

EARLY FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN CHATHAM COUNTY, NC

by Jim Wiggins¹, July 2022 revised Jan 2024

Preface

Who were the free people of color in Chatham County during the period in which other people of color were enslaved? How long did they reside in Chatham? What were their lives like?

There are few sources from which to seek creditable answers to these questions. The primary source is the U.S. Census, but it contains limited information. Census takers made assumptions and errors. They sometimes misspelled names and their handwriting can be difficult to decipher. They often relied on a single family member (whose information might have been incomplete) to supply information on all of the family members in a particular household. And, of course, a researcher using the census data may not interpret it correctly. People with the same name may be incorrectly assumed to be the same person. My research on Chatham's free people of color is subject to all of these limitations.

Free people of color were, from the very first census in 1790 until 1810, listed under the category "all other free persons," meaning those not already counted in the several white categories and not enumerated in the "slave" category, in other words, free, but not white.² From 1820 to 1840, the category was "free colored persons." Beginning in 1850, race was recorded for each household and the offered categories were "white, black, mulatto." It is possible that the distinction between Blacks and Mulattoes was an effort to alleviate the census-takers' uncertainty in distinguishing between some "light-skin" negroes and whites. But the census instructions did not give any guidance to census-takers about how to do this. Chatham County census-takers made liberal use of the unclear distinction as a large majority of the free persons of color were identified as Mulatto. Only free, that is not enslaved, people of color were listed in the population census. Enslaved people were enumerated under the name of their enslaver with no names of those enslaved provided.

Households Headed by Free Persons of Color in 1850

I began the search for answers to the questions about Chatham County's free people of color by focusing on the households headed by free people of color who are listed in the 1850 census, which was the first census to provide the names of all family members in each household.³ Earlier censuses supplied the name only of the household head. In 1850, there were forty-seven Chatham households headed by free Blacks and Mulattoes, containing 221 individuals. For each of those households, I have attempted to find as much additional information as possible and have summarized that information here.⁴ There were eighty other Black and Mulatto persons listed in white-headed households in 1850. I have not researched

those further, but I provide a list of their names, ages, occupation if given, and the name of the white head of household in a table referenced at the end of this paper.

Of course, free persons of color were in Chatham County long before the 1850 census. The 1790 census, the first federal census, indicated there were nine persons enumerated “as all other free persons,” in Chatham, all living in mixed-race households. The 1800 census was the first to identify heads of nonwhite households and “other free persons except Indians not taxed.” Two decades later, in 1810, there were twenty-four “free colored” households in Chatham with 139 individual members. In 1830, there were forty-four “free colored” households in the County with 262 family members.⁵ By 1850, there were forty-seven Chatham households headed by persons coded as “Black” or “Mulatto,” containing 221 individuals. The following table provides the number of such households, the number of individuals of color in those households, and the number of individuals of color in mixed-race households.⁶

Census	# FPOC Households	# FPOC Individuals In FPOC HH	# of FPOC Individuals in Mixed-Race HH ⁷
1790	0	0	9
1800	21	101	11
1810	25	145	55
1820	17	107	44
1830	44	262	49
1840	39	192	102
1850	47	221	80
1860	48	255	47

After identifying the free Black and Mulatto households in Chatham’s 1850 census, I used Ancestry.com to learn as much as possible about each one. A major focus of my research was an effort to identify families that had been in the county for a long time and to explore evidence of relationships among the free persons of color. In addition to census records, I used wills, marriage, and death records to provide as much information as possible about these families. Occasionally, other records, such as the county records of apprenticed individuals proved useful.

The following surnames were those recorded as heads of free Black and Mulatto households in Chatham County in the 1850 U.S. Census.

Allen	Brown	Goens/Goins	Linn
Alston	Burnett	Goodwin	Lucas
Archy/Archey	Byrd	Grymes	Michel
Anderson	Chandler	Harris	Powel/Powell
Bass	Chavis/Chavey/Chavers	Hatwood	Read/Reed/Reid
Bowden	Evans	Hill	Roe/Rowe
Brewer	Glovers	Jeffreys/Jeffries	White

Some of these surnames date back to at least 1800—Bass, Chavis/Chavers/Chavey, Evans, Glovers, Harris, Powel, and Roe. Some of the surnames were in Chatham in 1800 and still

here in 1850 and beyond, carried forward by successive generations. In a few cases, individuals were here for that time period—Richard Evans and Randle Roe. Other surnames appear and disappear over time. While I discuss only those persons of color who are listed in the 1850 census, I have provided tables listing all of the persons of color who headed households for 1790 to 1860, all of the household heads of households (race undetermined) including persons of color for 1790 to 1840, and all of the persons of color living in white-headed households for 1850 and 1860 in tables. Links to the tables are provided at the end of this paper.

Before providing the details of my research on the free families of color enumerated in 1850, I think it worthwhile to discuss some more general information about life in Chatham County for persons of color.

State Laws

What was the environment in which Chatham's free persons of color found themselves in 1850? The laws passed by the General Assembly provided the broadest background to the life of free Blacks and Mulattoes.⁸ Some free persons of color could vote, subject to the same gender and property requirements applied to whites until 1835, when those rights were terminated. Laws regulating the interaction of free persons of color with enslaved persons increased over time. By 1850, it was unlawful for Free Blacks and Mulattoes to entertain an enslaved person in their house on Sundays or after dark (two dollar fine); meet for purposes of drinking, dancing, or gambling; join in rebellion (death without clergy); trade with (not less than thirty-nine lashes on their bare back); marry or cohabit (lashes); preach to (lashes); purchase or hire. A few laws dealt with interaction of free persons of color with whites. It was unlawful for a free person of color to marry a white person or testify in a trial. Assault or rape of a white woman was penalized by death without clergy. If a free person of color came into the State against the law, they could be fined \$500 or held in servitude for a term not to exceed ten years. If a free person of color was capable of work, but found to be idle, that person was required to provide a security bond conditioned on future employment or could be hired out for a period not to exceed three years. Free persons of color were required to obtain a license to peddle goods.

It's safe to say that, perhaps with the exception of voting restrictions, these laws were inconsistently enforced across the state. They were likely most consistently enforced in the counties with the greater percentage of enslaved and free persons of color where control of black unrest was of most concern. In Chatham County, there was little concentration of either white households with large numbers of slaves or free Black and Mulatto households to cause great concern among the whites. There were 2210 households in Chatham County in 1850, of which 2% were free Black or Mulatto. Most of the free persons of color were Mulatto, which could have lessened the concern even further.

Immigration

There are many things about free persons of color in Chatham that we do not know, some we will probably never know. If some came to Chatham free, where did they come from? The earliest North Carolina counties to record free Blacks were those in northeast North Carolina along the Virginia border. Free Blacks first came to the colony of Virginia as indentured servants, probably from the West Indies, and were recorded in the colony census made in 1624-1625 as twenty-three Africans listed as “servants” with the same status as white indentured servants. Once completing their service lasting from two to eight years, they became free citizens with many of the same rights and obligations as whites, for example, owning property and paying taxes. But they were to occupy a separate social space.⁹

The first federal census in 1790 showed 5,041 “all other free persons” in North Carolina. Chatham County had nine “all other free persons.” Future free, colored Chatham residents Richard and Lucy Evans came from Warren County to the northeast of Chatham in the very early 1800s. Randolph/Randle Roe and the elder Elijah Powel arrived during the same period and settled close to the Evans in northeast Chatham. More about these individuals below.

Acquiring Free Status

If some persons of color became free only *after* arriving in Chatham, how did they acquire that status? There are several possibilities, none of which have yet been determined for the individuals identified as free persons of color in Chatham’s 1850 census. Prior to 1830, enslaved persons could be freed by their enslavers by legal action or by will. We don’t have records indicating how many enslaved persons were freed in Chatham. Some likely were, and if so, records may eventually be found. After 1830, the state imposed many additional restrictions on this process. Ultimately it was the State General Assembly or courts who made the decision on each case. The Assembly passed no acts of emancipation after 1855. The Quakers organized the North Carolina Manumission Society in 1816 with Chatham County as one of its strongest branches. Some persons of color may have bought their own freedom or that of a wife or child. In 1832, for example, free-Black Lewis Freeman of Chatham purchased his son Waller from George Badger. He petitioned the State General Assembly to grant Waller’s freedom, but the petition was refused. In 1837, he sold his son to R. Tucker, with the understanding that Tucker would take Waller to New York where Waller would be manumitted.¹⁰

Children born in the state were given the status of their mother. Hence, a child of free woman of color or of a white woman was free at birth. Finally, runaway enslaved persons may have come from Virginia or elsewhere and, once in North Carolina, claimed to be free. Such claims were likely few, risky, and difficult to support, though the rural character of Chatham may have provided some protection. In fact, those legitimately claiming free status faced some peril. For example, in 1841, free-Black Edward Hammons of Chatham, on a visit to Craven County, was arrested and jailed for six months as a runaway slave even though he had a certificate of freedom signed by the clerk of court in Chatham.¹¹

Occupations

Most free persons of color—like most whites—in 1850 Chatham lived on small farms of less than 100 acres, growing corn, wheat, maybe a little tobacco or cotton, and a raising a small number of hogs, sheep, or cattle. Less than a quarter owned real estate property (values ranging from \$75 to \$1,800) which tended to tie them to Chatham County before and beyond the 1850 census. Most of the male farmers of color were tenant farmers who likely had a sharecropping arrangement with a farm owner. Many of the tenants can be located in Chatham only in 1850, suggesting that this segment of the free Black and Mulatto population might have been more mobile, moving from one county or state to the next. The five free persons of color who made their living in the trades (mechanic, miller, cabinet maker, and shoemaker) were not real estate property owners. Some white citizens probably employed these tradesmen. It is not possible to identify the specific jobs of “laborers,” but they were likely farm or industry laborers without much security. Three of the male heads of household and all of the females failed to indicate an occupation in the census. According to the census instructions, females were not asked to identify their occupations in 1850, but this does not mean that they were unemployed. The eight free female persons of color who were household heads and who could be identified in the 1860 census, all had occupations indicated in that census. Six of them specified the following occupations: spinster, housekeeper, laborer, washerwoman, farmer, and domestic.¹²

Education and Religion

The 1850 census recorded that no Chatham free Blacks or Mulattoes were attending school and only 47 could “read and write. Formerly enslaved persons had been denied the opportunity to be taught to read and write by the 1831 law prohibiting such teaching to slaves. In 1834, the General Assembly considered a bill prohibiting free Negroes from teaching their children or causing them to be educated. However, that bill did not pass. There were no religious institutions yet organized by free persons of color in Chatham County, though it is possible some Blacks and Mulattoes, free and enslaved, could have met in fields or individual homes. Like educational institutions for persons of color, religious ones did not form until after the Civil War.

Social Relationships

Close relationships such as marriage were hampered by geographic and social distance as well as the law. Willis Byrd and Lucy Evans’ marriage was facilitated by their families’ close proximity. Alfred White went to Alamance County to marry Fanny Ray. William and Sally Bass’ marriage was the only mixed Mulatto-Black marriage. More on these folks shortly. As part of the 1936-38 Federal Writers’ Project, Emma Stone, reported that her mother was free born and her father was enslaved. Her mother moved to the plantation where her father was enslaved, and where her free-born mother and their children “wuz lak de udder slaves.”¹³ Parenting could also be problematic. Four single free-black mothers with young children owned no property and had no adult male providers in their households. Legally, the children

would have the free status of their mother, but they could be subject to Chatham County's Apprenticeship Program and removed from their mother's custody.¹⁴

Most interactions between free persons of color and whites probably were narrow and commercial in nature. Farm tenants would have been required to negotiate terms with white landowners. Laborers probably moved frequently, bringing them into contact with several white employers. They may have had some advantage in selling their labor to white employers because their wages were lower than that of white laborers. The selling and buying of agricultural products, food, goods, tools, and crafts required some contact between the races. Significant medical care might have necessitated some contact with a white physician. Persons of all races lived in the County Poor House, though the degree of segregation is unknown.

In 1850, the census recorded eighty free persons of color in fifty-eight white-headed households, half of which were children under the age of fifteen. Unfortunately, there is no information pertaining to the specifics of the social relationships involved.

The Civil War (1861-1865) and Reconstruction (1865~1877) almost certainly changed many of these relationships with whites, though little specific information is available. During the war, some free persons of color might have cooperated with whites by supplying food crops requisitioned for the war effort. Others might have provided protection for resisters such as white draft dodgers or deserters hunted by the State Militia. Tensions would increase during Reconstruction when persons of color, including formerly enslaved persons, gained greater political power and the KKK rose to suppress it.

Households Living in Chatham for Several Decades

Of the forty-seven households headed by Blacks and Mulattos in the 1850 Census, there were twenty-nine households headed by males, most with children, and just eight owned property. There were eighteen female-headed households; twelve had children. Only three owned property.

One of my goals in this research was to identify persons of color who lived in Chatham over an extended period. My ability to do this was limited by the fact that Censuses prior to 1850 provided the names only of heads of households. Many people listed in the 1850 Census probably lived in Chatham at the time of earlier censuses but were not listed by name because they were not a head of household. I will begin my detailed description of the free households of color with the few whose long-term residence in the County can be documented.

The earliest Chatham Black-headed households identified in the U.S. Census were those of the Evans, Powels, and Roes, all of whom were farmers.

In the 1850 Census, **Randle Roe** [or Randolph Roe/Rowe] (age 100) did not list an occupation or property owned. His household included Susan Roe (71) and Nancy Stuart (47), all Mulatto. In 1840, he was living with an adult female (age 55-99). In 1830, he was living near Pittsboro with an adult female (age 55-99) and a young male adult (age 24-35). He lived in Chatham County in 1810 in a household of seven non-whites next to Richard Evans and very near the older Elijah Powel. Shortly before moving to Chatham, he married Susanah Stuart, presumably becoming parent to Nancy. Thus, he headed one of the three earliest free non-white families in Chatham. Unfortunately, no information was found regarding Randle's descendants.

Elijah Powel farmed in Chatham County for nearly three decades. In the 1810 Census, there was no other information given other than he lived two properties from Randolph Roe. In 1820, he was over 45 and farming. He lived with an adult female (20-44) and several children—6 males (all under 14) and 2 males (14-25). In 1830, there was a male, aged 55-99, living in a younger Elijah Powel's (age 36 to 54) household. Perhaps this was the older Elijah. He died in 1832.

In 1850, a third **Elijah Powell** (33) owned property valued at \$1,800 (which is so out of line with other farmers' property values as to make it questionable). His household included Tempey (26) and two young children—Joseph (5) and Franklin (2)—all Mulatto. Ten years later he was still on the farm near what was then Rialto Post Office in the future New Hope Township. His household included Tempey (36), four children—Joseph? (15), Franklin (12), Silas (10), Addie (4). He then owned property valued at just \$200. In 1870, Elijah (50) was widowed and living with his seven-year-old daughter Carena who was "keeping house." His New Hope Township farm was valued at \$150. And ten years later, at the age of 80, he had married 30-year-old Narcissa and had three children in the household including 18-year-old Carena. He was still farming. In 1900, he was 98, widowed, living with his three adult children—son Calvin (22) and daughters Martha (36) and Dora (16). He still lived on and farmed the New Hope farm that he owned. He died in 1902.

In 1850, **Stephen Powel** (48) lived close by the younger Elijah, and he may have been another son of the older Elijah as his age also falls within an age range of the older Elijah's male children. He owned property valued at \$500 in the same Township as Elijah. He lived with Manerva (29) and four children (all Mulatto)—son Jackson (13) and three daughters Margaret (11), Manervey (9), and Laura (just a month old). In 1860 and 1870, he was still farming in New Hope Township and living with wife Manerva and their children—four in 1860—Jack and Laura from the previous decade, Reubin (4), and Emily (8/12). Two children were listed in 1870—Reuben (15) and Emeline (12). Stephen's property was valued at \$1600 in 1860; but following the Civil War, it was valued at only \$300. By 1880, at age 74, he was still farming in New Hope but widowed and living with his 23-year-old son Reubin.

Richard Evans (74) may have been one of the longest-residing free Blacks in Chatham in 1850, having been here since 1800. He was 74 years old, a long-time farmer, and the owner of property worth \$480. His household included Lucy (73), an adult son Granderson, and a young female, Abby Evans, (all Mulatto). In 1830, the Evans household, address listed as

Pittsboro Post Office, included three boys. In his 1855 will, Richard left his property to his wife, and upon her death, to his four sons (Filden, Granderson, Ancil, and John) and a daughter Lucy who was married to neighbor Willis Byrd.

In 1793, Richard had married Lucy Evans in Warren County, North Carolina before moving to Chatham County. He served as a bondsman for the marriage of Randolph Rowe and Susanah Stewart, who by 1810 had joined him in Chatham County. In 1810, Richard lived in Chatham County close to the older Elijah Powel and next to Randolph/Randle Roe/Rowe. In 1812, Richard was mustered into the Chatham County Regiment, Fifth Company during the war of that year. His muster roll did not show his race, but the only Richard Evans in Chatham in 1810 was listed as “other free person.”¹⁵

Little was learned about the children listed in Richard Evans’ will. In 1850, two of the Evans males listed in the will lived close to Richard’s farm: **Anson/Ansel/Hansel Evans** (30) was a farmer with no property and his household included Vincy (27) and five children, including Richard and James (all Mulatto). A decade earlier, he was farming with a wife and three male children, all under 10. By 1860, he owned real estate valued at \$350. His household included Viny and five children, ages 6-16. **Fielding/Felin Evans** (33) was a propertyless laborer, and his household includes his wife Marthing (25), and four children (all Mulatto), in 1850. Ten years previously, he was living in Chatham with a young female and employed in agriculture. In 1860, Felin and his wife were living in the Hansel Evans’ household. **Granderson Evans** (26) first appears in the 1850 Census living in the Richard Evans’ household. He was a mechanic. A decade later, he is farming in New Hope and heading a household which includes his wife Anobella (20) and two small children (3 and 2). In 1880, he (58) and Anabella (36) have nine children (23 to 3/12). He is still farming, but he dies a year later. The only census recording **John Evans’** household was the 1830 in which he lived with an adult female and a male child under 10.

In 1850, **James Evans** (55) was also a farmer with no property and his household included Faithy (50) and two children—Nancy (14) and Patrick (11). Twenty years previously, James was living in the Pittsboro area with a household of an adult female and three children. Faithy died in 1860. In 1870, James lived in Wake County as a “domestic servant” in the home of his daughter Nancy and her family.

Willis Byrd (36 and Mulatto) was also a New Hope farmer owning property valued at \$300. Willis and his wife Lucy (26), the former Lucy Evans mentioned above, had three young children—Martha (6), Amous J. (4), and Emeline (2). By 1860, their family had grown to seven children—Emma (10), Smith (8), Garabell (7), Addie (5), and Celia (no age given). Martha and Emeline were still there, but Amous was absent. And 1870 brought two more—James (10) and Narcissa (8), and Amous returned. A decade later, Willis was still farming with Lucy and six of these children. In 1900, Willis (86) was widowed and lived with his son Amos and his family on the New Hope farm. Lucy died in 1898 and Willis in 1904. Willis and Lucy are buried in the Byrd’s Chapel AME Zion cemetery—also known as the Birds Mission AME Zion Church (L88.2) in New Hope Township.

In 1850, **Celia Byrd** (62,) had four adult children living in her household (all Mulatto)—Eely (23), Lucinda (21), Turner (20) and a laborer, and Dolley (18). She owned \$500 in property and had probable son Willis Byrd (36) living close by. In 1830, she was married to Josiah Bird with an adult female and nine children in the household. A decade earlier, Josiah was living with an adult woman and six young children in Chatham. He died in 1839. In 1840, widowed, Celia had eight children in her household, one of them in agriculture (24-35 which could have been Willis) and two laborers. In 1860, her status was the same as the previous decade with the exception that it appears Turner was identified as “Phillip.” Celia died in Chatham County in 1864 leaving her property to her son **Nathaniel Byrd**.¹⁶ In 1880, Nathaniel was farming in New Hope with his wife Mary (50) and daughter Ida (22). In 1900, he (79) was still farming while living with his wife (78) and his sister Lucinda (55).

Letty Brewer (49) and seven children lived in her household—Benjamin (18), Patsey (15), Peter (13), Calvin (10), Betsey (10), Alexander (7), and Nancy (5). All were Black except Calvin who was Mulatto. She owned \$150 in property farmed by Benjamin. There were no free Black Brewers (or any name close to that), male or female, in Chatham in the 1830 or 1840 Census. In 1860, Letty was farming near Fall Creek in Bear Creek Township where her property was now valued at \$250. Her household still included four of her children, Benjamin not among them. Now they were all identified as Mulatto. Her 1874 will gives fifty acres to her son Alexander in exchange for his taking care of her until her death. Upon her death, the balance of her property, some of which was in Moore County, was to be divided equally among all of her children. She died in that location in 1877 having lived in Chatham at least 30 years.

Alexander Brewer was the only one of Letty’s children for whom further information could be found in Chatham. Prior to Letty’s death, he (25 and Black) farmed with his wife Jane (26) and their three children—Lydia (6), Olivia L. (4), and Benny G. (2). In a Chatham County deed (CG/261), executed in May 1890, Alexander and Jane sold property said to have been transferred to Alexander by his mother, Letty Brewer. The last record found was in 1900 where he (57) was still farming with Jane and son Richard (23) and daughter Alice (13). According to son Ben’s 1940 death certificate, his mother Jane’s maiden name was Jane Williams, and both she and Alexander were born in Chatham County.

Alfred Hatwood (47) was a farmer who owned property near Pittsboro valued at \$150 in 1850. His household included wife Polly (47) whom he married in 1822 (Polly Berris) and eleven children—Nancy (25), Chloe (15), Mary (13), Emeline (11), Jehu (9), Elly (6), Catty (4), Mary J. (4), John (2), Levinia (2), and Wm. Taylor (5 months)—all Mulatto, in what appears to be a three-generation household. In 1830, an Alfred Hatwood (24-35) had three male children, all under 10. A decade later, it was 2 males (10-23), 2 females (10-23), 2 males (under 10), and 2 females (under 10). In 1860, he was 58 and his property value had increased to \$500. His household included Mary (56, probably “Polly”) and four children—Jehu (20 and a laborer), Katy/Catty (12), Levinia (12), and John (6). In 1870, he was 70, his property value had not changed, and his household included Polly and three new children—Sarah (11), Emeline (9), and John (7).

In 1850, there was also an **Alfred Hatwood** (19) living in the white household of Alfred Lindley, a physician, working as a farmer. Was he a son of elder Alfred? In 1860, he (30) was in Alamance County working as a laborer with his wife Mary (20) and two young female children—Eliz (4) and Mary (2).

Thomas Burnett (47) was a miller with real estate worth \$75, in 1850. He lived with his wife Priscella (45), maiden name Archey, and son George (18), all Black. Twenty years previously he was living with an adult female and four children. In 1860, he was a laborer with no property. His household consisted of Priscella and two male Bogs (33 and 10 and both Black). In 1870, Thomas was again identified as a miller with real estate valued at \$50 near Pittsboro Road, but now identified as a Mulatto. His household did not include Priscella whose whereabouts are not known, but it did include three young adult Bass males, all laborers, two of which have the same names as the Bogs/Bass boys from 1860—Joel and General—but Elwood Bass (22) as well. It also included **Matilda Allen** (24) and two young Allen children (Mulatto)—Hadley (6) and Mary (2). Matilda was from the same William Bass family who, in 1850, had a son Joel (2) but also had a four-year-old daughter named Matilda. (See below for William Bass.) Thomas died in 1877 and is buried in the South Fork Friends Church Cemetery in Albright Township.

In 1860, Thomas' son **George Burnett** (27) was a farm laborer in the household of Elyza Jeffers (52). The household also included two Jeffers and three Allen children. A decade later, he (37) was a farmer renter on Pittsboro Road with his wife Jane (32) and five children—Sarah (15), William (9), Priscilla (8), Thomas (7), and Nancy (3)—all Mulatto. Three children were in school. In 1880, George (46) was still farming with wife Ceyneth J. (42) [Asenanth Jane] and children—William (20), Thomas (16), and Nancy (13), Rebecca (9), Abram (7), Albert (5), and Ruth (7 months).



George W. and Asenanth Jane Allen Burnett, gg-grandparents of Calvin Dark, who provided the photo.

The following is from Dark/Brooks/Burriss/Kearns Family Tree on Ancestry. Thomas was born in 1802 in Orange County. His father was Saunders Burnett (1750-1822). His mother was Abigail Williams (1768-1864). His spouse was Prescilla Archey (1805-?).

James Bowden (46) was a farmer with no property. His 1850 household included Sally (46) and seven children, of which the two oldest, Oliver (16) and Thomas (15), were farmers. Other children included John (13), Thomas (11), Polly (6), Sias/Sirus/Cyrus (5), and Milton (3 months). All were Mulatto. Ten years earlier, James (24-35) had been a farmer with an adult female (24-35) and four male children under 10 in his household. [A John Bowdin was listed in the 1820 Census as living in Chatham in a household of seven—a male (over 45), one male (14-25), four males (under 14), and one female (14-25). As James would have been 16 at the time, John could have been his father. In the 1830 Census, John (55-99)

is listed as living in Pittsboro with only an adult female (55-99); but subsequently, he is not found in later censuses.] In 1860, James (55) owned property valued at \$50 near Cane Creek. His household had added another child. In 1870, he (65) was a basket maker with no property living on Pittsboro Road. Sally (65) was there with three adult children. In 1880, James (73) was still a basket maker, but had a physical disability, and was living in Hadley Township with Sally (72) and no children. He died in 1885 and was buried in the McPherson-Bivin-Perry Cemetery in Alamance County, presumably having lived most of his life in Chatham.

James' son **Oliver Bowden** has an extensive record from 1857-1910. In 1857 he (22) married Ellen Mary Allen (18). In 1860, they lived near Cane Creek where he was a farm laborer, probably for Sallie McPherson (80) in Alamance County. They had two children—Esprane (2) and John (1). A decade later, they added a son William. Another decade and they added a daughter Mary Eliza (6) and a son **Cy** (1). In 1900, Oliver was a farm laborer in Liberty, Randolph County and had added seven children—Mary (10), Cemore (9), Garfield (8), Lenice (6), Marge (2), and Nora (3 mons). A decade later, Oliver (84) was a farm laborer in the same location, but he was widowed. Son **William** (53) was also a farm laborer. Daughter **Mary Eliza** (36) was living in the household along with her six children. James' son **Cyrus** moved to Alamance County by 1880, followed by James' son Milton two decades later.



Cyrus and Eliza White Bowden. Photo provided by their gg-grandson Calvin Dark.

Carney Glover (27) was a farmer not owning property in 1850. His household included Mahala (26) and three young children—Susan (5), Thomas (3), and Sarah J. (1), all Black. Ten years later and identified as Mulatto, they lived near Goldston where he was farming without owning real estate. Mahala (35), Susan (15), and Sara (11) were still present; but Thomas wasn't and a new child—Ann (2)—was. An 1866 marriage record for Carney and Kittury Powel was recorded in Randolph County. In 1870, Carney (45) had moved to Hickory Mountain Township where he was farming with real estate valued at \$500. But his household now consisted of Caroline (30 and keeping house), Elizabeth (24) and Jacob (20), both children of Mahala, and four new children—Ames (12), James (9), Evans (2), and Ruth (1 month), all Black. Ten years later, in 1880, he was still farming in Hickory Mountain with wife Cituria (40) and six children, all Mulatto. Ames, Evans, and Ruth were not present. Nancy Ann (21) could be Ann from 1860 who is now "sick." James (20) is probably James from 1870 who was now a field hand. The four "new" children were Halia Ann (17), Rosetta (10 and "sick"), Eulis (6), and Cowell (2). Nancy Ann died in Siler City in 1930 at the age of 75. In 1910, James (47) was a farmer with wife Ella (34) and nine children ages 18 to nine months. He died in 1935 in Taylorville in Moore County. Kittury, Cituria and Caroline are likely to be the same person.

In 1850, there were three other Glover households in Chatham who will be discussed below. The censuses do not identify that Carney, or any other Glover household, lived in Chatham before 1850. In that year, a **Betsy Glover** (60 and Mulatto) lived in the household of Joshua Adcock (93 and white). The household held only two others—both Glovers—Betsy (21) and Anderson (19). It was the only census to list Betsy, while the previous 1840 listing of Adcock included only three elderly whites. Could Betsy have been Carney’s mother?

The following comes from Lynne’s family tree on Ancestry. Carney’s father was Joshua Glover (born in 1790). His mother was Elizabeth Betsy Walden (1790-1865). He had a sister Elizabeth Patsy born in 1829 and a brother Anderson born in 1832. His wife Mahala died in 1863. Carney died on 20 October 1919 at Hickory Mountain.

Sampson Lucas (53) was a farmer with no property in 1850. His household consisted of himself and a female Jenny (53), both Black. Ten years later, he was still farming while Jennie was “housekeeping.” Their racial category is blank. In 1880, Lucas (80) was farming in Hickory Mountain Township with wife Eliza (51), again both Black. He still did not own property.

The following comes from the Lucas Family Tree and Campbell/UnderwoodNC on Ancestry. Sampson’s father was John Lucas (1755-1830) living in Cumberland County. His mother was Mary Lucas (1780-1845). He had two brothers—Ishaim Johnnie (1780-1869) and James (1797-1879). Sampson died in 1884.

Jeremiah Reid/Reed (72 and Mulatto) was a laborer living alone near Pittsboro with property valued at \$100 in 1850. His status had been the same 10 and 20 years earlier. He died in 1853 in Chatham County. There had been a David Reid and ten family members who had resided in Chatham in 1810. The 1800 Census recorded a Jerry Reed household of two “other free persons” as well as the Dread Read household of four in Chatham.

Little Evidence of Extended Residency in Chatham

William Chavis/Chavey (32) was a cabinet maker with no property in 1850. His household consisted of Lucy (30) and four children—Janey (10), Joseph (8), Susan (7), and Missouri (3)—all Black. Ten years later, he, Lucy, and five children—William (4) being the new addition—were in Asheboro in Randolph County where five family members are farm laborers. William, a female, and a single child had lived in Chatham in 1840 working in agriculture.

In 1850, **Caty Chavers** (35) had no property. Caty had two children in her home. All of the Chavers were Black. Evidence from Chatham County’s Apprenticeship Program suggests that both William and Caty (“orphans,” i.e., without fathers) were in the program, William in 1821 and Caty in 1832.¹⁷ One candidate for their mother is **Elizabeth Chavis** (60 and Mulatto) who, in 1850, lived in the John Dorset (white) household. In the Hezekiah Dorsett

(68 and white) household lived another **Elizabeth Chavers** (30 and Black), Riley Chavers (13 and Mulatto) and an apprentice, **Jordan Chavers** (3 and Mulatto).

The Chavers/Chavis/Chavey name has a long history in Chatham in that the 1800 Census included a Miles Chavers household of five “other free persons.” The 1810 Census included a James Chavis household of three; while the 1820 Census included a John Chavis household of nine and, again, James Chavis with a household of four.

Fanney Michel (52 and black) and six children (all Mulatto) lived in her household, in 1850, one a laborer named John (26) and Hanah (18), Calvin (14) Mariah (14), Henry (9), and John (3 months). Fanney owned \$120 in property. In 1832, a John Michel (“colored” and nine) and two siblings were entered into Chatham County’s Apprentice program. In 1880, a John Michel (age 55, mulatto), was farming in Center Township. Close by was his brother Calvin, wife Nancy, and their eleven children, all Mulatto.

Henry Jeffreys (52) was a shoemaker without property in 1850. His household included Elizabeth (32), the son Calvin (24), a farmer, and Susan (60?). Next door to Henry, **Betsey Jeffreys** (41) lived with a farming son, John P. (20) and she owned no property. **Eliza Jeffreys** (35) lived in Chatham County with daughter Tempe (12) in her household and no property. All of these Jeffreys/Jeffries were Mulatto.

According to the Jeffries Family Tree on Ancestry, Henry married Mary Hawkin Jeffreys in 1817. Elizabeth was their daughter. Susan and Betsy were Henry’s sisters.

In 1850, **Mathew Goins** (46) was a farmer not owning property. His household included Mary (30) and seven children—James (20), Susanna (15), William (13), Martha J. (8), Mary (8), Levinia (4), and Oran T. (1)—all Mulatto. In 1880, Matthew was living with and working on the farm of a nephew, Dougal Goins, and his family near Carthage in Moore County.

In 1850, **Wm. Goins/Goens** (38) was a miller not owning real estate property. His household included Kissy (35) and six children—Duncan (12), Margaret (11), Edmond (8), Thomas (7), Reid (4), and George (2)—all Mulatto. The family was also in Chatham in 1860. William and Kiza were 46. The children included Duncan (22), Edward (19), Thomas (18), Reid (14), George (12), Warsey (9), Baxter (8), Salley (5), Alice (2), and Joseph (2 months). In 1870, most of the family is in Neosho, Coffey Kansas. William is a farmer owning property. Also listed are Edward (29), Mary (25), Harriet (26), Reed (24), Colon (19), William (17), Alice (13) and Joseph (11)—all listed as white.

According to information on Ancestry.com, William and Kissy/Kiza’s son Duncan Goins belonged Company H., 30th Regiment, NC Volunteers, and died in Wilmington, NC on 11 Mar 1862. He is buried at Cumnock Community Cemetery in Lee (formerly Chatham) County.

John Archy (55) was a farmer living next to Alfred Hatwood in 1850, who did not own property. His household included Rebecca (55), whom he married in 1834, and two teen daughters—Betsey (17) and Cornelia (14)—(all Mulatto). Rebecca owned \$75 in real estate

property. In 1830, John Archey lived in Chatham with an adult female and five children, three of whom were male. He no longer lived next to Hatwood in 1860 and could not be located elsewhere in Chatham. According to Regina Mack Family Tree on Ancestry, John's wife Rebecca was Rebecca McBane Stephens.

Larkin Archey (27) was a farmer near John Archey in 1850 but did not own property. His household included Tempy (28), Tach [or Zach] (29), Sally (24), Larkin (6), John (1), and Wm. Crocker (25), all mulattoes. Tach/Zach and Wm. Crocker were day laborers. A marriage record from Orange County records the marriage of Larkin Archy and Tempy Croker on 17 Dec 1844. The older Larkin could have been a son of John Archy as John had two male children under 10 in 1830. The 1860 Census lists Larkin (33), Tempe (33), and William (11) in German, Darke, Ohio. Larkin (older or younger?) is listed on a Civil War draft record dated June 1863 for Darke County Ohio, as is **Zachariah Archy**. In 1870, the older Larkin's family is found in Wayne, Indiana. The household there consists of Larkin (49, a farm laborer), Tempe (50), William Crocker (22), Larkin Crocker (12), and James Crocker (9). The older Larkin died in Indiana on 6 Feb 1896. The younger Larkin died in 1918 and is buried in the Bass cemetery in Darke County, Ohio. Zach Archey served in the 45th US Colored Troops. His family is found in Darke County, Ohio in 1870.

Thomas Archy was listed in the 1810 census as heading a household of six free persons of color. A Thomas Archy, black 86-year-old, was listed in 1850 as resident of the Chatham County Poor House—identified as a pauper. A **Moses Archie** headed a household of five in 1820.

Mebane Hatwood (26) was a farmer near Alfred Hatwood in 1850 but did not own property. He could have been among Alfred and Polly Hatwood's children as they had three male children all under 10 in 1830. Meban's 1850 household included Anna (26) and four children—Joseph (9), James (6), Andrew (4), and Henry (2)—all Mulatto. The family is found in Washington Indiana in 1860—Mebane (33), Ann (35), James (15), Andy (13), Henry (9), Bazil (7), Presley (5), Polly (7 months). In 1870, they are listed in Steele, Indiana—Mebane (53), Anna (54), Andrew (23), and Columbus (8). A census record in 1880 finds a Mebane Hatwood farming in Arkansas and married to Sarah (27).

The following comes from the Hunter Family Tree on Ancestry. Mebane's father was Alfred Hatwood. His mother was Polly "Mary" Bass. He died in Arkansas.

Simon White (70) was a farmer with no property in 1850. His household included Celia (69), two older children—Pricilla (24) and Samira (18) (all Mulattoes), and William Bowden (21) a boarder-farmer. Ten years earlier, his household included an older female along with ten children. In 1830, he resided near Pittsboro and his household included a female and eleven children, seven males and four females.

Alfred White (33) was a farmer with no property in 1850. His household included Ruth (25) and six children—John (10), Mary (8), Jane (6), Emily (4), Manly (3), and Simon (1)—(all Mulattoes). In 1854, Alfred married Fanny Ray (21) in Alamance County. Presumably first

wife Ruth is deceased. In 1860, they lived in Alamance where Alfred was a miller. They had no children, but they lived adjacent to his son John whose household included six children, three of whom were John's siblings. Ten years later, Alfred (53) was a miller in Alamance with real estate valued at \$600. His household now included Anna, presumably Fanny (35), Princella White from John's household (19), and six children—Eliza (14), Isiah (12), Geoge (10), Alliam (8), Isabella (6), and Robert (3). The 1880 Census indicated that Alfred (65) was a miller and farmer, still in Alamance County. His household now included Fanny (45) and six children, five of which were listed in the 1870 Census, plus Leanah (10). Alfred died in 1883.

Morgan Allen (33) was a farmer without property in 1850. His household included Nancy (40) and seven children—Gaston (15), Julia (14), Durant (13), Jane (11), Sebi (9), Samira (6), and Frances (2). Gaston was a farmer. All the Allens were Black. Ten years earlier, Morgan and Nancy had four children under 10. In 1830, James Allen lived near Pittsboro with a household of thirteen, including a male whose age-range includes Morgan's.

William Bass (30 and mulatto) was a farmer, but he did not own any property in 1850. His household included Sally (26 and Black) and four children under seven—Catharine (6), Matilda (4), Joel (2), and Thomas E. (1)—all Mulatto. The household was adjacent to the Thomas Burnett's, discussed above. Catherine married John Jeffries in 1862 in Chatham and in 1880 they were living in Alamance County. In 1860, Joel and General Bass were living in the Thomas Burnett household. In 1870, in addition to Joel and General, Elwood Bass was in the Burnett household, along with Matilda Allen (24) and two young Allen children, ages 6 and 2. Matilda is widowed and keeping house. The 1800 Census recorded an Aron Bass household of three "other free persons", but no other information was located.

There is no record of William or Sally Bass in Chatham after the 1850 census. A William Bass, born 1820, is found in German, Darke Co. Ohio, in 1860 (as well as 1870 and 1880). In 1860, his household includes only himself and one-year-old named Sarah. This is the same community where Larkin Archy is found in 1860.

According to the Sanders Family Tree on Ancestry.com, Sally Bass was the daughter of Thomas and Priscilla Archey Burnett.

Hubbard Grymes (52 and Mulatto) was a mechanic owning no real estate in 1850. His household included ten Grymes children—William (23), John (21), Robert (20), another John (19), Rhora (18), Richard (16), Margaret (13), Jane (11), George (8), and Paskill (6)—all Mulattoes. Richard (16) was a laborer, the four older males having no jobs indicated in the census. Also in 1850, a **John Grymes** (19 and Mulatto) lived in the Joseph Parham (white) household with no occupation identified. **Mary Gynes** (14 and Mulatto) lived in the household of Nancy Harrington (63 and white). No other records can be found.

Berry Harris (50 and Mulatto) was a laborer with no property in 1850. He lived with Permelia Harris (20 and white). Ruth Harris (14 and Black) lived in the John Stout (white) household. In 1819, Berry had married Creasey Dean in Wake County. No other records for

the three Harrises were found. The 1800 and 1810 Censuses recorded a John Harris household of four “other free persons.”

Aaron Brown (34) had no info as to occupation or property ownership in 1850. His household included Elizabeth (34) and seven children—Enock (12), Henry (10), John (8), Eli (6), William (5), Jane (4), and Lydia (2 months)—all Mulatto. There is no record of them living in Chatham before 1850. In 1860, he was a farm laborer in Grant in Randolph County, living with Betsy (presumably Elizabeth), while adding two more children to the household—Elizabeth (7) and Anna (5). In 1860, William was now called Bradley. A decade later, Aaron was farm laborer in the same location, with Elizabeth and three teen children—Lydia, Elizabeth, and Anna. In 1900, Elizabeth, widowed and a housekeeper, still lived in the same location with farmer son Enoch (58). Both are identified as Black.

There were what appears to be two mother-daughter relationships in 1850. **Mary Linn** (60) and **Nancy Linn** (35) with a four-year-old, Sis (4), shared a household (all Black), and neither owned property. There was a Mary Linn (13 and Mulatto) living with the William McMath (white) household. Also, there was a 60-year-old Mary Linn listed among the residents of the County Poor House.

Mourning Hill (59) lived with one teen child—Lydia (14) (both Mulatto). She listed no property. A decade later, she, Lydia, and William (age? and Black) lived in the George Ellington (44) household, where they were all identified as laborers. Included in the household were Prudence Ellington (30), and four children—George (6), Mary (6), Gilley (3), and William (4 months)—all white. There were two others—Pressey Buchanon (75) and Frances Buchanon (30), both domestics and white. Mourning and Lydia could not be located in any other census.

Charlotte Hill (34) lived in 1850 with four children—Mary (10), Cora (8), Hester (5), and Manning (8 months)—all Black. She lived close to Mourning Hill. She, too, listed no property. A decade later, she lived in Jones County, NC, with nine children—all four of the above (Manning is now Mourning), plus Sallie (9), Joseph (4), Alpha (3), Tom (1), and John (6 months). In 1880, Charlotte was living with her daughter Mary and her husband near Conocanary in Halifax County. In 1850, there was an **Augustus Hill** (23 and Mulatto) who worked as a cooper in the Lawrence J. Haughton (white) household.

Sally Chandler (49 and Mulatto, born in Virginia). The only other Chandler listed in Chatham in 1850 was **Calvin Chandler** (15 and Black) who lived in the Isaac West (white) household working as a farmer. In 1830, Samuel Chandler lived near Pittsboro with a female (24-35).

Sally Glover (50) had three teenagers in her household in 1850—William (18), Joseph (16 and day laborer) and Green (12)—and no property. A decade later, she lived near Goldston with William (33 and a pauper), Joseph (25 and day laborer), and Jane (14). **Edwin Glover** (24) was a farmer in 1850 without property sharing a household with **Ann Glover** (27). Both families were mulatto. Was Edwin related to Sally—her oldest son? **Mary Glover** (37 and Black) lived next door to Sally Chandler. She did not list children or property. There were also

six other Glovers, ages 60 to 8, who lived in three white-headed households. Too many Glovers to be unrelated? Some of them may be related to Pate Glover who was identified in the 1800 Census as head of a household and “other free person.”

Lear Anderson was an 80-year-old Black female in 1850. The only other free person of color Anderson found in Chatham was Jerry Anderson, who in 1830 was a resident of Pittsboro. His household included a free female of color. Both he and the female were aged 55 to 99. The household also included an enslaved person under ten years of age.

Let me finish this report by noting what might be ties between propertyless free women of color to adjacent white households with property. **Bithay Evans** (45) had two very young children in her household—Margaret (3) and Maryan (2)—(all Black) and no property in 1850.

Charlot Evans (22 and Black) with no children or property lived two households from Bethay in what may have been a mother-daughter relationship. Were the children in Bethay’s household hers or Charlot’s? In-between the two Evans lived Charlot Primrose, an 82-year-old white female born in Georgia. Primrose had four enslaved persons—a Black male (40) and three Mulatto females (30, 28, 22). The 1820 Census included a household of “free colored persons” with Jemima Evans (26-44) and two female children, both under 14. No other formation could be found.

In 1850, **Nancy Alston**, an 80-year-old Black free female, lived next to Everett Foushee [Foushee]. In 1840, the white Foushee household included two free persons of color, one male and one female, both aged 55 to 99.

Racheal Goodwin (70 and Black) lived, in 1850, among four white Goodwin households with whom she may have had a history. The white households were headed by Dempsey (73), Henry (70), and James (64). Rachel lived next door to the fourth white Goodwin, Elizabeth, a widowed sister-in-law to the three Goodwin brothers. All of the white Goodwins owned property and the three brothers farmed. As noted above, women were not asked about occupation in the 1850 census.

Next steps

To facilitate research by others I have prepared links to tables listing the following information from census records:

- [Table of free persons of color who were household heads in the 1790 to 1860 Chatham censuses](#).¹⁸ For 1790 to 1840, this table provides the name of the household head, number of people in the household, and page number in the census on Ancestry.com. Note: While the 1850 and 1860 censuses list all of the persons in each household by name, my tables include only the name of the household head.

- Additional information for 1850 and 1860—specifically, the names, race, and ages of all of the persons of color in households including such persons—can be found in tables created by Sue Ashby on genweb.com. These resources list all free persons of color in each household—not just the household heads, thus including many persons not listed in my tables, and also give some indication of the proximity of the families of color to one another.

Link to Sue Ashby's List of free persons of color in the Chatham 1850 and 1860 Censuses. Upper and Lower Regiments are listed separately in 1850.

1850 Free Persons of Color in [Upper Regiment](#) ¹⁹

1850 Free Persons of Color in [Lower Regiment](#) ²⁰

[1860 Free Persons of Color in Chatham](#) ²¹

- [Table of household heads whose mixed-race households included free persons of color in the 1790-1840 censuses](#).²² This table provides the name of the household head (race undetermined), the number of free persons of color in the household, and the census page number on Ancestry.com.
- [Table of free persons of color who lived in households headed by whites in 1850 and 1860](#).²³ In these censuses, the names of all members of the household were recorded, so this table, unlike the one for 1790-1840, lists the names, age, race, and occupations of the persons of color in the household; the name, age, and occupation of the white household head, and the census page number on Ancestry.com.

I hope that anyone who has researched one or more of these families and has additional information to offer will share it with the Chatham County Historical Association so that the stories of these people of color will be known.

As much as possible, I will update this paper as corrections and additions are made available to me via history@chathamhistory.org.

References and Notes:

¹ I thank Lesley Richardson, Cindy Schmidt, and Beverly Wiggins for their assistance with proofing and editing this paper.

² Native Americans are not identified as such in the 1790-1840 censuses, but some may have been counted as “not white.”

³ As a first draft, I extracted the names of the free persons of color directly from Sue Ashby's transcription of the entire 1850 census which identifies the households and individuals in whom I was interested. I owe many thanks to Ashby for making this part of the task one that did not take a lot of time, thus allowing me to focus on the search for additional information about these people. Ashby provides separate lists for upper and lower regiment: <https://www.ncgenweb.us/chatham/afam/freblks1.htm> and <https://www.ncgenweb.us/chatham/afam/freblks2.htm>.

I later looked at the actual census records on Ancestry to check my list.

⁴ I do not list the names of every household member, but all of the names are included in Sue Ashby's complete transcription of the 1850 Census for Chatham's [upper](#) and [lower](#) regiments. These are found on Genweb.com.

⁵ I extracted lists of households headed by free persons of color in each decennial census from the transcriptions of those Chatham County censuses on Ancestry.com—and checked by looking at the original census images provided on Ancestry.

⁶ For 1790 to 1840, these are mixed-race households in which the race of the household head cannot be determined from the data included in the census. In 1850 and 1860, that information is available, so listed in this column are the numbers of free persons of color in households headed by whites.

⁷ See endnote #6.

⁸ Slaves and Free Persons of Color. An Act Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color (other title) Revised code--No. 105., North Carolina, 10 p., [General Assembly?], [1831], Call number FCp326.1 1831 (North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). <https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/slavesfree/slavesfree.html>

⁹ Russell, John. *The Free Blacks of Virginia, 1619-1865*, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1913, Chapters 2,4, and 5.

¹⁰ Unpublished manuscript of research on Lewis Freeman produced by Diane L. Richard of Mosaic Research and Project Management for the Chatham County Historical Association.

¹¹ library.uncg.edu/slavery/petitions/details.aspx?pid=10213

¹² The term “domestic” is difficult to interpret because it appears to have been used inconsistently by census takers. It may mean domestic servant, or simply “keeping house.”

¹³ Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 11, North Carolina, Part 2, Jackson-Yellerday. 1936. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/mesn112/>. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn112/>

¹⁴ From Colonial times through much of the 1800s the legal definition of “orphan” was one whose father had died, so a child referred to in legal documents as an orphan may have had a living mother. Mothers had few legal rights over their children or property. Children could also be removed from fathers if the court decided that the father was not providing for the child. Some apprenticeships were enforced, and others were voluntary associations aimed at providing the child with a skill.

¹⁵ Ancestry.com. *North Carolina, U.S., Compiled Census and Census Substitutes Index, 1790-1890* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999.

¹⁶ *Wills and Estate Papers (Chatham County), 1663-1978*; Author: North Carolina. Division of Archives and History (Raleigh, North Carolina); Probate Place: Chatham, North Carolina. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GRVH-9W18?cc=1911121&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AV659-M4G>

¹⁷ Paper on CCHA website: <https://chathamhistory.org/resources/Documents/PDFs/ResearchArticles/ApprenticeshipsInvolvingFreeChildrenofColor.pdf>

¹⁸ URL for table of Free Persons of Color who were Household Heads in 1790 to 1860 Chatham <https://chathamhistory.org/resources/Documents/PDFs/ResearchArticles/FreePOC/FreePOCHouseholds1790to1860.pdf>

¹⁹ URL for Upper Regiment listing of Free Persons of Color in 1850 Census by Sue Ashby on NCGenweb. <https://www.ncgenweb.us/chatham/afam/freblks1.htm>

²⁰ URL for Lower Regiment listing of Free Persons of Color in 1850 Census by Sue Ashby on NCGenweb. <https://www.ncgenweb.us/chatham/afam/freblks2.htm>

²¹ URL for listing of Free Persons of Color in 1860 Census by Sue Ashby on NCGenweb. https://www.ncgenweb.us/chatham/afam/freblks_1860.htm

²² URL for table of Mixed-Race Households Including Free Persons of Color in 1790 to 1840.
<https://chathamhistory.org/resources/Documents/PDFs/ResearchArticles/FreePOC/MixedRaceHHwithFreePOC1790to1840.pdf>

²³ URL for table of Free Persons of Color in White-Headed Households in 1850 and 1860.
<https://chathamhistory.org/resources/Documents/PDFs/ResearchArticles/FreePOC/FreePOCinWhiteHH1850and1860.pdf>