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**Artisans in the Carolina backcountry: Rowan County,
1753-1770**

Lewis, Johanna Miller, Ph.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1991

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ARTISANS IN THE CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY:

ROWAN COUNTY, 1753-1770

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Johanna Miller Lewis

1991

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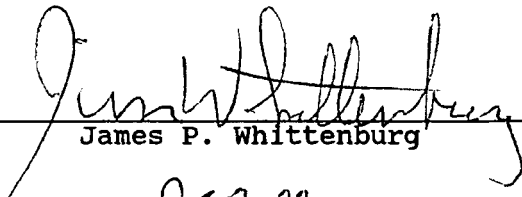
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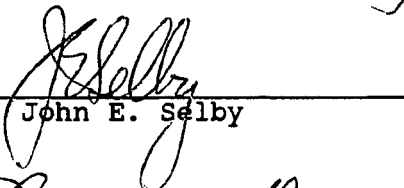
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Doctor of Philosophy

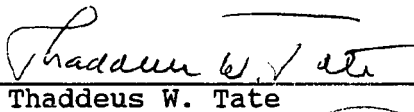

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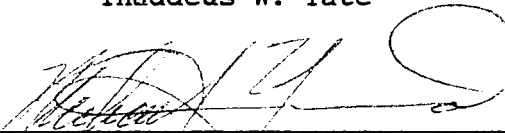
Approved, April 15, 1991


James P. Whittenburg


John E. Selby


Thomas F. Sheppard


Thaddeus W. Tate


Michael Hammond
Old Salem, Inc.

to
Michael

and
in memory of
my grandfathers,
Joseph William Carlson
and
Norvell Elliott Miller, Jr.

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ABSTRACT

Artisans played an important role in the social and economic life of Rowan County, North Carolina beginning with its creation in 1753. Whether they came individually with their families to obtain land and establish new lives, or they were chosen by the Moravian Church to settle the 100,000 acre Wachovia Tract, all of these artisans were part of the huge wave of immigration to the western half of North Carolina which occurred during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

The development of the artisan population paralleled the growth of Rowan County. In the early 1750s a handful of artisans produced objects that the small groups of settlers needed to survive and create new lives in the backcountry. Blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, and saddlers made clothes, shoes, saddles, and ironware for backcountry inhabitants; and millwrights and carpenters built structures which helped Rowan county develop.

As more people poured into the county (which consisted of the northwest quadrant of the colony) so did more artisans. Hatters, joiners, masons, coopers, turners, wheelwrights, wagonmakers, potters and gunsmiths joined the expanding community of craftspeople. Simultaneously, improvements and growth in the road and ferry system increased the range of local trade networks all the way to the coast, and across the Atlantic Ocean. While backcountry residents once looked to Cross Creek, Charles Town, or London, to fill their desire for conspicuous consumption, local silversmiths, cabinetmakers, gunstockers, and watchmakers came to fill their needs. Public and private accounts record artisans making raised paneled room interiors, silver shoe buckles, fancy beaver hats, walnut tables and chests of drawers, and fancy riding chairs for a demanding clientele.

Rowan county's wide geographic area included all stages of settlement at any given time. Salisbury, the county seat, and Salem and Bethabara, the Moravian towns, provided a fairly refined lifestyle in the eastern half of the county, while the western half of the county featured the unsettled frontier. Research in Rowan County court records, apprentice bonds, deeds, and wills, as well as extant invoices and account books, indicates that artisans played a significant role in increasing the quality of life in backcountry North Carolina. The presence of artisans and the availability of their products in that region proves that its inhabitants did not always live "in the most slovenly manner" described by most historians.

**ARTISANS IN THE CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY:
ROWAN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA 1753-1770**

CHAPTER I

ARTISANS, ROWAN COUNTY, AND THE BACKCOUNTRY

From the time of its creation in 1753 artisans played an important role in the social and economic life of Rowan County, North Carolina. Whether they came individually with their families to obtain land and establish new lives, or they were chosen by the Moravian Church to settle the 100,000 acre Wachovia Tract, all of these artisans were part of the huge wave of immigration to the western half of North Carolina which occurred during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

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system increased the range of local trade networks all the way to the coast, and across the Atlantic Ocean. Where backcountry residents looked for their needs to Cross Creek, Charles Town, or London, local silversmiths, cabinetmakers, gunstockers, and watchmakers came to fill the needs of Rowan County's conspicuous consumers. Public and private accounts record artisans making raised paneled room interiors, silver shoe buckles, fancy beaver hats, walnut tables and chests of drawers, and fancy riding chairs for a demanding clientele. Artisans were anxious to take advantage of the economic opportunities the burgeoning backcountry offered and expanded their operations to increase their profits.

Between 1753 and 1770 Rowan County covered approximately the northwest quadrant of North Carolina; for more than seventeen years it was the single largest county in the backcountry. The wide geographic area of Rowan meant that it included all stages of settlement at any given time. Salisbury, the county seat, and Salem and Bethabara, two of the Moravian towns on the Wachovia Tract, provided a fairly refined lifestyle in the eastern half of the county, while the western half of the county featured the unsettled frontier. No other studies of Rowan County or the North Carolina backcountry have focused on the artisans of that region. Research in Rowan County court records, apprentice bonds, deeds, and wills, as well as extant invoices and account books, indicates that artisans played a significant

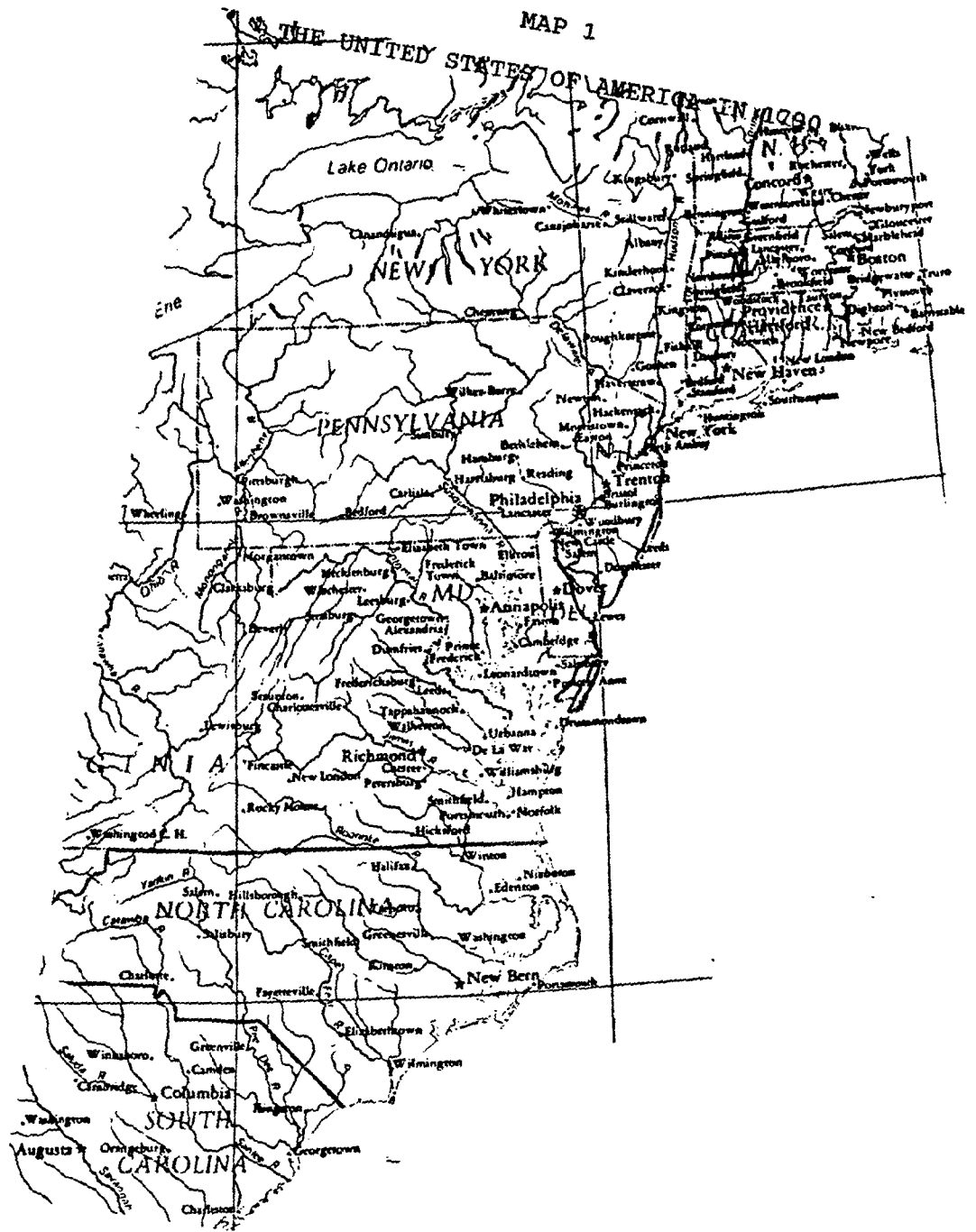
role in increasing the quality of life in backcountry North Carolina. The presence of artisans and the availability of their products in Rowan County shows that inhabitants of the backcountry did not always live "in the most slovenly manner" described by most historians.¹

I. Artisans

While artisans in the North Carolina backcountry have not been written about previously, artisans in early America, especially in the colonial South, have generated a fair amount of interest over the years. Carl Bridenbaugh, is the only historian to have given substantial notice of the importance of the craftsman in colonial society. His book, The Colonial Craftsman, in which he delineates craft development in the colonies to meet the particular needs of an area and its inhabitants, remains the only general historical work on artisans in colonial America. Bridenbaugh has also included artisans and their place in economy and society in his books on colonial urban America and the South.²

¹Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), p. 122.

²Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); -----, Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America 1625-1742 (New York: Knopf, 1955); -----, Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1742-1776 (New York: Knopf, 1955); and -----, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (New York: Atheneum, 1976).



More recently, the trend has been toward studying the craftsmen of a particular locale, or even artisans of specific crafts within a certain area. The most interesting aspect of these works is that every author seems to investigate and interpret the artisan from a different perspective. Methods of the new social history in dealing with the "inarticulate" made artisans an easily identifiable segment of the population to scrutinize as an example of the "working man". Consequently, quite a few historians have used the artisans of different locales to explore eighteenth-century labor history.³

In his book The Social Structure of Revolutionary America Jackson Turner Main discussed the class structure of Revolutionary America with regards to economics and society and explained how an individual's occupation, income, and ownership of property influenced his status, prestige, and rank in the community.⁴ While this book seems altogether too brief in detailed analysis today, the questions Main asked, his research methods, and his conclusions set the

³For a definition of the "inarticulate" with regards to artisans see James H. Hutson, "An Investigation of the Inarticulate: Philadelphia's White Oaks," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 28 (Jan. 1971), 3-26; and Jesse Lemisch and John K. Alexander, "The White Oaks, Jack Tar, and the Concept of the 'Inarticulate'" with a Note by Simeon J. Crowther and a Rebuttal by James H. Hutson, The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 29 (Jan. 1972), 109-142.

⁴Jackson Turner Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

standard for all future studies of particular groups in society, including artisans. Following Main's lead, most historians have investigated artisans by analyzing the extant records of certain localities which involve artisans to determine how they lived and how they fit into the society in which they lived. Not surprisingly, the majority of these studies focus on large urban areas and address only those issues which the records can answer. As Howard B. Rock argues in the preface of his book Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson, politically-aware artisans often composed a decisive electoral block in the nation's major urban areas, playing a major role in the development of partisan politics. In the marketplace, too, artisans were influential as active entrepreneurs and, most critically, as adversaries in serious and sometimes protracted labor disputes, conflicts that have had a lasting effect on American working-class history.⁵ Thus, Rock's and Sean Wilentz's books on New York City; books and articles by Gary Nash, Charles Olton, Sharon V. Salinger and Billy G. Smith on artisans and labor in Philadelphia; Charles G. Steffen's work on artisans in Baltimore; and Susan E. Hirsch's study of craftsmen in Newark, New Jersey, primarily emphasize the political and economic lives of the eighteenth-century

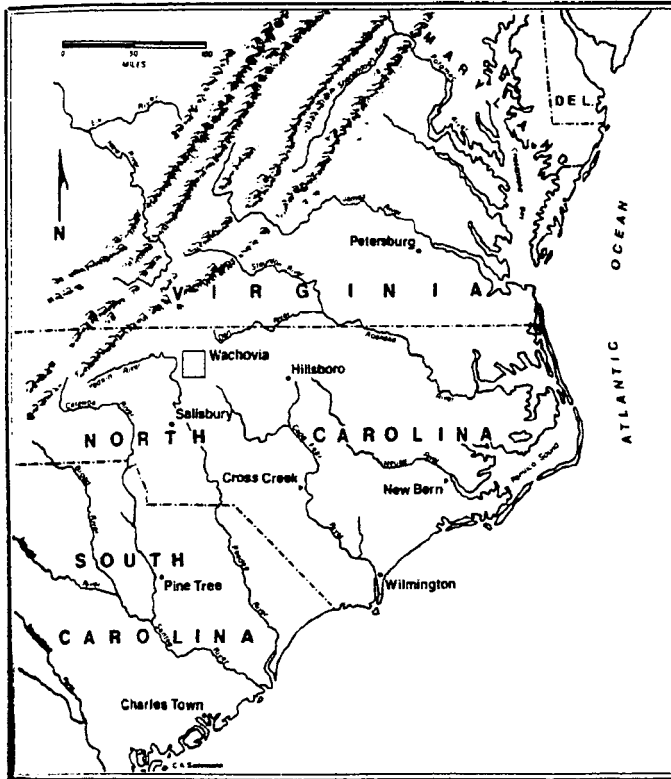
⁵Howard B. Rock, Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press, 1984), p. vii.

artisan population and only individually deal with the more personal issues of standard of living and quality of life at home or work.⁶

The lack of large urban areas coupled with a plantation economy based on staple crop agriculture and slave labor in the prosperous areas of the South has led historians to a completely different approach and set of questions to study the artisan and his place in Southern society. Craftsmen in

⁶Sean B. Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Gary B. Nash, Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); -----, "Artisans and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Ian M.G. Quimby, ed. The Craftsman in Early America (New York: Norton for Winterthur, 1984), pp. 62-88; -----, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," The William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series, 33 (Jan. 1976): 3-20; Charles S. Olton, Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1975); -----, "Philadelphia's Mechanics in the First Decade of Revolution, 1765-1776," Journal of American History 59 (1972): 311-26; Sharon V. Salinger, "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 40 (Jan. 1983): 62-84; -----, "'Send No More Women': Female Servants in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (Jan. 1983): 29-48; -----, "To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750-1800," in The William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series, 38 (April 1981): 163-202; Charles G. Steffen, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790-1820," in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 36 (Jan. 1979): 101-117; -----, The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763-1812 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and Susan E. Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978).

MAP 2
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, CIRCA 1760



Map by C.A. Sielemann in Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in North Carolina

the colonial south have generated a fair amount of interest over the years because of the issue of bound versus free labor. In The Colonial Craftsman Carl Bridenbaugh reasoned that outside urban areas such as Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston, the agricultural and rural nature of the South made it difficult for craftsmen to develop a big enough clientele to survive. As a result of selling their crops to England the wealthy owners of large plantations often imported high quality consumer goods in exchange and used local craftsmen to supply only their most basic needs. However, as most southern plantations depended on slave labor, the owners gradually realized that making their operations self-sufficient by training their slaves as artisans would be cheaper than patronizing local free craftsmen. That investment also provided some economic protection against the crop market.⁷

In an excellent historiographic review of the scholarship on free artisans and slave artisans in the Chesapeake, Jean Russo points out that historians have reached an impasse in explaining the lack of free artisans amid the search for plantation self-sufficiency: either the plantation owner's choice to make his plantation self-

⁷Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 1-32. Thomas W. Wertenbaker actually preceded Bridenbaugh in his assessment of the southern artisan's situation in his 1942 book The Old South: The Foundation of American Civilization (rpt., New York: Cooper Square, 1963), pp. 226-227, 269-270.

sufficient with slave labor caused his reliance on free craftsmen to decline, sending those artisans into other endeavors or other locations; or, the lack of free artisans forced the plantation owner to become self-sufficient on slave labor, causing artisans to abandon their trades for planting. Either way, Russo concludes, the debate has failed to address the role of local craftsmen who remained in their rural communities, as she does for Talbot County, Maryland from 1690 to 1759.⁸

Russo's research is important because she answers a vital question in the historiographical debate over skilled slave versus skilled free labor in the Chesapeake. Not surprisingly, she found that artisans who practiced basic crafts (carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers, and tailors) prevailed; and some secondary and allied crafts were also present for at least part of the time. Free artisans' fortunes might decline when the tobacco market prospered because in such times, if they could afford it, planters acquired skilled slaves to expand the variety of plantation activity to buffer the extremes of depression. Yet plantations (in Talbot County at least) were not self-sufficient, and the economy and society still

⁸Jean B. Russo, "Self-sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," Lois G. Carr, Jean B. Russo, and Philip Morgan, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), p. 390-391.

depended on free artisans to provide them with the necessities of everyday life.⁹

Russo's work is important for another aspect as well. Her dissertation does not merely scour the county records to construct another profile of how artisans, as a representative "inarticulate" group, fit into society, but provides a portrait of artisanal life in Talbot County, Maryland.¹⁰

While Talbot County, Maryland was a long way from Rowan County, North Carolina, Jean Russo's conclusions about Chesapeake artisans parallel the situation in the backcountry South. Russo ascertained that a stable free artisan population did exist in an economy dominated by plantations, tobacco, and slaves. Similarly, this dissertation maintains that artisans existed and improved the quality of life in a backcountry region generally portrayed as lacking a market economy as well as most of eighteenth-century life's refinements.

Although the backcountry in North Carolina was most decidedly rural, Russo's explanations for the lack of free artisans in the Chesapeake do not apply. In fact, the backcountry's reputation was quite the opposite of that of Chesapeake society. In the mid-eighteenth century the

⁹Russo, pp. 395, 405.

¹⁰Jean B. Russo, "Free Workers in a Plantation Economy: Talbot County, Maryland, 1690-1759," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1983).

backcountry stood in stark contrast to the land of tobacco, slaves, and plantations: it was a rugged frontier where settlers fought to survive in the great wilderness. This difference between the backcountry and the older, more established areas of the Old South may explain why many authors (historical and contemporary) have depicted the backcountry as a society lacking in culture.

Rowan County (including Salisbury) was a vital and active place to be during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The western-most county in the colony, Rowan was most decidedly backcountry, if not frontier. The settlers responsible for Rowan's growth and development were mainly farmers, who successfully produced enough corn, wheat, and other agricultural products to trade or export for profit.¹¹ Yet, historians continually portray the backcountry resident as so isolated that everything he needed he had to make himself, or as occasionally fortunate enough to import some nicer things in life from more civilized places. The Reverend Charles Woodmason's 1766 description of "all new Settlers" near present-day Camden, South Carolina, as "extremely poor -Live in Logg Cabins like Hogs - and their Living and Behaviour as rude or more so

¹¹Lefler and Newsome, p. 110.

than the Savages,"¹² leaves a vivid image in one's mind.

Carl Bridenbaugh states that

back inhabitants lived by a mere subsistence farming [until] somewhat later [than 1750] in the Carolinas. This necessitated the fabrication in the home by the members of the family of all items needed except salt and iron - wooden furniture and utensils, homespun cloth, soap, and candles.¹³

Bridenbaugh was not the only proponent of the "make everything at home" theory of backcountry living; similar statements appear in works by Julia Cherry Spruill, Hugh Lefler and Albert Newsome and R.M. Tryon.¹⁴

Bridenbaugh acknowledges the arrival of some artisans in the backcountry and their willingness to exchange their work for food and other necessities in "the time-honored European custom of rural artisans." While noting that the production of surplus crops stimulated the rise of crafts through local exchanges of goods and services, he maintains it also necessitated a search for markets and for a supply of much-needed manufactured goods.¹⁵ Bridenbaugh concludes that "beyond the basic needs almost no crafts developed" in

¹² Richard Hooker, ed. The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 7.

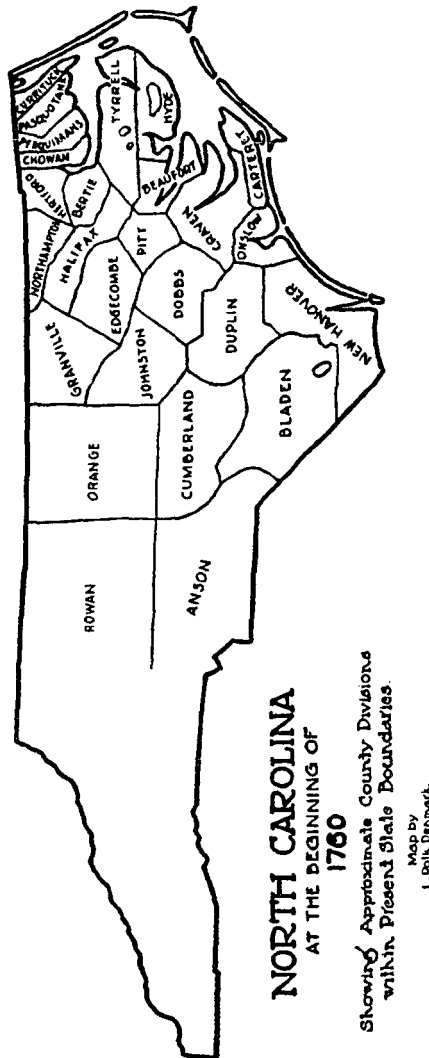
¹³Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, p.143.

¹⁴Julia Cherry Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (1938; rpt. New York: Norton, 1972), p. 81; Lefler and Newsome, p. 96; and Rolla Milton Tryon, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (1917; rpt. Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966), p. 49.

¹⁵Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, pp. 143-144.

MAP 3

NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES IN 1760



1

the rural South. Outside of a few exceptions like the Moravians in North Carolina or Isaac Zane's Marlboro Iron Works in the Valley of Virginia, "Quality goods for general sale were not produced." Furthermore, the few village crafts and rural artisans that did persist "were never able to satisfy the demands of the southern backcountry in the colonial period."¹⁶

II. Rowan County

The earliest accounts of the backcountry describe a lush country of fertile hills and valleys, criss-crossed by streams which emptied into larger rivers. In the journal of his "voyage" to Carolina in 1700, John Lawson commented that "were it [the backcountry on the Trading Path near the Trading Ford] cultivated, we might have good hopes of as pleasant and fertile a Valley, as any of our English in America can afford." The following day his party traveled twenty-five miles further

over pleasant Savannah Ground, high, and dry, having very few trees upon it, and those standing at great distance. The land was very good, and free from Grubs or Underwood... This Country abounds likewise with curious bold Creeks (navigable for small Craft) disgorging themselves into the main Rivers, that went themselves into the Ocean. Those Creeks are well stor'd with sundry sorts of fish, and fowl, and are very

¹⁶Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman, pp. 29, 24.

convenient for the Transportation of what
Commodities this Place may produce.¹⁷

Lawson was not entirely correct in his assessment of the creeks and rivers; in fact, later descriptions of the backcountry highlighted the lack of navigable rivers in the region and the effect on trade. The backcountry clearly captivated Lawson who continued in his journal to describe the area near present day Rowan County as "delicious Country (none that I ever saw exceeds it)"; and the east side of the Yadkin River as having "as rich a Soil to the eye of a Knowing Person with us, as any this Western World can afford."¹⁸

During Lawson's trip through North Carolina in 1700 no white men were seen (save those of the traveling party) after they left the eastern counties; eight years later, writing from New Bern to an English audience about the advantages of settling in the backcountry, Lawson noted that "the vast Part of this Country is not inhabited by the English".¹⁹

As more people came to eastern North Carolina from Virginia some brave souls gradually moved westward into the wilderness. While a member of the survey party trying to

¹⁷John A. Lawson, A New Voyage of Carolina, ed. by Hugh T. Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 51.

¹⁸Lawson, p. 52.

¹⁹Lawson, pp. xiii-xiv; 92.

settle the boundary dispute between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728, William Byrd II kept a journal of the trip. The backcountry fascinated Byrd as it had Lawson; he acquired 120,000 acres on the Dan River (in Virginia) and called it "Eden"; and at least 20,000 acres more in what became Rowan County, North Carolina.²⁰ His observations of the western section of the colony on that journey provide some of the first descriptions of English settlement on the North Carolina frontier. When Byrd wrote the following in his History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, only a handful of people lived in the backcountry and standards were no doubt rough.

.... I beheld the wretchedest Scene of Poverty I had ever met with in this happy Part of the World. The Man, his Wife and Six Small Children, liv'd in a Penn, like so many Cattle, without any roof over their Heads but that of Heaven. And this was their airy Residence in the Day time, but then there was a Fodder Stack not far from this Inclosure, in which the whole Family shelter'd themselves a night's and in bad weather.²¹

One theme that emerges from almost all descriptions of the early backcountry (primarily by male authors) is the idle and shiftless manner in which the settlers lived.

About another family Byrd wrote

We saw no Drones there, which are but too Common, alas, in that Part of the World. Tho', in truth,

²⁰Warren Billings, John Selby, and Thad Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (New York: KTO, 1986) p. 209.

²¹William G. Boyd, ed. William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (New York: Dover, 1967), p. 304.

the Distemper of Laziness seizes the Men oftener much then the Women. These last Spin, weave and knit, all with their own Hands, while their Husbands, depending on the Bounty of the Climate, are Sloathfull in everything but getting of Children, and in that Instance make themselves useful Members of an Infant-Colony.²²

A little less than a quarter-century after Byrd surveyed the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia, Brother August Gottlieb Spangenburg (also known as "Brother Joseph"), a leader of the Moravian Church, recorded his comments as his survey party scoured the "back of the colony" for a tract of land on which the Moravians could settle. Spangenburg's narrative stands out from others because of his attention to detail and his perceptive and honest opinion of the region. Although Spangenburg's assessment of the richness and fertility of the land in the backcountry generally agrees with Lawson's, his appraisal of the river situation does not.

We have also had opportunity to see the principal rivers in the part of North Carolina belonging to Lord Granville, but we have not found one that could properly be called navigable.

The large rivers, e.g., the Chowan and the Roanoke, etc., have no outlet, and little return of water from the sea. Therefore, North Carolina has less chance for trade than Virginia or South Carolina, for, accurately speaking, there is no navigable river in the part of the country belonging to Lord Granville... Trade and business are poor in North Carolina. With no navigable

²²Byrd, p. 66.

rivers there is little shipping; with no export trade of importance the towns are small and few.²³

Spangenburg's evaluation of some of the backcountry inhabitants also echoed Byrd's, but he noticed that a change in settlement was occurring as he wrote in the fall of 1752.

The inhabitants of North Carolina are of two kinds. Some have been born in the country, and they bear the climate well, but are lazy, and do not compare with our northern colonists. Others have moved here from the northern colonies or from England, Scotland, or Ireland, etc... Others, however, were refugees from debt, or had deserted wives and children, or had to escape punishment for evil deeds, and thought that here no one would find them, and they could go on in impunity.

I am told that a different type of settler is now coming in, -sturdy Germans,- of that we will know more later.²⁴

The Moravians were some of those "different type of settlers" who invaded the backcountry beginning in the late 1730s. This new wave of settlement drastically changed the character of the North Carolina backcountry. In 'Poor Carolina' Roger Ekirch notes the "primitive, rude and perhaps semi-barbaric," living conditions of the early small planters in the wilderness who were best characterized by their limited expectations, lack of industry, and lethargy. The "one significant exception to such pronounced 'slothfulness'" lay in the backcountry after 1750. The

²³Adelaide L. Fries, Douglas LeTell Rights, Minnie J. Smith, and Kenneth G. Hamilton (eds.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 11 volumes, 1922-1969), I, 40, 38, hereinafter cited as RM, the volume number, the page number.

²⁴RM I, 40-41.

immigrants who flocked to the region from Pennsylvania and other northern colonies brought hopes of improving their lots in life through hard work and industry.²⁵

Who were these people who came to the backcountry of North Carolina and why did they come? First and foremost they came for land. Historical geographer H.R. Merrens states that early written accounts of North Carolina created a favorable image and influenced the consequent course of settlement. Most writers emphasized the opportunities available in North Carolina: the abundance of land and the temperate climate. Although early descriptions of the colony were limited to the Albermarle and eastern regions (where settlement had taken place), John Lawson acknowledged the differences between east and west in A New Voyage to Carolina, and he gave an enthusiastic endorsement of the backcountry's features.²⁶

In the eighteenth century North Carolina consisted of three geographic regions, the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, and the Mountains, although the latter restricted settlement to the first two regions. The outer coastal plain ranged in elevation from sea level to about 100 feet above, and included the barrier islands, and the amphibious landscape

²⁵A. Roger Ekirch, 'Poor Carolina': Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729-1775 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 31.

²⁶Harry R. Merrens, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 32-35.

of the coast, consisting of flat, poorly drained surfaces punctuated by tidal estuaries. Further west, the inner coastal plains had higher elevation, with gently rolling hills and more pronounced river valleys for slightly better, although hardly adequate drainage. The forest cover of the eastern portion of the colony consisted of loblolly, longleaf, and pond pines. In this section bottomland hardwood forests formed distinctive clusters among rivers; although the marshes, dunes, and beaches of the outer coastal plain had no forest cover.

After what Merrens calls a zone of transition from the sandy soil of the Coastal plains the undulating rhythms of the Piedmont begin at 500 feet above sea level and gradually increase three to four feet per mile until this rolling upland surface reaches 1,000 feet at the foot of the Blue Ridge in the west. Rounded hills and ridges aligned northeast to southwest occur above the general level of the surface in the western and eastern areas. A complex pattern of stream valleys weaves through the Piedmont, the channels of major rivers running between 200 and 500 feet below interstream areas with valleys deeper than the Coastal Plain. The bottomlands of rivers and streams (which provide rich, fertile soil) vary from a few feet to approximately a mile in width, and are the only type of recurring wetland within the region. The vegetation of the Piedmont stood in great contrast to the Coastal Plain: oak-pine forests were

common to the section with Virginia pine found close to the Blue Ridge in the West, short leaf pine in the central area, and loblolly pine to the east near the Fall Line. In addition to oak, hickory trees were also common to the entire Piedmont.²⁷

When Rowan County was formed from Anson County in 1753, it encompassed almost the entire northwest quadrant of North Carolina. This area included the Piedmont region and ran west into the Blue Ridge Mountains. The original boundaries of Rowan County also happened to comprise approximately the western half of the Granville District, a tract of land owned by and named for Earl Granville, one of the eight original Lord Proprietors of Carolina. In 1728 seven of the eight proprietors sold their interest in the colony back to the Crown. The eighth proprietor, John, Lord Carteret (later Lord Granville), declined to sell his share, and in 1744 George II granted Granville all the territory lying between the Virginia line on the north and the parallel of 35°34' on the south to settle the matter. Surveyors ran the southern boundary from the coast to Bath Town in 1743, and then to the corner of present day Chatham County, on Deep River. In 1746 they extended the line westward to Coldwater Creek at a point about fourteen miles southwest of the town of Salisbury, in Rowan County. This strip of land sixty

²⁷Merrens, pp. 37-41, 46-47.

miles wide included approximately two-thirds of the colony's population.²⁸

The descriptions of Rowan County provided in early local histories draw heavily upon John Lawson, as well as "the recollections of older citizens" of the county, and they generally agree with Merrens geographical assessment of the Piedmont. These histories do offer a few more specific details about Rowan County. For instance, in 1881 the Reverend Jethro Rumble noted that the county was not covered with forests in the colonial era, but was generally clear land covered with grass and peavines with occasional groves of trees, especially along streams.²⁹ Thirty-five years later Samuel Ervin mentioned the mineral wealth of Rowan (coal, iron, gold as well as other metals, ores, and minerals) and the wide variety of trees (white oak, white hickory, white ash, elm, maple, beech, poplar, persimmon,

²⁸Lefler and Newsome, pp. 156-7; Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., A Colonial History of Rowan County, North Carolina, James Sprunt Historical Publications 16 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1917), p. 5; Robert W. Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 6; Stephen B. Weeks, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: Printers to the State, 1886-90), V, 355 (hereinafter cited as CR, volume number, page number).

²⁹The Rev. Jethro Rumble, A History of Rowan County, North Carolina (rpt., Salisbury, N.C.: Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, D.A.R., 1974), p. 29.

black walnut, yellow pine, and mulberry) in his colonial history of the county.³⁰

H.R. Merrens theorizes that, based on twentieth century conditions and what can be surmised of former environmental variations, there is much truth to the early eighteenth-century legend about the superior resources of the interior section of North Carolina compared to the more maritime portion.³¹ Later in the eighteenth-century settlers much preferred sections of the backcountry to the coast. In Carolina Cradle, Robert Ramsey focuses on the area between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers which lured settlers with its fertile, well-watered, virtually treeless meadow land, and abundance of game.³²

John Lawson's favorable descriptions of the western portion of North Carolina and numerous other reports about the abundant resources of the interior began to attract settlers to the area in the 1730s. To accommodate the increasing rate of settlement the land office for the Granville proprietary opened in 1745. The land offered was not free, but the availability of freeholds enticed colonists from older established settlements in colonies to the north. During this time two thoroughfares made the area that would become Rowan County accessible to incoming

³⁰Ervin, pp. 5-6.

³¹Merrens, p. 48.

³²Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 7-8.

settlers. Indians created the older road, known as the Trading Path which ran from Fort Henry in what is now Petersburg, Virginia, southwest into the North Carolina backcountry, crossing the Yadkin River at the Trading Ford, to connect the Catawbias and the Cherokees with the tribes along the James River in Virginia. The newer, and more frequently traveled, road was the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania.³³ It began at Philadelphia on the western bank of the Schuylkill River. By the 1720's it reached to settlements in Lancaster County, where the Susquehanna River made an end of the trade. This section, gradually widened and improved, passed through the town of Lancaster. At the Susquehanna the main road went through York and Gettysburg and across the Monocacy River in Maryland to Williamsport on the Potomac. The ferry crossed the Potomac into the Shenandoah Valley. By the mid-eighteenth century, towns had grown up along the road in the Valley -- Martinsburg, Winchester, Stephensburg, Strasburg, Woodstock, and Staunton. At the James River, Looney's Ferry (at Buchanan) took passengers to Roanoke at the end of the Valley. The road then went briefly eastward through the Staunton River gap of the Blue Ridge, crossed through hilly country over minor streams (Blackwater, Pigg, Irvine, and Dan) and entered North Carolina. It passed through the Moravian's

³³James S. Brawley, Rowan County... a brief history (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1974), pp. 2-3; Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 7.

land, on a branch of the Yadkin River, and then followed open country between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers. By 1760 it had reached Salisbury, the Rowan county seat.³⁴

Although the Granville district's land office opened in 1745, the first 'wave' of settlement in the backcountry did not occur until two years later. Robert Ramsey observes that while a host of reasons existed to motivate people to move from the Delaware Valley and Chesapeake Bay region into the North Carolina backcountry, Pennsylvania Governor George Thomas's call to raise troops from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia for King George's war in Canada in June 1746 may have provided some extra incentive. Within a year of this proclamation the first settlers entered the Yadkin Valley from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.³⁵

Early settlers to the northwest Carolina frontier had abundant untouched land from which to choose. Having left

³⁴James G. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 220. In Myths and Realities Bridenbaugh maintains that the Great Wagon Road also followed the old Indian trails, and "was only made possible by the Iroquois at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 to permit the use of their Great Warrior's Path through the Shenandoah Valley, and in North Carolina it took the course of the Cherokee Trading Path" beyond Salisbury (p. 130). When the South Carolina piedmont opened up for settlement the Road continued through the Catawba Valley to settlements around Pine Tree (Camden) and thence southward beyond the Congaree River to Ninety-Six and Augusta.

³⁵Brawley, A brief history..., p.4; Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 17.

their homes in more northern colonies partially because of the poor condition of the land and overpopulation, these immigrant colonists selected the land for their new homes wisely. Most settlement took place on the fertile land near the numerous creeks and rivers which traversed the region, or next to the established roadways. Not surprisingly, settlers who had lived together previously and traveled down to North Carolina in groups (or shared other experiences) congregated around one another again in the backcountry. As early as 1747 people with similar ethnic and religious backgrounds formed loosely knit communities. The Bryan Settlement originated that year with Morgan Bryan's (a Quaker from Pennsylvania) land on Deep Creek and spread southeast to include other settlers within about eight miles on Panther Creek and Linville's Creek and the Yadkin River. Southwest of the Bryan Settlement, some Scotch-Irish Presbyterians made up the Irish Settlement on the creeks which ran into the Yadkin River. And further southwest of the Irish Settlement was Davidson's Settlement created around Davidson's Creek (a tributary of the Catawba River), Rocky River, and Coddle Creek beginning in 1748.³⁶

The immigration into the North Carolina backcountry in the 1740's was only the tip of the iceberg. Writing to the Board of Trade in June 1753, Governor Matthew Rowan commented:

³⁶Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 32, 36, 45.

In the year 1746 I was up in the country that is now Anson, Orange, and Rowan Countys, there was not above 100 fighting men there is now at least three thousand for the most part Irish Protestants and Germans and dayley increasing...³⁷

The influx of people into the region necessitated the formation of additional counties to handle the needs of the new inhabitants. On April 12, 1753 the section of Anson County north of the Granville line became Rowan County.³⁸ The Justices of the County Court of Pleas and Quarters, the principal institution of local government, first met on June 15, 1753 to tend to the business of the new county's residents by recording livestock marks, registering deeds, designating public mills, issuing licenses to keep ordinaries, appointing men to various offices, resolving various legal cases, designating the location of new roads by the needs of the settlers, and deciding the size, specifications, and location of the future courthouse, jail, and stocks.³⁹ In later sessions (the court met quarterly) the justices would exercise the additional power of the court to settle estates, appoint guardians for some orphans

³⁷CR V, 24.

³⁸David L. Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), p. 185.

³⁹Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters, June 1753 session (microfilm, N.C. State Archives); Jo White Linn, Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions Rowan County, N.C., 1753-1762 (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, Jr., 1977), pp. 1-6.

and apprentice others, as well as to fix the price schedules for ferries and ordinaries or taverns.

Just two years later Lord Granville, through his agents William Churton and Richard Vigers, conveyed 655 acres to trustees James Carter and Hugh Forster to establish the town of Salisbury, where the courthouse and jail for Rowan County had been constructed. Salisbury was laid out later in the year.⁴⁰ Although the town only consisted of seven or eight log houses in the fall of 1755,⁴¹ Salisbury developed enough within eleven years to be designated one of six borough towns in the colony, allowing Rowan County a third representative to the Assembly.⁴²

Simultaneous to the creation of Rowan County, a religious group known as the Moravians came to colonize the Wachovia Tract, a 100,000-acre tract of land in the northeast section of the county (east of the Yadkin River) granted to them by Lord Granville. Organized, controlled, and funded by the mother church in Europe and Pennsylvania, the Moravians' previous settlement experience in the colonies gave them great advantages over the typical backcountry immigrants. Unfortunately for the experiment, Church officials in Pennsylvania had a difficult time

⁴⁰Jo White Linn, Rowan County, N.C. Deed Abstracts, 1753-1762: Books 1-4 (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, 1972), II:13, 407.

⁴¹CR V, 355.

⁴²Brawley, A brief history..., p. 8.

reconciling their plans to develop Wachovia with the reality of the backcountry as experienced by the brethren in North Carolina. Confusion and delays in planning postponed the construction of Salem, the town the Brethren intended to be "the center of trade and manufacture" for the entire backcountry, while Salisbury grew by leaps and bounds.

III. The Backcountry

The differences between the backcountry and the eastern portions of the southern colonies are what originally attracted historians to study the region. But it is the dynamic tension created by the enormous surge of immigration to the backcountry and the settlers' ability to adapt to their new environment which has kept scholars' attention. Frederick Jackson Turner was one of the first historians to note the basic features of backcountry life: a new, rapidly expanding, highly mobile, and ethnically and religiously diverse population with weaker local traditions and commitments to place than older eastern settlements evinced, less economic specialization and social differentiation, and inchoate or fragile institutions of authority. Turner argued that because frontier elites lacked personal prestige, affluence, and gentility, political hierarchies in the backcountries lacked clear definition, and therefore

politics were less deferential and more egalitarian, democratic, contentious, and disorderly.⁴³

In Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South Carl Bridenbaugh provided the first general sketch of life in the Back Settlements in terms of geography, immigration, ethnicity, economics, agriculture, labor, politics, society, religion, education and training, and culture. Although Bridenbaugh generalized very broadly and his research was not thorough in some areas, he does make one point about the history of the backcountry that most historians overlook: one of the most striking features of backcountry society was that in different parts various groups of its people lived in several stages of development at the same time.⁴⁴ To take that thought one step further, the different sections of the backcountry lived in several stages of development at the same time.⁴⁵

⁴³Paraphrased in Jack Greene, "Independence, Improvement, and Authority: Toward a Framework for understanding the Histories of the Southern Backcountry during the Era of the American Revolution," in Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert, eds., An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the U.S. Capital Historical Society, 1985), p. 9.

⁴⁴Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, p. 122.

⁴⁵Not just the South but the entire colonial American backcountry lived in different stages of development at the same time. For more information see: Gregory H. Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800," The William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series, 46 (Oct. 1989), 641-670; and Albert H. Tillson, "The Southern Backcountry: A Survey of Current Research," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 98

Most studies consider the geographic area of the Southern Backcountry to extend from Frederick County, Maryland, south through the Great Valley and that portion of the Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina Piedmont that lies west of the fall line and east of the Appalachians.⁴⁶ While the communities within this area shared such characteristics as an ethnically diverse population and a vast array of languages, religions, values, and customs creating a multiform society, the ever-changing nature and the different levels of development present throughout backcountry society make comparing and contrasting colonies (or communities) a risky proposition. For instance, the back settlements of Virginia and North Carolina differed on a number of crucial points. Virginia experienced political co-operation between the eastern and western counties; portions of the backcountry of Virginia were settled early with a significantly greater immigration from the eastern part of the state; and finally, Virginia experienced a gradual extension of the slave-based, agricultural economy (and accompanying tobacco culture) into

(July 1990), 387-422.

⁴⁶Greene, p. 3; Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, p.120; Richard Beeman, The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), p. 12.

the backcountry by the close of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ North Carolina had none of these characteristics. In fact, aside from a few early Indian problems, the Virginia backcountry was never subjected to the chaos and turmoil that the other southern colonial backcountries were.⁴⁸

For all the local variations in the southern backcountry, David Hackett Fischer makes a compelling case for the regional distinctiveness of the backcountry as determined by the cultural qualities (folkways) of the particular immigrants (and their descendants) who settled the area in his new book Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America. Not only does Fischer's study complement Bridenbaugh's Myths and Realities by bringing a more up-to-date and synthesized approach to the backcountry; he seems to be the first historian to see conflict and confrontation as the essence of backcountry life and not an obstacle to progress. According to Fischer backcountry society did not emerge in spite of conflict, but because of it. Conflict and militancy was a part of the backcountry settlers' folkways while they were still in England, Germany, and Ireland; the question for historians is "how

⁴⁷Beeman, pp. 11, 26; Warren Billings, John Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1986), p. 209.

⁴⁸For more differences between the backcountries of the southern colonies see: Albert H. Tillson, "The Southern Backcountry: A Survey of Current Research," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 98 (July 1990), 387-422.

does that tradition of conflict and militancy manifest itself in the backcountry?"⁴⁹

In North Carolina the tradition of conflict and militancy manifested itself in the Regulator Movement and the legacy of political turmoil and confusion it left the backcountry. A. Roger Ekirch, Marvin L. Michael Kay, Lorin Lee Cary, and James P. Whittenburg have discussed and debated the origins and motivations behind the Regulators ad infinitum.⁵⁰ The Regulator's legacy in North Carolina was the political chaos which created confusion between loyalty to Great Britain and patriotism to the united American Colonies during the War for Independence. Two books, An Uncivil War and The Southern Experience in the American

⁴⁹David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 6-7; 605-782.

⁵⁰A. Roger Ekirch, "'A New Government of Liberty': Hermon Husband's Vision of Backcountry North Carolina, 1755," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 34 (1977), 632-646; Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776," in Alfred F. Young, ed., The American Revolution: Exploration in the History of American Radicalism (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 71-123; ----- and Lorin Lee Cary, "Class, Mobility, and Conflict in North Carolina on the Eve of the Revolution," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., The Southern Experience in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978); John S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina," American Historical Association, Report for the Year 1894 (Washington, 1895), 142-212; and James P. Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 34 (April 1976), 215-238; -----, "'The Common Farmer (Number 2)': Herman Husband's Plan for Peace between the United States and the Indians, 1792," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series, 34 (1977), 647-650.

Revolution, have examined in great detail the issues of "which side are you fighting for," and the subsequent confusion for both British and American forces in the war.⁵¹

Certainly the Regulator Movement and the American Revolution are in large part responsible for this historical interpretation of the backcountry as a region in which people were engaged in a constant struggle for power. In The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina Daniel Thorp writes that although conflict hardly was rare on the southern frontier and even though the southern backcountry may well have been the most unstable region in Britain's American empire in the mid-18th century, nevertheless a fuller picture of the social developments of the southern backcountry is desperately needed. He maintains that outside of Richard Beeman's The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry and Robert Mitchell's Commercialism and Frontier, which both focus on the Virginia backcountry, most historians are convinced that conflict was endemic to the backcountry, and that they are too busy finding the causes

⁵¹Hoffman, Tate, and Albert, eds. An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution; and Larry Tise and Jeffrey Crow, eds., The Southern Experience in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 19--).

of conflict or debating its consequences to take a look at the society that emerged there in spite of the conflict.⁵²

Some studies of North Carolina backcountry society outside of the organized conflict of the Regulators and the individual conflict of the Revolution do exist however, and several of the best focus on Rowan County. Robert W. Ramsey's book Carolina Cradle: The Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 does an excellent job of investigating the original Rowan settlers: who they were, where they came from, and how they settled. Local historian and journalist James Brawley's numerous works on Rowan County provide a more detailed view of the county which complements the Rev. Jethro Rumble's nineteenth-century history of Rowan. Local histories of some of the counties which were formed from Rowan after 1770 also exist.⁵³

⁵²Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), pp. 1-2; Richard Beeman, The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry; and Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977).

⁵³Robert W. Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: The Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762; James Brawley, The Rowan Story 1753-1953: A Narrative History of Rowan County, North Carolina (Salisbury: Rowan Printing Co., 1953); -----, Old Rowan: Views and Sketches (Salisbury: Rowan Printing, 1959); -----, Rowan County... a brief history (Raleigh: North Carolina Div. of Archives and History, 1974); Jethro Rumble, A History of Rowan County, North Carolina; Fred Burgess, Randolph County: Economic and Social (rpt; Randolph County Historical Society, 1969); and Lindley S. Butler, Rockingham County: A Brief History (Raleigh: North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, Div. of Archives and History, 1982).

Daniel Thorp's book is the most recent addition to a fairly large body of work dealing with the Moravians in North Carolina of which the cornerstone is Adelaide Fries's multi-volume translation and edition of The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. While Thorp focuses on the place of Moravians in backcountry society, most of the other histories deal solely with the society (or different aspects thereof) the Moravians created for themselves in the backcountry. Older works such as J.H. Clewell's History of Wachovia in North Carolina and Levin T. Reichel's The Moravians in North Carolina are traditional, chronological treatments of the Moravians' settlement and life in the backcountry.⁵⁴

More recent scholarship by social historians and anthropologists has examined different facets of the Moravian experience in North Carolina. In some cases, the wealth of records kept by the Moravians has provided valuable insights into early America which otherwise would have been lost forever, such as the work on Moravian town planning and the water-powered mills of the Wachovia Tract.⁵⁵ Other

⁵⁴Adelaide Fries, Douglas LeTell Rights, Minnie Smith, and Kenneth Hamilton, The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vols. 1-14 (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929-1954); J.H. Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina; and Levin T. Reichel, The Moravians in North Carolina.

⁵⁵Christopher Hendricks, "The Planning and Development of Two Moravian Congregation Towns: Salem, North Carolina, and Gracehill, Northern Ireland" (unpublished M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987); William J. Murtaugh,

historians have investigated the Moravians gradual acculturation into mainstream American society in the nineteenth century from a variety of perspectives.⁵⁶

Archaeological excavations in Old Salem under the direction of Michael Hammond have provided a wealth of information as to Moravian consumption habits and how they lived; while digs outside of Wachovia have demonstrated the influence of the Moravians on the rest of the backcountry.⁵⁷

Moravian Architecture and Town Planning (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Daniel B. Thorp, "The City That Never Was: Count von Zinzendorf's Original Plan for Salem," North Carolina Historical Review, 56 (Jan. 1984), 36-58; John Larson, "A Mill for Salem," Three Forks of Muddy Creek; Johanna Miller Lewis, "Mills on the Wachovia Tract, 1753-1849" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wake Forest University, 1985); -----, "The Salem Congregational Mill," Three Forks of Muddy Creek 13; and -----, "The Use of Water Power on the Wachovia Tract of North Carolina by the Moravians during the Eighteenth Century," Communal Studies 9 (1989), 9-14.

⁵⁶Johanna Miller Lewis, "The Social and Architectural History of the Girls' Boarding School Building at Salem, North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 66 (April 1989), 125-148; Jon Sensbach, "A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1836," (Ph.D. Dissertation in progress, Duke University, 1991); and Jerry L. Surratt, Gottlieb Schober of Salem: Discipleship and Ecumenical Vision in an Early Moravian Town (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983); and -----, "The Moravian as Businessman: Gottlieb Schober of Salem," North Carolina Historical Review 60 (Jan. 1983), 1-23.

⁵⁷Michael Hammond, "Garden Archaeology at Old Salem," in Earth Patterns ed. by William Kelso (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1990); -----, "New Light on Old Salem," in Archaeology Nov./Dec. 1989, 37-41; -----, The Archaeological Investigations of the Charles Alexander Cooper House, Lot 41; An 1840's Barn, Lot 71; the John Ackerman House, Lot 91, Old Salem, N.C., three ms. on file at Old Salem, Inc., 1984, 1986; -----, "Archives and Archaeology," Three Forks of Muddy Creek 12, 28-36; L. McKay Whatley, "The Mount Shepard Pottery: Correlating Archaeology

IV. Conclusion

This dissertation will explore the role and experience of artisans in the settlement and early development of backcountry North Carolina by examining the artisan population of Rowan County from 1753 to 1770. Research gathered from court records, deeds, and wills contradicts the earlier assumptions of historians and indicates that a large number of artisans lived in Rowan County and practiced a wide variety of crafts. These artisans provided specialized skills and produced objects necessary for daily existence, as well as for decorative and ornamental purposes, that backcountry residents would not have been able to easily obtain otherwise.

The survey will answer such questions as: How did the artisans help settle Rowan County, and where did they come from? Were some crafts more necessary than others at different stages of settlement, and did any "non-essential" crafts ever appear? How did the non-Moravian artisans in Rowan County compare to their Moravian counterparts? And, how successful was the artisan politically?

Because of the Moravians unique place in backcountry society the next two chapters will deal exclusively with that denomination. The financial backing and organization

with History," Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts, May 1980.

of the Moravians make them an aberration when compared to the rest of the county and justifies discussing their society, and its effects on artisans, separately. Their voluminous records, especially with regards to the planning of the first settlement and the subsequent development of the tract, make an interesting contrast to the less well documented, "unsupervised" settlement and progress of the rest of Rowan County. Chapter two deals with the settlement of Wachovia and the establishment of Bethabara, and the artisans necessary to make the community a short- and long-term success. Chapter three begins with the belated construction of Salem and how artisans there perceived themselves within and without the Church-run community.

Chapter four concentrates on the settlement of Rowan County including the identification of artisans and description of the apprenticeship system. To examine the question of whether a "subsistence economy" characterized the early period particular attention will be paid to how the early artisans aided in the settlement of the county; and how the crafts represented in the county changed over time. Quantitative analysis will present an artisan profile by craft and time period to demonstrate the artisans' role in the development of a market economy in the backcountry. These data will provide the groundwork for the following chapter concerning the artisans' participation in Rowan County politics and civic affairs.

Chapter five will discuss why Rowan County artisans did not form a "mechanic class" and how they individually participated in public affairs. Artisan reaction to the Regulator movement will be investigated, as well the impact it had on those artisans who held political office during the crisis.

Chapter six will discuss the existence of women artisans in Rowan County. Although women frequently are not given credit for working as artisans (due to a number of circumstances), records show that some backcountry women identified themselves by their professions. Employed mainly in the textile arts, women even held a monopoly on the craft of spinning in the backcountry.

Artisans played an integral role in creating and expanding the backcountry market economy, just as they elevated the quality of life available to Rowan County residents. While the same volume of information as is available on artisans in urban sites such as colonial Philadelphia may not exist for these rural artisans, their experience is equally as important to the study of early American history.

CHAPTER II

'WE WOULD NOT LIKE TO HAVE MANY CRAFTSMEN...
AT THE PLACE YOU NOW LIVE':
MORAVIAN ARTISANS ON THE WACHOVIA TRACT, 1753-1770
PART I

On a cold Saturday night in November 1753, a group of eleven men including five artisans, pierced the heavy silence of the North Carolina wilderness with their singing.¹

Who were these men, who traveled for five and a half weeks on foot from Pennsylvania to the backcountry of North Carolina, and broke out in song praising the Lord upon their arrival? They were Moravians, or members of the Unitas Fratrum (the Unity of Brethren), a pre-Reformation Protestant religion which originated in Germany in 1456.² The Moravians occupied a unique place in the North Carolina backcountry and their artisans played a central role in the early years of this planned colony. The Moravians differ from all the other settlers of Rowan County because of their determination to create a specific type of settlement in the

¹Adelaide L. Fries, Douglas LeTell Rights, Minnie J. Smith, and Kenneth G. Hamilton (eds.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 11 volumes, 1922-1969), I, 79-80; hereinafter cited as RM, volume number, page number.

²Daniel Thorp, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772: The Maintenance of Community in Late Colonial North Carolina," Diss. Johns Hopkins 1982, p. 5.

backcountry. Unlike most settlers who came to Rowan county to obtain inexpensive land and then had to adapt to the environment and decide how to make a living, the Moravians had specific plans for the establishment of their settlement in North Carolina based on their financial status, their prior settlement experience in America, and the will of God. For example, the Brethren did not rush a settlement group down to North Carolina to begin their colony, first they sent down a survey party to find a tract of land with geographical features best suited to their needs. After the selection of a tract in the backcountry the survey party returned to Church headquarters in Pennsylvania where Unity leaders carefully shaped short-range and long-range plans for the tract of land which became known as Wachovia.

Artisans had an important and pivotal role in the Church's strategy for developing Wachovia. From the beginning their skills were crucial to the success of the principal motive for settling the tract: to establish an exclusive community in which the will of the Moravian Church would prevail. The artisans' abilities insured that the Brethren would not have to look to outsiders to provide anything of great consequence on which they would become dependent. In addition to helping clear the wilderness, build necessary shelters and plant initial crops, as early settlers to the tract craftsmen also made basic necessities

for their fellow brethren and fulfilled an unexpected demand for their skills from their neighbors.

The highly-organized and well-financed Moravian Church (two other features uncharacteristic of most backcountry settlers) formulated plans for Wachovia that left absolutely nothing to chance. Short-range plans called for the creation of a temporary town with a skeletal crew of men to carve out a beginning in the wilderness by planting some crops and establishing some trade networks with their fellow backcountry settlers before embarking on the Unity's major project: the creation of a town of trade and manufacture destined to return large profits to the Church.

The construction of the main town on the tract did not come to fruition as quickly as the leaders in Pennsylvania had hoped. This delay and the need for additional crafts to serve Wachovia's growing population forced the Church to re-evaluate its policy of only having basic artisans in Wachovia until the center of trade and manufacture was built. Even so, sending artisans to North Carolina was a low priority for the Church, accomplished only when permitted by finances and willed by God.

The history and organization of the Moravian Church in Europe and America had a direct emphasis on the way in which the Unity planned the Wachovia Tract, down to the necessary crafts. Unfortunately, church officials in Pennsylvania and Europe had little knowledge of the northwest Carolina

backcountry and their ideas for the settlement often conflicted with the Church members who lived there. Furthermore, the Church's insistence on organizing a main town on the tract instead of allowing Bethabara to grow naturally, resulted in the development of Salisbury, a non-Moravian town and county seat, into the premier town of Rowan County before construction on Salem ever began. From a research perspective, the Moravians penchant for record-keeping and the survival of those daily diaries, church board minutes, and correspondence with Church leaders make them the best documented group in the North Carolina backcountry. From a historical perspective, their religion, their social structure, and the financial backing of the Moravian church made the Moravians different from any other backcountry group or settlement.

In 1727 a young pious Lutheran nobleman, Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, allowed followers of the Unitas Fratrum to settle on his estates in Saxony. After watching the Brethren live their practical religion, which they understood to be vital in the everyday life of everyday men, women, and children, Zinzendorf threw himself unreservedly into their cause, becoming their generous patron and much-loved leader. The Brethren often referred to Zinzendorf as "de Junger" meaning the Disciple, suggested by his fervent

love of the Savior.³ Coming from quiet, secluded communities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland the Brethren decided to establish planned settlements in the New World which centered around carefully arranged and regulated towns. After receiving a land grant in the colony of Georgia in 1734 the Moravians settled in Savannah with hopes of doing missionary work among the Creek Indians. Even with an unhealthy climate and bad soil conditions the Moravians cleared all their debts in the colony by 1740 when war between Britain and Spain broke out. The Trustees of the colony of Georgia pressured the peace-loving Moravians to abandon their conscientious objections to bearing arms. Refusing to do so the Brethren turned their back on everything they had accomplished in Georgia and left the South for Pennsylvania. Following their arrival in Philadelphia, the Brethren traveled 47 miles north along the Lehigh River to two tracts of land they owned and founded what eventually became their largest town in America, Bethlehem.⁴

The Moravians' settlements in Pennsylvania were extremely successful. In the three largest towns they established -- Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz -- the

³RM I, 12-13, 496.

⁴Vernon Nelson, "The Moravian Church in America," in Unitas Fratrum: Moravian Studies, ed. Mari P. Van Buijtenen, Cornelius Dekker, and Huib Leeuwenberg (Utrecht: Rijksarchief, 1975), pp. 145-146. For more information see Adelaide L. Fries, The Moravians in Georgia 1735-1740, Winston-Salem: n.p., 1945.

Brethren continued the same pattern of life that had characterized the first European congregation town, Herrnhut.⁵ The congregation was considered a family with the governing bodies of the church acting as the patriarch. To advance Christian growth and activity, the Church divided members into "choirs" according to age, sex, and marital status. In Wachovia two choirs, the Single Brothers and Single Sisters, eventually each had their separate houses in which they worked, ate, and slept.

One of the major reasons for the Moravians' many accomplishments in Georgia and other early settlements was the integral and indispensable role work played in their Christian lifestyle. In the Brethren's perpetual effort to pattern their lives after Christ, virtues of diligence, simplicity, frugality, punctuality, conscientiousness and continence were not just highly desirable attributes in and of themselves, they were essential qualities. Work, though not causing or guaranteeing salvation, became imperative to the maintenance of a state of grace, and thus provided a powerful ethical justification and impetus to the vast enterprises of the Church. To Zinzendorf, each individual's work should be his goal in life. In 1738 the count wrote "One does not only work in order to live, but one lives for the sake of one's work, and if there is no more work to do

⁵Nelson, pp. 146-148.

one suffers or goes to sleep..."⁶ This strong work ethic inherited by the Moravian artisans on the Wachovia Tract also was in strong contrast to the reputation of other backcountry settlers.

Controlled by the church in Europe, all the early American Moravian settlements were Gemein Orts (congregation towns), and had to be run according to Unity principles. Only members of the congregation could live and work in the town, and the governing bodies of the church rigidly controlled all civic, material, religious, and personal affairs.⁷ In addition to carefully planning all their activities through various Church boards, the Moravians also wrote down their plans in exacting detail, and their community diaries, church board minutes, and land records still exist today.

The Brethren earned the reputation as thrifty and industrious settlers which made them much sought after as colonists.⁸ In 1749 John Carteret, Earl of Granville, and Lord Proprietor of the Granville tract in North Carolina, met Zinzendorf in London and became familiar with the Brethren. Having just abandoned two church communities in

⁶Gillian L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 17-18, 143.

⁷Griffin, pp. 18-19.

⁸John Henry Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina: The Unitas Fratrum of Moravian Church in North Carolina During a Century and a Half 1752-1902 (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1902), p. 2.

the German principality of Wetteravia and Herrnhag, rather than join the state church, the Brethren were actively pursuing new settlement locations. Granville wanted more settlers on his North Carolina land to collect more quit-rents. Although the pace of settlement had quickened since 1740, there were still empty tracts of land.⁹ Granville suggested that the Brethren buy land from him in North Carolina, where they could begin another settlement. This accommodated the Moravian's desire to establish a settlement in the southern colonies which would be free from the interferences that annoyed them in Pennsylvania, and they decided to accept Granville's offer.¹⁰

In the late summer of 1752 the Moravians sent Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg and a survey party of five to North Carolina to find a large tract of fertile land. To meet their settlement purposes, Church leaders wanted a single tract of 100,000 acres which did not include too much bad, or unusable land. Unfortunately, when the party reached the colony to begin the search, Spangenberg noted in his diary that "Land matters in North Carolina are... in unbelievable confusion". Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's land agent, did not know what land was vacant, and suggested that the Brethren "go to the 'Back of the Colony,' that is west to the Blue Mountains, taking a surveyor, and that perhaps there we can find a suitable tract of land that has

⁹Thorp, "Moravian Colonization", pp. 18-19.

¹⁰RM I, 14.

not hitherto been surveyed."¹¹ The suitability of this area in terms of fertility and climate for the European-trained Moravian farmers made the survey party approve this geographic area.¹²

After scouring the backcountry at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains for more than two months the survey party finally found one acceptable tract on January 8, 1753.¹³ Spangenberg calculated that half the land on the tract was good, a quarter of it was poor, and another quarter was medium. The land was mostly level, except for a few rolling hills, the air was fresh, and the water was good and plentiful. The following spring Spangenberg went to England with his report of the trip to Carolina, and the maps of the various tracts selected. The German and English Moravian Church was under great financial stress at the time, and raising the money necessary to purchase and colonize the land appeared impossible. Considering all their options the Brethren decided to abandon the project and asked Lord Granville to release them from their contract with him. Not wanting to lose the enterprising settlers, Granville refused, but then offered the Brethren a new contract with more favorable terms which they accepted. On August 7, 1753 Lord Granville conveyed 98,985 acres (approximately 157 square miles) to the Unity of Brethren in

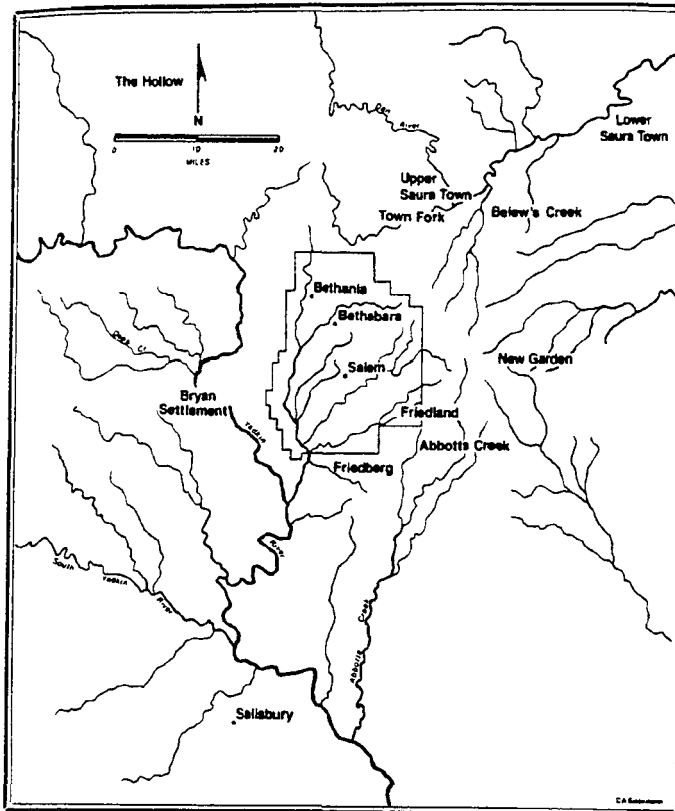
¹¹RM I, 32-33.

¹²Nelson, p. 150 and Clewell, pp. 6-8.

¹³RM I, 59-60.

MAP 4

WACHOVIA AND ITS ENVIRONS, 1753-1772



Map by C. A. Sielemann in Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in North Carolina

nineteen separate deeds.¹⁴ Wachovia lay in the southeastern corner of what had just become Rowan County, North Carolina's newest and largest county.¹⁵

The traditional interpretation of the Moravians' settlement of Wachovia as set forth in the Records of the Moravians in North Carolina maintains that instructions to the first colonists in Wachovia included plans "to establish a settlement in the heart of the wilderness, and make it a center of service to neighbors," and "to preach the Gospel to the Indians".¹⁶ Yet, in his dissertation, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772," Daniel B. Thorp states that "the principal motive underlying the Moravians' plans for Wachovia was the desire to establish an exclusive community in which the will of the Moravian Church would prevail."¹⁷ According to Gillian Gollin in her book Moravians in Two Worlds Zinzendorf even expected Herrnhut and Bethlehem to strive for communal self-sufficiency. A desire to flee from the snares of the sinful world did not inspire Zinzendorf's model of an exclusive settlement. He

¹⁴RM I, 65; Rowan County Deeds 6:1-17. According to Gwynne S. Taylor in From Frontier to Factory: An Architectural History of Forsyth County (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1981, p. 1), today the Wachovia Tract constitutes over thirty-seven percent of the four hundred and nineteen square miles of Forsyth County.

¹⁵Daniel B. Thorp, The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), p. 30.

¹⁶RM I, 15.

¹⁷Thorp, "Moravian Colonization," pp. 35-36.

wanted to establish a degree of independence from the outside world which would permit the Moravians to pursue their religious goals unhampered by the limitations imposed by a dependence upon non-Moravian resources.¹⁸ As Spangenberg wrote to a Church official in England, North Carolina interested the Moravians because they needed a place where they could, "live together as Brethren, without interfering with others & without being disturbed by them."¹⁹

In all their Moravian settlements, the Brethren looked for places in which they could build both the kind of society that they desired and the means to protect it from the corrosive influences of the outside world. The Brethren did not want to completely withdraw from contact with the rest of the world, in fact they envisioned a wide variety of social, political, and trade relations between themselves and their neighbors. They pledged, however, to create a society in which virtually every detail contributed to the maintenance of autonomy and the elimination of any means of non-Moravian control over the community of believers.²⁰ In other words, they welcomed relationships with their neighbors as long as they could dictate and control the terms. The ability of artisans to produce objects for use

¹⁸Gollin, p. 148.

¹⁹Letter from Spangenberg to Rev. White, January 17, 1754, quoted in Thorp, "Moravian Colonization," 21.

²⁰Thorp, "Moravian Colonization," pp. 21-22, 36.

within Wachovia and for trade and profit outside the tract would become extremely important in this scheme.

With these guidelines in mind the Church began to develop somewhat more specific plans for Wachovia. The Unity intended for one central Gemein Ort to dominate the entire tract. Planners stressed that the town had to be built as near as possible to the geographic center of Wachovia so as to be equally accessible to all of the settlement's inhabitants, even those near the borders. Unity elders did not want the Brethren looking to a non-Moravian town for any of the urban functions that the gemein Ort could provide.²¹

The final plan for Wachovia called for Moravian craftsmen, merchants, administrators and their families to populate the gemein Ort. Around this town Moravian families would occupy 30,000 acres of farms, and around that 70,000 acres would be sold to investors through the church and occupied by them (many of whom would eventually join the Church), and their tenants, servants, and slaves.²²

Before any of that could happen, though, the Moravian leaders in Pennsylvania had to choose a group of men to begin the new settlement in North Carolina. Since the Church acquired Wachovia to accommodate at least some of the Brethren from Wetteravia, the Unity originally intended for most of the colonists to emigrate to North Carolina directly

²¹Thorp, "Moravian Colonization," p. 43.

²²Thorp, The Moravian Community, p. 33.

from Europe. However, his familiarity with backcountry North Carolina led Br. Spangenberg to argue against this plan because he felt it failed to respect the rigors the first colonists would encounter in North Carolina. Spangenberg believed that "the work of building a colony" demanded people who were "prepared for it already", i.e., brothers who had created settlements before.²³ In the end he won out, and most of the men selected to settle the tract came from Christianbrunn, Pennsylvania, a small town run by the Single Brothers one and a half miles from Nazareth.²⁴ This gave the Moravians in North Carolina one of the two distinct advantages they had over other backcountry settlements: the early settlers all had previous settlement experience.

The other, and probably greater, advantage the Moravians had was the financial backing of the Moravian Church. From 1753 to 1772, most of the Moravians in Wachovia belonged to the settlement's Oeconomy, a semi-communal institution formulated by the Church which controlled the economies of each settlement to ensure its success. The Oeconomy did not abolish private property.²⁵

²³Spangenberg quoted in Thorp, "Moravian Colonization", p. 52.

²⁴RM I, 73.

²⁵According to Gillian Gollin, the Oeconomy was not opposed to the sanctity of private property in theory, although in practice it incorporated a communism of property, production, labor and consumption which could destroy the very foundations for a system of private property; p. 143.

Members could retain whatever resources they brought with them to North Carolina (although ownership of land and cattle was restricted); and cash had to be deposited with the Oeconomy's directors. In the Oeconomy the Church expected every member to give their labor to the community in return for food, clothing, shelter, and education for their children. During these years the community also had the right to assign a man or woman to whatever task it desired. Various economic and trade supervisors controlled occupational assignments, and not individual choice. The directors of the Oeconomy decided how to utilize all of the resources to Wachovia's greatest benefit.²⁶

Unity leaders picked fifteen men to make the trip to North Carolina; twelve bachelors to settle in Wachovia and three to return to Pennsylvania after a brief stay to serve as advisors and guides between the two regions. In order to have a party that was truly capable of creating a successful settlement, each man specialized in one area, but was also able to do other necessary work.²⁷ The men and their principal skills were:

Bernhard Adam Grube -	Minister and leader of group
Jacob Loesch -	Business Manager and Treasurer
Hans Martin Kalberlahn -	surgeon
Hermannus Loesch -	farmer
Friedrich Jacob Pfeil -	shoemaker and sick nurse
Erich Ingebretsen -	millwright and carpenter
Henrich Feldhausen -	shoemaker, carpenter, millwright, cooper, sieve-maker, turner, farmer
Jacob Lung -	gardener and washer

²⁶Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 40-41; Gollin, p. 142.

²⁷Nelson, p. 150.

Hans Petersen - tailor, grubber, wood-cutter
 Johannes Beroth - farmer
 Christopher Merkly - baker and farmer

Johannes Lisher - to become messenger between Pa. and N.C.

Temporary Settlers: Nathaniel Seidel - Minister
 Gottlob Konigsdorfer
 Joseph Haberland

On the night of November 17, 1753 the Brethren arrived at the area designated by the Unity for the first settlement. The Brethren slept in a small log cabin abandoned by Hans Wagner, a frontiersman.²⁸ The Brethren called the area Bethabara, German for House of Passage. As the name indicates, the Unity did not intend Bethabara to be the large central Gemein Ort called for in the long-range plans. While Bethabara would have Gemein Ort status until the new, larger town was built and inhabited, Spangenberg only wanted a place where the Brethren "can make a farm, meadows, orchard, and built a mill and a saw-mill." This place should be near the spot "suitable for the building of a Town, for then when the Town is built the farm and mill can still be used."²⁹

The Bethabara diary reflects the plans and priorities the Brethren had in establishing Bethabara; the daily work assignments placed men on the most urgent tasks, regardless of their training. The brothers had to take care of the essentials for survival first: they cleared fields to grow crops and surveyed the land for other food sources and

²⁸RM I, 78.

²⁹RM II, 528.

natural resources. The opportunity to practice their crafts would come later, exactly how much later would depend on necessity and demand.

For instance, in a mill the ability to grind corn or other grain was paramount, as bread and mush were main staples of the Brother's diet. Purchasing large amounts of processed grains from the nearest mill nineteen miles away was financially risky; flour and meal had a short shelf life and the likelihood of spoilage was great. Therefore, the inclusion of two-trained millwrights in the settling party is not surprising. In fact, the brothers brought a small mill with them from Pennsylvania. Only ten days after arriving at Bethabara a party of Brothers began searching for mill sites, and the diary records that the day after Christmas the Brethren's corn meal mill ran for the first time.³⁰ Although the records are not entirely clear on the power source, they suggest that the two Brethren trained in mill work, Erich Ingebretsen and Heinrich Feldhausen, constructed a temporary water-powered horizontal mill in a log structure at one of the mill sites located nearby. A number of facts support this hypothesis. Both millwrights had been trained in areas of Europe that used the horizontal water, or Norse, mill, extensively. The construction of this type of mill is relatively quick and easy, especially since the Brethren had brought the gears and stones from Pennsylvania. And the brief construction time of an early

³⁰RM I, 82-85.

corn meal mill at Bethabara noted by William Murtaugh in his book on Moravian architecture and town planning adds further evidence to this thesis.³¹

The Bethabara diary records the Brethren's pride in having prepared so well to settle Wachovia. One thing the Brethren did not expect, however, began within three months of their arrival. For all intents and purposes, the Brethren thought they would be alone in the wilderness, which explains why they equipped themselves so well. One can easily imagine the Brethren's surprise when, one cold afternoon at the end of January 1754, two men appeared in Bethabara with work for Br. Petersen, the tailor.³² The demand for their crafts should not have astonished the Brethren, because on the survey trip to North Carolina Spangenberg had observed that, "Almost nobody has a trade. In Edenton I saw one smith, one cobbler, and one tailor at work, and no more; whether there are others I do not know."³³

During the first year of settlement the Unity instructed the Brethren to carefully allot their time: craft activity should be limited to producing items essential to the settlement or the Brethren, and could come only after

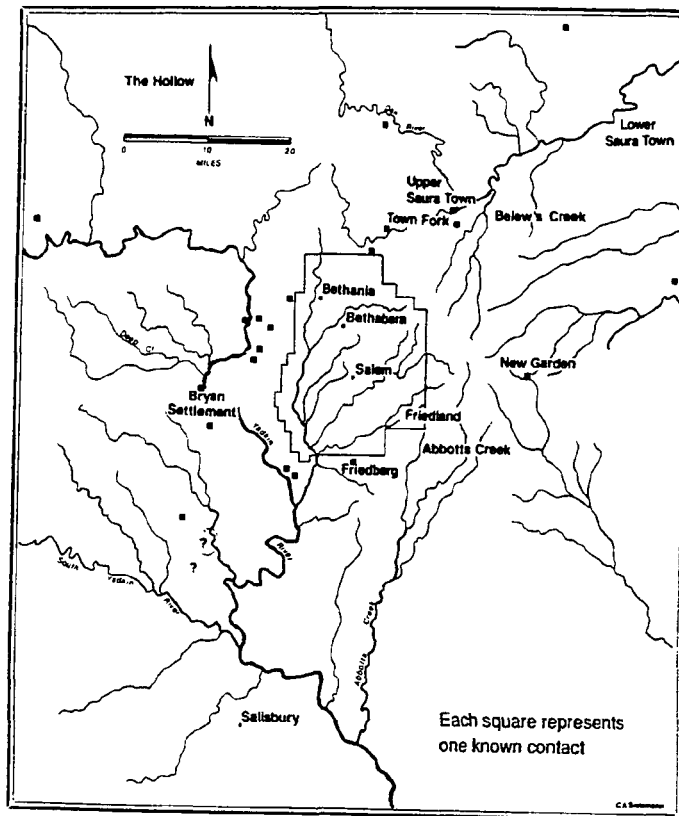
³¹William J. Murtaugh, Moravian Architecture and Town Planning: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Other Eighteenth Century American Settlements (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 112.

³²RM I, 80.

³³RM I, 39.

MAP 5

WACHOVIA'S NON-MORAVIAN BUSINESS CONTACTS, 1753-1755



Map by C. A. Sielemann in Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in North Carolina

clearing fields, planting crops, and building houses. Although no one had training as a tanner, in the spring the Brethren tanned some cow-hides and in September Br. Pfeil made shoes for the company. The multi-talented Br. Feldhausen utilized his extra time to make barrels for storing food.³⁴ Not all the objects produced in the first year were strictly utilitarian. Shortly after his arrival in Wachovia on April 15, 1754, Jacob Friis (who was not previously designated an artisan in the records) wrote to a friend in London and mentioned

I made the top of a table for myself, and cut wood for feet on the Table. They shall be Lyons Claws; is not that too much? One day I am a Joiner, the next a Carver; what could I not learn if I was not too old?³⁵

The craft skills possessed by the men in the settlement party were certainly not as important as their survival skills, or their ability to adapt and improvise, and overcome the wilderness. Brethren Seidel, Konigsdorfer, and Haberland, who came to Bethabara temporarily to help start the settlement, returned to Bethlehem with positive reports of progress. Upon their return Church leaders immediately asked Rev. Grube and Br. Loesch in Bethabara if more men should be sent to North Carolina. This request initiated a frustrating and repetitive cycle of the leaders in Bethlehem sending down more settlers with new plans for Wachovia; Bethabara asking for specific types of labor to fulfill

³⁴RM I, 101, 106.

³⁵RM II, 529.

Bethlehem's instructions; and the directors of the Oeconomy's delay, if not failure, to provide that labor.

Loesch realized that additional men living at Bethabara, as well as any expansion of activities at the settlement would require more specialized skills. In his response to Peter Boehler, a Bishop of the Church, in Bethlehem dated April 27, 1754 Loesch said

Regarding more Brethren to come here, it would be very pleasant to have a larger company here; however, as long as we have no [permanent] mill I do not know what is best... I would prefer first of all to have a mill and a smithy; otherwise, if we are many we also will need much provision. We cannot get along well in the future without a mill and smithy; but I know that you will think of us in all of this and do, according to your means, what is best.³⁶

Loesch got his wish. Following Boehler's visit to Bethabara in the early fall to check out conditions, a party of eight Brethren from Pennsylvania joined the settlement at the end of October. Six of the eight men were artisans. Church officials sent Hans Christian Christensen and Jacobus van der Merk to build a water-powered grist and saw-mill, with assistance from Jacob Kapp, a turner. The group also included: George Schmidt, a blacksmith; Andreas Betz, a gunsmith; and George Holder, a carpenter.³⁷ The craftsmen wasted no time getting to work at Bethabara: two days later

³⁶Letter from Jacob Loesch in Bethabara to Peter Boehler in Bethlehem, April 27, 1754, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.

³⁷RM I, 343-4, 485; Levin T. Reichel, *The Moravians in North Carolina: An Authentic History* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), p. 38.

Christensen and van der Merk were out measuring the fall of water in various creeks around Bethabara in their search for a good mill site; and within three weeks Schmidt was shoeing horses for strangers.³⁸

1755 was a busy, yet typical year during the early settlement of Bethabara. The mere addition of eight men to the original group provided enough extra manpower to ease the load of everyday chores and building the settlement. As a result the individual craftsmen had more time to work at their trades. Br. Pfeil made more shoes, Br. Peterson actually did some tailoring for the Brethren, Br. Feldhausen produced a barrel for an outsider, Br. Christensen built a turning lathe, and Br. Schmidt created baskets, sieves, and a pair of bellows for his forge.³⁹

Bethabara also underwent some major expansion, both in terms of construction and population, in 1755. Migrations of small groups from Pennsylvania in June, August, September, and October, and a large group in November brought a total of 36 new inhabitants to Bethabara, including seven women.⁴⁰ This influx of new residents to Wachovia seemed to indicate that the Brethren's progress pleased the Unity, yet church officials continually reminded the Brethren not to progress too far, as Bethabara was not the central town of trade and manufacturing that Count

³⁸RM I, 107, 112.

³⁹RM I, 107, 123.

⁴⁰RM I, 485-486.

Zinzendorf envisioned. Bethabara had been assigned to support and sustain the Brethren as they created the Moravian's own "city on a hill" in North Carolina. Beyond Zinzendorf's vision, however, Unity leaders in Bethlehem and Europe had no plans for the main town, and they left the Brethren in Bethabara somewhat evasive instructions on how to proceed in 1755. The instructions advised the Brethren to remain at Bethabara and to "spread out there to the degree your time and circumstances permit." But the second half of the instructions qualified that advice.

Only we would not like to have many craftsman located at the place you now live, for if the town (that is to say the building site, where the town and the craftsmen are to be located) should be removed elsewhere this would involve double construction and settling down for a second time. It is good, of course, that you have a mill and smithy, and perhaps makeshift means to fashion articles which you cannot obtain there and yet must have. But when-ever you can manage and adapt yourselves to the circumstances, by all means do so. For example, if you can make do with iron kettles, with some copper vessels, and such milk containers as you can fashion out of wood until such a time as the pottery can be built at the right place where it belongs, this will save you a lot of time in the first place and then lead to better results.⁴¹

Although Spangenberg's letter about "spreading out to the degree (your) time and circumstances permit" and "adapting to circumstances" by "making do" seems like fatherly advice, the Oeconomy directors had far more control over what really happened in Bethabara. Regardless of what the Brethren in

⁴¹Letter from Joseph Spangenburg in Bethlehem to Brethren in Bethabara, dated 29 June 1755 (trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives, Southern Province).

North Carolina asked for, the Unity decided what artisans and supplies Bethabara would receive based on the Unity's experience of establishing other settlements, the men who were currently available in either Pennsylvania or Europe, the amount of money the Church had available to invest in Wachovia at that specific time, and the will of God.

In accordance with Spangenberg's directive of 1755, church officials sent ten artisans to Bethabara over the year. Building trades represented three of the four new crafts: a carpenter, a mason, and a brickmaker. The Unity also dispatched three tailors and two shoemakers to keep up with the clothing needs of all the new settlers. The 1755 Bethabara Memorabilia, a year's end capsulation of events and accomplishments, reflected the Brethren's hard work and dedication to Wachovia. Construction projects for that year included the new Brother's House, the kitchen, the smithy, the mill, a storage shed by the mill, the new Gemein Haus, and a little house for the miller. In addition they built two bridges, opened two roads, cleared 16 acres of land, and planted 26 acres of crops.⁴²

The fourth new craft to appear in Bethabara in 1755 signaled a change of mind for church officials in Bethlehem. The arrival in November of Gottfried Aust, a 33 year old potter originally from Heidersdorf in Silesia (now a part of Czechoslovakia), heralded a hard-won victory for the Wachovia Brethren. Brethren in Bethabara had been asking

⁴²RM I, 122.

for a potter since early 1754 both to provide earthenware for their own use and as a source of income for their community. Unity officials had repeatedly denied their request on the grounds that pottery was not a "necessary craft". Even the previously quoted letter from Spangenberg urges the brothers to "manage and adapt" with other types of vessels until a pottery could be built at the proper location (i.e., the main town). With Church revenues down, however, Spangenberg decided the Wachovia settlers would have to bear more of their colony's cost sooner than expected, and so he sent Aust down to open the first pottery.⁴³

During the initial phase of settlement, the Home Church financed all operations in Wachovia. Officials stressed that the Brethren needed to become self-sufficient with regards to food production as soon as possible. The Brethren concentrated on clearing the fields and planting crops to prepare for future arrivals. They also received money from Pennsylvania to purchase the foodstuffs for present needs from neighbors. Establishing the "plantation," as the Brethren called it, took top priority; the craftsmen devoted their time to constructing buildings or producing clothing articles for their brothers first, accepting business from non-Moravian customers only when

⁴³Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 120-121.

their schedules permitted it.⁴⁴ Profit clearly was not a responsibility of the early settlers at Bethabara.

A combination of factors culminating in late 1755 and early 1756 led the Unity to reconsider their financial plans for Wachovia. The Unity wanted to avoid having to relocate any artisans to the main town and therefore tried to keep the number of skilled artisans in Bethabara to a minimum. The Wachovia Brethren's requests to Bethlehem for additional craftsmen coupled with the apparent and somewhat unanticipated backcountry market for the items produced by their artisans combined with the Church's failure to find investors for the additional land they owned in North Carolina. The result was a reorganization of priorities in Wachovia until construction on the "center of trade and manufacture" had begun.⁴⁵

The Brethren actually had begun to re-organize their communal trade structure in 1755 when they delegated responsibility for the tools and implements of each trade to a certain individual. Strategies for completing large projects were created such as the group discussions held to discern the most efficient methods of making the furniture they needed for all the new structures.⁴⁶ Although construction of buildings for the entire settlement's use (such as the Gemein Haus) came first, by 1756 the brothers

⁴⁴Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 112-115.

⁴⁵Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 120.

⁴⁶RM I, 132-133.

built shops for the tailor, the potter, and the joiner to give them additional work space.⁴⁷

The extra attention focused on crafts benefitted the Brethren immediately. For example, the Unity's gamble on sending a potter to Wachovia paid off handsomely. Once his shop was finished in March, Br. Aust produced his first batch of pottery in August and his second batch in September, leading the diarist to comment, "... the great need [for pottery] is at last relieved. Each living room has the ware it needs, and the kitchen is furnished. There is also a set of mugs of uniform size for Lovefeast." Two and a half months later, "Br. Aust burned stove tiles, and when they were ready he set up stoves in the Gemein Haus and the Brothers House, probably the first in Carolina."⁴⁸ Outsiders began to inquire about the availability of earthenware as soon as they heard of Aust's arrival, and the diarist recorded the first "great sale of earthenware" on July 19, 1757.⁴⁹

The mill complex designed and built by Brn. Christensen and van der Merk from Bethlehem constituted another successful Unity investment in Wachovia. Originally planned as a grist and saw mill, the complex brought in so much business from outsiders that the Brethren in Wachovia

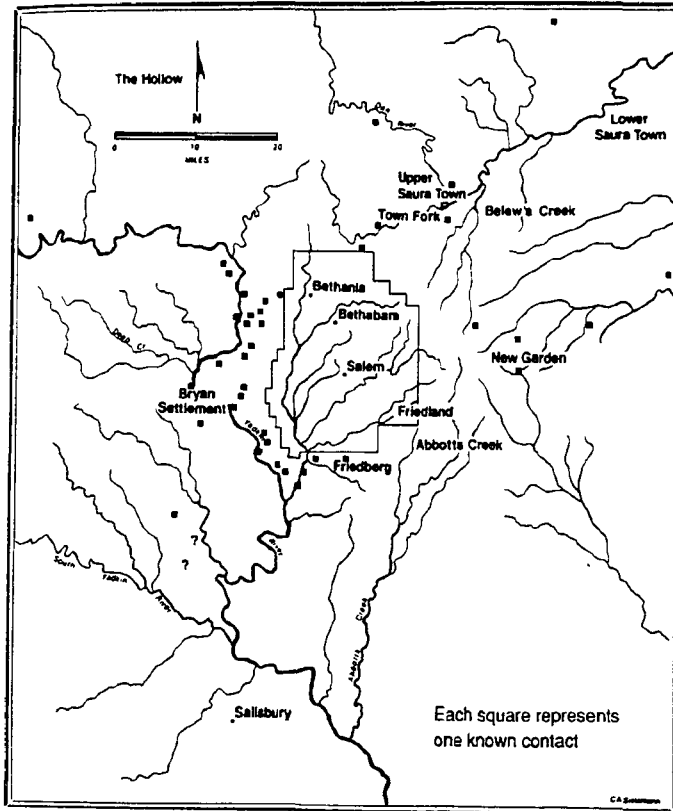
⁴⁷RM I, 156.

⁴⁸RM I, 172, 160.

⁴⁹RM I, 171, 182. Prior to this sale Aust had been selling clay pipes to local people and even shipping them to Bethlehem.

MAP 6

WACHOVIA'S NON-MORAVIAN BUSINESS CONTACTS, 1756-1758



Map by C.A. Sielemann in Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in North Carolina.

determined that the water power should be harnessed for some additional uses.⁵⁰ Rather than ask Bethlehem for permission to proceed with the project and be rejected, Br. Loesch began the project and then explained his actions to Church officials as diplomatically as possible.

I must tell you about Br. Jacob [van der Merk]. We thought he would come back to Bethlehem with this wagon, but our mill installation has caused us so very much difficulty - as you can well imagine - now it is in running order, but far from completed. Br. Jacob was willing to stay here until everything was in better order and the Brethren were anxious to have him stay, hence he will be here a little longer. Now, Br. Joseph, if we have made a mistake in this, please forgive us and explain the situation to the Brethren in Bethlehem.

He will first of all make our bark mill, and that will be a great help to us, and he will try to make it so that we can make linseed oil. The whole neighborhood is already rejoicing because of it, and I am happy that we will be able to serve them and not to our detriment, but to our advantage.⁵¹

Fortunately, Loesch had made a wise decision and stating his position in terms he knew the Church would find favorable helped his cause.

A bark mill reduced tanbark (usually from oak and hemlock trees) to a coarse powder which, when steeped in water, produced an astringent substance called tannin, or tannic acid. Tannic acid is the main chemical agent used in

⁵⁰Forty people came to the mill in July of 1756, and in December wagonloads of grain were brought from as far away as New Garden (a Quaker settlement, now Guilford College) and the Jersey settlement (now Linwood in Davidson County). RM I, 158,173.

⁵¹Letter from Jacob Loesch to Joseph Spangenberg, November 3, 1756, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

curing leather. Oil mills pressed out linseed oil from flax seeds. An important product in eighteenth century American life, this oil was used to make paint, preserve wood, fuel lamps, and even serve as medicine. In addition to emphasizing the existing market for these new products, Loesch wrote to Bethlehem following Thomas Hofman's arrival in Bethabara. Church officials had sent Hofman, a tanner, to Wachovia to take over the tanning operations from Brothers Pfeil and Feldhausen.⁵² Loesch knew that the bark mill would increase the production capability at the new tannery, giving the Unity yet another profit-making business in Wachovia.

A little over a month later Spangenburg sent a letter to the Brethren at Bethabara expressing his happiness that "Your mill [is] of service to the whole countryside."⁵³ The Church's approval of the action taken by the Wachovia Brethren with regards to the mill project did not increase Wachovia's voice in how the Oeconomy was run. Even though the Brethren in Bethabara partially supported themselves, the Church maintained rigid and total control over the colony. The Church used its financial needs and settlement experience to determine which trades would become part of the Bethabara Oeconomy. However, two other powerful factors mentioned earlier, the supply of artisans in Europe and

⁵²RM I, 486, 179, 101, 123.

⁵³Letter from Joseph Spangenberg to Brethren at Bethabara, Dec. 6, 1756, trans by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

Pennsylvania, and the will of God, also influenced the Church.

With the success of the mill and the other trades, Br. Loesch realized the Wachovia Brethren could increase their profits by offering more services to the growing backcountry market. Consequently, in early 1758, he wrote to Br. Spangenberg asking permission to set up a gunsmith's shop, and requesting that a carpenter and a miller be sent to Bethabara. In June, Br. Spangenberg responded that a severe shortage of Moravian carpenters had forced the Church to hire outsiders to work on the Single Sisters House in Bethlehem. No millers were available at the present, either, but Spangenberg had asked for some to be sent from Europe. Bethabara's designation as a temporary village and plantation, probably gave it low priority for assignment of skilled help. During the 1750's the growth and expansion of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania made the construction of Lititz imperative. Not all the news the Brethren received at Bethabara was bad, though. Spangenberg approved establishment of a gunsmith shop, and arranged to send steel as an inducement to start work.⁵⁴ This gesture was a small concession on Spangenberg's part, as Andreas Betz, a trained gunsmith, had been living in Wachovia since 1754, working (at least some of the time) in the blacksmith's shop.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Letter from Br. Spangenberg to Br. Loesch, June 15, 1758, translated by Elizabeth Marx, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁵⁵RM I, 484, 148, 344.

Sometimes the failure of Church officials to send skilled help to Bethabara was not a matter of availability of labor, but rather from the Unity's perspective, the will of God. An example of the role of theocratic governance in the Moravian Church was the drawing of the lot. Every time the Brethren did not feel qualified to make an important decision without consulting higher authority, they drew lots. After posing a question, they chose one of three reeds from a bowl. One reed was marked "yes," another "no," and the third was blank. The last, if drawn, indicated that the time was not appropriate to ask the question. The repetitive requests of the Wachovia Brethren for additional artisans and the continual denials by the Unity, may have led Church leaders in Bethlehem to re-examine their position on "necessary trades" in Bethabara and to draw lots before answering pleas for help. Once again the North Carolina Brethren lost out. In October 1757 Spangenberg wrote the Brethren and Sisters at Bethabara, "This time too we have been unable to send a mill-wright, wheel-wright, saddler, etc. We were indeed willing to do so but our Lord did not approve of it at this time."⁵⁶

More often than not, Unity officials followed their instinct and the reports from North Carolina in determining which crafts should be established at Bethabara. The first women sent to North Carolina at the end of 1755 were not

⁵⁶Letter from Spangenberg to Brethren and Sisters at Bethabara, dated Oct. 18, 1757, translated by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

merely pawns in the Unity's demographic plans for Wachovia, they also fulfilled an economic role in the colony's ability to support itself. Even though the Brethren successfully planted and raised flax prior to the Single Sisters' arrival in Wachovia they continued to obtain linen clothing and yardage from Bethlehem.⁵⁷ Shortly after the Sisters came the Brethren learned how to break and hackle flax and hemp, and they put together spinning wheels so the Sisters could begin spinning.⁵⁸ Spangenberg realized that spinning and weaving would save the Brethren at Bethabara a considerable sum of money. Anxious for the success of the new venture he asked, "How would it be, if you, like many of our Brethren in Nazareth and Bethlehem, too, were to help spin in the evenings or when at other times the weather is bad so that they cannot do anything outdoors?"⁵⁹ Having survived in the backwoods of North Carolina for three years without spinning, the Brothers apparently did not feel the need to participate in "women's work" especially once the Sisters had come to Wachovia. They ignored Spangenberg's suggestion, instead preferring to encourage the women in their spinning with special lovefeasts.⁶⁰

⁵⁷Supply Order sent to Bethlehem from Jacob Loesch at Bethabara, dated July 26, 1756, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁵⁸RM I, 149.

⁵⁹Letter from Spangenberg to Brethren at Bethabara, dated Dec. 6, 1756, translated by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁶⁰RM I, 179.

After the sisters began spinning the Wachovia Brethren traded flax and thread to Moravian town stores in Pennsylvania or, occasionally, to merchants in Wilmington on the Cape Fear River, and Pine Tree (now Camden), South Carolina in exchange for the objects they needed but did not produce, including textiles.⁶¹ Not surprisingly, the leaders in Bethlehem tried to control this aspect of the Moravians economic life as well. Spangenberg even worried about the practicality of what the Wachovia Brethren might bring to Pennsylvania to trade for supplies. He finally instructed them to bring rattan, cotton, flax, hemp, furs, deerskins, heavy ox hides, sole leather and other similar items to trade for basic goods they did not produce such as blankets and saddles.⁶²

Spangenberg's reference to saddles in his instructions to the Brethren reveals the Church's desire to curtail the Brethren's trade with local artisans (which would have benefitted the Wachovia Brethren directly) in favor of cultivating trade networks which would profit the Church as a whole. The Wachovia Brethren could have procured saddles from Richard Graham, a saddler who had been working in Rowan County since 1751. Instead, Spangenberg advised them to bring their raw materials to Pennsylvania to trade through the church store in Bethlehem.

⁶¹Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 135.

⁶²Letter from Spangenberg to Jacob Loesch at Bethabara, dated Feb. 6, 1758, translated by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

A weaving operation was not established in Bethabara until 1758. A number of factors delayed the start of this trade in Wachovia. As Spangenberg's instructions suggest, Wachovia Brethren could obtain virtually anything they needed from their trade networks in the backcountry and Pennsylvania. Although the Brethren resisted trading for or purchasing supplies from local artisans, in order not to become dependent on outsiders, they did try to keep abreast of other "local" artisans and the services they offered. Periodically, the Brethren would check the availability of the linen produced by weavers around Bethabara by sending a Brother out to purchase some yardage. In the spring of 1758 Br. Peterson took a week's trip through the country in search of linen. He returned home on May 6 with eighty yards. After closely inspecting the material and evaluating their own labor situation, the Brethren decided they could beat the competition and began weaving linen on a full-time basis May 23.⁶³

If the Oeconomy directors had to continually remind the Brethren at Bethabara that theirs was not to be the permanent town on the Wachovia tract, why did it take Church leaders until 1765, twelve years after the original settlers arrived on the tract, to select a town site and begin construction of the center of trade and manufacture? In the

⁶³RM I, 188. At least thirteen weavers (excluding the Moravians) were working in Rowan County by 1758; data from the Rowan County Deeds, Wills, and Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarters.

twelve years prior to choosing the site for Salem, problems with Indians in Pennsylvania and North Carolina during the Seven Years War, the unanticipated establishment of another town on the tract, and Count Zinzendorf's death had preoccupied the Oeconomy.

Zinzendorf had special plans for the Brethren in North Carolina just as he had for every Moravian settlement. As discussed earlier in the chapter, Zinzendorf did not have proselytizing motives for the settlement of Wachovia. Rather, he wanted a place that was safe from Indians where the Brethren could create their own community, far enough away from their non-Moravian neighbors not to be influenced by them, but close enough to profit from them. Within just a few years of settlement Zinzendorf envisioned the creation of a central town on the Wachovia tract, filled with Moravian artisans and businesses that would reflect the Brethren's success in establishing their backcountry settlement.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, the best laid plans go astray. According to the Bethabara diary, Indians attacked and killed backcountry settlers as early as July 1755, when some of the settlers decided to seek shelter with the Brethren. By the end of the year, the Memorabilia recorded that two families and sixteen individuals had taken temporary refuge with the Brethren at various times because of Indian

⁶⁴Thorp, Moravian Settlement, pp. 24-25.

troubles.⁶⁵ The following year 360 people sought refuge with the Brethren at Bethabara. In July the Brethren finally built palisades around their houses for protection from Indian invasion or attack.⁶⁶ When more families asked whether they might come to the Brethren for protection and bring some of their property for safe-keeping, the Brethren met in conference to develop a course of action. They agreed that if the danger increased the extra families could come with their property for shorter or longer periods, as long as they built their own log cabins, and brought their cows with them.⁶⁷

No doubt events in Pennsylvania influenced the Brethren. In February 1756, Indians attacked Gnadenhutzen, a Moravian village in the Blue [Ridge] Mountains, as the residents were at morning prayers, and killed all who could not escape. Eleven persons died, the rest fled, and the houses were burned.⁶⁸ Thankfully, the Brethren's situation in North Carolina never became so desperate, even though in August 1757 the refugees at Bethabara began building their cabins at the mill, and in April 1758 the Brethren helped construct additional cabins and a stockade around them.⁶⁹

⁶⁵RM I, 120, 133-134.

⁶⁶RM I, 157, 159.

⁶⁷RM I, 169.

⁶⁸RM I, 163.

⁶⁹RM I, 181, 188.

The Indian situation took a marked turn for the worse in the Fall of 1759 when Edenton surveyor William Churton brought the Brethren a sworn statement that "the Cherokees and Creeks have declared war on all white people in the whole country."⁷⁰ According to the Bethabara diary Indian threats and alarms continued on and around the Wachovia tract until 1763. The records do not indicate specifically whether dealing with the Indian problem in Pennsylvania and North Carolina prevented church leaders from planning the main town on the tract. However, the Indian threat clearly demanded the Unity's more immediate attention, and even the remote possibility of an Indian victory probably gave the leaders a wait-and-see attitude before designing the new town.

As often happens in these types of situations, conditions caused by the Indian crisis in Bethabara steered the Unity's attention in a tangential direction. From 1757 on, the Bethabara diary records an increasing number of pleas, mostly from German neighbors and "friends at the mill" (the Moravians euphemism for the long-term refugees) for the Brethren to help fulfill their religious needs. On August 18, 1758, while visiting several neighbors "at one house," Br. Ettwein and Gottlob Hofman "baptised a child, at the repeated request of the parents." The Brethren also

⁷⁰RM I, 213.

opened more of their services to outsiders, and added extra services in English.⁷¹

Almost a year later, during a visit of Br. Joseph Spangenberg to Wachovia, the Bethabara diary records that the German families living at the mill sent the Church leaders at Bethabara a letter asking them to consider "their spiritual as well as their material well-being."⁷² The chaos these settlers had faced in the backcountry compared to the relative calm and organized life they experienced as refugees of the Brethren, and the increasing number of religious requests the refugees made of the Brethren, raise the possibility that some of the refugees may have asked to join the Church. Not believing themselves empowered to grant the requests, the leaders of Bethabara told the petitioners to wait for Spangenberg to answer their question. Spangenberg said yes.

Although the plan for establishing Wachovia did not call for proselytizing, Spangenberg saw a unique opportunity in the overcrowding of Bethabara (with Brethren as well as strangers at the mill) and the wish of the German families to join the Church: the chance to create a new village on the tract, owned and run by the Church and devoted entirely to farming, but with Moravian sympathizers allowed to live among the Brethren. According to the Memorabilia for 1759 "eight families of refugees, to whose hearts the Holy Spirit

⁷¹RM I, 190-193, 209.

⁷²RM I, 211.

had set for the sufferings of Jesus, and who had united themselves into a Society... asked permission also to settle there on trial." In the Moravian Church "Society" members were associates of the Unitas Fratrum but not communicant members. Joining a Society was frequently, though not always, a step toward becoming a member of the congregation.⁷³

In his book, The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina, Daniel Thorp interprets the settlement of Bethania somewhat differently. He asserts that the delay in planning and constructing the future gemein Ort and the subsequent growth of Bethabara had Church leaders worried that Bethania would be a permanent rival in the future to the central town. Those leaders in Bethlehem sent Spangenberg down to North Carolina to establish a new farming village, named Bethania, and populate it with Bethabara's surplus. After arriving in Wachovia, Spangenberg quickly perceived that such a small village of Brethren would not be able to defend itself from the Indian threat. Thorp writes, however, "allowing a select group of refugee families to form a society and to settle with the Brethren in Bethania would bring new souls to the Lord while providing additional bodies to help protect those that were already his."⁷⁴

⁷³RM I, 206. In Bethania the Brethren remained members of the Bethabara congregation until the Bethania Congregation was organized in 1766, most of the Society members joining as communicants and becoming full members.

⁷⁴Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 46.

Whether the German refugees asked the Church if they could live in Bethania, or the Church asked them, the settlement solved a number of problems facing the Unity: Bethabara obtained relief from overcrowding, some outsiders were on their way to joining the Church, the settlement would be large enough to defend itself, and the Church would have more land under cultivation producing food.

Once Spangenberg made the decision concerning the settlement of Bethania by Moravians and Society members, planning the farming town continued in typical Moravian fashion. In accordance with the Unity's general plan to establish a gemein Ort with all the craftsmen, stores, and businesses, Spangenberg did not allow any business to develop in Bethania that would compete with Bethabara or, later, the main town.⁷⁵ The Brethren established Bethania for farming, anything else was secondary.

Of the original eight families sent to Bethania from Bethabara, only three of the Brethren practiced a craft other than farming: Gottfried Grabs knew shoemaking; Adam Cramer knew tailoring; and Christoph Schmid knew brickmaking.⁷⁶ Two years later the Brethren sent Philip Transou, a wheelwright/wagon maker, to Bethania and in 1765

⁷⁵Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 109.

⁷⁶RM I, 345; Minutes of the Helfers Conferenz fur ganze, July 21, 1766, trans. Adelaide Fries, Moravian Archives-Southern Province. The Helfer Conferenz, or Minister's Conference, was one of the local governing boards of the Moravian Church.

they added John Chr. Kirschner, another shoemaker/farmer.⁷⁷ Yet, of the four Society couples who originally settled Bethania, all four men were artisans. George Hauser was a blacksmith, Michael Hauser was a weaver, Philip Shaus was a shoemaker, and Heinrich Schor was a carpenter. By 1762 three other Society couples joined the first settlers, adding two more artisans: Heinrich Spoenhauer was a cooper, Peter Houser was a weaver.⁷⁸

In Bethania neither the Church members nor the Society residents belonged to the Oeconomy; consequently, they could own property and keep their profits, but they remained subject to the supervision and discipline of the Church. All the land in Bethania proper belonged to the Church. Residents leased their lots from the Church but owned their improvements to the land (dwellings, outbuildings, trees, crops) under a deed which restricted the future sale or inheritance of the property to another Society or Church member, or the Church itself.⁷⁹

With all the precautions the Church took to establish Bethabara in a support role to the future central town with just the proper number of skilled craftsmen and the Brethren's healthy suspicion and fear of becoming dependent on outsiders, why did Spangenberg allow outsiders (albeit

⁷⁷RM I, 248, 296, 345.

⁷⁸RM I, 208, 254, 345.

⁷⁹Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 97, 141; RM II, 737, 739-740.

sympathetic ones) to settle with Moravians in Bethania? Even more puzzling, why did he allow six artisans (of whom only two also considered themselves farmers) to live in a farming community which was supposedly devoid of business?

Spangenberg's top priority in settling Bethania was to have enough people living there to fend off the Indians, if necessary. Placing Society members, to whom Church financial restrictions did not apply, into a living situation with communicant members, evidently did not worry Church leaders. Rowan County deeds, wills, and court of pleas and quarters minutes reveal George Hauser, Michael Hauser, Heinrich Spoenhauer, and Peter Hauser to be astute businessmen, who gradually became affluent. Church officials may have interpreted their desire to live with the Brethren at Bethania (and to eventually join the Church) as an opportunity to attract additional funds to the Wachovia congregation. The fact that these four men (along with two brothers) became partners with the Church and built the grist mill at Bethania in 1784, shows that Spangenberg's allowance of outsiders at Bethania did profit the Church.⁸⁰ In 1768 Fredrick Marshall described Bethania, population 94, as a quiet farming town consisting of eighteen family houses arranged along a street.⁸¹

⁸⁰Johanna C. Miller, "Water-powered Mills on the Wachovia Tract, N.C., 1753-1849," (M.A. Thesis, Wake Forest University, 1985), p. 54.

⁸¹RM II, 606.

Yet, in 1760 Spangenberg's and the Wachovia Church Elder's decision that "regardless of all objections, we can establish several of the refugees in the new village [Bethania]" clearly illustrates the Brethren's awareness that they had strayed from official church policy. God, however, was on their side: He approved their actions via the Lot.⁸²

Bethania's establishment as a farming community in which all the original Society members were artisans is another example of the importance of artisans in the Moravians' mission to create self-sustaining, independent towns on the Wachovia tract. The Unity's penchant for organization and record-keeping, their monetary support for the North Carolina colony, the supply of manpower from Pennsylvania and Europe, and their acceptance of a dependence on the will of God combined to make the Moravians' settlement of the Wachovia tract an uncommon occurrence in backcountry society. The aforementioned factors also made the Moravians an excellent opportunity to discover the necessity of artisans in, and their reactions to, different settlement situations. Unfortunately, the Unity's control of every aspect in Wachovia also inhibited development, causing great delays in the construction of the main town and consequently, a slower growth of crafts than in surrounding Rowan County.

⁸²Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 47.

From the planning stages, artisans were an indispensable element in the settlement of Wachovia. Skilled craftsmen had a prominent place in the settling party, and their value quickly became apparent in building Bethabara and in meeting the requests of outsiders for the Brethren's services. Along with their physician, artisans were in demand on and off the tract. As the Church sent more people to live in Wachovia, the importance of artisans escalated: the need to provide a more comfortable living environment superseded Unity leaders' original plans to run Bethabara with only "the necessary crafts" until a main town could be built. Although they never mentioned it, Wachovia leaders must also have realized that craftsmen were essential to the success of the farming town. What other reason could explain why the Society members sent to Bethania to be "farmers" were also artisans?

As the next chapter will show, the position of Moravian artisans grew more important during the planning and construction of Salem. The Moravians collective style of settlement and their conservative reputation also provide an interesting comparison to the settlement of Rowan County outside the Wachovia Tract which will be explored in Chapter four.

CHAPTER III

'THE CRAFTSMEN AND THE ARTISANS ALSO BELONG IN SALEM': MORAVIAN ARTISANS ON THE WACHOVIA TRACT, 1753-1770 PART II

During the first decade of settlement in Wachovia church officials' frequently reminded the Brethren that Bethabara was literally a "house of passage" until the main town was finished. The frustration these reminders caused the Wachovia brethren and sisters, and the lack of progress and instructions on the future town, characterized exchanges between Bethabara and Bethlehem over what constituted necessary crafts and trades. Following the first survey of the Wachovia Tract to select a site for the gemein Ort in 1759, and the founding of Bethania to relieve overcrowding at Bethabara, tensions lessened and the Bethabara residents and leaders began to believe that the new central town would become a reality. With the prospect that the new town was only a few years away, Wachovia residents became instilled with a new purpose: preparing for the new town. After 1760 the squabbling with Bethlehem over which crafts were needed at Bethabara virtually ceased: instead, requests focused on filling any vacant craft positions and obtaining the crafts and labor necessary to build and operate the town as a center of trade and manufacture. At Bethabara administrators concentrated on keeping key personnel happy,

discharging undisciplined craftsmen, creating an apprenticeship program, and organizing the artisans and their shops for the move to Salem. A Unity directive to end Wachovia's successful Oeconomy before inhabiting Salem also preoccupied administrators. Unlike most residents of Wachovia, artisans anxiously awaited the Oeconomy's demise so they could share in profits. However, the Church's financial and social restrictions proved too oppressive particularly for artisans, some of whom chose to leave the tract prior to the completion of Salem.

Wachovia Brethren may have welcomed the creation of Bethania, but Count Zinzendorf disapproved of allowing Society members to live with regular Brethren in the town. Zinzendorf did not want any missionary activity in Wachovia, and he interpreted the founding of Bethania as a direct violation of his desires. His death in May 1760¹ ended any Church opposition to Bethania, but further delayed the creation of the gemein Ort. As had been the case for Herrnhut and Bethlehem, Zinzendorf's ideas for the central town on the tract, including a town plan he drew in 1750, were more of a hinderance than a help. His plan called for

¹Adelaide L. Fries, Douglas LeTell Rights, Minnie J. Smith, and Kenneth G. Hamilton (eds.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 11 volumes, 1922-1969), I, 228; hereinafter cited as RM, volume number, page number.

a circular arrangement of the town with streets radiating in spoke-like fashion from an octagon-shaped central area.²

Even though Zinzendorf could envision the new town, other Church leaders, whether in Europe, Pennsylvania, or Wachovia, apparently could not find the time to implement his concepts. The Brethren took a full six years after arriving in Bethabara before they made their first inspection of a possible site for a new town.³ Following Zinzendorf's death, the absence of his somewhat dictatorial and monopolistic leadership style left the Unity a host of leadership responsibilities to sort out. Finally, in 1763 the Herrnhut Board named an administrator, or Oeconomus, for Wachovia, Frederick William Marshall, and instructed him to find a site for the town and organize construction.⁴ Marshall's four month visit to North Carolina in late 1764 and early 1765 resulted in the selection of a town site located on a ridge on February 14, 1765. Construction of the town, named Salem by the Unity Vorsteher Collegium, commenced on January 6, 1766.⁵ However, the lack of flat

²Larry E. Tise, "Building and Architecture," Winston-Salem in History, vol. 9, p. 6.

³RM I, 215.

⁴RM I, 265.

⁵RM I, 265, 282, 295, 298, 320. Although the published records indicate that Church leaders announced the name of the town to Wachovia residents in 1765, letters between various Church boards show the name had been selected as early as 1763. (Ltr. from Vorsteher Collegium in Bethlehem to Aeltesten Conferenz at Bethabara, August, 31, 1763,

spaces forced Marshall to reject Zinzendorf's circular town plan because ridge tops demand linear arrangements. Instead, the Brethren used a grid system of streets around a centrally-located square.⁶

Between 1760 and 1770 only three new crafts were added to Wachovia, and all three artisans arrived during the planning stages for Salem. Two of the trades they represented, cabinetmaking and gunstocking, were non-essential and consumer-oriented. The third, saddlery, had been practiced west of the Yadkin since 1751. Adding these crafts clearly shows the Moravians' aspirations to maintain and enlarge their share of the backcountry market. In 1764 Enert Enerson, a cabinetmaker, and John Valentine Beck, a gunstocker, came and two years later Charles Holder, a saddler (and brother to carpenter George Holder) arrived and became one of the first artisans to practice his trade in Salem.⁷ Br. Johann August Schubart, an account clerk and "clockmaker of sorts" came to Bethabara in 1760 mainly for administrative duties. Unfortunately the records do not

trans. by Elizabeth Marx, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.)

⁶For more information on the town planning of Salem see Christopher Hendricks, "The Planning and Development of Two Moravian Congregation Towns: Salem, North Carolina, and Gracehill, Northern Ireland" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987); and Daniel B. Thorp, "The City That Never Was: Count von Zinzendorf's Original Plan for Salem," North Carolina Historical Review, LXI (Jan. 1984), 36-58.

⁷RM I, 282, 328, 344, 498, 490.

indicate if he ever acted on Spangenberg's suggestion and made the "large clock that strikes".⁸

For the most part, the leaders in Wachovia focused on running the businesses they already had at Bethabara and adding manpower to the construction trades which would be necessary to build Salem. By 1758 the two most successful crafts in Bethabara were the blacksmith shop and the pottery. As such, they appear in the records frequently, although for entirely different reasons. The economic success of the various crafts and businesses at Bethabara was extremely important to the Church.

After telling Wachovia to take responsibility for its own finances in 1757,⁹ Spangenberg wanted to make sure the settlement survived and succeeded on its own. Towards this end, Church leaders at Bethabara willingly accommodated their income-producing artisans. Blacksmith George Schmidt provides an example. Thirty-three year-old George arrived in Wachovia in 1754, and as one of the early settlers helped to build Bethabara. In his enthusiasm he even fell off the roof of the Single Brother's House while shingling it in the winter of 1755, dislocating his leg, and reducing himself to

⁸Letter from Spangenberg to Conference at Bethabara, Sept. 3, 1760, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁹Daniel B. Thorp, The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier (Knoxville: Univ. of Tenn. Press, 1989), pp. 122-123.

making baskets and sieves while he recovered.¹⁰ He married Johanna Heckedorn in 1757, and they eventually had six children. Three years later Schmidt had created enough trouble making financial demands upon Wachovia leaders that three elders complained to Bethlehem that he "makes us little joy and honor with his profession."¹¹ What the elders neglected to mention was that Schmidt was making them a substantial profit. Aware of his economic success and financial status within the Oeconomy, Schmidt probably asked for a share of the profits or for additional help, an unheard of attitude in that economic system. Not surprisingly, less than a year later Schmidt asked permission to leave the Oeconomy and move to Bethania. This request left the Conference in Bethabara with a multitude of questions concerning whether Schmidt owned the smith's tools (they decided he did not), and whether the church should extend some financial assistance so he could start his own smithy (they approved a loan for him).¹²

Schmidt apparently did not move to Bethania,¹³ but the records remain unusually silent about him until 1765. Even

¹⁰RM I, 123, 124, 484.

¹¹Quoted in Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 190-191.

¹²Letter from Spangenberg to Conference at Bethabara, Jan. 21, 1761, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

¹³The 1762 Inventory of Souls in Wachovia lists Schmidt as living in Bethabara with his wife and children, RM I, 254.

more puzzling is a 1763 letter from the minister in Bethabara to Nathaniel Seidel in Bethlehem: "The smithy is practically still, and if something must be done to wagon or horses at once, the other wagon is out of commission and no one can help the smith."¹⁴ Schmidt may have held a work slow down to get what he wanted from the Church, and it eventually worked: in February 1765 the Bethabara diarist recorded him working at the smithy with a new assistant, Dan Hauser, from Bethania.¹⁵ The additional help evidently did not appease Schmidt, and the Church finally let him out of the Oeconomy (simultaneously barring him from communion) in 1766. He continued to live at Bethabara and was re-admitted to Communion in October.¹⁶

George Schmidt, looking forward to moving to Salem, which would not be run as an Oeconomy, continued to make demands on the Church. Over the next six years he asked for specific apprentices, a certain location and size of lot in Salem, and a different type of house construction. As long as he made a profit of which a portion would go to the Church in Salem, the Conference usually fulfilled his

¹⁴Letter from Gammern to Seidel, Mar. 9, 1763, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

¹⁵RM I, 300.

¹⁶Draft of letter from Ettwein in Bethabara to F.W. Marshall, 1766, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Letter from Matthew Schropp to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, dated Oct. 5, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

request one way or another. Once he moved to Salem his complaints ended and he became an active member of the congregation.¹⁷

Gottfried Aust did not cause problems like George Schmidt, yet he frequently appears in the Moravian records because of the immense popularity of his earthenware pottery on the backcountry market as well as his ability to produce almost enough pottery to satisfy the demand. After arriving in Wachovia in 1755, Aust filled the ceramic needs of the Brethren before selling to outsiders.¹⁸ The Brethren soon held "great sales of earthenware" which drew large crowds of neighbors vying for Aust's product. On June 15, 1761 the Bethabara diarist recorded that "people gathered from fifty and sixty miles away to buy pottery, but many came in vain, as the supply was exhausted by noon. We greatly regretted not being able to supply their needs."¹⁹ Church leaders did regret not being able to supply all of their neighbors' needs at these sales because every lost sale represented lost profits. However, the more pottery Aust made, the more his customers wanted. A few years later

¹⁷Letter from Ettwein to Bethlehem to Shropps, Graffs, and Lorenz in Bethabara, Aug. 23, 1767, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Aeltesten Conferenz Protocol Mar. 6, June 23, June 27, Aug. 6, Nov. 8, Nov. 14, and Nov. 23, 1768, and Jan. 17, 1769, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; RM II, 374, 378, 387.

¹⁸RM I, 171-172.

¹⁹RM I, 237. For accounts of other sales see RM I, 287, 412.

an unusual concourse of visitors [came] some sixty or eighty miles, to buy crocks and pans at our pottery. They bought the entire stock, not one piece was left; many could only get half of what they wanted, and others, who came too late, could find none. They were promised more next week.²⁰

To get wider distribution and more profit from the sale of pottery the Brethren began to sell or trade it to backcountry merchants in exchange for goods they needed in Wachovia as shown in the Bethabara diary.²¹

February 14, 1763: A wagon load of pottery was sent to Salisbury.

January 31, 1766: The Irishman, whose wagon brought some of the goods of the European company from Pinetree [South Carolina] Store, left this afternoon with a load of pottery...²²

Church elders reciprocated Aust's industriousness and productivity as well as his piety, by giving him first choice of apprentices, naming him to important Church Boards and committees, and allowing him to use outside potters to learn how to make Queensware and other English-style pottery.²³ Although Aust had a reputation as a harsh task master which frequently resulted in bad relations with his

²⁰RM I, 412.

²¹RM I, 251, 275, 307.

²²RM I, 269, 332.

²³RM I, 287; RM II, 759, 762-763.

employees, his business success kept him a favored brother in the eyes of the Church until he died in 1788.²⁴

The Church did not try to mollify all its artisans. Only talented craftsmen like George Schmidt and Gottfried Aust were deemed worth the extra effort. In some cases the craft was more important than the artisan. Bethlehem sent Thomas Hofman to Wachovia in October 1756 and he assumed responsibility for the tannery (from cooper Heinrich Feldhausen and shoemaker Frederick Pfeil) in February of the following year. In June a new tannery building was raised.²⁵ In 1760 church elders used the same letter to Bethlehem to complain about George Schmidt and Hofman.

[Hofman has given us] no end of trouble... Therefore, if you could or would also think how better to provide for both these branches, it would be very agreeable to us, because they have many connections with the world and can contribute a great deal to our good or bad name in the region.²⁶

Hofman's problems with the Unity extended far beyond business or finance, he failed to fulfill his spiritual duties as a Single Brethren. An inventory of Wachovia residents lists Hofman in Bethabara as having "for some time stayed away from Communion".²⁷ Church officials did not

²⁴Aeltesten Conferenz Protocol, Nov. 14, 1768, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; RM II, 714 (Aufseher Collegium Protocol, Jan. 14, 1772).

²⁵RM I, 486, 179-180.

²⁶Quoted in Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 190-191.

²⁷RM I, 254.

take laxity in one's religious responsibilities lightly, and the following year Spangenberg agreed to replace Hofman as soon as someone suitable could be found.²⁸ Br. Johann Heinrich Herbst arrived in Bethabara on June 8, 1762, and was appointed Master of the Tannery shortly thereafter. Hofman was still in Bethabara when Herbst took over the tannery from him, but the next mention of him in the published records is that of his death in Bethlehem eight years later.²⁹ Praised by the minister at Bethabara as "a sincere Christian," Herbst, like Schmidt and Aust, went on to have a long and illustrious career as an artisan, first in Bethabara and later in Salem.³⁰

With a population totalling 147 in 1762--including 32 artisans³¹--the Brethren were going to need help building the new town. In addition to moving all the artisans (and their families) currently at Bethabara (the blacksmith, the potter, the tanner, the gunsmith, the tailor, the shoemaker, the weaver, the carpenter, and the mason) to new facilities

²⁸Letter from Spangenberg to Jacob Loesch, Nov. 25, 1761, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Letter from Spangenberg to Conference at Bethabara, Nov. 26, 1761, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

²⁹RM I, 241, 486, 488.

³⁰Letter from Lorenz Bagge in Bethabara to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, Nov. 21, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

³¹RM I, 253-255. In the 1762 "Inventory of Souls in Wachovia" out of the 32 artisans, 9 were farmer/artisans; in addition, the list included 1 apprentice.

in Salem, plans called for a grist mill, hemp mill, tawing mill, saw mill, oil mill, fulling mill, a slaughterhouse, a dyer's workshop, and a hattery.³² All, of course, were in addition to other town necessities: the Gemein Haus, the Single Brothers House, and eventually a Church, a store, a Single Sisters House, and other shops.

In 1760 the Conference at Bethabara decided to begin an apprentice program to train young boys in crafts. The apprenticeship program had a dual purpose: to alleviate the labor shortage and to organize the artisans into guild-style shop and personnel arrangements before they moved to Salem. The same concerns the Church had about Bethabara becoming too developed and a shortage of space in the town kept apprenticeship to a bare minimum. Only boys who resided in Wachovia could become apprentices.

The first correspondence from Bethlehem concerning the matter of apprentices came in 1761 when Spangenberg evidently responded to a question from the Conference.

It is not at all our policy to accept non-Moravian boys as apprentices. But if Acum and Jos. Muller learn a craft, good. The latter would perhaps like to be a gunsmith, and would, I think, be well adapted to this. But I am unable to give any

³²Letter from Conference in Bethabara to Provincial Synod in Bethlehem, Apr. 14, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Letter from Spangenberg to Conference at Bethabara, Mar. 2, 1762, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

positive direction regarding this. Circumstances must have a say, also.³³

Five months later Spangenberg wrote that "Joseph Muller should probably be apprenticed. For he is of age."³⁴

Unfortunately, the records list three people with this name and sorting them out can be confusing. However, the 1762 inventory only lists one Joseph Muller, who has to the young boy who arrived in Wachovia on August 3, 1755.³⁵ Four years later an inventory listing of him as a gunsmith probably means that Muller reached journeyman status although reports on his training (or lack thereof) under Andreas Betz, the gunsmith, still refer to him as an apprentice.³⁶

Somewhat more mysterious is the reference to the other boy, Acum, and the remark about not accepting non-Moravian boys as apprentices. The name does not appear in the records, but in 1767 the minutes of the Aeltesten Conferenz at Bethabara record that "The fremde boy Even leaves his apprentice [sic] with Br. Fockel (the tailor) next

³³Letter from Spangenberg to Confernce at Bethabara, Nov. 26, 1761, translated by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

³⁴Letter from Spangenberg to the Board in Bethabara, April 17, 1762, translated by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

³⁵RM I, 254, 485.

³⁶RM I, 355; Letter from Lorenz Bagge in Bethabara to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, Nov. 21, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

Monday."³⁷ The term fremde, or friend, indicates that the elders permitted an outsider to apprentice to the tailor; in all likelihood the boy referred to in Spangenberg's 1761 letter.

The Brethren in Bethabara began to formulate plans to start a formal apprenticeship program in Wachovia to help supply labor. However, in February 1763, they decided against sending "a wagon to Pennsylvania this spring in order to get for our professions some boys which they had promised us," because too much work needed to be done at Bethabara before they would be ready for the boys.³⁸

Leaders in Bethabara may have wanted the boys partially to help stimulate the senior artisans who had become somewhat stagnant in their duties. In March, Gammern complained to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem

... we cannot speak encouragingly about our tannery. If we had only half of a shoemaking establishment we would lack leather to keep it going.

It is so with the other trades. The pottery is best and bringing in something. The tailor makes hardly enough for our own use. Fr. Fockel is master, but he has the misfortune to have Br. Nielson as apprentice. The gunsmith trade makes great talk but has turned out only two guns since

³⁷Aeltesten Conferenz Protocol, Feb. 14, 1767. The Aeltesten Conferenz, or Elder's Conference, was the church board charged with overseeing all the other church boards in Wachovia as well as ruling on the personal matters or problems of congregation members.

³⁸Letter from Ettwein in Bethabara to Spangenberg, Feb. 1763, translated by Elizabeth Marx, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

I am here. The smithy is practically still, and if something must be done to wagon or horses at once, the other wagon is out of commission and no one can help the smith. Hardly anything has come out of the cabinetmaking trade: Br. Dav. Bischoff had been here eight weeks and has turned out nothing for the economy.³⁹

Twelve boys from Bethlehem arrived in Bethabara in the fall of 1764 to learn trades from the master-workmen. Most of them already had been training in Pennsylvania, and the rest were ready to begin. Shortly thereafter the masters held a conference to decide where the twelve boys should be placed.⁴⁰ Three months later Ettwein wrote to Nathanael Seidel that the boys had "all been allotted to trades."

We have put Matth. Reitz into the tannery (we do not know whether this will please his father); Lanus is also with Herbst. Stotz is with the gardener; Strehle with the carpenter. Mueche is with the brewer; Christ and Ludwig Moeller with the potter; Bibighausen in the store; Sehnert and Kaske with the shoemaker; Nielson and Joh. Mueller are to go to the tailor as soon as the shop is completed...⁴¹

By early 1765, however, construction on Salem had begun which often diverted masters and apprentices from their usual responsibilities.⁴² Obviously, the 53 men and boys at Bethabara would not be able to build the town overnight,

³⁹Letter from Gammern in Bethabara to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, Mar. 9, 1763, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁴⁰RM I, 282, 287.

⁴¹Letter from Ettwein to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, Feb. 19, 1765, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁴²RM I, 324, 327, 328.

even hiring outsiders to help. Because during the first year of construction the brethren only completed three houses,⁴³ throughout 1766 Bethlehem sent down 42 individuals (24 men out of whom 6 were artisans, and 9 apprentices) to hasten the building process. The first men to arrive in January, Gottfried Praezel (linen weaver), Bernhard Schille (farmer and linen weaver), James Hurst (weaver and mason), and John Birkhead (cloth weaver), were all seasoned brethren with prior settlement experience, enthusiastic about serving the Lord in Wachovia.⁴⁴ Although the extra help was appreciated, it was not exactly what the Aeltesten Conferenz wanted. Matthew Schropp reported to Bethlehem that

On October 1st we laid the corner-stone of the two-story house in Salem. How embarrassed I am at times for a couple of reliable masons and helpers, and carpenters, so that Salem can be advanced! With strangers nothing can be accomplished here. They come for a week, fill their belly and are gone.⁴⁵

⁴³RM I, 320.

⁴⁴Letter from Vorsteher Collegium in Bethlehem to Aeltesten Conferenz at Bethabara, Aug. 31, 1763, trans. by Elizabeth Marx, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁴⁵Letter from Schropp to Nathanael Seidel at Bethlehem, Oct. 5, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province. Schropp had been asking Bethlehem to send down some carpenters and masons for at least seven months prior to this time. See Letter from Conference in Bethabara to Provincial Synod in Bethlehem, Apr. 14, 1766, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Letter from F.W. Marshall in Bethlehem to Aeltesten Conferenz at Bethabara, June 24, 1766, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

Five days after Schropp wrote the letter a group of eight boys accompanied by four brothers reached Wachovia. One of the boys was apprenticed to Melchoir Rasp, the mason, and another went to live in Salem as apprentice to Gottfried Praezel, the linen-weaver. The six others were assigned to work on "the plantation" at Bethabara. Schropp was persistent, however, he even wrote to Br. Marshall, who was visiting Charlestown, South Carolina, and asked him "if he would bring some masons and carpenters in order to advance the building of Salem."⁴⁶

Construction at Salem remained at a slow pace, and the town was not officially inhabited until 1772. Although they may have been frustrated by the lack of progress, church officials certainly needed the extra time to solve administrative problems before the move to Salem. Up until this point apprenticeships within Wachovia were fairly informal arrangements between masters and boys monitored by the Aeltesten Conferenz at Bethabara. If either side had a complaint church officials investigated and made a ruling. In January 1769 two apprentices at Bethabara ran away, forcing the Brethren to take legal action and whip the boys as punishment. "This incident led to a realization of the importance of legally binding apprentices to their Masters.

⁴⁶Letter from Schropp to Bethlehem, Nov. 20, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

Hitherto the Masters had stood an *Elternstatt*, which was just as binding, but less easily understood by the boys."⁴⁷

To make the apprenticeships legally binding the Master had to post a bond with the congregation business manager to assure, among other stipulations, that he would not keep the boy in any way contrary to the rules and regulations of the congregation, that he would not remove the boy from the community in case he, the master, moved away, and that he would not bind the apprentice out to any other masters without permission of community officials. The apprentice and the master had to sign identical indentures which laid out the obligations of both parties and stated when the apprenticeship would end [Appendix A]. Eager to keep their matters private, the Brethren always had their own Justice of the Peace witness the indentures rather than take them to Salisbury and the Court of Pleas and Quarters. In contrast to most of the other apprentice indentures executed in Rowan County, none of the Moravian apprenticeship agreements show up in the legal records.⁴⁸ The legal indentures benefitted Church Officials in many ways, not only did they have legal

⁴⁷RM I, 387.

⁴⁸Thomas Hauptert, "Apprentice in the Moravian Settlement," Communal Societies, 9 (1989), 3; Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters, 1753-1770 (microfilm, North Carolina State Archives). Individual Justices of the Peace could witness the signing of apprentice bonds in North Carolina see Paul M. McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, XLVIII (Jan. 1971), 29.

recourse in the event that an apprentice misbehaved or ran away, signing an indenture and posting a bond made a master think twice about accepting just any boy as his apprentice, the relationship had to last.

The biggest problem facing church officials in Wachovia was Bethlehem's insistence on ending the Oeconomy. In the early years of settlement at Bethabara the semi-communal economic system was a benefit for the brethren, but as Wachovia grew, officials in Europe and Pennsylvania believed the Oeconomy would become the same impractical administrative nightmare that it had in Bethlehem and Herrnhut. Church officials in Pennsylvania brought the Oeconomy in Bethlehem to a close in 1761 after complaints from residents and a significant drop in the population. The problems in Pennsylvania may well explain why Spangenberg created Bethania outside of the Bethabara Oeconomy in 1759.

According to Gillian Gollin in Moravians in Two Worlds the Oeconomy in Bethlehem was doomed almost from the beginning. The main problem concerned the Church's view of private property. In theory, the norms of private property were held inviolate, but in practice the Unity of Brethren had sole control, if not ownership, of all the land and property in Bethlehem. The individual immigrant to Bethlehem in the 1740's and 50's had no opportunity to buy

land or to start up his own business since all land and property belonged by definition to the community as a whole.

Church officials spent so much money to buy the land in Pennsylvania that little or no capital was left to invest, or to help pay for food, shelter, or clothing. This lack of capital in the early years kept the Brothers and Sisters busy trying to meet their own needs, and as time progressed they began to focus on making a profit by trading and doing business with the outside. As a result, the original plan of creating in Bethlehem a place of skilled craftsmen while leaving agricultural pursuits to the Moravians in nearby Nazareth and the Upper Places failed.⁴⁹ The number of individuals in administration, trade (bookkeepers, storekeepers, and secretaries), and commerce (innkeepers, guides for visitors, and food production including farming) increased while the number of crafts practiced decreased. Gollin attributes some of the elimination of the craft occupations to the gradual absorption of the immigrants into the economy of Bethlehem, a process which forced many persons to abandon their former occupations in favor of a skill more immediately required in the new community.⁵⁰

⁴⁹No doubt, the failure of the original plan at Bethlehem is what led Church officials to allow craftsmen at Bethania, a farming community; and to plan a farm directly outside of Salem and encourage the artisans in Salem to raise crops on their outlots and meadows. RM I, 315.

⁵⁰Gillian L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 141, 158-159, 162-164.

However, with artisans in short supply throughout the colonies Moravian craftsmen may have chosen to leave the community and go into business for themselves, opting to keep their profits rather than share them with the Church. Bethlehem was in a particularly vulnerable location: with Philadelphia only 47 miles down the Lehigh River the Brethren no doubt lost more than their share of artisans before ending the Oeconomy.

Ironically, in a smaller community in the North Carolina backcountry and ignorant of all the problems in Bethlehem, most of the Wachovia Brethren appeared to be content with the Oeconomy. Occasionally someone like blacksmith George Schmidt complained but, for the most part, everyone seemed satisfied. In fact, one of the most difficult tasks Frederick Marshall faced as the Administrator for Wachovia was to convince the Brethren that the Oeconomy had to end. Shortly after being appointed Administrator (but before the appointment had been announced to the residents) Marshall wrote to Ettwein, the Bethabara minister, explaining his plans for Wachovia's economic future.

If I should express my personal ideas, I would favor no one continuing in your [communal] economy other than the ministers and at some future time the boarding schools, and those who are absolutely essential in the domestic economy say for as long a time as the Choir house can be maintained. But I would make the married people either self-dependent, even those who carry on trades for the economy, or pay them an annual salary... To the master of a trade I would first of all give a journeyman's wages and in addition he would receive 20 per cent or the fifth part of the clear

profit, after the interest on his stock in trade had been deducted and his rent, and the wages of his journeymen; this would spur him on to be diligent and concerned about the success of his affairs to the benefit also of the economy.⁵¹

After announcing Marshall's appointment as Administrator, the Administrator's Conference in Bethlehem gently broke the news about the end of the Oeconomy. The statement reiterated the "Savior's wish that Salem should really be the place for trade and professions in Wachovia," and, as such, moving the trades, professions, and administrators, as well as the Aeltesten Conferenz there as soon as the houses were ready "will be the beginning of fulfilling the Savior's intention to make Salem the principle town." The end of the report stated that moving all the businesses and administration to Salem made it necessary for Salem to have congregation credit from the beginning, with new and accurate books to be kept so that each place would have its own account.⁵²

Arranging the separate accounts for the construction of Salem was the extent of the Church's progress in ending the Oeconomy for quite a few years. Clearly, officials in Bethlehem did not understand the delay. In Pennsylvania the

⁵¹Letter from F.W. Marshall in Bethlehem to Ettwein in Bethabara, dated Oct. 25, 1762, trans. by Kenneth G. Hamilton, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁵²Letter from Vorsteher Collegium in Bethlehem to Elder's Conference at Bethabara, Aug. 31, 1763, trans. by Elizabeth Marx, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

brethren clamored for the end of the Oeconomy, in North Carolina they made it thrive. Ever so often Marshall and other Church Officials, both in Pennsylvania and Herrnhut, would re-examine the situation in Wachovia and encourage the Aeltesten Conferenz to finish building Salem and stop communal living. Instructions from the Directing Board of the Unity in Herrnhut and Zeist to a company of Brethren leaving for Wachovia in 1765 was sympathetic in tone and told the North Carolina brethren that the Oeconomy had been intended only for the beginning of Wachovia, but the Church had allowed it to continue because of the Indian War and Zinzendorf's death. However, with the building of Salem, communal living had to be brought to an end "in such a Manner as is suitable to our Congregation-Course."⁵³

Two years later, when the Oeconomy was still going on in Wachovia, the Unity's Vorsteher Collegium in Herrnhut appointed a special committee to investigate and make plans for Wachovia. They discovered that "gifts, diligence industry, and faithfulness, in the way of buildings, stocks, inventories, and improvements" had made the Bethabara Oeconomy profitable and even helped pay for the construction

⁵³Letter of Instructions from the Directing board of the Unity to a company of Brethren leaving for Wachovia, in Herrnhut dated Aug. 30, 1765, and in Zeyst dated Sept. 11, 1765, RM II, 595-6.

of Salem.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, seven weeks later the supervising board agreed that Salem should be separated from Bethabara as soon as possible, and the Oeconomy in Bethabara abandoned. Fortunately they realized that a deadline could not be set for this occurrence (too much of it depended on the construction of Salem), and as a precaution they instructed church leaders to explain the situation in Wachovia to any Brothers or Sisters going there from Europe or Pennsylvania (where communal housekeeping had ended) with the warning "that when they reached Wachovia they would have nothing of which to complain."⁵⁵

In Frederick Marshall's 1768 Report to the Unity he discussed Wachovia's success, noting that in the past fifteen years "we have established, at least in a small way, all the really necessary businesses and handicrafts, which are greatly missed in other localities here. In addition to our farm of about 200 acres" Brethren had

a grist and saw mill, which can also be used for breaking tanbark and pressing oil; a brewery and distillery, a store, apothecary shop, tan-yard, pottery, gunsmith, black-smith, gunstock-maker, tailor shop, shoe-maker, linen-weaver, saddlery, bakery, and the carpenters, joiners, and mason's, who do our building, and there is also our tavern. Even if these business are not particularly profitable they are indispensable, and with them we can provide ourselves with most of the necessaries of life.

⁵⁴Plans for Wachovia made by the Committee appointed by the Unity's Vorsteher Collegium in Herrnhut, July 8, 1767. RM II, 601.

⁵⁵RM II, 599.

Yet, as soon as enough construction in Salem was finished Marshall stated "the handicrafts will move thither from Bethabara. From the beginning Bethabara was not intended to be a center of commerce... and there is still common housekeeping (the Oeconomy).⁵⁶

Fear of the unknown may have been the main reason Bethabara residents resisted discontinuing the Oeconomy. From the beginning of the settlement of Wachovia the brethren, and later the sisters, took comfort that the Church would satisfy all their needs if they worked hard enough. In his 1769 Report to the Unity Marshall explained that inhabitants of Bethabara could requisition items from the Oeconomy's supplies which private persons "could hardly get" in the backcountry.⁵⁷ Having to obtain and pay for objects on one's own, even if receiving a salary from the Church, was a daunting prospect for Bethabara residents.

The prospect of doing business on one's own may have seemed less daunting for certain members of the Moravian Church. For more than a century after settling in North Carolina the Moravian leadership went to great lengths to protect their members from becoming dependent on, and unduly influenced by, the outside world. In establishing a settlement in the backcountry of North Carolina during the

⁵⁶RM II, 605-606.

⁵⁷RM II, 607.

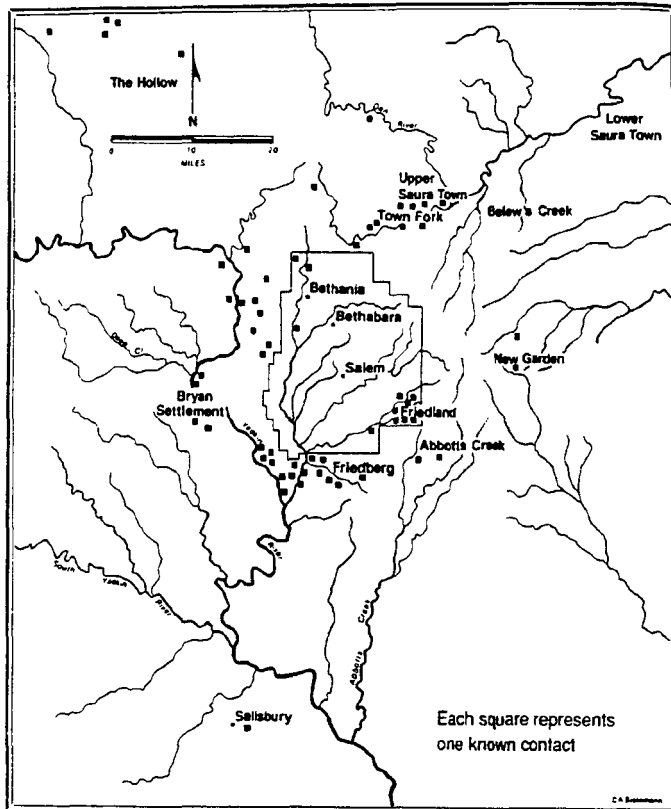
mid-eighteenth century artisans were a vital link in the Brethren's chain of self-sufficiency. The earlier discussions about George Schmidt and Gottfried Aust suggest that the artisans were well aware of their importance within the Moravian community, but how did those Moravian craftsmen perceive the world outside of Wachovia? And how did the outside world perceive the Moravian artisans? Ironically, these two questions are more intertwined than they may first appear.

The records of the Moravians reveal that a demand for artisan services such as tailoring, blacksmithing, coopering, and turning greeted them upon their arrival on the Wachovia Tract in Rowan County. From analyzing the Oeconomy's business records during the early years of settlement, Daniel Thorp found a steady stream of outsiders (three to four hundred a year), most of whom lived within a twenty mile radius of Bethabara, coming to do business with the Moravian craftsmen and the storehouse.⁵⁸ Obviously, a need for crafts existed in the backcountry, and the scarcer the craft, the farther people would come to buy the product. The pottery, for instance, sold wagon loads of pots, pans, jugs, etc., as far away as South Carolina. Not surprisingly, the presence of so many crafts in one location attracted the attention of many backcountry visitors. As early as 1765 the Reverend Charles Woodmason, an Anglican

⁵⁸Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 113-116.

MAP 7

WACHOVIA'S NON-MORAVIAN BUSINESS CONTACTS, 1759-1771



Map by C. A. Sielemann in Daniel Thorp, The Moravian Community in North Carolina.

cleric posted in the backcountry of South Carolina, described the Moravians as having "Mills, Furnaces, Forges, Potteries, Founderies, All Trades, and all things in and among themselves--", and selling off their surplus in exchange for any items they might need.⁵⁹

After the establishment of Salem, a planned town of streets lined with artisans' shops, each advertised by a unique trade sign, even more travelers recorded their impressions of the Brethren and their "laudable example of industry, unfortunately too little observed and followed in this part of the country".⁶⁰ Another description of "the present state of the Moravian settlements, and the progress of manufactures and agriculture" written in 1789 and published on the front page of the Halifax North Carolina Journal in February, 1793, waxed poetic about the plethora of artisans to be found in Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania.⁶¹

Clearly, these depictions portray the Moravians and their crafts as an extraordinary occurrence for the backcountry; a fact of which the artisans were probably well

⁵⁹Richard Hooker, ed. The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 78.

⁶⁰Albert Matthews, ed., Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790-1791, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1917), p. 73.

⁶¹The North-Carolina Journal, Halifax, Feb. 20, 1793, p. 1 (obtained from the North Carolina Research File, General Information, at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, N.C.).

aware. In fact, this rather general characterization of the Moravians as the only trained craftsmen in the backcountry is inaccurate. The Moravians only practiced fourteen professions out of the twenty three present in Rowan County in 1759; and only four of these -- clothier, bricklayer, brickmaker, and turner -- were found solely on the Wachovia Tract. The artisans not present among the Moravians in 1759 include a hatter, a joiner, a saddler, a wagonmaker, and a wheelwright.⁶²

Why were these "outside" artisans ignored? The failure to recognize Rowan County artisans stems from a number of different circumstances. First, until the county seat of Salisbury developed into what the Moravians characterized as a "rival" in 1767⁶³, no other urban place existed outside Bethabara and then Salem where a person could transact business with a group of artisans in one location. Second, the financial backing of the Moravian Church made it possible, after the initial settlement at Bethabara, for the Moravian artisans to work full time at their crafts. The opportunity to practice a craft as one's only occupation was unheard of in early Rowan County, where deeds from sales of "improved land" reflect that virtually every artisan also

⁶²Johanna Miller Lewis, "Artisans in Rowan County, N.C., 1753-1770, with a special look at women," Lecture present at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Summer Institute, July 11, 1990.

⁶³RM II, 597.

worked his land to make ends meet. However, to find artisans exclusively pursuing their crafts on the North Carolina frontier, a phenomenon in the colonial era found only in urban areas such as Philadelphia, Boston, or New York City in the north and Annapolis, Williamsburg, or Charlestown in the south, must have impressed both residents and visitors to the backcountry. The opportunity to work all day, every day at their trades like their urban counterparts probably resulted in the Moravian artisans appearing more talented, or at least more experienced, than other Rowan County craftsmen, as well.

As much praise as was lavished on the Moravian artisans, most observers did not fully understand the financial restrictions (both with the Oeconomy and the lease system in Salem) under which they worked. The Brethren, on the other hand, understood perfectly the reputation they enjoyed throughout the backcountry as talented craftsmen as well as the market (and they hoped, profits) which awaited them if they ever chose to leave the security of the Oeconomy. For some brothers, the lure of the outside world where they could have their own money and own property proved stronger than their devotion to the Church. Another attraction of living outside Wachovia was the absence of the Church's direction of one's personal life; the restraints on Moravian social life and behavior seemed to affect artisans, particularly. Quite possibly the artisans' realization that

they could leave the Unity at any time and conceivably be better off for it (at least financially), made a few individuals not take their responsibilities as brethren as seriously as they should have. In his book, The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina, Daniel Thorp recorded at least ten men who were expelled or encouraged to leave Wachovia for their behavior between 1753 and 1772.⁶⁴ The published records indicate that six of those men may have been artisans.⁶⁵

Who were these men and what happened to them? The records cannot always reveal the story behind the man. Since the Moravians did consider the possibility that future generations might read their records they took pains not to commit to paper and thus, eternity, the sins of those unfortunate individuals. Today titillating phrases remain, enough to catch one's interest but devoid of the details to explain exactly what happened. A prime example of this type of treatment by the Moravians is Heinrich Feldhausen, the multi-talented cooper, shoemaker, carpenter, mill-wright, sieve-maker, turner, farmer, and sometime tanner of the original settlement at Bethabara. Without any prior indication of a problem in the records, on June 17, 1762, the Bethabara diary recorded that

⁶⁴Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 101.

⁶⁵RM I, 484-494.

H. Feldhausen left today with many tears. He had put our brewery and distillery into the best of order, but yielded to carnal desires and fell into all kinds of sin and shame, so that we could no longer keep him here. The refugees have done us much harm.⁶⁶

Moravians forbid social relations and marriage outside of the Church, which may have been Feldhausen's sin, but the records remain silent as to what really happened.

Gunsmith Andreas Betz experienced a similar fate at the hands of the Brethren. Twenty-seven years old when he arrived in Wachovia in 1754, life seemed to be one disappointment after another until 1765 when he accompanied another brother to Salisbury on a routine trip to Court. For the next two years a flurry of letters flew back and forth between the elders at Bethabara and church leaders in Bethlehem concerning Betz's "dangerous course", the heartaches he gave the Brethren, and whether Satan was working through him. They even asked the lot if Betz should be given the opportunity to leave in a friendly manner, and received the negative.⁶⁷ Finally, in January 1767, the mystery was resolved. The Brethren discovered that Betz had become secretly engaged to Barbara Bruner, daughter of gunsmith George Bruner, who lived in Salisbury. Evidently, Betz saw more than the Court on that visit to Salisbury in

⁶⁶RM I, 247.

⁶⁷Aeltesten Conferenz Protocol, Sept. 30, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; Letter from Schropp to Seidel in Bethlehem, Oct. 5, 1766, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

1765, and the consequences of meeting Barbara tortured him: should he leave the Church to marry Barbara, or should he forget Barbara and remain with the Brethren? Love won out and within days of telling the Brethren of his plans to marry Barbara, Betz was excommunicated from the Church and expelled from Bethabara.⁶⁸

A rather strange footnote to this story involves Betz's apprentice, Joseph Mueller. Although Lorenz Bagge wrote to Bethlehem that Mueller did not seem to learn much from Betz, he did pick up one thing: seven years after Betz left the Church to marry an outsider, Joseph Mueller did the same. In January 1774, he married Sara Hauser and moved to some land near Bethania.⁶⁹ Both Betz and Mueller remained on excellent terms with the Brethren in Wachovia, however. Betz continued to do business with some of the craftsmen at Bethabara. In 1768 he purchased a tile stove made by Gottfried Aust, and in 1773 the Single Brothers accepted a loan of £1100 at five percent interest from him.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Protocoll der Helfers Conferenz, Jan. 20, 1767, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; RM I, 357.

⁶⁹Letter from Lorenz Bagge in Bethabara to Nathanael Seidel in Bethlehem, Moravian Archives-Southern Province; RM II, 836.

⁷⁰Bethabara Diary, Oct. 17, 1768, Moravian Archives-Southern Province on loan to Old Salem, Inc.; Aufseher Collegium, Dec. 21, 1773, translated by Erika Huber, Moravian Archives-Southern Province on loan to Old Salem, Inc.

Close ties existed between the craftsmen who had left the confines of Wachovia but remained in the backcountry. Michael Morr, a journeyman potter who came to work in Bethabara in 1762, probably disliked the restrictions of the Brethren's lifestyle, and he left shortly thereafter for Salisbury. In the spring of 1765 Morr bought land in the east square of Salisbury from tanner John Lewis Beard and his wife Christian for his house and shop. Only two months after Betz came to Salisbury in 1767 and married Barbara Bruner, Morr witnessed the deed for Betz's purchase of two lots in the north square of Salisbury.⁷¹

The Oeconomy obviously did not offer enough to every segment of Moravian society, and the artisans seemed particularly vulnerable to their rules and restrictions. Finally, in 1769 the General Synod of the Moravian Church issued an ultimatum to Wachovia to end the Oeconomy. In March, 1770, the Aeltesten Conferenz began to discuss the transition of the administration of professions and trades from Church control to private control.⁷² A month later Marshall audited the accounts of all the master workmen in preparation of their going into business for themselves, and gradually, one at a time, the trades moved to Salem.⁷³

⁷¹RM I, 250; Rowan Deed Abst 6:450; Rowan Deed Abst 6:145, 146.

⁷²Aeltesten Conferenz Protocol, Mar. 27, 1770, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

⁷³RM II, 411, 413, 435, 443.

Even though the semi-communal lifestyle had ended, the Church did not relinquish social control over its members. No trade or business could be started or expanded without consent of the Moravian authorities. Apprentices could not be hired or fired without the consent of the Church. Restrictions applied to an individual's borrowing or lending of capital. Under this new regime individual Brethren operated most of the economic activities in Wachovia, doing business with anyone they chose, paying their own expenses, and keeping their profits. The Church enforced its economic regulations through leases.⁷⁴

The Aeltesten Conferenz took over governing trade and economic issues in Salem at first. However, as the town grew and the number of trades and business expanded the elders formed a special board to oversee the financial welfare of the congregation and manage the trades. Beginning in 1772 the Aufseher Collegium regulated the number of people allowed to practice a particular craft (usually just one shop per town), set craftsmen's wages, and determined the price to be paid for items in the craft shops and the community stores. For the privilege of practicing their crafts in a protected economic environment the artisans allowed the Collegium to audit and inventory them annually to evaluate their financial well-being and the

⁷⁴Gollin, p. 208; Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 203-204.

quality of the items they produced. If a shop master was found negligent in his management duties or his workmanship, he could be demoted to journeyman or asked to train in a different craft.⁷⁵ Eventually, the effort to regulate the trades failed because of the elders' reluctance to cancel the leases of those who violated their commands. In 1856 the Church ended the lease system and after that Moravian businessmen operated like their neighbors.⁷⁶

Moravian leaders took advantage of the time lapse between selecting the area for Salem in 1759 and beginning the actual construction in 1766 to adapt their economy to a larger, permanent town. Social and economic dissent marked this transition period from life in Bethabara, the "town of passage," to Salem, the new center of trade and manufacturing. While the dissent was limited mainly to individuals, some Wachovia Brethren's lack of willingness to obey the Unity's order to end the successful Oeconomy characterized the discord which plagued the community. The Oeconomy may have benefitted the overall community but it restricted the financial futures of artisans. For example blacksmith George Schmidt chafed under the communal system

⁷⁵Aufseher Collegium Protocol 1772-1775, Moravian Archives-Southern Province on loan to Old Salem, Inc.; Chester S. Davis, Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians (Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society, 1973), p. 63.

⁷⁶Thorp, Moravian Community, p. 204.

because he knew that, in the market economy of Rowan County, his skills could make him wealthy. Well aware that Schmidt's skills could be a financial windfall for the Church once the Oeconomy ended, the church willingly placated Schmidt until he could move to Salem and keep a share of his profits.

The need for skilled craftsmen in the backcountry combined with the perception that Moravian artisans were more talented than their Rowan County counterparts put Moravian craftsmen in constant demand. Life outside the social and financial restrictions of the Wachovia Tract tempted many Moravian artisans. Not surprisingly some artisans, such as Andreas Betz, Heinrich Feldhausen, Thomas Hofman, and Joseph Mueller, allowed the demand for their craft skills and their desire for a freer life to overshadow their devotion to the Church.

Stress and anxiety often mark times of transition, and the Moravians were no different. Out of these chaotic times, however, the Moravians brought order. They began an apprentice program to train boys in the trades and to augment their labor supply; they succeeded in abandoning the Oeconomy for a market economy and the lease system; and they built a planned town in the wilderness which continues to stand today as a monument to their industriousness and devotion.

CHAPTER IV

ARTISANS WORKING IN ROWAN COUNTY, 1747-1770

The traditional portrait of the backcountry resident as either barely scraping by in the wilderness, so isolated that everything he needed he had to make himself, or as fortunate enough to be able to import some of the nicer things in life from more civilized places needs to be re-evaluated. Artisans practicing basic crafts were among the earliest backcountry residents, and their presence along with merchants and tavern keepers proves that a market economy existed early in the history of Rowan County. Furthermore, the gradual increase of artisans and trades and growing number of merchants over the years of this study points not only to the development of that market economy but a continually rising standard of living, a standard heavily dependent upon the manufacture of consumer goods within the backcountry itself.

The general settlement pattern of Rowan County stood in stark contrast to the Moravians' carefully planned selection, organization, and colonization of the Wachovia Tract in the northeast quadrant. Unlike the German Moravians, the majority of settlers in Rowan County were English and Scotch-Irish. Even though many settlers came to

Rowan county in groups¹, none of them had a higher authority to do central planning for them and, consequently, they did not generate the sort of detailed records the Moravians left. Nevertheless, court minutes, deeds, wills, store account books, and artisan invoices provide enough information to examine the non-Moravian artisans. These records reveal that even without the constant aid and interference from a higher authority such as the Wachovia Moravians had, the non-Moravian inhabitants of Rowan County quickly created a market economy complete with artisans, merchants, and innkeepers. Those settlers also created the county seat, Salisbury, more quickly and efficiently than the Moravians began Salem, and Salisbury served as the center of commerce and law for the county.

I. The identification of Rowan County Artisans

The artisans living and working outside of the Wachovia Tract must be identified from and analyzed by use of the public documents from Rowan County. The non-Moravian artisans have been identified from the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarters, the deeds, the wills, the apprentice bonds and the civil and criminal action papers of Rowan

¹Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1964), pp. 191-192.

County.² With the exception of women artisans, the identification of whom will be discussed in a later chapter, only individuals who have been identified with a trade following their name, or as instructors of a trade in apprenticeship agreements, or from invoices and account books have been included in this study as known artisans. After explaining the methodology necessary to identify these non-Moravian artisans this chapter will examine the growth and development of this community of tradesmen, with particular emphasis on the parallel development of the town of Salisbury and the retail trade in Rowan county.

In 1767, George Marshall took William McCulloch, orphan of James McCulloch, as his apprentice "to Larn him the Art and Mistry of a House Joiner". Seventy-one of Rowan County's non-Moravian artisans were identified as masters from such undetailed apprenticeship agreements in the

²Rowan County Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1753-1772. Vols. 1,2,3; 1773-1800, Vols. 4,5,6 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Rowan County Apprenticeship Bonds and Records, 1777-1904, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Rowan County Apprenticeship Bonds; Rowan County Estates Records, State Archives; Rowan County Wills, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Rowan County Wills; Rowan County Civil Action Papers, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Rowan County Civil Action Papers; Rowan County Criminal Action Papers, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Rowan County Criminal Action Papers; and Jo White Linn, Rowan County, N.C. Deed Abstracts, 1753-1762: Abstracts of Books 1-4, Vol. I (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, n.d); -----, Rowan County, N.C. Deed Abstracts, 1762-1772: Abstracts of Books 5,6,7, Vol. II (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, 1972).

Orphan's Court sessions of the Court of Pleas and Quarters.³ William was one of fifty-two children who were bound to adults in Rowan County between 1759 and 1770, all under provisions of statutes passed by the North Carolina legislature.⁴

North Carolina passed its first "Act Concerning Orphans" in 1715 to "educate and provide" for orphans "according to their Rank and degree." Orphans of both sexes whose parents did not leave estates were "bound Apprentice to some Handycraft Trade" and the masters would instruct the orphans in the trade as well as feed and clothe them in exchange for their labor.⁵ Although the Assembly made minor changes in the laws concerning the care of orphans in 1755 and 1760, the 1762 "Act for the better care of Orphans, and Security and Management of their Estates," remained in effect through the Revolution. Section nineteen of the law provided that, should an orphan's inheritance be so small that no guardian could be found to care for the child for the estate profits, a male orphan could be bound Apprentice

³Minutes of Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters, April 16, 1767.

⁴Figures derived from data on children bound in Rowan County in Lynne Howard Fraser, "'Nobody's Children': The Treatment of Illegitimate Children in Three North Carolina Counties, 1760-1790," (Unpub. M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987), pp. 80-95.

⁵Stephen B. Weeks, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: Printers to the State, 1886-90), XXIII, 70-71 (hereinafter cited as CR, volume number, page number).

to some "Tradesman, Merchant, Mariner..." until he was twenty-one. A female orphan could be bound Apprentice to "some suitable Employment" until she was age eighteen.⁶

Of the fifty-two children apprenticed in Rowan county between 1753 and 1770 thirty-eight were male and fourteen were female. The agreements for thirty-five of those children mentioned the specific trade or tools of the trade they would learn. Three girls were identified as spinning apprentices by their receiving spinning wheels at the close of their terms. Thirty-one boys were placed in twelve different trades. The trades to which boys apprenticed most often were blacksmithing (7), weaving (5), and shoemaking (5).⁷ Other trades, such as coopering (4), saddlery (3), carpentry (3), tailoring (2), hatmaking (2), tanning (1), saddletreemaking (1) and silversmithing (1) were found with less frequency. However, the twelve trades which appeared in the Orphan's Court records as apprenticeship opportunities did not reflect the same variety of trades (32) present in the artisan population of Rowan County in 1770. While some craft categories had a strong apprenticeship following, such as the clothing or leather

⁶CR, XXIII, 432, 510, 577-583; Kathi R. Jones "'That Also These children May Become Useful People: Apprenticeships in Rowan County, North Carolina from 1753 to 1795,'" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), pp. 23-25.

⁷Figures derived from Fraser, "'Nobody's Children'", pp. 80-95; and Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, microfilm.

trades, other categories like the transportation and consumer item trades had few, if any, apprentices. [See Table 1]

Although the apprenticeship system met an important need in Rowan County--that of taking care of poor orphans--it did not supply the immediate area with an adequate number of artisans during the early years of settlement. First of all, only fifty-two children became apprentices prior to 1770 and the majority of them did not complete their terms until the mid- to late-1770s. Second, the former apprentices of Rowan County artisans almost never appeared in a survey of backcountry artisans through 1790, which indicates that they rarely remained in the geographic area. Of the ninety-eight children apprenticed to non-Moravian artisans working in Rowan County prior to 1770 only one, Martin Basinger, a hatter who trained with Casper Kinder, worked as an artisan in Rowan County.⁸ One explanation of the fact that only one apprentice remained in Rowan County is that the rest moved west to the frontier to take advantage of the opportunities in unsettled territory just as their masters had a generation earlier.⁹

⁸Rowan County of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, May 11, 1777; Rowan Court 1787.

⁹ The survey of artisans working within the original boundaries of Rowan County by 1790 was compiled from the Minutes of Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Rowan County Apprentice Bonds; Rowan County Wills; Rowan County Civil Action Papers; Rowan County Criminal Action Papers; Burke County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1784-1873, State

Table 1

APPRENTICES IN ROWAN COUNTY, 1753-1770

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Trade</u>
1758	John Holland	M		Shoemaker
	Paul Roachment	M		Blacksmith
1759	Hugh Holland	M		Shoemaker
1761	Ralph Smith	M	17?	Cordwainer
	Andrew Beard (PB)	M	10	Cooper
	Mary Brandon (PB)	F	3	
	Ann (Walter) (PB)	F	5	
	Else Man (O)	F	5?	
	John Hicks (O)	M	15	Blacksmith
	Mary Welsh (O)	F	14?	
	John Neide (O)	M	6	Saddler
1763	John Neide (O)	M	6	Saddler
	William Haddicks	M	18?	Weaver
1764	William Millsaps (O)	M	15?	Saddler
	Thomas Kelly (O)	M	7	Cooper
	James Anderson (O)	M	13	Hatter
	John Sawyers (O)	M	14	
	Mary Sawyers (O)	F	12	
1765	Sarah Sawyers (O)	F	7?	
	Mary Sawyers (transfer)	F	13	Spinning-wheel
	William McCulloh (O)	M	10	Tailor
	John McCulloh (O)	M		Carpenter
1767	James McCulloh (O)	M	9	Weaver
	Agness Payne (O)	F	9	

(continued on next page)

Archives; Guilford County, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions Minutes, 1781-1811 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History; Randolph County, Minutes, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1779-1782, 1787-1794 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History; Randolph County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1779, 178-, 1781, 1783-1805, State Archives; Stokes County, Minutes Court of Pleas and Quarters, 1790-1793 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History; Surry County, Minutes, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1779-1802 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History; Surry County, Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1779-1921, State Archives; Wilkes County Court of Pleas and Quarter Minutes, March 1778-July 1790, Oct. 1790-May 1797 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History; Wilkes County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1778-1908, State Archives; the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Index to Early Southern Artisans; and the 1790 Census.

1767	William Aslavin (O)	M	13	Saddler
	William McCulloh (O)	M	11?	House Joiner
	Jane McCulloh (O)	F	7?	
	John Sawyers (O)	M	16	Farmer
	Rachal Burch (O)	F	14	Spinning- wheel
	Richard Burch (O)	M	9	Vicar
	James Anderson (O)	M	15	Shoemaker
1768	William Allin (M)	M		
	John Watts Crunk (O)	M	10	Blacksmith
	Menery Grup (O)	M	10	Hatter
	John Bartlett (O)	M	1	Shoemaker
	Nathaniel Johnson (O)	M	13	Tailor
	Joseph Todd	M		Silversmith
1769	John Jones (O)	M	14	Saddletree- maker
	Phillip Cross (O)	M	10	Blacksmith
	William Cook (O)	M	2	Tanner
	Sarah Shaver (B)	F		
1770	Peter Crouse (O)	M	8	Blacksmith
	John Jones - transfer	M	16	Blacksmith
	Paul Crosby (O)	M	19	Joiner
	Rachel Grant (O)	F	12	
	Michael Grant (O)	M	3	Weaver
	John Adams (O)	M	19	Blacksmith
	Thomas Johnson (O)	M	11?	Weaver
	May Johnson (O)	F	8	Spinning- wheel
	Hannah Baltrip (M)	F	9	
	John Baltrip (B)	M	7	Cooper
	William Mullens (PB)	M	2	Weaver
	David Donnolly (PB)	M	9	Cooper

M=Mulatto B=Bastard PB=Possible Bastard O=Orphan

Unfortunately, the primary sources for the county do not indicate whether a second type of bound labor, indentured servants, helped to ease the shortage of skilled labor. The only mention of a possible indentured servant working as an artisan in Rowan dates to 1770 when James Simison, a turner, paid an anonymous individual £3 proc, "the price of one cow," through William Steele "for the use of Daniel Huffman", whom later court records identify as a shoemaker.¹⁰ Indentured servitude was a popular method for immigrants to get to the colonies, and servants with artisan training were in demand in urban areas such as Philadelphia and Williamsburg.¹¹ However, the lack of records pertaining to indentured servants in Rowan County suggests that they were not a significant presence in the North Carolina backcountry.

The majority of artisans living in Rowan County before 1770 had migrated to the backcountry. Many cannot be identified from apprenticeship agreements. Some of these artisans who were experienced craftsmen prior to relocating

¹⁰Anonymous receipt, dated 11 May 1770, John Steele Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Special Collections, University of North Carolina; Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1783.

¹¹For more information on this topic see Sharon Salinger, "To serve well and faithfully": Labor and indentured servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Harold Gill, Apprentices in Colonial Virginia (Ancestry Press, 1990).

in Rowan County used their trades as identification in legal documents. Michael Miller, a cooper who came to Rowan in 1751 from Cecil County, Maryland or New Castle, Delaware,¹² was so well known by his craft that the sheriff summoned "Michal Miller, Cooper", to appear in Criminal Court for a case of indebtedness.¹³ Fifteen artisans were identified from the Rowan County Criminal and Civil Action papers.¹⁴ When Stephen Elmore sold 495 acres of land on the east fork of Polecat Creek of Deep River on both sides of the Trading Path to John McGee, the deed identified Elmore as a blacksmith.¹⁵ Approximately eighty-two artisans were identified from Rowan County deeds. Occasionally, individuals have been identified as artisans based on extant documentation concerning their craft. An account from the Rowan County Sheriff to Samuel Smith for "making Two pair Large Bolts for the legs of Criminals" and "2 Pair of Strong Handcuffs" in The Colonial Records of North Carolina positively identified Smith as a blacksmith even though he is not identified by trade in any other legal records.¹⁶ The discovery of two other blacksmiths in Rowan with the

¹²Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 110.

¹³Rowan County Criminal Action Papers, Oct. 4, 1758.

¹⁴N.C. Dept. of Archives and History, Rowan County Criminal Action Papers, Rowan County Civil Action Papers.

¹⁵Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 3:338-340.

¹⁶CR, VII, 120.

same surname, David Smith and John Smith, confirmed Samuel's trade and a probable family connection.¹⁷ The scant amount of account books and papers with this type of information for Rowan County has limited the number of artisans identified this way to nine.

Probate evidence proved less satisfactory as a means of identifying artisans. Unless the decedent stated his craft in describing certain tools or implements, men have not been identified as artisans through the contents of their wills or estates because the presence of various tools does not necessarily indicate that the owner was a professional artisan. This is especially true in an agricultural community such as Rowan County where carpentry tools were integral to the creation and maintenance of a farm. Quite a few artisans did mention their specialized tools or their craft in their wills, however. Robert Milagin, for example, was identified as a weaver by a loom and tackling willed to his landlord, as well as by his descriptions of the textiles he bequeathed to his friends.¹⁸ Henry Wensel's trade of potter was discovered in his will from his specification that when his sons reached seventeen years of age "they shall go to trades and if one of my Sons will Learn the

¹⁷Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters Minutes, 1782 and Aug. 3, 1774.

¹⁸Rowan County Wills, Sept. 7, 1777. In addition, Miligan did not own any land which indicates that his sole profession was that of weaver.

Potters trade the same shall have all my Tools & Necessaries for the Potters business & also all by Glassing".¹⁹ Rowan county wills identified thirty-six artisans.²⁰

Once an individual was identified as an artisan, his or her presence in the county was followed through indexed abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarters, deeds, and wills for Rowan County and, in some instances, its subsequent counties. The insistence upon absolute identification of these individuals as artisans has surely resulted in an underestimation of Rowan County's artisan population.²¹ Other secondary sources have identified certain individuals as artisans for whom no primary source evidence can be found. In addition, the available primary sources can be misleading. For instance, the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarters often mentioned reimbursing individuals for artisan-produced objects. The court paid William Nassery £1:5:0 for making a pillory outside of the jail and Francis Lock for repairing the Gaol & Irons.²²

¹⁹Rowan County Wills, Nov. 14, 1789.

²⁰Linn, Rowan County Will Abstracts; Rowan County Wills, DAH, C.R.085.601.1-22.

²¹This is especially true for German artisans. As Ramsey notes in Carolina Cradle since the Germans were a minority and they did not speak English they did not participate in the political process; hence they do not appear in the official records. The Germans rarely ventured into the English speaking areas of the county and they generally handled their legal affairs among themselves.

²²Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters Minutes, Oct. 10, 1765.

However, as Samuel Smith's account proves in the case of Francis Lock, the men named in these accounts (who were both sheriffs) did not necessarily make the objects for which they received money. Often they were contractors who only hired and paid the artisan who produced the specified items. For the same reason, individuals who received contracts for erecting buildings and bridges in the county have not been counted as artisans. Consequently, William Hide's lowest bid to build a bridge across Grant's Creek in August 1769 does not identify him as a builder.²³

II. Artisan participation in the settlement of the county

The identification of artisans from official Rowan County records as well as unofficial private individuals' papers reveals that craftsmen have been present in the county since its inception, and they were among the earliest inhabitants of Salisbury, the county seat. Furthermore, the growth of the artisan population--from 18 in 1753, to 124 in 1759, and 303 in 1770 with a parallel growth and specialization in the number of trades they practiced--proves the importance of artisans to the backcountry market economy.

In Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 Robert W. Ramsey studied the settlement of the land between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers

²³Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts 3:86, 108,127.

which eventually became Rowan County in 1753. His study revealed that while many of the early settlers had known each other prior to their arrival in North Carolina and many of them chose to live as neighbors in the backcountry, establishing planned communities was not among their motives for migrating to North Carolina. Most settlers to Rowan County were not recent immigrants to the New World; they had already lived in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, or Virginia, and they traveled south to procure greater landholdings at less expensive prices than in the more northern colonies. The early backcountry settlements maintained the ethnic flavor of migrants to that particular region, be it English, Scotch-Irish, or German.

Previous relationships and ethnicity notwithstanding, the paucity of artisans among the land owners in Rowan County is a strong indication that the first settlers had come to the backcountry as farmers, and that unlike the Moravians, they did not come with the intention of creating urban centers.²⁴ And yet, even though they were few in number, the trades included among the first artisan settlers were remarkably similar to those the highly organized Moravians thought necessary to establish their settlement on the Wachovia Tract. As the migration to the backcountry progressed, a larger percentage of artisans with an even

²⁴Jethro Rumble, A History of Rowan County, North Carolina (rpt., Baltimore, Md: Regional Publishing Co., 1978), p. 73.

wider variety of skills than those of the Moravians arrived in Rowan.

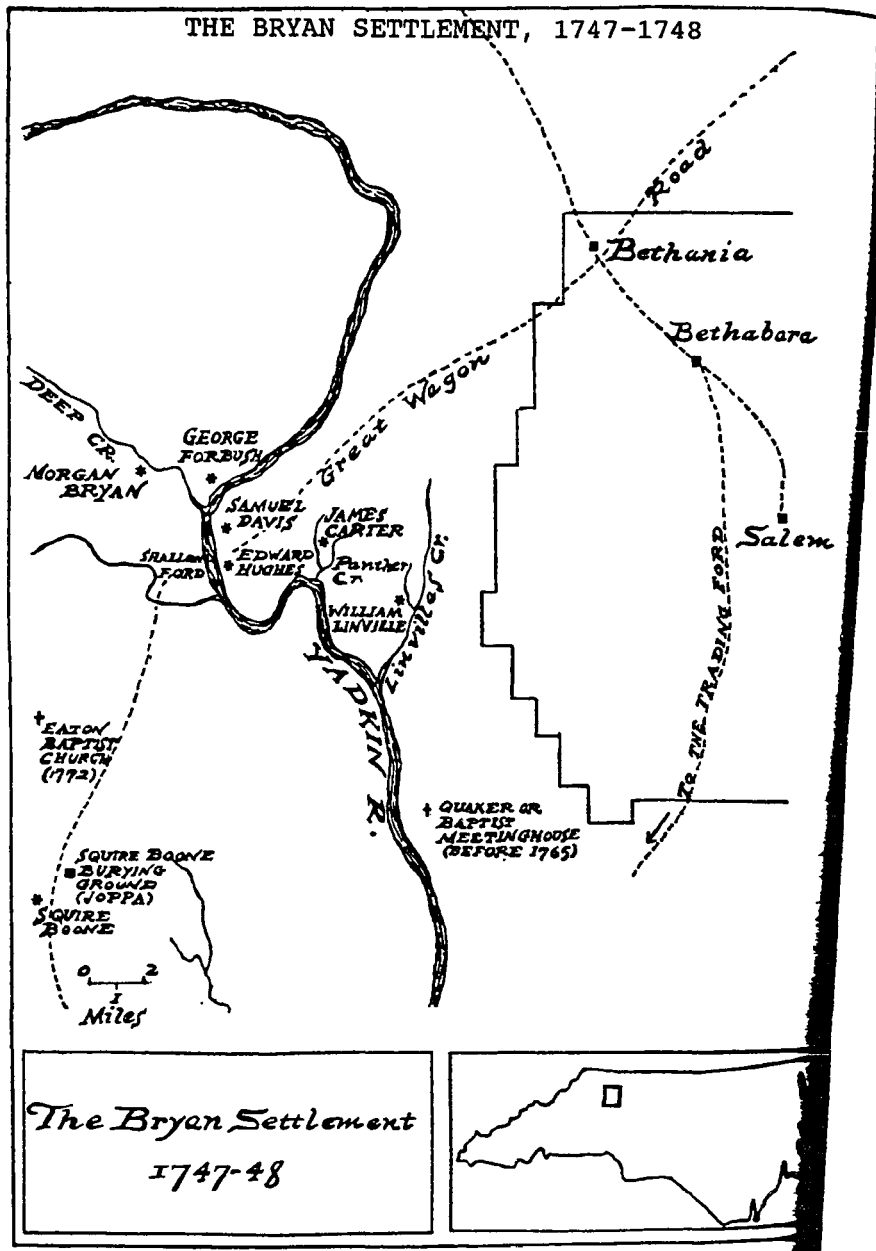
The early settlers to the northwest Carolina frontier had a seemingly unlimited amount of virgin land from which to choose. Having come from less than desirable circumstances in colonies suffering from overcrowding and soil depletion, these immigrant colonists selected their land wisely. Most settlement took place west of the Yadkin River on the fertile land near the numerous creeks and rivers which traversed the region, or next to the established roadways.²⁵ Not surprisingly, settlers who had lived together previously and traveled down to North Carolina in groups congregated around one another again in the backcountry.

As early as 1747 people with similar ethnic and religious backgrounds formed loosely knit communities on the northwest Carolina frontier. The Bryan settlement, the first located in what would become Rowan County, was formed that year. Named for Morgan Bryan, a prominent English Quaker from Chester County, Pennsylvania, the Bryan settlement consisted mainly of English Quakers and Baptists from Pennsylvania and Delaware.²⁶ These non-Anglicans had

²⁵Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 10-22, 175; James G. Leyburn, The Scotch Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 189-190, 213-215.

²⁶Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 30, 33.

MAP 8



Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

migrated first to Pennsylvania because of its reputation for religious toleration. When they made the decision to seek cheaper land elsewhere, North Carolina offered the same promise of toleration.²⁷ Situated on both sides of the Yadkin River on the land between the River and Deep Creek, the Shallow Ford, Panther Creek, and Linville Creek, the settlement was located directly west of what eventually became the Wachovia Tract.²⁸ [Map 8]

Of the seven men and their families who founded the Bryan settlement, at least two men and possibly a third were practicing artisans. Edward Hughes and James Carter were both millwrights; and Squire Boone (father of Daniel, the hunter, and Jonathan, a joiner) had worked as a weaver in Pennsylvania, although no North Carolina records identify him as such.²⁹

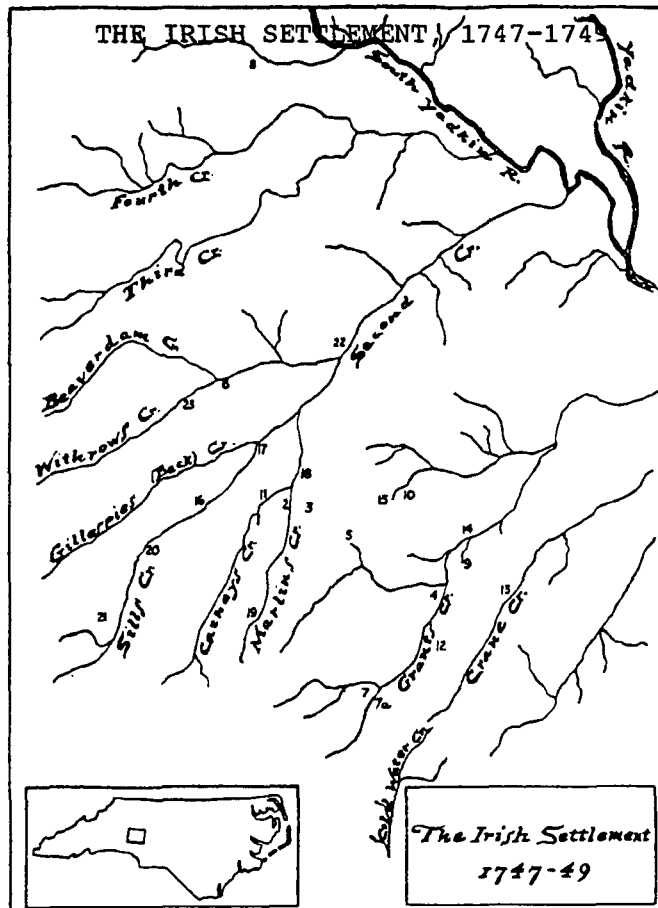
Two other settlements were organized on the land between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers in the late 1740s. Southwest of the Bryan Settlement, some Scotch-Irish Presbyterians made up the Irish Settlement on the creeks which ran east into the Yadkin River. [Map 9] Further southwest of the Irish Settlement was Davidson's Settlement

²⁷Mikle Dave Ledgerwood, "Ethnic groups on the frontier in Rowan County, 1750-1778," M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1977, p. 2.

²⁸Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 32.

²⁹Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 6:337 (13 Jan. 1767); 2:244-245 (2 June 1757); Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 32, 209.

MAP 9



Map Number	Name	Map Number	Name
1.....	James Cathey	12.....	Richard Brandon
2.....	George Cathey	13.....	Matthew Lock
3.....	George Cathey, Jr.	14.....	John Lock
4.....	Alexander Cathey	15.....	George Lock
5.....	Andrew Cathey	16.....	Thomas Gillespie
6.....	Richard Graham	17.....	John Sill
7.....	James Graham (younger)	18.....	James Marlin
7a.....	James Graham (older)	19.....	Thomas Bell
8.....	John Graham	20.....	John Holmes
9.....	John Brandon	21.....	Felix Kennedy
10.....	John Brandon, Jr.	22.....	Alexander Dobbin
11.....	William Brandon	23.....	John Withrow

Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

created by Scotch-Irish and German immigrants around Davidson's Creek, a tributary of the Catawba River, Rocky River, and Coddle Creek beginning in 1748.³⁰ [Map 10]

Again, artisans constituted only a very small minority of the original settlers to those communities. Of the twenty-four grantees in the Irish settlement between 1747 and 1749, only five of them were artisans. George Cathey, Jr. was a millwright; Andrew Cathey was a shoemaker; Richard Graham was a saddler; James Graham Jr. was a blacksmith; and John Brandon Jr. was a tailor.³¹ At Davidson's Creek between 1748 and 1751, three grantees out of the original twenty-five were artisans. George Davidson Jr. was a tanner; John McConnell was a weaver; and Thomas Cook was a tailor.³²

Although enough settlers streamed into the backcountry to organize three distinct settlements before 1750, the migration from Pennsylvania was only beginning. As the exodus continued, a new community just north of the Irish Settlement on the banks of Fourth Creek took shape about 1750. [Map 11] Of the 62 grantees who settled Fourth Creek

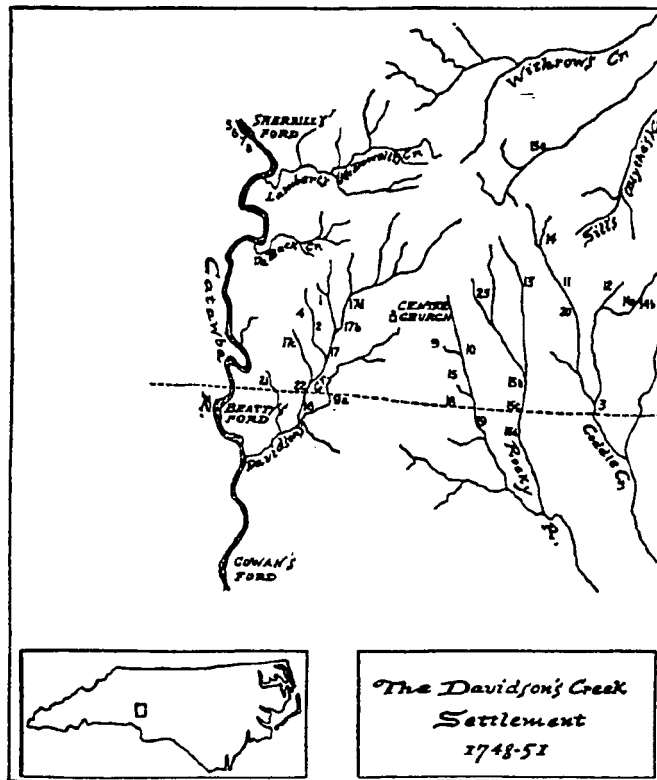
³⁰Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 32, 36, 45.

³¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 36; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 6:212 (7 Sept. 1765); 4:319, 320 (25 Dec. 1753); 3:66-68 (22 Jan. 1756); Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts II:680 (16 Jan. 1767); II:470 (13 July 1763).

³²Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p.45; Rowan Deeds 6:128, 129 (13 Feb. 1765); Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts 4:53 (5 Nov. 1774); 3:197 (10 May 1770).

MAP 10

THE DAVIDSON'S CREEK SETTLEMENT, 1748-1751



Map Number	Name	Map Number	Name
1	John Davidson and George Davidson, Sr.	15b	Alexander Osborne (sold to James Robinson, 1753)
2	George Davidson, Jr. (sold in part to William Rees, 1759)	15c	Alexander Osborne (sold to James Dunn, 1753; sold by Dunn to James Potts, 1759)
3	David Templeton	15d	Alexander Osborne (sold to James Harriss, 1753)
4	James Templeton	16	Edward Given (sold to John Given, 1757)
5	Adam Sherrill	17	John McConnell
6	Ute Sherrill	17a	John McConnell (sold to John McCune, 1762)
7	William Sherrill	17b	John McConnell (sold to John, Thomas, and Robert Johnston, 1764)
8	Abenton Sherrill	17c	John McConnell
9	John Bravard	17d	John McConnell (sold to Moses Andrew, 1759)
9a	John Bravard (sold to Andrew Lynn, 1753)	18	John McWhorter
10	Robert Bravard	19	Henry Potts
11	Walter Carruth	20	Thomas Cook (sold in part to Stephen Potts, 1762)
12	Adam Carruth (sold to David Kerr, 1762)	21	John Thomson (minister)
13	Jane Carruth (sold to James and Robert Carruth, 1756)	22	Samuel Baker
14	James Huggen	Location Unknown	Joseph Reid
14a	James Huggen (sold to Hugh McQueen, 1755)	23	Henry Hendry
14b	James Huggen (sold to Hugh Parks, 1753)		
15	Alexander Osborne		
15a	Alexander Osborne (sold to Patrick Gracy, 1754)		

Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

MAP 11

THE FOURTH CREEK SETTLEMENT, 1750-1762



<i>Map</i> Number	<i>Name</i>	<i>Map</i> Number	<i>Name</i>
1	Andrew Allison	30	James Watt
2	Thomas Allison	31	James McIlwaine
3	Robert Allison (sold to Margaret McKee, "newcomer," in 1760)	32	John McCalloch (never lived on this land; sold to Hugh Waddell in 1756)
4	Adam Allison	33	John Oliphant (sold to Fergus Slone in 1755)
5	William Morrison	34	John Edwards
6	James Morrison	35	Robert Simonton (sold to John Allison in 1757)
7	Andrew Morrison	36	Theophilus Simonton
8	James Miller (Walter Lindsay acquired this land in 1761)	37	William Simonton
9	James Hall	38	George Erwin
10	Thomas Hall	39	William Carson
11	Hugh Hall	40	William Stevenson
12	George Hall (sold to David Andrew in 1762)	41	George McDonald
13	Alexander Reed	42	Joseph Davis
14	Samuel Reed	43	Christopher Erwin
15	Andrew Reed	44	John Fleming
16	George Reed	45	Peter Fleming
17	Robert Reed	46	William Ireland
18	John Jack	47	John Ireland
19	John Archibald	48	Allen Alexander
20	William Archibald	49	Richard Lewis
21	James Roseborough	50	Jacob Thomas
22	James Mordah	51	David Black
23	John Mordah	52	Samuel Carvin (sold to Robert Carson in 1762)
24	Hugh Bowman	53	Robert Carvin
25	William Bowman	54	John McKee
26	Samuel Thornton (sold to Patrick Duffie in 1757)	55	William Erwin
27	Andrew Barry (George Davidson held legal title to this land and sold it to William Res in 1755)	56	James Potts
28	Michael Robinson	57	John Potts
29	William Watt	58	Roger Lawson
		59	George Elliott
		60	Richard Robinson
		61	Samuel Harris
		62	John Leach

Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

over a twelve-year period, merely four were artisans.³³ Andrew Allison was a tailor; Thomas Hall was a weaver; Samuel Reed was a shoemaker; and William Watt was a clothier.³⁴

In the years following 1751 a group of 27 settlers, which included mainly English but also a few Scotch-Irish and German families, chose to live on a parcel of land between the Irish settlement and the Yadkin. [Map 12] The settlement's location southwest of the Trading Ford gave it the name of the Trading Camp settlement. Three of the original settlers were artisans including: Michael Miller, the cooper; and Richard Walton and James Carson, both tanners.³⁵ The Trading Camp settlement and the Irish settlement grew together by 1762. Artisans were a larger percentage of the later grantees. In fact, the artisan population in the Irish and Trading Camp settlements rose from eight (five in the original Irish settlement and three

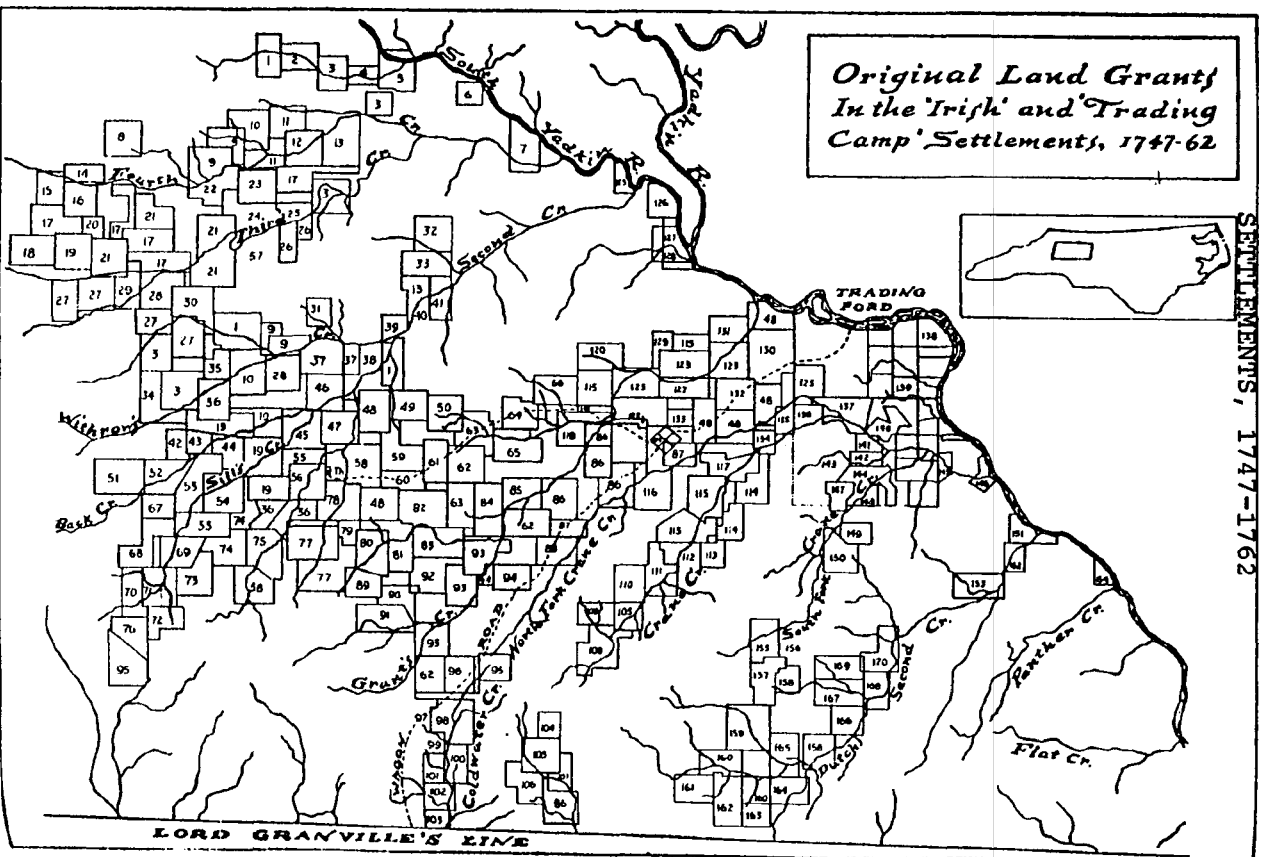
³³Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 95.

³⁴Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:727-731 (13 July 1762); 1:19-22 (19 June 1753); Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, I:174 (21 Apr. 1757); Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 7 May 1788.

³⁵Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 107, 116; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 4:866-68, 6:254, 255; Rowan County Criminal Action Papers, Oct. 4, 1758.

MAP 12

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS IN THE IRISH AND TRADING CAMP SETTLEMENTS, 1747-1762



Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

in the original Trading Camp) in the early 1750s to 44 by 1762.³⁶

The compilation of a data base which includes the earliest date each artisan appears in the county indicates that approximately seven percent of the 246 non-Moravian artisans who worked in Rowan County prior to 1770 lived in the region prior to the county's formation in 1753. No Moravian artisans were in Rowan County prior to the settlement party's arrival in November, 1753. The trades represented by the eighteen early non-Moravian artisan settlers included 6 weavers, 3 millwrights, 3 blacksmiths, 2 tailors, a shoemaker, a tanner, a saddler, and a carpenter. These trades include almost all of the skills the Moravians brought in the group to settle the Wachovia Tract. The Brethren did not have a weaver, a blacksmith, a tanner, or a saddler at the beginning, but with Henrich Feldhausen, jack-of-all trades, they counted a cooper, sieve-maker, and turner in their midst.³⁷

The existence of these trades among the earliest backcountry settlers signifies their necessity in establishing a rudely-sufficient quality of life in nascent

³⁶Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 108-109; artisan figure derived from computer data base of Artisans in Rowan County prior to 1770.

³⁷Adelaide L. Fries, Douglas LeTell Rights, Minnie J. Smith, and Kenneth G. Hamilton (eds.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commissions, 11 volumes, 1922-1969), I, 73.

communities. The eight trades established in the county prior to 1753 accounted for two-thirds of all the tradesmen found in Rowan County records prior to 1770. These craftsmen obviously met some needs of local residents which could not be satisfactorily fulfilled by trading with the outside. The continued dominance of these trades in the county also demonstrates the unending need for basic skills in developing communities with a growing populace.

Even at this early stage artisans could not fulfill all the county residents' needs. According to Daniel B. Thorp in his forthcoming article "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina," as in the rest of British Colonial America, inhabitants of Rowan County bought and sold a variety of local and imported goods through an active community of retail traders. Similar to the artisans who worked in the basic trades in the early years of settlement, the retailers operated stores and taverns dealing in necessary merchandise rather than running specialty shops which only addressed particular needs.³⁸

This brief overview of some of the early land grantees in Rowan County shows that at mid-century not all artisans were overly anxious to ply their trade on the frontier; only the ones who wanted to combine practicing their craft with

³⁸Daniel B. Thorp, "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina," forthcoming in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series.

planting. The abundance of land and lack of settlers in the backcountry attracted land speculators and farmers first. In addition to farming as a primary occupation, the early artisan settlers had two criteria in common. They all practiced trades for which a demand already existed and for which the raw materials were readily available on the frontier. The weavers, shoemakers, and tailors produced textiles and clothing from flax, wool, and leather; the tanner processed skins into leather; the blacksmith crafted and repaired tools and miscellaneous items necessary for farming and building; and the millwright designed and built water-powered mills to process enough grain to feed a community of people. Although saddlery appears to have been a luxury trade for the backcountry, the raw materials to make saddles could be procured easily and settlers who did not have a saddle quickly discovered that it played an indispensable role in the backcountry transportation system.

III. Artisans' involvement in the establishment of Salisbury as Rowan County's center of trade

Every settlement in the region which became Rowan County had artisans among its founders. Even though this fact placed artisans throughout the county, a concentration of artisans in a central location was necessary to develop the market economy of the county. As in other county seats, the large number of people who had to come to Salisbury to conduct their legal affairs became potential customers to

storeowners, tavernkeepers, and craftsmen who in turn transformed the town into the economic center of the county.

In 1753 the population of northern Anson county had increased to the point that the Assembly passed "An Act for erecting the upper Part of Anson County into a County and Parish by name of Rowan County, and St. Luke's Parish," so local inhabitants could attend Court for business and civic purposes more easily.³⁹ The creation of Rowan County brought local government to the northwest backcountry of North Carolina through a Court of Pleas and Quarters which filled the civic, administrative and judicial needs of the area and its residents. It also formally acknowledged the growing backcountry population previously ignored by the eastern-dominated colonial government. The Court of Pleas and Quarters heard cases wherein the amount of litigation was between forty shillings and twenty pounds, a variety of minor civil and criminal offenses, and all cases involving legacy, intestate estates, and matters concerning orphans. In addition, the Court administered the physical and financial needs of the county by deciding the construction of official structures and roads, supervising land deeds, setting and collecting the local taxes, and issuing licenses and fee structures for owners of taverns and ordinaries.⁴⁰

³⁹CR XXIII, 390.

⁴⁰William Conrad Guess, "County Government in Colonial North Carolina," James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. 11, 26; Paul M. McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North

The Court had to meet at the houses of private individuals such as James Alexander and John Brandon in 1753, but after issuing licenses to establish public ordinaries in later sessions the justices probably met at those locations to be more accessible to the public.⁴¹ However, the court was eager to have its own facility. Unlike the Moravians' difficulty in choosing a site for their main town, the justices of the Court immediately selected the court house location at a crossroads between the Irish settlement and John Brandon's land; and drew up construction specifications for the court house, the prison, and stocks during the first session in June 1753.⁴² When court sat for the second session in September the justices ordered a tax of four shillings and one Penny half-penny proclamation money be levied on each taxable in the county to defray the "the Publick Charges of this Province and Also debts Due from this County and Publick buildins &c."⁴³

Having lived in the backcountry long enough to be recognized as prominent residents and appointed to the Court, the justices knew the importance of establishing a county seat and court house as soon as possible. Virtually

Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, 48 (Jan. 1971), 23-24.

⁴¹Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, I:2,7,11,16; Ruple, p. 61.

⁴²Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, I:8-9.

⁴³Linn, Rowan Court Abstract, I:21.

every county resident would have to come to the court house at one time or another to register a cattle mark, record a deed, prove a will, obtain a license for an ordinary, a ferry, or a public mill, witness any of those documents, sit on a jury, participate in a case, or accompany someone with business at the court. With a built-in, county-wide clientele, the town was the perfect location to start a business. Edward Cusick realized the potential of the still unbuilt town and applied for a license to keep "public House at the Court House" on September 21, 1753.⁴⁴ Cusick had excellent instincts: he was the first of four innkeepers to establish taverns in Salisbury by 1755. Two years later there were eleven innkeepers.⁴⁵

Although the 640 acres of land for the town may have been claimed as early as December 1753, the first mention of obtaining a warrant for the land for the sum of £1:6:8 came from James Carter, Esq., Lord Granville's Deputy Surveyor (and a millwright) during the March 1754 court.⁴⁶ The town was formally created on February 11, 1755 when William Churton and Richard Vigers, agents for Granville, granted 635 acres to Carter and Hugh Forster (a saddler), trustees for the town, to grant and convey lots in the town "by name

⁴⁴Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, I:20.

⁴⁵Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁶On December 17, 1753 Carter purchased 640 acres of land from Corbin, Granville's agent. Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 2:1,2; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts I:34.

of Salisbury". Similar to the Moravians and Salem, local authorities had a town plan for Salisbury, yet they only took two years to create and implement the plan in contrast to the fourteen years the Moravians had Zinzendorf's original plan for Salem before they selected a town site which required that a new plan be drawn. Salisbury was laid out in a grid pattern: two main streets traversed the square plot of land, dividing it into four smaller squares which were subdivided into individual lots.⁴⁷ [Map 13] Carter and Forster issued the first deed to the Justices of the Peace in Rowan County for part of lot #4 "adjacent Corbin & Water St. whereon the Prison is erected together with the Diamond where the Court House offices & stocks are erected."⁴⁸

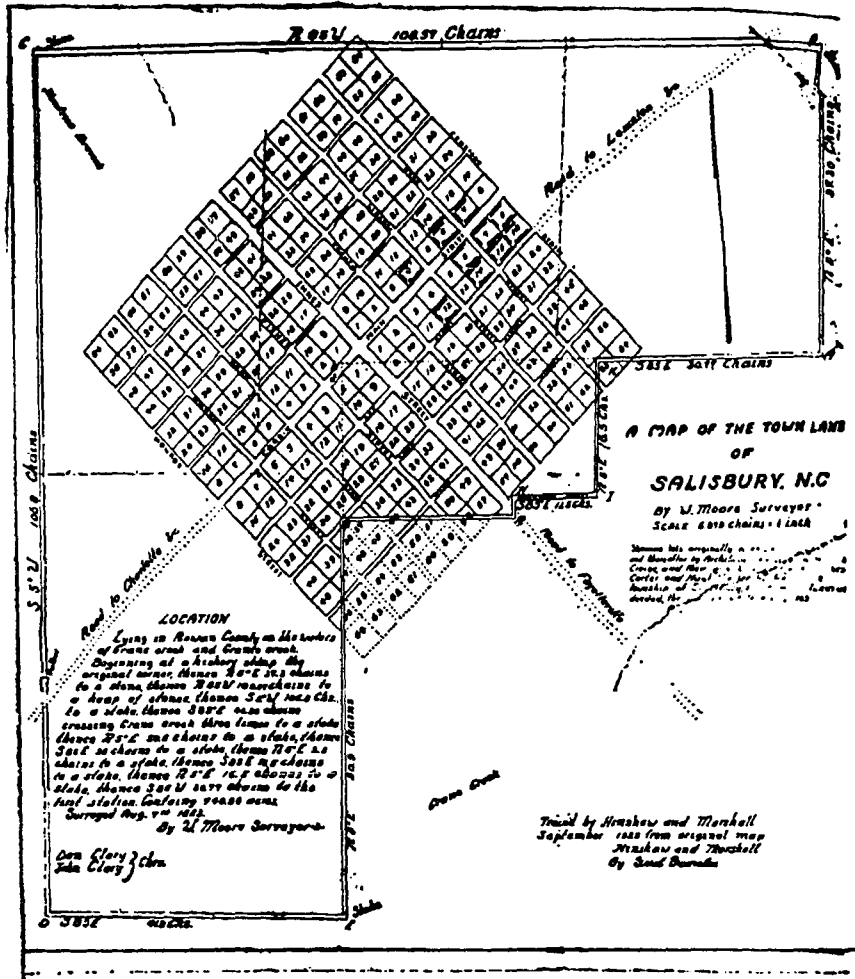
Ramsey notes that innkeeper Cusick and at least two other individuals, James Alexander and Peter Arndt, were living on town lands before the formal survey of Salisbury in February, 1755. Shortly thereafter James Carter and John Dunn probably established residences in town.⁴⁹ In mid-June, 1755 Governor Dobbs visited the western part of North Carolina and in his report to the Board of Trade noted that he "arrived at Salisbury, the County town of Rowan the Town is but just laid out, the Court House built and 7 or 8 log

⁴⁷Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 154-157.

⁴⁸Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, II:81-83.

⁴⁹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 158-159.

MAP 13 TOWN PLAN OF SALISBURY



Map from Robert Ramsey, Carolina Cradle.

Houses erected."⁵⁰ In addition to the above mentioned individuals, Ramsey postulates that John Ryle and William Montgomery owned inns or ordinaries on town lots at this time, and Johannes Adam, a potter, also lived in town. Before the end of the year Joseph Woods, William Cadogan, George Cathey, Sr., John Newman Oglethorpe, Theodore Feltmatt, Nathaniel and Moses Alexander (a blacksmith), Alexander Dobbin (merchant and shoemaker), and James Carson (tanner) also had purchased lots in Salisbury.⁵¹

The sales of Salisbury town lots rose in 1756 and 1757 and they steadily grew more popular. However, the short periods of ownership and lack of building indicates a high level of speculation in town lots. Not everyone was afraid to take a chance on residing in a backwoods town, however, and artisans became increasingly aware of the financial opportunities afforded by the new urban center. A few astute businessmen operated taverns along with their craft shops. Henry Horah, a weaver from Cecil County, Maryland, obtained a license to operated an ordinary in Salisbury in 1756 and according to Ramsey, he may have started a weaving shop the following year.⁵² In the following years artisans

⁵⁰CR, V, 355.

⁵¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 158-160.

⁵²Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 164. Henry Horah Sr. is not identified as a weaver in any of the primary sources consulted.

like hatter Casper Kinder, and weaver Henry Zevily to name but two, followed Horah's lead.⁵³

By 1759, the date of the earliest extant tax list for Rowan County, the artisan profile had changed dramatically from that of 1753. In all, 124 artisans in 23 professions have been located in Rowan County; and a sample of those who appeared on a 1759 Tax List confirms that 45 craftsmen practiced 17 different trades.⁵⁴ Eighty-six percent of the artisans (107) were non-Moravian who made their living outside of the Wachovia Tract. Although the number of trades available had increased, the majority of the 107 non-Moravian artisans in the county still participated in what would probably be considered "necessary" trades: more than one-third of all artisans were in the clothing trades (clothiers, weavers, tailors, spinsters, or hatters); one-fifth of the craftsmen processed or made finished goods out of leather by tanning, shoemaking, or making saddles; 14% were blacksmiths; approximately 13% were involved in building trades as either carpenters, millwrights, joiners; 7% participated in allied wood trades as coopers; and 6.5% of the craftsmen were wagonmakers or wheelwrights. Even at this early date almost 3% of the artisans participated in

⁵³Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts 4:22 (4 May 1774); 3:264 (8 May 1771).

⁵⁴Artisans figures generated from data base of artisans in Rowan County in dBase III+ sorted by trade and year of arrival. Information on artisans on Rowan County 1759 Tax list provided by James P. Whittenburg.

consumer item trades: one potter and two gunsmiths were successfully plying their crafts within the backcountry community. The inclusion of Moravian artisans does not change the profile markedly; the only trades the Brethren contributed that were not available elsewhere in the county were brickmaking, bricklaying, and turning. [See Table 2].

This profile of Rowan County artisans in 1759 further demonstrates that not only did a local market economy exist in backcountry North Carolina, but specialization to meet consumer demands was on the rise. The main reason for this increase in the artisan population and the trades being offered may have been the ever-growing sophistication of backcountry inhabitants and their desire to establish a more comfortable standard of living. According to anthropologist Henry Miller, settlement on the frontier required that colonists become self-sufficient (to provide food, clothing, and shelter) before they could develop a stable, sustainable adaptation to the environment. Like most permanent frontiers, pastoral and agricultural people settled the backcountry and adapted to the physical environment by exploiting the land through crop production and grazing. Once they completed this process the settlers then began to incorporate learned behavior patterns and cultural models (especially memories of their homeland) to establish their

Table 2

ROWAN COUNTY ARTISANS IN 1759

Total number of artisans in the County: 124*
 Total number of trades represented: 21
 Number of artisans on Tax List: 62
 Number of trades on Tax List: 17

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Clothing Trades</u>	39	31.45
Weavers	23	18.55
Tailors	10	8.06
Hatters	4	3.22
Clothiers	1	.81
Spinsters	1	.81
<u>Leather Trades</u>	26	21.00
Shoemakers/Cordwainers	14	11.29
Tanners	9	7.26
Saddlers	3	2.42
<u>Building Trades</u>	20	16.13
Carpenters	10	8.06
Millwrights	6	4.84
Joiners	2	1.61
Bricklayers	1	.81
Brickmakers	1	.81
<u>Metal Trades</u>	17	13.71
Blacksmiths	17	13.71
<u>Allied Wood Trades</u>	11	8.87
Coopers	10	8.06
Turners	1	.81
<u>Transportation Trades</u>	7	5.64
Wheelwrights	6	4.84
Wagonmakers	1	.81
<u>Luxury Item Trades</u>	4	3.22
Potters	2	1.61
Gunsmiths	2	1.61

*17 artisans (13.71%) were Moravian. The trades found solely on the Wachovia Tract in 1759: Brickmaker, and Turner.

social environment.⁵⁵

The growth in the number of artisans in Rowan County from 18 in 1753 to 107 in 1759 indicates the desire of an increasing number of backcountry inhabitants to own a wider selection of the objects made by artisans. Even though artisans in the necessary trades continued to compose the majority (70%) of the artisan population, they were not restricted in what they could produce. Surely some of those artisans continued to fulfill the basic needs of the settlers continuing to migrate into the region. However, the growing number of artisans in the same craft also signifies further specialization within the trade. Weavers probably concentrated in certain fibers and special weaves, and some blacksmiths may have preferred to make tools, lighting devices, or decorative hardware rather than to shoe horses. For example, Paul Rodsmith's account with the Steele family shows that he steeled and sharpened various tools, made tools and hardware, and even repaired a wagon for the family. In contrast, an account of the costs to establish Oliver Townsley's blacksmith shop includes "1 Set of Shoeing Tools".⁵⁶

⁵⁵Henry Miller, "Colonization and Subsistence Change on the 17th Century Chesapeake Frontier," (unpub. Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1984), pp. 14-16.

⁵⁶Invoice dated Nov. 7, 1785 from the John Steele Papers, The Southern Historical Collection; Anonymous Personal Account Book, 1791, from the Macay-McNeely Papers, The Southern Historical Collection.

Ironically, the magnitude of the increase in the Rowan artisan population does not parallel the demographics of the entire county. The population of Rowan County grew rapidly from the county's creation when there were 1,000 taxables (approximately 5,000 residents) until 1756 when the taxables had increased to 1,500. Indian problems throughout the backcountry led families to flee the region during the French and Indian War and the population eventually dropped over the next four years to less than 700 taxables. The population did not recover its pre-war figures until the latter part of 1763. From that point on the population exploded to 2,600 taxables by 1765 and at least 4,000 by 1770.⁵⁷

Analysis of artisans' arrival dates in Rowan County and their last appearance in the records, shows no artisans leaving the county during the French and Indian war and an increase in the number of artisans coming into the county. From 1752 to 1755 an average of 5.75 artisans settled in Rowan County each year. Between 1756 and 1759 when the county's population was dropping, the average annual number of artisans entering the county rose to 12.5 as a result of 28 artisans who came to Rowan in 1759. Following the war the artisan arrival rate settled back to its pre-war level for a few years before it finally paralleled the population

⁵⁷Thorp, "Doing Business", Figure 1.

trends in the entire county by increasing to an average of 14 artisans arriving a year.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, Salisbury attracted more residents and fewer speculators as the county grew. By 1762, 74 of the original 256 lots in the township had been purchased, as had eight lots adjacent to the town land. More than 150 people lived in Salisbury by 1762, and 24 more had purchased lots in the town. Rather than the "7 or 8 log houses" the governor had seen in 1755, the townscape now included thirty-five homes, inns and shops.⁵⁹ In fact, Salisbury became such a popular place to live that some wealthier individuals such as George Cathey (millwright and planter) and James Carson (tanner) may have had residences both in town and out of town.⁶⁰

Salisbury appealed to numerous innkeepers, merchants, artisans, and professional men as a result of its role as county seat and its location west of the Yadkin River, on the Wagon Road and in reasonably close proximity to the Davidson's Creek, Fourth Creek, Irish and Trading Camp settlements of Rowan County. Although Salisbury, like Bethabara and Salem, eventually provided a wide range of goods and services to a far-reaching population, the urban areas did not contain all the business in the county. Like

⁵⁸Artisan population figures generated from data base of artisans in Rowan County in dBase III+ sorted by year of arrival.

⁵⁹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 169.

⁶⁰Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 3:293-295, 3:66-68.

the majority of the population, more artisans and merchant/tavern keepers lived in the rural areas of Rowan than in the towns. From examining the account books of Alexander and John Lowrance, a father and son who ran a rural tavern/store in Rowan county from 1755 to 1796, Daniel Thorp found that rural retailers served mainly local customers on a regular basis. By contrast, the records of the Church-run General Store at Bethabara show a similar local customer base augmented by a few long-distance occasional customers and some one-time customers traveling through the region.⁶¹

Evidently, rural customers usually took their business to local artisans and merchants, saving trips into town to purchase items unavailable in the immediate neighborhood. The types of artisans working in Salisbury supports this theory, as well. Craftsmen in a number of basic trades such as blacksmiths, saddlers, tanners, tailors, and shoemakers lived in Salisbury between 1753 and 1770. However, a higher concentration of artisans producing consumer-oriented goods owned land or lived in Salisbury than anywhere else in the county. For instance, all the non-Moravian potters (Johannes Adams, Henry Beroth, and Michael Morr) resided within the town limits, as did both silversmiths (German Baxter and David Woodson), and the tinsmith (James

⁶¹Thorp, "Doing Business".

Townsley).⁶² Andreas Betz, the ex-Moravian gunsmith moved to Salisbury near his father-in-law, George Bruner, when he left Bethabara.⁶³ Two-thirds of the hatters in the county (James Bowers, Robert Johnston, Casper Kinder, and William Williams) lived in Salisbury, as well.⁶⁴ Salisbury became the central location for trade even for artisans who did not live in town: clothier William Watt traveled in from the Trading settlement to do business with Elizabeth Steele, as did blacksmith Tobias Ferror.⁶⁵

In the beginning the artisan's job was to supply the backcountry with the objects inhabitants needed more than wanted and which were more easily and economically produced locally rather than obtained from outside the region. What artisans could not produce, entrepreneurs attempted to procure from the coast. The Moravians were not the only backcountry residents to trade wagonloads of skins and other goods in Charles Town. In 1755 Gov. Arthur Dobbs wrote to

⁶²Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 6:145,146; 6:147,148; 6:542,543; 7:458; 9:265; Bethabara Diary Sept. 20, 1775, MA-SP.

⁶³Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 6:450.

⁶⁴Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 2:236,237; 5:257,258; 7:312; 2:396,397.

⁶⁵Invoice from William Watt to the estate of Elizabeth Steele, 19 June 1792. John Steele Papers, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; invoice from Tobias Ferror to the estate of Elizabeth Steele, 26 June 1790, John Steele Papers.

the Board of Trade that settlers on his lands "have gone into indigo with success, which they sell at Charles Town, having a waggon road to it, alto' 200 miles distant... and from the many merchants there, they afford them English goods cheaper..."⁶⁶ Two developments the following year show that trade with Charles Town was on the rise. In March, 1756, the Governor ordered that "a Good and Proper Road laid out from Salisbury to Charles Town by the way of Cold Water..."⁶⁷ and later that year two Charleston merchants, William Glen and Charles Stevenson, moved to Salisbury to set up a satellite of their Charleston store.⁶⁸ Glen and Stevenson were not the only merchants in town. Hugh Montgomery, a merchant from Philadelphia, moved to Salisbury with his wife in 1756, John Mitchell arrived in 1760, and William McConnell came in 1762.⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, with deerskins the most frequently traded product, two German tanners, John Lewis Beard and Conrad Michael, set up shops in town as well.⁷⁰

As the backcountry retail trade prospered, so did the artisans of the county. Retailers throughout the

⁶⁶CR, V, 355.

⁶⁷Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts II:146.

⁶⁸Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 3:395-396.

⁶⁹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 166-168.

⁷⁰Rowan Wills C:129; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 3:522-525.

backcountry provided the link by which local products moved out of the county and imported goods moved in.⁷¹ Local merchants collected the backcountry products for which there was a market in Charles Town, Cross Creek, or Pine Tree; arranged the transportation; and exchanged the local products for imported and manufactured goods which could not be produced in the backcountry. The ability to trade with other markets was extremely important to artisans, especially those who depended on outside markets for their materials. The only new trades to come to Rowan County between 1753 and 1756 were, like the earliest artisans in the county, those who could make their products from readily available resources: a clothier, a cooper, and a potter. In 1756 and 1757, the two years after trade with Charles Town commenced, a hatter, two joiners, a spinster, and a gunsmith arrived in Rowan County. The need to transport objects between burgeoning backcountry markets also attracted three wheelwrights and a wagonmaker to the area.

Artisans depended on the Charles Town trade to obtain tools, imported fabrics, and other objects which were extremely labor-intensive to produce as well as some more mundane items such as food or "all the Iron & Steel" that Henry Wensel "bought from Charles Town."⁷² Account books

⁷¹Thorp, "Doing Business".

⁷²Robert Hogg Account Books, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Rowan Wills, N.C. Archives C.R.085.801.27.

from three backcountry stores provide some insight into the items artisans purchased. At least two, and possibly four Rowan County artisans conducted business with Robert Hogg, a partner in the Charles Town firm of Hogg and Clayton, who ran satellite stores in Cross Creek and Wilmington. Robert Johnston and William Williams, both hatters; William King, a tailor, and John Dobbins, a blacksmith, all had accounts with the Wilmington and Cross Creek stores between 1767 and 1771.⁷³ The Hogg account books only list a few tools purchased by the artisans. Robert Johnston bought nails, files, penknives, and "scizzors"; and William King purchased a plane iron and a draw knife. Not surprisingly, textiles and clothing accessories comprised the largest category of objects acquired by artisans from the Hogg store. King and Johnston obtained callamanco, osnabrug, checks, plains, shalloon, "sup^r fine cloth", cotton Holland, linen, and "persian callico" in varying quantities, as well as worsted hose, "hattts", garters, handkerchiefs, shoes, ribbons, and mitts. As artisans in the clothing trades, King and Johnston probably did not use all these materials but rather acted as middle-men and resold a fair amount to their customers.⁷⁴

⁷³Robert Hogg Account Book for Wilmington and Cross Creek Store, vol. 2, Individuals Accounts. The Robert Johnston and William Williams listed in the store accounts may not be the same individuals who worked in Rowan County.

⁷⁴Robert Hogg Day Book, vol. 3.

Hogg procured his merchandise through the main store and he could make special orders to English suppliers via Charles Town when necessary. Prior to 1770 the store sold mainly provisions; everyday items such as spices, clothing and household accessories, paper and ink made up the majority of Hogg's business. Special orders were filled occasionally. In June 1764 six "fine fowling pieces" all with different prices were sent to Robert Hogg from England on the schooner Mary Ann Betty for the Wilmington and Cross Creek stores.⁷⁵ At 18d, the lowest price model was a functional, steel mounted, flint lock smoothbore, all that was necessary for life in the backcountry. The top of the line fowler, at £2:10 probably featured a higher quality barrel, bridled frizzen and tumbler on the lock (for smoother operation and longevity), brass or silver mountings, and brass bands adorning the breech area of the barrel.⁷⁶ Style and luxury could be brought to the backcountry for those who could afford it.

Closer to home, the ledger of a general merchandise store in the section of Rowan County which became Iredell County in 1770 reveals exactly how dependent some artisans were on outside suppliers to be able to practice their craft. The store sold carpenters James Davis and George Marshall chisels, whipsaw files, hinges, augers, files, and

⁷⁵Robert Hogg Account Book, Invoices.

⁷⁶Robert Hogg Account Books, vol. 1.

steel handsaws. Blacksmith John Dobbins, who also did business with Robert Hogg, procured his supply of Iron and steel from the store. Shoemaker Archibald Wasson purchased twelve awls and tacks for making shoes. Tailors, clothiers, and weavers obtained textiles, notions, and clothing accessories; cards for processing wool; and plant materials to dye woven fabric.⁷⁷ A little more than a decade later, a third store and tavern in Rowan County run by John Dickey sold James Graham, a blacksmith, four gunlocks (the most labor intensive part of the gun to produce) at 8 pence 6 shillings which he probably used to assemble longarms for his customers.⁷⁸

In addition to demonstrating the artisans' need for ties to the trans-Atlantic economy, the backcountry general store account book refutes historian Carl Bridenbaugh's theory that the geography of the backcountry made it impossible to import objects into the region which forced inhabitants to live on a subsistence level. Most purchases from the store reflect the needs of everyday life: fabric, thread, thimbles, needles, and pins for sewing; ovens, frying pans, sifters, funnels, knives, forks, and spoons for cooking and eating; nails, saws, and hammers for building;

⁷⁷General Merchandise Store Ledger, Nisbet Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁷⁸Account Book, 1784-1796, Rowan County, John Dickey Papers, Manuscript Collection, Perkins Library, Duke University.

brushes, sheers, and combs for grooming animals; and flints, powder, and shot for hunting. Other entries in the account book show that the nicer things in life were available in the backcountry: books (hymn books, bibles), tea ware, pewter porringers, silks, and wine glasses.⁷⁹ More specifically, a 1760 invoice from merchant William Glen___ to William Steele lists (among other items) a tea kettle for £6:10; a punch ladle 7/6; looking glass 45/; 6 wine glasses [plain] 15/; 6 flow[er]d Wine Glasses 22/; 2 soup spoons 20/; and pewter bowls, sugar dishes, mugs, and plates.⁸⁰

The ability to trade with local markets was also important to Rowan County artisans. Retailers often obtained objects from artisans and made those items available to a larger market. Merchants and tavernkeepers also granted credit to artisans, to help them obtain supplies when their income decreased.⁸¹ Blacksmith John Dobbins bought thirteen yards of osnabrug fabric from Robert Hogg in April 1768 and took eleven months to pay for the cloth.⁸²

⁷⁹General Merchandise Store Ledger, Nisbet Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁸⁰Invoice of Items purchased from Wm Glen[ripped] by Wm Steel, dated 1760. John Steele Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁸¹Thorp, "Doing Business".

⁸²Robert Hogg Day Book, vol. 3, pp. 38, 109.

Account books from backcountry stores document that artisans frequently exchanged or sold their excess wares to local merchants to fulfill their needs. The Lowrance account book reveals that in 1756 John Dobbins paid for his liquor purchases by forging the owner a mattock, an axe, and a grubbing hoe. A decade later Samuel Carson made three pair of shoes and half soled an old pair one year and five pair of shoes the next to pay his bar tab.⁸³ In 1771 clothier William Watt paid for his household and business supplies at the backcountry general store "by 2 gowns making @ 3/6" as well as butter, tallow, and cash. James McCullough utilized his bricklaying skills and built a chimney (£3:5:0) and underpinned the store owner's house (5d) to obtain some fabric and notions.⁸⁴

Not all transactions involving artisans were carried out as exchanges. Invoices and receipts from the Steele family prove they paid their bills in cash. Absolam Taylor finally received £5:6:0 from William Steele's estate to compensate him for years of blacksmithing two years after he completed the last job.⁸⁵ Carpenter Joseph Atkins only had

⁸³Account Book, Alexander and John Lowrance Papers 1749-1796, Manuscripts Collection, Perkins Library, Duke University.

⁸⁴General Merchandise Store Ledger, Nisbet Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

⁸⁵Account of the Estate of William Steele with Absolam Taylor, February 1770 - September 21, 1886; John Steele Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

to wait a few months before Elizabeth Steele paid him £5:18:3 for building her a walnut table, constructing a porch on her house, and doing various repairs on the house and the back shed.⁸⁶ However, ledgers from the Lowrances' store and tavern, Robert Hogg's store, and the general store in Iredell county show that artisans usually paid their debts with food (butter, oats, rice, wheat), cash, skins, leather, beeswax, tallow, and occasionally livestock.

With new artisans continually appearing in the county the number of trades available in the county blossomed. In the same way luxury goods such as tea sets and wine glasses became more popular at the backcountry stores, non-essential trades grew in importance to the backcountry economy. Although by 1770 the number of artisans in Rowan County had more than doubled since 1759, the most significant change in the artisan profile is the increase in the number of trades represented, particularly in the consumer items category. In 1759 124 artisans represented 21 trades in Rowan County; in 1770 303 artisans represented 32 trades. However, even with the addition of 11 trades, the artisan profile did not change substantially. Clothing trades (weavers, tailors, spinsters, hatters, seamstresses, and clothiers) still

⁸⁶Invoice and receipt from Joseph Atkins to Elizabeth Steele, May 20, 1775, John Steele Papers, The Southern Historical Collection.

accounted for a third of the artisans. The leather trades (shoemakers/cordwainers, tanners, and saddlers) dropped to 17%, while the building trades (carpenters, millwrights, joiners, bricklayers, brickmakers, and masons) rose to 17 1/2%. Metal trades (blacksmiths, tinsmiths), allied wood trades (coopers and turners), and transportation trades (wheelwrights and wagonmakers) all remained basically unchanged. The largest area of growth, both in the number of trades represented and the percentage of total artisans came in consumer item trades. [See Table 3]

The number of people practicing consumer item trades increased from 4 (3.22%) in 1759, when the only trades were pottery and gunsmithing, to 23 individuals (7 1/2%) practicing 11 trades in 1770. New trades included cabinetmakers, silversmiths, gunstocker, clock/watchmaker, gravestone cutter, and a saddletree maker. Moravians were the sole practitioners of five of the new consumer trades (cabinetmaker, gunstocker, clock/watchmaker, glovemaking, and gravestone cutter), monopolies probably attributable to the growth and expansion of Salem. However, four consumer item trades (silversmiths, chairmaker, saddletree maker, and wicar) and at least six of the more common trades (hatter, seamstress, clothier, tinsmith, wheelwright, wagonmaker) still could not be found as primary trades in Wachovia. Salisbury still reigned supreme as the consumer center of Rowan County.

A lack of primary documentation makes it impossible to tell whether the Rowan County artisans consciously fought the Moravians for a share of the backcountry market. However, the replication of trades on and off the Wachovia Tract and Thorp's research showing that people tended to patronize local businesses suggests otherwise. The only Rowan County settlement which appears to have done business with the Moravians on a regular basis, was the Bryan settlement, located on the west boundary of the Wachovia Tract and east of the Yadkin. Very few transactions took place between the Moravians and Rowan County residents west of the Yadkin River.⁸⁷ In the few documented exchanges between Moravians and Salisbury residents, for instance, the latter all tended to be ex-Moravians such as Andreas Betz.⁸⁸

As individuals, Rowan artisans probably did compete with the Moravians in terms of quality and workmanship, otherwise they would lose their business to the artisans in Salem. In contrast, the Moravian records indicate that the Church kept abreast of the products and prices offered by other artisans in the county in order to remain competitive. If the Church leaders discovered their artisans were not producing competitive goods they remedied the situation as soon as possible. For instance, even though Andreas Betz

⁸⁷Thorp, Moravian Community, pp. 116, 127, 140.

⁸⁸Bethabara Diary, Oct. 17, 1768, Moravian Archives-Southern Province on loan to Old Salem, Inc.

Table 3

ROWAN COUNTY ARTISANS IN 1770

Total number of artisans:	303*
Total number of trades represented:	32
Number of Moravians:	58

	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>
<u>Clothing Trades</u>	96		31.68
Weavers	46	(7)	15.18
Tailors	20	(3)	6.60
Spinsters	20	(0)	6.60
Hatters	7	(0)	2.31
Seamstresses	2	(0)	.66
Clothiers	1	(0)	.33
<u>Leather Trades</u>	52		17.16
Shoemakers/Cordwainers	23	(2)	7.59
Tanners	19	(4)	6.27
Saddlers	10	(3)	3.30
<u>Building Trades</u>	53		17.49
Carpenters	27	(7)	8.91
Millwrights	10	(2)	3.30
Joiners	9	(2)	2.97
Bricklayers	3	(3)	.99
Brickmakers	2	(2)	.66
Masons	2	(1)	.66
<u>Metal Trades</u>	43		14.19
Blacksmiths	42	(7)	13.86
Tinsmiths	1	(0)	.33
<u>Allied Wood Trades</u>	22		7.26
Coopers	20	(3)	6.60
Turners	2	(1)	.66
<u>Transportation Trades</u>	13		4.29
Wheelwrights	11	(0)	3.63
Wagonmakers	2	(0)	.66

<u>Luxury Item Trades</u>	23		7.59
Potters	8	(4)	2.64
Gunsmiths	5	(1)	1.65
Cabinetmakers	2	(2)	.66
Silversmiths	2	(0)	.66
Gunstockers	1	(1)	.33
Chairmakers	1	(0)	.33
Clock/Watchmakers	1	(1)	.33
Glovmakers	1	(1)	.33
Gravestone Cutters	1	(1)	.33
Saddletree Makers	1	(0)	.33
Wicars	1	(0)	.33

*This includes 118 artisans (39%) who have dates which end prior to 1770.

Secondary trades not mentioned as primary trades include: Pewterer, Jeweler, Butcher, and Dyer.

had worked as a gunsmith since 1758, gunstocker John Valentine Beck's arrival six years later signals that the Moravians required a more specialized artisan to help create a higher quality product to compete with the firearms being produced by the Bruner family and others in Salisbury.⁸⁹

Between the years 1753 and 1770 approximately 303 artisans practicing at least 33 different occupations came to live in Rowan County, North Carolina. The 246 non-Moravian artisans in Rowan County during these years practiced a variety of crafts which served along with imported and manufactured objects available in local stores to enhance the quality of life on the southern frontier. Artisans also played an integral role in the care and education of future artisans through the apprenticeship system which bound out children bereft of funds to masters who would train them in their trade.

Land grants and deeds show that artisans in eight necessary trades were among the backcountry's first residents. A little more than a decade after the first settlers arrived the artisan population of Rowan County had increased almost seven-fold and the trades they represented almost tripled in number to include hatters, spinsters, coopers, potters, and gunsmiths. Salisbury, the county seat also served as the center of commerce, with a thriving import/export trade and a contingent of artisans offering

⁸⁹RM I, 344, 489.

even more skills than the Moravians. Business was so good in the backcountry that the artisans continued to come to the county as other residents fled because of the Indian war. By 1770 the number of artisans in the county had more than doubled again to 303 and the continued expansion of trades to 32 reflected the specialization of labor and a growing consumer demand for luxury items such as silver, furniture, and even clocks. As the next chapter will show, artisans were not only vital to the economic well-being of the county, many of them played important political roles there.

CHAPTER V

ARTISANS AND POLITICS IN ROWAN COUNTY

Rowan County artisans participated in politics on an individual basis. Artisans who were prominent in county affairs often filled political offices, such as sheriff or justice of the peace, and many others took lesser roles such as jury duty. The majority of artisan studies have focused on the effect of local and national politics and economics on artisans and their subsequent activism as a group to influence those matters. Rowan County did not have a mechanic population which held a common conscience; artisans in the county were conscious of themselves as artisans but never considered themselves as a group of artisans. Even though Rowan County had merchants and artisans who operated within the bounds of a market economy which had ties to large urban areas and the trans-Atlantic community their participation was not so great, nor their community so large, as to be unduly affected by the same forces which threatened those professions in larger colonial urban areas. An absence of political activism on the part of artisans does not mean political activism was completely absent from the county, however. When a group of disgruntled backcountry residents challenged rampant corruption in local government, the War of the Regulation briefly brought the

backcountry to its knees. Although some Rowan County residents were Regulators and others were corrupt government officials, the county's geographic location west of the Yadkin River considerably lessened the effects of the Regulator crisis on its population. The Rowan County artisans who did participate in politics, such as Andrew Allison and Edward Hughes, did so as individuals and not as representatives of the region's artisans.

Artisans had been an integral factor in backcountry society since its inception. These men primarily considered, and identified, themselves as craftsmen.¹ Yet, they decided to supplement their work as artisans with farming when they helped settle Rowan County in the 1740s. These artisan-farmers lived in a geographically isolated, rural area with an economy clearly based in agriculture. As previous chapters have shown, a market economy operated in Rowan County (as opposed to a subsistence economy) in which artisans and merchants provided goods and services to the local populace. In addition, the merchants also possessed crucial ties to larger economic markets in Charles Town, S.C., Pennsylvania, and even England. The existence of artisans practicing a wide variety of trades and merchants able to order goods from England reveals that Rowan County

¹Artisans regularly used their professions to identify themselves in legal papers as discussed in the previous chapter.

residents had a substantially higher standard of living available to them than previously thought.

A lot of the economic activity in Rowan County occurred in Salisbury, the county seat, which expanded rapidly and became the center of commerce when merchants and artisans moved there to profit from the potential customers the courts and legal system brought to the town. Bethabara and Salem, the towns the Moravians settled on the Wachovia Tract, also served as commercial enclaves for the county although their control by the Church in Pennsylvania retarded their economic development.

Many characteristics of the active artisan classes found in New York, Philadelphia, Newark, and Baltimore in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also were present in Rowan County between 1753 and 1770: the involvement of artisans in the area since settlement, their participation in a local and regional market economy, and the existence of an urban area (by southern backcountry standards). However, Rowan County lacked the elements of conflict which led the artisans in those areas to mobilize and act as a class. First, artisans made up a much smaller percentage of the Rowan County population than did the artisans in large urban areas. Second, as inhabitants of the south, a region noted for its plantation economy and general dependence on agriculture, backcountry artisans were not considered a threat to the English mercantile system as

were the artisans in the large port cities. As artisan-farmers, Rowan County craftsmen were not completely dependent upon their craft for survival as were their urban counterparts. Consequently, the changes in English policy during the 1760s which jeopardized the livelihoods of urban mechanics and mobilized them to challenge the Crown, did not have the same impact on Rowan County artisans. And finally, by virtue of the late settlement of the backcountry and its remote location in northwestern Carolina, Rowan County was not teeming with hordes of people looking for work, and thus experienced none of the labor problems which were so prevalent in urban areas.²

²For more information on the challenges artisans in urban areas faced see: Howard B. Rock, Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Gary B. Nash, Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Charles S. Olton, Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1975); Sharon V. Salinger, "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 40 (Jan. 1983): 62-84; Charles G. Steffen, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790-1820," in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, 36 (Jan. 1979): 101-117; -----, The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763-1812 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Susan E. Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); and Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

The lack of an active artisan population did not preclude the occurrence of group action in Rowan County, however. In 1766 backcountry residents of Orange, Rowan, and Anson counties realized they had lost control of their local government to courthouse rings which ignored, if not participated in, setting abnormally high tax rates, embezzling, and charging illegally high rates for government services.

Between 1754 and 1768 county officials in Orange, Rowan, and Anson counties embezzled public taxes while county registers and clerks extorted unfair fees from the population they represented. Sheriffs frequently seized the property of individuals who could not pay their taxes, and later sold it for less than its actual value to their cronies.

Backcountry residents began to "regulate" their local government beginning with the formation of the Sandy Creek Association in 1766. Their goals to make government officials comply strictly and continuously with the public will on the local and colonial level failed because of the far-reaching political ties of the courthouse rings. Finally, frustration gave into anger and the self-styled Regulators began to challenge the government to comply with their demands by not paying their taxes and sporadic outbursts of violence. Regulator Committees in Rowan, Anson, and Orange counties continued their attempt to bring

county government under freeholder control. In 1768 citizens of Rowan and Orange counties petitioned the House of Representatives for help³ and as late as March 1771 Rowan County officials met with local Regulators "to Settle and pay unto any and Every Person within the County Any and all such Sums or claims of Money as we or our Deputies have taking through Inadvertancy or otherwise over and Above what we Severally ought to have taken for fees."⁴

Unfortunately, a serious spree of violence on the part of the Regulators at Hillsborough Superior Court in the fall of 1770 and the anxious pleas of anti-Regulators persuaded Gov. William Tryon to lead military forces into the backcountry and destroy the Regulators. Lacking the military discipline and training of the royal troops, the Regulators succumbed at the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771 ending the movement.⁵

³"Petition of Citizens of Rowan and Orange Counties, October 4, 1768" in William S. Powell, James K Huhta, and Thomas J. Farnham, eds. The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759-1776 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1971), pp. 186-7.

⁴Minutes from a Regulator Meeting in Rowan County, March 7, 1771 in the William L. Saunders Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁵Explanation and chronology of the Regulator Crisis from James Penn Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers" in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, (1977), 215-216; -----, "Backwoods Revolutionaries: Social Context and Constitutional Theories of the North Carolina Regulators, 1765-1771" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Georgia, 1974), pp. v-viii; and A. Roger Ekirch, "Poor Carolina": Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina,

The conditions which caused the conflict and motivated the Regulators have long been a subject of historical debate. Most historians analyzing the Regulation have interpreted it either as a sectional conflict or a class conflict. Seizing upon the geographic and economic differences between the eastern tidewater plantation-based economy and the western piedmont agrarian economy, historians endorsing the sectional approach portrayed the backcountry as a remote, isolated region governed by corrupt officials and ignored and underrepresented in the eastern-dominated provincial government. Beset by economic problems, over-taxation, and corrupt officials with no relief in sight westerners revolted. Using quantitative analysis of tax assessments to highlight substantial differences in the economic situations of the opposing factions, proponents of the class conflict theory have depicted the anti-Regulators as members of the wealthy, governing class and the Regulators as an oppressed, lower class.⁶

More recently, two historians have attributed the Regulator movement to the general chaos caused by the great

~~1729-1776~~ (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 164-182.

⁶For a more thorough analysis and critique of the historiography of the Regulation see Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers," 216-221.

migration of settlers into the backcountry during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In "Poor Carolina" A. Roger Ekirch attributes to the massive influx of people into the backcountry a fluid society devoid of a traditional political power structure. Instead, the men leading the backcountry counties were recent arrivals without ties to the area who had an opportunistic view of the region and went into politics not out of a sense of responsibility but to make money. Ekirch argues that this corruption was the fundamental cause of the Regulator disturbances. It undermined the legitimacy of a group of officials with an already tenuous claim to authority and it made new backcountry residents who were unfamiliar with their leaders instantly suspicious of them when reports of malfeasance arose.⁷

James P. Whittenburg maintains in "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation" that almost all of the first emigrants to the backcountry were farmers, and until the late 1750s they lived in an overwhelmingly agricultural society. Later arrivals to the backcountry in the 1760s included a professional class of lawyers and merchants (with ties to the provincial government) which took over the political and social leadership roles previously held by planters. Angry

⁷Ekirch, p. 172-175.

at their displacement by corrupt outsiders, the planters rebelled.⁸

Although one contemporary observed that "the merchant, the lawyer, the tavernkeeper, the artisan, and court officials, adventurers in the perenial pursuit of gain" were among the recent arrivals to the backcountry, this characterization does not hold true for Rowan County.⁹ By virtue of its location mainly west of the Yadkin River on the frontier, Rowan County was much more susceptible to the problems caused by the French and Indian War which actually decreased emigration to the region in the late 1750s and early 1760s. While a disproportionately large number of artisans appeared in Rowan County in 1759, and the average rate of annual artisan emigration increased by approximately one-third between the 1750s and 1760s, the vast majority of these later artisans did not practice trades which promised a "perenial pursuit of gain". In fact, most of the artisans in the county continued to combine their work in the necessary trades with farming.

In a later study of settlement patterns in the North Carolina backcountry, Whittenburg used quantitative analysis of land granted between 1725 and 1763 to identify a "burnt-over district" in the center of the backcountry where a

⁸Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers", 222.

⁹Quote from Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, Colonial North Carolina: A History (New York: Scribner's, 1973), p. 220.

diverse mixture of ethnic and religious inhabitants added to, if not created, the chaos and turmoil (including the Regulator Movement) which occurred in western North Carolina.¹⁰

Streams of immigration, not geographical features or lines between political units divided the backcountry from the eastern portion of the colony. The first settlement occurred in the northeast backcountry around the Dan and Roanoke rivers, together with the Tar and the Neuse rivers, and their tributaries. Additional settlement along the northwest Cape Fear river completed the eastern region of the backcountry. The next section of backcountry settlement took place along the western edge of the frontier--from the west banks of the Yadkin and Pee Dee rivers southwesterly past the Catawba River and onto the Broad river. As discussed earlier, the settlers who lived between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, north of the Granville line, formed the majority of the Rowan county population.

The third, and last section of the backcountry to be settled ran east from the Yadkin-Pee Dee River complex to the two chief tributaries of the Cape Fear: the Haw River and the Deep River. This is Whittenburg's "burnt-over district". In 1760 this area included the south-central and

¹⁰James P. Whittenburg, "Colonial North Carolina's 'Burnt-over District': The Pattern of Backcountry Settlement, 1740-1770," Paper presented at the Southern Historical Association Conference, 1986.

western portions of Orange County, that portion of Rowan which fell east of the Yadkin River, and northeastern Anson County. Three-quarters of the land grants made to known Regulators fell into this section, almost half of them along the Haw or the Deep rivers with another concentration in the Sugar Creek area of the Catawba system--neither of which falls into Rowan County.

Not all backcountry settlers joined, or even sympathized with, the Regulators. The strongest areas of anti-Regulator sentiment Whittenburg identified were in the section along the Dan, Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers and the region west of the Yadkin river. In fact, Governor Tryon considered Rowan county a bastion of support for his campaign against the Regulators. He personally went to Salisbury in 1768 to gather the county militia for help in quieting Regulator resistance, and during the Alamance campaign in 1771 Tryon sent General Hugh Waddell to Rowan to recruit a second army to invade the Regulator area from the west.¹¹

Rowan County, especially that portion of it which lay west of the Yadkin river suffered few of the inherent problems which plagued the "burnt-over district", and may have added to the rise of the Regulator crisis. Settlers had already patented the majority of land which lay between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers by the time of Lord

¹¹Whittenburg, "Colonial North Carolina's", pp. 5-6.

Granville's death in 1763 making it available to family members or new arrivals by deed of gift or sale. Thus, the subsequent closing of the land office for the Granville district did not have the same disastrous effects for Rowan county residents as it did for recent arrivals to western Orange County.¹²

By virtue of its location at the terminus of the Great Wagon Road, Rowan county received most of its Scotch-Irish and German inhabitants from southeastern Pennsylvania, sometimes via Delaware, Maryland, or the Shenandoah Valley. The ethnic make-up of the population resulted in a peaceful transformation of the Pennsylvania "hearth culture" of yeoman farmers, religious diversity, and spirited political participation to this section of the backcountry.¹³ Having been settled from the east and the west, the "burnt-over district" suffered from a cultural clash between the "hearth culture" of Pennsylvania (to the west) and the plantation culture of tobacco and slavery of Virginia (to the east).¹⁴ The agricultural nature of both these culture further

¹²Whittenburg, "Colonial North Carolina's", pp. 7-8.

¹³Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, 119-196. For a thorough treatment of that Pennsylvania culture see James Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

¹⁴Whittenburg, "Colonial North Carolina's", p. 10.

complicated matters in the middle region, which did not have the rich, fertile land found to the west of the east.¹⁵

And finally, the Scotch-Irish and German inhabitants of Rowan county brought their religion with them to the backcountry, just as they brought their culture. Not surprisingly, Presbyterians with strong ties to traditional middle colony synods dominated through their ministry to the Scotch-Irish, while the Lutherans, Reformed, and Moravians tended the flock of Germans. These religions were not evangelical in this part of the backcountry: settlers arrived in the region, organized congregations, and then sent to the middle colonies for educated ministers.¹⁶

Because St. Luke, Rowan county's Anglican parish, simply did not function, the Presbyterian and German Churches acted as stabilizing forces of considerable influence. Fully aware of this during the Regulator crisis, Governor Tryon rallied support for the cause of government from the Presbyterian and the Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian Churches. Although the Moravians took great care not to become publicly involved in the Regulator crisis, the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed formed a solidly pro-government block that helped maintain Rowan's pro-government stance.

¹⁵In fact, the land directly south of the Wachovia Tract in Orange, Rowan, and Anson counties was the poorest in the colony.

¹⁶See the references in chapter two about the Moravians lack of missionary activity.

The religions from the west--conservative Presbyterians and the German denominations--and the east--evangelical Presbyterians and Regular Baptists--also existed in the middle district along side two other very powerful religions--the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Separate (or "New Light") Baptists. Once again, the resulting ethnic and spiritual contest added to the chaos.¹⁷

All of these factors--the settlement of Rowan before 1763 and the ethnic and religious profile of its population--explain the limited involvement of Rowan county inhabitants, including artisans, in the Regulator crisis.

Only forty Rowan County artisans (out of 306) participated in the Regulator conflict, equally split between Regulators and anti-Regulators (Table 1). The two groups do not reflect any definite patterns with regard to trades, although the anti-Regulators practiced a few more consumer item trades than the Regulators. This may indicate that the anti-Regulator artisans frequently conducted business with those "merchants, lawyers, tavernkeepers, and court officials" in their own "perennial pursuit of gain". As for the Regulators, one of their leaders was Benjamin Merrill, a Rowan County blacksmith. Unfortunately, his leadership of the Regulator militia at the Battle of Alamance led to a trial for treason in which Merrill was

¹⁷Whittenburg, "Colonial North Carolina's", pp. 13-14.

found guilty and sentenced to die in a most gruesome manner.¹⁸

The relative lack of Rowan County artisans in the Regulator conflict does not mean that the county was spared the problems with corruption, embezzlement, over-taxation, and multiple office holders that other backcountry counties experienced. In fact, some of the major offenders were Rowan County artisans. Although he was dead long before 1771 and his motives may not have been the same as later corrupt officials in the county, millwright James Carter was probably the outstanding example of the avaricious office holders in Rowan County.

Born in Southampton township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, during the second decade of the eighteenth century, James Carter left his home before 1736 and relocated in the Appoquinimink Creek district on the border between Pennsylvania (now Delaware) and Maryland. Caught in a land and religious dispute with the authorities in Maryland, Carter found himself a prisoner in the Cecil County jail for debt in 1740. Later the same year William Rumsey, a prominent Marylander, intervened in Carter's case and obtained his release from jail. Rumsey became Carter's

¹⁸Merrill's sentence read "that you Benjamin Merrill, be carried to the place of Execution, where you are to be hanged by the Neck; that you be cut down while yet alive, that your Bowels be taken out and burned before your Face, that your Head be cut off, your Body divided into Four Quarters," Saunders, Colonial Records, Vol. 8, pp. 642-3.

Table 4

**ROWAN COUNTY ARTISANS
INVOLVED in the REGULATOR CRISIS**

Regulators

James Adams, weaver
 William Barton, cooper
 James Billingsley, carpenter
 Jonathan Boone, joiner
 John Bullin, cooper
 John Clark, wagonmaker
 John Cowan, gunsmith
 James Graham, Sr., blacksmith
 Thomas Hall, weaver
 Benjamin Merrill, blacksmith
 James Morrison, tailor
 James Ramsey, shoemaker
 Edward Ryan, weaver
 David Smith, blacksmith
 Thomas Smith, weaver
 James Stuart, weaver
 James Thompson, cooper
 Robert Walker, farmer
 Thomas White, tailor
 Robert Woods, carpnttr/weavr/coopr

Anti-Regulators

Moses Alexander, blacksmith
 Andrew Allison, tailor
 German Baxter, silversmith
 John Beck, cabinetmkr/gunsmith
 John Bradley, carpenter
 William Cook, Jr., tanner
 Johann Ernst, tanner
 Derby Henly, weaver
 Charles Holder, saddler/carptr
 George Holder, carpenter/srvyr
 Robert Johnson Jr., hatter
 Francis Lock, carpenter
 George Marshall, joiner
 John Mitchell, wheelwright
 William Moore, weaver
 James Patterson, blacksmith
 John Rodgers, saddler
 Samuel Smith, blacksmith
 Gilbert Strehorn, tailor
 William Wilson, carpenter

Names Appearing on Both Lists

James Barr, weaver
 William Brown, millwright
 James Davis, carpenter
 William Mebane, weaver
 John Smith, blacksmith
 John Thompson, cooper/shoemaker
 William Williams, hatter

Source: Data base of individuals involved in Regulator movement compiled by James P. Whittenburg.

patron and friend, lending him vast sums of money to build mills and teaching him the formal craft of surveying. In return, Carter witnessed Rumsey's will, which was probated in 1743.

Following Rumsey's death, Carter moved to Augusta County, Virginia, where he built a mill and lived for approximately three years before moving onto the Yadkin River in 1747.¹⁹ Carter owned in excess of 1,000 acres of land throughout Rowan County, but instead of going into land speculation or devoting himself full time to his trade he quickly became involved in local politics. Carter certainly had a base of support from which to build a career: Robert Ramsey calculates that Carter knew at least seven of the founding families of Rowan while still in Pennsylvania. He may well have become their voice in local government during the early years of settlement. In addition to witnessing innumerable land grants, in 1753 Carter became: a justice of the peace, a commissioner to supervise the building of the courthouse, a commissioner to purchase legal books for the court of pleas and quarters, a member of the surveying team responsible for running the dividing line between Rowan and Orange counties, and the Rowan County registrar of deeds. The Court also granted him a license to run a tavern.²⁰

¹⁹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 25-28.

²⁰Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts 1:72-74, 1:93-97; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts I:7, 9-11, 15.

More responsibility came to Carter the following year when, in his role as Granville's deputy-surveyor, he held the warrant for the 640-acre tract of land destined to become the county seat.²¹ On February 11, 1755, the town of Salisbury was formally created when William Churton and Richard Vigers, Granville's agents, granted "635 acres of land for a township" to James Carter and Hugh Forster, trustees.²²

As if Carter did not already have enough offices to fulfill, Governor Matthew Rowan appointed him to the Assembly by February 27, 1754 and (probably with the outbreak of Indian hostilities) had him commissioned a major in the colonial militia. In May when some Rowan County residents complained "that a party of Indians suspected to be Catawbor have Committed several gross abuses on the White People of Rowan and Anson Countys" Carter and his fellow J.P. and militia officer, Alexander Osborne, were requested to investigate the situation and report back to the Assembly.²³ Carter proposed, and received (with John Brandon), a sum of £500 be used "to purchase arms and ammunition for the defense of the frontier province".²⁴

²¹Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts 1:34.

²²Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 154-155; -----, "James Carter: Founder of Salisbury," The North Carolina Historical Review 39, 2 (1962), 132.

²³CR 5:175-6.

²⁴CR, 5:846, 1082-83.

Carter had come a long way from debtor's prison in Maryland to his exalted status in Rowan County. However, Carter's former incarceration may have made a lasting impact on him to never be without funds again; and the combination of offices he held made it too easy to get rich quick. By 1756 Carter knew he had overstepped legal boundaries and he deeded his home, his slaves, and all his belongings to his daughter and son-in-law, Mary and Jonathan Boone, and some land to his granddaughter, Abigail, so he would not lose them.²⁵

In the May 1757 session of the provincial Assembly, John Starkey, the public treasurer for the southern district, moved that Carter answer charges that he never purchased the arms and ammunition for which the Assembly allotted him £500 three years previously.²⁶ When Carter failed to answer the charges of the Assembly by the fall, the House followed through on the Council's recommendation and expelled him from his seat and stripped him of his commission in the militia.²⁷ Meanwhile, back in Rowan County, sheriff David Jones sold 350 acres of Carter's land on Crane Creek to pay a debt he owed Sabinah Rigby, William

²⁵Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 3:367,368; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, II:147.

²⁶CR 5:846.

²⁷CR 5:810, 982.

Rumsey's widow.²⁸ Carter's troubles still had not ended, however. In December 1758, the Assembly

Resolved, that James Carter a Surveyor in the Earl's Office, under the Pretence of receiving Entries and making Surveys, has at different times exacted and extorted considerable sums of Money from several Persons without returning the same into the Office; by which they have been prevented getting their Deeds.²⁹

This last episode with illegal activity forced Carter out of public life forever, although he continued to live quietly in Salisbury until his death in 1765.

The impressive extent of Carter's office holding notwithstanding, other county offices were abused more easily for profit. The most important officer in local government was the sheriff, whose duties mainly served the Court of Pleas and Quarters. Appointed by the governor, the sheriff had to be a freeholder residing in the county and backed by a bond for £1,000 (sterling) "that he should faithfully discharge the duties of that office and account for and pay all publick and private moneys by him received as sheriff." The sheriff spent the majority of his time in office fulfilling duties of law enforcement such as serving and executing all writs and processes (for which he received a commission), administrating the county jail, imprisoning criminals, inflicting corporal punishment, attending executions, viewing dead bodies (a duty later passed onto

²⁸Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 2:244-245.

²⁹CR 5:1092.

the newly-created office of coroner), holding elections for vestrymen and assemblymen, and calling up jurors. Beyond a doubt, the collection of public duties was the most important aspect of the sheriff's job as well as the one which tempted the most honest man. Furnished with a list of taxables in the county, the sheriff collected the public or provincial poll tax along with the county tax. The sheriff could continue in office indefinitely, as long as every two years he could provide certificates or receipts from the treasurer proving that he had collected and given in the public taxes.³⁰

Eight men served as Sheriff in Rowan County between 1753 and 1770, half of whom were artisans. David Jones, a weaver, was the first sheriff in the county and served for five years; Edward Hughes, a millwright, succeeded Jones in 1758; Francis Lock, a carpenter, filled the office for three years between 1764 and 1766; and Andrew Allison, a tailor, served the following year. In addition to the fact that all four men were artisans, all came from Pennsylvania and were among the earliest settlers in Rowan County. As artisans, these men received an education in reading, writing, and mathematics in addition to learning a craft during their apprenticeships so they would have the skills to operate their own shops one day. Such knowledge was in short supply

³⁰William Conrad Guess, "County Government in Colonial North Carolina," in James Sprunt Historical Publications 11, 29-31.

on the northwestern Carolina frontier during the eighteenth century and, in Rowan County at least, those individuals who possessed such skills soon became the rudiments of local government. The records of all four men reveal that sometimes maintaining accurate records on the revenues for the county treasurer was just as difficult as actually collecting the taxes. Here the similarity ends, however, and politics come into play.

David Jones probably came from Haverford township in Chester County, Pennsylvania, although he moved to Oley township in the same county in 1733. Six years later his name showed up on a petition in Prince Georges County, Maryland, asking Governor Samuel Ogle to divide the county in order to have a courthouse located closer to the settlement in which Jones lived. Evidently the petition was successful as subsequent references to Jones in Maryland are found in the Frederick County records. By 1754 Jones was living on a 220 acre tract in Rowan County adjoining Samuel Bryan, one of Morgan Bryan's sons.³¹

Jones apparently had been named Sheriff of Rowan County in 1753 based on his filing the provincial tax collection accounts in March 1754.³² In light of his re-appointment to the office the following year and the Moravians' complimentary observations of Jones, he was a conscientious,

³¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 33, 76, 81.

³²Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:39.

if not somewhat overworked, sheriff.³³ Kept extremely busy all over the county collecting taxes and supervising elections, Jones occasionally failed to fulfill all his duties: once he neglected to attend Orphans Court and another time he did not return a bail bond on time.³⁴

David Jones tenure as sheriff ended in 1757 because of his failure to file tax accounts. The Court of Pleas and Quarters began asking Jones to settle his tax accounts in the summer of 1756, and the requests continued into the fall.³⁵ Local officials did not perceive Jones' lack of record-keeping as a serious problem, however, as they recommended him for another term of sheriff and did not inquire about the tax accounts again. Apparently, when Jones never replied to their requests the Court turned the entire matter over to Attorney General Robert Jones, who filed in Salisbury Supreme Court

A suit against David Jones Sheriff of Rowan for £1355 8s 7d proclamation money due for ballance of Public Taxes from the said County for the Years 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756 and 1757 on which the said David Jones paid this Informant £150 proclamation money in part thereof and Judgment was rendered against him for the Ballance being £1205 8s 7d Proclamation Money unless the said David Jones should produce at last November Term Authenticated Settlement with the County Court of Rowan to Intitle himself to a Discount for Insolvents the

³³Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:58, 83, 116, 141, 169,; RM I, 158, 160, 167-169, 172, 179, 181, 426.

³⁴Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:112, 217.

³⁵Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:145,157.

said £150 this Informant hath paid to the said Treasurer.³⁶

What Jones did with the money, assuming that he even had it, remains a mystery. Not surprisingly, he kept a low profile in the county following his departure from office, but no records indicate he had large sums of money to spend.³⁷

Jones witnessed a few deeds and even served on jury duty, but he never paid the government the £1205.8.7 officials said he owed them.³⁸

Joneses' successor to the office of Sheriff, Edward Hughes did not fare much better in politics. Originally from Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, Hughes arrived in Rowan County (via two years in the Valley of Virginia) in 1748 and settled near his friends James Carter, Morgan Bryan, and Squire Boone in the Bryan Settlement. According to Robert Ramsey, Hughes very well may have been the first resident on the northwest Carolina frontier; he certainly owned one of the highest income-producing tracts of land in the entire backcountry. Situated on the east bank of the Yadkin, the Great Wagon Road ran right through his 314 acre estate making his Ferry and his Ordinary highly profitable enterprises.³⁹

³⁶CR 5:1083-1084.

³⁷The 1778 Rowan Tax List valued Jones at £2.18.10.

³⁸CR 9:575.

³⁹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 35, 112; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 6:382; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:15,51.

Like James Carter, Hughes quickly became involved in local affairs. He was named a Justice of the Peace at the county's formation and the 640-acre grant from Granville for the town of Salisbury was registered in Hughes' name as trustee for the county.⁴⁰ As a result of his location east of the Yadkin River, Hughes served as the Justice for the Wachovia Tract and he often accompanied Sheriff David Jones on his visits to the Moravians. Hughes had a mutually beneficial relationship with the Moravians on a personal and official level. At the start of the Seven Years War the Brethren warned Hughes of impending Indian attacks for which he was able to prepare. The cause of the alarm turned out to be just some hungry Cherokees from a fort near the Haw River whom he fed and sent to another fort.⁴¹ In return, Hughes accepted the Brethren's refusal to sign a petition pertaining to Military Affairs in the county and noted their offer to contribute money or provisions to the frontier defense.⁴² In the spring of 1759 Hughes notified the Brethren that his house was surrounded by Indians and he needed help. A group of Brethren responded by riding to Hughes' home, scaring off the Indians, and saving the family.⁴³

⁴⁰Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:7,9.

⁴¹RM I, 165.

⁴²RM I, 170.

⁴³RM I, 210.

Governor Arthur Dobbs named Hughes Sheriff of Rowan County in July, 1758. Six months into his term Attorney General Robert Jones summoned Hughes to the Supreme Court in Salisbury to execute an action of debt against him. Hughes (among others) had posted a security bond when the Assembly granted James Carter the money to purchase arms and ammunition for the frontier defense. After Carter embezzled the money the Attorney General tried to get the colony's money back but Carter and the other securities were insolvent, leaving only Edward Hughes. Fortunately for Hughes, no judgement could be served against him while he filled the office of Sheriff; unfortunately, his alignment with Carter probably cost him his job the next year.⁴⁴ When the Court held elections to recommend a sheriff for 1759 to the Governor, Hughes apparently won over John Brevard, who was also involved with Carter, and Benjamin Milner, who was not. The Court later reconsidered, scratched out the results of the first vote, and the Governor appointed Benjamin Milner high Sheriff for the following year.⁴⁵

Hughes remained active in county politics as a justice and a member of the committee appointed to help Benjamin Milner settle his tax accounts as sheriff.⁴⁶ After being called into Court and warned in 1760, Hughes presented his

⁴⁴CR 5:1082-1083.

⁴⁵Rowan Court 2:262; Rowan Deed 4:201-202.

⁴⁶Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:378.

complete tax accounts for the county in 1763.⁴⁷ Being thrown out of office and spurned by the leadership elite over the Carter affair, Hughes became irascible. Angry over the lack of support he received from the Moravians and his friends at the time he felt he needed it most, he became increasingly bitter toward them. He began by harassing guests at the Moravians' Tavern in Bethabara; as a justice Hughes would arrest people the Brethren thought were innocent, and defend the ones found guilty.⁴⁸ Then he began making slanderous statements about his former friends.⁴⁹

Hughes's campaign against the Moravians climaxed in March, 1771. First, he came to the Tavern with a group of men claiming to be Regulators and demanded to see Frederick Marshall, Jacob Bonn, and Traugott Bagge, the recognized leaders of the Brethren outside of Wachovia. After listening to Hughes's wild accusations the Brethren informed him that any questions concerning land would have to be answered by Granville's agents or Church officials in Pennsylvania (see Appendix B). When his threats as a Regulator did not frighten the Moravians, Hughes tried to drive away their business by posting notices along the banks of the Yadkin River that Indians were about to invade the

⁴⁷Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:293, 478.

⁴⁸RM I, 271, 287.

⁴⁹Anonymous Lawyers Account Book, Macay-McNeely Papers, Southern Historical Collection, UNC.

backcountry and attack Bethabara.⁵⁰ This episode marked one of Hughes's last appearances in the public records even though he lived into the nineteenth century.

Six years passed after Edward Hughes' term before another artisan served as sheriff of Rowan County. Francis Lock, a carpenter originally from Derry or Paxtang township in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who settled in Rowan County by 1752 and lived in the Irish Settlement, took office in 1764.⁵¹ Lock did not become involved in local politics as quickly as his predecessors, but he soon cultivated friendships with powerful men in the county soon by conducting land transactions with them, witnessing deeds, and sitting on petit juries. By 1759 Lock received a commission as an ensign in the Rowan County militia, and two years later he served on the grand jury.⁵²

Lock became sheriff of Rowan County just as the Regulator Crisis commenced and he must have sensed that there was trouble ahead. Instead of beginning his term by complaining about the insufficiency of the jail, as had previous sheriffs, he contracted with workmen "to repair & make the Goal Sufficent to retain prisoners therein".⁵³

⁵⁰RM I, 452-453.

⁵¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 119; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 1:103-108, 3:298-301.

⁵²Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 1:103-108, 3:401-404; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:144, 2:255, 2:348.

⁵³Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:538.

Lock's first two years as sheriff were relatively benign, he even settled his tax accounts for 1764 within a few months of the end of the term.⁵⁴ Because of the mounting Regulator problems in 1766 Lock did not file the settlement of his 1765 tax accounts until the spring of 1767.⁵⁵ In fact, his tax accounts for 1766 preoccupied Lock even before the year had ended, since more than a third of the taxables in the county refused to pay their taxes. Lock told the Court "that the 1833 persons mentioned in the above account were delinquents insolvents or insurgents Mob or such who generally refuse to pay their taxes and rescue on distress".⁵⁶ The year before there were only 292 delinquent taxables.

Lock had financial motivation to settle those tax accounts: the county would not pay him his commission until they received the tax money. Lock only earned a commission on the taxes he collected successfully. Needless to say, the Regulators seriously reduced the income Lock expected to make in his role as tax collector. Undaunted, he continued to try and collect the taxes even after he was out of office, but backcountry tensions were high in 1768 and Lock soon ran into problems. According to his sworn statement of October 14, eight days earlier Lock demanded that James

⁵⁴Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:617.

⁵⁵Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:695.

⁵⁶CR 8:156-157.

Dunlap pay his county taxes for 1764, 1765, and 1766. When Dunlap "obstantly Refused to pay the saime or any part thereof", Lock seized his horse, a sorrel gelding, for back payment. Dunlap gathered fifteen of his friends and they "unjustly unlawfully and violently Rescued" the gelding from Lock.⁵⁷

Three weeks later the situation had not improved, and Lock reported to the Court of Pleas and Quarters that he had "used particular Endavours to Collect the Said Tax" from the remaining delinquents, "but was Violently Opposed in the Execution of the Said Office particullary by those Who have Lately Styled themselves Regulators, by which Means he Declares he is rendered in cupable of Making a further Settlement."⁵⁸ Lock returned to Court in 1769 to repeat his description of the circumstances surrounding his non-collection of taxes.⁵⁹

Lock was not alone in his predicament. None of the sheriffs who served after him until the Battle of Alamance could collect all the county taxes either. The last artisan to serve as sheriff before 1770 was Andrew Allison, a tailor. Originally from Coletrain township in Lancaster County, Allison came to Rowan County in 1751 and helped form

⁵⁷CR 7:857.

⁵⁸Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:60.

⁵⁹Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:147.

the Fourth Creek Settlement.⁶⁰ Allison was no political novice. An early arrival to the backcountry and a settlement organizer, he commanded enough respect to be named one of the first justices of the peace for Rowan County. Appointed sheriff in 1768, Allison, a stable force in politics, had an even more difficult time collecting taxes than Lock: only 205 people paid their taxes, 87 fewer than had paid Lock. In a statement to the court Allison explained

Owing to a Refractory disposition of a Sett of People calling themselves Regulators Refusing to pay any Taxes or other Public money to a Sheriff or any other Officer whatsoever by which means many Well disposed People neglects to discharge their Public dues as the Burden must Consequently fall very heavy on the well meaning Few & desires to be Recommended to his Excellency the Governor Councill & Generall Assembly for Such Redress as they in their Wisdom Shall Seem Meet.⁶¹

The failure to collect taxes placed Allison and Lock (as well as other sheriffs Griffith Rutherford and William Temple Coles) in a precarious political situation, as well as financial one. As political appointees of the governor, they wanted to make sure their intention to collect taxes while sheriff was taken seriously. Above all, they did not want to appear to be Regulator sympathizers by never collecting the taxes due the county. To prove their attention to duty and their intent to collect back taxes, in

⁶⁰Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 52, 62; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:34.

⁶¹Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:217.

December 1771 Francis Lock, Andrew Allison, Griffith Rutherford, and William Temple Coles asked the Assembly for permission to collect the arrearages of taxes and file their settlements.⁶² The scheme worked for Lock, Allison, and Rutherford; two years later An Estimate of the Balances due from Several Sheriffs to the Public of North Carolina listed amounts owed by all four of the pre-Regulator sheriffs (including David Jones and Edward Hughes) and William Temple Coles.⁶³ Both Lock and Allison filed their final tax accounts as Sheriffs on November 7, 1772. Lock eventually collected from 2800 taxables, leaving 359 delinquents, and Allison ultimately solicited taxes from 4040 individuals, leaving 618 delinquents.⁶⁴

Andrew Allison had an even greater reason to dislike the Regulators than their refusal to pay taxes; they inadvertently destroyed the political career of his son, Adam. Governor Tryon appointed Adam to succeed his father as sheriff of Rowan County for 1769. The timing was ill-fated, however, and even though Adam showed "his readiness and earnest desire to accept the said office of sheriff for said County," he could not procure the securities required by law for the faithful execution of the office from his friends because "they doubted not either of his integrity or

⁶²CR 9:254; 23:857.

⁶³CR 9:575.

⁶⁴Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:389-390.

honesty but the confused state and present disturbances together with the scarcity of circulating money in this county."⁶⁵

Francis Lock and Andrew Allison continued to be active in Rowan County politics following their demanding tenure as sheriffs. Lock filled a series of lesser offices in the county such as road overseer, special commissioner to evaluate the quality of a recently constructed bridge, and county coroner before he found lasting fame as a Colonel in the North Carolina militia during the Revolution.⁶⁶

Although he kept a lower political profile, Andrew Allison returned to duty as a Justice of the Peace, an office he held until his death in 1780.⁶⁷

Unlike sheriffs, the governor appointed Justices of the Peace during good behavior, or for all practical purposes, for life; together the justices made up the Court of Pleas and Quarters which administered civil and criminal law in the county. For their knowledge of the law and power to enforce it, Justices found respect as dignified, honorable and important men in the county.⁶⁸ Fifty-three men served

⁶⁵CR 8:64.

⁶⁶Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:327, 329, 386. Col. Lock died in 1796 and his military service is noted on his grave marker at Thyatira Cemetery in Salisbury.

⁶⁷Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:355; Rowan Wills C:178.

⁶⁸Guess, p. 31.

as justices of the peace in Rowan County between 1753 and 1770, and six of them were known artisans. In addition to Andrew Allison, James Carter, and Edward Hughes, the justices included tanner George Henry Berger, carpenter John Ford, and blacksmith William Lynn.⁶⁹ All three of these men became justices quite a few years after Allison, Carter, and Hughes, and they represent how the leadership of the county changed to include a more accurate representation of the people who lived in Rowan.

William Lynn became a justice in 1761, approximately eight years after his arrival in Rowan County.⁷⁰ Evidence suggests that Lynn may have been from Talbot or Queen Anne's County, Maryland, and that he came to Rowan County via the Shenandoah Valley with his brothers John, James, and Andrew Lynn in the early 1750s.⁷¹ Since William Lynn does not appear in the land records until 1762, but he lists "goods and Chattels Lands and Tenaments" as security for James Stewart to show up in court in March 1754, one of his brothers probably gave him some land in 1753 when they registered their deeds.⁷² Lynn had no experience as a

⁶⁹Data base of Rowan County Office Holders compiled from Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters in dBase III+. Two other justices who may have been artisans were Squire Boone (weaver) and George Smith (blacksmith).

⁷⁰Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:17; 2:365.

⁷¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 60.

⁷²Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:32.

public official before he was sworn in a justice. In fact, his appearances before the court were limited to administering an estate and acting as guardian for an orphan, serving as a juror, and standing security for other people's debts.⁷³ The record of these debts, that of Michael Miller, a cooper, hints that Lynn and farmer David Dayes may have done business with Miller. Perhaps Lynn forged the bands which held together Miller's barrels used to store and transport Dayes' crop.⁷⁴

Unlike most of his predecessors, Lynn was not a politician. He did not own much land, or witness alot of other people's land transactions (as did other office holders) so his name rarely surfaces in the official records. The only other public office in which Lynn served was that of road commissioner in 1774.⁷⁵ When he died fifteen years later, Lynn called himself a yeoman, but left his blacksmithing tools to his son, Israel.⁷⁶

John Ford probably did not arrive in Rowan County until the early 1760s. His immediate acquaintance with such powerful backcountry residents as land speculator Henry McCulloh, Salisbury land trustees James Carter and Hugh

⁷³ Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:176, 288, 361.

⁷⁴ Rowan County Criminal Action Papers, DAH, C.R.085.326.1.

⁷⁵ Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 4:28.

⁷⁶ Rowan Wills C:12.

Forester, justice William Temple Coles, and Ford's neighbor John Frohock coupled with his swift rise through the political ranks suggests that Ford may have been one of the "adventurers in the perenial pursuit of gain" who relocated in the backcountry prior to the Regulator crisis.⁷⁷ Named an overseer of roads by the court in 1763 (the first year he appears in the records), less than two years later Gov. Tryon appointed him a justice of the peace.⁷⁸

Outside of his identification as a carpenter in a 1767 deed, Ford's trade never entered the public record. Like many other artisans, though, he was financially diversified: Ford also owned a tavern and a public mill.⁷⁹ Ford's political career in Rowan County slowed down considerably following the Battle of Alamance, and he disappears from Rowan County records altogether when his land was annexed to Surry County in 1773 which became part of Stokes County in 1789. He died in Stokes County in 1795.⁸⁰

George Henry Berger represents another facet of the Rowan County population which gradually entered the public arena. Berger's background and his activities in Rowan County are difficult to document because he was German. Not

⁷⁷Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 7:160,161; 5:331,332.

⁷⁸Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, II:487; 564.

⁷⁹Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 6:430-432; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:95; 4:21.

⁸⁰Stokes Wills I:67.

only did the non-Moravian German people live apart from the English people in Rowan County, the language barrier often kept German people out of the records or Anglicized their names beyond recognition. Robert Ramsey notes in Carolina Cradle that a few German people were among the earliest settlers in Rowan County (although the majority of them came after 1752), but their ignorance of the legal system and the English language discouraged them from obtaining deeds to their lands, registering their stock marks, or becoming active in county affairs.⁸¹ The German residents of Rowan County focused their attention on their family, their Church, and their ethnic community. However, like the Moravians, they selected a few bi-lingual individuals to act as their liasion with local government, and to help with legal and financial matters.

George Henry Berger was one of these individuals. He successfully assimilated into the Anglo society of Rowan County to represent his fellow countrymen. Berger probably came to Carolina as a young man from Germany via Pennsylvania in the 1750s, but he did not legally acquire a Rowan County land grant until 1761.⁸² Once he became a freeholder Berger fulfilled his civic obligations such as

⁸¹Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 57, 151. The exception to this situation was the Moravians, whose knowledge of the English language and legal process was an essential tool in keeping their community separate from the remainder of the county.

⁸²Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:512-514.

jury duty, and his knowledge of the legal system and the language made him an indispensable resource in the German community. In the 1760s Berger's name appears in the court records witnessing documents between German parties, providing security for the administrators of Germans' estates and German tavernkeepers, and even giving testimony in civil and criminal cases involving Germans.⁸³ Governor Tryon appointed Berger a justice of the peace in 1769, a move probably calculated to win political support for the Governor from the backcountry Germans. Located west of the Yadkin River on Dutch or Second Creek and the various branches of Crane Creek, the German community was staunchly anti-Regulator. Berger's appointment as justice provided the German settlers of Rowan County with an official voice in government in exchange for their support of the King.

Berger became more active in politics as time went on. In addition to his responsibilities as a justice, during the 1770s Berger became a road commissioner, a captain in the militia, a town commissioner, and a member of the Rowan Committee of Safety.⁸⁴ By the last quarter of the eighteenth-century Berger was a respected and influential leader throughout Rowan County, and his presence was

⁸³Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:925-927; 5:217-218; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:536, 704, 721.

⁸⁴Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 191; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:381; 4:10, 22.

necessary to insure the success of any public endeavour in the region.

Not all the Germans who became active in public life did so for their community. Johann Ludwig Barth arrived in Philadelphia from Rotterdam aboard the ship Patience in 1749. Six years later John Lewis Beard shows up in the Rowan County Deed Book witnessing the sale of a Salisbury town lot to Theodoras Feltmatt.⁸⁵ A butcher by trade, Beard established himself in business on four adjoining lots in Salisbury so his butchering would not interfere with the ordinary he ran in his dwelling house.⁸⁶ Beard intended to become an active and vital part of the backcountry community from the moment he arrived. Happy to help out his fellow countrymen when circumstances warranted, Beard had much larger career goals than just being a liason between the German and Anglo communities: he wanted to become an entrepreneur. To achieve his goal Beard knew he could not limit himself to the German community, he needed to take advantage of the economic opportunities available throughout the backcountry.

Beard was a natural born businessman. His business prospered and he purchased some land outside of town to expand his enterprises. He missed the action of Salisbury,

⁸⁵Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, p. 165; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 3:516-518.

⁸⁶Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 2:156-157; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:138, 217.

though, and obtained four more town lots there in 1761.⁸⁷ Beard's growing financial empire was not enough to achieve his goal, he needed to maintain a high profile in Rowan county's official circles as well. He frequently could be found at the courthouse serving on juries, taking part in cases as plaintiff and witness, witnessing legal documents for others, obtaining his tavern licenses, and finalizing his many land transactions.⁸⁸ Beard could count some of the most powerful people in Rowan county among his friends: clerks of court, justices of the peace, land agents, constables, and officers of the local militia.

Beard realized the advantages of having friends in powerful positions, but his aim was to consolidate his own economic power. Towards this end, Beard applied amazing foresight and vision. As a butcher in the German community (but who lived in Salisbury), not surprisingly Beard had business relationships with tanners Conrad Michael, George Henry Berger, and James Carson. Recognizing the economic advantages to processing a whole animal at one location over dividing up the butchering and tanning at different locations, records suggest that Beard may have gone into partnership with Conrad Michael, purchasing Michael's

⁸⁷Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:921-923 refers to this land but the actual deed has not survived; Rowan Deed 4:686.

⁸⁸Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:201, 214, 217, 294, 311, 325; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:323; 4:656-659; 4:686; 4:921-923.

tannery in 1762 and leaving Michael as the master tanner. Subsequent land purchases in the next two years indicate that the tannery probably expanded (possibly buying out Berger as well, who may have gone to work for Beard), and in 1764 it came solely under Beard as senior partner when Michael decided to return to Germany to visit relatives.⁸⁹

In addition to operating his butchery/tannery, Beard continued to run a tavern in Salisbury which, no doubt, was one of the main outlets for the products of his butcher shop. Beard realized that his success primarily depended on the economic well-being of the community; consequently, he patronized the local craftspeople with whom he was acquainted. Public records show that Beard knew hatters James Bowers, Casper Kinder, and William Williams, tailor Henry Zevily, millwright Henry Grubb, potter Michael Morr, spinster Isabella Moore, weaver Christopher Rendleman, saddler Hugh Forster, joiner James Kerr, wheelwright Michael Brown, and tin- and silversmith James Townsley.

As with any entrepreneur, economic expansion was continually on Beard's mind. Approximately ten years after his acquisition of the tannery, records indicate that Beard had begun a catering service, providing 32 pounds of beef and 30 dozen "bisquits" for William Steele's wake.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁹Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 5:208-210; 4:925-927; 5:359-360; 5:527-529; 6:170-172.

⁹⁰Invoice from Beard to Elizabeth Steele dated Nov. 3, 1773; receipt dated Feb. 24, 1774, John Steele Papers, SHC.

Steeles were customers of Beard's tannery, as well, purchasing hides and sole leather from him and having a calf skin specially tanned and curried there.⁹¹ The Steele family papers also reveal that once again Beard had enlarged his business at the tannery at this time to include a shoemaker, as well.⁹² Business at the tannery complex must have been stiff competition for the Moravians on the other side of the river, which is exactly what Beard wanted.

Ultimately, even though he did not dedicate his life to public service for the German community, John Lewis Beard made a larger impact on the backcountry. He served as a town commissioner, a trustee for the Salisbury Academy, and he even was a member of the Committee of Safety in 1775.⁹³ Beard conducted business with his fellow Germans, as well as other county residents like the Steeles, but he used his profits to help the German community: he gave the land in Salisbury for the German Reformed Church and supported other worthwhile causes.⁹⁴

A great number of artisans served the county in lesser roles than sheriffs or justices of the peace. Between 1753

⁹¹Beard's Account with Mrs. Steele, Nov. 16, 1773-Nov. 17, 1774, John Steele Papers, SHC.

⁹²Elizabeth Steele's account with Beard for 1773-1774, John Steele Papers, SHC.

⁹³Carl Hammer, Jr., Rhinelanders on the Yadkin, 2nd ed. (Salisbury: Rowan Printing Co., 1965), pp. 29, 31.

⁹⁴Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 7:13-14.

and 1770 Rowan County had 363 constables who attended to various law enforcement duties for the sheriff (helping to collect the tax, notifying individuals of jury duty, serving warrants) in districts throughout the county. They also assisted the court when it met. Forty-eight constables were artisans, and for the majority of them it was the highest political office they ever attained (see Table 2). Because most of a constable's duties occurred within his immediate community rather than the entire county, more Germans (including two Moravians) served as Constables than any other political office. At least one German artisan, Michael Brown, used the office of constable to help his fellow countrymen and to gain entry into the political ranks. For some other artisans the situation was the reverse: already-prominent James Carson may have become constable to give something back to the community.

Wheelwright Michael Brun was born in Ruschberg, Germany in 1732 and migrated to America with his parents six years later. After arriving in Philadelphia, the family probably spent the next twenty years in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where Brown and his older brother Jacob learned the trade of wheelwright and wagonmaker.⁹⁵ In April 1758 "Michael Brown" surfaced as a juror in the Rowan County

⁹⁵Fishers, Koller, and Anderson, Ancestors and Descendants of Abraham and Jacob Brown, pp. iii, xxxiv.

Table 5

**ROWAN COUNTY ARTISANS
who served as CONSTABLES, 1753-1770**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Craft</u>	<u>Year</u>
James Barr	Weaver	1757
James Billingsley	Carpenter	1769
Jacob Brown	Wheelwright	1766
Michael Brown	Wheelwright	1766
William Brown	Millwright	1769
Joseph Bryan	Saddler	1767
James Carson	Tanner	1759
George Cathey	Millwright	1764
Thomas Cook	Tailor	1754-55
John Cowan	Gunsmith	1764
William Cowan	Carpenter	1770
John Cunningham	Tanner	1761
James Davis	Carpenter	1757
John Dobbins	Blacksmith	1768-69
Hugh Dunham	Hatter	1757
Robert Elrod	Weaver	1756
John Findley	Cooper	1754
James Fletcher	Weaver	1769
Isaac Garrison, Jr.	Weaver	1770
Matthew Gillespie	Cordwainer	1756
James Graham, Sr.	Blacksmith	1761
Richard Graham	Saddler	1759
William Grant	Weaver	1753
Peter Hooser	Weaver	1764
Henry Hughey	Weaver	1754
William Ireland	Cordwainer	1770
John Johnston	Carpenter	1761
Valentine Leonard	Tailor	1762
Daniel Lewis	Weaver	1769
Robert Luckey	Wheelwright	1765
William Mebane	Weaver	1764
Michael Morr	Potter	1770
James McCulloh	Bricklayer	1754
John McConnell	Weaver	1758
Arthur O'Neal	Tailor	1760-63, 65, 67-68
James Patterson	Blacksmith	1768
John Patton	Blacksmith	1769
Samuel Reed	Cordwainer	1763
Henry Shore	Carpenter	1763
John Smith	Blacksmith	1760
Samuel Smith	Blacksmith	1767
James Stuart	Weaver	1767
John Thompson	Cooper or Shoemaker	1769
William Watt	Clothier	1755, 64
Samuel Woods	Weaver	1761, 64
Henry Zevily	Tailor	1770

Court of Pleas and Quarters.⁹⁶ His presence on a jury indicates that Brown must have owned land in the county, although the first extant deed to him for 274 acres on the south side of the middle fork of Crane Creek is dated 1760, the same year his brother arrived.⁹⁷ A year later Brown succeeded John Smith as constable for militia captain Conrad Michael's district, which was presided over by Justice Alexander Cathey.⁹⁸

Brown and his brother arrived in Rowan County just as the overland trade to the east was expanding, and they both profited handsomely from the increased demand for wagons. Over the next few years Brown became more involved in the larger German community by serving as constable again and overseeing the road system; he also helped the German settlers on a personal level by witnessing deeds and posting security for estate administration and tavern licenses.⁹⁹ For all of the good his community service achieved, Michael gained more notoriety in the county when he built a large cut-stone house in 1766. An impressive structure accentuated with double casement windows, the house conveyed a message of material success and knowledge of style

⁹⁶Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:229.

⁹⁷Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:253-255; 273-275.

⁹⁸Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:361.

⁹⁹Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:727-729; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 2:422, 508, 559.

understandable in any language. Not surprisingly, Michael's fame soared. He achieved a reputation as a stable, dependable force in the German community through hard work and service to others; and he earned a similar respect from the rest of the county by displaying that success through architecture.

In the years following the construction of his house, Michael became a naturalized Englishman, a trustee of the German Lutheran Church in Salisbury, and a captain in the militia.¹⁰⁰ The number of appearances in local court as an estate administrator and road commissioner, and in Superior Court as a grand juror, increased appreciably, and in 1777 he was named a Justice of the Peace.¹⁰¹ As the court records and some individual's papers document, Michael remained active as a justice until his death in 1807.¹⁰²

James Carson gained a prominent place in Rowan county when he co-founded the Trading Settlement in 1753. Originally from East Nottingham township in Chester County, Carson was a prosperous tanner who probably relocated to the

¹⁰⁰CR 7:521; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 7:13-14; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:58, 297.

¹⁰¹Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 3:46, 64, 121, 136, 238, 240, 247, 252, 256, 287, 297, 345; 4:5, 8, 18, 41; Rowan County Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1773-1800, Vols. 4,5,6 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History.

¹⁰²The John Steele Papers, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Rowan Wills, Dept. of Archives and History CR.85.801.1.

backcountry to invest in inexpensive land, according to Robert Ramsey.¹⁰³ After obtaining a 640 acre tract located on either side of Crane Creek, Carson set to work establishing his tannery.¹⁰⁴ By virtue of his early arrival and his financial situation, Carson became an informal member of the leadership "elite" in Rowan County. Over the course of his career, Carson kept his official duties limited to jury duty, witnessing documents, and serving as constable and road commissioner.¹⁰⁵ Yet, close inspection of records reveals that he had influential friendships with Salisbury trustees James Carter and Hugh Forster; sheriffs David Jones and William Nassery; justices Andrew Allison, William Buis, and John Dunn; Constables James Allison (Andrew's brother), William Robinson, Samuel Reed, Henry Chambers, Richard King, Lawrence Snapp, Matthew Gillespie, and James McCulloh; and Granville agent William Churton, among others. Serving as constable in 1759 certainly did not advance Carson's political standing in the county. Although constable was the highest political office he held, the informal power he wielded as a landowner and businessman surpassed his responsibilities as constable many times over.

¹⁰³Ramsey, Carolina Cradle, pp. 111, 129, 159-160.

¹⁰⁴Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 1:143-148. Carson eventually owned three tracts of land in the Trading settlement, and two were located directly on creeks.

¹⁰⁵Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, 1:30, 41; 2:88, 149, 175, 226, 252, 257; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 2:76-77; 4:198-191; Rowan Wills A:143.

The migration patterns from the middle colonies down the Great Wagon Road into the backcountry and the creation of the early settlements by groups of acquaintances show that the artisans of Rowan County, like the rest of the county's residents, made a conscious decision to live in the southern backcountry even though their economic survival in the region depended on supplementing the income they derived from their trades with farming. In contrast to the urban artisans, Rowan County artisans did not develop a group consciousness to combat the economic problems which they faced, nor did they turn to group participation in politics to improve them. Instead, this chapter has shown how a few Rowan County artisans participated in local government and politics on an individual basis.

The lack of political action by Rowan County artisans as a group was not representative of the entire backcountry. The Regulator Movement proved that backcountry residents were capable of organizing and acting en masse when outsiders threatened their traditional position in society and politics. Because of Rowan county's location west of the Yadkin River only a handful of artisans became actively involved on either side of the Regulator movement as it did not affect them directly. Blacksmith Benjamin Merrill, the leader of the Regulator militia at the Battle of Alamance who was executed later for treason, was an exception.

Those artisans who did participate in the civic affairs of Rowan County did so in a number of offices and a variety of levels. Their knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic made them highly sought after commodities for political office in the backcountry. Four of the eight Sheriffs, the highest law enforcement officers in the county, who served before 1770 were artisans. Thirteen percent of the men who assisted them as constables, were artisans also. And artisans counted for eleven percent of the Justices of the Peace, the men who administered justice throughout the county.¹⁰⁶ Other artisans helped with the development of the county by acting as road commissioners.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of artisans in Rowan County never held any political office: jury duty at the court of pleas and quarters was the extent of their involvement in public life. This lack of political action or civic participation on the part of the artisan does not necessarily reflect an ignorant or apathic attitude in regard to local events. Rather, it reflects the artisans (and other county residents) identification with, and involvement in ethnic and religious groups over participation in a government they may not have fully understood. Consequently, Rowan County leaders did not involve a representative selection of county inhabitants in

¹⁰⁶ Artisan activity in political office parallels their proportion (11.5%) of the voting population as recorded by the 1759 Rowan County Tax List.

county government, and as a result some extremely capable men, including many artisans, were never provided the opportunity to share the benefits of their experience with the people of Rowan County by holding political office.

Instead, these artisans channeled their energy into developing their trades and cultivating their crops to improve their lot in life. John Lewis Beard did not fill a political office in Rowan County until 1770 when he became a Salisbury commissioner, he devoted his time to becoming backcountry entrepreneur instead. Unlike his counterparts in densely populated urban areas, from the moment the artisan decided to move to Rowan County, his individual initiative, whether it be in politics or trade, became the definitive force in shaping his life.

CHAPTER VI

'TO LARN THE ART & MISTRY OF SPINSTER...' WOMEN ARTISANS IN ROWAN COUNTY

In a spare minute from running her busy household and tavern Elizabeth Steele walked over to see Ann Crosby, a Salisbury seamstress, and picked up a dress she had ordered from Ann some weeks before. Although the dress was for everyday wear, Mrs. Steele could afford the luxury of having Ann make it from specially ordered fabric at the cost of four pence six shillings a yard.¹

Just how uncommon was Mrs. Steele's order, and subsequent purchase, of a dress from Ann Crosby? To read Julia Cherry Spruill's vivid description of the frontier housewife in her 1938 book Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies, Mrs. Steele's dress order does not seem to be uncommon, it appears to be impossible!

It was the housewife of the back settlements who had to depend most upon her own labor and ingenuity. The frontiersman's remoteness from the waterways and highways and his lack of a marketable staple crop prevented his trading much with the outside world and made it necessary for him and his wife to produce almost everything consumed in their household. With broadaxe and jackknife, he made his cabin, furniture, and many of the farming implements and kitchen utensils; and with spinning wheel, loom, and dye pots, she

¹Invoice from Ann Crosby to Elizabeth Steele, The John Steele Papers, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as The Steele Papers.

made all the clothing of the family, the household linen, blankets, quilts, coverlets, curtains, rugs, and other such furnishings.²

Previous chapters in this dissertation showing the presence of artisans in a wide variety of crafts and their trade networks which extended far beyond Rowan County have discredited this traditional historical interpretation of backcountry life. Likewise, Mrs. Steele's purchase of a dress from a female artisan was no more uncommon than a purchase from any other Rowan County artisan at this time. In fact, research in Rowan County Orphan's court minutes, wills, deeds, and surviving eighteenth-century invoices, indicates that women artisans played a significant role in increasing the quality of life in the backcountry of North Carolina. More importantly, as the exchange between Mrs. Steele and Ann Crosby proves, women did work as professional artisans in Rowan County. Employed mainly in the textile arts, women even held a monopoly on the craft of spinning in the backcountry.

Women who practiced traditionally female skills such as spinning, sewing, or weaving for profit have not commonly been classified as artisans by historians. This situation seems to be the result of a combination of factors: women did not receive the same craft training, nor did they have

²Julia Cherry Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (1938; rpt. New York: Norton, 1972), p. 81.

the same economic opportunities as their male counterparts; women (especially in the southern colonies during the eighteenth century) usually worked at home and not in a shop; and the pervasiveness of these skills (in comparison to most male trades) led to the fallacy that they were a normal part of the housewife's duties. While these qualifications have some basis, they do not change the fact that just as male artisans, these women used special skills to manufacture a finished product from raw materials to generate income. This chapter will focus on the training women received to become artisans (as opposed to merely becoming housewives) as well as other ways in which female artisans can be identified; and will give special attention to the importance of spinsters in the production of cloth in Rowan County.

The first documented woman artisan appeared in a Rowan County deed dated April 31, 1756. Mary Boone, wife of Jonathan Boone, a joiner, and daughter of James Carter, one of the richest men in the county, is identified as a spinster.³ Spinsters have often been overlooked as artisans because of the erroneous assumption that the label applies only to marital status. In fact, the Oxford English Dictionary primarily defines a spinster as "A woman (or,

³Jo White Linn, Rowan County, N.C. Deed Abstracts 1753-1762: Books 1-4 (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, 1972), 3:367, 368; Robert W. Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: The Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 35-36.

rarely a man) who spins, especially one who practises spinning as a regular occupation," and only secondarily as a term "Appended to names of women, originally in order to denote their occupation, but subsequently (from the 17th Century) as the proper legal designation of one still unmarried." Historians have asserted that "No... woman defined herself or was defined as an artisan; all free women were categorized as spinsters or widows or were subsumed under their husband's identity."⁴ However, the records of Rowan County (and its subsequent counties) show that in backcountry North Carolina women were defined as artisans, and at least a few free married women were not totally subsumed by their husband's identity. Furthermore, research to delineate the differences between housewifery apprenticeships and spinning apprenticeships reveals that spinning may not have been a common skill of all housewives.

The supposition that the term spinster always referred to marital status has hindered the identification of women artisans. Why, then, is Mary Carter Boone, a married woman, called a spinster? Or, why are three women, Annas Newberry, Jean Ferguson, and Mary McCrerry, at least two of whom were married, all be called spinsters in Alexander Newberry's

⁴Jean B. Russo, "Self-Sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," Lois G. Carr, Jean B. Russo, and Philip Morgan, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), p. 393.

will while a fourth woman in the will received no such description?⁵ A logical conclusion is that the first three women were professional spinsters.

The Rowan County public records only recognized a few women as professional spinsters, and yet tradition holds that "the skills of housewifery [included] primarily sewing and spinning."⁶ However, a comparison of the apprenticeships to learn housewifery and the apprenticeships to learn spinning reveals that spinning may not have been a common skill of backcountry housewives.

Between 1753 and 1795 approximately 75 girls were apprenticed out in Rowan County.⁷ According to the existing scholarship on Rowan County apprentices, only one female was apprenticed to learn a trade: in November 1785 John Willson, Jr., took Catherine Steagle, age 11, as an apprentice to learn spinning.⁸ Most indentures for young girls did not

⁵Will of Alexander Newberry, Rowan County Wills. The same will identifies the decedent's sons as artisans, as well.

⁶Jean B. Russo, "Chesapeake Artisans in the Aftermath of the Revolution," a paper presented to the U.S. Capital Historical Society, 1989, p. 15.

⁷Kathi R. Jones, "'That Also These children May Become Useful People': Apprenticeships in Rowan County, North Carolina from 1753 to 1795," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), pp. 33, 35-36.

⁸Jones, "'That Also These children May Become Useful People'", p. 36; Lynne Howard Fraser, "Nobody's Children: The Treatment of Illegitimate Children in Three North Carolina Counties, 1760-1790," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987), p. 45.

mention any type of training, but only specified a length of time and that the master should "comply with the law". When the apprenticeship was completed the girl usually received money and/or property of a pre-agreed amount, and a suit of clothes. For instance, Mary McCafferty was bound to Hugh Shearer for 15 years and 10 months and he was to "Providd [her] with Sufficent Meats, Drink and Apperrel... and Shall Also Teach the sd Orphan to reed English. And to Give Sd Orphan Such freedom Dues As by Law appointed."⁹

In Rowan County, Catherine Steagle may have been the only girl specifically apprenticed to learn spinning, but the indentures for 23 female apprentices stipulated that they receive a spinning wheel when finished. For a woman to receive a spinning wheel as part of her freedom dues parallels the indentures of boys who usually were given "the tools of their trade" when they completed their apprentice training so they would be prepared to become journeymen. Out of the 75 young women who were apprenticed, in addition to Catherine Steagle, 23 were to learn how to spin and, since they received spinning wheels, presumably could have continued spinning when their indentures expired. [See Table 6] Fifty-one other female apprentices may or may not have learned how to spin during their terms, but without wheels

⁹Jo White Linn, Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions Rowan County, N.C., 1753-1762 (Salisbury: Mrs. Stahle Linn, Jr., 1977), I:63, Apr. 16, 1755.

Table 6

WOMEN ARTISANS in ROWAN COUNTY

<u>Female Master</u>	<u>Apprentice</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>County and Date*</u>
Anna Baker	Nansey Jolley	Weaver/Spinner	Surry 1782
Sarah Barrs		Spinner	Rowan 1768
Mary Boone		Spinner	Rowan 1756
Sarah Buttner		Weaver	[Moravian] 1786
Ann Crosby		Seamstress	Rowan n.d.
Rachel Dennis	Elizabeth Dennis	Spinner	Randolph 1786
Mary Elrod		Weaver	[Moravian] 1786
Jean Fergison		Spinner	Rowan 1770
Mary Flood		Weaver	[Moravian] 1786
Mary Elisabeth Krause Goetje		Glovemaker	[Moravian] 1780
Anne Hogston		Spinner	Rowan 1785
Hannah Holshouser		Spinner	Rowan 1784
Mary King		Milliner	Rowan 1772
Ann Lock		Spinner	Rowan 1770
Mrs. James McBroom		Spinner	Rowan 1769
Elizabeth McCartney		Weaver	Rowan 1785
Mary McCrerry		Spinner	Rowan 1769
Margaret McHarg[ue]		Spinner/Weaver	Rowan 1780
Elinor McHenry		Spinner	Rowan 1792
Gennat [Janet] McHenry		Spinner	Rowan 1792
Eleanor McLaughlin		Spinner	Rowan 1779
Mary McLaughlin		Spinner	Rowan 1779
[Margaret] Means		Spinner	Randolph 1783
Mrs. DeWalt Mock		Spinner	Rowan, n.d.
Elizabeth Moore		Spinner	Rowan 1795
Isabella Moore		Spinner	Rowan 1768
Mary Moore		Spinner/Weaver	Rowan 1795
Susanna Jennings Moore		Weaver	Rowan 1798
Susanna Morr		Potter	Rowan 1784
Mary Morrison		Spinner	Rowan 1779

Mary Myers
 Annas Newberry
 Anna Mary Newfang
 Elizabeth Oliphant
 Jane Orton
 Rachel Orton
 Agnes Osbrough
 Mary Page
 Margaret Parks
 Sarah Pincer
 Elizabeth Poston
 Margret Poston
 Jean Ramsey
 Ann Rees
 Ann Riggs
 Ann Robinson [mother]
 Ann Robinson [daughter]
 Margaret Rosebrough
 Mary Rosebrough

Elenor Rutledge
 Elizabeth Sewel
 Mary Sharp Elnor Gibins
 Catherine Shirts Bolley Colley
 Elizabeth Smith Elizabeth Smith
 Christian Snap
 Elizabeth Snap
 Elizabeth Hauser [Spoenhauser]
 Sarah Stamon
 [Elizabeth] Standley Mary Richerson
 Elizabeth Steele Allen Campbell
 Elizabeth Campbell
 Elizabeth Stewart
 Martha Storey
 Martha Thompson
 Sarah Todd

Spinner/Weaver Rowan 1784
 Spinner Rowan 1770
 Spinner Rowan 1775
 Spinner Rowan 1785
 Spinner Rowan 1766
 Spinner Rowan 1766
 Spinner Rowan 1761
 Weaver Rowan 1771
 Spinner Rowan 1761
 Spinner Rowan 1768
 Spinner Rowan 1784
 Spinner Rowan 1784
 Spinner Rowan 1783
 Spinner Rowan 1775
 Spinner Rowan 1787
 Weaver Rowan 1785
 Spinner Rowan 1785
 Spinner Rowan 1785
 Weaver Rowan 1777
 Spinner Rowan 1774
 Spinner/Weaver Rowan 1789
 Spinner Randolph 1789
 Spinner Randolph 1787
 Spinner Wilkes 1791
 Spinner Rowan 1768
 Spinner Rowan 1768
 Weaver [Moravian] 1773
 Spinner Rowan 1768
 Spinner Guilford 1789
 Weaver Rowan 1781
 Spinner Rowan 1781
 Spinner Rowan 1778
 Spinner Rowan 1762
 Spinner Rowan 1774
 Spinner Rowan 1777

William Beard	Betty Ham	Spinner	Rowan 1779
James Wallace	Jean Ham	Spinner	Rowan 1779
David Beard	Nancy Ham	Spinner	Rowan 1779
William Bell	Mourning Harlan	Seamstress	Randolph 1790
John Hammond	Elizabeth Harvey	Spinner	Randolph 1790
Benjamin Cutbirth	Elender Hill	Spinner	Wilkes 1789
Isaac Norman	Mary Jackaway	Spin/weave	Wilkes 1786
Will Davis	May Johnson	Spinner	Rowan 1770
Isaac Low	Jemima Jolley	Spinner	Wilkes 1783
John Burch	Mary King	Spinner	Surry, n.d.
John Stephenson	Isabella McCoy	Spinner	Rowan 1777
Andrew Baker	Elizabeth Martin	Spinner	Wilkes, n.d.
Peter Fulps	Anna Moore	Spinner	Surry 1787
Alexander Moore	Mary Motts	Spin/Seam	Surry 1782
David Cowin	Sarah Murphy	Spinner	Rowan 1783
William Nelson	Lidia Nelson	Spinner	Rowan 1772
John Riddick	Mary Odean (Adam)	Spinner	Randolph 1787
Jesse McAnally	Rachel Parford	Spinner	Surry 1786
George Sevets, Jr.	Ruth Pellum	Spinner	Rowan 1783
William Raglin	Elizabeth Porter	Spinner	Wilkes 1784
William Temple Coles	Nancey Quin	Spinner	Rowan 1772
Charles Bookout	Sarah Rains	Spinner	Randolph, n.d.
Benjamin Herndon	Amy Redman	Spinner	Wilkes 1783
Jeffrey Johnson	Lettice Redman [mom]	Spinner	Surry 1774
Benjamin Herndon	Lettice Redman [dau]	Spinner	Wilkes 1783
Thomas Robins	Elizabeth Robins	Spinner	Wilkes 1787
William McConnell	Mary Sawyers	Spinner	Rowan 1766
Christian Luther	Persilla Sewell	Spinner	Randolph 1790
William Clark	Persilla Simmons	Spinner	Randolph 1785
Ozwell Smith	Elizabeth Smith	Spinner	Wilkes 1789
John Lowry	Anne Stapleton	Spinner	Rowan 1777
James Bailey	Avis Stapleton	Spinner	Rowan 1777
Hugh Cathey	Hannah Stapleton	Spinner	Rowan 1777
John Willson, Jr.	Catherine Steagle	Spinner	Rowan 1785
John Johnston	Elizabeth Sumner	Spinner	Randolph 1785

John Murdock	Mary Sumner	Spinner	Randolph 1785
Francis Reynolds	Phawney Tailor	Spinner	Wilkes 1784
Thomas Dixon	Rachell Thornton	Spinner	Wilkes 1783
James White	Margret Tobin	Spinner	Rowan 1779
James Fletcher	Christian Walters	Spinner	Wilkes 1784
Robert King	Polley Warnor	Spinner	Wilkes 1787
James McKnight	Agnes Williams	Spinner	Rowan 1774
William McKnight	Rebecca Williams	Spinner	Rowan 1774

*County and Date=County where earliest reference to artisan was found and the date of that reference.

they were not immediately prepared to spin afterwards.¹⁰ In the extant records of the counties formed from Rowan, 49 apprentice indentures specified that young girls learn the art of the spinster, while others learned only housewifery.¹¹ Since all female apprentices in Rowan County did not receive spinning wheels upon completion of their indentures, and because other counties clearly distinguished between apprenticeships to learn spinning and apprenticeships to learn housewifery, a knowledge and skill

¹⁰Jones, "That Also These children May Become Useful People'", pp. 70-94; Fraser, "Nobody's Children'", pp. 80-95.

¹¹Burke County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1784-1873, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Burke County Apprentice Bonds; Guilford County, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions Minutes, 1781-1811 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Guilford County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Randolph County, Minutes, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1779-1782, 1787-1794 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Randolph County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Randolph County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1779, 178-, 1781, 1783-1805, State Archives, hereafter cited as Randolph County Apprentice Bonds; Stokes County, Minutes Court of Pleas and Quarters, 1790-1793 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Stokes County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Surry County, Minutes, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions, 1779-1802 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Surry County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Surry County, Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1779-1921, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Surry County Apprentice Bonds; Wilkes County Court of Pleas and Quarter Minutes, March 1778-July 1790, Oct. 1790-May 1797 (microfilm), Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Wilkes County Court of Pleas and Quarters; and Wilkes County Apprentice Bonds and Records, 1778-1908, State Archives, hereinafter cited as Wilkes County Apprentice Bonds.

of spinning was not necessarily part of the housewifery apprenticeship, and hence, were not among the common housewife's chores. However, most housewives and farmwives probably did have a vague idea, if not some experience, of the principles of spinning.

A survey of the spinning equipment mentioned in Rowan County Wills further substantiates these findings. Only approximately 35% of the wills written in Rowan County prior to 1790 contain specific references to spinning equipment.¹² Male decedents wrote the majority of wills mentioning spinning equipment and they usually left spinning wheels to their wives or their daughters. In a few wills female decedents left spinning equipment to daughters, daughters-in-law, or grand-daughters. The only record of spinning equipment being left to a man occurred when John Owen willed Philip Dowell a "Wolen Wheel and [a] Linnen Wheel."¹³

Although men technically owned the equipment, the wheels really belonged to, and were used by, women. For instance, James McLaughlin left his daughter Mary "her spinning wheel and Check reel and also [a] brass hatchel" and his other daughter Eleanor "her spinning wheel and a coars hatchel."¹⁴ The fact that men had to legally will

¹²Rowan County Wills.

¹³Will of John Owen, March 10, 1787, Rowan County Wills.

¹⁴Will of James McLaughlin, September 4, 1779, Rowan County Wills.

their wives' and daughter's property back to them shows the low legal and economic status of women in eighteenth-century North Carolina. Spinning equipment was also among the property consistently willed to a woman regardless of her future marital status, an indication of its importance to the economic well-being of any woman. John Oliphant gave his wife the use of the front room of his house, a slave, a good horse, a saddle, a bridle, her bed and furniture, her apparel, and her spinning wheel during her widowhood; but she only received her horse, saddle and bridle, her bed, her clothes, and her spinning wheel if she remarried.¹⁵

The spinning equipment left to women in wills included hatchels, reels, spinning wheels, and occasionally cards. All of these objects process the raw material of the fiber, usually flax or wool, into thread or yarn. Once flax has been broken, or the stalks crushed, the flax is beaten against a hatchel, a board with protruding metal spikes, to separate the fibrous part from the brittle coating and to reduce the fiber to a size which can be spun into thread. Hatchels came in various sizes from coarse (with larger spikes spread farther apart) to fine (with smaller spikes closer together) to beat the flax more efficiently and to offer different grades of flax so different qualities of linen could be woven. Cards serve a similar purpose to

¹⁵Will of John Oliphant, February 12, 1785, Rowan County Wills.

hatchels in the processing of wool. Cards are smaller boards with handles covered with curved pieces of wire to separate and align wool fibers. Like hatchels, they also come in assorted sizes to produce a wide range of wool yarn. Once the fibers were cleaned and separated the spinster used a wheel to draw them out into thread or yarn; flax was spun on a small wheel to produce a fairly condensed thread and wool was spun on a large wheel at a slower pace to yield a more loosely spun yarn.

The significance of determining that a few women worked as professional spinsters in the backcountry and that not all backcountry women knew how to spin lies in examining the consequences of the sex bias of spinning and the importance of spinning in the production of cloth in Rowan county. Philip Dowell and his two spinning wheels notwithstanding, only women have been identified as spinsters in the legal records of Rowan county. Spinning was not considered a male activity in the North Carolina backcountry. Even the Moravian Brethren, who were usually anxious to accomplish any task to please God, did not spin.

The profile of the crafts present in Rowan County in 1759 shows that weaving was the single-most widely practiced trade in the backcountry. Eighteenth-century sources estimate that it took seven spinsters to adequately supply one weaver with yarn or thread. If the women identified as spinsters in legal documents did not actually spin for their

livelihood, then who supplied the local weavers? In all likelihood, these women were professional spinners who had a monopoly on the craft of spinning, consequently making them a vital link in the production of cloth in Rowan County.

As married women, the majority of women artisans were legally subsumed by their husband's identity, which makes finding and tracing them through the records extremely difficult. For example, in his analysis of the Lowrance family account books, Daniel Thorp found evidence that only unmarried women participated in the public economy of the southern backcountry. Of the seven women who patronized the Lowrance tavern, at least six of them were widows. Furthermore, the fact that these women bought their liquor and took it home suggests that they were not welcome guests in the tavern.¹⁶

Nevertheless, records show that women, especially those who spun, did fulfill an independent role in the market economy of Rowan County, and that role expanded with time. Only 1 woman has been identified as calling herself a spinster in 1759, less than 1% of the artisan population for that time.¹⁷ By 1770, 20 women were identified as spinsters in Rowan County, almost 7% of the entire artisan population.

¹⁶Daniel B. Thorp, "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina," forthcoming in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series.

¹⁷The actual number of spinsters in the county was undoubtedly higher because of the Moravian sisters who spun.

Between 1753 and 1790 women in Rowan County and the counties formed from it accounted for almost 15% of all artisans in the area.¹⁸

Whether they had formal training or not, eventually women artisans helped fulfill the backcountry demand for spinsters, weavers, seamstresses, milliners, and mantua (dress) makers. In Salisbury, seamstress Ann Crosby made dresses for Elizabeth Steele and milliner Mary King used her knowledge of sewing and fashion to create Mrs. Steele's hats. (Interestingly, King charged more for a single hat than Ann Crosby asked to make an entire dress.)¹⁹ More specialized training became available, for the wills in Surry County (formed from Rowan in 1771) record that Ann Baker and Ann Mary Deetz apprenticed to Thomas Whitticor and

¹⁸See tables 1 and 2 in Chapter 4 for the artisan profiles in 1759 and 1770. Figures for 1790 derived from a data base of artisans working in Rowan, Surry, Wilkes, Iredell, Burke, Stokes, Rockingham, Randolph, and Guilford Counties from 1753-1792 compiled from the Minutes of Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarters; Rowan County Apprentice Bonds; Rowan County Wills; Rowan County Civil Action Papers; Rowan County Criminal Action Papers; Burke County Apprentice Bonds; Guilford County, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions Minutes; Randolph County, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions Minutes; Randolph County Apprentice Bonds; Stokes County Court of Pleas and Quarters Minutes; Surry County, Court of Pleas and Quarters Sessions Minutes; Surry County Apprentice Bonds; Wilkes County Court of Pleas and Quarter Minutes; Wilkes County Apprentice Bonds; and the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Index to Early Southern Artisans.

¹⁹Invoice from Ann Crosby to Elizabeth Steele; Invoice from Mary King to William Steele, August 12, 1772, The Steele Papers.

Michael Teague to learn the art of mantua making, or making ladies dresses.²⁰ In Salem, a young woman named Mary Elizabeth Krause took additional training with the tanner and shoemaker, Br. Fritz, and learned how to make gloves.²¹

In addition to these few known women artisans, an untold number of anonymous Rowan County women most likely used their needlework skills to bolster the craft production of their artisan husbands, fathers, or brothers. Shoemaking, hatmaking, saddle and harness making (to name but a few) required some sewing on the product. These women have never received credit for their work in male-oriented crafts because it is impossible to distinguish the labor of the woman from that of the man.²²

Weaving was the second largest craft in which Rowan women artisans participated. At least 17 women worked as weavers in the backcountry up to 1790. Women were the occasional recipients of weaving equipment such as looms, gears, reeds, and tackling from male decedents in Rowan County wills. Weaving gear did not appear with the same

²⁰Jo White Linn, Surry County, N.C., Will Abstracts, Vol. 1-3, 1771-1827, (Salisbury: N.C.: Mrs. Stahle Linn, Jr., 1974), I:56, I:106a.

²¹Salem Diary, January 17, 1780, Moravian Archives-Southern Province.

²²Helen R. Sumner, History of Women in Industry in the United States (1910; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1974), p. 42; Susan E. Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), p. 38.

frequency as spinning wheels, nor was it usually given in conjunction with spinning equipment. Mary Myers wrote a most unusual will with references to weaving equipment in 1784 when she left her spinning wheels and weaver's reeds to her daughters and granddaughters. Mary's specific mention of a "counterpain", a "Read [sic] Spotted Coverlid [sic]", "My Black Spotted Coverlid [sic]", and "some Cotten yarn" strongly suggests that these objects were the fruits of her labor.²³

Four women weavers (of which one was also a tailor) appear in the extensive records of the Moravians between 1753 and 1790. Mary Elrod, Mary Flood, Elizabeth Hauser, and the previously mentioned Mary Elizabeth Krause all originally plied their trades for the Single Sisters Oeconomy.²⁴ The Single Sisters lived together as a family in their own house, and they were responsible for supporting themselves, which they did through a variety of business ventures. The Single Sisters income came primarily from doing laundry and sewing; however, they were always eager to branch out into new avenues.²⁵ Towards this end they

²³Will of Mary Myers, July 14, 1784, Rowan County Wills.

²⁴Salem Diary, January 17, 1780; Aeltesten Conferenz Nov. 20, 1799; Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Index to Early Southern Artisans.

²⁵Johanna Miller Lewis, "A Social and Architectural History of the Girls' Boarding School at Salem, North Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, LXVI (April 1989), pp. 126, 128, 131.

established a weaving operation in the 1770's by accepting Elizabeth Hauser, a local teenager who knew how to weave, into the Single Sisters after an attempt to get a weaver from Pennsylvania had failed.²⁶ Mary Elrod and Mary Flood kept the operation going the following decade.²⁷

The female Moravian artisans were not limited to the Single Sisters. Regardless of sex, if a person was competent in a trade, the Moravians usually had no objections to them setting up in business for themselves. Following her husband's death five years earlier in 1786 Sarah Buttner chose to move to Salem from Rowan County and work as a weaver.²⁸ Sarah's talents were not limited to weaving, however. When she asked the Aufseher Collegium for a girl to help with her burgeoning tailor shop in 1797, the board decided not to allow Sarah to expand her business and reminded her that she was only to do sewing "for her own livelihood."²⁹ Apparently, the Collegium did not want Sarah to become too successful.

Two more women weavers stand out among backcountry artisans. In 1781, Joseph Hughes of Salisbury bound out a "certain Mulattoe Girl named Ester, a slave..." to Joseph

²⁶Aeltesten Conferenz July 20, 1773.

²⁷Congregational Council Summary for 1786.

²⁸Aufseher Collegium April 11, 1785; Linn, Rowan County Will Abstracts, B:1.

²⁹Aufseher Collegium October 10, 1797.

Hickman "for... Two years and five months... to Learn the art and Mystery of a weaver". Four years later Hickman's son, Joseph Jr., appeared before Justices of the Peace Michael Brown and Valentine Beard and swore to the completion of Ester's apprenticeship and her knowledge of weaving.³⁰ A survey of orphan's court and apprenticeship indentures indicates that Ester may have been the only non-white in Rowan County apprenticed to learn a trade. She is the only slave artisan to appear in the official records.³¹

Although not a slave, Anna Baker found herself in an equally interesting situation following the death of her husband Michael in 1776. Instead of taking the path of instant re-marriage (for which so many widows with underage children opted), Anna chose to create her own financial security by expanding her spinning and weaving operation with at least one apprentice, Nansey Jolley. In 1782 with one son grown and gone from home, Anna was doing well enough to be among a handful of women on the Surry County Tax List; and when the census taker came in 1790, Anna headed a household that included 2 males over 16, 6 males under 16, and 2 other females.³² No doubt some members of Anna's household were her employees.

³⁰Rowan County Apprentice Bonds.

³¹Fraser, p. 80.

³²Linn, Surry County Will Abstracts, I:84; Surry County Court Minutes, 11 Feb. 1782; 1782 Surry County Tax List; 1790 Federal Census, Morgan District, Wilkes County.

Like their male counterparts, women artisans spanned the economic scale. In fact, Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, Salisbury's wealthiest female resident in the eighteenth century, was probably a spinster and a weaver. Mrs. Steele is also the best documented woman artisan in the entire backcountry. According to an unpublished sketch of her by Archibald Henderson, the Maxwell family emigrated to the North Carolina backcountry in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Elizabeth was born in 1733. Around 1750 Elizabeth married Robert Gillespie, a merchant, who ran an ordinary/store in Salisbury with a partner, Thomas Bashford, beginning in 1756.³³ Robert and Elizabeth had two children. Unfortunately, while returning home to Salisbury from Fort Dobbs during the Indian uprising of 1759, Robert was slain and scalped by Cherokees.³⁴

Robert Gillespie owned extensive tracks of land and left Elizabeth well off financially. In 1760 she bought land (and probably a house) from William Williams, a hatter, in the north square of Salisbury to operate her own tavern.³⁵ Elizabeth did well enough in the tavern business.

³³Archibald Henderson, "Elizabeth Maxwell Steele," typed manuscript in the Steele Family Papers; Linn, Rowan Court Abstracts, II:157.

³⁴Henderson in the Steele Family papers; James Brawley, The Rowan Story 1753-1953: A Narrative History of Rowan County, North Carolina (Salisbury: Rowan Printing Co., 1953), p. 27.

³⁵Linn, Rowan County Deed Abstracts, 4:241.

to continue buying land in Salisbury and Rowan County, purchases that historian Robert Ramsey feels showed Elizabeth to be a shrewd, capable woman.³⁶ In 1763 Elizabeth married for the second time, taking William Steele, a neighboring tavern-keeper in Salisbury and a native of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as her husband.³⁷ Elizabeth had two more children by William and their marriage lasted until his death in 1773.

Although no authorities have referred to Elizabeth Steele as an artisan, the evidence is compelling. The inventory taken of the portion of her estate which was not bequeathed after her death in 1791 mentions four spinning wheels, two for wool and two for linen, cards, and a flax hackle; she also owned five sheep and a pair of sheep shears.³⁸ Clearly, wool and probably flax were being processed and spun in Elizabeth's household.

More interesting, however, is that Elizabeth took Allen Campbell, orphan of Collin Campbell, as an apprentice to learn the trade of weaver in August 1781.³⁹ No weaving equipment was mentioned in her inventory because Elizabeth

³⁶Ramsey, p. 169; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 4:763, 764; 5:307; 5:308, 309.

³⁷Ramsey, p. 168; Henderson in the Steele Family papers; Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 6:160, 161.

³⁸An inventory of that part of the Estate of Elizabeth Steale decd., May 5, 1791, The Steele Papers.

³⁹Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarter Minutes, August 9, 1781.

probably agreed to give it to Allen when he completed his indenture. However, the inventory does list "a quantity of home spun cloth", another sign that cloth was being woven at the Steele's. Further evidence comes from an invoice to the estate from William Watt, a clothier, who charged Elizabeth 16 shillings for the "Dressing of 16 1/2 yds of cloth".⁴⁰ A newly woven piece of cloth had to be dressed before it could be made into anything, and dressing usually consisted of washing the fabric to clean it and size it. In addition, earlier invoices from tailor Arthur Erwin and an anonymous tailor only charge for making clothes (and not supplying the fabric) which signifies that the family supplied the material from which they were made.⁴¹

Elizabeth Steele did own at least five slaves and there is a distinct possibility that the slaves did the spinning and possibly the weaving. However, having grown up on the North Carolina frontier in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, chances are great that Elizabeth learned how to spin, weave, and sew with great proficiency. This knowledge undoubtedly helped her to supervise the work of her slaves, and convince the Rowan County Orphan's Court that she could adequately provide for Allen Campbell's

⁴⁰Invoice from W[illia]m Watts to the estate of Elizabeth [Steele] decd., June 19, 1792, The Steele Papers.

⁴¹Invoice to William Steal, anonymous and undated; invoice from Ann Crosby to Mrs. Steele, no date; invoice from Arthur Erwin to William Steele deces'd, August 8, 1774, the Steele Papers.

instruction in weaving. And finally, whether Elizabeth Steele worked as an artisan or not, the invoices and receipts from Tobias Ferror, blacksmith; Henry Barroth, potter; Ann Crosby, seamstress; Jonathan Boone, joiner; John Lewis Beard, tanner; and Arthur Erwin, tailor show that she patronized local artisans and that a local market existed for the artisans' skills.⁴²

Unlike Elizabeth Steele, Ann Baker, or Ester, not all women artisans were models of industry and propriety. Rowan County Criminal Action papers reveal spinsters involved in adulterous relationships, stealing, and slander, or as the mothers of illegitimate children. At least three women artisans, Sarah Barrs, Sarah Pincer, and Sarah Stamon, were all summoned to Court for "criminally copulating, cohabitating, and living together in the constant habitual practice of Fornication."⁴³ Two other spinsters, Ann Lock and Agnes Osborough, were accused of stealing six pewter spoons and a peck of meal, respectively.⁴⁴ Lock was later accused of unspecified charges and taken to trial by the King's prosecutor in the Court of Pleas and Quarters but found not guilty.⁴⁵ Osborough's luck did not improve,

⁴²All invoices from the Steele Papers.

⁴³Rowan County Criminal Action papers.

⁴⁴Rowan County Criminal Action papers.

⁴⁵Minutes of the Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters Aug. 6, 1772.

however. During the next two years she went to court against James Osborough, James Hemphill, and Matthew Long and lost each case.⁴⁶ Osborough also twice brought charges against tanner John Lewis Beard, the second time because he "Beat Wounded & Evily Treated her...".⁴⁷

While these women all seem to have had sporadic brushes with the law, Isabella Moore made a virtual career of it. A spinster, Isabella Moore had a distinct advantage over most the women in Rowan County in that she was a property owner. A deed for purchasing lot #4 in the southeast square of Salisbury from Andrew Bailie in 1763 marked her first appearance (out of ten) in the Rowan County legal records.⁴⁸ However, the majority of the time that Moore showed up in the records the consequences were far more serious than closing a land deal. An anonymous Rowan County lawyer recorded in his account book that in March 1765 Robert Johnston, a Salisbury hatter, took Moore all the way to Superior Court for slander. Whatever she said must have been rather powerful as Johnston paid his lawyer £5 to try

⁴⁶Linn, Rowan County Court Abstracts, II:366; II:374; II:412; II:445; II:448.

⁴⁷Rowan County Civil Action Papers; Rowan County Criminal Action Papers.

⁴⁸Linn, Rowan Deed Abstracts, 5:450,451. Interestingly, the person to whom Granville originally granted the lot was also a woman, Ann Hellier.

the case.⁴⁹ Moore may have accused Johnston of being the father of her six-month-old illegitimate child. However, when the Rowan County Orphan's Court took away the baby and put him under the guardianship of John Johnson four months later, Moore said he was the son of James Craige.⁵⁰

Moore's penchant for trouble continued into later years. She entered "a plea of Trespass, Assault, and Battery &c.," against tinsmith James Townsley for Damages in the amount of twenty pounds proclamation money in July 1767.⁵¹ Only nine months later Moore was charged with stealing a shift and a handkerchief from Eleanor Morris, and at the trial in April she was found guilty and sentenced "to receive 30 lashes on her bare back at the public whipping post at 3 o'clock this afternoon."⁵²

In her book Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies Julia Cherry Spruill wrote: "Superior women in frontier settlements were strong, daring, and self-reliant,

⁴⁹Anonymous Lawyer's Account book, The Macay-McNeely Papers, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁵⁰Minutes of the Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters, July 13, 1765. In February, 1775, when he was ten years old Isabella's son, also named James Craige, was apprenticed to William Ireland to learn the art of a cordwainer until he was twenty-one. Minutes of the Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters, Feb. 8, 1775.

⁵¹DAH, C.R.085.325.1, Civil Action Papers.

⁵²Rowan County Criminal Action papers; Rowan Court of Pleas and Quarters Abstracts, 3:23.

as well as skillful and industrious."⁶⁵ Ester and Anna Baker, and even Isabella Moore, are just a few examples of that statement's truth. However, Ester, Anna Baker, and Isabella Moore were more than superior women on the frontier, they were artisans who, spun, wove, and sewed in addition to their normal household chores. Because of the exploitation of married women's economic lives by their husbands, the actual number of Rowan County women who produced thread, cloth, and clothing, or who contributed their needlework skills to their husband's craft will never be known. The identification of a few female artisans through occasional legal documents and evidence that not all women practiced these skills as part of housewifery shows that the traditional interpretation of women's work in the southern backcountry fostered by Julia Spruill Cherry and others needs to be re-evaluated. Furthermore, this investigation into the presence of women artisans in Rowan County provides a more complete and detailed view of the crafts conducted in the backcountry than historians have offered in the past.

Although acknowledging the additional economic roles women filled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for numerous reasons previous authors have not formally called these women artisans. As Mary Blewett notes in the introduction to her book Men, Women and Work, women's work and labor experiences have always been interpreted in the

context of the male paradigm.⁵³ Historians have portrayed the female work experience in terms of the numerous differences from rather than the obvious similarity (both resulted in production) to the male model. In many recent studies of artisans in urban areas on the cusp of industrialization, women seamstresses are portrayed not as skilled artisans entering the work force due to economic forces beyond their control but as interlopers who willingly undercut male journeyman tailors to get a job.⁵⁴

The differences between women and men artisans include training, work locations, and economic reality. Although in Rowan County many orphaned girls learned how to spin or weave through apprenticeships identical to the boys in the county, in New England and the Middle Colonies large manufactories or spinning schools were a favorite mode of "poor relief" which provided women with a skill.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, women's training did not include the unspoken expectation (which served as the foundation of all male

⁵³Mary H. Blewett, Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910 (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. xix.

⁵⁴Charles G. Steffen, The Mechanics of Baltimore (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 45; Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 44, 45, 124; Howard Rock, Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press), p. 281.

⁵⁵Sumner, pp. 38, 40.

apprenticeships and journeyman positions) that age, experience, and hard work could lead them to the highest economic level as a self-employed master.⁵⁶

In Out to Work Alice Kessler-Harris points out that training in skills associated with housewifery offered none of the economic protection of the traditional apprenticeships. Even though occupations such as spinster or weaver could be quite lucrative, they were taught to women as future wives with household subsistence, not full-time employment, in mind.⁵⁷ The fact that most women artisans worked within their homes and used their profits to run the household rather than expand businesses did not lessen their skill, however.

The recognition of women working as spinsters and weavers in Rowan County should also help destroy the "superwoman" myth of the colonial housewife who cooked and preserved everything the family ate; reared the children; spun, wove, and dyed the material out of which she sewed the family's clothes and knitted their stockings; took care of the garden; worked the fields when her husband and sons were unable; and served as nurse and midwife to her family and

⁵⁶Hirsch, p. 7.

⁵⁷Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work: A History of Wage Earning Women in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 14.

neighborhood.⁵⁸ Perpetuated by the Centennial celebration of 1876 and the subsequent colonial revival period, the myth continues due to the lack of serious research on colonial women in the South. Perhaps the knowledge that women worked as artisans in the southern backcountry rather than simply augmenting the skills of the backwoods housewife, will result in wider recognition of the existence of colonial women artisans.

⁵⁸Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), p. 12.

CONCLUSION

Forty-one years ago Carl Bridenbaugh wrote The Colonial Craftsmen and the recent publication of a new edition of the book attests to its prominence as the only study to provide a view of early American artisans and their trades. Since that time, an interest in the history of the "inarticulate" in eighteenth-century American society and the development of new research techniques has led to quite a few studies of the political and economic behavior of urban artisans. Craftsmen who lived in rural areas, especially in the South, with its agricultural economy and use of bound labor, have been ignored by this genre.

The reputation of the backcountry South as a crude, frontier area originated by William Byrd and Charles Woodmason, and perpetuated by many contemporary historians, led to the assumption by Bridenbaugh and others that no artisans, other than those in the most basic crafts, worked in the backcountry. The one exception to this situation was the Moravians, a religious group that settled the Wachovia Tract in eastern Rowan County, North Carolina. Importing their artisans from Europe and their other American settlements in Pennsylvania, the Moravians allowed the entire backcountry to benefit from their variety of craftsmen.

A comparison of craftsman in the geographic area outside (and mainly to the west) of Wachovia in Rowan County, and their Moravian counterparts does not support this traditional interpretation of artisans in the southern backcountry. All of the artisans working in Rowan County during the third quarter of the eighteenth-century, including the Moravians, were part of the huge wave of immigration to the region from the middle colonies. As such, they all faced the same challenges and had similar needs in settling the frontier. Not surprisingly, the first groups of settlers to Rowan County and Wachovia brought along very similar complements of artisans: blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, saddlers, millwrights, and carpenters.

The more people who came to the backcountry, the more the area developed. Artisans in additional trades, such as hatters, joiners, masons coopers, turners, wheelwrights, potters and gunsmiths arrived. Women who had come to the backcountry with their families worked as professional spinsters, weavers, and dressmakers. The improvement and growth of the road and ferry system enlarged local trade networks across the backcountry to the coast and to England and north to Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. With the creation of Rowan County in 1753, many artisans set up shop in Salisbury, the county seat, to take advantage of the potential clientele whom had business at Court. Soon

Salisbury, full of taverns, stores, and a full complement of craft shops including many luxury trades, was the economic center of the northwest Carolina frontier.

As Salisbury and Rowan County flourished, economic life on the Wachovia Tract languished in comparison. Under the strict supervision and monetary support of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania and Europe, the brethren in North Carolina were continually prohibited from capitalizing on the developing backcountry and expanding their first town, Bethabara (except in a piecemeal fashion), because of the plans for a central town of trade and manufacture. Although Wachovia did a steadily growing business among its neighbors (especially through its community store), the longer Church officials delayed the site selection, town planning, and construction of the new town, Salem, the more potential profit they lost.

In the seventeen years before Salem was officially inhabited the Church was never able to supply the Wachovia Brethren with all the crafts they needed. The absence of some of these crafts, such as a hatter, a clothier, a tinsmith, a silversmith, or a chairmaker, meant that the Brethren either had to adapt and do without the objects these artisans produced or procure them from another source, which the Church strongly discouraged. Since Rowan County artisans practiced all of the above crafts, it also meant the Church was losing even more money.

The strict financial restrictions under which the Moravian Church placed the Wachovia artisans alienated those artisans who believed they could increase their income by working alone, and a few of them left the Church to set up business in Rowan County. Other artisans who chafed under the social and religious restrictions of the Church were returned to Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile in Rowan County, artisans were busy filling the needs of all classes of consumers. Work ranged from the ordinary, shoeing horses, sharpening tools, weaving and fulling cloth, to the extraordinary, building paneled room interiors, fashioning fancy hats out of beaver pelts, and making silver shoe buckles. When they weren't busy working, some artisans chose to become involved in the civic affairs of Rowan County. Four of the eight Sheriffs who served between 1753 and 1770 were artisans; and other artisans filled the office of justice of the peace, constable, and road commissioner. Although a handful of Rowan County residents, including about forty artisans, became involved in the Regulator Movement and fought the rampant corruption which had occurred among the backcountry courthouse rings, the county's location on the west side of the Yadkin river kept it removed from most of the crisis.

Between 1753 and 1770 at least 306 individuals identifying themselves as artisans in Rowan County practiced a variety of trades for an eager backcountry populations.

Their presence proves that while the agricultural and rural nature, as well as the comparative geographic isolation of the backcountry, may have made it difficult for craftsmen to develop a big enough clientele to survive, those artisans adapted to the situation and succeeded.

Appendix A

ANDREW KREMSEY'S INDENTURE TO
JACOB FREDRIC PFEIL, SHOEMAKER

This INDENTURE made the Sixth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty Nine, WITNESSETH, That Andrew Kremser, Son of the late Andrew Kremser of Friedensthal in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, Yoeman, HATH, of his own voluntary Will placed and bound himself Apprentice to Jacob Friedric Pfeil of Bethabara in the County of Rowan in the Province of North Carolina Shoemaker, to be taught in the Trade Science of Occupation of a Shoemaker, and with him as an Apprentice to serve from the Day of the Date hereof till the Seventh Day of March which will be in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Seventy four; during all which Term the said Apprentice his said Master well & faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, and his lawfull Commands gladly do, and behave in all Respects as a faithful Apprentice ought to do both to his Master and all his.

And the said Master his said Apprentice the said Trae which he now useth as a Shoemaker, with all Things thereunto belonging, shall & will teach and instruct, or cause to be well and sufficiently taught and instructed, after the best Manner he can; and shall and will also find & allow unto his said Apprentice Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging and Apparel, both Linnen & Woolen, & all other Necessaries fit and convenient for such an Apprentice, during the Term

aforesaid, & at the End of the said Term shall & will give to the said Apprentice One new Suit of Apparell.

In Witness whereof the Parties above named have to these Presents interchangeably set their Hands & Seals the Day & Year first above written.

Done before me one of His Majesty's	()
Justices of the Peace for the	Friedrich Jacob Pfeil
County of Rowan,	()
The Day & Year above mentioned.	
Jacob Loesch	

KNOW ALL YE MEN by these Presents

That I Jacob Pfeil of Bethabara in Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina Shoemaker, am held & firmly bound unto Frederick Marshall of Bethabara aforesaid, in the Sum of One hundred Pounds of current Money of this Province, to be paid to the said Frederick Marshall, his certain Attorney Executors Administrators or Assigns: To which Payment well and truly to be made I bind myself, my heirs Executors and Administrators and every one of them firmly by these Presents. Sealed with my Seal and dated the Sixth Day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Nine and in the Ninth year of His Majesty's Reign.

THE CONDITION of this Bond is, that if the said Jacob Frederick Pfeil doth not remove his Apprentice Andrew Kremser this Day bound to him out of the Brethren's Settlements of Bethabara or Salem, nor bind him to any other Master, without the consent of the said Frederic Marshall or his Heirs previously obtained. AND during the whole Time of

his Apprenticeship lodgeth and boards him the said Andrew Kremser, in the Single Brethren's house, according to the Custom of the United Brethren. AND if the said Apprentice should turn out to be of such Life and Manners, that according to the Rules of the Brethren he could not be tolerated amongst them, and in that Case at the Request of the said Frederic Marshall or his Heirs the said Jacob Frederic Pfeil shall bind out his said Apprentice to an other Master not residing at the Settlement aforesaid. OR, if the said Jacob Frederick Pfeil himself should remove from the said Settlements, and shall than bind out his said Apprentice to an other Master residing at Salem, and in both the last Cases shall content himself with such Sum or Satisfaction as he shall be able to get of the said Apprentice's new Master THEN the above Obligation to be void or else to be and remain in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed & delivered in the Presence of Jacob Loesch Nicholas Lorenz Bagge	Jacob Frederick Pfeil (Seal)	() (Seal)
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Source: RM II, 608-609.

Appendix B

EDWARD HUGHES' LAST MEETING WITH THE MORAVIANS

According to the Wachovia Diary, 16 March 1771.

"... for this afternoon the part of Regulators from the Yadkin appeared as they had said and summoned the Brn. Marshall, Bonn and Bagge to the Tavern. They were told if they had any thing to say they might come to Br. Marshall's room, so a dozen of them came, with Edward Hughes, who acted as spokesman. His first complaint was that the Stewards had been unjustly treated, in that Br. Jacob Loesch had measured for himself a piece of land on which their father had paid a sum of money, -the amount not stated, -to Carter, at the time County Clerk; and that Br. Jacob Loesch had then sold the land to his brothers, George and Adam, -of whom the former was present, -and that they had settled on it. As all these transactions took place before the arrival in Wachovia of the three Brethren above mentioned, they answered that the only thing to be done would be to summon Jacob Loesch to North Carolina to meet and settled with the Stewards, and that they would have to send the call themselves. The other complaint Hughes made on his own account, saying that he had paid a certain sum of money to Mr. Corbin for the land on which Bethabara stands; he could show no written proof of this, but demanded £30, saying many harsh and untrue things about Br. Joseph, who had taken this land from him, etc. In short, the trumped-up complaint of

these people was only groundless babbling, but they were answered politely and seriously, and they and their unfounded pretensions were referred to the persons concerned, and with that they left. They may have wanted to try whether the terrifying name of Regulator would not frighten us into giving them what they wanted."

From Fries, et al, The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina I, 452.

Appendix C

DEFINITION of CRAFTSMEN

Date in parentheses refers to the earliest appearance of the written word.

Blacksmith - A smith who works in iron or black metal, as distinguished from a 'whitesmith' who works in tin or white metal. (1453)

Bricklayer - One who lays the bricks in building. (1485)

Brickmaker - One who makes bricks as his trade. (1465)

Carpenter - 'An artificer in wood'; as distinguished from a joiner, cabinetmaker, etc., one who does the heavier and stronger work in wood, as the framework of houses, ships, etc. (1325)

Clothier - One engaged in the cloth trade: a. A maker of woollen cloth; b. esp. One who performs the operations subsequent to the weaving; c. A fuller and dresser of cloth (U.S.); d. A seller of cloth and men's clothes. (1377)

Cooper - A craftsman who makes and repairs wooden vessels formed of staves and hoops, as casks, buckets, tubs. (1415)

Cordwainer - (originally meant a dealer or maker of cordovan leather; then a worker in this type leather; a shoemaker) Now obsolete as the ordinary name, but often persisting as the name of the trade-guild or company of shoemakers, and sometimes used by modern trade unions to include all branches of the trade.

Cabinetmaker - One whose business it is to make cabinets and the finer kind of joiner's work. (1681)

Gunsmith - One whose occupation it is to make and repair small firearms. (1588)

Gunstocker - One who fits the stocks of guns to the barrels. (1689)

Hatter - a maker or dealer in hats. (1389)

Joiner - a craftsman whose occupation it is to construct things by joining pieces of wood; a worker in wood who does lighter and more ornamental work than that of carpenter, as the construction of the furniture and fittings of a house, ship, etc. (1386)

Mason - a builder and worker in stone; a workman who dresses and lays stone in a building. (1205)

Millwright - An engineer or mechanic whose occupation it is to design or set up mills or mill machinery. (1481)

Potter - a maker of pots, or of earthenware vessels. (1100)

Saddler - One who makes or deals in saddles or saddlery. (1389) Saddletree - the wooden framework which forms the foundation of a saddle.

Shoemaker - One whose trade it is to make shoes. (1381)

Silversmith - A worker in silver; one who makes silverware. (1000)

Tailor - one whose business is to make clothes; a maker of the outer garments of men, also sometimes those of women, esp. riding habits, walking costumes, etc. (1297)

Tanner - One whose occupation is to tan hides or to convert them into leather by tanning. (975)

Tinner - 2. One who works in tin; a tin-plater; tinman, tinsmith. (1611) Tinsmith - a worker in tin; a maker of tin utensils; a whitesmith. (1858)

Turner - one who turns or fashions objects of wood, metal, bone, etc. on a lathe. (1400)

Wagon[maker] - [one who builds] strong, four-wheeled vehicles designed for the transport of heavy goods.

Wheelwright - a man who makes wheels and wheeled vehicles. (1482)

Source: The Oxford English Dictionary

Appendix D

MORAVIAN ARTISANS WORKING ON THE WACHOVIA TRACT,
1753-1770

<u>Name</u>	<u>Craft</u>	<u>Arrival Date</u>
Gottfried Aust	Potter	1755
Lorenz Bagge	Joiner	1766
John Fredrich Beck	Cabinetmaker	1766
John Valentine Beck	Gunstocker	1764
Andreas Broesing	Joiner	1765
Sarah Buttner	Weaver	1765
Rudolph Christ	Potter	1766
Charles Culver	Brickmaker	1766
Enert Enerson	Cabinetmaker	1764
Johann Jacob Ernst	Tanner	1766
Heinrich Feldhausen	Shoemaker	1754
Johannes Samuel Flex	Weaver	1766
Gottlieb Fockel	Tailor	1766
Maria Elisabeth Krause Goetje	Glovesmaker	1766
Daniel Hauser	Blacksmith	1765
Georg Peter Hauser	Weaver	1762
George Hauser	Blacksmith	1755
Michael Hauser Sr.	Weaver	1753
Michael Hauser Jr.	Tanner	1758
Christian Heckenwalder	Mason	1766
Johann Heinrich Herbst	Tanner	1762
Charles Holder	Saddler	1766
George Holder	Carpenter	1766
James Hurst	Weaver	1766
Erich Ingebretsen	Millwright	1753
Jacob Kapp	Turner	1756
Johan Anton Kastner	Blacksmith	1768
Adam Koffler	Clockmaker	1762
Peter Krohn	Cooper	1769
Johnson Martin	Carpenter	1768
Johann Samuel Mau	Bricklayer	1762
Joseph Mueller	Gunsmith	1766
Joseph Mueller	Potter/Mason	1766
Ludwig Moeller	Potter	1766
Tycho Nissen	Gravestone Cutter/ Wheelwright	1770
Mattheus Oesterlein	Blacksmith	1766
Hans Peterson	Tailor	1753
Frederick Jacob Pfeil	Shoemaker	1753
Gottfried Praezel	Weaver	1766
Melchoir Rasp	Bricklayer	1755
Christian Gottlieb Reuter	Surveyor	1763
David Rominger	Carpenter	1769
Johannes Fredrich Schaub	Cooper	1755
Bernhard Schill	Weaver	1766
Heinrich Schmid	Blacksmith	1769

Johann Christoph Schmidt	Brickmaker	1755
Johann George Schmidt	Blacksmith	1754
Johann Heinrich Schor	Carpenter	1759
Gottlieb Shober	Tailor	1768
John Henry Spoenhauser	Cooper	1755
Paul Christian Stauber	Saddler	1768
John Christian Steup	Blacksmith	1760
Peter Stotz	Brickmaker	1762
Christian Gottlieb Strehle	Tanner	1770
Christian Rudolph Strehle	Carpenter	1770
Johannes Tesch	Saddler	1765
Christian Triebel	Carpenter	1755
Jacob van der Merk	Millwright	1756
William Adam Wolff	Carpenter	1769

APPENDIX E

ROWAN COUNTY ARTISANS, 1753-1770

NAME	CRAFT	BEGINNING DATE	END DATE
ADAMS, JAMES	WEAVER	1767	1790
ADAMS, JOHN	POTTER	1755	1790
ALEXANDER, DANIEL	JOINER	1763	1790
ALEXANDER, MOSES	BLACKSMITH	1752	1790
ALLISON, ANDREW	TAILOR	1751	1780
ATKINS, JOSEPH	CARPENTER	1770	1778
BAKER, HENRY	WAGONMAKER	1757	1772
BARR, JAMES	WEAVER	1753	1788
BARRS, SARAH	SPINSTER	1768	1768
BARTLESON, RICHARD	CHAIRMAKER	1764	1787
BARTON, WILLIAM	COOPER	1770	1772
BAXTER, GERMAN	SILVERSMITH	1765	1774
BEARD, JOHN LEWIS	TANNER	1755	1789
BELL, WILLIAM & WIFE	SEAMSTRESS	1766	1790
BERGER, GEORGE HENRY	TANNER	1761	1805
BEROTH, HENRY	POTTER	1766	1800
BETZ, ANDREAS (ANDREW)	GUNSMITH	1766	1795
BICKERSTAFF, JOHN	WEAVER	1763	1776
BILES, THOMAS	WHEELWRIGHT	1761	1784
BILLINGSLEY, JAMES	CARPENTER	1765	1790
BOISE, BOSTIAN	TAILOR	1757	1758
BONDRICK, NICHOLAS	CARPENTER	1761	1761
BONES, WILLIAM	TAILOR	1769	1790
BOONE, JONATHAN	JOINER	1756	1778
BOONE, MARY	SPINSTER	1756	1765
BOWDER, BENJAMIN	TAILOR	1762	1762
BOWERS, JAMES	HATTER	1756	1778
BRADLEY, JOHN	CARPENTER	1770	1794
BROCK, ELIAS	CARPENTER	1753	1767
BROWN, JACOB	WHEELWRIGHT	1760	1808
BROWN, MICHAEL	WHEELWRIGHT	1758	1807
BROWN, WILLIAM	MILLWRIGHT	1767	1787
BRUNER, GEORGE	GUNSMITH	1757	1793
BRYAN, JOSEPH	SADDLER	1759	1790
BULLIN, JOHN	COOPER	1767	1795
BUNTIN, JOHN SR.	WEAVER	1762	1790
CARSON, JAMES	TANNER	1753	1784
CARSON, SAMUEL	SHOEMAKER	1767	1777
CARTER, JAMES	MILLWRIGHT	1752	1765
CATHEY, ANDREW	SHOEMAKER	1749	1790
CATHEY, GEORGE	MILLWRIGHT	0	0
CAVET, JAMES	CARPENTER	1769	1790
CLARK, JOHN	WAGONMAKER	1765	1789
COOK, ROBERT	TAILOR	1753	0
COOK, THOMAS	TAILOR	1750	1790
COOK, WILLIAM JR.	TANNER	1769	1812
COOPER, SAMUEL	BLACKSMITH	1770	1782
COWAN, JOHN	GUNSMITH	1759	1789

COWAN, WILLIAM	CARPENTER	1759	1791
COX, ZACHARIAH	COOPER	1759	1761
CROSBY, ANN	SEAMSTRESS	0	0
CUNNINGHAM, JOHN	TANNER	1755	1762
DAVIDSON, GEORGE	TANNER	1749	1790
DAVIS, JAMES	CARPENTER	1759	1765
DENNY, EDMOND	COOPER	1770	1790
DICKEY, JOHN	GUNSMITH	1762	1808
DICKIE, THOMAS	MILLWRIGHT	1768	1807
DICKSON, JOSEPH	BLACKSMITH	1769	1801
DICKSON, MICHAEL	WEAVER	1756	1756
DILLS, HENRY	SADDLER	1769	1795
DOBBIN, ALEXANDER SR.	SHOEMAKER	1755	1798
DOBBINS, JAMES	BLACKSMITH	1759	1791
DOBBINS, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1769	1800
DONNELL, JOHN	WHEELWRIGHT	1767	1792
DOUB, JOHN	TANNER	1763	1810
DOUTHID, JOHN SR.	WEAVER	1759	1784
DRY, GEORGE	CORDWAINER	1769	1769
DUNHAM, HUGH	HATTER	1763	1792
ELROD, ROBERT	WEAVER	1759	1790
ENDSLEY, ALEXANDER	SHOEMAKER	1770	1790
ENYART, ABRAM	WEAVER	1770	1791
ERWIN, ARTHUR	TAILOR	1766	1790
ERWIN, JAMES JR.	SADDLETREE MAKER	1766	1790
EVINGTON, CATHERINE	SPINSTER	1770	1770
FARILLOW, JOHN	WHEELWRIGHT	1758	1767
FERGISON, JEAN	SPINSTER	1769	1769
FERGUSON, ANDREW	CARPENTER	1764	1797
FINDLEY, JOHN	COOPER	1754	1790
FLETCHER, JAMES	WEAVER	1754	1824
FORBUS, ARTHUR	WEAVER	1764	1764
FORD, JOHN	CARPENTER	1767	1795
FORSTER, HUGH	TANNER	1755	1762
FOSTER, JOSEPH	BLACKSMITH	1770	1811
FRAZIER, JOHN	MILLWRIGHT	1759	1794
FREY, GEORGE	BLACKSMITH	1766	1812
GAMBELL, JAMES	SHOEMAKER	1759	1794
GARRISON, ISAAC	WEAVER	1767	1792
GAUNTT, ZEBULON	WHEELWRIGHT	1757	1757
GILLESPIE, JOHN	COOPER	1759	1790
GILLESPIE, MATTHEW	CORDWAINER	1753	1759
GOSS, FREDERICK	COOPER	1759	1804
GOYER, JACOB	SADDLER	1770	1770
GRAHAM, JAMES	BLACKSMITH	1751	1790
GRAHAM, RICHARD	SADDLER	1751	1779
GRANT, WILLIAM	WEAVER	1768	1804
GRAVES, CONRAD	BLACKSMITH	1767	1820
GRAY, GEORGE	TAILOR	1769	1805
GROB, HEINRICH (GRUBB, HENRY)	MILLWRIGHT	1763	1763
HALL, DAVID	BLACKSMITH	1762	1790
HALL, THOMAS	WEAVER	1762	1790

HAUSER, GEORGE	BLACKSMITH	1755	1796
HAUSER, MARTIN	CARPENTER	1754	1761
HENLY, DERBY	WEAVER	0	1808
HILL, JOHN	WEAVER	1769	1794
HODGIN, ROBERT	WEAVER	1763	1780
HOGDEN, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1766	1766
HORD, JOHN	CARPENTER	1769	1769
HUGHES, EDWARD	MILLWRIGHT	1748	1786
HUGHES, JOHN	TAILOR	1767	1790
HUGHEY, HENRY	WEAVER	1752	1791
HUGHEY, SAMUEL	BLACKSMITH	1769	1834
IRELAND, WILLIAM SR.	CORDWAINER	1758	1790
JOHNSON, JOHN	HOUSE	1766	1790
	CARPENTER		
JOHNSTON, GIDEON SR.	SHOEMAKER	1765	1807
JOHNSTON, PETER	CARPENTER	1768	1768
JOHNSTON, ROBERT JR.	HATTER	1757	1777
JOHNSTON, THOMAS	HATTER	1757	1816
JONES, DAVID	WEAVER	1753	1795
KERR, DAVID	WEAVER	1759	1804
KERR, JAMES	JOINER	1756	1804
KERR, NATHANIEL	TANNER	1765	1790
KINDER, CASPER	HATTER	1768	1785
KNOX, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1758	1810
LASH, ADAM	BLACKSMITH	1759	1771
LEONARD, VALENTINE SR.	TAILOR	1759	1782
LEWIS, DANIEL	WEAVER	1759	1801
LITTLE, PETER	TANNER	1770	1774
LOCK, ANN	SPINSTER	1770	1770
LOCK, FRANCIS	CARPENTER	1752	1796
LONG, MATTHEW	WEAVER	1755	1764
LUCKEY, JOHN JR.	HATTER	1762	1789
LUCKEY, ROBERT	WHEELWRIGHT	1756	1772
LUCKEY, SAMUEL	TANNER	1756	1798
LYCANS, HANCE	BLACKSMITH	1759	1790
LYNN, HUGH	COOPER	1770	1785
LYNN, WILLIAM	BLACKSMITH	1753	1758
MACKIE, WILLIAM	TANNER	1755	1755
MARSHALL, GEORGE	HOUSE	1767	1778
	JOINER		
MARTIN, MOSES	BLACKSMITH	1759	1793
MEBANE, WILLIAM	WEAVER	1753	1759
MERRILL, BENJAMIN	BLACKSMITH	1740	1771
MICHAEL, CONRAD	TANNER	1756	1788
MILAKIN, JOSEPH	WEAVER	1752	1757
MILLER, FREDERICK	TANNER	1768	1785
MILLER, JOHN	COOPER	1757	1807
MILLER, MICHAEL	COOPER	1753	1774
MITCHELL, JOHN	WHEELWRIGHT	1759	1790
MOCK, MRS. DEWALT	SPINSTER	0	0
MONTGOMERY, JOHN	WEAVER	1770	1790
MOORE, ISABELLA	SPINSTER	1768	1768
MOORE, WILLIAM	WEAVER	1759	1784
MORR, MICHAEL	POTTER	1765	1784

MORR, SUSANNA	POTTER	1760	1784
MORRISON, JAMES	TAILOR	1763	1790
McADOW, JAMES	SHOEMAKER	1761	1790
McBROOM, MRS. JAMES	SPINSTER	1769	1769
McCLELAND, WILLIAM	COOPER	1770	1781
McCONNAHEY, JAMES	SHOEMAKER	1767	1804
McCONNELL, JOHN	WEAVER	1752	1791
McCRERRY, MARY	SPINSTER	1769	1769
McCULLOCH, JAMES	SADDLER	1755	1792
McCULLOUGH, JAMES	BRICKLAYER	1770	0
McDOWELL, DAVID	JOINER	1760	1761
McHENRY, HENRY	TAILOR	1758	1771
McMACKIN, ANDREW	BLACKSMITH	1768	1768
McPHEETERS, DANIEL	COOPER	1757	1793
NEAL, WILLIAM	WEAVER	1758	1790
NEWBERRY, ANDREW	BLACKSMITH	1769	1770
NEWBERRY, ANNAS	SPINSTER	1769	1769
NEWBERRY, WILLIAM	CARPENTER	1769	1769
O'NEAL, ARTHUR	SHOEMAKER	1768	1778
OESTERLEIN, MATTHEUS	BLACKSMITH	1766	1798
OGLE, HERCULES	BLACKSMITH	1765	1766
ORTON, JANE	SPINSTER	1766	1766
ORTON, RACHEL	SPINSTER	1766	1766
OSBROUGH, AGNES	SPINSTER	1760	1760
PARKS, MARGARET	SPINSTER	1761	1761
PATTERSON, JAMES	BLACKSMITH	1759	1790
PATTON #1, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1761	1800
PENNY, ALEXANDER	COOPER	1761	1790
PHILIPS, AVENTON	BLACKSMITHS	1753	1782
PINCER, SARAH	SPINSTER	1768	1768
PORTER, THOMAS	COOPER	1765	1789
PRICE, WILLIAM	BLACKSMITH	1768	1790
PRICHARD, JAMES	TAILOR	1767	1790
QUINE, FRANCIS	TAILOR	1762	1790
RAMSEY, JAMES	SHOEMAKER	1767	1790
RANDLEMAN, CHRISTOPHER	WEAVER	1761	1778
RAPER, WILLIAM	SHOEMAKER	1759	1798
REED, SAMUEL	CORDWAINER	1753	1790
REYNOLD, FRANCIS	SHOEMAKER	1756	1784
ROARKE, JAMES	SHOEMAKER	1767	1689
ROBINSON, BENJAMIN	WEAVER	1761	1777
RODGERS, JOHN	SADDLER	1768	1787
RODSMITH, PAUL	BLACKSMITH	1770	1790
ROGERS, ROBERT	BLACKSMITH	1765	1765
ROSS, JOSEPH	BLACKSMITH	1768	1790
RUDDACK, JOHN	SADDLER	1761	1802
RYAN, EDWARD	WEAVER	1759	1790
SCHMIDT, GEORGE	BLACKSMITH	1754	1791
SEVITZ, GEORGE	MILLWRIGHT	1768	1778
SHINN, SAMUEL	MASON	1759	1762
SIMISON, JAMES	TURNER	1764	1778
SIMISON, ROBERT	WHEELWRIGHT	1757	1790
SMILEY, JAMES	WEAVER	1767	1767
SMITH, DAVID	BLACKSMITH	1759	1787

SMITH, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1756	1800
SMITH, SAMUEL	BLACKSMITH	1765	1765
SMITH, THOMAS	WEAVER	1752	1783
SNAP, CHRISTIAN	SPINSTER	1768	1768
SNAP, ELIZABETH	SPINSTER	1768	1768
SPREAKER, GEORGE	BLACKSMITH	1769	1790
STAMON, SARAH	SPINSTER	1768	1768
STEEL, ANDREW	JOINER	1766	1790
STEEL, NINIAN	WHEELWRIGHT	1768	1793
STEELE, ELIZABETH GILLESPIE	WEAVER	1733	1791
STOGDON, JOHN	BLACKSMITH	1767	1767
STOREY, MARTHA	SPINSTER	1762	1762
STREHORN, GILBERT	TAILOR	1758	1790
STUART, JAMES	WEAVER	1752	1798
THOM(P)SON, JAMES	COOPER	1760	1781
THOM(P)SON, JOHN	COOPER	1755	1760
THOMPSON, JOHN	CORDWAINER	1753	1774
TOWNSLEY, JAMES	TINSMITH	1768	1791
TUCK(ER), ENOCH	WICAR	1767	1778
WALKER, MARY (& ROBERT)	SPINSTER	1768	1790
WALLACE, OLIVER	JOINER	1764	1766
WALTON, RICHARD	TANNER	1762	1790
WASSON, ARCHIBALD	CORDWAINER	1759	1785
WASSON, JOSEPH	SHOEMAKER	1763	1790
WATSON, SAMUEL	SHOEMAKER	1758	1758
WATT, WILLIAM	CLOATHIER	1753	1790
WEATHERSPOONS, JOHN	WEAVER	1759	1781
WHITE, THOMAS	TAILOR	1759	1801
WHITSETT, JOHN	CARPENTER	1753	1753
WILEY, JOHN	WHEELWRIGHT	1764	1790
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM	HATTER	1758	1783
WILSON, JOAN	SPINSTER	1769	1769
WILSON, WILLIAM	CARPENTER	1759	1803
WOODS #1, ROBERT	CARPENTER	1757	1766
WOODS #2, ROBERT	WEAVER	1768	1803
WOODS #3, ROBERT	COOPER	1767	1767
WOODS, SAMUEL	WEAVER	1754	1781
WOODSON, DAVID	SILVERSMITH	1769	1816
WORK, HENRY	CARPENTER	1765	1795
WRIGHT, ABRAHAM	WEAVER	1770	1770
ZEVELY, HENRY	TAILOR	1759	1790
ZIMMERMAN, CHRISTIAN	WEAVER	1759	1790

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