

NOBODY'S CHILDREN: THE TREATMENT OF ILLEGITIMATE  
CHILDREN IN THREE NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES, 1760-1790

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

Lynne Howard Frazer

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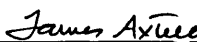
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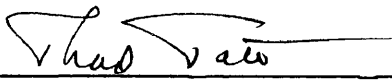
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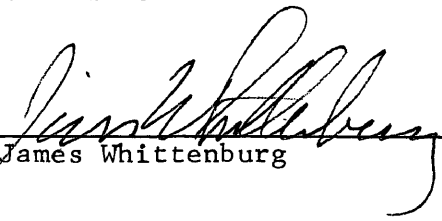
Master of Arts

  
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Dedicated to my father,  
Joseph William Howard  
who was always a gentleman and a scholar,  
and to my husband,  
Russell,  
the one who waited.

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the treatment and status of illegitimate children in three North Carolina counties from 1760 to 1790. The laws against bastards and bastardy and the North Carolina county courts application of these laws provide clues to the acceptance and treatment of illegitimate children in North Carolina society.

New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties were chosen because of the completeness of their surviving court records, and because the counties represent three distinct regional areas. Treatment of the parents of bastards as well as the county courts' treatment of illegitimate children was examined and compared regionally. The court minutes include fines for bastardy, charges for bastard maintenance, and the length of the maintenance periods. The records reveal that the county courts were not interested in punishing sexual transgressors but were primarily concerned with guaranteeing maintenance of bastard children. Evidence suggests that parents who could afford maintenance were not brought before the courts.

The apprenticeships of mulatto and white illegitimate children were examined together with the apprenticeships of legitimate white orphans. The age at apprenticeship, the length of the indenture, the assigned trade, and terms of the agreement were compared for these groups.

The records reveal that white bastards and legitimate white orphans received almost the same treatment by the county courts. Though white illegitimate children were often apprenticed at younger ages than their legitimate peers, both were bound until the usual age of majority and were apprenticed to similar trades with similar terms of agreement.

Only mulatto bastards were stigmatized by the county courts and often received longer-than-usual indentures. Female mulatto bastards most frequently received extended indentures. Apprenticeships for mulatto children often did not include stipulations for learning a trade and perhaps indicate the use of mulatto bastards merely as laborers.

County differences were slight and the treatment of bastards and orphans by the county courts did not change over time. The court records suggest that eighteenth-century North Carolina society was not too concerned with bastardy and bastards, except in cases involving miscegenation.

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## INTRODUCTION

Many historians have highlighted the fines and punishments of the "lewd" parents of bastard children, but few have specifically examined the treatment of illegitimate children. A few early historians such as Alice Morse Earle and Phillip A. Bruce briefly discussed bastardy and bridal pregnancy in sweeping chapters on colonial society, but failed to investigate the fate of the illegitimate children.<sup>1</sup> Early research focused on the parents of illegitimate children, and strongly centered on New England and the Puritans.

Modern social historians are now beginning to carefully examine bastardy, moving away from early moralistic writings. Bastardy as a part of the social and legal history of women and its relevance to the study of blacks and communities are expanding areas of social history research.

Peter Laslett and his colleagues have extensively examined illegitimacy and family structure in England and have essentially opened a new field of historical research. Laslett's works, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, and Bastardy and its Comparative History, combine new social history methods with quantitative research.<sup>2</sup> Many historians have noted the high proportion of illegitimate births in the late eighteenth century, a trend Laslett attributes to an intricate interplay of many factors. He believes the history of bastardy in England may be "Partially understood on

the hypothesis that something like a subsociety of the illegitimacy-prone may have existed over time."<sup>3</sup> Though Laslett and his colleagues are moving away from the old theories of "sexual laxity and vice" as the cause of the high illegitimacy rate, their research does not include the treatment of bastard children. Children are examined primarily in the context of proving the continuity of bastardy in families.<sup>4</sup> Laslett's research is primarily quantitative in nature and investigates the long-term trends of illegitimacy among the English.

Though Laslett and his colleagues have spearheaded the study of illegitimacy in England, little published research exists on bastardy and bastards in colonial America. Most historians still concentrate on New England, focusing primarily on the frequency of illegitimacy, not the social results of illegitimate birth for bastard children.<sup>5</sup> Only Alan D. Watson has touched briefly on the treatment of bastard children in his studies on public poor relief and orphanage in colonial North Carolina.<sup>6</sup>

Eighteenth-century North Carolina left little evidence of the treatment of bastard children. Scattered hints of attitudes towards bastards and bastardy can be gleaned from the surviving county court records. Fines for bastardy, charges for bastard maintenance, and apprenticeships of illegitimate children provide clues to the acceptance and treatment of bastard children.

The court minutes offer almost the only opportunity to examine the actual treatment of parents and their bastard children in eighteenth-century North Carolina. The county courts together with the Anglican parishes and the district superior courts were

responsible for public poor relief and the care of bastard children in the colony. Since the Anglican church and parish system was tenuous in North Carolina, few parish records survive, removing a potentially valuable source for examining the treatment of bastard children.

The county court records are an invaluable source of information for social historians. In addition to such activities as appointing ferry keepers and tobacco inspectors and granting licenses for keeping ordinaries and "victualling houses," the county courts bound out children and assigned guardians to orphans. According to the eighteenth-century definition, a child without a father was considered an orphan. Illegitimate children, without legal fathers, were usually bound out by the county courts to ensure the financial maintenance of the child.

While apprenticeship required the appointment of masters, the protection of orphans from abuse, and the enforcement of the indenture obligations, guardianship placed a greater strain on the county courts.<sup>7</sup> Orphans with enough estate to pay for their care were placed with guardians, making the courts responsible for ensuring proper care of the children as well as their estates.

Nobody's Children focuses on the orphans and illegitimate children bound out by the county courts, but does not examine the children who were wealthy enough to be appointed guardians. The records suggest that the Justices of the three counties examined were concerned with supervising guardianships, and may have appointed guardians even to wealthy bastard children. This possibility will be examined further in chapter two.

Nobody's Children closely examines the county court records of New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan--over a thirty-year period, 1760 to 1790. The first chapter reviews the laws of eighteenth-century North Carolina and the required punishments for fornication and bastardy. The apprenticeship system is also examined, setting the framework for understanding the courts' treatment of illegitimate children.

Chapter Two, "For the Maintenance of a Bastard Child," focuses on the county courts' application of the North Carolina laws. Fines for bastardy and maintenance fees indicate the treatment parents of bastards received in the three counties. The age at apprenticeship, the assigned trade and master, length of service, and the specific terms of the apprenticeship agreement all reveal the treatment illegitimate children received by the courts. By comparing the apprenticeships of legitimate orphans to the apprenticeships of illegitimate white and mulatto children, the court records reveal surprising contrasts. This chapter attempts to answer several questions. Were illegitimate children apprenticed to less favorable trades or perhaps bound out only as part of a "racket" for labor? Were bastard children stigmatized by their illegitimate birth? Were attitudes more lenient in the frontier regions?

The final chapter attempts to follow the bastard children through time, using surviving census records to see if illegitimate children stayed within their communities and became heads of households and perhaps slave owners. These sources offer other hints about the eighteenth-century attitude towards bastards in North Carolina.

New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties were chosen because of the completeness of their surviving court records, and because the counties represent three distinct regional areas. Though the Inferior Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions were required to meet quarterly, all of the reviewed counties have occasional sessions missing from the annual records. Of the three counties, New Hanover records have the most gaps, with over five years of court minutes missing. The gaps include: 1762, 1770, 1776, 1777, and 1778. Edgecombe County is also missing the 1777 county court records. The Revolutionary War interfered with the meeting of the courts as the Rowan minutes recorded in 1781:

Be it remembered that the British Army marched into Salisbury on Saturday preceeding the Febuary term, 1781 and continued in town till the Monday night or Tuesday morning following, therefore the court was not called according to the last adjournment.<sup>8</sup>

The Rowan records are the most complete, with only three sessions too deteriorated to read. The August 1780, August 1786, and November 1786 court records are unfortunately illegible.

In addition to gaps in the records, the county court minutes have other limitations for researchers investigating the treatment of fornicators and bastards. It is impossible to know how many parents of bastards were never summoned before the courts, or how many mothers successfully aborted illegitimate fetuses. Though an eighteenth-century North Carolina law "to prevent the murdering of bastard children" sought to prevent infanticide, it is impossible to know how many illegitimate children may have been quietly killed and never mentioned in the county court records.

By examining three geographical areas, the records offer an

opportunity to discover differences in regional attitudes towards bastards and bastardy, and to compare changes in the treatment of parents and children over time.

New Hanover County, located on the southeast coast of North Carolina, was first established in 1729.<sup>9</sup> As part of the coastal plain region, New Hanover was settled early, primarily by English settlers. During the initial stages of development, men of wealth and substance bought large tracts of land in this region.<sup>10</sup> Though the southeast began to develop quickly after 1740, with rice and indigo culture and the production of naval stores, the coastal counties remained relatively sparsely settled and the population increased only slightly. The low-lying, poorly drained land held little attraction for immigrants.<sup>11</sup> Due in part to the developing rice and indigo plantations, New Hanover was a predominant slaveholding county, perhaps an important factor in determining the need for labor and the apprenticeship of bastard and legitimate children.

Edgecombe County was formed from Bertie County in 1741.<sup>12</sup> Eighteenth-century Edgecombe was located in the northeastern section of North Carolina, a "markedly English area," strongly influenced by a steady immigration of Virginians. Northeastern North Carolina was the oldest settled part of the colony, due primarily to the Virginia immigrants.<sup>13</sup>

Located in the northwestern frontier region of North Carolina, Rowan County was established in 1753. In contrast to the older and more developed counties to the east, Rowan was settled primarily by Scotch-Irish and German immigrants from the north. Traveling

through the Shenandoah Valley, northern immigrants sought the relatively cheap and fertile land of the North Carolina backcountry.<sup>14</sup> With constant immigration and quick population growth, the frontier was often an area of social unrest. In 1766 Governor Arthur Dobbs wrote that "this province is settling faster than any on the continent, last autumn and winter, upwards of 1,000 wagons passed through Salisbury (in Rowan County) with families from the northward to settle in this province chiefly."<sup>15</sup> Other eighteenth-century writers also noticed the huge stream of immigrants to North Carolina. In 1768 a South Carolina newspaper recorded, "There is scarce any history either ancient or modern, which affords an account of such a rapid and sudden increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country, as that of North Carolina."<sup>16</sup>

Despite the quickly growing population, by 1775 there were only about a dozen small towns in North Carolina. Most inhabitants lived on farms.<sup>17</sup> Though most people were tied to the soil, New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties developed differently and perhaps produced people with different perspectives and attitudes towards bastards and bastardy.

Beyond the surviving statistics, hidden in the county court minutes, eighteenth-century North Carolinians left impressions of ideas and attitudes for historians to interpret. Nobody's Children carefully examines this link with the past and attempts to learn the attitudes of eighteenth-century North Carolina society towards the parents of bastards and the children innocently "base-born" into society. Was there an "attitude of sympathy with the plight of the mother and general tolerance of bastardy as a

frailty, but not a sin?"<sup>18</sup> What happened to bastard children? By examining the laws of North Carolina and the treatment parents and illegitimate children received by the courts, the records offer an opportunity to interpret the attitudes of the people of the past.

## Notes for the Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Robert V. Wells, "Illegitimacy and Bridal Pregnancy in Colonial America," in Bastardy and its Comparative History, ed. Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen and Richard M. Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 349.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, ed., Bastardy and its Comparative History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

<sup>3</sup>Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 107.

<sup>4</sup>Ralph A. Houlbrook, The English Family, 1450-1700 (London: Longman, 1984), 13 and 29, and Peter Laslett, "The Bastardy Prone Sub-Society," in Bastardy and its Comparative History, 217-240.

<sup>5</sup>Cornelia Hughes Dayton, "Unequal in Transgression: The Double Standard in Bastardy/Fornication Proceedings in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," Sixth Berkshire Conference on the History of Woman, June 1984.

<sup>6</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Orphanage in Colonial North Carolina: Edgecombe County as a Case Study," North Carolina Historical Review, LII (April 1975), 105-119, and "Public Poor Relief in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, LIV (October 1977), 347-366.

<sup>7</sup>Waston, "Public Poor Relief," North Carolina Historical Review, 356.

<sup>8</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, November 1781, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina. All North Carolina county records are from the microfilm edition of those records in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>9</sup>David Leroy Corbitt, The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 159.

<sup>10</sup>Harry Roy Merrens, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 175.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 74.

<sup>12</sup>Corbitt, Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 159.

<sup>13</sup>Merrens, Colonial North Carolina, 68, 73.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 66-67.

<sup>15</sup>Blackwell P. Robinson, ed., The North Carolina Guide  
(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 59.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Merrens, Colonial North Carolina, 142.

<sup>18</sup>Alan Macfarlane, "Illegitimacy and Illegitimates in English History," in Bastardy and its Comparative History, ed., Peter Laslett, 75-76.

## CHAPTER I

### A LOOK AT THE LAWS

According to English law, "bastard children cannot be considered as the children of the certificated person, (the mother,): they are nobody's children; they are 'filii populi.'"<sup>1</sup> For illegitimate children, the law recognized few rights. The "son of nobody or filius nullius," could gain a surname only by reputation, and as Sir William Blackstone wrote in 1793, "the incapacity consists principally in this, he can be heir to no one, kin to nobody and has no ancestor from whom any legitimate blood can be derived. Illegitimate children can be made legitimate and capable of inheritance only by the transcendent power of an act of Parliament."<sup>2</sup> For these "bastards," the law did not recognize the natural relationship between the mother and the child. Even the subsequent marriage of the natural parents could never change the child's illegitimate status. For illegitimate children there was no recourse. In the eyes of English law, without a special act from Parliament, a child born illegitimately was "always a bastard."<sup>3</sup>

Eighteenth-century North Carolina adopted the laws of England; the acts of 1711 stated that "the laws of England are the laws of this government, . . . all the statute laws of England made for the establishment of the church, and the laws for preventing

immorality and fraud are and shall be in force here."<sup>4</sup>

The laws of North Carolina concerning immorality and bastardy, closely resembled the earliest sixteenth-century English laws. The first English Poor Law of 1576 was the first to deal with the problem of illegitimacy. Parliament's main concern was relief from the public expense of caring for the children, not their welfare. Under the 1576 act, two local justices of the peace could punish both the mother and the father and require them to support the child financially. Failure to comply meant imprisonment.

The first poor laws were passed as the result of a growing population of poor people and vagrants in England. By 1570 some people believed that the increasing number of poor who wandered from door to door resulted from the fact that, "when their bellies were full, they fell to lust and concupiscence, and most shamefully abused their bodies, and brought forth bastards in such quantity that it passed belief."<sup>5</sup> The poor laws were enacted to "banish idleness" and to deal with what was seen as a national problem-- the relief of the poor.<sup>6</sup>

Until the sixteenth century, bastardy had not been thought of as a problem. Evidence suggests that before the sixteenth century, it was not an overwhelming disaster for a girl to have an illegitimate baby, while the child itself, though legally underprivileged, was not socially stigmatized.<sup>7</sup> Gradually social attitudes hardened with the growth of Puritanism. The Puritans stressed morality and warned against sexual laxity and indulgence. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth century poor law legislation, Parliament sought formal social control to stop "the wanton production

of children without families to incorporate them," which was seen as a hazard to internal peace and social organization.<sup>8</sup> In England, until the late nineteenth century, the subsequent legislation concerning illegitimate children was obsessed with the parents' moral guilt, which was often transferred to the child with the permanent stigma of illegitimacy. Since the laws were only concerned with "the said Bastards now left to be kept at the charge of the parish where they be born," parents who could support their illegitimate children faced no legal penalties.<sup>9</sup>

Later acts of Parliament in 1609 and 1662 increased the punishments for the "lewd" women bearing illegitimate children. In 1609 any woman having an illegitimate child which was chargeable to the parish could be committed to the local house of correction to serve one year for every offense. The 1662 act continued the concern for establishing parental responsibility and financial maintenance of illegitimate children. According to the 1662 act, churchwardens could seize the parents' goods and chattels and receive rents to pay for raising the child. The mother could also charge any person as the father. The Justice of the Peace could then issue a warrant for his arrest. Under this act, a perfectly innocent man could be charged by any single woman as the father of her child. If he were poor and had no means of proving his innocence, he might suffer a term of imprisonment before the truth was discovered.<sup>10</sup> As a result, many maintenance orders were assigned to men who denied the child, but were forced to pay either a lump sum or to make a weekly payment for the maintenance of the child. By paying a lump sum or composition fee, the father was freed from

any future responsibility for the child.

Only the 1623 Act to Prevent the Destruction and Murdering of Bastard Children was directly concerned with the welfare of illegitimate children. If found guilty, the mother "shall suffer death as in the case of murder, except when such mother can make proof by one witness at least that the child was born dead."<sup>11</sup>

The parish officers did everything they could to stop the growth of bastardy, a thing they abhorred not only on moral grounds but because it was likely to cost the parish. Despite the laws, many illegitimate children as well as orphans were left in the care of the parish. English parish records reveal the highest number of chargeable bastards was between 1785 and 1790, though bastard children were the most chargeable section of the community throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

In the English colonies bastardy continued to be a problem for the overseers of the poor in each parish. Illegitimate children were seen as a potential financial burden on the parish and the English poor laws were adopted to punish the parents of illegitimate children and to ensure financial maintenance.

In 1711 North Carolina adopted the common laws of England and four years later enacted legislation concerning fornication, adultery, and bastardy. A person convicted of fornication was fined fifty shillings for every offense, half of the fine going to the informer and half to the church wardens for parish use. If the convicted person could not or would not pay the fine, the offender would receive corporal punishment by being publicly whipped, "at the discretion of the court, not exceeding twenty-one

lashes."<sup>13</sup> In 1722 Sarah Simpson was brought before the court to pay her fine for fornication or "receive punishment according to the laws." Instead of corporal punishment she "paid down twenty-five shillings."<sup>14</sup>

If a person was convicted of adultery, the fine was increased to five pounds for "the preventing of charges accruing to the parish or precinct wherein any bastard child or children shall be born."<sup>15</sup> If the fine was not paid, the convicted person could be whipped. According to surviving records, before 1715 an offender could be fined and whipped, as in the case of Ellinor Mearle, who was charged in 1705 for "breach of an Act entitled An Act Against Fornication and Adultery." Mrs. Mearle appeared at the court, confessed adultery, and was ordered to be punished with "ten stripes on her back well laid on and pay costs als exo."<sup>16</sup> In 1721 Mary Haughton was summoned on a charge of adultery and appeared with her husband, William Haughton. On the petition of William, the payment of the fine of five pounds was suspended during his lifetime.<sup>17</sup>

As in English law, cases involving illegitimate children allowed the justices to examine the mothers under oath to identify the father of the illegitimate child. According to the 1715 North Carolina act, the father "will discharge the precinct or parish of and from the child and shall observe and keep further orders for maintaining the child as the court shall see convenient and agreeable." But if the woman "obstinately refuses to confess the father or if a man refuses to enter into bond, then the Justices can commit them to the Marshall and the Justices authorized to

inflict corporal or other punishment.<sup>18</sup>

In 1713 Mary Brothers, a spinster of Pascotank Province, was delivered of a bastard child, confessed, and declared George Ellis to be the father. She was ordered to receive twenty-one stripes on her back or to pay a fifty shilling fine. Fortunately for Mary, Dan Guthrie "came and assumed payment of the fifty shilling fine."<sup>19</sup> According to the surviving records, George Ellis was never punished or required to pay a maintenance fee for the illegitimate child.

The 1715 acts also addressed the problem of indentured servant women producing illegitimate children. If an indentured servant woman had an illegitimate child during her time of service, her indenture was extended for two more years, "over and above what punishment she shall be and is liable for her fornication."<sup>20</sup> If the master was the father, instead of serving him two more years, the indentured woman's time was extended two more years and was sold by the church wardens of the parish. In 1706 Elizabeth Fitz-Garrett, a servant to Thomas Speight, was convicted of having a bastard child. The court ordered her to serve Thomas Speight two years over her time of contracted indenture and ordered her infant to serve Thomas Speight, "his heirs and assigns for and during and until he shall attain the age of twenty-one years."<sup>21</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, white women were scarce in North Carolina. As in Virginia, "the laws against miscegenation were aimed at confining the affections of these rare white women to white men."<sup>22</sup> By providing severe punishments for white women who gave themselves to blacks, mulattos or Indians, the laws

assisted white freedmen in finding wives. In North Carolina any white woman, bond or free, who had an illegitimate child by a black, mulatto, or Indian, was required to serve two more years to her master, and at the expiration of the indenture, to pay the church wardens six pounds or be sold for two more years of service.<sup>23</sup> Under the 1715 act, the justices were empowered to bind the mulatto or "mixed" children until they arrive at or be thirty-one years old."<sup>24</sup> Other children were normally bound out until age eighteen for women and age twenty-one for men.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the North Carolina laws do not consider black women who bore illegitimate children by white fathers. Edmund Morgan in American Slavery, American Freedom, believes the Virginia laws ignored the subject "because few black women were free and the children of slave women were neither legitimate nor illegitimate, no matter who the father was."<sup>25</sup> Only free black apprentices received attention in the North Carolina laws which sought to prevent masters from selling black apprentices. Masters of black apprentices were required to give a bond and promise the child would not be removed from the county.

Later in the eighteenth century, the laws concerning illegitimate children were revised, reducing the fine of servant women with illegitimate children to only one extra year of service. The fine for fornication was lessened to twenty-five shillings for each offense in the 1741 "Act for the better observation and keeping of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and for the more effectual suppression of vice and immorality."<sup>26</sup> The laws concerning bastardy remained relatively unchanged, since the parishes

remained concerned with reducing the public expense of caring for the illegitimate children. Any two justices of the peace could bring a woman accused of bearing an illegitimate child to court and

examine her upon oath concerning the father, and if she refuses to declare the father, she shall pay the fines of this act, and give sufficient security to keep such a child or children from being chargeable to the parish, or shall be committed to prison until she shall declare the same or pay the fine and give security.

The accused father "shall be adjudged the reputed father and stand charged with maintenance of the same."<sup>27</sup> Occasionally fathers accused of bastardy were later found falsely accused. In 1769 George Winbaryer, Catherine Winbaryer, and Rosana Winbaryer came before the Rowan County court to admit they had "raised a scandalous report on Michael Bean, it being said that he acted with the aforesaid Rosana in a way of carnal copulation, and we the above named to own and acknowledge that it is a false report." In 1787, Margaret Craig admitted she

slanderously accused the character of James McCulloch in laying to his charge a bastard child which I was advised to do and through ignorance and my own weakness I complied with: I hereby certify that it is false and that James McCulloch never had any carnal dealings with me in my life.<sup>28</sup>

As with earlier English legislation, the only law which expressed concern for the welfare of the illegitimate children was the act to prevent the destruction and murdering of bastard children. Throughout the eighteenth century, this law was in force in North Carolina. In 1726 Mary Gorman, a spinster, had "born of her body a living child, by law a bastard." She was accused of "feloniously and voluntarily and of malice and forethought" throwing her infant into the water and causing it to

drown.<sup>29</sup> She was found not guilty of murder. However, six years earlier, Magdalen Colliar was accused of murdering and privately burying and concealing the death of a bastard child. Though she pleaded not guilty, she was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang.<sup>30</sup> It was not until 1818 that the "act passed in the 21st year of James I, entitled an act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children be no longer in force in North Carolina."<sup>31</sup> Under the 1818 act, the mother of an illegitimate child who concealed the death of the child was guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction could be fined not more than \$500.00 and be imprisoned for not more than one year.

What happened to the illegitimate children? The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English poor laws and the eighteenth-century laws of North Carolina were concerned with guaranteeing maintenance fees from the parents and were not concerned with the treatment of illegitimate children, except in preventing infanticide. The period of maintenance by the parish varied and ended when the child ceased to be a liability to the parish and could be put to work. Under Henry VIII in 1535, "children under fourteen years and above five years that live in idleness may be put to service by the governors of cities, towns, etc. to husbandry or other crafts or labors."<sup>32</sup>

In England, during the period of maintenance, some illegitimate children stayed with either the father or mother. Most often, children were put out to nurse with strangers who were granted an allowance by the parish. The amount paid by the overseers for a nurse to look after a pauper child sometimes exceeded the total earnings of a laborer and his wife. For some foster parents,

caring for an illegitimate or orphan child was a good money-making business.<sup>33</sup> The magistrates did not keep careful watch over the "farmed out" children and by 1773 a bill was enacted in England for "better regulating the settlement and providing for the maintenance of bastard children." It was proposed that no child could be separated from its mother without her consent and that the children boarded out be placed only with someone approved of by the mother. The proposal was ignored and little legislation was enacted in England which promoted the welfare of illegitimate children.<sup>34</sup>

After a period of maintenance, a child was set to work, usually in an apprenticeship. In the English act of 1601, "An Act for the Relief of the Poor," church wardens of every parish were authorized to set to work

the children of all such whose parents shall not by the said church wardens and overseers, be thought able to keep and maintain their children and also for putting out such children to be apprentices, . . . and to bind out such children to be apprentices, where they shall see convenient.<sup>35</sup>

It seems few people wanted pauper apprentices who had the unsavory reputation of being dirty, vicious, sullen, and dishonest workers. Often these least attractive apprentices had only agricultural work available. Since the bastards in the care of the parish came from the lower strata of society, the overseers did not put them in position to rise any higher.<sup>36</sup> An illegitimate poor child in eighteenth-century England became the "slaves of slaves, the lowest of low . . . he was a footstool for the beggar's feet."<sup>37</sup>

In the English colonies, similar laws were adopted concerning

the maintenance and the apprenticing of illegitimate and orphan children. In 1715, North Carolina established a brief law stipulating the care of orphans. The precinct or county courts were required to place children with sufficient estates with guardians who would educate and provide for the children "according to their rank and degree." Orphans without sufficient estate were apprenticed to learn a handicraft or trade.<sup>38</sup> By 1735 it was obvious the vague legislation and the courts' lack of supervision offered guardians the opportunity to embezzle orphan estates. Governor Gabriel Johnston observed in 1735 that "the 1715 law seemed highly unjust and . . . designed to encourage and protect unjust guardians who rob their wards, a practise too common in this country."<sup>39</sup>

By 1755 a revised statute placed the responsibility of the care of illegitimate children and orphans jointly with the county and superior courts. In practice, however, the county courts continued to exercise almost independent control over orphan affairs.<sup>40</sup> The new statute also required the courts to bond guardians and to select one or more responsible people to act as securities to guarantee the proper care of their wards. Guardians could only be appointed by the father in his will or by the court. All guardians were obligated to appear annually at the "Orphans Court" to exhibit accounts of the orphan's estate. Orphans Court was assigned to the first day of the first court meeting in January, but New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties dealt with orphan cases throughout the year. As Alan Watson has found, few guardians submitted accounts, though the counties issued sweeping injunctions to delinquent guardians and administrators

to settle their accounts.<sup>41</sup>

Illegitimate children, without legal fathers, were recognized by the courts as orphans and were usually bound out as apprentices. As in England, evidence suggests that bastard children who could be supported by their parents were probably not bound out. The bastards who were apprenticed by the courts faced a long indenture. The 1755 statute stated that free-born illegitimate children and mulatto female children were to be apprenticed by the courts until age 21, three years over the usual age of majority for females.

The system of apprenticeship applied to poor children, orphans, illegitimate children and sometimes to black or mulatto children. North Carolina laws required all masters or mistresses of apprentices to provide food, clothes, lodging, accommodations, and instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic.<sup>42</sup> At the expiration of the term the master or mistress "shall pay the allowance by law appointed for servants." If a complaint was made that the apprentice was ill-used or not taught the trade or profession, the court could remove the apprentice and bind him or her to another master.

The process of apprenticeship for bastards and orphans was not always routine for the county courts of eighteenth-century North Carolina. Often mothers were reluctant to give up their children to the courts. Mary Clary of Edgecombe County was summoned "to appear at court tomorrow and bring with her all of her children and show cause why they should not be bound out according to law." William Quin, constable for Edgecombe County, was required to bring to court Ralph, May, Paul, and Peter, the "base-begotton

children of Elizabeth Boazman, that they may be bound according to law." In November 1784, without stating a reason, John Pitman's mother asked that his indenture be void.<sup>42</sup> In New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties, mothers of legitimate or illegitimate children were a force to be reckoned with by the county courts.

The apprenticeship of bastard children could be further complicated by the county courts' refusal to recognize the legality of a marriage between the parents of bastard children. Sarah Shaver, a "base-born child of Margaret Shaver" was apprenticed to James Potts as an orphan. In 1771, two years after her apprenticeship, her parents came before the court "to claim her, her father being John Joist Shaver, who proves to the court he was legally married to Margaret, the mother of Sarah."<sup>44</sup> Sarah's apprenticeship did not include her age, but it is interesting to note that by February 1790 the court ordered "that the bastard son of Sarah Shaver be brought to next court to be dealt with as the law directs."<sup>45</sup> According to the surviving county court minutes, Sarah Shaver was the only accused bastard child who later became the mother of an illegitimate child, perhaps illustrating Laslett's theory of the illegitimacy-prone in society.

Were the pauper children bound out in North Carolina received with the same reluctance and prejudice as their counterparts in England? Perhaps because of the smaller population and shortage of servants and skilled labor, apprentices were treated with more care in North Carolina. In 1716 John Urmstone wrote to the Secretary, "Here is no living without servants, there are none to be hired of any color and none of the black kind to be sold good

for fifty or sixty pounds."<sup>46</sup>

By 1799 the legal status of illegitimate children had improved in North Carolina. According to the law, "illegitimate or natural children born out of wedlock" could inherit from their mother and from each other, if there were no legitimate children. In the case of illegitimate or abandoned children, the state continued to have the right to bind the children out to "proper and fit persons."<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to discover the real status of illegitimate children in eighteenth-century North Carolina by examining only the laws enacted. Though illegitimate children received no legal rights until 1799, were they truly "branded" for life and treated differently from other children? What happened to the "children of nobody?" How did the county courts actually execute the laws? Were illegitimate children in eighteenth-century North Carolina stigmatized and socially and economically deprived? The clues to these questions concerning the treatment of illegitimate children in North Carolina from 1760 to 1790 lies in an examination of the county court records, censuses, deeds, and wills.

## Notes for Chapter I

- <sup>1</sup>Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1926), 177.
- <sup>2</sup>Grace Abbott, The Child and the State (New York: Greenwood Press, 1938), vol. 2, 508.
- <sup>3</sup>Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 201.
- <sup>4</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: P.M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), vol. 1, 789.
- <sup>5</sup>Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society, 206.
- <sup>6</sup>Edgar W. Knight, A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860 (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), vol. 1, 33.
- <sup>7</sup>Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society, 203.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., 206.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., 207.
- <sup>10</sup>Marshall, English Poor in the Eighteenth Century, 208.
- <sup>11</sup>Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society, 209.
- <sup>12</sup>Lloyd de Mause, ed., The History of Childhood (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974), p. 311 and Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, ed., Bastardy and its Comparative History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 14.
- <sup>13</sup>Walter Clark, ed., The State Records of North Carolina (Goldsboro, North Carolina: Nash Brothers, 1905), vol. 23, 5.
- <sup>14</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 2, 478.
- <sup>15</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 5.
- <sup>16</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1, 626.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., vol. 2, 472.

- <sup>18</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 5.
- <sup>19</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 2, 86.
- <sup>20</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 64.
- <sup>21</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1, 655.
- <sup>22</sup>Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975), 336.
- <sup>23</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 64.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., vol. 23, 64-65.
- <sup>25</sup>Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 336.
- <sup>26</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 173.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., vol. 23, 173-174.
- <sup>28</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, November 1769, and Rowan County Court Minutes, November 1787, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina. All North Carolina county records are from the microfilm edition of those records in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- <sup>29</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 2, 668.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., vol. 2, 398-399.
- <sup>31</sup>Henry Potter, ed., Laws of the State of North Carolina (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1821), vol. 2, 1455.
- <sup>32</sup>Grace Abbott, The Child and the State (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1938), vol. 1, 91.
- <sup>33</sup>Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society, 218.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., 219.
- <sup>35</sup>Abbott, Child and the State, vol. 1, 97.
- <sup>36</sup>Geoffrey W. Oxley, Poor Relief in England and Wales, 1601-1834 (London: David and Charles Newton Abbot, 1974), 75.
- <sup>37</sup>Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society, 153.
- <sup>38</sup>Clark, State Records of North Carolina, vol. 23, 70.
- <sup>39</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 4, 26.
- <sup>40</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Orphanage in Colonial North Carolina: Edgecombe County as a Case Study," North Carolina Historical Review, LII (April 1975), p. 106.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>42</sup>Knight, Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860, vol. 1, 46.

<sup>43</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, May 1769, July 1764, November 1784.

<sup>44</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, January 1769, November 1771.

<sup>45</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, February 1790.

<sup>46</sup>Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 5, 497

<sup>47</sup>Potter, Laws of the State of North Carolina, vol. 2, 893.

## CHAPTER II

### "FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A BASTARD CHILD"

#### Treatment of the Parents

In June 1767 "John Chawell entered into bond of £50 with Sarah Johnston for the maintenance of a bastard child, and another bond of £50 for the maintenance of another bastard child which the said Sarah is now big with."<sup>1</sup> The illegitimate children of John and Sarah were potential problems for the North Carolina county courts. As "nobody's children," bastards were the financial responsibility of the county courts and parishes, a burden the counties did not want.

The surviving county court records do not often reveal the status or backgrounds of sexual offenders. Most historians tacitly assume that bastardy was usually connected with the lower part of society or perhaps more successfully hidden in the upper ranks.<sup>2</sup> Evidence suggests that mothers of bastards were often servants or younger daughters and at a socio-economic level where marriage was less likely to occur.<sup>3</sup> For example, Sarah Johnston, "former servant to William McDowell," came before the court in 1765 to petition for her freedom dues. Two years later she was "big with" her second bastard child. Most likely, parents of bastard children came from all levels of society. The county court records suggest lower-class parents, but it is difficult to prove that parents

of illegitimate children who could afford maintenance were ever brought before the county courts. In the three counties examined, the number of bastard apprenticeships always exceeded the number of court maintenance orders for illegitimate children, suggesting that parents who could afford maintenance may not have appeared before the court.

Parents who could not or perhaps would not maintain children of illicit unions were required to come before the court to guarantee that the "child may not in anyway be burdensome to the parish."<sup>4</sup> By 1760 the county courts were more concerned with bastard maintenance than with fines for fornication and bastardy. Unlike the early eighteenth-century records, the court minutes from 1760 to 1790 contain no evidence of public whippings as punishment for fornication and bastardy, and no one was brought before the court for infanticide.

Only five cases involving bastard maintenance were recorded in the surviving records of New Hanover County from 1760 to 1790. None of the parents was required to pay a fine, and only the fathers were required to be bonded for the maintenance of their children.<sup>5</sup> Bonds ranged from £50 to £200, with usually two men assigned as securities to guarantee maintenance. Only one case mentioned the length of the maintenance period. In April 1785 Miles Knight was charged "for the maintenance and support during the term of seven years of a certain natural child by him begotton on the body of Eleanor Ellet."<sup>6</sup>

Edgecombe County court minutes, more complete and precise than New Hanover's, listed 41 cases of bastard maintenance in the

same thirty-year period. Only four fathers were charged a fine in addition to maintenance orders. In January 1767 William Philips was charged £2.10.0 "for the fine," while fathers in 1772 and 1778 were only charged half that amount.<sup>7</sup> Again, the court was more concerned with guaranteeing maintenance for the illegitimate children than with charging penalties for sexual transgressions. Maintenance terms were carefully defined, usually stipulating charges for midwives, immediate payments due, annual maintenance due, and the bond amount. For example, in August 1783 the court ordered that

George Cotten give security for the keeping of a base born child off the Parish, begotten by him on Patience Edwards and that he pay down £3 for the expenses of Lying in, also £5 for one years maintenance of said child, and that he further pay a yearly sum of £5 for four years for the future maintenance and that he stand committed until the sums are paid down and security given for the payment of the remainder.<sup>8</sup>

Most men were required to pay £5 immediately after the child was born, and £5 annually for three years. After 1780, most men in Edgecombe County were required to pay maintenance for five years. According to the records, only one man, Daniel McDaniel, was charged with bastard maintenance and was later ordered back to the court for noncompliance.<sup>9</sup>

Rowan County court recorded 31 cases of bastard maintenance from 1760 to 1790. Surprisingly, 46 bastards were apprenticed during this period, lending evidence to the theory that not all parents were brought before the court to guarantee bastard maintenance. Of the three counties in this study, only Rowan County listed incidences of white indentured servant women bearing bastards and receiving punishment for this offense. Charlotte Deormond had her term of

indenture extended a total of six years, for bearing four white bastards and one mulatto bastard. Deormond's indenture was extended one year for each white bastard and two years for the mulatto. Hannah Chambers was convicted of having a bastard child and was ordered to be bound to her master for one year longer than stipulated in her indenture. Since her child was also a mulatto, "it is further ordered that the said Hannah at the end of said term, be sold for two years longer for the use of the poor."<sup>10</sup>

In contrast, mothers who were not indentured servants were rarely fined for bastardy. Not even all the fathers were fined, again illustrating the concern with maintenance of bastards, not punishment for illicit sex. It seems that only cases involving miscegenation were consistently fined by the court. In Rowan County, only one mother of an illegitimate child, Anne Brandon, was fined twenty-five shillings in May 1777 for bastardy. The father of her child, James Rutherford, was also fined twenty-five shillings, and "the money by order of court was given to Soloman Davis, a poor man of said County."<sup>11</sup> Out of thirty other cases of bastard maintenance, only eight other fathers were fined the twenty-five shillings required by law.

The amount required for bastard maintenance varied in Rowan County. Bonds to guarantee the county and parish free from child maintenance ranged from £100 to £600. In contrast to the other counties, Rowan usually required only one year of maintenance after birth. In most cases, such as that of Jacob Stiles and Ann Dobbins, the reputed father was ordered to pay £10 "for nursing and the first year."<sup>12</sup>

According to the surviving records for Rowan County, only two fathers were ordered back to court for not paying the maintenance fees. In February 1790, David Long was ordered to pay Mary Miller £30 for the maintenance of a bastard child. Seven months later, the court called in the two men who stood as securities for Long to show why "he should not fulfill the order of the court in favor of Mary Miller for nursing a bastard child."<sup>13</sup> In November 1790 notice was sent to John Graham "that he should appear at next court and show cause why he should not pay agreeable to order to Elizabeth Dickey for trouble in nursing a base born child of which he is the reputed father."<sup>14</sup>

The county courts were determined to extract maintenance fees from the fathers of illegitimate children, occasionally going to extremes as in the case of James Edge. In 1788 a citation was issued to John Edge, administrator of the estate of James Edge, deceased, "to show cause why, out of the estate of the said James, an allowance should not be made to Demaris Cahoon for the maintenance of a base born child, begotten by the said James on her body in his life time."<sup>15</sup>

Several men and women from New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties were repeat offenders, responsible for more than one bastard child. Of the five bastard maintenance cases recorded for New Hanover County, two men and one woman were repeat offenders. John Chawell was charged with maintenance for two illegitimate children borne by Sarah Johnston. William Moore was charged in January 1787 for a bastard borne by W. A. Dubose, and again in July 1788 for maintenance of a bastard "begot on the body of Mary Molpur."<sup>16</sup>

In Edgecombe County two men were charged twice for bastard maintenance. Daniel McDaniel was the reputed father of two illegitimate children borne by Volinder Hare. Phillip Causey was charged with maintenance once in February 1784 with Rachel Ruffin, and again in February 1787 with Elizabeth Newton. According to the surviving court minutes, at least six women had two or more illegitimate children during this period. Elizabeth Newton, for example, had three bastard children apprenticed between 1772 and 1786.<sup>17</sup>

Between 1760 and 1790, Rowan County court minutes reveal only four repeat offenders. The low number of parents responsible for several bastards in New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties suggests that the "ill-defined sub-society never produced all of the bastards."<sup>18</sup> Most parents of illegitimate children were not repeat offenders.

Surprisingly, none of the repeat offenders from New Hanover, Edgecombe, or Rowan was additionally penalized by the courts for multiple charges of bastardy. Parents of bastard children may have briefly worn the label of "delinquent," but it seems that eighteenth-century North Carolina was not interested in strict punishment for sexual offenses. The county courts wanted only to be indemnified from the "maintenance of a bastard child."<sup>19</sup>

#### Treatment of Illegitimate Children

Surviving evidence indicates that the county governments of North Carolina were not interested in punishing illegitimate children for the sins of their parents. Though it is difficult

to perceive eighteenth-century attitudes towards bastard children, the county court records reveal clues of the status of these children within the community. The age at which bastards were apprenticed, the length and terms of their apprenticeship, the status of the master, expiration terms, and the interest and attention of the courts in checking on the illegitimate children all partially reveal attitudes towards children bearing the label of "bastard."

Only mulatto bastards were occasionally set apart from other illegitimate children and were required to serve long indentures. Robert V. Wells, in his general study of illegitimacy and bridal pregnancy in colonial America, believes that the "long indentures for mulatto bastards around 1700 were brought into line with indentures for white bastards after 1750."<sup>20</sup> In North Carolina from 1760 to 1790, mulatto bastards, especially young girls, were often bound from three to thirteen years longer than white bastards. Eighteenth-century North Carolina may have been lax concerning white fornication and bastardy, but sexual intimacy between blacks and whites was usually severely punished. Both the mother and her child were punished for this offense.

Of the five bastardy cases brought before the New Hanover court between 1760 and 1790, there is no surviving apprenticeship records for any of the illegitimate children of these parents. Surprisingly, New Hanover minutes do not include the apprenticeship of any white bastards. Twenty-two apprenticeship cases do not mention the status of the apprentice, but evidence suggests that these children were probably orphans or poor children, not bastards.

The only illegitimate children mentioned in the New Hanover records were twelve mulatto bastards apprenticed between 1760 and 1790. Only two of the mulatto bastards were required to serve longer than usual indentures. Female apprentices usually served until eighteen, but both Barbara Baker in 1761 and Nancy in 1788 were to serve until twenty-one.<sup>21</sup> Nancy was the second mulatto daughter of "Fanny." Her first daughter was bound only until she was eighteen. Perhaps the long term of indenture for Nancy was intended as a deterrent for her mother Fanny.<sup>22</sup>

According to the court minutes, the mulatto bastards of New Hanover generally were treated the same as apprenticed orphans. Only the two children of Fanny were bound while very young. Fanny's first child was bound at ten months and her second child was bound at age two.<sup>23</sup> Usually white orphans were bound as soon as possible after the death of their father, so the ages of these apprentices varied from six to nineteen years old. The clerk of the New Hanover Court rarely recorded the age of the bastards and apprentices bound, so it is difficult to determine an average age at apprenticeship.

Two of the six male mulatto bastards of New Hanover County were apprenticed to a specific trade. In September 1761 "Jeremiah Hand petitioned to have bound to him a mulatto boy named James Nash, born of a white woman, till age 21. Granted on condition he teach the boy to become a cooper or some other handicraft." In 1783 James Holmes was bound to Baker Bowden to learn the trade of a shoemaker.<sup>24</sup>

The sixty-one cases of orphan apprenticeships in New

Hanover County are very similar to the apprenticeships of the male mulatto bastards. Less than half of the male orphans were bound to specific trades. Only twenty-one male apprenticeships out of forty-three stipulated the master's obligation to teach the apprentice a trade. The apprenticed trades included: 5 tailors, 4 coopers, 2 saddlers--1 also a treemaker, 2 shoemakers, 2 carpenters, 1 cabinet-maker, 1 blacksmith, 1 baker, 1 pilot, 1 periwigmaker, and 1 millwright. These trades reflect the needs of New Hanover County and the degree of development in this established area. Imported items were available, but were often expensive or required special custom work. Tailoring, shoemaking, and wigmaking all required custom work, while trades such as carpentry, baking and millwrighting were essential to a growing community.

The two male mulatto bastards apprenticed to learn coopering and shoemaking were treated the same as white male orphans by the county court. It seems that male mulatto bastards in New Hanover County were not stigmatized by their birth and received the same opportunities as other children. If a hierarchy of desirable trades existed in eighteenth-century North Carolina, the apprenticed bastards of New Hanover County were not relegated to "lower class" jobs. Instead, the mulatto bastards who were bound to specific trades were bound to learn important occupations. Only the female mulatto bastards occasionally received longer-than-usual apprenticeships and may have been bound out only as servants. None of the female apprenticeships for bastards or orphans mentioned a trade, so it is difficult to learn the status of the female mulatto bastards. According to the court minutes, white children were never

labeled as bastards in the records; white illegitimate children were plainly called "base-born" in the court minutes.

The more complete records of Edgecombe County revealed 6 mulatto apprenticeships and 62 bastard apprenticeships. In addition, 121 other apprenticeships were recorded. Ninety were apprenticeships of orphans and 31 do not mention the status of the child. Most likely these children were either orphans or children apprenticed at their parents' request. Robert Willis was apprenticed in 1767 because his father had "for some time absented himself from his family."<sup>25</sup> Though his father may have been alive, Willis was considered an orphan in the eyes of the law and was apprenticed to relieve the county of his support.

Of the six mulatto apprenticeships, possibly five were for illegitimate children. Unfortunately, the clerk of the court recorded only two lengths of terms, one for Lilly Anderson and the other for Mary Morgan. Both girls were required to serve until they were twenty-one, three years over the usual term for female apprentices.<sup>26</sup> As with New Hanover County, it seems that female mulatto bastards usually received longer indentures, while the male mulatto bastards were treated the same as other bastards and orphans.

Of the two male mulatto bastards, only one was bound to learn a trade. Richard Artis, was bound to John Norwood at age three to "learn the art of a cooper." His mulatto sister, Winny Artis, was also bound to Norwood at the same time. She was only a year old.<sup>27</sup>

Evidence suggests that illegitimate children, especially

mulatto bastards, were often apprenticed at a younger age than orphans, perhaps because of lack of maintenance. Alan Watson has found in his research on public poor relief in colonial North Carolina that appropriations for orphans and mothers with children were generally short-lived.<sup>28</sup>

As with mulatto bastards, white illegitimate children in Edgecombe County were occasionally apprenticed at very young ages. The youngest child bound out was "James, newborn son of Judity Hubard."<sup>29</sup> Paemy Revel, the second illegitimate daughter of Sabra Revel, was bound to Joseph Howell in October 1766, "aged about six months."<sup>30</sup> Though bastards in Edgecombe County were apprenticed between the ages of newborn to seventeen, the average age at apprenticeship was seven and a half.

Almost all white illegitimate children were bound "till lawful age," which was eighteen for females and twenty-one for males. Two exceptions stand out in the Edgecombe County records. In 1784 Margaret Duncan and Charlotte Horn were both bound until twenty-one. Though it is not recorded, perhaps these two girls were mulattos and were forced to serve three extra years because of their "mixed" blood.<sup>31</sup>

The attitude towards bastards may also be reflected in the assignment of trades. Both bastards and orphans were apprenticed to learn similar trades in Edgecombe County. The most frequently assigned trade was either farming or "plantation business." Almost three-fourths of the male bastards were apprenticed to learn farming, while only approximately one-third of the male orphans were bound to learn this skill. It is difficult to interpret the

large number of bastards in this field. Perhaps in Edgecombe County the opportunity to learn another trade was more prestigious and reserved for legitimate orphan children. Only twelve of the thirty-seven male bastards were bound out to learn other trades. Two illegitimate boys were apprenticed to learn the trade of a wheelwright, while other apprenticed trades included: 1 tanner, 2 sailors, 2 blacksmiths, 1 cooper, 3 shoemakers, and 1 hatter. The high number of farming apprenticeships reflects the agrarian nature of Edgecombe society and the need for farmers and farm laborers.

The orphans of Edgecombe County were bound to learn a variety of skills, indicating a growing economy and an increasing need for special skills. Between 1760 and 1790, over seventeen trades were available for apprenticeships. After planting and farming, the most popular skill was carpentry and joining, indicating a flourishing building trade. Carpentry was followed by such trades as: shoemaker, tailor, turner, saddler, hatter, merchant, wheelwright, cooper, currier, even one miner partially blurred, one weaver, and one silversmith.

Edgecombe County was the only county in this study to apprentice girls to learn specific trades since both New Hanover and Rowan Counties rarely recorded trades for female apprentices. Half of the illegitimate girls in Edgecombe County were apprenticed to learn "carding and spinning," or "weaving and spinning." In a very unusual case, "Lucrecie Johnston, a base born child, is ordered bound to Richard Strip till she become of lawful age, to learn the art and mystery of a planter."<sup>32</sup> Johnston was the only

girl on record who was apprenticed to learn the usually masculine trade of a planter. Eleven of the nineteen orphan girls were also apprenticed to learn carding and spinning, or spinning and weaving.

According to the surviving evidence for Edgecombe County, white illegitimate children were treated basically the same as orphans. Though bastards were occasionally bound out at an early age, there is no other discernible difference in the terms of apprenticeship for illegitimate and orphan children. The large number of male bastards apprenticed to farmers may indicate a hierarchy of occupations, with illegitimate children serving primarily as farming laborers. It is impossible to know if farming was considered a less desirable trade. In the farming communities of Edgecombe County, it was obviously a useful skill.

Of the thirty-one cases of bastardy presented to the Rowan County court, only the children of three prosecuted parents were actually apprenticed. Perhaps this is due to gaps in the records, or perhaps only children who needed support were apprenticed. According to the surviving evidence, apparently, as in New Hanover and Edgecombe Counties, not all parents of bastards were taken to court to guarantee maintenance.

From 1760 to 1790, forty bastards were apprenticed in Rowan County. Five of the forty were mulattos. Again, only the mulatto bastards were punished for the sins of their parents. Three of the mulattos were bound until age thirty-one. In May 1770, nine-year-old Hannah Baltrip, the "base-born mulatto daughter of Ann Baltrip," was bound to Edmond Denney "until she attain the age of thirty-one years."<sup>33</sup> During the same court

session, Hannah's seven-year-old brother, John, was also bound to Edmond Denney. Since he was not a mulatto, he was bound only until the age of majority, twenty-one. In August 1774, the female mulatto bastard of Elizabeth Hill, only fifteen months old, was bound "to be an indentured servant until thirty-one." In an unusual case, the male mulatto bastard of Hannah Chambers was also bound to his mother's master for thirty-one years.<sup>34</sup> These indentures suggest that mulatto bastards were often bound as laborers. Unlike New Hanover and Edgecombe Counties, Rowan frequently bound illegitimate mulattos ten to thirteen years longer than white bastards or orphans. By 1787, the length of service for mulatto bastards was becoming shorter. Both Elianor Dunn and Elizabeth Thomas, "base born mulattos" were bound only until twenty-one.<sup>35</sup>

In Rowan County, bastards were bound at a variety of ages, from six months to nineteen years of age, but the average age of apprenticeship was seven. Evidence suggests that only the mulatto bastards were occasionally bound under one year of age, perhaps because their mothers were usually indentured servants and were unable to take financial or personal care of their children.

According to the surviving county court minutes, white bastards in Rowan County were treated with the same care and attention as the apprenticed orphans. Only one white male bastard was not apprenticed to learn a specific trade. Fifteen illegitimate boys were apprenticed to learn ten different trades between 1760 and 1790. The apprenticeships included: 4 coopers, 1 cordwainer, 2 tinkerers and pewterers, 1 millwright, 1 cloathier, 1 turner and spinning wheel-maker, 1 weaver, 1 blacksmith, 2 farmers, and 1

wheelwright. Evidence of Rowan's growing economy is revealed in the variety of apprenticeships for bastard children. Even though the children were illegitimate, it seems that the people of Rowan County were more concerned with teaching children skills needed within the county than with ostracizing bastards.

Unlike the other counties in this study, only Rowan County recorded the appointment of guardians for bastard children with sufficient estate to avoid being bound as apprentices. In two cases, bastard children were appointed guardians after the death of their mothers. In February 1778 Hugh Montgomery was "appointed guardian of John Montgomery, orphan and natural child of Mary Newman, who gave bond with John Dunn as security in the sum of £260."<sup>36</sup> Probably mothers such as Mary Newman, who could afford child care, were allowed to keep their illegitimate children, despite the fact that without a legal father the children were lawfully orphans. The two recorded cases of guardianship for bastards supports the theory that parents of bastards who could guarantee maintenance probably did not come before the county courts.

Six orphan apprenticeships for Rowan County listed the child's mother, instead of the usual listing of the father of the orphan, perhaps offering further evidence that mothers who could support their children were probably not required to go before the court. For example, in August 1770, William Mullens, "orphan child of Agness Hudson" and "David Donnolly, orphan son of Mary Mullican," were both bound out as apprentices.<sup>37</sup> It is impossible to prove the status of these orphans, since the mothers could have been widows assigned to the care of their own children, but it

is possible that these children were illegitimate and were allowed to stay with their mothers.

From 1760 to 1790, 209 orphans were apprenticed in Rowan County. Though the age of orphan apprenticeship varied from one to nineteen, the average age of apprenticeship for orphans was ten and a half, three years above the average age of apprenticed bastards. As with the apprenticed bastards of Rowan County, orphans were bound to a variety of trades. Over thirty trades were listed in the apprenticeships, revealing concentrations in the textile and leather-related industries. Of the 189 apprenticed male orphans, 175 were apprenticed to specific trades. The predominant apprenticeship was weaving. Twenty-nine boys were bound to learn this trade, approximately sixteen percent of all the boys receiving apprenticeships. Other textile-related apprenticeships included 5 hatters, 9 tailors, 1 fuller, and 5 turners and spinning wheelwrights. Smithing was also a popular field with 18 blacksmiths, 1 silversmith, 1 gunsmith, and 1 "smith." Over seven trades involved leather working and included 2 saddle-treemakers, 7 saddlers, 18 shoemakers, 2 cordwainers, 3 tanners, 5 tanners and curriers, and 1 skindresser. Other apprenticeship trades included 10 coopers, 2 carpenters, 5 carpenters and housejoiners, 1 turner, 3 house joiners, 1 shop joiner, 2 wagonmakers, 8 turners and wheelwrights, 13 farmers, 1 potter, 1 malster, and 1 vicar. Several boys were apprenticed to learn two trades, illustrating the need for labor and the trend towards diversification of trades. John Donnally, for example, was apprenticed in 1777 to learn the trade of a cooper and to keep a mill.<sup>38</sup>

Only one orphan girl in Rowan County was apprenticed to learn a specific trade. In November 1785, Catharine Steagle was apprenticed to learn the trade of "spinster."<sup>39</sup> As in Edgecombe County, perhaps spinning was considered appropriate work for girls. It is difficult to interpret why the girls in New Hanover and Rowan Counties were rarely assigned to learn specific trades. Maybe it was assumed that all female apprentices were to learn the "art and mystery of housewifery."

By examining the age at apprenticeship, the length of the indenture, and the trades available to bastards and orphans, the court minutes for New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties suggest that bastard children were generally treated the same as apprenticed orphans. Both bastards and orphans received apprenticeships to the same trades. Only the age at the time of apprenticeship varied slightly between bastards and orphans. Regional differences were slight and evidence indicates that there was little change in the status of bastards from 1760 to 1790. It seems that only the mulatto bastards occasionally bore the brunt of their parents' sins by receiving terms three to thirteen years longer than other bastards or orphans. The terms of the mulatto bastards' apprenticeships were often vague in the court records and may indicate that the mulattos were frequently working more as indentured servants than as apprentices.

The county court records also contain other clues concerning the eighteenth-century attitudes towards bastards in North Carolina. The masters assigned to care for the bastards and orphans, the terms of apprenticeship and stipulated freedom dues, and the recorded

complaints of masters and children, all offer hints of the treatment of apprenticed children.

From 1760 to 1790, the clerks of the New Hanover court rarely recorded the details of apprenticeships. The only consistently recorded details were the names of the apprentices and the names of the masters, often summarizing the terms of the apprenticeship as "agreeable to law." Clues gleaned from the county court minutes suggest that the masters of bastards and orphans were usually men of good standing within the county. In September 1761, Barbara Baker, a mulatto bastard was bound to Frederick Gregg, a justice of the peace for New Hanover County. Two other justices of the peace were also chosen as masters for orphans.<sup>40</sup> In addition to apprenticeships to tradesmen, several orphans were also apprenticed to tavern-keepers. For example, George Palmer, master of Phillip McSwain, was licensed to keep an ordinary in Wilmington, North Carolina.<sup>41</sup>

Alan D. Watson has found in his North Carolina orphanage research that the county courts tried to cushion the loss of a father or the dissolution of a family by finding relatives or friends to care for the children. Often the courts tried to apprentice siblings and children of similar ages with the same master.<sup>42</sup> The New Hanover apprenticeships for bastards and orphans support Watson's findings.

Several men were chosen as masters of more than one child. In April 1787, Isaac Lambe was assigned both Thomas Lambe and Jane Lambe, brother and sister.<sup>43</sup> Thomas Still became the master of nineteen-year-old William Batt in 1774 and of sixteen-year-old William Lovejoy in 1775.<sup>44</sup> John Nutt, a cabinetmaker, was master

of twelve-year-old Mary Parvisol in 1772, "bound at her request," and of thirteen-year-old Michael Kean in 1773. John Nutt was again appointed master of another orphan in April 1789.<sup>45</sup>

The New Hanover County court occasionally apprenticed orphans to female masters. Ten women were appointed as masters of female orphans and poor children between 1760 and 1790. In some cases, the court appointed couples as masters of apprentices. Coatney Spann was "bound apprentice to James Jennett and wife."<sup>46</sup> Other cases clearly illustrate the court's effort to bind orphans to family members. In 1761, Margaret Walker, "orphan of John Walker, ship's carpenter," was bound to her aunt, Barbara Clark, a sister of John Walker.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, none of the six mulatto bastard girls bound by the court was appointed a female master.

Once apprenticed, the relationship between masters and apprentices was not always harmonious. In two cases, orphans came before the New Hanover court to complain about their treatment. In July 1768, Margaret Clark, "bound apprentice to Jennet Cowan late of Wilmington, complained that her said mistress has failed to clothe and educate her and has now hired her to Jacob Hook without allowing her necessary apparel." The court appointed the widow Hannah Nevin as Margaret's trustee.<sup>48</sup> In 1787 Liddy Moore brought her son to court to complain that his master, Solomon Wilson "had neglected the boy and had quit housekeeping." Liddy was ordered to keep her son and bring him before the next court, "unless Wilson returns and receives the boy into his house again."<sup>49</sup> The surviving records do not reveal the final outcome of either case.

At the expiration of the apprenticeship, the orphan law required masters to provide their apprentices with freedom dues. The 1741 North Carolina statute stipulated a suit of clothes and £5 as freedom dues for orphans.<sup>50</sup> Not surprisingly, the New Hanover court minutes rarely include the master's obligations to the apprentice or the expiration terms of the agreement. Of the seventy-three recorded apprenticeships for bastards and orphans, only two cases included the master's obligations, excluding the teaching of a trade. In 1788 the mulatto bastard "Dick" was apprenticed to James Frining, the "said Frining finding the said orphan sufficient clothing and victuals agreeable to law." In July 1790 George Logan was required to give his apprentice "one years schooling."<sup>51</sup> It is difficult to judge from the brief entries in the court minutes if bastards and orphans in New Hanover County ever received freedom dues at the expiration of their apprenticeships. Both bastards and orphans received the same cursory treatment in the court records. Since the only recorded cases of bastard apprenticeships involved twelve mulattos, it is also difficult to fairly compare the treatment of bastards and orphans in New Hanover County.

As with New Hanover County, the court records for Edgecombe County do not offer much information about the masters of apprenticed bastards and orphans. In addition to tradesmen, nine justices of the peace and the county clerk, Edward Hall, were appointed as masters of bastards and orphans. Justice of the Peace Aguilla Sugg became the master of two illegitimate children in 1756.<sup>52</sup>

As in New Hanover County, brothers and sisters as well as

children of similar ages were often bound to the same master. For example, the two illegitimate daughters of Sabra Revel were both bound to Joseph Howell, a justice of the peace for Edgecombe County.<sup>53</sup> John Norwood became master of Richard and Winny Artis, both mulattos, age three and one, respectively. Six years later he became master of eleven-year-old Asa Daniel, "base born child of E. Daniel."<sup>54</sup> From 1760 to 1790, twenty-three men became master of more than one bastard or orphan child.

According to the surviving court minutes, only three women became masters of apprenticed children. In October 1764 Nathaniel Revell was bound to Mary Fort "to learn the art and mystery of a farmer." Orphan Jane Close was first bound in 1770 and by 1772 the seven-year-old girl was transferred to Joseph Moore, Esq. In 1775 she was transferred again to Ann Moore, "to learn the art and mystery of spinning." It is possible that Ann Moore was related to Joseph Moore.<sup>55</sup> It is difficult to interpret why only three children were bound to women masters. Perhaps the women were widows and needed laborers.

As in New Hanover County, relations between apprentices and masters were occasionally strained. Most cases brought before the court involved apprentices seeking discharges after reaching "lawful age." For example, Robert Edwards was discharged from his apprenticeship to Elijah Horn after he "proved himself of full age to the court's satisfaction."<sup>56</sup> The most shocking case of apprenticeship abuse involved Mary Morgan, a mulatto bastard who was bound to John Fort in 1763. Six years later, the court clerk recorded that

On the information of the Honorable Richard Henderson, Esq., that a mulatto servant girl named Mary Morgan who was bound to John Fort, was by him raped, [blurred] and conveyed away out of this county to the County of Granville in order to sell her, it is thereof ordered that a summons be issued to the said John Fort to appear at the next court to exhibit [blurred] for this county and bring the said Morgan to the court in order that May be done therein as the Law and Justice require.<sup>57</sup>

Of the 158 bastards and orphans apprenticed in Edgecombe County, none of the indentures recorded the masters' obligation to furnish freedom dues. Only James Ricks, the master of Arthur Goodson, "agreed to give him one year of schooling."<sup>58</sup> Perhaps the inclusion of an education and freedom dues was an unwritten and assumed part of apprenticeship. From the surviving records, it seems that the bastards and orphans of Edgecombe County received the same amount of attention from the court.

As with the other counties in this study, it is difficult to find detailed information concerning the men and women of Rowan County who became masters of bastards and orphans. Using the research compiled by James P. Whittenburg at the College of William and Mary, Kathi R. Jones found that most apprentices bound in Rowan County were placed with prominent citizens. Many masters were office-holders, such as Richard Brandon and Matthew Lock. According to Jones, "Brandon and Lock held a total of seventy-six civic offices and positions including county petit juror, county grand juror, district petit juror, district grand juror, county commissioner, constable, justice of the peace, and roads overseer."<sup>59</sup>

Though siblings were not always apprenticed to the same master, it seems that the Rowan court tried to keep families and

children of similar ages together with suitable masters. For example, in May 1770 Hannah and John Baltrip, the illegitimate children of Ann Baltrip, were both bound to Edmond Denney. In February 1775, Peter Hendley was appointed master of John, Bennet, and Hannah Haiden, the bastards of Margaret Haiden.<sup>60</sup> Men and women of prominence within the county may also have been able to exercise control over apprenticeships to ensure their labor supply, perhaps keeping family members together as needed.

As in New Hanover and Edgecombe Counties, many Rowan men served as masters of more than one apprenticed child. In contrast, only two women were recorded as masters of apprentices. Mrs. Elizabeth Cathey, "widow of the county for the space of eleven and a half years," became the master of Jane McCulloh in 1767. In an unusual case, Elizabeth and Allen Campbell were both apprenticed to Elizabeth Steele in 1781 "to be taught the trade of a weaver."<sup>61</sup>

The court records suggest that Rowan County was also concerned about the care of bastards and orphans. In February 1770 the court ordered Edmond Denney to appear at the next court to tell about two orphans in his care, "a mulatto girl and a white boy," suggesting that orphans were occasionally kept without formal indentures. In May 1770 the "base born mulatto daughter of Ann Baltrip," and her "base born son, John Baltrip," were both legally bound to Edmond Denney.<sup>62</sup>

As in the other counties in this study, several orphans came before the Rowan court to complain about neglect and ill-use. For example, in 1775, Andrew Boyd had "failed to fulfill his contract in teaching his apprentice Andrew McClary the trade of a

taylor." McClary was freed from his apprenticeship. According to the law, apprenticed bastards could come before the courts to complain about neglect, but the surviving court minutes for New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties do not indicate that illegitimate children ever exercised this right.<sup>63</sup>

Unlike the other counties in this study, Rowan County carefully recorded the obligations of masters and the required expiration terms for most apprenticed children. Only mulatto children rarely received freedom dues. According to the surviving records, Hannah Baltrip was the only mulatto bastard to receive freedom dues. Though she was bound until she became thirty-one, her master, Edmond Denney was required to "bring her up in a Christian manner and cause her to be taught to read the testament and at the expiration of her said term that he find her a decent suit of clothes suitable for her condition."<sup>64</sup> White bastards in Rowan County occasionally received money and materials above what the law stipulated. Of the thirty-two cases of white bastard apprenticeships, seven bastards received freedom dues above what the law required, while sixteen were to "receive what the law directs." It seems that the orphans of Rowan County often received better expiration terms than their illegitimate peers. Of the 209 apprenticed orphans, only 54 received the minimum dues required by law. Forty-two apprenticeships did not include any mention of freedom dues. The records reveal that over half of the apprenticed orphans in Rowan County received freedom dues above what the law required. Most girls received livestock, spinning wheels, or money. For example, in 1770 May Johnson was apprenticed to William

Davis who was required to give her "two suits of clothes, one cow and calf, and a spinning wheel, and common furniture for a bed."<sup>65</sup> Expiration dues for boys usually included money, riding tackle, and tools for their apprenticed trade. William McCloud was apprenticed in 1774 to James Ramsey, a shoemaker, and was to receive £10 and a set of tools when free. His brother, Donald McCloud, was apprenticed to a weaver and was to receive "£12 and a horse and saddle."<sup>66</sup>

It is impossible to know if masters of apprentices complied with the law and taught their charges to read and write. New Hanover and Edgecombe counties rarely recorded stipulations for an apprentices' education. Alan Watson has found in his colonial North Carolina research that the courts were serious about ensuring an orphan's education. His interpretation of the county court records, however, should be reviewed again. Between 1760 and 1790, the Edgecombe court minutes included only one apprenticeship stipulating terms for an orphan's education. Rowan County records include only twelve apprenticeships requiring an orphan's education. The court minutes refute Watson's findings that the Rowan County court "frequently demanded that masters provide apprentices with eighteen months of education during which study the children should learn to read, write legibly, and cypher to the five common rules."<sup>67</sup> Only three cases of bastard apprenticeship included any reference to an education for the child. In 1761, Andrew Beard was to "learn the five common rules." Hannah Baltrip was to learn to "read testament," while her brother was to learn to "read and write."<sup>68</sup>

Nine male orphan apprenticeships included stipulations for the child's education. The terms ranged vaguely from teaching the child "to read and write" to instruction in "the common rules of arithmetic."<sup>69</sup> The length of the child's education also varied. John Adams was required to have "one month of schooling," while Sidney Nydey was "to have two years of schooling."<sup>70</sup> It seems that Rowan County did not "frequently" insist on the education of bastards and orphans. Perhaps an education was implied but not described in detail in the court records.

The surviving records suggest that the county courts were concerned with the proper care of apprenticed bastards and orphans. Based on the meager hints left in the court minutes, bastards and orphans were both apprenticed to masters of good standing within the communities. The courts tried to keep families and children of similar ages together, regardless of legitimate or illegitimate status. Both bastards and orphans had access to the courts to ensure proper care. Within each county, barely discernible differences in the treatment of bastards and legitimate white orphans suggests that the label of "bastard" probably did not stigmatize the bastard children within their communities. Only mulatto children faced problems. The records suggest that miscegenation was not accepted. Mulatto bastards probably faced a life of prejudice in addition to long indentures and few opportunities to learn a trade. Female mulatto bastards were especially singled out and received longer than usual indentures.

An unusual case in 1782 perhaps illustrates the prejudice

mulatto children faced in eighteenth-century North Carolina. On the petition of Jenny Freeman, a free mulatto woman, the court ordered that "Thomas McGuire deliver into the hand of said Jenny, a free female mulatto child named Mary Anne Freeman, the daughter of Abraham Freeman, suggested to be detained by fraud."<sup>71</sup> From the recorded information, it is difficult to interpret the complete details of this case, but it is likely that Mary Anne Freeman was illegally detained because of the color of her skin.

Bound or free, mulatto children were stigmatized while white bastards and orphans were treated almost the same by the county courts. The eighteenth-century North Carolina society was not too concerned about white fornication and bastardy, but miscegenation was not acceptable.

As adults, did the bastards of New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties fit into the mainstream of society? Did illegitimate children stay within their communities and become successful citizens? Chapter three attempts to answer these questions by examining surviving census records.

## Notes for Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, June 1767, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C. All North Carolina county records are from the microfilm edition of those records in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>Alan Macfarlane, "Illegitimacy and Illegitimates in English History," in Bastardy and its Comparative History, ed., Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen and Richard M. Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 81.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 75.

<sup>4</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, July 1788.

<sup>5</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, June 1767, April 1777, April 1785, January 1787, July 1788.

<sup>6</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, April 1785.

<sup>7</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, January 1767, May 1772, November 1772, November 1778.

<sup>8</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, August 1783.

<sup>9</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, August 1783, November 1783.

<sup>10</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, January 1769, May 1772, May 1774, August 1778.

<sup>11</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, May 1777.

<sup>12</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, May 1788.

<sup>13</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, February 1790, August 1790.

<sup>14</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, November 1790.

<sup>15</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, January 1788.

<sup>16</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, June 1767, January 1787, July 1788.

<sup>17</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, August 1783, February 1784, February 1787, February 1772, October 1774, February 1786.

<sup>18</sup>Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 51.

<sup>19</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, November 1782.

<sup>20</sup>Robert V. Wells, "Illegitimacy and Bridal Pregnancy in Colonial America," in Bastardy and its Comparative History, ed., Peter Laslett, 361.

<sup>21</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, September 1761, July 1788.

<sup>22</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, July 1784, July 1788.

<sup>23</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, July 1784, July 1788.

<sup>24</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, September 1761, July 1783.

<sup>25</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, January 1767.

<sup>26</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, April 1763, January 1763.

<sup>27</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, November 1782.

<sup>28</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Public Poor Relief in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, LIV (October 1977), 350.

<sup>29</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, January 1767.

<sup>30</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, October 1766.

<sup>31</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, May 1784, August 1786.

<sup>32</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, November 1772.

<sup>33</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, May 1770.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., May 1770, August 1774, August 1778.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., May 1787, May 1790.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., February 1778.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., August 1770.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., February 1777.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., November 1785.

<sup>40</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, September 1761, September 1760, April 1768.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., January 1773, September 1761, April 1782.

<sup>42</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Orphanage in Colonial North Carolina: Edgecombe County as a Case Study," North Carolina Historical Review, LII (April 1975), 111.

- <sup>43</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, April 1787.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., October 1774, April 1775.
- <sup>45</sup>Ibid., April 1772, January 1773, April 1789.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid., October 1789.
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid., June 1761.
- <sup>48</sup>Ibid., July 1768.
- <sup>49</sup>Ibid., April 1787.
- <sup>50</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Orphanage in Colonial North Carolina," 112.
- <sup>51</sup>New Hanover County Court Minutes, July 1788, July 1790.
- <sup>52</sup>Edgecombe County Court Minutes, April 1765.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid., April 1764, October 1766.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid., November 1782, January 1788.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid., October 1764, May 1770, May 1772, October 1775, May 1784.
- <sup>56</sup>Ibid., July 1774, February 1786, May 1786, August 1788.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., February 1769.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid., January 1763.
- <sup>59</sup>Kathi R. Jones, "That Also These Children May Become Useful People: Apprenticeships in Rowan County, North Carolina from 1753 to 1795," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1985, 58-59.
- <sup>60</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, May 1770, February 1775.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., April 1767, August 1781.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., February 1770, May 1770.
- <sup>63</sup>Ibid., May 1769, May 1775, February 1785.
- <sup>64</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, May 1770.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., May 1770.
- <sup>66</sup>Ibid., May 1774.
- <sup>67</sup>Alan D. Watson, "Orphanage in Colonial North Carolina, 109.
- <sup>68</sup>Rowan County Court Minutes, January 1761, May 1770.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., January 1761, October 1764.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., May 1770, February 1775.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., August 1782.

### CHAPTER III

#### PAUPERS OR PROPERTY OWNERS? AN OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

After attaining "lawful age," were illegitimate children accepted into North Carolina society? Were bastards paupers or property owners? The surviving records reveal only hints and possibilities of the adult lives of eighteenth-century bastards.

After examining the Census of 1790, it became clear that many of the illegitimate children mentioned in the county court minutes had left few recorded traces of their adult lives. The census included names by district and county and listed for each person the number of free white males over sixteen, the number of free white males under sixteen, free white females, all other persons, and the number of slaves. Although the census provides this information, it does not include enough biographical data to conclusively prove that names common to both the court records and census lists were actually the same people. For example, John Johnson of Edgecombe County, the illegitimate son of Mary Johnson, was apprenticed in 1769 to James Taylor. By 1790, he was twenty-eight years old and eligible to be listed in the census. Unfortunately, the census of 1790 listed eighteen John Johnsons in North Carolina. Only unusual names offered the possibility of tracing individuals through time.

Only two orphans bound by the New Hanover court could have

been listed in the 1790 census. Three bastards and fourteen orphans from Edgecombe County matched names in the census, while three bastards and nine orphans from Rowan County may have been listed. Not one of the bastards included in the census owned any slaves. Though the census can indicate whether the bastards stayed within their communities and became owners of slaves, the meager and unreliable nature of this information does not indicate the status of illegitimate children as adults in eighteenth-century North Carolina.

More research needs to be done in this area for a clearer evaluation of the status of bastards as adults. A greater understanding could be gained by integrating information from tax lists, wills, and deeds with the county court records. Due to the large volume of research necessary to follow over 300 individuals through time, a comparison and analysis of these records is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

Judging from the county court records, white bastards in eighteenth-century North Carolina were not considered second-class citizens. By examining the age at apprenticeship, the length of the indentures, and the trades assigned to bastards and orphans, the court minutes for New Hanover, Edgecombe, and Rowan Counties suggest that bastard children were generally treated the same as apprenticed orphans. Though illegitimate children were often apprenticed at younger ages than orphans, bastards were usually released at the usual age of majority. Only two white female bastards received indentures till age twenty-one, three years over

the usual age of majority. Though the dominant trades in each county varied, both bastards and orphans were apprenticed to similar trades and usually received the same opportunities for freedom dues.

Eighteenth-century North Carolina could tolerate white bastardy, but miscegenation was frequently punished. Mulatto bastards were often stigmatized and received harsher treatment by the county courts. Mulatto girls especially received longer-than-usual indentures, while only one male mulatto was bound for ten additional years over the usual age of majority.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the longer indentures for girls were to deter them from becoming bastard-bearers themselves. Few mulatto indentures included the learning of a trade, perhaps an indication of the use of mulattos only as laborers.

Few regional differences are discernible in the treatment of bastardy and bastards. New Hanover County, with its notable lack of white children labeled as "base-born," was perhaps the most lenient of the three reviewed counties. In contrast, Rowan County was perhaps more harsh in its application of the laws, standing out as the only county to punish servant women for bearing illegitimate children. New Hanover County was moving away from indentured labor and was relying more on slave labor, perhaps an important factor in influencing the county's apparent disinterest in punishing white bastards and bastard-bearers. In contrast, Rowan County, had few slaves and relied more on indentured labor, perhaps spurring the Justices to extend the indenture of servant women bearing bastards. Across the span of thirty years, the counties' treatment of mulatto and white bastard children remained

almost unchanged in the court records.

The court minutes offer an opportunity to glean attitudes towards bastards and bastardy, but can provide only a tenuous idea of the status of illegitimate children in eighteenth-century North Carolina. Without further extensive research, it is difficult to know if bastards and orphans apprenticed by the courts shared economic and social mobility and became paupers or property owners as adults.

The court minutes indicate that as children, bastards usually received the same treatment as legitimate orphans and perhaps were stigmatized only by the label of "bastard" in the records. In the developing North Carolina society, attitudes and values often differed markedly from other colonies and were at times comparatively unstratified. To some eighteenth-century observers, North Carolina was uncivilized, "a stage of debauchery, dissoluteness, and corruption."<sup>2</sup> Though perhaps different from the other colonies and states, North Carolina society was relatively tolerant and open-minded about the frailties of the human condition.

### Notes for Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>Edgecombe County Court Records, May 1784, Margaret Duncan and Charlotte Horn. North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, microfilm edition of those records in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>A. Roger Ekirch, Poor Carolina, Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729-1776 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 28.



County: New Hanover

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Sept. 1760	John Stanton	M	--	--	"orphan boy"	Alexander Ross	tailor	
Sept. 1760	William Stanton	M	--	21	"orphan boy"	John Lyon, Esq. or his assigns		
March 1761	David Thorn	M	16	21	"orphan"	John Wright	saddler and treemaker	
June 1761	Margaret Walker	F	8	18	John Walker	Barbara Clark-sister of John Walker, ship carpenter		
Sept. 1761	Ann Shann	F	7	18	"orphan girl"	Ann Collier	"agreeable to law"	
Sept. 1761	Margaret Thew	F	8	--	"orphan girl"	Darby Egan	on petition of Mrs. Egan	
Sept. 1764	John Silvester	M	6	21	Augustus Silvester	John Chalwell & Henry Rooks, perwig makers		
Dec. 1764	Augustine Silvester	M	--	--	"for 5 years" Augustus Silvester	Thomas Henderson	tallor, (former master Henry McKay) (deceased)	
March 1765	John Franks	M	8	21	"orphan boy"	David Brown		
March 1765	Augustine Silver	M	"for 6 1/2 years"	--	"orphan"	Samuel Stuckey	on petition of orphan	
June 1767	Thomas Stockley	M	"for 4 years"	8 months	"orphan"	Samuel Stuckey	on petition of orphan	
Sept. 1767	Thomas Carter	M	14	21	"orphan boy"	William Saunders	tailor	
April 1768	Fanny Silvester	F	11	18	Orphan, lately indentured servant of	John Eustace, Esq. Henry McKay, deceased		
April 1768	John Fling	M	13	21	"orphan boy"	"executors of John Duboise, Esq." to learn trade of Baker		
Oct. 1768	Elizabeth Edge	F	--	18	"orphan girl"	George Shinnill		
Oct. 1768	Sarah Edge	F	--	18	"sister of Elizabeth Edge"	John Jones		
July 1769	William Jack	M	--	21	Orphan of Becky Hays	William Walker	cooper	
Oct. 1769	William Holland	M	"for 6 years"	--	John Holland	William Ewings		
Oct. 1769	Mary Ann Silvester	F	--	18	--	Hector McAllistor	"court canceled the bond of James Blyth to whom she was formerly bound"	
April 1772	William Baker	M	"for 6 years"	--	--	Daniel Bernard		
April 1772	Richard Topp	M	15	21	-- Topp	Edward Barrett	carpenter	

County: New Hanover

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Jan. 1773	Michael Kean	M	13	21	Michael Kean	John Nutt		
Oct. 1774	William Batt	M	19	21	John Batt	Thomas Still		
Jan. 1775	John Nichols	M	11	21	Caleb Nichols	John Nichols	cooper	
April 1775	William Lovejoy	M	"for 5 years"	"orphan"	"orphan"	Thomas Still		
April 1775	Deborah Pearson	F	12	18	"orphan"	Ann Cruichfield		
Oct. 1775	James Lee	M	"for 4 years"	"orphan"	Bryant Lee	Aaron Moore	millwright	
April 1782	Ann Nixon	F	11	18	Salathiel Nixon	Ann Rogers (ordinary keeper)		
April 1782	Polly Nixon	F	--	18	"orphan"	Mrs. Logan of Wilmington		
Oct. 1782	David Ramsey	M	--	21	D. Ramsey	Thomas Ramsey		
Oct. 1782	James Stibbens	M	--	21	Gideon Stibbens	Henry Blake		
Oct. 1784	John Leddon	M	--	21	"orphan"	John Wright	shoemaker, bond L200	
July 1785	Samuel Hurst	M	--	21	"orphan"	Henry Rooks		
April 1786	Mat William Johnston	M	--	21	"a minor orphan"	A. Ronatoson		
Oct. 1786	Benjamin Wood	M	16	21	"a minor orphan"	Miles Rooks	cooper	
April 1787	Thomas Lambe	M	--	21	Robert Lambe	Isaac Lambe		
April 1787	Jane Lambe	F	--	18	Robert Lambe	Isaac Lambe		
April 1789	John Dunbiben	M	15	21	"an orphan"	John Nutt	cabinet maker	
Oct. 1790	James Aliorn	M	13	21	"an orphan"	Isaac Goldin		

County: New Hanover

OTHER CHILDREN BOUND - NO MENTION OF ORPHAN OR BASTARD STATUS

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Sept. 1766	Ann Walker	F	9	--	Ann Robeson	on petition of John Robeson	
Oct. 1771	Esther Kibby	F	--	--	Mary Player	on petition of Esther Kibby	
April 1771	Ann Henry	F	--	Margaret Henry	Mrs. Ancrum	bound by her mother, Margaret Henry	
April 1771	Jenny Earl	F	--	--	Mrs. McLorinan	on petition of Jenny Earl	
April 1771	Nancy Earl	F	--	--	Mrs. McDaniel	on petition of Nancy Earl	
April 1772	Mary Parvisol	F	"for 6 years"	--	John Nutt	bound at Mary Parvisol's request	
April 1772	William Parvisol	M	--	21	Richard Wilson		
April 1772	William Campbell	M	"for 5 years"	--	Dr. Robert Tucker	on petition of William Campbell	
Jan. 1773	Phillip McSwain	M	9	21	George Palmer (tavern keeper)	on petition of Phillip	
Jan. 1779	Caleb Nichols	M	--	21	John Murphy	shoemaker	
July 1783	Cornelius Hust	M	--	21	Henry Rooks		
Oct. 1783	Caleb Nichols	M	--	21	Maurice Ward	formerly bound to John Murphy	
Oct. 1783	William Mills	M	16	21	George Logan		
April 1786	Thomas Tholners	M	12	21	Michael Niesaw	carpenter	
Jan. 1788	Luke Townley	M	--	--	James Risenbark		
April 1788	Bryan Hussy	M	--	--	Soloman Hames	pilot	
April 1789	Guava (?)	M	--	21	George McCulloch		
Oct. 1789	Coatney Spann	F	--	18	James Jennett & wife		
July 1790	Julius (?) Chatham Dunbabin	M	14	21	John Martin	cooper	
July 1790	Laurence Howse	M	--	21	George Logan	tailor, and give him 1 years schooling	
Oct. 1790	M. McClarry (?)	M	--	--	A. Rouse	blacksmith, Rouse also appointed guardian	



County: Edgecombe Count

## BASTARD CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
April 1764	Shadrack Hewet	M	--	--	Anne Hewet	Andrex Booth	tanner	
April 1764	Sal Revel	F	--	--	Sabra Revel	Joseph Howell, Esq.	carding and spinning	
April 1765	Ralph Roazman	M	16	--	Elizabeth Roazman	Aguilla Sugg, Esq. James Hale	sailor	
Jan. 1765	James	M	8	--	Jenny Lekell, "an "daughter of Mary "Indian wench"	Charles Jones	planter	
Jan. 1765	Sally	F	--	--	Gay, a single woman		carding and spinning	
April 1765	Elijah Welch	M	17	--	Mary Dunagon	Aguilla Sugg, Esq.	sailor	
July 1765	Zachariah Faircloth	M	14	--	Sarah Faircloth	Noah Sugg	planter, according to law	
July 1765	Hardy	M	7	--	Sarah Faircloth	Benjamin Faircloth	planter	
July 1765	John	M	5(?)	--	Sarah Faircloth	Benjamin Faircloth	planter	
Oct. 1765	James Corner	M	15	--	Mary Corner	Thomas Rodgers	planter	
Oct. 1766	Paemy(?) Revell	F	6 months	--	Sabra Revell	Joseph Howell, Esq.	carding and spinning	
Jan. 1767	James	M	newborn	--	Judith Hubbard	James Ruffin	planter, according to law	
July 1767	Amos Quin	M	?	--	Margaret Quin	James Permentor	blacksmith	
Feb. 1769	Martha Adkinson	F	6	--	--	Charles Parker, Jr.	carding and spinning	
Aug. 1769	John Johnson	M	7	21	Mary Johnson	James Taylor	wheelwright	
May 1770	Josiah Ready	M	-	21	-- Ready	Joseph Moore, Esq.	planter	
Aug. 1770	Josiah Ready	M	8	21	Rachel Ready	Thomas Hurst	planter (transferred ?)	
Nov. 1770	Elizabeth Johnson	F	--	--	Anne Johnson	John Coleman		
Nov. 1770	Fanny Johnson	F	--	--	Martha Johnson	John Coleman		
Nov. 1771	John Quin	M	4	21	Margaret Quin	James Permentor	blacksmith	
Feb. 1772	Jesse Newton	M	5	--	Elizabeth Newton	John Stringer	planter	

County: Edgecombe County

BASTARD CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
May 1772	Willis Fry	M	10	Elizabeth Fry	William Bloodworth	planter, according to law	
Aug. 1772	Elizabeth Jackson	F	8	Amy Jackson	John Jones	carding and spinning	
Aug. 1772	Elijah Procter	M	13	Mary Procter	Elisha Stallions	cooper	
Nov. 1772	Lucretia Johnston	F	--	"a base born child" "to lawful age" --	Richard Strip(?)	planter	
Feb. 1773	David Allen	M	--	"base born child"	Henry Clark	wheelwright	
July 1774	Cylius(?) Underwood	M	5	"base born infant"	John Mial	planter	
Oct. 1774	Selah Morgan	F	3	Elizabeth Morgan	James Brown	carding and spinning	
Oct. 1774	James Kiff	M	6	Mary Kiff	Soloman Carter	planter	
Oct. 1774	Jacob Blackwell Worbenton	M	7	Chloe Worbenton	Samuel Braswell	planter	
Oct. 1774	Dacey Newton	F	5	Elizabeth Newton	Jesse DeLoach	carding and spinning	
Oct. 1774	John Phillips Worbenton	M	6	Ann Worbenton begotten by William Dickesson with Ann Worbenton	Samuel Braswell	planter	
Oct. 1774	"female child"	F	--		William Mare & wife	spinning and weaving	
April 1775	John Seraner(?)	M	8	"base born child"	Thomas Leat(?)	planter	
July 1775	Mary Price	F	12	Elizabeth Price	John Flannages(?)		
July 1775	Milly Wiggans	F	8	Sarah Wiggans	Edmund Marsh & wife		
Jan. 1776	Britain Dawson	M	13	Mary Dawson	Peter Cartwright	shoemaker	
Aug. 1778	Faith Vaugahn	F	12	Elizabeth Vaugahn	James Nelson	carding and spinning	
Nov. 1778	Miles Anderson	M	7	Elizabeth Anderson	John Thomas	planter	
Nov. 1778	Edy(?) Artist	F	1 year	"base born female infant"	Joseph Sims and wife		
May 1779	Gordan Hammons	M	--	Mary Hammons	Willis Hajatt(?)	planter	
Aug. 1779	Richard Matthews	M	7	Elizabeth Matthews	William Corbett	hatter	

County: Edgecombe County

BASTARD CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound--Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
May 1780	Charity Laurence	F	6	18	Elizabeth Laurence	Richard Wiggins	carding and spinning	
Nov. 1781	John Hicks	M	13	--	Susanna Hicks	Hezekiah Cartwright	farmer	
Nov. 1781	James Stamford	M	4	--	Sarah Stamford	E.(?) Shookley		
Feb. 1783	Reddick Spier	M	10	--	Lettice Spier	Benjamin Brake	planter	
Aug. 1783	Elisha Ellis	M	10	--	Suzania Ellis	John Stringer	plantation business	
Aug. 1783	Elisha Ellis	M	10	--	Suzania Ellis	transferred to Edward Hall (county clerk)		
Aug. 1783	Saville Horn	F(?)	2	--	Patience Horn	Richard Horn		"John Stringer is an improper person"
Nov. 1783	Isaac Carter	M	9	--	"base born child"	James Eastwood	plantation business	
Feb. 1784	Noah Barrat(?)	M	4	--	"bastard child"	Hardy Jones	farmer	
May 1784	Dennis Morgan	M	3	--	Jane Morgan	Joseph Bourden	planter	
May 1784	Margaret Duncan	F	9	21	--	Grace Adams		
Feb. 1786	Allen Morgan	M	1	21	"base born child"	John Lackey	farmer	
Feb. 1786	Phillip Newton	M	6	21	Elizabeth Newton	Shadrack Stephens	farmer	
Aug. 1786	Charlotte Horn	F	1	21	Elizabeth Horn	Jethro Pitman		
Jan. 1788	Asa Daniel	M	11	--	E. Daniel	John Norwood	shoemaker	
Feb. 1789	Charles Horn	M	5	--	"base begotten child"	William Fort	planter	
May 1790	William Godfrey	M	5	--	Sally Godfrey	Ariel Weaver	shoemaker	

County: Edgecombe County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Jan. 1763	Arthur Goodson	M	15	--	George Goodson	James Rice	shoemaker	1 year of schooling
Oct. 1763	Robert Allon	M	--	--	John Allon	Elisha Battle, Esq.	shoemaker and currier	
Oct. 1763	Jeremiah Allon	M	--	--	John Allon	Elisha Battle, Esq.	shoemaker and currier	
Oct. 1763	John Allon	M	--	--	John Allon	Joseph Summer	blacksmith	
Oct. 1763	William Cane	M	--	--	William Cane	Francis Palmer	carpenter and joiner	
Oct. 1763	Francis Hamilton	M	--	--	-- Hamilton	Francis Palmer	carpenter and joiner	
July 1764	William Regester	M	--	--	William --	Benjamin Andrews	wheelwright	
Oct. 1764	Joel Sellers	M	--	--	Benjamin Sellers	Kindred Cartier	farmer	
Jan. 1765	Willis Cherry	M	--	--	Samuel Cherry	William Mills	shoemaker	
April 1765	Sarah Dorman	F	10	--	Edward Dorman	Aguila Sugg, Esq.	carding & spinning, according to law	
July 1765	Aldwith(?) Allen	F(?)	5	--	John Allen	Elisha Battle, Esq.	carding and spinning	
Oct. 1765	James Newman	M	12	--	William Newman	Thomas Rodgers	planter	
April 1767	Hofer(?) Pitman	M(?)	11	--	Hofer(?) Pitman	William Dolash	planter	
July 1767	Lucretia Johnson	F	9	--	Thomas Johnson	William Clark	carding and spinning	
July 1767	Crawford Johnson	M	7	--	Thomas Johnson	William Clark	planter	
July 1767	Dianna Johnson	F	11	--	Thomas Johnson	Thomas H. Hall	spinning and weaving	
Oct. 1767	John Gutry	M	--	--	John Gutry	Matthew Drake	planter	
Aug. 1769	Thomas Key	M	17	--	John Key	Henry Hart	shoemaker	
Aug. 1769	Henry Key	M	15	--	John Key	Richard Bell	taylor	
Aug. 1769	William Key	M	13	--	John Key	Thomas Forehall(?)	cooper	
Feb. 1770	Benjamin Floyd	M	14	--	Frances Floyd	John Parks	planter	

County: Edgecombe County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
May 1770	Edward Bareker Close	M	9	Henry Close	Thomas Davis	planter	
May 1770	Jane Close	F	7	Henry Close	Thomas Davis	carding and spinning	
May 1770	Noah Pitman	M	10	Moses Pitman	Samuel Doloach	planter	
May 1771	Tomkins Sandford	M	16	William Sandford	William Sandford	carpenter	
Aug. 1771	Thomas Key	M	19	John Key	John Perry	cooper, transferred from Henry Hart	
Feb. 1772	Kenian Core	M	6	Charles Core	George Spell	turner	
May 1772	Jane Close	F	7	Henry Close	Joseph Moore, Esq.	transferred from Thomas Davis	
May 1772	Richard Close	M	4	Henry Close	Joseph Moore, Esq.	planter	
Aug. 1772	Joshua Williams	M	14	John Williams	William Williams	planter	
Aug. 1772	Micajah Williams	M	3(?)	John Williams	William Williams	planter	
Aug. 1772	Winnv Williams	F	9	John Williams	Pilgrim Pope	carding and spinning	
Aug. 1772	Richard Morgan	M	16	Siedmore Morgan	Joseph Wood	tailor	
Aug. 1772	Jesse Henley	M	9	John Henley	Joseph Wood	tailor	
April 1774	Dennis O'Bryan	M	--	Geradus O'Bryan	Henry Irwin	merchandising	
April 1774	Zion Williams	M	--	Jonas Williams	William Landifer	carpenter	
April 1774	Howell Williams	M	--	Jonas Williams	William Landifer	carpenter	
April 1774	Hardy Weeks	M	--	--	Reuben Whitfield	blacksmith	
Jan. 1775	Williamson Laurence	M	16	Thomas Laurence	Archibald White	blacksmith	
April 1775	Samuel Hallet	M	13	Michael Hallet	John Kelley	house carpenter	
July 1775	William Rawls	M	10	"orphan of Mary Rawls"	Peter Stephens	carpenter	
Oct. 1775	Jane Close	F	10	Henry Close	Ann Moore	spinning, transferred from Joseph Moore	

County: Edgecombe County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Aug. 1778	Richard Close	M	12	21	Henry Close(?)	H.I. Tate(?)	planter	transferred from Joseph Moore
Nov. 1778	Caleb Wright	M	18	--	Thomas Wright	Jonas Johnson	farmer	Maluke Maund appt. guardian bond- \$2,000
Aug. 1779	Conding(?) Williams	M	16	--	John Williams	Uriah Williams	cooper	transfer from William Ellinor
Feb. 1780	Mary Williams	F	15	18	James Williams	Jonathan Baldwin		
Nov. 1780	James Prosser	M	14	21	William Prosser	Britain Barnes	turner	
Feb. 1782	Jesse Sterling	M	13	21	"orphan"	Jethro Pitman	planter	
Nov. 1782	Jonas Proctor	M	8	--	John Proctor	John Proctor	wheelwright	
Nov. 1782	Nancy Proctor	F	6	--	John Proctor	John Proctor	card and spin	
Nov. 1782	Josiah Webb	M	16	--	"orphan"	John Parker	carpenter	
Feb. 1783	Jesse Proctor	M	11	--	John Proctor	James Edge	wheelwright and turner	
Feb. 1783	George Proctor	M	10	--	John Proctor	James Edge	wheelwright and turner	
Feb. 1783	Solomon Proctor	M	5	--	John Proctor	Josiah Stringer	planter	
May 1783	James Darnal	M	16	--	"orphan"	William Drake	silversmith	
Nov. 1783	Phillip Newton	M	5	--	"orphan"	Shadrack Stephens	cropping and farming	
Nov. 1783	Joyner Briggs	M	14	--	Joel Briggs	Benjamin Briggs	house joiner	
Nov. 1783	Matthew Briggs	M	9	--	Joel Briggs	Benjamin Briggs	house joiner	
Nov. 1783	Frederick Briggs	M	17	--	Joel Briggs	Matthew Joyner	shoemaker	
Feb. 1784	John Wilson	M	--	--	William Wilson	Amos Johnston	saddler	
Feb. 1784	William Wilson	M	16	--	William Wilson	Britain Barnes(?)	farmer	
May 1784	Oghert Marsworthy	M	16	--	William Marsworthy	Miles Scarborough	shoemaker	
May 1784	James Harper	M	17	20	David Harper	Thomas Lowry	carpenter and house joiner	

County: Edgecombe County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
May 1784	Robert Harper	M	15	19	David Harper	Thomas Lowry	carpenter and house joiner	
May 1784	James Weeks	M	16	--	Benjamin Weeks	James Weeks, Senior	hatter	
May 1784	Radford Smith	M	13	--	David Smith	Stephen Coleman	carpenter	
Aug. 1784	James Wilson	M	12	--	William Wilson	Richard Jarnet	shoemaker	Speed also appointed
Aug. 1784	Henry Irwin	M	18	--	Henry Irwin	Joseph Speed	merchant, guardiay, bond L3,000	transferred from
Aug. 1785	Joyner Briggs	M	--	--	Joel Briggs	Miles Scarborough	shoemaker, Benjamin Briggs	
Aug. 1785	Perry Taylor	M	18	--	Thomas Taylor	Nathan Hathaway	tailor	
Nov. 1785	Robert Edwards	M	19	--	Robert Edwards	Elijah Horn	farmer	transferred from
Nov. 1785	Matthew Briggs	M	--	--	Joel Briggs	Matthew Joyner	shoemaker, Benjamin Briggs	
Feb. 1787	P. Pitman	M	9	21	Jason Pitman	John Calhoon	farmer	
Feb. 1786	Charity Braddy	F	13	18	John Braddy	L. Savage	carding and spinning	
Feb. 1786	Agatha Bullock	F	15	18	David Bullock	Shadrack Stevens	carding and spinning	
April 1787	Isaac Pitman	M	16	--	Joseph Pitman	Timothy Manning	tailor	
Oct. 1787	John Campbell	M	8	--	"orphan"	John Steels	shoemaker	
May 1788	Loui Holland	M	11	--	Jesse Holland	William Dickinson	plantation business	
May 1788	Elizabeth Whiting	F	15	18	William Whiting	Ephraim Dicken		
Nov. 1788	Eli Batchelor	M	12	--	Thomas Batchelor	Malachi Nicholson	planter	
Nov. 1788	John Whitehead	M	--	--	"orphan"	S. Spinks	planter	
Feb. 1789	Christopher Harrison	M	11	--	Henry Harrison	John Newbern	cooper	
Feb. 1789	William Batchelor	M	14	--	John Batchelor	Laurence Smith	carpenter	
May 1789	Vinson Smith	M	11	--	"orphan"	Thomas Cromwell	hatter	



County: Edgecombe County

APPRENTICESHIP-NO MENTION OF ORPHAN OR ILLEGITIMATE STATUS

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Sept. 1760	Henry Smith	M	--	Margaret Smith	William Pitman	shoemaker	
Oct. 1764	Nathaniel Revell	M	--	--	Mary Fort	farmer	
Jan. 1767	Robert Willis	M	16	Robert Willis	Agulla Sugg, Esq.	miner(?)	
April 1767	Thomas Dunagon	M	--	Thomas Dunagon	Jesse(?) Baker	planter	
April 1767	Hardy Miller	M	3	Gilbert Miller	Jessa(?) Baker	planter	
July 1767	William Williams	M	14	William Williams	Richard Gore	carpenter	
Feb. 1770	James Honeybuns	M	15	--	Joseph Moore, Esq.	planter	
Oct. 1775	Susannah Hutchison	F	11	--	Thomas Whitehead	carding and spinning	
Nov. 1778	Bartholomew Ruffin	M	16	--	Jesse Deloach and Samuel Ruffin	Ruffin also appointed planter, guardian to Bartholomew	
Nov. 1778	Etheldred Ruffin	M	14	--	Jesse Deloach and Samuel Ruffin	and Etheldred Ruffin, planter, bond, £1000	
Feb. 1779	Pharaby Elick	F	13	--	Andrew Irwin and his wife Elizabeth	carding, spinning, weaving	
Nov. 1783	John Ashley	M	16	--	Edward Hall transferred to William Teat	shoemaker	
Feb. 1784	John Ashley	M	--	--	William Teat		
Feb. 1784	Isaac Wilson	M	14	--	John Wilson	Making leather breeches and gloves	
Aug. 1784	Elizabeth Stafford	F	12	--	Abner Robertson		
Aug. 1784	William Flood	M	8	--	Robert Cockran	weaver	
Nov. 1784	David Allen	M	16	---	Dun Dunbar	planter	
May 1785	Henry Conner	M	13	--	Jethro Battle	farmer	
Nov. 1786	Josiah Hatchell	M	7	21	William White	blacksmith	
Nov. 1786	Willis Jackson	M	10	--	Thomas Coffield	planter	
Feb. 1787	Jesse Proctor	M	15	--	John Edge	wheelwright and turner	





County: Rowan County

BASTARD CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Jan. 1769	Sarah Shaver	F	--	18	Margaret Shaver	Mr. James Potts		
May 1770	John Baltrip	M	7	21	Ann Baltrip	Edmond Denney		"to be taught to read & write, & cooper, given a horse, saddle worth £5, and a decent suit of clothes"
May 1774	Nancy Robinson	F	2	18	Charlotte Dermond "reputed bastard of Henry Baker"	Manassah Lamb		
May 1774	Amelia Baker	F	4	18		John Johnston		to be given a spinning wheel
Feb. 1775	James Craige	M	10	21	Isabella Moore	William Ireland		cordwainer, comply with law
Feb. 1775	John Haiden	M	6	21	Margaret Haiden	Peter Hendley		tinker & pewterer, comply with law
Feb. 1775	Bennet Haiden	M	4	21	Margaret Haiden	Peter Hendley		tinker & pewterer, comply with law
Feb. 1775	Hannah Haiden	F	8	18	Margaret Haiden	Peter Hendley		comply with law
Feb. 1775	Nancy Robinson	F	3	18	Charlotte Dermond	Richard Brandon		transfer, comply with law
Nov. 1775	"base born child"	?	--	--	Crozier Craige	William Brandon		
Feb. 1777	Willis Goodwin	M	2	21	Elizabeth Goodwin	George Sevlts		millwright, comply with law
May 1777	Susannah Stuart	F	4	18	Margaret Abshear	Matthew Oliphant		"to have 40 shillings besides what the law allows"
Nov. 1777	Isam Morris	M	7	21	"a base born child"	John Pinkston		
Feb. 1778	Isaac Craige	M	--	--	Crozier Craige	"Crozier Craige to Craige."		take into his possession Isaac
May 1778	William Tucker	M	12	21	"orphan and base born child"	William Matt		cloathier, to comply with law
Nov. 1779	George Frase	M	15	21	"base born child"	Casper Pringle		turner and spinning wheel maker, to comply with law
Nov. 1779	James Jackson	M	5	21	"base born child"	John Ricksall		weaver, to comply with law
May 1782	William Baker	M	15	21	Margaret Baker	Absolam Taylor		blacksmith, to comply with law
Nov. 1783	Alex Battle	M	6	21	"base born child"	Frederick Goss		cooper, to comply with law
Aug. 1784	John Baker	M	"for 5 years"		"orphan and base born child"	John Baker		an education, and a horse worth £12, a new saddle, a gun, a mattress, a hoe, and teach him farming
Feb. 1787	Ruth Frame	F	9	18	"a base born child"	William Dickey		to comply with law





County: Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Jan. 1761	Elsie Man	F(?)	"for 13 years"	"an orphan"	Moses Winslow	comply with law	
Jan. 1761	John Hicks	M	15	"an orphan"	Benjamin Merrel	blacksmith, common rules of arithmetic	
Oct. 1761	Mary Welsh	F	"for 4 years"	"an orphan"	Jacob Brown	saddler, set of saddler's tools and comply with law	
July 1763	John Neide	M	6	"an orphan"	James McCulloh	saddler, comply with law	
Jan. 1764	William Millsaps	M	"for 6 years"	Thomas Millsaps	James McCulloh	saddler, comply with law	
Oct. 1764	Thomas Kelly	M	7	John Kelly	John Bullin	cooper, read & write, suit of clothes, set of tools, L10 or a horse saddle, bridle worth L10, bond L30	
Oct. 1764	James Anderson	M	13	Robert Anderson	Robert Johnson	batter, comply with law	
April 1765	John Sawyers	M	14	"orphan"	Thomas Vaughn	comply with law	
April 1765	Mary Sawyers	F	12	"orphan"	James Potts	one cow and calf over and above what the law allows	
April 1765	Sarah Sawyers	F	"for 11 years"	"orphan"	William Massey	a mare and saddle	
Oct. 1766	Mary Sawyers	F	--	"orphan"	transferred to William McConnell	1 cow and calf, 1 spinning wheel, comply with law	
Oct. 1766	William McCulloh	M	"for 8 years"	John McCulloh	Arther Ervry	tailor, horse and saddle worth L8, and comply with law	
Oct. 1766	John McCulloh	M	--	John McCulloh	John Johnson	carpenter	
Jan. 1767	James McCulloh	M	9	John McCulloh	James Smiley	weaver, loom & tackling worth L4 and to comply with law	
Jan. 1767	Agness Payne	F	9	--	Jacob Nicholas	a horse worth L7, saddle worth L3, comply with law, Nicholas also appointed guardian	
Jan. 1767	William Aslayin	M	13	William Aslayin	Richard Graham	saddler, tools, horse, saddle, bridle worth L12, comply	
April 1767	William McCulloh	M	"for 7 years"	John McCulloh	transferred to George Marsball	House joiner, L2, and comply with law	
April 1767	Jane McCulloh	F	"for 11 years"	John McCulloh	Mrs. Elizabeth Gathbey	a widow of the county	
April 1767	John Sawyers	M	16	William Sawyers	transferred to Joshua Whitacre	farmer, L6, saddle, bridle, and comply with law	
July 1767	Rachal Burch	F	14	--	John Church	a suit of freedom cloth, a colt, a calf, spinning wheel, comply with law	
July 1767	Richard Burch	M	9	-- Burch	Enoch Tuck	vicar(?), suit of freedom clothes, comply with law	

County: Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
July 1767	James Anderson	M	15	21	--	James McGaughy	shoemaker, suit of freedom clothes, comply with law
Jan. 1768	John Watts Crunk	M	10	21	Richard Crunk	George Fry	blacksmith, L10 worth of tools, comply with law
July 1768	Henry Grees(?)	M	10	21	"orphan"	Gasper Kinder	hatter, L5 when finished
July 1768	John Bartlett	M	1	21	"orphan"	Arther Oneal	shoemaker
Oct. 1768	Jane McCulloh	F	--	18	John McCulloh	Elizabeth Cathey	same as April 1767
Oct. 1768	Nathaniel Johnson	M	13	21	Francis Johnson	Arther Erwyn	tailor, L8 or a horse, bridle, saddle, saddle treemaker, a suit of freedom clothes, horse, bridle, saddle, L10
Aug. 1769	John Jones	M	14	21	John Jones	James Erwyn, Jr.	blacksmith, L6, freedom clothes tanner, L5 in plantation tools over and above what the law directs
Aug. 1769	Phillip Cross	M	10	21	John Cross	George Spraker	gunsmith
Nov. 1769	William Cook	M	2	20	"orphan"	Samuel Luckey	blacksmith
Feb. 1770	Peter Crouse	M	8	21	"orphan"	Andrew Betts transferred to Adam Lash	blacksmith
Feb. 1770	John Jones	M	"for 8 years"	"an orphan"		Joseph Atkins	joiner
Feb. 1770	Paul Crosby	M	19	21	"an orphan"	William Grant	
May 1770	Rachel Grant	F	12	18	James Grant	William Grant	weaver
May 1770	Michael Grant	M	3	21	James Grant	William Grant	blacksmith,
May 1770	John Adams	M	18	21	John Adams	Paul Rousmith	"but must have 1 month schooling" weaver, horse, saddle, bridle, worth L10, & 1 loom and gears
May 1770	Thomas Johnson	M	"for 9 years"	Thomas Johnson	John McConnell	William Davis	2 suits of clothes, 1 cow and calf, spinning wheel, common furniture for a bed
May 1770	May Johnson	F	8	18	Thomas Johnson	James Fletcher	
Feb. 1771	Mary Wilkins	F	--	18	William Wilkins	James Fletcher	
Feb. 1771	Sarah Wilkins	F	--	18	William Wilkins	James Fletcher	
Feb. 1771	John Brooks	M	"for 7 years"	Joel Brooks	John Tolbert	John Tolbert	fuller, comply with law
Aug. 1771	Rosannah Callaban	F	9	18	John Callaban	Hugh Jenkins	L7, spinning wheel, and comply with law

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Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Aug. 1771	David Grant	M	7	21	"orphan"	William Moore	weaver, L5 over and above what the law directs	
Nov. 1771	Robert Hayse	M	16	21	"orphan"	Joseph Adkins	House carpenter and joiner, L4 and comply with law	
Feb. 1772	Adam Elrod	M	18	21	"orphan"	George McNight	a mare valued at L10, a good saddle, and bridle over and above the law to be given the same as Adam Elrod weaver.	
Feb. 1772	Jeremiah Elrod	M	16	21	"orphan"	Robert Elrod	a mare worth L5, a cow & calf, a spinning wheel, pair of cards, a set of knitting needles	
Feb. 1772	Nausey Quin	F	12	16	"orphan"	William Temple Coles transferred to William Bonner	currier, to comply with previous agreement	
Feb. 1772	John McCullloh	M	"for 3 years"		"orphan"	William Barton	cooper, L6 above the law	
May 1772	Barnabus Baker	M	14	21	Henry Baker	William Barton		
May 1772	John Baker	M	5	21	Henry Baker	William Barton		
May 1772	The two previous indentures		were voided since the orphans		"live in Surry County."			
May 1772	John McClung	M	--	21	"orphan"	Hugh Lynn	cooper, set of tools and comply with law	
May 1772	Robert McKinney	M	8	21	"orphan"	David Karr	weaver, loom and gears worth L5, and comply with law	
Aug. 1772	Joseph Bumper	M	16	21	"orphan"	Henry Morrow	house carpenter and joiner	
Nov. 1772	Moses Nelson	M	11	21	Edward Nelson	George Gray	tailor	
Nov. 1772	Lidia Nelson	F	14	18	Edward Nelson	William Nelson	a woman's saddle, 1 small spinning wheel, 1 big wheel exclusive of what the law says	
Nov. 1772	Barnabus Baker	M	14	21	Henry Baker	transferred to John Dobbins	blacksmith, a pair of new bellows, a sledge, a set of hammers, comply with law	
Nov. 1772	Thomas Windsor	M	"for 4 years"		Christopher Windsor	Joseph Scott	carpenter and joiner	
Nov. 1772	Mathew Lock	M	14	21	ward of Mathew Lock, Esq.	Arthur Erwin	tailor, "the apprentice to get 9 months of schooling"	
May 1774	William McCloud	M	9	21	John McCloud	James Ramsey	shoemaker, L10 and a set of tools	
May 1774	John McCloud	M	11	21	John McCloud	William McClelland	cooper, L10 and a set of tools	
May 1774	Donalds McCloud	M	14	21	John McCloud	Samuel Woods	weaver, L12, and a horse and saddle to be given a bed worth L5 and a spinning wheel when free	
May 1774	Esther Ewry	F	13	21	Thomas Ewry	Martin Miller		

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Rowan County

## ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
May 1774	John Foy	M	--	Mark Foy	Alexander Endsley	shoemaker,	to give him L8 and a set of tools, plus what law allows
Aug. 1774	Agnes Williams	F	18	James Williams	James McKnight	comply with law, and give her 1 cow, calf, spinning wheel, 1 bible	
Aug. 1774	Rebecca Williams	F	3	John Williams	William McKnight	to be given the same as Agnes Williams	
Aug. 1774	William Williams	M	8	James Williams	Matthew Casting	weaver, loom & tackling, horse and saddle worth L10	
Aug. 1774	Johaun Burket Overturiffs	M	16	Burket Overturiffs	John Smith	smith, to be given a set of tools	
Nov. 1774	John Bone	M	--	"orphan"	Daniel Jarrett	joiner and carpenter, to give him tools valued at L5 and comply with law	
Nov. 1774	George Adams	M	--	"orphan"	James Hendricks	turner and wheelswright	
Nov. 1774	John Lamb	M	15	Manassah Lamb	Timothy Brown	weaver, loom and tackling and L15 exclusive of what law allows	
Nov. 1774	Angus McCay	M	--	"orphan"	George Davison	tanner and currier	
Feb. 1775	John Sprink	M	16	Adam Sprink	Samuel Hughey	blacksmith, comply with law	
Feb. 1775	Sidney Nydey	M	11	"orphan"	John Lock	"to give him 2 years schooling, and L10 besides what law allows"	
May 1775	John Morgan	M	18	William Morgan	William Nelson	carpenter, comply with law, and "learn him to cypher"	
May 1775	Angus McCloud	M	7	Donald McCloud	William Neal	weaver, comply with law and give him a horse, saddle, bridle worth L10	
Aug. 1775	Elishu Bark	M	13	Thomas Bark	Thomas Job	weaver, comply with law and give him a loom and tools worth L5	
Nov. 1775	William Massett	M	10	John Massett	George Davidson	tanner and currier, comply with law, L10 and a good man's saddle	
Nov. 1775	John Massett	M	8	John Massett	George Davidson	tanner and currier, comply with law L10 and a good man's saddle	
Feb. 1777	Agnes Greer	F	9	Arthur Greer	Francis Ross	a spinning wheel, 2 suits of clothes, a cow or value thereof, comply with law	
Feb. 1777	Isabella McCay	F	11	-- McCay	John Stephenson	2 suits of clothes, comply with law a cow and calf, 1 spinning wheel, cooper and to keep a mill, set of tools, 40 shillings, comply with law	
Feb. 1777	John Donnelly	M	14	James Donnelly	Henry Tullinwider	blacksmith, comply with law	
Feb. 1777	Gil Bridges	M	16	John Bridges	Absolom Taylor	spinning wheel and comply with law	
Feb. 1777	Priscilla Greer	F	7	Arthur Greer	Thomas Hill		

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Rowan County

## ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Feb. 1777	Arthur Greer	M	5	Arthur Greer	David Miller	cooper,	comply with law
Feb. 1777	Joseph Sawyers	M	16	William Sawyers	James Brandon	comply with the act of Assembly	
May 1777	Arthur Clark	M	10	Maurice Clark	Daniel Clary	weaver, comply with law and pay L5,	L19 to Aphia Spearpoint for educating him
May 1777	Martin Posinger	M	14	John Posinger	Gasper Kinder	batter,	comply with law, and L7
May 1777	Thomas Posinger	M	12	John Posinger	Henry Barroth	potter,	comply with law, and L7
Aug. 1777	Hannah Stapleton	F	11	Joseph Stapleton	Hugh Cathey	L6, 1 spinning wheel, and what the	law allows
Aug. 1777	Anne Stapleton	F	9	Joseph Stapleton	John Lowry	L6, 1 spinning wheel, and what the	law allows
Aug. 1777	Avis Stapleton	F	8	Joseph Stapleton	James Bailey	same as Anne and Hannah Stapleton	
Aug. 1777	Thomas Cathey Braty	M	13	Thomas Braty	Robert Hogston	wheelwright and joiner, comply with	law and a set of tools
Aug. 1777	Charles Merrill	M	15	Benjamin Merrill	John Merrill	blacksmith, comply with law, and a	complete set of smith tools
Aug. 1777	Elijah Merrill	M	14	Benjamin Merrill	Samuel Merrill	weaver, a loom and tackle and L12,	besides what the law allows
Aug. 1777	George Finson	M	6	"orphan child"	Benjamin Robinson	weaver, 1 loom, 2 pair of harnesses,	L10, comply with law
Aug. 1777	David Vincent	M	3	"orphan of persons	John Patton	saddler, L25, besides what law allows	
May 1778	John Baker	M	11	Henry Baker	formerly bound to Michael	batter, set of tools	
May 1778	James Rutledge	M	16	Isaac Rutledge	Anderson, deceased,	house joiner, L25 more than the law	requires
Aug. 1778	Jean Dowdle	F	6	Willaby Dowdle	John Wallace	comply with law	
Aug. 1778	John Baker	M	10	--	William McKnight	comply with law and a	comply with law and a
Nov. 1778	David Mailes	M	15	William Mailes	transferred to	wheelwright, complete set of tools	
Feb. 1779	Betty Ham	F	11	John Ham	John Luckey	a good saddle and bridle, 4 cows &	calves, a good spinning wheel, and what
Feb. 1779	Nancy Ham	F	9	John Ham	William Beard	the directs	
					David Beard	same as Betty Ham	

County: Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Feb. 1779	John Hamm	M	8	21	John Hamm	Arthur Chambers	wheelwright	comply with law and give a good saddle, bridle, & tools
Feb. 1779	Jean Hamm	F	3	18	John Hamm	James Hallall	comply with law and give 1 cow and calf, and a spinning wheel	
May 1779	Margaret Tobin	F	11	18	-- Tobin	James White	comply with law and give a new spinning wheel and a cow	
May 1779	James Henry	M	13	21	Thomas Henry	John Mitchell	wheelwright, comply with law and give 120 when free	
May 1779	Margaret Henry	F	6	18	Thomas Henry	Fergus Sloan	comply with law and give a cow	
May 1779	Ann Henry	F	8	18	Thomas Henry	Ann Hoan(?)	comply with law and give a cow and calf	
Aug. 1779	George Hainline	M	17	21	John Hainline	Jacob Brown	wheelwright	
Nov. 1779	William Orman	M	8	21	David Orman	James Barr	weaver, comply with law	
Nov. 1779	David Orman	M	6	21	David Orman	John Barr	cooper, comply with law and give a complete set of cooper's tools	
Nov. 1779	Henry Furr	M	"for 2 years"		Henry Furr	Conrad Brian	turner and spinning wheel maker, comply with law, set of tools	
Nov. 1779	Isabella McGay	F	--	18	"an orphan"	James McGay	2 cows and calves over and above what the law allows	
Feb. 1780	William Nesbitt	M	12	21	Moses Nesbitt	Abas. Staue(?)	weaver, 1 good loom and a house worth 110	
Aug. 1781	David Lynn	M	10	21	Robert Lynn	John Irwin	comply with law	
Aug. 1781	Allen Lynn	M	8	21	Robert Lynn	John Irwin	comply with law	
Aug. 1781	John Rouch	M	17	21	Phillip Rouch	Christian Grider	tanner, comply with law	
Aug. 1781	Elizabeth Campbell	F	9	18	Collin Campbell	Elizabeth Steele		
Aug. 1781	Allen Campbell	M	6	21	Collin Campbell	Elizabeth Steele	weaver, comply with law	
Nov. 1781	Drury Mals	M	--	--	Drury Mals	George Henry Berger	tanner, bond 1100	
May 1782	Catharine Elliot	F	2	18	Samuel Elliot	Joshua Fain	comply with law	
May 1782	Sarah Thomson	F	1	18	-- Thomson	John Sloane	"bond filed"	
May 1782	John Busley	M	12	21	Rodum Busley	Thomas Smith	farmer, bond filed	

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Rowan County

## ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
May 1782	Mary Turner	F	6	18	-- Turner	John Van Etten	bond filed	
May 1782	George Rouch	M	13	21	Phillip Rouch	Michael Crite	farmer, comply with law, give L20, bond filed	
May 1782	Daniel Rouch	M	10	21	Phillip Rouch	Valentine Dirr	farmer, comply with law, and pay L20, bond filed	
May 1782	-- Rouch	M(?)	8	21	Phillip Rouch	Phillip Hough	farmer, comply with law, and pay L10, bond filed	
May 1782	Phillip Rouch	M	5	21	Phillip Rouch	Frederick Grimingson	shoemaker, comply with law and pay L10	
May 1782	Jonathan Hollaway	M	7	21	-- Hollaway	Charles Pain transferred to	shoemaker, comply with law	
May 1782	George Finson	M	11	21	--	Jesse Phillips	farmer, comply with law	
Aug. 1782	Catharine Critzfuzir	F	--	--	Phillip Critzfuzir	Valentine Day	bond filed	
Nov. 1782	William Murphy	M	17	21	James Murphy	Henry Hughey, Jr.	weaver, comply with law	
Nov. 1782	John Murphy	M	13	21	James Murphy	Andrew Proctor	taylor, comply with law	
Nov. 1782	Sarah Bell	F	9	18	James Bell	John Henry	comply with the Act of Assembly	
Nov. 1782	Mary Bell	F	5	18	James Bell	John McCorkle	comply with the Act of Assembly weaver, comply with law, and give a loom and gears and L10	
Nov. 1782	William Cornelison	M	7	21	Garret Cornelison	Jonathan Cox	blacksmith, smith's hammers and tongs, and L10	
Nov. 1782	Jacob Hinkle	M	12	21	George Hinkle	David Smith	spinning wheelwright, master to give a complete set of tools	
Nov. 1782	Samuel Baker	M	10	21	Absolan Baker	James Gibson	spinning wheelwright	
Nov. 1782	William Brown	M	13	21	John Brown	George Gibson	tailor	
Nov. 1782	Richard Brown	M	11	21	John Brown	William Braly	tailor	
Feb. 1783	Sarah May	F	6	18	John May	Christopher Lyardly	comply with law	
Feb. 1783	Henry Fritiz	M	13	21	Wolrick Fritiz	Valentine Day	farmer, comply with law, and give apprentice L15	
Feb. 1783	Barnabass Bowers	M	9	21	James Bowers	Thomas White	tailor, comply with law	
May 1783	Abram Miller	M	9	21	Benjamin Miller	Thomas White	tailor	

County:

Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
May 1783	Abram Miller	M	9	Benjamin Miller	Thomas White	tailor	
May 1783	John Smith	M	15	Michael Smith	Lewis Lowman	skindresser, and give L6 above what the law directs	
May 1783	Ruth Pellum	F	9	"an orphan"	George Savits(?)	a cow and calf, spinning wheel, and a bed and furniture above what the law directs	
May 1783	George Hinkle	M	10	George Hinkle	John Miller	comply with law, and L12	
May 1783	Henry Hinkle	M	14	George Hinkle	Conrad Graves	blacksmith, comply with law, and L5	
May 1783	Martha Miller	F	14	Benjamin Miller	William Rapen	comply with law	
May 1783	John Miller	M	12	Benjamin Miller	Henry Horah	silversmith, comply with law, and L3	
May 1783	James Murphy	M	10	James Murphy	Alex Dobbins	shoemaker	
May 1783	Archibald Murphy	M	9	James Murphy	Adlai Osborn	weaver, L24 at expiration and to comply with law	
(Nov. 1790)	(Adlai Osborn, Esq. petitioned to teach Archibald Murphy the trade of a shoemaker instead)						
May 1783	Sarah Murphy	F	1(?)	James Murphy	David Cowin	comply with law, and receive 1 cow and calf, a spinning wheel, saddle	
Aug. 1783	James Murphy	M	--	James Murphy	transferred to Andrew Chrisley	"on application of Dobbins", in former terms to learn coopering	
Nov. 1783	Thomas Bedzer	M	8	Thomas Bedzer	John Willson	farmer, to comply with law	
Nov. 1783	Jacob Spick	M	7	Jacob Spick	Edward Raileck(?)	weaver	
Feb. 1784	Frederick Sterns	M	"for 2 years"	Frederick Sterns	Jacob Brown	wagonmaker, comply with law	
May 1784	Margaret Laurence	F	13	William Laurence	Robert Cochran transferred to Joseph Foster	comply with law, and give 1 cow and calf	
Aug. 1784	John Miller	M	13	Benjamin Miller	John Carson	blacksmith, comply with law	
Nov. 1784	James Cazby	M	13	William Cazby	Henry Wigman	farmer, comply with law	
Nov. 1784	William Brown	M	8	William Brown	shoemaker, comply with law and give L10, horse, saddle, set of tools		
Nov. 1784	William Shiffer	M	16	"an orphan from Maryland"	Joseph Roland	shoemaker, comply with law	
Nov. 1784	Peter Shoal	M	15	Michael Schoal	Paul Rodsmith	blacksmith	

County: Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	- Expiration Terms
Nov. 1784	Peter Shoal	M	15	21	Michael Shoal	transferred to Martin Ranthiman	weaver, comply with law
Nov. 1784	John Smith	M	15	21	Michael Smith	John Lewis Beard	turner, comply with law
Nov. 1784	Jacob Hartman	M	11	21	Henry Hartman	Paul Rodsmith	blacksmith, comply with law
Feb. 1785	Frederick Eller	M	18	21	Jacob Eller	Abram Early	cooper, bond filed
Feb. 1785	Elizabeth Eller	F	12	18	Jacob Eller	Abram Early	12.0.0 over the allowance provided by law, bond filed
Feb. 1785	Susannah Hartman	F	13	18	Henry Hartman	Paul Rodsmith	saddler and treemaker, complete set of tools when free
Aug. 1785	John Murphy	M	"for 5 years"	--	--	John White	
Aug. 1785	Margaret Salk	F	"for 3 years"	Boston Salk	Henry Agender	Henry Agender	comply with the Act of Assembly farmer, comply with law
Aug. 1785	John Salk	M	"for 8 years"	--	Frederick Miller	Frederick Miller	
Nov. 1785	John May	M	7	21	John May	Christopher Lyarly	farmer
Nov. 1785	Catharine Steagle	F	"7 years"	"orphan"	"orphan"	John Willson	"spinster, to comply with the law"
Feb. 1786	Michael Bostain	M	--	21	Andrew Bostain	John Lyteker(?)	blacksmith, to give smith bellows, vice, and tools
May 1786	Jonathan Wallox	M	17	21	Martin Wallox	Michael Holtzhouser	wagon maker, to comply with law
Feb. 1787	George Vincent	M	16	21	"orphan"	transferred to Adam Phillips	shoemaker, to comply with law
Feb. 1787	John Miller	M	"for 5 years"	Benjamin Miller	transferred to James Green(?)	shop joiner, to comply with law	
May 1787	Phillip Rouch	M	10	21	Phillip Rouch	Phillip Aronhart	blacksmith, to give L10 and comply with law
May 1787	Gidlon Brazier	M	--	21	"a poor child of this county"	John Groves	tanner and currier, give L5 at expiration of his time
Aug. 1787	William Cornelison	M	11	21	Garret Cornelison	transferred to Martin Bazinger	batter, to pay L7
Aug. 1787	Jacob Smith	M	17	21	Frederick Smith	Michael Sammy(?)	weaver, to comply with the law
Aug. 1787	Frederick Smith	M	14	21	Frederick Smith	Gasper Prinkle	wheelwright, to comply with law
Nov. 1787	Francis Core	M	15	21	Matthew Core	Richard Graham	saddler, to comply with law

County: Rowan County

ORPHAN CHILDREN BOUND

Year	Child Bound	Sex	Age	Bound-Released	Parents	Master	Trade	-Expiration Terms
Feb. 1788	William Jewell	M	5	21	William Jewell	James McCarley	farmer & carrier, with law, McCarley also appointed William Jewell's guardian	L20 and comply
May 1788	Sarah Moore	F	7	18	Matthe Moore	Adam Carn	"in lue of freedom dues, 1 good cow and a bed"	
May 1788	James Stephen	M	10	21	Richard Stephens	Dewey Goldsby	blacksmith, master to comply with law, and give half an (acre?)	
Aug. 1788	Charles Lafferty	M	15	21	-- Lafferty	William Iceland	to comply with law	
Aug. 1788	Elizabeth Lafferty	F	11	18	-- Lafferty	William Iceland	to comply with law	
Aug. 1788	John Gowden	M	"for 5 years"		John Gowden	--	wheelwright, to comply with law	
Aug. 1788	John Colton	M	8	21	Cyrus Colton	Nicholas Crison	to comply with law	
Nov. 1788	Michael Miller	M	13	21	Casper Miller	Peter Mock	shoemaker, to give a horse, saddle, & bridles, worth L20, and a set of tools, and to comply with law	
Nov. 1788	Chatley Cummins	F	5	18	Michael Cummins	Michael Peeles, Jr.	comply with law & 1 bed, spinning wheel, 1 suit of clothes	
Feb. 1789	Daniel Cotton	M	11	21	Cyrus Cotton	John Wright	tanner, to comply with law	
May 1789	Milly Roberts	F	8	18	Leonard Roberts	William Line	shoemaker, to comply with law and give L20 at expiration of term	
May 1789	Edward Butner	M	11	21	James Butner	Phillip Hendricks	weaver, to give a loom and gears, a new plow and good irons	
May 1789	Peter Cotton	M	7	21	Cyrus Cotton	Phillip Slough		
May 1789	Elisba Cotton	M	6	21	Cyrus Cotton	Phillip Slough	same as Peter Cotton	
Aug. 1789	Isaac Cummins	M	9	21	Michael Cummins	Conrad Gillam	carpenter and joiner, to comply with law and give L10	
Aug. 1789	John Morefield	M	7	21	"orphan and poor child"	Robert Dial	to comply with the law	
Feb. 1790	John Henry Lindeman	M	14	21	Henry Lindeman	Arnold Rufsain	to comply with the law, "but not to learn him a trade"	
Feb. 1790	Elizabeth Lindeman	F	12	18	Henry Lindeman	Arnold Rufsain	blacksmith, to comply with law and give apprentice L10	
May 1790	John Mure	M	15	21	Michael Mure	Tobias Fierver(?)	spinning wheel maker, to comply with law and give a set of turning tools	
May 1790	David Butner	M	"for 4 years"		Adam Butner	John Hill	tailor, "to have 2 months schooling"	
May 1790	Thomas Roach	M	"for 3 years"		Samuel Roach	John Erwin		





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## VITA

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