attempts to supplement their diet with fresh seafood. The Tuscarora, like many other native Americans living in the region, used the rivers, creeks and streams to

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<sup>12</sup>David Stick, Indian Towns and Buildings in Coastal North Carolina 400 years Ago (Raleigh, N.C.: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), 1-77; John White, America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 1-20; Thomas Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the New found-land of Virginia Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony of 1588 (London: Private printing, 1900 originally published in 1588), 1-33.

<sup>13</sup>Various Colonial maps indicated alternate spellings of Moratuck, including Moratoc.

<sup>14</sup>David Stick, Indian Fishing and Hunting: In Coastal North Carolina 400 years Ago (Raleigh, N.C.: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), 1-18; White, America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White, 1-20; Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony of 1588, 7-23.

travel from place to place and to access the sounds. The early Tuscarora Nation encompassed all of the major coastal rivers except the Cape Fear, which was held by the Sioux Indians (see map, Appendix, Figure 3). As a result, the Tuscarora, who held a reputation for being a fearless, warlike, and proud people, controlled these waterways and shared the bounty of the sounds and outer banks with various Algonquin peoples who populated the tidewater region of the Coastal Plains in North Carolina and Virginia (see map, Appendix, Figure 8).<sup>15</sup>

These sounds and islands, including Roanoke Island, were considered neutral areas where different nations of Native Americans were allowed to fish and search for sea shells without fear of attack. Native Americans valued sea shells in much the same manner Europeans valued gold, silver, and precious stones. But for Native Americans, sea shells, in addition to having monetary value, also held spiritual value. Sea shells were used by the Tuscarora and their Iroquois brothers -- the Five Nations of Oneida, Cayugas,

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<sup>15</sup>Douglas L. Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1957), 18; Richard Dillard, "The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," The North Carolina Booklet 6 (1906): 4-26.

Onondaga, Mohawks, and Senecas -- to make Wampum Belts to be used in ceremonies by chiefs and shamans, and to be awarded to certain members of the nations that obtained high levels of achievement (see map, Appendix, Figure 9).<sup>16</sup>

Since the Iroquois valued sea shells that were different from those valued by the Algonquins and since there was constantly an enormous supply, no conflicts arose between the two groups over them. Likewise, there was no reason for the two groups to develop conflicts over shell fish and salt water fish since they, too, were in abundance.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Elizabeth L. Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes, 1968" Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Chief Elias Johnson, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois or Six Nations and History of the Tuscarora Indians (Lockport, N.Y.: Union Printing and Publishing Company, 1981), 1-40; David Stick, Indian Dress and Ornaments In Coastal North Carolina 400 years Ago (Raleigh, N.C.: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), 15-36; Martin Sullivan, "Return of the Sacred Wampum Belts of the Iroquois," The History Teacher 26, no. 1 (1992): 7-14; David Sokolowski, "Tuscarora Welcome Wampum," Niagara Gazette 13 (July 1996): 1; Tehanetorens, Wampum Belts (Onchiota, NY: Six Nations Indian Museum, 1940), 1-15.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

Indian Woods, like the rest of the Coastal Plains, is naturally flat and before 1585 was entirely covered with trees.<sup>18</sup> As a result, once cleared by slash-and-burn techniques, it provided excellent land for large-scale farming that the Europeans would introduce in the mid 1600s. The soil is light, sometimes sandy and very fertile, and is excellent for growing various types of vegetables, including watermelons, tomatoes, potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, squash, and corn (see Appendix, Figure 10).<sup>19</sup> The soil was also ideal for growing wheat, tobacco, cotton, and, by the 1900s peanuts, all of which Europeans would produce as cash crops. Most of the agricultural products grown in Indian Woods were indigenous to North Carolina, but some new fruits, vegetables, and cash crops like peanuts and cotton would be introduced by Europeans into the landscape. As a

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<sup>18</sup> These trees were mostly soft-wood pines, but also maple, cedar, oak, gum, weeping willow, magnolia, and in swampy areas, cypress. They also contained a number of wild fruit, berry, and nut trees including peach, apple, pear, fig, pecan, walnut and plum and mulberry and blackberry bushes; Moses A. Curtis, The Woody Plants of the State With Descriptions of the Trees Shrubs, and Woody Vines (Raleigh, N.C.: State Geological Survey, 1860), 1-55 ; John S. Holmes, Common Forest Trees of North Carolina: How to Know Them- A Pocket Manual, 7th ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, 1954), 1-80.

<sup>19</sup> Bill Weinberg, "Grandfather Corn and the Three Sisters," Earth Island Journal, 9, no. 3 (1994): 34.



result of the fertile soil, Native Americans flourished in Indian Woods.<sup>20</sup>

When the coastal region of North Carolina was explored by the Spaniard Pedro de Quexoia in 1525, it became clear that heavily loaded ships would have difficulty navigating North Carolina's coast.<sup>21</sup> As a result, in 1570, the Spanish established a settlement in the Chesapeake Bay of Virginia known as Ajacán, a Jesuit mission, rather than risk the coast of North Carolina.<sup>22</sup> In fact, because of its coastline, no attempt was made by Europeans to settle North Carolina

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<sup>20</sup>Cornelius O. Cathey, Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), 2-10.

<sup>21</sup>David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 32.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 66; Patricia Galloway, The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and Discovery in the Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1-66; Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1561 (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1975), 1-44.

until 1584, when Sir Walter Raleigh sent Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore the region for settlement by the English.<sup>23</sup>

The Tuscarora and other coastal Indians, however, navigated the region with ease in their light canoes. The Roanoke and Chowan Rivers also provided an abundance of fish for the Native Americans living in Indian Woods. The rivers had especially large numbers of herring and perch. As a result of the abundance of herring, when Europeans arrived in the area in large numbers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they developed fisheries in the region, making fishing a commercial venture and thus creating a thriving industry that lasted to the late twentieth century.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State North Carolina, 5; Richard Hakluyt, The First Colonists: Hakluyt's Voyages to North America (London: Folio Society, 1986) 17-68; Hakluyt, A Discourse on Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 (Cambridge: Maine Historical Society, 1877), 1-41; Stick, Roanoke Island the Beginnings of English America, 1-30; David B. Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), 1-67; Thomas Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the New Foundland of Virginia, (London: Private printing, 1587), 1-22.

<sup>24</sup>Wendell Peele, "Return to the River," The State 35, no. 9 (1967): 9.

The swamps in Indian Woods were not so beneficial to the inhabitants. The two largest swamps were the Broadneck, located in the southern part of Indian Woods near the Roanoke River, and the Roquist Pocosin swamp, located in northern Indian Woods near Roquist Creek.<sup>25</sup> These swamps were full of poisonous snakes, including water moccasins, cotton mouth moccasins, and rattle snakes. There were also nonpoisonous snakes that killed poisonous snakes, including king snakes and black snakes.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the nearby swamps, Indian Woods was infested by malaria-carrying mosquitos, gnats, and a number of biting flies including deer flies, horse flies, hog flies, common house flies, and blow flies. These pests, especially mosquitos, proved also to be dangerous for the early white settlers. Many Africans on the other

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<sup>25</sup>Map of Bertie County with rivers, creeks, roads, and swamps, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Division of Highways, Raleigh, North Carolina 1990.

<sup>26</sup>William M. Palmer, The Snakes of North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina State Museum, 1964), 1-23.

hand, had some immunity to malaria and tended to be more suited for the environment.<sup>27</sup>

There were also large quantities of wild game. Many of these animals, countless before the settlement of whites, inspired names for the Tuscarora children and clans.<sup>28</sup> Even today at the New York and Canada reserves, there are still surviving members of the Turtle Clan, Beaver Clan, Deer Clan, Wolf Clan, Bear Clan and the Snipe Clan who once lived in the coastal plains of North Carolina.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Daniel C. Littlefield, Tribal Origins of Southern Slaves and Preferences of White Planters: Clues to the African Past (Toulon, IL, 1991), 1-142.

<sup>28</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 23; The wild game included deer, bears, wolves, beavers, raccoons, opossums, buffalo, and elk. There were also numerous rabbits, squirrels, raccoons, minks, weasels, and foxes. There were plenty of reptiles and amphibians, as well including turtles, lizards, and frogs. Fowl included turkey, pheasants, quail, parakeets, wild geese, ducks, pigeons, along with numerous types of birds, including, snipes, owls, hawks, eagles, vultures, buzzards, and smaller birds.

<sup>29</sup>Interview with Chief Leo Henry of The Tuscarora Nation, interview by author, June 12, 1996, New York Reserve, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Interview with Jonathan Garfield of the Six Nations Reserve, June 13, 1996, Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, Canada, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

Because the Native Americans who occupied these lands before Europeans did not farm the land on the same scale as later white farmers, the landscape was almost entirely covered with trees. However, there were occasional meadows that the Indians had cleared and used for gardens and towns (see Appendix, Figure 10). The Native Americans also established a number of early roads that have been referred to as Indian paths. Many of these paths wound their way through thick forests over creeks and streams and on the high ground through swamps. These roads connected the Tuscarora to their neighbors with whom they traded in eastern North Carolina and other Indian nations to the north, south and west (see maps, Appendix, Figures 12 and 13).<sup>30</sup>

These roads, which received a mixture of Tuscarora and English names, are a lasting mark of both early groups. Many of these early paths and roads made by Native Americans and European settlers

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<sup>30</sup>Cumming, North Carolina In Maps, 1-36; Douglas L. Rights, "Trading Path to the Indians," North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 403-426; Roads in Indian Woods included names which exist today, such as Big Field, Village Gate, Short, Indian Woods, Spring Hill, Apple Tree, Green Pond, Billip Club, Broad Neck, Rascoe Club House, Roquist Pocosin, Caesars Island, Quitsna, Coniotte, Grabtown, Beacon Light, Ward, St Francis, Outlaw Farm, Pollocks, Barber, Cedar Landing, Spellers Ferry, and Ruffin.

would be improved, widened, and elevated by latter generations of whites and Blacks who would eventually take control of the area.<sup>31</sup>

After Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas' visit to North Carolina in 1584, Indian Woods was explored by Englishman Ralph Lane, mapped by John White, with native peoples, animals, plants and landscape recorded by Thomas Hariot in 1585.<sup>32</sup> However, the English did not settle there until 1655, mostly Virginians moving south and west in search of fertile farm lands from the Jamestown settlement.<sup>33</sup> The first white to settle near Indian Woods was a Virginian named Nathaniel Batts, who located in the northeastern part of Bertie in what was then known as the Albemarle region and

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>L. A. Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina in 1566," North Carolina Historical Review 46 (1969): 398-407; Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia, 11-33; Hakluyt, The First Colonists: Hakluyt's Voyages to North America (London: Folio Society, 1986), 1-36; Samuel Eliot Morrison, The European Discovery of America The Southern Voyages A. D. 1492-1616 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), see last two chapters; Morrison, The European Discovery of America The Northern Voyages A. D. 500-1600 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), see last chapter.

<sup>33</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 7.

is now known as Colerain. Batts built his home on the banks of the Chowan River in lands then controlled by the Algonquin Indians.<sup>34</sup> By 1663 there were over 500 English settlers in the Albemarle region.<sup>35</sup>

What aided the growth of Native American settlements hindered the growth of European settlements. Early English settlements were dependent on trade in cash crops with other settlements in North America, the Caribbean, Europe and West Africa. In Virginia and Coastal North Carolina during colonial expansion, that crop was tobacco; in South Carolina, the crops were rice and indigo.<sup>36</sup> But whatever crop the English cultivated, land use

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 17; Elizabeth G. McPherson, "Nathaniel Batts, Landholder on Pasquotank River, 1660," North Carolina Historical Review 43 (1966): 66-81; Dillard, "Indians Tribes of Eastern North Carolina." The North Carolina Booklet, 4-26.

<sup>35</sup>United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, [Part 2] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1168; Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 1.

<sup>36</sup>Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 1 48; Daniel C. Littlefield, Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina (Baton

differed to an extreme from the way in which the Tuscarora and other Native Americans utilized the landscape. Although the coastal plains and particularly Bertie County had very fertile soil for the commercial production of tobacco, and later cotton and peanuts, the shallow waters and sand bars along the North Carolina coast made it too risky to transport large quantities of these goods by ship to potential markets.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, as early as 1700, Europeans settling in coastal North Carolina began to plan and build new roads and canals to Norfolk, Virginia and Charlestown, South Carolina. The few ports that were built at Edenton, Currituck, Elizabeth City, and

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Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1-95; Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 1-73.

<sup>37</sup>Ben Franklin Lemert, "Geographic Influences in the History of North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 12 (1935): 297-319; John Spencer Bassett, "The Influence of the Coast Line and Rivers on North Carolina," American Historical Association Annual Report 1 (1908): 58-61; Robert E. Moody, "Massachusetts Trade With Carolina, 1686-1709," North Carolina Historical Review 29 (1943): 43-53; Marvin Lucian Skaggs, "The First Boundary Survey Between the Carolinas," North Carolina Historical Review 12 (1935): 213-232; F. W. Clonts, "Travel and Transportation in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 3 (1926): 16-35; Charles C. Crittenden, "Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 239-257.



Hertford were attacked by pirates, the most notorious of which were Black Beard and Bonnet.<sup>38</sup> As a result, until these pirates were subdued, most settlers in northeastern North Carolina chose to transport their goods over land to Virginia where they could use safer ports to transport their agricultural products and import much needed commodities and slaves.<sup>39</sup>

The landscape began to change radically as early as 1730 as better roads were built and new canals dug by Carolina's new colonial government. More white settlers became interested in settling Indian Woods. Many of the early settlers used the natural resources of the area to sustain themselves just as Native Americans had for centuries before the English arrival. The settlers used the Roanoke and Chowan rivers to catch herring and other fish, which spawned in these rivers.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Samuel A. Ashe, "Our Own Pirates: Blackbeard and Bonnet," North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 3-23.

<sup>39</sup>Lindley S. Butler, "The Early Settlement of Carolina: Virginia's Southern Frontier," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 79 (1971): 20-28.

<sup>40</sup>Mrs. George W. Capehart, "The Great Fisheries of the 19th Century," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina (1964): 15-23.

There was also an abundant supply of fruits and nuts, vegetables, fish, fowl, and game for food and timber, hides, and fur from animals, which were used to make houses, tools, furniture, and clothing. Natural materials were readily available to Native Americans and Europeans. Animal skins were used to make hats, shoes, gloves, rugs and bed coverings; animal fat was used to make candles; and timber was utilized to build forts and homes. As more Europeans began to settle the region, the landscape and the inhabitants' relationship to it began to change radically.<sup>41</sup>

Unlike the Native Americans who lived in harmony with the landscape and took from nature only what they needed to survive, Europeans began to abuse and alter the landscape. They exterminated animals they viewed as pests. They introduced new domesticated animals to the landscape such as sheep, chickens, cows, horses, mules, and hogs.<sup>42</sup> They also began to over-hunt and over-fish the rivers, streams and forests. The most dramatic change, however, was the clear cutting of whole forests to make way for

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<sup>41</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 23.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 24.

large tobacco plantations. The labor required to clear forests and run successful tobacco plantations was provided initially by white indentured servants.<sup>43</sup> By 1700, however, planters were using the kidnaped wives and children of the Tuscarora and other coastal Indians as slaves. By 1711, large numbers of African and Native American slaves were being utilized near and around Indian Woods.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 44-67; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 257; T. H. Breen, James H. Lewis, and Keith Schlesinger, "Motive for Murder: Servant's Life in Virginia, 1678," William and Mary Quarterly 40 (1982), 106-120.

<sup>44</sup>James W. Covington, "Some Observations Concerning the Florida-Carolina Indian Slave Trade," Florida Anthropologist 20 (1967):10-18; Jerome S. Handler, "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries," Caribbean Studies 8 (1969): 38-64; Kenneth W. Porter "Relations Between Negroes and Indians Within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History 17 (1932): 287-367; S. William Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red White, and Black in the Southeast," Journal of Negro History 48 (1963); Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the North Carolina Region," Journal of Negro History 19 (1934): 431-440; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," The Journal of Southern History 57 (1991): 603-636.

By the mid 1700s Bertie County's leading export was naval stores, including tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, which was manufactured from the large pine forests of the region that were being cut to make way for tobacco plantations. Also, Europeans produced boards, shingles, barrels, and staves.<sup>45</sup> The forest provided the materials for building houses, churches, stores, and other buildings. Timber was also used to build wagons, walking sticks, tables, chairs, desks, stocks for guns, spinning wheels, sloops, and caskets, among other things.<sup>46</sup> Europeans also mined for profit the gold, silver, copper, and iron ore that Native Americans had used in small quantities to adorn themselves and their sacred objects.<sup>47</sup>

As Europeans radically changed the landscape they also radically changed the way of life of the Tuscarora and other Native Americans living in the region. Surroundings to which they had

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<sup>45</sup>Charles W. Jacocks, #253, papers concerning rumored insurrection of slaves and free negroes in neighboring Pasquotank Co. (1835), emigrants to Benton, Mississippi, and shipments of wheat, corn, and naval stores to New York from Bertie County, 1819-1846, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>46</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 24.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 25.

grown accustomed for hundreds of years rapidly changed. Their food sources became scarce and some animals disappeared altogether. Their nation was systematically destroyed through war and disease in order that whites could secure the lands of the Tuscarora.<sup>48</sup>

In the early years of European settlement, Native Americans, particularly the Tuscarora, controlled the growth and location of white settlements by threatening the security of those settlements (see Appendix, Figure 14). The Tuscarora, like many Native Americans, were wary of the white settlers but chose to trade with them, sell land to them, and negotiate treaties and alliances with them. Native Americans also assisted the Europeans in learning how to fight by using hit-and-run or guerilla tactics.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Herbert Richard Pashel, "The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina" (M. A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1953), 1-47; Douglas Wesley Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971), 1-66; Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973), 249-255.

<sup>49</sup>Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713," 1-52; "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825," 1-77.

Indians also taught the whites their methods of fishing, trapping, and dressing skins and furs. They even introduced whites to their methods of clearing land for farming, hill cultivation, and fertilizing. Culturally they contributed words, myths, legends, traditions, and names for creeks, streams, rivers, swamps, and roads in Indian Woods.<sup>50</sup>

From 1650 to 1713, Europeans, Native Americans, and some African slaves shared the landscape of Indian Woods, trading, hunting, fishing, farming and passing on to each other parts of their culture -- language, religion, music and art. As a result, the lives of English settlers were being shaped by African slaves and Tuscarora Indians, just as the latter two were influenced by the English.<sup>51</sup>

By 1711 the Europeans threat to radically change the culture and landscape of the Tuscarora in Indian Woods and other neighboring Native Americans would result in a war to determine whose way would dominate and control the region (see map, Appendix, Figure 11). By the end of the war, the Tuscarora, who had

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<sup>50</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 30-31.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

numbered around 8,000 prior to the arrival of the Europeans, had been reduced to around 3,000 through disease, enslavement, and battle.<sup>52</sup> Of the 3,000 Tuscarora remaining after the war, only 800, those who aided the Europeans in defeating the warring clans, were allowed to remain in North Carolina. The end of the Tuscarora War signaled the end to a significant Indian presence in the area.<sup>53</sup>

With the close of the Tuscarora War in 1713 and the subsequent removal of the majority of the Tuscarora and their allies from North Carolina, the coastal plains began to fill with mostly English settlers and their African slaves. From 1715 to 1803, using

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<sup>52</sup>These are the figures given in the Colonial Records of North Carolina and other colonial and latter U. S. governmental primary and secondary sources. I believe however that the true size of the Tuscarora Nation was much larger when one considers the extent of the Native American Slave Trade with the New England, the Middle, and Caribbean Colonies, of which the Tuscarora were a major part, and which nearly caused their allies the Five Nations to go to war with the New England and Middle colonies as early as 1709. When one adds to this the fact that large number died from disease as a result of epidemics brought to North Carolina by the Europeans from 1700 to 1711, and the fact that large numbers were separated from the nation during and after the war the total size of the nation before the Tuscarora War is hard to determine but must have numbered in the tens of thousands.

<sup>53</sup>Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825," 1-81.

slave labor and, in part, methods taught to them by Native Americans, European settlers continued to clear forests, trap and skin animals for their furs and hides, fish, and grow tobacco. As the remaining Tuscarora of Indian Woods found themselves surrounded by English plantation owners and their African slaves, some acculturation occurred from prolonged contact, particularly between African slaves and Native Americans, whose cultures had similarities.<sup>54</sup> As a result of this contact, many of the religious and cultural practices of the Tuscarora were absorbed by the slaves of Indian Woods.<sup>55</sup> Throughout the 1700s white planters continued to clear land for plantations and abandoned land that they had

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<sup>54</sup>Kimberly Ann McClain, "From Black to Indian: the Racial Identity of the Haliwa-Saponi Indians of North Carolina" (A. B. Honors thesis, Harvard University, 1989), 1-47; William Loren Katz, Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage (New York: Atheneum, 1986), 1-103; William Parker, Paths Toward Freedom: A Biographical History of Blacks and Indians in North Carolina (Raleigh: Center for Urban Affairs, North Carolina State University, 1976), 1-66.

<sup>55</sup>Harry Z. Tucker, "Indian Woods," The State: Weekly Survey of North Carolina 10, no. 32 (1943): 5.



exhausted from the over-cultivation of tobacco, and by the mid 1800s, cotton.<sup>56</sup>

In 1803 when the last of the Tuscarora who lived in Indian Woods left the area to rejoin the Tuscarora Nation in New York and Canada, they left behind many physical artifacts that still adorn the landscape. The most significant physical artifacts were their burial grounds, their punishing grounds, and their trading post (see Appendix, Figure 15). Even today under a grove of pine trees on Pugh Road, a winding dirt path, one of their burial ground sits, known and respected by the current inhabitants of the area. Their unmarked burial sites along with several unmarked slave cemeteries and several marked and unmarked white burial plots on large plantations and wooded groves are today a permanent part of the landscape and a reminder of the various people who have at different times shared this beautiful landscape.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Joan E. Cashin, "Landscape and Memory in Antebellum Virginia," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 102, no. 4 (1994): 477-500.

<sup>57</sup>Travelling along Indian Woods Road and on various unpaved roads including Pugh Lane, these Indian, white and slave cemeteries can be seen, most are unmarked.

By the start of the antebellum period there were far fewer trees than there had been a century before in Indian Woods. Animals, such as wolves, bears, hawks and snipe, that had threatened the crops and the domesticated animals of Europeans, had been hunted into extinction. Many fish such as the cod were also fished to near extinction for sport and for their commercial value. Large plantation houses, churches, slave cabins, yeoman farmer's houses, and one-room shacks dotted the landscape along with new bridges over creeks and streams (see Appendix, Figures 16 and 17). Ferry boats made crossings over rivers that were too large to have bridges, and fields of corn, wheat, and tobacco grew next to gardens of fresh vegetables, fruit and nut trees. A grist mill would also be constructed by the early settlers to grind corn into meal and wheat into flour for the plantation owners who moved into Indian Woods.<sup>58</sup>

During the Civil War, the landscape of Indian Woods was used by the plantation owners to grow foodstuffs for the Confederacy. Indian Woods was a important part of the fertile Roanoke Valley. To

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<sup>58</sup>Cumming, North Carolina in Maps 1-36; Maps record major roads, ferries, mills, churches, and plantations of Bertie County and Indian Woods; note also the boundaries of the Indian reservation and towns.

protect it, the nearby landscape was altered when the State of North Carolina erected “Fort Branch” across the Roanoke River from Indian Woods in Hamilton at Rainbow Bend (see map, Appendix, Figures 18 and 40).<sup>59</sup>

Following the Civil War, the landscape changed once again. White slave owners would flee the community, leaving their former slaves to sharecrop and tenant farm their land. Many whites would also rent or abandon their homes to the African-Americans remaining there. The few whites that remained, like the Spruill family, ran businesses and continued to live near them. Spruill operated a general store that provided supplies for the plantations that operated in Indian Woods just before the Civil War. This store would become extremely important to the history of the African-American tenant farmers, sharecroppers and independent farmers during peonage in the years from 1865 to 1950. By the 1940s this store would be passed down to E. D. Spruill and would remain in operation as late as 1976. The out-migration of whites changed the landscape for the third time, leaving what was a Black and white

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<sup>59</sup>Gordon P. Watts Jr. et al, The Fort Branch Survey and Recovery Project (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1979), 1-81.

slave community to become a nearly all-Black rural community of small farms.<sup>60</sup>

This all-Black community immediately began to make changes to the landscape once again. As early as 1865, four Black churches, which would also serve as schools, were built in Indian Woods. In these church cemeteries residents buried their dead and marked their graves with markers that chronicle their struggles through slavery, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement. The grave stones also chronicle their involvement in the Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam conflict (see map, Appendix, Figures 19-21). These newer cemeteries tell the stories of their loved ones that are not told by the many unmarked slave cemeteries that cover the community's landscape.<sup>61</sup> By 1890, new agricultural crops, peanuts and soybeans, were introduced to Indian Woods. As with tobacco in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and cotton in the nineteenth century, peanuts would become the cash crop of

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<sup>60</sup>Joseph H. Taylor, "The Great Migration from North Carolina in 1879," North Carolina Historical Review 31 (1954): 18-33.

<sup>61</sup>These markers can be seen in the church cemeteries of Indian Woods Baptist Church, Spring Hill Baptist Church, and the public cemetery of Windsor, North Carolina.

the twentieth century.<sup>62</sup> Throughout Indian Woods, land that had been cleared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the growth of tobacco and eventually cotton began to be used for the growth of peanuts. By the early 1900s, peanuts had replaced cotton as the leading agricultural crop of Bertie County. Along with peanuts, more farmers also began to grow large quantities of soybeans, which Blacks called 'Japan Peas,' perhaps because of their resemblance to the shape of Japan.<sup>63</sup>

With the exception of the rise of peanut plantations, the addition of the Rosenwald schools, four of which were built in Indian Woods township, and the grading and paving of the roads in the 1950s, few major changes were made to the landscape in the early

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<sup>62</sup>Frank R. Johnston, The Peanut Story: A Thoroughly Researched Rags to Riches Story of the Once Humble Legume Which Has Risen to Worldwide Importance (Murfreesboro, North Carolina: Johnson Publishing Co., 1964), 1-123.

<sup>63</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 52-62; Lois Marie Smallwood of Indian Woods, interview by author, 22, December 1989, Windsor, NC. tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, Illinois.

1900s (see Appendix, Figures 22-23).<sup>64</sup> By the 1930s, electricity was being brought into rural communities throughout America. It would not make it into Indian Woods however until the 1950s. When it finally arrived paths were cut through the forest to run the power lines and utility poles were run along the roads to connect homes and put electricity into them.<sup>65</sup>

By the 1950s new fertilizers, poisons, and farm machines once again began to change the landscape. Added to this was industrialization in nearby towns and counties, which began drastically to alter the landscape and people's working and living patterns. People began to look for work outside the community, and cars and trucks began to replace horses and wagons. Some new houses were built and tractors and other forms of farm machinery were common sights on the community's roads during planting and harvesting seasons. As a result, fewer people were needed to work

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<sup>64</sup>Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 65 (1988): 387-444.

<sup>65</sup>Crow, Escott, and Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina, 119-152; Lois Marie Smallwood of Indian Woods, interview by author, 22, December 1989, Windsor, NC. tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, Illinois.

the tobacco, cotton, and peanut plantations of the area.<sup>66</sup> This led to a great out-migration of people from Indian Woods to nearby cities and towns and to other urban areas as far away as New York and Philadelphia.<sup>67</sup>

By the 1980s and 1990s, many of the area's creeks and streams that once were deep enough to canoe in had dried up. The Roanoke river which had sustained huge numbers of herring, perch and other fish and wildlife became polluted by industrial waste.<sup>68</sup> Many African-American residents who had for generations, first as

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<sup>66</sup>Herman Brooks James, Farm Mechanization: Power Costs and Production Requirements in the Northern Coastal Plains (Raleigh, NC: Agricultural Experiment Station of N.C. State College of Agriculture and Engineering and N.C. Department of Agriculture, 1944), 1-67; Arthur William Turner, Machines for the Farm, Ranch, and Plantation (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), 1-56; Rosser H. Taylor, Carolina Crossroads: A Study of Rural Life at the End of the Horse-and Buggy Era (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1966), 1-75.

<sup>67</sup>Joseph H. Taylor, "The Great Migration from North Carolina in 1979," North Carolina Historical Review 31 (1954): 18-33; Crow, Escott, and Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina, 130-136; Alferdteen Harrison, ed., Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South (Jackson, Mississippi: University of Mississippi, 1991), vii-97.

<sup>68</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 630-654.

slaves and then sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and independent farmers, made their living from farming, stopped farming altogether and were seeking employment outside of the community.<sup>69</sup> Those who continued to farm began to mass produce chickens for the Perdue Company rather than plant crops. The few remaining forests that had not been cut by the early settlers were cleared and replanted by large timber companies within hours, using machines and less than four men to do work that used to take years and hundreds of men during the colonial era.<sup>70</sup>

Indian Woods's past, like that of Bertie County and the rest of the western coastal plains, was shaped by and shaped the landscape. It, like the rest of Eastern North Carolina, was and still is rural and isolated. As a result, all the inhabitants of the region used the landscape to house, clothe, and feed their families. They were limited by the landscape initially, and later they radically altered that landscape to support their needs. However, changes to the landscape, including the removal of trees, construction of roads and

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Catherine and George Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author, 27 December 1995, Indian Woods, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, Illinois.



bridges, new types of housing such as plantations, slave cabins and yeoman houses, the hunting to extinction of certain animals, introduction of domesticated animals, the introduction of electricity and power lines, and certain crops, could not change the rural nature of the landscape.

Thus the people of Indian Woods today and those of the past are as much a part of the landscape as molders of the landscape. The tradition of “self-sufficiency” and local concern for the people who live in Indian Woods is as great today among its mixed-blood African-American populace as it was 400 years ago among the Tuscarora. Even today the descendants of all three cultural groups coexist with the landscape.

## PART II: THE FIRST INHABITANTS

### CHAPTER 2

#### RED, WHITE, AND BLACK: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SIXTH IROQUOIS NATION, 1585-1715

About 1390 A. D., an Iroquois mother living near the Bay of Quinte on Lake Ontario in western New York had a dream. In this dream a messenger came to her and informed her that her daughter, a virgin, would give birth to a son, which she would call De-ka-nah-wi-da. The mother was further told that when De-ka-nah-wi-da was a man he would “bring to all people the good Tidings of Peace and Power from the Chief of the Sky Spirits.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen Saraydar, “No Longer Shall You Kill: Peace, Power, and the Iroquois Great Law,” Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly, 15 (1990): 20-28; Paul A. W. Wallace, “The Iroquois A Brief Outline of their History,” Pennsylvania History, 23 (1956): 15-28; Lawrence H. Leder, ed., “The Livingston Indian Records,” Pennsylvania History 23 (1956): 29-240; The Traditional Oral History of the Formation of

When De-ka-nah-wi-da was of age he constructed a canoe of white stone and paddled east, leaving his family. He came to the village of the Chief on the eastern shore. This Chief he named Hiawatha and told him, "You shall help me promote peace among all the tribes so that the shedding of blood may cease among your People." Chief Hiawatha accepted his charge and began to help spread the good tidings of peace and power.<sup>2</sup> The first of the Iroquois to accept the plan for peace and power were the Mohawks of whom Hiawatha was Chief. The next nation to accept the great Peace was the Onondaga of whom Atotarho was Chief. Whereupon a great council was convened on the shores of Lake Onondaga and the

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the League of Five Nations, recorded July 31, 1900, approved by the Council of the Confederacy, Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada; Dean Snow, The Iroquois (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 1-71; Elias Johnson, Tuscarora Chief, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations and History of the Tuscarora Indians (Lockport, N.Y.: Union Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 1-36; Lewis Morgan, League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois (North Dighton, Mass., 1851; reprint, 1995), 1-101.

<sup>2</sup>The Traditional Oral History of the Formation of the League of Five Nations, recorded July 31, 1900, approved by the Council of the Confederacy, Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada; Wallace, "The Iroquois A Brief Outline of their History," 15-28; Leder, ed, "The Livingston Indian Records, " 29-240.

chiefs, the chief warriors, and assistants of the Oneida, Seneca, and Cayuga were in attendance.<sup>3</sup>

At the council, De-ka-nah-wi-da gave the chiefs the plan for the constitution of the Iroquois League of Peace. During the council they planted a white pine tree with five needles, representing the five original nations of the Confederacy. They then made a Great White Wampum belt of shells and beads strung on sinews. Each chief brought a tightly tied bundle of six arrows, as a symbol of unity and strength. They then all joined hands in a circle representing their unity and peace. All armaments were destroyed and it was agreed that annual councils would be held at Onondaga, New York, village of Chief Atotarho, which would be the seat of the new government.<sup>4</sup>

Upon leaving the council, Da-ka-nah-wi-da gave those present this dire warning:

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Johnson, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois; Morgan, League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois; Leder, ed., "The Livingston Indian Records," 29-240; The Traditional Oral History of the Formation of the League of Five Nations, recorded July 31, 1900, approved by the Council of the Confederacy, Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada; Wallace, "The Iroquois A Brief Outline of their History," 15-28.

I charge you never to disagree seriously among yourselves. If you do, you might cause the loss of any rights of your grandchildren, or reduce them to poverty and shame. Your skin must be seven hands thick to stand for what is right in your heart. Exercise great patience and goodwill toward each other in your deliberations. Never, never disgrace yourselves by becoming angry. Let the good tidings of Peace and Power and righteousness be your guide in all your Council Fires. Cultivate good feelings of friendship, love, and honor for each other always. All hunting grounds are to be in common. All tribes shall have co-equal rights within your common boundaries. My mission is now fulfilled. May your Confederacy continue from generation to generation--as long as the sun will shine, the grass will grow, the water will run.<sup>5</sup>

It is not clear when the Tuscarora established their ties to the Five Nations but it was clear from the original council that they and any other nation that desired to join the Confederacy were welcome.<sup>6</sup> Nor is it clear which nation De-Ka-nah-wi-da was born into; thus it is

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<sup>5</sup>Traditional Oral History of the Formation of the League of Five Nations; Leder, ed., "The Livingston Indian Records," 29-240; Snow, The Iroquois, 1-83; Johnson, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, 1-101; Morgan, League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois, 1-67.

<sup>6</sup>Chief Clinton Rickard founder of the "Indian Defense League of America" and a descendent of the North Carolina Tuscarora stated in his autobiography that "...the Tuscarora separated from the other tribes known as the Five Nations and had gone south to find better hunting lands..."; Barbara Graymont ed., Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 1.

possible that he could have been Tuscarora, which may explain why the Tuscarora were given open admission into the Confederacy.<sup>7</sup> The introduction of the wampum shells is also significant in that from the very beginning of the Confederacy they were important to the political and eventually spiritual ceremonies of the Iroquois.<sup>8</sup>

According to Cyrus Standing Bull, a Tuscarora Chief, before the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy and the development of the different Iroquois people (Cayuga, Oneida, Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, and Tuscarora) there were no different kinds of Iroquois; they were all just Iroquois undivided.<sup>9</sup> Oral tradition has it that

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<sup>7</sup> Frank Roy Johnson, The Tuscaroras, vols. 1-2 (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1962); Johnson, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, 1-88; Harry E. Forman, Tuscarora, Kitchitnny, and North Mountain Tales (Chambersburg, PA: The Kerr Printing Co., 1971), 1-43; Robert R. Vale, Tuscarora Tales: 22 Rare Stories (Chester, PA: John Spencer, Inc., 1957), 1-61; Shirley Hill Witt, The Tuscaroras (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1972), 1-33.

<sup>8</sup>Stick, Indian Dress and Ornaments In Coastal North Carolina 400 years Ago; Sullivan, "Return of the Sacred Wampum Belts of the Iroquois," 7-14; David Sokolowski, "Tuscarora Welcome Wampum," Niagara Gazette (13 July 1996): 1; Tehanetoren, Wampum Belts (Onchiota, NY: Six Nations Indian Museum, 1940), 1-44.

<sup>9</sup>Elizabeth L. Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes, 1968" Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Bird Traveller, Tell Them They

during this time there was also a great Confederation of Indians which was composed of Five Nations, the Iroquois being only one of the nations. The Iroquois elected a great Chieftain and Shaman to represent them, called Great Hawk. He was a great maker of rain. Great Hawk had been selected because he had revealed a great truth.<sup>10</sup>

Once when there had been many days of rain, the Iroquois became unhappy because there was too much wetness and they appealed to Great Hawk, the rain maker, to petition the Rain God to stop. In response, Great Hawk stood with his sons under the Rain Tree, the weeping willow, beat on stones, and chanted all day. When evening began to fall, the Rain God spoke in a loud rumbling voice with flashing lightning and said to Great Hawk, "No matter how good people are, some things happen that are not preventable, but being good and obeying the law of brotherhood makes one strong in the

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Lie: The Sequoyah Myth (Los Angeles: Westernlore Publishers, 1971), 1- 77.

<sup>10</sup>Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes."

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spirit and able to withstand misfortunes.”<sup>11</sup> The Rain God then showed Great Hawk a vision of the Indians by the Great River of the plains (perhaps the Mississippi River), their villages under water. The Rain God continued saying, “Rain must fall and it must be shared, and thus in sharing the downpour they are making the lot of their brothers by the great river easier, for they had lost too much.”<sup>12</sup>

At first many of the young Iroquois questioned what Great Hawk said but when the next council was held they found out from other nations that what he said was true. They then agreed that Great Hawk was favored by the gods. For centuries mothers named their children in his honor, until the name became so common that

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.; Although many of the Tuscarora now living on the New York Reserve and the Six Nations reserve in Canada have forgotten this legend upon visiting these reserves and Indian Woods numerous weeping willow trees could be photographed in the yards of the people in all three areas. The trees in New York however on and near the Tuscarora reserve and in and around Schenectady, and Albany New York were gigantic and appeared to be hundreds of years old. It is clear some of the decedents valuing this tree took it with them when they moved to North Carolina, and Canada. The author has also seen these trees in Peoria County, Illinois, and after further research found an entire community named Tuscarora after a band of Tuscarora who settled among the Peoria Indians in the early 1800s. They along with most Illinois Indians were removed to Oklahoma in the mid 1830s.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.



its significance was forgotten and along with it, the significance of his words.<sup>13</sup>

When the Tuscarora people began to experience hardships such as whites settling on their land and other abuses, rather than accept it as a part of life, they began to blame those among them that were different.<sup>14</sup> In so doing they had forgotten the words of Great Hawk and his message that being good does not eliminate misfortunes but gives one the inner strength to survive them.<sup>15</sup>

It is clear from early French, Dutch, and English records that by the time Europeans arrived in large numbers in the late 1600s, the Iroquois people of the Five Nations were the most powerful and prosperous Indian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard. And as a result of the Tuscarora kinship, economic, and military ties to the Five Nations, the Iroquois dominated the Atlantic seaboard from the St.

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

Lawrence River of Canada to the Savannah River of Georgia (see Appendix 7 and 12).<sup>16</sup>

The Tuscarora Nation, which resided in eastern North Carolina was bordered by the Algonquin Indians to their east, peaceful Coastal Indians, including several coastal nations. To their immediate South and West they were bordered by the Sioux Indians who were war-like hunters and gatherers which included the Yamasee,

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<sup>16</sup>Stephen P. Langdon, "Biological Relationships Among the Iroquois," Human Biology, 67 (1995): 355-374; Neta C. Crawford, "A Security regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois nations," International Organization, vol. 418, no. 3 (1994), 345; David Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity," Ethnohistory 5 (1958): 250-284; Conrad Weiser, "An Account of the first Confederacy of the Six Nations, their present Tributaries, Dependents, and Allies, and of their Religion, and Form of Government," American Magazine and Historical Chronicle, (December 1744): 665-669; George R. Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact," American Indian Quarterly, 16 (1992): 451-470; Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce Lahontan papers, concerning new voyages to North America, several attempts of the English and French to dispossess on another, the various adventures between the French, and the Iroquois confederates of England, from 1683-1694, a geographical description of Canada, dialogue between the author and a general of the 'savages,' [and] a dictionary of the Algonquin language, 1703, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Pierre Esprit Radisson papers, accounting of the voyages of Radisson among the North American Indians from 1652 to 1684, 1885, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Catawba, Creeks, and a number of smaller nations aligned with these Indians. To their west beyond the Sioux Indians were the powerful Cherokee who anthropologist claim were also Iroquois like the Tuscarora but the neither the Tuscarora nor the other members of the Six nations consider the Cherokee a part of their group (see Appendix 8). In fact all of these North Carolina Indians were considered enemy nations but were held at bay by the Tuscarora's military alliances with the Meherrin, Nottoway and particularly the Five Nations.<sup>17</sup>

The Tuscarora, like many of the Northeastern Woodland Indians, were primarily agricultural, but they also were hunter-gatherers. Their Nation, like the Iroquois Confederacy, was made up of large clans which together formed the Tuscarora Nation. The Tuscarora were also separated by region into the Upper Tuscarora and the Lower Tuscarora. The Upper Tuscarora controlled lands from the Tar River north to the Meherrin River and were supported militarily by the Nottoway and Meherrin Indians of Virginia. The Lower Tuscarora were settled south of the Tar River down to the

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<sup>17</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 28; Walter Clark, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War, 1711-13," The North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 3-16.

Trent River in eastern North Carolina. The Upper Tuscarora were most likely responsible for destroying the Roanoke settlement in 1587, since the Roanoke River and Roanoke Island was within their territory.<sup>18</sup>

Each clan was responsible for making its own laws governing the members of its clan, who were all related by blood, with the blood line traced through the mother. Each clan had a Chief who presided over civil and military affairs. These Chiefs were elected by the clan mothers. The simplest organized political unit was the ohwatcira, which was basically an extended family. The ohwatcira included grandparents, parents, children and daughters and their husbands, who moved in with their wife's families and became part of the clan, which they were expected to defend. Husbands became part of their wife's families because the Tuscarora were a matriarchal society.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713," 2.

<sup>19</sup>Frederick Webb Hodge, Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1910), 848.

It is not clear how many clans there were before European contact, but by 1700, records indicate there were at least eight.<sup>20</sup> Clan names were generally descriptive and usually signified the type of game that was plentiful in the territory held by that clan, such as deer, bear, turtle, or wolf. The names also had secondary meanings. For example, turtle also meant “climbing-the-mountain people.” Snipe also meant “clean-sand people,” which refers to the Killdee and its habit of “running along the clean sand at the water’s edge.”<sup>21</sup>

By the 1500s the Tuscarora had established towns on the banks of the Roanoke, Trent, Neuse, and Tar Rivers in eastern North Carolina. These rivers provided the most fertile lands for growing crops. The crops included corn, potatoes, tobacco, beans, peas and a number of assorted vegetables.<sup>22</sup> The rivers also provided the Tuscarora with an efficient means of travel and large amounts of fish

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 849. These clans included Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Eel, and Snipe. Another list has eight-- Bear, Eel, Large Turtle, Small Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Wolf, and Snipe. A third list includes Bear, Eel, Deer, Turtle, Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Beaver, and Snipe; and a fourth includes; Bear, Eel, Deer, Small Turtle, Large Turtle, Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Beaver, and Snipe.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 850.

<sup>22</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, 28.

for food. Canoes made from trees were used to navigate these rivers into the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds and onto the outer banks and coastal islands of North Carolina, including Roanoke, Cape Hatteras, and Manteo, where the Tuscarora acquired seafood and shells. According to the oral accounts of numerous descendants in various states, the Tuscarora were the “Fort Knox” of the Five Nations and traveled frequently to North Carolina’s outer banks to gather sea shells which were used by all of the Iroquois to make wampum.<sup>23</sup>

Before the arrival of European explorers in 1585 and settlers in 1655, Indian Woods was inhabited by the Tuscarora who were part of the Iroquois linguistic group of the Northeastern Woodland Indians, who lived around the Great Lakes region of New York and Canada (see Appendix, Figure 6). The Tuscarora, with their neighbors the Algonquins, moved into the Carolina area around 2,000 to 5,000 years ago.<sup>24</sup> The Tuscarora and their allies, the Nottoway

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<sup>23</sup>Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes.”

<sup>24</sup>Watson, Bertie County A Brief History, 1; David Sutton Phelps, Miscellaneous Human Skeletal Material in the Collections of the North Carolina Museum of Natural History (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1973), 1-55.

and Meherrin Indians, settled in an area of eastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia known as the western coastal plains. They and their allies established several towns up from the mouth of the Neuse river, in eastern North Carolina, north to the Nottoway river in Southeastern Virginia.

By 1585 there were three major Tuscarora towns along these major rivers in eastern North Carolina. The first to be discovered and mapped by the English in 1585 was called Moratoc. Moratoc was located on the banks of the Roanoke River in what is now known as Indian Woods. It was first discovered and mapped in 1585 by Ralph Lane and his men who rowed up the river from Roanoke Island after exploring and mapping the Albemarle Sound and the Chowan River.<sup>25</sup> There were also Meherrin and several major Algonquin towns, just north of the Tuscarora town of Moratoc, which included Tandequemuc, on Salmon Creek off the Roanoke river, and Metpcuquem, on the Chowan River.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Douglas Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair Publisher, 1957), 11-26.

<sup>26</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 1.

The coastal Algonquin Indians' relationship with the first white colonists in 1585 was one of wonderment and brotherhood. They showed no fear or hostility toward the explorers and offered little resistance to their erecting "Fort Raleigh" at Roanoke Island in 1584.<sup>27</sup> They in fact traded freely with them for European goods and brought them corn, vegetables, and fish.<sup>28</sup> The Tuscarora however, after being warned of their coming by Manteo, one of two coastal Indians kidnapped and taken to England by English ship captains Arthur Barlowe and Phillip Amadas in 1584, were not as trusting.

When Lane and his men reached the Tuscarora town of Moratuck in Indian Woods the Tuscarora attacked Lane's expedition forcing him to flee back to the safety of Roanoke Island. The Tuscarora never trusted the English and not only attacked the

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<sup>27</sup>Charles W. Potter, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," North Carolina Historical Review (1943): 22-42.

<sup>28</sup>James Hall Rand, The North Carolina Indians and Their Relations with the Settlers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1913), 1-91; Enoch Lawrence Lee, Jr., The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763 (Raleigh, N.C.: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 1-69.



explorers Ralph Lane, John White, and Thomas Harriot but, according to Tuscarora legend, they destroyed the Roanoke settlement three years later in 1587, because they believed that the colonists, whom they found on the island while gathering sea shells for a trip to the Five Nations, may have become interested in their shells, of which Roanoke Island had the most unique.<sup>29</sup> Thus, they destroyed the colony to protect their treasure and that of the Five Nations.

According to legend, the Tuscarora, on one of their foraging missions to Roanoke, took the English women as prisoners and killed most of the men, according to custom. They allowed three men and one woman to go free because they had red and blonde hair, which caused the Tuscarora to be fearful of their spirits, believing them to be children of the Sun God.<sup>30</sup> It is believed that these individuals

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<sup>29</sup>Frank Roy Johnson, The Lost Colony in Fact and Legend (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1983), 1-44; Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes."

<sup>30</sup>Hodge, Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 5.

were taken in by the Croatan Indians and intermarried with them, creating the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina.<sup>31</sup>

In further support of this legend colonial records and written statements from French Huguenots note that they saw Tuscarora with blond hair and blue eyes as early as 1696. These Huguenots were settled along the Tar River in 1696 and the Neuse River by 1708, and they were the closest white settlers to the Tuscarora. Since there were no significant European settlements near the Tuscarora until 1660, and any attack by the Tuscarora on Virginia where white women or children would have been taken would have been recorded by the Virginians at Jamestown, this legend offers a plausible explanation to the perplexing question of “What happened to the lost colony?”<sup>32</sup>

The Tuscarora belief in a sun god is also supported by the written record. Baron Christoff De Graffenreid’s, governor of the New Bern settlement, accounts of a Tuscarora chapel and altar in the

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<sup>31</sup>Frank Roy Johnson, The Lost Colony in Fact and Legend, 1-90; Lew Barton, The Most Ironic Story in American History: An Authoritative Documented History of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina (Pembroke, NC, 1967), 1-106.

<sup>32</sup>Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras.”

Colonial Records of North Carolina. De Graffenried stated:

“...They had there a kind of altar, cunningly interwoven with small sticks, and vaulted like a dome. In one place was an opening, like a small door or wicket, through which they put their offerings. In the midst of this heathenish chapel was a concavity where they sacrificed beans, corals, and, also wampum. Facing the rising sun, was planted in the ground a wooden post, with a carved head, painted half red and white. In front of it stood a big stick with a small crown, at its end, wrapped up in red and white; on the other side, which looks towards the setting sun, was another image with a horrid face painted Black and red. By the first they mean some god and the other the demon, which they know far better.”<sup>33</sup>

The taking of the Roanoke women and children would have also been in keeping with the practices of the Tuscarora as well. De Graffenreid, who was held by the Tuscarora during their raid on the New Bern Settlement at the start of the Tuscarora War in 1711, noted that the Tuscarora returned with prisoners.

“I observed that when the Indian soldiers ... returned with their booty and prisoners, the priest and tallest woman of rank (clan mother) took the poor prisoners and compelled them to dance; when they refused to do it, they took them under the arms, lifted them, and let them down alternatively, as a sign that these Christians had now to dance after their music, and had become their subjects.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 981.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 980.

As more European traders and settlers moved down into northeastern North Carolina from Virginia, the Tuscarora would have their third experience with the English, when John Leder traveled through their lands in 1670 and characterized them as proud and suspicious people.<sup>35</sup> In the middle and late 1600s, problems began to arise with the white colonists. Indian tribes residing on Tuscarora lands complained that women and children were being stolen, and lands belonging to Indians were being taken by colonists.<sup>36</sup>

By the 1690s the Tuscarora and various Algonquin tribes began to have increasing problems with white settlers who were moving west and south from the Jamestown settlement. As a result of these conflicts and a desire to avoid war, the Tuscarora and their allies negotiated a treaty with the Colony of Virginia that stipulated that no Tuscarora would live a day's walk from English settlements

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<sup>35</sup>John Lederer, The Discoveries of John Lederer, In Three Several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina and Other Parts of the Continent Begun in March 1669 and ended in September 1670: Together with A General Map of the Whole Territory Which He Traversed (London: Printed by J. C. for Samuel Heyrick, 1672), 1-66; Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina, 43-112.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 7; Lee, The Indian Wars In North Carolina, 1663-1763, 1-108.

and that whites would stop kidnapping and assaulting Native American women and children. Nonetheless, whites continued the practice even after the Tuscarora abided by the treaty.<sup>37</sup>

By the 1600s, the Upper Tuscarora began to trade with white settlers at the Jamestown settlement. This trade soon turned to competition, which with the support of their allies the Meherrins, and Nottoways led to a brief war with the Virginians in the late 1660s, over white encroachment onto their lands. This war familiarized the Upper Tuscarora with European weapons and made them weary of further hostilities. This possibly explains why Chief Tom Blount was reluctant to go to war with the colony of North Carolina in 1711 and later in 1713.<sup>38</sup>

By 1700 the Tuscarora Nation and its allies controlled lands that stretched from present-day Cape Fear, North Carolina to

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<sup>37</sup>Lee, The Indian Wars In North Carolina, 1663-1763; Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina, 57-111.

<sup>38</sup>Lee, The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763, 57-111; Rand, The North Carolina Indians and Their Relations with the Settlers, 1-68; Helen C. Rountree, The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia: The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State [s.l.: s.n.] (1979), 1-81; Alexander S. Salley, ed. Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 1-77.

Richmond, Virginia. As a result of their military alliance with the Five Nations and smaller nations scattered from North Carolina to Pennsylvania they dominated Indian trade on the Atlantic seaboard from New York to Georgia.

The Tuscarora maintained several large towns in North Carolina. There were three towns along three branches in the Contentnea Creek: Torhunta Fort, Conneghta Fort, and Nooherooka Fort. Further downstream on Contentnea Creek was Hancocks town. About thirty miles east of Hancocks town on the banks of the Tar River was Ucohnerunt, Tom Blount's town. About forty miles northeast of Ucohnerunt on the banks of the Roanoke River were the towns of Oaneroy, Refootketh, and Moratuck, which were on the north bank in what is now Indian Woods, and the town of Cheeweo on the south bank.<sup>39</sup>

By 1700 there were approximately 5,000 Tuscarora living within the present boundaries of the state of North Carolina and perhaps as many as 2,000 in southern Virginia. There were around fifteen towns with the major ones between the Roanoke and Neuse

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<sup>39</sup> Cumming, North Carolina in Maps, 5.

Rivers.<sup>40</sup> As noted by John Lawson, Surveyor General for the Colony of North Carolina in the 1700s, the Tuscarora were quite prosperous and lived in houses constructed of poles and covered by the bark of cypress, red or white cedar, and sometimes pine (see Appendix, Figure 24). They had plenty of corn but little meat, because of their large settlements, which frightened the animals away. Lawson noted that both men and women smoked tobacco, which stained their teeth yellow. He also described their skin as being tawny or darkened by the habit of placing, for adornment, bear's oil, which contains a pigment resembling burnt cork, on their bodies.<sup>41</sup>

The Tuscarora had many dances, one for every occasion, and would hold public feasts prepared by the clan mothers where the dances were performed. Lawson also noted that Tuscarora would

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<sup>40</sup>Hodge, Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 194.

<sup>41</sup>Hodge, 193; John Lawson, The History of North Carolina Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country; Together with the Present State Thereof and a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd thro' Several Nations of Indians, Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs & Manners (London: Printed for W. Taylor and J. Baker, 1714).

come from towns as far away as 50 or 60 miles and would trade goods during these feasts.<sup>42</sup>

At these gatherings many of the Tuscarora enjoyed gaming. So passionate were they about gambling that they sometimes lost all their property and even bet on themselves, after which they would serve as slaves for the winner until their debts were paid. Two of their most popular games were the bowl and plum-seed game, and the other, the name of which was unrecorded, involved a bundle of 51 split reeds about seven inches in length. This bundle was thrown ten times, and the opponent had to guess how many reeds were in the bundle each time it was thrown.<sup>43</sup>

About thirty miles east of Hancocks town on the banks of the Tar River was Ucohnerunt, Tom Blount's town. About forty miles northeast of Ucohnerunt on the banks of the Roanoke River were the towns of Oaneroy, Refootketh, and Moratuck, which were on the east bank in what is now Indian Woods and the town of Cheeweo on the west bank.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 194.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Cummings, 8.



As the first European settlers migrated to what was known as the Bertie Precinct and later Indian Woods, the Native Americans befriended and traded with them as the coastal tribes had done. John Leder in 1670 and John Lawson in 1700 did extensive trading with the Tuscarora and recorded that the Tuscarora were known as great traders by both the white settlers and other Indian nations. They were reported to have traded wooden bowls and ladles for rawhides with the Shakori and Occaneechi Indians and by 1708 traded rum rundlets, which they secured from the white settlers, in exchange for furs and rawhides to Indians over a hundred miles west of their territory and towns.<sup>45</sup>

Although trading with the Tuscarora was profitable for white settlers, it was not long before the settlers began to desire and take the Tuscarora's fertile lands on the banks of the Chowan, Roanoke, Tar, Trent, and Neuse Rivers, denying them access to the outer Banks of North Carolina where they gathered their most prized trading commodity, seashells for the Five Nations. The settlement of whites along these rivers and the rest of costal North Carolina and their refusal to allow the Tuscarora to travel freely to what had been

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<sup>45</sup>Hodge, 193.

for years neutral lands began the hostilities between the two groups. The Tuscarora also saw many of their people kidnapped and sold into slavery as far away as in Pennsylvania and the Caribbean.<sup>46</sup> In fact, Pennsylvania received so many Indian slaves from North Carolina that in 1705 the legislature passed a law forbidding the importation of any more, under the threat of war with the Five Nations if the trade was not stopped.<sup>47</sup> Although banned by the Pennsylvania colony, the North Carolina Indian slave trade continued to operate as evidenced by the petition sent by the Tuscarora to the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1710.<sup>48</sup> It is clear that the Indian slave trade was one of the most significant of the many grievances that the Tuscarora held against the Colony of North Carolina. The aforementioned hostilities intensified and eventually took the form of armed combat in 1711 with the outbreak of the Tuscarora Indian War.

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<sup>46</sup>Almon W. Lauber, Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States (New York: New York Public Library, 1970); Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the North Carolina Region," Journal of Negro History 19 (1934): 431-440.

<sup>47</sup>Lefler and Newsome, 63.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 62.

In 1711, after twice negotiating with the white settlers to stop the assault, abduction, and enslavement of Tuscarora women and children and the encroachment upon their land, the Tuscarora decided to go to war with the latest settlers on their land along the Neuse River. The War was actually two wars, one which lasted from 1711 to 1712, and involved all the Tuscarora and their allies, and a second, which lasted from 1712 to 1713 and which involved only the Lower Tuscarora. The Tuscarora War began following the Cary Rebellion of 1711, which was a major colonial rebellion, and took the colonists by surprise.<sup>49</sup> The colonists believed that the Tuscarora were aware of this rebellion and took advantage of the confusion to attack white settlements from the Roanoke river south to New Bern settlement, on the Neuse river. Although there is no evidence to support this theory, it turned out to be an opportune time for their attack.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Charles R. Holloman, "Fort Nohorocco," We The People of North Carolina (1965): 15.

<sup>50</sup>Alexander Spotswood papers, folder 24, concerning Cary's Rebellion and the Tuscarora War, 1710-1712, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina; Thomas Pollock papers, #31, describing the Cary Rebellion, death of Governor Hyde, punishment of the rebels, the aftermath of the Tuscarora War (1712), the need for ministers and

There were three major causes of the Tuscarora War. The first was a tribal war near New Bern caused by the illegal selling of Tuscarora land by Surveyor-General of the North Carolina Colony, John Lawson. The second cause was anger over deaths among the Tuscarora from European diseases such as small pox brought to New Bern by white settlers, which Tuscarora Shaman interpreted as evil magic. Third was the aforementioned kidnapping of Tuscarora women and children.

The war began most directly over the Palatine settlement on Tuscarora land along the Neuse River at New Bern.<sup>51</sup> In fact the New Bern settlement had been established on 10,000 acres of land

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by Tuscarora King Tom Blunt, the Meherrin Indians, and Baron de Graffenreid (1720), and records concerning colonial trade with New England which included slaves, building and chartering vessels, and trade with the de Graffenried and Company (1711-1712), Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>51</sup>John Lawson letters, #3200, Carolina Colony, to several persons in England concerning the natural history of North Carolina, and the Palatine migration to Carolina, 1701-1711, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Palatine Papers, related to the Palatines who settled in North Carolina along the Neuse and Trent Rivers in 1710, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

supposedly sold by the Tuscarora to Baron de Graffenreid in 1709.<sup>52</sup> This land served as the Tuscarora capital and was stolen by whites, according to the Tuscarora. This and the tribal war that resulted led to a council of chiefs and the decision in favor of war. The coordinated attacks between the Upper and Lower Tuscarora and their allies that followed killed hundreds of white settlers along the Roanoke, Tar, Trent, and Neuse Rivers.<sup>53</sup>

On the day of the attack, September 22, 1711, the Tuscarora captured and held the leader of the Palatine settlement, Baron Christopher De Graffenreid and the Surveyor General of the colony of North Carolina, John Lawson. While exploring the Neuse River and surveying the lands for future settlements, Baron de Graffenreid and Surveyor-General Lawson, along with two friendly Indians and two slaves, were seized for trespassing on Tuscarora lands without permission. They were held for several days while a Tuscarora council of chiefs decided their fate.<sup>54</sup> De Graffenrid and Lawson were

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<sup>52</sup>Holloman, "Fort Nohorocco," 18.

<sup>53</sup>Walter Clark, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War 1711-13," The North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 3-16.

<sup>54</sup>Douglass L. Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publisher, 1957), 96.

tried on charges of kidnapping women and children and taking Tuscarora land. De Graffenreid explained in his diary that during his capture in 1711, it was asserted by the chiefs present that the Surveyor-General Lawson had, by illegally selling Indian lands, caused a tribal war near New Bern. This cost many lives and caused much hatred for the Surveyor-General.<sup>55</sup>

After much discussion and debate, it was agreed that all would be allowed to go free. Lawson, however, reopened hostilities when he quarreled with one of the chiefs, Core Tom.<sup>56</sup> It appears that during the quarrel, Lawson threatened revenge against the Tuscarora and insulted the council of chiefs. After this, the two whites were condemned to death (see Appendix, Figure 25). During the deliberation on how they should die, Chief Tom Blount spoke against killing de Graffenreid, thus saving his life, after he agreed to a treaty which basically purchased his life and freedom.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 990-992.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 991-992.

<sup>57</sup>Francis Lister Hawks papers, #574, to John H. Bryan, describing Tuscarora War (Nov. 2, 1711), [undated letter], Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh,

In an effort to save Lawson's life, De Graffenreid attempted to blame the two African slaves that accompanied them for Lawson's behavior, saying they had angered him the night before.<sup>58</sup> This, however, did not save Lawson. In fact the slaves were immediately released with no complaints made against them by any chiefs present. According to De Graffenreid, once released, one slave ran away and was never seen again.<sup>59</sup> The other slave remained with De Graffenreid and verified his story of Lawson's death. It is clear from de Graffenreid's account that the Indians did not harbor any ill feelings against African slaves and, in fact, probably had more compassion for Blacks because of the enslavement of their people by Europeans.

However, the Tuscarora and their allies had become angry with whites over the continued abuse inflicted upon their people by the colonists. Thus, tribes of the southern or lower section of the Tuscarora nation and their allies the Core, Pamlico, Motamuskeet,

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<sup>58</sup>Saunders, ed. The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 990-993.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

Bear and Machapungo joined forces with the northern or Upper section of the Tuscarora Nation and their allies the Meherrins, and Nottoways to create a compact, or alliance, led by Chief Hancock from the south, who held the strongest forces.<sup>60</sup>

The compact planned to cut off the colonists from each other and drive them from Indian territory. They were particularly angry over the growth of the Palatine settlements near their capital city Chattakua (New Bern) on the Neuse River. When the Palatines first arrived at New Bern, the Tuscarora, who were already living at Chattakua, treated them very well. The Tuscarora traded with them and allowed them to settle land that had not been sold to de Graffenreid and even assisted the settlers in hunting wild game and fish.<sup>61</sup> However, as mentioned earlier, by the fall of 1711, hundreds of Tuscarora began to fall ill and die from European diseases which led to already negative perceptions among the Tuscarora, of the

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<sup>60</sup>U.S. Department of Interior, Indians of North Carolina (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915), 181.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.



settlers who were moving onto Tuscarora lands without permission.<sup>62</sup>

The compact conducted coordinated raids on the Roanoke, Neuse, Trent, and Pamlico river settlements, on September 22, 1711. One-hundred-thirty colonists were killed on the Roanoke River alone.<sup>63</sup> The Palatines, who were attacked at the same time, at New Bern, were German and Swiss and had established thriving settlements along the Trent, Neuse, and Pamlico Rivers, with homes, schools, churches and large farms which they cleared themselves. Their settlements contained Blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, millers, wheelwrights, carpenters, and school teachers.<sup>64</sup>

During their attack, the Tuscarora burned houses, the school, the courthouse, and other buildings of the Craven Precinct. It was

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Walter Clark, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War, 1711-13," The North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 9.

<sup>64</sup>Holloman, "Palatines and Tuscaroras," 22; These settlers were the ancestors of some of the North Carolina's most prominent white families. The names of members of the settlement include Kornegay, Koonce, Snyder, Miller, Walker, Moore, Morris, Ipock, Wallace, Schrive, Rimmer, Kinsey, Bissette, Andrews, Isler, Bower, Tetchey, Simmons, Keller, Wolf, Hoover, Royal, Lotts, Rymer, Arman, Grum, and Russell.

initially difficult for the colonists to fight back. Colonists from the Albemarle region feared going to their aid because of the possibility of another attack on their own homes while they were away.

In his diary De Graffenreid described the Tuscaroras' preparation for the war, John Lawson's execution, and their victory over the white settlers on their land particularly the Palatines:

...In the open space or public square mentioned there was a large fire, near which was the shaman or high priest, a grizzled sorcerer, who made two rings on the ground, whether flour or white sand was not stated. In front of the two victims was placed a wolf skin, and a short distance farther there stood an Indian in a terrifying posture, holding in one hand a knife and the other a tomahawk. He did not move from the spot. On the farther side of the fire were assembled young men, women, and children, who danced with weird and frightful contortions and attitudes. In the center of the circle of dancers were seated two singers who intoned a dismal song, rather fit to provoke tears and anger than joy. Within the circle of dancers the shaman stood unterrified uttering his threatenings and adjurations and performing his exorcisms against the foes of his people and their orenda or medicine, when there would come a pause in the dancing. Finally, with shouts and howls the dancers ran into the neighboring forest. In a short time they returned with their faces painted black, white, and red, in bands, and with their hair loose and flying, oiled and sprinkled with fine down or cotton from the cattail flag and with small white feathers, and some returned arrayed in all kinds of furs. After they returned the dance was renewed."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 905.

De Graffenreid continued, noting that when the braves returned from their attacks on the river settlements they held a feast and built several bonfires that night. The largest one was in the execution area where they made offerings and danced.<sup>66</sup>

When the news of the attack reached Governor Hyde, he appealed to Virginia for help but Virginia attempted to take advantage of the attacks by demanding land cessions in the Albemarle region in exchange for their assistance.<sup>67</sup> Governor Hyde finally approached South Carolina with a request for military aid. South Carolina responded by sending 40 white men and 800 Indians (Creeks, Cherokees, Catawba, and Yamases) to aid them.<sup>68</sup> With the aid of these South Carolinians and their Indian allies, the colonists were able to end the first Tuscarora War and secure the release of a number of women and children whom the Tuscarora had taken prisoner during their raids.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 980.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

The South Carolina troops were commanded by Colonel John Barnwell who march his men through eastern North Carolina (see Appendix, Figure 26), while Governor Hyde, who was working with Virginia's Governor, attempted to secure the release of de Graffenreid and John Lawson.<sup>70</sup> De Graffenreid was successful in negotiating his own release, but was not able to secure the safety of his colony, which was destroyed by the Tuscarora. De Graffenreid negotiated a six-point provisional treaty with the Tuscarora, for his freedom in October 1711.<sup>71</sup>

In this treaty and his statements to the Governor following his release, De Graffenreid acknowledged that the Tuscarora did not start the war without provocation. De Graffenreid insisted however, that he and his colonists had nothing directly to do with starting or encouraging the war, and he emphasized three points in his report to Governor Hyde of North Carolina: (1) the Indians spared his life as a sign of their respect for his dealings with them; (2) he, in purchasing the land called Chattaqua, paid for it three times; once to

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<sup>70</sup>Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 935-936; Francis Lister Hawks letter, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

L.L. Props, once to the Surveyor-General, and the third time to the Indian King called Taylor; (3) during his capture and the convening of the Great Assembly of the Tuscaroras (where the wrongs committed against the Tuscaroras were discussed), not one Chief lodged a complaint against him.<sup>72</sup>

On January 30, 1712, Colonel Barnwell and his men finally reached the Tuscarora strong hold, Narhantes. Narhantes was filled with Tuscarora who were fleeing attacks on fortified villages that were being indiscriminately attacked by Moore and his forces and other colonists. Barnwell, once rested, mounted an attack on Narhantes, the head town of the Tuscarora, and in the ensuing battle killed sixty-two Tuscaroras, fifty-two men and ten women, and captured thirty prisoners. Barnwell's losses included thirteen killed (seven whites and six Indians) and sixty wounded (thirty-two whites and twenty-eight Indians). Barnwell continued to march on to Chief Hancock's village, destroying the Tuscarora village of Core, about thirty miles outside of New Bern, along the way. Chief Tom Core and his forces fled and took refuge in Chief Hancock's town, where they

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

halted Barnwell on January 28, 1712.<sup>73</sup> A treaty was negotiated at Fort Barnwell on March 12, 1712, but just as quickly broken by Barnwell, who was disappointed because he was not paid by North Carolina. Thus he seized the Tuscaroras and made them slaves. When Barnwell returned to Charlestown he took over a hundred Tuscarora men women and children with him, many of whom ended up in St. Helena several miles south of Charlestown.<sup>74</sup> This destroyed all Tuscarora confidence in the word of the white colonists and initiated the second Tuscarora War.

In retaliation for breaking the peace and the further kidnaping and enslavement of Tuscarora by Barnwell, the Tuscarora renewed

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<sup>73</sup>Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 946.

<sup>74</sup>Even today there are streets and restaurants named Tuscarora. It is also possible because of similar religious practices discovered in Indian Woods among the mixed-blood descendants, that the Tuscarora actually merged their culture and religion with the Africans on the coastal islands of South Carolina. Also, Colonel Barnwell is buried at his family's church on St. Helena. The relationship between the Africans of the Gullah Islands and the Tuscarora brought there and taken to the British Caribbean during the Native American slave Trade requires further examination if one is to determine to what extent the Tuscarora were responsible for helping the Africans embellish their culture by introducing Native American herbs, charms, and religious practices which are very similar.

their attacks on white settlements in North Carolina. At the start of the second Tuscarora War in November of 1712, Colonel Thomas Pollock, the Governor of the North Carolina Colony and the colonial council, held a conference with the peaceful chiefs of the Tuscarora Nation, who did not want to see further loss of life. At this conference six chiefs were coerced by Pollock with the threat of violence against their villages and towns, into signing a treaty of alliance with North Carolina. The treaty read that if there were further hostilities between the colonists and warring Tuscarora Chiefs, the six friendly chiefs, who became known as the “Chief-Men-for-Peace,” would remain neutral.<sup>75</sup>

During the second Tuscarora War, eleven chiefs aligned themselves against the colony of North Carolina. Chief Hancock, whose fort “Nohorocco” was the site of the final battle, joined the

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<sup>75</sup>Holloman, “Fort Nohorocco,” 18; The “Chief-Men-for Peace” were Chief Tom Blount, Chief Saroonha, Chief He-un-tha-noth-neh, Chief Che-unth-ha-run-thoo, Chief Ne-woonttoot-se-re, and Chief Saroonha who was authorized to act for Chief Herman Focker because he declined to attend. These chiefs represented nine Tuscarora towns including En-kus-kus-rent, Rasukehee, Tostentaut (Toisnot), Rauroota, Tarhunta, Kenta, Toherooka, In-ni-nits, and Con-ne-to-ke-hee.

warring chiefs at the end of the war, remaining neutral in the early days of the second war.<sup>76</sup>

Again, North Carolina asked South Carolina for assistance (see Appendix, Figure 27). This time South Carolina sent Colonel James Moore with a force of about 900 Indians which included Creeks, Catawbas, Yamases and about 400 Cherokees.<sup>77</sup> This war ended when the warring Tuscarora were defeated at “Fort Nohorocco,” their strongest fort, near the present-day site of Edwards’ Bridge in Lenoir County, in 1713.<sup>78</sup> A letter dated March 27, 1713 to Governor Pollock of North Carolina described the final battle. 392 prisoners were taken, the scalps numbered 192. 200 were killed and burned in Chief Hancock's village, 166 killed and removed from the village,

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid.; These warring chiefs included Can-nin-eth-quoeth-ken-es, En-se-que-re-hau, Can-ni-net-kit, No-u-re-u-ti-qout-ka-u (called John Pagett), Et-e-hoi-quost (called John Lawson), Co-ret-ni-ena (called Barber), Colsera (called Henry Lysle), Oun-ski-ni-ne-see (called Square Hooks or Squire Hooks), Tough-qui-auth, Er-un-tau-hy-ne, Young Tyler, and Hancock.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 18.



for a total of 950 in losses to the Tuscarora Nation.<sup>79</sup> Colonel Moore and Baron de Graffenreid, who accompanied Moore on the Campaign, reported that in spite of these losses,

“the savages showed themselves unspeakably brave, so much so that when our soldiers had become master of the fort and wanted to take out the women and children who were under the ground where they were hidden along with provisions, the wounded savages who were groaning on the ground still continued to fight... there were wounded savages, crawling on the earth who tried to hurt the victors...”<sup>80</sup>

The loss of this fort, along with the capture of Chief Hancock by the northern Tuscarora under Chief Blount, forced the warring Tuscarora to surrender in 1713.<sup>81</sup> After their surrender, arrangements were made by the Tuscarora to relinquish most of their lands in North Carolina including their capital, Chattakua, modern-day New Bern.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>U.S. Department of Interior, Indians of North Carolina (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915), 187.

<sup>80</sup>Holloman, “Fort Nohorocco,” 32.

<sup>81</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 6; John Devereux papers, petition to Congress protesting the seizure of cotton by Federal troops in 1865, the Original treaty of 1712 between Gov. Pollock and the Friendly Tuscaroras of Tom Blount, deeds, grants, and plats for land in Bertie County 1712-1872, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>82</sup>Holloman, “Fort Nohorocco,” 32.

After the Tuscarora War, and loss of nearly a quarter of their people to enslavement and death, survivors recalled this legend and blamed the mixed-blood descendants of those responsible for the Roanoke Colony's destruction for their misfortune. Thus many Tuscarora in 1713 believed they were being punished by their gods as a result of the abduction of the white women in 1587.<sup>83</sup>

Geroux, a descendant of the Tuscarora who emigrated to New York, repeated a legend in which the Tuscarora were told by the whites that if the whites were harmed, the mother boat would return and would, "...make thunder and spit fire at them..." Whether this threat was remembered by the Tuscarora during the war with North Carolina is not clear, but the Tuscarora were reportedly terrified of colonial artillery, which "spit fire and made thunder."<sup>84</sup>

Dr. Hamilton of East Orange, New Jersey, who was part white, part African-American, and part Tuscarora, confirmed Geroux's story

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<sup>83</sup>Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes"; Considering the extent of the Native American Slave Trade to New England and the Caribbean, and the unrecorded loss of life due to disease, it is reasonable to conclude that the accepted figures concerning the size of the Tuscarora Nation to be grossly underestimated.

<sup>84</sup>Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes."

with one of his own before he died in the 1930s. He noted that not only did the Tuscarora believe they were being punished for what they had done at Roanoke, but certain members of their tribe were cursed with the "Tuscarora Eye" or "Evil Eye," which ran in his family.<sup>85</sup> These Tuscarora were born with blue, green or gray eyes, descendants of the white women who were taken from Roanoke Island. As time passed, the eye became more prevalent throughout the tribe, along with problems with white settlers. It must also be noted that French Huguenots, who settled near the Tuscarora along the Tar River, reported in 1707 that the Tuscarora, which their settlement bordered, included many members with blue, gray and blue eyes.<sup>86</sup>

Aunt Tamar, a former slave who died at 127 or 129 years old in the mid 1920s in Salisbury, Maryland, was also part Tuscarora. Stated that her great grandmother was a Tuscarora and said they were cursed. She recited a story similar to that of Hamilton and Geroux, in which her tribe had offended their gods, and was being punished as a result. Part of this punishment included their being

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

forced to go to the North where it was cold. Tamar stated her great grandmother did not want to live in a cold climate and chose to stay in Maryland on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, which was similar to her home in North Carolina, and married her great grandfather, a slave.<sup>87</sup> It is not clear if Tamar or her family had the “Tuscarora Eye,” but Hamilton did state that marrying African-Americans eliminated it for a while in his family before it began to reappear in his generation. He also noted that as the Tuscarora suffered more and more misfortune, those with the “Tuscarora Eye” were ostracized, and many found it better to leave the nation and their clans.<sup>88</sup>

Today there are several families in Indian Woods who still possess the Tuscarora Eye, including the Freemans, Smallwoods, Bonds, and Rascoes. All claim Native American ancestry but are not sure of what Nation. Many of their customs, religions and farming practices are a combination of Tuscarora, English, and African

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

practices.<sup>89</sup> Based on this research, including (1) all of these families can trace their ancestry back to slavery (most families in Indian Woods live on farms and land that has been in their families since the end of the Civil War), (2) the fact that Indian Woods was the last home of the Tuscarora, (3) those who settled there refused to leave even under the threat of enslavement which many suffered, and (4) there were frequent visits to the Tuscarora reserve of New York and the Six Nations, it is clear that these people are of both Tuscarora and African descent.

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<sup>89</sup>Frank Roy Johnson Collection, vol. 1 by Johnson and Parramore, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE TUSCARORA DIASPORA: THE IMPACT OF THE TUSCARORA WAR ON THE TUSCARORA NATION 1715-1830

The Tuscarora War brought about the destruction of the Tuscarora as a powerful Indian Nation and was the beginning of what can be called the “Tuscarora Diaspora” (see Appendix, Figure 30). The war accelerated what the Native American slave trade had begun, the dispersion of the Tuscarora people and their allies to over nine states, two countries, and the British Caribbean. Isolated Tuscarora communities would also stretch from Virginia through the Catskill, Kittochtinny, and Ramapos mountains of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth L. Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes, 1968” Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Harry E. Foreman, Tuscarora, Kittochtinny, and North Mountain Tales (Chambersburg, PA: The Kerr Printing Co., 1971), 1-81; Lawrence Foster, Negro-Indian Relationships in the Southeast (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 1-30;

In North Carolina, small, isolated Tuscarora communities remained scattered throughout Eastern North Carolina in their old territories but without their traditional political organization. From Maxton, in southeastern North Carolina, to Murfreesboro in northeastern North Carolina, communities like Enfield, Ahoskie, Goldsboro, and Indian Woods remained on their ancestral lands. Many of the people in these isolated communities were enslaved and eventually mixed with Africans or whites who moved into eastern North Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

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Robert B. Vale, Tuscarora Tales: 22 Rare Stories (Chester, PA: John Spencer, Inc., 1957); Frank Roy Johnson, The Tuscaroras vol. 1. (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1962), 1-77; Helen C. Rountree, The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia: The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State ([s.l:s.n.], 1979), 1-101; Chief Elias Johnson, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or, Six Nations and History of the Tuscarora Indians (Lockport, NY: Union Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 1-42; Barbara Graymont ed., Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 1-5.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the North Carolina Region," Journal of Negro History 19 (1943): 431-440; Frank Roy Johnson, The Tuscaroras; vol. 2 ((Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1962), 1-93; William S. Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast," Journal of Negro History, 68 (1963), 200-210; Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras."

When the Tuscarora War ended, over a thousand Tuscarora were dead, hundreds wounded and enslaved. Those who remained free were forced to give up their lands in eastern North Carolina and denied access to the outer banks. Because of the destruction of their capital and major forts and towns, small villages became politically and culturally isolated from each other. Worst of all, they were forced to work through the courts of white colonists to resolve complaints they held against their white neighbors.<sup>3</sup>

From 1713 to 1715, the Tuscarora honored an uneasy peace with their white neighbors in North Carolina. Even the Chief-Men-for-Peace who had agreed to remain neutral during the second war were appalled at the loss of life and destruction of their brothers' property. The entire nation despised their historic enemies, the Cherokee, Creeks, Catawba, and Yamasee, who aided the colonists in both the wars and the Tuscarora Nation's destruction and enslavement. As a result of this hatred, several clans, numbering several hundred, which had migrated to Port Royal, South Carolina,

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<sup>3</sup>Enoch Lawrence Lee Jr., The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763 (Raleigh, NC: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 26-77; Walter Clark, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War 1711-13," The North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 3-16.



joined Colonel Moore of South Carolina in the destruction of the Yamasee Nation in the Yamasee War of 1715.<sup>4</sup>

The Five Nations, referred to as the Six Nations after 1722, also attacked and raided Cherokee, Creek, Catawba, and Yamasee villages and towns from 1713 to 1812. Even as allies of the British during the Revolutionary War, the Iroquois fought pitched battles with the Cherokee and Creek and other southeastern Indians who had participated in the Tuscarora War. As late as the American Civil War, Creek and Cherokee Confederate Soldiers killed Iroquois Union soldiers at battles like Petersburg, still remembering the Tuscarora War.<sup>5</sup>

Clans that abided by the peace in North Carolina found that they were no longer allowed to protect themselves from thieving and

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<sup>4</sup>Wes White papers, published and unpublished research on the Catawba and the Tuscarora Indians of South Carolina, 1982, South Carolina Historical Society, the South Carolina Library and in the author's private collection, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>5</sup>Lawrence M. Hauptman, "Into the Abyss," Civil War Times 35, no. 7 (1997): 46-59; Lawrence Hauptman, The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation, 1st. ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 1-133; William H. Armstrong, Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 16-77; Barbara Graymont, The Iroquois in the American Revolution (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 1-93.

murdering whites. Often their complaints about abuses by whites went unanswered by white courts. In fact, when the Tuscarora of Core Town were accused of wounding the white colonist Robert Schrieve in a disagreement, it was declared that the Indians of Core Town were in revolt and the North Carolina General Assembly ordered “the entire destruction of ye said nation of Indians as if there had never been a peace made with them...” The indiscriminate slaughter and enslavement of the Tuscarora that resulted from this order led to the forced migration of the Tuscarora from North Carolina to Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.<sup>6</sup> (see Appendix, Figure 28)

On what became known as the “Tuscarora Trail” or “Death Trail,” thousands fled North Carolina for the protection of the Five Nations in New York where those who made it were taken in by the Oneida Nation and settled at Oneida Lake, in New York. As the Tuscarora left North Carolina, the once proud and strong people were fractured, battered, and demoralized. Division over whether or not to fight the second war had split the nation into the followers of Chief

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<sup>6</sup>Charles R. Holloman, “Fort Nohorocco,” We The People of North Carolina 23 (1966): 32.

Tom Blount and those of Chief Hancock. Clearly, Blount and his supporters were not loved since they were responsible for capturing Chief Hancock, which led to the defeat of the Tuscarora in 1713.<sup>7</sup>

Chief Blount was however considered by the General Assembly of North Carolina to be the leader of the remaining Tuscarora clans. Of the many Tuscarora who fled North Carolina following the General Assembly's order and the destruction of Core Town, the exception was Chief Blount and his followers. Chief Blount was allowed to retain his town Ucohnerunt and a small area in modern day

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas C. Parramore, "With Tuscarora Jack on the Back Path to Bath," The North Carolina Historical Review 64 (1987): 115-138; Douglas Wesley Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713," 1-66; Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes"; Lawrence H. Leder, "The Livingston Indian Records," Pennsylvania History (1956): 29-240; David L. Rapheal, ed., Guide to the Tuscarora Trail: Pennsylvania and Maryland, Connecting the Appalachian and Big Blue Trails and Guide to Link Trail, 2nd ed. (Cogan Station, PA: Keystone Trails Association, 1989), 1-44; Foreman, Tuscarora, Kittochtinny, and Mountain Tales, 1-53; William Mason Turner, Red Belt, The Tuscarora, or Death Trail (New York: Beadle's Dime Novels, 1870), 1-33; Aren Akweks, Migration of the Tuscarora (Hogansburg, New York: Akwesane Counselor Organization, 1900), 1-26.

Edgecombe County along the Tar River, which was authorized by Governor Eden.<sup>8</sup>

There were still however bands of hostile Tuscarora and their allies who raided white settlements and the villages of Blount's people. They included the Core, Pamlico, and Machapungo tribes. These bands avoided capture by staying on the move and hiding in the swamps. As early as April of 1713, about fifty of these Indians attacked and captured settlers along the Alligator River.<sup>9</sup> Raids like these were conducted well into 1718, causing as much, and in some cases more, damage than the war itself. As late as October 1718, the General Court was disrupted by threats of Indian attacks.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of attacks by the defeated Tuscarora and their allies and the threat of attack by the Yamasee, Creeks, Catawba, and Cherokee, Chief Tom Blount's followers were moved from their

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<sup>8</sup>John Devereux papers, #34, treaty of 1712 between Gov. Pollock and the Friendly Tuscaroras of Tom Blount, deeds, grants, and plats for land in Bertie County 1712-1872, Private Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>9</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 2 (Raleigh, NC: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 30-40.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 124, 188-89.

original town, Ucohnerunt on the Tar River, to Moratoc on the Roanoke River in 1717. Since Chief Blount had aided Governor Pollock during the war, Governor Eden and other members of the colonial assembly believed he and his people should be protected from Indian attacks and unprovoked attacks by whites who believed that all the Tuscarora should be exterminated.<sup>11</sup>

The fertile lands along the Roanoke River known as Indian Woods had always been a part of Chief Blount's territory. The original boundaries of this reservation extended well beyond the present boundaries of the Indian Woods township. The land was given to Blount on June 7, 1717, in the Bertie Precinct and called Indian Woods (see Appendix, Figure 29). At the time, Governor Charles Eden thought that the reservation only contained 10,000 acres. Surveyor Colonel Edward Moseley later discovered that the reservation contained over 40,000 acres.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Thomas Pollock Papers, Bound papers, including Governor Pollock's accounts of the aftermath of the Tuscarora War (1712), and the need for ministers and schoolmasters by Tuscarora King Tom Blunt, the Meherrin Indians, and Baron de Graffenried (1720). Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>12</sup>Harry Z. Tucker, "Indian Woods," The State 30 (December 26, 1942): 6.

Although many clans blamed Chief Blount, and those of their nation that carried the “Tuscarora” or “Evil Eye” for their defeat, clearly all of the Iroquois (Mohawks, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora) must share the blame for what happened. For they all in one way or another violated or ignored the teachings of their ancestors. First they ignored the words of Da-ka-nah-wi-da, who warned the Iroquois “...never to seriously disagree among yourselves. If you do you might cause the loss of any rights of your grandchildren, or reduce them to poverty and shame...” The Tuscarora chiefs chose to disagree seriously over whether to go to war a second time or not, splitting the nation which, had it been united, may have lost fewer people. Also had the Five Nations not allowed the Governors of Pennsylvania and North Carolina to cause them to hesitate on becoming involved in the war, North Carolina may not have been able to raise a force strong enough to destroy the Tuscarora.<sup>13</sup>

Second, “...Never, never disgrace yourself by becoming angry...” Chief Tom Crow became angry with John Lawson, who threatened

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<sup>13</sup>Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes”; Leder, “The Livingston Indian Records,” 29-240.

Crow's imminent destruction upon Lawson's freedom from captivity. This brought about Lawson's death and a call for war which had not been asked for in the first council. Third "...Your skin must be seven hands thick to stand for what you know is right in your heart..." Were Chief Blount and the-Chief-men-for-peace right in their stance against the War?<sup>14</sup>

Finally, following the war, the nation violated another important teaching by Great Hawk when they turned on each other. Great Hawk had warned that "...no matter how good people are, some things happen that are not preventable, but being good and obeying the law of brotherhood makes one strong in spirit and able to withstand misfortunes."<sup>15</sup> After the war the Tuscarora began to blame those among them who carried the Tuscarora Eye for their downfall, further fragmenting their already weakened nation. This only accelerated the break up of the nation and caused many Tuscarora to isolate themselves in various parts of eastern North Carolina from the larger part of the nation. Today there are known descendants of the Tuscarora in North Carolina, Virginia,

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Canada.<sup>16</sup>

Many of the 3,000 or so who departed on the “Tuscarora Trail” never made it. Some stopped in Virginia and Maryland and settled along the Chesapeake Bay because they preferred the warmer climate of the south, even though it meant enslavement.<sup>17</sup> Others settled in valleys of the rural isolated Catskill, Kittochtinny, and Ramapos mountains of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, which they had passed on their many trips along the Tuscarora Trail to New York to trade sea shells with the Five Nations.<sup>18</sup>

Many young lovers were separated due to family or clan obligations. Many who had the “Tuscarora Eye” found themselves ostracized by others in the nation who blamed them for their misfortune. The women who carried this trait often chose to marry

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<sup>16</sup>Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes”; Boyce, “Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713,” 1-44; Leder, “The Livingston Indian Records,” 29-240; Rapheal, ed., Guide to the Tuscarora Trail, 1-34; Foreman, Tuscarora, Kittochtinny, and Mountain Tales, 1-82; Turner, Red Belt, The Tuscarora, or Death Trail, 1-66; Akweks, Migration of the Tuscarora, 1-82.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.



outside the nation because they found that neither Black nor white men were bothered by the trait. As a result, many of these women never made it to New York but found husbands along the way and remained with them.<sup>19</sup> Many clans encountered hostile Algonquin Indians who harbored ill will because of previous trading trips made by different Tuscarora clans, who had not respected their territory and were abusive, destructive, or were caught stealing food and wildlife.<sup>20</sup> Some Tuscarora clans were even annihilated by enemy tribes on the way, as was the case in Carroll County, Maryland, around 1715.<sup>21</sup> Most of the Tuscarora who made the trek were either very old, very young, female, or wounded and thus died on the trail. One group that was filled with very old Tuscarora and could travel no further camped at Slide Mountain, New York. They were there for about three days when a band of Mohawks arrived and carried them away. This gained the attention of local whites because they knew of the fierceness of the Mohawks and had begun to arm themselves and were surprised when the Mohawks left

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

carrying the elderly Tuscarora, taking them to the Mohawk settlement in the Five Nations.<sup>22</sup>

Not long after the first migration to New York and New Jersey, the Tuscarora, who had broken with their brothers over the war with North Carolina and remained in Indian Woods, began to experience the same types of problems that their brothers had before the war. Whites in Indian Woods sold the braves's liquor, raped their women, and established plantations on their land without permission.<sup>23</sup>

Reservation life proved to be harder than Chief Blount and his followers expected. As early as 1721, whites began to encroach upon the Tuscaroras' land, claiming that the boundaries were uncertain.<sup>24</sup> Because this land belonged to the Tuscarora Nation before the war and was considered frontier territory, there had been few attempts by whites to settle this area for fear of attacks. But by 1722, with the Indian threat largely removed, great numbers of white settlers began to migrate to Bertie County and claim land around and on

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History), 6.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

Chief Blount's reservation.<sup>25</sup> So numerous and aggressive were the white settlers, that the Indians petitioned the Colonial Assembly in Edenton for protection in 1722. They stated that the whites did not respect the boundaries of the reservation set by the colony.<sup>26</sup>

As a result of the complaints by the Tuscarora, the boundaries of the reservation were redrawn in 1722 by General William Maule, effectively reducing the size of the original reservation. The feuds over land, and the inability of Blount's people to adjust to the confinement of the reservation caused many of the Tuscaroras to leave and join others already in New York. By 1731 only about 600 of the original 800 Tuscaroras remained in Indian Woods.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>William Eason papers, #469, proprietary land Grant to Eason for 328 acres on the Moratoc (Roanoke) River, Bertie Precinct, 1723, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; John Surginer, letter from Grant to John Surginer, Bertie Precinct, for 325 acres in Kehukee Swamp on South side of "Moratoc" (Roanoke) River, 1725-1728, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>26</sup> Harry Z. Tucker, "Indian Woods," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina, 10 (1943): 6.

<sup>27</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 7.

By 1735, Indian lands were again being seized by the colonists to expand the tobacco plantations of neighboring white farmers.<sup>28</sup> When the soil was ruined the farmers cleared new lands and expanded their plantations or moved away. Because the Tuscarora held very fertile lands bordering their plantations, it seemed logical to the colonists that those lands should belong to them.<sup>29</sup> In spite of the new boundaries, conflicts still arose between Indians and whites. In 1735 the Tuscarora again complained to North Carolina authorities about abuses by whites and their taking of reservation land to expand plantations. This time complaints by the Tuscarora brought Governor Gabriel Johnston to Indian Woods to investigate personally.<sup>30</sup> The Governor was told that the whites sold the Indians rum, which prevented braves from performing their duties,

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<sup>28</sup> It must be remembered that during the colonial period, as was the case during the early antebellum period, farmers exhausted the soil by growing only tobacco; Joan E. Cashin, "Landscape in Antebellum Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 102 (1994): 477-500.

<sup>29</sup>William Eason papers, proprietary land Grant to Eason for 328 acres on the Moratoc (Roanoke) River, Bertie Precinct.

<sup>30</sup>Tucker, "Indian Woods," 6.

particularly hunting, and that white traders and keepers of the ferries were not fair with them and overcharged them for fur goods and for transporting them across the Roanoke River, or refused to transport them at all.<sup>31</sup>

These hardships caused more Tuscarora to leave Indian Woods and rejoin the larger tribe in New York. Chief Blount however, and those loyal to him, continued to remain on the reservation in spite of their problems with whites. When Blount died in 1739 he was known throughout North Carolina as the greatest Tuscarora chieftain ever.<sup>32</sup> The Tuscarora who remained in Indian Woods remained loyal to the colony of North Carolina and, eventually, the state of North Carolina in spite of their hardships.

Continued intense feuds over land between the Tuscaroras and white residents of Bertie County prompted the colonial legislature to pass legislation in 1748 that defined the boundaries of the Tuscarora Reservation yet a third time. Those boundaries, as later reported in Article 1 of the legislation between the North Carolina Colony and the Tuscarora Nation were:

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

Allotted to time by the Legislature of said state, situated in the county of Bertie, beginning at the mouth of Quitsnoy Swamp, running up the said swamp four hundred and thirty poles, to a scrubby oak, near the head of said swamp, by a great spring. Then north ten degrees, east eight hundred and fifty poles, to a persimmon tree in Roquist Swamp and along the swamp and pocosin, main course north fifty-seven degrees west, two thousand, six hundred and forty poles to hickory on the east side of the Falling Run or Deep Creek, and down the various courses of the said run, to Moratoc or Roanoke Rivers; then down the river to the first station.<sup>33</sup>

Even this measure, however, was not enough to keep discontented Tuscaroras on the reservation or land hungry whites from taking reservation land.

By 1750 there were a number of residents in Indian Woods who were of African and Tuscarora ancestry. Many Tuscarora women had married runaway slaves to eliminate their European characteristics, particularly the "Tuscarora Eye." These marriages succeeded in eliminating the Tuscarora Eye, with the exception that every other generation children would often be born with green, blue, or gray eyes.<sup>34</sup> Because of these marriages and the

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<sup>33</sup>Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, ed., American State Papers, vol. 1, Class II Indian Affairs (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton Publishing, 1832), 685.

<sup>34</sup>As late as 1997 there were mixed-blood families still living in Indian Woods that carried this trait, including the Smallwoods, Freemans, Rascoes, and Bonds.

aforementioned enslavement of Tuscarora women and children by neighboring white plantation owners, the Tuscarora in Indian Woods began to develop a great dislike for the institution of slavery and the condition of African and Indian slaves. As a result, the Tuscarora of Indian Woods developed friendships with the Quakers, Moravians and leading abolitionists.

In 1752 the Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg from Pennsylvania passed through Indian Woods on his way to western North Carolina to settle the land that the Moravians had purchased in what would become Winston Salem, North Carolina.<sup>35</sup>

In New York, around the same period, the Tuscarora along with the other members of the Six Nations met with the Quaker leader Anthony Benezet.<sup>36</sup> It was most likely no coincidence that two of the leading anti-slavery groups were meeting with and talking to the Tuscarora and other sympathetic Indian nations in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina. Nor is it a coincidence

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<sup>35</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 7.

<sup>36</sup>Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Indian Committee, Records of the Indian Committee of the Society of Friends, 1757-1895 (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1984), 1-49.

that the route of what today is referred to as the underground railroad runs through Tuscarora communities in Tuscarora Valley, Pennsylvania, and the Catskill, Kittochtinny, and Ramapos mountains of New York, and New Jersey. Nor is it a coincidence that many slaves ended up in Buffalo, New York and in the Grand River area of Canada. The Tuscarora of Indian Woods were also accused giving aid to Blacks and of harboring runaway slaves.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, the Tuscarora and their reservations, and isolated communities were an important part of the underground railroad. The underground Railroad included a network of Iroquois, and other friendly indian reservations and communities in North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Canada as well as the homes of Quakers in cities like Philadelphia, New York City, Albany, Buffalo, and Niagara. The Tuscarora of Indian Woods smuggled slaves out of Bertie County, gave slaves directions to other reservations and communities where they could find help and even served as guides for slaves since they were familiar with the "Tuscarora Trail" and slaves were not. They also took slaves with

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<sup>37</sup>Charles L. Blockson, The Underground Rail Road (New York: Berkeley Publishing Group, 1994), 10-61; Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes."



them to New York during their various migrations from North Carolina.<sup>38</sup>

In 1754, the colony of North Carolina conducted a survey to determine the colony's population and recorded only 301 Tuscaroras remaining in Indian Woods: 100 men and 201 women and children.<sup>39</sup> As slavery grew in Bertie County, so did pressure on the Tuscarora who lived in Indian Woods to give up the small remainder of the land on which the Indians settled. Whites complained that the Indians were not utilizing the land properly as well as that the Indians were harboring runaway slaves, an allegation which whites did not have to prove to relieve Indians of their land.<sup>40</sup>

From around 1750 to 1803, the Tuscarora of Indian Woods became increasingly involved with harboring and assisting runaway

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.; Rapheal, ed. Guide to the Tuscarora Trail: Pennsylvania and Maryland, Connecting the Appalachian and Big Blue Trails, and Guide to Link Trail, 1-89; Dr. Erich Jarvis Bronx, NY, interview by author December 27, 1996, at Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, not recorded, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>39</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 7.

<sup>40</sup>Thomas C. Parramore, "The Great Slave Conspiracy," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 39 (1971): 7-19; Parramore, "Conspiracy and Revivalism in 1802: A Direful Symbiosis," Negro History Bulletin 43 (1980): 283.

slaves in their flight to freedom. They continued to give them directions to other Tuscarora and friendly Indian reservations and communities where they could find refuge on their way north to freedom. Many Indians hide runaway slaves from slave catchers, on their reservations, since whites seldom entered Indian Reservations because they would be confronted by large numbers of hostile Indians.<sup>41</sup>

Conditions continued to worsen for those few Indians who remained in Indian Woods, mostly because of the treatment they received from the white residents of Bertie County. Because many of the larger plantation owners wanted the fertile lands located in Indian Woods, through a series of leases, the county land office conspired to confiscate as much land as possible. There were subsequent trials held in Bertie County and the charges would successfully relieve many Indians of their lands. In spite of this, the

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<sup>41</sup>One such incident, recited by a mixed-blooded Tuscarora, occurred in the Ramapos village in New Jersey where a Tuscarora with African features lived. One day he was crept up on by a white slave catcher who believed him to be a runaway slave. When the Tuscarora turned, so stunned was the slave catcher to see green eyes looking back at him, he froze and the Indian killed him where he stood. When asked what happened to the Tuscarora for killing a white man, the Indian's response was "What white man?"; Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; A Compilation of Anecdotes."

Tuscarora of Indian Woods continued to remain loyal to the colony of North Carolina and the British government.<sup>42</sup>

When the French and Indian War broke out in 1754, warriors from Indian Woods, under the leadership of Chief Blount's son, went to Virginia to join the fighting. In 1756 a company of these warriors fought with George Washington at Fort Duquesne on the western frontier. As a reward for their bravery and loyalty, they were given 105 pounds.<sup>43</sup> This incident is significant for a number of reasons. Not only did it demonstrate the bravery of the Indian Woods Tuscarora in volunteering and fighting but it also shows that the Tuscarora had no aversion to traveling great distances as they had done on their treks to New York to trade with the Five Nations. Their participation also demonstrated their unquestionable loyalty to the Colony of North Carolina.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Bertie County Deeds and Land Records office, at the County courthouse in Windsor, NC; see Bart F. Smallwood Papers for copies of all deeds between local whites and the Tuscarora of Indian Woods from 1717 to 1831.

<sup>43</sup>Tucker, "Indian Woods," 6.

<sup>44</sup>Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes."

During the French and Indian War, the Tuscarora of Indian Woods found themselves fighting alongside other Tuscarora braves and their Iroquois brothers of the Six Nations.<sup>45</sup> It is unclear if members of the two Tuscarora Nations actually fought together on the battlefield during the war, but they were both demonstrating their loyalty to their common allies, the British.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of the bravery and service to the colonies, the Tuscarora of Indian Woods still found themselves the targets of abuse, enslavement, and deceit. As a result, in 1766, when a Tuscarora Chieftain arrived from New York, as many as 160 of the youngest warriors left Indian Woods for the Six Nations. Among them was Chief Blount's son. Arrangements were made with Governor William Tryon for the removal of as many remaining

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<sup>45</sup>Substance of Conference between Quakers in Philadelphia and the heads of the Six Indian Nations, peace conference to discuss an end to the Seven Years War held in Philadelphia between the Six Nations, noted abolitionist Anthony Benezet attended among other Iroquois, and Quaker leaders.

<sup>46</sup>New York (colony) Treaties, account of conferences held and treaties made between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart, and the chief sachems and warriors of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas...(etc). at Fort Johnson, Albany County (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1930; [orig. pub l.,, 1756]), Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Tuscarora as would leave. In the resulting agreement between the Chieftain and North Carolina, North Carolina agreed to lease 8,000 acres for 150 years from the Tuscarora. This was only about one-half of the land allotted to the Tuscarora in 1748. They were given \$1,500 in exchange for the 150-year lease. The land was leased to three prominent white plantation owners, Robin Jones, Thomas Pugh, and William Williams. The deal was ratified in New Bern, North Carolina, with the help of Alexander McCulloch who was promised 100 acres of land on the reserve.<sup>47</sup>

When the Chieftain finally left, fewer than one hundred Indians remained on the rest of the land that is today called Indian Woods. These Indians asked for protection of their remaining land and themselves from the increasing number of whites moving onto their area. Thus the Governor did act to salvage the remaining Indian lands.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Tucker, "Indian Woods," 6.

<sup>48</sup>William Slade papers, containing the correspondence of General Jeremiah Slade, one of the U. S. Commissioners for the Tuscarora Indians; the Indian chiefs signed some of the documents, which include accounts and notes on business transactions, and General Slade's papers which contain guardianship accounts and land deeds, 1751-1825, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC; Bertie County Deeds and Land Records

On their way to New York, the Tuscarora braves stopped to visit with the Moravians in Friedenshuetten, Pennsylvania. After several weeks with the Moravians, they continued their march to the Six Nations in New York. The group was robbed by whites of horses and property worth \$300 at Paxtang, Pennsylvania, before they arrived in lands held by the Six Nations. They finally arrived at Mt. Johnson, New York on December 16, 1766. The braves left in Indian Woods the very old who refused to leave their ancestral home.

At the time of the American Revolution, whites continued to trick the remaining Indians into long-term leasing of their land, for which they were paid very little and sometimes nothing at all. From 1775 to 1777 a total of eight leases were made between the Tuscarora Indians and various farmers in Bertie.<sup>49</sup> Among the

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office, at the County courthouse in Windsor, NC; see Bart F. Smallwood Papers for copies of all deeds between local whites and the Tuscarora of Indian Woods from 1717 to 1831.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.; Richard Caswell papers, #35, from 1777-1790, including a letter dated December 13, 1777, to the North Carolina General Assembly concerns a petition from the Tuscarora Chiefs seeking aid from the Assembly, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham North Carolina; Henry Alexander S. Dearborn Papers, #40, see letter dated July 30, 1802, in which Henry Dearborn sent instructions to Captain Callender Irvine concerning negotiations for a treaty with the Tuscarora Indians of North Carolina; microfilm copy in main library at the Ohio

recorded leasers were Zedekiah Stone, Thomas Pugh, Sr., Thomas Pugh, Jr., William King, Titus Edwards, John Johnston and John McKaskey.<sup>50</sup>

In December of 1777, after protest from the remaining Indians, the legislature prohibited the leasing of any more Indian lands in Bertie County and appointed a commission to supervise Indian

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State University, Columbus, OH; William Slade Papers, #56, see correspondence of General Jeremiah Slade, one of the U. S. Commissioners for the Tuscarora Indians with the Tuscarora chiefs. The Indian chiefs signed some of the documents. There are accounts and notes on business transactions, and General Slade's paper from 1800-1825 contain guardianship accounts and land deeds for Indian Woods, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham North Carolina. David Stone papers, #82, which include letters and legal papers from 1801-1806 concerning leased Tuscarora land in Indian Woods; Private Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC. Lewis Thompson Papers, #716, which contain land grants, deeds, and estate papers for the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart before 1840, all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related by blood or through marriage. There are also a group of papers relating to land controlled by the Tuscarora Indians of Indian Woods; Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Bertie County Deeds and Land Records office, at the County courthouse in Windsor, NC; see Bart F. Smallwood Papers for copies of all deeds between local whites and the Tuscarora of Indian Woods from 1717 to 1831.

<sup>50</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 7.

affairs. The commission also legalized the leases already obtained.<sup>51</sup> In 1778 the North Carolina General Assembly acknowledged Chief Withmell Tuffdick as the Tuscarora ruler.<sup>52</sup> Many of the Tuscarora were too old to participate in the Revolutionary War but pledged their loyalty to the Colony of North Carolina. It is plausible that they also supported the cause of those whites living around them, which would have been the logical thing to do. During the war, however, the Tuscarora Nation was split again. Those residing among the Six Nations aligned themselves with the British, most probably because they were living in territory controlled by British Canada.<sup>53</sup>

Those living in the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Connecticut, and New Jersey either chose to remain neutral or join the Americans since the greater collective part of the Tuscarora Nation had been under the protection of the Oneida

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<sup>51</sup>Richard Caswell papers, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

<sup>52</sup>Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 847.

<sup>53</sup>Francis Turbot, speeches delivered at meetings of the Chiefs of the Six Nations and Indian Commissioners to secure the support of the Six Nations in the Revolutionary War against Britain, 1775, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.



since 1715.<sup>54</sup> When the Oneida, whose lands were well within striking distance of American forces, aligned themselves with the Americans, the Tuscarora did so as well.<sup>55</sup>

The Tuscarora, with the Oneida, were actually responsible for saving General Washington and his men from starvation at Valley Forge, when the chiefs of these tribes brought food to the starving, freezing soldiers in the dead of winter. When the other tribes of the Six Nations, which included some Oneida and Tuscarora, became aware of this, they burned the homes, and destroyed the crops and other property of the Oneida and Tuscarora allied with the United States. Once again the Tuscarora Nation found itself attacked, this time from within, leaving many without homes or any place to go.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Thomas Walker papers, #M2280-2286, contain the report of the Virginia Commissioners on negotiations with the Six Nations and other tribes, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>55</sup>Samuel Moore Shute, journal of Dr. Shute, officer in the expedition under the command of General John Sullivan in 1779 against the Six Nations, part of the Tuscarora Nation were among the representatives for the Six Nations, New Jersey State Library, Trenton, New Jersey.

<sup>56</sup>Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 848.

George Washington and the new government acknowledged what the Oneida and Tuscarora had done to save their army and perhaps their independence in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784. In article two, the treaty secured the land and possessions of both the Oneida and the Tuscarora. In the generous terms that followed, Washington gave the Oneida sovereign nation status and unlimited hunting, fishing, and access rights to over 6 million acres of land in New York State, terms that were still in force over 200 years later.<sup>57</sup>

Since many of the Tuscarora Nation had been taken in by the Oneida and split from the Six Indian Nations during the war, they found themselves not considered a true nation by the United States government and were without land they could call their own. Weakened yet again by the split during the Revolutionary War, even the Tuscarora allied with the Six Nations was not considered a equal nation. As a result, from 1784 to 1804 the Tuscarora were considered a party to several treaties with the United States including: the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1784, the Fort Harmar Treaty of 1789, the Agreement with the Five Nations of Indians of 1792, the Canandaigua (Konondaiqua) Treaty of 1794, the Oneida Treaty of

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<sup>57</sup>Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784.

1794, the Genessee Treaty, and the Buffalo Creek Treaty of 1838 but they held no lands of their own and could not stop the other members of the Six Nations from selling lands given to them by the Six Nations.<sup>58</sup>

After the Revolutionary War, the Tuscarora who had been allied with the Americans settled in New York at the site of their present reservation on land belonging to the Seneca. This land was purchased from the Holland Land Company when the Seneca negotiated the Genessee Treaty in 1797. The Tuscarora complained for the first time since their arrival in 1715 that land given them by the Five Nations was not really theirs and that when treaties were negotiated it was all ceded without their participation or consent. The Five Nations admitted this was true and as a result the Tuscarora were given by Robert Morris, in the Genessee Treaty, two miles of their current reservation in Niagara Falls, New York. The Tuscarora who had fought with the British settled along the Grand River in Canada. with the other members of the Six Nations<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 852.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 848.

By 1802, white settlements and plantations had grown and spread all around Indian Woods. Trapped by this growth, the Tuscarora of Indian Woods faced constant threats, harassment, and enslavement by whites. Thus when their brethren arrived from New York, they readily departed with them.<sup>60</sup> The remaining Tuscarora left without protest with their New York brothers. After continued suffering at the hands of the citizens of Bertie County, the delegation of Tuscarora from New York was welcomed. The New York Tuscarora made arrangements to remove the Tuscarora from Indian Woods in 1803.

By 1803, many of the last Tuscarora to leave Indian Woods were thoroughly mixed to the point that many looked Black. These mixed-bloods moved on to New York, leaving others like themselves behind who had been enslaved. Although it could not be proven, local whites accused the Tuscarora of assisting slaves on the neighboring Outlaw Plantation in revolt in 1802 in what became

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<sup>60</sup>Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

known as the “the Great Negro Conspiracy.”<sup>61</sup> Following “the Great Negro Conspiracy,” the North Carolina State Legislature passed a law allowing the remaining Tuscaroras to depart and lease their lands to the residents of Bertie County.<sup>62</sup>

This law and the death in 1802 of the last ruling chief of the Tuscarora in Indian Woods, Samuel Smith, helped facilitate their final departure.<sup>63</sup> On February 21, 1803, the Tuscarora Nation communicated to the United States Senate its desire to have the Federal Government assist it in redressing grievances against North Carolina over Indian Woods Reservation land given to the Tuscarora

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<sup>61</sup>Douglas Wesley Boyce, “Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973; Garfield Jonathan, resident and descendent of Tuscarora of Indian Woods now living on Six Nations Reserve. Interview by author, 13 June 1996, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada. Video Recording. Jonathan residence in Six Nation Reserve, Oshweken, Ontario, Canada; Parramore, “The Great Slave Conspiracy,” The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina, 7-19; Slave Collection, folder 1629, depositions by slaves and letters concerning the insurrection conspiracy in Indian Woods in 1802, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>62</sup>David Stone papers, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>63</sup>Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 847.

after the Tuscarora War in 1717.<sup>64</sup> The United States Government appointed William Richardson Davie to supervise the leasing and selling of Indian land as the remaining Tuscaroras prepared to depart Indian Woods.<sup>65</sup>

Several leases were given to wealthy white plantation owners by the departing Tuscaroras. The leases were for the rich lands in Indian Woods along the banks of the Roanoke River. Among the whites receiving these leases were John Pugh, William Johnston, Thomas Pugh, Ebenezer Slade and Jeremiah Slade. These whites leased some land for their own use and the rest for the use of parties they represented.<sup>66</sup>

These leases and several others found in the Bertie County courthouse suggest that large numbers of white farmers and plantation owners were already farming in the area and living on reservation lands owned by the Tuscarora before 1803. Oral

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<sup>64</sup>Henry Alexander S. Dearborn papers, microfilm copy, The Ohio State University Library, Columbus, Ohio.

<sup>65</sup>Bertie County Register of Deeds, Index of Deeds and Leases Between Residents of Bertie and Tuscarora Indians, 1775-1831, Bertie County Courthouse, Windsor, NC.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

accounts passed down by slaves to the current inhabitants confirm this. Polly Outlaw recalled being told by her parents that for the most part the Indians kept to themselves, but lived side by side on their land with white slave owners and their slaves long before their departure in 1803.<sup>67</sup>

By 1803 the last of the Tuscarora had left North Carolina, leaving the last piece of former reservation known as Indian Woods to whites and a number of mixed-blood slaves. Their departure did not end Indian culture and life in Indian Woods, however, since many of the mixed-blood slaves kept their practices alive. After the departure of the Tuscarora from Indian Woods, white farmers moved onto the fertile lands they formerly held.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Lewis Thompson papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Polly Holley Outlaw of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Indian Woods, North Carolina, tape recording in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>68</sup>Tuscarora Nation, Article of a Treaty Between the United States of America and the Tuscarora Nation of Indians, Washington, D.C.: s.n., 1803; United States Government, Treaty made with the Oneida Nation at their Village on the 4th of June, 1802, By the Commissioners of the State of New York, Under the Authority of the United States, printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, December 28th, 1802, (n.p., n.p., 1802).

With the Indians gone and the chance of their returning eliminated, Bertie County began to sell off the remaining lands to those already settled in Indian Woods and those desiring to further their farming interest there. Within a few months all remaining land was in the possession of white plantation owners. Many of the new residents came from nearby Windsor and Lewiston and took advantage of the chance to acquire farm land. The exact number of people in the community at this time is unclear but the population continued to rise owing to the growing interest in cotton.<sup>69</sup>

When the migrating Tuscarora reached New York, many were not accepted by the New York Nation as earlier bands had been, because many of the New York Tuscarora had become Christian and adopted European ways. Many also found the Tuscarora from Indian Woods shocking in every way, including religion, language, and the fact that the Indian Woods Tuscarora had become mixed with the Africans to whom they had often given refuge to while in Indian Woods. Many of these mixed-blood people eventually found it necessary to move on to Canada where other Tuscarora from Indian

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<sup>69</sup>Lewis Thompson papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, NC.



Woods, who had become separated from the New York Nation because of the American Revolution, had settled.<sup>70</sup>

When the Indian Woods Tuscarora reached Canada they were taken in by Tuscarora already there at the Six Nations Reserve on the Grand River in Oshweken, where their descendants reside today.<sup>71</sup> In fact one of the Tuscarora from Indian Woods who appeared to be African spoke the language and kept the customs so well that he was allowed to join the Long House, the governing body of the Six Nations, which was quite an honor.<sup>72</sup>

Since many of the Tuscarora of Indian Woods ended up in Canada during the War of 1812, they found themselves fighting, with the rest of the Six Nations, on the side of the British. Once again they

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<sup>70</sup>Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825," 250.

<sup>71</sup>Jonathan Garfield, resident and descendent of Tuscarora of Indian Woods, interview by author, June 13, 1996, Oshweken, Ontario, Canada, video recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Walt Printup of the Tuscarora Reservation, interview by author, June 12, 1996, Lewiston, New York, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Clyde Pulley, Blacks Who Pass for Indian & White ([s.l.: Adams Press], 1978).

<sup>72</sup>F. Roy Johnson Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

experienced hardship and found themselves opposing brothers of New York. More importantly, however, many who held claims to their leased land in Indian Woods lost these claims because of their support of the British in the war.<sup>73</sup> In spite of this, many of these Tuscarora and their relatives in New York continued to claim their former lands in Indian Woods. The first recorded attempt by the Tuscarora to regain their land in Indian Woods after their departure was in 1815 when Sacarusa X. Longboard sued the heirs of William King for money due on land leased by the Tuscaroras upon their departure to New York. The court held that the grant of 1717 by Governor Eden was absolute and did not require the Indians to remain on the land, thus forcing the heirs of William King to pay reparations to the Tuscarora Indians.<sup>74</sup>

By 1820 a religious war erupted on the New York Reserve. Tuscarora who had converted to Christianity to be better accepted by the local whites were opposed by others who were in the minority

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<sup>73</sup>Frank Storer Wheeler manuscript, Some Incidents in the War of 1812: According to the Tuscarora Indians, brief account of the capture of General Peter B. Porter, and the death of General Brock, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society Library, 1920.

<sup>74</sup>Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2, 847.

who believed that it was in the best interest of the Nation to continue to practice their traditional religion. The debate over religion split the Tuscarora living on the New York reserve and caused about seventy anti-Christians to leave and join their brothers with the Six Nations on the Grand River reserve. Among those departing were those brought up from Indian Woods who had maintained the ancient ways. These Tuscarora were readily accepted by the Six Nations.

The state of North Carolina eventually sold some of the aforementioned lands after receiving a memorial from the Chiefs of the Tuscarora Nation on November 12, 1828. This memorial was sent to P. B. Porter, Secretary of War, and it stated that two principal Tuscarora Chiefs, Sacarusa and Longboard, were returning to North Carolina, "for the purpose of adjusting some claims that the Nation supposes itself to have on land within your state from which they formerly emigrated."<sup>75</sup> In 1829 all leased and owned lands claimed by the Tuscarora Indians were put under the supervision of Alfred

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<sup>75</sup>J. Bryon Grimes, to Mr. Luther W. Jack, 5 April 1911, from North Carolina Secretary of State concerning the Tuscarora Indians in Bertie County, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

M. Slade with the consent of the necessary chiefs.<sup>76</sup> After an examination by a special committee chaired by George E. Spruill, and upon its recommendation, the Tuscaroras were paid the sum of \$3,250 on November 19, 1831, for approximately 8,000 acres of former reservation land in Windsor, North Carolina. The agreement was finalized with the consent of Chief William Chew and others. It ended claims to all Indian lands leased or owned by the Tuscarora and sold them to the state of North Carolina. These governmental activities legalized claims by white residents of Indian Woods to Indian land.<sup>77</sup>

In several lease agreements between the Tuscarora Indians and the residents of Bertie County there was an inconsistency that might give credibility to assertions that some Tuscarora Indians still have a claim to portions of Indian Woods. On nearly all leases agreed to by the Tuscaroras from 1803 through 1829, either Chief Sacarusa or Longboard, and in most cases both, signed the documents along with supporting chiefs. In 1831 when the lands were officially sold

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<sup>76</sup>Bertie County Register of Deeds, Final Deed between State of North Carolina and Tuscarora Indians, 150.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

to the State of North Carolina, neither chief's signature or mark was made on the documents, nor were there any references made to their support or opposition to the sale. Only Chief William Chew and his supporting chiefs signed the final deed. This is the only deed that grants Bertie County and the State of North Carolina title to this land.<sup>78</sup>

By 1860 the former Tuscarora reservation, which once contained over 40,000 acres, was settled by white plantation owners and their mixed-blood slaves. These part Tuscarora, part African and, in some cases, part white slaves would continue to work the land and pass on many of their farming practices, religious beliefs, and cooking habits. They would merge Native American, African, and European cultures to create their own culture which was a combination of all three. The residents of Indian Woods would remember their Indian ancestry but forget their nation. They and Indian Woods however would not be forgotten by the Tuscarora in other parts of North Carolina, New York, or Canada.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Tucker, "Indian Woods," 5; Tucker, "Lease of the Tuscaroras," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 10, no. 30 (1942): 6-21; Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States

Many of their mixed-blood cousins like Laura Joseph of the New York Reserve, the sister of "Mad Bear," whose brother was a great Tuscarora Shaman, and who, like her brother, is of mixed ancestry (Black and Tuscarora), would continue to remember and claim these historic lands. Mrs. Joseph said in 1996 that the state of North Carolina was still paying and has been paying the chiefs of the New York clans for Indian Woods.<sup>80</sup>

Chief Leon Lockler of Robeson County, North Carolina, stated that his ancestors, who were also from Indian Woods, were away on a hunting trip in 1803 which sometimes took several weeks, when the others departed for New York. Thinking them dead or enslaved his ancestors migrated to Maxton in Robeson County where they still reside today. Chief Lockler further stated his ancestors never agreed to sell Indian Woods and that he is preparing to sue the state of

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History Class 1975-76," Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862, 1-8; These families included Spruill, Rascoe, Gilliam, Heckstall, Mebane, Alston, Ashburn, Askew, Butler, Carter, Clary, Craig, Davis, Dewe, Ferguson, Hambleir, Jordan, Lawrence, Miller, Mitchell, Moring, Pool, Price, Pugh, Spivey, Swain, Ward, Watson, White, and Williams.

<sup>80</sup>Laura Joseph, Sister of Mad Bear and descendent of Tuscarora of Indian Woods, interview by author, June 12, 1996, Lewiston, NY, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

North Carolina for the return of Indian Woods to his people. Similar claims were made by the Indian Woods descendants in New York and Canada.<sup>81</sup>

Very little is known about the Tuscaroras by the present inhabitants of Indian Woods. What is known is passed on orally. The older residents of the community relate what they were told by their grandparents and parents. Lucenda H. Hill, seventy-nine years of age of Indian Woods, remembers her grandfather, Charlie Rascoe, telling her of his early days as a water bucket boy during slavery and he also related stories about the Tuscarora. She stated that in his telling of the old history of Indian Woods he revealed that where she now lives, in the southern part of Indian Woods near the Roanoke River, was once underwater, but the Indians built a series of pipes that they used to drain the land for farming. Those pipes are said to be still under various parts of Indian Woods. Lucenda went

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<sup>81</sup>Chief Leon Lockler, Chief of North Carolina Tuscarora, a descendent of Indian Woods Tuscarora, now living in Maxton, North Carolina, telephone interview by author, June 5, 1996, Maxton, North Carolina; Jonathan Garfield, resident and descendent of Tuscarora of Indian Woods, now living on Six Nations Reserve, interview by author, June 13, 1996, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada, video recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

on to state that she became aware of the truth of the story only after modern farm machinery began breaking the pipes up.<sup>82</sup>

Lord Cornwallis Cherry, a farmer, stated that an Indian burial ground was located on Pugh's Road. He noted that when the road was being built the road crews dug up skeletons and many Indian artifacts, including tomahawks, arrowheads and charms. These statements were supported by other residents of the community. When they were asked where the Indians punished those who broke the law, all indicated the same area, the "Indian Gallows," a clearing across from the Cain Rosenwald school, and near the home of Rosetta Bond on Indian Woods road, where twin gigantic oak trees once stood before being struck by lightning and uprooted around 1892.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of the Indian Woods Road going to Windsor, there is an area called Grabtown. There is a large oak tree there that has a history prior to the time of the arrival of whites and Blacks.

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<sup>82</sup>Lucenda H. Hill of Indian Woods, interview by author, 28 December 1989, Indian Woods, North Carolina, tape recording in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>83</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Indian Woods, North Carolina, tape recording in author's possession, Peoria, IL; The State, "Anecdotes and Incidents," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina (1964): 11.



Grabtown served as a trading post for the remaining Indians after the departure of their brethren. Today, as mentioned above, the Tuscaroras are trying to regain their land taken from them after their departure. Tanya Watiford, a lifetime resident, claims to have seen a car with Tuscarora written on it driving through the area as late as September 1989. She remarked that they appeared to pause only long enough to look at various landmarks.<sup>84</sup>

While visiting the Tuscarora Nation of Lewiston, New York in 1996 the author noticed many old large weeping willow trees on the reservation. Many appeared to be hundreds of years old. They were in the yards or fields of people living on the reservation. The author also noticed younger trees in the yards of the mixed-blood people still living in Indian Woods, obviously planted by the Tuscarora and their descendants, and in yards of Tuscarora living in the Tuscarora Townships on the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. The author asked a chief in New York what the significance of these gigantic trees was and if they were sacred to his people. He replied, "no they have no

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<sup>84</sup>Tanya Watiford of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 22, 1989, Indian Woods, North Carolina, tape recording in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

significance.” He, as many of the Tuscarora today, had forgotten the importance of the “Rain Tree” and the words of “Great Hawk.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Chief Leo Henry of the Tuscarora Reservation, Lewiston New York, interview by author, June 12, 1996, Lewiston, video recording, in author’s possession, Peoria, IL.

PART III: NEW INHABITANTS:  
THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN CULTURE  
  
CHAPTER 4  
  
ENGLISH COLONIZATION AND EXPANSION:  
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE TOBACCO CULTURE IN INDIAN WOODS  
  
1585-1803

The Spanish explorer Pedro de Quexoia was the first European to explore any part of North Carolina, when in 1520 he sailed along the south Atlantic coast from the Caribbean as far north as Cape Hatteras, North Carolina. He was later followed by the French explorer, Giovanni da Verrazzano, an Italian, who in 1524 attempted to establish a settlement on the Cape Fear River in southeastern North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> Later, between 1566 and 1568, the Spanish

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<sup>1</sup>David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America ( New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 38; Samuel Eliot Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A. D. 1492-1616 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 1-50;

conquistador Juan Pardo would lead a land expedition through western North Carolina up to the Cherokee lands in the Appalachian mountains.<sup>2</sup>

The first European settlements in North Carolina, however, were established by the English in 1584 and 1587, on the outer banks of North Carolina on Roanoke Island.<sup>3</sup> North Carolina, with the rest of North America, had been claimed by the English since

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Samuel Eliot Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A. D. 500-1600 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), see last two chapters; L. A. Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina in 1566," North Carolina Historical Review 46 (1969): 398-407.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Charles W. Porter, III, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," North Carolina Historical Review (1943): 22-42; Richard Dillard, "The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," The North Carolina Booklet 6 (1906): 4-26; Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A. D. 1492-1616, see last chapter; Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A. D. 500-1600, see last two chapters.

1497 when John Cabot, who never reached North Carolina, explored Nova Scotia, Labrador, and New England.<sup>4</sup>

In 1578, 81 years after Cabot's voyage, Queen Elizabeth of England issued the first charter for lands in North Carolina to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, giving him and his heirs lands in North America that were not occupied by European settlers.<sup>5</sup> It would take another six years, until 1584, before the Queen would issue a patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, authorizing him to establish a settlement, which he did in 1587.<sup>6</sup> This settlement and the two expeditions that preceded brought the first contact between the English and the Native

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<sup>4</sup>Hugh Talmadge Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 4-5; Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A. D. 1492-1616, see last chapter; Morrison, The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A. D. 500-1600, see last two chapters.

<sup>5</sup>William P. Cumming, "Naming Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 22 (1945): 34-42; Charles C. Crittenden, "The Surrender of the Charter of Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 1 (1924): 383-402.

<sup>6</sup>Porter, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," 22-42; Stephen B. Weeks, "The Lost Colony: Its Fate and Survival," American Historical Association Papers, (1891): 439-480.

Americans of coastal North Carolina, the Algonquins and those of the interior - the Tuscarora of Indian Woods.<sup>7</sup>

In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh funded the first of two expeditions to what would become known as the outer banks and coastal plains of North Carolina. Utilizing his charter, he sent the first English expedition, led by Captain Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, to explore coastal North Carolina and find a site suitable for an English settlement. Amadas and Barlowe sailed from England to the Canary Islands in 1584, then to the West Indies, and from there were carried by the Gulf stream to the coast of North Carolina.<sup>8</sup> Amadas and Barlowe sailed along the treacherous outer banks of coastal North Carolina until they reached the Ocracoke inlet. From there

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<sup>7</sup>Maurice A. Mook, "Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound," Journal of Washington Academy of Sciences 34, no. 6 (July 15, 1944); Thomas Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia 1587, 1-53; Richard Hakluyt, Voyages & Documents (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 5-71; Richard Hakluyt, A Discourse on Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 (Cambridge, Mass.: Maine Historical Society, 1877), 1-76.

<sup>8</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 5-6.

they sailed north up the Pamlico Sound until they reached Roanoke Island.<sup>9</sup>

On July 2, 1584 the two ships, The Tyger and The Admiral, commanded respectively by Amadas and Barlowe, landed on Roanoke Island.<sup>10</sup> Three days after the landing, an Indian paddled out to their camp and began trading with the Englishmen, becoming the first North Carolina Indian to make contact with Europeans of English descent. After several days of trading, the friendly Algonquins asked the English for their assistance in defending them

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.; Jack P. Greene, Settlements to Society: 1584-1763 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 1-36; Richard Hakluyt, Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America Select Narratives from the Principal Navigations of Hakluyt, 2nd ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893), 1-81; David Stick, Roanoke Island, the Beginnings of English America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 3-18; David B. Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted Walter Raleigh in 1584, vol. 1-2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), 1-63; Sir Walter Alexander Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1910), 1-54.

<sup>10</sup>Douglas L. Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1957), 11; Jack P. Greene, Settlements to Society: 1584-1763, 1-44; Hakluyt, Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America Select Narratives from the Principal Navigations of Hakluyt, 4-66; Stick, Roanoke Island, the Beginnings of English America, 1-62; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-42.

against a war-like band to their West, along the Neuse River. It is likely that the Indians were referring to the Tuscarora Nation, whose capital city Chattakua was located on the Neuse River near the present-day city of New Bern.<sup>11</sup>

Although the English declined to help the coastal Indians in their fight, they did become interested enough in the Native Americans, their fighting strength, and their territory, to explore the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and the outer banks, including the Indian peoples they found there. After about two months of exploring the coastal regions around Roanoke Island, Amadas and Barlowe kidnapped two local Indian braves, Wanchese and Manteo, and took them to England to teach them English and show Queen Elizabeth and possible investors what the inhabitants looked like. When they returned to England they reported their discoveries to Queen Elizabeth. The new lands were named “Virginia” after the virgin queen, and plans were made for a second voyage.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Charles R. Holloman, “Palatines and Tuscarora,” We the People 23, no. 8 (1966): 22.

<sup>12</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 6-7; Hakluyt, Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America, 4-47; Stick Roanoke Island, the Beginnings of English America, 1-55; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 1-77; Raleigh, The English Voyages of



The report that Amadas and Barlowe issued, the exposure of Indians Wanchese and Manteo, and a paper written by Richard Hakluyt offered enough information to garner financial and physical support for a second expedition to coastal North Carolina. Thus in 1585 Raleigh sent a second expedition of 108 men led by Sir Richard Greenville. This expedition also included Ralph Lane, who was to be the lieutenant governor of the colony; Philip Amadas, the admiral of the country; John White, who was assigned to paint the landscape and map the region; Thomas Hariot, who was to record the discoveries and peoples of the area; and Wanchese and Manteo, the two Indians kidnapped during the first expedition, who were to serve as interpreters.<sup>13</sup>

The second expedition followed a route similar to that of the first, stopping in the West Indies, where the explorers acquired horses, cows, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull hides, sugar, ginger, pearls, tobacco, and sugar cane, all of which they took with them to

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the Sixteenth Century, 1-37.

<sup>13</sup>Hakluyt, Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America, 10-26; Stick, Roanoke Island, the Beginnings of English America, 1-38; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 1-63; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-23.

Roanoke Island. After a brief stop at Cape Hatteras where the Croatan Indians could be found, and after becoming involved in an altercation with the Secotan Indians of the Indian town of Aquascogoc, the explorers sailed on to Roanoke Island by way of the Pamlico Sound.<sup>14</sup>

After reaching Roanoke Island, where Greenville left the men and sailed back to England, the members of the expedition explored and mapped the coastal areas of North Carolina and erected a fort they named "Fort Raleigh."<sup>15</sup>

After ten months of exploring and mapping the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers, the Lane expedition, under threat of Indian attack, departed for England. During their expeditions, Lane and his men mapped three Native American towns located in modern-day Bertie County, two along the banks of the Chowan River occupied by Meherrin Indians and one,

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<sup>14</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 7-8; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 1-41; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-61.

<sup>15</sup>Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina, 15; Porter, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," 22-42; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 1-67; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-56.

Moratoc, along the Roanoke River in modern-day Indian Woods, occupied by the Tuscarora.<sup>16</sup>

While camping one night near the Tuscarora town of Moratoc, on the Roanoke River, Lane and his men were attacked by the Tuscarora. Lane believed that Manteo, one of the kidnapped Indians who had escaped, had informed the local Indians of the Englishmen's presence. The surprise attack forced Lane and his men back to the safety of Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island. There, under the threat of another attack by the coastal Indians, Lane and his men were forced to flee aboard ships provided by Sir Francis Drake, who had been raiding Spanish settlements in the Caribbean and had stopped to check on and resupply Lane and his men.<sup>17</sup>

Shortly after Lane's departure, Greenville, who had brought Lane and his men over from England, returned to the colony to find Fort Raleigh abandoned. Unaware that Lane and his men had departed with Drake for England, Greenville searched for the men

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<sup>16</sup>Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-73.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

and after finding no one, also sailed back to England after leaving 18 of his men to maintain Fort Raleigh.<sup>18</sup>

When Governor Lane and his men left North Carolina, they left many of the coastal Algonquin Indians infected with European diseases, which ravaged the coastal Indian nations. As a result of these diseases and abuses of the local Indians by Lane and his men, which included the murder of two Indians, one a chief, many North Carolina Indians, including the Tuscarora, who had attacked them at Indian Woods, became aware of their existence and that they had constructed a fort on Roanoke Island. Since the island and the rest of the outer banks were neutral Indian territories and searched for sea shells by the Tuscarora, the presence of this fort and any settlements were seen as an act of aggression by the English.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 10.

<sup>19</sup>Elizabeth L. Coombs, "Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes, 1968" Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 14-66; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-33; Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia 1587, 1-43; Richard Hakluyt, Voyages & Documents (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1-62; Hakluyt, A Discourse on Western Planting Written in the Year 1584, 1-43;

By June of 1586, Governor Lane and his party arrived back in England where they gave a report to Sir Walter Raleigh of their discoveries. Once back in England, however, Lane and some of his men began to speak unfavorably about North Carolina and described the Native Americans living there as hostile. In spite of these negative reports, Raleigh was able to raise enough money and gather enough colonists for an attempt at settling North Carolina. Using funds from a joint-stock company, Raleigh financed his second expedition.<sup>20</sup>

John White was selected to govern this planned settlement. White's colony consisted of 93 men, 17 women, and nine children. They departed in the spring of 1587. John White arrived on Roanoke Island with America's first English settlers, in mid 1587 to establish the colony of Roanoke. By the time he arrived many of the Algonquin Indians of the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds area were weakened or had already died from disease.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 1-66; Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, 1-33; Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia, 1587, 1-53.

<sup>21</sup>John White, America, 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 1-36; Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia, 6

When White and his colonists arrived at Roanoke Island they found Fort Raleigh destroyed and the skeletal remains of some of the 15 men left by Greenville. It was learned from friendly Indians that the men had been killed by Indians from the towns of Secotan, Aquascogoc and Dasamonquepeuc. Even with this information, Simon Fernández, commander of the ships transporting Governor White and his colonists, left them on the island.<sup>22</sup>

In fact, White and his colonists were not supposed to be left at Roanoke Island but rather taken to Chesapeake Bay after a brief stop at Roanoke to check on the men left at Fort Raleigh. However, Fernández refused to carry them any further. As a result, White had Fort Raleigh rebuilt and settled his colony on Roanoke Island. In the fall of 1587 provisions began to run low and White sailed back to England for additional supplies. While he was in England, war broke

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27; Stephen B. Weeks, "The Lost Colony: Its Fate and Survival," American Historical Association Papers 5 (1891): 439-480; Douglas L. Rights, "The Trading Path to the Indians," North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 403-426.

<sup>22</sup>Douglas L. Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina, 23.

out with Spain and later France, trapping him in England until the fall of 1590.<sup>23</sup>

When John White finally returned to Roanoke Island, he found neither his daughter nor granddaughter Virginia Dare, the first English child born in North America. Nor was there anything to indicate where they or the rest of the colonists had gone. He found the houses taken down, bits and pieces of armor, and the word “Croatan” carved into a tree and the word “cro” carved above it. White’s failed colony has become known as the Lost Colony. There have been a number of theories about what happened to the Lost Colony, none of which have been conclusive. Tuscarora legend answers with certitude what happened to the colony.<sup>24</sup>

After the failure of the Roanoke colony, no further attempts were made to explore or settle North Carolina until 1655. Land

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<sup>23</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 11-12.

<sup>24</sup>Lefler, 12; Weeks “The Lost Colony: Its Fate and Survival,” American Historical Association Papers 5 (1891): 439-480; Frank Roy Johnson, The Lost Colony in Fact and Legend (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1977), 1-68; Elias Johnson, Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations and History of the Tuscarora Indians (Lockport, NY: Union Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 1-76; Coombs, “Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes.”

grants for territory in North Carolina however, would continue to be issued and interest in settling the coastal region remained high. In 1629, Charles I of England granted Sir Robert Heath land between the 31 and 36 north latitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This grant included both the current states of North and South Carolina. Heath did not make any attempts to settle his grant and in 1638 transferred it to Henry Lord Maltravers, who also failed to establish a settlement.<sup>25</sup>

These early grant holders failed to settle Carolina from 1629 to 1660 because of England's internal problems, including the English Civil War that by 1660 weakened the monarchy and empowered the parliament. While England experienced several decades of turmoil, Virginians from the Jamestown settlement took advantage of the opportunity to gain control of the fertile lands in northeastern North Carolina. From 1622 to 1660, Virginians explored, conquered, and settled the fertile coastal lands that make up the modern counties of Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Gates, Perquimans, Chowan, Dare,

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<sup>25</sup>Lefler, History of a Southern State, 14.



Tyrrell, Washington, Hertford, Northampton, Halifax, Martin and Bertie.<sup>26</sup>

In 1607, twenty years after the failure to settle Roanoke, the English began their first successful settlement in Jamestown, Virginia. There, in 1619, the first African slaves were introduced to work beside white indentured servants and Indian slaves on the tobacco plantations of Virginians. As the size and wealth of the colony of Virginia grew, so did its need for labor and fertile farm land.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Lindley S. Butler, "The Early Settlement of Carolina: Virginia's Southern Frontier," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 79 (1971): 20-28; Richard Dillard, "Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," The North Carolina Booklet 6 (1906): 4-26; Julia S. White, "The Quakers of Perquimans," North Carolina Booklet 7 (1908): 278-289; William S. Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red White and Black in the Southeast," Journal of Negro History 49 (1963); Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the North Carolina Region," Journal of Negro History 19 (1934): 431-440; Carter G. Woodson, "Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," Journal of Negro History 3 (1918): 335-353; Frank Roy Johnson Collection, concerning the prehistory, explorations, and settlements of Bertie County, Tuscarora Indians, witchcraft and superstitions, the Civil War, and Union sympathizers or "Buffaloes," 1960-1962, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>27</sup>Alan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1-77; Mechal Sobel, The

By 1622 the Jamestown settlement was a thriving settlement, with large tobacco plantations and increasing numbers of white indentured servants and African slaves. Because of this growth and the subsequent need for land, John Pory, the speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, headed a sixty-mile land expedition into northeastern North Carolina leading south to the Chowan River, which flows along the eastern border of present-day Bertie County. He was pleased with what he saw and began to encourage the Virginians to settle the region. From 1622 to 1646, settlers from Virginia moved into Northeastern North Carolina, clearing land and cultivating tobacco.<sup>28</sup>

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World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 44-67; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 257; T. H. Breen, James H. Lewis, and Keith Schlesinger, "Motive for Murder: Servant's Life in Virginia, 1678," William and Mary Quarterly 40 (1982), 106-120.

<sup>28</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State North Carolina, 16; Neil W. Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 3 (1926): 539-574; Elizabeth G. McPherson, "Nathaniel Batts, Landholder on Pasquotank River, 1660," North Carolina Historical Review 43 (1966): 66-81; Dillard, "The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," 4-26; Lindley S. Butler, "The Early Settlement of Carolina: Virginia's Southern Frontier," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 79 (1971): 20-28;

From 1650 to 1660, English settlers from Virginia moved closer to Tuscarora lands west and south of the Chowan River. In fact, in 1650 Edward Bland, a Virginia merchant, explored the Chowan, Meherrin, and Roanoke River valleys, home to the Meherrin, Nottoway and Tuscarora Indians. Upon returning to Virginia, Bland petitioned the colonial legislature for permission to establish a settlement in what is today Bertie County.<sup>29</sup> This request was granted, along with several others from 1650 to 1660, including one to Roger Green, Francis Yeardley, and Nathaniel Batts. These men would become the first white settlers on Tuscarora land in Bertie County in 1655. These whites were settling dangerously close to the Tuscarora Nation.<sup>30</sup>

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Rights, "The Trading Path to the Indians," 403-426; Cornelius O. Cathey, Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1733-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 1-32; Cornelius O. Cathey, Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1974), 1-26.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>John Spencer Bassett, "Landholding in Colonial North Carolina," Trinity College Historical Society, Papers ser. 2 (1898): 44-61; Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 2; Walter Clark, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War 1711-13," The North Carolina Booklet 2 (1902): 3-16; Charles R. Holloman, "Tuscarora Towns in Bath

From 1650 to 1663 most of the charters for land in North Carolina were handed out by the Virginia colony. In 1663 this ended, and new proprietors in England began to assert their control over lands in North Carolina.<sup>31</sup>

When Charles II was placed on the throne in 1660, he was indebted to a number of nobles in England who supported him politically and financially. One of the ways Charles II repaid these supporters was by issuing proprietary charters for land in North America. In 1663 Charles II issued such a charter for Carolina. This charter granted proprietors land between 36 and 31 degrees north latitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Charles II's charter nullified the earlier charters issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1578 and Charles I in 1629. It included eight proprietors, who were Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William Craven, Earl of Craven; John Berkeley; Sir William Berkeley, landowner and Governor of Virginia; Sir George Carteret; Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was the Earl of Shaftesbury and

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County," We The People of North Carolina 23 (1965): 16-30.

<sup>31</sup>Charles C. Crittenden, "The Surrender of the Charter of Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 1 (1924): 383-402.

landowner in Barbados; and Sir John Colleton, who was a landowner and slave trader in Barbados. In 1665 the boundaries of the charter were revised to the current northern border of North Carolina and the current southern border of South Carolina.<sup>32</sup>

Under the proprietors, three counties were set up: 1) Albemarle County in 1664, which included northeastern North Carolina; 2) Clarendon County in 1665, which included southeastern North Carolina; and 3) Craven County in 1670, which would become South Carolina. William Drummond, a Scottish merchant from Virginia, was commissioned as the first governor of Albemarle County in 1664, and Sir John Yeamans became the first governor of Clarendon County in 1665.<sup>33</sup>

By 1667 the settlement at Clarendon County failed, and many of its settlers moved to Albemarle County and to Craven County in

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<sup>32</sup>William S. Powell, The Proprietors of Carolina (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1968), 10; Lindley S. Butler, "The Governors of Albemarle County, 1663-1689," North Carolina Historical Review 46 (1996): 281-299.

<sup>33</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 36, 38.; W. C. Guess, "County Government in Colonial North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications 11 (1911): 7-39; Butler, "The Governors of Albemarle County, 1663-1689," North Carolina Historical Review 46 (1996): 281-299.

South Carolina. This left Albemarle County remaining in northeastern North Carolina.<sup>34</sup> To promote settlement of Albemarle County so it would not also fail, the proprietors introduced a new constitution on July 21, 1669, known as the “Fundamental Constitution of Carolina” or “Grand Model,” which was believed to be written by the English philosopher John Locke.<sup>35</sup> In 1670 Albemarle County was divided into four precincts: 1) Chowan, 2) Pasquotank, 3) Perquimans, and 4) Currituck. Each of these precincts was allowed to have five delegates in the lower House of Burgesses.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of political representation, life for settlers in Albemarle County was very hard. Unlike the Native Americans who lived in the region, the English depended on mercantile trade to grow and prosper. But because of the lack of roads and safe sailing routes to England, the county’s growth was retarded. Added to this was the fact that Craven County, located in South Carolina, was easier to

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<sup>34</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 38-39.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 39.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 41; Lawrence F. London, “The Representation Controversy in Colonial North Carolina,” North Carolina Historical Review, 11 (1934): 255-276.

access by sea, and many of the lord proprietors began to steer more money and supplies to settlers in this county, founding Charlestown in 1670.<sup>37</sup>

Many inducements were given to settlers and indentured servants to move to Albemarle County, including land and the right to participate in the governing of the colony. In spite of these inducements, many settlers asked for and received a land grant system similar to that of the colony of Virginia. In 1668 the proprietors of Carolina signed the “Great Deed of Grant,” which reshaped Albemarle County’s land system to resemble Virginia’s. To encourage further settlement, in 1669 the Albemarle legislature passed several laws, the two most significant being tax exemption for one year for newcomers, and a five-year stay of suits, debts, and/or other action occurring outside the colony.<sup>38</sup>

These laws and other efforts by the proprietors of Albemarle to attract settlers were met with resistance by both the leaders of the Virginia colony and the many Native Americans occupying the lands being given away. Competition between Virginia and North Carolina

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 43.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 44.

for settlers created tension between the two settlements. There was also great fear among many in Albemarle County that Virginia was planning to take over the colony. This fear arose because Virginia insisted that the boundaries of the 1629 charter, under which Albemarle County fell in the boundaries of Virginia, was legal, and the 1663 charter was not. So intense was the competition between North Carolina and Virginia that in 1679 Virginia closed its ports to tobacco from Albemarle County and many Albemarle settlers believed that Virginians were deliberately inciting the Meherrin and Nottoway Indians, who had towns in what would become Bertie County, to make war on the settlers. As a result of these problems, Virginia and what would become North Carolina had very uneasy relations throughout the colonial period.<sup>39</sup>

Soon, more European settlers arrived in North Carolina, settling along the banks of the Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, and Pamlico Rivers. These rivers flowed through the heart of the Tuscarora Nation and were used by the Nation to access the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and the outer banks of North Carolina. By 1700 the mouths of all of these rivers were settled by Europeans, blocking the Tuscarora's

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 45.



access to the North Carolina coast. These settlements included English, French, Swiss, and German immigrants and slaves from Africa (see Appendix, Figure 31).<sup>40</sup>

North Carolina would remain in the hands of its proprietors until 1729, when all charters were ceded to King George II of England, making North Carolina a royal colony. The land along the Roanoke River that included Indian Woods was held originally in 1663 by Edward Hyde. It was then willed to his son, Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon in 1674. Around 1677, the land was purchased by Seth Sothel, whose heirs sold the area to Hugh Watson, who held the land in trust for James and Henry Bertie. It eventually became the sole property of James Bertie, who intrusted it to Edward Bertie and others, who in 1729 sold the area back to the crown.<sup>41</sup> Albemarle County, North Carolina was governed poorly from 1672 to 1689. Its proprietary governors included William Drummond (1664); Samuel

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<sup>40</sup>Douglas Wesley Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1650-1713," M. A. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971, 1-64. and Douglas Wesley Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973, 1-33 (see chapter 2 of this work for a through discussion of this matter).

<sup>41</sup>Powell, The Proprietors of Carolina, 10.

Stephens (1668); Peter Carteret (1672); John Jekens (1672-1676); Thomas Eastchurch (1676), who was not allowed to enter the colony; Thomas Miller (1677), who was overthrown; Seth Sothel (1683-89); and Phillip Ludwell (1689), who was convicted of numerous crimes and banished. This did little to improve the quality of life in the colony.<sup>42</sup>

There were also Indian attacks that destroyed crops and homes and frightened away potential settlers. In 1675 there was an uprising by the Chowoncs Indians that was crushed by the colonial government, and not without great loss of life. Albemarle County also suffered three major rebellions from 1677 to 1711. The first of these, the Culpepper Rebellion in 1677, centered around the Navigation Acts of 1673, particularly the Plantation Duty Act. This act required that tobacco and other commodities produced in Albemarle County be traded on English ships rather than on New England ships as had become the custom. The law went unenforced until Thomas Eastchurch was appointed governor of the county and Thomas Miller, president of the council. Miller's attempt to enforce

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<sup>42</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 46-48.

the act was met with fierce opposition, and, after detaining a ship bound for New England captained by Zachariah Gilliam, opposition turned to rebellion. Angry colonists led by George Durant and John Culpepper imprisoned Miller and refused to allow Governor Eastchurch to enter the colony from his previous home on Nevis in the Caribbean. The rebels then seized control of the government. Culpepper was eventually caught and tried in England but was acquitted because of political connections.<sup>43</sup>

The appointment of Seth Sothel as Governor from 1683 to 1689 did very little to stabilize the colony. Governor Sothel was so corrupt that he was arrested by the citizens of the county, tried, and banished in 1689. Following the banishment of Sothel, Albemarle County was again rocked by rebellion. This second rebellion, the Gibbs Rebellion, was led by Captain John Gibbs, who claimed that

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<sup>43</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 47-48; James Hall Rand, The North Carolina Indians and Their Relations with the Settlers, 1-52; Enoch Lawrence Lee, Jr., The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763, (Raleigh, N.C.: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 1-83; J. Bryan Grimes, "Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina: 1700-1750," North Carolina Booklet 5 (1995): 90-149; Hugh F. Rankin, Upheaval in Albemarle, 1675-1689: The Story of Culpepper's Rebellion (Raleigh, N.C.: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1962), 1-92; Robert E. Moody, "Massachusetts Trade With Carolina, 1686-1709," North Carolina Historical Review 20 (1943): 43-53.

Sothel had appointed him governor before his exile. After a short-lived armed revolt, Gibbs was deposed, and Philip Ludwell was made governor. From 1689 to 1704 the colony was peaceful and continued to grow at a slow pace. As a result of the Vestry Act of 1703, problems would arise between Quakers and Anglicans from 1704 until the Cary Rebellion in 1711. The Vestry Act of 1703 sanctioned the first state-supported Anglican churches in North Carolina. The act was originally passed in 1701 but, because of opposition from Quakers, Presbyterians, and some Anglicans who protested the tax increases that the act called for to lay out parishes, organize vestries, erect churches and a special poll tax on titheables to pay clergymen, it was rejected by the lord proprietors.<sup>44</sup>

Cary's Rebellion, led by Thomas Cary, was basically a struggle between Quakers and Anglicans for control of the colony. In 1711,

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<sup>44</sup>White, "The Quakers of Perquimans," 278-289; P. M. Sherill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," Trinity College Historical Society Papers 10 (1914): 32-51; Hiram H. Hilty, North Carolina Quakers and Slavery (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969), 1-28; Hiram H. Hilty, By Land and By Sea: Quakers Confront Slavery and Its Aftermath in North Carolina (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1993), 1-50; Alexander Spotswood papers, concerning Cary's Rebellion and the Tuscarora War, 1710-1712, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

after years of trouble between Quakers and Anglicans, the proprietors of Albemarle County appointed Edward Hyde as governor. This nullified Cary's government, which had been in power since 1708. With the help of governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, the rebellion was quelled.<sup>45</sup>

Following Cary's Rebellion, the colony was rocked by the greatest Native American uprising in its history, the Tuscarora War, which, as noted above, lasted from 1711 to 1713.<sup>46</sup> Christopher de Graffenried who was Governor of the New Bern settlement signed a lucrative contract with the Queen of Great Britain to settle a group of German Palatines in North Carolina. The Colonial Records of North Carolina reveal that on October 10, 1709, Lady Anne, Queen of Great Britain, sold to Christopher de Graffenried and Lewis Mitchell, both of

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<sup>45</sup>Alexander Spotswood papers; Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 60-62.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas Pollock papers, 2 bound volumes, describing the Cary Rebellion, death of Governor Hyde, punishment of the rebels, the aftermath of the Tuscarora War, the need for ministers and schoolmasters by Tuscarora King Tom Blunt, the Meherrin Indians, and Baron de Graffenried, also records concerning colonial trade with New England which included slaves, and trade with de Graffenried and Company (1711-1712), 1708-1859, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; William Stanard, ed., "Examination of Indians, 1713(?)," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 19 (1911): 272-275.

London, a large tract of land in North Carolina, and also gave them the responsibility of six-hundred poor Palatines which came to about ninety-two families.<sup>47</sup> Those families were given twenty shillings each and new clothes for the purpose of leaving England and settling in North Carolina under the leadership of Graffenried and Mitchell. Both Graffenried and Mitchell were given five pounds, ten shillings and free passage by ship to North Carolina.<sup>48</sup>

Upon arriving in North Carolina, Graffenried and Mitchell were instructed by the Queen to survey and adjust the boundaries of what was termed uncultured and wasted lands in need of inhabitants. Queen Anne requested that the land, after being surveyed, was to be given to the six hundred Palatines who accompanied them. The land was to be divided into two-hundred-and-fifty acre lots for each family in order to avoid disputes.<sup>49</sup> This land, along with the Queen's pledge to stock the settlement with supplies such as grain, cattle, and

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>John Lawson letters, folder #3200, to several persons in England concerning the natural history of North Carolina, and the Palatine migration to Carolina, 1701-1711, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

tools, were formulated into a contract to which both Mitchell and Graffenried agreed.<sup>50</sup>

It is apparent from the colonial records that neither the Queen nor her subjects gave any consideration to the rights to land held not only by the Tuscarora Indians but by the other nations. Thus conflicts between the colonists and Indians were inevitable.

As more whites migrated to the area around Indian Woods, the need for better laws and effective government grew. Thus by 1720, the residents of the Bertie Precinct began to petition the Colonial Assembly for a central and convenient meeting place. In 1722 the Colonial Assembly, which convened in Edenton, North Carolina, decided that there should be a regular place for holding court in Bertie. Because Bertie at that time contained Hertford and North Hampton Counties, it was decided that the courthouse would be built at St. John's, which was located midway between the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. This was considered to have been an ideal location

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<sup>50</sup>Palatine Papers, folder 814, materials related to the Palatines who settled in North Carolina along the Neuse and Trent Rivers in 1710, 1709-1966, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

because the rivers were main arteries of transportation, and most of the major plantations were built along their banks.<sup>51</sup>

In 1722 the colonial legislature established the Bertie Precinct, which would later become present-day Bertie County. This was one of the eight precincts cut from Albemarle County.<sup>52</sup> There were originally four precincts in Albemarle County including the Chowan precinct, Perquimans precinct, Pasquotank precinct, and Currituck precinct. Later, four new precincts included the Hyde, Beaufort, and Craven precincts and the Bertie precinct, which was cut out of the Chowan precinct in 1722.<sup>53</sup>

From 1722 to 1730 four new counties were developed out of the old Albemarle County. They included Bertie County in 1722,

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<sup>51</sup>F. W. Clonts, "Travel and Transportation in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 3 (1926): 16-35; Frank Roy Johnson Collection.

<sup>52</sup> Josiah Peele papers, #102, family records of slave purchase, land deeds (1724-1796) and hire in Bertie County (1804-1845), 1724-1906, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>53</sup>David Leroy Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1970), xxix.



Carteret County in 1722, Tyrrell County in 1729, and New Hanover County in 1729. In 1728 the northern boundary between Virginia and the colony was drawn under the direction of William Byrd, II. One year later, the colony was officially split from South Carolina and was named North Carolina, becoming a Royal Colony.<sup>54</sup> Because the King of England purchased the colony, the government of the colony became more efficient. As a result, the colony experienced steady and rapid growth in its population from 1729 to 1775, particularly in the Cape Fear and Piedmont regions. Also evident was a rise in the colony's standard of living, including better homes, furnishings, clothes, food, tools, schools, libraries, churches, and the printing of its first books, newspapers, and pamphlets. Royal rule and the growth of the Naval Stores industry in the coastal plains of North Carolina helped to bring this about.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 72-74; William Byrd, William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), 1-107; William Byrd, The Westover Manuscripts (Petersburg, VA: E. and J. C. Ruffin, 1841); Marvin Lucian Skaggs, "The First Boundary Survey Between the Carolinas," North Carolina Historical Review 42 (1965): 306-314.

<sup>55</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, 76; Thomas M. Pittman, "Industrial Life in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Booklet 7 (1907): 50-58; Charles C. Crittenden, "North Carolina

Named for James and Henry Bertie, the Bertie Precinct became Bertie County in 1722. From that time until 1759, it produced all or part of four additional counties. From its southeastern territory, Tyrrell County would be formed in 1729, which became present-day Tyrrell and Washington Counties.<sup>56</sup> From its southwestern territory would be formed Edgecombe county in 1741, which would become present-day Halifax, Martin, and Edgecombe counties. From out of the northern part of the county would come Northampton County in 1741 and Hertford County in 1759, giving Bertie County its current political boundaries.<sup>57</sup>

Although during these years Bertie County residents witnessed the arrival of German Moravians, Scottish Highlanders, and Scotch-Irish settlers, these groups tended to settle the Cape Fear region to

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Newspapers Before 1790,” James Sprunt Historical Publications 20 (1928): 1-83; Jack P. Greene, “The North Carolina Lower House and the Power to Appoint Public Treasurers, 1711-1775,” North Carolina Historical Review 40 (1963): 37-53.

<sup>56</sup>David Leroy Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 1-21.

<sup>57</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 5; Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943, 6-21.

the south or the Piedmont region to the west. Thus Bertie County and Indian Woods remained mostly English. As early as 1663, a well-defined class structure existed in the colony, and from 1729 to 1775, it became more pronounced. There were four basic classes: 1) gentry or planter aristocracy, 2) farmers, 3) indentured servants, and 4) slaves. Gradually, the indentured servant class disappeared and was replaced by poor whites who worked as overseers and laborers.<sup>58</sup>

During the early colonial period, because of the lack of good roads, churches, and schools, most white residents of Indian Woods lived isolated rural existences. This brought on boredom and a

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<sup>58</sup>Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 114; Abbot E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (New York: Norton, 1975), 1-76; James A. Padgett, "The Status of Slaves in Colonial North Carolina," Journal of Negro History 14 (1929): 300-327; Stanard, ed., "Examination of Indians, 1713 (?)," 272-275; Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast," Journal of Negro History; Kenneth W. Porter, "Relations Between Negroes and Indians Within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History 17 (1932): 287-367; Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America," American Historical Review 85 (1980): 44-78; Woodson, "Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," 335-353; Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the North Carolina Region," Journal of Negro History 19 (1934): 431-440; Rosser H. Taylor, "The Free Negro in North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications 17 (1920): 5-26.

desire for a meeting place for social gatherings. Rather than churches, this gathering place turned out to be the County Courthouse. Most Eastern North Carolinians had very little interest in church. This would not change until the revival movements of the late 1700s and early 1800s.<sup>59</sup>

As a result, the Bertie County courthouse remained the central meeting place as late as 1760, when Bertie County was reduced to its current size and the courthouse was moved to Windsor, about five miles from the heart of Indian Woods. For many whites, holding court was an opportunity to end a year-long seclusion on their isolated rural plantations. On most plantations, even the large ones, the only other whites there were the planter's wife and children and the overseer, and many of the overseers were Black.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Charles C. Crittenden, "Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 239-257; Charles C. Crittenden, "Means of Communication in North Carolina, 1763-1789," North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 373-383; Charles L. Raper, "Social Life in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Booklet 3 (1905): 5-21; James Essig, Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals Against Slavery, 1770-1808 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); John B. Boles, The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of Southern Evangelical Mind, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972).

<sup>60</sup>Frank Roy Johnson Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

As a result, the people of Indian Woods and the rest of Bertie County desired the company of other white settlers. In spite of the fact that many of the rural areas had poor roads, white residents religiously made the trips to the courthouse. Meetings at the courthouse, held only four times per year, were desirable times for social gatherings. As the white residents' need for more activities and interaction increased, they became more creative in their pursuits of things to do. Thus, they participated in religious meetings, horse races, cockfights, and military musters. While the court was in session, residents traded horses and bought, exchanged or sold their home-grown commodities.<sup>61</sup>

African and Indian slaves were often at these gatherings, too. Slaves often accompanied their masters to help bring home a heavy load or were there to be sold. Most slaves who lived in Indian Woods after 1803 never got as far as the country store, which was known as Spruill's Store. Indians rarely ventured beyond the boundaries of their reservation, either, for fear of being kidnaped

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<sup>61</sup>B. W. C. Roberts, "Cockfighting: An Early Entertainment in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 42 (July 1965): 306-314, Frank Roy Johnson Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

and sold into slavery. If they left the reservation, they were often beaten, arrested, or sometimes even killed. Thus most Indian trading was done well within the boundaries of the reservation at the area most residents today refer to as Grabtown. This was where Indian Woods Road began and forked north to Windsor and south to Williamston, which was across the Roanoke river.<sup>62</sup>

At the courthouse meetings, colonists bought and sold both African and Indian slaves, gamed, drank large quantities of rum, and often fought one another. Newspaper accounts demonstrate that it was not uncommon for the gatherings to have their fights, which were described as generally being started by bullies who had consumed too much strong drink. One article described such an incident as follows: "A stout man in liquor wanted to fight with another man not so disposed. The intoxicated man lay down on the tavern floor upon his back with his legs and arms extended. He called, 'Now strike me, hit me, kick me, stomp me!'; yet the man

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<sup>62</sup>Frank Roy Johnson Collection, unpaginated bound volume, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

would not be provoked to start a fight for which he would shoulder the blame."<sup>63</sup>

This was the typical day-to-day life of rural Bertie County. So unrestricted and relaxed were the behaviors of the average eastern North Carolinian that it drew comments from citizens from neighboring Virginia. Most notable among those citizens was William Byrd, a Virginia Commissioner, who in 1728 helped to clarify the dividing line between the southern boundary of Virginia and the northeastern boundary of North Carolina.<sup>64</sup> Byrd observed that Carolinians did what they pleased and lacked the rules of sportsmanship. He went on to say that there were instances where people gouged each other's eyes out, slit each other's noses, cut out each other's tongues, and bit fingers and ears off and that some fights could be described only as gnarling coon-and-dog scraps. Byrd further stated that this behavior was not limited to the poor and lower classes, but that a furious quarrel was recorded between Governor Burrington and Chief Justice Gale. This was a conflict in

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid; William Byrd, William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, 1-116; William Byrd, The Westover Manuscripts.

which after a heated exchange of words the judge swore that if he saw Burrington again he would slit his nose and crop his ears.<sup>65</sup>

The people of Bertie County had even less respect for colonial authority. In one instance, a magistrate of the Currituck Precinct took it upon himself to order a rabble rouser to the stockade for being disorderly and drunk. So ill-tempered were the citizens of Bertie concerning this act that the magistrate was forced to take flight, and he narrowly escaped without being whipped. Even Governor Gabriel Johnson noted that the people of Bertie were of rebellious spirit.<sup>66</sup> He reported in a letter to the London Board of Trade that in the precinct of Bertie, 500 men after hearing of a man being accosted about not paying his taxes, threatened the tax collector with violence, made rebellious speeches, and cursed the king's name. They disbanded only after hearing that the man and the tax collector had come to an agreement.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Frank Roy Johnson Collection, unpaginated bound volume, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid; Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 207.

<sup>67</sup>Hugh Talmadge Lefler, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina, 207.



Bertie residents also had a reputation for looseness and overindulgence in sex. This assertion was supported by accounts in William Byrd's diary of his observations during his work of surveying the North Carolina-Virginia border as well as by bastard bonds of Bertie County, which contained bonds from 1739 through 1876 and showed that the number of women with children out of wedlock continued to increase throughout the late 1700s and into the early 1800s. In the bonds, the fathers of the illegitimate children as named by the mothers were forced by the courts to either care for their children through marriage or face imprisonment. Bastard bonds increased steadily from 1739 to 1825.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Bastardy Bonds of Bertie, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, 1739-1825; William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, 1-111; Frank Roy Johnson Collection, unpaginated bound volume, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANTEBELLUM SLAVERY: THE MOVE FROM TOBACCO TO COTTON IN INDIAN WOODS, 1803 TO 1877

The start of the 19th century signaled the opening of a new age of agriculture in Indian Woods. When the first English settlers moved to Indian Woods from Virginia, they brought with them their commercial methods of growing and cultivating their cash crop, tobacco. These were a combination of Native American traditional methods of cultivation and the European method of mass production, which required large amounts of slave labor and large plantations. Because tobacco planters chose to grow tobacco yearly, they quickly exhausted the soil and were forced to clear new land near their

plantations or move to new lands that were not being used for farming.<sup>1</sup>

Although cotton was just as soil intensive and also exhausted the land after several years of continuous growing, it became less labor intensive than tobacco after the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1790. Prior to the development of the cotton gin, large numbers of slaves were needed to pick the seeds out of enough cotton to make several bales that would bring a good market price. With the invention of the cotton gin, one slave using a machine could do in hours what previously took several days for over a hundred slaves. This freed up large numbers of slaves to help plant, cultivate, and harvest larger fields of cotton. Cotton was not as labor intensive

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<sup>1</sup>Joan E. Cashin, "Landscape and Memory in Antebellum Virginia," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 102, 4 (1994): 477-500; Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 1-15; Jerome E. Brooks, Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1962), 1-20; Clifford R. Hinshaw, Jr., "North Carolina Canals Before 1860," North Carolina Historical Review 25 (1948): 1-56.

as tobacco and far more profitable because of the high demand in Europe for southern cotton.<sup>2</sup>

Generally, growing cotton required the planting of seeds and the periodic hoeing of the field to remove crab grass which would overtake the seedlings if unchecked. Then, once the crop matured, it could be harvested by even the youngest slaves who, with their parents, filled burlap bags and loaded them onto wagons. This would be repeated throughout the fall until the crop was harvested.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>William E. Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South (New York: United States Publishers Association, 1978), 1-49; John Hebron Moore, The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 1-30; Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery In the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 2-20; Harold D. Woodman, King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 1-50; Julius Rubin, "Limits of Agricultural Progress in the Nineteenth Century South," Agricultural History 49 (1975): 362-373.

<sup>3</sup>Ralph V. Anderson, "Labor Utilization and Productivity, Diversification and Self Sufficiency, Southern Plantations, 1800-1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974), 1-50; Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South, 1-49; Moore, The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest, 1-30; Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery In the Ante-Bellum South, 2-20; Woodman, King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925, 1-50.

Tobacco, on the other hand, required quite a bit more labor. Young tobacco plants rather than seeds had to be planted, and they had to be handled with great care. As the plants matured they had to be topped, which entailed the breaking off of the top flowering part of the plant. Next the plants had to be suckered, which involved the removal of small sprouts from between the stalk and more mature leaves of tobacco. Suckering was done several times before harvesting. While topping and suckering, slaves were also required to look for and kill tobacco worms, which destroyed the leaves. At harvest time slaves would prime the tobacco, which entailed pulling off the lower three or four bottom leaves that had begun to yellow. Every fourth row, there was a gap left for a horse, mule, or ox-drawn wagon. Four slaves were used, two on either side of the wagon. Crouched over all day these slaves pulled tobacco leaves, periodically rising with armfuls of tobacco which they laid in neat rows on the wagons.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Joseph C. Robert, "Tobacco Industry in Antebellum North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 15 (1938): 119-30; Bob Davis, Alternative Tobacco Harvesting and Curing Systems For The North Carolina Coastal Plains (Raleigh: Department of Economics, North Carolina State University, 1969), 1-15; Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America, 1-15; Brooks, Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina, 1-20.

Since most stalks of tobacco stood about four to five feet high and contained about twelve leaves, at least three priming sessions were required for each field. The last of these priming sessions was called striping, and generally all remaining tobacco leaves were removed from the stalk. Slaves then loaded mule-drawn wagons with tobacco. This tobacco was taken to barns, which stood approximately thirty feet high. There, child slaves handed the tobacco leaves to adult female slaves who tied them with the leaves hanging down onto poles about one inch in diameter and about three feet long. These poles of tobacco were then given to male slaves who hung the poles on the inside roofs of the barns. Throughout the nineteenth century the tobacco was dried using burners powered by kerosene.<sup>5</sup>

After the tobacco dried for about two weeks, it was taken down from the tobacco barns, taken off the poles, which were put away for the next year, and laid on five-by-six-foot burlap sheets. When sixty to a hundred pounds of tobacco were placed on these sheets, they

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<sup>5</sup>Robert, "Tobacco Industry in Antebellum North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 119-30; Bob Davis, Alternative Tobacco Harvesting and Curing Systems For The North Carolina Coastal Plains, 1-15; Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America, 1-20; Brooks, Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina, 1-22.

were tied by binding the four corners of the sheet together across the pile of tobacco. These bales of tobacco were then loaded onto wagons or boats and taken to Windsor, where they were sold at the tobacco auction.<sup>6</sup>

As cotton began to replace tobacco, Indian Woods and Bertie County moved from being major tobacco producers to becoming the state's leading cotton producers. Therefore the production of cotton dominated the Antebellum period in Indian Woods. As slaveowners like the Pughs, Williams, Smallwoods, Outlaws, Spruills, Rascoes and Gilliams moved onto former Tuscarora land between 1803 and 1810, cotton and the lack of unexhausted farmland caused more Virginians, North Carolinians, and South Carolinians to move west into the Mississippi territory. This migration separated many Indian Woods slaves from family members and loved ones as slaveowners from Bertie County joined the move westward.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Patrick Henry Winston papers, #963, relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia, constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Lyceum and Windsor Debating Club, 1848-1877, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South, 1-49; Moore, The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old

Life on plantations in Indian Woods, like other rural plantations in the South, was difficult. Slaves worked in the fields from sunup to sundown while white owners enjoyed the comforts and wealth that slavery provided. There were, however, degrees of happiness experienced by those whites living on the plantations. Family was the most important thing to most whites in Indian Woods and the roles of various family members were well defined and rigidly adhered to.<sup>8</sup>

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Southwest: Mississippi, 1770-1860, 1-30; Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery In the Ante-Bellum South*, 2-20; Woodman, *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925*, 1-50.

<sup>8</sup>Skinner family papers, #669, mostly letters between family members, particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several plantations in Bertie County and served in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807 and his son Tristram Lowther Skinner who took over his plantations after 1840 and served in the North Carolina General Assembly from 1846-1848, Tristram Lowther Skinner would also serve as a Captain in the 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America, also letters written by women family members concerning education and reading, courtship and marriage, pregnancy and child care, household and social activities, politics, the Whig party, and the War of 1812, many other interesting letters and papers including materials documenting relationships between brothers and sisters, differences in male and female education, plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army, and slaves, 1705-1900, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Jane Turner Censer, North



Women were taught to be good wives and mothers from childhood to adulthood. As a result they were given a very limited education and were heavily supervised to avoid any premarital relationships that might embarrass their families. Men were taught to be the heads of their households and were expected one day to either take over the family estate or buy their own.<sup>9</sup>

Since the early 1700s whites in Indian Woods, like the rest of North Carolina, were responsible for paying for their educations and those of their children. As a result, the level of education varied widely from family to family. For example, David Stone and David Outlaw of Indian Woods were very well educated. Stone even had a personal library that was considered one of the best in the entire state.<sup>10</sup>

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Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>R. C. Lawrence, "David Stone," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina, 12, no. 44 (1945): 8; David Stone papers, #82, concerning leased Tuscarora Indian lands in Bertie County, also listing of taxable slaves and land in Bertie County (1813), and notebooks containing slave births and deaths from 1741-1837, 1703-1837, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; David Outlaw papers, letters from Outlaw to

Others, mostly poor whites, could afford no education and were as illiterate as the slaves who were prohibited from being educated by law. Because money and property determined who would be educated and how much education one would receive, some free Blacks managed to obtain a basic education for themselves and their children. So bad was the lack of education statewide that between 1815 and 1817 Archibald D. Murphey compiled a series of reports on North Carolina education, called "Reports on Education," which he issued to state legislators in 1817.<sup>11</sup>

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his wife in Indian Woods concerning the state of his plantation while he was away his plantation was run by one of his slaves, life in Washington D.C. while a member of Congress, two speeches given on the floor of the House of Representatives, speeches also include comments on, the Mexican American War, the slavery question, sectionalism, the Wilmot Proviso, and the Missouri Compromise. Outlaw lived in Indian Woods all his life, his son Edward Outlaw served as a Captain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, and after the war as the sheriff of Bertie County, 1806-1868, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Helen Holt Urquhart, "Nationalism and American Satire in David Stone's Library: Hope Plantation, Bertie County, North Carolina," (M. A. thesis, East Carolina University, 1988), 1-30.

<sup>11</sup>Censer, North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1-25; Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 50-68.

The reports called for the establishment of a public education system for the state and state funding for teachers, books, and schoolhouses. As a result of Murphy's report, the North Carolina state legislature passed a public school law in 1839. A year later, in 1840, the state opened its first public schools. These schools greatly benefitted the poor whites of Indian Woods but were not utilized by the large planters, who preferred private education. It must also be noted that even in these new public schools, males were given a better education than females because of societal attitudes in those days.<sup>12</sup>

In typical Southern communities such as Indian Woods, young men were also given more freedom than young women. Although young men were not encouraged to be promiscuous, since children fathered out of wedlock were an embarrassment, particularly for wealthy Southern families, when it did occur, it was almost expected and was not greeted with the disbelief and outrage that a young woman's parenthood would generate.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Skinner family papers, Southern Historical Collection.

In spite of the differences in upbringing, there appeared to be genuine love between siblings. When they were separated as a result of marriage, schooling, war, or travel, they often wrote each other and expressed their desire to be reunited. Throughout the Antebellum period, the daughters of the planter elite of Indian Woods were taught to be good mothers and wives, with the understanding that Black “Mammys” would raise their children and do their domestic chores.<sup>14</sup> Young men in Indian Woods were trained to run the plantations. This entailed record keeping, including the numbers of slaves bought and sold, supplies needed to run the plantation, the securing of luxury items such as furniture, crystal, fine china, and clothes, for themselves and their families. Young men were also responsible for reinvesting and saving the profits from the sale of cotton and tobacco.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Jessie W. Parkhurst, “The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household,” Journal of Negro History 23 (1938): 349-369; Guion G. Johnson, “Courtship and Marriage Customs in Antebellum North Carolina,” North Carolina Historical Review 8 (1931): 384-402.

<sup>15</sup>Ralph V. Anderson, “Labor Utilization and Productivity, Diversification and Self Sufficiency, Southern Plantations 1800-1840,” 1-50; Robert, “Tobacco Industry in Antebellum North Carolina,” 119-30; Davis, Alternative Tobacco Harvesting and Curing Systems For The North Carolina Coastal Plains, 1-15; Robert, The

During the colonial period this was made difficult by the lack of banks close to Indian Woods. The closest reputable banks were located in Virginia and South Carolina during the 1700s. Since Jamestown and Norfolk, Virginia, were closer than Charlestown, South Carolina, most chose to bank in Virginia or at private banks in Windsor. As a result, when the Bank of Cape Fear and the Bank of New Bern were chartered in 1804, becoming the first banks chartered in North Carolina, many of the residents of Indian Woods, who felt more comfortable placing their money in a North Carolina bank, began to travel to and some even move to New Bern. When Windsor native David Stone, who live about two miles from the home of David Outlaw, became Governor of North Carolina in 1808, he worked to bring banking closer to Indian Woods and to make it more secure by establishing a state bank.<sup>16</sup>

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Story of Tobacco in America, 1-15; Brooks, Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina, 1-20; Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South, 1-49; Moore, The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770-1860, 1-30; Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery In the Ante-Bellum South, 2-20; Woodman, King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925, 1-50.

<sup>16</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982), 63-81; Lefler and Newsome, The

As a result of Stone's work, in 1810 the Bank of North Carolina was incorporated. This bank established regional and local branches, including one in Windsor only a few miles from Indian Woods. This bank provided financial services for all the residents of Bertie County. As profits from cotton continued to increase during the 1800s, the planters of Indian Woods continued to clear land, buy and sell slaves, and live a life that was very different from that of the hundreds of slaves who surrounded them.<sup>17</sup>

During the years from 1803 to 1860, the plantations of Indian Woods began to produce cotton almost exclusively. Although some tobacco was still being sold, the demand for cotton drove planters to devote more and more acreage to the growth of cotton. As a result, Indian Woods and the rest of Bertie County was as much a part of the Cotton Kingdom as Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, or Louisiana. It was, however, a struggle to get the cotton to cotton mills for processing. Because before 1818 the closest cotton mill was located in Lincoln County in the western part of the state,

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History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 303-304.

<sup>17</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 304-305; Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 63-81.

Indian Woods had to send its cotton overland to Virginia for processing.<sup>18</sup>

In 1818, however, the Battle family of Rocky Mount, North Carolina, about 35 miles to the west of Indian Woods, opened a cotton mill and began to receive large amounts of cotton from Indian Woods. The ability of planters to get their crops to market was latter greatly increased by new roads and rail lines that were being constructed in the state. Before these roads were improved and built, most planters relied on the Roanoke River.<sup>19</sup> In 1828 William Albright began to promote the building of the first railroads in North Carolina. By 1833 the state had built and utilized an experimental railroad in Raleigh, North Carolina. This first railroads opened a new age in transportation in North Carolina. Although there would be no railroads built in Bertie County until after the Civil War, rail lines did stop at North Carolina towns and cities nearby. Many residents also

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid, 430-431.

<sup>19</sup>Norfleet family papers, account books, diaries, and plantation records of the Norfleet family, diaries recorded daily, agricultural activities, and navigation on the Roanoke River in Bertie County, 1784 1895, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

saw the potential for trade if a railroad could be brought through Bertie County.<sup>20</sup>

By 1849 the North Carolina Railroad was chartered by the General Assembly of North Carolina. Later that year, new rail lines were constructed in the southern and western parts of the state in Fayetteville and Morganton. By 1856 a line was completed from Goldsboro to Charlotte. In spite of the local interest in having a rail line laid through Bertie County, the county and Indian Woods were overlooked.<sup>21</sup> As a result of the lack of good roads and rail service, Indian Woods, like the rest of northeastern North Carolina, began to stagnate. The isolation of the community and rural living had for generations retarded the economic and social growth of its residents. The lack of railroads did not help this situation.<sup>22</sup>

In this same time period, many of the young men and women began to leave the community in search of better economic opportunities. As soil exhaustion and limited inheritances had

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<sup>20</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 359-366.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 362-366.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.



caused the migration of Virginians into Indian Woods, the migration of many whites from Bertie County to the southwest searching for more economic opportunities was evident by the 1850s. Those who remained in Indian Woods found their community and county increasingly isolated from the economic and urban growth of the parts of the state that were near the new rail lines that began to crisscross the state.<sup>23</sup>

The lack of access to rail service in Indian Woods from 1830 to 1860 and the subsequent economic devastation of eastern North Carolina during the Civil War helped to reduce what had for two centuries been the wealthiest and most powerful part of North Carolina to one of the poorest sections of the entire state. Although the white population in Bertie and surrounding counties became better educated, due to the development of public education in North Carolina during this period, it also became more isolated. Railroads meant commerce, increased population, growth and change. Those communities like Atlanta, Georgia, that had railroads prospered

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

during the Antebellum period; those without railroads were left behind.<sup>24</sup>

During the Antebellum years, the whites of Indian Woods and northeastern North Carolina were also directly involved in or impacted by several major slave revolts or conspiracies. Those incidents included Gabriel Prosser's revolt in Southhampton, Virginia, in 1800, which led to the "Great Slave Conspiracy" in Indian Woods and Colerain in 1802; Nat Turner's Revolt in Southhampton, Virginia, in 1831; and the rumored insurrection of slaves and free negroes in neighboring Pasquotank County in 1835 (see Appendix, Figures 36-37).<sup>25</sup> These revolts, particularly the "Great Slave Conspiracy" in Indian Woods and Colerain, and the large slave population of Indian

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Charles W. Jacocks papers, #253, concerning rumored insurrection of slaves and free negroes in neighboring Pasquotank Co. (1835), emigrants to Benton Mississippi, and shipments of wheat, corn, and naval stores to New York from Bertie County, 1819-1846, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Woods, kept whites in a constant state of fear. Slave patrols were increased and slaves suspected of plotting revolts were executed.<sup>26</sup>

The residents of Indian Woods seemed to, as their earlier ancestors had done, developed and maintained a sense of independence. They also, like their ancestors, began to develop a respect for organized assemblies. By 1830, for example, they had managed to form social organizations that kept up with the politics of

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<sup>26</sup>Slave Collection papers, #1629, deeds of gift and bills of sale for slaves, including small children, permission for slaves to marry given by owner, public records and court records relating to murder trials and to reimbursement of owners for executed slaves; and depositions by slaves and letters concerning an insurrection conspiracy in Bertie in 1802, deeds, letters and petitions concerning emancipation of slaves, 1748-1856, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Benajah Nicholls papers, #252, concerning shipments of cotton and staves from Bertie County, the hiring of slaves, and a letter from Murfreesboro, NC reporting the Nat Turner Slave uprising in Southampton County, VA (1831), 1783, 1800-1834, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Jeffrey J. Crow, "Slave Rebelliousness and Social Conflict in North Carolina, 1775 to 1802," William and Mary Quarterly 37 (1980): 79-102; Thomas C. Parramore, "The Great Slave Conspiracy," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 39 (1971): 7-19; Thomas C. Parramore, "Conspiracy and Revivalism in 1802: A Direful Symbiosis," Negro History Bulletin 43 (1980): 283; Charles Edward Morris, "Panic and Reprisal: Reaction in North Carolina to the Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831," North Carolina Historical Review 62 (1985): 29-52; Stephen B. Weeks, "The Slave Insurrection in Virginia 1831," Magazine of American History 25 (1891): 448-494.

their day. They expressed their support for their favorite political candidates through letters of support and their votes. In one such instance in 1831, six members of the Bertie Social Organization sent a letter of support and friendship to Governor John Branch Enfield, whose character had been attacked by his enemies. He wrote them back responding, "I pray you gentlemen, to accept for yourselves and those you represent, my cordial assurances of respect, esteem and gratitude."<sup>27</sup>

A number of residents also became or remained active in local, state and national politics. One of Indian Woods' largest slaveholders, David Outlaw of the Outlaw Plantation, whose father, Ralph Outlaw, was very active in state and national politics, was elected to represent North Carolina in the U.S. Congress from 1848 to 1852. As a member of Congress he represented the views of many of his family members, friends, and neighbors living in Indian Woods and Bertie County. In a speech on the Army Appropriations Bill given on August 3, 1848, Outlaw condemned the Mexican-American

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<sup>27</sup>John Branch Enfield, letter to the Citizens of Bertie, Niles Weekly Register 1831, 38; Harold J. Counihan, "North Carolina, 1815-1836: State and Local Perspectives on the Age of Jackson," (Ph. D. diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971), 1-30.

War and the acquisition of Mexican territory. He also condemned American support for the Texas Revolution. He believed that both only increased sectional tensions over whether the land should be slave or free. He also disapproved of the acquisition of the Oregon and Washington territories, which he believed were unjustly given to Northern states at the expense of the South. Outlaw, who was a Whig, refused to discuss the issue of slavery on the floor of the House because he strongly believed that Northerners, who had no first-hand experience with slavery, did not know enough about the institution to discuss it intelligently or judge the South.<sup>28</sup>

Later in 1852, Outlaw again addressed Congress, this time because of concerns over the Compromise of 1850. On June 10, 1852 he stated that Southerners were not only concerned about fugitive slaves, which they had a constitutional right to own, but also the desire of northern states to repeal the concept of “Popular Sovereignty.” During this address, Outlaw warned Congress that

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<sup>28</sup>David Outlaw papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, NC.

when and if the Southern states believed their rights were threatened, they would take action to preserve themselves.<sup>29</sup>

During the presidential election of 1860, the residents of Indian Woods, like the rest of North Carolina, continued to support compromise and therefore cast a majority of their votes for John C. Breckenridge, who was seen as a moderate. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 without a single southern state voting in his favor was enough for the South to leave the Union. Outlaw's son Edward served as a captain in the Confederate Army during the war and left his plantation to be run by his wife and trusted slaves.

When the lower southern states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas seceded, most white North Carolinians did not believe North Carolina should join them. The residents of Indian Woods and Bertie County were of a similar mind. Outlaw was also reluctant to call for secession. In April of 1861, however, all this changed. On April 15, 1861, South Carolina fired on Fort Sumter outside of Charleston, causing its surrender a day later. In response, President Abraham Lincoln called for troops to be raised

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

from each state, including the upper south, to put down the rebellion.<sup>30</sup>

This call for arms impacted the remaining slave states and forced them to decide whether to fight for the Union or against it. As a result of Lincoln's order, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina sided with the lower south, with whom they had kinship ties. Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware, the border states, remained loyal to the Union, but not without strife. Missourians fought a bloody internal civil war over whether or not to secede. Kentucky remained loyal but not without a secession movement that was quelled by the presence of Union troops. In Maryland, the state legislature was ousted by Lincoln, and the state was placed under marshal law to prevent the nation's capital from being surrounded by the Confederacy.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Watson, A Brief History of Bertie County, 74-85; Max R. Williams, "The Foundations of the Whig Party in North Carolina: A Synthesis and a Modest Proposal," North Carolina Historical Review 47 (1970): 115-129; David Outlaw papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>31</sup>David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 1-48; Kenneth M. Stampp, And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861 (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1980), 1-40; James M. McPherson, Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution (New York:

For most North Carolinians it was too much to bear arms against their kinsmen in the lower south; thus they chose to join them in revolt. On May 20, 1861, the State of North Carolina held a special convention at Raleigh at which the state adopted an ordinance of secession. Many of the white residents of Indian Woods reluctantly joined the Confederate Army. Edward Outlaw, the son of David Outlaw, became a captain, and other planters or the children of planters old enough to fight joined the officers' ranks. Other planter families and poor whites refused to join the army and welcomed the occupying Union Armies that moved into the area as early as 1862. However, due to the seizure and destruction of property by Union troops and the enlisting and arming of runaway slaves by the Union at New Bern, support for the occupying armies soon eroded.<sup>32</sup>

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Oxford University Press, 1992), 2-28.

<sup>32</sup>Heckstall family papers, #582, letters to Thomas J. and William H. Heckstall of Bertie County from friends and relatives in Mississippi and Arkansas (1835-1841), a free Black in South Carolina wishing to buy one of his grandsons (1841), Norfolk merchants (1848-1858), and from a Unionist in Plymouth, NC, threatening retaliation for activities by Heckstall and others against Union Sympathizers, 1834-1864, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.



For Edward Outlaw of Indian Woods, the choice was simple. He believed, as had his father David, that America was and always had been a confederacy, and his father had even referred to the United States as the American Confederacy of States.<sup>33</sup> The Outlaws firmly believed that the issue was “states’ rights” and not slavery, and David Outlaw noted in his letters and speeches that the two were separate. Outlaw did want compromise and hoped that one could be worked out that would save the country -- a country that he believed had a bright and promising future. Although Outlaw failed to see the contradiction in believing in states’ rights and individual freedom while denying these same freedoms to slaves, he did point out quite correctly in his public addresses that white northerners, who did not own slaves or have large numbers of Blacks in their states, condemned the South while harboring the same ill feelings against the Black race.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Harriet E. Wilson, Our Nig Or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 1-50; In fact, their actions were self preserving as were the actions of the South, noted in Our Nig.

While most whites in Bertie supported the Confederacy, slaves and free Blacks in Indian Woods fought against it. Since colonial days, slaves had mastered the art of obtaining information. Because most whites viewed slaves as slow and ignorant, they often openly discussed politics, business, and family problems around them. Slaveowners trusted their slaves to the degree that many found it hard to believe their trusted slaves could be part of any such rebellion. Their feelings about their slaves were the same during the Civil War. When Edward Outlaw left his plantation, he left his wife and overseer in charge and expected that the slaves would carry on as if there was no war. Although most whites were not sure if slaves understood what was taking place, it was clear that slaves throughout Bertie County, including Indian Woods, were very much aware of what was happening.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid; Donna Johanna Benson, "Before I Be a Slave": A Social Analysis of the Black Struggle for Freedom in North Carolina, 1860-1865," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1984), 1-30; Yasuko Shinoda, "Land and Slaves in North Carolina in 1860," (Ph. D. diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971), 2-50; Maxine Deloris Jones, "A Glorious Work: The American Missionary Association and Black North Carolinians, 1863-1880," (Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, 1982), 1-49.

White North Carolinians were proud of their involvement in the Civil War. They have recorded that they were first at Big Bethel near Yorktown, Virginia, where over half of the Confederate troops were a part of the North Carolina First Regiment and last to turn in their guns at Appomattox, Virginia, and Durham Station, North Carolina. The North Carolina First Regiment, on June 10, 1861, in the first battle of the Civil War, soundly defeated a larger Federal Army under Major General Benjamin F. Butler.<sup>36</sup> Later three North Carolina regiments were involved in the rout of Federal troops at First Manassas on July 21 of the same year, under General Irvin McDowell. In fact, in spite of the state's reluctance to fight and its position as the last to secede, it lost more men in the conflict than any other southern state.<sup>37</sup>

Although North Carolina regiments were successful in helping protect Virginia, they were not as successful defending their own territory. As the War began, Lincoln gathered his advisors to come up with a plan to defeat the South and preserve the Union. The

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<sup>36</sup>John G. Barrett, North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 14.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

resulting plan became known as the Anaconda Plan. This plan held three main objectives: to blockade Southern ports using the navy; to gain control of the Mississippi River and cut the Confederacy in two; and to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. The first objective, blockading southern ports, began by August 1861 in North Carolina. This task became a joint Army and Navy exercise, carried out by Major General Benjamin F. Butler and Commodore Silas H. Stringham.<sup>38</sup> Their goal was to seize control of the forts on the Outer Banks, which would give them control of the Currituck, Albemarle, Pamlico, Core and Bogue Sounds and the Chowan, Roanoke, Tar-Pamlico and Neuse-Trent Rivers that emptied into them (see Appendix, Figure 38).<sup>39</sup>

By December of 1861, Butler and his men, with the support of Commodore Stringham, and support of loyal whites and Blacks living in the coastal counties, won control of Hatteras. They then proceeded to attack and confiscate materials such as food and supplies from forts and towns from Elizabeth City, North Carolina to Williamston, North Carolina. The involvement of the white residents of Indian

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

Woods in the Civil War seemed to be in conjunction with the rest of Bertie County and neighboring Hertford, North Hampton and Martin Counties (see Appendix, Figure 39). The residents of Indian Woods supported the confederacy with money and manpower.<sup>40</sup>

Many plantation owners in Indian Woods feared that the huge Union Army, which was camped at New Bern and had control of all of eastern North Carolina, would raid their plantations for supplies and destroy what they could not use as they had done in Washington, Plymouth, Edenton, and Winston, up the Chowan River.<sup>41</sup>

Heavy fighting involving both the Black and white residents of Indian Woods took place on the Roanoke River, at Plymouth, Williamston, and Hamilton where North Carolina erected Fort Branch. Union troops including many runaway slaves from Indian Woods battled the sons of slave holders from Indian Woods for control of the fertile Roanoke Valley, which supplied Lee's Army of Northern Virginia with vital foodstuffs. To defend the Roanoke valley, the Confederates in North Carolina constructed Fort Branch on the south side of the Roanoke River in the town of Hamilton (see Appendix,

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 44-52.

Figure 40). Fort Branch was adjacent to Indian Woods and was built from February to October of 1862 (see Appendix, Figures 41-42). To block Union gun boats from supporting their ground forces attacking Williamston and Hamilton, the Roanoke River by Indian Woods was obstructed with a gigantic linked chain, mined with torpedoes, and guarded by a rifle pit with sharp shooters who killed Union soldiers attempting to remove either the chain or the torpedoes. No Union gun boats ever made it beyond this point, but if they had, they would have been met by the heavy guns of Fort Branch, which was staffed by whites from Indian Woods.<sup>42</sup> Because many of the Confederate soldiers stationed at Fort Branch were from the Indian Woods community, civilians from Indian Woods often laundered their clothes, brought them meals, and performed other tasks for them.<sup>43</sup> Fort Branch was maintained until the end of the War in

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<sup>42</sup>Plan of Fort Branch, showing placement of torpedoes in Roanoke River, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (National Archives, Washington, DC), entry 453.

<sup>43</sup>Lieutenant Walter G. Bender (?), Roanoke River, NC., to W.H. Stevens, March 12, 1863, defenses of Rainbow Bank, map collection of the Jeremy Francis Gilmer papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1865. The fort was then abandoned, and the cannons were thrown into the river to avoid confiscation by the advancing Union Army.<sup>44</sup>

The Civil War and later Reconstruction left many of whites who lived in Indian Woods dazed. Many, like Edward Outlaw of the

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<sup>44</sup>Dr. Warren Bagley, diary containing accounts of Confederate activity at Fort Branch in Hamilton, near Indian Woods, on the Roanoke River, fighting in the Roanoke Valley, work on the fort and the importance of the entire valley, including Indian Woods, to providing food stuffs and other supplies for the Confederacy during the Civil War, 1862-1865, Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham NC; David Clark papers, concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.; William J. Clark papers, concerning activity at Fort Branch on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men, file Walter G. Bender, 331, National Archives; Service Records of Confederate soldiers who served in the Roanoke Valley and defended "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River, 1862-1865, RG 109, National Archives; Confederate Engineer Bureau, letters and telegrams concerning the building and maintaining of "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River and the Confederate defense of the Roanoke Valley, 1862-1865, 628, RG 109; Jeremy Francis Gilmer papers, concerning activity in the Roanoke Valley During the Civil War particularly "Fort Branch" built on the Roanoke River just north of Indian Woods, 1862-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; William Alexander Hoke papers, containing Henry T. Guion's journal detailing activity in the Roanoke Valley During the Civil War, particularly "Fort Branch" on the Roanoke River north of Indian Woods, 1862-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Outlaw Plantation, had served in the Confederate Army, and saw loved ones and friends die. Everyone knew someone who died or was wounded during the war. Although most of the plantations continued to operate by growing cotton during the war, they were beset by work stoppages and runaway slaves.<sup>45</sup>

After the war, Indian Woods underwent both presidential, and congressional reconstruction. The whites of Indian Woods, many of whom held political offices in the Confederacy, or served as officers in the Confederate Army, applauded Presidential reconstruction under which both Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson pardoned participants in the war and allowed them to return to their homes to rebuild without any penalties. When congress took reconstruction from President Johnson in 1868 and began what has become known as Radical Republican or Black Reconstruction, Bertie County became part of an important political district for the Republican Party.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, concerning the Whig Party, planting, the Civil War, life growing up in Bertie County, 1860-1944, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>46</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 75-90; Daniel J. Whitener, "The Republican Party and Public Education in North Carolina 1867-1900," North Carolina Historical Review 37 (1960): 382-396; Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894



Newly freed slaves, some of whom helped win their freedom by fighting in the war, were given the right to vote and as a result were able to influence local, state, and national elections. While the slaves of Indian Woods were enfranchised, many of the whites who previously held political office or were high ranking military officers in the Confederate government were disenfranchised. This impacted many of the whites of Indian Woods who before the war were some of the wealthiest and most powerful people in the state. They were further crippled by the 15th amendment which, along with giving Blacks the right to vote, forbade former Confederate states from repaying individuals who had invested in the Confederacy through loans to the government, or war bonds. As a result, all of the money invested in the Confederacy along with over a half million dollars

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(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 1-50; Elizabeth Y. Webb, "Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861-1865," North Carolina Historical Review 9 (1932): 117-137; George B. Weaver, "Industrial and Agricultural Development of Bertie County," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 11, no. 26 (1943): 1621; Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901: The Black Second (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 2-29; Otto H. Olsen, "The Ku Klux Klan: A Study in Reconstruction Politics and Propaganda," North Carolina Historical Review 39 (1962): 340-362.

worth of slaves owned collectively by the white slave holders of Indian Woods was lost.<sup>47</sup>

As a result of all these things, many whites in Indian Woods who had been Whigs before the war became devout Democrats. They mourned the loss of their way of life and sought ways to end

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<sup>47</sup>Earl M. Maltz, Civil Rights, The Constitution and Congress, 1863-1869 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 2-25; E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1977 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 3-35; David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 3rd. ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 1-50; George C. Rable, But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 1-30; Allen W. Trelease, White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1995), 2-30; Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, materials on Winston's life as a lawyer, Judge, member of the democratic party, and Mason in Bertie County, his commissions and orders during the Civil war are present, 1857-1941, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Patrick Henry Winston papers, #963, relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia, constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Lyceum and Windsor Debating Club, 1820-1886, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, letters, financial records and other materials; Capehart Family Papers, #1494, relating to "Scotch Hall Plantation" of Bertie County, the hardships of the Civil War, slaves, and behavior of former slaves in years following the Civil War, 1782-1983, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

northern occupation and “Negro Rule.” During congressional reconstruction from 1868 to 1877, the whites of Indian Woods, with most others in North Carolina, began to join and support terrorist groups like as the Ku Klux Klan. Through these groups and white citizens’ groups, both Blacks and white Republicans were bribed, beaten, and murdered. Blacks in Indian Woods saw their homes burned, and daughters and wives raped. In spite of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which was supposed to eradicate these terrorist groups, most Blacks of Indian Woods were thoroughly intimidated by 1877. As a result of this terror, white Democrats from Indian Woods and other parts of the state regained control of the state as early as 1870.<sup>48</sup>

In spite of their return to power from 1865 to 1877, the number of white residents in Indian Woods declined sharply. Although there was also some later drop in the African-American population, for the most part the African-American population

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<sup>48</sup>Francis Donnell Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Patrick Henry Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Robert Watson Winston papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Capehart Family papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

remained near its pre-slavery levels during these years (see Appendix, Figure 43). It is not clear why the white residents of Indian Woods moved out, but they began their migration after the Civil War, which suggests that the freedom of their slaves may have been an important factor.<sup>49</sup>

When the war ended, most slaveowners in Indian Woods struggled to rebuild their economy by growing, cotton tobacco, and a new cash crop that gained in popularity during the war, peanuts. The days of wealth, prestige, and prosperity in Indian Woods, however, seemed to die with emancipation. For although Indian Woods and Bertie County remained a major agricultural area, the whites of Indian Woods and other rural farming areas in the northeastern part of the state saw their population, wealth, and political power began to shift to the western and more urban parts of the state.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>United States Bureau of Census, The Tenth Census of the United States, 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883), 236.

<sup>50</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History , 78-90; Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, selected items illustrating civic and political activity; Patrick Henry Winston papers, #963, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, Southern

Slaves left their plantations to be reunited with loved ones who had been sold. Others refused to work any more for masters who had treated them cruelly. Charles Smallwood, for example, lost nearly all of his 100 slaves in Indian Woods because he severely punished them during slavery.<sup>51</sup> Other former slaveowners, such as Edward Outlaw, who were respected for their fair treatment of slaves, found huge numbers of slaves asking to work and live on their farms following emancipation.<sup>52</sup>

As with the rest of the South following the Civil War, many of the plantation owners in Indian Woods attempted to reinstate the old plantation system that existed prior to the Civil War. Whites still owned nearly all of the farmable land in Indian Woods and controlled the only means through which most Blacks could make a living and provide for their families. Through tenant farming and

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Historical Collection; and Capehart Family papers, #1494, which deal with planters' problems, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>51</sup>Capehart family papers, #1494, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>52</sup>Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class 1975-1976, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina, 1862, 1976, 1-9.

sharecropping contracts, many former slaveowners continued to grow cotton, tobacco, wheat, corn, and, by the 1880s, peanuts. Because of the out-migration of whites many became absentee landlords and merchants and found “peonage” to eventually be as profitable as slavery.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Lewis Thompson papers, #716, concerning Thompson’s plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods), pre-1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related, business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slaves, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation, 1808-1867, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

## CHAPTER 6

### PEANUTS, COTTON, AND TOBACCO: THE WHITE MINORITY, PEONAGE, AND FARM MECHANIZATION IN INDIAN WOODS , 1877 TO 1995

When President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South in 1877, Southern reconstruction officially ended. As a result, millions of Blacks were left to the mercy of their former masters and their white neighbors, who were still angry over the federal government's attempt to empower Blacks politically and economically.<sup>1</sup> The years from 1877 to 1995 were years of slow but steady economic growth and prosperity for whites who owned land and ran businesses in Indian Woods. Whites like the Outlaws,

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<sup>1</sup>Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901: The Black Second (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1-50; Jeffrey J. Crow, "An Apartheid for the South: Clarence Poe's Crusade for Rural Segregation," in Race, Class, and Politics in Southern History: Essays in Honor of Robert F. Durden, ed. Jeffrey Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Charles L. Flynn Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 2-28; George C. Rable, But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence In The Politics of Reconstruction (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 1-30.

Spruills, and Gilliams also were very interested in ending “Negro Rule” and putting Blacks back into their place. As a result, they and other whites joined the Ku Klux Klan and other groups that touted white supremacy. One of the Klan leaders in the state was Francis Winston from Windsor. Another was Edward Outlaw from Indian Woods, who eventually became the Sheriff of Bertie County and used his power and office to promote white supremacy.<sup>2</sup>

This was also a period of continued and steady out-migration of whites from Indian Woods to the nearby towns of Windsor and Lewiston. Most white plantation owners had begun to leave Indian Woods as early as 1865. Believing that they could not coexist peacefully with free Blacks, many whites left the rural isolation of Indian Woods for the perceived security of the mostly white towns nearest their plantations in Indian Woods. The Indian Woods township as it was called after 1880 contained a total population of 1, 599 in 1890. This was a substantial decline from the numbers recorded by the state in 1862. Whites living in the western part of

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<sup>2</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982), 67-85; Otto H. Olsen, “The Ku Klux Klan: A Study in Reconstruction Politics and Propaganda,” North Carolina Historical Review 39 (1962): 340-362.



Indian Woods moved to the town of Lewiston, while those living in the eastern part of the township moved to the town of Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

These plantation owners became absentee landlords. Many also began to open general stores that supplied their former slaves with farm supplies at inflated prices. This practice caused many Blacks in Indian Woods, and throughout the South, to become indebted to these landowners.<sup>4</sup> The houses they abandoned were rented to Blacks, who moved out of their slave cabins and into the 'big house.' For many Blacks it was the realization of a dream to be able to live in the homes of their former masters. For whites it was a

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<sup>3</sup>U. S. Census Office Department of the Interior, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 255-256; prior to 1890 the U.S. Census Bureau did not report the population of Indian Woods as a separate township, but included its population in the population of the nearby Windsor Township, and Woodville township. The state of North Carolina however during the Civil War did record a population census for Indian Woods in 1862; Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class, 1975-76, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862, 1976, 1-9.

<sup>4</sup>William Britton ledgers, four ledgers from Britton's general store in Roxbel, Bertie County, North Carolina containing detailed accounts, transactions, records of customers, and types of merchandise at store, 1815, 1872, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

way to recover financially from the devastation of the Civil War. Although North Carolina was poor compared to the rest of the southern states, with Indian Woods as home to some of the state's poorest Black residents, there were some white residents in Indian Woods who were quite wealthy. The ruins of old plantation houses including the Spruill and Outlaw home, and the large cotton, tobacco, peanut, and soybean farms still operating in the area attest to the wealth of these former slaveholders.<sup>5</sup>

The loss of the Civil War for these slaveholders often meant financial ruin. The area slaveholders, as noted above, lost nearly half a million dollars in slaves alone, not including lost crops and property.<sup>6</sup> Many plantation owners were financially devastated, particularly those who used their slaves to finance loans and repay debts. The loss of these slaves, who had always counted as part of a person's net worth, reduced many to near poverty.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Forrest McDonald, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," American Historical Review 85 (1980): 1095-1118.

<sup>6</sup>Roanoke Chowan Academy, 1-9.

<sup>7</sup>Gilbert C. Fite, Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980 (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 5-48.

Those who could afford to, were forced to negotiate labor contracts with the former slaves who remained and were willing to work for them.<sup>8</sup> As stated in chapter 5, if a master had treated his slaves harshly, he would often find himself without anyone who was willing to work for him and would suffer financial ruin.<sup>9</sup>

Thus as life during Reconstruction was relatively an improvement for Blacks, it often brought sharply deteriorated conditions for many whites in Indian Woods.<sup>10</sup> By the end of Reconstruction however, whites in Indian Woods had returned to the production of cotton and tobacco through tenant farming and sharecropping. Before the Civil War, as noted above, Indian Woods was one of the primary producers of cotton in Bertie County, helping

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<sup>8</sup>Whitmell T. Sharrock papers, #1218, documents concerning trade, and slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters, labor agreements with freedmen, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>9</sup>William Cohen, At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 1-50.

<sup>10</sup> John Douglas Taylor papers, memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery), comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and reconstruction, 1909, 1912, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

the county become one of the state's leading cotton producers. Bertie County had also led the state in tobacco production during the colonial period from 1700 to 1800.<sup>11</sup>

Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Indian Woods were forced to grow at least 25 acres of cotton annually. Only after the arrival of the boll weevil, which moved through the southern cotton-producing states, beginning with Texas and Louisiana, ravaging the south's cotton crop, did local residents and state agricultural officials introduce a number techniques to gain a better yield. They experimented with new fertilizers, including lime, and implemented crop rotation on a massive scale.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, because landowners

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<sup>11</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 10-16; Harold D. Woodman, King Cotton and his Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crops of the South, 1800-1925 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 1-50.

<sup>12</sup>Charles B. Williams, Crop Response to Lime and Fertilizer on Muck Soil (Raleigh, NC: The Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, 1934), 1-10; Charles B. Williams, Fertilizer Experiments with Cotton (Raleigh, NC: The Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, 1926), 1-9; Charles B. Williams, Influences of Crop Rotation and Soil Treatments upon Yield of Crops on Porters Loam Soils (Raleigh, NC: The Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, 1937), 1-8; Bertie County, #1758, antebellum account books with information on general merchandise

insisted on the production of cotton at all times throughout the year, it also became necessary for these farmers to begin buying large amounts of fertilizer developed by scientists by 1900.<sup>13</sup>

For the few poor white farmers living in Indian Woods, the problem was getting their products to market and getting a fair price

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including shingles and shoes purchased by the Cherry, Outlaw, and Thompson plantations of Bertie County and Indian Woods, also accounts of T. W. Thompson and sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Woodville and Indian Woods, 1881 to 1893, 1833-1893, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.; Benjamin Wesley Kilgore papers, materials concerning the operation of his farm in Bertie County, work as assistant chemist for the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station from 1889-1911, and as Director of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station from 1911-1921, 1892-1921, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; Norfleet Family papers, #549, account books, diaries, and plantation and other records of the Norfleet family, records of daily agricultural activities, and navigation on the Roanoke River in Bertie County, 1784-1895, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.; Lewis Thompson papers, #716, on Thompson's plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods), contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were related, also business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation, 1723-1895, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>13</sup>Edward Cary Royce, The Origins of Southern Sharecropping (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 1-25.

from buyers, who were invariably white. Low prices for crops, high prices for farm supplies, and competition from large merchants and land owners made it almost impossible to eke out a living from farming in Indian Woods. As a result, these poor whites like many others in North Carolina and around the nation began to organize. During the 1890s they forged an alliance with Blacks and joined the Populist Party. The combined strength of the white and Black Populists and Black and white Republicans left over from Reconstruction were enough to gain control of Bertie County, and North Carolina once more before the Jim Crow period which began in North Carolina in 1900.<sup>14</sup>

With the collapse of the Populist movement it was into the 1930s before the few poor white farmers who remained in and around Indian Woods attempted to organize again. By 1935, farmers throughout the nation became outraged at the high cost of fertilizers, farm implements, seeds, and farm mechanization, which was

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<sup>14</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County A Brief History, 80-91; John D. Hicks, "The Farmers Alliance in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 2 (1925): 162-187; Simeon A. Delap, "The Populist Party in North Carolina," Trinity College Historical Society Papers 14 (1922): 40-74; William M. Brewer, "Poor Whites and Negroes in the South Since The Civil War," The Journal of Negro History 15 (1930): 26-37.

beginning to displace white sharecroppers and tenant farmers in much the same way Blacks in Indian woods were being displaced. Added to these concerns were the failures of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program, which paid land owners not to plant. Since the land owners kept this money and did not share it with either their white or Black tenant farmers, poor white farmers suffered as did Blacks.<sup>15</sup>

When poor whites began to organize and joined the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in North Carolina in 1935, large land owners opposed this as vehemently as they had the Populist Movement in the 1890s. By 1892 these Black farmers and poor whites had joined forces from around the nation to create the Populist Party.<sup>16</sup> They opposed both their Black and white tenant farmers and

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<sup>15</sup>Herman Brooks James, Farm Mechanization: Power, Cost and Production Requirements in the Northern Coastal Plains (Raleigh, NC: Agricultural Experiment Station of N.C. State College of Agriculture and Engineering and N.C. Department of Agriculture, 1944), 1-9; Southern, Tenant Farmers Union Papers, scrapbook and clippings, news material, and a copy of Cobb's Thesis and Grubbs's Dissertation on the Tenant Farmers Union, 1934-1967, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>16</sup>John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 1-49.

sharecroppers joining the Tenant Farmers Union.<sup>17</sup> Many Blacks in Indian Woods joined these organizations because they believed that their labor contracts were unfair.<sup>18</sup>

Poor whites in Indian Woods in some ways suffered almost as much as Blacks. For example when Blacks were disenfranchised in the early 1900, so were large numbers of poor whites living in Bertie County and other parts of North Carolina. An amendment was added to the state constitution requiring a literacy test and there was the introduction of the state's first grandfather clause to prevent poor whites who could not read from voting because of property requirements.<sup>19</sup>

Since farming was still the primary source of income for the residents of Indian Woods and Bertie County, the State of North Carolina established an Agricultural Experiment Station in Lewiston. This station was run by Benjamin Wesley Kilgore, who examined the

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<sup>17</sup>John D. Hicks, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 2 (1925): 162-87.

<sup>18</sup>Lewis Thompson papers, #716, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>19</sup>Delap, "The Populist Party in North Carolina," 40-74.



soil and weather conditions of the area and researched ways to produce higher yields of various agricultural crops.<sup>20</sup>

There were more positive things that occurred in Indian Woods as well. For example, on June 1, 1896, the first free rural postal delivery in Indian Woods began. As a result of this new service, a new post office was erected in Indian Woods at Quitsna. The Quitsna postal route ran from the town of Lewiston to the town of Windsor and was supervised by a white postmaster. Both the poor and elite whites who still lived in Indian Woods, took advantage of this new service. They had been receiving mail service since there were settlements in Indian Woods, but they used to pay for the service. With the addition of mail service, it was possible for both poor and rich whites to keep in contact with friends, family members, and former neighbors who had migrated out of Indian Woods to nearby towns and other locations.<sup>21</sup>

Indian Woods also benefitted from the addition of several rail lines that were built through Windsor and Lewiston. These new rail

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<sup>20</sup>Benjamin Wesley Kilgore papers, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, contains illustrative items.

<sup>21</sup>William P. Cumming, North Carolina In Maps (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1985), 1-7.

lines shortened the distance by horse and wagon or boat that crops travelled to markets. Until 1894, the farmers of Indian Woods were forced to rely on the Roanoke River and the township's poor roads to ship their cash crops to markets that were outside Bertie County.<sup>22</sup> Most crops were taken to the town of Windsor, where they would be taken by boat to Edenton or by ferry to Williamston across the Roanoke River (see Appendix, Figure 44). From these towns the crops were then shipped by rail to Virginia and southern and western North Carolina. From Edenton, the crops were shipped on the Norfolk and Southern Railroad to Elizabeth City and Norfolk, Virginia. From Williamston, crops were shipped east on the Sea Board and Raleigh Railroad, either to Jamesville, then Washington on the coast, or west to Tarboro, then Rocky Mount and then to Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1894, a stop at Windsor was added.<sup>23</sup> The railroads included the Southern Railway Company that began operating in 1894, the Atlantic Coast Line Railway, the Sea Board Air

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<sup>22</sup>Norfleet family papers, #549, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, show trade pattern.

<sup>23</sup>Cumming, North Carolina in Maps, 1-7.

Line Railway Company in 1900, and the Norfolk and Southern Railway Company in 1906.<sup>24</sup>

The planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the cash crops of tobacco, peanuts, and cotton, but primarily tobacco, dominated the attention of white land owners in Indian Woods throughout the early 1900s.<sup>25</sup> By 1920 however, white landowners in Indian Woods and the rest of Bertie County began to expand their peanut operations. The introduction of peanuts into Indian Woods again revitalized the old plantation system. Two of the largest landowners and peanut growers, as late as 1995 were the Outlaws and Gillams.<sup>26</sup> The descendants of David Outlaw built a peanut empire out of hundreds

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<sup>24</sup>Cumming, North Carolina in Maps, 1-7; Alan D. Watson, Bertie County A Brief History, 67-85.

<sup>25</sup>Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 3rd. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 645.

<sup>26</sup>Gillam and Outlaw, major white land owners in Indian Woods, interview by author, December 22, 1996, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

of acres of old plantations that used to produce cotton and tobacco exclusively.<sup>27</sup>

Although many white landowners as late as the 1950s did not have huge peanut plantations, they on average dedicated 25 acres of 132-acre-plots that were farmed by Black and white tenant farmers. Since most land owners usually had as many as five separate families working for them, many found peanut farming in Indian Woods quite profitable. As the market for peanuts and peanut products grew, so did the acreage dedicated to its cultivation. S. T. Smallwood who worked for “Tommie” Thomas Gillam, who also had the Rascoes working for him, used 4 horses and 5 mules to work his 125-acre lot with his seven children (see Appendix, Figure 45). He and his children worked 10-to-12 hour days, usually from 5 am to 7 pm throughout the 1950s. He did not use his first tractor until 1958.<sup>28</sup> The hard work and little pay, 50 cents a day for 10 to 12 hours of work, and 50 cents for 100 pounds of cotton picked, when

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.; Frank Roy Johnson, The Peanut Story: A Thoroughly Researched Rags to Riches Story of the Once Humble Legume Which Has Risen to Worldwide Importance (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1977), 1-65.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

usually 200 pounds were picked daily, drove many of the young to leave their parents for better opportunities in cities like New York.<sup>29</sup>

By the 1950s, more peanuts would be produced in Indian Woods than tobacco or cotton.<sup>30</sup> Sharecroppers and tenant farmers preferred growing peanuts to cotton or tobacco because they could keep some of the nuts to supplement their diets. Although peanuts were not as labor intensive as tobacco, they did require large amounts of labor and time, particularly during the harvesting season. During harvesting, the nuts had to be uprooted, dried, and then removed from the dried vines.<sup>31</sup> These vines could then be used to feed livestock, which pleased sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and independent Black farmers.<sup>32</sup> As peanut production and the market for peanuts grew in eastern North Carolina, white landowners in

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<sup>29</sup>Freddie Smallwood, former resident of Indian Woods, telephone interview by author, October 3, 1996, Bronx, NY, transcript in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>30</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 80-91.

<sup>31</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry, resident of Indian Woods, December 22, 1989, interview by author, Cherry residence in Indian Woods, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>32</sup>Freddie Smallwood, interview by author.

Indian Woods continued to prosper. Gillam and Outlaw began to buy up the farms of other landowners and expand their peanut operations in Indian Woods.<sup>33</sup>

The whites who remained in Indian Woods or maintained farms there also enjoyed hunting and fishing when the harvesting was done. Many who had moved into the towns would return in the fall to go duck hunting in its swamps, and squirrel, raccoon, and rabbit hunting in its forests. They particularly enjoyed deer hunting, which they did annually.<sup>34</sup> Most white landowners organized hunting clubs for whites only. These clubs continue to exist and are joined by children as young as 13 years of age. Hunting required owning several different types of guns. Shotguns, single-barrel, double-barrel, and automatic (usually firing five or more shots), were used to hunt fowl, quail, turkey, and duck.<sup>35</sup> Larger game such as deer was usually hunted with rifles. Owing to the use of different

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., "Hunting: Dimensions of Antebellum Southern Culture," Mississippi Quarterly 30 (1970): 259-281.

<sup>35</sup>Herbert Hutchinson Brimley papers, letters concerning ducking and North Carolina natural history, 1939-1945, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

types of guns to hunt different types of game, the level of skill needed to hunt various animals varied.

Better roads and the arrival of the rail lines in Windsor allowed the farmers of Indian Woods access to markets that had been previously closed to them because of their inability to reach them.<sup>36</sup> In 1915 the North Carolina General Assembly created the State Highway Commission.<sup>37</sup> It was soon followed by the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1916. This act and the new highway commission greatly improved the roads of the entire state of North Carolina. Indian Woods was no exception.<sup>38</sup> In 1921 the state adopted a statewide highway construction program which led the state to become known as the "Good Roads State."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Capus M.Waynick, North Carolina Roads and their Builders (Raleigh: Superior Stone Company, 1952), 2-9.

<sup>37</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 588.

<sup>38</sup>Rosser H. Taylor, Carolina Crossroads: A Study of Rural Life at the End of the Horse-and-Buggy Era (Murfreesboro, NC: Johnson Publishing Company, 1966), 1-20.

<sup>39</sup> Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State North Carolina, 600.

By 1932 the state of North Carolina took control of the entire highway system in Indian Woods and around the state. By 1935 Indian Woods Road, which ran the entire length of the community, was paved. Roads that were not paved, such as Grabtown, Coniotte, Caesars Landing, Quitsna, Broad Neck, Spring Hill, Roquist, and Green Pond, were graded. New ditches were dug, and bridges built. The improvement of the roads allowed white landowners to visit their land with ease. By the mid 1930s, with the introduction of the automobile, whites were driving out to their farms at least once per week.<sup>40</sup>

There were also educational changes that occurred which helped all the children of Indian Woods. In 1939 the state began to provide free textbooks in public schools for elementary grades and a textbook rental program for high school students. Later, the school year was lengthened to nine months. However, a new dilemma arose. Did a family who needed the help of their children on the farm allow them to go to school or did they keep them at home on

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<sup>40</sup>Taylor, Carolina Crossroads: A Study of Rural Life at the End of the Horse-and-Buggy Era, 1-20; Waynick, North Carolina Roads and their Builders, 2-9.



the farm? Most were kept at home until the planting or harvesting was done and then allowed to go to school.<sup>41</sup>

When the Great Depression hit in 1929, many white landowners and merchants in Indian Woods were devastated. Many lost or were about to lose their land, homes, and businesses. Farmers, particularly sharecroppers and tenant farmers, were suffering the most by the drop in the price of agricultural products and an increase in farming costs such as seeds, implements and fertilizers.<sup>42</sup>

To bring about farm parity, Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to Congress, as part of his first New Deal, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the Farm Credit Act in March 1932. The Agricultural Adjustment Act called for the encouragement of farmers to grow less, which would stop prices from falling and eliminate surpluses of agricultural goods which drove down prices. Farmers were given subsidies raised from taxes to grow less or they lived on processors

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<sup>41</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State North Carolina, 601-602.

<sup>42</sup>John L. Robinson, Living Hard: Southern Americans in the Great Depression (Washington: University Press of America Inc., 1981), 1-30.

of agricultural commodities. The Farm Credit Act assisted farmers in receiving low-interest loans to refinance their homes and farms. Since most of the farms in Indian Woods were owned by whites, they benefitted the most from these programs.<sup>43</sup>

Farmers in Indian Woods, in accordance with the act, plowed under thousands of acres of cotton, peanuts, and corn. They also slaughtered hundreds of hogs for which the federal government paid the landowners. White landowners of Indian Woods were paid by the federal government for not producing these agricultural products the following year, and thus a new culture of not farming rather than continuously farming became the norm among the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Indian Woods. Discrimination and racism in the administration of the two programs locally prevented many independent Black farmers from benefitting from them.<sup>44</sup>

Although the Agricultural Adjustment Act was designed to help poor farmers, which included sharecroppers and tenant farmers as well as small independent farmers of both races in Indian Woods as

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<sup>43</sup>Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1977), 140-145.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

all over the South, the act forced hundreds of Blacks and their families off the land, and by 1935 forced them to join the Great Migration to cities and towns in the North.<sup>45</sup>

By the time the act was declared unconstitutional in The United States v. Butler in 1936, the damage had already been done to many families. Many Blacks were able to remain in Indian Woods because of their work on peanut plantations, which, because the crop was so new, were not adversely affected by the instability of farm prices. Others were allowed to live rent free where they were because of their past service. Whites who owned land in Indian Woods became wealthy during the Roosevelt years.<sup>46</sup>

From 1940 to 1960, life for the few whites still remaining in Indian Woods was fairly good. E. D. Spruill continued to operate his store and live among his Black patrons. Other white families continued to live in their family homes and run their farms utilizing

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina, 140-145.

Black labor. By 1960, however, as their children matured and went off to college, many whites chose not to return to Indian Woods.<sup>47</sup>

Although whites made a fair living off their land in Indian Woods, the community did lack some of the basic luxuries of the state's more urban areas. For example, the first power lines were not run through the community until the late 1930s. Many large cities in the state had had electric power since around 1904 when James B. Duke created the Duke Power Company. Most residents of Indian Woods were able to receive power only after the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration during the Roosevelt administration in 1935.<sup>48</sup> Those who owned land along the roads where the lines were erected were paid for their land as the Roanoke Electric Power Company cut paths through forests and across farms to run the lines.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Jack Temple Kirby, "The Southern Exodus, 1910-1960: A Primer for Historians," Journal of Southern History 49 (1983), 35-80.

<sup>48</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State: North Carolina, 616.

<sup>49</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry, interview by author.

Throughout the twentieth century many white landowners remained fearful that the Tuscarora Indians, who continued to claim the lands of their ancestors who were given Indian Woods by the colony of North Carolina in 1717, would be successful in reclaiming Indian Woods. Most of the large white landowners inherited land in Indian Woods from their ancestors who first settled the area in the 1700s. Since 1832 the Tuscarora had visited Indian Woods, the courthouse in Windsor, and the state capital in Raleigh to reclaim land leased by the Indians in 1832. Although the descendants of the whites who took their land have titles and deeds to the land, they become excited and concerned even today when the Indians ask to see county and state records that show the turnover of their land to whites.<sup>50</sup>

As more white farmers and landowners began to purchase tractors, harvesters, trucks, and trailers, Black laborers became less important. Farm mechanization radically altered the relationship between the Blacks and whites of Indian Woods. White landowners were able to farm larger acreage by themselves or with only one or

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<sup>50</sup>Harry Z. Tucker, "Lease of the Tuscaroras," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 10, no. 30 (1942): 6-21.

two employees. As a result, more Blacks were forced to find jobs doing work other than farm labor. This also led to many Blacks moving or working out of Indian Woods.<sup>51</sup>

By 1960, for the most part, only Blacks and mixed-blood Tuscaroras, who considered themselves Black, still lived in Indian Woods. Most were landless, living on land owned by white farmers who were living in town. Others, however, owned on average 2 acres, which included their houses and yards. Most of the large Black landowners owned around 60 acres of land. By far the largest landowners in Indian Woods, however, were corporations, including Champion International, Chowatic Lands, Inc., Georgia Pacific, Union Camp, W. A. Taylor Co., Inc., Weyerhaeuser, Travelers Insurance Co., Worthington Land, the State Department of Transportation and the State of North Carolina.<sup>52</sup>

Outside the timber industry and farming, little has changed in Indian Woods as it pertains to economic growth since the end of

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<sup>51</sup>Jameson, Farm Mechanization: Power Costs and Production Requirements in the Northern Coastal Plains, 1-50.

<sup>52</sup>Land Records, Bertie County Land and Deeds Office, Maps for 1990.

Reconstruction.<sup>53</sup> In spite of large white landownership as late as 1980. The 1980 census recorded the Indian Woods township as having only 12 white residents, which made up six households out of a total population of 762.<sup>54</sup> Ten years later there was a slight increase when the white population was recorded at 30 in the 1990 census.<sup>55</sup> The few whites who remained in Indian Woods lived in the Northeastern part of the township near the Evans and Legget saw mill where they worked. By 1995, farming was still the primary industry in Indian Woods but unlike the colonial, antebellum, and pre-mechanization period of the late 19th and early 20th century the Blacks who lived in Indian Woods were no longer needed as a labor force. Instead peanut harvesters, corn, and cotton pickers and tractors tilted the land, planted the crops, and even fertilized the soil. With the exception of a few Black farmers who tended to be heavily

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<sup>53</sup>George B. Weaver, "Industrial and Agricultural Development of Bertie County," The State A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 11, no. 26 (1943): 16-21.

<sup>54</sup>United States Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, 1, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 35-148.

<sup>55</sup>United States Bureau of Census, 1990 Census of Population, 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991) [cd-rom].

in debt, by 1995, all of the land remained in the hands of the state, timber companies, and large white farmers.



## PART IV: A BLACK ENCLAVE

### CHAPTER 7

#### THE COMMUNITY THAT AFRICANS BUILT, 1585 TO 1865

The first Africans were brought to North Carolina, as soldiers and slaves, by the Spanish, in 1526, when they attempted to settle along the Cape Fear river.<sup>1</sup> Most of these Africans died of disease or starvation, or were taken back to the Caribbean after the settlement failed. The first known permanent African residents were Maroons captured from the Spanish in Central America and the Caribbean from 1585 to 1586 by Sir Francis Drake, and released on Roanoke Island in 1586 as a reward for assisting Drake in attacking Spanish

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<sup>1</sup>Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 1; Peter M. Voelz, Slave and Soldier: The Military Impact of Blacks in the Colonial Americas, (New York: Garland, 1993), 1-24; Joseph N. Heard, The Black Frontiersmen: Adventures of Negroes among American Indians, 1528-1918, (New York: John Day Company, 1969), 1-66.

ships in the Caribbean. Its is not recorded what happened to these Africans, but some evidence indicates they merged with eastern North Carolina Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Whether these Africans ever made contact with the Tuscarora is uncertain but it is clear from the written record that the Tuscarora were neither surprised by Africans, when they began to come into contact with large numbers of them, or harbored any hatred for Africans the way they did whites. In fact the Colonial Records of North Carolina note that the Tuscarora worshiped a Black deity along

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2; Kimberly Ann McClain, "From Black to Indian: the Racial Identity of the Haliwa-Saponi Indians of North Carolina." A.B. Honors Thesis, Harvard University, 1989, 1-34; Frank E. Emory and Doris M. Lucas ed., Paths Toward Freedom: A Biographical History of Blacks and Indians in North Carolina, (Raleigh: Center for Urban Affairs, North Carolina State University, 1976), 1-72; Mary A. Twining, and Keith Baird ed., Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia, (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1991), 1-46; Peter M. Voelz, Slave and Soldier: The Military Impact of Blacks in the Colonial Americas. (New York: Garland, 1993), 1-22; Joseph N. Heard, The Black Frontiersmen: Adventures of Negroes among American Indians, 1528-1918, (New York: John Day Company, 1969), 1-51; for a through discussion of maroons in the Americas see Richard Price's work, Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 3-30.

with a red and white one, and that they often covered their skin with bears oil which made them appear darker than they were. Whether these practices were the result of unrecorded pre-European African contact is unclear and requires further research.<sup>3</sup>

The first recorded contact between Africans and Indians came when slaves were brought to Indian Woods between 1650 and 1710. Encourage by a headright system that gave land to whites who owned slaves in northeastern North Carolina, or what became known as Albemarle County whites with their African slaves began to settle along the Chowan and Roanoke river in what would become known as the Bertie Precinct.<sup>4</sup> As larger numbers of African slaves were brought into the Bertie Precinct and eventually Indian Woods, the Africans found themselves working side by side with Indian

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<sup>3</sup> William L. Saunders ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh: State Of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 905, 981.

<sup>4</sup>Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 1-4;

slaves. By 1710 there were 900 Africans living in North Carolina.<sup>5</sup> Most of the early African slaves who would end up in Indian Woods came from Virginia, South Carolina and Barbados (British West Indies).<sup>6</sup> White tobacco planters, with their African and Native American slaves, increased in number and strength from 1663 to 1711, encouraged by a head right system which gave slave owners 20 acres of land for every male negro or slave brought to the region, and 10 acres of land for every female negro or slave brought into the colony.<sup>7</sup>

From 1715 to 1730 the numbers grew at a steady rate to 6,000.<sup>8</sup> Unlike South Carolina, where slaves were imported primarily

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<sup>5</sup>United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, [part 2], (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1168.

<sup>6</sup>Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 1.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 3.

from the Rice Coast, of Africa.<sup>9</sup> Most of the slaves who would populate Bertie County and Indian Woods were shipped from Guinea to Virginia and South Carolina and then sent overland to North Carolina.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1739 and 1767, the slave population of North Carolina, through natural increase and a growing inter-colonial domestic slave trade, grew from 6,000 to 40,000.<sup>11</sup> Due to the increase in tobacco production in Northeastern North Carolina, the slave population grew at a much greater rate than it did in other parts of the colony. By the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Bertie County, which was cut out of the Old Albemarle County in 1722, was one of the most populous slave counties in the colony,

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<sup>9</sup>Daniel C. Littlefield, Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in the Colonial South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 4-56.

<sup>10</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 3.

<sup>11</sup>United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, 1168.

with about 3,000 slaves.<sup>12</sup> In 1784, the North Carolina General Assembly passed an act to conduct a state census, which took from 1784 to 1787 to complete. In the census, Bertie County (by this time its present size) was recorded as having 5,141 slaves and 349 free persons out of a total population of 12,606.<sup>13</sup>

As more African slaves were brought into Indian Woods, there was more interaction between the Tuscarora and them. The most convincing evidence of the merging of African and Tuscarora culture can be found in religion. Both Indians and Africans believed in shaman or medicine men, the spirits of nature, and a strong obligation to honor and worship their ancestors. As early as 1669, the colony of North Carolina established the status of Africans as slaves subservient to white masters in Article 10 of its constitution. It also noted that conversion to Christianity in no way altered the

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Alvaretta Kenan, State Census of North Carolina, 1784-1787 (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), 7.

Africans' servitude.<sup>14</sup> Since becoming Christian did not ease the condition of many Blacks, and they were not prohibited by law from practicing their native religions, many slaves who were from Guinea continued to practice their West African faiths. Because of the closeness of Native American and African religion, many slaves began to merge their religions with those of the Native Americans, who often married and harbored slaves in Eastern North Carolina. The Tuscarora were particularly spiritual. Like Africans, they believed that man had not been given dominion over animals as many Europeans did.

The Tuscarora had high priests who were mystics to whom the tribe turned for guidance and protection. There were many slaves in Indian Woods who merged African religion and the Tuscarora religion and became known as great conjurers. These conjurers were both feared and respected by whites and Blacks alike. Since both the Indians and Africans believed that spirits lived in trees, streams and

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<sup>14</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 2.

animals, it was easy for Africans to learn from their Indian neighbors. Later generations of African-Americans would still see and hear Indian spirits canoeing, hunting, and drumming in Indian Woods.<sup>15</sup>

Frank Johnson recounted a most unusual folk tale that requires further research. It is about Sallie Rascoe, a Black woman who is not designated as slave or free, who turned herself into a white deer. In it he states, "On the West rim of Albemarle, witches turned themselves into white deer to tease the hounds." The story ends by noting that no matter how often hunting dogs followed her trail, it always ended at her door.<sup>16</sup> The most interesting part of this tale is the merging of Native American and African beliefs. Nowhere in West African religion is there any documented reference to a white deer. However in Native American religion and myths there are references made to this rare phenomenon. There were in fact recent

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<sup>15</sup>Bill Sharpe, "Anecdotes and Incidents," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina (1964): 11.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.



sightings of a white deer in Indian Woods in the 20th century, perhaps a descendant of this famous deer.<sup>17</sup>

There were four recorded conjurers in Indian Woods, Noah Stalling, Daniel Smallwood, Loreenza Smallwood and Sally Ann, all of whom died before 1930.<sup>18</sup> Interviews with residents do not substantiate these assertions. In fact, few residents remember or are willing to discuss this aspect of their history. Furthermore, in researching this community, several recorded incidents of Tuscarora Indian mysticism during the colonial period were uncovered as recorded in The Colonial Records of North Carolina.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned intermarriage and merging of religious traditions, general relations between the Tuscarora and Africans seem always to have been very good. Unlike the Cherokee, the Tuscarora never attempted to adopt the white man's ways. Nor

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 2-20.

did they ever attempt to own slaves or farm plantations. The Cherokee did, in an attempt to gain acceptance by whites.<sup>20</sup>

During slavery, Blacks did many things to show their displeasure with the system. As discussed earlier, one of the ways was by revolting. The most common way to rebel, however, was running away. As early as the middle 1600s, slaves began to run away from their captors in Indian Woods, hiding in waters such as the Great Dismal Swamp.<sup>21</sup> These slaves created large Maroon communities, which served as sanctuaries for the runaways. Because of the nature of the swamp and fierce determination by many of the slaves, recapture was almost impossible. Throughout Bertie County there were smaller swamps that slaves used to hide in temporarily while they planned their escapes.<sup>22</sup> Many slaves, assisted by

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<sup>20</sup>Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," The Journal of Southern History 57 (1991): 603-636.

<sup>21</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 24.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

friendly Indians, Quakers, Moravians, and abolitionists, also made their way north via the Underground Railroad. From 1748 to 1775, 128 slaves were reported to have run away, 114 men and 14 women. The average age was 28.<sup>23</sup> As best as can be determined these numbers increased during the early nineteenth century. From 1820 to 1865, the numbers of slaves running away from Bertie County, particularly Indian Woods, continued to increase, with most fleeing during the Civil War. They only returned following the war as soldiers who had served in the Union Army.<sup>24</sup>

Slave marriages were not considered legal, but they were allowed to marry with permission from their masters. In a note

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<sup>23</sup>Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, "Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina, 1748-1775," North Carolina Historical Review 63 (1986): 10-11.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.; James A. Padgett, "The Status of Slaves in Colonial North Carolina," Journal of Negro History 14 (1929): 300-327; Scott Strickland, "The Great Revival and Insurrectionary Fears in North Carolina: An Examination of Antebellum Southern Society and Slave Revolt Panics," in Class, Conflict and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies, eds., Robert C. McMath and Orville Burton (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1982), 57-95.

dated July 24, 1825, a slave owner in Bertie County writes an unnamed slave owner to inform him of his slave James's desire to marry one of his slave women. In the short note he states as far as he knows James is "well disposed, meaning of good character."<sup>25</sup>

Slaves were sold or loaned out in the following manner. If a slave possessed a skill such as carpentry, sewing, bricklaying or blacksmithing, he or she was of great value to his/her owner, and it was not uncommon for the slave to be rented to a neighbor. David Outlaw rented one of his female slaves who could sew to a neighbor.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Slave Collection, #1629, includes deeds of gift and bills of sale for slaves, including small children, permission for slaves to marry given by owner, public records and court records relating to murder trials, and to reimbursement of owners for executed slaves, depositions by slaves and letters concerning an insurrection conspiracy in Bertie in 1802, deeds, letters and petitions concerning emancipation of slaves, 1748-1856, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>26</sup>David Outlaw papers, #1534, especially letters from Outlaw to his wife in Indian Woods concerning the state of his plantation while he was away, life in Washington D.C. while a member of Congress, 1847, 1866, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

Most plantations were self-sufficient and raised livestock and consumable foods in addition to cash crops like tobacco and cotton. Two of the largest and most prosperous plantations in Indian Woods during the Antebellum era were the Outlaw plantation and the Capehart plantation. Bertie County was also known for producing shingles, staves, and fish, in addition to tobacco and cotton.<sup>27</sup>

During the Antebellum period there were a number of free Blacks with families scattered throughout Bertie County. Since free Black children were not allowed to attend school with whites, in 1818 the Bertie Academy was established by free Blacks for their children. The school initially allowed only males but eventually taught females also. The Academy lasted well into the twentieth century. The school consisted of grades 2 through 9 and had a principal who supervised teachers, disciplined students and taught

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

courses of his own. Free Blacks from anywhere in Bertie and the surrounding counties were allowed to attend.<sup>28</sup>

Numbers of free Blacks living in or near Indian Woods also showed their dislike for the institution by supporting the colonization movement of the 1820s.<sup>29</sup> When Paul Coffee began this movement in 1820, he soon won the support of President James Monroe and others who wanted free Blacks removed from the United States. At the start of the movement, there were approximately 250 free Blacks in Bertie County, ranging in age from 1 to 60.<sup>30</sup> These free Blacks, along with those in Northampton, Halifax, and Hertford counties, worked to secure money for the trip to Africa. Some Blacks from Bertie County made the trip to Monrovia, Liberia, but most, in spite

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<sup>28</sup>Nineteenth Annual Catalogue of Bertie Academy (Weldon, NC: Weldon Printing Company, 1919), 8-17.

<sup>29</sup>Miscellaneous papers, #21, contain the notes of a Former North Carolina slave about life in Liberia, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

<sup>30</sup>United States Government, Fourth Census of The United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1820), 9.

of hardships at home, remained. It is unclear if any free Blacks from Indian Woods joined or were even familiar with the movement. But by 1862, there were still at least three free Blacks there who registered to vote.<sup>31</sup> If a slave was lucky enough to gain his or her freedom, he often attempted to purchase the freedom of a family member. This showed how important family, and what was happening to family members, was to Blacks.<sup>32</sup>

Although early slaves were allowed to practice their native religions along with Christianity, slave owners soon began to strengthen slave codes as a result of various uprisings. These codes regulated the movements and behavior of slaves, increased slave

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<sup>31</sup>Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class 1975-76, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862 (Ahoskie, NC: Roanoke Chowan Academy, 1976), 9.

<sup>32</sup>Heckstall Papers, #582, letters to Thomas J. and William H. Heckstall of Bertie County from friends and relatives in Mississippi and Arkansas (1835-1841), a free Black in South Carolina wishing to buy one of his grandsons (1841), Norfolk merchants (1848-1858), and from a Unionist in Plymouth, NC, threatening retaliation for activities by Heckstall and others against Union sympathizers, 1834-1864, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

patrols, and refused to allow slaves to worship. The reason for this last code was that all three of the revolts, one of which occurred in Indian Woods (the "Great Negro Conspiracy"), were led by preachers.<sup>33</sup>

The slaves of Indian Woods however, continued to worship in secret until emancipation. The members of Indian Woods Baptist Church named it that because it was the last place the Indians lived prior to their departure from North Carolina. Members recorded that their ancestors worshipped at the great gospel oak, where they later built their church.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Rosser H. Taylor, "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 5 (1928): 20-34; Rosser H. Taylor, "Humanizing the Slave Codes of North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 42 (1965): 323-331; Bryce R. Holt, "The Supreme Court of North Carolina and Slavery," Trinity College Historical Society Papers 17 (1927): 7-77; Charles Edward Morris, "Panic and Reprisal: Reaction in North Carolina to the Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831," North Carolina Historical Review 62 (1985): 29-52.

<sup>34</sup>Catherine Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author, March 5, 1990, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Polly Holly Outlaw of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's



Throughout the Antebellum period, the state of North Carolina passed laws denying free Blacks the right to vote or move into the state. There were, however, exceptions to the rule, as evidenced by the three registered free Blacks recorded in North Carolina. North Carolina also passed stricter laws governing the education and handling of slaves as a result of revolts in Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. These laws impacted free Blacks and slaves in Indian Woods in the same way as in other parts of the state.<sup>35</sup>

Deeds and land records from the Bertie County Courthouse indicate that there were no Black landowners in Indian Woods before the end of the Civil War, although census records from 1830 to 1860 showed an African-American population, all slaves, which

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possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>35</sup>Stephen B. Weeks, "History of Negro Suffrage," Political Science Quarterly 9 (1984): 671-703; Rosser H. Taylor, "The Free Negro in North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications 17 (1920): 5-26.

outnumbered whites by more than 2 to 1.<sup>36</sup> At the end of the Civil War, however, several Blacks purchased plots of land and many collectively purchased land and materials to build churches.<sup>37</sup>

Slavery in Indian Woods, as best as can be documented, was not unlike slavery anywhere else in North Carolina. Historical writings have dispelled the previous myth that slavery was a benign institution in which the slaves were reasonably content. In fact slavery has been revealed as a dehumanizing system of coercion despite the fact that some slaveholders did not treat their slaves in a brutal fashion.<sup>38</sup> Aaron Bazemore of Windsor was reared in Indian

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<sup>36</sup>United States Bureau of Census, Fifth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: Duff Green Printing, 1832), 19; United States Bureau of Census, The Sixth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1842), 218; The Eighth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1861), 279.

<sup>37</sup>Mechal Sobel, Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), 181.

<sup>38</sup>William C. Harris, North Carolina and the Coming of the Civil War (Raleigh: NC Division of State Archives and History, 1988), 7.

Woods and was, at the time of his death, more than one hundred years old. He told stories of how slavery was, as told to him by his grandfather and father. He reported, "In those days a Black man had no rights. He had to do whatever he was told; he could not even have a wife."<sup>39</sup> Bazemore also recounted a story (which could not be substantiated) about one Black man, whom he did not distinguish as slave or free, dug a hole in the ground and hid his woman there, and he never allowed her to come out for fear of being taken. There she cooked for him and had his children and the whites never found her. Bazemore refused to discuss any details of what he was told about actual day to day life as a slave, saying only, "that it was tight and I would rather not talk about it."<sup>40</sup>

Catherine Bond of Indian Woods, a retired school teacher, stated that her great-grandmother would tell her that slaves could

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<sup>39</sup>Aaron Bazemore of Windsor, interview by author, December 27, 1989, Windsor, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

do nothing without their master's permission, and if they were caught praying or reading the Bible, they were severely punished. She went on to say that so strong was their desire to pray that they put wash buckets over their heads and hid so their voices would not carry.<sup>41</sup>

Most whites owned only one or two slaves. Those slaveowners worked the fields along with their slaves. The slaves were used as both field hands and house servants. Most of the male slaves worked the fields, while one or two female slaves remained to cook and clean the slaveowners' homes. The self-sufficiency of the plantations caused the whites and their slaves to become dependent upon each other. It also led to the isolation of those living and working on the plantations. The slave master however, was not as

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<sup>41</sup>Catherine Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author.

isolated as the slaves because he made monthly or yearly visits to Windsor to pay taxes and sell crops.<sup>42</sup>

Although there is no record of sexual contact between whites and Blacks in Indian Woods, it is apparent from the complexion of many of the residents today that some sexual contact must have occurred. Usually, slave women were ashamed of being raped, and therefore that was a topic rarely discussed.<sup>43</sup>

By the start of the Civil War, a very well defined community was apparent, in which slaves were a very important part.<sup>44</sup> Indian Woods never contained more than a very few families, and it has been referred to as a township only since around 1850. It possessed

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<sup>42</sup>Cornelius O. Cathey, Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War (Raleigh: NC Division of State Archives and History, 1974), 44.

<sup>43</sup>Carter G. Woodson, "Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," Journal of Negro History 3 (1918): 335-353.

<sup>44</sup>Whitmell T. Sharrock papers, #1218, concerning trade, slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters, labor agreements with freedmen, 1722-1874, 1898, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

a doctor who not only treated whites but slaves as well.<sup>45</sup> It was referred to as the Indian Woods township for tax and election purposes. By the beginning of the Civil War, slaves made up seventy percent of the population.<sup>46</sup>

By 1860, due to previous slave revolts and John Brown's raid in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, Bertie County enforced some of the state's most repressive slave codes. Slaves were even forbidden to worship for fear of revolts. In spite of these restrictions slaves maintained the "Grape Vine."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Charles B. Smallwood diary, entries concerning plantations in western Indian Woods, a plantation journal for 1854, doctor's accounts for 1864-1865, 1843-1865, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>46</sup>Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class, 1975-76, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862, 1976, 1-9.

<sup>47</sup>Thomas C. Parramore, "Conspiracy and Revivalism in 1802: A Direful Symbiosis," Negro History Bulletin 43 (1980): 283; Taylor, "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," 20-34; David D. Oliver, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications 9 (1910): 1-23.

The "Grape Vine" was a sophisticated system of passing information from plantation to plantation by word of mouth. With this system information could be passed by word of mouth from plantation to plantation when slaves were sent on errands by their masters or were secretly visiting friends and family. Therefore by the start of the hostilities, slaves were very much aware that there was a great war taking place and that they were at the center of it. They would use this system very effectively to pass on information about the Civil War and the location of Union troops.<sup>48</sup>

The Union successes and attacks from 1862 to 1864 on Plymouth, Williamston, and Fort Branch, which stood across the Roanoke River from Indian Woods, were passed along the grape vine within the slave community and through the newspapers to slave owners. This greatly concerned the plantation owners in Indian Woods because they depended on the Roanoke River to transport

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<sup>48</sup>John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 5-48.

their tobacco and cotton to the towns of Windsor and Edenton. For the slaves of Indian Woods however, it was glorious news. Now many did not have to take dangerous overland routes, avoiding slave patrols, but could float down the Roanoke River to freedom. The slaves were encouraged even more when between January and July of 1862 Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and Admiral L.M. Goldsborough captured Roanoke Island, Elizabeth City, Winston and Edenton, across the Albemarle Sound from Bertie County.<sup>49</sup> By July, General Burnside had also gained control of New Bern, Washington, Plymouth, Havelock, Carolina City, Morehead City, Fort Macon and Beaufort.<sup>50</sup> With these victories, the Union successfully won control of eastern North Carolina. General Burnside then established his headquarters at New Bern.<sup>51</sup> Wherever Union troops marched, they

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<sup>49</sup>John G. Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1991), 30.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 36.

<sup>51</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 72.



encountered slaves. In eastern North Carolina, many of these slaves served as spies or were willing to do anything to assist the advancing Union troops. Although Butler and Burnside were instructed to return runaway slaves, both felt the policy of returning them to the enemy was foolhardy. Furthermore, they felt that the armies in the field could make better use of the slaves as laborers for the Union cause.<sup>52</sup>

Although slaves in Indian Woods were aware of the events that transpired from 1861 to 1862, they were quiet and cautious. It was still risky for them to escape to Union lines. However, when Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, following the Battle of Antietam in Maryland, more slaves began to flood into New Bern for protection by the Union soldiers stationed there. In and around New Bern, slaves from all over eastern North Carolina, including Bertie County and Indian Woods, sought

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<sup>52</sup>John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans, 7th ed. ( New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 230.

protection in all-African American communities such as James City.<sup>53</sup> At least seven slaves from plantations in Indian Woods, along with over 30 others from Bertie County, joined the Union Army in New Bern and fought to free their families enslaved in Indian Woods. Names included Joseph Cherry, John Lewis and Robert Smallwood, among others. These slaves were from either Indian Woods or Piney Wood, but all married, reared their children, and were buried in Indian Woods. Today their Civil War markers still stand in the church cemeteries of Indian Woods and Spring Hill Baptist Churches. These Black troops and others from Bertie County were used to defend New Bern on February 1, 1864, when Robert E. Lee asked President Jefferson Davis to launch an attack to capture much needed supplies stored there by Union soldiers.<sup>54</sup> With Black support, this attack was foiled. The most famous battle in North Carolina

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<sup>53</sup>Crow, Escott and Hatley, A History of African-Americans in North Carolina, 72.

<sup>54</sup>Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865, 67-68.

involving Black troops from Indian Woods and Bertie County occurred on April 18, 1864 at Plymouth.<sup>55</sup>

The three regiments of North Carolina Blacks and the 55th Massachusetts Regiment that made up the “African Brigade” were commanded by Colonel Edward A. While, who replaced Burnside and Butler when they were reassigned.<sup>56</sup> The 55th Massachusetts contained well over 50 former slaves from Bertie County and as many as 10 from Indian Woods. One of the final battles for control over eastern North Carolina was fought using these Black troops. On April 18, 1864, an Ironclad christened “The Albemarle” steamed down the Roanoke River past Indian Woods from Edwards Ferry, where it had been constructed.<sup>57</sup> With the help of the ship, the Confederates were able to sink and drive off U.S. naval ships that

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>56</sup>Joe A. Mobley, James City: The Black Community in North Carolina 1863-1900 (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1981), 16.

<sup>57</sup>Barrett, North Carolina As A Civil War Battleground 1861-1865, 69.

guarded Plymouth and the Roanoke River. Without the support of Union naval artillery, the city was soon overrun by Confederate forces. After accepting the surrender of Union troops, Confederate troops, under the command of General Robert F. Hoke, proceeded to massacre Black troops, many of whom were from Bertie and surrounding counties. Some of these troops had been commanded by General H.W. Wells.<sup>58</sup> By the end of October, with Union naval reinforcements, Plymouth was retaken and remained under Union control for the rest of the War.<sup>59</sup> The Battle of Plymouth however, demonstrates the courage and bravery required for former slaves to join and fight with the Union Army, for if Blacks were caught in Union uniforms, they were killed. The Confederate Congress, upon hearing of Lincoln's move to enlist Blacks, mandated this action as early as 1863. As slaves were aware of the movement of Confederate and Union forces, they were also aware of this brutal

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 70.

fact but still signed up and fought for their freedom. Therefore, as with the 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, and Black soldiers at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, who were massacred by Nathan Bedford Forrest, there was no surrender for them.

In spite of these dangers, over ten Blacks from Indian Woods risked death to travel nearly one hundred miles to New Bern, North Carolina to join the Union Army.<sup>60</sup> Once enlisted they became members of either the 14th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery, 37th U.S. Colored Infantry, or the 35th U.S. Colored Infantry. There are six documented soldiers who served from Indian Woods including Robert Smallwood of Company I 14th U. S. C.H. A., Luke Smallwood, Company I, 14th U. S. C.H.A., Srgt. Eli Jones, Company E. 37th U. S. C.I., Rich D. Whitaker, Company I 14th U. S. C.H. A., Lewis Williams,

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<sup>60</sup>These numbers can be document by the landscape when visting the various church cemeteries in Indian Woods. The number is most likely much higher since one of the largest slave cemeteries where Civil War veterans were buried was bulldozed in the late 1980s by Spruill.

Company C 14th U. S. C. H. A., and Corpl. Joseph Cherry, Company K  
35th U. S. C. I.

Corpl. Joseph Cherry's grandson, Lord Cornwallis Cherry, still  
lives in Indian Woods. In a tape recorded interview Cherry stated,

“ My Granddaddy, Joseph Cherry, was a slave but when the war started he ran away and joined the Union Army to fight to free his family. During the war he was wounded but fought on, and when he ran out of bullets yelled for more to continue fighting. After the war, having been wounded, he was given a pension by the Army and used it to buy a small farm in Spring Hill.”<sup>61</sup>

Mr. Cherry, who is now 78 years old, continued saying that the white soldiers were so impressed with his grandfather's bravery that they began to cheer together, “A Bullet for Cherry!” Cherry's grandfather purchased nearly a hundred acres of land in Spring Hill. Cherry still possesses his grandfather's tombstone, which he saved when the Black cemetery which marked his grandfather's burial site was bulldozed for farming land in 1980.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 25, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, over 186,000 Black troops had served and over 30,000 had given their lives in defense of their country, community, and families. A significant number of those deaths were slaves from eastern North Carolina. Bertie County, particularly Indian Woods, had done its part to restore the Union and abolish slavery. When the war ended, those former slaves who left Indian Woods to participate in the war returned. Some, like Joseph Cherry, had been wounded in the war, while others were unharmed.<sup>63</sup> Upon their return, these men helped build churches, schools and livelihoods for their families and neighbors. They, with others in the community, sought to legalize their marriages and purchase land on which they could farm and raise livestock. As quickly as these former slaves returned to Indian Woods, white plantation owners fled and relocated to the nearby towns of Windsor and Lewiston between 1870 and 1890, leaving these mixed-blood

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

and African slaves to develop their own community without any direct interference from whites.



## CHAPTER 8

### THE YEARS OF STAGNATION AND STRUGGLE, 1865 TO 1954

The abolition of slavery and the end of the Civil War in 1865 brought many changes to Blacks and Confederate loyalists of Indian Woods.<sup>1</sup> One of the greatest was the introduction of a class system among Blacks. There had always been differences in slavery in the South. Slavery in the lower south was harsher than slavery in the upper south. Rural slavery was more difficult than urban slavery, and house servants were sometimes treated better than field hands. Added to this was the status of free Blacks and mulattos, many of

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<sup>1</sup>Skinner Family papers, #669, contain letters between family members, particularly those of Joseph Skinner who owned several plantations in Bertie County and his son Tristram Lowther Skinner who inherited and ran his plantations, served in the North Carolina General Assembly and as a Captain in the 1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America, materials also document sibling relationships, plantation management, work routines, crops, agricultural reform life in the Confederate Army and slaves, 1705-1900, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

whom had received education. Even during slavery, the slave community was stratified. Although slaves were cared for by their masters, they longed to be free.<sup>2</sup> With emancipation came the opportunity for economic gain and those lucky enough to own their land, rather than sharecrop or tenant farm the lands of their former masters, held an economic advantage.<sup>3</sup>

To own land however, one had to have money to buy it. Additionally there had to have been someone willing to sell land to Blacks. The former slaves who fought in the "African Brigade" did have money. As a result, many were successful in purchasing land from whites who were leaving Indian Woods for nearby towns. Because of their land ownership, these African-Americans became leaders in their churches and communities.

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<sup>2</sup>Bertie County, North Carolina, #1758, antebellum account books with information on general merchandise purchased by the Cherry, Outlaw, and Thompson plantations of Bertie County and Indian Woods, also accounts of T. W. Thompson and share croppers and tenant farmers of Woodville and Indian Woods, 1833-1893, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>3</sup>Whitmell T. Sharrock papers, #1218, concerning trade, slave purchase and hire, Civil War letters, labor agreements with freedmen, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Land-owning African-Americans expanded their farms by marrying other land owners. In fact, it was viewed as marrying beneath oneself if one's spouse did not also own property.

As stated earlier, the land owners became leaders in the local churches, around which the communities revolved. There were four Baptist churches in Indian Woods that were established by former slaves (see Appendix, Figures 46-47). Even today, by comparing the four, it is clear which had members with greater wealth. Following emancipation, life began to center around these churches while five very distinct communities developed.

Blacks were also concerned about legalizing their marriages. On August 30, 1866, the North Carolina General Assembly passed an act allowing Blacks to declare their slave marriages, which were not legal, for 25¢. In response, many former slaves in Indian Woods went to the Bertie County courthouse in Windsor to legalize their marriages.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Barnetta McGhee White, Somebody Knows My Name: Marriages of Freed People in North Carolina, County by County vol. 1 (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1995), 1-47; Raymond Parker Fouts, Marriage Register of Bertie County North Carolina 1869-June 1872, (Raleigh: North Carolina Genealogy, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1990),1-31.

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

Although Blacks in Bertie County did vote in large numbers and were successful in electing George Mebane to the North Carolina General Assembly in 1876, they seemed to be more concerned with the first three issues. Since Indian Woods was a rural township and Blacks outnumbered whites 3 to 1, most Blacks lived daily unconcerned about the power of voting.<sup>5</sup> They were also used to

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<sup>5</sup>Alan D. Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of State Archives and History, 1982), 63-70; United States Bureau of Census, The Tenth Census of the United States, 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883), 236.

being self-sufficient on their farms by having gardens, raising livestock, fishing and growing foodstuffs like corn and wheat, which were milled in neighboring Snake Bite Township into flour and corn meal. Flour was used to make biscuits, puddin' bread (a baked mixture of molasses and flour), and several types of sweet breads. Corn meal was used to make corn bread, hush puppies, and cracklin' bread, a mixture of corn meal and pork skins eaten with molasses. Since they were not accustomed to being paid for their labor, most continued working, happy for just being able to eat better than they could under slavery.<sup>6</sup>

Reconstruction, particularly Black Reconstruction, helped Blacks most by aiding those who could buy land from their former masters. By the collapse of Reconstruction in 1877, most African-Americans were sharecroppers or tenant farmers. However, a surprisingly high number were land-owning independent farmers. After the passage of the Landlord and Tenant Act in 1876, and the County Government

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<sup>6</sup>Lois Marie Smallwood of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 28, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Catherine Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author, March 5, 1990, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; Lord Cornwallis Cherry of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 25, 1989, Windsor, NC, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

Law of 1877, many Blacks from northeastern North Carolina chose to leave between 1876 and 1894 rather than be cheated and oppressed.<sup>7</sup>

Some Blacks from Bertie County supported the Back to Africa movement which lasted from 1876 to 1894.<sup>8</sup> Others from Bertie County supported the move to Kansas proposed by “Pap” Moses Singleton of Tennessee and Henry Adams of Louisiana in 1879.<sup>9</sup> The migration to Kansas lasted from 1879 until the 1880s. The vast majority of Blacks from North Carolina however, moved to Indiana, over 6,000 from Johnston and Wayne counties alone.<sup>10</sup> None of these destinations seemed to hold much fascination for the Blacks of Indian

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<sup>7</sup>Frenise A. Logan, “The Movement of Negroes From North Carolina, 1876-1894,” North Carolina Historical Review, 33 (1956): 46.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

Woods. In fact, the Black population of Indian Woods actually increased from 1862 to 1890.<sup>11</sup>

There are several possible reason for this. First, as earlier mentioned, there were large numbers of Black farmers in Indian Woods who owned their land and would not have been directly affected by the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1876. Second, although the Blacks of Indian Woods and Bertie County did vote and hold political office, most did not value voting as the most important issue in their lives. They were more concerned about educating their children, building churches, and feeding their families. As a result, they were not as concerned about losing the right to vote for county and local officials, taken away by the County Government Law of 1877.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the need for Black labor to grow and harvest cotton, tobacco and, by the 1880s, large amounts of peanuts, most whites did

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<sup>11</sup>U.S. Bureau of Census, The Census of Population: 1880, Each State and Territory, Tenth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881) 236; Roanoke Chowan Academy, The United States History Class 1975-76, "Confederate Tax Census" for Bertie County, North Carolina 1862 (Ahoskie, NC: Roanoke Chowan Academy, 1976), 9.

<sup>12</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 65-81.

not want Blacks to leave the state. As a result, whites used many methods, including force, to keep Blacks from going.<sup>13</sup> This last reason seems not be much of a factor, however, when considering the large number of Civil War veterans who braved death to fight, only to return to their homes at the war's end. What appears a more likely explanation, therefore, is that Indian Woods and Bertie County consisted of a Black population that was entirely Baptist. The Civil War veterans who lived in Indian Woods were deacons in these churches. In 1879, the Negro Baptist newspaper, The National Monitor, urged Blacks to "work and pray where they were," and "trust in God for the rest."<sup>14</sup> The Blacks of Indian Woods would continue to heed the words of the church and its elders and build a thriving self-sufficient Black community that still exists today.

Many Blacks began to take full advantage of their new freedoms as they began to come together to worship and build communities for themselves. Many of the newly freed slaves of Indian Woods would begin to come together and fellowship under

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<sup>13</sup>Logan, "The Movement of Negroes From North Carolina," 45-54.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 47.



what became known as the “Gospel Oak.” Under this oak tree, the Indian Woods Baptist Church was built in 1877, and still exists today.<sup>15</sup> George A. Mebane, born a slave in Bertie County, was the first Black to be elected to the North Carolina Senate in 1876. In 1989, Rosetta Bond recited the story of how Blacks lost their right to vote. It was confirmed by George and Catherine Bond, Cornwallis Cherry and many other residents of Indian Woods. Bond stated she was told by her parents that a Black elected official, whose name was not repeated, sold the Black ballot box to whites who did not want the votes counted, for a barrel of flour. When he got home however, only the top of the barrel was flour. The rest was sand, and so went the Blacks' rights to vote until 1964.<sup>16</sup>

Before Reconstruction collapsed in 1877, Southern Democrats, predecessors of the “Dixiecrats” in the twentieth Century, had regained control of many state legislatures and congressional seats. North Carolina Democrats, with the aid of terrorist organizations such

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<sup>15</sup>Indian Woods Baptist Church Records, Windsor, NC., 1865-present.

<sup>16</sup>Rosetta Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Indian Woods, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

as the Ku Klux Klan, had already regained control of North Carolina's General Assembly by 1870.<sup>17</sup> In northeastern North Carolina however, where several counties had Black majorities, the Union League continued to register and encourage Blacks to vote in local, state, and national elections. As a result, Blacks in counties like Bertie continued to be politically active until restrictions such as the State Government Law of 1878 began to limit their voting rights.

Immediately following the Civil War, the African Americans of Indian Woods began to construct community churches. Each church had its own distinct history. Spring Hill, for example, was founded in 1866 by former slaves who wanted to practice their faith. After worshipping together for nine years, the deacons of the church, on January 5, 1875, purchased the church and land from James Winslow Copeland for \$30.<sup>18</sup> Indian Woods Church also records its origins during slavery. The origins of the remaining two churches of Saint

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<sup>17</sup>Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 90-91.

<sup>18</sup>Spring Hill Deed, Spring Hill Church Records.

Francis and Beacon Light both trace their establishment to the ending of slavery and formal establishment to the 1870s, as well.

As the twentieth century dawned, the four churches of Indian Woods founded following the War -- Spring Hill Baptist Church, Indian Woods Baptist Church, Saint Francis Baptist Church, and Beacon Light Baptist Church -- began to play a greater role in the everyday lives of the residents. The churches had opened and maintained schools and, in times of economic distress, provided financial assistance for members in need. Little could be or was done about politics or race-based discrimination, however, until the 1960s. Although the four churches were Baptist, they had very little contact with each other. The churches along with their members tended to be mostly concerned about church affairs and the families of their members. The churches stressed godliness, hard work, and basic education for its members. The residents of Indian Woods lived a solitary existence without contact with whites. Because most of the residents farmed, they tended to have large families in order that

their children would help with the planting, cultivating, and harvesting.<sup>19</sup>

That very little attention was paid to political and economic empowerment, was fine with the white local and county officials. Social development however, was encouraged. When residents were not working, they enjoyed attending church, particularly church socials. During church socials food would be prepared at home and brought to the church or prepared at the church. One dish that was often served at these socials was fried herring and cornbread. These socials were referred to as fish fries. They were usually held in the spring during the spawning season. Church members with small fishing boats would fish, their nets pulling the herring in by the thousands. Once they were dressed, they were deep fried in large iron pots that would be filled with lard and heated by wood fires. Pork was also served at these socials. Unlike herring, which was seasonal, pork was served year round. Pork barbecue, which was unique to Eastern North Carolina, and appears from the Colonial records to have originated with the Tuscarora, normally involved a

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<sup>19</sup>Freddie Smallwood, interview by author; Lois Smallwood, interview by author; Lord Cornwallis Cherry, interview by author.

freshly killed hog that once dressed was split in two and grilled on an open wood fire. Oak was especially prized because it was believed to season the pork as it cooked. Finally, once the pork was done, it was chopped up into very fine pieces and seasoned with salt, Black pepper, red pepper, and vinegar and served with cole slaw. It is not clear if barbecue was European, African, or Native American, but one of the favorite dishes served with barbecue was “hush puppies.” This is a mixture of cornmeal, onions and spices and seems to have its origins in West Africa.<sup>20</sup>

Church and church socials provided Blacks on nearby farms an opportunity to worship God with family and friends and socialize with people who were otherwise unable to see much of each other because of distance, lack of transportation and work.

In response to Southern Democrats’ return to power after Reconstruction, the south witnessed the first phase of the Great Migration of African-Americans to Western, Northern, and Southern cities and towns. The largest movement began in 1879 with the

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<sup>20</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 930.

great exodus west to Kansas.<sup>21</sup> Between 1877 and 1980 millions of African Americans fled the South for a better life in the North and West. This Great Migration would not impact Indian Woods however until the 1940s, but from 1940 to 1990 it would reduce the population by 50% , significantly decreasing the township's single young men and women between the ages of 18 and 25.<sup>22</sup>

The 1890 census recorded the population of the Indian Woods township at 1,599, over 90 percent being African-American.<sup>23</sup> By 1890 the only whites who remained were located in the most northeastern part of Indian Woods, near the town of Windsor and within walking distance of the Evans and Legget sawmill, where many of them were employed. These whites built homes and lived

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<sup>21</sup>Nell Irvin Painter, Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 185.

<sup>22</sup>Jeffrey J.Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1992), 130-133; Alferdteen Harrison, ed., Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 15-34.

<sup>23</sup>Department of the Interior Census Office, The Population of the United States at The Eleventh Census: 1890, 1 (Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1892), 256.

in Saint Francis near the sawmill along with their African-American neighbors who were also employed there.

Daily life for most African Americans living in Indian Woods revolved around work, family and the church. With the exception of the spirituals sung at the various African-American churches, no evidence has been uncovered to indicate that the African American residents of Indian Woods have retained much of their African culture - at least not in a pure form. Instead the evidence tends to support a meshing of African, Native American, and European cultures, which is evident in the various type of homes and churches that still exist.

Following the end of the Civil War, most Blacks and whites returned to the cultivation of cotton. From 1870 to 1899, farmers throughout Bertie County complained about the lack of interest shown by tenants and sharecroppers in the growing and cultivation of this cash crop.<sup>24</sup> The sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Indian Woods were no different than many others in the state. Landowners forced sharecroppers and tenant farmers to grow only cotton on all available farm land. This left no time or land to grow foodstuffs. To

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<sup>24</sup>Watson, Bertie County: A Brief History, 54.

supplement their diets, many Blacks tended private gardens where they grew cabbage, beets, tomatoes, cantaloupes, peaches, berries and nuts. They gleaned fields for corn, potatoes, rice, wheat and peanuts. They also trapped, fished and hunted, including deer, squirrel, quail, and duck.<sup>25</sup> Occasionally someone would be able to get pork from a neighbor.

Vegetables and fruit were canned for the winter months, and meats were salted in wood barrels or boxes after being covered with molasses and spices (usually pepper). Fish and pork were smoked and hung from the ceilings of small smoke houses, which also contained pork sausages when available. All members of the community shared what they had with others.<sup>26</sup> If someone had an abundance of corn or pork, she or he exchanged it for fish or deer. If someone had canned or fresh fruits and vegetables, she or he exchanged them for flour or cornmeal. During Sunday service, if it

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<sup>25</sup> "Bertie County," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina 9, no. 32 (1942), 18-19.

<sup>26</sup>Catherine Bond of Indian Woods, interview by author, March 5, 1990, Windsor, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.; Lois Marie Smallwood of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 22, 1989, Windsor, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.



was reported that someone was sick or doing without essentials, church members attended to their needs and those of their family.<sup>27</sup>

Corn was especially prized because not only could it supplement diets, but it was necessary to feed livestock such as cows, hogs, chicken and mules, used to plow the fields. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers were expected to buy these commodities from the local general store, owned at this time by E.D. Spruill, one of the largest land owners in Indian Woods (see Appendix, Figure 47).<sup>28</sup> Sharecroppers were forced to buy fertilizer, which became very popular following the Civil War, to enable cotton planters to continue growing cotton year after year, without depleting and destroying the soil as had been done growing tobacco during the colonial period and cotton during the antebellum period. Buying fertilizer, seed, feed for mules, and farming implements at inflated prices left many residents in debt at the end of the year and without enough money to pay creditors, particularly E.D. Spruill and the other white land owners, who were generally given half of the

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<sup>27</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry, interview by author, December 25, 1989, Windsor, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

crops or the profits generated from the sale of the crops. Thus many Blacks in Indian Woods fell victim to the system known as “peonage.”

With the end of the Populist Movement, life in Indian Woods returned to a state similar to that of the antebellum period. By 1900, Blacks continued to do agricultural work on large cotton, tobacco, and peanut plantations (see Appendix, Figure 48). The residents labored during the week and socialized and worshiped together on Sunday in their various community churches. For Blacks in Indian Woods, the years following the collapse of Reconstruction were years of stagnation and struggle. Because Bertie County had been a majority Black county since the colonial period, whites often feared Black domination and passed laws to disenfranchise and control them. This did not however, stop Blacks from showing their dissatisfaction by attempting to register and vote.<sup>29</sup>

There were carpetbaggers who moved to Bertie County during Reconstruction and decided to stay. Some attempted to improve political, economic, and educational opportunities for Blacks all over

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<sup>29</sup>John Douglas Taylor papers, #984, memoirs of Lt. Col. John D. Taylor, 36 th Regt. NCT (2nd Regt. N.C. Artillery), comments on U.S. Generals Hugh J. Kilpatrick, W.T. Sherman, Francis P. Blair, the freedmen and Reconstruction, Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

the county. Others became a part of the culture of southern racism either because they feared terrorism if they spoke out or because they agreed with the racists in the community.<sup>30</sup>

Living on rural isolated plantations such as those in Indian Woods had both advantages and disadvantages. Two of the disadvantages during and after slavery, were the harsh work and isolation from others. During the Jim Crow years however, the resident familiarity with hard labor and isolation from white racists actually became advantages. To Blacks the labor system known as ‘peonage’ was no different from that of their parents and grandparents with one positive change: there were no longer any overseers or masters to whip, rape and otherwise abuse them and their children.<sup>31</sup> Also, unlike Blacks living in southern cities and

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<sup>30</sup>Francis Donnell Winston papers, #2810, contain materials on Winston’s life as a lawyer, judge, member of the Democratic party, and Mason in Bertie County, also materials on his term as lieutenant Governor of North Carolina, U.S. district Attorney, President of the North Carolina Bar Association, and trustee of the University of North Carolina, papers of his father-in-law, S. B. Kenney, 1828-1943, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

<sup>31</sup>Lewis Thompson papers, #716, on Thompson’s plantation in Hotel (Indian Woods), contains before 1840 land grants, deeds, and estate papers of the families of Pugh, Williams, Clark, Thompson, and Urquhart, all of whom owned land in Indian Woods and were

towns, the Blacks of Indian Woods were not confronted with the daily humiliation of segregation.

Since most residents were accustomed to their condition, they continued to make their livings off the land. To farm the land, the residents, like their former masters, required a large dependable labor force. To fill these labor needs residents began to have large families, some as large as 18 children. The Smallwoods, Freemans, Rascoes, and Bonds even today still have large families as a result of this. The average family contained around 9 children. These children were put to work as early as 10 years of age planting gardens and cultivating fields, of cotton, tobacco, and peanuts, feeding livestock, harvesting crops and cooking, cleaning and caring for younger siblings. One of the more unfortunate results of this is that many of the families began to function as many plantations. This included the fathers playing the roles of masters, and wives and children as slaves. One resident upon being interviewed stated "I

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related, business papers related to accounts, bills, receipts, lists of slave, sharecropping contracts, and documents relating to the production of cotton and wheat on his plantation, 1723-1895, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

owned four children,” clearly a carryover from slavery even though the elderly resident meant no harm.<sup>32</sup>

During the Jim Crow years, the lives of the residents of Indian Woods were spent making a living and very little else, except worshipping at church and schooling during the winter. The crops were planted and harvested in much the same manner as they had been during slavery. They were also still carried to market by way of the Roanoke river until around 1900.<sup>33</sup> The church also functioned as the school during the weekdays. Few residents could afford luxuries such as fine clothing, china, or furniture. Instead, they like the Indians and early settlers, made their own clothes, quilts, and furniture from pieces of cloth, denim, burlap and wood. As a result of these routines and the fact that needed supplies could be purchased at Spruill’s store fewer than a dozen of the residents ever went to the towns of Windsor, Lewiston or Williamston, which

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<sup>32</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry of Indian Woods, interview by author.

<sup>33</sup>Norfleet Family papers, #549, have account books, diaries, and plantation and other records of the Norfleet family, record of daily agricultural activities and navigation on the Roanoke in Bertie County, 1784-1895, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

were the closest. With the added lack of transportation, most Blacks were content to remain in their communities, where they were not bothered by whites and their racist laws.

The sense of community was very intense. The residents of the five smaller communities that made up Indian Woods; Caine, Spring Hill, Indian Woods, Saint Francis, and Beaching Light, spent very little time in contact with residents who lived in the other communities. Instead, life and activity tended to center around family, work, and church.<sup>34</sup> In fact, most communities and the families that comprised them behaved more as clans than modern communities. All residents living in a particular community tended to be related by blood. Cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and great grandparents all lived within walking distance of each other. The elderly of the communities maintained a special status and were often visited and cared for by everyone in the community who often claimed the persons as a common ancestor.

Because of the large size of most families, children grew up with plenty of opportunities to socialize at home, school, work, and

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<sup>34</sup>Each community except Caine had a church. The residents of Caine attended neighboring churches.

church. From 1896 until 1954 this would be the norm for the residents of Indian Woods. Their isolation and devotion to family, work and church kept their children from the daily sight of signs saying, "whites only" and racial epithets. This is not to say that the residents were totally immune to segregation or that they were not aware of life outside of Indian Woods. Rural life did, however, have its advantages. With no need for an education beyond basic reading, writing and arithmetic to conduct farm business, most residents were satisfied with their under-funded and inadequate educational facilities. In fact, in comparing them to the facilities which many parents and grandparents experienced under slavery, they were seen as quite an improvement. What the residents may not have realized until the 1950s was that Jim Crow and segregation meant more than just signs, but economic and educational opportunities that they were entitled to but denied.

As residents left Indian Woods, they began to deal with racism on a daily basis, making those who left more aware of the meaning of segregation. One resident who experienced racism first hand was a mulatto named Armistead Cooper. Cooper appeared white and before disenfranchisement was allowed to worship with the few

whites still remaining in Indian Woods. However, after the passage of laws segregating the races, he was excluded.<sup>35</sup>

By 1900, poll taxes, literacy tests and intimidation had effectively ended Black political activity even in northeastern North Carolina. This did not happen however, before one of the most extraordinary political movements of the twentieth Century. During World War I many Blacks from Indian Woods joined the U.S. Armed Forces. The Blacks of Indian Woods, like most residents of Bertie County, supported America's involvement in the War. At the end of the war many of the soldiers returned home and, as their grandfathers had done, used the money earned during the war to purchase more land or their first farms.<sup>36</sup>

With plenty of work to do and close family and religious ties, Blacks found it hard to leave Indian Woods and not return. During the first World War from 1914-1918, many Blacks began to be lured by the promise of a better living to port cities like Norfolk,

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<sup>35</sup>"Bertie County," The State, 9, no. 32 (1942), 17.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Watson Winston papers, #2369, deal with the Whig Party, planting, the Civil War, life growing up in Bertie County, World War I, and II, also materials concerning his father Patrick Henry Winston, 1860-1944, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.



Portsmouth, Hampton, (VA.), Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Washington, DC, seeking jobs in the shipbuilding industries located in these cities. Some even donned a military uniform to fight for America in the war. Most Blacks, however, remained in Indian Woods and continued to farm or work as farm laborers.

By 1920, Indian Woods was composed of four isolated communities that revolved around their churches and farming. The population in 1920 was recorded at 1,568. In 1930 it decreased by 56 residents, bringing the total to 1,512, but by 1940 had increased by 173 residents to 1,685.<sup>37</sup>

Most residents of Indian Woods have no memory of such noted events in African American history as the “Harlem Renaissance.” The rural environment isolated poor farming folk, who understood only basic reading, writing and arithmetic, and were devoted to their work, churches and families. Most had neither the time or interest in this intellectual movement. But there were Garveyites in Indian

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<sup>37</sup>United States Department of Commerce, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population, 1 (Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), 775.

Woods and Bertie County.<sup>38</sup> Marcus Garvey, who preached pride, self help and independence from whites, was well liked and received by Blacks throughout northeastern North Carolina. Although Blacks in Bertie and Indian Woods held little interest in returning to Africa, they did join Garvey's organization and supported it financially. Thus from 1919 to 1929, they were ardent supporters and followers of Garvey. These Blacks also established and supported a Masonic Lodge.<sup>39</sup> Many of the founders of this lodge and their descendants believed in helping their fellow humans. The lodge was built adjacent to Indian Woods Baptist Church, which was one of the most prominent in the township.

During the Great Depression from 1929 to 1939, life in Indian Woods remained basically the same as it had for over one hundred years. Because families were accustomed to doing without money and because they enjoyed an abundance of foodstuffs, which they had managed for years to grow, hunt and raise, they weathered the

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<sup>38</sup>Tony Martin, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and The Universal Negro Improvement Association (Dover, Mass: Majority Press, 1986), 5-67.

<sup>39</sup>William Upton, Negro Masonry (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 2-44.

hardship well. Lord Cornwallis Cherry, who was a young boy during the Great Depression, remembered that although they had plenty of food to eat, money was scarce. He remembered raking leaves for 10¢ per hour from 1929 to 1934 and remembered making only \$6.00 for an entire winter's worth of work (see Appendix, Figure 49).<sup>40</sup>

Cherry also remembered when Indian Woods received its first school bus to take residents' children to high school in town. There were several all-Black rural schools in or bordering the Indian Woods Township. They included Saint Francis, Beacon Light, Spring Hill, Indian Woods and Weeping Mary. Teachers included Sadie Ruffin, Catherine Bond, Lucy Bazemore, Evelyn Little, Sahara Williams, and Maude Philips. All of the schools, with the exception of Spring Hill and Indian Woods, had one teacher. Students were required to pledge allegiance to the flag and say a morning prayer before classes started. If students misbehaved or did not complete assignments, they were spanked by their teachers. In the winter teachers used pot-bellied stoves which used coal as fuel after kindling was used by the teachers to start the stoves burning. It was the students' job to bring coal and kindling in to keep the fires

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<sup>40</sup>Lord Cornwallis Cherry, interview by author.

going.<sup>41</sup> These schools, along with the rest of the county's schools, were consolidated in 1959. This consolidation eliminated the all-Black school system in Bertie County and created one county public school system for all children. Students from Spring Hill were bused to the town of Lewiston to the John B. Bond School for grades 1-7, and those in Indian Woods, Saint Francis, Caine and Beacon Light were bused to the town of Windsor and attended W.S. Etheridge school. Eighth and ninth graders from all over the county were sent to Bertie Junior High School, and students in 10th -12th grades were sent to Bertie Senior High School. Prior to bus service, a parent would have to pay for a child to travel or board while he or she attended W. S. Etheridge High School. This bus service began in 1936. It was an old bus that used to belong to the white school in the town of Windsor. Many whites refused to attend the newly integrated schools and began to establish Christian academies, which effectively excluded Blacks due to high cost.

During the Depression, independent Black farmers did suffer some, but since many already owned their small farms, they survived the ordeal. Blacks had been living in substandard housing

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<sup>41</sup>Catherine Bond, interview by author.

for years without plumbing or running water, as did most Blacks in North Carolina at that time, so they continued as they always had.

In spite of the hardships of the Great Depression, the residents of Indian Woods demonstrated remarkable loyalty to their churches, families, and community. Although economic changes forced the residents of Indian Woods to migrate out of the area and become more exposed to racism, they continued to maintain their faith in God. In 1935, C.W. Bazemore reported, "In church membership per square mile, or per thousand population... Bertie County, in the eastern section of North Carolina, leads the hundred counties of the state for both white and colored races."<sup>42</sup> Bazemore stated that only Charlotte, which was considered the "church goingest" town in North Carolina, was close to it. He went on to state, "The Negroes of Bertie County are regarded as the most religious of any in eastern North Carolina, and their devotion to their churches is amazing."<sup>43</sup> He further noted Blacks would sell chickens, hams, eggs, corn, potatoes and work at day labor to pay their preachers and other church

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<sup>42</sup>C. W. Bazemore, "Bertie County Leads in Church Membership," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina (1935), 14.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

obligations -- surpassing the whites in the county in their loyalty. He concluded his observations by stating that no community or person in Bertie County was beyond reach of a church and that practically every child, upon reaching ten to twelve years of age, joined the church of his parents and grandparents.<sup>44</sup>

Things began to change in Indian Woods. Tractors replaced horses and mules (see Appendix, Figure 50). Corn, peanut and cotton pickers began to do the work that required Black labor.

Furthermore, pesticides and weed killers were being used instead of the hoe. The Industrial Revolution and its machines were finally revolutionizing Indian Woods as nearly everywhere else in the world. Because of the changes brought on by farm mechanization in Indian Woods, many residents began to lose the only jobs they had ever known. This prompted many to leave Indian Woods for jobs in the nearby towns of Windsor and Lewiston. Many took jobs with the Copehart Fishery in Colerain, Lee Lumber Company in Windsor, Perry-Belch Fish Company and the Evans and Legget Lumber Mill.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>"Bertie County," The State: A Weekly Survey of North Carolina, (1942), 18.

The fishing and lumber industries had always been as important to the economy of Bertie County as farming. Because of the residents' desire to stay near their birthplaces and an abundance of work in the township, there had never been any reason for Blacks to leave.

The Roosevelt years also meant radical changes in both the politics and daily lives of the residents of Indian Woods. Because Roosevelt appeared willing to listen to the concerns of Blacks, he gained a great deal of respect and political support from Blacks, who since emancipation had been loyal Republicans. Evidence of this includes 700 Blacks from North Carolina, calling themselves the "United Negro Democrats of North Carolina," who endorsed Roosevelt in June of 1940. Later, in the election, he received three-fourths of the state's Black vote.<sup>46</sup> This would be a trend that would continue as Blacks all over the nation began to join and vote as Democrats. The Roosevelt years would also see the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in

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<sup>46</sup>Crow, Escott, and Hatley, A History of African Americans in North Carolina, 145.

Indian Woods, as membership in the organization grew throughout the state.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, as they had done in the Civil War and World War I, Blacks from Indian Woods joined the Army, Navy and Air Force in World War II. Those rejected by the armed forces began to join thousands of others who were leaving the farm for jobs in the war industries. These were found in northern cities as well as cities nearby. Those that were more adventuresome would take buses to Baltimore, Washington, DC, Philadelphia or New York City. Some returned after the war, but most did not. This would be the beginning of the Great Migration out of Indian Woods and it had a tremendous impact on the community from 1940 to 1960.

Farm mechanization would permanently alter the lives of the African-American farming families of Indian Woods. Although a number of independent Black farmers still existed, they were rapidly disappearing as they lost their family farms due to financial problems. The children of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, whose fathers had remained dependent on agriculture for their livelihood,

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 151.



were no longer needed in the same numbers as before farm mechanization.

The first substantial drop in the African-American population of Indian Woods occurred from 1940 to 1950, around the time of World War II. In 1950, the United States census recorded that the Indian Woods population was 1,349, a decrease of 336 people from 1,685 in 1940.<sup>48</sup> This decline was part of the third phase of the “Great Migration” brought about by World War II, which would drain Indian Woods of its most able bodied young men and women from 1940 to 1990. The 1960 census recorded the population of Indian Woods to be 1,183. Of this number only 76 were whites, all living in the Saint Francis community. There were 600 males, 583 females, 76 whites, and 1,107 Blacks.<sup>49</sup>

The population of Indian Woods would continue to fall, and by the 1970 census, a decline of 26 percent, from 1,183 to 874, was

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<sup>48</sup>The U.S. Department of Commerce, Seventeenth Decennial Census of the U.S.: 1950s 2, part 33 (Washington, DC: United States Government printing Office, 1952), 33-42.

<sup>49</sup>U. S. Department of Commerce, Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1960 1, part 35 (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1952), 35-72.

recorded, a decrease of 309 people.<sup>50</sup> The census recorded 52 whites and 822 Blacks living in the township. The 52 whites still resided in the Saint Francis community, where they had lived and worked for two generations.<sup>51</sup>

White and African-American migration continued and increasingly involved young college-age men and women leaving to join the military, go to college, or seek employment outside of the county, particularly in Norfolk, Virginia, where jobs were plentiful at the Naval ship yard. Fewer than 2% of these young people ever returned to Indian Woods, except to visit family and friends who remained. Through their efforts, they transformed the quality of life for themselves and their neighbors and gained county and statewide recognition for their work.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>U. S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population 1, part 35 (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1973), 35-20.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Rev. C. Melvin Creecy of Indian Woods Church, interview by author, December 29, 1989, Rich Square, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

## CHAPTER 9

### THE REAWAKENING AND RESTRUCTURING OF COMMUNITY, 1954 TO 1995

The Civil Rights movement caused many changes in American Society. The effects of this movement on many large urban areas in the South and North is well documented, but little is known about its impact on many rural southern African-American communities. This chapter examines the impact of the Civil Rights movement, the Baptist Church, and local civic leaders on that small rural African-American township called Indian Woods. During the years from 1940 to 1980, the lives of the African-American residents of Indian Woods would be greatly altered by political and educational empowerment, the final phase of the Great Migration, and the development of three community-based organizations established by Bart F. Smallwood including: the Blue Jay Ball Club in 1965, the Blue

Jay Recreation Center in 1972 and the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department in 1975.<sup>1</sup>

From 1970 to 1980, the population declined again from 874 to 762. The 1980 census recorded that there were only 762 persons remaining in the Indian Woods township, of whom all but 12 were African-American. The census listed 383 males and 379 females. It also reported that 279 were under 18 years of age and 108 were over 65.<sup>2</sup> This seems to indicate that most of the residents were either too old to leave, too young to leave, or parents caring for young children. Unlike the rest of the South, the great migration did not end in 1980 but continued in Indian Woods.

By 1990, the population of Indian Woods had dropped again from 762 to 640. Of this number, 30 were white. Nearly one quarter of these residents, 179, were under the age of 18 and half, 308 were

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<sup>1</sup>Smallwood private papers, Blue Jay History, home of Lois Marie Smallwood, Windsor, North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980 Census of Population, 1, part 35 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1982), 35-148.

over the age of 35.<sup>3</sup> Thus by 1990, as a result of the Great Migration, there were only three groups remaining in Indian Woods -- children under the age of 18, the elderly over 65, and married couples with children. By 1995, Indian Woods had been drained of its college-aged men and women and faced death as a community. Why did this happen? To answer these questions the impact of the Civil Rights Movement must be examined.

While the Great Migration drained Indian Woods of its young men and women between the ages of 18 and 30, from 1930 to 1990, the five communities that make up Indian Woods did not die but entered the 1960s, '70s, and '80s with new vigor and cohesiveness.

Although a number of independent Black farmers still existed, their numbers were rapidly declining as they lost their family farms because of financial problems. The children of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, whose fathers had remained dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, were no longer needed in large

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<sup>3</sup>United States Department of Commerce, 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary, file 1A (Washington DC: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1991) [cd rom].

numbers as before farm mechanization.<sup>4</sup> As more residents acquired automobiles, which did not occur in Indian Woods until the late 50s and early 60s, they began to travel out of the community to seek employment, which was found in nearby towns at fisheries, lumber mills, schools, and, by the mid 70s, the new Perdue chicken processing plant located in nearby Lewiston, North Carolina. Although there were many physical changes to the landscape, work habits, family life, and community life during the 1950s and 60s, Indian Woods and its residents still suffered from political, educational, and economic discrimination.

As stated in chapter 8, Indian Woods had been made up of four distinct and independent communities that centered around their churches and tended to be composed of people who were related by blood. The loss of population in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s began to end the clannish behavior of many of the residents. As Indian Woods became smaller, the four communities became closer, sharing a common sense of loss as their young men and women left for war, better employment, and advanced educational opportunities. In an

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<sup>4</sup>Gilbert C. Fite, Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1984), 188.

effort to create more opportunities for their young people closer to home, many of the residents of Bertie and surrounding counties began to join the Civil Rights struggle through their churches. The four churches began to work together for the economic, educational, political, and social betterment of all of Indian Woods. Since their creation during Reconstruction, these four churches had remained powerful influences in the lives of their members, but from the 60s to the 90s, they would combine their efforts to work for the good of the entire county.

When Martin Luther King Jr. established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1959, the pastors of these four churches immediately joined the organization and encouraged their members to do so as well. The ministers and residents became greatly interested in the SCLC and its program of community empowerment. The residents became motivated by the sermons of their pastors, who encouraged them to become better educated, more politically active, and more involved in their community. By coordinating their efforts, the four church pastors -- C. Melvin Creecy (Indian Woods), Andrew Jackson Cherry (Spring Hill), Brady Carmichael (Saint Francis), and Johnnie Rascoe (Beacon Light) --

were able to teach the residents the importance of cooperation in improving their condition.

These pastors continually preached sermons about self help and racial unity, and a number of residents went out and improved the community, thus creating a group of civic leaders who volunteered their time and gained county and statewide recognition for their work.<sup>5</sup>

Church leaders, community leaders, and residents formed the core of the civil rights movement that affected the four communities that made up Indian Woods. Church and community leaders began to encourage and promote agitation for economic, educational, political, and community development. From 1965 to 1990, Indian Woods experienced a flurry of social and political activity. The new leaders who emerged made contributions that not only improved the quality of life for the residents of Indian Woods, but also relations between whites and Blacks throughout the county.

By the 1960s many African-Americans believed that the civil

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<sup>5</sup>Dr. C. Melvin Creecy of Indian Woods Church, interview by author, December 29, 1989, Rich Square, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL; These leaders included James Pugh, Joe Wiley Thompson, Catherine Bond, Cora White, and Bart Smallwood, among others.



rights movement needed a new approach to ending the poverty and ignorance that contributed to discrimination. It was believed by many that for the civil rights movement to continue to be a success it would have to come from the bottom up. Many civil rights activists, believed the movement had to become focused on the survival issues including education, jobs, housing, and health care.<sup>6</sup>

These survival issues, particularly education, were of great concern to the residents and community leaders of Indian Woods. Education was important because many residents lacked even basic reading, writing, or mathematical skills needed to improve their conditions. Reverend Andrew Jackson Cherry recalled that when he first became pastor of Spring Hill Baptist Church in 1954, "most of the members were uneducated, a few had a high school education, and only one or two had high school diplomas. Most could neither read nor write very well."<sup>7</sup> Cherry added that he began to encourage the members of his church to finish school and to keep

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<sup>6</sup>George Lipsitz, A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 120.

<sup>7</sup>Reverend Andrew Jackson Cherry of Spring Hill Baptist Church, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Windsor, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

their children in school, thus inspiring many members and their children to finish high school (see Appendix, Figure 54). By the mid 1960s, many were even sending their children to college with the assistance of financial aid. Pell and SEOG grants provided for low-income families, of which Indian Woods had a significant number.

As more residents became aware of college and the fact that they could afford to send their children, Indian Woods began to lose more of its young men and women to the continuing “Great Migration.” The rising level of education in Indian Woods among parents and their children also brought about a rising interest in politics and community development. In the late 60s and early 70s, a plan was developed by the area churches to educate residents on how to vote effectively in local, state, and national elections. This plan also informed residents about which candidates would support their interests and how to use their growing political power, which began to rise in the late 70s and early 80s, even as the community’s population declined.

Church pastors and community leaders with strong ties to Indian Woods encouraged residents to register and vote in all local, state, and national elections. Polly Holly Outlaw registered voters in

the Indian Woods township from 1970 to 1990 (see Appendix, Figures 57-59). She was also a member and the secretary of the Indian Woods Baptist Church from 1967 to 1981. Outlaw stated that the community churches played a crucial role in getting residents to register and vote.<sup>8</sup>

By the mid 70s, Blacks helped to end legislation that was unfair, such as the poll tax, which many residents paid until 1974. As more Blacks began to vote in Indian Woods, they also ran for and held public offices at the local and state level. Among them were Andrew Jackson Cherry, pastor of Spring Hill Baptist Church, who served two terms on the Bertie County School Board (see Appendix, Figure 60), and Cora White, a resident of Indian Woods, who also served two terms on the School Board. Black political activity reached its peak in the 1980s when C. Melvin Creecy, pastor of the Indian Woods Baptist Church, ran for and was elected to the North Carolina State Legislature. He became the first Black to represent the 5th district, of which Indian Woods was a part, since Reconstruction (see Appendix, Figures 61-63). Creecy campaigned as "a candidate in

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<sup>8</sup>Polly Holly Outlaw of Indian Woods, interview by author, December 26, 1989, Indian Woods, North Carolina, tape recording, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

touch with the people."<sup>9</sup> His church, the other community churches, and Blacks from all over Bertie and surrounding counties supported his candidacy. As a result Creecy won the election and less than seven months after his election began lobbying then Governor James B. Hunt for financial assistance for his constituency. The Bertie Ledger-Advance, the county newspaper, reported his lobbying with the Northeastern Caucus for economic development, which included Bertie and the surrounding counties.<sup>10</sup>

To win elections, political leaders in Indian Woods developed a four-point strategy. First, campaign workers held voter registration drives to register as many voters as possible before the election. Second, campaign workers would personally go to various churches to meet with and listen to the residents' complaints before the election and assure residents that if their candidates were elected their concerns would be addressed. Third, campaign workers would explain to potential voters the importance of voting and how to vote on election day. Finally, campaign workers would drive those voters

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<sup>9</sup>Smallwood private papers, C. Melvin Creecy campaign flyer, home of Lois Marie Smallwood, Windsor, North Carolina.

<sup>10</sup>Leisha Phillips, "Northeastern Caucus Discusses Regional Development," Bertie Ledger-Advance, 16 July 1981, 1.

who had no transportation to the polls on election day. This type of concern for residents not only helped to increase voter registration but also voter turnout (see Appendix, Figure 64).

On election day, follow-up letters would be sent to various community churches outlining candidates to vote for and reminding residents of where the polling place was located. Indian Woods' polling place was Harrell Grant's store.<sup>11</sup> Grant's store was used because of its central location in the township (see Appendix, Figure 65). It was also a popular, Black-owned, meeting place for teenagers in the community who would come to dance, play pool, and meet other teenagers they knew from school or church. Drinking was also allowed, which meant only teenagers over the age of 18 were allowed to socialize there.

There were many other community leaders in Indian Woods who were active politically. One such resident was James S. Pugh. Pugh was a member and deacon of Spring Hill Baptist church. He was born and reared in Spring Hill and is credited with starting the Bertie Association of Concerned Citizens, of which he served as president

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<sup>11</sup>Smallwood private papers, polling places flyer, home of Lois Marie Smallwood, Windsor, North Carolina.

from 1981 to 1990. As president of this organization Pugh, went throughout the community and county encouraging residents to speak out against economic and political discrimination by voting. Pugh, with the support of area pastors, fought for economic and political changes in Indian Woods and Bertie County.

While the residents of Indian Woods were impacted by the Great Migration and politics from 1960 to 1990, they were also more directly affected by community development. By 1965 most residents of Indian Woods had become very aware of the recreational needs of their community. One of these needs was some type of community recreation center for their children between the ages of 5 and 18. In response to this, a group of residents led by Bart F. Smallwood created a Little League baseball team in 1965, later building and chartering the Blue Jay Recreation Center in 1966 (see Appendix, Figure 66). Although in the early stages of development Bart Smallwood acted alone, by 1967 he had solicited the support of the four area churches and interested residents. The pastors of these four churches encouraged their members to donate time and money to developing the recreation center.

This set the stage for more community involvement and cooperation. By working together to establish the recreation center, residents began to look beyond their church and local concerns and began to be concerned about what was happening to Blacks all over Bertie County. They became interested in things such as good roads, quality education, and economic opportunities.

The recreation center proposed by Smallwood represented an opportunity to improve the community and the lives of area children. Smallwood began to look for ways to help fund this center. The two methods he pursued were, first, asking for donations from the community churches whose members would directly benefit from its establishment, and second, seeking county and state funds earmarked for parks and recreation. After working exclusively with donations from area churches from 1966 to 1972, Smallwood and a new board of directors made up of local residents drafted a proposal in 1973 and submitted it to the Bertie County Recreation Committee for funding. In it the board presented a long-term plan and worked

with county and state representatives to secure monies for the recreation center.<sup>12</sup>

Smallwood became well known throughout Indian Woods and Bertie County for his volunteer work with the children of Indian Woods. Under his leadership, the five communities that made up the Indian Woods township were brought together in unity for the first time. Smallwood was noted not only for founding the Blue Jay Ball Club in 1965 and the Blue Jay Recreation Center, in 1966, but also the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department, which was the first and only all African-American volunteer fire department in the state of North Carolina, in 1976 (see Appendix, Figures 67-70). Both the ball team and the recreation center served all five communities that made up the Indian Woods township. The fire department, however, served only the communities of Cain, Spring Hill, and Indian Woods. This was because of its distance from the two closest fire departments, one in neighboring Windsor town, located in the Windsor Township

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<sup>12</sup>Smallwood private papers, letter to county commissioner for grant to support Blue Jay Recreation Center, 1973, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.



and the other in neighboring Lewiston town, located in the Woodville Township.<sup>13</sup>

The Blue Jay Ball Club was started in 1965 by Lois Smallwood and 18 young men from the Cain community. The first team was called the Cain Blue Jays and played on a 6-acre lot rented by Smallwood from H. B. Spruill.<sup>14</sup> Smallwood recounted why her husband started the baseball club and later the recreation center:

"While returning from work one afternoon in 1965, my husband saw a number of young boys playing baseball, in a cut out forest. They were running to stumps for bases. He asked the children why they were playing in such a dangerous area, and they replied they had nowhere else to play. At that point, he began the development of the Blue Jay Recreation Center and Ball Club."<sup>15</sup>

Since baseball was such a popular sport among the young and old, Smallwood began to talk to his church pastor, C. Melvin Creecy of Indian Woods Baptist Church, about developing some type of community park where baseball and other sports could be played. He then talked to an area farmer about securing a piece of land. To

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<sup>13</sup>Lois Marie Smallwood, interview by author.

<sup>14</sup>Smallwood Papers, Blue Jay History, no date, Windsor North Carolina, home of Lois Marie Smallwood.

<sup>15</sup>Lois Marie Smallwood, interview by author.

gain community support for his idea, Smallwood traveled to the four churches in the Indian Woods township and asked the members for their economic and physical support in building the center and team. The response of the area churches was overwhelming. Reverends Cherry, Creecy, Carmichael, and Rascoe all endorsed Smallwood and the idea, bringing along their congregations.<sup>16</sup> The churches collected weekly donations to help purchase building supplies for the center and church members volunteered time to help construct the first structures. The four churches began announcing the status of the work that Smallwood and residents were doing every Sunday and urged the community to continue to aid them.<sup>17</sup>

With the financial and physical support of area residents, the Blue Jay Recreation Center and Ball Club began operation in 1966. Once the land was acquired, Smallwood, using his tractor, prepared a suitable playing field by cutting the grass and grading the lot.<sup>18</sup> Next, efforts were made to recruit young men who were interested in

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<sup>16</sup>C. Melvin Creecy, interview by author.

<sup>17</sup>Andrew Jackson Cherry, interview by author.

<sup>18</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

playing. It was not long before eighteen players were recruited and the first Blue Jay Ball Club began.<sup>19</sup> The team was originally named the Cain Blue Jays after the location of the new playing field in the community of Cain. The team was so successful that the next year the young women of the community began a softball team.

From 1965 to 1973 Smallwood dedicated himself to the ball club and center. He traveled throughout the various communities asking residents, businesses, and friends to give money and time in support of the community's youth. Very often, due to lack of funds, he would pay for the team's travel out of his own pocket. He used his pickup truck to carry the team to their games. Getting sports equipment was also difficult for the team. Smallwood, however, was successful in convincing many businesses to sponsor his teams and provided uniforms, balls, bats, gloves, and safety equipment. The largest sponsor was the white-owned R & W Chevrolet Company of Windsor, North Carolina, which supported the team from 1970 to the late 1980s (see Appendix, Figure 71).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Bart Smallwood private papers, letter from Reva W. Cobb of Windsor, North Carolina, to Whom It May Concern, December no year given, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's

As interest in the project grew, a need for some type of community building to conduct park business became apparent. In 1971 Smallwood asked Henry B. Spruill for the use of his abandoned barn adjacent to the ball park. Spruill agreed on the condition that if the barn was destroyed by fire, the Blue Jay Ball Club would pay him the sum of \$600. This was outlined in a letter to Smallwood on March 31, 1971.<sup>21</sup> The interest that the young people in the community showed caused Smallwood and the residents to desire a wider range of recreational activities. Residents also began to realize the benefits of owning the property rather than leasing it. To accomplish these objectives it became necessary to become more structured and organized and also to develop goals. The first goal set by the center was to purchase the property they were leasing. To own the property the residents had to first ask Spruill if he would be willing to sell the leased land. Spruill agreed on the condition that the center pay him \$2,000 down, \$750 per year for 6 years and \$1,000

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possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>21</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, from H. B. Spruill, Windsor, North Carolina, to Bart F. Smallwood, Indian Woods, North Carolina, March 31, 1971, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

the 7th year, which would be the final payment.<sup>22</sup> Unable to raise this much money from donations Smallwood and the center wrote a grant proposal to the newly established Bertie County Recreation Committee. On July 11, 1973, after a meeting with the county officials, the grant was funded for \$2,500. \$1,500 of this grant was to be used to purchase the center's leased land, and the rest was to be used to expand the recreation center by adding swings, slides, and other recreational facilities. It could also be used to aid its existing little league, big league, and girls softball clubs.<sup>23</sup>

The grant received from the county would be the first of many that averaged more than \$2,000 per year from 1973 to 1980. So successful was the center at both writing and administering their grants that in 1979, when the county's grant monies were cut, it still received a grant of \$1,200. This was significant because it was the only rural African-American grant funded. Of the 11 organizations

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<sup>22</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, from H. B. Spruill, Windsor, North Carolina, to John Edd, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>23</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, James C. Kearney, Windsor, North Carolina, to Bart F. Smallwood, September 6, 1973, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

receiving monies that year, all were located in towns. Furthermore, nationally noted organizations such as the Boy Scouts of America were not funded.<sup>24</sup>

To celebrate the awarding of the grant an “Appreciation Day” was held at the center in the summer of 1973. Smallwood and the newly created Recreation Committee thanked all the supporters of the center for help in making it a reality. Among the supporters listed were: John E. Whitehurst, County Manager, C. H. Edwards, Chair of the Bertie County Commissioners, James C. Kearney, Chair of the Bertie County Recreation Committee, Hoke Roberson, Sr., Owner R & W Chevrolet, and most notably state Senator J.J. Monk Harrington, of the North Carolina State Legislature (see Appendix, Figure 72).<sup>25</sup> What is interesting about all these men was that they were all white, quite wealthy, and none lived in the township.

With the grant also came more structure, including a new constitution, rules governing the center, and an executive committee.

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<sup>24</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, John E. Whitehurst, Windsor, North Carolina, to Recreation Organizations (Blue Jay Recreation Committee), September 10, 1979, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author’s possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>25</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Blue Jay Opening day program, no date, in author’s possession, Peoria, IL.

This committee was made up of a President, Bart F. Smallwood, a Vice-President, Roy Bond, a Secretary, Mrs. Evelyn T. Outlaw, and a Treasurer, James R. Outlaw, Jr. It also had a seven-member Board of Directors, including Irving Coggins, Oscar Rascoe, Joe Frank Hyman, Joe W. Thompson, Garland Outlaw, Mrs. Esther Allen, and Mrs. Catherine Bond (see Appendix, Figure 73).<sup>26</sup>

With the grant secured, the group began to discuss its long term plans. Their principal goal was to continue to provide wholesome quality recreation for both youth and adults from the five communities. Their long term plans also included two baseball fields, a well-equipped playground and a community building. With the county grant, they began putting their plans into action. With the grant the center purchased the following items:

Purchase of land	\$1,500.00
Playground equipment	369.18
Wire fence	300.00
Rent for land before purchase	50.00
Wire for ball screen	30.82
Little league football (25) boys	250.00
Total	2,500.00 <sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Blue Jay Grant Proposal 1974, Windsor, North Carolina, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

It must be noted that all of the improvements made with the funds raised were carried out by residents in their spare time.

By 1974 baseball games were being held on every Sunday afternoon during the summer months. While adults enjoyed the baseball games, their young children enjoyed the swings, slides, and seesaws of the center. There were now three ball teams. These included the Little League baseball team, which played its games on Saturdays, the girls' softball team, which also played on Saturdays, and finally the Blue Jay Ball Team which played on Sunday afternoons (see Appendix, Figure 74). The Blue Jay Ball Team became the main attraction for the adults in the community. It brought residents from miles around who loved baseball. The Little League team helped to instill good sportsmanship in the children who participated. The players were required to recite and adhere to this pledge, "I trust in God, I love my country and will respect its laws. I will play fair and strive to win. But win or lose, I will always do my best."<sup>28</sup> With these values in mind, the team would travel throughout the county playing other teams, Black and white, for the

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<sup>28</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Little League Baseball Pledge, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.



love of the sport and social interaction. As the Little Leaguers grew older, they began to play on the adult team. As a result the center soon had enough young men to maintain a successful baseball program.

On May 2, 1974 the Bertie Ledger Advance published a group photo of the adult baseball team wearing new uniforms purchased for them by Hoke Roberson Sr., owner of R&W Chevrolet. Roberson had sponsored the team since 1970 (see Appendix, Figure 71).<sup>29</sup> With the support of Roberson and other businessmen, the ball club continued to prosper.

Although baseball was very successful, the directors of the center continued to try new programs to enhance the lives of their young people. In the fall of 1974, Smallwood organized a Little League football team after receiving an invitation to a meeting at Bertie Senior High School asking him to consider starting a team to enter into the new Bertie County league. The meeting was called by Jerry Smith, coach of a Little League football team in Windsor.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>“Blue Jay Ball Club,” Bertie Ledger Advance, May 2, 1974, 1.

<sup>30</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Jerry Smith, Windsor, North Carolina, to Bart F. Smallwood, Indian Woods, NC, June 1, 1974, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author’s possession,

Smallwood took the idea back to the Center's committee and asked whether Indian Woods should participate in the program or not. The committee unanimously agreed, and the football team was formed. The new team was named the "Red Devils" and were scheduled to begin in September of 1974. This however, would not be as successful as baseball, and would be dropped the next year.

By the end of 1974, attendance at the recreation center was averaging 45 children per day, whereas, more than 450 attended baseball games. With the number continuing to rise, the recreation center petitioned the county for more money, giving as their objective improving services offered. To do this, they required money to purchase additional equipment.<sup>31</sup> They outlined their proposal in September of 1974:

Land	\$1,000
Equipment	1,200
Water pump	200
Fence	500

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Peoria, IL.

<sup>31</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Bart Smallwood, Indian Woods, North Carolina, to Bertie County Recreation Committee, July 23, 1974, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL, 1.

Building	500
Bathroom	1,300
TOTAL	\$5,000 <sup>32</sup>

The request totaled \$5,000. It is not clear from the records reviewed whether the entire amount was obtained by the center. It is clear from newspaper accounts and site visits that all of the aforementioned items were installed at the facility during the years that followed (see Appendix, Figures 75-76). From 1974 to 1976 the center sponsored dances, raffles, fish and barbecue dinners, and all kinds of creative contests such as the Little Miss Blue Jay Pageant to raise money to continue to expand the park (see Appendix, Figure 77).<sup>33</sup> As the center continued to grow it established rules to prevent problems on the grounds. The rules included: (1) No alcoholic beverages or drugs on premises, (2) No profane language, and 3) no weapons.<sup>34</sup> In late 1976, baseball regulations, which

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>33</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Little Miss Blue Jay Raffle, no date, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>34</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Blue Jay Recreation Center Constitution, no date, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

previously had not been needed, were developed and expanded to settle disputes over baseball revenue and how the ball team should operate. Baseball had grown to be so well-liked by the residents that some players desired to be paid for their services. This was never intended. It was only to be a game for fun between various communities within the county. Therefore it was quoted, "We the recreation committee shall redefine the role of baseball in the Blue Jay Recreation Program to settle unrest among the players."<sup>35</sup>

The new regulations introduced by the recreation committee were not well received by the players and in fact resulted in a strike of sorts. A number of players led by Reginald Cherry decided not to play until they shared in money raised at the games. The committee explained, however, that any funds gathered during a game were not used as profits but put back into the upkeep of the park. In fact, since the center received state and local funds, it could not by law operate as a profit-making institution. Therefore, the players could not be legally paid even if this was desired. In the end the members

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<sup>35</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Blue Jay Recreation Center Committee, Indian Woods, North Carolina, to Blue Jay Baseball Team, various locations, North Carolina, 1976, transcript in hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

of the center simply asked area youth if they wanted to start playing on a new team in order to continue the sport. Eventually some of the players who had left the original team returned to play. The resulting controversy did bring into focus how successful the center had become.

In the summer of 1980 the Blue Jay Recreation Center made its final payment of \$1,000 to H. B. Spruill. To celebrate they held a "Mortgage Burning" on Saturday July 5, 1980.<sup>36</sup> During this ceremony all present recited in unison:

"We now dedicate ourselves, our services and our substance anew to the work of our beloved project and to the recreational concerns throughout this community, this nation, and the whole world that the character and fitness of all may be enhanced."<sup>37</sup>

The center continued to prosper and with state representatives such as J.J. Monk Harrington and C. Melvin Creecy supporting it, services continued to expand. The center remained true to its commitment to improving the quality of life in its surrounding communities.

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<sup>36</sup>Bertie Ledger-Advance, 10 July 1980, 34.

<sup>37</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, "Mortgage Burning" program of service, transcript in hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

Smallwood was relentless in his attempts to bring new services to Indian Woods. On August 29, 1976 at Indian Woods Baptist Church, Smallwood presided over the Blue Jay Fire Department Development Program. Among the residents, community leaders, and county officials present were the area pastors, including Rev. Andrew J. Cherry of Spring Hill, Rev. W.A. Moore of Beacon Light, C. Melvin Creecy of Indian Woods, and Rev. Eugene Watson of Saint Francis, plus two County Commissioners, Pete Alston, Windsor Fire Chief and James Kearny. The county commissioners stressed the benefits of having a fire department within the community and discussed how it could be accomplished.<sup>38</sup> Thus again with the community's support, plans were made to raise money to acquire a truck and fire fighting equipment. The first recorded members and officers were Bart Smallwood, President; James S. Pugh, Secretary; Robert Cherry, Treasurer; Lloyd Cooper, Fire Chief Training Officer; Roy Bond, Assistant Training Officer-Captain Tank Division, Robert T.

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<sup>38</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Indian Woods Fire Department Truck Presentation Program, October 17, 1976, transcript in the Hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

Smallwood and George Bond. Together there were 45 members.<sup>39</sup> The Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department joined the 10 existing fire departments in Bertie County as the only African-American Department servicing the newly created Blue Jay Fire District. Less than two months after the organization of the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department, the Windsor Fire Department donated an old but maintainable fire truck to the department. At a ceremony held on October 17, 1976, the mayor of Windsor, Lewis T. Rascoe, Jr., presented the fire truck to Smallwood for the department. Among the guests present who gave remarks were Windsor fire Chief, E. E. Alston, Lewiston Fire Chief Cecil Parker, E. Rawls Carter, president of the Bertie County Fire Association, C. H. Edwards, Chairman, Bertie County Commissioners, and a consistent powerful supporter State Senator J.J. Monk Harrington of the first District.<sup>40</sup> The new Blue Jay Fire District extended from the end of the Spring Hill community to the edge of the Indian Woods Community. The fire station was located at the Blue Jay Recreation Center. The fire department

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<sup>39</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, list of members of the Blue Jay Fire Department, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>40</sup>Smallwood papers, Indian Woods Fire Department Truck Presentation Program.

served two positive functions. The first is obvious. It gave the community greater security in case of fire. The second was not as obvious but just as significant. To operate a fire department safely and efficiently took training, and because the Blue Jay Fire Department was the only African-American department in the county, that training had to be done with other white departments. This fostered cooperation for the first time by the communities with whites outside the Indian Woods township for approximately 45 men who at various times volunteered to work with the department. An example of this cooperation could be seen as early as 1977, when a letter was circulated among the churches of Indian Woods that asked for donations to purchase equipment for the fire station. The letter stated that donations for the department could be left at any of the 11 fire stations that made up the Bertie County Fire Association.<sup>41</sup> This cooperation with area fire departments created lasting professional as well as personal bonds that would strengthen throughout the 1980s. By 1980, Smallwood decided that leading both the recreation center and fire department was too much, so he

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<sup>41</sup>Bart Smallwood private papers, Indian Woods, North Carolina, May 1, 1977, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.



resigned as president of the center on January 12 to dedicate more time to the fire department.<sup>42</sup> He continued, however, to work with the baseball program, and with the children of the community as a volunteer. On November 1, 1983, he received the Governor's Volunteer Award for establishing the Blue Jay Recreation Center and the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department (see Appendix, Figure 78).<sup>43</sup>

Smallwood continued his efforts to find funding for the fire department and on August 27, 1985, received a letter of encouragement from his steadfast friend, Senator J.J. Monk Harrington, now President Pro- Tempore of the North Carolina General Assembly. In the letter to Smallwood Senator Harrington wrote:

"Bart... I want you to know that in 1986 Representative Creech and I want to get some money for your Fire Department and

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<sup>42</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, letter of resignation, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>43</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, Program from the Governor's Volunteer Award, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

Blue Jay Recreation Center but this will have to come in 1986. Be sure and keep in touch..."<sup>44</sup>

Although Smallwood had the influence and will to continue his work, he no longer had the strength. By August of 1985 Smallwood was suffering from terminal lung cancer that was getting progressively worse. On September 4, 1985, the residents of Indian Woods held a ceremony to honor Smallwood and the first baseball team. A marker was erected at the gate to the center which read: "In Honor of the 1965 Baseball Team & Founder Bart F. Smallwood."<sup>45</sup> By this time Smallwood could no longer work either with the fire department or the community as a volunteer. Bed ridden and suffering from shortness of breath, yet another honor was bestowed upon Smallwood. The Bertie County Involvement Council on December 12, 1985 recognized Smallwood as volunteer of the month and held a dinner prepared by the Windsor Cook's Club to raise

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<sup>44</sup>Bart F. Smallwood private papers, J. J. Harrington, Raleigh, North Carolina, to Bart F. Smallwood, Indian Woods, North Carolina, 27 August 1985, transcript in the hand of Bart F. Smallwood, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

<sup>45</sup>Arwin D. Smallwood, "The Establishment and Development of the Indian Woods Community of Bertie County North Carolina" (M.A. thesis, North Carolina Central University, 1990), 20.

money to help pay for his mounting medical bills.<sup>46</sup> It is clear from his letters, honors, and awards that Smallwood was highly regarded among both white and African-American residents of Indian Woods and Bertie County. On December 18, 1985, 6 days after the Involvement Council's award and fund raising dinner, Smallwood died of lung cancer. The suddenness of his death stunned the community. He had become synonymous with the organizations he founded and people wondered what would happen to these organizations. His funeral, held at Indian Woods Baptist Church, brought white and Black residents and leaders from all over the county.<sup>47</sup>

After Smallwood's death, residents seemed to lose interest in the center and ball club. Fewer games were played, until by 1990 they stopped altogether. Fewer children attended the playground and as a result, less care was taken to maintain the structures, or cut the lawn. By 1992 the only part of the park that was still in use was the cement basketball court used by the few remaining residents (see Appendix, Figure 79). The Blue Jay Fire Department continued to

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<sup>46</sup>"Council Honors Smallwood," Bertie Ledger-Advance, December 12, 1985, 40.

<sup>47</sup>"Smallwood Funeral Held Saturday," Bertie Ledger-Advance, December 26, 1985, 1

operate under the leadership of Chief Robert Earl Cherry, but community interest and support increasingly became difficult to obtain.

In fairness Smallwood's death may not have been the leading cause of this decay in the community. Smallwood's death came at a turbulent time in both local and national history. By the late 1980s and early 1990s violence, crime, and drugs began to enter Bertie County. Community indifference and the lack of strong leadership began to take their toll on Indian Woods. Although general trends toward education and political involvement remained the same, the once vibrant Blue Jay Recreation Center, Ball Club, and Fire Department began to deteriorate. Although residents attempted to maintain the center, increased work loads and unwillingness to commit leisure time to painting, cutting grass, and maintaining the grounds caused the center to become dilapidated and overgrown. The Blue Jay Ball club had not been the same since the dispute over paying players and by 1988 disbanded. The exodus of young people that began in the 1960s and lasted through the 1990s left very few children or teenagers in the communities. The teenagers who remained became more interested in driving to the nearby towns of

Windsor, Lewiston, or Williamston, located in neighboring Martin County, if they or their friends had access to automobiles. In 1980, the census recorded that there were only 762 persons remaining in the Indian Woods township, of whom all but 12 were African-American. The census listed 383 males and 379 females. It also reported that 279 were under 18 years of age and 108 were over 65.<sup>48</sup> The Great Migration in Indian Woods did not end in the 1980s as it did in the rest of the south, but continued into the 1990s. By 1990 only 640 residents remained in Indian Woods. Of this number 30 were white. Nearly one quarter of these residents were under the age of 18 and half over the age of 35.<sup>49</sup> By 1990, as a result of the Great Migration, there were only three groups remaining in Indian Woods 1) children under the age of 18, 2) the elderly over 65, and 3) married couples with children. By 1980 the Township had effectively been drained of its college aged men and women.

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<sup>48</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980 Census of Population, 1, part 35 (Washington, DC,: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1982), 35-148.

<sup>49</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary, file 1A (Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1991) [cd rom].

By far the most damaging to the communities was the introduction of drugs. By the late 1980s, the entire rural landscape began to be radically altered by drugs. Crack cocaine and other damaging drugs entered Bertie County and the rest of the rural South and threatened its very existence. Polly Outlaw of Indian Woods stated "things had changed for the better until drugs began to enter the community."<sup>50</sup> Indian Woods, like the rest of America, was not immune to the devastation of illegal drugs. Throughout the late 1980s, the county newspaper began to report on robberies, murders, assaults and drug arrests that were not common in earlier years. As early as 1988 changes became apparent county-wide. The Bertie Ledger-Advance began to run fewer stories about the next year's cotton or peanut crop and began reporting more on things like domestic violence, which it found to be on the rise in the county by 1988.<sup>51</sup> Drugs and drug-related crimes also began to receive a great deal of attention. One of the most notorious incidents, a double murder, occurred in the Windsor township, in which a mother

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<sup>50</sup>Polly Holly Outlaw, interview by author.

<sup>51</sup>Jeanette White, "Domestic Violence is an Increasing Problem," Bertie Ledger-Advance, July 21, 1988, 1.

allegedly under the influence of cocaine killed her two infant children with a butcher knife.<sup>52</sup>

In April of 1990 the paper recorded the largest drug bust in the county's history. Over 30 people, white and Black, were arrested and charged in the sale or trafficking of cocaine and other illegal drugs. One of the young men arrested, Kimball Smallwood from Indian Woods, was 25 years old. This is significant because most of the young people of this age group had left Indian Woods by 1990 for better opportunities.<sup>53</sup> Although Indian Woods had to struggle with the impact of drugs and drug related crime, the quality of life for the residents continued to improve. New and better homes were built, large numbers of the residents' children began to attend college at either North Carolina Central University, North Carolina A&T State University, Norfolk State, Saint Augustine College, East Carolina University, Elizabeth City State University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill or Winston-Salem State University. As

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<sup>52</sup>Jeanette White, "Undercover Drug Investigation Brings More Arrests," Bertie Ledger-Advance April 12, 1990, 1.

<sup>53</sup>Private papers, Questionnaire given to members of Spring Hill, Indian Woods, Beacon Light, and Saint Francis, 1995, in author's possession, Peoria, IL.

many as 20 of Indian Wood's young people left to attend one of these colleges between 1983 and 1990. The largest number went to North Carolina Central University with a total of 6 from 1983 to 1990.<sup>54</sup>

In conclusion, the Indian Woods township is a community made up of five smaller communities which until 1965 had very little cooperation between them. With the emergence of the Civil Rights movement in America, community churches led by their pastors, would begin to encourage residents to improve their condition. This would lead to the development of many civic leaders such as Bart Smallwood, James S. Pugh, and many others who, with the help of residents, would found the first all Black community organizations, such as the Concerned Citizens Association, the Blue Jay Ball Club, the Blue Jay Recreation Center and the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department. Although small, the Indian Woods community in many ways was typical of many southern rural African-American communities. Yet it stands out as a very real example of the impact of the Civil Rights movement on the rural south. As a rural community it offers us the opportunity to examine

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid.



how the 30 years from 1960 to 1990 impacted a small rural African-American community.

## CONCLUSION

This study has documented the history and subsequent merging of three distinct cultures in a small, ten-square-mile area of Bertie County, North Carolina called Indian Woods. It has examined the landscape of Indian Woods and how that landscape has sustained three very distinct cultures and their descendants for more than 400 years. The work also illustrated the impact that these people have had on the landscape of Indian Woods.

Also documented for the first time was the merging of three cultures in the rural South. The dissertation combined Southern history, Colonial American history, Native-American history, African-American history and community history to tell the story of the multicultural residents of Indian Woods. Finally, the work discussed the merging of Native American, European, and African culture among the mixed-blood peoples who currently live in the community.

The work supports the thesis that there are people currently living in the rural South and on the Atlantic seaboard who have a

combination of Native-American, European, and African heritages.

Part one of this work described what happened to the landscape of Indian Woods over the past 400 years. It began with the arrival of the Native Americans 2,000 to 5,000 years ago and illustrated how, through respecting nature, animals, plants, rivers, streams, and creeks, Indians were able to establish a prosperous town, known as Moratuck (or Moratoc), on the banks of the Roanoke River. It then documented the arrival of the English, and how their interaction with the landscape was radically different from that of its original inhabitants. This chapter ended by discussing the arrival of African slaves into Indian Woods and their role in farming the English plantations and cutting and clearing forests. It concluded with the explanation that even during slavery, members of the African-American community, who would become the last inhabitants of Indian Woods, fished the streams, planted the “three sisters” (corn, beans and squash), gathered wild fruits and berries and hunted in much the same way the Tuscarora had 400 years before.

Part two of this work, dealt primarily with the history of the Tuscarora Nation and Indian Woods as a Tuscarora community with

important towns and villages. Indian Woods later became one of the first Indian Reserves in North America. It began by showing the Tuscarora ties to the Iroquois Confederacy, their role in the destruction of the first English colony at “Roanoke,” their five-to-seven year trips to trade with the Iroquois Confederacy, and the Tuscarora War which lasted from 1711 to 1713. It also described the role of the War in the forced migration and dispersion of the Tuscarora across nine states, two nations, and the Caribbean. Part two also illustrated the Tuscarora role in the Seven Years War from 1754 to 1763, their participation in the American Revolution from 1776 to 1783, the final departure of the Tuscarora from Indian Woods in 1802, their role in the War of 1812, and the religious dispute at the New York reserve that caused many of the mixed-blood Tuscarora from Indian Woods to move to the Grand River Reserve. There they joined the Six Nations in 1829 -1830, where their ancestors still reside. It concludes by discussing the various mixed-blood Tuscarora who, because of enslavement with Africans, remained in Indian woods and today still claim Indian Woods as home.

Part three of this work discussed the arrival of the English in

Indian Woods. It described the area's first contact with Europeans in 1585 and the first settlements of 1655. It also described the early government of the region, and identifies the first land and plantation owners of Indian Woods. Major emphasis was placed on colonial and antebellum slavery, and the rise and fall of the tobacco and cotton cultures in Indian Woods. Part three also analyzes the post-Civil War years and the rise of peonage and the peanut plantations of Indian Woods. It discussed the impact of the Civil War and subsequent end of slavery on the white population of Indian Woods. It concluded by discussing the white minority in Indian Woods and their mass migration to the mostly white towns nearby, even as they retained control of most of the land and housing of Indian Woods.

The fourth and final part of this work, dealt with the Black community of Indian Woods. As with the three previous sections, part four discussed the arrival of the first Africans into North Carolina in 1526 with the Spanish explorer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. It describes the release of 300 African and West Indian Slaves at Roanoke, by Sir Francis Drake, in 1586. It then traced the spread of African-Americans and whites into Indian Woods by 1650. It also explored the merging of Native American and African cultures. The

role that enslaved African-Americans from Indian Woods played in the Civil War is examined, as well as how, following the war, African-Americans of Indian Woods built and established churches that also served as schools by 1866. It discussed the building of the Rosenwald schools of the early 1900s and the impact of the Great Depression and the New Deal on the Blacks of Indian Woods. The section concluded by discussing the impact of the civil rights movement, community activism, the great migration, and drugs and crime on the community.

Although the work draws on many sources, it is unique in approach, subject matter, and findings. The mixed-blood people who consider themselves African-American are totally unaware of the reasons behind many of the things that they do, and can note only that they learned from their parents or grandparents. In this fascinating manner they have passed on many customs and beliefs that are more Native American than African, a finding that often conflicts with various Afrocentric approaches. Finally, since all of the current residents are Christians, they have accepted as their own many customs, including their religion, from Europeans. Yet it is also noticeable that as it pertains to their food, one can observe the

African influence in the dishes they prepare, as in the case of the origins of hush puppies. There is even evidence that the Blacks in Indian Woods, who were from Guinea on the west coast of Africa, introduced peanuts to Indian Woods and Bertie County after having them introduced to Guinea by the Spanish and Portuguese from South America. Thus represented in Indian Woods is 400 years of history, combining the culture of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans.





A HISTORY OF THREE CULTURES: INDIAN WOODS, NORTH CAROLINA,  
1585 TO 1995

Volume 2

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

Arwin D. Smallwood, B.A., M.A.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Ohio State University  
1997

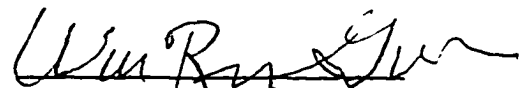
Dissertation Committee:

Professor Warren Van Tine, Adviser

Professor Joan Cashin

Professor John C. Burnham

Approved by



Adviser

Department of History

## APPENDIX

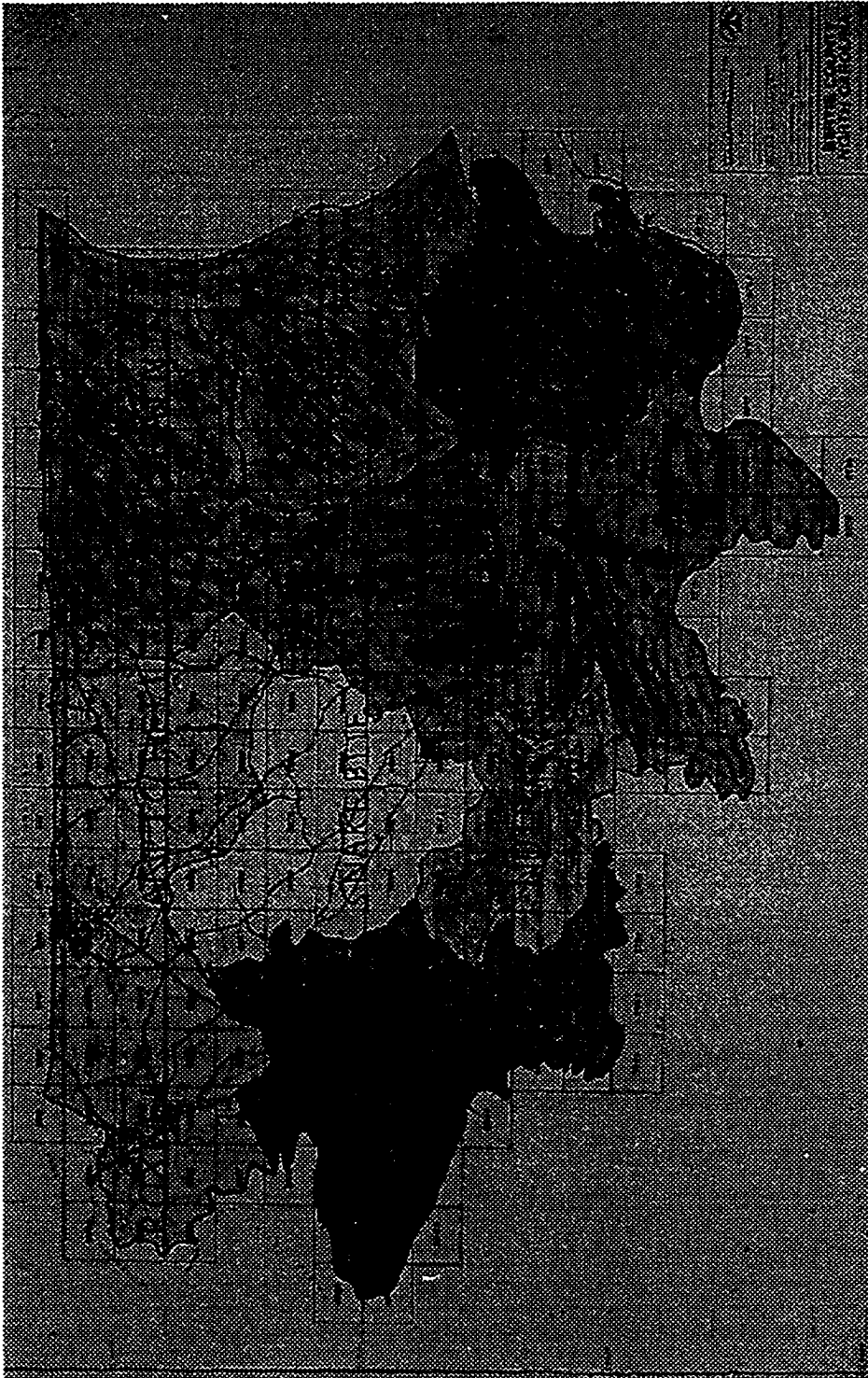


Figure 1: By 1995 there were nine townships in Bertie County. Indian Woods, located between Windsor and Woodville townships, was the only all-Black township.

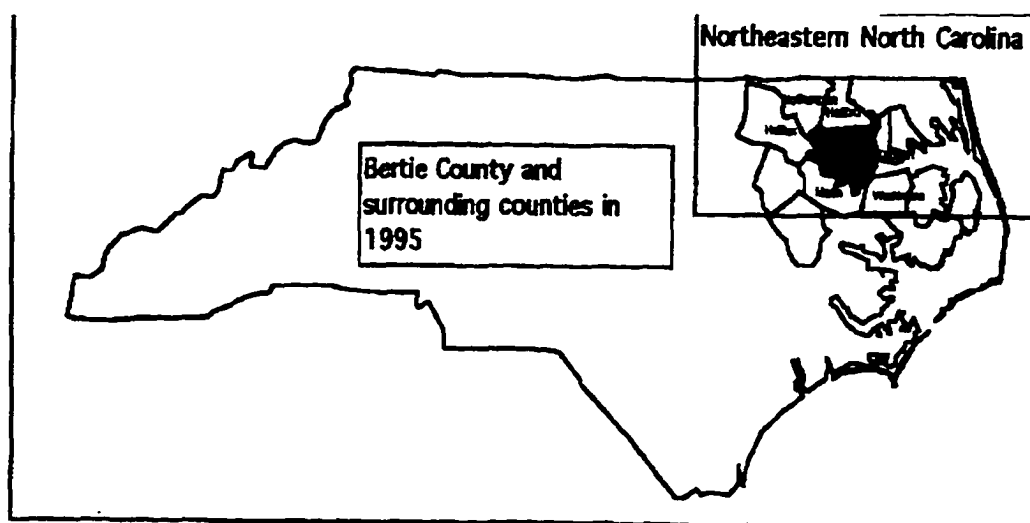


Figure 2: Bertie County is located in Northeastern North Carolina, is surrounded by five counties and is bordered by the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and the Albemarle Sound.

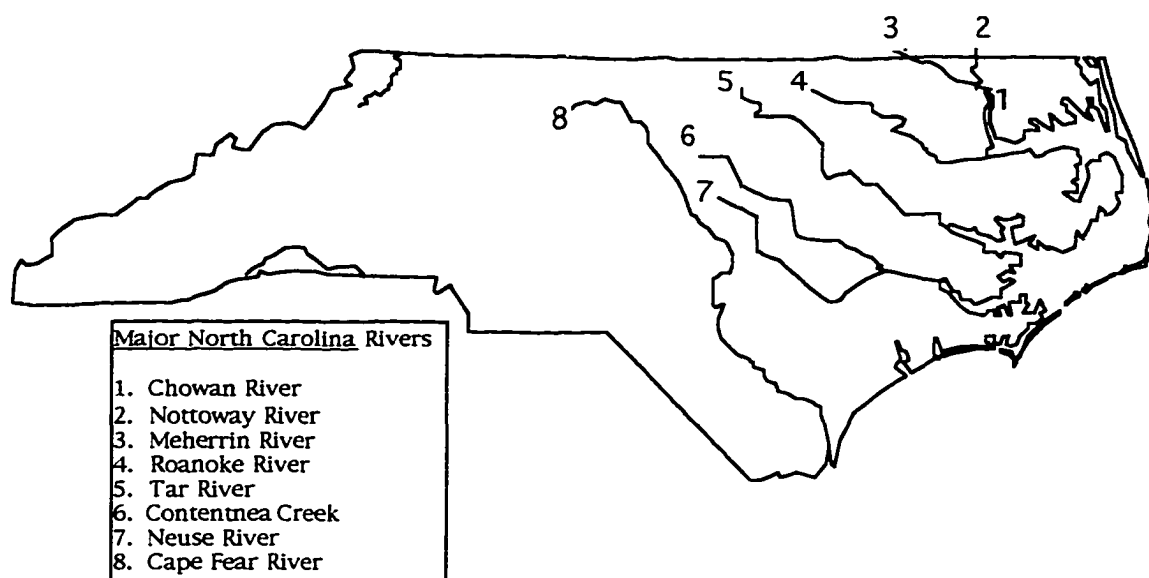


Figure 3: Eight major North Carolina and Virginia rivers that allowed the Tuscarora and their allies and early European settlers access to the Outer Banks and the Atlantic Ocean.

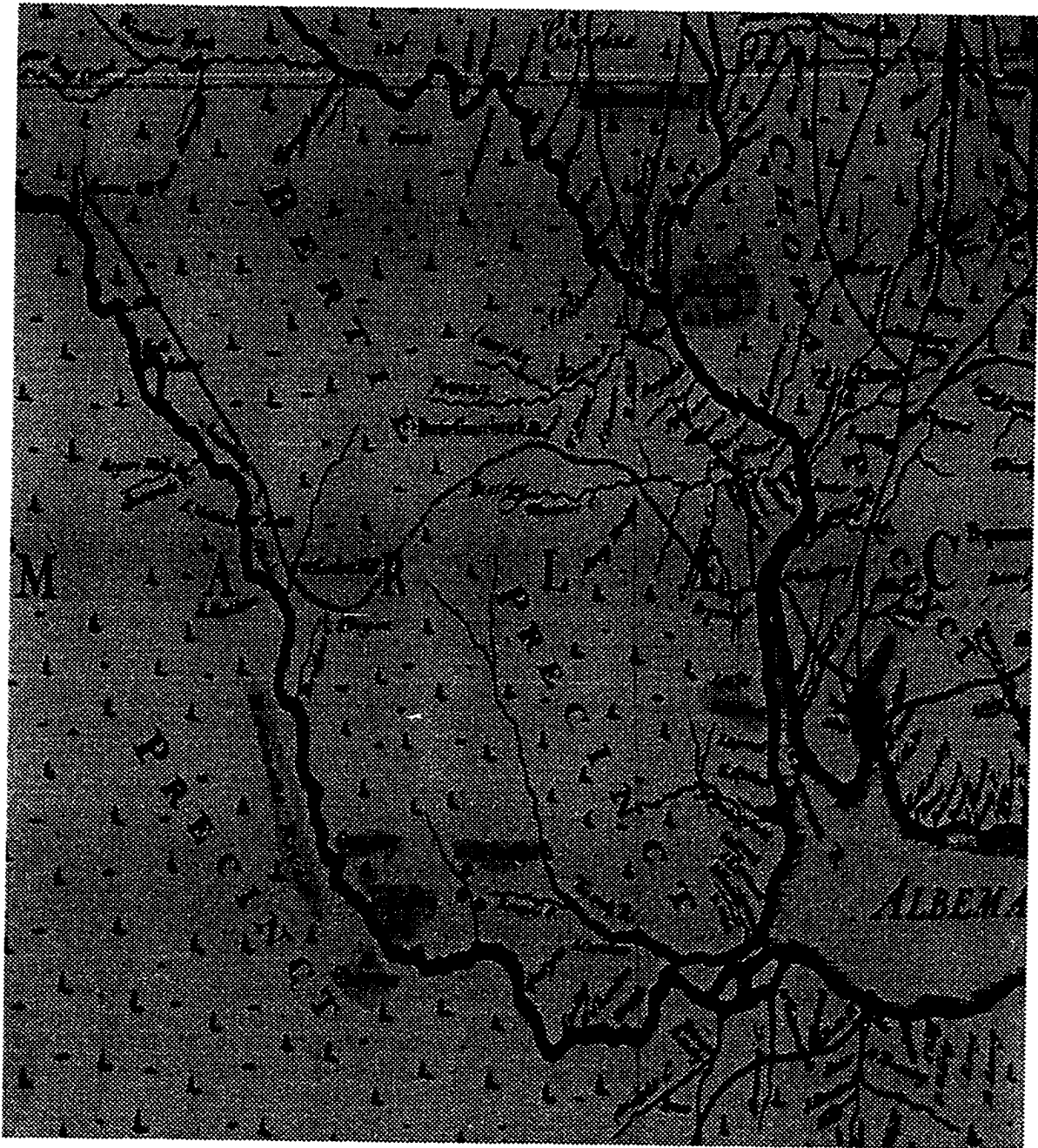
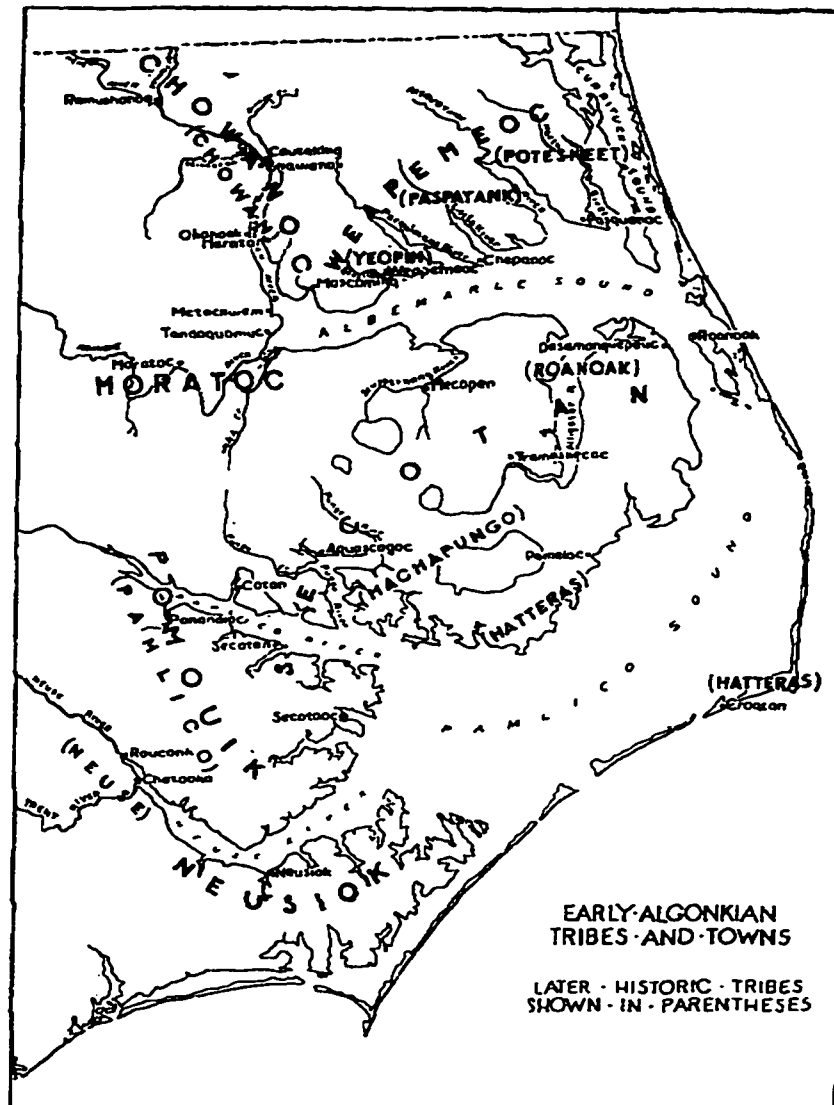


Figure 4: Bertie Precinct around 1700 showing Bertie Courthouse, Meherrin and Tuscarora towns along the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers.



Figure 5: Indians canoeing and fishing in and around the Albemarle Sound as recorded by John White in 1585.



Map Showing Location of Indian Villages Visited by  
Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonists

By courtesy of Maurice A. Mook and the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*

Figure 6: Map showing areas of costal North Carolina with locations of major North Carolina rivers, Indian peoples, towns and villages, including Moratoc (part of modern day Indian Woods), on the north west banks of the Roanoke River mapped by the English from 1584 to 1587.



Figure 7: Lands controlled by the Tuscarora in Eastern North Carolina and the Five Nations in New York Pennsylvania and Canada, and lands controlled by the Cherokee before 1711. Anthropologists note that while all were Iroquois, the Cherokee were bitter enemies of both the Tuscarora and the Five Nations.



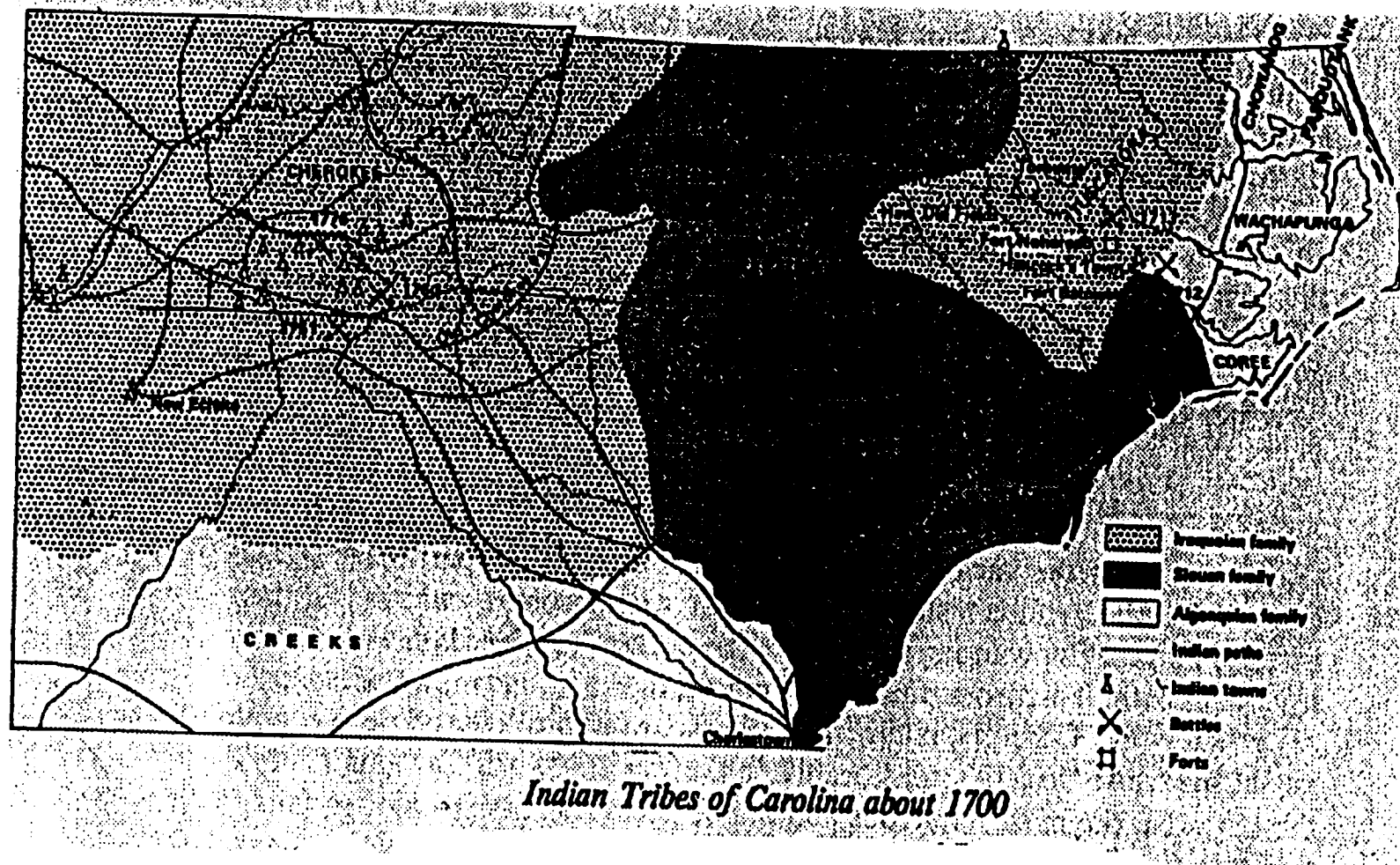
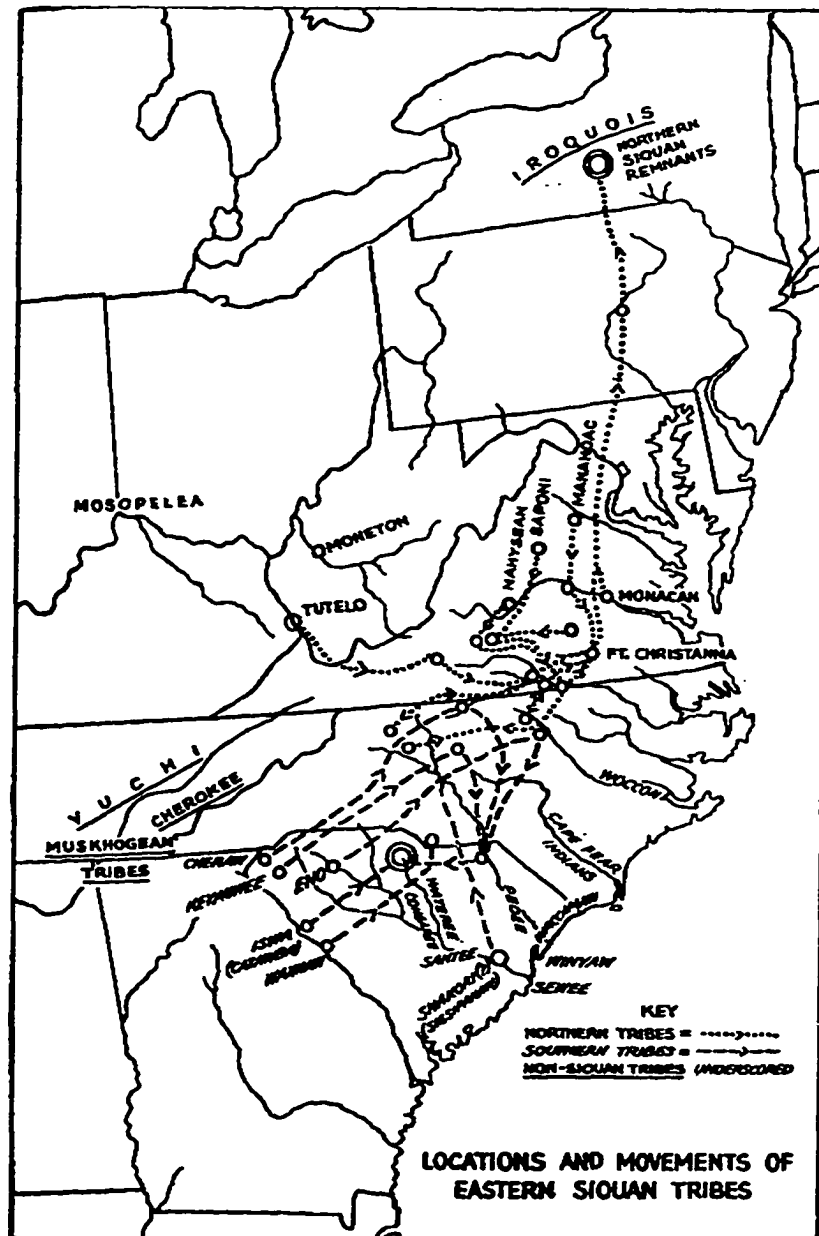


Figure 8: Map showing major Indian Nations of North Carolina, their allies, roads, towns and forts. Also shows lands in Eastern North Carolina controlled by the Tuscarora Nation.



By courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the University of California Press

Figure 9: Trade Route used by Tuscarora to provide sea shells to the Iroquois Confederacy from the Outer Banks of North Carolina.



Figure 10: A typical garden in Indian Woods which contains the three sisters: corn, squash, and beans. Also contains melons, collard greens, onions, peppers, salad, and cabbages (above). Rows of squash, originally cultivated by the Tuscarora Indians (below).

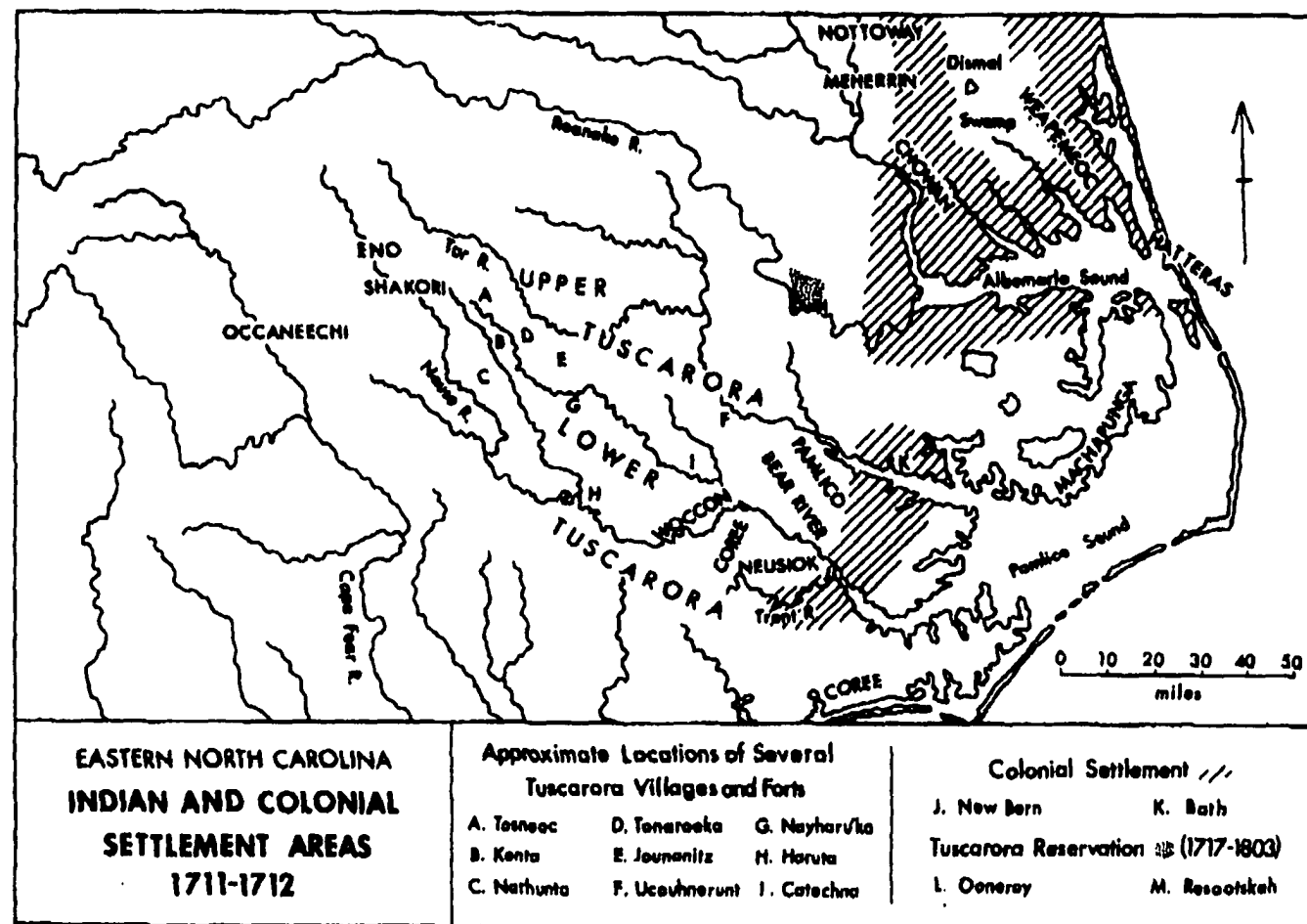


Figure 11: Eastern North Carolina at the start of the Tuscarora War in 1711, with major towns and the Indian Woods Reserve established at the close of the War in 1717.

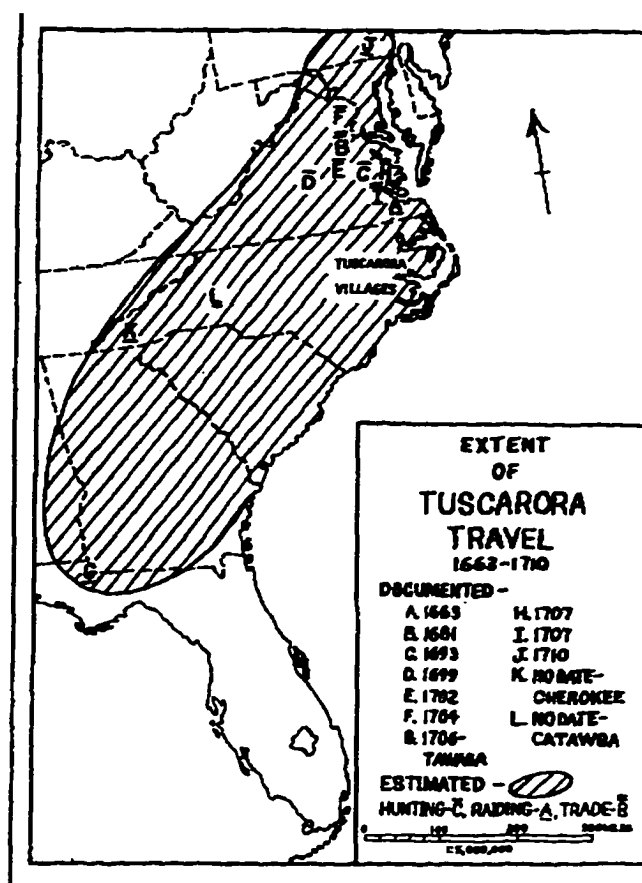


Figure 12: Areas where the Tuscarora were known to have hunted, traded, or raided villages of enemy Indians, 1663 to 1710.

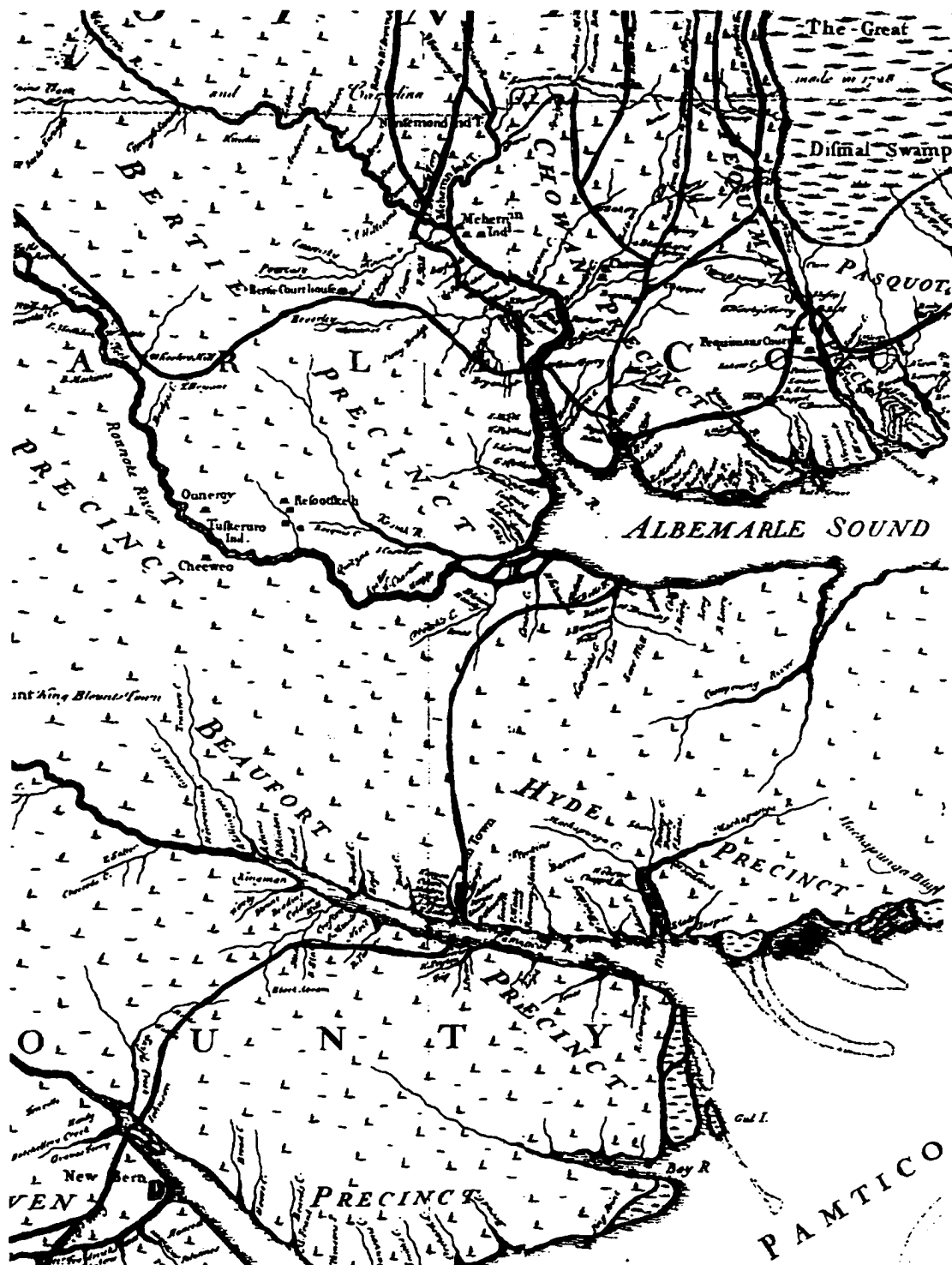


Figure 13: The first Colonial roads and Tuscarora and European settlements in eastern North Carolina by 1700.

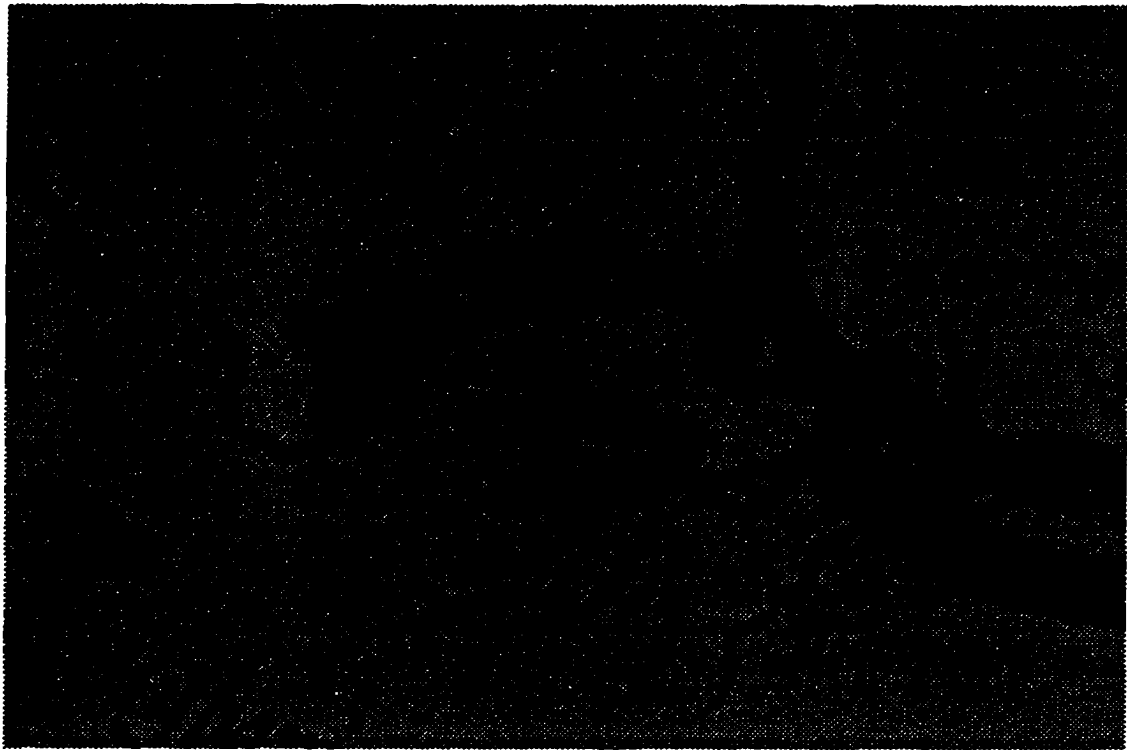


Figure 14: The first Native American settlements recorded in Bertie County, mapped by Englishman John White in 1585. Map shows location of two Meherrin towns, one at the mouth of the Chowan river, the other at the mouth of the Roanoke river, and Moratuc, a Tuscarora town on the Roanoke river in present day Indian Woods.



Figure 15: The Lynching Tree served as a trading place for the Indians during their time in Indian Woods (above). One of a number of Tuscarora burial grounds (below).



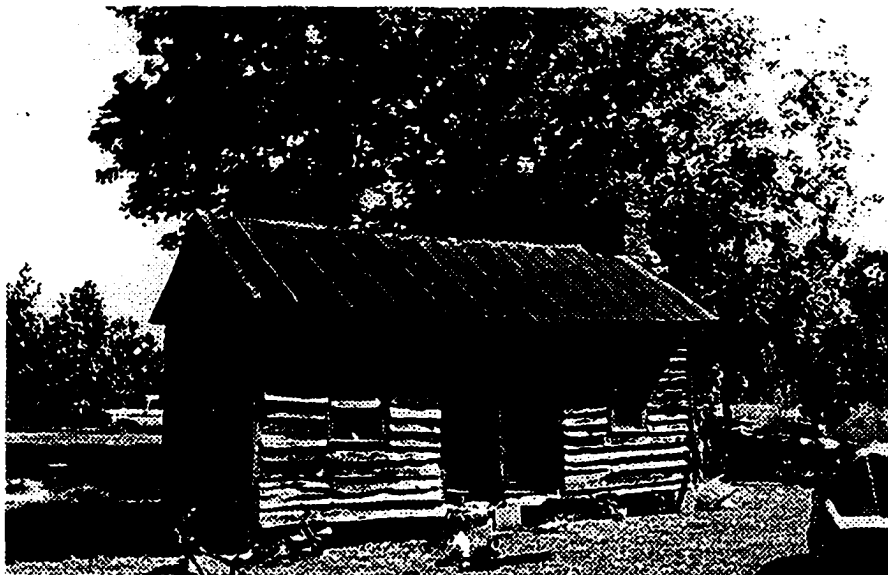
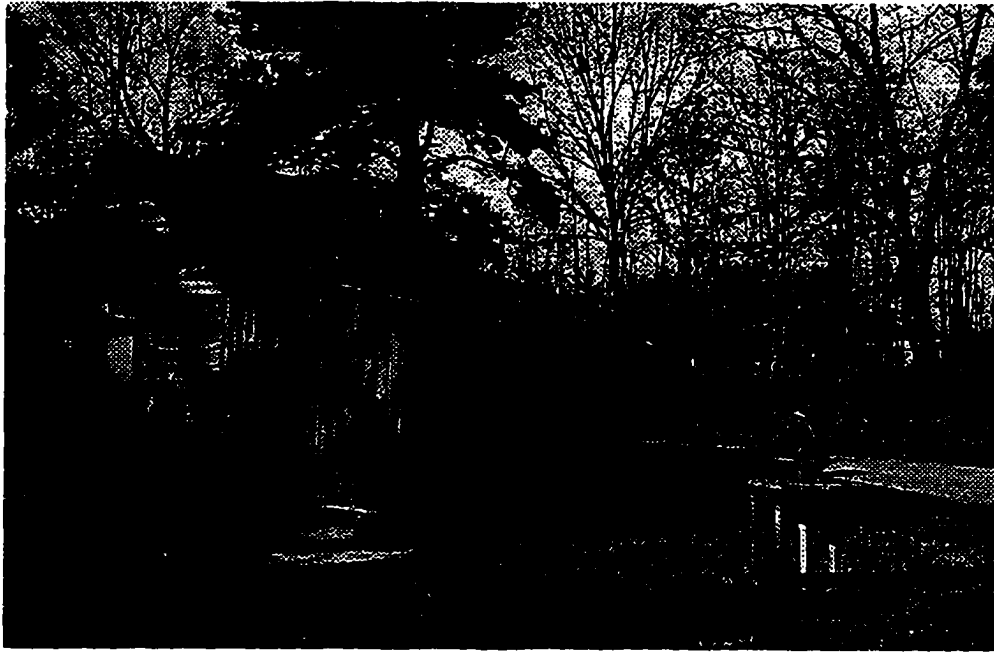


Figure 16: One room shack with outside pump built during the 1800s (above). One Room Shack built in the 1800s (below).



Figure 17: Overseer's home built in the 1800s (top).  
Shotgun house built during the 1800s (bottom).

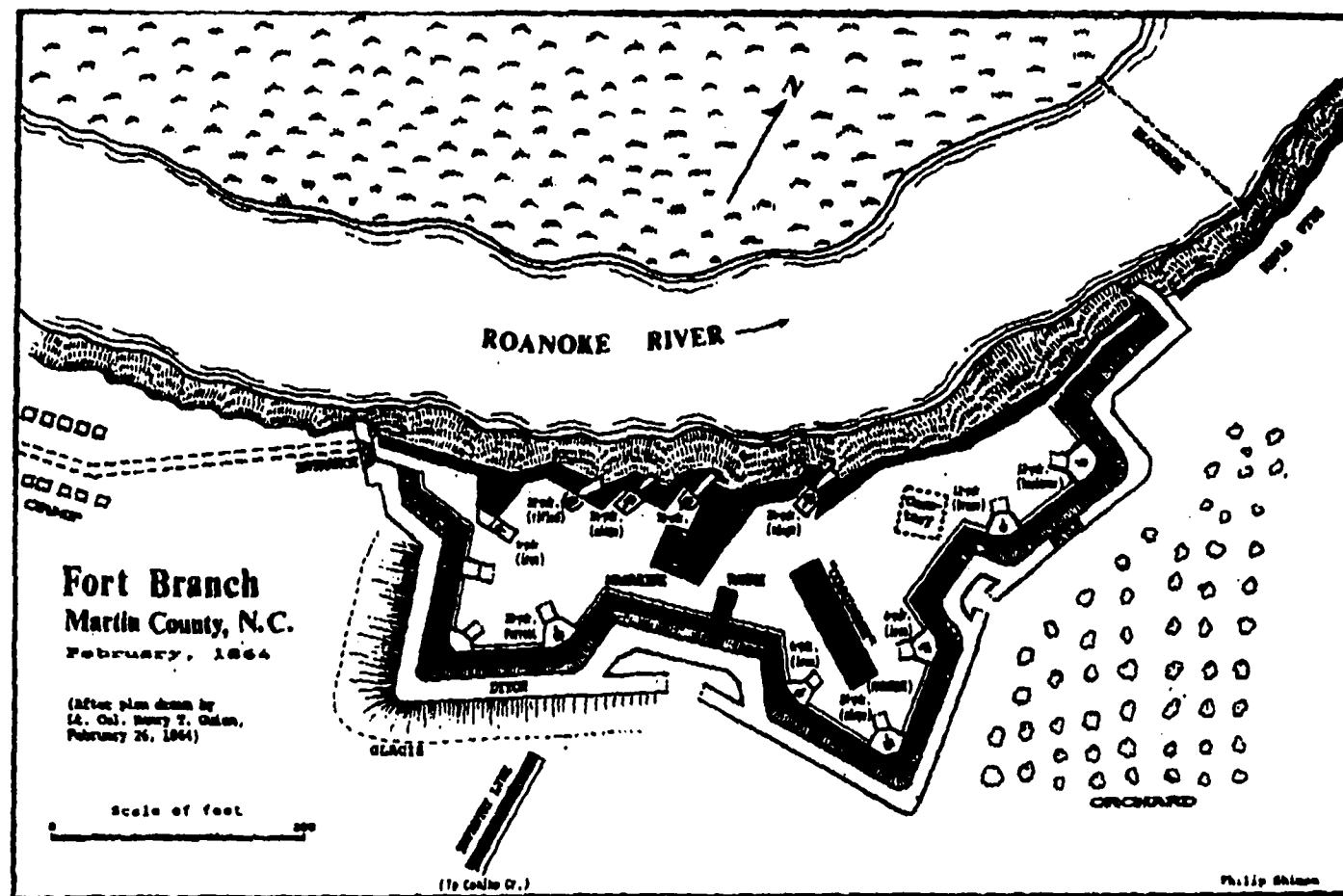


Figure 18: Layout of Fort Branch at Rainbow Bend, staffed initially by local recruits, some of whom were from Indian Woods.

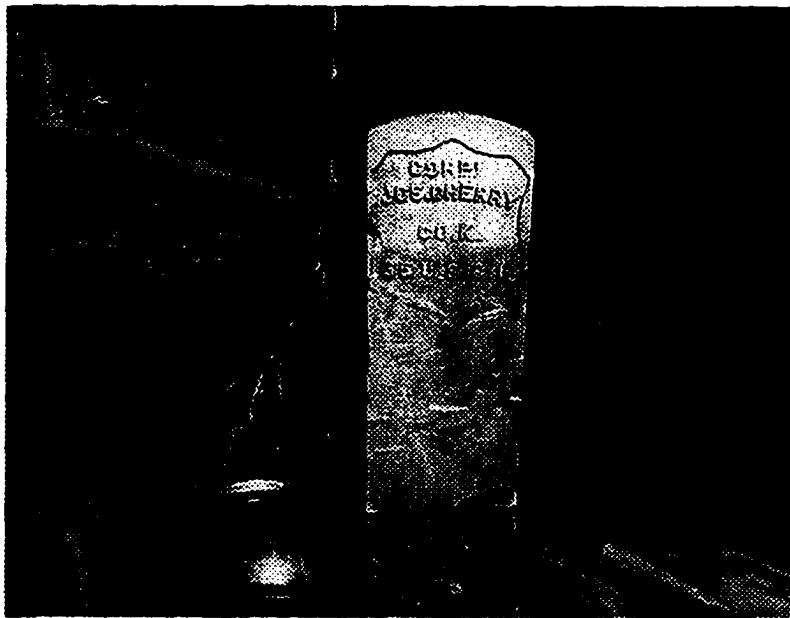


Figure 19: Civil War marker at Spring Hill Baptist Church (above).  
Civil War marker from old slave burial ground bulldozed by  
Spruill (below).



Figure 20: William Hill (left) and Savage W. Rascoe (right) grave markers. Examples of Indian Woods residents who served in World War I and II, respectively. These markers can be seen in the Indian Woods and Spring Hill Baptist Church cemeteries.

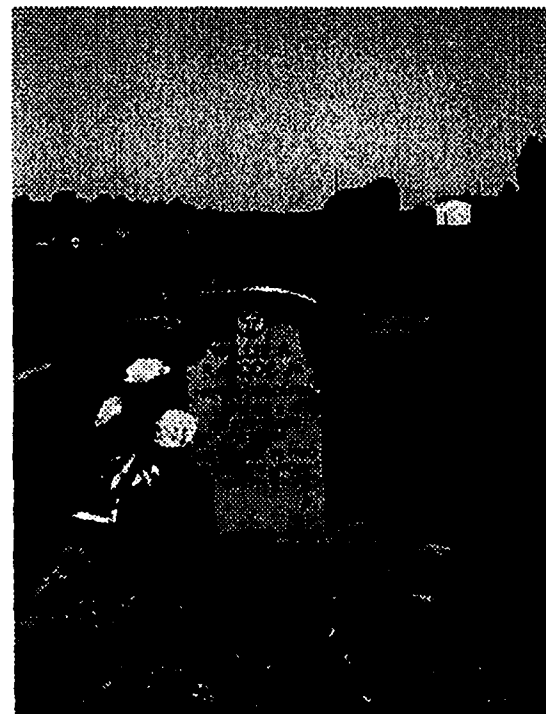
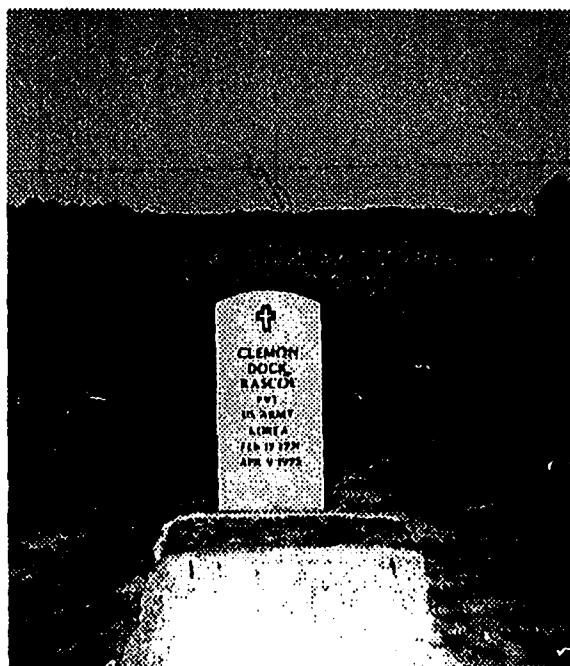


Figure 21: Clemon Dock Rascoe (left) and Willie R. Rascoe, Jr. (right) grave markers. Examples of Indian Woods residents who served in the Korean and Vietnam War, respectively. These markers can be seen in the Indian Woods and Spring Hill Baptist Church cemeteries.

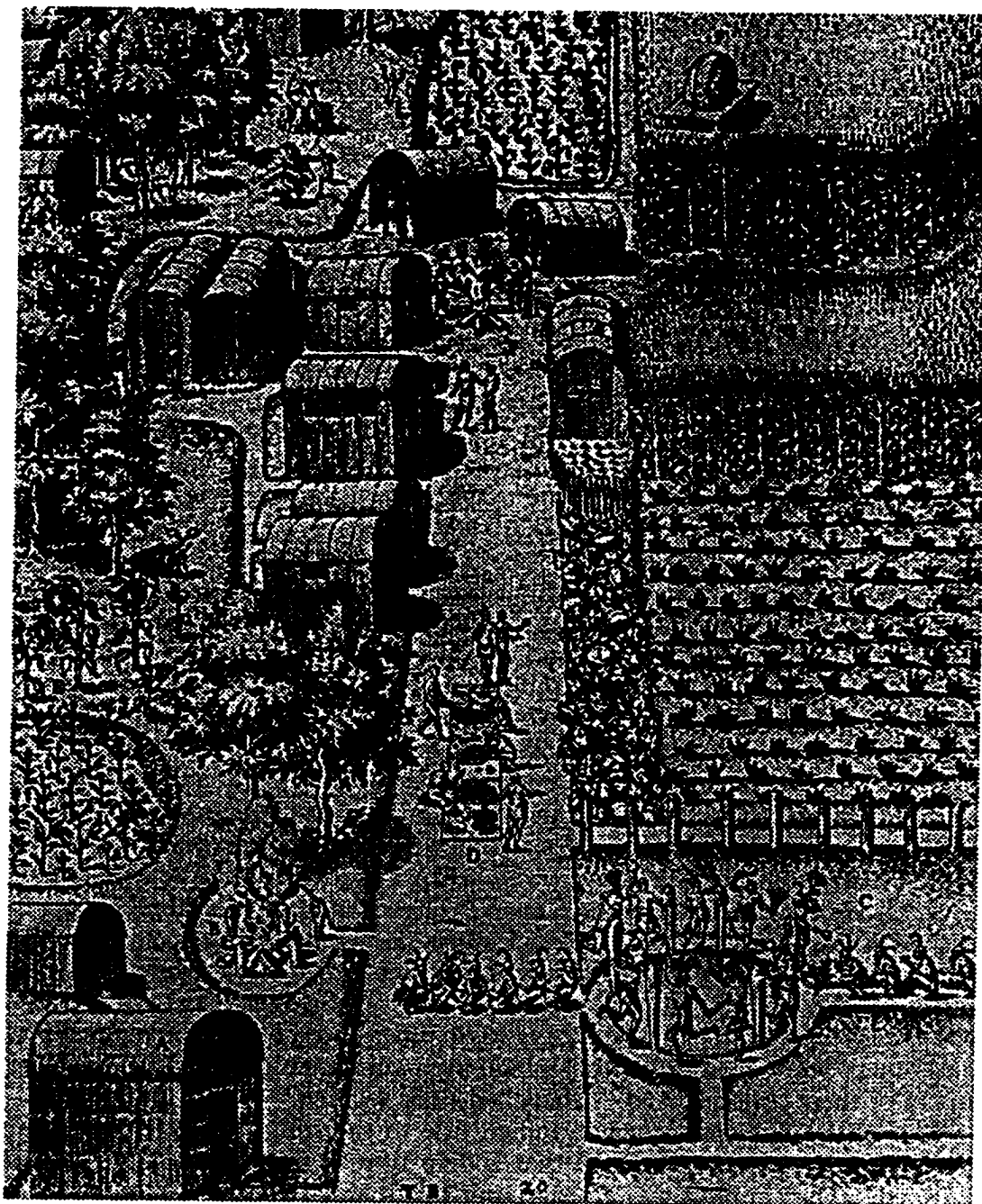


Figure 22: The Indian Woods Rosenwald School (above).  
The Spring Hill Rosenwald School (below).



Figure 23: Saint Francis Rosenwald School, now a home for an African-American family (above). The Cain Rosenwald School lot (below). The school was destroyed by fire.





*De Bry's Engraving of a Painting of an Indian Village by John White*  
*North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Figure 24: Painting, possibly of a Tuscarora village, by John White in 1585.



Figure 25: Drawing by Baron de Graffenreid depicts Tuscarora War Council in 1711. Although there were actually two slaves, only De Graffenreid's slave is included in this drawing.

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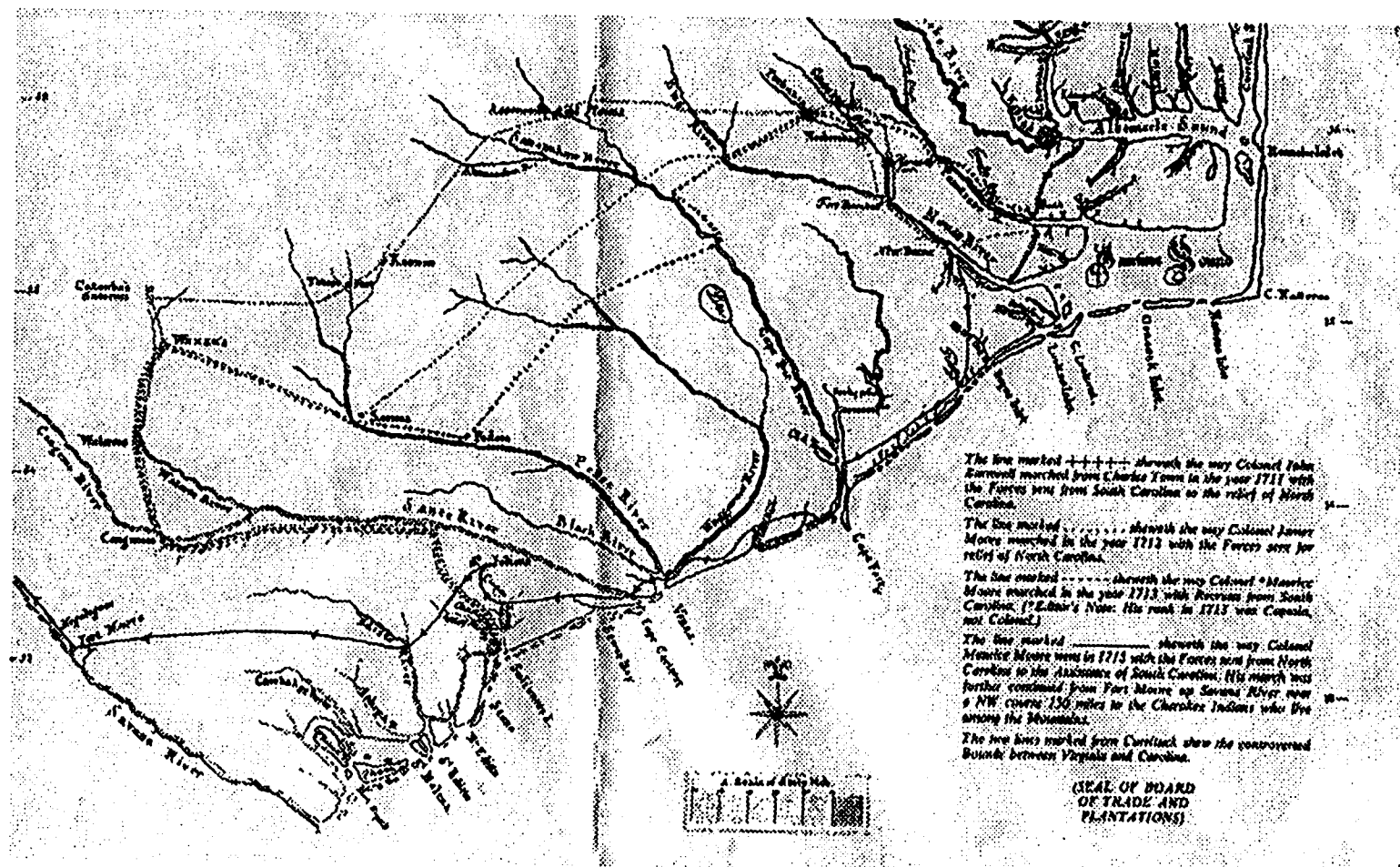


Figure 26: Map tracing major military routes during the Tuscarora War, 1711-1713 by Col. John Barnwell and Col. James Moore.

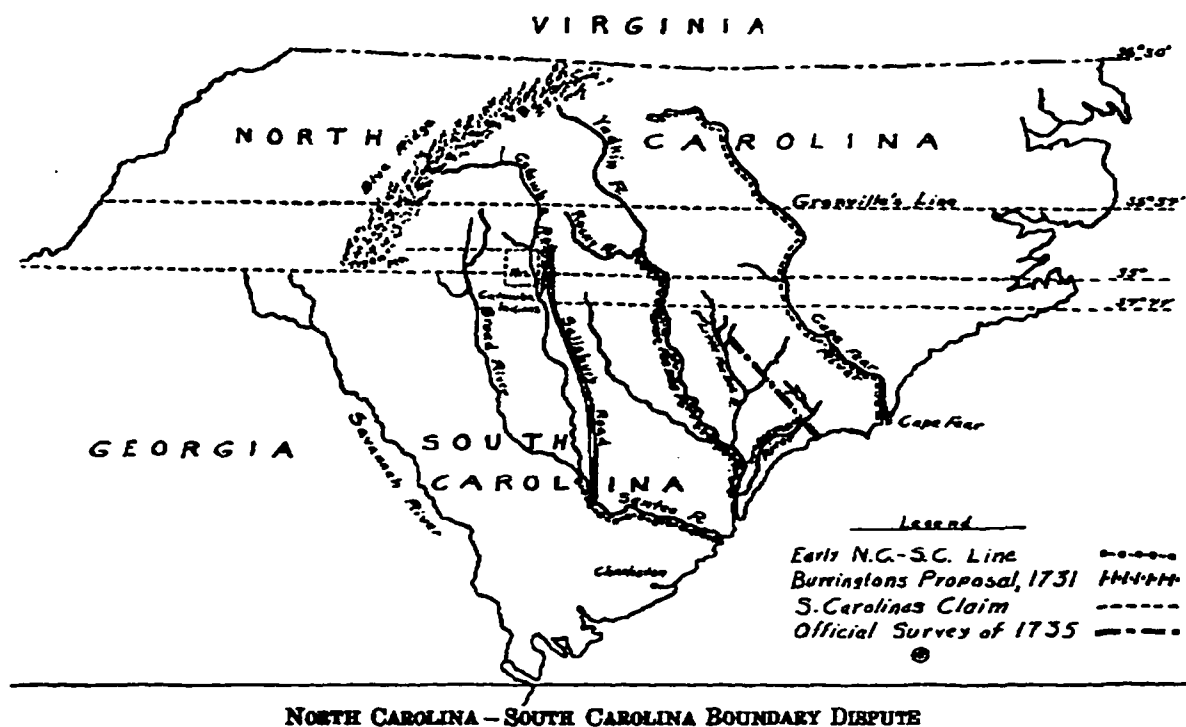


Figure 27: After South Carolina's military support during the Tuscarora War in 1711 and 1712, bonds between the two colonies grew stronger, particularly in the southern parts of the North Carolina Colony and the northern parts of the South Carolina Colony. This map shows major roads and rivers connecting the two states.

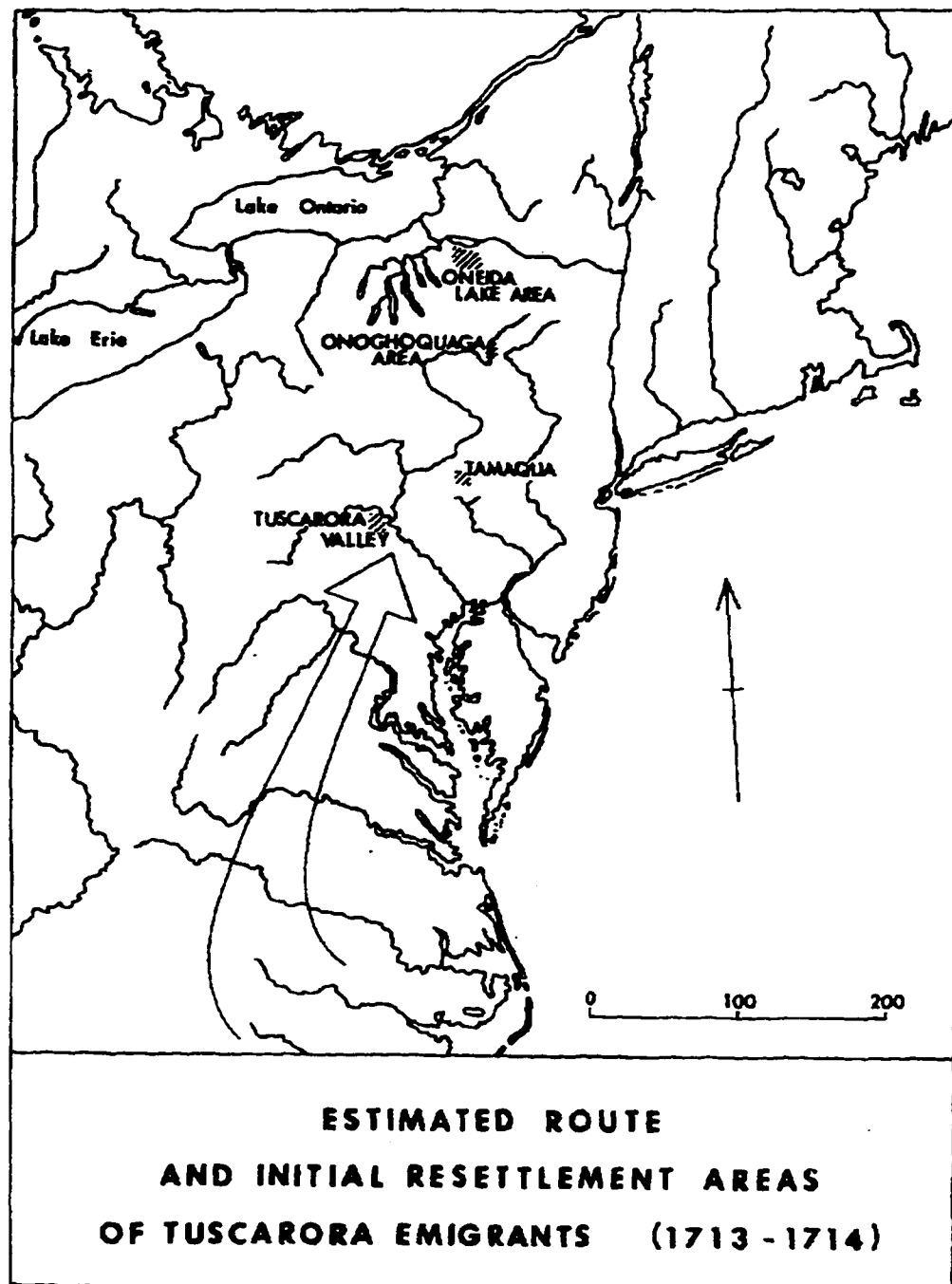


Figure 28: The Tuscarora forced migration to the lands of the Five Indian Nations in 1715.



Figure 29: Indian Woods Reserve and Tuscarora town in Bertie County in 1717.

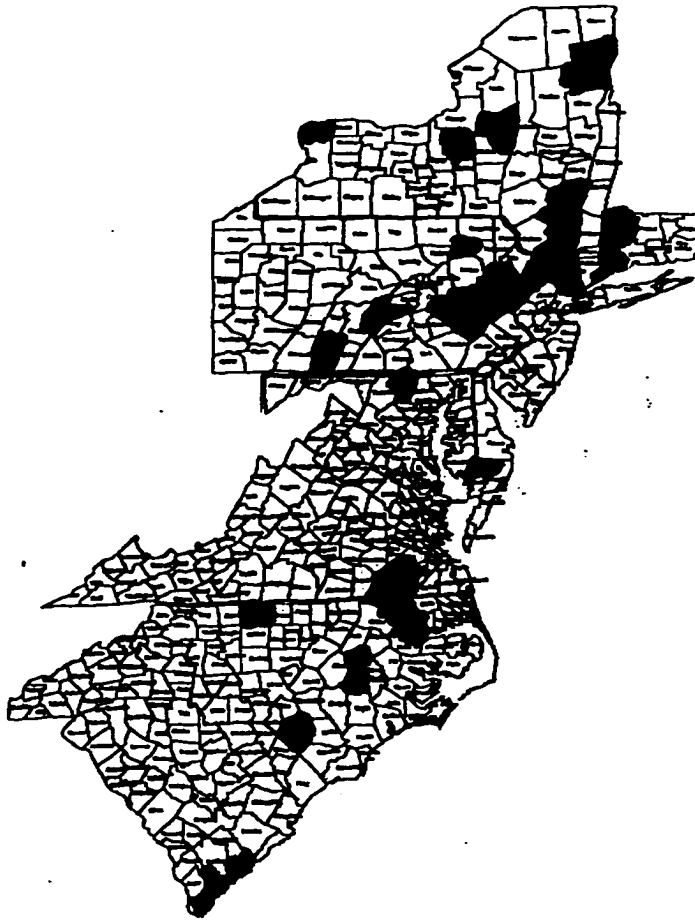


Figure 30: Today the descendants of the once powerful Tuscarora Nation are scattered over nine states on the Atlantic seaboard and throughout the British Caribbean.

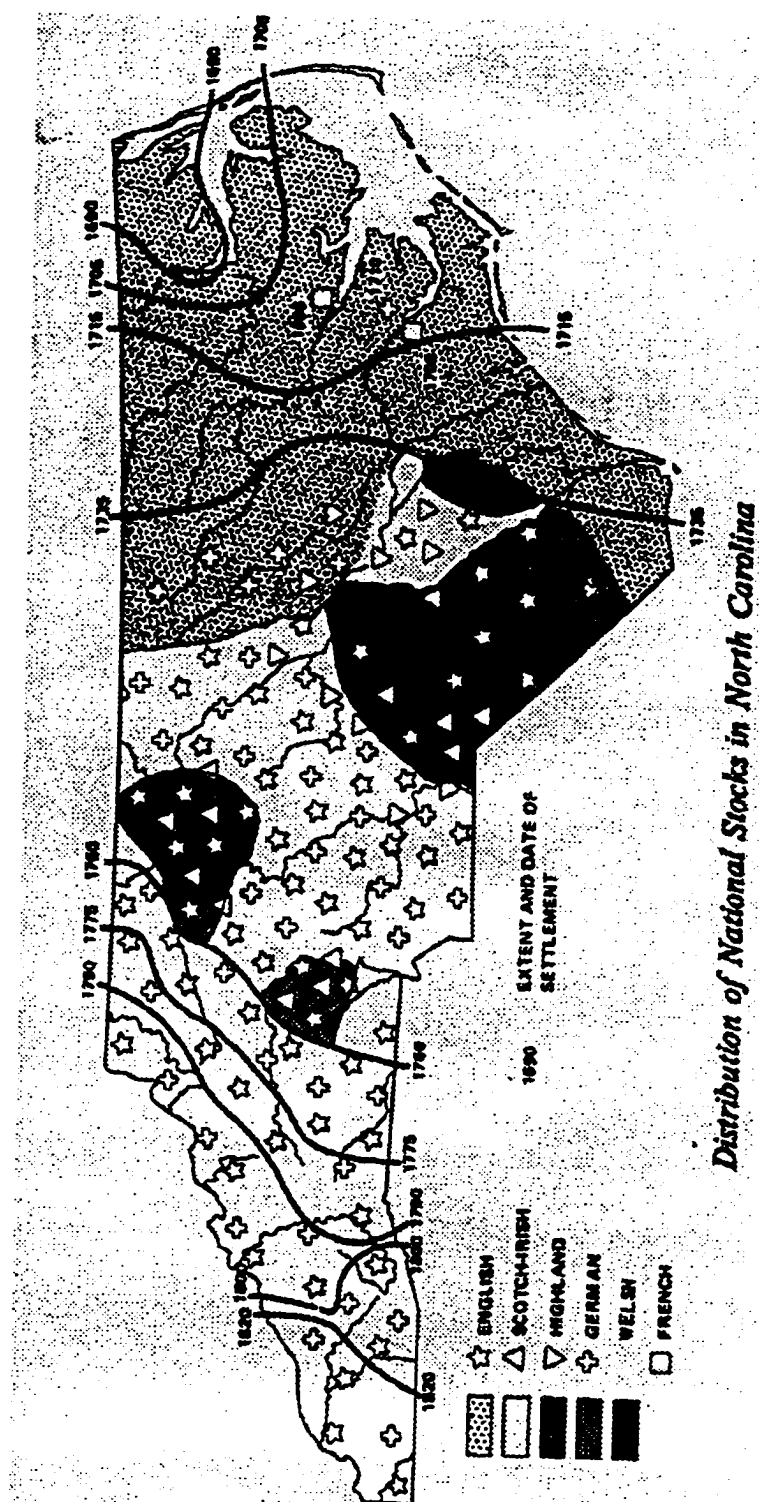


Figure 31: Map showing European settlement of northeastern North Carolina from 1690 to 1760.



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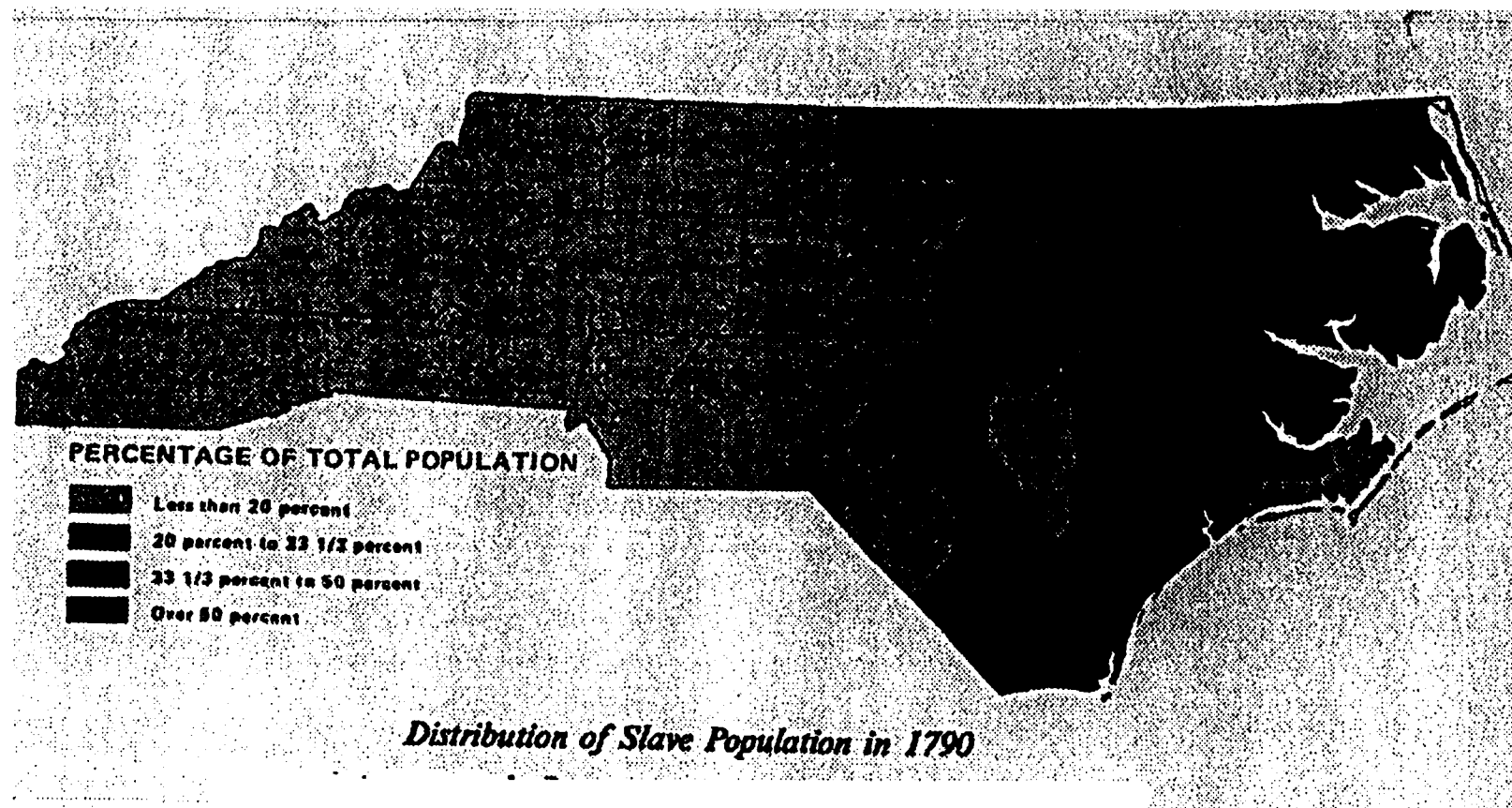


Figure 32: By 1790 Bertie County was nearly 50% Black. Indian Woods was already over 50% Black but still contained some white slave owners and Tuscarora.

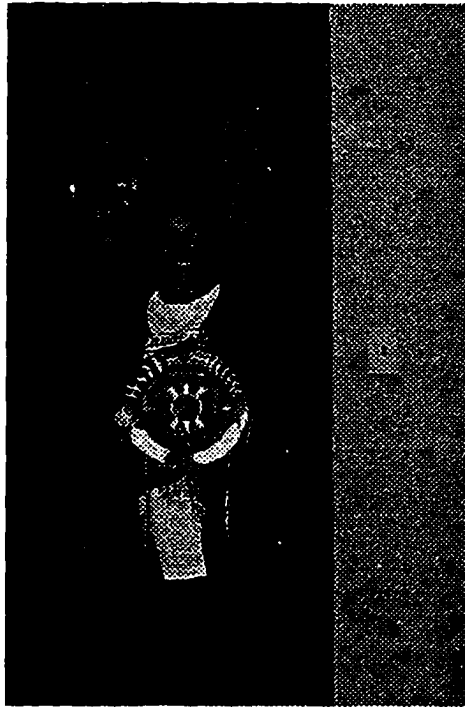


Figure 33: Jonathan Garfield, a descendant of the Tuscarora who lived in Indian Woods from 1717 to 1803. Garfield lives on the Six Nations Reserve in Oswegen, Canada (above). Mrs. Garfield, a Mohawk Indian and wife of Jonathan Garfield, holding a wood carving made by her husband and son (below).



Figure 34: Jonathan Garfield's Grandfather, a farmer, is pictured here in the 1950s (above). Garfield's Grandfather in Tuscarora feather headdress (below).

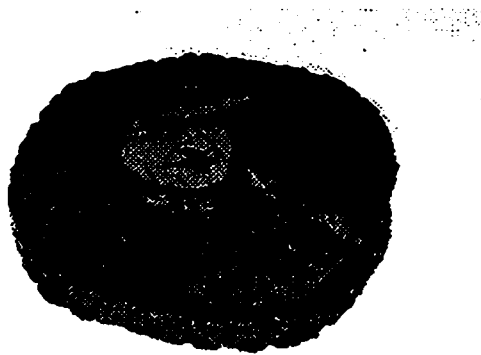


Figure 35: A wood carving created by Jonathan Garfield in the likeness of his Grandmother (top). A wood carving of a Tuscarora, painted on wood by Jonathan Garfield's Son (middle). Drawing of a bear with sacred symbols by Jonathan Garfield's son (bottom).



Conspiracies of 1802 were thought to be centered at Bertie towns of Coleraine and Windsor, circled above. Nearby plantations of Fitt, Brown and Outlaw (also shown on map) were marked for violence.

Figure 36: In 1802, following the Coleraine Plot, slaves in Indian Woods were accused of plotting a major slave uprising based at the Outlaw house. These incidents became known as the “Great Negro Conspiracy” and caused the worst panic of its kind in North Carolina history.

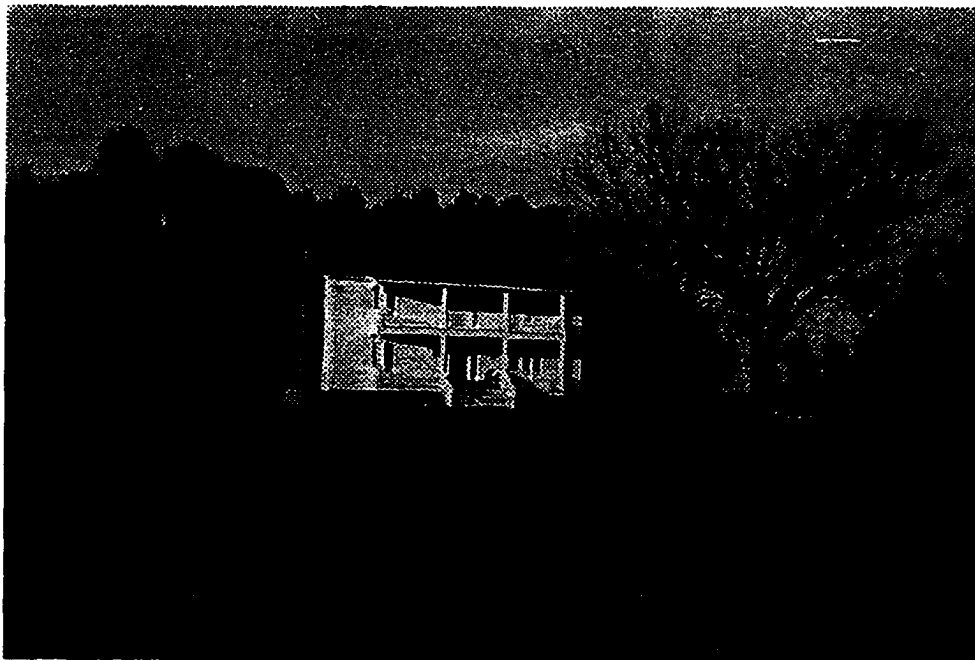


Figure 37: The Outlaw house, site of the 1802 “Negro Conspiracy.” Home of Congressman David Outlaw, and his son Edward, Confederate Captain and later Sheriff of Bertie County (above). The Rascoe Plantation House, site of one of the largest slave plantations prior to the Civil War (below).



Figure 38: Forts and major cities in eastern North Carolina during the Civil War.

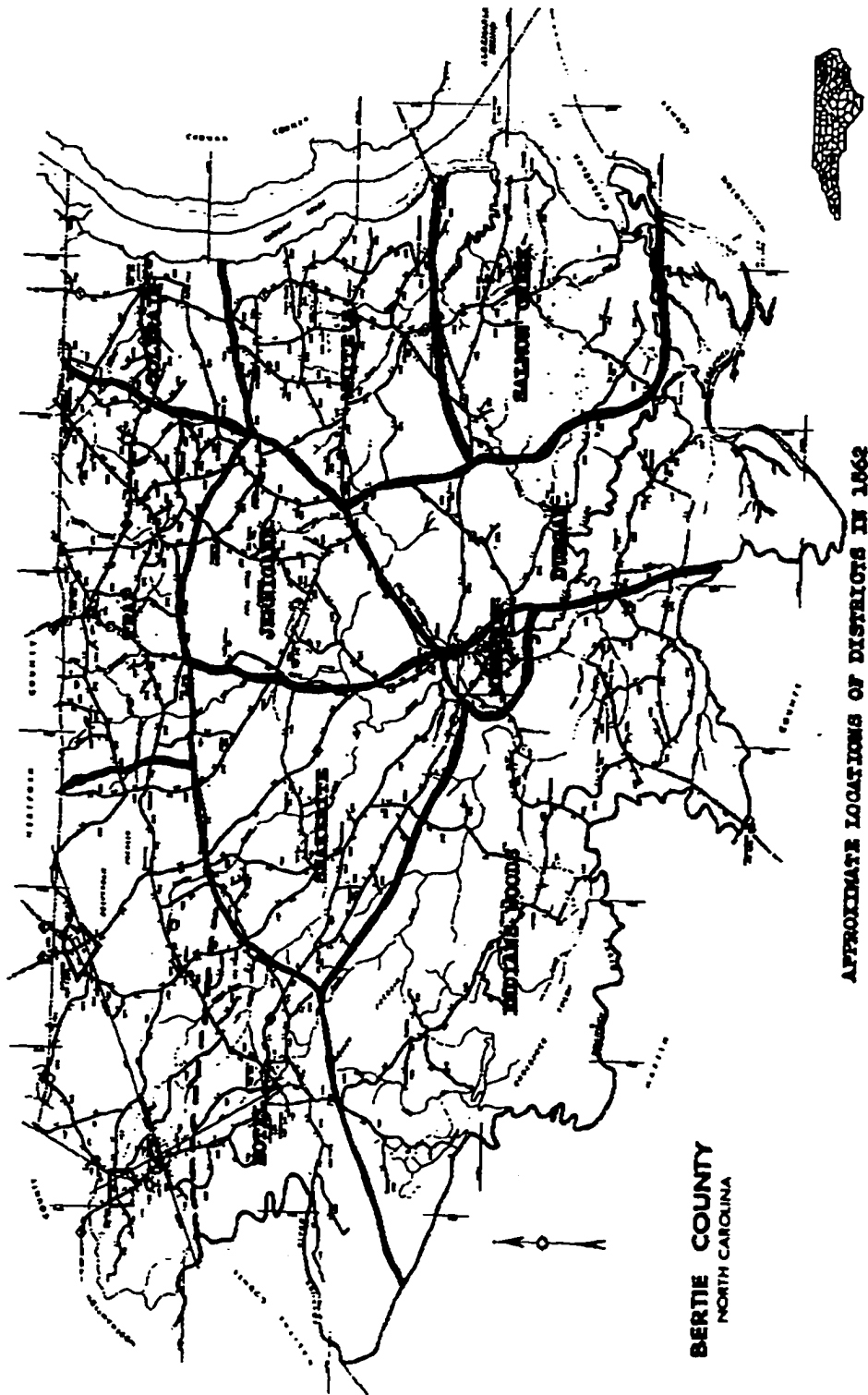


Figure 39: Indian Woods Township during the Civil War, 1862.



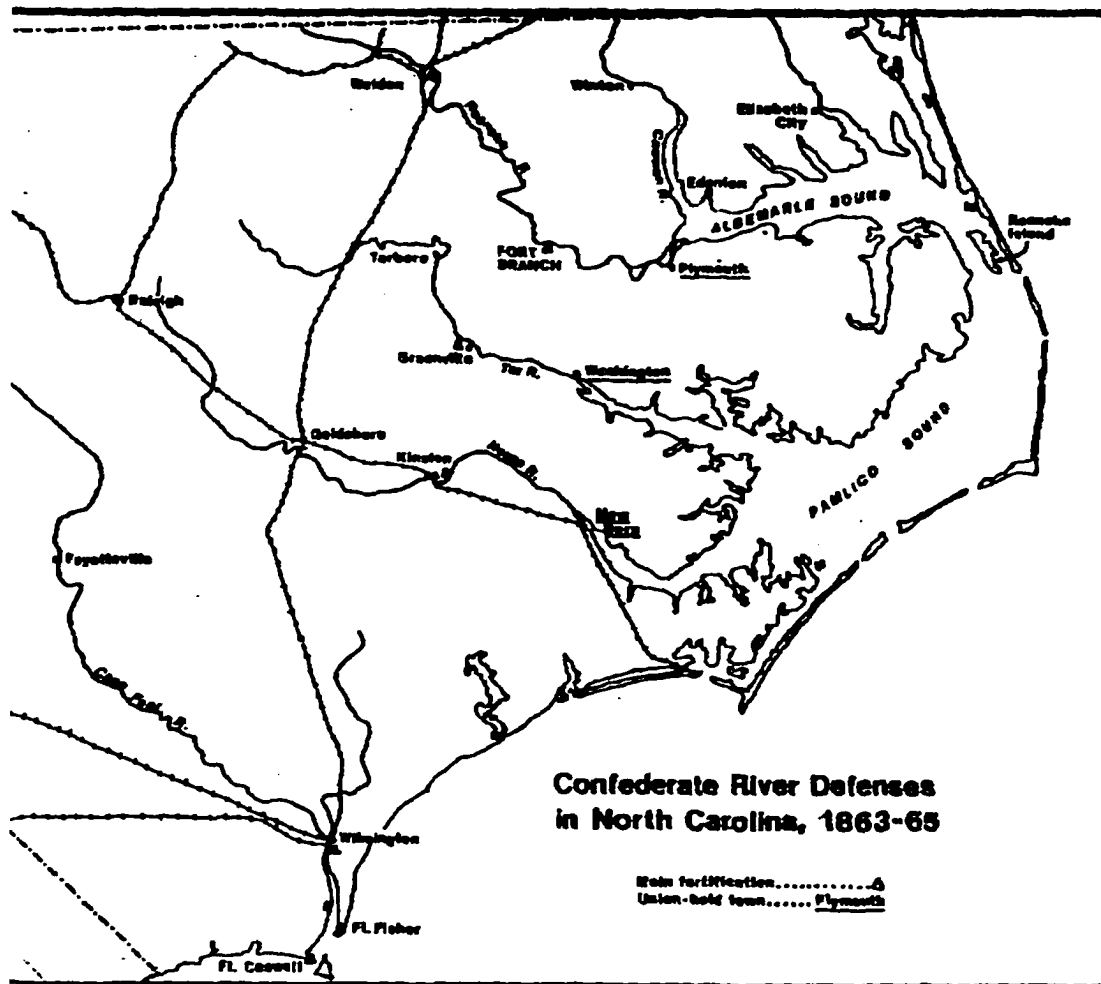


Figure 40: Map of eastern North Carolina showing major cities and forts, including Fort Branch, built on the Roanoke River across from Indian Woods. Built and maintained 1862-1865.

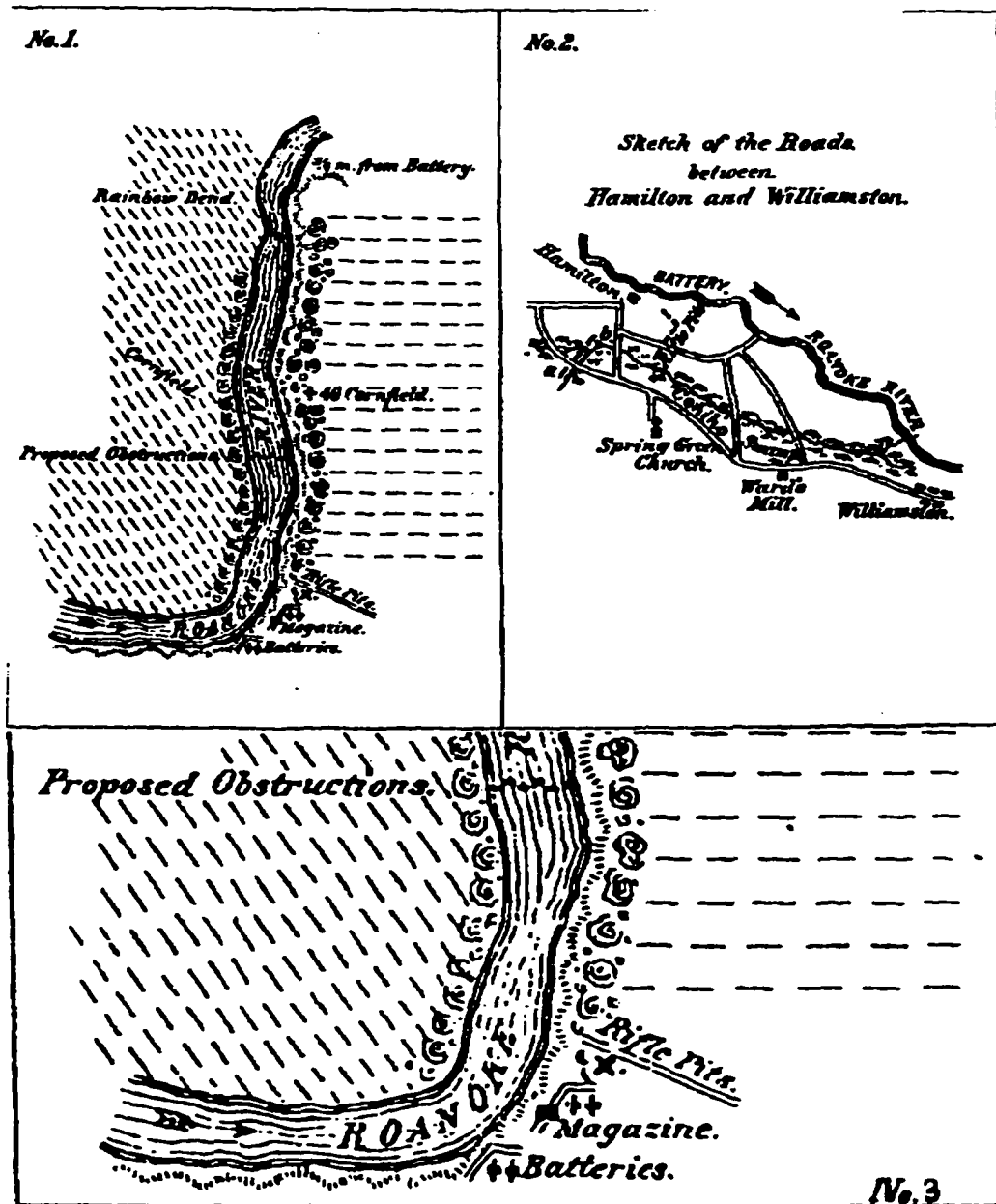


Figure 41: Map showing the location of Fort Branch in Hamilton, NC, Confederate defenses at Rainbow Bend, and the locations of cities where Union forces battled Confederates in an effort to take Fort Branch, all on the south bank of the Roanoke River, across from Indian Woods, 1862-1864.

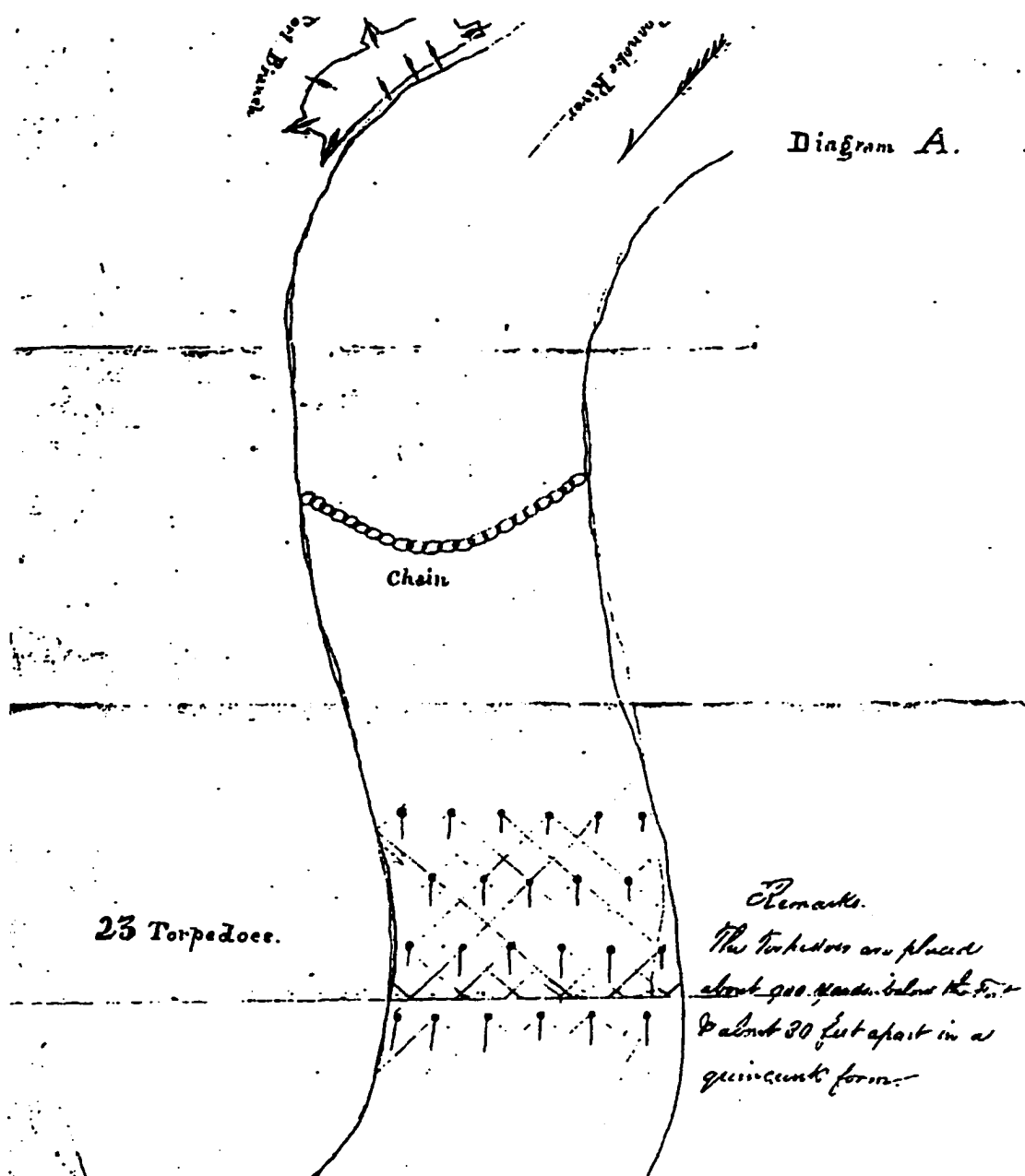


Figure 42: To protect the Roanoke River from Union gun boats, the river was also obstructed with a massive chain and mined with torpedoes. Fort Branch, with its heavy guns, rifle pits and sharpshooters, was successful in preventing Union forces from advancing up the river. Various battles raged along the river that slaves from Indian Woods participated in.

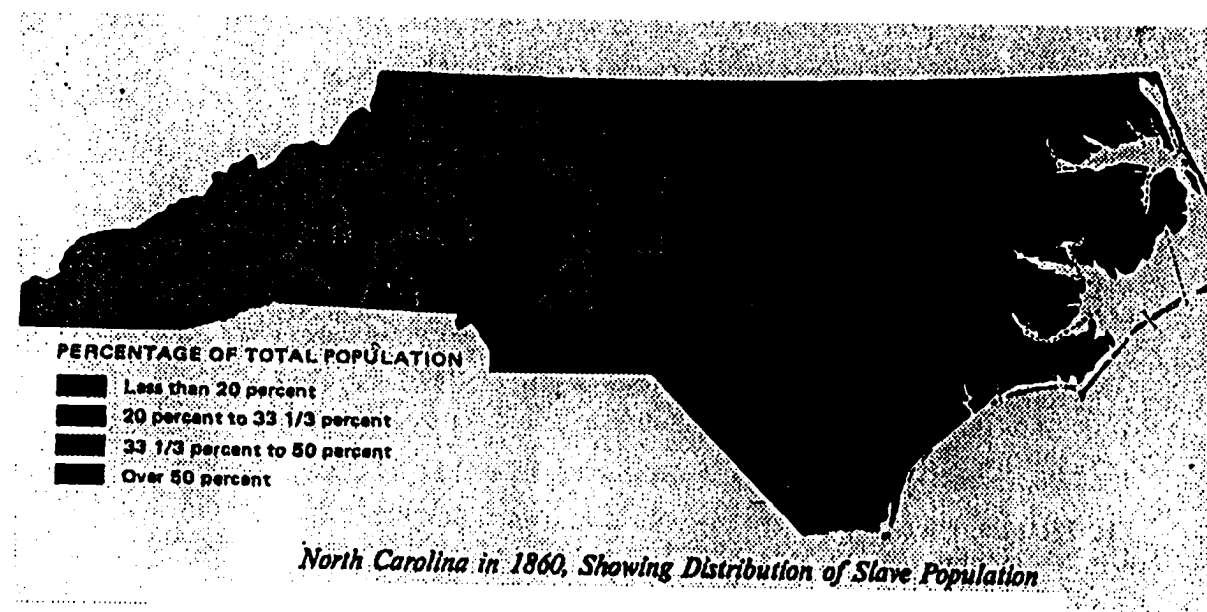


Figure 43: By 1860, Bertie County was well over 60% Black. Indian Woods was nearly 70% Black.

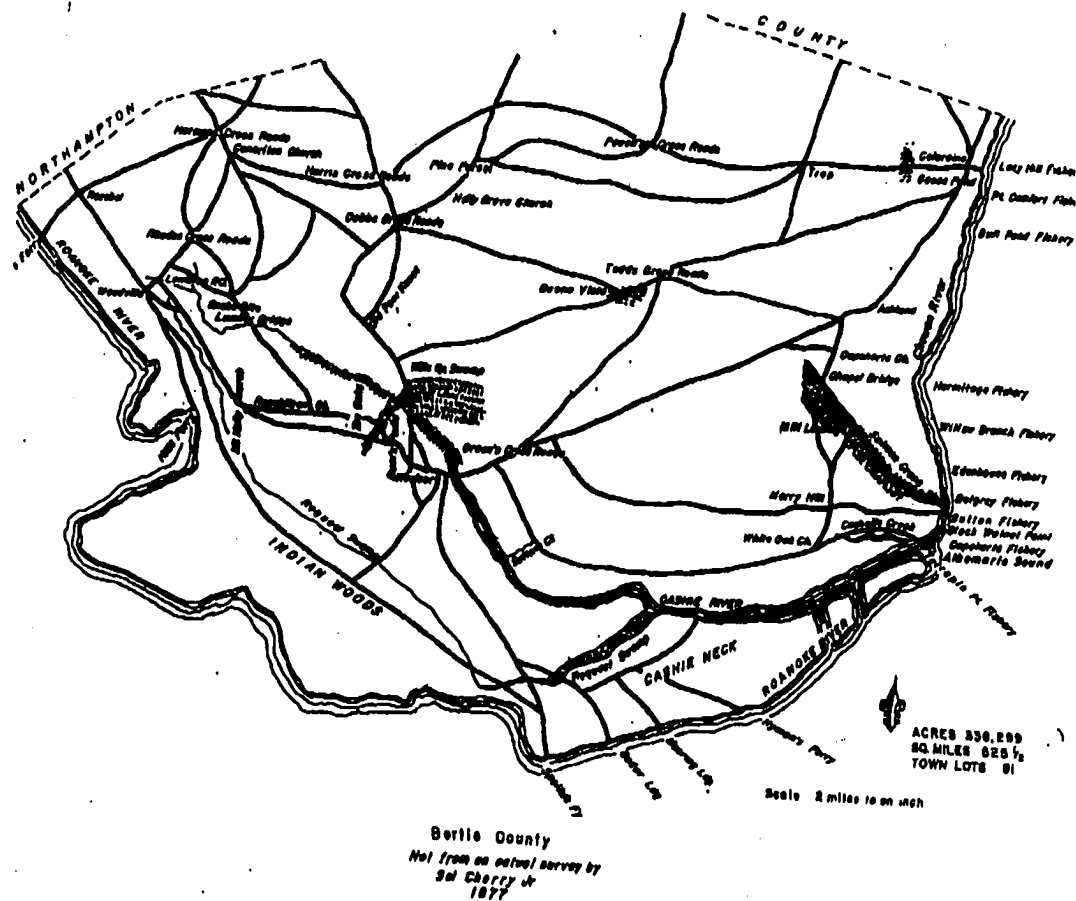


Figure 44: Map of Bertie County showing major roads and ferries in Indian Woods, drawn by Sol Cherry in 1877.



Figure 45: S. T. Smallwood, African-American sharecropper in Indian Woods. During the early 1900s, he farmed 125 acres of cotton, tobacco, corn and peanuts.

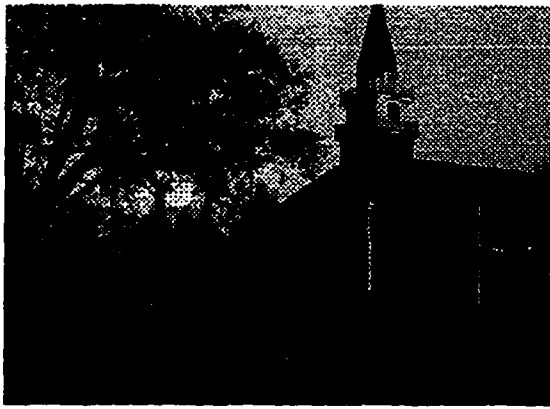


Figure 46: Indian Woods Baptist Church, founded at the end of the Civil War in 1866 by the Gospel Oak, where slaves gathered in secret to pray (top left). Spring Hill Baptist Church, also founded at the end of the Civil War in 1866 (top right). Saint Francis Church, founded in the 1880s (lower left). Beacon Light Church, the poorest of the four African-American Churches in Indian Woods, founded in 1877 (lower right).

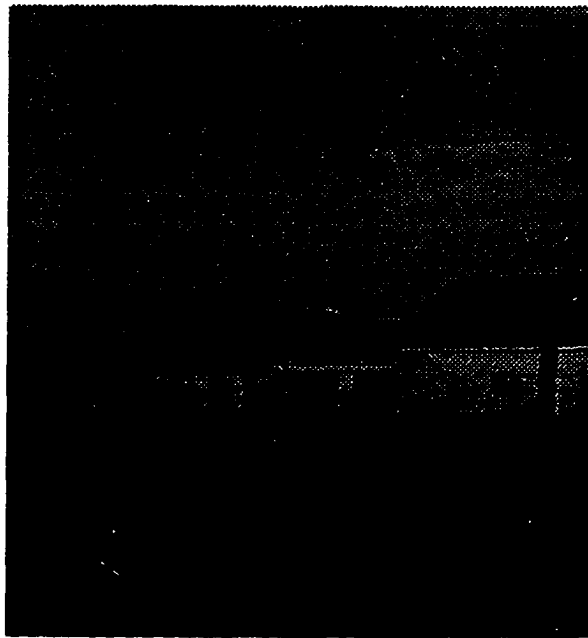


Figure 47: The Spruill home and general store during the years following the Civil War and before farm mechanization (above). African-American farmers were forced to buy supplies from the store at an inflated rate. Spruill's store also contained stables where mules and horses were fed, watered, and cared for (below).



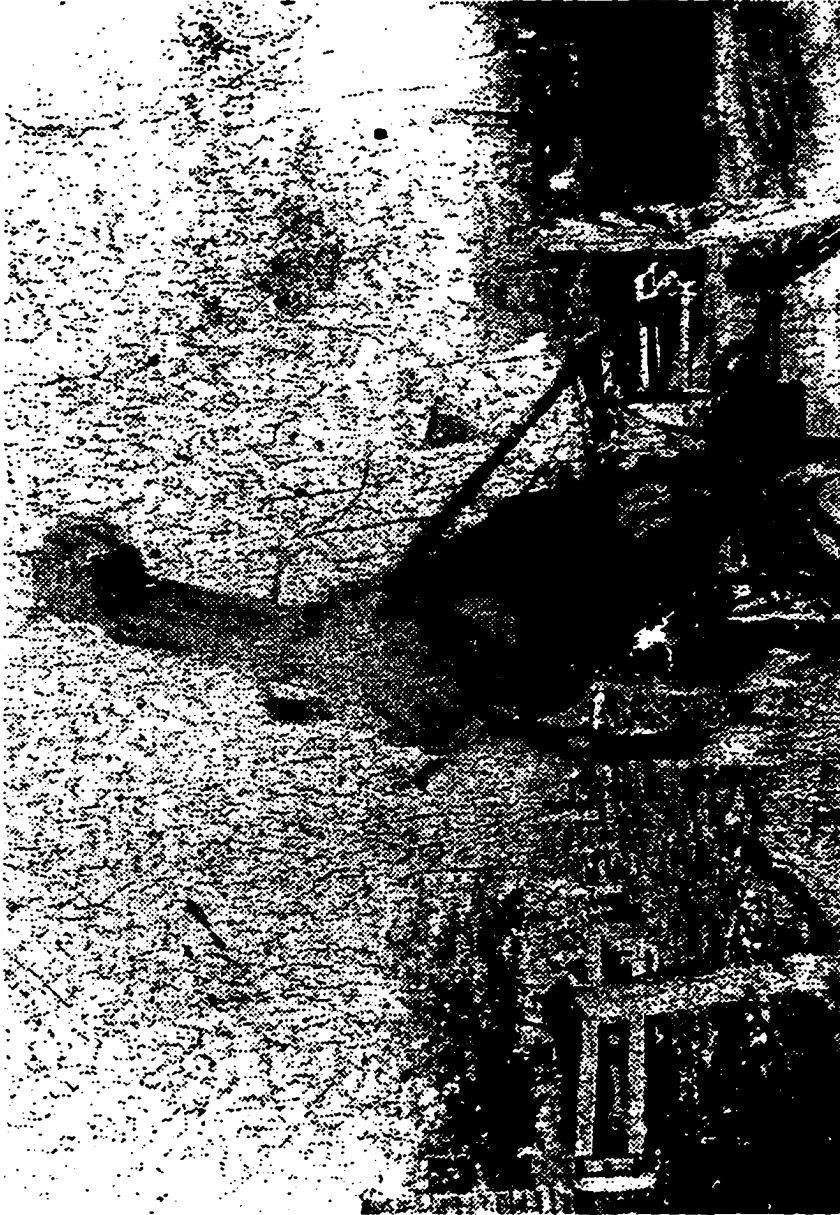


Figure 48: S.T. Smallwood, an African-American sharecropper on the Gilliam farm in Indian Woods in the early 1900s.

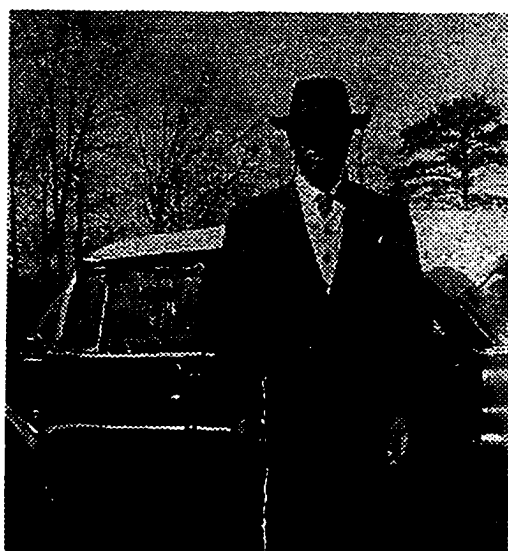


Figure 49: Lord Cornwallis Cherry, largest African-American Indian Woods land owner according to the 1990 census, as a young man (above), and in the 1940s as an adult (below).

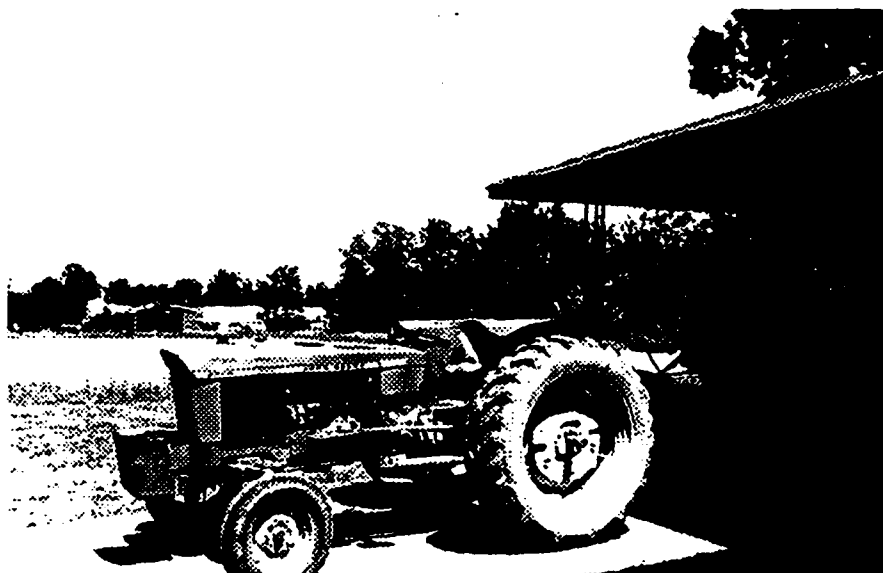


Figure 50: An early tractor owned by an African-American farmer in the late 1950s (above). A modern tractor owned by Lord Cornwallis Cherry (below).

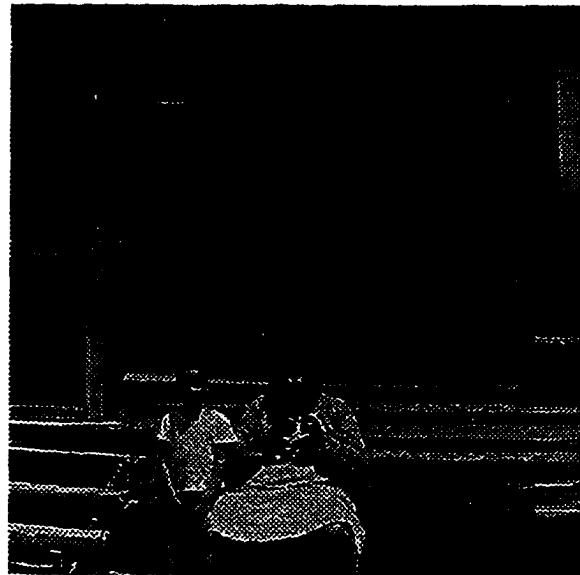
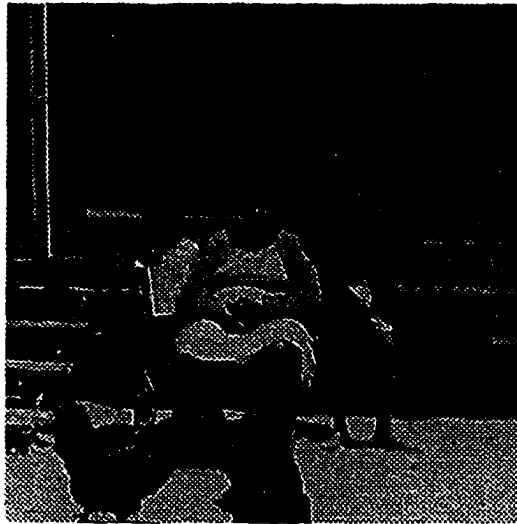


Figure 51: Daily life in Indian Woods. These photos show a mother and her children in the 1940s.

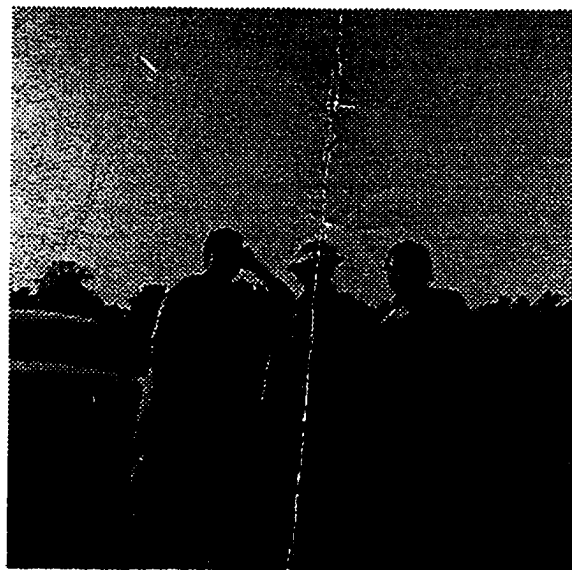


Figure 52: Mother and child on the way to church in Indian Woods in the 1950s (above). Women in Sunday dress after service (below).

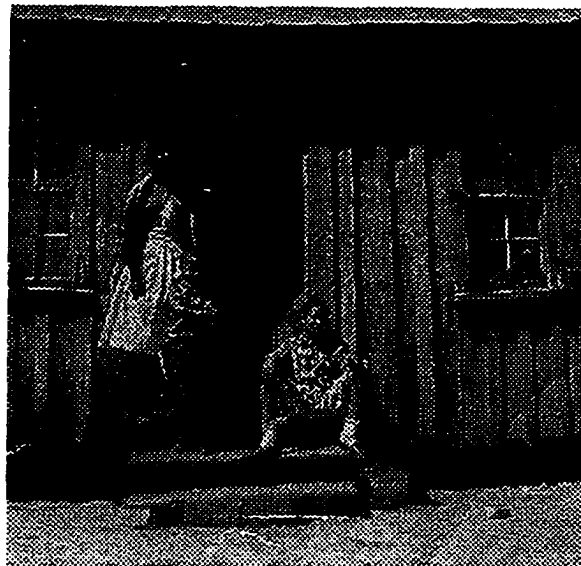
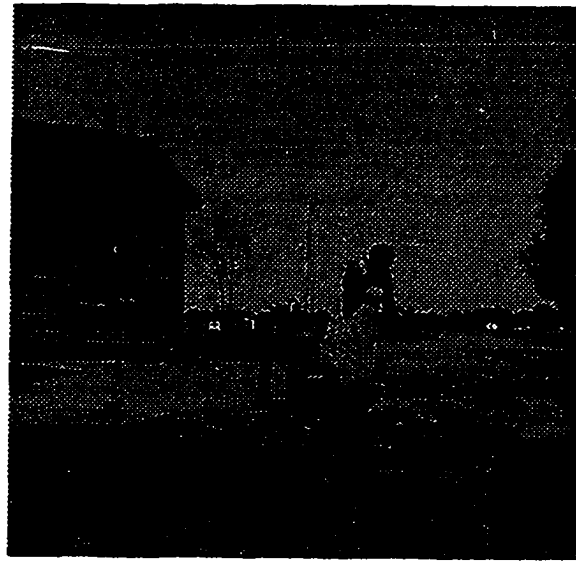


Figure 53: Mother hand pumping water for family in the 1950s (above). Children resting after chores in the 1950s (below).

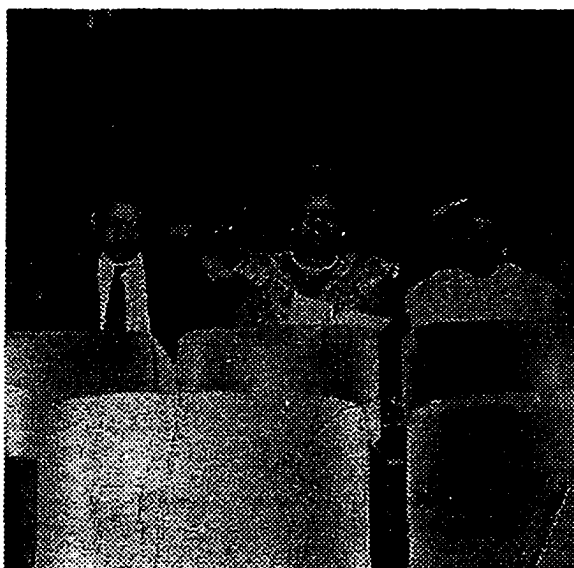
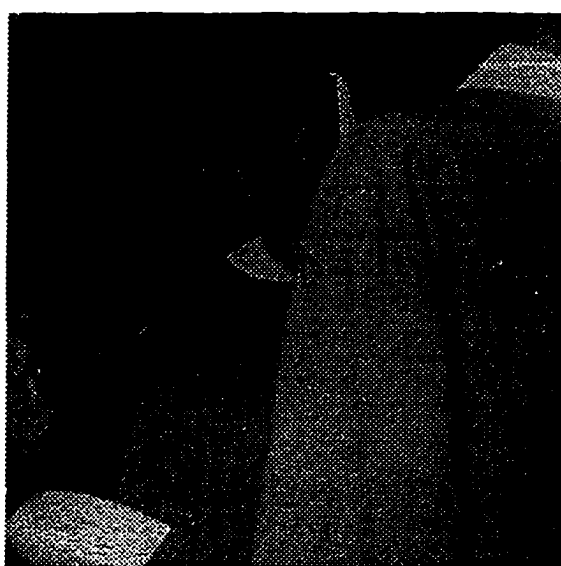
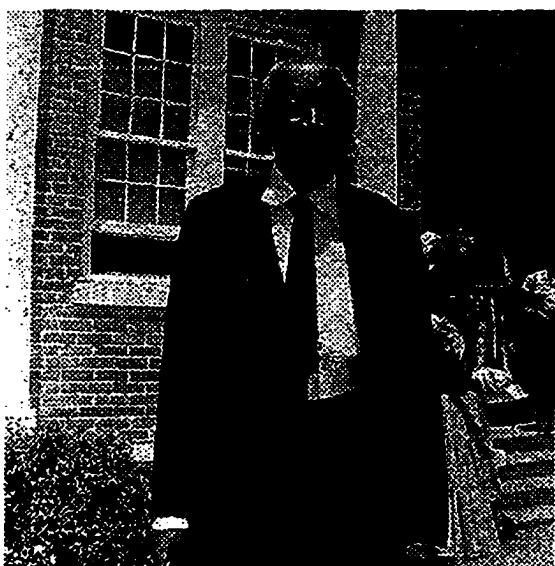
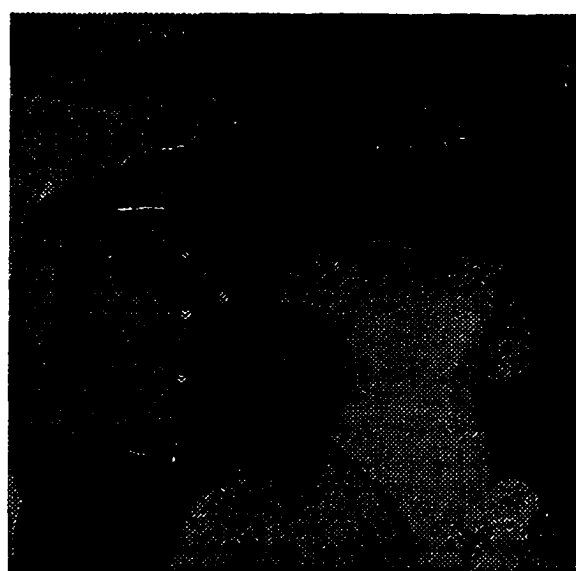
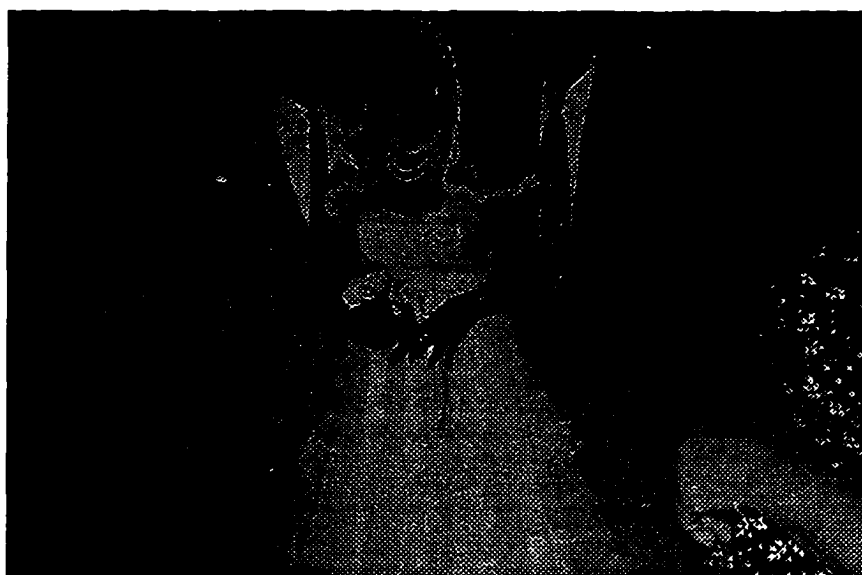


Figure 54: J. B. Walton, Principal of John B. Bond High School from 1936 to 1965 (upper left). The graduation of Lois Marie Cherry in 1954, daughter of Lord Cornwallis Cherry (upper right, lower left). Lord Cornwallis Cherry and his wife Lottie Beatrice attending the graduation (lower right).



**Figure 55: A typical wedding in Indian Woods, 1958 (above).  
A typical family in Indian Woods in the late 1950s (below).**



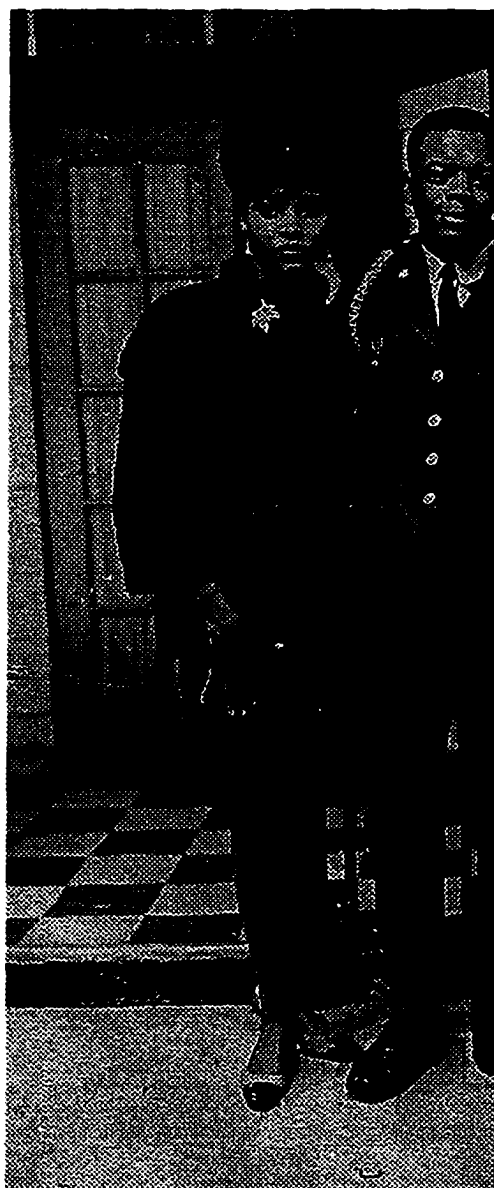


Figure 56: Young soldier from Indian Woods with friend, out on the town in New York during the Vietnam War.

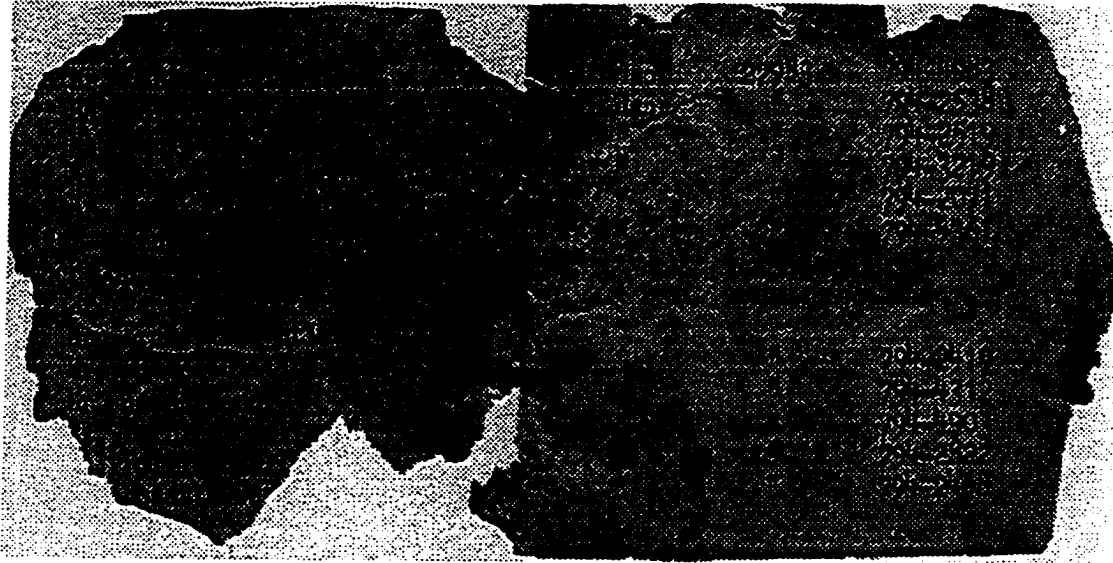


Figure 57: To help residents of Indian Woods get to the polls during elections, the Indian Woods precincts named several precinct supporters who were responsible for checking to make sure residents had transportation to the polls and voted during the 1970s and 1980s.

**KNOW YOUR POLLING  
PLACES**

This is a list of the polling places in each precinct, in Bertie County. Be very sure that the registered voters, in your precinct know where to go to vote.

**VINEGAR I, Precinct.**  
Agriculture Building  
Back of courthouse

**SWANEBRITH, Precinct.**  
Mt. Arat Republic Masonic Lodge  
Republican

**VINEGAR II, Precinct.**  
Ashesville Fire Department  
Ashesville

**MITCHELL I, Precinct.**  
Maxline Community Building  
Maxline

**COLERAIN I, Precinct.**  
Colerain Fire Department  
Colerain

**MITCHELL II, Precinct.**  
Aulander Town Hall  
Aulander

**COLERAIN II, Precinct.**  
Boon Hall  
Powellsville

**KOLFORD, Precinct.**  
Kelford Fire Department  
Kelford

**MERRY HILL, Precinct.**  
Love's Store  
Merry Hill

**MOOREVILLE, Precinct.**  
Masonic Building  
Lawiston

**WHITES, Precinct.**  
Dwight Baker's Store  
Ferry Town

**INDIANWOODS, Precinct.**  
Barrall Grant's Store  
Near Indianwoods Church

**SPECIAL NOTE**

We have asked for the miniature voting machines and we hope that they will be available for our use. Will you start now, you and the other workers in your community get together, call each other, set a date when you will want to use the voting machine. We will make out a schedule as the request from you come in. Don't wait. Do it now.

The county registration books will open again after the August 17, 1976 primary election. Watch the Bertie Ledger for the announcement.

Be sure that you pick up your supply of sample ballots at the July 26, 1976 meeting.

Figure 58: Community flyer informing Indian Woods residents of the polling place location.

"Please Read"

REGISTRATION FOLLOW-UP  
July 22, 1976

"Please Read"

Phone: 754-2296

P.O. Box 484  
Windsor, NC 27983

Dear Community and Campaign Worker,

May we take this opportunity to congratulate you on the very outstanding job that you have done in getting un-registered persons on the county registration books. We cannot praise you too highly, for your efforts, and we give you our sincere thanks for the job done and the spirit with which you went about the job.

We are reminding you that the campaign is not over, until the last vote is counted August 17, 1976 and November 2, 1976. Then and only then will we be able to relax.

Let each of us keep in our minds and constantly remember our purpose and the candidates purpose, in this effort: To Put In The Board of Commissioners and The Board of Education. Those Who Represent Us. Nothing else matters. Who the person is, does not matter, so long as the person is Black. Please remember that: **HAVE YOUR ANSWERS READY**, for each and every one who tries to get you to do otherwise.

Get together with the others who are working in the community effort to get the candidates elected. Make your own plans for getting our people to the polls, August 17, 1976. If you need help call or write to the above phone number or address.

We are and will be most grateful to you for any contributions that you will collect and send in to us. (Please follow the instructions we sent you about giving receipts. If you do not give a receipt please send the person's name and address and the amount given and we will send the receipt.)

**Special Important Note**

Our organization will meet on July 28, 1976 at 8 o'clock PM, at the Home Demonstration Building, Windsor, N.C. Please make sure that at least two workers from each precinct come to this meeting. All our candidates will be at this meeting. This meeting is very necessary and important.

We know that this is a busy time with most of you. However, may we plead with you, beg you, ask you and persuade you to plan and be at this meeting. You know, after having worked with you, your children, and grandchildren, I cannot bring myself to believe that you and they are not interested in taking a step forward to make life a little better in Bertie County for yourself and others. Come to the meeting. Let's hear what you have to say, hear what we have to say and make some plans.

**Candidates**

Golden Roland  
For Commissioner

Rev. A. J. Cherry  
For Board of Education

Samuel M. Kinsbrough  
For Commissioner

Figure 59: Community flyer informing residents of Indian Woods on registering to vote.

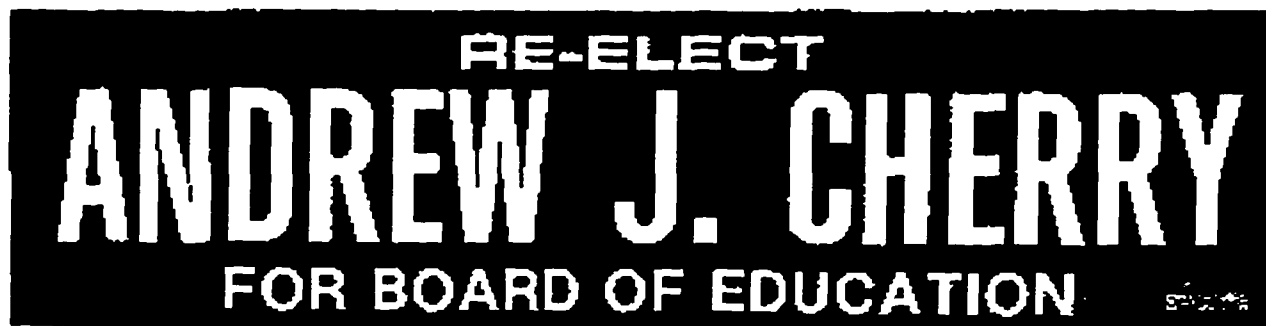


Figure 60: Bumper sticker used by Reverend Cherry to win re-election to the Bertie County School Board.

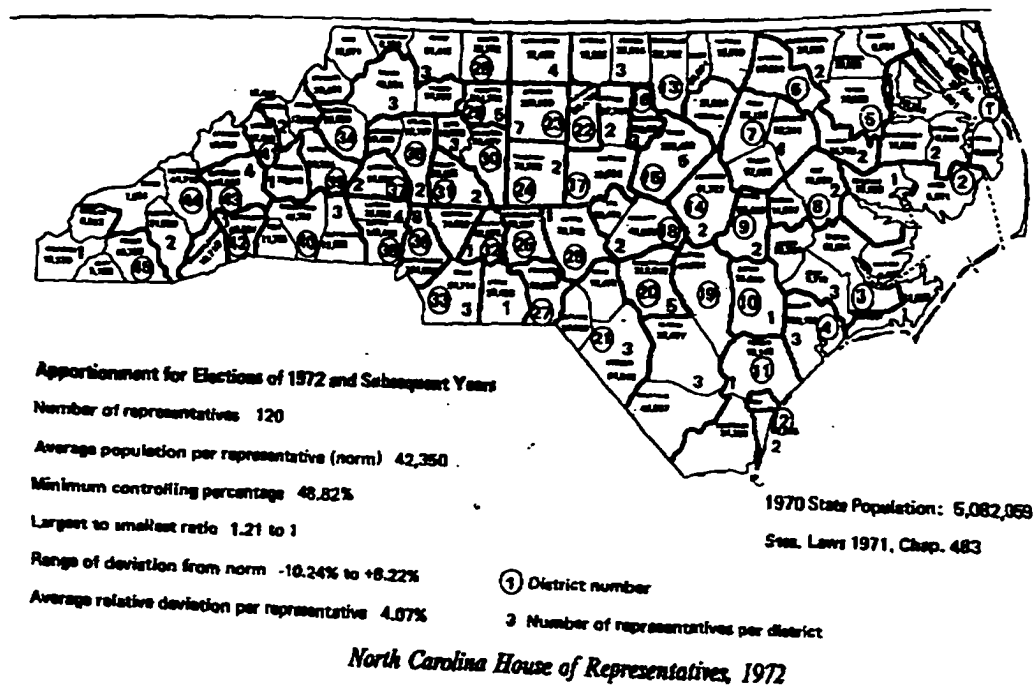


Figure 61: The Fifth District, which Reverend Creecy represented in the North Carolina General Assembly, was made up of Bertie, Northhampton, Hertford, and Gates Counties, all of which had been majority Black since 1790 but not represented by a Black since George Mebane during Reconstruction.

**REPRESENTATION FOR  
THE PEOPLE**

**IN TOUCH WITH  
THE PEOPLE**



**VOTE FOR  
C. MELVIN CREECY**

**FIFTH DISTRICT  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Figure 62: Campaign flyer used in Creecy's run for the 5th District seat in the NC General Assembly.

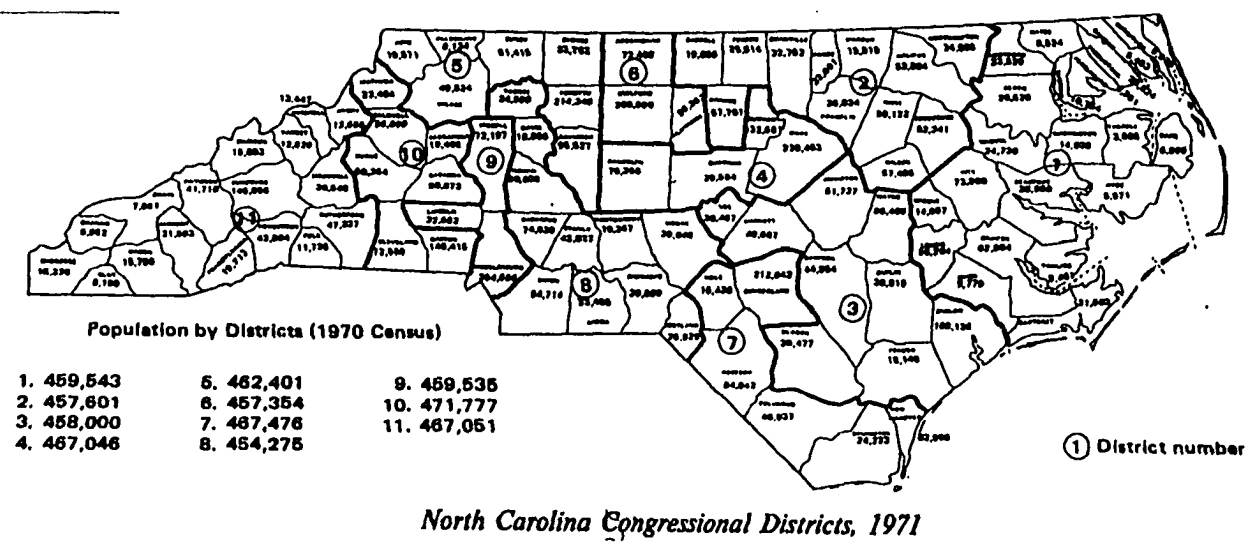


Figure 63: Indian Woods, along with Bertie County in the 1960s, 70s and 80s were a part of the first congressional district.



**INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTING IN THE MARCH 10 THROUGH MARCH 13, 1986  
REFERENDUM FOR FLUE-CURED TOBACCO**

- 1 Place a check mark in the "Yes" or "No" box on the ballot.
- 2 Place ballot in the enclosed plain envelope.
- 3 Seal the plain envelope.
- 4 Place the plain envelope in the self-addressed certification envelope.
- 5 Seal the certification envelope.
- 6 Sign the certification on the reverse side of the certification envelope or have your mark witnessed. **BALLOT WILL NOT BE COUNTED IF CERTIFICATION IS NOT PROPERLY SIGNED.**
- 7 Place a stamp on certification envelope. Ballot will not be delivered unless adequate postage is provided.
- 8 Return the certification envelope containing the sealed plain envelope to Bertie County ASCS Office, Drawer A, Windsor, N. C. 27983 by mail or in person.

**RETURNING BALLOTS**

By Mail. If mailed, the certification envelope must be postmarked not later than midnight on Thursday, March 13, 1986 and received at Bertie County ASCS Office before the start of canvassing the ballots.

In Person. If returned in person, the certification envelope must be received at Bertie County ASCS Office by the close of the work day 5:00 p.m., Thursday, March 13, 1986.

**CANVASSING BALLOTS**

Ballots will be canvassed on Tuesday, March 18, 1986 at 9:00 a.m. If you have any questions about this referendum, contact the county ASCS office.

Figure 64: As late as 1986 community leaders were still assisting residents with voting procedures. This is a copy of instructions on how to vote on a tobacco referendum.



Figure 65: Harrell Grant's store, polling place for African-American residents of Indian Woods (above). The Indian Woods Masonic Lodge #536 (below). Members were community and political activists in the 1960s and 70s.



Figure 66: Bart F. Smallwood, Founder and President of the Blue Jay Recreation Center, Ball Club, and Fire Department from 1965 to 1985.

BLUE JAY'S FIRE DEPT. DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM  
 INDIAN WOODS BAPTIST CHURCH  
 WINDSOR, NORTH CAROLINA  
 SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, 1976-12:00 A. M.

ORDER OF SERVICE

Opening Song	Congregation
Scripture	Mrs. Lena Basemore - <i>Band</i>
Prayer	Mr. Albert Spivey
Congregational Singing	(Led by Mrs. Mary Jane Fugh)
Welcome	Dr. C. M. Cressy
Purpose of Meeting	Mr. Bert P. Smallwood
Speakers:	
Rev. A. J. Cherry, Spring Hill Community	
Rev. W. A. Moore, Beason Light Community	
Mr. C. M. Cressy, Indian Woods Community	
Rev. Eugene Watson, St. Francis Community	
County Commissioners:	
Mr. Pete Alston, Fire Chief- Windsor Fire Department	
Mr. James C. Kearney-P. E. A., Supervisor	
Public Offering:	
Mr. Mike D. Rascoe	
Mr. Johnny Etheridge	
Mr. James S. Fugh (Appeal)	
Mr. Joe Frank Hyman	
Mr. Joseph Allen	
Prayer, Deacon Johnny Etheridge	Congregational
Closing Selection	
Dismissal, Rev. W. A. Moore	

WE WISH TO EXPRESS OUR THANKS TO ALL THAT PARTICIPATED IN  
 THIS PROGRAM. WE ARE COUNTING ON YOU TO HELP US REACH OUR GOAL.

Figure 67: Copy of program from meeting called by community leaders to organize Bertie County's first all-Black Volunteer Fire Department.



Figure 68: Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department training with other white fire departments in Bertie County (above). Fire fighters discuss how to use equipment (below).

On Sunday, May 1, 1977, the Blue Jay Fire Department will hold a fund raising drive to help with the purchase of Uniforms for the firemen and a Fire Siren. We are greatly in need of \$3000.00 at this time in order to purchase the necessary equipment and provide the proper facility a make our efforts at establishing a decent fire facility a reality.

Donations may be left at the following Places:

- A. Blue Jay Fire Dept.,  
Indian Woods
- B. Louiston Fire Dept.,  
Louiston, N.C.
- C. Kelford Fire Dept.,  
Kelford, N.C.
- D. Rumbel Fire Dept.,  
Rumbel, N.C.
- E. Aslander, Fire Dept.,  
Aslander, N.C.
- F. Powellville Fire Dept.,  
Powellville, N.C.
- G. Colorado Fire/Service Station  
Colorado, N.C., Phone 356-2144
- H. Perrytown Fire Dept.,  
Perrytown, N.C.
- I. Minkley & Minkley Fire Dept.,  
Minkley, N.C.
- J. Kilduff Fire Dept.,  
Kilduff, N.C.
- K. Ashville Fire Dept.,  
Ashville, N.C.

We sincerely appreciate any donations that you so kindly give.  
Thank you and God Bless and keep you.

Blue Jay Fire Dept.

Bert Smallwood, President  
Robert E. Cherry, Chief

Figure 69: By 1977 the Blue Jay Volunteer Fire Department was listed with eleven other fire departments in Bertie County and was a member of the Bertie County Fire Association.

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January 9, 1984

Mr. Bart Smallwood  
RFD 1  
Windsor, North Carolina 27983

Dear Mr. Smallwood:

I saw this article in the newspaper and thought you would enjoy having another copy. You have my warmest congratulations for receiving this award. I share your happiness on this special occasion.

I plan to be traveling across eastern North Carolina during the coming months and look forward to seeing you. Meanwhile, if I can be of any service, please do not hesitate to call.

Again, my congratulations. With kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely,

John Gillam

JG/1

Enclosure

Post Office Box 3787  
800 West Greenville Boulevard  
Greenville, North Carolina 27836-3787  
Phone (919) 353-6666



NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE  
SENATE  
RALEIGH 27601

SENATOR J. J. HARRINGTON  
P.O. DRAWER 818  
LEWISTON/WOODVILLE, N.C. 27846

August 27, 1985

Dear Bart:

Thank you for your invitation for Saturday, August 31. It will be impossible for me to be there, but I will be pulling for you all very hard and I know you will have a good ballgame and everyone will enjoy themselves.

I want to let you know that in 1986 Representative Creecy and I want to get some kind of money for your Fire Department and Bluejay Recreation Center, but this will have to come in 1986. Be sure and keep in touch, and I'm sure you will, and let's talk about this again somewhere around May of '86.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

J. J. Harrington

Mr. Bart F. Smallwood  
President, Bluejay Recreation Project  
Route 1, Box 2398  
Windsor, North Carolina 27983

Figure 70: Letters of support for the Blue Jay Recreation Center and Fire Department to Bart Smallwood from John Gillam and J.J. Monk Harrington.



Figure 71: 1974 Blue Jay Ball Team with sponsor Hoke Roberson, Sr., President of R&W Chevrolet, and Manager, Bart F. Smallwood (far left).



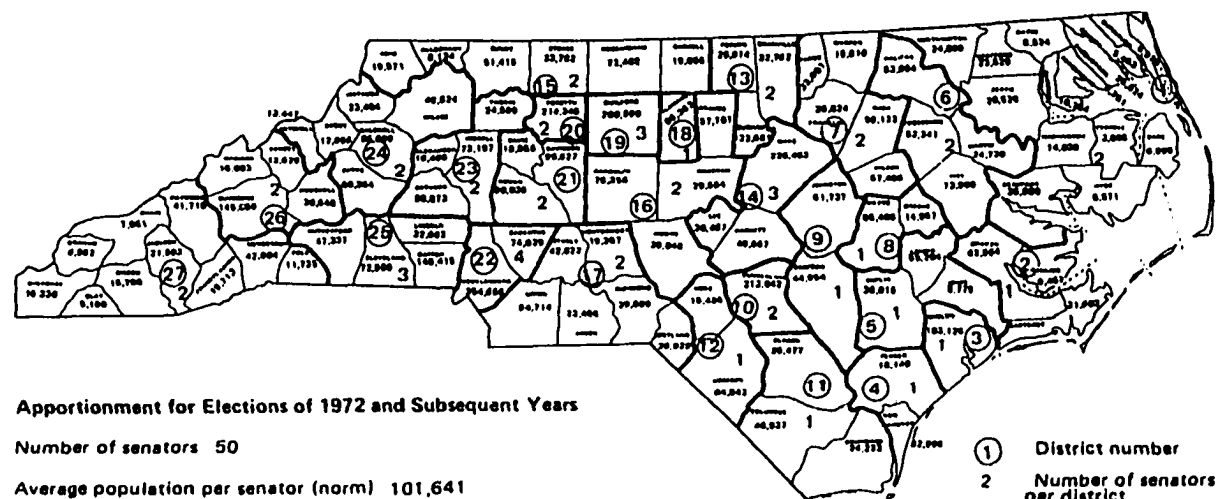


Figure 72: Senator J.J. Monk Harrington represented the First North Carolina Senatorial District, but lived in Woodville Township in the town of Lewiston. As Speaker of the N.C. General Assembly, he worked for all his constituents, including the residents of Indian Woods.



Figure 73: Board of Directors for the Blue Jay Recreation Center. From left: Joe Willey Thompson, Catherine Bond, Kevin Bond, Charles Smallwood, Jean Smallwood, Bart Smallwood, and Oscar Williams.



Figure 74: Baseball fans enjoying a saturday afternoon game (above). Members of one of the first little league baseball teams (below). When these children became adults they joined the big league baseball team.

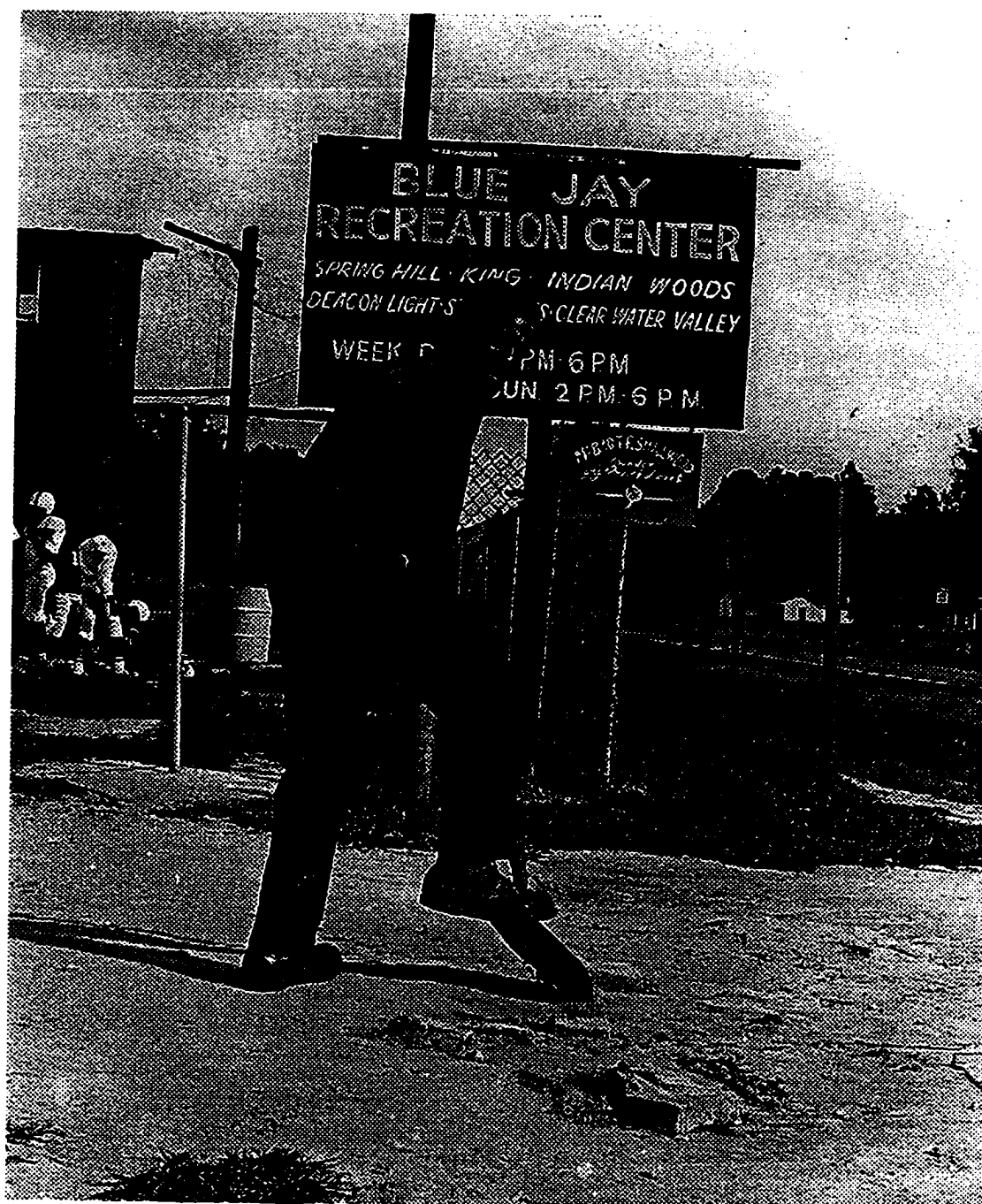


Figure 75: Ground breaking for park improvements with members of Red Devils pee-wee football team in background, 1975.

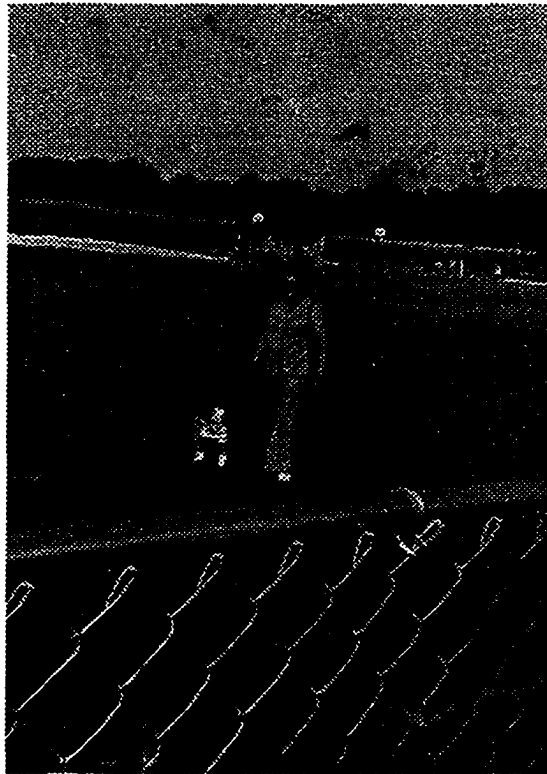


Figure 76: Bart F. Smallwood and James Bond working with area children during the height of community activism (above). Mother and child enjoying the improvements at the Blue Jay Recreation Center in 1975 (below).



No 758	<b>This Donation to</b> -----	----- Name ----- Address ----- Phone -----	No 758
	<b>As A Contestant For</b>		
	<b>"Miss Blue Jay"</b>		
	<b>1st Prize: AM-FM RADIO</b>		
	<b>2nd Prize: \$10.00 - 3rd Prize: \$5.00</b>		
No 758	<b>To Be Given Away On</b> -----		
	<b>Drawing Will Be Held At The</b>		
	<b>BLUEJAY RECREATION CENTER</b>		
	<b>You Do Not Have To Be Present To Win.</b>		
	<b>WINNER ALSO WILL BE ANNOUNCED ON WBTE</b>		
	<b>\$1.00 DONATION</b>		

Figure 77: Sample raffle tickets, used by the Blue Jay Recreation Center to raise money for the park.

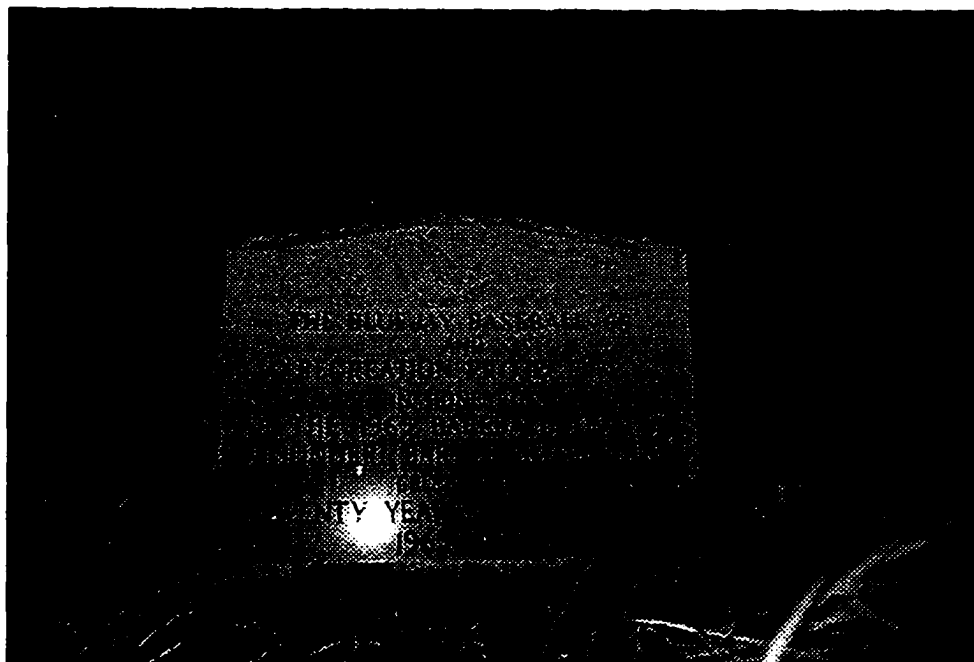
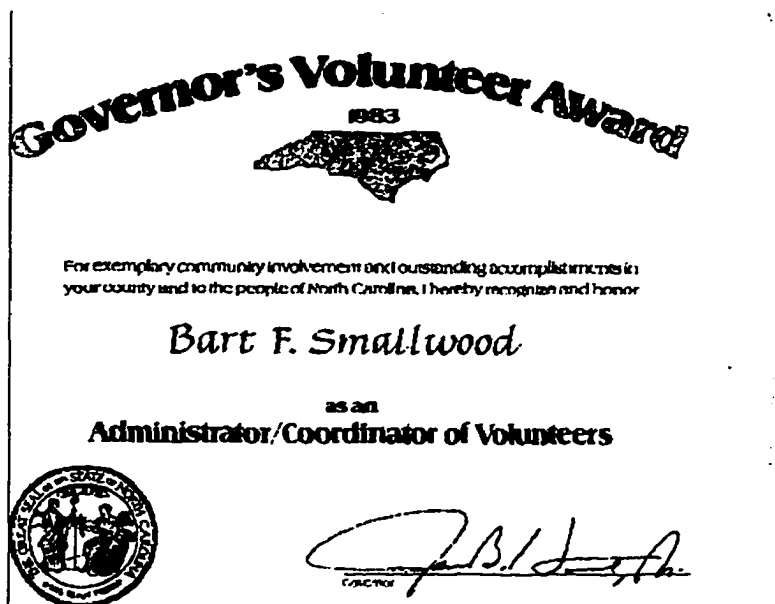


Figure 78: The state of North Carolina and the Indian Woods community honored Smallwood for his community service and leadership.

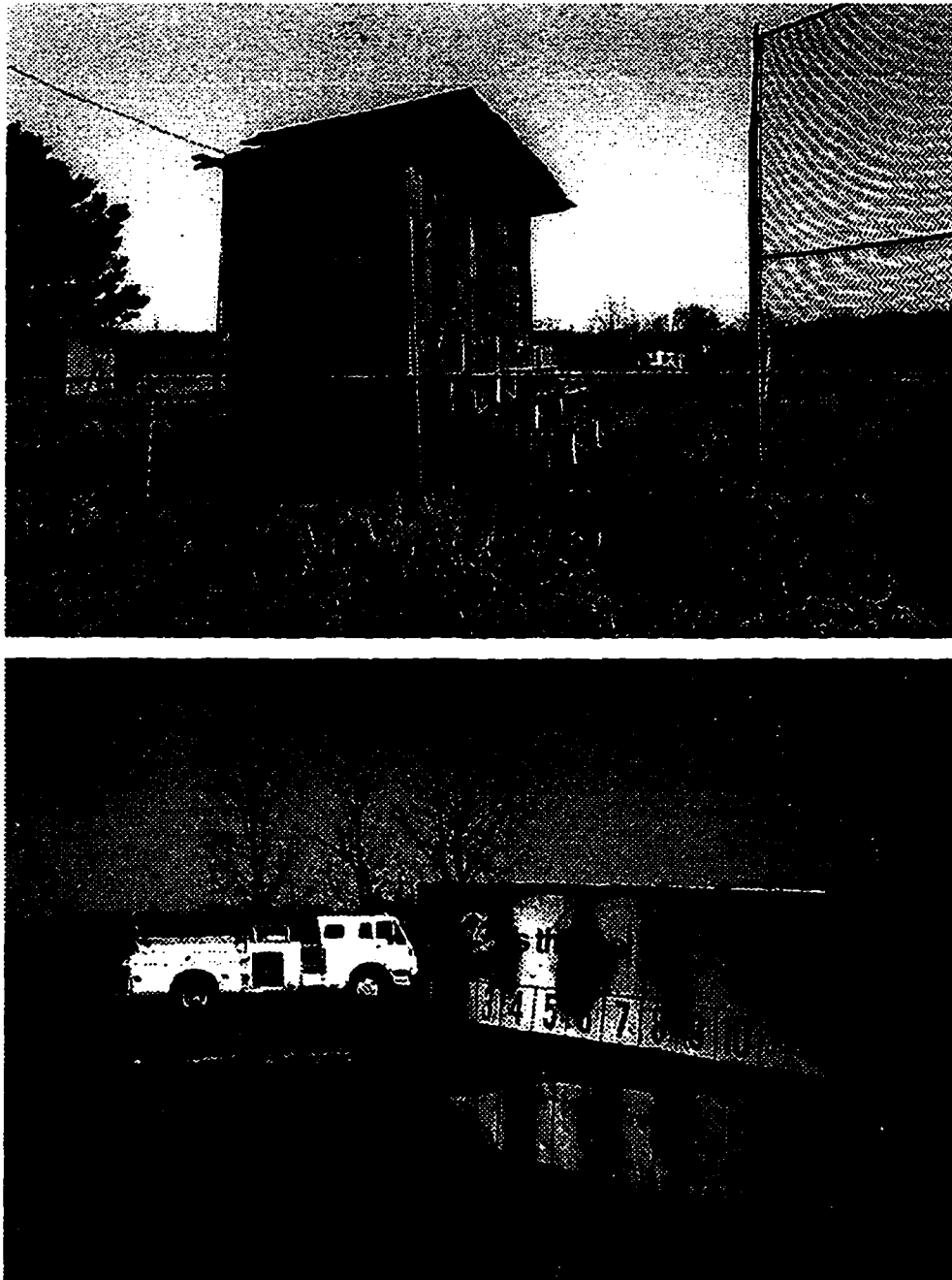


Figure 79: Bleachers built in the 1970 to view the games unused and overgrown by 1995 (above). Although the Fire Department continued to function under the leadership of Chief Robert Earl Cherry, by 1995 the lack of volunteers to maintain the equipment was evident (below).



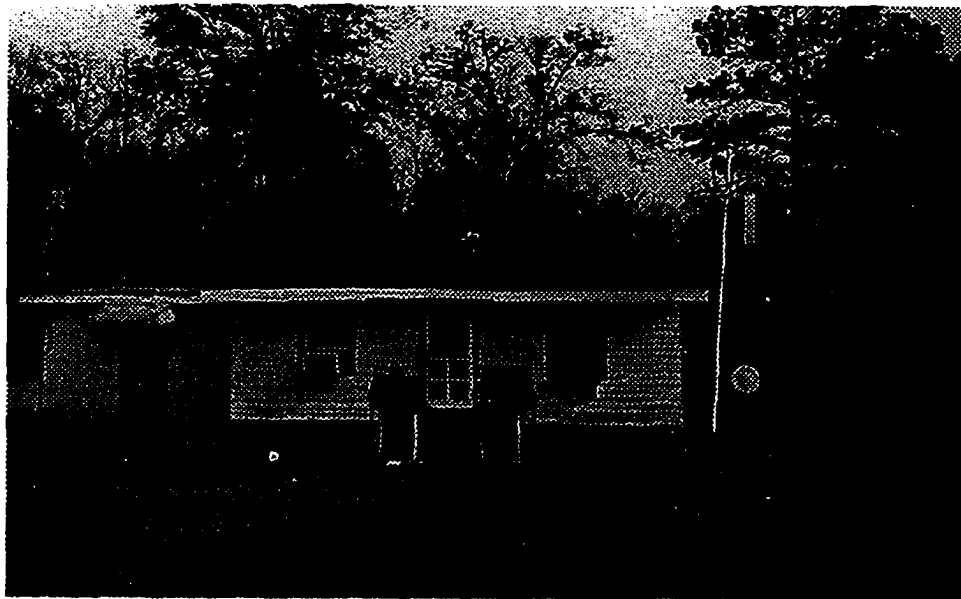
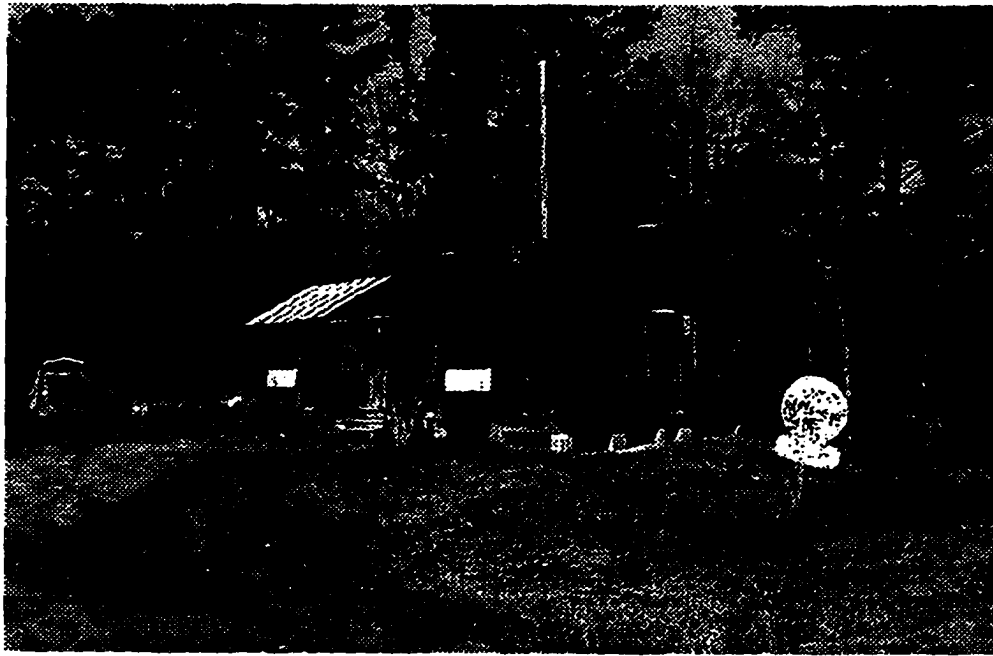


Figure 80: Willie Cooper's store, owned by a mulatto who for a time was allowed to attend a nearby all-white church (above). Store was open until the late 1970s. Mr. Jack Jones's store, for a time the only place residents could get gas (below). Also contained a pool table which residents paid a quarter per game to use.

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Winston, Francis Donnell, 1857-1941. Papers, 1828 1943. 1,800 items. 2810. Materials on Winston's life as a lawyer, Judge, member of the democratic party, and Masons in Bertie County. Also materials on his term as lieutenant Governor of North Carolina, U.S. district Attorney, President of the North Carolina Bar Association, and as a trustee of the University of North Carolina. Also contains papers of his father-in-law Dr. S. B. Kenney a member of U.S. Navy during the Civil War, originally

from Maine but moved to Windsor in Bertie County following the war. His commissions and orders during the Civil war are present. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Winston, Patrick Henry, 1820-1886, Papers, 1848 1877. 100 items. 963. Business papers some relating to the planting and marketing of cotton through Norfolk Virginia. A constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the Bertie Lyceum and Windsor Debating Club. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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Cherry, Andrew Jackson, pastor of Spring Hill Baptist Church.

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Cherry, Lord Cornwallis, farmer and resident of Indian Woods.  
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Hill, Lucinda, resident of Indian Woods. Interview by author, 28 December 1989, Windsor, NC. Tape recording. Hill residence in Indian Woods, Windsor, NC.

Jarvis, Erich, a mixed blooded Tuscarora, from Goldsboro, NC, interview by author 27 December 1996, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina. Not recorded. Chapel Hill, NC.

Jonathan, Garfield, resident and descendent of Tuscarora of Indian Woods now living on Six Nations Reserve. Interview by author, 13 June 1996, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada. Video Recording. Jonathan residence in Six Nation Reserve, Oshweken, Ontario, Canada.

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