

*Sandhills Families:
Early Reminiscences of the Fort Bragg Area
Cumberland, Harnett, Hoke, Moore, Richmond, and Scotland
Counties, North Carolina*



by
Lorraine V. Aragon
February 2000

Second Edition 2004

Cultural Resources Management Program
Environmental and Natural Resources Division
Public Works Business Center
Fort Bragg, North Carolina

**Cover painting by Martin Pate, Newnan, Georgia.
XVIII Airborne Corps and Fort Bragg, North Carolina**

Dedication and Acknowledgments

This research project is dedicated to the kind Sandhills people who gave their time and cooperation to facilitate its accomplishment. It also is dedicated to their kin and ancestors: to all the remarkable individuals who ever lived or worked on the vast, beautiful, and difficult lands purchased by the United States Army to become Fort Bragg.

The implementation of this oral history project would have never occurred without the support of Dr. Lucy A. Whalley of the U.S. Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, and Wayne C.J. Boyko, Beverly A. Boyko, and William H. Kern of the Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Program. Excellent project assistance was provided by Beverly A. Boyko, W. Stacy Culpepper, and William H. Kern at Fort Bragg, and by Mark Cooke, Larry Clifton Skinner, and Elizabeth Eguez Grant at East Carolina University. I am further grateful to Charles L. Heath, Joseph M. Herbert, and Jeffrey D. Irwin of the Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Management Program for their input on logistical and historical data.

Lorraine V. Aragon, Ph.D.
East Carolina University



This second edition was produced by staff from the Cultural Resources Management Program (CRMP) to correct minor edits, amend the layout format, and include a few newly discovered family portraits where possible. Dr. Aragon's original context was in no way altered and the CRMP accepts responsibility for any errors or omissions. Special thanks are extended to volunteer Katherine Boyd for her work on the format editing changes.

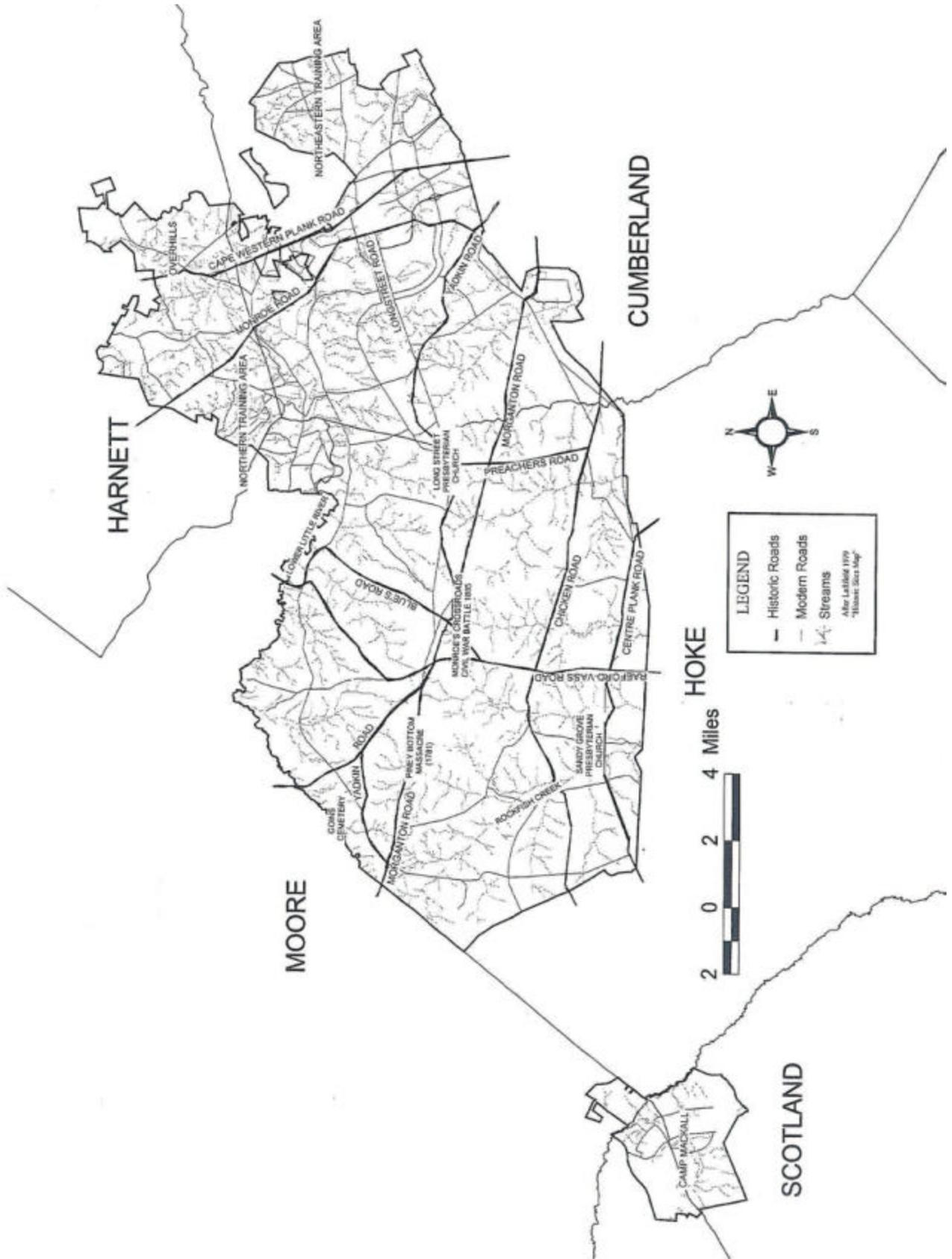
Abstract

This project contributes to historical documentation of Fort Bragg lands through archival research and oral history interviews with descendants of early settlers of the area prior to its purchase by the United States Government. Approximately two hundred individuals of African, European, and Native American descent were contacted for information about their family ties to Fort Bragg lands. Of this total, 24 individuals were available and considered good potential sources of information about varied regions of the reservation or about families with diverse social histories. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and tape-recorded for detailed analysis. Interviewees were questioned about their genealogy, familial subsistence patterns, recollections about former building structures, aspects of social history, knowledge about cemeteries, and present ties to the Fort Bragg lands. A Transcription Summary was made of each taped interview to facilitate comparative analysis and aid future historical research. The interview Transcription Summaries and final report, which includes Brief Summaries of each interview, aim to assist future historical archaeology investigations of reservation lands as well as to contribute new data and perspectives to the general, multiethnic history of the Sandhills region.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	1
Introduction	1
Historic Physical Sites of Archaeological Concern.....	3
Native American Prehistory and Regional Group Disruptions.....	4
Initial Settlement of the Fort Bragg Area by Highland Scots.....	8
Long Street, Sandy Grove, and Other Fort Bragg Churches.....	11
Pioneer Subsistence Patterns in the Sandhills.....	13
Pine Trees as Wealth: The Naval Stores Industry.....	15
African Americans: Enslaved and Free People of Color	17
Revolutionary War (1776-1783) in the Fort Bragg Area.....	22
Antebellum Period (1783-1860) in the Fort Bragg Area.....	23
"War Between the States" (1861-1865) in the Fort Bragg Area.....	24
Reconstruction and Subsequent Changes in the Fort Bragg Area.....	25
The Fort Bragg Purchase.....	26
RESEARCH METHODS.....	27
THE INTERVIEWS.....	29
General Overview.....	29
Brief Summaries of Individual Interviewees.....	30
1. Mr. Leroy HAMILTON.....	30
2. Mr. Samuel Cameron MORRIS	32
3. Mrs. Margaret Cameron KEITH.....	32
4. Mr. Paul Delton GOINS.....	33
5. Mr. Dougald McFADYEN.....	34
6. Mrs. Melba Cameron HICKS.....	35
7. Mr. Julian H. BLUE, Jr.....	36
8. Ms. Ammie McRae JENKINS.....	37
9. Mr. Alexander Wilbur CLARK.....	39
10. Mr. John Marshall THOMAS.....	40
11. Mr. James Angus McLEOD.....	40
12. Mrs. Rachel McCormick BROOKS.....	42
13. Mr. Howard L. MURCHISON.....	43
14. Mr. Marshal Levon CAMPBELL.....	44
15. Mrs. Mary Harlan BATTEN.....	46
16. Mr. James A. SINCLAIR.....	48
17. Mr. Charles F. HALL.....	49
18. Mr. Leroy SNIPES, Sr.....	50
19. Mr. John TUCKER, Sr.....	51
20. Mr. Albert GOINS.....	52
21. Mr. Willie CARTER.....	53
22. Mrs. Emma Louise Faulk FRYE	54
23. Mr. Wilson GOINS.....	55
24. Mrs. Vilona Whitehead BLEDSOE.....	56
CONCLUSIONS.....	57
Theoretical Issues.....	57
REFERENCES.....	62

CAMP MACKALL & FORT BRAGG Historic Roads and Points of Interest



INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

Existing historical literature concerning the Fort Bragg or “Sandhills” area of North Carolina focuses on early Highland Scot settlements, battles related to wars in U.S. history, urban centers such as Fayetteville (formerly Cross Creek and Campbelltown), and regional trends in economic development (e.g. Meyer 1961; Oates 1981; Parker 1990). Some excellent documentation exists concerning colonial era economy and household subsistence patterns, but it is scattered and usually not referenced to the 160,000 acres of land that presently comprise the Fort Bragg and Camp Mackall military reservations in Cumberland, Harnett, Hoke, Moore, Richmond, and Scotland Counties. The intent of this historical summary is to localize documentation from some of the written sources on the area’s settlement, an aim pursued elsewhere by Abbot et al. (1996), Heath (1999), Loftfield (1970), Fort Bragg (c.1967) and Nye (n.d.). An additional aim is to expand certain facets of existing written social history in light of the research and twenty-four audio taped interviews conducted for this preliminary oral history project.

In contrast to the European-oriented records, there is scant written history concerning historical African and Native American residents on the lands that ultimately were incorporated into Fort Bragg. Yet one of the cemeteries located in the western segment of Fort Bragg, identified as the Goins Cemetery (Boyko and Kern 1999), is associated through grave markers and oral history with a local Indian family of the same name. Some records of slave ownership by local European descent settlers also exist, particularly census reports that enumerate slaves in households, and privately-owned wills that bequeath blacks as “property” to white family members. Additionally, this research project has found that many parcels of land sold to the government beginning in 1918 can be identified through names, oral history, and families’ genealogical records as having been owned by particular African American or Indian families resident in North Carolina. In the absence of historical literature that documents the full range of settlement, this oral history project contributes to the reconstruction of a broader and more dynamic culture history of the area. It also presents information that may aid in the development of a model of how to recognize ethnic and racial diversity of settlements in the archaeological record when most residents of the same time period were relying on similar ecological and economic adaptations.

Hundreds of historic archaeological sites likely exist on Fort Bragg lands yet there is insufficient documentation by which to assess the significance of these sites. Archaeological sites must be evaluated for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places primarily on the basis of the integrity of deposits and their potential to contribute to the overall history of the area. This could result in numerous sites being considered eligible for the National Register pending further evaluation. Although many of these sites are located in training areas, management strategies are developed in conjunction with Fort Bragg’s training mission to manage these cultural resources. If sites can be

evaluated efficiently and consistently with reference to a written historic context, then the number of sites considered to be potentially eligible for the National Register will decrease overall while sites of significant merit can be more readily preserved. Given the temporal limitations of oral history data, this project is most likely to contribute to eligibility evaluations that post-date the Civil War.

Contemporary Fort Bragg encompasses approximately 160,000 acres of land. Most of the area was purchased in 1918 when Camp Bragg was established in the Sandhills region of the Coastal Plain of North Carolina in response to the military effort for World War I. The area lies within the southwestern portion of the Cape Fear River drainage system. Additional purchases that became base land, such as the Northern Training Area, the Training Area northeast of Murchison Road (Highway 210), and Camp Mackall, were made by the U.S. government in later decades, between the 1930s and 1980s. This oral history concerns all the portions of Fort Bragg now located in Cumberland, Harnett, Hoke, and Moore Counties, plus Camp Mackall located in Moore, Richmond, and Scotland Counties detached from the main base area. The newly purchased Overhills Estate, formerly owned by the Rockefeller family, is not a targeted subject for this research, but will be treated separately in other reports. The main chronological focus of this study begins with the period of European settlement in the early 1700s and ends in the early 1900s when the U.S. government purchased most of the Fort Bragg lands. A few project interviewees, however, are associated with reservations lands purchased up through the 1980s.

For an accurate evaluation of early records it is important to note that although most of Fort Bragg now is located in Hoke County, Hoke was formed only in 1911 from Cumberland and Robeson Counties. Between 1754 and 1911, focal years for this project, Cumberland County included all of contemporary Fort Bragg's base lands except for Camp Mackall. Cumberland County itself was formed in 1754 from Bladen County. Moore County was formed from Cumberland County in 1784. Harnett County was formed from Cumberland in 1855. Scotland County was formed in 1899 from Richmond County, which in turn was cut from Anson County in 1799. Anson in turn was formed out of Bladen in 1750. Therefore Bladen, which was carved from New Hanover County in 1734, encompassed the entire base area just prior to 1750 (Corbitt 1950). In sum, many early documents pertaining to this study refer to lands in Cumberland County, lands that are now part of newer, adjacent counties such as Hoke, Moore, and Harnett.

Although published primary and secondary documentation on specific Native American and African American peoples in the area is limited for the time period relevant to this study, some primary sources are available in regional courthouses, university, and state archive collections. Evidence from cemeteries, land deed maps (Fort Bragg 1919), wills, and other archival documents indicate that Fort Bragg lands were inhabited by a multi-ethnic and multi-racial population by the time they were subject to government purchase beginning in 1918. This preliminary oral history study therefore aims to develop a more comprehensive historical context based on present-day interviews with representatives of various local family and ethnic groups. The families' own genealogical documents and reports also are included.

Historic Physical Sites of Archaeological Concern

Significant architectural and other archaeological evidence of early colonial habitation (circa 1730-1775) at Fort Bragg is sparse and rarely has been located in archaeological surveys to date (Heath 1999). Although many of the initial land grants to, and purchases by, Highland Scots in Carolina were small, the British Crown offered 600-acre land grants to families who built mills of any type. Therefore, the remains of these types of structures may be buried on some of the earliest settlers' properties. Early settlers' churches, homesteads, and "ordinaries" or in-home taverns are mentioned in historical records. The early colonial homes, however, are recorded as simple log cabin structures (Lefler and Powell 1973:184) that may have left little in the way of preserved remains. Only in the late 1700s and early 1800s after sawmills were installed did plank-on-frame construction become more common (Kelly and Kelly 1998:93; Meyer 1961:103). Even as more wealthy planters and naval stores producers began building elaborate frame-construction homes, poorer rural people continued to reside in log cabins through the Antebellum period (Olmstead 1904[1856]:368-369). Given general preservation factors, house remains are most likely to include hard, non-organic objects such as sandstone or brick foundation piers, hearths, and chimneys. One Antebellum house built circa 1835, the Charles Monroe House (a.k.a. the Malcolm Monroe House), was recommended for archaeological investigation because of its connection to the Civil War battle of Monroe's Crossroads (Barrett 1987 [1963]; Loftfield 1979). Archaeological investigations in 1993-1994, showed it to be a frame house, probably of less than 1,000 square feet, that was elevated on sandstone piers with a brick fireplace and chimney (Scott and Hunt 1998).

The remains of naval stores production sites may be numerous on the reservation. As is discussed in a separate section below, the naval stores industry that sought pine timber, tar, and pitch began to flourish at the outset of British colonial occupation, and it continued in modified form after the American Revolution until the early twentieth century. Beginning in the late 1700s, after the Revolution, Highland Scot colonists began erecting one-room schoolhouses, often affiliated with churches, whose remains possibly may exist on Fort Bragg.

Most of the historic sites thus far identified on Fort Bragg date from after the Civil War (Heath 1999). The ever-increasing population in the Sandhills and the splintering of white planters' properties after Emancipation help account for the higher number of later home sites, as do general preservation factors given their relative recency. Later historic sites that have been located on Fort Bragg generally are very shallow and include some nineteenth- or twentieth-century glass, metal, ceramic, and architectural artifacts (Clement et al. 1997). The listing of property owners and now-raised churches on the 1919 map should assist in the future discovery and assessment of these possible historic sites (Fort Bragg 1919).

Land purchases made in the recent past, such as the Northern Training Area, the Training Area northeast of Murchison Road (Highway 210), and Camp Mackall are most likely to contain preserved house foundations or remains of other structures such as one-room

school houses. Additionally, there is the greatest likelihood of corroborating site information through oral history research in these more recently purchased areas.

Native American Prehistory and Regional Group Disruptions

Native American settlement of the Fort Bragg area can be traced back at least to the Paleo-Indian period beginning around 12,000 B.C on the evidence of a Clovis point. Discussion of prehistoric Paleo-Indian, Archaic, and Woodland period artifacts and key sites in the study region can be found in a variety of archaeological reports (G.E.C. and Southeastern Archaeological Services 1997; Irwin et al. 1998; Loftfield 1979; Phelps 1983). Determining exactly which Native American groups would have been utilizing Fort Bragg lands in the centuries just prior to the arrival of the first European settlers is a difficult task because southeastern North Carolina represents the intersection or liminal boundary between the reported Iroquoian, Algonkian, and Siouan Indian territories. Moreover, even these larger linguistic groupings devised by scholarly observers often refer to late-appearing Indian confederacies, which developed as a result of European contact and incursions.

Some writings suggest that the Sandhills region fits within the former territory of the eastern Siouan-speaking group identified as Waccamaw (Phelps 1983:37). An 1867 report on the Cheraw branch of the Eastern Sioux locates their territory west of the Cape Fear River and as far north as the Little River (Gregg 1867; Loftfield 1979:20). Later sources, however, suggest that the Cheraw territory was located only farther west, in the western piedmont or foothills (Swanton 1979[1946]). Indeed these Native American “territories” may never have been geographically fixed over time, the way the Europeans attempted to delineate and draw them. A party of British explorers led by Captain William Hilton attempted to colonize the Lower Cape Fear River Valley in 1662 but apparently the British were repelled by Siouan Cape Fear Indians when they persisted in capturing and selling natives into slavery (Williamson 1973[1812]). Subsequent English settlements beginning in 1664 along the Lower Cape Fear River largely were abandoned by 1690, because of lack of financial support and violent confrontations with Cape Fear Indians (Lee 1965; Williamson 1973[1812]).

Oates (1981) explains initial reductions in the possible past distribution of the Siouan groups by claiming that the Cheraw were sent westward by the Governor of Carolina to join the Catawba branch of the Sioux before the Highland Scots entered the Upper Cape Fear area in the 1730s. Oates asserts, therefore, that the Scots never had “to deal with the Indians” because they had already migrated further west (Oates 1981:6). In addition to direct colonial pressures, the Siouan-speaking Cape Fear Indians also were driven south by battles with Iroquoian groups (Lee 1963, 1965) such as the Seneca and the Tuscarora who were angered by the Cape Fear groups’ alliances with English colonists during the previous Tuscarora War.

The post-contact era Tuscarora may have used the Sandhills area, at least for travel, hunting and trade, prior to their defeats by the British-led armies of Barnwell and Moore (which were comprised of about 80% Native Americans from other groups and 20%

European soldiers). Barnwell's treaty with the Tuscarora in 1712 specified that the Tuscarora were no longer to make use of the land between the Neuse and Cape Fear Rivers (Barnwell 1908; Oates 1981:7). On the basis of Barnwell's (1908) account and recent archaeological excavations, Parramore estimates the Tuscarora population between the Roanoke and Neuse Rivers (northeast of the Sandhills area) to have been at least 8,000 individuals (Byrd 1997:2; Parramore 1982). The second phase of the Tuscarora War of 1712-1713, when the British defeated the Tuscarora residing along Contentnea Creek near present-day Snow Hill in Greene County, resulted in the dispersion, fragmentation, and a partial northern migration of this Iroquois group (Parramore 1982; Rights 1957). The federally-recognized Tuscarora Nation now reside in New York State, while those who sided with the British in the Revolutionary War received a reserve in Ontario, Canada. The descendants of those individuals of Tuscarora heritage who did not migrate north to the U.S. and Canadian reserve regions became disenfranchised. Thus they are recognized neither by the official Tuscarora groups nor by the U.S. government despite any biological or ethnic heritage claims they can make.

Historical reports suggest that late seventeenth century Tuscarora may have traded with Cape Fear coastal Siouan Indians or other Iroquoian Indian groups residing in the highlands of western Carolina, as well as with Siouan groups in the Piedmont and coastal Algonkians (Lawson 1767[1909]; Rights 1957:45). Indeed, many Native American sites that have been found on Fort Bragg are scattered along the central west-to-east, highland-to-coast ridges. Several interviewees for this project identified paths along these same ridges as the "Indian" or "buffalo" trails, which became the earliest colonial roads. A crossing north-south Indian trail is said to run from Virginia to South Carolina, sometimes being designated on older American maps as Patriot General Nathaniel Greene's Path to the Pee Dee River (Fowler 1955:28, 46). Thus both east-west and north-south Indian travel paths through the Sandhills were established at the time of early Highland Scot migrations.

After European settlement of the upper Cape Fear River region beginning in the 1730s, Native American habitation in the Fort Bragg region is poorly documented except for later references to the Henry Berry Lowry Gang incidents related to Native Americans who now are identified as Lumbee. The Lumbee people, who mostly live south of the project area in Robeson County, sometimes identify themselves as an Indian group of mixed extraction including Algonkian Croatan or Siouan Cape Fear heritage and English heritage from the Lost Colony settlers (Blu 1980; Dial 1993; Dial and Eliades 1975; Evans 1971). By contrast, Sider (1993) associates the Lumbee closely with Iroquoian Indian communities who now call themselves "Tuscarora." Blu (1980) suggests that, because the area now known as Robeson County was largely ungovernable during a North versus South Carolina border dispute between 1712 and 1776 (Lefler and Newsome 1963), it became an early refuge and amalgamation center for all nearby Indian communities fleeing European soldiers, colonists, and their imported diseases. Thus the beginnings of a generic "Indian" identity apart from earlier political and linguistic groupings likely dates to that time period and is not just a contemporary fad and epiphenomenon of contemporary social politics. The first Cumberland County taxables list in 1755, for example, listed a man with the Indian name Locklear [sic], now

commonly considered a Lumbee name, along with ten others in the “mulattoe” or “free blacks” category (Parker 1990:4, 15).

In 1835 the State of North Carolina disenfranchised “free people of color” who then could no longer vote, bear arms, testify against whites in court, sit on juries, attend state-funded schools, or select their own ministers. These legal changes resulted in many land losses for the ancestors of the present-day self-proclaimed Tuscarora and Lumbee Indians who began raiding white plantations by the onset of the Civil War (Sider 1993:159-160). Increasingly, Robeson County Indians and other “free persons of color” were pressured to labor, albeit with a daily wage, along with African American slaves on Confederate military projects such as Fort Fisher, near Wilmington (Evans 1971:3-4; Mallison 1998). After the war, as racial tensions and lawlessness increased, a group of Lumbee Indians from Robeson County under the leadership of Henry Berry Lowry became caught in a chain of thefts and acts of violent vengeance. An incident occurring in the northwestern section of present-day Fort Bragg in 1870 was blamed on the Lowry gang when some individuals shot Daniel McLeod and his brother Neill before robbing their home (Nye n.d.:71-72). Although these murders, along with many others have been widely blamed on the Lowry gang, some contemporary local newspaper reports indicate that the Lowry gang was unlikely perpetrators of the Bragg area crime against the McLeods (Evans 1971:175). Despite the general view among whites that the Lowry gang were nothing but murderous thugs, in the 1960s and 1970s Henry Berry Lowry became viewed by many Lumbee as a culture hero who helped alter their racial status from “mulatto” or “colored” to Indian (Sider 1993:157-176).

Various Native American populations, including but not exclusively those who identify themselves as Lumbee, still reside in all counties near to Fort Bragg. The 1980 census listed 3,900 Lumbee or Tuscarora living in Cumberland County, many residing in East Fayetteville (Parker 1990:4). These self-identified Indian populations are potentially a significant source of oral history about the presence of Native Americans among early European and later American settlements in the upper Cape Fear River drainage.

As many historical records and the interviews conducted for this project suggest, groups classified by outsiders as Iroquoian, Siouan, and Algonkian became newly dispersed and variously consolidated after European conquests. In the Fort Bragg area today, Native Americans contacted identify themselves not by particular tribe as much as generically “Indian,” and often as members of particular County Associations for Indian Peoples. They identify each other primarily through certain family names, particular residential neighborhoods, and separate “Indian” churches that are affiliated with various Protestant denominations. Although County Associations for Indians clearly are recent social and political institutions, the tribal groups of Sandhills colonial history also likely were porous as native peoples migrated, traded, battled, and intermarried in non-concordant ways that continue to stymie outsiders’ tribal classification schemes.

The 1910 Census records “Croatan” Indians--often interpreted by scholars as originally of Algonkian heritage but later politically and legally reclassified as “Cherokee” Indians who were interpreted as of Iroquoian heritage. These Croatan Indians were numbered at

48 in Cumberland County, 74 in Scotland County, 213 in Sampson County, and 5,985 in Robeson County (Oates 1981:7). Such records must be considered cautiously given the shifting nature of ethnic identities and the early state's motivations to reclassify or undercount minorities, but they do indicate the continued presence of a Native American population in the Fort Bragg area.

A final issue that must be raised for Native American history in the Sandhills region is enslavement by European colonists and the political and legal pressures that were placed on Indians to become ghettoized along with local African American populations. New laws following the revision of the North Carolina Constitution in 1835 defined Indians along with former slaves and their descendants as "free persons of color," and created additional pressures on Indians to associate with African Americans. Post-Civil War "Jim Crow" laws also sought to reestablish white supremacy through "white" versus "colored" segregation rules. In turn, these legal restrictions created a backlash response where some Indians worked hard to distinguish themselves from the African American targets of European American discrimination, while at the same time being legally and socially congregated with them. Some intermarried.

Only recent historical investigations (e.g. Blu 1980; Forbes 1993; Sider 1993) have broached the sensitive topic of mixed-group people, but they provide substantial evidence on the difficult history of those colored and white people known in North Carolina as "mulattoes" or "melungeons." As Forbes (1993) makes clear, the precise definition of these terms (as well as several related ones such as "mustees," usually specifying an African and Native American mix) varied both among the eastern U.S. state laws, and over time from the colonial era to the twentieth century. Recent genealogical efforts by some self-identified "melungeons" have been aimed to demonstrate that their dark-skinned and dark-haired ancestors likely were Spanish or Portuguese Moors sent to the New World after the Spanish Inquisition of the 1500s (Arthur 1994). Interviewees for this project who grew up being identified with one of the three major groups (Native American, European, and African descent) did not feel comfortable with past inter-racial unions. Yet such unions producing children occasionally occurred in the genealogical records of all three groups interviewed in all three possible combinations.

An unusually thorough family history submitted by members of the Walden-Goins Indian family suggests that an Indian woman (with family in upstate New York) named Ann Walden was married by a second generation Scottish Highlander named Duncan Murchison (Hendrix-Frye n.d.). They produced a child named Polly Walden but Duncan's prominent position as landowner and local sheriff required that he renounce his Indian wife. Polly Walden is thought to have had six children: William, Eliza, Berry, Evander, Eli, and Marticia, by an unknown first husband. Polly Walden then married David Goins in 1849 and they had a son named Laurence Goins. The three graves in the Goins Cemetery that bear unusual "Indian symbol" markings may be the graves of Polly Walden Goins, her second husband David Goins, and their son Laurence Goins (cf. Boyko and Kern 1998).

The circumstantial evidence for this possible Walden and Goins family origin is as follows. Kenneth Murchison Sr.'s first child by his first wife, Catherine McIver, was named Duncan Murchison (1776-1857). Duncan Murchison was sheriff of Moore County between 1820 and 1832 and he served in the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1833. He lived on Plank Road in the same vicinity of the Walden and Goins family, but neither of his documented wives was named Ann Walden (Kelly and Kelly 1998:270). The U.S. Census of 1800 lists Duncan Murchison as having one "free person of color" in his household, and Hendrix-Frye (n.d.:15-16, 35) wonders if this was not Ann Walden (born 1780). The first Waldens to be listed as "heads of household" in North Carolina were Ann Walden, James Walden, and Jonathan Walden in 1810. Ann Walden, the mother of Polly Walden and grandmother of Eli Walden, remained in the Pocket Creek area of Moore County according to later census data, living until 1860 when she resided with Lucy Goins, her grandson Eli's mother-in-law (Hendrix-Frye n.d.:36).

The first Goins to appear as "head of household" in North Carolina was William Goings listed in 1790 as a Robeson County "free person of color" along with members of the Locklear and Oxendine families (Hendrix-Frye n.d.:35). The name Goins or its alternate spellings such as Goings also is found in areas of eastern Tennessee and variously are considered of Portuguese "melungeon" or "Croatan Indian" ancestry. Although many hope to tie the Croatan or early mixed European-Indians to the illustrious Lost Colony sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587 under the leadership of John White, many other less well-known marriages among Indians and early Europeans undoubtedly took place and also are possible sources of "Croatan" ancestry (Rights 1957:146-147).

No matter what their initial origin, the Goins and the Walden families have an approximately two hundred-year history of intermarriage between each other and among themselves. Both families lived in the same area as Duncan Murchison between 1790 and 1860, but the property there all appears to be in Duncan Murchison's name. Duncan Murchison received a contract in 1847 to build the Plank Road into what are now upper Moore and Lee counties. Hendrix-Frye (n.d.:36-37) questions whether Duncan Murchison negotiated privately with Ann Walden's family, either for these Indian families' right to continue living in this area without formal property deeds, or for his own rights to construct the Plank Road along the Indians' ancestral "highway." Official land deeds and individual property rights generally were unknown to Indians of the region until colonists began to receive titles all around them beginning in the mid-1730s (Rights 1957:147).

Initial Settlement of the Fort Bragg Area by Highland Scots

The predominant European group to settle in the area now owned by Fort Bragg was Highland Scots whose first date of settlement on the Cape Fear River is probably 1732 (Meyer 1961:72). James Innes from Caithness received a grant of 320 acres in Bladen County in 1732 and another 640 acres the following year. Hugh Campbell and William Forbes each received 640-acre grants in 1733. The actual settlement of these lands may have occurred several years later (Fowler 1986:20; Kelly and Kelly 1998:83). By that point, most Indians had been driven away from the area by British forces, and the most

feared pirates marauding the Carolina coast, Edward Teach (Blackbeard) and Stede Bonnet, were dead (Lee 1965).

Between 1734 and 1752, the Royal Governor of North Carolina was Gabriel Johnston, a Lowland Scot who encouraged Protestant Scots to settle in his domain by touting the virtues of a warm climate, free land grants, and a ten-year exemption from taxation (Meyer 1961:82-83). The earliest Highland Scots were given large land awards, regulated by the British crown, of at least 50 acres per person brought to the colony. The earliest settlers were a mix of Scottish “gentlemen,” their client tenant farmers, and indentured servants. After three to five years of labor, servants were freed and then entitled to claim land grants of their own (Meyer 1961:107-108). Those Scots who came initially as tenant farmers would receive tools and access to plots in exchange for the right to keep one-third of the crop yields and all the increase of the livestock they tended (Abbot et al. 1996:20). These all-European groups, generally without any African slaves, entered the colony by way of Wilmington, or Brunswick 16 miles downstream, and then rowed smaller boats about ninety miles up the Cape Fear River to reach the Sandhills region.

In 1736 Alexander Clark migrated to the Upper Cape Fear with a group of fellow Highland Scots and reported some Scotch settlers already there (McLeod 1923:4). Among those mentioned were Hector McNeill, living where Bluff Church later was located, and John Smith, living on the south side of Yadkin Road about one and a half miles from where Long Street Church later was located. John Smith’s son Malcolm later built the house now referred to as “the Monroe House,” (one of several historical sites to receive that name), said to be across the road from the original Smith house. John Smith’s daughter Janet, or “Jenny Bahn” meaning “Jenny the Fair,” married Archibald McNeill of the Barbecue area. Reportedly, Yadkin Road was created by 1756 from an old west-to-east buffalo trail that largely avoided the deep waterways (McLeod 1923:6).

In 1739 the first large group of 350 Highland Scots known as the “Argyll Colony” departed from Campbelltown, Scotland for Bladen (later Cumberland) County. They voyaged on a boat named “The Thistle” that was piloted by Neill Du MacNeill. These pioneers apparently flourished with their transplanted Scottish communities and more ships from northern Scotland followed. Apparently the more fertile lands in the Lower Cape Fear Valley already were occupied with English settlers. The town of Cross Creek was settled by Argyll colonists beginning in 1739. Another smaller town one mile away called Campbelltown was established in 1762. The two would be combined in 1783 to become the present city of Fayetteville.

Cross Creek was the more successful of the two pioneer towns, becoming a pivotal trading center between Wilmington and the Piedmont settlements (Lee 1965). Cross Creek developed as the major trading hub with Wilmington to the south, Virginia to the north, and the Piedmont region to the west. Merchants from Wilmington set up storehouses at Cross Creek for goods that would be traded inland to the Germanic Moravian settlements near what is now the Winston-Salem area (Parker 1990:10-13). When the British Royal Governor commissioned maps of key locations in the Colony in

1770, Cross Creek was drawn with over thirty buildings including gristmills, a brewery, a tannery, and a jail.

Although the early Highland Scot settlement population was low, their migration to eastern North America escalated during the decades following the English defeat of the Scottish army at the Battle of Culloden Moor in 1746. Some historical studies emphasize that conquered Scots were allowed to take a loyalty oath and migrate to the American Colony (Martin 1829:48; Oates 1981:44- 46). Meyer (1961), however, argues against this “exile theory” and insists that the rationales for Highland Scott migration were more complex. Meyer, as well as Kelly and Kelly (1998) further cite the importance of changes in clan alliances, rent increases, evictions of tenant farmers, the commercialization of sheep farming, unpredictable cattle prices, rapid population growth, and increasing unemployment due to the new livestock-raising and agricultural practices in the Highlands. After 1749, a man named Baliol of Jura managed a ship, which sailed every year between Campbeltown, Scotland and Wilmington. This ship delivered many new Highland Scots to settle in what are now Cumberland, Bladen, Robeson, Richmond, Montgomery, Moore, and Harnett counties (Patterson and Carswell 1925:13-14)

As most early Scotch immigrants spoke only Gaelic, printing presses in North Carolina issued many eighteenth century documents in Gaelic, and Gaelic speakers were hired as translators for the post office at least until 1828 (Lefler and Powell 1973:93). Those Highland Scots who had been educated in British schools prior to their immigration knew English, but commoners in the 1700s often knew Scottish Gaelic exclusively, and few British materials were printed in that language (Meyer 1961:118). The New Testament, which had been printed in English centuries earlier, only was printed in Gaelic in 1767. Several families interviewed for this project reported Gaelic Bibles as one of their families’ most treasured heirlooms.

In 1755, shortly after Cumberland County was created, sheriff Hector McNeill reported the county’s residents as “302 white males, 11 ‘mulattoes’ by family name, and 63 [unnamed] Negroes” (Parker 1990:8). White females were not counted in these lists, and the term mulatto at this time could refer variously to descendants of mixed European, Native American, or African heritage (Forbes 1990:190-200). These relatively few individuals, however, owned thousands of acres in what are today Cumberland and Hoke counties. Estimates of the Highland Scot population in North Carolina circa 1776 range widely from 5,000 (Watson 1996:5) to 50,000 (Kelly and Kelly 1998:81), although the conservative estimates seem more justified by the land grant records (Heath 1999; Meyer 1961). When the first U.S. census was conducted in 1790, Cumberland County’s total population had increased to 8,671 people, with about a third of the names recognizable as belonging to Scottish Highlanders (Parker 1990:8). By the early 1800s, Highlands Scots appear to be the largest and most cohesive population residing in the Upper Cape Fear region.

Long Street, Sandy Grove, and Other Fort Bragg Churches



Long Street Church was founded on what is now Fort Bragg land following the visit of a Presbyterian missionary from Pennsylvania in early 1756. The Reverend Hugh McAden arrived at the home of Alexander McKay and requested a night's lodging and an opportunity to preach to the local Highland Scots. His request was granted and the first service was held on January 20, 1756. McAden reported in his journal that the settlers were very cordial and grateful to the preacher. Yet he called them "hypocritical" because they proceeded to drink and swear heavily at Alexander McKay's tavern after the church service (McLeod 1923:7; Fort Bragg n.d.:7; Samons n.d.). McKay's tavern or "ordinary" was located at the crossroads of the west-east Yadkin Road that connected the Piedmont to the coast, and a local north-south road. Taverns attached to early settlers' homes "were the colonial equivalent of television, fast-food shops, a night on the town, motels, and political clubhouses" (Parker 1990:17). Cumberland County licensed ten such establishments in 1756.

Reverend McAden returned to Pennsylvania after his visit to McKay's tavern and persuaded a Gaelic-speaking friend named Reverend James Campbell, originally from Argyleshire, Scotland, to assume the spiritual leadership of the fledgling Sandhills community. Twelve local men agreed to guarantee Campbell's yearly salary of one hundred pounds paid in lawful North Carolina currency (Meyer 1961:114). Reverend Campbell began preaching in Gaelic from his new home opposite from where Bluff Church would be erected (McLeod 1923:8). Soon, however, Reverend Campbell was preaching at three regular locations: Bluff (a.k.a. Roger's), Barbecue (a.k.a. Clark's), and Long Street (a.k.a. McKay's). These three conjugations became ordained as churches with the first elders of Long Street being Malcolm Smith, Archibald Ray, and Archibald McKay, the son of Alexander McKay, the tavern owner. On his preaching circuit, Campbell gave separate sermons in English for the benefit of some Scots-Irish, Lowland Scot, and English residents (Watson 1996).

The Long Street congregation was organized in 1758 and the first log church building was erected on Yadkin Road in 1765 and 1766. In 1770 another native Scot, Reverend John McLeod arrived with more immigrants and joined the ministry. These men worked together until 1776 when they parted company over the Revolutionary War. Mr. Campbell, who championed the cause of the colonists found himself threatened by the local Loyalists and so left the county (Fowler 1955:26). Reverend McLeod ultimately departed home for Scotland and his ship may have been lost at sea (McLeod 1923:10). The next four pastors of Long Street Church: Crawford, McDairmid [sic], Lindsay, and McIver, also were Scottish-born, and the last five: McNair, McKay, McQueen, Fairley, and McLeod, had Scottish heritage on both sides of the Atlantic.

The original Long Street Church burned down in the early 1800s and was replaced by a frame structure (Fort Bragg n.d.:7). It was built for a third time in its present two-story

Greek Revival form between 1845 and 1848, just off the original Yadkin Road. The church's largest and most thriving congregations, numbering about 700 members, occurred just prior to the Civil War when the Longstreet Road population itself was at its height (McLeod 1923:14; Fort Bragg n.d.). The church also developed its nearby primary school dating from the late 1700s into a preparatory school named Longstreet Academy in 1849. The Academy, which offered classes in Greek, Latin, and Philosophy, was short-lived, however. At the onset of the Civil War the Academy teacher, Major Murdoch McLaughlin, and his students joined the Confederate Army in Virginia. Long Street Church and its surrounding population never fully recovered after the Civil War. For 16 years afterwards no children were presented for baptism. Many congregation members moved away. Some shifted their attentions to another, newer church farther west on the reservation land, Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church. Some area residents, however, continued to visit the cemetery and attend the church until, and even after, its purchase by the Army in 1918. A few older individuals of Highland Scot descent interviewed for this project were baptized at Long Street Church or attended services there in their childhood.

From their almost entirely Gaelic beginnings, church sermons in the Sandhills began to integrate English segments although many churches continued the use of Gaelic until the 1870s or even into the early 1900s. Kelly and Kelly (1998:108-111) suggest that Gaelic continued as a living language for home use in Highland Scot families for about three generations after migration, with two or three more generations continuing proverb and song traditions. The use of Gaelic in church seemingly dwindled quickly after the Civil War. Between the 1940s and 1970s virtually all elders still commanding some Gaelic passed away from their communities.



Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church was an offshoot of Long Street Church planned mostly by second and third generation Scots who settled further to the southwest. After a few years of home services, a church building was completed off Plank Road in 1854. The original membership was 20 and the three ruling elders were Peter Monroe, Archibald McLeod, and J. L. Campbell (Patterson and Carswell 1925:18). General Sherman's soldiers destroyed the church's early records, so little else is known. As the Sandy Grove Church did not establish a high school, many key congregation families such as the Blues, the Rays, and the Campbells began to migrate outward to areas such as Sanford or Raeford, often in search of a better education for their children. Church membership thus declined from 120 in 1894 to only 43 in 1905 (Patterson and Carswell 1925:38).

Falling into disrepair by 1916, Sandy Grove Church was remodeled with a steeple into its present form through donations by both local and emigrant families. Having just rebuilt the church, congregation members were reluctant to leave it at the time of the U.S. Army purchase. Services continued until January 1923 although most of the remaining congregation moved to Raeford in 1922 (Patterson and Carswell 1925:55).

Both the Long Street and Sandy Grove Church buildings and cemeteries are now protected by the U.S. Army, which supports annual reunions organized by descendants of original congregation members. Today, staff from the Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Management Program provide access and tours of the church and cemeteries for visitors upon request.

The Long Street and Sandy Grove Presbyterian churches had the most vibrant and powerful congregations at the time of the Army purchase in 1918, which undoubtedly is why they were preserved on the reservation land until today. The 1919 Map and a base landmarks map in Loftfield (1979) also indicate the former presence of numerous other churches. These include: Beulah Missionary Baptist Church, Chapel Hill Church, Cumberland Seventh Day Baptist Church, Friendship Presbyterian Church, McCrimmons Chapel, Piney Ridge Church, Rock (or Rocky) Hill Church, Rock Rose Church, and Zion Wall Church. Some of these churches, like the Wayman's or Wyman's Chapel reported by interviewees for this project (but not appearing as such on any known map), were oriented to separate congregations of African or Indian descent. The Army removed, or destroyed, all church buildings other than Long Street and Sandy Grove after 1923 (Heath 1999). The records of the two main base area churches, Long Street and Sandy Grove, in addition to the maps of the now razed smaller churches, provide significant historical data on past Fort Bragg area population centers, migration paths, ethnic mosaics, and economic dynamics.

Pioneer Subsistence Patterns in the Sandhills

Virtually all early European settlers in North Carolina practiced agriculture or a related industry such as barrel making (Lefler and Newsome 1973). Although many of the early Scottish settlers were tradesmen in Scotland, most relied upon subsistence agriculture once in North Carolina. The sandy hills of the Upper Cape Fear Region were not very fertile, but the bottomland near the waterways could produce adequate crops of Indian corn (maize) and some European grains. Most early land grants were located along the rivers, which also were the primary means of transportation until roads were developed overland upon old buffalo or Indian trails in the late 1700s (Meyer 1961:96; Cumming 1998).

New farming techniques were necessary for the Highland Scots to survive in the Sandhills frontier. The majority of the lands obtained were longleaf pine forests in sandy ridges, little suited for crops other than grapes, which were native to the region. The initial process of house building both provided family shelter and began land clearing for farm activities. Longleaf pine trees were felled for log cabins that were weatherproofed with clay chinking between the beams. These homes were very small, simple buildings with only one or two rooms, sometimes with an additional loft or shaded veranda (Lefler and Powell 1973:184). After sawmills were built, these log cabins gradually were replaced with clapboard houses by those who could afford sawn lumber. Even until the 1850s, however, the inhabitants of Sampson County, for example, were said to live in very spartan houses without brick, glass, or stone construction. Doors and windows often

remained opened and huge hearth fires were necessary in winter to compensate for that exposure to the elements (Johnson 1937:224-225).

Rather than continuing the difficult process of clearing land by felling the innumerable pine trees, early settlers practiced “tree-ringing.” A ring of bark was removed near the base of undesirable trees, which caused the trees to lose their leaves and die. Once the needles had dropped, sunlight could reach the ground and this allowed the planting of crops without the laborious effort of widespread tree removal. The tree later could be felled and burned in a tar kiln for the production of “naval stores,” meaning gum products as well as shipbuilding timbers.

Although a few Highland Scot settlers owned and used plows, most simply used hoes and other hand tools because the tree-ringing procedure left so many obstacles in the ground (Meyer 1961:103-104; Schaw 1939:163). Crops planted by the early colonists included maize, wheat, oats, sweet potatoes, legumes, and flax. Because land initially was so abundant, farmers often simply switched to other plots when a particular crop exhausted soil fertility. The European practice of using manure for fertilizer largely was abandoned and crop rotation was employed mainly among corn, legumes, and wheat (Meyer 1961:104). Corn was grown primarily for home use and for animal feed. Gristmills were constructed near Cross Creek to produce meal from local corn and to process wheat grown in the Piedmont, 40 miles to the west (Merrens 1964). The meal and flour produced was consumed locally or traded downstream to Wilmington and Brunswick (Lee 1965).

Foraging in the Sandhills provided early colonists with wild fruits, especially grapes, and a variety of game including deer, rabbits, turkeys, pheasants, ducks, geese, and fish (Meyer 1961:109). Hunting was described as excellent by English visitors who marveled at how the tall longleaf pines prevented undergrowth and allowed for mounted hunters to ride unimpeded through the game-rich forests (Meyer 1961:75-76). Highland Scots also relied heavily upon livestock that were allowed to graze freely, being only rounded up for slaughter or sale (Meyer 1961:105- 106). Cumberland County records of the late 1700s are replete with references to sales of livestock including hogs, cows, and horses (Parker 1990:16).

Lands adjacent to crop areas were utilized for the grazing of livestock, particularly for animals that roamed largely untended and could forage independently. Early records such as wills indicate that these roving, unfenced animals were hard to monitor. Some settlers placed salt out once a week to lure back their stock, and yearly roundups allowed settlers to brand their livestock with marks registered by the colonial authorities. Horses, cows, hogs, and poultry all were raised but hogs were more successful than cows because they could remain healthier despite the benign neglect practiced by the colonial farmers (Cathey 1974:10-11; Lefler and Newsome 1973:94-95). It is said of the Southern colonist that:

Game he often depended upon, beef he liked, and dairy products were welcome. Yet when he "ran out," hog meat was the item considered so important that he went into debt to buy it. (Hilliard 1972:92)

Estate inventories reported by Meyer (1961:105-106) indicate that many Scottish farmers in the late 1700s owned several horses, dozens of cattle, and hundreds of hogs. Hogs could forage efficiently in the back lands away from the precious waterways, and they only were fed corn to fatten them beginning about six weeks before slaughter. Pork then was smoked and kept in a storehouse to provide protein for the farming family throughout the winter. Meat also was salted and pickled in barrels, some of which was sold via Wilmington to the West Indies when salt was sufficiently available (Meyer 1961:106).

Because of the infertility of most Sandhills soil, neither the crops produced nor the colonists' diet ever became very diverse. Before the introduction of modern farming aids, neither cotton nor tobacco grew particularly well. Even throughout the 1800s, the settlers' diet mainly consisted of corn and pork, supplemented by collards and some wild fruit and game (Olmstead 1904[1856]:359-390).

Pine Trees as Wealth: The Naval Stores Industry

In this very section about old Sandy Grove Church there flowed a stream of gold from the round pine timber in the form of turpentine and rosin. Later the lumbering industry stripped the hills, leaving only the blackjack [oaks]. (Patterson and Carswell 1925:53)

Although the Sandhills soil was not fertile enough for early commercial agriculture, it hosted innumerable longleaf pine trees (*Pinus palustris*) whose gum products and timbers were treasured by the colonial era shipping industry. The colonial government encouraged the establishment of water-powered mills by issuing a 1736 proclamation that offered a 640-acre land grant to anyone who constructed a gristmill or a sawmill in the Cape Fear Section. Forty sawmills were reported to the Board of Trade by 1764 (Meyer 1961:104-105). Sawmills either were owned individually by large landowners, or else were cooperative ventures where Cross Creek area settlers combined resources and shared profits for timber exported down the Cape Fear River to Wilmington (Merrens 1964).

"Naval stores" included products made of gum and wood. The gum product was oleoresin that was drained from cut and "boxed" trees, then distilled to produce turpentine and rosin. The wood naval stores included lumber, tar drained from burning dead pine wood (or "lightwood"), and pitch, which was refined from tar by boiling (Harmon and Snedeker 1997:145). Tar was needed on all British colonial ships to seal the rigging from water decay. Pitch was used to caulk both the interior and exterior hulls of the ships. Carolina longleaf pines contained far more gum than New England pines so the British trade shifted south and escalated after 1705 when Swedish naval stores supplies were less available to the British government.

In addition to its naval uses, pine products had a myriad other pioneer uses including tar for sealing animal wounds, honey and pine tar remedies for human bronchial infections, and resin or “brewers’ pitch” to line beer barrels or fruit juice kegs (Butler 1998:216-217). Pine wood charcoal was used for tooth-cleaning powder, a meat purifier, laxatives, and beverage filtration agents. Many of the medicinal uses of pine gum as salves or chewing agents, and the use of gum as an adhesive glue, apparently were borrowed from Indian practices (Butler 1998:218).

Crude gum was needed for the colonial manufacture of yellow soap, and turpentine was used in the early 1800s as a key ingredient in lamp oil. Turpentine was replaced as a lamp oil by kerosene in the 1850s due to turpentine’s smokiness and volatility (Butler 1998:219). The use of turpentine continued, however, as a household cleaning agent, insecticide, and home remedy for a variety of skin and respiratory problems. Pine oil, produced from the steam distillation of lightwood stumps, also was used in processing wool and cotton, as well as a general cleaning and disinfecting agent.

After 1812 demand shifted as turpentine production increased relative to tar and pitch production (Sharrer 1981:253-254). The increased use of paints and varnishes on frame buildings during the 1800s led to greater demands for turpentine production and export in the Carolinas (Perry 1947:147). In general, cut and “boxed” trees could be tapped for oleoresin for about a dozen years before they needed to be cut to produce tar or pitch. Sandhills tar, however, was of poor quality and received a relatively low price because many impurities were introduced in the cooking and draining processes (Butler 1998; Olmstead 1904[1856]).

By the mid-1800s, even though demand for turpentine was still high, many North Carolina forests, including those in the Fort Bragg area, began to be depleted. Some turpentine merchants then moved farther south to Georgia and Florida in search of new trees to exploit. The Civil War further wreaked havoc on the turpentine industry as wood was badly needed for military purposes, trade was disrupted, and much wooden infrastructure such as railroads and bridges was destroyed. Moreover, soldiers often burned turpentine camps as part of their military campaigns (Barrett 1987:299). Although the turpentine industry as a whole is said to have recovered after the Civil War (Harmon and Snedeker: 1997:147), the Sandhills Region seemingly did not fully participate in the recovery due to increasingly depleted pine stands and economic hardship in general. Moreover, when the shipbuilding industry shifted from wood to steel vessels in the 1880s, the demand for tar and pitch quickly dwindled (Sharrer 1981:269).

Like farming, turpentine could be performed on a modest scale, for home subsistence use only, or on a much larger, “plantation” style scale. While Sandhills soil did not support the cotton or rice plantations that created the demand for African slaves elsewhere in the South, pine management and turpentine was messy, hot, and physically difficult work that became a major commercial basis for slave labor in the Upper Cape Fear Region.

Before the Civil War, turpentine occurred on white-owned plantations with most of the work performed by slaves. After the war, turpentine was done in camps that were small communities of shanty houses set in the woods by the pine resources. Most of the workers still were of African descent. Turpentine camps often had their own nearby cemeteries where vehicle axles or pieces of lightwood became the headstones for the deceased. Butler (1998:127-139) describes the humble conditions in which these workers survived. Everyone rose by 4 a.m. to begin preparing food and mule wagons. Children hauled water, women cooked and packed meals, and men prepared their animals and tools. Women tended kitchen gardens containing sweet potatoes, greens, and beans of various types. Woodsmen hunted squirrels, rabbits and raccoons to add meat to their family tables. Everyday clothes were made of flour sacks that had to be boiled routinely to remove pine gum stains. Some turpentine factory owners built a one-room primary school for the turpentine workers' children, or sometimes a church where lay preachers would hold services. Often children did not finish school because, by seven to ten years old, they were needed to help their parents with turpentine production.

Food, clothing, work tools, tobacco, matches, and lamp oil were sold at the turpentine camp commissary where workers purchased items with the tokens or credit chits that constituted their daily pay. Workers rarely were paid in cash unless their commissary account was fully paid off. Most camps were so isolated that workers would have been unable to reach a public store in any case. Often turpentine workers and their families were destined to remain perpetually in debt to their boss through inevitable commissary purchases. Indebted workers could not leave their employers without risking jail, although severe indebtedness sometimes prompted workers to flee in the night or have themselves smuggled or bought out by a rival turpentine boss. Sometimes bosses used alcohol as a reward for extra work, contributing to occasional lawlessness and violence in the camps. Some Southern turpentine camps included stockades and others, especially in Florida throughout the 1800s, were known to lease convicts for turpentine as part of their penal system. In sum, while the pine products industry brought considerable wealth to some large landowners, it also created a difficult life, especially for poor black workers with few civil rights and opportunities for mobility.

African Americans: Enslaved and Free People of Color

Historians generally associate the high rates of African American slavery in Virginia with tobacco plantations, and high rates in Coastal South Carolina with rice plantations (Crow 1996:1). Most Sandhills soils in North Carolina could not support these crops in the colonial period. Additionally, Atlantic sandbars too treacherous for abundant slave ship landings disadvantaged much of the state's coastline. Only the demand for naval stores production in the Sandhills made the purchase of African slaves from Wilmington, which was not impeded by sandbars, and other more distant ports, an attractive option for the early European settlers.

The *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (III: 154-155, V: 320, 575, 603) indicate that the Sandhills counties contained few African Americans in the first years of Scottish settlement, that is during the 1730s (Meyer 1961:73, 178: n.20). Given the relatively poor

soil and the early establishment of subsistence rather than commercial plantation farming, initial slave holdings in the Sandhills were small although definitely extant by the late colonial period. In 1755 whites were numbered at 1,238, or 90% of the population, while blacks were numbered at 140 or 10% of the population in Cumberland County (Kay and Cary 1995:221; Heath 1999). The Cumberland County taxables list of 1755 recorded 63 slaves and 11 “mulattoes” or free blacks. County records of 1758 mention two free blacks by name, a freed male named Antone and another named Gideon Cumbo (Parker 1950:4). Records indicate that some free blacks worked as boatmen, cart pullers, or other types of paid servants. Some trusted slaves of this time period were licensed by their owners to carry guns, and many were skilled tradesmen such as blacksmiths, carpenters, butchers, tanners, wheelwrights, boatmen, or coopers (Crow 1996:7; Schaw 1939:185). Reportedly house slaves and craftsmen slaves absorbed the caste system of their white masters who generally depreciated the relative value of the farming or fieldhand slave (Fowler 1955:120).

Wills of Highland Scots dating to the 1760s already record the inheritance of black slaves. By 1790, 717 slaves in Cumberland County were owned by residents with Scottish Highlander names (Meyer 1961:108). Some slaves even learned Gaelic, much to the surprise of newly arriving Scots, some of who feared that their skin too would turn black (Dunn 1953:138; Meyer 1961:118-119). The 1765 tax records of Cumberland County list 866 “white taxables” and 366 blacks and mulattoes (Oates 1981[1950]:68). Indians were coded with African Americans under the “colored” column until the 20th Century so there are no definitive records for their populations until then.

While white Patriots looked upon the Revolutionary War as a bid for their independence from England, colonial blacks viewed the War as a struggle for their freedom from slavery (Crow 1996:55-63). Patriots fearing slave uprisings in North Carolina resolved in 1774 not to import any new slaves who could be planted troublemakers. By 1775 Patriot committees were disarming all Negroes and fending off slave uprisings fomented by British promises of freedom for those joining His Majesty’s troops and helping to restore order in the British Colony. Adding to the African American insurrections were the emergence of North Carolina Quaker protests in the 1770s that decried the institution of slavery altogether. North Carolina Quakers began freeing their slaves although many were re-enslaved through rulings of the General Assembly. Only those freed slaves who agreed to join the Revolutionary Army before 1777 could legally retain their freedom (Crow 1996:62-63). Thus free blacks tended to join the Patriots to preserve their freedom while slaves tended to support or join the British in the hopes of gaining freedom as a reward.

The majority of blacks who fought warred for the Patriots, some few slaves even being sent as surrogate soldiers for their masters in exchange for the promise of future freedom (Crow 1996:65). It is recorded that a few African Americans from the Fayetteville area who fought for the Patriots drew pensions from the U.S. Government for the rest of their lives. Free “Negroes” were allowed to vote in North Carolina between 1776 and 1835 although their movements were restricted and the only other population with whom they could intermarry was Indians (Oates 1972:695- 697).

Those who joined British troops under Cornwallis, either as fleeing Patriot slaves or as slave labor donated by Loyalist supporters, usually worked in support positions rather than as soldiers because they were rarely trusted with weapons or horses (Crow 1996:73-77). Many blacks, however, simply used the chaos of the war to escape their masters' grasp. Ultimately the British leadership after the war decided that those blacks that had served in the British Army would be freed while those captured on Whig plantations would be returned as slaves. Thus as many as 5,000 black Loyalists sailed from America to the British Caribbean, New York, London, Halifax, or joined the Seminole Indians in Florida (Crow 1996:80).

In North Carolina after the Revolution, a backlash arose against the idea of slaves being freed and the voluntary emancipation or "manumission" of a slave by an owner was illegal unless adjudicated as a case of exceptional merit by the county courts. Slaves, proselytized by Methodist and Baptist evangelical missionaries as part of the Great Revival, began to understand the organizational and revolutionary potential inherent in the Christian religion (Genovese 1974:587-597). In 1797 Fayetteville town commissioners responded to increased black assertiveness by legislating lashes for Negroes who congregated, played ball, or entertained in their homes on Sunday or after dark (Crow 1996:86; Johnson 1937:551). Perhaps these stringent measures in the Sandhills area helped to keep local blacks isolated from the chain of slave rebellions that erupted farther north beginning along the Albermarle Sound in 1802.

The slave trade escalated after the Revolution in an effort to compensate for slaves lost during the war. By 1790 the black slave population of 717 owned by persons with Highland Scot names was approximately one-fourth that of the Highlander population of 2,834, while in North Carolina generally there was one black for about each three white individuals (Meyer 1961:108). Census returns from 1790 indicate that the largest Highland Scot slaveholders owned up to about 50 slaves each. One hundred and four slave sales were recorded in Cumberland County between 1745 and 1790. During the 1790s the black population of North Carolina grew at the highest rate of any antebellum decade (Crow 1996:82).

Slaveholders in North Carolina generally are said to have owned less than five slaves each in 1790, and less than ten by 1850 (Johnson 1937:55), although the larger plantations in fertile riverine areas outside the Sandhills region were exceptions to this pattern of small slave holdings (cf. Redford 1989). In the Harnett area in particular, the 1780 tax records list 251 taxable whites, of which only 62 owned the total of 282 slaves. As noted by Fowler (1955:119), a pattern emerges where only the wealthiest white families residing on the fertile bottomlands by the rivers could afford to own ten or more slaves, while most whites owned few or no slaves. Owners of the most slaves in the Harnett area included the Buie, Campbell, Clark, McKay, McNeill, Murchison, Smith, and Williams families. In two known cases of families who were considered cruel to their slaves, the African American families owned or formerly owned by those white families refused to use the masters' family names as their own. This act of slave resistance

reported by Fowler (1955:120) was reiterated to me independently by several interviewees.

Some local writers suggest that slavery in the Sandhills Region was more familial and distinctly less brutal than reported in many accounts of Southern plantation life (Fowler 1955; Oates 1972). Other historical reports, however, offer accounts of North Carolina slavery that detail not only the harshness of work shared by white and black residents alike but the inferior conditions of blacks' daily life. Restrictive laws forbade free movement and supported the splintering of biological kin through the mercantile process (Bassett 1899; Crow 1996; Crow, Escott, and Hatley 1992).

Few Cumberland County individuals were listed as "free colored" until 1820, after which that group increased by five fold, with 95 individuals listed as free colored in 1810 versus 564 individuals so listed in 1820. These sharp increases in the free colored population listing might be caused by a number of factors including the attractiveness of Fayetteville's booming port economy to seasonal or mobile laborers seeking anonymity (Abbott et al. 1996:23-24). Franklin (1995[1943]:35) indicates that 70% of the free Negro population in 1860 consisted of mulatto individuals, thought primarily to be the children of white men and Negro slave women. Some white slave owners provided well for their children with slave mothers by willing the children property and declaring their emancipation, thus increasing the numbers of the "free colored" population (Franklin 1995[1943]:35). Many of these individuals migrated away from plantations to make their fortune in towns where they were less likely to be considered a "poor example" by slave owners (Franklin 1995[1943]: x, 15).

After the abortive slave insurrection led by Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831, restrictions on North Carolina slaves increased. Public meetings or slave social gatherings were curtailed, and travel beyond the owners' lands without written permission was punished by white patrols called "Patty Rollers" (Fowler 1955:120). For Cumberland County in particular, population statistics for 1850 indicate that approximately 61% of inhabitants were white, 35% were black slaves, and 4% were free blacks. The largest increases in Cumberland County populations were experienced among all three groups between 1810 and 1820, and for whites and slaves between 1840 and 1850 (Population Statistics of the United States, 1872, as presented in Abbot et al. 1996:22).

Frederick Law Olmstead's report from the 1850s describes regional social life in detail and categorizes classes of blacks and whites in the Sandhills around Fayetteville (Olmstead 1904[1856]). Olmstead divides whites into a "great mass" who inhabit the forest as "entirely uneducated, poverty stricken vagabonds" and a second group of small proprietors, "a grade superior" who own houses still without glass windows but with a few pieces of heirloom furniture, more hogs, and some slaves (Olmstead 1904[1856]:388-390). Olmstead's personal view of the black slaves working in the turpentine industry was that they were more intelligent and generally "superior" in character to what he called the white "vagabonds." His deduction was that through their close association with the white small proprietors, the Sandhills slaves showed greater "intelligence" than those owned by wealthier but more segregated whites that he had

viewed elsewhere in the South. Olmstead even reported seeing the casual mixing and dining of whites and blacks in worker and trader camps near Fayetteville (Olmstead 1904 [1856]:398).

Olmstead concluded from his observations near Fayetteville that slavery there “loses much of its inhumanity” because slaves were partially integrated as family members, gaining or losing with the tide of their white masters’ fortunes. In what can be seen as a prescient economic and social analysis, Olmstead associates the relatively good position of some Sandhills slaves to the fact that the poor soils and isolation of the region kept most whites from accumulating enough wealth to more fully exploit blacks within the Antebellum slavery system (Olmstead 1904 [1856]:408). In an area where cotton did not produce well enough for large-scale farm plantations, large numbers of harshly treated slaves who would need to be carefully guarded were not cost-effective for most white landowners. Franklin (1995 [1943]:196) echoes this analysis when he notes that the small farms prevalent in Antebellum North Carolina led to more personal slave-master relations that resulted in later-enacted, less strict, and more loosely-enforced Negro laws.

Because ward population statistics were not documented until 1870, free and slave populations in the Sandhills prior to the Civil War cannot be documented with precision (Clement et al. 1997; Heath 1999). Even the total 1860 Fort Bragg area population can only be estimated at 2,291 individuals, based on population statistics from the 1870 census (Clement et al. 1997:51). What is clear, however, is that the ratio of enslaved blacks to free whites was escalating in the antebellum period, especially as turpentine became a major avenue of profits (Johnson 1937). Between 1790 and 1850 the black slave to free white ratio in Cumberland County shifted from roughly 1:3 to 1:2 while the free blacks are estimated at only 5% of the total population in 1850. The exact 1850 Cumberland County census figures are 12,447 whites, 7,217 slaves, and 946 free Negroes (Wheeler 1851:124). In 1870 the Cumberland County total was 17,835 divided into 9,520 whites and 7,515 (now all free) blacks, including still the Indian and other “colored” people. Of those 17,835 people, 4,660 resided in Fayetteville with the remaining 12,375 living in the rural areas of the county (Branson 1872; Loftfield 1979:22). By 1890, the black population of 12,341 began to approximate the white population of 14,952 in the Cumberland County total of 27,293 (Branson 1896:213).

The end of slavery by the Civil War ironically also led to increased racial tensions and social segregation under Jim Crow laws. After 1865, agents of the Union League, which organized blacks politically, supported African Americans in their bids for equality. Reportedly any complaints against rebellious blacks in the Harnett area were redressed with barn burnings or thefts of livestock (Fowler 1955:121). Retaliation then came in the form of local orders of the Klu Klux Klan, which first was organized in Pulaski, Tennessee. In Harnett County, two local chapters termed “deer” were formed in Averbosboro and near Neill’s Creek Church. Both chapters dissolved following murders and identification by federal agents.

Schools for black children were instituted quickly after the Civil War, allowing some African Americans to move off the plantations into urban trades. By the end of

Reconstruction in 1876, however, most blacks that stayed in rural areas such as Harnett County simply rented plots of pine trees from white land owners and, once more, tended them for turpentine (Fowler 1955:123). A few of these turpentine workers were able to use their earnings to educate themselves or their family members into teachers or preachers, the earliest professions to draw in African Americans. By the 1920s, near the time of the U.S. Army purchase of Camp Bragg, about one third of the African American farmers in Cumberland County owned their own farmland (Parker 1990:98).

Revolutionary War (1776-1783) in the Fort Bragg Area

Highland Scot settlers who resided on what is now Fort Bragg land fought on both sides of the American Revolutionary War, and several battles were fought in the Fayetteville area, including what would become reservation land. Kelly and Kelly (1998) suggest that early, pre-1760s migrants were most apt to be Patriots (or Whigs), while those who arrived after the mid-1760s were more likely to be British Loyalists (or Tories). Later immigrants to the western part of Harnett County generally supported the British, while the earlier immigrants in the east supported the Patriots (Fowler 1955:24-25). By 1775, the Royal Governor and the British Board of Trade asked new migrants to take oaths of allegiance to the Crown and offered land incentives to those who joined the North Carolina Royal Regiments. As the Revolutionary War approached, some Highland Scots feared possible vengeance on their families back in Scotland if they did not remain loyal to the House of Hanover (Meyer 1961:152). One of this project's interviewees also suggested that Highland Scot families, while debating the merits of both sides in the Revolution, consciously split their allegiances or remained neutral. By this strategy, not all of them would be on the losing side, as they were after the Battle of Culloden Moor near Inverness, Scotland, in 1746.

The land destined to become Fort Bragg was a pivotal region for both Tory and Whig support activities. Francis Marion, nicknamed "Swamp Fox," used the area to headquarter the Marion Brigade, a Patriot unit that harassed the British throughout the Revolutionary War (Fort Bragg n.d.:2). Drowning Creek, near present Camp Mackall, was a campsite for Patriot regiments, militia foraging, and fighting under General Horatio Gates in the summer of 1780 (Heath 1999; Wellman 1974).

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in 1781, British General Cornwallis retreated through the present Fort Bragg, pursued by Colonel Henry Lee to the Little River near the edge of what is now the reservation. Cornwallis reportedly spent the night in what is known as the "Malcolm Smith House" or "Daniel Monroe House" on Yadkin (or Longstreet) Road, on his eventual path via Wilmington to Yorktown, where he surrendered to George Washington (Loftfield 1979:25; Fort Bragg n.d., n.d.b). Colonel Duncan Ray, a local Tory, reportedly helped General Cornwallis obtain the supplies and rest he badly needed at the "Malcolm Smith House" where Ray resided at the time of the Revolution. This house was removed by the military sometime after its purchase.

The key Revolutionary War skirmish that occurred on Fort Bragg lands is the Piney Bottom Massacre, when a group of Tories took revenge on a Whig camp in 1781 (see

Carruthers 1854; Heath 1999; Nye n.d.; Oates 1972). Local Tories caught and killed nine Patriots. These victims apparently were militiamen under General Nathaniel Greene who had recently fled from the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Following the Piney Bottom Massacre, local Whigs attacked known Tories in the area and seven citizens were killed in a series of vengeance attacks. The exact location of the Piney Bottom Massacre is still in doubt. Historical records pinpoint its location at the intersection of Piney Bottom Creek and Morganton Road, but the creek and the current Morganton Road cross at three places. Moreover, the location of Morganton Road has shifted since 1780.

Antebellum Period (1783-1860) in the Fort Bragg Area

After the Revolution, trade was stimulated in the Sandhills by means of regional fairs called “Scotch fairs,” held twice a year, that were the traveling urban shopping malls of their day. These fairs allowed rural people to obtain a half-year’s supply of some imported good or sell a comparable amount of their own produce. They were the sites of festive entertainment and trade for about one hundred years between 1783 and 1883, at which time they were abolished (Kelly and Kelly 1998:98-99).

In 1832 a post office was begun at the Longstreet Road community of Highland Scots, registered under the name Monroe. In 1833 the post office site’s name was changed to Argyle, under which designation it continued until 1918 (Stout 1975:1-2). The only other reservation area community large enough to establish a post office was Inverness, which began in 1854 and continued in operation until 1912. The Inverness community was located just south of the Daniel McLeod property at which the purported Henry Berry Lowry gang killings took place in 1870.

The town of Fayetteville was created in 1783 from Cross Creek and Campbelltown. In 1818 the first steamboat connection between Wilmington and Fayetteville was established. In the 1840s and 1850s, 12-foot-wide wooden plank roads set between drainage ditches were constructed in the Sandhills to further east-west trade (Oates 1972:370). Local landowners rented out their slaves to build the 129-mile Western Plank Road between Fayetteville and Salem, North Carolina (Wellman 1974). In the absence of fully developed rail lines, the plank roads helped insure that inland produce could reach processing plants and ports on the navigable rivers, such as the Cape Fear. As carriers of produce, turpentine, and cotton passed between the Piedmont and Fayetteville, local landowners collected tolls bringing profits to many inhabitants of the reservation area (Nye n.d.). These improvements to regional transportation helped spur both economic and population growth. Increases in the Cumberland County population, further aided by regional railroad development in the 1850s, triggered the creation of Harnett County in 1855.

Although cotton did not grow well in the Sandhills, cotton ginning, spinning, and weaving became a viable commercial enterprise in the early 1800s, processing cotton grown mostly in the Piedmont (Parker 1990:61-64). Several factories started up in Cumberland County employing hundreds of workers to produce yarns and sheeting.

Small, agile workers were sought to arrange threads under low machinery, thus creating work for many Scottish-descent women and children through their teenage years.

The discovery of coal deposits near Sanford, North Carolina, was another incentive to build an early railroad, the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad line, which ran from Fayetteville west to the Piedmont. Despite continuous efforts beginning in 1832, however, the Western Railroad Company did not successfully link Fayetteville to the Egypt Coal Mine in Lee County until just prior to the Civil War (Parker 1990:57). The family members of several interviewees for this project were involved in railroad construction near the Sandhills area and a few, mostly Indians, sought work in the coal mines.

"War Between the States" (1861-1865) in the Fort Bragg Area

The State of North Carolina seceded from the Union in May of 1861 and State Militia troops, comprised of all white males between 18 and 45, quickly seized the munitions from the Federal Arsenal in Fayetteville (Oates 1972). Many slaves from the Sandhills area were drafted by the Confederacy to do support work such as building fortifications around Wilmington (Fowler 1955:121). Although the slaves were not paid for their work, their owners were compensated instead. The Civil War Battle of Monroe's Crossroads occurred on the present Fort Bragg in March of 1865, only a month before General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox (Barrett 1987[1963]; Belew 1997; Loftfield 1979; Fort Bragg n.d.). After his march through Georgia, General Sherman headed northward into South and then North Carolina, creating much devastation en route. Sherman's forces destroyed the Fayetteville Arsenal and all its associated factories and railroad lines (Oates 1972). Highly flammable turpentine factories and stills were set afire. Sherman's troops also burned the Cumberland County cotton mills as they marched through the Sandhills, destroying a flourishing textile business that never recovered in the region. The Confederate government even resorted to burning its own stockpiles of cotton and naval stores to deprive Sherman's troops of any further victories.

Four of Sherman's brigades, under the command of Major General Judson Kilpatrick, were camped at the Charles M. Monroe House (inherited from his father Malcolm Monroe) about six miles west of Long Street Church at Monroe's Crossroads on March 9, 1865. The site is just east of Nicholson Creek and south of Morganton Road (Tract 311 on the 1919 map of Fort Bragg). Just before dawn of March 10th, Confederate forces led by General Wade Hampton attacked the Union soldiers under Kilpatrick. The battle, which took place over two plantations, Rocky Mount and Green Springs, was initially a victory for the Confederates but the Union troops rallied and recaptured the camp. It is estimated that about 100 men on each side were killed and many times that number were wounded (Fort Bragg n.d.). Neill S. Blue (see BLUE interview below), a boy of 15 at the time, hid in the swamp and witnessed the battle. He later set up some pieces of sandstone over the graves. Many of the Confederate dead were eventually buried in Long Street Church Cemetery while the Union dead were buried on the battlefield. Heirs of Charles M. Monroe sold the land where the battle took place to Neill S. Blue in 1881 according to Blue family sources.

Reconstruction and Subsequent Changes in the Fort Bragg Area

The surrender of the Confederacy resulted in social upheavals where whites resisted their loss of privileges and blacks struggled for improvements in their situation (Escott 1985). In Cumberland County, Confederate soldiers returned to ravaged homes, farms, and infrastructure, and had to figure out how to run their farms and turpentine factories without slave labor. Whites in the Fayetteville region initially attempted to reinstate antebellum laws restricting African American gatherings and travel, but blacks sought aid from the Freedmen's Bureau (Parker 1990). Established in March 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was created by the U.S. Congress. It was designed to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom, assist both impoverished freed blacks and white refugees, and administer all lands that became U.S. government property through military occupation or abandonment (Berlin et al. 1993:76).

Many freed African Americans simply became tenant farmers or sharecroppers on the lands of their former owners or on a neighboring farm. Yet some freed blacks were able to acquire ownership of their own land, presumably through the gradual tendency to reduce farm size as cash-poor whites sold off parcels of land that they no longer had enough low-cost labor to profitably farm. I discovered that all of the families of African Americans I interviewed for this project obtained land shortly after the end of the Civil War. I also found that, by matching the names of many black and white families on the 1919 map (Fort Bragg 1919), I could document a pattern of small African American owners whose tracts were carved from the larger farms of the earlier Highland Scot settlers.

Union General Hawley who was in charge of Cumberland County revived turpentine and tar production for a few more decades during reconstruction by economic incentives given to both whites and freed blacks. The timber industry of the Sandhills also surged as people tried to quickly rebuild the war-torn railroads and buildings. The majority of historic building sites that have been identified by archaeologists on Fort Bragg date from this post-Civil War time period (Heath 1999).

Prior to the Civil War, slavery allowed even inefficient and wasteful farming practices to be somewhat profitable (Olmstead 1904[1856]). New fertilizers, deep plowing, and irrigation techniques introduced after the war, however, began to make formerly impossible cash crops such as cotton more productive. Finally, the access to trade markets permitted by developing railroad lines in the 1890s led to an increase in cattle, dairy, and fruit farms (Parker 1997:107-110). Discoveries that fruit could be profitably grown in some Sandhills areas, and problems with the boll weevil in cotton farms, led to increased efforts to farm peaches, dewberries, pears, cherries, grapes, plums, and strawberries (Abbot 1996:23-24; Perkins, Davis, and Davidson 1925).

Hoke County, named after Confederate Major General Robert F. Hoke, was created in 1911 from western Cumberland and northeastern Robeson counties (Corbitt 1950). With its center in the new town of Raeford, Hoke County attracted many Highland Scot

descendants from eastern Cumberland County who were in search of new farm land, factory jobs, or higher educational opportunities.

The Fort Bragg Purchase

It had been falsely reported to governmental authorities that these lands could be bought for a song, a few dollars per acre. The government land agents came to find that this could not be done, except in cases of colored land owners and a few others who seemed to have been frightened into selling out. (Patterson and Carswell 1925:53)

By the time the U.S. government began buying the first lands for Camp Bragg in 1917, population in the area had dropped considerably with possibly only a couple of thousand people in residence. The Fort Bragg military historian, W.S. Nye (n.d.b:73), reports that at the time of the first Hoke and Cumberland County acquisitions only 7% of the acreage was being cultivated and only about 170 families were still residing in the area (see also Loftfield 1979:22). Some departed once timberlands had been depleted, others moved off in search of better educational or job opportunities. This made the relatively vacant land seemingly ideal for purchase as a military training camp. Many of the official landowners already had moved their homes and families to larger towns such as Fayetteville or Raeford. The remaining inhabitants were largely tenant farmers or turpentine workers, many of African American descent (Roy Parker, Jr., personal communication). Some of the landowners in a patriotic frame of mind were willing to sell their ancestral land as long as they received what they considered a fair price.

There was, however, some resistance to the Army purchase, especially among members of the Sandy Grove Church who, once the Armistice was signed, could no longer see the need to lose their land for a military base (Patterson and Carswell 1925:53). As some landowners were unwilling to sell for any price, condemnation proceedings were brought against some, affecting about 400 families in all. As one individual of Highland Scot descent reported to me, the federal government in 1918 was still looked upon as a Yankee institution that allowed Northerners to dictate the rules by which Southerners were supposed to live. Some legal battles ensued until prices could be negotiated and accepted. Camp Bragg became permanently established as Fort Bragg on September 30, 1922 (Nye n.d., Fort Bragg n.d.). New sites for Camp Mackall were selected in 1939 from lands in Scotland and Richmond counties that were even more sparsely populated. These areas included only a few tobacco farms, a peach orchard, and the DuPont Hunting Lodge (Loftfield 1979:32-33). During World War II and afterwards, additional purchases were made to expand the base at its peripheries, and families with properties neighboring the reservation often were compelled to sell off part or all of their family land to the U.S. Government.

RESEARCH METHODS

Cultural Resources Program reports (especially Boyko and Kern 1998), Fort Bragg maps (particularly Fort Bragg 1919), published genealogies and histories of the Sandhills region, unpublished family documents possessed by interviewees, land deed documents, and some North Carolina state and county public records were consulted for the Oral History Project.

The primary data collected for the Oral History Project, obtained through the interviewee selection process, was guided by a strategy for maximizing information about the base lands and social history. The 1919 landholders' map and its accompanying acreage ownership key provided a list of names for large and small landholders spread throughout the initial purchase domain (Fort Bragg 1919). Interviews were sought with descendants of both large and small landowner descendants, as well as individuals who did not own but rented or worked on the land. Interviews were also sought with individuals connected with the more recently purchased peripheral zones of the base: the Training Area northeast of Murchison Road (Highway 210) purchased beginning in the 1930s, Camp Mackall purchased in the 1930s and 1940s, the Southeast extension purchased in the 1950s, and the Northern Training Area purchased in 1985. The recent purchase of the Overhills Estate was not included in this research project, except where the information overlapped with questions about the Northern Training Area. Finally, individuals who held a diversity of knowledge about the ethnic and family groups who came and departed from the reservation lands were also interviewed.

An initial list of potential interviewees was compiled with the aid of Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Program records concerning individuals who had participated in recent Long Street or Sandy Grove church reunions, or individuals who had contacted the base regarding visits to Fort Bragg cemeteries. These individuals were almost entirely of Highland Scot descent and, generally, they were eager to have their family histories documented by this project. A press release concerning the Oral History Project was published in two local newspapers, the Fort Bragg *Paraglide*, and the Raeford *News-Journal*.

Attempts to contact individuals of Indian descent were made through the Cumberland County Association for Indian Peoples. The Goins Cemetery in the northwest of the main reservation area (see Boyko and Kern 1998) is associated with local Native American families. Potential Indian interviewees were sought through ties to the name Goins or other names such as Chavis, Whitehead, and Walden that appear in Fort Bragg land documents and are associated locally with Indian heritage.

Individuals of both Indian and African American descent were contacted through leads from other interviews. An attempt was made to find African American interviewees through letters and calls to two area churches and pastors, but these inquiries were not immediately productive. Ultimately, a few African American interviewees presented themselves to the Cultural Resources Program in pursuit of their ancestral land history or family gravesites. One factor making it difficult to locate African American and Indian

interviewees is patterns of out-migration during the past century. On several occasions, interviewees stated that the descendants of base-related African American families had moved North in search of better opportunities. Similarly, descendants of Indian families often were said to have moved to Robeson County, Cherokee County, or to more distant Indian community areas such as Oklahoma or Virginia.

With the consent of the interviewees, each interview was tape-recorded. Taped segments of interviews ranged from a half-hour to over 90 minutes. Usually the entire interview process lasted over two hours. Interviews generally began with general conversations, genealogical questions, and an examination of maps and family documents before hooking up the microphones. Hand-written notes were taken during the interview and used to check the precision of the Interview Summary Transcriptions and to document non-taped segments of the conversations.

Family documents or photographs loaned to the Oral History Project were scanned digitally or photocopied, and then returned to the interviewee. Copies of such documents were stored at the Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Artifact Curation Facility, or in the interviewees' files along with hand-written interview notes and the interview forms.

Graduate student assistants working on the Oral History Project, Mark Cooke and L. Clifton Skinner, dubbed each original tape at the East Carolina University Media Resources Center. The original was returned to Fort Bragg for curation while the dubbed copies were used to create a summary transcription for each interview.

The approximately 35 hours of taped interviews were not fully transcribed but were summarized in chronological order of topics with references to the counter numbers of the tapes. This method will allow future researchers to search the Summary Transcriptions, created in Microsoft Word 6.0 and then printed, for particular topics of interest documented in the taped interviews. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Skinner prepared the Summary Transcriptions that were then reviewed by Dr. Lorraine Aragon.

Analyses for this report are based on a composite of all collected materials including published histories, family documents, taped commentaries, and interviewer's written notes. Occasionally, interviewees' taped comments conflicted with the written documents they provided or with each other's reports. In such cases differences were resolved as accurately as possible. Notes were made in the Interview Summary Transcriptions where an interviewee might have forgotten or misspoken some point concerning his or her genealogy. Following general comments to begin the analysis, this report presents a Brief Summary of each taped interviewee.

The draft copies of the Brief Summaries were mailed from Fort Bragg to the interviewees, where possible, for verification prior to the final report. Sixteen of the 22 interviewees alive at the time of the final report mailed or telephoned additions or corrections to their Summaries. Of the remaining six who did not respond, three were known to be in poor health and three could not be reached in time for comment.

In some cases, interviewees had only minor corrections to make. In other cases, the Summaries prompted the interviewees to continue their family research after the interviews. They then provided significant additional information or corrected what they considered inaccuracies from their interviews or materials compiled into the initial summary drafts.

THE INTERVIEWS

General Overview

The Oral History interviewees varied greatly in ethnic identification or heritage. Generally, descendants of Highland Scot heritage are very focused on the early arrival points and accomplishments of their first ancestors to come to North Carolina. Many own detailed genealogies and numerous historical documents concerning their families. They were familiar with, and sometimes still followed, the Highland Scot naming pattern where the first male child is named after his paternal grandfather and the first female child is named after her maternal grandmother. A surprisingly large number of the Highland Scots contacted have made journeys to Scotland to visit their ancestral homelands. Their excellent genealogical records and knowledge appear related to European Scottish traditions where oral clan histories were not only treasured, but also were part of daily discourse, moral lessons, and household entertainment. Several interviewees explained that their childhood Sunday afternoons were passed with an elder female relative who spent hours reciting who were their cousins, who were their great aunts and uncles, and so forth. Both men and women descendants of Highland Scot heritage held these genealogical interests although men often were presented to me as currently most knowledgeable, while earlier generations of women (their aunts and grandmothers) were said to be the teachers of the current male genealogists.

Highland Scot interviewees often know a great deal about their ancestors' family farms, timber plantations, and other land holdings. Their portrayal of their family's accomplishments often concerned the remarkable ability to carve out a good living from poor soils given the limited technology of the past. They ascribed their ancestors' successes in this regard to their family ethics of hard work and faith in God.

Descendants of Highland Scots generally are enthusiastic in their Presbyterian Scottish heritage, and enthusiastic in their Confederate military heritage. Interviewees had ancestors who fought on both sides in the Revolutionary War—some even suggested this was to insure that some family members would emerge on the winning side. Yet virtually all interviewees upheld their Confederate allegiances and some defended them unapologetically. Many recollected stories of General Sherman's atrocities in North Carolina, family homesteads laid to ruin, and the miserable poverty of Reconstruction. Several suggested that the U.S. Army purchase of Fort Bragg land beginning in 1918 was resisted in part because it was perceived as a continuation of Northern aggression begun in the War Between the States. The Federal Government was, and still sometimes is, perceived as an outsider or Yankee institution.

Interviewees of African American heritage, by contrast, are less focused on their early arrival in the Sandhills Region. In some cases little is known about their slave passage or first colonial owners. Even if some details are known, however, the antecedents of freedom are an unpleasant issue to consider or discuss (Hurmence 1998). Their focus, by contrast, is on events after the Civil War when their ancestors were able to own Sandhills land, or at least work on it as free men and women. African American interviewees generally began their family history with an ancestor who purchased land after 1865. The positive aspects of their narratives concerned how their ancestors beat the odds; not to conquer the poor soils, but rather to conquer their social disadvantages to become upstanding or renowned black landowners, preachers, or other individuals of distinction.

The interviewees of Indian heritage generally were less familiar with their ancestral ties, not only to Fort Bragg lands, but also to places and peoples in general. Much family knowledge seems to have been lost through migrations, alienation from the state educational system, and periods of social tensions and intermingling with whites and blacks. Their current social concerns focused on their generic Indian identity, historic regional difficulties, and unified Indian communities.

In addition to these general differences in heritage or ethnic affiliation, the interviewees varied into three groups according to their history of residence: 1. Descendants of early settlers who have remained in the Sandhills region; 2. Descendants of early settlers who migrated away from the Sandhills region, usually before the Army purchase; and, 3. Descendants of late arrivals to the Sandhills who remain in the area just outside the reservation. These three groups provided information about differing time periods of reservation society, and often held differing perspectives on the difficulty of survival on Sandhills land. In addition, although individuals who had migrated far from the reservation often still treasured their family ties to area sites and events, they generally held a more detached and critical perspective about earlier political issues and institutions, such as slavery, in which their ancestors were involved.

Brief Summaries of Individual Interviewees

1. Mr. LeRoy HAMILTON of Fayetteville, born January 15, 1922, is a retired psychiatric social worker. Mr. Hamilton reports that he is a descendant of John Monroe, whose family arrived early by ship to the Longstreet Road section of Fort Bragg in approximately 1735. Several branches of the Monroe (also spelled Munroe) clan settled in the Sandhills but Mr. Hamilton says his family was not any of the branches described in Kelly and Kelly (1998). Mr. Hamilton reports that his ancestral family received a land grant, likely purchased slaves from the coast, then farmed and processed timber for turpentine. Subsequently the Lindsay and McNeill families arrived to become their neighbors. John Monroe's son was named Daniel and he reportedly was involved in burying the victims of the Piney Bottom Massacre. Daniel's son, Malcolm Monroe,



fought in the Revolutionary War at Piney Bottom, and lived at the west end of the present reservation in Moore County. Mr. Hamilton believes that his family split sides in the Revolutionary War so as to lessen the impact of any punishment against allies of the losing side. Some records indicate that Malcolm Monroe purchased slaves in Marion County, South Carolina, and he was a relatively educated trader and Justice of the Peace. He was charged by the State Legislature to plan the town of Carthage as the Moore County seat, and he owned an “ordinary” or tavern that also may have served as a post office. Mr. Hamilton notes that the early “towns” listed on colonial maps such as Argyle were really just post offices at a crossroads. Malcolm Monroe married a daughter from the powerful local McNeill family and he helped organize local agricultural or “Scotch fairs” after the Revolutionary War. His son Patrick also married a young woman from the McNeill family and one of Patrick’s four sisters married Dougald McDougald. Patrick Monroe received 100 acres in Cumberland County along the Rockfish Creek in 1764. Patrick Monroe’s brother-in-law, Dougald McDougald rented 15 African American slaves from Kenneth Murchison to build the toll road that passed through Cameron and Vass to Fayetteville before the Civil War (see MURCHISON). An epidemic killed 12 of those men. Because those slaves were valued at \$2-3,000 apiece, Dougald McDougald declared bankruptcy as a result of their deaths just prior to the Civil War. The Monroes who remained in the northeastern section of the reservation regularly did business with large landowners such as Mr. Kenneth Murchison and Mr. Will Sykes. Patrick Monroe’s son Jefferson Davis Monroe, born and baptized just after Jefferson Davis was sworn in, as President of the Confederacy, was important to the early leadership of the Long Street Church. Both Jefferson Davis Monroe and his brother Edward married women of the Lindsay family, another Highland Scot family who settled in the Longstreet area in 1839. Jefferson Davis’s wife, Isabel Lindsay Monroe, had a sister whose husband went to work in the cotton mills after they left their farming and turpentine life on the reservation lands. Those who moved to Cameron tried to produce dewberries as an alternative to turpentine. Mr. Hamilton’s Uncle John followed the timber and turpentine industry to

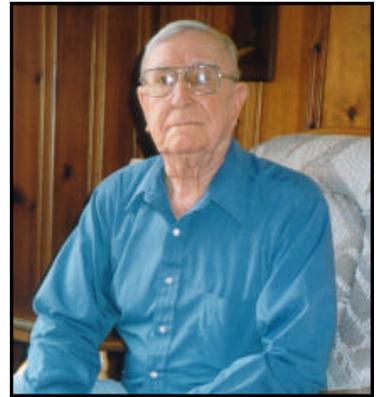


Ed and Maggie Monroe

Georgia, and a cousin did the same in Florida. Jefferson Davis Monroe’s daughter, Ruth Monroe, was Mr. Hamilton’s mother. Ruth Monroe was a second cousin of Bess Sykes, the daughter of Will Sykes a large landowner and speculator. Mr. Hamilton’s Uncle Ed married Maggie Lindsay, from the same general neighborhood. Given the difficulties of traveling in the Sandhills, many marriage pairings between local neighboring clans repeated through the generations. When the Monroe family had to move off the reservation land, some went to Lillington, some to Rockfish to farm, and others moved to downtown Fayetteville. Mr. Hamilton says that the average selling price for Sandhills land sold to the Army in 1918 was \$.97 an acre. The interviewee believes that, prior to the Highland Scot settlement, Indians from the Cherokee hills used to travel through the reservation area along buffalo trails towards the coast in pursuit of salt. Also,

he says that people living on the Bragg lands who later were considered to be local Indians, such as the Chavises, attended Baptist churches such as the Cumberland Seventh Day Baptist Church located east of the Longstreet area. Mr. Hamilton still maintains a close association with the Long Street Church and its annual reunions.

2. Mr. Samuel Cameron MORRIS of Raeford, born January 16, 1918, is a former printer, U.S. Army soldier, and a current newspaper columnist for the Raeford *News-Journal*. Mr. Morris reports that he is descended from several early Highland Scot settlers including Archibald McKay who was born in 1720 at Kintyre in Argyll, Scotland (Kelly and Kelly 1998:168). He also is descended from John Merchant Cameron, a merchant and a millwright who emigrated from Scotland to Moore County in about 1775 (Kelly and Kelly 1998:213). According to Kelly and Kelly, Archibald McKay's father, Alexander McKay, came to North Carolina in 1739 in the party led by Neill Du McNeill. Alexander's son, Archibald, is reported to have joined him in 1752. Archibald McKay was one of the first three elders of Long Street Church. Mr. Morris's family is also tied to another family who emigrated from Scotland in the 1700s, the McKeithans (also spelled McKeithen, etc.). The McKeithans, to whom Mr. Morris is related, moved off the reservation prior to 1919 to pursue education in Raeford. Many of Mr. Morris's family members are buried at Sandy Grove Church cemetery and in other plots on the reservation. Mr. Morris is active in the organization of the Sandy Grove Church reunions.



3. Mrs. Margaret Cameron KEITH of Raeford, July 9, 1893-March 3, 1999, was formerly an elementary school teacher. She was a 105 year-old resident of the Open Arms Rest Home at the time of her 1998 interview. Mrs. Keith was the mother's sister of Mr. Sam Morris (see MORRIS) and shares his Highland Scot genealogy. Mrs. Keith's father, Samuel Johnson Cameron, and mother, Lovedy Margaret McKeithan, raised livestock such as pigs and chickens, farmed all their basic foodstuffs, and produced turpentine. Mrs. Keith was born and grew up on the Fort Bragg reservation prior to its 1918 purchase. She remembered traveling to Sandy Grove Church by horse and buggy every Sunday. Mrs. Keith moved to Raeford at the time of her marriage. Her family moved off the reservation entirely at the time of the Army purchase. Most moved to Raeford although some went to Virginia. Mrs. Keith recalled a one-room schoolhouse near Alex Blue's place about two miles from the Cameron homestead. Teachers for that school boarded at the Cameron's house when she was young. Mrs. Keith recalled that her family would hunt foxes for sport. Their nearest neighbors were the Campbells and the Blues (see CAMPBELL and BLUE). Mr. Samuel Morris assisted with this interview at Mrs. Keith's rest home.

4. Mr. Paul Delton GOINS of Fayetteville, born 1946, works with piping systems. Mr. Goins reports that his father's side of the family likely settled on reservation land between 1680 and 1700, prior to the Highland Scot immigration. His paternal great-grandfather, John Goins, fought in the Civil War for the Confederacy and then around 1867 he helped clear land for a turpentine factory located near the Goins Cemetery (Boyko and Kern 1998). Mr. Goins believes that the remains of a Goins family house, mill, and turpentine factory should be near the cemetery. Eventually John



Goings moved to Oklahoma to join other family members who moved there after President Andrew Jackson passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Many Indians were pressured to cede their lands and move away at that time (Rights 1957:184-198). Remaining family members practiced subsistence farming of corn and cotton, hog-raising, and turpentine. Mr. Goins suggests that some lived and worked the reservation area lands without official ownership deeds. Mr. Goins believes that his paternal grandfather, John Goins' son, named William Henry Goins, lived near the Goins Cemetery on what is now Fort Bragg. Mr. Goins' maternal relatives, also named Goins, considered themselves Keyauwee Indians, who were Siouan-language speakers. Some of these Goinses moved away to Virginia while others remained in North Carolina. Mr. Goins' maternal great-grandfather, King David Goins, owned a freight line of wagons and possibly about 3,000 acres of land in Moore County. Before the Civil War, Mr. Goins' maternal family was Methodist, but after the war they converted to Baptist. Mr. Goins' maternal grandfather was a minister named A. C. Goins (see Wilson GOINS). One of Mr. Goins' cousins remembers that A. C. Goins' brother, Frank Goins, lived on Fort Bragg at the time of the purchase and was disgruntled that his, and his wife Emma



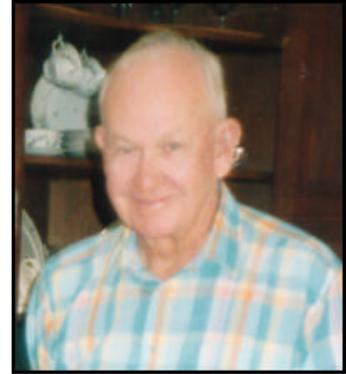
**Charles T. Goins and grandson
John Paul Goins, at Goins
Cemetery, 1981**

Goins, land was taken away while the nearby Rockefeller family was allowed to keep their property. A 1943 legal document owned by Mr. Goins designates his family, specifically his father, Charlie T. Goins, paternal grandfather, William Henry Goins, and paternal great-grandfather, John Goins, as Croatan Indians and longtime residents of Moore County. Mr. Goins visits the Goins Cemetery and suggests that some of the symbols on the older gravestones might be related to the Cherokee syllabary. Mr. Goins says that his family lived largely separated from the Highland Scot settlers, but some associated families of Indian heritage included the Waldens, Chavises, and Morrisons. Cumberland County land title records (Deed Books 99:303-305, 395-398) indicate that the intermarried Goins and Walden families held a

business partnership with "company land" in the vicinity of James Creek, Silver Run, and Piney Bottom (Loftfield 1979:29-30). Once the Waldens sold their interest in the company, it was called Martin Goins and Brothers, appearing on the 1919 map as Tract

430. Various individual members of the Walden and Chavis families also are listed as property holders on the 1919 map, as is a Dora Whitehead Goins. Mr. Goins' family is active in the Cumberland County Association for Indian peoples.

5. Mr. Dougald McFADYEN of Vass, born 1926, has worked as a machinist and farmer. Mr. McFadyen reports that he is descended from Archibald McFadyen (son of Daniel) who was born in Scotland on the Isle of Islay in 1754. The McFadyen family sided with the British Tories during the Revolutionary War. Archibald, a fuller and hat-maker, arrived in Wilmington in 1785 and then settled in Cumberland County at Fadyen Springs (Kelly and Kelly 1998:304). Mr. McFadyen is descended from Archibald's youngest son Dougald, born to his second wife, Nancy McNeill. Dougald, who was a teacher at the Long Street School and deacon in the Long Street Church, married Annie Black Lindsay who was born mid-ocean from the Isle of Islay in 1838 (cf. Kelly and Kelly 1998:305). Mr. McFadyen's father, Dougald Alexander Stephen McFadyen, could still speak some Gaelic taught to him by his mother, Annie Black Lindsay McFadyen. Dougald Alexander Steven McFadyen lived on the reservation land raising cotton, corn, and sheep. His brothers and sisters together owned about 2,000 acres in the Longstreet Road vicinity



**McFadyen Homeplace
Vicinity of Long Street Church**

before the 1919 purchase. The family traded at the Manchester General Store to obtain salt, sugar, and coffee. The women spun their own wool and cotton to make clothes at home. The McFadyens associated with other nearby Highland Scot families including the Monroes, Rays, Thomases, and Clarks. During the Civil War, the family sided with the Confederacy. Mr. McFadyen's uncle, John Fleetwood McFadyen born in 1860, was the first child of Dougald and Annie Lindsay Black McFadyen. John Fleetwood McFadyen inherited over 1,000 acres of reservation area land that he managed for

his turpentine business (Johnson 1984). He also was an elder in the Long Street Church and served as Cumberland County Commissioner between 1914 and 1918. John Fleetwood McFadyen was one of the first landowners willing to sell to the U.S. Government; he thought the Army base would benefit the region economically. John Fleetwood and his wife, Ursula Howard McFadyen, had ten children, the oldest of whom, James Scott McFadyen, served in France during World War I. James Scott McFadyen later purchased the Blount Music Business in Fayetteville, renaming it McFadyen Music House. James Scott McFadyen served as mayor of Fayetteville between 1931 and 1935, and again between 1941 and 1947. In the 1950s, he initiated the annual reunion at Long Street Church and worked to ensure the church's preservation and maintenance (Johnson

1984). When the McFadyen family was required to leave the reservation land after 1919, Mr. McFadyen's father bought land in Vass, while some other McFadyens moved to Raeford or Fayetteville. Mr. McFadyen's maternal uncle moved to Georgia to continue the turpentine business that was now largely exhausted in the Sandhills. Two African American families, (see FAULK and THOMAS) who had owned nearby properties on the reservation land, moved with Mr. McFadyen's father to Vass to become tenant farmers. In the 1930s, once off the reservation, farmers such as Mr. McFadyen's father shifted from growing cotton and corn to growing tobacco and dewberries. At that time dewberry and scuppernong grape wine became popular, and Cameron became dubbed the "Dewberry Capital of the World." The McFadyens continue to be interested in the original McFadyen homestead on the military base which is located to the west of the south end of McKellar Road on a knoll a few miles from Lamont Road. The family also has a strong interest in the Long Street Church and Cemetery where many of their early ancestors are buried.

6. Mrs. Melba Cameron HICKS of Vass, was born May 28, 1914 on reservation land owned by the Cameron family just one mile from Sandy Grove Church. Mrs. Hicks moved to Vass at age 4. Most of her family moved to Raeford or Montrose when they had to leave the reservation but her mother, Emma Adeline Monroe Cameron, and Aunt Annie Monroe chose to settle in Vass. Mrs. Hicks is descended from three early Highland Scot families: the Pattersons descended from Duncan Patterson who arrived from Argyllshire, Scotland in 1745 and purchased 150 acres of land on the Cape Fear River (Patterson 1979), the Camerons (see MORRIS and KEITH), and the ancestors of Mrs. Hicks's mother's father, Malcolm Monroe, who owned 600 acres east of Rockfish Creek and is buried at the Sandy Grove Church Cemetery (see HAMILTON). Malcolm Monroe married Margaret Patterson Monroe who bore him seven daughters before she died in childbirth. Malcolm



John McNeill Cameron and family

Monroe fought as a soldier in the Confederate Army, leaving one slave, Charley Monroe, to tend his daughters while he was at war. One daughter (Mrs. Hicks's Aunt Margaret Anne Monroe) married James P. Chapell who dammed the Cabin Branch River to run the water wheel of his gristmill on what had been the Malcolm Monroe Estate. Another daughter (Mrs. Hicks' Aunt Martha Monroe) married Martin Patterson who ran a cane mill for making sugar syrup. Mrs. Hicks' father, John McNeill Cameron, farmed cotton, and kept a store and post

office in Linden. He briefly tried to work in the turpentine business in Georgia, but returned to the Sandhills. Besides farming, Mrs. Hicks' family raised sheep and goats, sheared and spun the wool, and wove cloth for apparel. They hunted wild turkey and deer, raised hogs, and cured and stored their own meat. Two processed hogs would feed a

family of five for an entire winter. They traded in Fayetteville for sugar, coffee, and matches. Mrs. Hicks notes that there was little movement out of her pre-1918 Sandhills community, which limited marriageable partners and friends to distant cousins and other neighbors. Mrs. Hicks attends the Long Street Church reunions and her maternal grandparents are buried at the Sandy Grove Church Cemetery.



7. Julian H. BLUE, Jr. (known as "Buddy" Blue) of Raeford, born 1930, has worked as a realtor. Mr. Blue is descended on his father's side from Duncan and Margaret Campbell Blue who came from Argyllshire, Scotland circa 1769 and settled at Lakeview, outside the present Fort Bragg reservation (Blue n.d.). The Blue clan was known in Scotland as millers. The Lakeview Blue family sided with the Loyalist Tories during the Revolutionary War but then took the oath of loyalty to North Carolina in 1782. On his mother's side, Mr. Blue is descended from Daniel Smith, the youngest son of Malcolm Smith, who came with his

father John Smith in the first colony of Scots to migrate from Argyll in 1739. Malcolm Smith was an early elder of Long Street Church. The Smiths all were Whigs in the Revolutionary War and Colonel Daniel Smith's children moved off the reservation to Alabama in the 1820s. The first of Mr. Blue's paternal clan, the "Lakeview Blues" (see Kelly and Kelly 1998:227), to move onto Fort Bragg lands was Neill McKeithan Blue, the interviewee's father's father's father's brother. Neill McKeithan Blue was one of John Campbell Blue's sons who married Eliza Smith and moved in 1850 to her family's land at Piney Bottom, site of the Revolutionary War massacre. Neill McKeithan Blue was a planter and a charter member of the Sandy Grove Church (Smith n.d.). The family practiced subsistence farming until the 1850s when turpentine became very profitable. The older sons of Neill McKeithan Blue fought for the Confederacy but the youngest, Neill Smith Blue, in his mid-teens, was instructed to hide with several slaves in the woods where they witnessed the Battle of Monroe's Crossroads in 1865 (Belew 1997). During the war, Neill S. Blue stored seed, collected abandoned livestock, cured meat, and hoarded gold coins such that after the war he quickly was able to plant crops and harvest early. He then used these profits to hire black and white labor for turpentine and succeed in the naval stores business. Neill S. and his brother, John Blue, began the Aberdeen and Rockfish Railroad Line, connected to Raleigh, to transport their naval stores. Neill S. eventually sold his railroad partnership to his brother and concentrated instead on farming and timbering. Neill S. Blue then moved to Raeford, a watering stop for the Aberdeen and Rockfish Railroad Line, so his children could be educated at the Raeford Institute. Neill was on the board of directors for the Bank of Raeford where his family members were principal stockholders. After the first Raeford Hotel burned down, Neill built another and named it the Bluemont Hotel. He bought out so many other landowners in the Sandhills, that he was the single largest landowner of the future lands of Fort Bragg at the time of the 1918 purchase. When the government pushed to purchase all of his Fort Bragg area land in 1921, Neill S. Blue resisted their offered price and a trial ensued to negotiate an acceptable purchase. While the Blues contended that their land was unspoiled and valuable, witnesses for the Government called it "so poor a

possum would have to carry his rations with him if he started to cross it.” Eventually a settlement was reached. Neill S. Blue also served as an elder in the Sandy Grove Church, where he passed away listening to a service in 1929. Mr. Julian H. Blue, Jr. is extremely knowledgeable about most of the settlers on the lands initially purchased by Fort Bragg, and he attributes much of that knowledge to weekly childhood visits with his grandmother, Christian Catherine Cameron Blue, and his Aunt Sarah Keithan, on Sundays after church. Mr. Blue notes that after the Civil War many outsiders, including white carpetbaggers from the North and freed blacks from Marlboro County, bought small properties listed on the 1919 map. Mr. Blue remains a member of the Sandy Grove Church reunion planning committee.



Left to right: unknown hired hand, John A. Cameron & Marcelus (in arms), wife Annie Blue, mother-in-law Mary Blue and children, Alex and Leon. At home located near Campbell’s Crossroads.

8. Ms. Ammie McRae JENKINS of Durham, born May 28, 1941, owns a health and beauty spa. Ms. Jenkins is descended on her father’s side from Willis McRae, Sr. who was born into slavery in North Carolina as a field worker, but in 1882, purchased 658 acres of forested land. This large area of land, located in what is now the Northern Training Area near the Overhills Estate, was purchased from William and Elizabeth McPherson. Willis McRae, Sr. is listed in the 1870 census as a “mulatto” and at that time he owned just 20 acres in the Barbecue Township of Harnett County. He lived there with his first wife, Gracie McLean. Gracie, considered to be a Cherokee Indian, was a house slave before the Civil War, and mothered to 12 children. By 1880, Willis’ first wife Gracie had passed away and he owned 70 acres of land in Johnsonville Township of Harnett County and lived with his second wife, Cynthia McGregor McRae.



Cynthia was Ms. Jenkins's paternal great-grandmother and the mother of eight children. Four of Willis McRae, Sr.'s ten sons, Steven, Willis Jr., Daniel, and Neill Sr., helped Willis McRae, Sr. to pay off the cost of his large land purchase by working in tar and turpentine production. Neill McRae, Sr. was Ms. Jenkins's paternal grandfather. The McDiarmid family, whose property was located near the McRae land, owned one of the turpentine plantations where the sons worked. Steven, Willis Jr., Daniel, and Neill Sr. were each sold 100 acres of their father's farm before Willis McRae, Sr.'s passing in 1906. Willis McRae Sr. is buried at the McLean Cemetery in Harnett County, north of the Bragg reservation boundaries. Willis McRae lived on a road called "Monroe Road," now named "McRae Ride Road," and the extended family community became known as "McRae Town." Ms. Jenkins describes the 100-acre farm of her paternal grandfather Neill McRae, Sr. as agriculturally diversified and self-sufficient. Structures (a few of which the foundations remain intact on the reservation) included a house, hay barn, mule stables, smokehouse, woodshed, icehouse, chicken coop, cane syrup mill, and privy. Besides grains such as corn and wheat, the family raised livestock and a variety of fruits and nuts such as pears, grapes, peaches, apples, plums, blackberries, dewberries, persimmons, pecans, and black walnuts. These items were grown for family consumption, and also sold directly off the farm to local customers, as was honey gathered from the orchard bees. Deer, rabbits, squirrels, and raccoons were hunted for recreation as well as for meat to supplement the homegrown beef, pork, and poultry. When additional cash was needed, family members would work the tar kilns or plant more cash crops such as corn, cotton, or later tobacco. Some family members went to work on the Overhills Estate once the Rockefeller family purchased the land. Ms. Jenkins' cousins worked on the Overhills farm with Mr. Albert Goins (see Albert GOINS). Other family members worked at Overhills as cooks, housekeepers, groundskeepers, stable workers, horse trainers, fox hound caretakers, golf course workers, and chauffeurs. The brother of Ms. Jenkins' great-grandmother, Cynthia McGregor, was a cofounder of the Spout Springs Presbyterian Church, the main family



Stacy Culpepper and Ammie Jenkins at McRae homeplace, 1998

church. Other relatives attended the Johnsonville and Bethel AME Zion Churches near the Murchison plantation (see MURCHISON). Much of Willis McRae Sr.'s original land gradually was alienated from the family when harvests were poor or deeds changed names in order to raise tax payments. After the death of Ms. Jenkins' father, Neil McRae, Jr., wealthy investors and land speculators became interested in the area. Ms. Jenkins' widowed mother and her seven children reluctantly moved to Spring Lake.

Most of Ms. Jenkins' family who were required to leave reservation lands moved to surrounding towns such as Raeford, Lumberton, or Vass. Some spread out farther,

however, and reside in 23 states around the country. Ms. Jenkins is actively involved in documenting her family's historical importance to the development of the Sandhills Region and her great-grandfather's status as one of the first African American large landowners in North Carolina.

Because the Northern Training Area was not acquired by the U.S. Army until the 1980s, several house foundations remain on the McRae family land and Ms. Jenkins can recall some details about the settlement and farm configurations. Ms. Jenkins has co-authored a biographical report on her family's history (Jenkins and McRae n.d.).

9. Mr. Alexander Wilbur CLARK, born 1913, is the former Mayor of Fayetteville, now retired. Mr. Clark was born on present-day reservation land and baptized at Long Street Church. He is descended on his father's side from Neill Alexander Clark who was born 1822 or 1823 in Alabama to parents who had moved from Cumberland County in the early 1800s to pursue the naval stores business. Neill Alexander Clark returned to Cumberland County to become a bookkeeper at the Fayetteville Arsenal during the Civil War. It is probable that Neill Alexander Clark's father was the Daniel Clark who married Catherine Monroe in Cumberland County in 1817 because, when Neill died of typhoid fever in 1864, his children were raised by his first cousin, Thomas Monroe (Clark 1998:5; see HAMILTON). Neill Alexander Clark likely descended from one of the early arriving Highland Scot Clarks listed in the 1755 or 1790 tax lists, perhaps relatives of Alexander Clark who arrived from Jura in 1739 with the original Argyll colony ship piloted by Neill Du McNeill. Used by the British Empire in the 1500s, the name "Clark" originally was an occupational surname for clerks, or those literate enough to read and write for the crown—so some Clarks are related while others are not. Mr. Clark's father was Neill Darrow Monroe Clark, one of Neill Alexander Clark's sons raised by Thomas Monroe. As a young man, Neill Darrow Monroe Clark taught in a private school near Cameron to which he traveled from the reservation area (Tract 104 on the 1919 map) by horse and wagon. Mr. Clark's mother was Elizabeth Jane McFadyen Clark, daughter of Annie Black Lindsay McFadyen and Dougald McFadyen who married in 1860 (see McFADYEN). Mr. Clark's paternal grandfather purchased land from the Monroes to become a full-time farmer. The family then farmed wheat and corn, raised hogs, and produced tar and turpentine for home use. All family members helped on the farm. Mr. Clark remembers that one African American tenant family still worked there during his childhood. When Mr. Clark's family was required to move by the U.S. Government, his relatives dispersed to Vass and Fayetteville. Unlike some interviewees, Mr. Clark considers the forced removal from the reservation to have been a blessing in disguise. For many families, farming the poor soil was a great struggle, and being forced to leave helped them reach areas with higher schooling facilities. Moreover, the Fayetteville area population and economy boomed following the World War II development of Fort Bragg.



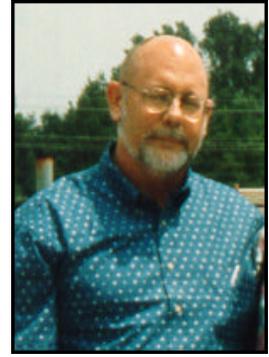


10. Mr. John Marshall THOMAS of Vass, 1914-1999, was a retired farmer at the time of our interview. Mr. Thomas was born on the 25-acre property near Longstreet Road owned by his maternal grandfather, Wesley Thomas (Tract 158 on 1919 map), but his family was required to move off when he was four years old. When the Army came to survey for Camp Bragg, they knocked out the back wall of the Thomases' barn in order to shoot their survey lines. Mr. Thomas was descended on his mother's side from William Thomas, father of Wesley Thomas, who owned about 25 acres of

property in the Longstreet Road area before 1919. Mr. Thomas also was descended from Millie and Anthony Faulk (see FRYE), his maternal and paternal great-grandparents who purchased 50 acres in the Longstreet Road area for \$162.50 from Alex Murchison in 1867 (Deed Books 57:207; see MURCHISON). Mr. Thomas grew up with his mother, Pearlie Thomas, and her family who attended the Wyman (or Wayman) Church located east of the Long Street Church. Mr. Thomas remembered that one of his mother's brothers was buried in a cemetery between the Thomas and Ray homesteads, not far from the Long Street Church. He also remembered an old prison camp, where inmates were kept in chains, near his homestead. Mr. Thomas' maternal grandfather Wesley Thomas worked in a large turpentine business. Family members also sharecropped cotton and corn, some of which was kept for home use while the remainder was marketed in Fayetteville. Mr. Thomas recalled that many people in his neighborhood died in the worldwide influenza epidemic of 1917, and that some members of his family experienced smallpox but survived. Between the end of the Civil War and before 1919, Wesley Thomas and members of the Faulks and Holiday families bought and farmed several small plots of land on the reservation near the properties owned by uncles of Mr. Dougald McFadyen (see McFADYEN). Mr. Thomas' paternal grandfather, Bill Holliday, was the first African American mail carrier on the Manchester to Fayetteville postal route. Neighborhood friends of the Thomas family in the reservation area included Neill Chavis and Hemp Chavis. Besides grains, the Thomas family raised hogs and chickens, fruit, cane for syrup, bees for honey, and grapes for wine. A good orchard that had just begun producing was abandoned at the time of the Army purchase. The U.S Government purchased 51.5 acres from Wesley and Dolly Thomas for \$1,514.50 in 1919. Some of their family land had been purchased in 1911 from C. L. Bevill (Deed Books 156:544). Mr. Thomas noted that the family farm did well economically because they could afford to own horses, and none of the women needed to work outside the farm in cash jobs. Most of the Thomas family went to Vass to farm with the McFadyens and reside on land purchased for them by Alex McFadyen. When the Thomas and Faulk families moved to Vass, they re-formed their Wyman Church congregation at the Oak Ridge AME Zion Church.

11. Mr. James Angus McLEOD of Houston, Texas, born August 11, 1943, is a Presbyterian minister and businessman. Mr. McLeod is descended on his father's side from Buffalo John McLeod who migrated in a group from the Isle of Skye, Scotland, to North Carolina in 1802, probably on a ship called the *Duke of Kent* that arrived in

Wilmington that year. Buffalo John McLeod came to North Carolina with the families of his brother, Donald McLeod, and his sister, Margaret McLeod McNeill. His sister's husband, a former British soldier named McNeill, intended to join a friend named John Gillis who also served in General Cornwallis' army. Donald McLeod first settled with his wife, Margaret McRae (see JENKINS), near his friend Gillis along the Rockfish Creek on land near the old A. K. McLeod homestead (now on the reservation near the Sandy Grove Church) that later was owned by a Malcolm Monroe (see HAMILTON). The Donald McLeod family owned an African American slave named Calvin McLeod who lived until 1916 and became a Presbyterian elder. John McLeod occupied land by the Buffalo Creek, just northwest of the reservation borders and married Nancy McCrimmon, 20 years his younger. Buffalo John had been a cooper by trade in Scotland. In addition to his native Gaelic, Buffalo John could speak English as well as read Latin and Greek. This he possibly learned from his paternal grandfather, Brewer McNeill, who lived in Dunvegan, Scotland, and was a classical scholar. The McLeod families found wild turkey, deer and fish to be ample, and livestock could be fed easily with wild pea vine. Growing grain for the family's bread was more difficult. Only Indian maize or corn produced well, so the Highland Scots were forced to use it. Buffalo John's sister, Margaret McLeod McNeill, was widowed and one of her daughters, Mary (a.k.a. Polly) married a John McDonald who arrived on the same ship from Scotland. The family regularly attended the Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church in the 1850s. Four of Buffalo John's children served in the Confederate Army and one died there. None of Buffalo John's children remained in North Carolina. Some moved to Arkansas, while others migrated eventually to Texas. Mr. McLeod is descended from Buffalo John's youngest son, Angus McCrimmon McLeod, whose first wife, Mary Jane Serena McPhatter McLeod, died prematurely in 1855. His father's sister, Helen McLeod, known as "Aunt Eileen" raised their son, John Daniel McLeod. Mary Jane Serena McPhatter McLeod may be buried on the reservation, possibly in an unmarked grave at the Sandy Grove Church Cemetery. Angus McCrimmon McLeod moved to Arkansas in 1859 but his son John Daniel McLeod was raised in the old Buffalo John McLeod homestead by his aunt. John Daniel McLeod married Amanda Currie, daughter of Margaret Keahy Currie and John Calvin Currie who lived along Mountain Creek in western Hoke County. Union General Sherman's army burned both the Currie and Buffalo McLeod family homesteads. John Daniel McLeod's son, William Angus McLeod, Sr., was Mr. McLeod's paternal grandfather and the source of much of the family's written history. William Angus McLeod Sr. was an early member of the Bethel Church and later help to found the Shiloh Church. He became a Presbyterian preacher and migrated to Texas in 1897. Mr. McLeod notes that life in the Sandhills became difficult for Democrats who became Populists. That is likely why his great-grandfather John D. McLeod and family, including his grandfather, William A. McLeod, Sr., then a 21 year-old man, left North Carolina. Mr. McLeod notes that his grandfather's personal diaries (but not his formal report of family history; see McLeod n.d.) mention that nine African Americans migrated with the family to Texas. Before 1936 William Angus McLeod, Sr. wrote lengthy diaries and later a formal paper about the family titled "The McLeods of Buffalo" (McLeod n.d.). These documents were passed on through William



Angus McLeod, Jr., to the interviewee. Mr. McLeod says his paternal family connections to the reservation area include the McPhatters, McCrimmons, Curries, McNeills, McRaes, Blues, Bethunes, and McPhauls. Although many of the North Carolina McLeods are not closely related, Mr. McLeod believes that he is a distant relation of the McLeod family in Robeson County who allegedly was attacked by the Henry Berry Lowry gang members in 1870. Mr. McLeod has carefully preserved his family's diaries and history reports, and he returned from Texas with his daughter in 1998 to visit their ancestral North Carolina homeland.

12. Mrs. Rachel McCormick BROOKS of Spring Lake, born 1928, lives at the old home site, now a part of the family's remaining Sandhills land adjacent to Fort Bragg's Northeastern Training Area. Mrs. Brooks is descended from John MacCormick who came in 1791 from Argyllshire, possibly from the village of Knapdale. John MacCormick intended to migrate to Baltimore, Maryland, but his ship was blown off course and landed in Charleston, South Carolina. John MacCormick traveled to Cumberland County, North Carolina to visit the Murchison family (see MURCHISON). During this visit, he was stricken by typhoid fever. When he recovered he



decided to remain in North Carolina with his fellow Scots and abandoned his plans to go to Baltimore to join his cousin, Duncan MacCormick. John MacCormick bought property near the Murchisons' land in what is now the Northeastern Training Area. His bachelor son Duncan became a member of the State Legislature, serving from 1831 to 1836. He was a land surveyor and purchased properties most extensively in the Sandhills area. John MacCormick's son Hugh also bought land in this area, and in the Linden-Slocomb area of Cumberland County. John MacCormick's son Daniel bought land in what is now Harnett County. Some of John MacCormick's daughters also made land purchases, and all the children and grandchildren continued to be involved in the family timber business. Logs and barrels of tar produced from their pines initially were poled down the Lower Little River and Cape Fear River to be sold in Wilmington. Later, barrels of tar were transported to Fayetteville by mule and wagon to the turpentine distillery. The family also farmed oats, corn, wheat, chuffers (a legume similar to peanuts), sugar cane, and tobacco. Soybeans became an important crop during and after World War II. They also raised chickens, ducks, pigs, sheep, and cows, as well as a variety of fruits and vegetables. Mrs. Brooks' paternal grandfather was Archibald Alexander McCormick from Harnett County, a great-grandson of John MacCormick. Her paternal grandmother was Luola McCormick McCormick [sic], the daughter of John McCormick's son Hugh and Harriet Elizabeth Bell. Archibald and Luola were separated not only by a generation gap but also by a two-day trip. They met at their ancestral home, and later married and raised a family there. Some of Mrs. Brooks' relatives in the Bell family fought in the Confederate Army. Mrs. Brooks' maternal great-grandfather Hall was imprisoned at Fort Fisher during the Civil War, and the family recalls widespread food shortages during that time. Two of Mrs. Brooks' McCormick uncles and her father fought in World War I, and both of her brothers served in the armed forces during and after World War II. Archibald Alexander

and Luola McCormick had eight children including Mrs. Brooks' father, Dougald Stewart McCormick. Dougald and his older brothers and sisters were taught at home by a private tutor until a time when their father was instrumental in building the Edinburgh School on part of the family property that is now inside Fort Bragg. Dougald Stewart McCormick earned a M.A. degree in History from the University of Virginia and a M.A. degree in school administration from University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. He worked with the North Carolina school system and also as a surveyor in the summers. Mrs. Brooks' family lived on the east side of the Cape Fear River during the school year but moved back to Sandhills on the west side of the river during summers. During World War II, approximately one third of Mrs. Brooks' family land was expropriated by the Army for a new training area northeast of Murchison Road (Highway 210). This represented a difficult loss for the entire family. John McCormick's descendants host an annual reunion held alternately at various Presbyterian churches in western Harnett County. They feel especially close to the Barbecue Presbyterian Church where so many of their ancestors are buried. Other related families include the McNeills (John MacCormick's daughter Jane married Hector McNeill), the Harringtons, and the Bells.



13. Mr. Howard L. MURCHISON of Spring Lake, born 1946, works for Walmart as a district manager. Mr. Murchison is descended on his father's side from Isac Murchison, and on his mother's side from Levy King. In the early 1800s, Mr. Murchison's ancestors on the Murchison and King sides were slaves of Kenneth McKenzie Murchison. After the Civil War, however, they became owners of future reservation lands in their own right. Mr. Murchison's maternal great-grandfather, Levy King, married Katie McNeill King. Their son Willie E. (or L.) King, who is thought to have been part Indian, became owner of a parcel of land that is now on Fort Bragg. Willie King raised hogs, cows, and

chickens, owned a horse and buggy, and eventually worked as a butcher on Fort Bragg. Willie King, who died in 1925, married Liza Agnes McLean King who did domestic work and survived him until 1968. Their youngest daughter, Lorease King Murchison, was Mr. Murchison's mother. Her family helped establish the Williams Chapel Baptist Church in 1901. Mr. Murchison's earliest known paternal ancestor was Isac Murchison who worked for Kenneth McKenzie Murchison, Sr. on the Holly Hill Plantation. Kenneth McKenzie Murchison was born on the Isle of Skye, Scotland, circa 1753 and died in Moore County circa 1834 (Kelly and Kelly 1998:269). According to a Last Will and Testament copy in Mr. Howard Murchison's possession, Isac was bequeathed to Master Kenneth's son Duncan, while his probable older brother, Jackson, was left to a grandson and namesake, Kenneth Murchison. Jack's mother, named Sylla, and his sister Jane were bequeathed to the Master Kenneth's second wife, Catherine Campbell Murchison who is buried at the Long Street Church Cemetery (d.1852). Jackson Murchison, who claimed to have been born in 1795 and died in 1922 (which would have made him 127 years old), lived a most remarkable life (Murchison n.d.). Trained in genteel speech and Southern manor protocol as a house servant at Holly Hill, Jackson became a "wedding gift" to

Margaret Murchison and her husband, the Reverend Dr. Neill McKay. Jackson Murchison married a woman named Annie prior to 1861 and the couple had 11 children. When Jackson Murchison finally received his freedom in 1865 (whether just before or after Lincoln's Proclamation is uncertain), he purchased a large tract of land on the Lee-Harnett County line, now Olivia, for .25 cents an acre. There he began clearing land with an ox, farming, and building his own independent church, first known as Jack's Chapel, later as Murchison's Chapel. Reverend Jack financed the church himself, without help from the Freedmen's Bureau, and began a small African American community known as Murchisontown. Jack's brother, Isac (or Isaac) Murchison, had a son named Duncan born in 1850 who married Amanda Fairley of Robeson County, born in 1855. Duncan and Amanda Fairley Murchison had five children named George, Lula, Nannie, Isac James, and John. Isac James Murchison, the interviewee's paternal grandfather, stayed in the Manchester area near the reservation land and worked as a sharecropper. When required to move away from the reservation area, Mr. Murchison's relatives moved to Spring Lake, Raeford, and Bunn Level. Mr. Murchison is active in the church his great uncle Jack began, Murchison's Chapel, which in 1910 affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church Conference. It is now also called the Bethel AME Zion Church. A second church that branched off from Murchison Chapel was the Pilgrim's Rest Holiness Church, begun by Reverend Jack's son, Evander Murchison. Mr. Murchison has a great interest in his family's history, especially with respect to their early role in the development of the area's African American churches, and also in the Scottish descendants from the Murchison Plantation (see McINTYRE).

14. Mr. Marshal Levon CAMPBELL of Mobile, Alabama, born 1930, is a retired furniture businessman. During the 1600s the Campbells were the ascending rival clan to the MacDonalds in Highland Scotland, and the original "Argyll Colony" that left Scotland in 1739 for North Carolina departed from the port of Campbelltown (Kelly and Kelly 1998:9-10). Mr. Campbell's paternal great-great-great grandfather was Alexander Campbell (born 1750) who emigrated with his brothers, Reverend James Campbell and Farquard Campbell, from Campbelltown, Argyll, Scotland. Alexander Campbell owned 640 acres of land in Cumberland County. Reverend James Campbell preached in Gaelic and organized the Long Street Church in 1758, as well as the congregations at Roger's Meeting House and the Barbecue Church in Cumberland County. Most of the Campbells are reported to have been Loyalists during the Revolutionary War. In 1788, James Campbell was appointed as tax collector in Captain McAllisters', Neil Smith's, and Captain McFerson's districts. Alexander Campbell had a son, born in 1795, named Murdoch Campbell (1795- 1862; the name Murdoch is also spelled Murdock in census reports and some other documents) who married Margaret Christian McNeill in 1816. They had three children, Alexander, Sarah, and Christian. This second Alexander Campbell (1817-1859), Mr. Campbell's paternal great-grandfather and son of Margaret and Murdoch Campbell, is interred in the earliest dated grave at Sandy Grove Church Cemetery. Alexander Campbell (II) is buried at the Sandy Grove Church Cemetery beside his wife, Effie Ray Campbell (1815- 1900). A memorial to Alexander's father Murdoch (1795-1862) is erected nearby. Mr. Campbell remembers that his father reported that the second Alexander Campbell owned about 60 slaves who worked in his turpentine business. Alexander and Effie Ray Campbell had four children, Hector (b.

circa 1843), Mary (b. circa 1844), Murdoch Christian (1847-1930), and Margaret Campbell (1849-1864). Murdoch Christopher was listed in the 1850 Census as a farmer with \$1,500 worth of property and, in 1893, he was made the superintendent of the Sandy Grove Church Sunday school. The reservation lands owned by Campbells prior to 1919 are in two separate locations: a D. J. Campbell and a M. M. Campbell owned 650 acres southeast of Long Street Church, while a Campbell Estate, a N. A. Campbell and a William C. Campbell owned a total of about 420 acres northeast of the Sandy Grove Church. Murdoch Christian, Mr. Campbell's paternal grandfather, owned a farm on reservation lands and also a turpentine factory. Murdoch Christopher Campbell married Flora A. Ray in 1872. They had seven surviving children, McCoy Alexander (b. 1875), John M. B. (b.1879), Daniel Walter (b.1881), Louanna (1885-1934), Christopher Fairley (b. circa 1885), Mattie Lee (1887-1917), and Murdoch Scott, a miller by trade. Two young children that did not survive to adulthood, Archibald Murphy (1875-1882) and "Infant daughter" (b. and d.1887), are buried in the Sandy Grove Church Cemetery. The oldest son, McCoy Alexander Campbell, became a teacher by 1900. Murdoch Christian Campbell's farm property in the reservation area had a gristmill although his son, Murdoch Scott Campbell, took the millstones with him on an oxcart when he migrated to Natural Bridge, Florida. The entire family migrated south along both sides of the Florida-Alabama border around 1905. The pine trees for turpentine production in the Sandhills were largely exhausted by that point and, like many local families, the Campbells sought to shift their turpentine industries further south to more productive forests. Mr. Campbell's father, Murdoch Scott Campbell (1889-1977), was only about 16 years old when he left North Carolina. After migrating south, he met and married another Sandhills emigrant, Ella Iowa Leonard, in 1911. Mr. Campbell does not know if his father and grandfather took all or most of his African American labor with them when they migrated or contracted new workers upon arrival. Some family records indicate that two African American men named Dudley Nix and Billy York migrated with them from North Carolina. Another African American, William Warrick, also came from Cumberland County to Walton County, Florida, to live on nearby land given to him by Murdoch Campbell. According to Junior Jefferson Hamilton (a grandson of Murdoch Campbell),



**Murdock C. Campbell family
Walton County, Florida**

William Warrick, called “Uncle Billy,” worked with Murdoch, ate with the family, and was asked to look after Annie Lee and Nettie Belle Holder when their mother died and they came to live with their grandfather, Murdoch Campbell. The family continued their turpentine production business with an African American labor force of about 12 families in both Florida and Alabama. Sandhills area Scottish families related to the Campbells are the Rays, Leonards, Holders, and Priests. Mr. Marshal L. Campbell aided by his nieces, Wavelyn Pippin and Paulette Cauley of Grand Bay, Alabama, and his cousins, Jimmie D. Hemphill of Crestview, Florida, and especially Virginia K. Trawick of Shalimar, Florida, have compiled much of the genealogical documentation on this branch of the Campbell family.

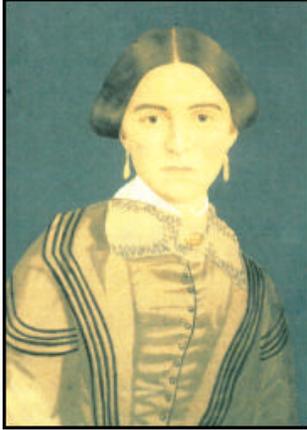


15. Mrs. Mary Harlan BATTEN of Emerald Isle, born January 28, 1929, co-owns a real estate company on Emerald Isle. Mrs. Batten’s maternal great-great-great- grandfather was Daniel McIntyre (or MacIntyre; 1745-1815) whose family settled in what is now the southeast extension of Fort Bragg, and purchased by the Army in 1954. Daniel McIntyre was a blacksmith who arrived in Cumberland County from Scotland sometime before 1773, when his presence is documented in a courthouse record. Daniel McIntyre and a partner named Stewart filed a lawsuit against the sheriff of Cumberland County for defaulting on a payment due them for attaching

and removing shackles from a prisoner who was hanged. Daniel McIntyre’s partner likely lived near Stewart’s Creek, a waterway close to Daniel’s land. Daniel McIntyre’s land holdings included what is now the McIntyre Cemetery on Fort Bragg. Their blacksmith business was called “McIntyre and Stewart.” Daniel’s younger brother Alex (1756-1823) also may have worked with them. Daniel McIntyre fought with the Tories in Captain Thomas Hamilton’s Company in Wilmington during the Revolutionary War. After the war, Daniel was triple-taxed in Cumberland County for not signing the oath of allegiance, as was his neighbor, Neill Monroe (see HAMILTON), whose relative, possibly son, Daniel Monroe married Jane McIntyre (1805-1826; Boyko and Kern 1998:33), daughter of Daniel McIntyre. Both Daniel McIntyre and Neill Monroe quickly signed the oath of allegiance to the United States after the Revolution to avoid future high taxes. Daniel McIntyre bought and, in some cases, sold many plots encompassing several hundred acres of land during his lifetime. The family became centered, however, on a plantation near Stewart’s Creek that was purchased from Peter Monroe. Daniel raised cattle and watered them in what is now known as Hutaff Lake. The 1800 Cumberland County Census records for Daniel McIntyre’s household list nine males, four females, and no slaves. Daniel McIntyre and several close kinsmen are buried in the McIntyre Cemetery on Fort Bragg (Boyko and Kern 1998). Daniel McIntyre’s second wife was named Mary (maiden name unknown; 1776-1835) and one of their sons, William M. McIntyre (1792-1869) married a Margaret McIntyre McIntyre



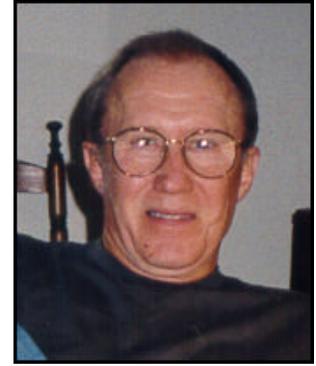
William McIntyre



**Mary McIntyre
Williams**

[sic] (1798-1856). As a young man, William McIntyre lived and worked on the reservation lands. After his marriage to Margaret McIntyre, however, he moved to town and owned a brick store about one block from the First Presbyterian Church in Cross Creek, now downtown Fayetteville. Family records indicate that William McIntyre owned a pew in the church, but never otherwise joined the congregation. His wife Margaret was the daughter of Isabella Ferguson (1777-1850) and James McIntyre (1765-1829). James McIntyre was baptized at the Balquhider Church in Perth, Scotland. The MacIntyres and Fergusons intermarried often in Scotland prior to their emigration to North Carolina. The McIntyre clan was established by the 1200s, often known as carpenters, foresters, and bagpipers associated with the Stewarts and the MacDonalds (MacDonald n.d.). An 1810 census listing of James McIntyre's household, owned by Mrs. Batten, documents two males, four females, and three slaves. In 179, James McIntyre joined the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, a local military unit that served as police. James McIntyre's son, Robert McIntyre, became a lawyer, and Mrs. Batten supposes that James McIntyre may have also followed that profession. James, along with his Isabella, is buried at Cross Creek Cemetery Number One in Cumberland County. Daniel's son, William, who owned a store on Cool Spring Lane in Fayetteville and his wife, Margaret McIntyre, had a daughter named Mary McIntyre who married James Madison Williams. James Madison Williams fought as a Confederate captain in the Civil War. He was stationed at Roanoke Island but, when he became ill, was sent home. James Madison Williams' brother named John D. Williams married Isabella Jane Murchison, daughter of Duncan Murchison and granddaughter of Kenneth MacKenzie Murchison I (see MURCHISON). The Murchisons of Manchester operated a profitable naval stores business along the Lower Little River, floating products downstream to the Cape Fear River. Colonel McKenzie Murchison II went into business with his sister Isabella Jane's husband, John D. Williams. John D. Williams became the first president of the Bank of Fayetteville in 1849, owner of Merchants Mill on Blount's Creek in 1877, and president of the Little River Manufacturing Company in 1878. He co-owned the John D. Williams Store in Fayetteville and the Williams and Murchison Co. in Wilmington with Colonel Kenneth McKenzie Murchison II (L. Johnson 1978:68-70, 1992: 36-37; Oates 1981:853). Another brother, George Washington Williams, may have been the owner of 112.2 acres located in the very southeast section of the 1919 map of Camp Bragg. George Washington Williams also built a very large home in the city of Wilmington. James Madison Williams and Mary McIntyre Williams had a daughter named Eugenia Hill Williams who was early orphaned and went to live with her uncle, John D. Williams at his Westlawn Estate. When grown, Eugenia Williams married George Harriss, Jr. from Wilmington. Their daughter Eugenia Harriss, who was Mrs. Batten's mother, married Howard Harlan, Jr., of Fayetteville. Because they became merchants and married into urban households, Mrs. Batten's branch of the family moved from the reservation area into Fayetteville prior to the Army purchase in 1919. Mrs. Batten is particularly interested in her Highland Scot genealogy and in the McIntyre Cemetery where many of her early ancestors are buried.

16. Mr. James A. SINCLAIR (sometimes pronounced "Sinkler") of Raleigh, born October 23, 1931, is a college instructor. Mr. Sinclair is descended directly from several early Highland Scot settlers to the Sandhills area, including John Smith (1700-1749) and his son Malcolm Smith (1718/22- 1778) who migrated with the 1739 Argyll Colony and became elders in the Long Street Church; Archibald McKay (1720-1797), the farmer and tavern owner who became an early elder of Long Street Church; Neill McKeithan Blue (1812-1892), one of the first "Lakeview Blues" to occupy reservation area land (see BLUE); John Patterson (1730-1812; Kelly and Kelly 1998:201), one of the guarantors of the salary of Long Street Church Reverend James Campbell; and Andrew Sinclair who owned about 1500 acres near Lumber Bridge in Robeson County south of the reservation area. Mr. Sinclair's paternal great-great-grandfather, Andrew Sinclair, was born in Scotland, arrived in North Carolina in the 1780s or 1790s and owned his Robeson County land by 1801. He also became one of the first elders of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (see McGeachy 1987 [1899]). Andrew Sinclair married American-born Catherine McMillan Sinclair (1776-1858) and they had a son named Neill Sinclair. Neill Sinclair married Elizabeth Patterson (1816-1892; daughter of Daniel Patterson and Margaret Graham). They had a son named John Thomas Sinclair, the interviewee's paternal grandfather. John Thomas Sinclair was a farmer who fought for the Confederacy. John Thomas Sinclair was married to Eliza Newell Blue (1843-1920) who moved with many members of the Blue family to Raeford in the 1880s. Eliza Newell Blue was the daughter of Neill McKeithan Blue (1812-1892; buried at Sandy Grove Church Cemetery) and Eliza Smith Blue (1809-1891; buried at Sandy Grove Church Cemetery). Eliza Smith Blue was the daughter of Revolutionary War Patriot Colonel Daniel Smith (1764-1841) and Ann (Nancy) McKay Smith (1768-1844), both of whom are buried at the Smith-McKeithan Cemetery on Fort Bragg (Boyko and Kern 1998:169-170). Mr. Sinclair identifies his grandmother's land on the 1919 map as the 101 acres inherited from the Blue family that were deeded to his paternal grandmother, Eliza Newell Blue Sinclair (Tract 464 on the 1919 map). She lived at the "battlefield" with her parents. Mr. Sinclair's father was Neill Blue Sinclair who "worked turpentine" as a youth and married Jessie Currie McPhaul (a.k.a. McPhail or McFoil) of Robeson County. Some of the earliest McPhaul settlers, who resided between today's Raeford and Red Springs (Antioch community) in an area known as McPhaul's Mill, were John McPhaul and his son Neill who arrived in North Carolina prior to 1761 (Kelly and Kelly 1998:295). Upon their arrival in the Sandhills, they encountered a widowed tavern-keeper, Ann Perkins, and her daughter Mary or "Pretty Molly." Mr. Sinclair says that the Perkins were English settlers of the 1720s who predated the Argyll Colony settlement of 1739. John McPhaul married the mother, Ann, while his son Neill married the daughter, Mary. Reportedly, Patriot forces under General Nathaniel Greene cleared many Indians out of the area to make way for safer European settlement. Mr. Sinclair's father referred to the remaining Native Americans in the Sandhills as Croatans. Mr. Sinclair's ancestors fought on both sides of the Revolutionary War. British Captain Alexander McKay II was a Tory who reportedly hosted Cornwallis in his home. Alexander McKay II and his brothers were captured at the Battle of Moore's Creek and



their property at Red Bank was confiscated. The British government gave Alexander McKay II money and land in the Bahamas as restitution. He moved, and is buried there. By contrast, Colonel Daniel Smith was a Whig whose family owned over 570 acres abutting the Lower Little River at the northern border of reservation lands. He also owned thousands of acres of land in Cumberland County, including land near Piney Bottom, site of the Revolutionary War massacre where Tory citizens were killed. Many members of the Smith family moved to Alabama between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. The Blue family who was only moderately pro-Tory and took the oath of loyalty to North Carolina in the early 1780s inherited much of their land. Several of the Blues fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War. After the War, their money was worthless and their former slaves sometimes became tenant farmers on the same land, sharing expenses and income. All the former owners had left was their vast land, which was poor for most crops and mainly good for turpentine production. Between the 1880s and early 1900s, most of the Blues and Sinclairs moved along with the McKeithans and Grahams (see HALL) to Raeford either for education or in search of new farmland once the U.S. Army began buying property in their area. The Grahams lived at Cabin Branch, known as the location of a schoolhouse and a voting place. When Mr. Sinclair's relatives stopped farming operations on the Sinclair farm, it continued to be the home of Bud Sinclair, an African American descendant of "Uncle" Aaron Sinclair, who always worked on the Sinclair farm and was buried with the Scottish Sinclair family in Buffalo Cemetery. Many African American tenant farmers who worked for Scottish families on reservation lands migrated with their employers to Raeford. There, they were first paid in script that could be traded at their company's store for cash or groceries. The tenant farmers ran up a bill throughout the year and were taxed when they purchased goods, and then taxed again when they paid their debts. Some families later went to work at the White Cotton Mill in Raeford that became Burlington Mill. Mr. Sinclair attends the Sandy Grove Church reunions and maintains extensive records of his ancestors' history.



17. Mr. Charles F. HALL of Raleigh, born 1926, is retired. He served in the Army and was stationed at Fort Bragg before working for the North Carolina criminal justice system. Mr. Hall's maternal great-great-grandparents were John and Mary Black Lindsay who migrated from the Isle of Islay, Scotland, to the Long Street Church area in 1839. They were one of the last Highland Scot families to migrate to the Sandhills (Kelly and Kelly 1998:307). Their daughter, Annie Black Lindsay (1838-1925), was born mid-ocean and married Dougald McFadyen (see McFADYEN) in 1860. Proportedly, Annie Black Lindsay's household was once threatened by a Union soldier who damaged the plaster fireplace with a bayonet. The soldier later was punished by his commanding officer with a horse whipping. Annie Black Lindsay McFadyen is buried at the Long Street Church Cemetery. By 1919 the McFadyens owned several large properties obtained by the Army but only two, both near Yadkin Road in the Longstreet Road area, were still deeded in the Lindsay (or Linsay) name; about 67 acres to J.C. Linsay and 95 acres to John Linsay. One of Dougald and Annie Black Lindsay McFadyen's 11 children was Catherine Ann McFadyen (b.1866), the interviewee's

mother's mother, who married Charles Hugh Graham, Sr. in 1893. Mr. Hall recalls that Catherine Ann McFadyen Graham could still speak Gaelic. He also recalls that she and her husband Charles Hugh Graham, Sr. initially farmed but then moved away from the reservation lands to Fayetteville during the 1890s. Charles Hugh Graham considered the wet farm fields detrimental to his health. Some of the Graham family moved with their neighbors the Blues to Raeford (see SINCLAIR and BLUE). In 1919, the remaining reservation lands in the Graham family were 107 acres on the eastern border just south of the Murchison Plantation (See MURCHISON) deeded to Annie Y. Graham (Tract 35), and about 76 acres on the northern border at the Lower Little River near the McFadyen properties that were deeded to Daniel Graham (Tract 133). Perhaps that latter area was the wet region that Charles Hugh Graham found intolerable. Reportedly a gristmill was located in the area. Ten marked graves related to a Graham family are located at the Long Street Church Cemetery (see Boyko and Kern 1998). Some Grahams were living on the reservation area during the Civil War because Mr. Hall recalls that one of the Graham relatives hid in the swamps to avoid service and died from exposure to the elements instead. Charles Hugh Graham studied theology and Greek at the Fayetteville Academy on Raeford Road and then preached at the Highland Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville by 1914. His daughter, Mr. Hall's mother, Jeanette Graham, was born in Fayetteville and married Frank Hall from Tennessee, who was a soldier stationed at Fort Bragg. Mr. Hall's parents occasionally visited the Long Street Church after 1919.

18. Mr. Leroy SNIPES, Sr. of Niagara, born 1922, retired from the milk business. Mr. Snipes' parents were relatively recent immigrants to the Fort Bragg region. His father, J. V. Snipes, of English descent, migrated in 1906 from Bynum, North Carolina. J. V. Snipes was a salesman of fruit trees, primarily peaches, who moved to Niagara and became the postmaster and a railroad agent. The town of Niagara was named after a variety of grapes produced there. Mr. Snipes' mother, Mary Morgan Snipes, worked as a grape-packer when she first moved to the town in 1914. At the turn of the twentieth century, the area also was attracting labor to work at the Pinehurst Golf Course begun in 1895, and to work on the Seaboard Line Railroad (now CSX) running through Niagara. Mr. Snipes remembers that many local people became caddies at Pinehurst, and African Americans were paid about 20 cents per day to build the new railroad line. A mostly African American cemetery still exists between Niagara and Manly, near the intersection of Highway 1 and the railroad tracks. The Rockefeller family, who enjoyed playing golf at Pinehurst, purchased the Overhills Estate in 1913 and initiated a new railroad line from Sanford. When the peach orchards no longer produced well after about two decades, many local commercial farmers shifted to planting tobacco (see A. GOINS). Mr. Snipes' family initially purchased a single cow from a Mrs. Carter to provide milk for the household, but gradually expanded to create a family-owned dairy business. Early trade was conducted at Manly, prior to the establishment of the town of Southern Pines. Although Mr. Snipes' genealogy is not directly associated with the reservation lands, his early recollections and family experiences highlight the new industries, such as commercial fruit-growing and dairy



farms, and dramatic economic changes, such as Pinehurst and the railroad, that occurred at the northern periphery of the reservation area at the turn of the twentieth century.



19. Mr. John TUCKER, Sr., of Hoffman, born 1930, is a farmer and retired wildlife technician for the Sandhills Game Land Preserve of the North Carolina Department of Wildlife. Mr. Tucker's father, Martin Willis Tucker (b.1870), migrated to the main reservation area just a few years prior to the land's purchase by the U.S. Army. Then, the family's second Sandhills property near Hoffman became surrounded by Camp Mackall during World War II. Of German descent on his father's side and English descent on his mother's (Smith), Martin Willis Tucker was a late migrant to the Sandhills area. He established a new tobacco farm just before the U.S.

Government required him to leave it. Martin Willis Tucker first migrated from Cabarrus County shortly before 1915 and purchased 154 acres of farmland near what would become the Nijmegen Drop Zone at Fort Bragg. Tucker had been a sawyer at a sawmill back in the steam engine era. He also knew how to make brick and forge metal. His first wife, Lucy Virginia Barringer, originated from Mount Pleasant, and gave birth to two sons in Cabarrus County and then two daughters, in 1915 and 1919, at their original homestead on the present Fort Bragg reservation. After she died, Martin Willis Tucker married Lizzie Klutzz, Mr. John Tucker's mother, whose Cabarrus County family originated from the Netherlands. Martin Willis Tucker's older brother was Paul Wilburn Tucker, a Methodist minister in Cabarrus County. The family initially lived in a tent while they built their homestead and prepared their first farm in the reservation area. Mr. Tucker remembers that his father "got tired of rolling rocks around with a plow" in Cabarrus County and thought that farming in the Sandhills might be less tiresome. Mr. Tucker believes that his father was the first individual to raise tobacco in the main reservation area, and he was not pleased to have to leave his house and farm behind so quickly. The 1919 map shows that 154 acres in the very western section of Camp Bragg were deeded to M. W. Tucker, the interviewee's father (Tract 566). A 107-acre plot very nearby is deeded to P. W. Tucker (Tract 572), most likely Paul Wilburn Tucker, the interviewee's uncle, although Mr. Tucker did not know that his uncle also owned land in that area. When Mr. Tucker's father arrived, the timber boom was largely over and most landowners were shifting their commercial efforts to farming. Peach farms were popular for about 15 years but then, as the trees died off, farmers began switching to other cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. Mr. Tucker recalls that there was a flu epidemic circa 1919 that led to many deaths. He says that often people were buried right in their house yards. Mr. Tucker's family moved to Hoffman in 1921 after purchasing 81 acres of land for \$2,250. Mr. Tucker remembers that the money received for his father's 154 cleared acres on the reservation was insufficient to cover the 81 acres purchased in Hoffman, which had a three-room house and only 10 acres partly cleared for farming. The family, with no hired labor, again cleared land, just west of what is now the Rhine Luzon Drop Zone, for farming food and tobacco. Mr. Tucker's family began by felling pine trees, cutting the feeder root, tying a pole and log chain around the root, and using a two-horse team to circle the stump until it broke loose and could be removed. Corn and hay were

grown for family and farm use. The family owned three or four milk cows, and several hogs were kept to provide sausage and ham. The surfeit was sold at the curb market in Rockingham. Mr. Tucker's mother raised butter beans and sold them to buy items such as coffee, sugar, and salt. Most of the tobacco raised was carried by horse and wagon to Aberdeen. As World War II began, Camp Mackall was built all around Mr. Tucker's family property in Scotland County. They lived in dread that the government again would come ask for their land and force them to move a second time. As the Army exercises intensified around their home, Camp Mackall sometimes sent jeeps to take Mr. Tucker to and from the school bus stop. Soldiers often performed maneuvers in the family's yard, and Mr. Tucker's mother often fed hungry soldiers. Only after World War II ended did the Tuckers learn that they would be allowed to keep their land. The Tuckers assumed that they were permitted to stay only because the Army already had asked them to move one time before. When 57,000 acres of Camp Mackall was deeded back to the state for the Sandhills Game Land Preserve, Mr. Tucker became a Forestry Aide, and then a Wildlife Technician, for the Wildlife Commission between 1948 and 1993, at which time he retired. Although Mr. Tucker inherited and operates the family farm abutting Camp Mackall, the family now resides in a house that is located more conveniently in Hoffman, away from the reservation maneuvers.



20. Mr. Albert GOINS of Spring Lake, born 1901, is a retired gas station manager and tenant farmer who planted tobacco for 30 years on the Overhills Estate formerly owned by the Rockefeller family. The U.S. Army paid \$29.4 million in January 1997 to purchase 11,000 acres of the Overhills property (Miller 1997). Mr. Goins was born and raised in Martinsville, Virginia. His family, and that of his deceased wife's, lived along the Virginia-North Carolina border. Mr. Goins' family raised corn and tobacco at the foot of the Blue Ridge

Mountains. Tobacco replaced cotton there in the early 1900s when it became far more profitable. Mr. Goins already was married and had three children before he migrated to the Sandhills in the 1920s. Mr. Goins first worked as an inspector at a cigarette factory in Winston-Salem when he was only 17 years old. He remembers being paid 42 cents an hour. He then was hired as a tenant to farm tobacco in Harnett County but "had a falling out" with his employer and moved to Spout Springs. In 1926, Mr. Goins was hired to plant tobacco at Overhills for Stillman Rockefeller. At that time, tobacco was a relatively new cash crop in the Sandhills, and the Overhills Estate superintendent was interested in Mr. Goins' expertise with that plant. Much of the Rockefeller farmland was cleared from past farming of corn, cotton, wheat, oats, and rye. Mr. Goins says that both African American and European American workers were hired to work under him to grow the newly planted tobacco on approximately 400 acres. He recalls that both groups were paid daily at equal rates. Mr. Goins remembers that one of the African American tenant farmers he worked with was from the King family (see MURCHISON). Mr. Goins also knew Neill and Willis McRae (see JENKINS) whose land was purchased for Fort Bragg. Mr. Goins and his family lived on the Overhills property, but his house and the feed barn eventually were destroyed in a fire. When Mr. Goins retired from farming tobacco at

Overhills circa 1956, after 30 years, there were 26 other tenant farmers employed there. Approximately two years later, the Rockefellers discontinued farming tobacco and began farming strawberries. The feed barn near Mr. Goins' Overhills house became used to store equipment for strawberry farming. When he was tenant farming for the Rockefellers, his boss was Archie Cameron who replaced L. W. Jackson as superintendent. After World War I, Captain Miller became superintendent of the farms and Mrs. Windsor, both of whom were English, did the bookkeeping. Mr. Goins remembers that Percy Rockefeller and dozens of his friends would hunt foxes with hundreds of hounds, play golf, and play polo at Overhills every winter. He recalls that the Rockefellers contributed a great deal to their workers' community, making contributions to the local churches and to individuals' hospital bills. Mr. Goins used his savings from working for the Rockefellers to lease and run an Esso gas station on Highway 87. Mr. Goins' family in Virginia were members of a Pentecostal Holiness Church and he discovered a pre-existing branch in the Sandhills when he arrived. He has continued as a deacon for his local Pentecostal Holiness Church for 25 years. To his knowledge, he is not related to any other Goins family located in the Fort Bragg area (see P.D. GOINS and W. GOINS) and has no connection to the Goins Cemetery on the reservation. He says he does not know his ancestral heritage but a lawyer friend with whom he hunted once suggested his family was of English descent.



21. Mr. Willie CARTER of Hope Mills, born December 28, 1922, bagged and loaded flour into railroad boxcars for the Cole Milling Company during World War II. In successive jobs after the war, Mr. Carter did carpentry on Fort Bragg, managed a pool hall, delivered beverages for the Fleishman Distributing Co., and worked for a moving and storage company. Mr. Carter grew up on Murchison Road, within a half mile of the Camp Bragg border, about 2½ miles from Simmons Airfield. According to the 1919 map, about 145 acres of reservation land in the northeast near Simmons Field were bought from an Amos Carter, but Mr. Carter does not recognize that individual as a close relative. Mr. Carter remembers that Army representatives came to talk to his father about their land but never asked them to move from their home, located next to a commercial peach orchard. Mr. Carter's father and great-uncle John were horse breeders and traders. Mr. Carter's Indian and Irish father, Willie "Bud" Carter, and his Indian mother, Margie Seaberry Carter, were originally from Sampson County. His paternal grandfather, Jim Carter, first migrated from Dunn to farm and sell vegetables near the State Normal School (now Fayetteville State University). His father, too, later migrated to work in a peach orchard. Mr. Carter and his father used to travel the reservation by horse and wagon in search of "lighter knots," (or dry pine kindling) that could be used to ignite the green oak wood cut for household fuel. They purchased additional firewood at a sawmill off Murchison Road. They trapped rabbits, hunted squirrels, and fished on the reservation, sometimes at Mott Lake or at a millpond behind the Simmons Farm. Mr. Simmons was an African American who made cane syrup and originally owned the land that became Simmons airfield. Like

some other local Indian families, Mr. Carter's family worshipped at the Cape Fear Baptist Church. The church had a one-room schoolhouse located off Highway 53 behind what is now a Winn-Dixie. Many Native Americans lived near that schoolhouse. After some years, Mr. Carter's father moved to Fayetteville to tenant-farm cotton and vegetables such as butterbeans, corn, and tomatoes. Del Sutton who received a 500-pound bale of cotton as rent each year owned the land. Hogs were killed in the fall, and fat dried for lard. Sometimes the family bought loads of ice and packed it with food underground to keep their produce from spoiling. Willie Carter, Sr. prepared gardens with a horse and plow for others in the area and earned about \$1.00-\$1.50 for a half-day's work, which they considered good pay. Once when he and his father were selling vegetables near the State Normal School, a dean who regularly bought their vegetables urged Mr. Carter's father to send young Willie to school. Like many local Indian families, however, they did not want to send their children to colored-only segregated schools. So Mr. Carter just learned his alphabet at home mostly. Only when weather did not permit farming was he ever sent to school. Mr. Carter says that his Indian community in Sampson County considered themselves Tuscarora, whereas in Robeson County, they call themselves Lumbee. Many members of these rural Indian communities migrated to Charlotte for jobs. When his health permits, Mr. Carter attends programs at the Senior Center of the Cumberland County Association for Indian Peoples.

22. Mrs. Emma Louise Faulk FRYE, born 1927, raised her children before earning a practical nursing degree. She worked first at Fort Bragg and afterward as a private nurse. Mrs. Frye's paternal great-grandfather, Anthony Faulk, and her paternal grandfather, Elizah Faulk, owned about 140 acres of land in the Longstreet Road section that were bought as estates in the initial Camp Bragg purchase. Family tradition says that Anthony Faulk originated in Norfolk, Virginia, and hauled turpentine in addition to subsistence farming and livestock-rearing. Cumberland County land records indicate that he bought 50 acres of land for \$162.50 from Alex Murchison, probably the son of Kenneth Murchison, Sr. (see Kelly 1998:271; see also MURCHISON) in 1867 (Deed Books 57:207). Anthony Faulk was married to Millie (possibly McDougald) Faulk who was born and raised on Chicken Road. Millie Faulk may have had some Blackfoot Indian heritage (Faulk n.d.). Her only known relative was a sister who married and lived in Murchisontown (see MURCHISON). Millie Faulk was known for her skills with herbal medicines. Family records indicate that she was born in 1826 and passed away in 1930 or 1932, surviving a hundred years. Anthony and Millie's family attended the Wyman (or Wayman) Chapel that was set up near the Long Street Church to accommodate the community's African Americans. Mrs. Frye suggests that the relationships between black and white residents of Longstreet Road, and their descendants, were very congenial. Black and white children played together and their families acted like kin and helped one another.

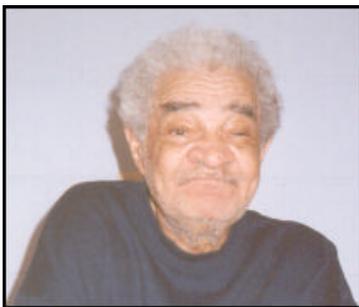




Millie Faulk

Anthony and Millie Faulk had 14 children but only one son, Elizah F. Faulk, survived to adulthood. In the years just prior to 1919, many died from smallpox or the worldwide influenza epidemic. Elizah F. Faulk married Tilly Gillis Faulk and they had 12 children, many said to be buried in the Long Street Church vicinity, either beside their homes or by Wyman's Chapel. Cumberland County Land records indicate that Elizah F. Faulk bought 123 acres for \$92.00 from Sallie McNeill in 1911 (Deed Books 180: 284), and he and his wife Tilly sold 28 acres to William Jones for \$28 in 1914 (Deed Books 180: 28). Elizah therefore must have died between 1914 and 1919.

Several of Elizah's children moved to Vass, including Mrs. Frye's father, Sandy Jarvis Frye (born September 7, 1904), and the grandmothers of Mr. John Marshall Thomas (see THOMAS), Dolly Faulk Thomas, and Rachel Faulk Holliday. A Scottish emigrant from the Longstreet Road area, Dougald Alexander Steven McFadyen, the father of Dougald McFadyen (see McFADYEN) assisted with their families' land purchases in Vass. Some other family members went to Rockfish and Raeford when compelled to move, but all remained in close contact based on their heritage as the "Longstreet folk." Several family members took up jobs at the new Fort Bragg Army base. In Vass, the Wyman congregation, reconstituted as the Oak Ridge AME Zion Church, began in 1926. Mrs. Frye has been organizing Faulk family reunions for the "Longstreet gang" for 20 years and has worked on a Faulk Family Reunion Booklet (Faulk n.d.). She says that she owes much of her early genealogical and other family information to her father's first cousin, Naomi Faulk (1907-1990), daughter of Elizah F.'s sister, Katie Rebecca Faulk, and her husband, Duncan Rodgers.



23. Mr. Wilson GOINS of Hope Mills, born April 1920, worked as a carpentry assistant for a furniture maker, and later owned a business making wood pallets. Mr. Goins said his family always told him he was an Indian, but he was given no further information about his particular Indian group. He does know, however, that some of his family moved west with the Cherokee. Mr. Goins thinks that some of his uncles (probably great-uncles) served in the Confederacy during the Civil War. Mr. Goins is the son of A. C. Goins who was a preacher at the St. Anna Baptist Church in Robeson County. One of A. C. Goins' brothers named Ivy went to work farther west in the coal mines. Another brother, Frank Goins, farmed and lived on land that was purchased for the reservation (see Paul Delton GOINS). Frank Goins, along with his father King David Goins, worked in turpentine production and also operated a whisky still "for the government" (perhaps for soldiers' personal supplies). According to the 1919 map, Goins families (L., L.H., and Martin Goins Bros.) owned about 154 acres of land in Hoke County along Yadkin Road. Although there is no Frank Goins listed on the 1919 map, the interviewee and another relative independently reported Frank Goins' land ownership at the time of the Army purchase. One said, however, that Frank did not inherit the land

through his natal family but perhaps owned it through his wife, Emma, who also was a Goins. When compelled to move by the Army, some Goinses joined relatives already living at West End, farther west along the old buffalo trail that became Yadkin and Chicken Roads in the period of European colonial settlement. Besides preaching and farming, Mr. Goins' father ran a store at West End. The family raised chickens, turkeys, and hogs. They traded at Southern Pines and Pinehurst, long before the Pinehurst Golf Resort was established in the early 1900s. They sometimes hunted deer that were stocked by the government in the Fort Bragg reservation. Other Indian families from the Bragg lands, including Goinses, moved east of the Cape Fear River and attended the Sandy Ridge Baptist Church. Mr. Goins' sister, Repa's, husband was a preacher at that church. Many of the Goinses and related Indian families gradually moved to Hope Mills or beside the Fayetteville border on Goins Drive near where Owens Drive intersects with Cumberland Street. Mr. Goins' wife, Nellie, also was born a Goins. Her parents' family, who were originally from Chatham County, went to Oklahoma like many Indians of their generation. Mr. Goins remembers fishing at a stream on the reservation when he was younger, and he says that he has visited the Goins cemetery although he cannot add any further information about the burials there. Some members of the Goins family worked on Fort Bragg after it was established, and others enlisted as soldiers at the base. Mr. Goins' granddaughter, Kathy Decipulo, who is married to a Fort Bragg soldier, assisted with this interview, which was conducted at Mr. Goins' rest home.



24. Mrs. Vilona Whitehead BLEDSOE of Fayetteville, born January 11, 1929, raised ten children and has been active in the Cumberland County Association for Indian Peoples since the 1960s. Mrs. Bledsoe's paternal grandfather, John Pervis Whitehead, was raised in Harnett County and worked as a farmer, sharecropper, and timber merchant. John Pervis Whitehead told Mrs. Bledsoe that there was a Whitehead family cemetery on the reservation somewhere near a Whitehead "plantation" and homestead. Army documents indicate that the Whitehead Cemetery along Yadkin Road, now represented by a single stone marking the graves of Moses Whitehead (1837-1905) and his wife, Annie J. Chavis (1839-1909), was near to Moses Whitehead's property. On the 1919 property owners' map, Henry Whitehead owned 178 acres. Moses Whitehead owned 26 acres while his daughter, Dora Whitehead Goins (see P. D. GOINS and W. GOINS), owned a separate plot of over 100 acres that she inherited from her father. Land title records owned by the Army indicate that Moses Whitehead purchased land tracts (the ones he later bequeathed to his daughter) in 1869 from George and Anna Newton, in 1875 from Thomas J. and wife J.R. Ritter, and in 1890 from M. N. Campbell and his wife. The former existence of a church along Yadkin Road near the Whitehead Cemetery and properties is noted in the tract acquisition records examined by the Army. Although the Whitehead Cemetery and associated lands cannot be tied conclusively to Mrs. Bledsoe's close family, she does recall the names Moses and Henry Whitehead and wonders if they were not brothers or half-brothers of her grandfather. Her grandfather, John Pervis Whitehead, told that his father met a lady from England who purchased land

for timbering. Reportedly that great-grandfather resided with the English lady (whose name is unknown) and helped run her timber operations. Turpentine was exported from the Whitehead lands in barrels along the Cape Fear and its tributaries. The Whiteheads in Mrs. Bledsoe's family have married with Carters, Bledsoes, Burnettes, Maynors, and Jacobses. At one time her family considered themselves Cherokees but then later were called Coharries. Mrs. Bledsoe believes that Indian people traded and traveled up and down the rivers, intermingling repeatedly. She has examined the Tuscarora roll book in Washington, D.C., and found many of the family names familiar from her own Indian communities. Mrs. Bledsoe says that in the past century, Indian families have clustered together, largely separated from the North Carolinians of European and African descent, although discriminatory laws prior to the 1960s pushed the non-European groups together legally. Until the Civil Rights Laws of the 1960s, most Indian children she knew did not attend schools other than church-related primary schools. Parents who raised cotton often paid teachers to run lessons in the Indian churches during the slower farm season. Mrs. Bledsoe grew up in an Indian sharecropping community in Sampson County, just east of the Cumberland County border, and notes that many of the nearby Indian families she knew when she was young also migrated to urban areas such as Fayetteville in search of jobs.

CONCLUSIONS

Theoretical Issues

Recently cultural anthropologists have increased their focus on the relationship between places and cultural or community identities (Feld and Basso 1996; Gupta and Ferguson 1992). These writings question older ideas that ethnic communities or cultures can be neatly matched to geographically bound places in space. They also demonstrate that different groups of people have various kinds of concerns, knowledge about, or interests in bounded physical territories. For example, Blu (1996) suggests that Lumbee Indians, whites, and blacks in Robeson County have rather different ways of conceiving their home communities and the social attachments to land and migrations that these conceptions entail. Blu notes that the Lumbee she knows tend to speak of their communities in much less physically demarcated terms, putting their emphasis on the Indian community as such rather than a particular geographically-bound place that, in the past, might have been taken away from them by more powerful groups. They do, however, identify people through places. It is just that places represent the location of other Indians, Indian historical sites, or particular types of Indians, not a visually mapped space. Blu notes that Lumbee often are vague or even obscure when describing the locations of particular places, which she explains as resulting from past efforts to hide from the gaze or subjugation of more powerful white people, who often had negative views about Indian ghettos or "Scuffletowns."

Blu also notes that the African Americans she interviewed were far less distressed by the thought of their children migrating away from their home area for better jobs. While no difference in love or loss of children was implied, Blu discovered that African Americans were happier to see their children find good opportunities elsewhere, whereas Lumbee,

by contrast, were more distressed that opportunities for their children did not occur in their Indian community area (Blu 1996:206-207).

Certain of the findings that Blu associates particularly with Lumbee communities, for example, that stories placing people in a particular neighborhood or landscape communicate a great deal about their social identity and character (Blu 1996:201), I found to be generally true of all the Oral History Project interviewees. Blu notes that the standard Lumbee question to begin a new relationship, “Where do you stay at?”, ostensibly asks about geography but really intends to open a discussion about family names and household social connections. I found that this form of questioning also occurs in other eastern North Carolina groups who do not necessarily identify themselves as Indians, although they may have some Indian ancestry.

The interviews from this project suggest that Sandhills people, perhaps given many generations of continued close residence and interaction with a limited number of related families, all are very concerned with identifying the connections between family names and neighborhoods. Neighborhoods often are identified with particular families of particular dynastic histories and moral characters. Places, families, and moral behaviors are inextricably related. Thus, what one needs to know first about a stranger is the place or family they come from. Then one knows how to continue the relationship.

The interviewees met for this project often focused on their neighborhoods of origin, such as Longstreet Road, or even a town back in Scotland. Knowledge of these matters provided evidence of character and social standing that could never be removed throughout one’s life, despite poverty, widowhood, or any other of life’s calamities. Those families who have left the reservation and succeeded in current American terms of success, that is relative wealth or social position, appear to trace that blessing in part to their ancestry and its geographical origin. Those families who have left the reservation and feel themselves as less than successful still seem to take pride in their ancestral homeland and origins as early pioneers who contributed the broader success of the entire regional community. Here, I would suggest, resides the major significance that the Fort Bragg reservation area holds for all the descendants of early settlers who lived or worked on a land. While it is no longer legally theirs, the Fort Bragg area of the Sandhills cannot be alienated from their ancestral histories and current social identities.

In many respects the interviews conducted for this first exploratory Fort Bragg Oral History Project supplement and flesh out written historical records. Personal family details corroborate writings about Native American dislocation and dispersion, Highland Scot settlement processes, subsistence and economic strategies, African American and Native American labor forces, Revolutionary and Civil War history, and late-nineteenth and early twentieth century economic shifts and social transformations.

Several interviewees of both Highland Scot and Indian descent made it clear that their ancestors’ world was very socially constrained. It is noted in an interviewee’s family history that one of his female kin folks who lived during Civil War times had never been more than 30 miles from her home, just once or twice to the big “town” of Fayetteville.

With low population densities, racial segregation, and transportation prior to railroads and automobiles limited to boating, walking, horses, or mules, related families often married closely. As one Highland Scot interviewee put it when noting that his/her grandmother and grandfather had the same last name and were members of a single lineage, “we are a little bit kin to one another.” Several interviewees of various ethnic identities were highly embarrassed to reveal that there had been first cousin marriages in their families. They were unaware that this was customary practice in the rural South during the 1800s and that it is still legal in North Carolina today. Current state marriage laws are relicts of a time when families married closely: sometimes for lack of other options, sometimes to forge alliances with those who were most trusted, and sometimes to preserve ancestral land estates intact.

One interviewee noted that, among the Highland Scots of the Sandhills, the youngest son usually inherited the homestead. If there were no son, then the youngest daughter’s husband would inherit the family land. This inheritance principle allows researchers to better interpret the Sandhills land deeds and, in the absence of other family genealogical documents, to use these records to predict which families and individuals intermarried, or perhaps adopted orphan kin.

As almost all Highland Scot interviewees and their ancestors supported the Confederacy, few had negative comments about the slavery system. In fact, one interviewee suggested that the tenancy system that replaced slavery was worse for the African Americans because the white families no longer looked after the old folks or maintained any feeling of loyalty to their former workers. Both Scot and African American interviewees spoke of themselves or their ancestors’ children playing with each other’s children, and several Scots told of the fictive kinship terminology used by white children to refer to the elder “colored” workers on their family property. Many interviewees of Highland Scot descent remember being taught as children to address older African Americans as “aunt” or “uncle” as a sign of respect and family connection. The range of evidence presented here indicates both historical moments of Scot and non-white congeniality, as well as incidents of tension and force.

Many interviewees of Highland Scot heritage portrayed their family farms and naval stores businesses as worked entirely by family labor. Interviewees often pointed out how many children the early Scottish settlers had, and how hard everyone worked on the farms. African American slaves or tenant workers were mentioned rarely, even in response to direct questions on this subject. One reason for this is illuminated by a comment of Mr. McLeod’s concerning his grandfather’s diaries. Mr. McLeod notes that to his grandfather African Americans seemingly “were part of the environment...they get mentioned less than the flora and fauna, and yet they were vital. And when he does mention them, the few times that he does, it is clear that he understood exactly how important they were to the whole makeup of both the labor system and the social fabric of North Carolina.” With regard to the regional economy of subsistence farming and turpentine production, it may be questioned to what extent racial legal boundaries and sumptuary codes became devised as the key social factors that separated the otherwise similar working lives of white and non-white settlers.

Most of the African American interviewees spoke of a Native American ancestor, generally a woman, who appears early in the family genealogy, during the slavery era. This indicates that some Native Americans in the region were being integrated into the enslaved non-white population. The children of those individuals then went on to receive a “Negro” ethnic identity, largely divorced from their Native American heritage. Similarly, Indian interviewees spoke of white ancestors who mingled into their family lines and thus contributed further into the Indian community. Conversely, one Scot interviewee mentioned the “rumor” that a female Indian ancestor’s children became part of the Scottish family line. Thus certain essential cultural as well as biological influences in each of the three partially-segregated populations have become largely hidden within official family members’ presentation of ethnic identities. When given opportunities to review their Interview Summaries, interviewees both corrected general errors of fact and often were concerned to remove any mention they had made of members of other ethnic groups entering their family line.

The 1800s brought many new pressures on Indians, either to cede their lands and move to Indian reservations or to intermarry with African Americans and accept a subordinate place among “colored peoples” and “mulattoes” (Forbes 1993). One interviewee of Scottish descent noted of certain families known to be Indians in the nineteenth century, “by the twentieth century they were black.” Thus many Indian families or family members seemingly disappeared from the official record as the numerically smaller Indian populations became legally absorbed into the two non-Indian populations that were more explicitly treated by colonial and American law. As Moran notes, the method of taking the U.S. Census was revised substantially beginning in 1880, when census-takers were more formally trained and specifically instructed to identify anyone with even a trace of African blood as a mulatto (Moran 1986:62-64; Wright 1900:171).

Evidence suggests that the attempted legal absorption of Indian populations in the area resulted in backlash efforts by Indians to preserve their ethnic heritage by increasing their own segregation, despite their legal exclusion from Indian groups recognized at the state or federal level. Several interviewees of Indian descent said that, even into the 1940s or later, their families did not send children to state schools because they would be forced into racially segregated institutions for “negroes.” Thus efforts were made to develop distinct heritage identities, even sometimes at the unfortunate expense of educational and professional advancement.

Although all families owning land or residing on what was to become the Fort Bragg reservation ultimately were required to sell and leave, people of color were the most easily and forcefully pressured to sell at lower prices. One local observer and historian suggests that the U.S. Government selected the Fort Bragg location precisely because the land mostly was exhausted for farming and turpentine and many Highland Scot landowners already had moved away to Fayetteville or Raeford for better business or educational opportunities. This observer estimates that there were hardly more than a thousand inhabitants on the Camp Bragg land when it was purchased in 1918, and most of those residents were African American tenant workers or small landowners rather than

large landowners. Thus, prior to the Army purchase, a large portion of the base land was being occupied, or in some cases even managed or owned, by the non-white population.

Such a situation in conjunction with Civil War history would explain why interviewees of Highland Scot descent describe their former reservation land as miserably poor and their ancestors as having endured an extremely harsh existence. By contrast, proportionally more interviewees of African American descent suggest that their grandparents were just beginning to flourish on the land when speculators or the U.S. Government arrived and requested them to leave.

The valuable records concerning church history and memberships, such as those that exist for Long Street Presbyterian Church, also indicate that the core Scottish descent population reached its economic and numerical peak just prior to the Civil War. These facts, in addition to the brutality of the War and the area's retarded economic recovery process, makes comprehensible the continued anger of many Scottish descent interviewees over the "War of Northern Aggression" and what is seen as the Federal Government takeover of their ancestral homeland. Fortunately, some of these resentments have moderated with time in conjunction with continuing efforts by the U.S. Government to support the region's economy and all its interdependent peoples.

One of the striking findings of this research project was the percentage of interviewees of the African American and Highland Scot groups who conduct regular family reunions complete with homemade, unpublished family histories that are circulated at the events. These reunions are held variously at churches or private homes, and they often center on a particular male or female ancestor who is considered the regional founder. The kind of genealogical interest that these reunions generate can be associated with the increased national interest in "heritage tourism," which includes visits to ancestral cemeteries such as those located on Fort Bragg. The interviewees who considered their lives successful seemed most involved with these types of historical family events. Participation in such events may serve as an important form of social status marker in their local families and community.

REFERENCES:

Abbot, Lawrence E., Mary Beth Reed, Erica E. Sanborn, and John S. Cable
1996 An Archaeological Survey and Testing of McLean-Thompson Property Land Acquisition, and the Ambulatory Health Care Clinic Project, Fort Bragg, Cumberland County, North Carolina. *New South Associates Technical Report* 349, Stone Mountain, GA.

Arthur, Billy
1994 The Melungeons: Tar Heel History. *The State*, pp.13-14, June 1994.

Barnwell, John
1908 The Tuscarora Expedition: Letters of Colonel John Barnwell. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9(1):28-54.

Barrett, John G.
1987[1963] *The Civil War in North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Bassett, John Spencer
1899 *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*. John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, MD.

Belew, Kenneth
1997 *Calvary Clash in the Sandhills: The Battle of Monroe's Crossroads North Carolina, 10 March 1865*. United States Army, Fort Bragg, NC.

Berlin, Ira, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, ed.
1993 *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867, Selected from the Holdings of the National Archives of the United States. Series I, Volume I, "The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South"*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Blu, Karen I.
1980 *The Lumbee problem: The Making of an American Indian people*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.

Blue, H. Clifton
n.d. A Brief Sketch of the Blue Family. Unpublished manuscript, June 1955, Aberdeen, NC.

Boyko, Beverly A., and William H. Kern, ed.
1999 *Cemeteries of Fort Bragg, Camp Mackall and Pope Air Force Base North Carolina. Second Edition*. Department of the Army Directorate of Public Works and Environment, Fort Bragg, NC.

Branson, Levi

1872 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1872*. Levi Branson, Raleigh, NC.

1896 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1896*. Levi Branson, Raleigh, NC.

Butler, Carroll B.

1998 *Treasures of the Longleaf Pines Naval Stores*. Tarkel Publishing, Shalimar, FL.

Byrd, John E.

1997 *Tuscarora Subsistence Practices in the Late Woodland Period: The Zooarchaeology of the Jordan's Landing Site*. *North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication No. 27*. Raleigh, NC.

Cathey, C.O.

1974 *Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War*. Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, NC.

Clark, A. Wilbur

1998 *Ancestry and Descendants of Neill Alexander Clark 1822/23-1864 of Cumberland County, North Carolina*. Highland Press, Inc., Fayetteville, NC.

Clement, Christopher Ohm, Steven D. Smith, Ramona M. Grunden, and Jill S. Quattlebaum

1997 *Archaeological Survey of 4,000 Acres on the Lower Little River, Cumberland, Hoke, and Moore Counties, Fort Bragg, North Carolina*. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Cultural Resources Consulting Division, Columbia, SC.

Colonial Records of North Carolina

1886-1890 William L. Saunders, ed. 10 volumes. State Printer, Raleigh, NC.

Corbitt, David L.

1950 *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943*. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Crow, Jeffrey J.

1996 *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Crow, Jeffrey L., Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley

1992 *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Cumming, William P.
1998 *The Southeast in Early Maps*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Deed Books
1822-1918 Cumberland County, Courthouse, Fayetteville, NC.

Dial, Adolph L.
1993 *The Lumbee*. Chelsea House Publishers, New York, NY.

Dial, Adolph L., and David K. Eliades
1975 *The Only Land I know: A History of the Lumbee Indians*. Indian Historian Press, San Francisco, CA.

Dunn, Charles W.
1953 *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada.

Escott, Paul D.
1985 *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Evans, William McKee
1971 *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA.

Faulk Family
n.d. Faulk Family Reunion Book. Unpublished manuscript.

Forbes, Jack D.
1993 *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL.

Fort Bragg
n.d. History of Fort Bragg, 1918-1967. Unpublished manuscript. Fort Bragg, NC.

Fort Bragg
1919 Property Map Artillery Range Camp Bragg. J.E. Serrine, supervising engineer. Hoke County, North Carolina, April 1919.

Fowler, Malcolm
1955 *They Passed This Way: A Personal Narrative of Harnett County History*. Harnett County Centennial, Inc., Lillington, NC.

1986 *Valley of the Scots*. Wynona Fowler, Raleigh, NC.

Franklin, John Hope
1995[1943] *The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1860*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

G.E.C., Inc. and Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.
1997 *Living on the Edge: Cultural Resources Survey of the Overhills Tract, 10,546 Acres in Harnett and Cumberland Counties, North Carolina. Volume 1*. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, Savannah, GA.

Genovese, Eugene D.
1974 *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. Pantheon Books, New York, NY.

Gregg, Right Reverend Alexander, D.D.
1867 *History of the Old Cheraws*. Richardson and Company, New York, NY.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson
1992 Beyond "culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6-23.

Harmon, Michael A., and Rodney J. Snedeker
1997 The Archaeological Record of Tar and Pitch Production in Coastal Carolina. In *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives*. Linda F. Stine et al., ed. Pp.145-160. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN.

Heath, Charles L.
1999 Historical and Cultural Overview of Fort Bragg and the Eastern Sandhills Region, 1663-1918. Unpublished manuscript. Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Curation Facility, Fort Bragg, NC.

Hendrix-Frye, Helena
1995 *This is Our Story...The Walden/Goins Family*. Unpublished manuscript.

Hilliard, S.B.
1972 *Hog Meat and Hoe Cake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860*. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.

Hurmence, Belinda, ed.
1984 *My Folks Don't Want Me To Talk About Slavery: Twenty-one Oral Histories of Former North Carolina Slaves*. John F. Blair, Winston-Salem, NC.

Irwin, Jeffrey D., Charles L. Heath, W. Stacy Culpepper, and Joseph M. Herbert
1998 *Archaeological Investigations at Range 75 and Training Area Echo*. United States Army, Cultural Resources Program, Fort Bragg, NC.

Jenkins, Ammie McRae, and Jimmy Lee McRae
n.d. *Our Family: From Slavery to the New Millennium*, 1999. Unpublished manuscript. Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Program, Fort Bragg, NC.

Johnson, Guion Griffis
1937 *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Johnson, Lucile Miller
1978 *Hometown Heritage, Volume I. The Colonel Robert Rowan Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution*, Fayetteville, NC.

1984 *Scottish Immigrants: The McFadyens*. *The Fayetteville Observer-Times*, October 7, 1984, 12E.

Kay, Marvin L., and Lorin L. Cary
1995 *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Kelly, Douglas F., and Caroline Switzer Kelly
1998 *Carolina Scots*. 1739 Publications, Dillon, SC.

Lawson, John
1967 [1709] *A New Voyage to North Carolina*. H.T. Lefler, ed. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lee, E. Lawrence
1963 *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, Raleigh, NC.

1965 *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lefler, Hugh Talmage, and Albert Ray Newsome
1963 *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, rev. ed.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lefler, Hugh Talmage, and William S. Powell
1973 *Colonial North Carolina: A History*. Scribner's Sons, New York, NY.

Loftfield, Thomas C.
1979 *Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of Fort Bragg, Camp Mackall, and Simmons Army Airfield, North Carolina*. Unpublished manuscript. Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Curation Facility. Fort Bragg, NC.

Mallison, Fred M.

1998 *The Civil War on the Outer Banks: A History of the Late Rebellion along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck, with Comments on Prewar Conditions and an Account of Postwar Recovery.* McFarland, Jefferson, NC.

Martin, Francois-Xavier

1829 *The History of North Carolina from the Earliest Period.* A.T. Penneman, New Orleans, LA.

MacDonald, D. MacDonell

n.d. *These are your people: Clan MacIntyre.* Reprinted from *The Highlander.*

McGeachy, John Daniel

1987[1899] *Early Elders of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Robeson County, North Carolina.* *Argyll Colony Plus* 2(2):57-63.

McLeod, Reverend R.A.

1923 *Historical Sketch of Long Street Presbyterian Church, 1756-1923.* Fayetteville: Session of the Long Street Presbyterian Church and the Scottish Society of America.

McLeod, William Angus

n.d. *The McLeods of Buffalo.* Unpublished report, written between 1920-1936.

Merrens, Harry R.

1964 *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth century: A Study in Historical Geography.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Meyer, Duane

1961 *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Miller, Doug

1997 *His Life Intertwined with Overhills: Twist of Fate Starts Story.* Fayetteville Observer-Times, February 6, 1997.

Moran, Mary H.

1986 *Using Census Materials in Ethnohistoric Reconstruction: An Example from South Carolina.* In *Ethnohistory: A Researcher's Guide.* Dennis Wiedman, ed. Pp.61-76. *Studies in Third World Societies* No. 35. Williamsburg, Virginia: College of William and Mary.

Murchison, Howard L., ed.

n.d. *Murchison Family Reunion Records.* Unpublished manuscript prepared for Murchison Family Reunion, September 2, 1995, Sanford, NC.

Nye, Lt. W.S.

n.d. The History of Fort Bragg. Unpublished manuscript in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Library.

Oates, John A.

1981 [1950] *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear*. 3rd Ed. Fayetteville Woman's Club, Fayetteville, NC.

Olmstead, Frederick Law

1904[1856] *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, NY.

Parker, Roy, Jr.

1990 *Cumberland County: A Brief History*. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Parramore, Thomas C.

1982 The Tuscarora Ascendancy. *North Carolina Historical Review* 59:307-326.

Patterson, Alex M.

1979 *Highland Scot Pattersons of North Carolina and Related Families*. Contemporary Lithographers, Inc., Raleigh, NC.

Patterson, M.A., and A.D. Carswell

1925 History of the Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church. Raeford: The Members of Sandy Grove Church.

Perkins, S.O., W.A. Davis, and S.F. Davidson

1925 Soil Survey of Cumberland County, North Carolina. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Perry, Percival

1947 The Naval Stores Industry in the Ante-Bellum South: 1789-1861. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Duke University, NC.

Phelps, David Sutton

1983 Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and Hypotheses. In *The Prehistory of North Carolina*, Mark Mathis and Jeffrey Crow, ed. Pp.1-51. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.

Redford, Dorothy Spruill

1989 *Somerset Homecoming: Recovering a Lost Heritage*. Anchor Books, New York, NY.

- Rights, Douglas L.
1957 *The American Indian in North Carolina. 2nd Ed.* John F. Blair Publishers, Winston-Salem, NC.
- Samons, Katherine E.
n.d. Expressive Past of Longstreet Church. Unpublished manuscript, 4 pages.
- Schaw, Janet
1939 *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal in the Years 1774-1776.* Evangeline W. Andrews and Charles M. Andrews, ed. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Scott, Douglas D., and William J. Hunt
1998 *The Civil War Battle at Monroe's Crossroads, Fort Bragg, North Carolina: A Historical Archaeological Perspective.* Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, FL.
- Sharrer, G. Terry
1981 *Naval Stores, 1781-1881.* In *Material Culture of the Wooden Age.* Brooke Hindle, ed. Pp.241-361. Sleepy Hollow Press, Tarrytown, NY.
- Sider, Gerald M.
1993 *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Smith, Evelyn Futch
n.d. *Charn Cuimhne: To Our Scots of North Carolina.* Unpublished manuscript, 1969.
- Stout, G.P.
1975 *Hoke County, North Carolina Index.* G.P. Stout, Greensboro, NC.
- Swanton, John R.
1979[1946] *The Indians of the Southeastern United States.* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Watson, Alan D.
1996 *Society in Colonial North Carolina.* Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC.
- Wellman, Manly W.
1974 *The Story of Moore County: Two Centuries of a North Carolina Region.* Moore County Historical Association, Southern Pines, NC.
- Wheeler, John H.
1851 *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851, Vol. I.* Lippincott, Grambo and Co., Philadelphia, PA.

Williamson, Hugh

1973 [1812] *The History of North Carolina*. Reprint Company, Spartanburg, NC.

Wright, Carroll D.

1900 *The History and Growth of the United States Census*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C..