



# The Bethania Freedmen's Community

*An Architectural and Historical Context of the  
Bethania-Rural Hall Road Study Area*

Prepared for:  
Forsyth County Historic Resources Commission  
City-County Planning Board  
P. O. Box 2511  
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Cover photos taken by Heather Fearnbach, 2011  
(top row, left to right): Aldean and Julia Washington Lash House, 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road  
James and Lillian Allen House, 1580 Bethania-Rural Hall Road  
Alspaugh-Shouse House, 1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road  
(bottom row, left to right): Raleigh N. and Margaret E. Scales House, 1720 Bethania-Rural Hall Road  
William Maceo and Alta Washington Ervin House, 1740 Bethania-Rural Hall Road  
John H. and Sallie Alspaugh Conrad House, 1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road

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## **I. Project Scope**

In November 2010, the City of Winston-Salem-Forsyth County Planning Department engaged Heather Fearnbach of Fearnbach History Services, Inc. to investigate the historical and architectural significance of resources flanking a section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road known as the Bethania Freedmen's Community. Newly emancipated slaves began acquiring this land in the late nineteenth century and most of the property in the study area is still owned by their descendants. The city annexed the area in 2006 and subsequent complaint-driven inspections resulted in code violation notices being issued for four properties: the log Alspaugh-Shouse House (1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), the adjacent frame dwelling where John and Sallie Conrad once resided (1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), the former home of Charlie and Olivia Scott (1670 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), and the residence erected by William M. and Sallie Conrad (1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road). City staff instructed property owners to undertake the repairs necessary to bring the dwellings into compliance or they would be demolished. The owners asserted that the buildings should receive special consideration given their association with the Bethania Freedmen's Community.<sup>1</sup>

Fearnbach History Services began the historic resource evaluation by conducting public record and archival research, which revealed an intricate web of familial and social connections. Ms. Fearnbach then photographed each historic property within the study area, and, based upon State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) guidelines, created a database containing forms for primary resources and survey files including the printed forms and photographs. She interviewed current and former area residents and the descendants of early property owners and wrote a report placing their stories into a broader historical perspective. These materials will be permanently archived by the HPO in Raleigh.

The project's small budget precluded much of the investigation and analysis that could be conducted. However, given the area's significance, Fearnbach History Services generated measured drawings for several of the oldest and most intact dwellings, which was outside of the project's scope of work. Site plan creation, an oral history initiative, archaeological investigation, and additional research are needed to more thoroughly document the community. In order to preserve buildings in deteriorating condition, the most pressing repair needs should be outlined and cyclical maintenance plans implemented for each property as soon as possible.

## **II. Introduction**

The rural community just north of the Moravian town of Bethania in Forsyth County, North Carolina, manifests cultural continuity through successive generations of African American tenancy. Primary sources including the journals, ledgers, and correspondence of white Bethanians provided a means to identify the African Americans who lived and worked in the area during the mid-nineteenth century. These documents, in conjunction with census records, deeds, wills, estate settlements, historic maps, photographs, and oral history, allowed for the delineation of the extant resources associated with early residents and their descendants and the investigation of the area's rich heritage. This report explores the history of the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area in the context of the built environment as well as the kinship and social relationships that continue to bind these families together.

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<sup>1</sup> The use of "Bethania Freedmen's Community" to describe this section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road appears to have first been employed in conjunction with the late-twentieth-century exploration and recognition of the area's history rather than during the proposed National Register district's period of significance, which would likely end in 1962.

The narrative begins with a brief overview of Forsyth County's development and Bethania's settlement, which is necessary in order to understand this African American community's origins. The discussion then focuses on the area's social history, identifying the men and women who successfully navigated the transition from slavery to freedom, moving from an agrarian lifestyle to industrial jobs and other professions as new opportunities became available. The extant dwellings in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area are in most cases still associated with the families who built them, and interviews with descendants thus provided a remarkable opportunity to illuminate the area's history. This document would not have been possible without their assistance, for which the author is tremendously grateful. The report's final components are an evaluation of the area's potential for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and the identification of future research and analysis opportunities.

### **III. General Historical Overview**

#### **Rural Beginnings**

The earliest inhabitants of the area that is now Forsyth County were Native Americans who settled along a river they called the "Yattken," a Siouan word meaning "place of big trees." Archaeological investigation of a rock shelter near the river's "Great Bend" revealed that the cave had been used for 8,500 years, initially by nomadic hunters and then by villagers who farmed the fertile flood plain. Although these Native Americans did not espouse tribal affiliations, early white explorers categorized them as Saponi and Tutelo. By the late seventeenth century, interactions with Iroquois raiding parties and increasing numbers of white trappers, traders, and explorers had taken their toll on the Saponi and Tutelo, reducing their numbers to less than a thousand. Survivors began slowly moving north around 1710, where they eventually resided on Iroquois reservations in New York and Canada.<sup>2</sup>

By the late 1740s, the Yadkin River valley, depleted of Native American occupants, began to fill with white immigrants moving south from Pennsylvania and Virginia along the Great Wagon Road. Morgan Bryan, William Linville, and Edward Hughes were among the first permanent residents of what would become Forsyth County, settling on the Yadkin River's eastern bank in 1747-1748 near a shallow ford that was one of the few river crossings suitable for heavy wagons. Thousands of immigrants passed through the crossing, southwest of present-day Lewisville, as they pressed further into the Southern frontier in the decades prior to the American Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

The region's abundant water supply, natural resources, and fertile soil proved attractive to English, Scots-Irish, and German settlers. John Douthit and Christopher Elrod of Maryland were among those who moved to the Muddy Creek basin around 1750. Population growth precipitated the formation of a new county, Rowan, which encompassed the area west of Orange County and north of Anson County, in 1753. That same year, after six months of exploring North Carolina in search of suitable land to settle, a group of Moravians led by Bishop August G. Spangenburg purchased 98,985 acres in Rowan County from John Carteret (Lord Granville). They called the land "Wachau" after an Austrian estate

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<sup>2</sup> Merrikay Brown and Jerry Carroll, co-chairs, Historical Booklet Committee, *The Changing Face of Forsyth County, North Carolina: A Guide to Its Heritage and History* (Winston-Salem: Forsyth County Public Library, 2004), 1; Frank V. Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994), 5-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17.

that had belonged to the family of their benefactor and spiritual leader Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. The tract later became known by the Latin form of the name, Wachovia.<sup>4</sup>

Fifteen unmarried Moravian men traveled from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1753 and soon established the settlement of Bethabara. Although the Piedmont's Native American population had been significantly diminished, conflict with bands of Cherokee and Creek Indians was such a pervasive threat that the Moravians palisaded Bethabara in 1756 and non-Moravian settlers from the surrounding area often sought shelter there. The French and Indian War slowed general migration to the frontier, but intrepid settlers like William Johnson, who purchased 640 acres from William Linville in 1757 and built a fort overlooking the Yadkin River to protect his family and neighbors, persevered. A second Moravian community, Bethania, followed Bethabara in 1759. A 1763 treaty ended the French and Indian War, and, after Moravian surveyor Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter carefully studied the Wachovia Tract for the most suitable site for a permanent congregation town, the Moravians constructed the first houses in Salem in 1766.<sup>5</sup> Salem was laid out around a central square west of a deep ravine, which hindered growth east of town until the late nineteenth century. Smaller outlying Moravian "country congregations" included the farming communities of Friedberg (1771), Friedland (1771), and Hope (1780) to the south.<sup>6</sup>

Moravian and non-Moravian settlements expanded with the influx of new backcountry residents during the late eighteenth century. Surry County was formed from the northeast corner of Rowan County in 1770, and Richmond Courthouse became the county seat in 1774. The site was soon abandoned, however, when Stokes County was created from the eastern half of Surry County in 1789 and Richmond Courthouse proved to be in an inconvenient location to serve as either county's seat. Germanton was established as Stokes' county seat in 1790, but never grew to rival Salem, whose population of skilled artisans and craftsman coupled with its central location on popular trading routes leading to Philadelphia, Fayetteville, and Wilmington resulted in the community becoming a significant commercial center and the region's largest town.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The Moravians, also known as the Unity of the Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*, were proponents of a religious movement that originated in Bohemia with John Huss, a Roman Catholic priest who challenged the established church and was burned at the stake for heresy in 1415. His followers, the Hussites, were persecuted and forced into hiding. One group of refugees settled in Lititz in Bohemia in 1457 and formed a society called "The Brethren of the Law in Christ." Moravian congregations grew during the Protestant Reformation, but the Counter Reformation in the early seventeenth century again forced the Brethren into exile into Bohemia, Moravia and Poland. Herrnhut, a communal town in the German state of Saxony, was established in 1722 near the estate of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who granted the Brethren sanctuary. A council of elders administered all aspects of life in the community, both religious and social. The congregation was divided into bands of members, which were later replaced by choirs organized by age, gender and marital status. Count Zinzendorf was exiled from Saxony in 1736 due to his religious beliefs and helped to establish Moravian settlements in England, Ireland, Holland, Berlin, Russia and Switzerland. Their first North American settlements were in Georgia in 1733 and Pennsylvania in 1740. Penelope Niven, *Old Salem: The Official Guidebook* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 2004), 8-17; Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, 30-34, 43; Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "There is None Like It:" *The South Fork Settlements and the Development of Colonial Wachovia*, (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 2003), 15-16, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, 39, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, 92; William S. Powell, *The North Carolina Gazetteer: A Dictionary of Tar Heel Places* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 178; Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 366, 371; Hartley and Hartley, "There is None Like It," 37, 45, 48, 56, 59, 65.; Brown and Carroll, *The Changing Face of Forsyth County, North Carolina*, 5.

<sup>7</sup> David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1987), 196, 199; Brown and Carroll, *The Changing Face of Forsyth County, North Carolina*, 15; Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, 50-51.

Forsyth County, created from the southern half of Stokes County in 1849, was named for Colonel Benjamin Forsyth (ca.1760-1814), a Stokes County resident, state legislator, and casualty of the War of 1812. Roughly one-third of what became Forsyth County consisted of the Wachovia tract. The Moravians sold fifty-one acres north of Salem to the newly formed Forsyth County government for the county seat in 1849, but it was not until 1851 that the new town was named Winston, after Revolutionary War militia officer and legislator Major Joseph Winston of Germanton. The Fayetteville and Western Plank Road linked Salem to Wilmington in 1852 and extended to Bethania by 1854, facilitating travel and trade between the Piedmont and the coast. Winston's development progressed slowly until 1873, however, when a twenty-eight-mile-long North Western North Carolina Railroad spur line connected Winston to Greensboro, beginning a fifty year span of extensive growth.<sup>8</sup>

### **Bethania's Settlement History**

The rich farmland of North Carolina's western piedmont attracted Scots-Irish, German, and English settlers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to the backcountry beginning in the 1740s. Most of these pioneers operated small subsistence farms utilizing traditional agricultural methods. Given the large size of land grants, which often encompassed between one hundred and four hundred acres, families typically lived at great distances from each other along the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers and their tributaries. Churches served as community meeting places and small villages such as Salisbury and Hillsboro provided settings in which settlers socialized, purchased goods, and tended to business matters.<sup>9</sup>

The Moravian colonists' approach to land use within the almost one-hundred-thousand-acre Wachovia Tract was initially quite different from that of other backcountry residents. The majority of Moravian immigrants to North America were craftsmen and shopkeepers, most of whom had little farming experience but possessed the necessary skills to establish congregation towns. In Bethabara, Wachovia's original settlement, the Moravian church retained ownership of the land and provided food, clothing, shelter, and medical care for residents who in turn erected buildings, tended livestock, and planted and harvested gardens, orchards, and fields communally. As Bethabara was intended to be a temporary venue from which to plan Wachovia's permanent administrative town, its layout was organic, evolving as the community grew from the original fifteen Moravian men who arrived in North Carolina in November 1753.<sup>10</sup>

Bethania, on the other hand, represents the Moravians' effort to recreate a linear European village bordered by agricultural fields and woodlands. After Bishop Spangenburg and other church leaders concluded that an area three miles northwest of Bethabara would be the best site for a new community, surveyor Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter laid out the two-thousand-acre Bethania town lot in June 1759, delineating twenty-four approximately one-third-of-an-acre residential parcels flanking a central road surrounded by two-and-one-half-acre orchard lots and larger outlying fields. One hundred and thirty acres adjacent to Muddy and Bear Creeks, which became known as the Black Walnut Bottom, provided rich soil for crop production and livestock grazing. Reuter also mapped fields and pastures

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<sup>8</sup> Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, 90-91, 104, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 9; Daniel B. Thorp, "Assimilation in North Carolina's Moravian Community," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 52, no.1 (1986), pp. 21-22, 30.

<sup>10</sup> Thorp, "Assimilation in North Carolina's Moravian Community," 26-30, 37-38, Darrell Spencer, *The Gardens of Salem: The Landscape History of a Moravian Town in North Carolina* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1997), 21-25.

closer to the bluffs that surrounded the town. Bethania's inhabitants leased the house and orchard tracts from the church and, in keeping with the European open-field agricultural tradition, shared pastures, fields, and wood lots.<sup>11</sup>

Bethania was distinctive not only in its plan, but also in the community's composition. Moravian elders selected eight couples—the Beroths, Biefels, Grabses, Heges, Kramers, Opitzes, Rankes, and Schmidts—to move from Bethabara to Bethania. Although non-Moravians were not typically permitted to reside in the Brethren's settlements, some of their German neighbors who had sought sanctuary within the palisaded village of Bethabara during Native American conflicts also expressed a desire to live in the new town. Church leaders thus allowed eight families—Martin Hauser and his two married sons, George and Michael Hauser; Philip Schaus; widower Frederick Shore and his son Henry Shore; Henry Spoenhauer; and John Strub—to lease property within the Bethania town lot. This decision was the first of many that shaped the community's unique character.<sup>12</sup>

Bethabara residents worked quickly to carve Bethania from the forest. Surveyor Reuter delineated the location of the town square, streets, and house lots and marked a road between Bethabara and Bethania in late June and early July 1759. Ten men began clearing the road and hewing timbers for dwellings on July 10. The construction of the community's first edifice, a log house on Lot 19, began on July 12.<sup>13</sup>

As church elders utilized the lot to deduce God's will regarding important matters including land distribution, the Moravian households drew slips of paper from the lot to determine which pieces of property they were to receive on July 15 and the non-Moravian families did the same on July 22. Given the Brethren's intention for Bethania to be a permanent settlement, most lessees then signed agreements that granted them life-time tenancy if they complied with regulations governing matters ranging from land use to rent and tax payment. The Grabs family became Bethania's first inhabitants, occupying the dwelling on Lot 19 on July 18. By April 1760, Bethania encompassed ten residences and a Gemein Haus, the community's consecrated meeting house.<sup>14</sup>

Bethanians possessed skills in addition to farming that helped to sustain the new town. In 1766, blacksmith George Hauser operated a tavern. Christopher Schmidt also provided smithing services. Michael and Peter Hauser worked as weavers, fabricating linen yardage for tailor Adam Kramer's use and to sell at market. Carpenter Henry Shore served as Bethania's constable. John Strub sold baked goods. Philip Transou manufactured wheels and wagons. Philip Schaus, Carl Opitz, and John Christian Kirshner were shoemakers. George Hauser, Michael Ranke, and John Leinbach exchanged wagonloads of Bethania's domestic goods and agricultural products for other commodities at regional

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.; Michael O. Hartley, "Choices on the Land: Identity, Influence, Power, and Conflict in a Historic Place," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2009, pp. 26-27; Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 175.

<sup>12</sup> C. Daniel Crews, ed., *Bethania: A Fresh Look at Its Birth* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Archives, 1993) 10, 22. Louise Bowles Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia* (Bethania, NC: Bethania Historical Association, 1995), 13. German names are spelled many ways in primary and secondary sources. The most common spellings, often anglicized versions of names, are used throughout this report.

<sup>13</sup> Crews, *Bethania: A Fresh Look at Its Birth*, 10-11, 22-25; Beverly Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009), 24-29.

<sup>14</sup> Crews, *Bethania: A Fresh Look at Its Birth* Crews, 12-13, Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 18-20.

trading centers.<sup>15</sup> These men and the entrepreneurs that followed them secured Bethania's reputation as a venue where other backcountry residents could procure necessary supplies and services.

By 1769, Bethania's sixteen households leased 123 tracts encompassing 330 acres, resulting in a median land holding of around 22 acres, which was comparable to German farms of the period but much smaller than the average 250-acre parcels owned by North Carolina colonists. At the request of Wachovia administrator Frederic William Marshall, surveyor Reuter remapped Bethania that year, removing the central square and enlarging residential lots. Many inhabitants replaced their rudimentary log houses with more commodious dwellings at this time. The Bethania congregation purchased additional acreage to the north in 1771, expanding the town lot to encompass 2,500 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres.<sup>16</sup>

### **Wachovia's African American Population**

The creation of Wachovia's new villages entailed a tremendous amount of manual labor and the Moravians realized that their efforts to create a thriving colony necessitated a larger work force. By 1755 they employed local day laborers to assist with construction and agricultural tasks. The church's dependence upon non-Moravian workers increased through the 1760s, as African and African American slaves and free black and white day laborers performed activities crucial to the operation of Wachovia households and businesses and the success of agricultural and industrial endeavors. The 1766 commencement of building in Salem diminished the populations of Wachovia's other towns and required substantial increases in lumber, brick, and tile production, resulting in critical worker shortages that the Moravians ameliorated by hiring additional laborers and purchasing slaves. Some of these men and women—beginning with Sam, a slave born on a Rowan County farm in 1750—eventually converted to the Moravian faith.<sup>17</sup>

African Americans constituted only a tiny percentage of the backcountry's overall population during the Colonial period. In Rowan County, which encompassed Wachovia, 102 (2.23 percent) of the county's 4,576 residents in 1755 were black. This number increased significantly along with the overall population by 1767, when 719 (5.62 percent) of Rowan County's 12,797 inhabitants were African American, but still remained small in comparison with eastern North Carolina, where slaves comprised between forty and eighty percent of the population.<sup>18</sup>

Slaveholding in Wachovia was distinctive in that Moravian church policy dictated that the congregation collectively owned slaves who lived within the boundaries of Wachovia's town lots. Individuals who wished to hire enslaved laborers were required to obtain permission from church elders before entering into such contracts. However, church members who owned or leased property outside of the congregation towns were free to purchase slaves. Salem residents thus often hired enslaved workers from Wachovia inhabitants who owned outlying properties to meet their labor needs. Given the considerable scale of some Bethania residents' plantations and manufacturing activities, the

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<sup>15</sup> Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 39-40.

<sup>16</sup> Thorp, "Assimilation in North Carolina's Moravian Community," 30; Michael O. Hartley, "Choices on the Land: Identity, Influence, Power, and Conflict in a Historic Place," 31; Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom*, 39.

<sup>17</sup> Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 59-69, 74, 83, 209-211, 268-269.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62. Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1992), 3-4.

town eventually encompassed the largest African American population of Wachovia's Moravian communities.<sup>19</sup>

Moravian records chronicle significant interactions with African American residents, including Sam, hired by church elders to work in the Bethabara stockyard in late 1765. He immediately impressed the community with his cattle herding skill and assumed other roles including wagoner and teamster. Sam's interest in converting to Christianity greatly influenced the Moravians' agreement to purchase him in 1769. He thus became the first slave owned by the Moravian church in North Carolina and the state's first black Moravian upon his acceptance of the community's faith. He was baptized and christened "Johannes Samuel" during a special service consecrating Salem's newly completed prayer hall in 1771 and subsequently joined the Bethabara congregation, where he supervised black and white workers on the town's communal farm.<sup>20</sup>

Oliver, another early African American laborer, is first referenced in Moravian records as working for Bethanian Michael Ranke in August 1784. He was transferred to the Single Brothers' House in Salem to assist in the kitchen, craft shop, and garden in July 1785. Oliver belonged to Halifax County, Virginia, resident William Blackburne, but successfully petitioned Moravian officials to purchase him in February 1786. After completing several month of Bible study, Oliver joined the church and was christened "Peter Oliver" in November 1786. After he expressed a desire to move to Bethabara, potter Rudolf Christ purchased him in January 1788. Oliver served first as Christ's assistant and then as potter Gottlieb Krause's aide, eventually following Christ back to Salem and saving enough money to buy his freedom. Johann Samuel and Peter Oliver's stories are two of many documented in Moravian accounts, as Wachovia's craftsmen, builders, shopkeepers, and distillery, mill, factory, and plantation proprietors hired laborers and purchased slaves throughout the antebellum period.<sup>21</sup>

## From Revolution to Civil War

The political, social, and economic turmoil of the American Revolution dramatically impacted Wachovia's residents. Although the British Parliament granted Moravians conscientious objector status in 1749, thus exempting them from military service, Moravian farmers, merchants, and craftsmen were required to provide Patriot and Loyalist forces with food and provisions, greatly diminishing the resources available for their personal use. After the Battle of Kings Mountain in October 7, 1780, approximately five hundred Patriot soldiers and three hundred prisoners occupied Bethabara for nineteen days. British troops under the command of General Cornwallis headquartered in Bethania on February 9, 1781, plundering the town.<sup>22</sup>

War-time currency scarcity compelled Wachovia's residents to barter for provisions or to use paper scrip—notes reflecting amounts owed to individuals—as tender to obtain real property. Moravian

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 59-69, 74, 83, 209-211, 268-269; Philip Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community, 1771-1851," *North Carolina Historical Quarterly* LIV, no. 3 (1977), 279-280.

<sup>20</sup> Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 62-66.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 109-110, 126; Jon F. Sensbach, *African Americans in Salem: Brother Abraham: An African Moravian in Salem; Peter Oliver: Life of a Black Moravian Craftsman* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1992), 29-33; Aufseher Collegium (Moravian Board of Elders) minutes, January 6, 1789, September 22, 1795, November 3, 1795, Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC. Sensbach and many others examine the disparity between cultural traditions, sectional beliefs, Christian doctrine, capitalism, and the practice of slave holding.

<sup>22</sup> J. Taylor Hamilton, "The Recognition of the Unitas Fratrum as an Old Episcopal Church by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1749," *Moravian Historical Society Special Series*, Vol. II, Part II, 1925; Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 48-54.

records indicate that in December 1782 Colonel Martin Armstrong, George Hauser Jr., and Brother Stoltz represented their fellow Bethanians when trading such notes for slaves in Salisbury. Some of these enslaved men, women, and children subsequently labored in Bethania but most individuals were immediately sold and the proceeds divided among the scrip holders.<sup>23</sup>

After the Revolution's end in September 1783, Wachovia's populace quickly began to rebuild their farms and businesses. In 1785, Bethania had 245 inhabitants, ninety-five percent of whom were Moravian. Most residents farmed small agricultural tracts, but a few families, including the Conrads, Hausers, and Loesches, bought property outside of Bethania's boundaries and operated sizable plantations. A 1789 record of Bethania residents lists approximately fifty farmers and craftsmen.<sup>24</sup>

North Carolina's late-eighteenth-century population influx, comprised of European American settlers and their African American slaves, contributed to a more stable economy and agricultural yield grew exponentially. Piedmont farmers were able to sell or trade surplus crops and other agricultural products for locally-made and imported commodities. The first Federal census, taken in 1790, enumerated 8,528 Stokes County (which then encompassed the area that would become Forsyth County) residents, almost all of whom were self-sufficient farmers who depended upon the labor of family members, day laborers, and slaves to facilitate the relentless cycle of tasks related to planting and harvesting fields, tending livestock, and erecting and maintaining farm buildings and structures. The county's African American inhabitants included 13 free blacks and 787 slaves.<sup>25</sup>

By 1793 Bethania encompassed "a few plain but well built houses, surrounded by a beautiful assemblage of little farms, cultivated in the German manner." In addition to their agricultural endeavors, industrious residents worked as wagonmakers, blacksmiths, weavers, silversmiths, shoemakers, tanners, and distillery operators. As Bethania's farms continued to grow in size, containing an average of four hundred acres in 1800, the community met their labor needs by acquiring slaves who lived and worked in town as well as on outlying farms. Bethanians reported ownership of seventeen of the thirty-five slaves held by Wachovia's Moravian residents in 1790 and thirty-six of the Brethren's sixty-three slaves in 1802. Wachovia's population also included slave laborers hired by the Moravians and eight free blacks at that time.<sup>26</sup>

Although only nine African Americans joined Wachovia's Moravian congregations between 1753 and 1802, black communicants increased in number during the early nineteenth century. African Americans attended regular church services and the Hope, Friedberg, and Bethania congregations also offered separate meetings for black worshippers. The first separate service for Bethania's African American community, held at the Moravian church on September 12, 1802, attracted between sixty and seventy attendees. Moravian records enumerate approximately fifty-five baptisms of black children and adults in Bethania on thirty-three occasions between 1803 and 1855. After a married African American couple and two children joined Bethania Moravian church in 1807, Wachovia's

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<sup>23</sup> Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom*, 56; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, III, 1187, 1304; Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 277.

<sup>24</sup> Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 17, 48-54, 63; Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom*, 58.

<sup>25</sup> S. N. D. North, director, Bureau of the Census. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1908).

<sup>26</sup> Aufseher Collegium minutes, January 6, 1789, September 22, 1795, November 3, 1795, November 25, 1802; Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 17, 48-54, 63; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 174-175; Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom*, 58.

black Moravian populace numbered twenty-eight individuals. While the African American congregation typically depended upon white Moravian pastors to perform baptisms, marriages, and funerals, the Bethania church diary also includes descriptions of occasions such as the burial of George Hauser's slave Bob on March 27, 1804, where Lewis, an enslaved African American preacher of the Methodist faith, led the service.<sup>27</sup>

Moravian records also document the ongoing contributions of Wachovia's enslaved and free African American residents to the settlement's growth. In addition to performing agricultural and domestic tasks, slaves worked in establishments such as Johann Christian Loesch's Bethania distillery and tannery. As Loesch owned the five African American men who worked in these businesses, the Bethania congregation paid him for their continued labor after taking over the property's management in 1804. The community also employed slaves and free blacks on construction projects including the brick manufacture for the Bethania Moravian Church, erected from October 1806 to 1808. A town committee determined that hiring African American workers was not only the most cost-effective solution to their labor needs, but also garnered better results, as black day laborers tended to be more dependable and productive than their white counterparts.<sup>28</sup>

Moravian elders revisited the church's regulations regarding slave ownership on many occasions, including a protracted debate that ensued from their 1814 request that Bethania physician Frederick Schumann move to Salem. His plan to set up a household including his slaves in town incited heated discussion about slaveholding, which culminated in a reaffirmation of the church's policy that individuals residing within Salem's boundaries could not own slaves. Dr. Schumann thus leased land southeast of town and established a plantation which included slave dwellings. The Salem congregation subsequently erected housing for their communally-owned slaves in the same area, which became known as the "quarter."<sup>29</sup>

By this time Moravian interactions with the African American community reflected prevailing segregationist attitudes. Moravians of European and African descent had been buried side by side in God's Acres since Wachovia's founding, but in 1816 a separate African American graveyard was established adjacent to the non-Moravian Strangers' Graveyard at the south end of Church Street in Salem. On March 6, 1820, Moravian elders adopted new regulations regarding African American labor, stating that Salem craftsmen were no longer allowed to employ enslaved or free black assistants and that Salem residents who required aide in their households must obtain the Community Council's approval before hiring slaves. Moravians who owned or leased farms throughout Wachovia were

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<sup>27</sup> Aufseher Collegium minutes, November 25, 1802; "Baptisms of Adults and Children in and around Salem," extracted from the *Diary of the Small Negro Congregation in and around Salem*, Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC; *Records of the Moravians, Volume VI*, pp. 2791 and 2884; Joseph Lofton Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 1, page 1. Reverend Lash wrote many versions of the church's history. He created this manuscript around 1934 and his granddaughter, India Glenn Martin, later added information from Bethania Moravian Church records. Although the title page of this document gives Reverend Lash's name as "Jacob," other documents and family members indicate that his first name was Joseph.

<sup>28</sup> Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 175-176. The German name "Loesch" was later anglicized to "Lash."

<sup>29</sup> Ten slaves owned by the Salem congregation resided in the quarter in May 1817, when a farm inventory was taken. Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 289. Dr. Schumann's enslaved population grew over the next two decades, but in 1836, following yet another tense negotiation with the church regarding his lease terms, he emancipated his slaves and sent seventeen of them to Liberia. Moravian records refer to Schumann's former plantation site, which became the earliest outlying neighborhood of Winston or Salem, as "Liberia" starting in 1872 and the property was later known as Happy Hill. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 59-69, 74, 83, 209-211, 268-269. Aufseher Collegium minutes, August 22, 1814; August 30, 1814, September 27, 1814, November 22, 1814, September 28, 1836.

expected to closely monitor the behavior of their African American labor force and to sell or dismiss slaves or sharecroppers whose behavior afflicted the community's "moral decorum."<sup>30</sup>

Salem elders codified rules governing separate burial grounds and living quarters for whites and African Americans earlier than the outlying Moravian communities. Salem was also the first congregation to uniformly exclude black members from church services. The community's African American worshippers met at the home of Moravian-owned slaves Phoebe and Bodney in the quarter from March 24, 1822 until the December 28, 1823 dedication of a log sanctuary erected by thirty enslaved and free blacks. Salem's Female Mission Society and local slaveholders supplied the funds to construct the church, which African American laborers erected next to the black cemetery. White pastor Abraham Steiner, who had previously served at the Moravian's Cherokee mission in Springplace, Georgia, led worship services and Sunday schools for African Americans from Salem and the surrounding area, including Bethania. Although the congregation remained small, ranging from eight members in 1825 to eighteen communicants in 1856, crowds of as many as three hundred people attended church events.<sup>31</sup>

Wachovia's rural African American residents also sought greater religious autonomy during the antebellum period. Bethania's black populace asked Moravian elders for their own sanctuary in 1819, but their request was not actualized until 1850. Church records document the popularity of worship services held by enslaved and free African American preachers such as David for the slaves on Bethanian Abraham Loesch's plantation in 1823. Spirited Methodist camp meetings attracted large white and black audiences during the summer and fall of every year, and attendees incorporated popular music into the services of other denominations. A Moravian minister reported leading a well-attended meeting for Bethania's African American congregation where Moravian hymns "were sung to their own tunes," with a later commentator stating that the songs were "presumably Methodist." The denomination's popularity among African Americans is evidenced by the Methodist Episcopal Church South's licensure of four black Stokes County preachers—Lewis, Elijah, Peter, and Marshall—in 1831.<sup>32</sup>

Wachovia's Moravian communities continued to evolve through the first half of the nineteenth century, adapting in response to myriad social, economic, and religious influences. In 1822, after many years of negotiation, the church allowed Bethania's inhabitants to purchase land within the 2,500-acre town lot.<sup>33</sup> Many residents expanded their holdings, agricultural operations, and business endeavors, thus requiring additional labor, some of which was provided by slaves. Primary source documents such as diaries and ledgers supplement Moravian records in providing some insight into the relationships between Bethania's white and African American inhabitants during this period.

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<sup>30</sup> Aufseher Collegium minutes, January 24, 1820; February 3, 10, 24, 1820; March 6, 1820; Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 289. The African American cemetery on Church Street was used until 1859, when a small graveyard at the corner of Cemetery Street and Salem Avenue was designated for the burials of Moravians of African descent. Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Second Colored Cemetery," Town of Salem Survey Files, 1998-99, Raleigh, State Historic Preservation Office.

<sup>31</sup> Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 293; Jon F. Sensbach, "Culture and Conflict in the Early Black Church: A Moravian Mission Congregation in Antebellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Volume LXXI, Number 4 (October 1994), 409; Gwynne S. Taylor and William Turner, "St. Philips Moravian Church," National Register Nomination, 1991.

<sup>32</sup> Sensbach, "Culture and Conflict in the Early Black Church," 407, 415; "Bethania Diary," March 25, 1827, Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC.

<sup>33</sup> Hartley, "Choices on the Land," 32; W.S. Pfohl, "Bethania 1822," 1918 copy of November 1822 map produced by Friedrich Meinung. Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC.

Massachusetts native George Follett Wilson arrived in Bethania in May 1828 and decided to remain there to serve as the town's physician. In the journal he kept through 1830, Dr. Wilson mentioned treating sick slaves owned by Wachovia residents including merchant Jacob Conrad and an unidentified slave trader who displayed "odious principles" by verbally abusing his chattel. Although Dr. Wilson initially opposed slave holding, asserting in 1828 that he was "confident Slavery in any shape is in direct opposition to the tenor of the Gospel," he soon emulated local practices by acquiring slaves beginning with Nancy, a skilled spinner, in 1830.<sup>34</sup>

The 1830 Federal Census indicates that Wachovia's white Moravians owned about four hundred slaves, approximately five times the number reported in 1800. Historian Jon Sensbach concluded that slaves thus comprised about twenty-two percent of the population in Moravian communities, a figure slightly higher than the proportion of slaves to the overall Stokes County population in 1830 (approximately seventeen percent). Sensbach determined that most Moravian slaveholders owned from one to five slaves, but notable exceptions to this average include Bethania residents Johann Christian Loesch (later anglicized to Lash), who owned 3,098 acres and thirty slaves in 1830; Jacob Conrad, who held 2,127 acres and twenty-six slaves; and Abraham Conrad, who possessed 1,125 acres and fifteen slaves.<sup>35</sup>

Pastor George Frederic Bahnson, who was called to serve at Bethania Moravian Church in 1834, commented on the physical manifestations of his fellow Bethanians' wealth after dining at the Stockburger home in July of that year: "Silverspoons you do not easily see any where in town....Land and slaves are the principal things wherein they invest money." Bahnson's diary includes references to Bethania slaves such as a young woman owned by Simon Stoltz who was charged with duties including serving food at the Bethania school. He also details instances in which Bethania's African American and white residents worked together to complete large tasks such as cleaning the church. He reports that Bethanians frequently held communal cornshucking frolics, diminishing the chore's drudgery with conversation, song, and shared meals.<sup>36</sup>

With the permission of their owners, Wachovia's enslaved population undertook additional tasks such as cutting firewood, cultivating gardens, hunting, trapping, and making handicrafts in the evenings and

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<sup>34</sup> Dr. Wilson soon met Sophia Henrietta Hauser, who he married in June 1829. Henrietta was the daughter of John Henry Hauser Jr. (who died in 1821) and Philipina Loesch, who subsequently married Abraham Conrad in 1822. The Conrads' daughter Julia married Dr. Beverly Jones. Although Dr. Wilson and his family remained in Bethania until 1853, he did not join the Moravian church. Evelyn Hubbard Wilson, "Introduction to the Journal of George Follett Wilson," <http://www.thewilsons.mobi/introduction>, accessed in August 2011; Dr. George Follett Wilson Journal entries, May 15, 1828, August 28, 1828, January 30, 1829; Hamel, *Bethania: The Village by Black Walnut Bottom*, 77-79.

<sup>35</sup> Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 273.

<sup>36</sup> Alice Henderson North, transcriber, "Personal Diary of George Frederic Bahnson, 1834-1838," July 16, 1834, p. 126; September 9, 1834, p. 188; October 10, 1834, page 234; September 29, 1836, p. 887; October 16, 1836, p. 900; Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 276, 279-282. George Frederic Bahnson, born in the Moravian congregation town of Christiansfield, Denmark, taught school in Nazareth, Pennsylvania before serving as Bethania's pastor from 1834 until 1838, where he met his second wife, North Carolina native Anna Gertraut Paulina Conrad, following the death of his first wife in 1837. The couple married on February 20, 1838 and subsequently relocated to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where their son Charles Frederic was born on February 15, 1840. The family returned to North Carolina when Bahnson was called to serve as Salem's minister in 1849. George Frederic Bahnson was consecrated as a Moravian bishop in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on May 13, 1860. Charles Frederic Bahnson married Jane Amanda Johnson of Farmington in Davie County and established a large farm there on property her parents gave them. Sarah Bahnson Chapman, ed., *Bright and Gloomy Days: The Civil War Correspondence of Captain Charles Frederic Bahnson, a Moravian Confederate* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xi-xii.

on Sundays. White neighbors paid them in cash or trade, thus allowing slaves to accumulate small amounts of money and property. Reverend Bahnson's parishioners provided him with some firewood, but he also purchased wood split by Bethania slaves including Jacob, owned by Brother Grabs, and Ben, held by Simon Stoltz, for twenty-five cents per four-horse wagon load. He paid slaves for meat as well, noting that a trapped rabbit cost three cents. Bahnson indicates that it was possible to purchase slave-made chairs with reeded seats for twelve-and-a-half cents each, significantly less than comparable chairs fabricated by whites that sold for twenty cents each. He also mentions that Salem paper mill owner Gottlieb Schober, who depended almost solely upon slave labor to operate his business, allowed his slave Enoch to hunt on his plantation to provide food for his family and to sell the surplus meat, and that M. Blum's slave Phillis sold produce. Slaves often used such proceeds to acquire goods to supplement their rations. Bahnson mentions that he was frequently charged with purchasing merchandise for white and African American community members in Bethania and Salem stores.<sup>37</sup>

Bethania's independence from Salem continued to develop in the 1830s, culminating in the North Carolina Legislature's chartering the town of Bethania in what was then Stokes County on January 3, 1839 and naming George Wilson, Solomon Transou, Peter Transou, Elias Schaub, and J. L. Lash to serve as the first governing body.<sup>38</sup> Bethania's growth was minimal during this period, in keeping with that of Stokes County's overall populace, which increased only slightly between 1830 and 1840 to encompass 13,418 white residents, 2,682 slaves, and 165 free blacks. Although the overall number of white inhabitants in the county grew by 296 people, enumerators recorded 30 fewer free African Americans and 159 less slaves.<sup>39</sup>

During the 1840s, Bethania's Moravian congregation, like Salem's before it, began to manifest segregationist principles. Salem native Francis Florentine Hagen became the pastor of Bethania Moravian Church in 1844 after studying and teaching school in Pennsylvania. As Bethania's black residents regularly worshiped at the African American Moravian Church in Salem, Hagen initiated a more convenient bi-weekly Sunday afternoon service at Bethania Moravian for the community's slaves soon after his arrival. The Bethania Church Committee began discussing the need to form a "special Negro society" to address spiritual needs such as baptism and confirmation for African American residents in 1845. The committee also elected to create a separate burial ground for black members of their church, but it was two years before that plan became a reality.<sup>40</sup>

Hagen officiated at the first interment in what would become Bethania's African American God's Acre: the burial of Milly Lash, who died on January 7, 1847, on the eastern slope of a hill just north of the eighteenth-century road connecting Bethania and Bethabara. A month later, he created new opportunities for local African American children to receive religious instruction, recruiting young Bethania residents including Laurretta and Maria Butner, Emilie Stoltz, and Clarinda Oehman to serve

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<sup>37</sup> North, "Personal Diary of George Frederic Bahnson," August 4, 1834, p. 148; September 13, 1834, p. 192; October 31, 1834, p. 261; November 19 and 20, 1834, pp. 291-292; March 7 and 8, 1835, pp. 398-399; September 12, 1835, 547-548; November 15, 1836, p. 936; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 283. Enoch was a sexton at Salem's African American Moravian Church. Gottlieb Schober's will provided for Enoch's freedom in 1839 and he emigrated to Liberia on the west coast of Africa with his wife Nancy. The couple died shortly after their arrival. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 268-269.

<sup>38</sup> North Carolina General Assembly, "An Act to appoint Commissioners for the Town of Bethania, in the County of Stokes," in *Private Laws of North Carolina—1838-39*. Raleigh, NC, Chapter 65, 178-179; Kapp, *Bethania: The First Industrial Town of Wachovia*, 27.

<sup>39</sup> United States Census, Population Schedule, 1840.

<sup>40</sup> Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free* 22-23

as Sunday School teachers. Twenty-six children attended the first lesson on February 7, 1847 and the classes remained popular.<sup>41</sup>

In January 1850, the Bethania Church Committee met to discuss erecting a church for their African American members. They determined that a sanctuary with dimensions of approximately twenty-six by twenty-two feet would cost at least \$50 in cash to construct even if the materials were donated and thus appointed a building committee—Jacob Werner, Joseph Transou and Herman Reude—to oversee the process. Reverend Hagen obtained permission from church leaders in Salem to erect the sanctuary and secured \$47.25, almost all of the necessary funds, at a collection during the February 7, 1850 Bethania Church service. The building committee acted quickly, as the first logs were delivered to the site on February 12 and construction began on February 26. On March 2, Hagen wrote that “the building up of the logs for the Negro church was completed up to the rafters.” It appears that work on the black Moravian church halted during the summer months, likely to allow the logs cure out and due to labor shortages during the agricultural season, and resumed in late September. On September 27<sup>th</sup>, Hagen noted that the sanctuary was almost finished. The log church was dedicated on October 6, 1850, with about sixty African Americans in attendance.<sup>42</sup>

The church’s construction coincided with an increase in the area’s slave population due to escalated agricultural and industrial endeavors and the associated proliferation of labor needs. Census takers calculated that North Carolina contained 56,963 farms in 1850 and that the 936 farms in newly-created Forsyth County encompassed 51,873 improved and 120,029 unimproved acres that year. The vast majority of the 1,765 heads-of-households were self-sufficient white farmers; only 152 free African Americans resided in the county. Most farmers relied upon their family members and hired help to provide manual labor, but 272 Forsyth County residents also owned a total of 1,353 slaves. The largest part of the county’s slaveholders (195; approximately seventy-two percent) owned five or fewer slaves. Forty-four households included between six and ten enslaved men, women, and children, while twenty-four owners held between eleven and twenty slaves. Seven Forsyth County residents owned between twenty-one and forty slaves. The county’s ten largest slaveholders were George Brooks (72 slaves), Tandy Mathews (42 slaves), Israel G. Lash (37 slaves), Ruth Hairston (26 slaves), and John T. Conrad (25 slaves), Robert Hairston (24 slaves), Frances Fries (23 slaves), Abraham Conrad (21 slaves), John Kiser (20 slaves), and James Cofer (20 slaves). Abraham Conrad and Israel Lash owned property in Bethania and John Conrad and John Kiser resided nearby in northwestern Forsyth County.<sup>43</sup>

Farm owners and their families, tenant farmers, day laborers, and slaves raised horses, mules, cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens; grew subsistence and cash crops including wheat, corn, oats, tobacco, potatoes, peas, beans, flax, and fruit; and produced butter, beeswax, honey, and wool in 1850. Federal census records document that Forsyth County farm laborers earned an average of six dollars per month and paid approximately one dollar a week for food and lodging that year. Farm operators compensated day laborers an average of sixty cents per day if they did not need room and board and forty cents a

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Reverend Hagen accepted a call to serve as pastor of the Moravian church in York, Pennsylvania in 1854. Ibid., 29-30; Joseph Loftin Lash, “History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina,” Chapter 1, page 4, information from Moravian records.

<sup>43</sup> United States Census, Population and Slave Schedules, 1850; Adelaide L. Fries, Stuart Thurman Wright, and J. Edwin Hendricks, *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 107.

day if they required food and shelter. In comparison, carpenters charged an average of one dollar per day and live-in female domestics made only seventy-five cents a week.<sup>44</sup>

Analysis of the 1850 Federal agricultural schedule reveals great disparity in Forsyth County farm size and value, ranging from a 4-acre tract with an assessed worth of \$70 owned by Samuel E. Butner, a 27-year-old clerk who resided in Salem, to Hezekiah Flynn's 5,400-acre farm valued at \$2,100. Mr. Flynn cultivated 400 acres with the assistance of his household, which included three young slaves and tenant farmers. George Brooks's property contained the most improved land—900 acres of his 5,240-acre farm near Kernersville—and his acreage had the highest overall assessed value (\$11,200) in addition to farm equipment worth \$400 and livestock appraised at \$2,500. Mr. Brooks was also the county's largest slave holder, owning 72 men, women, and children ranging in age from one month to 63 years. Forty members of this enslaved community were 11 years old or older. Mr. Brooks's work force planted and harvested the county's greatest amounts of Indian corn (5,000 bushels), oats (1,500 bushels), wheat (450 bushels), and rye (400 bushels), as well as sizable quantities of Irish potatoes (75 bushels) and sweet potatoes (100 bushels). They also tended 23 horses, 21 milk cows, 5 working oxen, 75 other cattle, and 250 hogs, the most in the county in all categories. Mr. Brooks did not own any sheep, nor did he cultivate tobacco. Philip Snider's flock of 93 sheep was the county's largest, while Andrew M. Gamble's farm produced the most wool (144 pounds) in 1850. Only 35 Forsyth County farmers (3.7 percent) grew tobacco that year. John W. Shelton reported the largest yield (8,000 pounds), followed by Ruth Hairston (7,000 pounds), Barzella Carmichiel [sic] (4,000 pounds), and Mathew Crews (3,280 pounds).<sup>45</sup>

Burton Cozzens, a 56-year-old shoemaker, appears to be the only free black Forsyth County farm owner whose annual yield exceeded \$100 in 1850, thus resulting in his listing in the Federal agricultural schedule for that year. Cozzens purchased almost thirty-three acres on Muddy Creek near Bethania, known as the Peter Mozer tract, from R. D. Golding in 1848. His household consisted of his wife Elizabeth, who was a Virginia native; laborer Richard Mitchell, his wife Harriet, and their children; and a young woman named Nancy Sawyers. The county's two free African American blacksmiths—62-year-old Samuel Clark and 30-year-old Alexander Mitchell—and residents such as Lucy L. Evans, a 52-year-old widow and the owner of real estate valued at \$50, likely operated small subsistence farms with the assistance of their families. Ms. Evans's son Gibson was a laborer. The free black community also included James Tiner, a 23-year-old laborer and his wife; William Chavis, a 40-year-old laborer and his family; William Mitchel [sic], a 27-year-old laborer who resided in white merchant John Henley's household; 53-year-old Sally Peddiford and her family; and 59-year-old Anna Samuel and her teenage sons, John, who lived at home, and Jacob, who was enumerated in white farmer Samuel Hine's household, where he worked as laborer.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.; Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1850 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem; Forsyth County Genealogical Society, 1984), 264.

<sup>45</sup> United States Census, Agricultural Schedule, 1850.

<sup>46</sup> Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1850 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina*. The census taker indicated that Burton Cozzens and his wife were black and that Robert Mitchell and his family were mulatto in 1850. The racial categories recognized for federal census enumeration and population counts were the same in 1860—white, black, and mulatto—although the race of American Indians living off reservations was indicated and California's Chinese and Mongolian residents were identified. Inexplicably, the census taker who enumerated the Cozzens [spelled Cozens in 1860 and Cousin in 1870] and Mitchell families that year wrote an "F" as their racial category. Forsyth County Deed Book 27, page 7 references Burton Cozzens' acquisition of the thirty-three-acre farm where he resided when he sold the property to Dr. Beverly Jones for fifty dollars in 1866.

Examination of the 1850 Federal agricultural schedule reports for sixty-five farmers in the Bethania vicinity provides a closer perspective on one of the county's most productive rural areas. Land ownership in the sample group ranges from African American farmer and shoemaker Burton Cozzens' 32-acre property, which encompassed 20 improved acres and had an assessed value of \$32, to John B. Miller's 1,064-acre tract, which contained 110 cultivated acres worth \$2,000. John Clayton reported clearing 200 acres of his 700-acre farm, which was valued at \$3,000. Free black laborer William Chavis was enumerated next to John Clayton and thus likely worked on his farm. Elizabeth Conrad's 430-acre farm included 100 improved acres and was assessed the highest value (\$3,700) of this small sample. Indian corn was most sizable crop by far, with these farmers reporting yields of 27,175 bushels compared with 7,773 bushels of oats and 2,872 bushels of wheat. Only two men—Israel Moser and John P. Reed—grew tobacco, harvesting 100 and 400 pounds respectively. Each farm in the sample group contained at least one horse, and all but one had at least one milk cow. Most farmers raised additional cattle, sheep, and hogs in order to provide meat, leather, and wool for household use. John Clayton and Anthony Bitting each owned 40 sheep, while Henry Shouse and Jacob A. Wolff each possessed 80 hogs.<sup>47</sup>

Many Forsyth County farmers engaged in manufacturing endeavors to generate supplementary income, processing raw materials including corn, wheat, flax seed, and logs to produce meal, flour, linseed oil, and lumber. George Brooks's grist mill was the county's largest in 1850, producing 134,750 pounds of flour and 7,700 bushels of meal. He also operated a distillery, utilizing 2,000 bushels of corn to produce 500 gallons of whiskey. John Miller's grist mill was almost as productive, yielding 129,500 pounds of flour and 8,800 bushels of meal. Henry Marshall operated a small grist mill as well as one of the county's two tobacco factories, where four men processed 5,000 pounds of tobacco. Brothers Israel G. Lash and Thomas B. Lash of Bethania owned a flaxseed oil mill, a grist mill, a tannery, and a cigar factory, where ten men and four women used 30,000 pounds of tobacco to create one million cigars. Wagon factory owner John P. Nissen's distillery generated the county's largest quantities of whiskey—2,800 gallons—in 1850. Edward Belo, who operated a foundry in Salem, also processed 1000 bushels of flax seed to manufacture 1800 gallons of linseed oil. Christian D. Siedes [sic] owned a gristmill and a sawmill that cut pine logs into 100,000 feet of lumber.<sup>48</sup>

Despite the successes of these farmers and entrepreneurs, the *People's Press*, a newspaper published in Salem, reported that Forsyth County residents remained at a distinct disadvantage through the early 1850s as they had no reliable means of making connections with distant merchants and tradesmen. State leaders promoted initiatives to improve transportation networks in order to allow farmers to sell their agricultural products at the region's major markets, such as Fayetteville and Halifax, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; and Petersburg, Virginia. The extension of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road to Salem in 1852 and Bethania in 1854 greatly facilitated this effort, and farmers, merchants, craftsmen, and industrialists along the route prospered. The Loesch family's store stood at the road's Bethania terminus.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> United States Census, Agricultural schedule, 1850. The 1850 Federal agricultural schedule is not divided by township, as these county divisions were not created until mandated by the North Carolina Constitution of 1868. Forsyth County surveyor M. H. Morris spent most of December 1868 generating thirteen township divisions. Clemmonsville Township, at the county's southwest corner, was added in 1889 when Forsyth County was slightly enlarged at that location. Fries, *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 154-155.

<sup>48</sup> United States Census, Manufacturing schedule, 1850.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 115.

These transportation improvements coincided with a dramatic shift in agricultural production that occurred when “bright” tobacco—so called given the bright-yellow or gold leaf that resulted from the intense heat-drying process—began to be planted and harvested in large quantities in Forsyth County in the mid-1850s. In stark contrast to 1850, when only 35 of the county’s farmers (3.7 percent) reported tobacco yields, the vast majority of Forsyth County farmers grew tobacco by 1860. As the crop’s cultivation and processing was very labor-intensive, farmers augmented their labor needs by acquiring additional slaves.<sup>50</sup>

Forsyth County’s 12,692 residents in 1860 included 1,764 enslaved men, women, and children and 218 free blacks. All but two of the free African Americans and 105 slaves were classified as “mulatto,” indicating that they were of mixed racial heritage. The majority (199; approximately sixty-six percent) of the county’s 299 slaveholders owned five or fewer slaves in 1860. An additional eighteen percent held between six and ten enslaved workers, which was in keeping with the overall average of ten slaves in North Carolina households at that time. Forsyth County’s five largest slave owners held between 42 and 86 enslaved laborers. Israel G. Lash and Thomas B. Lash owned 52 enslaved men, women, and children, the county’s second-largest number in 1860, and possessed real estate in Bethania and Salem valued at \$40,000 and personal property worth \$258,000. Bethania plantation owner Abraham Conrad’s assets encompassed real estate worth \$8,000 and personal property valued at \$21,550, including 26 slaves.<sup>51</sup>

An 1863 list in the Jones family papers delineates thirty-two slaveowners in the Bethania area and enumerates their slaves’ names, ages, and values. As the Federal census slave schedules include only slave gender and age, this extremely significant document provides a point of departure for investigating freedmen’s familial relationships. Israel G. and Thomas B. Lash, whose jointly-owned 52 slaves and the 10 slaves held solely by Thomas were valued at \$3,275, had accumulated 907 acres that were appraised at \$7,155. The largest plantation belonged to Abraham Conrad, who owned 30 slaves and 1,180 acres worth \$9,765. John Kiger held 25 slaves and 750 acres, while L. H. Love owned 21 slaves and 361 acres. The remaining 27 slaveholders owned 11 or fewer slaves. Abraham Conrad resided with his daughter Julia and her husband Dr. Beverly Jones, who held 6 slaves and 21 acres.<sup>52</sup>

First-person narratives illuminating the perspectives of enslaved men and women are exceedingly rare, but an important initiative conducted by the Works Progress Administration’s Federal Writer’s project recorded and transcribed interviews with former slaves including Bethanian Bettie Lash Koger in the 1930s. Bettie stated that her father Wesley had been a slave on Israel Lash’s plantation, and her mother Melvina, Bettie, and her siblings were once owned by Abraham Conrad’s daughter Julia and her husband, Dr. Beverly Jones. Bettie, born on the Jones property in 1856, worked in their house as a personal attendant for the couple’s daughter Ella.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Fries, *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 112-113.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D. C.: State Government Printing Office, 1864), 355.

<sup>52</sup> The ledger also lists sixty-seven non-slaveholders who owned land in the Richmond District, the number of acres they owned, and each property’s value. Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Folder 44, Volume S-14, “Lashe slave and land assessments, 1863,” Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, Southern Historical Collection, UNC-Chapel Hill.

<sup>53</sup> The 1863 ledger cited above indicates that Dr. Beverly Jones’s enslaved community encompassed forty-one-year-old “Nel,” likely Melvina, and five children Cos (12), Jane (10), Laura (7), Amanda (5), and George (4). Forty-seven-year-old Westley [sic] is the first of the fifty-two slaves listed as the property of I. G. and T. B. Lash. As Bettie Lash

Bettie recalled that the enslaved African American men on the Conrad-Jones plantation—“Mac, Curley, William, Sanford, Lewis, Henry, Ed, Sylvester, Hamp, and Luke”—“worked in the fields an’ yard. One was stable boss an’ looked after all the horses an’ mules.” The property also encompassed a grist mill. Women including “Nellie, two Lucys, Martha, Hervie, Jane, Laura, Fannie, Lizzie, Cassie, Tensie, Lindy, and Mary Jane....mostly worked in the house. There was always two washerwomen, a cook, some hands to help her, two sewin’ women, a house girl, an’ some who did the weavin’ an’ spinnin’.” She described how the enslaved community carried out the plantation’s clothing, sheet, blanket, and table linen manufacture, from planting and harvesting flax and cotton to shearing wool, spinning thread, weaving fabric, and ultimately sewing garments and household linens after Julia Jones cut them out.<sup>54</sup>

Local white women also completed domestic tasks for the Jones family during the antebellum era and were usually paid in cash, but were sometimes also compensated with items such as medicine, coffee, cotton, cloth, blackberries, and eggs. Martha Helsabeck hackled and cleaned flax, spun thread, warped looms, and sewed pants, shirts, jeans, drawers, chemises, shirts, coats between 1854 and 1859. Miss L. Butner made buttons, coats, vests, shirts, pants, skirts for the family between 1855 and 1857, earning an average of twenty-five cents per day for her labor. Eve Wendall spun flax and knitted stockings in 1856 and 1857. Mrs. Besia Hoffman completed the same tasks in 1858 and 1860. Mrs. M. C. Hunter spun wool in 1859 and made pants, drawers, and a coat in 1861. Maria Stoltz resided with the Joneses for much of the time between November 1859 and March 1860 while she was spinning and sewing for the household.<sup>55</sup>

White neighbors including Henry Tuttle, John Shore, William Kiger, Charles Spainhour, Samuel Stauber, Fountain Flynt, Joseph Doub, Thomas Shore, Mary Stoltz, and Elizabeth Flynt purchased food and items such as shoes and farm tools from the Conrad-Jones plantation. Given the large number of ledger entries describing shoe sales; plow, plane, chisel, and mattock manufacture and sharpening; and screw, chain, and bridle forging, it appears that the work of the plantation’s enslaved blacksmith and shoemaker was well-regarded, keeping them consistently busy.<sup>56</sup>

Much of the county’s population continued to work in agriculture in 1860, when 1,099 residents were classified as farmers, 492 as day laborers, and 160 as farm laborers. Federal census takers calculated the cash value of Forsyth County’s farms (encompassing 72,509 improved and 132,212 unimproved acres) to be \$1,174,800 that year. Tobacco, corn, and wheat remained the primary crops, with production soaring since 1850. Oats, rye, hay, flax, Irish and sweet potatoes, beans and peas were also produced in sizable quantities. The county’s sheep yielded 9,804 pounds of wool and dairy cattle

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Koger’s first name is spelled in with an “ie” rather than a “y” legal documents including deeds and Wesley Lash’s estate settlement records, that spelling is used in this document.

<sup>54</sup> Bettie Koger, interview with Esther S. Pinnix as part of the “Negro Folklore of the Piedmont” series (Volume XI, North Carolina Narratives, Part I). Pinnix also consulted with Mrs. P. G. Cross and Miss Kate Jones, descendants of Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones, for this interview. Mrs. Koger’s name was incorrectly spelled “Betty Cofer.” The interview was published in *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews with Former Slaves* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1941), a collection of typewritten records prepared by the Works Progress Administration’s Federal Writers’ Project from 1936-1938. Accessed online at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22976/22976.txt>, April 2011.

<sup>55</sup> Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 39, Volume 8, Julia Amelia Conrad Jones’s account book, 1855-1873.

<sup>56</sup> Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 38, Volume 7, Ledger, 1849-1874, includes one of Julia Amelia Conrad Jones’s account books.

provided milk utilized to churn 74,081 pounds of butter. Other farm products included sorghum molasses, beeswax, and honey.<sup>57</sup>

George Brooks's farm in the Deep River District near Kernersville remained the county's largest in terms of size (2,790 acres; 260 improved), cash worth (\$27,000), and livestock value (\$5,875) in 1860. His enslaved work force also remained the most considerable in Forsyth County. The community consisted of 86 slaves (28 adults; 18 young people between the ages of 10 and 17; and 40 children age 9 or under) who resided in 14 houses. The farm's wheat, corn, and oats yields remained among the county's largest, and tobacco cultivation generated 2,000 pounds that year. Old Town District residents Kerby & Lester (likely William J. Kerby and Isaac S. Lester, both native Virginians) reported Forsyth County's largest tobacco harvest (18,000 pounds) from their 280-acre farm. Yadkin District farmer Henry Hart's 14,000-pound crop was the next largest, followed by Belews Creek District property owner Ruth Hairston's 8,500-pound yield. Mr. Hart, also a native of Virginia, depended upon the labor of 18 slaves, eleven of whom were 10 years or older, and hired laborers to cultivate his crops. Ruth Hairston owned 25 slaves, 15 of whom were age 10 or older. Ms. Hairston's place of residence is not clear, as she is not listed in the Forsyth County Federal population schedule in 1860.<sup>58</sup>

Free black farmer Burton Cozzens and his wife Elizabeth kept working their Bethania District farm, likely with the assistance of free black day laborer Richard Mitchell and his family, who were enumerated with the Cozzens household in 1850 but lived in a separate dwelling by 1860. The Mitchells owned personal property worth \$40 and no land, indicating that their house stood on the approximately 30-acre Cozzens farm, which had an assessed value of \$125. The census taker estimated that the Cozzens' personal property was worth an additional \$125, including farm equipment with valued at \$30 and livestock (1 milk cow, 1 other cow, 1 ox, and 8 pigs) appraised at \$65. The farm produced 20 bushels of wheat, 65 bushels of Indian corn, 700 pounds of tobacco, 3 bushels of Irish potatoes, 5 bushels of sweet potatoes, 4 tons of hay, and 40 pounds of butter.<sup>59</sup>

While Forsyth County's farm production continued to escalate, reported industrial concerns, including those involving agricultural goods, declined in number by 1860. However, as only manufacturing operations generating more than \$500-worth of products annually were enumerated, it is likely that many smaller ventures existed. Both tobacco processing factories recorded that year were located in

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<sup>57</sup> Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 104; Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem; Forsyth County Genealogical Society, 1988).

<sup>58</sup> United States Census, Population and Agricultural schedules, 1860. It is likely that this census reference is to Ruth Stovall Hairston (1784-1867), who was Franklin County, Virginia native Peter Hairston (1752-1832) and his wife Aylcie's only daughter. Hairston was an influential Revolutionary War officer and North Carolina state senator who amassed approximately 12,000 acres in Piedmont North Carolina including Cooleemee Plantation, which encompassed 2,300 acres in Davie and Davidson counties. In addition to farming, he operated a store in Germanton and manufactured iron. Ruth, who kept the plantation books, married her cousin Peter Wilson Hairston (1770-1813) and inherited much of her father's property (Peter Wilson Hairston, "Peter Hairston," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography: Volume 3* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* Burton Cozzens's thirty-three acres had an assessed value of seventy five acres in 1863. Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Folder 44, Volume S-14, "Lashe slave and land assessments, 1863." Mr. Cozzens sold his farm to Dr. Beverly Jones for fifty dollars in 1866 (Forsyth County Deed Book 27, page 7). It appears that Dr. Jones may have allowed Burton and Elizabeth Cozzens to retain a small portion of their farm, as the elderly couple is listed as owning land valued at \$30 in 1870, when their household included a five-year-old boy, Jerry Jayne. Their agricultural returns were limited to five bushels of Irish potatoes, five bushels of sweet potatoes, and orchard products. The United States Census, Population and Agricultural schedules, 1870.

Bethania. Israel G. and Thomas B. Lash's cigar-making factory employed ten women and five men, while tobacconist Anderson and Brothers retained two male and three female employees. The Andersons were not slave owners, but Israel G. and Thomas B. Lash depended upon slave labor both in their factory and on their plantations, jointly holding fifty-two slaves. Thomas owned an additional ten men, women, and children. Sanford L. Patterson's Salem grist mill, where four men produced flour and meal valued at \$6,500, was the only such facility enumerated in 1860. Mr. Patterson also operated a paper mill, generating \$2,500-worth of paper products with the assistance of two men and two women. Edward Belo of Salem continued to run his foundry and a linseed oil mill.<sup>60</sup>

The Civil War brought swift and dramatic change to the lives of Forsyth County residents. Farmers and industrialists throughout the divided nation suffered great economic challenges including substantial losses of material goods, crops, and livestock during and after the war. The absence of a young male labor force made business management difficult and the cost of basic staples rose dramatically, leaving many households unable to afford necessities.

Bethania merchant O. J. Lehman was among those who elected to serve in the Confederate army. After surrendering at Appomattox, he undertook a seven-day walk home, discovering upon his arrival that only "old men and women" remained in the town, which had been looted by Stoneman's troops just before the war's end. In addition to the scarcity of provisions, he remembered that all of the banks were "closed and bankrupt."<sup>61</sup>

Former slave Bettie Koger recalled when "Yankee soldiers," likely referring to Stoneman's calvary, passed through Bethania in 1865. The military forces appropriated all of the meat, liquor, and horses on the Jones plantation and five or six male slaves departed with the soldiers. Two of the formerly enslaved men journeyed to Yadkinville and then returned to Bethania, but the others left in pursuit of freedom.<sup>62</sup>

## Emancipation and Reconstruction

On May 13, 1865, a chaplain from the 10<sup>th</sup> Ohio Calvary called a meeting at the African American Moravian Church in Salem to inform the area's enslaved residents that they had been emancipated. During the coming years, worship services and Sunday School held in the brick Greek Revival-style sanctuary, which had replaced the original log church in 1861, drew hundreds of freedmen. Moravian elders supported educational initiatives by providing a rent-free lot on a hill south of Salem (near what had been Dr. Schumann's plantation) where Wachovia's newly-emancipated African Americans erected a weatherboarded, front-gable-roofed school in 1867.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> United States Census, Manufacturing schedule, 1860; Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Folder 44, Volume S-14, "Lashe slave and land assessments, 1863." The 1863 ledger includes a list of "Non Slaveholders owning land in the Richmond District."

<sup>61</sup> Annie Lee Singletary, "Bethania Life During and After Civil War Depicted," *Winston-Salem Sentinel*, January 10, 1944, page 48.

<sup>62</sup> Bettie Koger, interview with Esther S. Pinnix as part of the "Negro Folklore of the Piedmont" series (Volume XI, North Carolina Narratives, Part I). Stoneman's Calvary passed through Bethania on April 10, 1865.

<sup>63</sup> *Records of the Moravians, Volume XIII*, August 19, 1867, p. 6784, December 17, 1867 (minutes of August 12<sup>th</sup> meeting), 6787-88; Gwynne S. Taylor and William Turner, "St. Philips Moravian Church," National Register Nomination, 1991; Niven, *Old Salem: The Official Guidebook*, 89. Work on the brick Greek Revival-style church began on April 6, 1861. The sanctuary is the oldest known African American religious building remaining in North Carolina. The log church served various functions including a freedmen's hospital and a private residence until it was torn down sometime between 1904 and 1907. The congregation has been called St. Philips Moravian Church since 1913 and worshiped in that location

The Moravian church also continued to maintain the African American sanctuaries in Bethania and Salem, completing necessary repairs to Bethania's log church in 1867. Three community leaders—Rinehold Oehman, E. T. Lehman, and Zacharias G. Hege—evidently felt that the improvements were inadequate and placed an advertisement in the church's official newsletter, *The Moravian*, requesting funds to build a new African American sanctuary in Bethania. The Provincial Elders Conference subsequently deemed that a replacement building was not necessary. This discussion coincided with a request from approximately thirty African American church members to obtain official recognition as a Moravian congregation. Bethania's pastor, Christian Lewis Rights, decided that he was unable to undertake the additional responsibility, however, so this did not transpire.<sup>64</sup>

A letter from Zacharias Hege, who supervised the African American church's Sunday school, to former Bethania Moravian Church pastor George Frederic Bahnson dated November 27, 1867 reveals more about this situation. He stated that:

“We commenced our [Sunday] school in July with forty three scholars and eight teachers and have continued it faithfully ever since. We have some one hundred thirty scholars and twelve teachers, the house we occupy now, we fear is too small as we cannot accommodate with any satisfaction more than eighty scholars....We have between thirty and forty who have put their names in as candidates for church members.”

Hege mentioned that he had provided Brother Rights with the names of the potential church members and seems disheartened at the Moravian elders' denial of their request, but he agreed to desist in advocating for a larger African American sanctuary until the spring. Hege's conclusion expresses his frustration: “We have missionaries in Africa, South America, Greenland, the West Indies, and yet right at our doors, as it were, there is a wider field of labor for the missions than anywhere else that is all over the South.”<sup>65</sup>

Although Bethania's African American congregation had typically depended upon white Moravian pastors to provide religious guidance and to perform baptisms, marriages, communions, funerals, and events during the antebellum era, the community embraced new denominations in the Reconstruction years. Black minister A.T. Goslen organized an African Methodist Episcopal Zion congregation in Bethania in 1875 with the support of area residents Benjamin and Rhoda Bitting, Anderson and Annie Love, Thomas Miller, Joseph Shouse, and Lydia Washington. Lydia's husband, George Washington, remained affiliated with the Moravian church.<sup>66</sup>

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until 1952, when they moved to the Happy Hill community center. St. Philips built a new sanctuary at the corner of Mock and Vargrave Streets in 1959. Faced with the imminent construction of US 52 through the church property on Happy Hill in the 1960s, the congregation moved again in 1967 to its present location at 30<sup>th</sup> and Bon Air Avenues in northeast Winston-Salem. St. Philips was listed in the National Register in 1991. Old Salem, Inc. reconstructed the log church in 1999 and restored the brick building in 2003. Both buildings now serve as museums with interpretive exhibits and host a variety of community events.

<sup>64</sup> Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 42.

<sup>65</sup> Z. G. Hege of Bethania to G.F. Bahnson, “Report of work among black people in Bethania,” November 27, 1867 letter, Box H 274, Folder 10, Item 16, Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC. Transcribed by Heather Fearnbach, July 1997.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Loften Lash, “History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina,” Chapter 2, page 1; Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 42. George Washington was born around 1813 and purchased by Solomon Transou in 1821. His memoirs were recorded upon his death on January 6, 1879 and are housed in the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem. His wife Lydia was enslaved by Simon Stolz.

These men and women, like many Forsyth County freedmen, slowly accumulated the resources to purchase land and established small subsistence farms. After emancipation, George and Lydia Washington and their sons Turner, William, and John acquired five parcels encompassing approximately twenty-eight acres southeast of Bethania's main street. The area, which became known as "Washington Town," grew to encompass other African American property owners including Thomas and Ned Miller, who bought five adjacent tracts.<sup>67</sup>

Census returns illustrate North Carolina farmers' struggle to make ends meet in the years following the Civil War. Forsyth County's 1,272 farms declined in overall worth to \$1,173,202 in 1870, approximately \$25,000 less than their 1860 valuation, while the amount of improved acreage increased thirty-seven percent to 114,126. The average tract size was 89.7 acres, but more sizable operations made up almost a third of the county's farms. Census takers reported that 381 farmers owned between 100 and 499 acres, 11 proprietors operated farms of between 500 and 999 acres, and 4 landowners held more than 1000 acres. Tobacco remained the most significant cash crop, with farms generating 238,262 pounds that year. Wheat, Indian corn, oats, hay, Irish and sweet potatoes were also planted and harvested in large quantities. Butter appears to have been the only dairy product sold on a regular basis, as farmers reported manufacturing almost 60,000 pounds of butter versus 110 pounds of cheese. The difficulty of milk preservation dictated that most farmers used the milk produced by their dairy cattle rather than selling it. Consequently, Forsyth County farmers sold only 2 gallons of milk in 1870 compared with 17,057 gallons of far-less-perishable sorghum molasses. Bee-keeping continued to be a lucrative enterprise, with hives yielding 21,449 pounds of honey and 1,683 pounds of wax.<sup>68</sup>

The farm labor force from the Reconstruction era through the mid-twentieth century consisted of day laborers; sharecroppers, who usually received housing and staple goods from farm owners in exchange for a percentage of the crops they harvested; and tenant farmers, who paid cash rent for the land they occupied and cultivated. The vast majority of former slaves and white laborers unable to purchase their own farms worked as sharecroppers. Federal census records allow for the hypothetical recreation of residency patterns as census takers enumerated households in the order they were interviewed, which generally corresponds to dwelling location. African American families listed after white households and without taxable property often worked as sharecroppers, tenant farmers, or domestic servants. In many cases, newly freed slaves took the surnames of their former owners and continued to reside in close proximity to them.

An examination of census data related to one of Forsyth County's largest farms, operated by Bethania Township lawyer John F. Poindexter, illustrates this practice. The Federal agricultural schedule indicates that Mr. Poindexter's 1,043-acre property encompassed 868 improved acres in 1870, more than any other Forsyth County farm that year, and a far greater amount than the 200 acres of his then 900-acre farm he reported cultivating in 1860. The size of Mr. Poindexter's 1870 holdings is particularly significant when viewed in a statewide context, as only 116 of North Carolina's 93,565 farmers owned 1,000 or more acres that year. The census taker assessed the cash value of Mr.

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<sup>67</sup> "Bethania, November 1822." This map of Bethania, created by Friedrich Meinung in 1822 and updated through the time that W. S. Pfohl copied it in 1918, delineates the allocation of tracts within the town lot. See Forsyth County Deed Book 26, page 132 (1872); Deed Book 26, page 133 (1873); Deed Book 26, page 134 (1874); Deed Book 28, page 191 (1874); Deed Book 28, page 192 (1872); Deed Book 27, page 489 (1886); and Deed Book 30, page 458 (1888) for more detailed information regarding the Washington family's early land acquisitions.

<sup>68</sup> United States Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Productions of Agriculture in Each State and Territory* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 214-218.

Poindexter's land to be \$12,000, his farm equipment \$250, and his livestock (1 horse, 4 mules, 5 milk cows, 12 other cattle, 25 sheep, and 70 hogs) \$1,000. His household included his brother David Poindexter, who was a farmer, and three white women: Mary Poindexter, who appears to have been David's daughter; Mary Huse [sic], a housekeeper; and Mary's daughter Luvinia.<sup>69</sup>

Mr. Poindexter paid farm laborers \$600 including board in 1870. Members of the adjacent two enumerated households, one white and one African American, were listed without property valuations and thus likely worked on the Poindexter farm, growing wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, tobacco, wool, Irish and sweet potatoes, and cultivating an orchard. Farmer John Hill, his wife Susannah, and their seven children (including two boys who were farm laborers), occupied the dwelling closest to the Poindexters. African American farm laborer Frank Poindexter headed the next household, which contained ten of his family members, three of whom were employed on a farm, as well as three young men—George Beck, Thomas Martin, and Frank Wolf, who also provided farm labor. Vina Poindexter worked as a domestic servant. It is likely that Frank Poindexter and his family had been enslaved on John Poindexter's farm before the Civil War. The 1860 Federal slave schedule delineates only the age and sex of each slave under their owner's name, but John Poindexter's list of eighteen slaves includes men, women, and children whose ages correspond approximately with the members of Frank Poindexter's household in 1870.<sup>70</sup>

The Poindexters' situation illustrates the challenges that Forsyth County's formerly enslaved population faced as they searched for ways to earn income in the years immediately following the Civil War. Many men and women continued to work as farm laborers or as domestic servants even after new jobs became available in Winston's tobacco manufacturing plants in the 1880s, as unskilled tobacco factory employment in departments such as leaf sorting, stemming, rolling, wrapping, shaping, tagging, and packing was seasonal.<sup>71</sup>

Freedmen once owned by Abraham Conrad and Dr. Beverly Jones included Cole Conrad, who, along with his twelve-year-old son Joseph, labored on the Jones plantation after emancipation. Cole's wife, Iredell County native Caroline Tomlin, and their children were enumerated immediately after the Dr. Beverly Jones household that year. The Conrads did not own real estate or personal property of sufficient value to be assessed. The Federal agricultural schedule delineates that Dr. Jones's 1,500-acre property encompassed 500 improved acres in 1870. Dr. Jones, like his fellow Bethania Township resident John Poindexter, ranked within the top twelve percent of North Carolina farmers in terms of acreage owned that year. The census taker assessed the cash value of Dr. Jones's land to be \$9,600, his farm equipment \$200, and his livestock (3 horses, 4 mules, 4 milk cows, 6 other cattle, 7 sheep, and 12 hogs) \$800. He did not report paying cash wages during 1869, supporting the assumption that Cole Conrad and others worked for him as sharecroppers, planting and harvesting his wheat, corn, rye, oat, potato, and hay crops.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> United States Census, Population and Agricultural schedules, 1870.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Nannie M. Tilley, *The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 39.

<sup>72</sup> United States Census, Population and Agricultural schedules, 1870. Census records spell his name with a "y" at the end, i.e. "Coley." Dr. Jones spells it without the "y." Cole was thirty-two in 1863 when he was included in the list of Abraham Conrad's slaves. Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Folder 44, Volume S-14, "Lashe slave and land assessments, 1863."

Dr. Jones specified the terms of Cole's sharecropping agreement in his ledger on June 1, 1870, stating that if Cole quit working without his consent he would forfeit payment for the tasks he had completed, and that he must make up any time that he spent working for others. Cole labored on the Jones farm until September 1st, when he left to work for blacksmith Luvane Grubbs [sic]. He returned to work for Dr. Jones on October 10<sup>th</sup>. On December 25<sup>th</sup>, Dr. Jones calculated that Cole had missed twenty-six days of work in addition to the six weeks he was gone, and therefore had worked 8 1/2 months, earning \$42.50. However, Dr. Jones had supplied Cole with \$78.40-worth of cash advances, bushels of corn, and services such as arranging to have his boots mended and placing orders for him with Bethania merchant O. J. Lehman, thus leaving the Conrad family in his debt. Cole worked on the same terms in 1871, but only collected \$31.66 in wages for 6 1/3 months, as he asserted his independence by "losing" half of every Saturday and "pretending to be sick" on several occasions. Dr. Jones provided him with cash, corn, boots, and clothing valued at \$51.80 that year. This arrangement continued for several seasons, with the amount Cole earned remaining slightly less than what he owed, thus perpetuating a cycle of dependence.<sup>73</sup>

Julia Jones's ledger entries indicate that other former slaves, most of whose surnames are not given, also continued to work for the family after emancipation. Nance, who was twenty-eight in 1863 when she was included in the list of Abraham Conrad's slaves, returned to wash, bake, and help with butchering in addition to other domestic chores, often staying for several days in 1867. She was compensated with cash as well as pork, beef, potatoes, lard, flour, bacon, and a pair of cards for cleaning cotton.<sup>74</sup>

Lindy, who was thirty-six in 1863 when she was included in the list of Abraham Conrad's slaves, resided and labored on the Jones property for many weeks at a time in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Mrs. Jones notes that she compensated Lindy with cash and provisions for her family, which appears to have included Mary Jane, Mat, John Wesley, and Lyl [sic]. These supplies ranged from food (pork, beef, wheat, dried fruit, lard) to shoes, linens (bed ticking, sheeting), materials to make clothing (wool, cotton cloth, yarn, homespun, calico, lining, thread, buttons), and ready-made garments (waistcoats, pants, dresses, shirts, stockings, a quilted underskirt and jacket, a calico bonnet). Mrs. Jones only details the work Lindy completed in return in a few instances, for example when she "began to boil soap and worked" for three-and-a-half days in May 1870 in exchange for a pair of pants, two pounds of bacon, a half pound of lard, and one gallon of "shorts." In December 1872 she notes that Lindy had earned four dollars for twenty-four days of ironing and five dollars for approximately twenty-five days of washing.<sup>75</sup>

Freedmen such as Wesley Lash, his wife Melvina, and the couple's children sought greater autonomy but still retained connections with their former owners. Although the Lash family moved to a farm about five miles north of Bethania near Rural Hall after emancipation, Wesley and Melvina's daughter Bettie stated that she continued to work for the Jones family in Bethania. Melvina taught her children to read, and Bettie furthered her education by attending school for about four months of each year beginning around 1870. The log building that the Moravians had erected to serve as Bethania's African American community's church in 1850 functioned both as a school for all grades and a

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.; Jones Family Papers, Series 2, Folder 44, Volume S-13, Day Book 1861-1868, 1883-1888, 1901-1908. Luvane Grubbs was enumerated next to William Clayton in 1870, indicating that his property was northeast of Bethania.

<sup>74</sup> Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 39, Volume 8, Julia Amelia Conrad Jones's account book, 1855-1873.

<sup>75</sup> The meaning of "shorts" is unclear but it appears to reference foodstuffs. Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 38, Volume 7, Ledger, 1849-1874, includes one of Julia Amelia Conrad Jones's account books.

sanctuary until new edifices were erected to serve those purposes in the late nineteenth century. The first teachers were white men. Mr. Fulk provided instruction during Bettie's tenure. By 1873, when future African American teacher and pastor Joseph Loften Lash began attending school in Bethania, A. I. Butner taught the community's black children.<sup>76</sup>

Freedmen without prior association with the Joneses labored on their farm as well. Pierce Alspaugh began working for Dr. Jones at a rate of five dollars per month in 1869. He was paid in cash, wheat, corn, and molasses for tasks including splitting wood, harvesting oats, cutting hay, stripping tobacco, shelling corn, and digging ditches through 1875. Pierce married Lydia Beck on September 2, 1871, and she was also employed by the Joneses. Three full pages of Julia Jones's ledger are dedicated to the work Lydia carried out for the family from July 1873 through December 1874. She earned cash and supplies including lard, wheat, corn, flour, molasses, soap, cotton cloth, and shoes for washing, ironing, baking, and completing other domestic chores. The couple's earnings undoubtedly helped them purchase a lot on Bear Creek adjacent to the acreage of African American farmer Wesley Lash from Bethania wagonmaker L. J. Strupe and his wife Lizzie on August 23, 1881. It is possible that the one-room log house that the Alspaughs occupied was already standing on the property when they purchased it, but the fact that the building was always heated with a wood stove supports a late-nineteenth-century construction date, making it the oldest extant dwelling in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area.<sup>77</sup>

Many white neighbors also worked for the Jones family during the 1860s and 1870s, receiving cash wages in some instances but more often bartering for provisions or credit toward medical bills. Only a few representative examples of the many entries in Julia Jones's account books follow. Julia Clayton wove cloth in exchange for cash and molasses, flour, bacon, beef, coffee and one large and one small shoe pattern between 1865 and 1869. Maria and Lucinda Stoltz sewed myriad garments and knitted socks and stockings from 1868 through 1869 and were paid in cash. Mrs. Ebert began washing and ironing for the family in February 1870 at a rate of twenty-five cents per day, taking some of her wages in provisions such as bacon, butter, flour, lard, syrup, slat, dried fruit, and molasses. John Leinbach and his wife processed flax for five days in March 1870 and were compensated with corn meal, flour, bacon, salt, and "middlings." Rebecca Henly assisted with the fruit harvest in the late summer of 1870 and was paid \$3.00, a pair of shoes, and six pounds of dried peaches. Regina Holland completed tasks such as whitewashing for twelve-and-a-half days in June 1872 in exchange for meat, corn, wheat, flour, cornmeal, salt, coffee, and molasses. Franky Beck made soap and helped wash and iron for four days in May and June 1872 and received meat, flour, and corn in payment. Minerva Love spun, doubled, and twisted wool in 1873 and 1874 and was paid in cash, molasses, flour, and meat. Regina Grabbs earned four dollars cooking for the Jones family from February 22 to April 3, 1874.<sup>78</sup>

Mrs. Jones's ledgers reflect that she often hired women to spin, weave, and sew. Martha Watson made two shirts and three calico aprons for the family in 1867. Maria Stolz spun wool and sewed a dress, a

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<sup>76</sup> Joseph Loften Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," forward.

<sup>77</sup> The heading on the ledger pages reads "Lydia Pierce's wife." Mrs. Jones also notes that she paid "Lydia's husband Pierce" one dollar in October 1874, but does not specify the task he undertook. Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 38, Volume 7, Ledger, 1849-1874 and Series 2, Folder 44, Volume S-13, Day Book 1861-1868, 1883-1888, 1901-1908; Forsyth County Deed Book 23, pages 536-537.

<sup>78</sup> Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Series 2, Folder 38, Volume 7, Ledger, 1849-1874 and Series 2, Folder 39, Volume 8, Julia Amelia Conrad Jones's account book, 1855-1873. The term "middlings" may either refer to coarsely ground wheat mixed with bran, pork cut from between a pig's ham and shoulder, or salted pork. Other entries refer to "middling pork."

shirt, and two aprons in May 1868. Jane Banner resided for the family for many weeks in 1869 and 1870, fabricating a wide variety of clothing for which she was paid in cash and foodstuffs. In March 1872, Mrs. Jones notes that Betty Wright “made Lyl’s black coat and I cut his pants.” Betty made some items for the Jones family at her home and also came to stay with the family to sew for weeks at a time. She was paid in cash, flour, and spirits. Nancy Reid also sewed for the Joneses in exchange for food (flour, pumpkins, turnips, fruit, potatoes, corn, and butter) and credit toward her medical bills. Mrs. Jones notes that Mrs. Reid used a sewing machine to make pants, dresses, vests, coats, and chemises.<sup>79</sup>

The Jones family papers provide an intimate perspective on the exchange of goods and services that made it possible for Forsyth County residents to regain economic stability by the late nineteenth century. The county’s farms grew in number, showing a 32-percent increase between 1870 and 1880, when 1,871 farms encompassed 79,350 improved acres. The aggregate farm value of \$1,361,975 represented an increase of approximately 13 percent during the 1870s, while the average tract size grew about 22 percent to 115 acres. More sizable operations made up almost half of the county’s farms. Census takers reported that 774 farmers owned between 100 and 499 acres, 103 proprietors operated farms of between 500 and 999 acres, and 2 landowners held more than 1000 acres. The vast majority of these farms (1,565) were cultivated by their owners and paid laborers. Sharecroppers worked 291 farms and tenant farmers operated 15 properties.<sup>80</sup>

Tobacco remained an important cash crop, with farms generating 822,788 pounds from 1,693 acres in 1879. The county’s farmers also planted and harvested great quantities of wheat, Indian corn, and oats and smaller amounts of rye, hay, and Irish and sweet potatoes. Dairy product manufacture increased significantly, as Forsyth County farmers sold 17,205 gallons of milk to butter and cheese factories in 1879 in addition to producing 122,715 pounds of butter and 737 pounds of cheese on their farms. Bee-keeping continued to be a lucrative enterprise, with hives yielding 10,033 pounds of honey and 1,503 pounds of wax.<sup>81</sup>

The 1880 Federal agricultural schedule indicates that Dr. Beverly Jones’s 806-acre farm, valued at \$8,000, remained productive in 1879, although he reported owning significantly less land than in 1870, when his property encompassed 1,500 acres. The farm encompassed \$200-worth of equipment and livestock (3 horses, 1 mule, 4 milk cows, 1 other cow, 5 calves, 7 sheep, 20 pigs, and 28 chickens) valued at \$300. Dr. Jones shifted from executing sharecropping agreements to hiring day laborers and tenant farmers, as he reported paying farm laborers approximately \$200 for 50 weeks of work, including building \$200-worth of fences; cultivating 121 acres of hay, Indian corn, oats, rye, wheat, Irish and sweet potatoes, and tobacco; and churning 200 pounds of butter. The majority of the Jones farm was unimproved woods (532 acres) and fallow fields (113 acres). The remaining forty acres contained meadows, pastures, a five-acre apple orchard, and one acre of peach trees.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> United States Census, Agricultural Schedule, 1880.

<sup>81</sup> United States Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Productions of Agriculture in Each State and Territory* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 214-218.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. *The North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory* lists Dr. Jones as the owner of 1,205 acres in 1886. Deeds confirm that he sold large tracts that he had purchased in the 1850s and 1860s through the 1870s, but do not reflect the acquisition of significant holdings, so the acreage variation between sources is inexplicable. None of the property he sold appears to be part of the 1,200 acres that he and his wife Julia inherited from her father, Abraham Conrad, in 1864.

African American farmers Wesley Lash, Sandy Lash, and Calvin Kiser's holdings present a stark contrast to those of Dr. Jones, illustrating the ongoing economic disparity between former slaveholders and freedmen. Wesley Lash owned eighty acres—a considerable amount of land—in 1880, when his family, like many Forsyth County residents, operated a self-sufficient farm. Mr. Lash's household cultivated twenty acres in 1879 and generated \$50-worth of farm products. The census taker estimated his farm's value to be \$300, plus livestock (one horse, six pigs, one milk cow, and one other cow) appraised at \$15 and \$2-worth of equipment. The family generated 40 bushels of Indian corn, 30 bushels of wheat, 200 pounds of tobacco, and 20 pounds of butter.<sup>83</sup>

Sandy Lash, who, like Wesley, had been enslaved by brothers Israel and Thomas Lash, owned a much smaller four-acre farm valued at \$25, \$2-worth of farm equipment, and livestock (2 hogs and 7 chickens) appraised at \$2. He produced 8 bushels of corn, 6 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 100 pounds of tobacco and cultivated 3 apple and 50 peach trees. It is highly likely that Wesley and Sandy also worked as day laborers for other area farmers in exchange for cash and provisions.<sup>84</sup>

Twenty-year-old Calvin Kiser was the head of a household that included his widowed mother Artency and three of his younger siblings. The family sharecropped a farm that encompassed forty acres, all of which was improved, and owned farm equipment worth \$20 and and livestock valued at \$75 (a mule, a milk cow, 4 hogs, and 4 chickens). The household, albeit small, reported a substantial yield, churning 50 pounds of butter and harvesting 3 tons of hay, 300 bushels of corn, 25 bushels of oats, 106 bushels of wheat, 5 bushels of Irish potatoes, 6 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 800 pounds of tobacco.<sup>85</sup>

Wesley Lash, Sandy Lash, Calvin Kiser, Dr. Jones, and other Bethania farmers sold their tobacco in Winston and at other local markets. The community had close ties to R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, as Wesley and Melvina Lash's daughter Bettie met her husband, James Madison Koger, called "Mat," after he moved from Patrick County, Virginia to North Carolina with R. J. Reynolds in 1874. It is likely that Mat was one of the twelve African American men who were R. J. Reynolds' first employees, manufacturing chewing tobacco while he handled all other aspects of running the business. Mat married Bettie around 1875 and the couple initially lived with her parents. In 1883, Mat Koger partnered with Calvin Kiser to purchase forty-three-and-a-half acres near Bethania close to what had been the Jones plantation where Bettie had spent the majority of her life.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> United States Census, Agricultural Schedule, 1880. The microfilm resolution quality for Sheet 14 of Bethania Township is poor, making it very difficult to read Wesley Lash's farm statistics. The numbers included in this report represent the author's best effort to interpret the almost illegible document.

<sup>84</sup> United States Census, Agricultural Schedule, 1880.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Deeds, census returns, estate reports, church records, and death certificates delineate James Madison Koger's name differently. In order to avoid confusion as he had a son by the same name, and reflecting that records created by those who knew him personally, such as F. H. Lash, the executor of Wesley Lash's estate, referred to him as "Mat," that variation of his name is used in this document. Mathew [sic] Koger and Calvin Kiser of Forsyth County purchased 43½ acres from William Grabs, agent for the heirs of Charles Grubbs, for \$215 on December 1, 1883 (Forsyth County Deed Book 26, pages 470-471). James Madison and Bettie Koger had four children, two of whom were living in 1936 (Bettie Koger, interview with Esther S. Pinnix as part of the "Negro Folklore of the Piedmont" series). James Koger is enumerated in the household of R. J. Reynolds's parents, Hardin W. and Nancy Jane Reynolds, who owned a farm that encompassed \$20,000 in real estate and \$6,800 in personal property, in 1870. It is unclear whether James was from Virginia, as the 1900 United States Census states that he was born in January 1845 in North Carolina and that both of his parents were North Carolina natives. Although the Reynolds' assets were considerable, their holdings were significantly diminished in comparison to 1860, when the family's real estate was worth \$40,000 and their personal property valued at \$102,500, including forty-nine slaves. Hardin Reynolds owned eighty-eight slaves in 1863, but by the spring of 1865 his son Abram remembered that all of the slaves were gone and that as there was no one else to harvest the corn crop, he and his brother

Analysis of Charles Emerson's 1886 *North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory*, which contains a complete alphabetical list of all landowners (including amount of acreage and the nearest post office) in nine counties, allows for the placement of Bethania's farm owners into a county-wide context. The directory provides important information regarding the distribution of Forsyth County farms, listing 2,211 landowners, 152 of whom were African American. The property owners enumerated in the *North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory* received mail at twenty-seven Forsyth County post offices as well as at other North Carolina locations. The Winston Post Office served the largest number of landowners (473), which included 34 African Americans; followed by Salem (393; 21 of whom were African American); Kernersville (218; 18 African American); Bethania (184; 22 African American); Lewisville (159; 18 African American); and Walkertown (81; 4 African American). The remaining post offices served 74 or fewer landowners.<sup>87</sup>

John F. Poindexter of Germanton owned the largest amount of land in 1886 (1,563 acres), followed by Joseph Fulp of Walnut Cove (1,255 acres), Dr. Beverly Jones of Bethania (1,205 acres), John Hester of Goodwill (1,201 acres), and Lewis Laugenour of Lewisville (1,103 acres). Five other white men owned between 885 and 1046 acres. The county's top ten African American landowners each held between 100 and 180 acres. W. M. Phillips of Kernersville owned the largest tract (180 acres), followed by Addison Conrad of Lewisville (168 acres), William Kiger of Rural Hall (150 acres), Charles Fulton of Kernersville (who was the administer of Peter Fulton's 148-acre estate), and Alex Davis of Vienna (142 acres).<sup>88</sup>

Bethania's African American farmers included Lydia Beck Alspaugh, who was widowed and owned two acres at that time. Her farm was adjacent to Wesley Lash's eighty-acre farm and Benjamin Bitting's two-acre tract. Wesley Lash's sons-in-law, Calvin Miller and Mat Koger, and their families lived nearby. Calvin Miller owned three acres while Mat Koger and Calvin Kiser jointly held a forty-three-acre farm. Other African American farmers who received mail at the Bethania post office in 1886 included John Conrad (who owned 20 acres), Eli Lash (3 acres), Sandy Lash (4 acres), Thomas Miller (4 acres), William Murrel (18 acres), Aaron Shouse (18 acres), John Shouse (9 acres), Gabe Snow (1 acre), Harmon Spease (5 acres), William Warren (1 acre), John Washington (6 acres), Lydia Washington (11 acres), Turner Washington (2 acres), William Washington (6 acres), and Meaton Wolff (12 acres).<sup>89</sup>

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R. J. had to do it. Hardin and Nancy Reynolds had seven children living at home in 1870, ranging from twenty-two year old Abram to five-month-old Nannie. Nineteen-year-old Richard J. Reynolds was a student. The household contained two white carpenters and a white laborer, but most of its members were African American, including Mariah Reynolds, who worked as domestic servant, two teenagers who labored on the property, two children, and thirteen young men and women including James Koger who were employed in the Reynolds' tobacco factory. Only one tobacco hand had the surname Reynolds, indicating that he was likely formerly enslaved on the property. United States Census, Population and Slave Schedules, 1860; Population Schedules, 1870 and 1900; Tilley, *The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 9, 22, 26, 37. Nancy Tilley's information about the company's first years came from her interview with William N. Reynolds while writing the company history. Few early R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company records exist, and the company archives is only accessible by employees for in-house business research (Anita Schism, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company archivist, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 2011). The Reynolda House archives contain a collection of Hardin Reynolds' business papers, but these documents do not appear to include any mention of James Madison Koger (Todd Crumley, Reynolda House archivist, email correspondence with Heather Fearnbach, September 2011).

<sup>87</sup> Charles Emerson, *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

John Conrad, Wesley Lash, and John Washington represented Forsyth County District No. 5's African American public school committee when they paid Dr. Beverly Jones twenty dollars for a one-acre tract adjacent to William Grabbs' Shamel Road property on August 1, 1885. The frame school erected on that lot was one of the first constructed under the supervision of the newly-created Forsyth County Board of Education, directed by Bethania native A. I. Butner.<sup>90</sup> African American educator and preacher Joseph Loften Lash, who lived near Bethania, began his teaching career in 1884 and instructed children in Forsyth and three other North Carolina counties for more than fifty years.<sup>91</sup>

A. I. Butner's Forsyth County Board of Education meeting minutes shed some light on the operation of Bethania's African American School District No. 5 during the 1890s. In January 1892, 126 students attended classes in the district, making it the county's fifth-largest. District No. 5's yearly funding—based on enrollment numbers—was \$168. Lewis Shouse, Sandy Conrad, and Sandy Miller attended the June 1893 meeting on behalf of Bethania's black community. District No. 5 received a \$225 appropriation toward operating costs in January 1894, the third-highest among the county's twenty-one African American school districts. On October 1, 1898, Bethania Township's School Committee accepted a petition from Joseph Loften Lash to teach at Bethania's African American school at a salary of \$25 per month. Cora Spainhour, Pleasant Ridge's new teacher, was to receive the same payment, while A. I. Butner accepted an appointment to instruct Bethania's white children at a \$30 monthly salary.<sup>92</sup>

### **From Farm to Factory**

As most of the Federal census returns for 1890 were destroyed in a fire, population and agriculture schedules broken down by state, county, and household are not available. However, the Federal agricultural statistics overview provides general information regarding Forsyth County farm production and Levi Branson's *North Carolina Business Directory* lists many of the county's farmers. Census takers calculated that North Carolina contained 178,359 farms in 1890 and that Forsyth County's 2,088 farms encompassed 79,954 improved and 136,838 unimproved acres that year.<sup>93</sup>

The aggregate value of farm land, buildings, and fences more than doubled to \$3,210,240 between 1880 and 1890, while the average tract size decreased slightly to 104 acres. Census takers reported that the largest group of farmers—815—owned between 100 and 499 acres. The number of proprietors operating farms of between 500 and 999 acres had dropped 80 percent since 1880 to 21, and 2 landowners still held more than 1000 acres. As in previous years, the vast majority of these farms (1,778) were cultivated by their owners and paid laborers. The number of Forsyth County sharecroppers (293) and tenant farmers (17) were almost identical in 1880 and 1890.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 21, page 381; R. L. Kuykendall, "The History of Education in Forsyth County," *North Carolina Education*, February 1945, 315-316. The new facility replaced the log building that the Moravians had erected to serve as the African American community's church in 1850 and that subsequently also functioned as a school.

<sup>91</sup> Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church anniversary bulletin, October 21, 2007, information compiled by Melinda Lash, Reverend Joseph Loften Lash's granddaughter, and other members of the historic committee: Alice Allen, Jamesine Ruff, Evelyn Shouse, and Natalie Summers.

<sup>92</sup> A. I. Butner, "Minutes of the County Board of Education," 1890-1898, in Albert I. Butner Papers, 1820-1907, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

<sup>93</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Statistics of Agriculture in the United States, at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 168, 221.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 168-169, 221.

The county's farmers grew great quantities of wheat, Indian corn, and oats and smaller crops of rye, hay, and Irish and sweet potatoes in 1890. Orchards included 119,949 apple, 74,763 peach, and 7,663 cherry trees, in addition to much smaller numbers of apricot, pear, and plum trees. Dairy production increased dramatically overall, as farmers reported making 215,306 pounds of butter, almost twice as much as in 1880, and collecting 815,667 gallons of milk. Cheese manufacture, on the other hand, had declined 44 percent since 1880 to 486 pounds. Forsyth County farmers kept 2,023 sheep for meat and fleece and 113,439 chickens for meat and eggs. Bee hives yielded 32,809 pounds of honey (approximately three times as much as in 1880) and 1,739 pounds of wax. Tobacco remained the primary cash crop and the yield doubled between 1880 and 1890, when farmers planted 4,119 acres and harvested 1,607,323 pounds.<sup>95</sup>

Most Forsyth County farmers sold their tobacco at auction houses in Winston, but tobacco factories also operated in smaller communities including Bethania, Kernersville, Old Town, Salem, and Walkertown, providing farmers with myriad market locations. Levi Branson's *North Carolina Business Directory* lists twenty-six Forsyth County leaf tobacco dealers in 1896. By the late 1890s, Winston's commercial and industrial center included approximately thirty-five tobacco factories and warehouses owned by entrepreneurs including Richard Joshua Reynolds, Pleasant Henderson Hanes, John Wesley Hanes, and Thomas Jethrow Brown. Reynolds had constructed his first two-story frame factory in 1875 and employed large numbers of white and African American workers by the 1890s. After almost two decades of expansion into other buildings his company replaced the original factory with a six-story brick building with steam power and electric lights, which was billed as "THE tobacco factory of the South," and stood as the largest edifice in Winston in 1892. Reynolds entered into a subsidiary agreement with James B. Duke's Durham-based American Tobacco Company in 1899 and soon began consolidating Winston's numerous plug tobacco manufactories.<sup>96</sup>

As tobacco factory work was seasonal during this period, with labor needs escalating after the tobacco harvest and declining by winter, employees often worked other jobs, such as railroad or road construction, for the remainder of the year. Forsyth County farmers benefited when tobacco factories increased production, as they supplied Reynolds and other tobacco companies with the golden leaf as well as produce, meat, eggs, and dairy products for employee cafeterias.

Bethania's African American residents, who worked on farms, in factories, and in the building trades, among other endeavors, invested some of their hard-earned capital in community resources including a new church during the nineteenth century's last decade. Farmer and pastor Henry Hauser led the Bethania A. M. E. Zion congregation as they began planning a larger sanctuary in September 1891. Moravian Church elders conveyed the property upon which the log church sat to A. M. E. Zion Church trustees on May 6, 1892, and Joseph Loften Lash purchased lumber for a frame building at Stoney Ridge in Surry County. Reverend Hauser dedicated the new 1,500-square-foot sanctuary in early September of 1893.<sup>97</sup>

By the turn of twentieth century, Bethania's farmers, like the majority of Forsyth County's rural population, were influenced by progressive farming practices as they introduced new crops and debated the best methods for selecting and caring for poultry and livestock. In 1900, they grew

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 261, 300, 341, 378, 444, 483, 523

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 110, 116; Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 367; James Howell Smith, *Winston-Salem in History, Volume 8: Industry and Commerce, 1896-1975* (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, Inc., 1977), 9, 13-15.

<sup>97</sup> Joseph Loften Lash, Chapter 2, page 4; Forsyth County Deed Book 41, pages 153-155.

tobacco, wheat, oats, rye, corn, potatoes, peas, beans, hay, cotton, and sorghum cane on 2,421 farms (14 percent more than in 1890) averaging 94.4 acres in size (10 percent smaller than in 1890). Tobacco remained the primary cash crop, with 4,886 acres (16 percent more than in 1890) yielding 2,649,440 pounds (39 percent more than in 1890) in 1899. Owners operated most of Forsyth County's farms (1,628), sharecroppers worked 569 farms, and tenant farmers worked 25 farms. White farmers managed 89.3 percent of these farms; African American farmers 10.7 percent. Many farmers raised horses, dairy cattle, pigs, and chickens and harvested honey and wax from bees. Most farmsteads had a vegetable garden, fruit trees, and berry bushes for the use of the family, and some families sold the surplus.<sup>98</sup>

The interactions of white farmer Edmund Burke Flynt and African American farmer William Moses Conrad, who eventually built houses across from each other at what is now 1415 and 1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, with Lucien G. Jones, Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's son who managed their farm, called Oak Grove, in the early twentieth century, demonstrate the community's ongoing use of bartering to make ends meet. Lucien's account book from 1901-1908 reflects that the Jones and their neighbors traded goods and services for cash and manual labor. In 1904 and 1905, E. B. Flynt used the Jones's mules to plough his fields at a rate of \$1.00 a day on several occasions. He also borrowed a boar and a bull to breed with his livestock at a charge of \$2.00 each time. Mr. Flynt hauled logs, threshed hay, and transported corn for the Joneses in exchange for a service of bone china, twine, fertilizer (guano and bone meal), and small quantities of wheat and corn.<sup>99</sup>

William Moses Conrad purchased flour, wheat, beef, firewood, oil, stamps, and a pig from the Joneses in 1904 and borrowed a horse and wagon at a daily rate of fifty cents several times. It appears that Lucien Jones placed orders for him with Bethania merchants. Mr. Conrad provided general farm labor for the Joneses and was also paid for specific tasks such as threshing hay, shucking corn, and roofing.<sup>100</sup>

A note in Lucien Jones's ledger indicates that Mr. Conrad did not work on Wednesday, September 28, 1904 as he attended the "colored fair," likely referring to the first "Colored Agricultural and Industrial Fair" that was held in Rural Hall that year. A 1916 brochure states the Forsyth County fair was the second such event to be established in North Carolina. The first, held annually in Raleigh from 1879 until 1930, was presented by the North Carolina Industrial Association, an organization created by twenty-three African American businessmen including Charles N. Hunter to promote black advancement in agriculture, industry, and education.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> William R. Merriam, *Census Reports, Volume V, Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Agriculture Part I, Farms, Livestock and Animal Products* (Washington: United States Census Office, 1902), 108-109, 550, 657; William R. Merriam, *Census Reports, Volume V, Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Agriculture Part II, Crops and Irrigation* (Washington: United States Census Office, 1902), 177, 253, 384, 433, 488, 566, 736.

<sup>99</sup> Jones Family Papers, Series 2, Folder 44, Volume S-13, Day Book 1861-1868, 1883-1888, 1901-1908, page 396. According to Richard Bovender, E. B. Flynt's grandson, the Flynts resided in a log dwelling on the Jones property until they were able to purchase land and establish their own farm on Bethania-Rural Hall Road. A log tobacco barn and a log livestock barn stood near the log house, and the Flynts cared for the Jones's animals quartered there (Richard Bovender, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 30, 2012).

<sup>100</sup> Jones Family Papers, Series 2, Folder 44, Volume S-13, Day Book 1861-1868, 1883-1888, 1901-1908, page 389.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*; "North Carolina Industrial Association," <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/420/entry>, accessed in September 2011.

Bethania's African American residents, who included farmers, domestic and factory workers, carpenters, preachers, businessmen, and teachers, exemplified such achievements. The community lost two extremely influential members—Wesley Lash and his son-in-law Mat Koger—during the twentieth century's first decade. These men had successfully navigated the transition from slavery to freedom, paving the way for future generations.

Wesley Lash's estate settlement report illustrates the complex relationships between Bethania's white and African American residents. Wesley had been enslaved by brothers Thomas B. and Israel G. Lash, who operated plantations and a cigar factory in Bethania among other business endeavors. It appears that he retained a close relationship with the family, however, as Thomas Lash's son Flavius, known as F. H., was the executor of Wesley's estate, which encompassed real and personal property valued at about four hundred dollars in 1904. Wesley Lash's approximately eighty-acre land division was delineated on March 2, 1905 when county surveyor A. E. Conrad measured the property, creating two parts of equal value. Wesley Lash's grandchildren by his daughter Harriett Lash Miller (deceased) and her husband Calvin Miller, inherited two lots (37.65 acres). These heirs were Emma Miller Washington (William Erastus Washington's wife), Susan Miller Davis (Robert Davis's wife), John Miller, Henry Miller, Lillie Miller Reynolds (John Reynolds's wife), Vina Miller, and Harriet Miller. Wesley Lash's daughter Bettie Lash Koger also inherited two lots (41.77 acres).<sup>102</sup>

Mr. Lash's estate disbursements included state and county tax payments and settlements of accounts with his family and white and African American community members. Local physician Solomon Flynt treated Wesley in the spring of 1904.<sup>103</sup> Reverend J. R. Glenn of Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church and pastor and teacher Joseph Loftin Lash witnessed his will. Bettie Koger cared for her father during his illness and fed his livestock. Mat Koger, John Shouse, and John Speas worked on Wesley Lash's farm, cutting and hauling hay among other activities. Cato Shouse and Julius Lash dug his grave and A. J. Lung [sic] supplied the coffin. Rufus E. Transou wrote letters and a court petition and order and prepared the auction lists and final estate report.<sup>104</sup>

Julius M. Stolz served as the auctioneer and Ernest Transou the clerk at the two sales at which Wesley Lash's belongings were sold. White and black neighbors purchased household goods ranging from items used for food preparation, storage, and serving (crocks, jugs, fruit jars, a dish pan, a coffee mill, a coffee pot, a lard can, a rolling pin, a kettle, a sieve, sausage mill, a meat box, a cook stove, plates, "dish saucers" [bowls], "dish & cups" [tea cups and saucers], a coffee mug, a "big dish" [serving bowl], spoons, knives, and forks), to furnishings (a corner cupboard, a feather bed, a trunk, a table, two

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<sup>102</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 75, pages 333-336, recorded on May 20, 1905.

<sup>103</sup> Dr. Solomon Spainhour Flynt (May 10, 1860 – June 15, 1933), Fountain Flynt and Eliza Spainhour's youngest son, studied at his brother William's boarding school, Dalton Institute, in southwest Stokes County. In the late 1880s, Solomon became a teacher at the "Number One Schoolhouse," a Forsyth County public school located at what is now 1412 Turfwood Drive (opposite the property upon which E. B. and Nora Flynt build their house). He attended the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1891-1893. Solomon married a young woman he met while teaching, Sally Stauber (Samuel B. Stauber's daughter), and the couple settled in Rural Hall and had a large family (Vernon Flynt, "Flynt Family History," undated document (circa 1970), courtesy of Richard Bovender). The "Number One Schoolhouse" became a rental dwelling and was occupied for some time by the Joyces until they were able to build a house on Murray Road in the early 1950. Perry Pike purchased the property containing the school and demolished it the late 1950s. Richard Bovender remembers that gypsy wagons used to camp in the schoolyard for a week every year. Flynt family photographs in his possession show a corner of the weatherboarded, frame, front-gable-roofed school, which had an almost-full-width front porch (Richard Bovender, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, December 30, 2011 and January 30, 2012).

<sup>104</sup> Rufus E. Transou (white) worked Forsyth County Superior Court clerk by 1910 and his son Ernest Transou was a bookkeeper for a lumber office at that time. Both men were involved in Wesley Lash's estate settlement.

chairs, a round table, a box, two bedsteads, a bureau, three clocks, a carpet, and carpet “rags”) and personal effects (two watches, a hat, a razor). The auction also included weapons (a dagger and a gun), domestic equipment (a wash pot, a washboard, a spinning wheel, a flax wheel, three padlocks, and three locks), and tools and farm apparatus (hammers, an auger, hoes, a rake, a hatchet, a grind stone, plows, scythes, sheep shears, harnesses, saddles, a spur, a bucket, a stool, hay frames, twelve bee stands, a buggy, and a wagon). Livestock (a red cow, a spotted cow, a mule, a horse, two hogs, two guinea hens, and eighteen chickens), farm products (corn, wheat, hay, fodder, molasses, potatoes, onions), and raw materials (leather and lumber) were also auctioned. Mr. Lash’s daughter Bettie and her husband Mat Koger purchased the spinning wheel that had likely belonged to her mother, as well as a hat, a bedstead, a box, a saddle, harnesses, fruit jars, a meat box, carpet rags, two bee stands, hay frames, plows, wheat, corn, hay, potatoes, onions, fodder, and all of the chickens and guinea hens.<sup>105</sup>

Bettie and Mat Koger’s dwelling and Lydia Alspaugh’s house are the only two buildings depicted on the section of C. M. Miller’s 1907 Forsyth County map illustrating the Bethania to Rural Hall Road between the Cedar Grove School (also called Bethania Community School) north of Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church and another African American church that stood to the north at the southeast corner of the Murray Road intersection (just south of Alpha Chapel’s original location). Lydia was widowed by 1886, and only two of her six children—Sallie and Decatur—were still living in 1910. Sallie married John Henry Conrad around 1903 and it is likely that the couple helped fund the construction of a side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded dwelling southeast of the family’s log house soon thereafter. John and Sallie resided in the new frame house with Lydia by 1910. John and his brother-in-law Decatur, who lived in the log house, worked in a tobacco factory. Decatur’s household included his wife Hannah, a registered midwife, and eight children ranging in age from two to seventeen.<sup>106</sup>

Several other homes were built along this stretch of Bethania-Rural Hall Road during the twentieth century’s first decades. William Moses Conrad (born on March 12, 1883 to Sanford and Lettie Conrad) married Sallie Conrad (born on June 25, 1888 to Sandy and Abbie Jane Stauber Conrad) in 1907. The couple soon erected a side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded, one-story dwelling insulated with brick nogging on the west side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road northwest of the Koger’s house.<sup>107</sup>

Rufus Clinton Lash purchased two acres from white Bethania miller Julius F. Miller and his wife Ellen for forty-seven dollars on May 18, 1905. The property is on the west side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road south of William Moses Conrad’s home and just northwest of the property that belonged to the Kogers. Rufus and Mary Lash’s one-story, side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded house and the detached kitchen that stood about eight feet northwest of the house were erected in 1912. Carpenter Julius Lash, whose father of the same name was owned by brothers Israel G. and Thomas B. Lash, likely assisted with the construction.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> F. H. Lash, Final Report of Wesley Lash Estate, August 1906 [will date April 25, 1904, probated September 1, 1904], “List of property sold by F. H. Lash Executor of Wesley Lash deceased, first sale October 1, 1904,” and “sale of November 19, 1904,” Forsyth County Clerk of Court File 533, pages 1933-1940.

<sup>106</sup> United States Census, Population Schedule, 1910. Both the Alspaugh-Shouse House and the Conrad house are still extant, but have been vacant for many years. The Koger’s residence has been demolished and Winston-Salem Fire Station 20, called the Koger Fire Station in the family’s honor, was erected near its site in 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Sanford and Sandy had both been enslaved by Abraham Conrad, while Abbie belonged to Samuel B. Stauber. Many elements of William and Sallie Conrad’s house were reconstructed in 2010-2011. Ali Shabazz, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, April-September 2011.

<sup>108</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 76, page 263. Rufus Lash was the son of Frank and Dorcas Lash of Bethania (death certificate). Rufus Lash’s acreage is tract 7 of the August 1937 plat map showing the subdivision of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton’s property (now 1560 Bethania-Rural Hall Road). The detached kitchen was demolished when a new rear

William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington resided in Washington Town before hiring Wilson Brothers Lumber Company to build a house for them in 1914 on the Bethania-Rural Hall Road property that Emma inherited from her grandfather Wesley Lash. The couple's daughter Julia, who was born that year, remembered that her father sold crops including feed corn to generate the family's income. Mr. Washington grew tobacco on acreage owned by E. B. Flynt. She also stated that, like many other area residents, her father labored on the Jones farm as well as at Wilson Brothers Lumber Company, where he purchased the materials used to construct their home. Julia recalled traveling in her parent's wagon to the agricultural fair, where her father often won awards in the corn and potato categories. The family enjoyed improved transportation after Mr. Washington purchased a Model T Ford from Covington Motor Company in 1923. Emma's health declined after she gave birth to fifteen children, so Julia helped with household tasks such as cooking as soon as she was old enough to do so. Julia and her siblings attended Bethania Community School and worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company during season and in white households for the rest of the year. Mr. Washington was also employed by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, where he remained until he was in his 80s.<sup>109</sup>

The Washington's home stood just south of the 3 3/10-acre tract that Samuel L. Miller purchased from Bettie Lash Koger for \$50.40 on February 5, 1906. The land had also been part of Wesley Lash's property. It appears that Mr. Miller erected a side-gable-roofed weatherboarded house on the lot sometime between 1910 and 1920. The 1910 Federal census indicates that he lived on Germanton Road with his widowed mother Sarah, his brother Rueben Benjamin Miller, who was then a laborer in a tobacco factory, and a ten-year-old boy, A. Gray, who was his ward. The Millers resided next to the household of Joseph Lofton Lash, an African American public school teacher and preacher. Mr. Lash undoubtedly inspired Benjamin Miller in his career path, as he later became a teacher. By 1920, Samuel Miller and his mother resided in a dwelling located between the households of Anna Bitting and Bettie and Mat Koger's son, James Madison Koger. Bettie had married her neighbor Eli Lash and lived just north of her son. Samuel never married, and his brother Benjamin, who also remained single, inherited his house.<sup>110</sup> This dwelling is still standing and, as it retains all of its original architectural features including weatherboards, windows, shutters, and sawnwork porch elements, is the most intact early-twentieth-century residence in the study area.

White farmer Edmund Burke Flynt, known as "E. B.," began acquiring acreage flanking Bethania-Rural Hall Road on April 13, 1905, when he purchased 11.37 acres (lot # 4 of Wesley Lash's estate) from Mat and Bettie Koger for \$120.55. Wesley Lash's estate commissioners were Dewitt C. Flynt (E. B. Flynt's father), L. C. Hall, and Columbus Kapp. E. B. Flynt subsequently purchased fifteen acres "adjoining the lands of Jesse Shouse heirs, Bettie Koger, and the Jones heirs," from Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's son, attorney E. B. Jones, and his wife Susan for \$265 on August 7, 1912. This property

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wing containing a bedroom and kitchen was constructed by Rufus and Mary's son Shober between 1943 and 1945. The rear wing's exact date construction date is unknown, as the Lash's grandson Richard Washington was serving in World War II and was thus not home at the time. Priscilla Glenn Kerins remembers that her great-grandparents' house had a front porch, a living room, two bedrooms, a large kitchen, and a small screened-in back porch. The dwelling was razed in the late 1990s and the debris buried at the rear of the lot (Priscilla Glenn Kerins, telephone conversations with Richard Washington and email correspondence and telephone conversations with Heather Fearnbach, August and September 2011).

<sup>109</sup> See Forsyth County Deed Book 551, page 546, for the November 15, 1913 Superior Court settlement of the portion of Wesley Lash's estate his grandchildren by his daughter Harriett Lash Miller (deceased) and her husband Calvin Miller inherited; Laura Knight, "1916 Agricultural Fair is witness to community's past," *The Weekly Independent*, September 21, 1995, pages 1 and 10; Julia Washington Lash, interview with Michael O. and Martha Hartley, October 16, 1995.

<sup>110</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 80, page 226; United States Census Population Schedules, 1910 and 1920.

had been part of the land that Calvin Kiser and Mat Koger bought in 1883 and that their heirs sold to E. B. Jones on May 15, 1907.<sup>111</sup> In a second transaction on August 7, 1912, E. B. Flynt purchased 24.53 adjacent acres from George Hauser for \$612.50.<sup>112</sup>

The Flynt family remained in the log house on the Jones property where they had resided for many years until they were able to obtain the resources to build a two-story, frame, hip-roofed dwelling that still stands at what is now 1415 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. The house is situated near the site of an African American church illustrated on C. M. Miller's 1907 Forsyth County map. According to E. B. and Nora Flynt's grandson Richard Bovender, his grandfather demolished the abandoned sanctuary and reused some of the framing elements in his home's construction around 1919. A small cemetery that was associated with the church is behind the house, but the fence that once surrounded it has been removed. The family planted fields, cleared pastures, and cultivated an orchard with apple, cherry, and pear trees east and south of the house. Edmund Burke Flynt Jr. replaced the frame barn that his father had constructed around the same time as the house with an equipment and cattle shed that subsequently burned. In the late 1950s, E. B. Jr., Richard Bovender, and Conrad Lash, an African American neighbor, erected fences around approximately fifty acres of the Flynt family's pastures. Historic extant farm buildings include a milk house, pump house, smokehouse, chicken house, tobacco barn, and a tobacco pack house.<sup>113</sup>

E. B. Flynt and his daughters, Maxine, Helen, and Ethel, sold milk, butter, eggs, and vegetables to their neighbors and other local customers and delivered to Winston-Salem residents in neighborhoods including West End on Saturdays through the 1950s. They often stopped at a downtown grocery store that stood on the convention center site on their way home to buy items they didn't produce on the farm. The girls also worked at Efird's Department Store on West Fourth Street.<sup>114</sup>

The Flynts maintained good relationships with their neighbors. They shared a well with William Moses Conrad's family, who lived directly across the road, for many years. Richard Bovender remembers taking meals his grandmother prepared to Blanche Lash, who was confined to a

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<sup>111</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 76, page 29; Deed Book 94, pages 288; Deed Book 115, pages 265-266.

<sup>112</sup> The property was known as the "Joe Hauser lot" and had been conveyed to George Hauser from the Board of Provincial Elders of the Moravian Church. This lot adjoined "the lands of the late Jesse Shouse, Dr. E. F. Strickland, Mattie Koger, and others" and was likely part of the 182 acres described in Forsyth County Deed Book 111, page 508-509, registered on July 13, 1912. Richard Bovender remembers that his grandfather E. B. Flynt referred to his fields near what is now the Mallard Lakes subdivision as the Hauser property (conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 30, 2012).

<sup>113</sup> In the early 1950s, E. B. and Nora's sons Nat and Ralph updated the family home with asbestos shingle siding, constructed a bathroom to replace the outdoor privy, and changed the run of the front steps to rise from the back of the center hall rather than the front. The family gathered in the kitchen and dining room, only using the living room on special occasions. E. B. and Nora's bedroom was at the second floor's southwest corner. In the 1950s, their daughter Helen occupied the southeast bedroom; Maxine and Roy Bovender inhabited the northeast bedroom; and the northwest bedroom was reserved for guests, but was eventually used by Maxine and Roy's son, Richard (Richard Bovender [b. 1942] conversation with Heather Fearnbach on December 30, 2011 regarding his grandparents and their farm, where he lived for fourteen years).

<sup>114</sup> Edmund Burke and Nora Alice Flynt had eight children, all of whom are deceased. Their youngest son Edmund Burke Flynt, Jr. (March 28, 1916 – June 13, 1991) married Emma Frances Barbee and moved to Greensboro. Edmund Burke and Emma's youngest son, James Flynt, and Jerome Livengood now own 80.5 acres associated with the family farm. Roumell Doub (Ralph and Mary Flynt's daughter) purchased the house from her aunt Helen, who never married. Roumell's son Donald inherited the home upon her death in 2009. Richard Bovender, conversation with Heather Fearnbach on December 30, 2011; Alice Flynt Adams (Roumell Doub's sister), telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 16, 2011; James Flynt, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 15, 2011.

wheelchair, and that her husband, R. J. Reynolds Company employee Tom Lash, supplied the Flynts with tobacco products. E. B. Flynt frequently mediated discussions regarding community concerns.<sup>115</sup>

Although the area's white and African American children lived next to each other, they were educated separately. The Forsyth County public school system, with assistance from Bethania residents, had erected two one-room frame buildings for the area's students in the late nineteenth century. White students received instruction in Bethania, while black youth studied at Cedar Grove School/Bethania Community School, which stood northeast of the town's center at the northeast corner of Walker and Bethana-Rural Hall roads. Oak Grove, a one-room frame school constructed around 1910 in Washington Town, an African American enclave southeast of Bethania, also served the area's black children. School attendance was sporadic during this period, as, in addition to furthering their education, most rural children worked on their families' farms and planting and harvest seasons dictated the rhythm of agrarian life. W. B. Speas reported that an average of nineteen of the thirty-eight children enrolled at Cedar Grove and thirty-three of the forty-eight students registered at Oak Grove attended classes daily during the 1912-1913 school year.<sup>116</sup>

Forsyth County's African American farm families celebrated their achievements annually at a fair held in Rural Hall. The Bethania community had a strong representation on the organizational committee of the ninth such event in 1916, as Joseph Loften Lash was president and James Madison Koger second vice-president. Samuel L. Miller was the fair's general manager and Sallie A. Conrad oversaw the women's department, supervising the judging of "articles for household, kitchen, or pantry use, raised, cured, or made by the family under the direction of the lady head of the house." Her sister, Lenora E. Beck, served as her assistant.<sup>117</sup> Lenora's husband Moir Beck and other Bethanians including Norman Allen, William Crutchfield, Percy Lash, Shober Lash, and Elsie Washington enlisted in the military during World War I.<sup>118</sup>

The number of black-owned businesses and professional offices in Winston-Salem increased in the 1910s and 1920s, and many African Americans from Forsyth County and throughout the region found work in R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company factories. In an attempt to ameliorate growing dissatisfaction with working conditions and wage fluctuations and inequities, the company provided their laborers with amenities including first-aid stations, lunchrooms, new drinking water coolers, and day care for their employees' children. The cafeteria in Building Number 8 opened on July 29, 1915 and served affordable, balanced meals to African American workers. Civic leader Lenora H. Sills successfully lead the campaign for a nursery for black children, established in 1915.<sup>119</sup> Despite these and other improvements, ongoing difficulties with their work environments prompted many African American laborers to move to northern urban centers in search of better opportunities.

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<sup>115</sup> Julia Jackson (William Moses Conrad's granddaughter), conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 2011; Richard Bovender, conversation with Heather Fearnbach on December 30, 2011.

<sup>116</sup> Sarah Woodard, Edwards-Pitman Environmental, "Oak Grove School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002; W. B. Speas, *Annual Report of the Public Schools of Forsyth County, North Carolina, 1912-1913* (Winston-Salem: Barber Printing, 1913), 13.

<sup>117</sup> "Forsyth County Colored Agricultural and Industrial Fair," brochure printed for the event held in Rural Hall on September 27-29, 1916.

<sup>118</sup> African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, First Episcopal District, "125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the Bethania A.M.E. Zion Church, Winston-Salem, NC," October 17, 1976.

<sup>119</sup> Tilley, *The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 266-268, 280.

Demand for farm products escalated during World War I, but Forsyth County farm tenure remained about the same as it had been at the turn of the twentieth century, with white owners managing ninety percent of the county's farms and African American proprietors operating ten percent. Although many of Bethania's African American inhabitants cultivated small home gardens during this period, farming no longer provided most households' primary source of income. Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents found employment in tobacco factories, sawmills, and brick yards, and as carpenters, teachers, store owners, and domestic servants. These men and women continued to invest in their community, helping to fund the construction of important buildings such as schools and churches.<sup>120</sup>

After a 1926 windstorm severely damaged Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church, causing it to "lean," the congregation was forced to demolish the edifice, carefully salvaging any usable lumber. Church elders then engaged contractor W. L. Speas to erect a new sanctuary at a cost of \$2,600. Winston-Salem resident C. H. Jones donated stained-glass windows and Joseph Loften Lash collected funds to purchase a sizable church bell. Winston-Salem attorney J. S. Lanier represented the Odd Fellows Lodge at the church's cornerstone-laying ceremony in October 1927.<sup>121</sup>

The timing of the new sanctuary's completion was fortuitous, as it is unlikely that such a project would have been possible only a few years later after the economic depression began in 1929 and subsequently devastated the nation. Farm owners were unable to pay property taxes or purchase necessary provisions for themselves or the tenant farmers and sharecroppers who cultivated their land, and many lost their property. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers, in turn, could not compensate farm owners for lodging, equipment, or supplies with cash or a portion of their harvest. Farmers were at least able, in most cases, to provide sustenance for their families by planting larger home gardens, preserving food, and raising more hogs and poultry.<sup>122</sup>

The food shortages that ensued from the Great Depression made the farms operated by two significant Forsyth County educational institutions, the Children's Home and Memorial Industrial School, imperative in the efforts to feed their residents. The Children's Home was established to serve white youth when the Western North Carolina Methodist Conference selected Winston as their orphanage's location in 1908.<sup>123</sup> Memorial Industrial School began as a church-run orphanage for African

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<sup>120</sup> Forsyth County farms increased in number by 7.6 percent during the 1910s to a total of 2,849 in 1920, ranking forty-first in quantity among North Carolina's one hundred counties. Farmers cultivated thirty-nine percent of Forsyth County's acreage in 1919, but only produced one-fourth of the food and feed consumed by county residents and livestock that year. Tobacco remained the primary cash crop, with Forsyth County reporting the twenty-sixth-largest harvest in the state (approximately four million pounds). Dairy cattle, poultry, and hog production proliferated, generating much-needed sustenance and revenue, while beef cattle and sheep continued to decrease in number. A comparison of livestock totals reveals the dramatic decline from 6,386 sheep and 3,546 beef cattle raised by farmers in 1860 to only 418 sheep and 490 beef cattle in 1920. Charles S. Siewers, *Forsyth County: Economic and Social, A Laboratory Study* at the University of North Carolina, Department of Rural Social Economics, May 1924, 55-57, 80; William Lane Austin, supervisor, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1920, Volume VI, Part 2, Agriculture, The Southern States* (Washington: Government Office, 1922), 235, 255. Agricultural returns for individual Bethania-area farms are not available for this period, as the 1925 North Carolina Farm Census data for the township is not on file at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh.

<sup>121</sup> Joseph Loften Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 2, page 6.

<sup>122</sup> Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and the Depression in North Carolina," *Social Forces*, October 1933, pp. 103-115.

<sup>123</sup> Upon Oscar Woosley's inauguration as Children's Home superintendent on March 1, 1930, property holdings encompassed fourteen brick and twelve frame buildings on two hundred acres in Winston-Salem and a 278-acre farm in Davidson County (acquired in 1925). The Children's Home was filled to capacity in the 1930s and the campus continued

American children in Winston-Salem's Southside area and moved to eight acres north of town—only a few miles from Bethania—in 1928. The school operated for forty-eight years as one of only two black orphanages in the state of North Carolina and the only such institution to serve a single county. The school property encompassed 425 acres, 200 of which were cultivated as the institution operated as a model farm. Agricultural superintendent Owen Redwine delineated chores for small groups of boys who grew sixty to seventy percent of the fruits and vegetables consumed by the school's residents, as well as wheat and corn, much of which served as feed for the farm's beef cattle, hogs, and chickens. Outbuildings included a dairy barn designed for a maximum of thirty-five cows, a six-stall horse barn, a granary, a tool shed, a potato shed, a chicken house, and a meat curing and storage building.<sup>124</sup>

Although Forsyth County residents faced difficulties during the depression years, most were more fortunate than others in North Carolina. In 1933, half of the state's African American inhabitants were farmers, although only about ten percent owned the land they worked. About one-fifth (21 percent; 8,025 residents) of Forsyth County's African American population and 14 percent of the white inhabitants (10,225 people) depended upon relief assistance to make ends meet in February of 1933. These numbers were much lower than in Person County, for example, where 65 percent of the African American community and 32 percent of white residents received state assistance. Funding shortages impacted every aspect of life, from health, as physical and mental illness diagnosis and treatment became unaffordable expenses, to education, where dramatic reductions in school appropriations and the ability of students to pay tuition and purchase materials resulted in teacher salary cuts and school closures.<sup>125</sup>

The North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration (NCERA) was the state's first New Deal program that attempted to alleviate the effects of the Great Depression by creating jobs for unemployed citizens, many of whom were farm laborers. Rural Forsyth County projects executed between 1932 to 1935 included road and privy construction, drainage ditch improvements, livestock management initiatives, food preservation efforts, wood and lumber cutting, and house and outbuilding repair.<sup>126</sup> The Works Progress Administration (WPA) followed in 1935, employing farmers in activities such as paving secondary "farm-to-market" roads, placing culverts, creating drainage systems, and erecting bridges, sanitary privies, agricultural extension service offices, and vocational

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to grow to meet the residents' needs. Increased crop production and dairy herd size resulted in additions to the farm complex, which stands at the north end of the campus's administrative, residential, and educational buildings and includes an office, a workshop, equipment sheds, silos, barns, and a milking parlor. Perry Lefeavers, *The Children's Home: The First Seventy-Five Years* (Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Company, 1983), 243, 246, 257.

<sup>124</sup> The architectural firm of Northup and O'Brien developed the plans for the administration building, dormitories, and power plant, as well as an overall site plan. R. C. Haberkern, written correspondence with Mr. F. J. DeTamble, March 11, 1926, in the collection of the Horizons Residential Care Center; *Memorial Industrial School: Then and Now*, fundraising pamphlet, Memorial Industrial School vertical file, Forsyth County Library, Central Branch, Winston-Salem; "Memorial Industrial School," report prepared by Courtney Youngblood for UNC-G HIS/IAR 628 and edited by Heather Fearnbach May 1, 2008. Two gambrel-roofed barns currently located in the county-owned Horizons Park were originally part of the farm. Horizons Residential Care Center has leased the campus buildings from the county since 1973.

<sup>125</sup> Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and the Depression in North Carolina," *Social Forces*, October 1933, pp. 103-115.

<sup>126</sup> J. S. Kirk, Walter A. Cutter and Thomas W. Morse, eds., *Emergency Relief in North Carolina: A Record of the Development and Activities of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1932-1935* (Raleigh: North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1936), 476-478.

buildings at schools to serve rural North Carolina residents.<sup>127</sup> Forsyth County WPA projects included the paving of Bethania-Rural Hall Road around 1938-1939.<sup>128</sup>

Walkertown resident Elizabeth L. Tuttle, who became Forsyth County's home demonstration agent in 1931, worked with New Deal program employees to train community cannery workers to preserve food for local families, a practice that was not new but that became even more important during the depression years. Volunteers including women who were members of Forsyth County's nineteen home demonstration clubs and youth associated with eight county Four-H clubs filled 141,950 cans for relief efforts between May 1934 and June 1935.<sup>129</sup>

The Koger family operated businesses including a general store and a vegetable cannery on their Bethania-Rural Hall Road property during this period.<sup>130</sup> A 1928 photo illustrates the canning shed—a frame structure with stripped log posts supporting the roof—and cannery workers and local children including Richard Washington, his twin sister Ophelia, and James and Annie Koger's daughter, Doreva. The shed was open on at least two elevations. A work table stretched along one side of the shed, and two large canning vats, one hung from the shed's framing with a thick rope and elevated off the ground, are at the shed's front.<sup>131</sup>

The 1935 North Carolina Farm Census records for Bethania Township do not, unfortunately, include the returns for the Koger family's farm. Farmer B. C. Styers, who served as Bethania Township's North Carolina Farm Census compiler that year, reported yields from 126 farms containing 11,171 acres, approximately 3,659 of which were cultivated in 1935. Most farms (106) encompassed between 20 and 174 acres, with an average size of 90 acres. Only three farms contained more than 260 acres.<sup>132</sup>

White farmer E. B. Flynt and the 6 residents of his 79-acre farm planted and harvested almost 33 acres of corn, tobacco, wheat, oats, rye, hay, Irish and sweet potatoes, and cultivated 30 fruit trees. The farm's livestock included 2 horses or mules and 5 milk cows. Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's heirs owned six farms encompassing 901 acres on the west side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1935. The couple's son Lucien, who had managed the family's farm for many years, cultivated 35 of his 117 acres, while tenant farmers worked 133.20 acres on the four properties owned by his brother Dr. A. G. Jones and their sisters Ellen, Julia, and Katie. The farms yielded corn, tobacco, wheat, oats, rye, hay,

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<sup>127</sup> Fred Cohn, "Many Rural Improvements Included in WPA Program," *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 12, 1940, 16.

<sup>128</sup> Richard Washington, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 21, 2011.

<sup>129</sup> "Interesting Report on County Club Work Will Be Made at District Meet," May 23, 1935, newspaper clipping in the 1930s North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service Scrapbook at the Winston-Salem, Forsyth County office.

<sup>130</sup> Bettie Koger and her son Wesley lived on Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1930. James Koger owned a home at 707 Leonard Street in High Point, where he resided with his wife Annie, who was employed as a domestic servant, and their children: daughters Thelma, Virginia, Mamie, and Doreva, and sons Cable and Madison, in 1930. Cable was a porter at a barber shop. The census taker listed James Koger's occupation as a farmer at a "state farm." United States Census, Population Schedule, 1930.

<sup>131</sup> Koger Cannery photo, 1928, in "125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the Bethania A.M.E. Zion Church, Winston-Salem, NC," October 17, 1976, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, First Episcopal District; Richard Washington, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 21, 2011.

<sup>132</sup> A note on the report cover indicates that Styers did not receive a list of landowners from Raleigh in time to use it to interview farm operators and rated the resulting document's completeness as "fair under conditions." The report is organized randomly rather than in alphabetical order. North Carolina Department of Agriculture, Statistics Division, *Farm Census Reports*, 1935, Box 51 (Edgecombe-Forsyth Counties), North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

Irish and sweet potatoes, truck crops, and fruit. Eleven people resided on Dr. Jones's 333-acre farm, which was the largest of the family's tracts.<sup>133</sup>

Mr. Styers reported returns for three African American farm owners—Robert W. Mitchell, Mary S. Mitchell, and Bethania-Rural Hall Road resident John Shouse—in Bethania Township in 1935. The 1930 federal census lists seventeen African American farm owners including Mr. Shouse, which indicates that there were other African American-owned farms that were not enumerated in 1935. Robert W. Mitchell, likely the same person as the “W. R.” Mitchell listed in the 1935 North Carolina Farm Census, was enumerated as a farm renter rather than an owner in 1930 with property valued at ten dollars. By 1935, his 38-acre Rural Hall property was the largest tract of the three African American-owned farms reported that year. According to the farm census returns, no one resided on the property, but Mr. Mitchell planted and harvested 4.5 acres of tobacco and truck crops including fruit from 50 trees and owned two horses. Mary S. Mitchell of Rural Hall owned a 35-acre tract occupied by five people including the tenant farmers who cultivated 2.2 acres of tobacco and truck crops and tended 12 fruit trees and two horses. Two people resided on John Shouse's 17-acre farm and planted 2.2 acres of corn and truck crops.<sup>134</sup>

Forsyth County levied taxes on 5,071 acres owned by African American farmers during the 1937-38 fiscal year. The land's overall assessed value was \$218,095, with Bethania Township farms encompassing 601 acres, the county's third largest amount after Belews Creek (1,023 acres) and Salem Chapel (779 acres) townships. African American farmers in Old Richmond (573 acres) and Old Town (356 acres) townships also owned a significant amount of property, while black-owned farms were sparse in Abbotts Creek (8 acres) and South Fork (39 acres) townships. A 1938 newspaper article reported that most of Forsyth County's African American farmers planted and harvested small grains and hay rather than tobacco, primarily utilizing horses and mules to cultivate fields instead of mechanized farm equipment.<sup>135</sup>

Industrial jobs continued to lure rural residents to the city during the 1930s. Many Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents resided on the property that had been in their family for generations and carpooled to work in Winston-Salem factories including R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Labor needs became more specialized during this period as equipment manufacturers improved the function of machines designed to perform tasks such as stemming tobacco leaves that had previously been completed primarily by hand. Although mechanization increased efficiency, operators as well as other workers were still needed to untie, prepare, transport, and pack tobacco. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company utilized a combination of human and mechanized stemmers and cutters through the 1950s.<sup>136</sup>

Families such as the Bittings represent the gradual transition from agrarian to industrial livelihoods as new opportunities became available. Freedmen Benjamin and his wife Rhoda Bittings's household encompassed their children—Catherine, Anna, Julius, and Mary—as well as Anna's husband Postel [sic] and the couple's three children in 1880. Mr. Bitting, his children, and Postel all worked as laborers. By the 1920s, four generations of the Bittings's descendants—their daughter Anna, their granddaughter Rhoda and her husband Isaac P. Allen, their grandson Norman Gray Allen and his wife Mamie, and their granddaughter Olivia Gertrude and her husband Charlie Scott—had resided on or

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.; United States Census, Population Schedule, 1930.

<sup>135</sup> “Many Negro Farmers Own Their Own Land,” *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, April 24, 1938, Section 8, page 14.

<sup>136</sup> Tilley, *The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 237-242.

near the land that had once belonged to the couple. Only a few new homes were constructed in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area during the 1920s, and Bitting family members erected several of them.<sup>137</sup>

Norman Gray Allen purchased a lot on Bethania-Rural Hall Road from Harvey and Mary Allen for \$325 on April 11, 1925. He married Mamie Irene Miller of Rural Hall on April 28, 1927, and the couple soon erected a one-and-one-half-story, hip-roofed, frame bungalow on the property, which was next to the residence of his parents and grandmother on the east side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road between the households of Decatur Shouse and Samuel L. Miller. Norman had been employed by Hedgecock Brick Company, who operated plants in Bethania, Winston-Salem, and Walnut Cove, in 1917 before serving in the military during World War I. After returning home, he worked in a factory, as did his sister Esther and their father Isaac. In 1930 Norman and his father worked at a sawmill, perhaps where they had purchased the lumber used to construct his bungalow, which is now occupied by Norman's daughter, Alice Jean Allen.<sup>138</sup>

Anna Bitting McMullen's household encompassed her son Ernest and his wife Flora as well as her daughter Minnie, her husband John H. Shouse, and their son John G. Shouse in 1920. Anna's son Gideon was a boarder in a rented home headed by African American plasterer Jacob S. Gamble at 1111 Shallowford Street in Winston-Salem. Gideon was a truck driver for a grocery store at that time, but had previously worked in Mr. Gamble's plastering business. Anna and her extended family resided on the east side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road, but she had acquired three acres on the road's west side south of Rufus Lash's property in 1913.<sup>139</sup> She divided this acreage among her children on July 14, 1925, only a few years before her death in 1928.

Mrs. McMullen gave lot number five on the west side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road (southwest of Samuel L. Miller's house) to her daughter, Olivia Gertrude Scott. Olivia and her husband Charlie Scott subsequently built a one-story weatherboarded dwelling with a hip-roofed front section and a rear gable-roofed wing, where they resided with their eight-year-old son, A. Z.; their twenty-four-year-old son Barney Gardner, who worked in a sawmill; and his seven-year-old daughter Henrietta in 1930. Mr. Scott sold milk for the Speas family who lived nearby and operated a dairy.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Charles Emerson's *North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886); United States Census, Population Schedules, 1880-1930.

<sup>138</sup> United States Census, Population Schedules, 1920 and 1930; Forsyth County Deed Book 243, page 275; North Carolina Marriage Indexes, North Carolina State Archives. Luther J. and Ada Eldridge sold two tracts—lot number four of Wesley Lash's estate (11 37/100 acres) and a second tract containing 3.60 acres—to Harvey and Mary Allen for \$100 on February 17, 1925. Forsyth County Deed Book 241, page 65. Harvey and his second wife Mary Allen owned a home on East 7 1/2 Street in Winston-Salem and Harvey was the proprietor of a restaurant in 1930. Harvey's first wife was Mat and Bettie Koger's daughter Pattie, who died in 1916.

<sup>139</sup> United States Census, Population Schedule, 1920. Robert and Barbara Miller to Annie [sic] Bitting McMullen, Forsyth County Deed Book 436, page 155. The three acres were bounded by land owned by the Jones family and Bethania-Rural Hall Road, which was then called the Bethania-Germanton Road.

<sup>140</sup> United States Census, Population Schedule, 1930; Forsyth County Deed Book 484, page 217. The 1930 census sheet for this section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road is illegible in places. Olivia Scott was widowed at the time of her death in 1965 (death certificate; Richard Washington, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 21, 2011). The Scott's heirs reside in Detroit. The Scott House, which currently has an address of 1670 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, was vacant but in good condition until the front porch and the hip-roofed section's south end were damaged when a car slid off Bethania-Rural Hall Road and ran into the dwelling. The house is still standing but is structurally compromised.

Mrs. McMullen conveyed lot number four to her son, Ernest T. Bitting, and he soon built a one-story, side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded dwelling with a shed-roofed front porch at what is now 1700 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, where he resided with his first wife Flora in 1930. Ernest had worked at a brickyard and on Lucien G. Jones's farm in the 1910s and was listed as a farm laborer in the 1930 Federal census. He was also employed by Wilson Brothers Lumber Company in Rural Hall and likely acquired the materials for his home from there. The company operated a sawmill and erected houses. Ernest's neighbors Nathaniel and Ralph Flynt (E. B. and Nora Flynt's sons) worked on the Wilson Brothers carpentry crew before establishing their own construction business. Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents remember that Wilson Brothers erected a number of houses in the area.<sup>141</sup>

Flora Bitting passed away on July 2, 1933 and Ernest married Mary Elizabeth Conrad (William Moses and Sallie Conrad's daughter) of Bethania on August 19th of that year. Minister J. H. H. Moore performed the ceremony in Bethania and Elizabeth's sister Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield, Anna Belle's husband Forrest, and C. A. Shore served as the witnesses.<sup>142</sup>

Annie Bitting McMullen gave lot number three to her son Gideon Bitting with the understanding that he would provide her with a home and care for her for the rest of her life. Unfortunately, he preceded her in death, leaving a young widow, Lisa. Gideon's death certificate indicates that he was a local preacher. His siblings—Minnie Bitting Shouse, Olivian Bitting Scott, Rhoda Bitting Allen, and Ernest Bitting—inherited his property and conveyed the lot to Minnie's daughter Margaret and her husband Nelson Scales for ten dollars on May 23, 1956. Henry Herman and Doris Shouse purchased the north .36-acre section of the parcel from his sister and her husband for ten dollars on July 18, 1959. Both couples had erected one-story frame houses by 1960.<sup>143</sup>

Mrs. McMullen gifted lot number two to her daughter Minnie, but as Minnie and her husband John H. Shouse moved to Rural Hall, they never built on the lot. The property was south of the lot that Minnie's daughter Margaret and her husband Nelson Scales acquired in 1956, and is now owned by their son Raleigh N. Scales.<sup>144</sup> Mrs. McMullen's daughter Rhoda did not build on the lot (number one)

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<sup>141</sup> United States Census, Population Schedules, 1910-1930; Forsyth County Deed Book 283, page 251; Richard Washington, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 21, 2011. Flora's parents, Israel and Emily (called Emma) Sprinkle Speas, owned a farm nearby. Richard Bovender remembers that his uncles Burke Jr. and Nat started the Flynt Brothers carpentry business and then recruited their brother, Ralph, who was the family's best carpenter, to do complicated finish work such as refurbishing the Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones House in the early 1960s. Burke Jr. managed the finances, Nat was in charge of operations, and their brother Paul's son, Paul Jr., handled marketing. The company primarily worked in and around Bethania, but Moravian Bishop George Gambill Higgins, who served congregations including Bethania and was instrumental in developing Laurel Ridge, the Moravian Church, Southern Province's camp and retreat center in Laurel Springs, North Carolina, recruited Nat Flynt, his son Bill, Ralph Flynt's son Allen, and Herman Oehman of Bethania to erect the first buildings at Laurel Ridge in the 1950s. The men resided at the site and supervised a crew of local laborers. The Flynt brothers dissolved their company by 1965 (Richard Bovender, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, December 30, 2011 and January 30, 2012).

<sup>142</sup> Forsyth County Marriage Register. Ernest passed away in 1959 and Elizabeth followed in 1970 (death certificates). Doris E. Conrad is the current property owner.

<sup>143</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 672, page 459; Deed Book 728, page 29; Forsyth County Deed Book 791, page 68; Deed Book 1796, page 1610. Margaret and Nelson Scales's son Raleigh N. Scales owns and occupies the house at 1720 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Henry Herman Shouse's widow Doris retains the couple's home at 1710 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Mr. Shouse graduated from Carver High School in 1955, married Doris Morris in 1957, served in the Navy, and worked at Old Town Telephone Company (Alltel) until his retirement. "Henry Herman Shouse," *Winston-Salem Journal*, November 21, 2010.

<sup>144</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 445, page 121; Deed Book 1796, page 1610.

that she received, either, as Rhoda and her husband Isaac Allen resided in the Bitting family home of the east side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road.

The Lash family also continued to erect dwellings on Bethania-Rural Hall Road during this period. Rufus and Mary Lash's son Thomas married Rockingham County native Blanche Withers. The couple purchased a lot (now 1500 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) southwest of William Conrad's property from Dr. A. G. Jones and his wife N. E. Jones of Stokes County for \$132.49 on March 3, 1933, and soon built a one-story, side-gable-roofed, German-sided home. Thomas, who worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company for almost forty years, continued to reside in the house after Blanche passed away in 1963. The dwelling has been vacant since his death in 1976, but is still owned by family members and retains the largest collection of historic outbuildings associated with the homes of Bethania-Rural Hall Road's African American residents. A garage, a shed, a corncrib/granary, and a privy stand in the woods behind the house.<sup>145</sup>

Julius and Cornelia Lash's son Kelsey married Harvey and Pattie Koger Allen's daughter Carol on April 17, 1926. Bettie Koger and her second husband Eli Lash had conveyed two acres of the "original Bettie Koger home tract" between the Koger residence and Samuel Miller's house to her granddaughter Carol on November 8, 1922, and Kelsey and Carol Lash built a home on that property soon after their marriage. The Federal census taker valued their dwelling at \$800 in 1930 and noted that Kelsey worked as a laborer, building streets.<sup>146</sup> Kelsey and Carol Lash's residence is no longer standing, but family members still own the property, which has been divided into two lots.

In 1937, as the nation's recovery from the depression stalled and the country suffered a recession, Hervey Jones Doughton, Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's granddaughter, subdivided the Bethania-Rural Hall Road property that she had inherited from her father, attorney E. B. Jones. The triangular 1937 plat includes parcels that had previously been acquired by William Moses Conrad, Blanche Lash, Israel T. Spease, Rufus Lash, and William Benjamin Conrad. She sold the remaining tracts for nominal sums to African Americans whose families had, in most cases, long associations with the area.<sup>147</sup> Several of these property owners soon erected new homes, while others conveyed the acreage to their relatives or other Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents.

Kelsey Lash purchased lot 1 (1.4 acres) from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband on October 23, 1937 for \$10.00. Kelsey, his wife Carol, and their six children resided directly across the road. His

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<sup>145</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 335, page 272. Blanche Withers Lash was born to George and Sabra Bushnell Withers of Ruffin, in Rockingham County, North Carolina on April 8, 1886. In 1900, she resided with her parents and eight siblings in Caswell County's Locust Hill Township. Her father was a farmer, and most of the children attended school (United States Census, Population Schedule, 1900). Although several deeds give Blanche Lash's maiden name as "Winters," her death certificate states that her father's name was "Withers." Thomas and Blanche Lash's property previously belonged to John Anthony [? deed illegible] and others, was sold by trustee J. H. Hastings to E. B. Jones, who conveyed the acreage to Isaac Conrad. Blanche's great-niece Gwendolyn Washington (divorced, was Gwendolyn Washington Hill) was one of the heirs to the house and acreage. She sold her interest in the property to Theodore C. Glenn [the son of Willie Casper Glenn and Mary Beverly Lash (March 21, 1922-March 3, 2007), who was Rufus and Mary Lash's granddaughter] and his wife Miriam S. Glenn for \$100 on November 25, 1996. Forsyth County Deed Book 1926, page 2085.

<sup>146</sup> United States Census, Population Schedule, 1930; Forsyth County Deed Book 207, page 38. Willa Frazier Lash (Kelsey and Carol Allen's son Carl Henry Lash's widow) owns the house that was constructed at 1625 Bethania Rural-Hall Road in 1990. Carl and Willa Lash's daughter Patrice and her husband Tyrell P. Britton own the dwelling at 1615 Bethania Rural-Hall Road that was erected in 1987.

<sup>147</sup> G. F. Hinshaw, surveyor, "Map showing property of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton," Forsyth County Plat Book 8, page 194.

plans for the new lot were undoubtedly thwarted by Carol's untimely death in 1938 and he sold the land to George T. Washington and his wife Pearl on October 24<sup>th</sup> of that year for the same amount he paid. The Washingtons soon built a one-story, side-gable-roofed, frame dwelling with a shed-roofed front porch. George and his father, William Erastus Washington, both worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company at that time.<sup>148</sup>

William Benjamin Conrad and his wife Mary owned the frame house that stood south of the Washington's first frame dwelling by 1930. Mr. Conrad was enumerated on Mt. Airy Road between the households of Dr. Beverly Jones's widow Julia and white farmer Julius Culler in 1910, when he worked as a farm laborer. He was employed as a cement worker building roads in 1930, by which time he lived on Bethania-Rural Hall Road near Kelsey Lash and the Scotts.<sup>149</sup>

Although Mat and Bettie Koger's son, James, his wife Anna, and their children had resided at 707 Leonard Street in High Point since the 1920s, they still retained their property in Bethania. The Kogers operated a series of successful ventures including a general store, a café, a boarding house, a mink farm, and a recreational club at their fishing lake. Their daughter Thelma Koger married a High Point teacher, Alabama native Lorenzo Eugene Poe, and the couple purchased two parcels: lots 3 and 4 (3.96 acres) and lot 8 (1.73 acres) from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband in 1937 for \$10 each. The Poes sold lot 8 on Bethania-Rural Hall Road to Vera Wagner on May 24, 1939 for \$10. Carpenters Julius and Shober Lash erected the one-and-one-half-story, side-gable-roofed, German-sided dwelling at what is now 1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road for Ms. Wagner in 1941.<sup>150</sup>

Rufus and Mary Lash's daughter Mary Jane Lash, called Janie, married Reverend Hunter Blake Bess and the couple acquired 1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road from Vera Wagner. Reverend Bess became Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church's forty-seventh pastor around May 1937 and soon oversaw a renovation that included construction of a basement and interior and exterior painting. He graduated from Johnson C. Smith University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1940. In November 1942, he was called to serve as the second pastor of Goler Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church in Winston-Salem, facilitating the planning for the Patterson Avenue sanctuary's repair after the 1941 fire that destroyed part of the church and split the congregation. The couple moved to Buffalo, New York in 1952, where Reverend Bess was the pastor of St. Luke A. M. E. Zion Church (now Durham Memorial A. M. E. Zion Church) for many years.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 424, page 221; Deed Book 440, page 156. William Erastus Washington's first wife and George's mother, Emma Miller, passed away on August 7, 1934 (death certificate). The property is currently owned by George and Pearl Washington's son, James Leon Washington.

<sup>149</sup> United States Census, Population Schedules, 1900 and 1930.

<sup>150</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 420, page 292; Deed Book 451, page 186; Patty Lash Martin, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, April and September 2011. Lorenzo and Thelma divorced on February 4, 1941 and on March 13, 1941 Lorenzo relinquished his claim to their remaining property (lots 3 and 4) on Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Quitclaim Deed Book 481, pages 268-269.

<sup>151</sup> "Goler Memorial A. M. E. Zion Church History," <http://www.golermemorialamezion.org/about-us/history.aspx>, accessed in September 2011. Hunter Blake Bess resided with his parents, Walter and Emma Bess, and his three-year-old sister Francis S. Bess in a rented home on Mill Street, in Cherryville, Gaston County in 1910. Walter Bess was a porter on a passenger train. The family owned a Cherryville home valued at \$700 in 1930 and Walter still worked as a railway porter. None of the five Bess children who lived at home that year, including Hunter, were employed (Federal Census). Reverend Bess stated that a white Bethania merchant provided much of the funding for the 1937-38 Bethania A. M. Zion Church renovations ("Bethania Church Being Renovated," *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, May 29, 1938). Reverend Bess officiated at the 1938 Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church funeral of Mrs. Martin's mother, Carol Koger Allen Lash (Patty Lash Martin, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, September 2011). Although he graduated in 1940, Hunter Blake Bass is not listed in Johnson C. Smith University catalogs from 1936 through 1939 (Brandon Lunsford, Archival

Robert and Caroline Shouse Joyce paid the Doughtons ten dollars for a long, narrow, 1.32-acre lot (#6 of the August 1937 plat) on the northwest side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road on August 28, 1937. Robert Joyce was from a local farming family, worked as a truck driver for Pine Hall Brick, and was subsequently employed by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Caroline's grandparents, Lydia and Pierce Alspaugh purchased several acres on the east side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1881, which is still owned by their descendants. Robert and Caroline's daughter, Alma Joyce, occupies the front-gable-roofed frame bungalow that Mr. Sims built for her parents at what is now 1570 Bethania-Rural Hall Road.<sup>152</sup>

James V. Allen and his future wife, Lillian Sullivan, purchased the 1.85-acre lot (#5 of the August 1937 plat) south of the Joyces on the northwest side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road on September 15, 1937. James Allen was the son of Harvey and Pattie Koger Allen (Mat and Bettie Koger's daughter who died from complications of pneumonia in 1916). He served in the military during World War I and worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company upon his return home. His sister Carol married Kelsey Leroy Lash and the couple had six children before her untimely death in 1938. James and Lillian adopted the oldest three children and the youngest three lived at Memorial Industrial School for a short time, but they eventually brought all six siblings into their home at 1580 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Mr. Allen was able to afford amenities such as a refrigerator (which Patty Martin, Kelsey and Carol Lash's oldest daughter, asserts was the first on the road), indoor plumbing, and a telephone. He also purchased a small bus to transport his neighbors to their jobs at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in downtown Winston-Salem. Mrs. Martin and her family have resided in the house since returning to North Carolina from Buffalo, New York in 1973.<sup>153</sup>

Guilford County native Forrest Crutchfield married Anna Belle Conrad, William Moses and Sallie Conrad's oldest daughter, on December 26, 1931. The couple purchased lot number 10 (1.64 acres) from the Doughtons on August 31, 1937 for \$10 and erected a one-story, front-gable-roofed, frame dwelling on the property (1510 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) shortly thereafter. Mr. Crutchfield, who was a shipping clerk for Bocoock Stroud Company in Winston-Salem, passed away in 1969 and his wife Anna Belle, who worked as a domestic followed in 1972. The house has remained vacant since her death.<sup>154</sup>

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Services Librarian, James B. Duke Memorial Library, Johnson C. Smith University, email correspondence with Heather Fearnbach, September 8, 2011). A collection of St. Luke A. M. E. Zion Church papers has been microfilmed and is housed at the Monroe Fordham Regional History Center at Buffalo State College, the Buffalo State College Archives, and the Frank E. Merriweather Jr. Branch Library. Documents include a register of marriages that Reverend Bess performed from 1960 to 1972. Reverend Hunter Blake Bess (May 22, 1909-December 26, 1976) died in Charlotte and was widowed at that time (death certificate).

<sup>152</sup> Alma Joyce, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011; Forsyth County Deed Book 419, page 127. Lydia and Pierce Alspaugh married in 1871 and worked for Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones in the early 1870s. Lydia Alspaugh's son Ruben Decatur Shouse and his wife Hannah and her daughter, Sallie Alspaugh and her husband John H. Conrad, inherited their property.

<sup>153</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 425, page 100; Patty Lash Martin, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, April 2011. Kelsey Lash purchased lot 1 from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on October 23, 1937 for \$10.00, but did not build on it (Forsyth County Deed Book 424, page 221).

<sup>154</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 420, page 292; Forsyth County marriage register. Forrest Frank Crutchfield (August 30, 1897-January 29, 1969) was born in Guilford County to William and Louella Crews Crutchfield. In 1900 he resided with his 33-year-old widowed mother, whose occupation is listed as "washer woman," and five older siblings in a rented house in Oak Ridge Township. His mother married Elias Lowe, a laborer who worked odd jobs, by 1910, and four of her children and three grandchildren resided in their rented Oak Ridge Township home. Forrest's WWI draft registration

Isaac and Rhoda Allen's daughter Esther Jane Allen married William Douthit and the couple built a one-and-one-half-story, side-gable-roofed, frame, Minimal Traditional-style dwelling with a gabled front portico and a gabled side porch at 1826 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1938. The dwelling stands on a .23 acre lot that was subdivided from the one-acre parcel that also included her parents' house, which stood at 1830 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, and her brother Norman's bungalow, which remains at 1834 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Mr. Douthit worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.<sup>155</sup>

Bethania-Rural Hall Road families benefited from the creation of Carver School, which became the first public secondary institution to serve Forsyth County's rural African American residents upon its opening in 1936. Winston-Salem native and Howard University graduate Edward Everette Hill, who had served as Oak Grove Elementary School's principal since 1930, was Carver's first principal. The school system employed nine elementary and six high school teachers to instruct the 510 students who enrolled in the fall of 1938. Seven school buses provided transportation to and from the campus at that time. Carver's curriculum included a popular agricultural and manual arts course, taught by A & T College alum Hoyt Coble, which proved useful for students as well as community members.<sup>156</sup>

The economy started to recover by the late 1930s, and rebounded during the early 1940s. Industrial jobs increased by seventy-five percent in the South over the course of World War II, with traditionally underemployed groups such as women, African Americans, and the elderly receiving invaluable education, training, and experience. In Winston-Salem, P. H. Hanes Knitting Company and R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company accelerated their production of garments and cigarettes to meet the needs of servicemen and women and Allied Aviation manufactured weapons for the military. Output soared after May 1943, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Office of War Mobilization to coordinate a diverse array of support endeavors including manufacturing, scientific research, and agricultural production.<sup>157</sup>

Approximately 13,333 Forsyth County residents served in World War II, and those left behind were occupied with the war effort in a variety of ways, from filling vacant positions in local manufacturing plants to participating in bond drives and planting victory gardens. Members of Bethania's African American community who enlisted include Shober Lee Conrad, Elwood J. Glenn, John Moody Glenn, Kelsey Lash, Graddy Monroe Shouse, and Richard Washington. White neighbor Edmund Burke Flynt Jr. was also a World War II veteran.

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card indicates that he resided in Oak Ridge and worked as a laborer for E. S. Cude (not legible—sp?) in Colfax (June 5, 1917).

<sup>155</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 1726, page 2989. John M. Stoltz sold one acre to Gabriel Simon (?-illegible) for ten dollars on April 7, 1891 (Forsyth County Deed Book 78, page 8). L. F. Bitting purchased the same property from white physician E. F. Strickland, a Bethania resident formerly from Pennsylvania) and his wife Lillian on November 8, 1906 (Deed Book 117, page 11). L. F. Bitting and his wife Augusta sold the northern half of the lot to Barbara Miller on June 4, 1913 (Deed Book 127, page 71). The Millers and Allens are related by marriage. Dolores Allen Hailstalk (b. June 1, 1943) and her husband Robert of Fairfax, Virginia, conveyed a life estate to 1826 Bethania-Rural Hall Road to William Edward Allen (Dolores's brother) on September 28, 1991 (Deed Book 1726, page 2989). The house is currently vacant.

<sup>156</sup> A. A. Mayfield, "County Superintendent Cash is Aiding Carver High School to Fill Need in Community," Winston-Salem Journal, November 13, 1938. Most current and former African American Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents interviewed for this project attended Carver School.

<sup>157</sup> Marilyn M. Harper, et. al. *World War II and the American Home Front* (Washington, D. C.: The National Historic Landmarks Program, October 2007), 3, 13-16; Frank V. Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994), 229.

As other Bethania Township farmers diversified production and pursued income sources such as commercial poultry farming during the early 1940s, Bethania-Rural Hall Road resident Edmund Burke Flynt Sr.'s agricultural career was winding down. His farm size and yield declined by 1945, when the 69-year-old farmer reported planting 25 acres of corn, wheat, hay, and a home garden and harvesting fruit from 12 trees on his 59-acre farm, where 4 people resided. The 2 milk cows and 25 chickens he owned provided sustenance for the household. Two of his children are also enumerated in the 1945 farm census. E. B. and Nora Flynt's son Ralph cultivated one acre of the five-acre parcel fronting Murray Road that he had purchased from his parents in 1936. Their daughter Ethel and her husband William E. Doub bought ten adjacent acres from her parents and built a home the same year. The Doubs planted a two-acre home garden, cultivated forty fruit trees, and tended a milk cow and thirty chickens in 1945.<sup>158</sup> E. B. and Nora Flynt's daughter, Maxine Bovender, worked in Forsyth County agricultural extension agent R. W. Pou's office.<sup>159</sup>

Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's descendants held a significant amount of acreage in 1945, but most of the property was not actively farmed, including their oldest son Dr. A. G. Jones's heirs 333 acres, their daughter Ellen M. Jones's 146 acres, and 38 acres collectively owned by the family. Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's son Lucien, who had managed the family's farm for many years, passed away in 1943 and his heirs retained 125 acres where tenant farmers planted and harvested 20 acres of wheat and hay, cultivated 5 fruit trees, and kept 2 milk cows. Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's daughter Katie E. Jones had the most productive farm, as she owned 126 acres, planting .4 acres in Irish and sweet potatoes and employing tenant farmers to cultivate 110.6 acres. The farm's livestock included 2 milk cows and 60 chickens. She did not report her tenants' crop yield. Her sister Julia P. Jones owned 134 acres where five people resided. Her household farmed 34 acres and tenant farmers worked 20 acres, growing corn, tobacco, wheat, hay, Irish and sweet potatoes, and a home garden and tending 10 chickens.<sup>160</sup>

Quite a few African American Bethania-Rural Hall Road property owners are included in the 1945 farm census. The exact location of some of this acreage is unclear, as the farm census only gives a "Winston-Salem Rt. 1" address for most of these men and women. William Erastus Washington held six acres, all of which was pasture as he worked in a Winston-Salem tobacco factory, as did his neighbors James and Lillian Allen, who owned four acres. The couple planted a half-acre home garden, which was undoubtedly a tremendous help as they were raising Mr. Allen's six nieces and nephews. Their neighbor Lydia Alspaugh had passed away in 1933 and the farm census taker noted that there was "no one to cultivate" her four-acre property. This was also the case with John Shouse's seventeen acres, John Shouse Jr.'s six-acre pasture, Lucretia Shouse's five wooded acres, and the eight wooded acres held by Rufus Shouse's heirs. Thelma Koger retained 53 acres of what had been her

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<sup>158</sup> North Carolina Department of Agriculture, Statistics Division, *Farm Census Reports*, 1945, Box 99 (Durham-Forsyth Counties), North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. E. B. Flynt purchased 40.1 acres from E. F. and Lillian Strickland for \$3,003.75 on December 19, 1918 (Deed Book 166, page 44). The acreage was adjacent to property he already owned. In 1936, he subdivided twenty acres of this tract (southeast of his house and fronting Murray Road) into three adjacent parcels for his children Ralph, Nat, and Ethel. Nat and his wife Ruth purchased the northernmost five acres for \$375 (Deed Book 394, page 246) and Ralph and his wife Mary acquired five acres to the south for the same amount (Deed Book 619, page 203). Ethel and her husband William E. Doub paid \$750 for the southernmost ten acres (Deed Book 395, page 87).

<sup>159</sup> The Bovenders resided with the Flynts until they built the house at 5560 Murray Road in 1957 (Richard Bovender, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 30, 2012). Forsyth County agricultural extension agent R. W. Pou retired in 1946 after serving in that position for twenty-seven years. "Longtime Agent for County Dies," *Twin City Sentinel*, March 22, 1967; "A Man to Remember," *Twin City Sentinel*, March 24, 1967.

<sup>160</sup> North Carolina Department of Agriculture, Statistics Division, *Farm Census Reports*, 1945, Box 99 (Durham-Forsyth Counties), North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

grandparent's and parent's farm on the east side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road, none of which was in production. Winston-Salem resident Catherine Koger owned 15 acres, 10 of which was pasture and the rest wooded. Bethania residents Joseph Loften Lash and Odell Lash each held three wooded acres.<sup>161</sup>

Although the African American residents in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area did not depend upon farming as their livelihood during the mid-twentieth century, they remember that their parents attended agricultural extension and home demonstration service meetings held in the area. New staff members brought increased diversity to the Forsyth County extension office in the post-war era, as South Carolina native Lottie Hairston became Forsyth County's first African American home demonstration agent in 1945, working with Elizabeth Tuttle to provide training opportunities and to coordinate women's and 4-H club meetings. African American farm agent William N. Knight joined S. R. Mitchiner to staff Forsyth County's extension service office around 1950.<sup>162</sup>

Development continued in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area between 1940 and 1960. Washington family members erected several dwellings near the home that William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington had built in 1914. Their daughter Alta married South Carolina native William Maceo Ervin and the couple lived at 1725 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, a frame house constructed on her parent's property in 1940, before building a brick Ranch house directly across the road at 1740 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1960. The couple worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.<sup>163</sup>

Alta's sister Julia and her husband Aldean Lash purchased one acre from Ira C. and Beulah Miller and built the front-gable-roofed brick house north of her family home at what is now 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1948. The couple worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and attended Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church.<sup>164</sup>

Julia and Alta's older brother George and his wife Pearl, who resided on the opposite side of the road at 1620 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, had acquired additional lots north of his dwelling in 1949 and 1951. They built a small, one-story, front-gable-roofed, frame dwelling with a deep setback and a southern orientation (rather than facing east toward the road) on the northernmost lot (now 1600 Bethania-Rural

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<sup>161</sup> Comparison of North Carolina farm census records and federal census records indicates that the Odell Lash listed in the 1945 farm census was Julius C. and Cornelia Lash's son. The J. L. Lash enumerated was likely teacher and pastor Joseph Loften Lash, while Catherine Koger was probably Mamie C. Koger.

<sup>162</sup> Jane Davidson, et. al., "Extension Agents who have led the Forsyth County ECA, EHA and HD clubs, 1910-2010," unpublished draft manuscript, 2010; North Carolina Secretary of State, *North Carolina Manual* (Raleigh: Department of Archives and History, 1949, 1951), Forsyth County section. Lottie Hairston became ill and died suddenly on August 16, 1968, at the age of 60. "Lottie Spratt Hairston," Certificate of Death, North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics, 1968. Bill Knight passed away on April 12, 2011 at the age of 95. <http://obituaries.wilsonsimes.com/content/knight.jpg>; Alspaugh-Shouse heirs

<sup>163</sup> William Erastus Washington's first wife Emma Miller passed away in 1934 and he married Saloma King. The couple resided in a one-story, side-gable-roofed frame dwelling that stood where a new frame house was constructed at what is now 1733 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 2008. The 1987 prefabricated house at 1745 stands on the site of John and Mittie Bitting Shouse's house. Natalie K. Summers, conversation with Heather Fearnbach on September 27, 2011.

<sup>164</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 562, page 375. After Aldean's death in 1995, Julia resided with her daughter Emma Martin's family in Morristown, New Jersey during the winter months. Emma inherited the Bethania-Rural Hall Road property when Julia passed away in 2004.

Hall Road), in 1951. The couple then erected a brick Ranch house between their first Bethania-Rural Hall Road residence and the small frame house in 1957.<sup>165</sup>

Institutions such as Carver School and Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church continued to serve the community. Carver School's principal Edward Everette Hill led the campaign to erect a new building on his campus as the county's post-World War II population boom resulted in high public school enrollment and the need for larger facilities by the late 1940s. Architect Gorrell R. Stinson designed the Modernist Carver Consolidated School, which served all twelve grades when it opened in 1951. Bethania-Rural Hall resident Patty Lash Martin's class was the last to graduate from the frame Carver School in 1950. She remembers riding to school in a "flat-topped wooden school bus" with benches lined up back-to-back lengthwise at its center.<sup>166</sup>

Educator and preacher Joseph Loften Lash passed away in 1953, leaving a significant legacy in the children he instructed over his lengthy career. The Bethania A. M. E. Zion congregation he had supported for many years remained strong. Reverend E. C. Kennedy initiated a fund to renovate the 1927 frame church and erect a larger sanctuary in 1957. Bishop Raymond Luther Jones dedicated the new front-gable-roofed Modernist sanctuary on May 1, 1971.<sup>167</sup> Bethania A. M. E. Zion church, the associated cemetery, Reverend Lash's residence, and the Glenn-Martin House at 2255 Walker Road were the primary African American resources included in the boundaries of the 1991 Bethania Historic District Amendment and Boundary Increase, which encompasses five hundred acres.<sup>168</sup> The Lash House has since been demolished.

The extant resources in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area serve as tangible reminders of Bethania's African American heritage. Although the buildings and landscape continue to evolve, familial relationships link the current residents to the freedmen who purchased property over a century ago, thus perpetuating cultural continuity.

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<sup>165</sup> Forsyth County Deed Book 601, page 337. The Ranch house burned sometime between March 2009 and the time that the new county aerial photographs were created in 2010. Forsyth County property tax cards and 2010 aerial photograph.

<sup>166</sup> Patty Lash Martin, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, April and September 2011.

<sup>167</sup> Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church anniversary bulletin, October 21, 2007, information compiled by Melinda Lash, Reverend Joseph Loften Lash's granddaughter, and other members of the historic committee: Alice Allen, Jamesine Ruff, Evelyn Shouse, and Natalie Summers.

<sup>168</sup> Michael O. Hartley, Martha B. Boxley, and Gwynne S. Taylor, "Bethania Historic District Amendment and Boundary Increase," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1991.

#### IV. Architectural Context

The dwellings in the Bethania-Rural Hall Study area represent both vernacular forms and popular national styles that were common throughout North Carolina from the mid-nineteenth century through the post-World War II era. Most late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century settlers erected one- or two-room log houses, often intended to provide temporary shelter until families had the means to build more elaborate residences. Although many property owners continued to construct log dwellings during the mid-nineteenth century, wealthier individuals employed skilled craftsmen to construct finely-detailed frame and brick dwellings and purchased items including window sash, shutters, doors, and hardware from manufacturers and distributors. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century circular sawmills were in widespread operation, making dimensional lumber readily available to local builders. Companies such as Wilson Brothers in Rural Hall, Miller Brothers in Winston, and Fogle Brothers in Salem produced standardized building materials and inexpensive millwork which builders incorporated into traditional house forms such as the one-story, gable-roofed, L-shaped dwelling and the I-house—a two-story, three-bay, single-pile residence—that persisted through the early twentieth century. As the twentieth century progressed, national architectural trends began to exert a greater influence on Forsyth County’s residential design, and bungalows, Minimal Traditional-style dwellings, and Ranch houses became popular.<sup>169</sup>

Bungalows, which were inexpensive and easy to build, appealed to families’ desires for a modern, efficient house. Promoted by American stonemason, furniture maker, and metalworker Gustav Stickley, who visited England in 1898 and, upon his return home, espoused the tenets of the English Arts and Crafts movement—a reaction against the loss of manual skills and traditional crafts due to the mechanization of the Industrial Revolution—and others, the house form enjoyed widespread popularity during the late 1910s and 1920s. Stickley’s magazine, *The Craftsman* (1901-1916), emphasized the use of natural, handcrafted materials and low, horizontal massing to allow for harmony between a house and its surrounding environment. Henry H. Saylor’s 1911 book, *Bungalows*, guided the consumer through the process of planning, designing, and building informal, cozy homes. Building plans for these houses, with their wide overhanging eaves, open arrangement of rooms, and inviting porches, appeared in national magazines such as *House Beautiful* and *The Ladies Home Journal*. Stickley, Radford, Sears, Montgomery Ward, Aladdin, and others sold bungalow plans by mail.<sup>170</sup> Such promotion resulted in the construction of typically scaled-down versions throughout North Carolina into the early 1940s. Most Forsyth County bungalows erected in the 1930s, such as those on Bethania-Rural Hall Road, reflect an austere depression-era style with limited embellishment.

Two-story, square plan, gable- or hip-roofed dwellings, known as “foursquares” given their form, often display Craftsman features including the combination of natural siding materials such as weatherboards and wood shingles, triangular eave brackets, and tapered or square paneled posts on brick piers supporting front porches.

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<sup>169</sup> Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, portable edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 328. For more on the I-house form see Fred B. Kniffen, “Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, no. 4 (December 1965), 549-577; and Michael T. Southern, “The I-House as a Carrier of Style,” edited by Doug Swaim in *Carolina Dwelling* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University School of Design Student Publication, 1978), 70-83.

<sup>170</sup> Paul Duchscherer and Douglas Keister, *The Bungalow: America’s Arts and Crafts Home* (New York: The Penguin Group, 1995), 2, 7-8, 14-15.

As construction revived after World War II, some North Carolina families sought the comfort and reassurance of building in styles of the past such as the Colonial Revival, but, more commonly, new houses took on a decidedly modern appearance. Small homes—usually one-story—with minimal detailing often exhibited stripped-down Colonial Revival or Tudor Revival influences; thus, the style, which began appearing just before the war and proved very popular in the last half of the 1940s, has been called Minimal Traditional by architectural historians.

The Ranch house, with its long, rectangular form, low-pitched roof, and open floor plan, became the mid-twentieth century's ubiquitous house type. Evolving from the nineteenth-century concept of a ranch as a utilitarian rural dwelling or complex of buildings situated in the American West, to a rustic residential style popular in the southwestern United States in the 1930s, by the middle of the century the Ranch had been adapted nationally to meet the needs of families who desired "a lifestyle of simplicity, privacy, and informality that was close to nature." Craftsman and Modern design influenced the Ranch style with their emphasis on connectivity between indoor and outdoor spaces, natural materials, and exposed structural elements. Architects combined features of vernacular wood, adobe, and stone ranches with Modernist design principles and spatial organization, resulting in an usually asymmetrical façade that reflected the interior arrangement of private and public spaces in the most efficient manner. The incorporation of familiar building materials made the Ranch house much more appealing to the average consumer than the sleek International Style residences created by architects such as Walter Gropius, which were often viewed as stark and inaccessible. Californians including designer Cliff May and architect William Wurster promoted the Ranch house as an unpretentious, affordable dwelling, and popular magazines such as *House Beautiful*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, and *Sunset* conveyed that message to the American public.<sup>171</sup> Most Forsyth County Ranch houses, including those on Bethania-Rural Hall Road, are modest in both size and design and have brick-veneered or synthetic siding-sheathed exteriors with broad chimneys and minimal detailing.

### **Forsyth County's Early African American Dwellings**

African and African American slaves performed activities crucial to the operation of Forsyth County households and businesses and the success of agricultural and industrial endeavors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The county's 12,692 residents in 1860 included 1,764 enslaved men, women, and children who lived in small dwellings, outbuildings, and other secondary spaces on the property of their white owners. Census takers reported that 304 slaveholders owned 409 buildings that served solely as slave quarters that year. This number is not comprehensive, as slave house counts were reported only by heads of households that currently owned slaves, thus excluding those edifices that had been erected as slave dwellings but no longer functioned as such. Forsyth County's five largest slave owners held between 42 and 86 enslaved laborers who occupied between 5 and 14 slave quarters on their respective properties.<sup>172</sup>

Extant free-standing mid-nineteenth-century dwellings constructed by and for Forsyth County slaves are exceedingly rare. Only seven buildings specifically delineated as slave houses were documented as part of the county-wide architectural survey update, completed in 2009. Six of the surviving buildings are log and one is frame. Most are in fair condition and all are located in the county's northwestern quadrant.

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<sup>171</sup> Alan Hess, *The Ranch House* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 2004), 12-13.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D. C.: State Government Printing Office, 1864), 355.

There are, most likely, other Forsyth County slave quarters that have not been identified, particularly as many outbuildings that once functioned as slave housing later served other purposes. However, given the age and rudimentary construction of these resources, the vast majority have been demolished.

The only identified group of Forsyth County slave houses that stood until the twenty-first century was associated with the Dr. Beverly Jones House in Bethania. The property once belonged to Abraham Conrad, who was one of the county's top slaveholders during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1860, he owned twenty-six slaves, most of whom occupied five dwellings according to the census takers who compiled the slave schedule that year. Conrad's daughter Julia and her husband, physician Beverly Jones, commissioned prolific Virginia builder Dabney Cosby to erect a three-bay brick plantation house for them on property her father owned in 1846. Abraham Conrad resided with the couple after his wife's death and retained possession of the acreage until 1864. Dr. Jones's property included six slaves and one slave house in 1860, so it is difficult to determine who owned the single- and double-pen log slave quarters that stood on the edge of what is now a pasture.<sup>173</sup>

The side-gable buildings had board-and-batten doors, glazed windows, weatherboards in the gable ends, wood shingle roofs, and stone foundations. The double-pen dwelling had a saddlebag plan with a large central brick chimney. These houses were in fair condition when surveyed, although the single pen dwelling was missing its roof, doors, and chimney and the double-pen quarter had roof damage in 2007. Unfortunately, the condition of these very significant resources has deteriorated greatly since that time. The double-pen slave quarter has collapsed and the single-pen quarter is ruinous. The slave quarter site is within the Dr. Beverly Jones House's seven-acre National Register of Historic Places boundary.

The Clayton Family Farm, also listed on the National Register, encompasses fifteen historic resources on twenty-five acres, including a one-story, log, mid-nineteenth-century building that, according to family tradition, served as a slave quarter. John Clayton owned twelve slaves in 1860, and this building may have been the slave house that federal census takers noted that year. The dwelling has board-and-batten front and back doors, a small square window secured by a board-and-batten shutter, a replacement wood-shingle roof, a reconstructed brick chimney, and a reworked stone foundation. Original interior features include a narrow corner stair which provides access to the loft.<sup>174</sup>

A slightly larger one-story, side-gable-roofed dwelling that has been restored on the Fountain Flynt Farm near Rural Hall also originally served as a slave quarter based on oral history.<sup>175</sup> The edifice has a reconstructed stone chimney, a reworked stone foundation, and what appears to be a replacement Rustic Revival-style board-and-batten door with a reproduction thumb latch and strap hinges. Fountain Flynt owned one slave in 1850 and is not listed as a slave owner in 1860.<sup>176</sup>

The only frame slave house documented during the survey is one of five historic outbuildings on the National Register-listed Samuel B. Stauber Farm near Bethania. The quarter, erected around the same time as the Staubers' Greek Revival-style dwelling was completed in 1852, has a side-gable, metal

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<sup>173</sup> United States Census, Slave Schedule, 1860; North Carolina Division of Archives and History, "Dr. Beverly Jones House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1978.

<sup>174</sup> United States Census, Slave Schedule, 1860; Laura A. W. Phillips, "Clayton Family Farm," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2001.

<sup>175</sup> Gwynne S. Taylor, Flynt House survey file, 1979.

<sup>176</sup> United States Census, Slave schedules, 1850 and 1860.

roof with a deep overhang that shelters the entrance, four-over-four and six-over-six double-hung wood sash windows, board-and-batten siding, a brick end chimney, and a rear shed addition. Mr. Stauber owned three slaves in 1850 and nine slaves and two slave houses in 1860.<sup>177</sup>

Architect Gorell Stinson built a Colonial Revival-style brick house on the site of Henry Shouse's nineteenth-century dwelling in the 1950s.<sup>178</sup> The property contains two mid-nineteenth-century log outbuildings—a barn and what was, according to oral history, a slave quarter. The side-gabled house has a standing-seam metal roof, a board-and-batten door and window shutter, and board-and-batten siding in the gable ends. The chimney has been demolished but stood on the south elevation. Henry Shouse owned thirteen slaves in 1850 and seventeen slaves and two slave houses in 1860.<sup>179</sup>

The final identified slave dwelling was not accessible, and difficult to describe given its location in the woods beyond a fenced pasture off Williams Road in the West Bend vicinity. However, according to a local informant, the log building has a stone and brick chimney and was associated with the Williams plantation, also known as Panther Creek. Nicholas Lanier Williams, who was a member of North Carolina's Council of State and a trustee of the University of North Carolina and owned the property in the mid-nineteenth century, is not listed as a slave owner in the 1850 or 1860 slave schedules.<sup>180</sup>

### **Architecture in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road Study Area**

The study area's oldest dwellings, erected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have traditional forms, plans, and finishes. The Alspaugh-Shouse House at 1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road is one of an ever-diminishing number of rural log Forsyth County residences, and is the only extant log dwelling identified in the context of the county-wide architectural survey whose ownership history has been traced to African American freedmen whose descendants still own the land. The oldest section (at the north end) is a one-room log dwelling once occupied by Pearson and Lydia Alspaugh. Late-nineteenth-century weatherboarded frame additions project from the south and east elevations and a metal roof protects the house. Sheet metal and rolled asphalt siding in brick and ashlar patterns cover portions of the exterior. The siding has been removed from the south frame addition's southeast section, exposing the interior to the elements. A brick stovepipe chimney serves the log section and the south addition, while a concrete block chimney vented the stove in the rear addition, which encompassed the kitchen and a small dining area.

The log dwelling has been reinked with portland cement mortar, but some clay and horsehair chinking remains on the interior. The original front and rear doors have two tall raised panels and late-nineteenth-century hinges and rim locks. The two-over-two sash windows on the façade match those in the south addition, and were thus likely added when that room was constructed. The door and window surrounds consist of flat boards with butt edges. Stripped branch hooks are mounted above the front and rear entrances.

The mantel on the south elevation, added after the interior walls were whitewashed at least once, has been removed, but the ghost mark on the wall illustrates the shape. The mantel was purely decorative, as a stove rather than a fireplace heated the dwelling. The metal stove flue extended through the

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.; Gwynne S. Taylor, "Samuel B. Stauber Farm," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1988.

<sup>178</sup> Gwynne S. Taylor, Shouse-Stimpson House survey file, 1980.

<sup>179</sup> United States Census, Slave schedules, 1850 and 1860.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.; Tommy Campbell, conversation with Heather Fearnbach regarding the Bob Daniels House, April 2007.

ceiling into the loft and the turned at a right angle to share the brick chimney that also served the stove in the bedroom addition.

An open narrow stair with a steep straight run rises along the north wall to the loft, where wide boards secured with cut nails sheath the ceiling. A square opening in the south wall provides access to the frame addition's attic, which retains original wood floors and kneewall sheathing boards. The original random-exposure clapboards that cover the log dwelling's south gable end and were encapsulated in the addition's attic show signs of weathering, indicating that they were exposed for some time.

Intact original interior finishes in the south room include beadboard sheathing on the walls and ceiling, flat board door and window surrounds with butt edges, and a front door with five raised panels and original hardware (a rim lock and butt hinges). The small square closet in the northwest corner no longer has a door.

The rear kitchen wing has beadboard walls, exposed rafters, and a wood floor covered with sheet vinyl. The room's west end has a poured concrete floor. Six-pane windows, hinged on one side to allow them to swing open, illuminate the interior. Ghost marks on the walls indicate where hanging cabinets and a sink base were located.

The Alspaugh-Shouse descendants remember that a full-width front porch once extended across the dwelling's façade. Family members enjoyed relaxing on a porch swing. There was no interior access to the rear kitchen or the frame bedroom addition on the log dwelling's south side, but a deep shed-roofed back porch sheltered the entrances to these rooms. Outbuildings included a smokehouse, garage, privy, and a storage shed. A spring east of the house supplied the family's water. The property once extended east to what is now the Mallard Lakes subdivision.<sup>181</sup>

Small, unaltered, frame houses in the county's rural areas are also increasingly rare. The documented history of early twentieth century African American dwellings such as John and Sallie Alspaugh Conrad's house, Samuel L. Miller's home, and William Moses and Sallie Conrad's residence, in conjunction with their continued ownership by their descendants, makes them particularly significant.

John and Sallie Conrad's house stands approximately two hundred feet southeast of the Alspaugh-Shouse House at 1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. The one-story, side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded dwelling has a shed-roofed front porch that retains one original chamfered wooden post. Two additional posts remain in the pile of building materials stacked beside the porch. Most of the porch floor system has collapsed, but a few sections of tongue and groove floor boards remain. Three original two-over-two sash windows are intact. The other windows are recent six-over-six sash replacements. The original interior sills and surrounds for these windows has been removed but is still inside the house. A standing-seam sheet metal roof protects the building.

Intact original interior finishes include plaster walls, beadboard ceilings, and wood floors and baseboards. The front, rear, and interior six-raised-panel doors are in good condition and retain period hardware. The door and window surrounds in the front two rooms are crafted from beadboard, while

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<sup>181</sup> Alspaugh-Shouse heirs, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011. A photograph taken by Priscilla Kerins in 2008 shows that the shed-roofed front porch was supported by square posts spanned by what appears to be a mid-twentieth-century wood railing. Narrow tongue and groove boards covered the porch floor. The porch rested on a continuous dry-laid stone foundation and was protected by an asphalt-shingle roof.

the rear room's door surrounds are flat boards with butt edges. The window surrounds have been removed in the rear room, exposing wood plaster lathe.

A central chimney serves the two fireplaces in the main block, both of which have shallow fireboxes. The mantels have been removed, but ghost marks on the plaster indicates that the mantels were tall and capped with molded shelves. A closet occupies the space east of the chimney in the north room.

The one-story, side-gable-roofed, weatherboarded Samuel L. Miller House at 1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road is one of the earliest and most intact residences associated with the Bethania Freedmen's community. The hip-roofed front porch retains original square, bracketed, wooden posts spanned by a sawnwork balustrade. A simple wooden frame was constructed at a later date to allow for the attachment of wire screens. Narrow, multi-pane sidelights flank the paneled front door. Operable louvered shutters secure the windows and a metal roof protects the building.

William Moses and Sallie Conrad's one-story, side-gable-roofed dwelling at 1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road was threatened by a City of Winston-Salem demolition order in 2009 given its poor condition. In response, their grandson Ali Shabazz, who is one of the current property owners, has stabilized the building by removing the collapsing side (north and south) elevations and replacing the balloon framing in those locations and as needed elsewhere. He removed the weatherboards and sheathed the dwelling in oriented strand board (OSB) panels. In the process, he shortened the house's width by approximately four feet on the north end and removed the windows on the side elevations. The brick nogging that insulated the home is intact on most of the east (front) elevation, but has been removed from the remaining walls and is currently stacked in the yard.

Mr. Shabazz also replaced the historic metal roof with a new metal roof. Photographs taken by architect David Gall representing Preserve Historic Forsyth in 2008 illustrate that the original pressed-metal-shingle roof was later covered by at least two generations of metal roofing sheets attached to narrow wooden nailing strips. The rafters, like the floor joists, are circular-sawn dimensional lumber. Weathering on the rafter ends indicates that they have always been exposed.

Mr. Shabazz removed the triangular Craftsman-style eave brackets, likely added at the same time as the gabled dormer on the front roof slope and shown in the 2008 photos, as part of his building stabilization effort. Wood shingles originally covered the dormer's side elevations and front gable. Flush boards and the faux-granite rolled-asphalt siding added to the dormer's façade in 1964 are also still in place.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> In August 1964, college students working for the North Carolina Volunteers, a service corps sponsored by the North Carolina Fund as part of a statewide initiative intended to ameliorate poverty, repaired the William Moses Conrad House. A seven-million-dollar Ford Foundation grant and bequests from the Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundations financed the non-profit organization upon its incorporation in 1963. The state's allocations from the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act allowed for the program's expansion and created entities such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). Local agencies helped to identify residents in need of aid. The North Carolina Volunteers assigned to Winston-Salem in the summer of 1964 primarily assisted the City Recreation Department with playground and school programs. After Forsyth County Welfare Department case worker Mrs. John Moore indicated that the Conrad House, then occupied by Mr. Conrad's second wife Patsy, lacked heat, electricity, a clean water source, and a bathroom, the team undertook the dwelling's repair. Local North Carolina Volunteer supervisor Grafton Cockrell coordinated the salvage of usable building materials from a house at 1013 East Seventh Street that was slated for demolition as part of an urban renewal project, and the team reused lumber, siding, and nails in the Conrad House repair. They also replaced windows, built a front step, and installed a second layer of donated metal roofing over the existing metal roof. Nineteen students (fifteen women and four men), their supervisors, and community volunteers including Bethania A. M. E. Zion pastor

Stones and concrete blocks elevate the dwelling a few inches above grade. Mr. Shabazz excavated to pour concrete footings for a continuous foundation. The chimney has been removed, but photos taken by *Winston-Salem Journal* photographer Frank Jones as the North Carolina Volunteers completed repairs in 1964 illustrate that a brick stovepipe chimney on the south elevation pierced the deep eave.

Intact interior elements include portions of the narrow board floor in the main room, flush horizontal board sheathing on the wall between the main room and the rear room, and a vertical board partition wall between the main room and the room on the dwelling's north end. The steep, narrow, open stair that provides access to the attic rises from east to west along the partition wall. Flat boards surround the door and window openings. The front door has six horizontal raised panels, a common early-twentieth-century configuration. Two six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows flank the front door. A matching window pierces the west elevation south of the central door opening. The five-raised-panel door (two short vertical panels above a central horizontal panel and two taller vertical panels) that hung in that opening now leans against the rear wall's room. Another paneled door, perhaps the one that secured the opening between the main and rear rooms, stands on the main room's west elevation. The ceiling has been removed, but the 2008 photographs document that sections of a white-painted beadboard ceiling were in place at that time.

White farmer Edmund Burke Flynt constructed the only extant early-twentieth-century two-story dwelling in the study area—a frame hip-roofed house—at 1415 Bethania-Rural Hall Road around 1920. The hip-roofed front porch has a metal roof and square wooden posts spanned by a replacement wooden railing. The dwelling retains original two-over-two sash windows. One brick interior chimney stack pierces the asphalt shingle roof's rear slope.<sup>183</sup> A series of frame outbuildings stand behind the house. Family members still own the house and outbuildings as well as approximately eighty acres encompassed in adjacent parcels.

By the 1930s, Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents embraced the popular Craftsman style. Norman and Mamie Allen erected a bungalow at 1834 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1930. The one-and-one-half-story, hip-roofed, frame dwelling features a gabled dormer above the inset front porch, which has metal posts, a metal railing, concrete floor, and concrete steps. One-over-one sash replacement windows illuminate the interior. Wood shingles sheathe the dormer and the narrow area above the front porch. Aluminum siding covers the original weatherboards. The house rests on a continuous concrete block foundation and is served by brick interior and end stovepipe chimneys. A shallow shed-roofed bay projects from the south elevation's center and a one-story gabled addition extends from the east elevation.

Robert and Caroline Shouse Joyce's 1937 bungalow at 1570 Bethania-Rural Hall Road has a hip-roofed front porch supported by square posts on brick piers. Concrete steps with a metal railing lead to the porch. An aluminum awning wraps around the porch's east and south elevations. Craftsman-over-one sash windows illuminate the interior. The house rests on a continuous brick foundation and has

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Hubert (spelled "Herbert" in the newspaper article and "Hubert" in a church history) Nurse and other congregation members, completed the project (Joe Goodman, "Volunteers Repairing House," *Winston-Salem Journal*, August 23, 1964, page A8; Aidan Smith, "July 1963- The North Carolina Fund," July 2005, <http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/nchistory/jul2005/index.html>, accessed in February 2012).

<sup>183</sup> The house has two chimneys, one that served the kitchen and living room and one that contained flues for the family room and the master bedroom above it. One of the chimney stacks has been removed above the roof (Richard Bovender, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, December 30, 2011 and January 30, 2012).

been sheathed with vinyl siding. A brick chimney pierces the asphalt-shingle roof.

James and Lillian Allen's one-story, front-gable-roofed, frame bungalow erected next door at 1580 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1938 has a gable-roofed front porch supported by decorative, bracketed metal posts with a floral motif. Brick steps lead to the porch, which has a poured concrete floor. Aluminum siding covers the original weatherboards. The siding under the porch consists of aluminum panels design to emulate granite, while the siding in the gable ends mimics wooden board-and-batten sheathing. Replacement Craftsman-over-one sash vinyl windows illuminate the interior. The house rests on a continuous brick foundation. A brick chimney stack and a brick end chimney that rises on the south elevation pierce the asphalt-shingle roof.

The homes erected in this section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road in the late 1930s and early 1940s tend to be simple in form and finish. Representative examples include Isaac and Rhoda Allen's daughter Esther and her husband William Douthit's one-and-one-half-story, side-gable-roofed, frame dwelling that was built at 1826 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1938. Forrest and Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield erected the modest one-story, front-gable-roofed, frame dwelling at 1510 Bethania-Rural Hall Road about the same time. The one-story, side-gable-roofed, German-sided home that Thomas and Blanche Withers Lash constructed at 1500 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1939 also epitomizes this trend.

The study area retains other Minimal Traditional-style dwellings and Ranch houses erected through the mid-twentieth century, as community members continue to build residences and maintain their connections with the area. Carpenters Julius and Shober Lash erected the one-and-one-half-story, side-gable-roofed, German-sided dwelling at what is now 1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road for Vera Wagner in 1941. Rufus and Mary Lash's daughter Mary Jane Lash and her husband Reverend Hunter Blake Bess subsequently acquired the property.

Washington family members erected several dwellings near the home that William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington had built. Their daughter Alta and her husband William Maceo Ervin lived at 1725 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, a frame house constructed on her parent's property in 1940, before building a brick Ranch house directly across the road at 1740 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1960.<sup>184</sup> Alta's sister Julia and her husband Aldean Lash purchased one acre from Ira C. and Beulah Miller and erected the front-gable-roofed brick house north of her family home at what is now 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1948.

Julia and Alta's older brother George and his wife Pearl, who resided on the opposite side of the road at 1620 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, had acquired additional lots north of his dwelling in 1949 and 1951. They built a small, one-story, front-gable-roofed, frame dwelling with a deep setback and a southern orientation (rather than facing east toward the road) on the northernmost lot (now 1600 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), in 1951. The couple then constructed a brick Ranch house between their first Bethania-Rural Hall Road residence and the small frame house in 1957.<sup>185</sup>

Residential subdivisions adjacent to the study area such as Swink's Acres, Northwest Estates, Lash Estates, and Mallard Lake, platted in the 1950s and 1960s and developed through the late twentieth

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<sup>184</sup> Natalie K. Summers, conversation with Heather Fearnbach on September 27, 2011.

<sup>185</sup> The Ranch house burned sometime between March 2009 and the time that Forsyth County aerial photographs were taken in 2010.

century, predominately encompass Ranch-style houses, as well as some split-level and two-story dwellings.

## V. Significance Evaluation

### Overview

Given the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area's social history, ethnographic context, and built environment, the resources within the proposed district boundaries possess the requisite significance for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The area was not documented during the first Forsyth County architectural survey nor the update due to the buildings' unassuming appearance, underscoring the fact that while such surveys serve as important planning tools, their broad scope precludes the possibility of identifying all important historic properties. Primary source research, oral history interviews, in-depth building investigation, and archaeology are often necessary to illuminate significance.

The extant dwellings in the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area are in most cases still associated with descendants of the individuals who built them and several generations of family members often reside in close proximity to each other. Kinship networks have been expanded by marriage since the late nineteenth century and connections including church membership and employment history also link the majority of the community's households. Current and former residents express a strong sense of solidarity with each other and the locale as their "homeplace." The area thus manifests the National Park Service criteria for National Register listing as an ethnographic landscape consisting of both tangible and intangible elements, but with enough extant resources to convey historic significance.<sup>186</sup>

Such areas are rapidly disappearing, as Forsyth County's population growth has fostered subdivision and road construction that continually swallows buildings, structures, sites, and landscapes. Some farms and crossroads settlements remain as evidence of the county's early history, but these properties have become increasingly fragmented. Intact rural communities with documented African American ownership from the late nineteenth century to the present are exceedingly rare, making the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area's documentation and preservation an important means of illustrating a much broader story. Without recognition and stabilization of these resources, encroaching development and deferred maintenance may result in their demolition.

Further analysis of surveyed properties and efforts to identify similar resources would be necessary in order to make definitive assertions regarding the existence of other intact rural Forsyth County freedmen's settlement areas, but comparable communities have not been documented to the author's knowledge. Archaeological investigation may provide more information about African American enclaves such as Washington Town, so named after George and Lydia Washington and their sons Turner, William, and John acquired five parcels encompassing approximately twenty-eight acres southeast of Bethania's main street.<sup>187</sup> Freedmen established farms in other parts of rural Forsyth

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<sup>186</sup> Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, *National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 1.

<sup>187</sup> "Bethania, November 1822." This map of Bethania, created by Friedrich Meinung in 1822 and updated through the time that W. S. Pfohl copied it in 1918, delineates the allocation of tracts within the town lot. See Forsyth County Deed Book 26, page 132 (1872); Deed Book 26, page 133 (1873); Deed Book 26, page 134 (1874); Deed Book 28, page 191

County that once had sizeable enslaved populations, such as the area near Kernersville where the county's largest slaveowner, George Brooks, held seventy-two men, women, and children in 1850.<sup>188</sup> Although intact historic buildings associated with Brooks's emancipated slaves were not identified during the Forsyth County architectural survey update, a cemetery on Piney Grove Road containing graves of African Americans including the Brooks, Jones, Haizlip, and Johnson families was recorded and would provide an excellent starting point for future study.<sup>189</sup> Much of the county's rural population, black and white, moved to urban areas when industrial employment became available, leaving only ephemeral traces on the landscape. Identifying other late-nineteenth-century freedmen's communities will thus require extensive research and oral history interviews.

## Statement of Significance

The proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District contains a cohesive collection of late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century buildings associated primarily with Bethania's African American population and meets National Register Criteria A and C in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black, Social History, and Architecture.<sup>190</sup> The linear district encompasses twenty-seven primary resources situated on approximately 127 acres, most of which have been owned by the same families since the late nineteenth century. Genealogical and deed research has illuminated the kinship networks that continue to bind the area's residents together and serve as an important component of its significance, demonstrating resilience and perseverance in the African American struggle to achieve and maintain property ownership in the segregated south. Community solidarity allowed for collective advancement as former slaves acquired land and established farms, businesses, churches, and schools. Social and economic disparities had little impact on development patterns as entrepreneurs, craftsman, professionals, teachers, pastors, farmers, laborers, domestic workers, and their families lived, worked, studied, worshipped, and recreated together. The built environment and the landscape manifest changes that occurred as Forsyth County's industrial growth expanded African American employment opportunities exponentially, facilitating social mobility, increasing economic stability, and allowing for investment in new residential construction.

The proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District serves as tangible evidence of a rural African American community's dramatic socio-economic transformation. In 1850, Burton Cozzens, a 56-year-

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(1874); Deed Book 28, page 192 (1872); Deed Book 27, page 489 (1886); and Deed Book 30, page 458 (1888) for more detailed information regarding the Washington family's early land acquisitions.

<sup>188</sup> United States Census, Slave and Agricultural Schedules, 1850.

<sup>189</sup> According to Maxine Johnson, her grandfather John William Fulton, an African American farmer, purchased property on Piney Grove Road's east side near Kernersville for the cemetery from his best friend Newton Warren, who was white, for \$12.00 in 1907. Two of Fulton's sisters and other community members were buried in the cemetery before he purchased the property. Fulton also bought an eighty-two-acre farm across the road from Warren. One of Ms. Johnson's aunts remembers that the cemetery was known as "Long Field Graveyard" at one time; the current property tax card refers to the property as "Brooks Graveyard." Some of the earliest marked graves are those of Brooks family members. Ms. Johnson is spearheading an effort to clean up and document the cemetery, and has succeeded in clearing the undergrowth enough to reveal at least ten rows of graves. She has been raising funds to hire an archaeologist to map the estimated two hundred graves. Approximately two-thirds of the graves are unmarked or were marked with glass bottles or stones, some of which were removed during the recent clean-up effort before their significance became apparent. The remainder of the graves retain modest granite and marble markers. Haizlip's Funeral Home conducted most of the burials and is compiling a list for Ms. Johnson, who plans to erect a monument bearing the names of those interred in the cemetery after the mapping is complete. Maxine Johnson, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 29, 2008; Mary Guinca, "Fading Record: Neglected graves reflect an almost forgotten history of black families," *Winston-Salem Journal*, February 26, 2007.

<sup>190</sup> Other areas of significance, such as settlement and archaeology, would also be explored as applicable if National Register of Historic Places designation is pursued for the proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District.

old shoemaker who owned thirty-three acres on Muddy Creek near Bethania, appears to be the only free black Forsyth County farm owner whose annual yield exceeded \$100.<sup>191</sup> Although African American land acquisition increased dramatically in the decades following emancipation, most Forsyth County freedmen labored for years to accumulate sufficient resources to purchase land and establish small subsistence farms. Given the difficulties they faced in navigating the legal bureaucracy of the Jim Crow South, these men and women often sought greater autonomy while remaining in familiar surroundings. Connections with their former owners as well as other black and white community members provided financial and emotional support, guidance, and, in many cases, led to employment and property acquisition opportunities. Even after freedmen attained their own holdings, families frequently continued to provide agricultural and domestic labor for neighboring households in order to make ends meet.<sup>192</sup>

Most Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents manifested this practice, and many, including white families like the Flynts, worked for Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones and saved money to purchase land. By 1886, Lydia Beck Alspaugh had acquired two acres adjacent to Wesley Lash's eighty-acre farm and Benjamin Bitting's two-acre tract. Wesley Lash's sons-in-law, Calvin Miller and Mat Koger, and their families lived nearby. Calvin Miller owned three acres while Mat Koger and Calvin Kiser jointly held a forty-three-acre farm.<sup>193</sup>

The proposed district's landscape—which consists of buildings, ornamental plantings, fences, roads, creeks, fields, pastures, tree stands, and woodlands—conveys the visual character typically seen in rural Piedmont communities. The topography is gently rolling, allowing for the location of principal resources on higher ground. Unpaved farm roads lead from the buildings lining the main roads to the outbuildings, fields, and pastures behind them. Modern post-and-rail and electric fences enclose livestock pastures. Tree stands serve as windbreaks bordering cultivated fields and pastures. Creeks and drainage ditches follow the same courses as the windbreaks in many cases. Forested areas, which provided the area's residents with firewood and lumber, surround the district's improved acreage.

Comparison of the earliest available aerial photographs, taken in 1940, to 2010 aerials indicates that the field patterns (relationship of tilled land to woodland) and road systems within the proposed district have been consistent during this time. Soil type, drainage, topography, crop rotation plans, and farming methods dictate field and pasture number, size, and location. Some land fronting the main roads has been subdivided to create additional residential lots, but the irregularly-shaped fields and

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<sup>191</sup> Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1850 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina*. Forsyth County Deed Book 27, page 7 references Burton Cozzens' acquisition of the thirty-three-acre farm where he resided when he sold the property to Dr. Beverly Jones for fifty dollars in 1866.

<sup>192</sup> See Sharon Ann Holt's analysis of African American household production, farm tenure, and property ownership in Granville County in *Making Freedom Pay: North Carolina Freedpeople Working for Themselves, 1865-1900* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2000). Robert C. Kenzer provides a state-wide context in *Enterprising Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989). Leon F. Litwack explores this subject at the regional level in his books including *Been in the Storm So Long: The Emergence of Black Freedom in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1979); *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Knopf, 1998); *How Free is Free?: The Long Death of Jim Crow* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>193</sup> Charles Emerson, *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

pastures behind them are intact and conform to the landscape contours.<sup>194</sup> Although farm production gradually decreased during the first half of the twentieth century, Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents continued to plant home gardens and crops including corn, wheat, hay, tobacco, cotton, beans, and Irish and sweet potatoes, rotating fields on a regular basis.

Large tracts were reduced in size as they were conveyed to subsequent generations and industry replaced agriculture as the ubiquitous means of earning a living. However, successive generations of family tenancy reflect the land ownership's associative value. Much of the acreage within the proposed district is "heirs' property," owned by two or more individuals who inherited rather than purchased their interest and thus possess "undivided" shares.<sup>195</sup> Even in the few cases where family members no longer reside on the land, they are reluctant to relinquish their claims to it.

The dwellings in the proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District represent both vernacular forms and popular national styles that were common throughout North Carolina from the mid-nineteenth century through the post-World War II era, ranging from a one-room log house to bungalows, Minimal Traditional-style dwellings, and Ranch houses. These residences, built primarily by and for African American property owners, manifest the adaptations expected with ongoing use, frequently by multiple generations of the same families. As households grew, occupants often chose to expand their living space by enclosing porches and constructing side or rear additions rather than relocating, thus maintaining their physical connection with the land as well as familial and community support networks. By the mid-twentieth century, many Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents dispensed with detached kitchens and privies, adding modern appliances and bathrooms to their homes, but, in keeping with the situation throughout Forsyth County, such improvements were not universal.<sup>196</sup>

Although many of the houses within the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area have been expanded and updated over time, these changes manifest evolving societal norms, advances in building technology, and increased resource availability. Homeowners attempted to enhance the appearance and extend the life of modest frame buildings by cladding weatherboards with siding materials such as aluminum, vinyl, asbestos shingle, and rolled asphalt. In a few cases, inhabitants updated their homes by substituting metal porch posts and railings for the original wood elements. The brick residences that some property owners commissioned to replace vernacular frame dwellings provide visible statements of their economic success. Ongoing construction and home improvements also reflect the community's self-sufficiency, as area residents often erected their own dwellings or hired neighbors including African American carpenter Julius Lash, who was sometimes assisted by Rufus Lash's son Shober; white farmer E. B. Flynt and his sons Ralph and Nat; or local contractors such as Wilson Brothers of Rural Hall to execute the work through the mid-twentieth century. Most resources retain integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association.

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<sup>194</sup> The earliest available Forsyth County aerial photographs were taken by the Agricultural Extension Service in 1940 and are housed at the Forsyth County Cooperative Extension Service Office. The most recent Forsyth County aerial photographs, taken in 2010, can be accessed online at [http://maps2.co.forsyth.nc.us/geodata\\_08](http://maps2.co.forsyth.nc.us/geodata_08).

<sup>195</sup> Undivided shares represent equal interest in a property but are not physical delineations specified by a will or illustrated in an estate division plat. This situation occurs when a property owner dies intestate (without a will).

<sup>196</sup> The Federal Census delineated 41,338 Forsyth County residences in 1950. Nineteen percent of those dwellings had been erected between 1945 and 1950. A slight majority (54.8 percent) were owner-occupied and roughly half (50.6 percent) were mortgaged, reflecting the widespread availability of loans to prospective homeowners during the post-World War II era. Many houses featured amenities including central heat (33.3 percent), hot running water and a bathroom (47.4 percent), and mechanical refrigerators (75.5 percent). Bureau of the Census, *Census of Housing: 1950, Volume I: General Characteristics, Part 5: North Carolina-Tennessee* (Washington, D. C. United States Government Printing Office, 1953), 33-3-33-5, 33-26.

If National Register of Historic Places designation is pursued for the proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District, each edifice will be deemed contributing or noncontributing to the area's overall significance. Such evaluations are based on age and degree of alteration. Typically, buildings must be at least fifty years old—constructed in or before 1962 as of 2012—to be considered contributing. Properties must also look much as they did by the end of the district's period of historical significance, which for the purposes of this analysis, begins in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when the oldest standing building—the Alspaugh-Shouse House—was constructed, and ends in 1962, encompassing all of the resources erected during the primary years of the community's growth. Noncontributing buildings would postdate 1962 or would have been built before 1962 and were heavily altered, therefore losing their architectural integrity.

## **VI. Boundary Description**

The proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District encompasses approximately 127 acres in two sections separated by modern residential development. Four dwellings—including two of the study area's oldest houses—and associated outbuildings stand on almost seven acres in the southern section, while the northern section contains twenty-three primary resources and about 120 acres, much of which is agricultural. The district boundaries are drawn to encompass the most cohesive collection of contributing residential and agricultural buildings associated with the community. Although some residences that once stood along this section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road have been lost in fires, demolished, or are in deteriorated condition, property owners have only erected a few buildings within the proposed district's boundaries since 1962.

The area immediately outside the district is characterized by modern residential and recreational development. Adjacent subdivisions such as Swink's Acres, Northwest Estates, Lash Estates, and Mallard Lake, were platted in the 1950s and 1960s and developed through the late twentieth century, while the eighteen-hole Long Creek Golf Club, which is on Bethania-Rural Hall Road's northwest side, opened in 1964.

The following narrative briefly outlines the relationships between the district's discontinuous sections.

Abraham Conrad, his daughter Julia, and her husband Dr. Beverly Jones once operated sizeable plantations that included most of the property within the proposed historic district on Bethania-Rural Hall Road's northwest side. In 1937, Hervey Jones Doughton, Beverly and Julia Jones's granddaughter, subdivided the Bethania-Rural Hall Road acreage that she had inherited from her father, attorney E. B. Jones. The acreage was primarily wooded, as the Jones family's agricultural tracts were further west. The triangular plat delineated parcels that already belonged to African American community members William Moses Conrad, Blanche Lash, Israel T. Spease, Rufus Lash, and William Benjamin Conrad. Mrs. Doughton sold the remaining tracts for nominal sums to African Americans whose families had, in most cases, long associations with the area.<sup>197</sup> Several of these property owners soon erected new homes, while others conveyed the acreage to their relatives or other Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents.

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<sup>197</sup> G. F. Hinshaw, surveyor, "Map showing property of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton," Forsyth County Plat Book 8, page 194.

The proposed district's northwest corner encompasses the 1937 Doughton plat. The current parcel configurations closely resemble the original lot subdivisions, and, in many cases, relatives of early occupants retain property ownership.

Most of the remaining parcels within the proposed district boundaries on Bethania-Rural Hall Road's northwest side are subdivisions of three acres south of the 1937 plat that Anna Bitting McMullen acquired in 1913.<sup>198</sup> Anna and her extended family resided in a house that her parents, freedmen Benjamin and Rhoda Bitting, built that stood to the south on the opposite side of the road.<sup>199</sup> She divided the three acres among her children on July 14, 1925, only a few years before her death in 1928. Their descendants still own and occupy residences erected on the property between 1925 and 1960. A portion of the Long Creek Golf Club is west of these parcels.

By the late nineteenth century, freedmen had acquired much of the property on Bethania-Rural Hall Road's southeast side. The district's largest tract—80.5 acres—consists of fields and pastures currently owned by a grandson of white farmers E. B. and Nora Flynt, who gradually accumulated land beginning in 1905. The Flynts' first purchase was an 11.37-acre parcel that had belonged to African American farmer Wesley Lash and was inherited by his daughter Bettie and her husband Mat Koger.<sup>200</sup> The Flynt family's previously established relationship with the Lashes and the Kogers is reflected in the fact that E. B.'s father, Dewitt C. Flynt, was one of Wesley Lash's estate commissioners. Like many of their African American neighbors, E. B. and Nora Flynt worked as sharecroppers for the Jones family until they were able to accumulate sufficient resources to set up their own farm. In 1918, E. B. salvaged elements of an abandoned African American church that stood on his Bethania-Rural Hall Road property and built the house that is now occupied by his great-grandson. The Flynts retained close connections with their neighbors and maintained the African American cemetery that was associated with the church.

Mat and Bettie Koger's home, outbuildings, fields, and the store operated by their son, James Madison "Bud" Koger, were south of the Flynts' fields and orchards. The Koger family's early dwellings have been gone for at least thirty years, but residences erected for and occupied by their descendants stand near the Koger Fire Station, which is the only edifice unrelated to the area's residential and agricultural character. The building, completed in 2009 near Mat and Bettie Koger's house site, serves the Winston-Salem Fire Department's Engine Company No. 20.

The Koger's property and Wesley's Lash's residual estate, inherited by the children of Bettie's deceased sister, Harriet, and her husband Calvin Miller, extended south to the acreage owned by the Bittings, Lydia Alspaugh, and Lydia's daughter Sallie and her husband John Conrad. The Lash-Koger-Miller property continued to be subdivided and extended family have constructed and occupied homes on the land through the present time.

Harriet and Calvin Miller's daughter Emma married William Erastus Washington, and the Washingtons and their children built a series of dwellings and farmed the acreage Emma inherited after her grandfather's estate final settlement. They also grew tobacco on land owned by E. B. Flynt. The Washington's property was excluded from the proposed district boundaries, however, due to the recent

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<sup>198</sup> Robert and Barbara Miller to Annie [sic] Bitting McMullen, Forsyth County Deed Book 436, page 155.

<sup>199</sup> The three acres were bounded by land owned by the Jones family and Bethania-Rural Hall Road, which was then called the Bethania-Germanton Road. Benjamin and Rhoda Bitting's House stood between the dwellings their extended family later erected at 1826 and 1834 Bethania-Rural Hall Road.

<sup>200</sup> Deed Book 76, page 29.

creation of a small subdivision on Harvest Stone Lane, which extends east from Bethania-Rural Hall Road, and the construction of two houses in 2007. Renwood Drive, located approximately seven hundred feet south of Harvest Stone Lane, serves as an entrance to the Mallard Lakes subdivision, platted in 1968, which is east of the proposed district's southern section.



## **VII. Recommendations for Future Work and Next Steps**

Although the information provided in this report allows for a general understanding of the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area's evolution, much work remains to be done in order to comprehensively document each surveyed resource and provide a broader context for the community's history. Some of the following suggested undertakings would further illuminate this important story, while others would stabilize and interpret the built environment.

### **Archaeology**

Michael O. Hartley's 1993 Bethania town lot archaeological survey identified six significant areas associated with the area's African American community: Jones Plantation, the section of Bethania-Rural Hall Road known as the "Bethania Freedmen's Community," a short segment of Walker Road, Washington Town, the archaeological site of an African American dwelling, and a collection of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century house ruins in a later African American neighborhood along Bethania Road. He clearly delineates these areas on a map that appears in his dissertation.<sup>201</sup>

Richard Bovender, E. B. and Nora Flynt's grandson, revealed the existence of a cemetery once associated with the African American church that stood near the Flynt's house.<sup>202</sup> This important resource should be documented and the number of graves determined.

Based upon the oral histories of current and former residents familiar with the evolution of the properties flanking Bethania-Rural Hall Road, archaeological investigation could be undertaken to verify the location of no-longer-extant resources such as dwellings, outbuildings, wells, fences, and gardens, thus affording the creation of site plans. Buried or infilled features such as trash pits and root cellars, which may provide important socio-economic and ethnographic data, are also likely present.

Future surveyors would have several possible alternatives for the detection of these landscape features. Soil probes can be an effective method to detect ground anomalies, but as vernacular buildings typically rest on brick or stone piers, which leave ephemeral footprints, the results of such investigations are often inconclusive.

Another option would be mechanical soil removal, which could be done in five by five meter swaths to minimize the impact to the area. Any disturbance, in particular recent historic disturbances, will leave an anomalistic signature. Early planting beds and fence post holes will appear different from the surrounding soil matrix when exposed horizontally. Once elements of these historic features are detected, additional areas could be stripped in order to fully expose and map the historic landscape. Mechanical excavation, although effective in detecting subsurface features, is very invasive and expensive and is not a practical solution if the intention is to keep an area intact.

Ground penetrating radar (GPR), although more costly, is a much less invasive remote sensing tool used to detect subsurface archaeological features. Areas that have experienced frequent earth disturbance are not good candidates for GPR, as interpreting the data becomes difficult.

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<sup>201</sup> Michael O. Hartley, "Choices on the Land: Identity, Influence, Power, and Conflict in a Historic Place," PhD. Dissertation, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2009, Figure 5, page 136.

<sup>202</sup> Richard Bovender, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, December 30, 2011 and January 30, 2012.

A final option would be to map landscape features based on historic photographs and oral history. This method would not allow for definitive site plan creation, but would provide a low-cost, non-invasive alternative. Regardless of the approach, archaeological efforts would be an effective means of further illuminating the history of this very significant African American community.

## **Oral History**

Interviews with current and former Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents are essential as the process of documenting the area's history continues. Oral history allows for the understanding of local people, events, communities, and places in a manner that is not possible from any other source. Whenever possible, oral histories should be audio- or video-recorded. Winston-Salem residents have the opportunity to benefit from the StoryLine program, created by the Echo Network in 2006 as part of their ongoing effort to build social capital. The StoryLine team will facilitate forty minutes of audio recording in their studio, housed in a converted bookmobile, to teams of any two people interested in sharing their life experiences. This valuable tool, which is offered free of charge, allows narratives to be preserved for future generations. Participants receive a CD containing the interview.

## **Research**

Although the historical backgrounds of many families associated with the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area have been explored, additional research is necessary. In conjunction with ongoing oral history compilation, identification and digitization of historical documents and photographs in private collections to facilitate their preservation should be undertaken.

In order to make the case for National Register listing, the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area must be placed in a broader context, delineating its relationship to the larger Bethania community as well as to other rural Forsyth County locales. Further analysis of the built environment, cultural landscapes, oral histories, primary sources would be necessary in order to determine possible locations of comparable freedmen's settlement areas.

## **Documentation**

Given the study area's significance, Fearnbach History Services created measured drawings for several of the most intact dwellings, which was outside of the project's scope of work. Site plan creation is needed in order to more thoroughly document the area's landscape. Oral history and historic photographs would likely illuminate some feature locations. Furnishings plans could also be created based upon the recollections of current and former residents.

## **Maintenance and Rehabilitation Plans**

An outline of the most pressing repair needs at the Alspaugh-Shouse House and the John and Sallie Conrad House should be created immediately, followed by a detailed scope of work and a cyclical maintenance plan as soon as possible. The Samuel L. Miller House is substantially intact and in good repair, but a cyclical maintenance plan should be implemented in order to ensure the preservation of this very significant building. Other buildings in the survey area have experienced deferred maintenance. In cases where roofs are damaged, they should be made weathertight as soon as possible, as water damage is the most insidious factor in building deterioration.

## **Interpretation**

The proposed Bethania-Rural Hall Road Historic District presents a unique opportunity for historic African American resource interpretation given the availability of material culture, oral history, and written records to tell this important story. Increased awareness of the area's significance could be promoted through the creation of interpretive panels erected in key locations, an audio tour accessed through cellular devices, and/or by the restoration of significant resources and the facilitation of public access to them, perhaps in the context of a park.

## **Next Steps**

The State Historic Preservation Office will review this report and provide a preliminary determination concerning the Bethania-Rural Hall Road study area's eligibility for listing in the National Register as a historic district. The City of Winston-Salem will revisit the code violation notices issued for four properties: the log Alspaugh-Shouse House (1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), the adjacent frame dwelling where John and Sallie Conrad once resided (1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), the former home of Charlie and Olivia Scott (1670 Bethania-Rural Hall Road), and the residence erected by William M. and Sallie Conrad (1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road). Property owners must then work with city inspectors to bring the dwellings into compliance with building code or they will be demolished. Regardless of the outcome—ranging from National Register of Historic Places listing to, in the worst case scenario, resource loss—increased awareness and recognition of this aspect of Forsyth County's African American heritage is imperative.

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**Appendix A. List of Surveyed Historic Properties in the Bethania Freedmen's Study Area  
by Property Address**

<b>SSN</b>	<b>Property Name</b>	<b>Address</b>
FY04233	Bethania Freedmen's Area	
FY04232	Edmund Burke and Nora Flynt House Historic outbuildings include a milk house, pump house, smokehouse, chicken house, tobacco barn, and tobacco pack house.	1415 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04210	William M. and Sallie Conrad House	1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04211	Thomas C. and Blanche Withers Lash House Historic outbuildings include a corncrib/granary, privy, shed, and garage.	1500 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04212	Forrest F. and Anna B. Conrad Crutchfield House	1510 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04213	Wagner-Bess House	1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04214	Robert and Caroline Shouse Joyce House	1570 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04215	James and Lillian Allen House	1580 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04216	Washington House	1600 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04217	George T. and Pearl Washington House II Site	1610 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04218	George T. and Pearl Washington House I A concrete block garage stands southwest of the house.	1620 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04231	Samuel L. Miller House	1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04219	Charles and Olivia Bitting Scott House A German-sided privy is southwest of the house.	1670 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04230	Thomas L. and Katie Lee Hatcher House A brick shed stands northwest of the house.	1675 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04220	Ernest T. Bitting House	1700 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04229	Aldean and Julia Washington Lash House A concrete block garage is east of the house.	1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04221	Henry Herman and Doris Morris Shouse House	1710 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04222	Raleigh N. and Margaret E. Scales House	1720 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04228	Washington-Ervin House	1725 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04223	William Maceo and Alta W. Ervin House	1740 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04227	William and Esther Allen Douthit House	1826 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04226	Norman and Mamie Allen House A historic shed and wellhouse are located east of the dwelling.	1834 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04225	Alspaugh-Shouse House Historic outbuildings include a privy and a storage shed.	1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road
FY04224	John H. and Sallie Alspaugh Conrad House	1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road

## Appendix B. Genealogical Notes Regarding Families in the Study Area

\*Please note that the spelling of first and last names varies widely in sources such as census data, deeds, marriage records, and death certificates. The spelling used in a particular document is transcribed as it appeared, with a question mark or the term “sic” used to indicate that the spelling is likely erroneous.

### ALLEN

**Alice Jean Allen** (Isaac and Rhoda’s Allen’s granddaughter; Norman and Mamie Allen’s daughter), owns 1830 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. She attended Livingstone College (Alice Jean Allen).

### Harvey and Pattie Koger Allen

Harvey Allen (26) married Pattie Koger (23) on November 29, 1908. Reverend J. L. Lash conducted the ceremony at Bettie Koger’s house. Eugene M. Beck and Benjamin Miller witnessed the union.

Pattie Allen (August 6, 1885-June 28, 1916), daughter of Mat and Bettie Lash Koger, attended Normal School, worked as housekeeper, and was buried in Bethania (death certificate).

1910 Census:

Harvey Allen, (27), mulatto, married ca. 1909, rented home, roller in a tobacco factory  
Patty [sic] Allen (24), wife, mulatto, mother of one child, who was living  
James (7), son, mulatto  
Carroll (6 months), daughter, mulatto

Their children:

**James V. Allen** (July 19, 1902 – April 24, 1963), son of Harvey and Emma Venable Allen, married to Lillian M. Allen, WW I veteran, worked in a tobacco factory in Winston-Salem at the time of his death. He was buried in Evergreen cemetery. [see Kelsey and Leroy Lash section for more information]

**Carroll Koger Allen** (October 1909-1938) married Kelsey Leroy Lash on April 17, 1926. [see Lash section for more information]

Bettie Koger Lash and her husband Elie [sic] Lash gave her granddaughter Carroll Allen two acres of the “original Bettie Koger home tract” adjoining the property of Bettie Koger and Sam Miller on November 8, 1922 (Forsyth County Deed Book 207, page 38).

### Harvey and Mary Allen

1930 Census:

Harvey Allen (40), owned home on East 7 ½ Street in Winston-Salem valued at \$1,800, proprietor of a restaurant  
Mary (38), wife

Luther J. and Ada Eldridge sold two tracts—lot number four of Wesley Lash’s estate (11 37/100 acres) and a second tract containing 3.60 acres—to Harvey Allen and his wife Mary for \$100 on February 17, 1925 (Forsyth County Deed Book 241, page 65).

### Henry and Elizabeth (Betty) Hall Allen

1880 Census:

Henry Allen (63), black, farmer, born in Virginia  
Elizabeth (33), wife, mulatto, keeping house, born in North Carolina  
Easter (14), daughter, at home  
Henry (10), son, at home  
James (6), son, at home  
I. I. (5), son, at home  
M. E. (2), daughter, at home

Henry and Betty Allen's son James Allen was born in East Bend on July 26, 1872 and retired from the U. S. Army after serving in the Spanish American War (1898-1901) and World War I. He resided with his wife Sallie on Pine Street in Rural Hall at the time of his death from prostate cancer on August 14, 1956 and was buried at St. James M. E. Church in Rural Hall (death certificate).

### **Isaac P. and Rhoda Alice Allen**

Isaac Allen was born on February 28, 1876 and married to Rhoda Alice Bitting Allen. He worked at a sawmill in Rural Hall [employer's name illegible] (World War I draft registration cards, 1917-1918).

Isaac Allen (February 29, 1877-October 8, 1942) [Donald W. Stanley, ed. Forsyth County, NC Cemetery Records, Volume V, Bethania A. M. E. Zion]

Rhoda Alice Allen (April 26, 1877-April 23, 1957) was Ben and Rhoda Bitting's granddaughter.

1920 Census:

Isaac B. [sic] Allen, (43), owned home, laborer at a factory  
Rhodia [sic] A. (43), wife  
Norman G. (23), son, laborer  
Esther J. (21), daughter, laborer at a factory

1930 Census:

Isaac P. Allen, (52), owned home valued at \$1000, laborer at a sawmill  
Roda [sic] (50), wife

Esther Jane Allen (March 4, 1898-September 15, 1987) married William S. Douthit (September 21, 1892-April 28, 1966), the son of Junius and Emily Hart Douthit. Mr. Douthit worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and was interred at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate).

### **James and Effie Allen**

1920 Census: owned a home on Woodland Avenue in Winston-Salem, Ward 3

James Allen (46), salesman, grocery store  
Effie Allen (30), wife, saleslady, grocery store  
J. G. Riley (40), lodger, born in Virginia, tobacco operator, tobacco factory  
Jessie Riley (24), wife, lodger, tobacco operator, tobacco factory  
Otis Wilson (22), lodger, tobacco operator, tobacco factory  
Daisy Wilson (19), wife, lodger, tobacco operator, tobacco factory

### **Norman Gray and Mamie I. Miller Allen**

Norman Gray Allen of Winston-Salem married Mamie I. Miller of Rural Hall on April 28, 1927 at the office of W. F. Byrd, justice of the peace. E. L. Clayton and R. G. Wilson witnessed the marriage (North Carolina Marriage Indexes, North Carolina State Archives).

1930 Census:

Norman G. Allen (34), owned home valued at \$1000, laborer at a sawmill, WW I veteran  
[Ben and Rhoda Bitting's grandson]  
Mamie I. (24), wife

Norman Gray Allen was a laborer employed by R. W. Hedgecock in 1917 (World War I draft registration card)

Harvey and Mary Allen sold Norman G. Allen a lot containing approximately 2400 square feet on the south side of the Bethania to Germanton Road for \$325 on April 11, 1925 (Forsyth County Deed Book 243, page 275). Norman defaulted on his payment and was ordered to vacate the premises, but he was able to retain the property by being the highest bidder at a public auction held by Forsyth County sheriff J. B. McCreary on August 3, 1925 (Deed Book 247, page 204).

Norman Gray Allen (May 11, 1895 – October 8, 1974), retired tobacco worker, married to Mamie Irene Allen, died of cardiac arrest after suffering from prostate cancer for four years and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Mamie Irene Miller Allen (September 28, 1903 - March 14, 1974), born in Stokes County to Riley and Maggie Bynum Miller, housewife, married to Norman Gray Allen, died of heart disease and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Their children: Norman Gray Allen Jr. (May 28, 1930-November 22, 1993), private, U.S. Army  
B. B. Allen  
William Edward Allen  
Lois Allen  
Alice Jean Allen (still resides in the home)  
Dolores Allen Hailstalk  
Clifton T. Allen

*Connection to Dr. Harvey Allen? (Winston-Salem physician)*

### **ALSPAUGH**

The Pearson [sic] Alspaugh heirs own 1842 Bethania-Rural Hall Road.

**Lydia Beck Alspaugh** (February 9, 1849 – August 17, 1933), the daughter of Micheal (Mike) and Decie? Beck, is buried in Bethania (death certificate).

Lydia Beck married Pierce Alspaugh on September 2, 1871. They have not been located in the 1870 census records.

1880 Census:

Pierce Alspaugh (40), laborer  
Liddy [sic, Lydia] (33), wife, keeping house  
Lenoir [sic, Lenora] (6), daughter  
Ida (4), daughter  
Sarah [Sallie?] (3), daughter  
Catherine (1), daughter  
Jane Lash (30), sister-in-law (Lydia's sister)  
Jelly Lash (14), niece, laborer  
Mary Lash (11), niece, nurse  
Cater Shouse (12), son (Lydia's son from a previous relationship?—white farmer Jesse Shouse was her neighbor in 1870), laborer

Bethania wagonmaker L. J. Strupe and his wife Lizzie sold Pearson [sic] Alspaugh a lot adjacent to the property of African American farmer Wesley Lash and others on August 23, 1881 (Forsyth County Deed Book 23, pages 536-537). L. J. Strupe had purchased a parcel of unspecified acreage on Bear Creek from Aaron Shouse, Addie Shouse, Isabell Shouse, John Shouse, Rufus Shouse, Paline [sic] Shouse, June Lash, and Mary Lash on June 28, 1880 (Deed Book 115, page 260). On the same day, the Shouse-Lash families paid Eugene T. Kapp \$63.61 for a "part of a tract of land formerly owned by Solomon Transou" (Deed Book 14, page 182-183) and John H. Kapp and Sadie E. Kapp \$163.61 for a lot of the same description on the north side of Shamel Road adjoining the lands of William E. Lehman on Bear Creek. No acreage is given (Deed Book 24, page 208).

Lydia Alspaugh owned two acres (likely the same property) just outside of Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

1900 Census:

Lydia Alspaugh (52), born February 1848, widowed, owned home, mother of six children, two of whom were living, housework  
Sallie Alspaugh (22), daughter, born July 1876, housework, literate

1907 C. M. Miller map – Lidia [sic] Alspaugh is one of two property owners depicted on the section of the Bethania to Rural Hall Road between the “colored school” [Cedar Grove] and a “colored church” that stood to the north near Alpha Chapel’s original location.

1910 Census:

Lydia Alspaugh (60), widowed, owned home, mother of four children, two of whom were living  
Sallie Conrad (31), daughter, married ca. 1903  
John Conrad (36), son-in-law, laborer, tobacco factory

Sallie A. Conrad oversaw the women’s department of the ninth annual Forsyth County Colored Agricultural and Industrial Fair in 1916, supervising the judging of “articles for household, kitchen, or pantry use, raised, cured, or made by the family under the direction of the lady head of the house.” Her sister, Lenora E. Beck, served as her assistant (1916 Fair brochure).

1920 Census:

Liddie F. Alspaugh (57 [sic, should be around 70]), widowed, owned home  
Jane A. Lash (60), sister, widowed

1927 C. M. Miller map – Sallie Conrad’s name appears on the map at the same place her mother’s name is shown in 1907.

1930 Census

Decter [sic] Shouse (61), rented a house for \$8 a month, laborer at a sawmill  
Hannah (56), wife  
Mary (18), daughter  
Robert (15), son  
Lydia Alspaugh (78), mother

Sallie Alspaugh Conrad, born July 4, 1879, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and passed away on January 9, 1951. Her husband, John H. Conrad, survived her. Mrs. Conrad was interred in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

**Ruben Decatur Shouse** (November 27, 1867 – March 4, 1949) was a widowed farmer at the time of his death. He was interred in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery. His death certificate indicates that he was born around 1874, but his gravemarker gives an 1867 date. His death certificate also states that his mother was Lydia Shouse and his father Peirce [sic] Alspaugh. Lydia’s maiden name was Beck and she married Pierce Alspaugh on September 2, 1871, so this indicates an earlier marriage. Attempts to locate a marriage certificate have been unsuccessful.

## **BALTIMORE**

### **Charles Lord and Vincent Baltimore**

Charlie Baltimore (21) of Winston-Salem married Vincent Harper (16) of Winston-Salem on July 21, 1927. H. S. Roberts performed the ceremony at his home. Walter L. Long, F. L. Poindexter, and Sam Griffin witnessed the union (marriage register).

1930 Census: 1327 East 10<sup>th</sup> Street, 2B Winston-Salem, paid \$12 per month rent, enumerated after Wace Lash (36), who worked as a machine operator in a tobacco factory and paid \$15 per month rent

Charles Baltimore (22), married four years, North Carolina native, as were his parents, worked as a delivery boy for a drug store  
Vincent (19), wife, married four years, Virginia native, as were her parents  
Charles, Jr. (1 11/12), son

Charles Lord Baltimore and his wife Vincent Baltimore purchased lot 2 from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on November 15, 1937 for \$1.00 (Deed Book 424, page 195). The Baltimores sold the property to George T. and Pearl Washington for \$100 on November 29, 1951 (Deed Book 644, page 347).

**Vincent H. Baltimore** (August 10, 1911-June 21, 2002), died in Sewickley, Pennsylvania (Social Security Death Index)

## **BECK**

### **Michael Beck**

1870 Census:

- Michael Beck (75), farmer
- Lyddia [sic] (22), keeping house
- Randy? (8), at home (relationship unclear)
- Nettie (6), at home (relationship unclear)

In 1870 Michael Beck's household was enumerated between the households of his daughter Jane and her family (husband Dick Lash and their two children) and white farmer Jesse Shouse. As neither the Beck or Lash households were property owners, it is likely that they worked as sharecroppers or tenant farmers on the farms of their neighbors Constantine Stoltz and Jesse Shouse.

Bethania resident Lenora Shouse (18) married Moir [sic] Beck (21), also of Bethania, on April 7, 1915 (marriage register). The correct spelling of his name is Moyer according to Natalie K. Summers.

Beck family burials in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery:

- Bettie Jane Beck (1910-1962)
- Edward Beck (1864-1959)

## **BITTING**

### **Anna Bitting**

1920 Census:

- Anna Bitting (57), owned home, widowed
- Ernest T. Bitting (38), son, laborer
- Minnie L. Shouse (24), daughter
- Flora G. Bitting (27), daughter-in-law
- John H. Shouse (22), son-in-law
- John G. Shouse (1 6/12), grandson

### **Benjamin Turner and Rhoda Bitting**

1870 Census:

- Benjamin Bitting (52), farmer
- Rhoda (40), keeping house
- Catherine (19), at home
- Turner (16), labor on farm
- Ally (male, 14), labor on farm
- Anna (19), at home
- Mary (5), at home

Benjamin and Rhoda Bitting were founding members of Bethania AMEZ Church in 1875 (Joseph Loftin Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 2, page 1).

1880 Census:

- Ben Bitting (63), laborer
- Roda (50), wife, keeping house
- Catherine (35), daughter, laborer
- Ann McMillan [sic] (24), daughter, keeping house
- Postel McMillan [sic] (20), son-in-law, laborer
- Julius A. Bitting (26), son, laborer
- Mely [sic, Mary] (15), daughter, laborer
- Lemeston [sic; Livingston?] (9), grandson, at home
- Roda (5), granddaughter, at home
- Barbery (5), granddaughter, at home

Benjamin Bitting owned two acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

1900 Census:

Ben Bitting (85), birth date unknown, married ca. 1865, retired  
Roda Bitting (80), wife, birth date unknown, mother of seven children, four living  
Anna Bitting (38), daughter, birth date unknown, mother of seven children, four living  
Ernest Bitting (14), Anna's son, birth date unknown, attended school five months of that year  
Sid? Bitting (10), Anna's son, birth date unknown, attended school five months of that year  
Minnie Bitting (5), Anna's daughter, birth date unknown  
Norman Allen (5), grandson, b. May 1895  
Ester Allen (2), granddaughter, birth date unknown

### **Ernest and Flora E. Bitting**

1910 Census:

Ernest Bitting, (22), married, rented home, laborer in a brickyard  
Flora E. Bitting (17), wife, mulatto, mother of one child, who had died  
Croalia Bitting (7), Ernest's niece

1920 Census (resided with his mother Anna Bitting, see above)

1930 Census: enumerated between Charlie Scott and Jess J. Wall (young white farmer who rented a house)

Ernest Bitting (42) owned a house valued at \$400 and he worked as a farm laborer. Flora (39) did not work at that time.

Ernest T. Bitting (March 6, 1890-January 3, 1959) worked in a saw mill owned by Wilson Brothers Lumber Company. He was married to Elizabeth Bitting at the time of his death and was interred in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate). His World War I draft registration card (dated September 12, 1918) states that he was born on March 6, 1885, was employed by L. G. Jones (Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones's son) as a farm laborer, and was married to Flora Bitting.

Ernest T. Bitting married Flora Speas of Bethania on September 28, 1908. Reverend H. M. [?, illegible] Thomas of Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church performed the ceremony at the bride's home. Pattie Koger, I. T. Speas, and Isaac P. Conrad served as the witnesses (marriage register).

Flora Ellen Bitting (March 6, 1886-July 2, 1933), the daughter of Israel and Annie [sic] Sprinkle Speas and wife of Ernest T. Bitting, died at City Memorial Hospital in Winston-Salem from complications of an acute intestinal obstruction and was interred in Bethania (death certificate).

Ernest T. Bitting (46 years old) married Elizabeth Conrad (23 years old) of Bethania on August 19, 1933. Minister J. H. H. Moore performed the ceremony in Bethania and Forest and Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield and C. A. Shore served as the witnesses (marriage register).

Mary Elizabeth Conrad Bitting (October 10, 1909 – November 8, 1970), was widowed and worked as a domestic at the time of her death from diabetes. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

### **Gideon Bitting**

Gideon Bitting was born on December 20, 1886, worked as a plasterer for J. C. Gamble, was married, and lived on Watkins Roads on June 5, 1917 (WWI registration card).

Gideon Bitting was a boarder in a rented home headed by plasterer Jacob S. Gamble at 1111 Shallowford Street in Winston-Salem in 1920. He worked as a truck driver for a grocery store at that time.

Gideon M. Bitting (December 15, 1892-January 29, 1926), was married to Lisa Bitting and was a local preacher at the time of his death from blood poisoning. His mother was Anna Bitting; his father's name is not given. He was interred in Bethania (death certificate).

**John H. and Minnie L. Bitting Shouse (d. March 4, 1973)** (resided with her mother, Anna Bitting, in 1920)

Had eleven children, nine living in 2011 including:

William T. Shouse  
Anna Shouse Ervin (married Joseph Ervin)  
Henry Herman Shouse (June 6, 1933-November 17, 2010)  
Hannah Shouse Eldridge  
Mollie Shouse McLain  
Margaret E. Shouse Scales(married Nelson Scales)

**Livingston and Bettie Bitting**

1900 Census:

Livingston Bitting (29), b. May 1876, married ca. 1890, shop hand, literate  
Bettie Bitting (29), wife, b. May 1877, mother of four children, three living, literate  
Preston Bitting (5), son, b. May 1895  
Mamie Bitting (2), daughter, b. September 1897  
John Bitting (3 months), son, b. April 1900

**William Turner Bitting** (June 25, 1853-October 15, 1939), married to Isabell [sic] Bitting, was a farmer, born in Rural Hall to Benjamin and Rodea [sic] Bitting, cause of death was “probably a heart condition,” buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate)

Lula B. Beal (August 23, 1891-February 13, 1964), was a practical nurse, married Jim Beal (deceased), father Turner Bitting, mother Isabelle Lash, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate)

**Annie Bitting McMullen** (March 6, 1858-March 2, 1928), domestic, widowed, husband Postell McMullen, father Ben Bitting, mother Rhoda Ducker, died of influenza, buried at “Bethania Colored Church” on March 3, 1928 (death certificate).

Other Bitting family burials in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery:

A. O. Bitting (June 23, 1877 – June 24, 1898)  
Isabell Bitting (November 9, 1859 – December 23, 1943)  
Turner Bitting (June 7, 1885 – May 30, 1897)

**CONRAD**

**Beverly Conrad** (b. 1884 – d. September 8, 1956)

**Coley and Caroline Tomlin Conrad**

Thirty-two-year-old Cole was included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers).

Census takers enumerated Coley Conrad and his wife, Iredell County native Caroline Tomlin, immediately after the Dr. Beverly Jones household in 1870. The Conrads operated a farm but did not own real estate or personal property of sufficient value to be assessed. The census taker listed five of the couple's children at that time: Joseph (12), who worked on the farm, Edwin (10), Arthur (8), Frank (5), and Jane (2).

In 1880, Coley (51) and Caroline (50) Conrad’s household included six children—Francis (23), Ellen (15), William (14), Robert (13), Jacob (12), and Lucinda (6)—all of whom worked on their Bethania township farm. The family was enumerated between two white Bethania township farmers—S. P. Styers and Constantine Stoltz—that year. Sarah Francis (1849-1911) soon married Columbus Odell and the couple resided in Winston-Salem.

By 1900, sixty-nine-year-old Caroline Conrad was a widow and her ten-year-old granddaughter Martha Conrad lived with her. She had given birth to fourteen children, five of whom survived at that time. In 1910, Caroline resided with her son Arthur, his wife Mary, their five children, and Mary’s sister, Fannie Mitchell, in a rented house. Arthur worked odd jobs. Caroline Conrad died on November 26, 1919 and was buried in Bethania.

### **Coley and Caroline (Tomlin; from Iredell County) Conrad**

1870 Census: enumerated immediately after Dr. Beverly Jones

Coley Conrad (40), farmer, no real estate or personal property listed  
Caroline (35), keeping house  
Joseph (12), labor on farm  
Edwin (10), at home  
Author (8), at home  
Frank (5), at home  
Jane (2), at home

1880 Census: The family was enumerated between two white farmers—S. P. Styers and Constantine Stoltz.

Coley Conrad (51), farmer  
Caroline (50), keeping house  
Francis (23), daughter, laborer  
William (14), son, laborer  
Ellen (15), daughter, laborer  
Robert (13), son, laborer  
Jacob (12), son, laborer  
Lucinda (6), daughter, at home

1900 Census:

Caroline Conrad (69), widowed, birth date unknown, (enumerated as the head of her household between Ben Bitting and Cato Shouse)  
Martha Conrad (10), granddaughter, b. August 1889

### **Isaac P. and Patsy Gertie Lash Conrad**

Patsy Gertie Lash (May 7, 1876 – December 15, 1971), the daughter of Jerry and Adeline Lash (see Lash genealogy), married Isaac P. Conrad on October 16, 1898. Patsy subsequently married William Mack Conrad and the couple resided near Bethania in 1920. After William Mack's death in 1921 she married William Moses Conrad on November 17, 1924. Patsy Lash worked as a domestic and was fatally injured when a car hit her while she was walking in December 1971. She was buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate).

1910 Census: (enumerated between the households of black farm laborer Robert Davis, white farmer Napoleon Stoltz, and black farmer William J. Washington)

Isaac P. Conrad, (37), owned home, farm laborer "working out"  
Patsy (27), mother of four children, two of whom were living, no occupation given  
Clarretta [sic] (10), daughter  
Louisa (7), daughter (death certificate)

Isaac and Patsy Conrad's widowed daughter, Louise Davis (b. April 5, 1901), worked as a domestic, died of heart disease on April 3, 1926, and was interred in Bethania (death certificate).

Isaac and Patsy Conrad's divorced daughter, Rosetta Conrad (b. February 1916), worked as a domestic in private homes, died of hypertension on February 27, 1950, and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion church cemetery (death certificate).

It appears that Isaac and Patsy divorced. Isaac Conrad (not sure if this is the same person), born around 1877, married Alice Watkins, also 39 years old, in Winston-Salem on November 29, 1916. When did Isaac die?

### **John Wesley and Bettie Hauser Conrad**

Thirty-nine-year-old John and nine-year-old Westley [sic] were included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers), but neither age matches exactly with the John Wesley Conrad mentioned below. Entries in Julia Conrad's account book indicate that Lindy, who was thirty-six in 1863, was caring for Mary Jane, Mat, John Wesley, and Lyl [sic] after emancipation, so nine-year-old Westley [sic] could have been her son.

1900 Census:

John Conrad (47), b. August 1852, married ca. 1879, farm hand  
Bettie Conrad (47), wife, b. August 1852, mother of five children, five living  
Charlie Conrad (19), son, b. September 1880, farm hand, literate, attended school one month of that year  
Robert Conrad (18), son, b. July 1881, farm hand, literate, attended school one month of that year  
Mack Conrad (15), son, b. October 1884, farm hand, literate, attended school five months of that year  
Mary Conrad (11), daughter, b. June 1886, literate, attended school five months of that year  
Manuel Conrad (9), son, b. May 1890

1910 Census: (enumerated between the households of black farmers Ernest Bitting and Rufus Lash)

Betty [sic] Conrad, (54), widowed, mother of five children, all of whom were living, servant for a private family, owned home  
Robert Conrad (24), son, laborer, brickyard  
Mac Conrad (23), son, laborer, brickyard  
Stella M. [Mary] Conrad (21), daughter, servant for a private family  
Emanuel Conrad (19), son, laborer, furniture factory  
Verna Conrad (3), granddaughter

John Conrad [unclear if this is the same person referenced above] owned twenty acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **John H. and Sallie Alspaugh Conrad**

1910 Census: The couple was enumerated in Sallie's mother's household, which was the first listing on the "Road from Bethania to Rural Hall"

Lydia Alspaugh (60), widowed, mother of four children, two of whom were living  
Sallie Conrad (31), daughter, married ca. 1903  
John Conrad (36), son-in-law, laborer, tobacco factory

1920 Census:

John H. Conrad (46), owned home, worked as a laborer in a factory  
Sallie A. (42), wife

1930 Census:

John H. Conrad (56), owned home valued at \$700, landscape gardener, private estates  
Sullie [sic] (55), wife

Sallie Alspaugh Conrad (July 4, 1879-January 9, 1951), daughter of Pierce and Lydia Beck Alspaugh, was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

John H. Conrad (May 13, 1873-June 22, 1951) was a tobacco worker, widowed at the time of his death, was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate)

### **Lewis and Mary Conrad**

Twenty-nine-year-old Lewis was included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers).

1870 Census:

Lewis Conrad (39), farmer  
Mary Conrad (41), keeping house  
James K. (9), at home  
Lenora (7), at home  
Margaret (5), at home

### **Linda Conrad**

Thirty-six-year-old Lindy was included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers), but the age doesn't match the following census information.

1880 Census: (enumerated just outside of the village of Bethania near white farmer James Hughes, black farmer Calvin Kiser, and white merchant O. J. Lehman)

Linda Conrad (65), keeping house  
Henry Conrad (39), son, laborer  
Sandy (35), son, laborer  
Silvester (25), son, laborer

**Mathew Conrad** (enumerated near white farmers William Wolff, Nelson Stewart, and Charles Westmoreland and the African American households of Martha Conrad and Jane Conrad)

1870 Census:

Mathew Conrad (40), farmer  
Lucy Conrad (68), keeping house (relationship unclear--Mathew's mother?)  
Malinda Conrad (50), at home (relationship unclear--Mathew's sister?)  
Sandy (22), laboring on farm  
John (18), labor on farm  
Silvester (14), labor on farm

**Sandy Thomas (born June 1848) and Abbie [Abigail] Jane Stauber Conrad (born around 1850?, exact birth date unknown)**

Fifteen-year-old Sandy was included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863. Samuel B. Stauber owned eleven slaves including eighteen-year-old Abigail and eleven-year-old Jane in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers).

The couple married around 1870 and had thirteen children, nine of whom were still living, by 1900. They were enumerated between the households of white farmer Nepolian [sic] Stoltz and Dr. Beverly Jones in 1900.

**1900 Census**

Sandy Conrad (51), owned home, worked as a day laborer  
Abbie (50), wife, invalid  
William (23), born March 1877, son, day laborer  
Emma (18), born May 1882, daughter, house work  
Lewis (16), born January 1884, son, day laborer  
Sallie (12), born June 1889, daughter, house work

**Sandy and Abbie Jane Stauber Conrad's children:**

Laura Conrad (1861?-October 1, 1919), single, worked as domestic, died of breast cancer, buried in Lewisville (death certificate)

James Conrad (b. 1867), married Linnie Foy (b. 1871) (Richard Washington family tree)

John Henry Conrad (May 13, 1873-June 22, 1951), was a tobacco worker, widowed at the time of his death, buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate), married Sallie Alspaugh

William Benjamin Conrad (March 5, 1875-March 18, 1948), worked as a "house man" in private homes, widowed at the time of his death, buried at the Bethania Methodist Church (death certificate), wife Mary

Abraham Conrad, wife Pearl (Richard Washington family tree)

Martha Conrad (Richard Washington family tree)

Beverly Conrad (January 5, 1884-September 8, 1956), retired tobacco worker, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, served in the military, never married, resided at 604 East 9<sup>th</sup> Street in Winston-Salem at the time of his death (death certificate)

Sallie A. Conrad (June 25, 1888-September 3, 1923), housekeeper, married William Moses Conrad, died from "heart dropsy," buried in Bethania (death certificate). She tragically passed away only a few months after giving birth to twins who died.

**Sanford and Lettie (1840-1910) Conrad**

Twenty-one-year-old Sandford was included on the list of thirty slaves owned by Abraham Conrad in 1863 (ledger in Jones Family Papers).

Sanford Conrad was a local preacher (Joseph Loftin Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," Chapter 2, page 7).

**1870 Census:**

Sandford [sic] Conrad (28), farmer  
Luticia [sic] Conrad (30), keeping house  
Susannah (5), at home  
John E. (4), at home  
Jacob (1), at home

**1880 Census:** (enumerated between white farmers E. N. Speace [sic] and Peter H. Tuttle)

Sanford Conrad (40), farmer  
Lettie Conrad (40), keeping house  
Francis (17), daughter, at home  
John (14), at home  
Jacob (12), at home  
Powell (8), daughter, at home  
Isaac (6), at home  
Abraham (4), at home

**1900 Census:**

Lettie Conrad (60, June 1840), widowed, mother of seven children, all living, owned home  
William (16, March 1883), son, laborer  
John (30, June 1969), son, day laborer  
Pollie (28, July 1872), daughter, mother of two children, one living  
Rodger (5, February 1895), [Pollie's] son  
Lewis (65, unknown), uncle

Powel [sic] Austin Conrad, Sanford and Lisia [sic] Conrad's daughter, passed away on February 8, 1916 at the age of 45 (death certificate).

**William Benjamin Conrad**

1910 Census: enumerated on Mt. Airy Road between the households of Dr. Beverly Jones's widow Julia and white farmer Julius Culler

William B. Conrad (35), married nine years; farm labor, working out (likely for the Jones) rented a home  
Fannie (32), wife; mother of three children, two living; servant, private family  
Georgia (7), daughter  
Clinton (3), son

Lewis Conrad (80), lived alone in the next house

1930 Census: enumerated between Kelsey and Carol Lash and Charley [sic] and Olivia Scott

William B. Conrad (54), owned home valued at \$800, cement worker, road construction  
Mary Conrad (49), wife

William Benjamin Conrad (March 5, 1875 to March 18, 1948), worked as a "houseman" in private homes, was the son of Sandy and Abbie Stauber Conrad, widowed at the time of his death, buried at Bethania Methodist Church (death certificate)

**William Mack and Patsy Conrad**

Patsy Lash Conrad married William Mack Conrad (born October 23, 1886) before 1920. She subsequently married William Moses Conrad on November 17, 1924.

**1920 Census:** The couple resided in a rented home near Bethania, enumerated between black farmer Wade Heart and white farmer John W. Shamel.

William M. Conrad (35), laborer, farm  
Patsy Conrad (36), wife  
Wilson (6), son  
James (3 8/12), son  
Bettie M. (1), daughter  
Louisa (16), stepdaughter [Patsy and Isaac Conrad's daughter]  
Rosetta (8), stepdaughter [Patsy and Isaac Conrad's daughter]  
Francis (1 5/12) stepgranddaughter [mother unclear]

William Mack Conrad attended school through sixth grade and was a laborer for public works at the time of his death from tuberculosis on April 25, 1921. He was survived by his wife Patsy Conrad. He was buried in Bethania by undertaker Robert R. Lash (death certificate).

### **William Moses and Sallie Conrad (1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Road)**

William Moses Conrad (born on March 12, 1883 to Sanford and Lettie Conrad) married Sallie Conrad (born on June 25, 1888 to Sandy and Abbie Conrad) in 1907. William and Sallie's first two daughters, Anna B. and Mary E., were born by 1910. William, like many of his neighbors, was a farmer. The family was enumerated between the households of African American farmer Rufus Lash and white farmer John L. Speas in 1910.

1910 Census:

William M. Conrad (27) head, rented home, farmer  
Sallie (22), wife  
Anna B. (2), daughter  
Mary E. (6 months), daughter

Israel T. Speas sold a two-acre lot adjoining the lands of A. M. Vogler and Eugene Vogler to William Conrad for \$25 on November 13, 1900?. Israel and his wife Emma signed the deed in the presence of Justice of the Peace T. E. Kapp on December 13, 1916 (Deed Book 144, page 69).

1918 WWI Draft Registration Card: William Moses Conrad, age 35, born March 12, 1883, married to Sallie Conrad, worked for farmer J. W. Murray.

1920 Census:

William M. Conrad (35) head, owned home, day laborer on farm (not his own)  
Sallie (32), wife  
Anna B. (12), daughter  
Mary E. (10), daughter  
Thomas B. (7), son  
Abby V. (4 1/2), daughter  
Shober S. (1 1/2), son

Adjacent household in 1920 (enumerated between William and Sallie Conrad and Rufus and Mary Lash)

William B. Conrad (40), owned home and worked as a factory laborer  
Mary Conrad (48), wife

Sallie Conrad (June 25, 1888-September 3, 1923), died from "heart dropsy," buried in Bethania (death certificate). She tragically passed away only a few months after giving birth to twins who died.

William Conrad, born about 1883, married Patsie [sic] Conrad on November 17, 1924 (Forsyth County marriage register).

1930 Census:

William Conrad (47) head (widowed), truck farmer, owned property but no value assessed; daughters Anna B. (22) and [Mary] Elizabeth (20) domestic servants in private homes; son Thomas (17), laborer on family farm; daughter Abby (14), sons Rufus (9) and William R. (5) also at home. Thomas, Abby, Rufus, and William had attended school by 1930.

William Conrad, born 1884, father Sandy Conrad, farmer, married to Patsy Conrad, died February 13, 1941, buried in Bethania (death certificate)

**Eugene Byers Sr. (born around 1901) married Betty Conrad** (February 10, 1921 – April 4, 1995; William Mack and Patsy Lash Conrad's daughter) around 1930.

According to Ali Shabazz, he supported the family by playing the piano at local venues and plowing fields for white farmers.

**Eugene and Betty Byers had nine children (eight girls and Ali Shabazz):**

Ali Shabazz (birth name Eugene Byers, born in 1957) grew up at 1420 Bethania-Rural Hall Rd. with his grandmother, Patsy G. Conrad)

Georgia Byers Byrd

Thelma Lowery

Julia Jones Jackson (named after grandmother)

Ali's great-grandparents were John Wesley and Bettie Conrad (Conrad family slaves who lived on the Jones plantation [Dr. Beverly Jones married Abraham Conrad's only child, Julia])

**William Moses and Sallie Conrad's children:**

Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield (May 9, 1907 - February 10, 1972), was widowed and worked as a domestic at the time of her death from heart disease and pneumonia. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Mary Elizabeth Conrad Bitting (October 10, 1909 – November 8, 1970), was widowed and worked as a domestic at the time of her death from diabetes. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Abbie Jane Conrad Peterson (September 23, 1915 – November 21, 1961), was married to Lawrence Peterson, resided at 1323 Wilson Street in Winston-Salem, and worked as a domestic at the time of her death from rheumatic heart disease. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Shober Lee Conrad (June 20, 1918 – September 14, 1975), never married, disabled, died of cardiac arrest/congestive heart failure, buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery. World War II veteran, enlisted October 25, 1941 at Fort Bragg, had attended grammar school and worked as a farm laborer (death certificate). PFC US Army (gravestone).

Rufus A. Conrad (January 29, 1921 [1923 on death certificate, not possible, probably 1921 given census data] – November 8, 1957), never married, tobacco worker at the Export Leaf Company in Winston-Salem, died of "acute bronchopneumonia," buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Moses Benjamin Conrad (May 17, 1923 – June 29, 1923) "undernourishment thought to be the cause of death"

John Godwin Conrad (May 17, 1923 – July 1, 1923) "undernourishment thought to be the cause of death" (death certificate).

**William Moses and Patsy Conrad's son?:**

William Conrad Jr. (December 6, 1924 – March 25, 1995), never married

**William Benjamin and Fannie Conrad**

**1910 Census:** resided in a rented home near Bethania on Mt. Airy Road, enumerated between the household headed by Julia C. Jones and those of white farmers Julius Culler and E. Burke Flynt

William B. Conrad (35), farm laborer, working out

Fannie Conrad (32), wife, servant, private home

Georgia (7), daughter

Clinton (3), son

Lewis Conrad (80) lived in a rented home next to William B. and Fannie Conrad in 1920.

William Benjamin Conrad (March 5, 1875-March 18, 1948), worked as a "house man" in private homes, widowed at the time of his death, buried at the Bethania Methodist Church (death certificate)

## CRUTCHFIELD

### Forrest Frank and Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield

**Forrest Frank Crutchfield** (August 30, 1897-January 29, 1969) was born in Guilford County to William and Louella Crews Crutchfield. In 1900 he resided with his 33-year-old widowed mother, whose occupation is listed as “washer woman,” and five older siblings in a rented house in Oak Ridge Township. His mother married Elias Lowe, a laborer who worked odd jobs, by 1910, and four of her children and three grandchildren resided in their rented Oak Ridge Township home. Forrest’s WWI draft registration card indicates that he resided in Oak Ridge and worked as a laborer for E. S. Cude (not legible—sp?) in Colfax (June 5, 1917).

Forrest Crutchfield and his first wife, Della May Miller, had three children. She passed away in 1929 and Forrest married Anna Belle Conrad (William Moses and Sallie Conrad’s oldest daughter) on December 26, 1931 (marriage register). The couple purchased lot number 10 (1.64 acres) from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on August 31, 1937 for \$10 and erected a home on the property (1510 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) shortly thereafter (Deed Book 420, page 292).

Forrest Crutchfield, who was a shipping clerk for Bocoock Stroud Company in Winston-Salem, died of lung cancer on January 29, 1969 and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

**Anna Belle Conrad Crutchfield** (May 9, 1907 - February 10, 1972), was widowed and worked as a domestic at the time of her death from heart disease and pneumonia. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

**Della May Miller Crutchfield** (b. August 5, 1898 – d. August 29, 1929), worked as a domestic, married to “**Doc**” **Crutchfield [Forrest Frank Crutchfield]**, father Alex Miller, mother Ada Shouse, died of tuberculosis, buried in Bethania (death certificate).

#### Son **Forrest Crutchfield**

Daughter **Ada Louise Crutchfield** (March 13, 1919-May 6, 2002) married Robert D. Shouse. The couple purchased a lot in Lash Heights in 1952 upon which they built a house. Louise Crutchfield Shouse inherited the property that had belonged to her great uncles Samuel and Reuben Benjamin Miller at 1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road.

#### Son **James Alexander Crutchfield**

**Julia Mae Lash Crutchfield** (May 27, 1922-October 15, 2002) married **James Alexander Crutchfield** (24) of Bethania on September 3, 1946. Minister Gilbert Douglas performed the ceremony. Mrs. C. E. Douglas and Mrs. O. B.? Covington witnessed the union.

Their children:

Unnamed son, born prematurely on July 29, 1949 and died the same day

Unnamed daughter, born prematurely on April 24, 1950 and died the same day

Unnamed daughter, born prematurely on May 31, 1951 and died the same day

Mrs. Julia Lash Crutchfield of Winston-Salem, the daughter of Howard Zachariah and Marie Miller Lash, was born May 27, 1922, in Forsyth County. She departed this life unexpectedly Tuesday, Oct. 15, 2002, at Forsyth Medical Center. At an early age she became a member of Bethania AME Zion Church, where she served in Missionary Group No. 2 and the former Service Guild Organization. She attended Carver High School, and was employed for many years by the Grady D. Allred Family (K&W Restaurants Inc.) She was united in holy matrimony to James Alexander Crutchfield Sr. To this union of 55 years, three children were born. In addition to her parents, Julia was preceded in death by a son, Forrest Wayne Crutchfield; and five sisters and brothers, Aldean Lash, Okalee Valentine, Nita Lash, Marie Epperson and Sarah Carter; and a sister-in-law, Louise Shouse. She leaves to mourn her death her husband, James A. Crutchfield Sr. of the home; a son, James A. (Carolyn) Crutchfield Jr. of Rural Hall; a daughter, Gloria (Rayvon) Cuthrell of Bethania; two sisters, Melinda Lash and Frances (Swandell) Cloud, both of Winston-Salem; six grand-children, Sharon Crutchfield and Elaine Crutchfield, both of Winston-Salem, Allen Crutchfield and Joslynn Crutchfield, both of Rural Hall, and LaMar Cuthrell and LaToya Cuthrell, both of Bethania; two great-grandchildren, Keishanna and O'Marion Sturdivant of Winston-Salem; a sister-in-law, Julia Lash of Bethania; a brother-in-law, John Epperson of Winston-Salem; two devoted nieces, Elizabeth Speas and Doris Eldridge of Bethania; and a host of other nieces, nephews, cousins, friends and neighbors. The funeral

service will be held at 3 p.m. Monday Bethania AME Zion Church, with the Rev. Johnny Ruff officiating. Interment will follow in the church cemetery. The family will visit with friends from 7 to 8 p.m. this evening at Clark S. Brown & Sons Funeral Home. (Clark S. Brown & Sons)

*Winston-Salem Journal*, October 19-20, 2002, page B4.

**Forrest Wayne Crutchfield** (December 24, 1957-August 28, 2002), buried in Bethania AME Zion Cemetery.

Mr. **Forrest Wayne Crutchfield** departed this earthly life Aug. 28, 2002, at Forsyth Medical Center after an extended period of illness. He was born Dec. 24, 1957, to James Alexander and Julia Lash Crutchfield. Mr. Crutchfield was a graduate of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County school system. He worked for Swaim Ornamental Iron Works for 22 years. He is survived by his parents, James and Julia Crutchfield; two daughters, Sharon and Elaine Crutchfield; his fiancée, Anita Scott; a brother, James Alexander Crutchfield Jr. (Carolyn); a sister, Gloria Cuthrell (Rayvon); two grandchildren, Keeshauna and Omarion Sturdivant; two nieces, Latoya Cuthrell and Joslynn Crutchfield; two nephews, Lamar Cuthrell and Allen Crutchfield; a brother-in-law, James Leon Farrow Jr. (Audrey); and a host of other relatives and friends. The funeral service will be held at 1 p.m. Saturday at Bethania AME Zion Church, with Pastor Johnny Ruff officiating. The family will visit with friends from noon until the funeral hour. Interment will follow in the church cemetery. (Clark S. Brown & Sons) obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal*, August 30, 2002

## **DAVIS**

### **1900 Census:**

Tom Davis (50), birth date unknown, married ca. 1889, tobacco roller  
Nevada Davis (29), wife, b. Sept. 1870, literate, mother of four children, four living  
John Davis (12), son, b. November 1887, attended school four months  
Mary Davis (9), daughter, b. June 1890, attended school four months  
Ella Davis (7), daughter, b. April 1892, attended school four months  
Emma Davis (1), daughter, b. July 1898

## **ELDRIDGE**

**Charles E. Eldridge Sr.** (February 6, 1934-December 11, 2001) and **Hannah Shouse Eldridge** (b. July 30, 1935)

Mr. Charles Edward Eldridge Sr., 67, of 1130 E. 25th St. was called from labor to rest at the Kate Bitting Reynolds Hospice Home on Tuesday, Dec. 11, 2001. He was born Feb. 6, 1934, to the late Luther and Ada Spease Eldridge in the Bethania Community. He was a faithful member of Bethania AME Zion Church where he was a member of the Steward Board and a dedicated member of the Kitchen Committee where he loved to serve whenever and however he could. He attended Carver High School and graduated in 1954. He was a retired employee of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. and a former employee of Dudley Products in Kernersville, N.C. He was preceded in death by two brothers, Tom and Luther Eldridge, and three sisters, Emma Scott, Frances Stanley and Nell Keesee. He leaves to cherish his memory his devoted wife of 47 years, Hannah Shouse Eldridge; seven sons, Aaron Conrad (Katherine) of Winston-Salem, N.C., Charles E. Eldridge Jr. (Katrina), Donald E. Eldridge (Arealer), Raymond Eldridge (Angela), Edward L. Eldridge (Brenda) all of Winston-Salem, N.C., the Rev. Reginald Eldridge (Mariene) of Rural Hall, N.C., and Marcus Eldridge (Ann) of Kernersville, N.C.; three daughters, Marilynne Singletary (Randolph), Beverly Eldridge and Marcelette Eldridge, all of Winston-Salem, N.C.; 24 grandchildren; 13 great grandchildren; a brother, David Eldridge Sr. (Doris) of Bethania, N.C.; a sister, Odessa King of Winston-Salem, N.C.; six sisters-in-law, Evelyn Eldridge, Ann Eldridge and Mollie McLain, all of Winston-Salem, N.C., Anna Ervin (Joseph) and Margaret Scales of Bethania, N.C., and Ester Ambrose of Detroit, Mich.; two brothers-in-law, Henry Shouse (Doris) of Bethania, N.C., and William T. Shouse of Winston-Salem, N.C.; and a host of nieces, nephews and other relatives and friends. Funeral services will be conducted on Monday, Dec. 17, 2001, at 2 p.m. from the Bethania AME Zion Church with the Rev. Johnny Ruff officiating. Burial will be in the church cemetery. The family will receive friends from 7 to 8 p.m. Sunday at the Russell Funeral Home. Thanks to Hospice Home, Aegis, 10th Reynolds and 7th CCU at Wake Forest University/Baptist Medical Center for their sharing and caring of their loved one. (RUSSELL) obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal*, December 15, 2001

### **Luther Z. and Ada Bell Spease Eldridge**

**1910 Census:** Luther resided with his parents and brothers in Salem Chapel Township

Thomas M. Eldridge (49), married 30 years, farmer, owned farm

Julia (58), wife, married 30 years, had nine children, seven of whom were living

Luther (22), son, farm laborer, home farm  
David (18), son, farm laborer, home farm  
Irving (17), son, farm laborer, home farm  
Franklin (13), son, farm laborer, home farm  
Jasper (11), son, farm laborer, home farm

Luther Eldridge (23) married Ada Bell Speas [sic] (18) on June 20, 1914 at the Forsyth County Courthouse. Justice of the Peace P. T. Lehman performed the union and W. A. Hinkle and Lillian G. Reid witnessed the ceremony.

Luther Zebadee Eldridge, born July 15, 1896 in Germanton, farmer near Bethania, married with one child (WWI Draft registration card, 1917-1918).

**1920 Census:** Bethania Township

Luther J. Eldridge (35), owned home, farmer  
Ada B. (21), wife  
Nellie M. (5), daughter  
Ollie O. (2 ½), daughter

E. B. and Nora Flynt sold Luther Eldridge 14 acres [11.37 acres (lot # 4) of Wesley Lash's estate and a 3.6 tract] for \$1,150 on October 28, 1919 (Deed Book 175, page 118). E. B. Flynt purchased the same 14 acres from Luther and Ada Etheridge at a public auction on April 10, 1922 for \$1,100 (Deed Book 192, page 64). He then sold it back to them on June 17, 1922 (Deed Book 201, page 273).

Luther J. and Ada Eldridge sold two tracts—lot number four of Wesley Lash's estate (11 37/100 acres) and a second tract containing 3.60 acres—to Harvey Allen and his wife Mary for \$100 on February 17, 1925 (Forsyth County Deed Book 241, page 65).

**1930 Census:**

Luther Z. Eldridge (40), rented home, married at the age of 27, farmer  
Ada B. (32), wife, married at the age of 16  
Nellie M. (15), daughter  
Odessa. (13), daughter  
Julia M. (12), daughter  
Thomas W. (7), son  
Emma M. (5), daughter

Luther Z. Eldridge (July 1896 – December 7, 1955), son of Thomas and Julia Evans Eldridge, farmer, married to Ada B. Eldridge, buried at Red Banks Church in Forsyth County (death certificate).

**Luther Z. and Ada Bell Spease Eldridge's children:**

**Nellie Mae Eldridge** (September 1915 – June 30, 1955), father Luther Eldridge, mother Ada Bell Spease, married James L. Kesee, resided at 523 East 2<sup>nd</sup> Street in Winston-Salem, worked as a domestic in private house, buried in Evergreen Cemetery (death certificate)

**Luther Zeb Eldridge Jr.** (June 25, 1928 – September 1994), married, resided in Winston-Salem (death certificate)

**David L. Eldridge**

**David L. and Doris V. (deceased) Eldridge** – built a new house at 1520 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1971; the older house stood closer to the road (according to his daughter). The Eldridges purchased the property from the Spease family (Ali Shabazz).

**Doris Virginia Valentine Eldridge (1941-2010)**

Doris Virginia Valentine Eldridge exchanged her earthly home for her heavenly home on Thursday, November 18, 2010 at Forsyth Medical Center. She was born on July 20, 1941 to the late James and Okalee Valentine. In addition to her parents, her brother James, Jr. preceded her in death. Doris was a 1959 graduate of Carver High School. She was a faithful member of Bethania AME Zion, Winston-Salem, NC.

Leaving to cherish her memories are: her husband, David Eldridge, Sr. of the home; a loving and devoted mother of six children: Veronica (George) Trotter, David, Jr., Doris Marie (Rico) Santos, Darryl (Nancy) Eldridge, Denise and Melinda

Eldridge; eleven grandchildren; nine great-grandchildren; her sister, Elizabeth V. Speas; aunts: Melinda Lash and Frances Cloud of Winston-Salem, NC.

Funeral services were held at 12 Noon on Wednesday, November 24th at Bethania AME Zion Church and interment will follow in the church cemetery.

<http://www.clarksbrownandsons.com/Obituaries/files/archive-nov-2010.html>

### **GLENN (also see LASH)**

Elwood J. Glenn (1921-1984), PFC US Army, World War II, interred in Bethania A. M. E. Zion cemetery, son of William Vance Glenn (1898-1967) and Rosa A. Joyce

John Moody Glenn (1929-1980), US Navy, World War II, interred in Bethania A. M. E. Zion cemetery

### **GRABS**

1900 Census:

John Grabs (32), b. February 1867, married ca. 1891, day laborer  
Lizzie Grabs (30), wife, b. October 1869, mother of five children, four living  
Roxy Grabs (8), daughter, b. November 1891, attended school for one month  
Pearl Grabs (6), daughter, b. August 1893  
Henry Grabs (3), son, b. June 1896  
Cary Grabs (6), daughter, b. December 1899  
William Spease, (25), brother (to Lizzie?), birth date unknown, day laborer

### **JOYCE**

**William A. Joyce** (February 17, 1871-April 30, 1956) buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Cemetery

**Robert and Caroline Shouse Joyce** built 1570 Bethania-Rural Hall Road

Their daughter Alma Joyce still resides in the house.

1930 Census (enumerated between Erastus Washington and Decatur Shouse)

Robert Joyce (26), rented home valued at \$8, married around 1926, brick maker at a brickyard  
Cary [sic] (26), wife  
Losky L. (8), daughter  
Jamie E. (3 11/12), son

Robert and Carrie Joyce paid Hervey Louise Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton ten dollars for a long, narrow, 1.32-acre lot (#6 of the August 1937 plat) on the north side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road on August 28, 1937 (Forsyth County Deed Book 419, page 127).

Alma Joyce stated that Mr. Sims built this house for her parents, Robert and Caroline Shouse Joyce. Robert Joyce worked as a truck driver for Pine Hall Brick and was subsequently employed by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Alma Joyce, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011).

### **KISER**

Calvin Kiser (23) of Bethania married Emma E. Kiser (23) of Rural Hall on August 26, 1882 (marriage register).

1880 Census: enumerated between the households of Linda Conrad (African American) and O. J. Lehman (white merchant)

Calvin Kiser (20), farmer  
Artency (47), mother  
George (13), brother  
Sally (10), sister  
Cornelia (8), sister

### **KOGER**

**James Madison\* Koger (born ca. 1846, died between 1900 and 1905) and Bettie Lash Koger (born in 1856).** The fire station stands on acreage that belonged to the Kogers.

\*fire station exhibit says Madison; 1870 Patrick County, VA census James; Forsyth County, NC deeds, census records, estate records, etc. give his name as “Mat”

Bettie Lash met her husband, a Patrick County native, when he moved to Forsyth County with R. J. Reynolds when he established his first tobacco factory in 1874. The couple married soon after and first lived with her parents (Wesley and Melvinia Lash) before purchasing property near Bethania. They had four children, two of whom were living in 1936 (Betty Cofer [sic], Federal Writers Project WPA Interview by Mary A. Hicks, 1936).

James Madison Koger, who moved to Forsyth County from Virginia with tobacco company founder R. J. Reynolds, purchased a forty-eight acre farm near Bethania in the 1870s and married a local woman, Bettie. The couple had three children (fire station exhibit).

They eventually owned 65 acres. Their granddaughter Thelma sold all but eight acres (Patty Martin).

Mathew [sic] Koger and Calvin Kiser of Forsyth County purchased 43½ acres from William Grabs, agent for the heirs of Charles Grubbs, for \$215 on December 1, 1883 (Forsyth County Deed Book 26, pages 470-471).

Betty [sic] Koger, wife of Mat Koger, received two tracts (lots 3 and 4 of a surveyed plat) upon the division of her father Wesley Lash’s estate on May 19, 1905. Lot 3 contained 30.40 acres, lot 4 contained 11.37 acres (Forsyth County Deed Book 75, pages 333-335).

Tenshey Kisey [sic] conveyed her ¼ undivided interest in the 43½ acres Mathew Koger and Cavin Kiser purchased in 1883 to Bettie Koger on December 27, 1905. The remainder of the property was owned by Mat Koger’s heirs, who retained a ½ interest, and E. B. Jones, who had a ¼ interest (Forsyth County Deed Book 84, page 273).

E. B. and Susie Jones conveyed their interest to Bettie Koger and Tenechey [sic] Kiser on May 15, 1907 (Forsyth County Deed Book 86, pages 37 and 38).

Bettie Koger Lash and her husband Eli Lash sold two acres to James M. Koger on May 13, 1916 for fifty dollars. He purchased an additional two tracts encompassing 5 1/3 acres from them on October 4, 1924 for \$450 (Forsyth County Deed Book 171, page 30 and 236 page 259).

Bettie Koger Lash and her husband Elie [sic] Lash gave Carroll Allen two acres of the “original Bettie Koger home tract” adjoining the property of Bettie Koger and Sam Miller on November 8, 1922 (Forsyth County Deed Book 207, page 38).

#### 1880 Census:

Wesley Lash (55), farmer  
Viny [sic] Lash (44), wife  
William T. (2), son  
Mat Covers [sic; Koger] (34), son-in-law, laborer  
Bettie Covers [sic; Koger], 25, daughter  
William Miller (15), laborer

#### 1900 Census:

Wesley Lash (70), married 1860, farmer, owned farm  
Melvina Lash (65), wife

#### 1900 Census: Four households enumerated between Wesley Lash and Mat Koger

Mat [sic] Koger (55), b. January 1845 in NC, married ca. 1875, shoemaker,  
Bettie Koger (43), wife, b. July 1856 in NC, mother of six children, four living, literate  
Pattie Koger (14), daughter, b. August 1885, literate, attended school five months of that year  
Wesley Koger (11), son, b. January 1889, literate, attended school five months of that year  
Harriet Miller (9), cousin, b. February 1891, attended school five months of that year

\*Wesley Lash died in 1904 and Mat Koger passed away soon after.

#### 1910 Census

James M. Koger (Mat and Bettie’s eldest son) (25), mulatto, married ca. 1908, owned farm  
Annie G. Koger (24), black, wife  
Thelma E. Koger (1), mulatto, daughter  
Betty [sic] E. Koger (54), black, widowed, mother  
Tentia Kiser (74), black, widowed, grandmother, mother of six children, four living  
John Kiser (17), mulatto, cousin, laborer, fertilizer works

Bettie Koger (55-age given on certificate not correct) married her neighbor Eli Lash (60) on November 9, 1918 (marriage license register).

1920 Census:

James M. Koger (36), owned home, laborer in a factory  
Annie G. Koger (33), wife  
Thelma E. Koger (11), daughter  
Cabble F. Koger (9), son  
Madison R. Koger (7), son  
Pattie V. Koger (4 10/12), daughter  
Hervia L. Koger (2 7/12), daughter  
Mamie C. Koger (1 7/12), daughter

1920 Census:

Eli Lash (63), farmer, owned farm  
Bettie E. Lash (61), wife [Bettie Lash Koger Lash]  
Carrol C. Lash (10), granddaughter [died April 15, 1938]

1930 Census: Bethania

Betty [sic] Koger (73), owned home  
Wesley Koger (44), son, farmer, owned farm

1930 Census: 707 Leonard Street, High Point

James Koger (45) owned a home at 707 Leonard Street valued at \$1,000 and was a farmer at a "state farm"  
Annie Koger (44), his wife, worked as a domestic servant in a private home  
Cabbel [sic] (19), son, porter in a barber shop  
Madison (17), son  
Thelma (20), daughter  
Virginia (15), daughter  
Mamie (11), daughter  
Doreva (6), daughter

Sophomore Virginia Koger won first prize in the inaugural William Penn High School Fine Arts Exhibit in April 1935 (Glenn R. Chavis, *Our Roots, Our Branches*, p. 80).

Mamie Koger was on the staff of the William Penn High School newspaper, the *Student's Pen*, in April 1936 (Glenn R. Chavis, *Our Roots, Our Branches*, p. 85).

The 1937 *High Point City Directory* lists Annie Koger as the head of household at 707 Leonard Street. Her daughter Virginia, a student, and son Cabble, and employee at Nachman Spring-Filled Corporation, also lived at home. In 1938 Cabble was a factory worker and Virginia was a cook. In 1939 Annie worked as a maid and Cabble as a "helper." In 1940 Cabble was a laborer at Carolina Springs Corporation, Annie ran the household, and James Koger was employed at a grocery. James and Annie Koger resided in High Point until at least 1952. Mr. Koger's occupation is listed as a farmer in 1944, assuredly referring to his Bethania property (*High Point City Directories, 1937-1952*).

Virginia Koger returned to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania after visiting her mother, Annie Koger of 707 Leonard Street (October 1, 1941, *High Point Enterprise*, page B4).

Doreva Koger, daughter of Mrs. Koger of 707 Leonard Street, moved to Reidsville to attend Washington High School after withdrawing from William Penn High School in High Point (October 10, 1941, *High Point Enterprise*, page 5).

Miss D. R. Koger of Washington D. C. visited her grandmother [sic], Annie Koger of 707 Leonard Street (September 24, 1951, *High Point Enterprise*, page 8).

The Koger residence at 707 Leonard Street is no longer extant, as that block of houses was demolished in preparation for the High Point Housing Authority's construction of apartments at that location in 1975.

James Madison "Bud" Koger (May 8, 1880 - November 6, 1963, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church) operated a general store, a café, a boarding house, a vegetable cannery, and a mink farm. He sold a wide variety of items including cement deer he made from molds and operated the Log Cabin, which was a popular local gathering place next to his house on Bethania-Rural Hall Road (Alspaugh-Shouse descendants, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011).

Annie Georgia Hargrave Koger (March 29, 1886-February 20, 1957) was a High Point native. Her death certificate states that her mother's name was Elizabeth Hargrave and that her father's name was unknown. She worked as a domestic servant and had returned to Winston-Salem by the time of her death.

Bud and Annie Koger's daughter Thelma (January 8, 1910-December 8, 1990) married Lorenzo Eugene Poe (born in Alabama on August 5, 1908) and the couple purchased two parcels: lots 3 and 4 (3.96 acres) and lot 8 (1.73 acres) from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton in 1937 for \$10 each (Deed Book 420, page 292). Lorenzo and Thelma Poe resided with her family at 707 Leonard Street in High Point, where Mr. Poe was a teacher, perhaps at the Leonard Street School, from around 1938 through 1940.

Lorenzo and Thelma Poe sold lot 8 on Bethania-Rural Hall Road to Vera Wagner on May 24, 1939 for \$10 (Deed Book 451, page 186). The house at what is now 1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road was erected in 1941. Lorenzo and Thelma divorced on February 4, 1941 and on March 13, 1941 Lorenzo relinquished his claim to their remaining property (lots 3 and 4) on Bethania-Rural Hall Road (Quitclaim Deed Book 481, pages 268-269).

Lorenzo Eugene Poe attended college for five or more years and taught in elementary and secondary schools. He was a widower at the time of his death in Huntersville, NC on August 8, 1997.

Thelma subsequently married Reverend Moses Small and established the Floridian Club around 1950 at the fishing lake on her family's property as well as the TES Boutique in downtown Winston-Salem. Thelma also organized the local chapter of the Top Ladies of Distinction, an interracial service organization. Lady Bird Johnson visited in 1964. She was active in the Fourth District Garden Club Council and the National Council of Negro Women ("Thelma Koger Small," The Koger Fire Station exhibit, Winston-Salem Fire Station 20).

Moses A. Small (January 16, 1918-May 25, 2003), died in Jacksonville, Florida.

**Pattie Koger Allen** (August 6, 1885-June 2, 1916) died of pneumonia, buried in Bethania, had worked as a housekeeper, father Mat Koger of VA, mother Bettie Lash of Forsyth County (death certificate)

**Wesley Koger** married Catherine ? - the couple had no children

**Annie Georgia Hargrave Koger** (b. March 29, 1886- d. February 20, 1957), worked as a domestic, married **James Koger**, mother Elizabeth Hargrave, buried in Green Hill cemetery in High Point (death certificate).

**Cable Franklin Koger** (b. 1910, d. January 27, 1962 in Winston-Salem), tobacco worker, R. J. Reynolds, married, father James Koger, mother Annie Hargraves, no military service, buried at Linden Street cemetery in High Point (death certificate).

**Betty Koger** (relationship unclear) and her husband Paul had a golf course and bingo parlor

## LASH

### Aldean and Julia Lash

**Julia Washington**, daughter of William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington (born 1914 - died March 23, 2004 in Morristown, New Jersey; obituary *Winston-Salem Journal* March 27, 2004) married Aldean Lash (died 1995) and the couple built the house at 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1948.

Julia and Aldean Lash's daughter:

Emma Lash married Richard D. Martin (Mrs. Martin resides in Morristown, New Jersey)

Emma and Richard's daughter: Tammy Lash Martin (lives in Maryland)

Ira C. and Beulah Miller sold Aldean and Julia Washington Lash one acre (what is now 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) for \$100 on February 21, 1947 (Deed Book 562, page 375).

Mrs. Julia W. Lash, 90, of 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road and Morristown, N.J., where she spent winters with her daughter and family, passed away Tuesday, March 23, 2004, in Morristown, N.J. She was born in Winston-Salem to Erastus and Emma (Miller) Washington. She was the widow of Aldean Lash. Mrs. Lash was a factory worker for R.J. Reynolds

Tobacco Co. for 35 years. She was a member of Bethania AME Zion Church, where she was a member of the Senior Missionary Society, the Trustee Board and the Bethania Choir. Mrs. Lash is survived by her daughter, Emma, wife of Richard Martin of Morris Township; and her granddaughter, Tammi Lash Martin of Mitchellville, Md. The funeral service will be held at 2 p.m. Sunday, March 28, at Bethania AME Zion Church, with the Rev. Johnny Ruff, Pastor, officiating. The family will visit with friends 30 minutes prior to the service. Interment will follow in the church cemetery. (Clark S. Brown & Sons) *Winston-Salem Journal*, March 27, 2004, page B4.

### **Conrad Eugene Lash**

Mr. Conrad Eugene Lash passed away on Wednesday, January 4, 2012 at Forsyth Medical Center. Mr. Lash was born in Forsyth County, NC on June 6, 1918 to the late Berkley and Myrtle Shouse Lash. Mr. Lash was skilled in many areas including but not limited to: Auto/Diesel Mechanic, Logging, Welding, Carpentry and Plumbing. He retired after 30 years of service as an electrician with Ogburn Electric Company. Mr. Lash was a faithful member of Bethania AME Zion Church where he served on the Steward and Trustee Boards prior to his health declining.

Conrad was preceded in death in 1997 by his wife of 58 years, Willie Mae Hauser Lash; four brothers: Joseph, James, Kenneth and Kenyon Lash; and one sister: Pauline Lash Sims. He is survived by three sons: Edward (Betty) Lash of Winston-Salem, Willie G. (Murlene) Lash of Lanham, Maryland and Donald Lash, of Winston-Salem; a devoted niece whom he raised, Sheron Richardson; six grandchildren, ten great grandchildren; one brother, William (Barbara) Lash of Wilmington, Delaware; two sisters-in-law: Virginia Lash of Winston-Salem and Ann Lash of Chester, Pennsylvania; a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, other relatives and friends. Funeral services will be held at 1:30 PM on Saturday, January 7, 2012 at Bethania AME Zion Church. The family will greet friends 30 minutes prior to the service. Interment will be in the church cemetery. Obituary from Clark S. Brown and Sons website at: <http://clarksbrownandsons.com/Obituaries/files/95ab0d65035209afb0181743e4593996-117.html>

Richard Bovender remembered that Conrad Lash assisted Bethania residents with myriad tasks as needed, ranging from working with E. Burke Flynt Jr. and Mr. Bovender to fence approximately fifty acres of the Flynt family's pastures in the late 1950s to transporting truckloads of lime from Bethania Station to the Wolff family's business in Bethania (Richard Bovender, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 30, 2012).

**Dick and Jane Beck Lash** (Jane was Lydia Beck Alspaugh's sister.) In 1870 Dick and Jane Lash were enumerated between the households of white farmer Constantine Stoltz and Jane's family (her father Michael Beck and sister Lydia).

#### **1870 Census:**

Dick Lash (30), black, farmer  
Jane (23), black, wife, keeping house  
Gather (5), black  
John (2), black

Jane Beck Lash (1855 – December 8, 1922), widowed, domestic, daughter of Michael and Dilcie? Beck, buried in "Bethania Colored Graveyard" by undertaker Eli Lash (death certificate).

### **Ed and Mary Lash**

1880 Census: Ed and Mary Lash were one of the three African American Shouse-Lash family households enumerated together near the Clayton family farm (FY 563), which currently has an address of 5809 Stanleyville Drive (Mathew Columbus Clayton House, 1879).

Ed Lash (30), black, laborer  
Mary (26), black, wife, keeping house  
Magie (9), black, daughter

### **Eli and Victoria Lash**

Eli was born on December 8, 1859 to Willis Lash and Viney (Lavinia?) Speas Lash. He died of internal injuries sustained in an automobile accident near Pfafftown on January 25, 1936. He was a farmer and married to Bettie [Koger] Lash at that time (death certificate).

#### 1880 Census:

In 1880, Eli and Victoria Lash were enumerated in the household of white Bethania merchant F. H. Lash and his wife Mary. The household consisted of F. H. Lash (35), Mary (36), their son Clarence (12), a black servant, Ann Lash (18) and her children Elizabeth (4) and William (1). Eli (22) was a laborer; Victoria (18) was keeping house.

Eli Lash owned three acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

Eli Lash was a local preacher (Joseph Loftin Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 2, page 7).

1900 Census:

Eli Lash (41), b. August 1858 in NC, married ca. 1877, day laborer, literate  
Victoria Lash (47), wife, b. April 1852 in NC, mother of one child?, one living?  
William Lash (23), son, b. March 1877, literate  
Hessie Lash (6), son, b. April 1894

1910 Census: Bethania Township, Germanton Road

Eli Lash (53), farmer, owned farm  
Victoria Lash (52), wife, mulatto  
Hezekiah Lash (16), son, mulatto, farm laborer  
Julia C. Lash (9), mulatto, daughter

Eli Lash (60) married Bettie Koger (55) on November 9, 1918 (marriage license register)

1920 Census:

Eli Lash (63), farmer, owned farm  
Bettie E. Lash (61), wife [Bettie Lash Koger Lash]  
Carrol C. Lash (10), granddaughter [died April 15, 1938]

1930 Census

Eli Lash (72), owned house valued at \$400 in Vienna Township, farm laborer

### **Jerry Lash**

Jerry Lash, the son of Samuel Lash (mother's name not recorded), was born in Bethania around 1847 and worked as a laborer and teamster for Crutchfield and Beard. Jerry Lash married Adeline Lehman on November 27, 1870. (This may not be the same couple—one of the children's death certificates says Adaline [sic] Conrad.) He found work doing odd jobs and lived with his son Robert, who owned a farm on Bethania Road near the households of Lucy Flynt (white), Martha Shouse (mulatto), and John Davis (African American; Robert's wife Lulu, and the couple's children Thomas, Henry, Permelia, and Ruth in 1910. Jerry's son Howard, a farm laborer, also resided in his brother's household. Jerry Lash was diagnosed with liver cancer in February 1924, passed away on April 15<sup>th</sup> of that year, and was interred in Bethania (death certificate).

Jerry Lash's children included:

Robert Arthur Lash (June 30, 1873 – March 20, 1959), farmer, widowed at the time of his death, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church, mother was Adaline Lash  
Ida Steele Murphy (1878 – June 12, 1923), married, resided at 409 Watkins Street and worked as a cook in a boarding house owned by Mrs. O'Brien?, buried in Bethania, mother was Adaline Conrad  
Mary Bitting Malone (December 18, 1892 - May 30, 1968), worked as a domestic, widowed at the time of her death, buried at Persimmon Grove Baptist Church in Guilford County [no mother's name on her death certificate]

**Reverend Joseph Loftin Lash** (October 13, 1867-October 16, 1953), the son of Henry and Melinda Shouse Lash, passed away soon after being diagnosed with prostate cancer and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Cemetery (gravemarker, death certificate).

Henry and Melinda's pre-emancipation history is unclear. In 1863, Israel G. and Thomas B. Lash jointly-owned 52 slaves, including a 25-year-old man named Henry, who is younger than Rev. Lash's father would have been at

that time according to census data.<sup>203</sup>

1870 Census: Henry (38), a farmer, and Matilda [sic; Melinda] (34) Lash were enumerated between white farmer Andrew McGee and black farmer Madison Shouse. Their household included Gideon (16) who worked on the farm, Tishua [sic] (9), and Soloman (3?).

1880 Census: Henry (45), a farmer, and Malinda [sic] (43) Lash were enumerated between white farmer George Porter and Philippine Butner's household, which included her stepson, teacher A. J. Butner. The Lash household included their daughter Luticia [sic] (18), who was a laborer, and their sons Joseph (12) and John (7).

Reverend Joseph Loften Lash's daughter Ella R. Lash married Robert George Glen. Their daughter was India Glenn Martin.

### **Julius Lash Sr. and Francis Kiser Lash**

1880 Census: Jule [sic] and Francis Lash are enumerated between the households of white farmer E. F. Tuttle and black farmer Wesley Lash.

- Jule Lash (35), laborer
- Francis Lash (32), wife, keeping house
- Levenia [sic] Lash (12), daughter
- Delpha Lash (9), daughter
- Minnie Lash (7), daughter
- Mary E. Lash (5), daughter
- Lours Lash (2), son
- Fannie McMillan (1), niece

### **Julius Calvin and Cornelia Shouse Lash**

**Julius Calvin Lash** (November 2, 1881-September 2, 1957)

Julius Lash married Cornelia Shouse, age 21, on January 5, 1901 in Forsyth County (*North Carolina County Marriage Indexes*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina).

Worked in Haywood Croy's [?illegible] brickyard in 1918 (WWI draft registration card also gives November 7, 1880 birth date; he never enlisted in the military)

Julius Lash built the houses at 1540 and 1826 Bethania-Rural Hall Road and at least two others that are still standing (Patty Martin)

Julius Calvin Lash, who was a carpenter, died of lung cancer. His wife had passed away and he was living in Winston-Salem at the time of his death at age 75. He was interred in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery on September 4, 1957 (death certificate).

1910 Census:

Julius Lash was the head of one of three African American Shouse family households enumerated together on Shamel Road near Germanton Road

- Julius Lash (29), mulatto, married eleven [sic] years, laborer, odd jobs, owned home
- Cornelia C. (26), mulatto, wife, mother of four children, four living
- Connie L. (7), mulatto, son
- Odell W. (5), mulatto, son
- Kelsey L. (3), mulatto, son
- Unnamed (1), mulatto, son

1920 Census:

Julius C. Lash (38) house carpenter, owned his home, everyone in the household could read and write, no one else was employed

- Cornealian [sic] E. Lash (36) wife
- Odell W. Lash (15) son
- Kelsey L. Lash (13) son
- Julius W. Lash (11) son
- Addie Shouse (60) mother-in-law

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<sup>203</sup> Jones Family Papers, 1801-1932, Folder 44, Volume S-14, "Lashe slave and land assessments, 1863," Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, Southern Historical Collection, UNC-Chapel Hill.

**1930 Census:**

Julius Lash (50), carpenter, house building, owned property valued at \$1,000

Nedy [Cornelia] Lash (46), wife

Odell Lash (20 [sic]), son, laborer, automobile factory

Julius J. Lash (18), son, automobile washer, automobile agency

Mamie (6), daughter

Addie Shouse (60), Cornelia Lash's mother, was head of the adjacent household, owned property valued at \$500 (Addie Shouse died in 1943 according to Patty Martin)

**Additional information regarding Julius and Cornelia Lash's children:**

Kelsey Leroy Lash (September 25, 1906-October 25, 1965), laborer, married to Carol Koger Allen Lash, served in the military for two years, died of a bleeding ulcer, and was buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery on October 30, 1965 (death certificate).

**1930 Census:**

Kelsey Lash (23), owned house valued at \$800, laborer, street building

Carol (20), wife

Kelsey Jr. (11 months), son

Justice of the Peace J. H. Miller married Kelsey L. Lash and Carrol C. [sic] Allen in his office on April 17, 1926. Treva Crutchfield, Fannie Kiser, and E. E. Smith witnessed the ceremony. Kelsey and Carol Lash's first child, Julius Harvey Lash (named after their fathers) lived for only a few months (October 9, 1926-December 12, 1926). The couple had six children who survived infancy before Carol's death in 1938. The youngest three children were sent to Memorial Industrial School in 1939 when the neighbors became concerned that their father could not care for them by himself. Mrs. Martin remembers that her father was employed at Hanes Hosiery and served in World War II. He enlisted at Ft. Bragg on April 16, 1941. Richard Washington recollected that Kelsey Lash also worked at R. J. R. Tobacco Company and that his second wife was Odell Webster.

Kelsey Lash purchased lot 1 from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on October 23, 1937 for \$10.00 (Deed Book 424, page 221).

Carol's brother James Allen, who worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, adopted the oldest three children and eventually brought all six siblings into his home at 1580 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, erected in 1938. Mr. Allen was able to afford amenities such as a refrigerator (which Patty Martin asserts was the first on the road), indoor plumbing, and a telephone. He also purchased a van to transport his neighbors to their jobs in downtown Winston-Salem.

1. Leroy Lash (attended the frame Carver School)
2. Patty Lash Martin (b. 1930), husband Willie Martin. Her class was the last to graduate from the frame Carver School in 1950. Bethania youth rode a "flat-topped wooden school bus" with benches lined up back-to-back lengthwise at its center. She moved to Buffalo, New York after graduation and returned to live in her uncle's house in Bethania in 1973. She then taught special education classes at Petree, Diggs, and South Park.

Their children: Karen, Janet, Amanda, Reva, and Willis

3. Camilla Lash Evans (b. 1931, deceased)
4. Carl Henry Lash (March 18, 1933-March 25, 2010)
5. Raymond Jerome Lash (b. 1935, deceased), wife Paula
6. Paul Lash (b. 1937, deceased), wife Claudette

Their children: Darryl, Andy, Steve, and Jerry

(Patty Martin, interview with Heather Fearnbach, April 5, 2011)

**Carl Henry Lash**

Carl Henry Lash, 77, departed this life on March 25, 2010. Carl was born March 18, 1933 to Carol and Kelsey Lash. He was a 1952 graduate of Carver High School. Shortly after graduation he joined the United States Armed Forces. He was employed by Crown Drugs for more than thirty years and retired as Distribution Manager in 1992. In addition to his parents, three siblings preceded him in death, Camilla Evans, Jerome and Paul. He met and married Willa Doretha Frazier and to this union two daughters were born, Shari Lash Summey and PatriceLash Britton (Terrell) whom all survive him. He

is also survived by a daughter, Adrienne Speas (Allen); he was the proud grandfather of four, Alexis and Kelsey Summey, Terrell and Kendall Britton; siblings, Leroy (Patsy) of Buffalo, NY, Patty Martin (Willie) of Winston-Salem, NC, Connie (Dianne) of El Paso, TX, Shirley Williams, Jerry and Maxine Lash all of Winston-Salem, NC; and a host of brothers and sisters-in-law, cousins, nieces, nephews, and friends. Funeral services will be held at 1:00 p.m. April 1, 2010 at Bethania AME Zion Church, 2120 Bethania Rural Hall Road, Winston-Salem, NC 27106, with Reverend Roy A. Swann officiating. Interment will follow in Gardens of Memory, Walkertown, NC. The family visitation will be held from 6:00 p.m. until 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday, March 31, 2010 at the Russell Funeral Home Chapel. Online condolences can be made at [www. russellfuneralservice.com](http://www.russellfuneralservice.com) (RUSSELL)

**Published in the *Winston-Salem Journal* from March 28 to March 31, 2010**

**Milly Lash**, enslaved by Johann Christian Loesch, was the first burial in what is now Bethania AME Zion cemetery in after her death on January 7, 1847). Milly's husband Dave belonged to Brother Schumann when Brother Pfohl baptized their son at his home on August 30, 1812 (Joseph Loftin Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," Chapter 1, page 3).

**Rufus Clinton Lash (June 20, 1857-September 18, 1940) and Mary Louise Stauber Lash (born ca. 1865-April 6, 1936)**

Rufus's parents: Frank and Dorcas Lash of Bethania (death certificate)

**Rufus Lash** purchased two acres (now 1560 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) from J. F. and Ellen C. Miller for forty-seven dollars on May 18, 1905 (Forsyth County Deed Book 76, page 263). The property was adjacent to land owned by Dr. E. B. Jones and Will Koger. Rufus Lash's acreage is tract 7 of the August 1937 plat map showing the subdivision of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton's property.

His one-story, side-gable-roofed house and the detached kitchen that stood about eight feet northwest of the house were erected in 1912. (Julius Lash was a carpenter and likely constructed these buildings.) The detached kitchen was demolished when a new rear wing containing a bedroom and kitchen was constructed by Shober Lash around 1943-1945. The exact date construction date is unknown, as the Lash's grandson Richard Washington was serving in World War II and was thus not home at the time. Priscilla Glenn Kerins remembers that her great-grandparents' house had a front porch, a living room, two bedrooms, a large kitchen, and a small screened-in back porch. The dwelling was demolished in the late 1990s (Priscilla Glenn Kerins, telephone conversations with Richard Washington and email correspondence with Heather Fearnbach, August 2011).

1900 Census:

**Rufus C. Lash** (40), day laborer, married to Mary for sixteen years (i. e. married 1884)

Mary Lash (34), wife, mother of nine children, four of whom were living in 1900

Robert Lash (11), son

Thomas Lash (8), son

Shober L. Lash (5), son

Agnes Lash (3), daughter

Adjacent household, 1900

Wesley Lash (70), farmer, married to Melvina for forty years (i. e. 1860)

Melvina Lash (65), wife, mother of five children, one of whom (Rufus? was living in 1900)

1910 Census:

Rufus Lash (52), farm owner, married to Mary for twenty-five years

Mary Lash (45), wife, mother of thirteen children, seven of whom were living in 1900

\*Mary and her children are listed as mulatto in 1910, black in other years

[Robert] Percy Lash (20), son, laborer in a furniture factory

Thomas Lash (18), son, packer in a tobacco factory

Shober Lash (14), son

Agnes Lash (13), daughter

Emma Lash (8), daughter

Anna (5), daughter

Mary J. (1), daughter

1920 Census:

**Rufus C. Lash** (61), farm owner  
Mary L. Lash (55), wife  
Leo S. [Shober] Lash (23), son, laborer in a factory  
Emma G. Lash (18), daughter  
Anna (16), daughter  
Mary J. (12), daughter

Emma G. Lash (June 22, 1901-January 24, 1942) married Reverend C. V. Flack.

1930 Census:

**Rufus C. Lash** (72), owned home and farm, no value given, farmer  
Mary L. Lash (64), wife  
Robert P. Lash (40), son, farm laborer, WW I veteran  
Thomas C. Lash (38), son, farm laborer, no military service  
Shober Lash (34), son, farm laborer, WW I veteran  
Mary J. (21), daughter  
Mary B. (8), granddaughter  
Richard Washington (5), grandson  
Ophelia Washington (5), granddaughter

The Alspaugh-Shouse descendants remember that Shober Lash helped Bethania-Rural Hall Road residents with small construction projects and odd jobs (conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011).

**Mary Jane Lash**, called Janie, married Reverend Hunter Blake Bess and the couple purchased 1540 Bethania-Rural Hall Road from Vera Wagner. Reverend Bess was the 47<sup>th</sup> pastor of Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (beginning around May 1937). He graduated from Johnson C. Smith University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1940. In November 1942, he was called to serve as the second pastor of Goler Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church in Winston-Salem (the congregation that remained on Patterson Avenue after the 1941 fire that destroyed part of the church and split the congregation), facilitating the planning for the sanctuary's repair and the construction of a rear addition, completed in 1946. The couple moved to Buffalo, New York in 1952, where Reverend Bess was the pastor of St. Luke A. M. E. Zion Church (now Durham Memorial A. M. E. Zion Church).<sup>204</sup> A collection of St. Luke A. M. E. Zion Church papers has been microfilmed and is housed at the Monroe Fordham Regional History Center at Buffalo State College, the Buffalo State College Archives, and the Frank E. Merriweather Jr. Branch Library. Documents include a register of marriages that Reverend Bess performed from 1960 to 1972.

Reverend Hunter Blake Bess (May 22, 1909-December 26, 1976) died in Charlotte, was widowed (death certificate). Hunter resided with his parents, Walter and Emma Bess, and his three-year-old sister Francis S. Bess in a rented home on Mill Street, in Cherryville, Gaston County in 1910. Walter Bess was a porter on a passenger train. The family owned a Cherryville home valued at \$700 in 1930 and Walter still worked as a railway porter. None of the five Bess children who lived at home that year, including Hunter, were employed (Federal Census).

**Mary Beverly Lash** (March 21, 1922-March 3, 2007) married Willie Casper Glenn (July 22, 1920-July 12, 2004), the son of Robert George and Ella Rosabelle Lash Glenn, on February 24, 1941. Justice of the Peace O. R. Ferguson officiated at the Winston-Salem service. S. H. Mitchell, T. O. Morris, and Buster Pardew witnessed the union (marriage register). Mr. Glenn enlisted in the military at Ft. Bragg on March 6, 1945. He had a ninth-grade education and worked in "semiskilled transportation occupations" (WW II enlistment records). Mr. Glenn worked for Western Electric/Lucent Technologies for thirty-three years before retiring in 1980. The family attended Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church.

Willie and Mary Glenn's children:

Jacqueline Glenn Hilton (born 1939)  
Theodore "Ted" Clinton Glenn (born March 1943), married Miriam Smitherman  
Priscilla Ann Glenn Kerins (born 1945), married William Kerins

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<sup>204</sup> "Goler Memorial A. M. E. Zion Church History," <http://www.golermemorialamezion.org/about-us/history.aspx>, accessed in September 2011. Reverend Bess officiated at the 1938 funeral of Mrs. Martin's mother, Carol Koger Allen Lash. Patty Martin, conversations with Heather Fearnbach, September 2011. Although he graduated in 1940, Hunter Blake Bass is not listed in Johnson C. Smith University catalogs from 1936 through 1939 (Brandon Lunsford, Archival Services Librarian, James B. Duke Memorial Library, Johnson C. Smith University, email correspondence with Heather Fearnbach, September 8, 2011).

Robert Wayne Glenn (born 1948)  
Willie Reginald Glenn (born 1950)  
Michael Ray Glenn (born 1953)

**Mary Beverly Lash** Glenn, 84, departed this life on Saturday, March 3, 2007, after a long illness. She had only recently taken residence at the Lutheran Home in Winston-Salem. A lifetime resident of Forsyth County, she was the daughter of Emma Lash Flack of Bethania and stepfather, the Rev. Dr. Conrange Victor Clement Flack. Mrs. Glenn married Willie Casper Glenn of Bethania, and they were together in marriage for 63 years before his death in July, 2004. They raised six children together. She was a lifelong member of the Bethania AME Zion Church. Mary Beverly, as she was called, had a full life, and many will remember her for being a devoted wife and mother. She had a fighter's spirit, as was witnessed everyday by her family and later in life by the various nurses and care professionals who encountered her daily. She was known as a woman who possessed a quick wit, a keen mind and a warm heart. She loved to travel to visit family and friends. She especially enjoyed the beauty of flowers. She will be missed, though her zest for life will undoubtedly be carried on through those who have survived her. Mrs. Glenn is survived by her children and their families: Michael Ray Glenn and Willie Reginald Glenn of Winston-Salem, Dr. Robert Wayne Glenn (Dr. Beverly Caffee Glenn) of Cheltenham, Md.; Priscilla Ann Glenn Kerins (William J. Kerins) of Ellicott, Md.; Theodore Clinton Glenn (Miriam Smitherman Glenn) of Fort Washington, Md., and Jacqueline Hilton of Fort Washington, Md. She also leaves to cherish her memory a brother, Conrange Victor Flack Jr. (Lenora) of Durham; a sister and brother-in-law, India Glenn Martin of Bethania and Joseph Glenn of the city; caring and devoted cousins Gwendolyn Washington and Ronda Hill of the city and Richard Washington and family of Harrisburg, Pa., eight grandchildren, 13 great-grandchildren, several nieces, nephews; and other loving family and friends. Funeral services will be conducted at noon, Thursday, March 8, at Bethania AME Zion Church, with the Rev. Johnny Ruff officiating. The family will visit with friends at the church 30 minutes before the service. Interment will follow in Forsyth Memorial Park. (Clark S. Brown & Sons) obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal*, March 7, 2007

**Willie Casper Glenn**, 83, devoted husband, family man and church trustee, who retired in 1980 after 33 years of service to the former Western Electric Co. (now Lucent Technologies), died Monday, July 12, 2004, at the Kate B. Reynolds Hospice Home in Winston-Salem after a long illness. He lived in Winston-Salem. Mr. Glenn grew up in the church, serving on the usher, steward and trustee boards of the Bethania AME Zion Church in Bethania, where he was a lifelong member. He belonged to Salem Lodge 139, Prince Hall Affiliate. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II. Although he spent all of his adult life living and working in the city, his heart and true passion were for the rural area in which he had grown up as a boy and young adult. He was a loving man, economical with words, who enjoyed traveling to visit family and friends or simply to explore. He loved hunting with his beagle puppies and dogs as well as gardening and other aspects of an active rural life available nearby. Willie C. Glenn was a native of Forsyth County, born July 22, 1920, to the late Robert George Glenn and Ella Rosabelle Lash Glenn of Bethania. He was the grandson of the late Rev. Joseph Loften Lash, one of Bethania's early community leaders. He is survived by his wife of 63 years, Mary Beverly Lash Glenn, of the home; two daughters; four sons; their families; and other relatives. The children are Michael Ray Glenn and Willie Reginald Glenn of Winston-Salem, Dr. Robert Wayne Glenn and wife, Dr. Beverly Caffee Glenn, of Cheltenham, Md., Priscilla Ann Glenn Kerins and husband, William J. Kerins, of Ellicott City, Md., Theodore Clinton Glenn and wife, Miriam Smitherman Glenn, of Fort Washington, Md., and Jacqueline Hilton of Fort Washington, Md. Also surviving Mr. Glenn are a brother, Joseph Walter Glenn, of the city; and a sister, India Glenn Martin, of Bethania. He was predeceased by a sister, Mamie Rolena Thomas and her late husband, Raymond Zeno Thomas. His brother-in-law and sister-in-law are Conrange V. Flack and wife, Lenora Flack, of Durham. Mr. Glenn's aunt, Beulah Glenn Miller, sparked the restoration of the historic Oak Grove Community School in Washington Town, Winston-Salem. He also had eight grandchildren, (one deceased); 13 great-grandchildren; several nieces and nephews; and a host of other loving family members and friends. The family will meet friends at 11:30 a.m. Thursday, July 15, at Bethania AME Zion Church. The funeral will follow at noon with Pastor Johnny Ruff officiating. Interment will be in Forsyth Memorial Park. (Clark S. Brown & Sons) obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal*, July 14, 2004

**Shober Leo Lash** (May 5, 1895-May 5, 1963), PVT CO M, 365 Infantry, World War I, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Cemetery

### **Sandy Lash**

Sandy Lash owned four acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **Thomas C. and Blanche Withers Lash (1500 Bethania-Rural Hall Road)**

Blanche Withers Lash was born to George and Sabra Bushnell Withers of Ruffin, in Rockingham County, North Carolina on April 8, 1886. In 1900, she resided with her parents and eight siblings in Caswell County's Locust Hill Township. Her father was a farmer, and most of the children attended school.<sup>205</sup>

Blanche married Rufus and Mary Lash's son Thomas C. Lash (b. June 1891).

Blanche purchased a lot (now 1500 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) southwest of William Conrad's property (depicted on the August 1937 plat map showing the subdivision of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton's property) from Dr. A. G. Jones and his wife N. E. Jones of Stokes County for \$132.49 on March 3, 1933 (Forsyth County Deed Book 335, page 272). The parcel, which had previously belonged to John Anthony? and others, was sold by trustee J. H. Hastings to E. B. Jones, who conveyed the acreage to Isaac Conrad.

Blanche Lash passed away on April 22, 1963 and was buried in Winston-Salem's Evergreen Cemetery. Her husband Thomas C. Lash inherited the Bethania-Rural Hall Road property. Upon his death in 1976 Blanche's great-niece Gwendolyn Lash Washington (b. 1945, divorced, was Gwendolyn Washington Hill) was one of the heirs to the house and acreage. She sold her interest in the property to Theodore C. Glenn (the son of Willie Casper Glenn and Mary Beverly Lash) and his wife Miriam S. Glenn for \$100 on November 25, 1996 (Forsyth County Deed Book 1926, page 2085).

Rufus Clinton and Mary L. Lash

Anna Lash Washington (died 1986)

Ophelia G. Washington (passed away before her mother)

Richard C. Washington

Gwendolyn Washington Hill

### **Wesley and Melvina Lash**

Israel G. Lash and his brother Thomas B. Lash owned Wesley Lash, while Melvina was enslaved by Dr. Beverly and Julia Jones before 1865. Their daughter Bettie worked in the Jones house as Ella Jones's personal attendant. After emancipation, the family moved to a farm about five miles away near Rural Hall but Bettie frequently worked for the Jones family in Bethania. Melvina taught Bettie to read, and Bettie attended school about four months of each year beginning when she was fifteen in a log building the Moravians provided [Cedar Grove]. Her teacher was a Mr. Fulk, a white man (Betty Cofer [sic], WPA Interview).

1880 Census: Wesley and Viny [sic] Lash are enumerated between Jule [sic] Lash (their son?) and white farmer Jessie Shouse, who lived next to the Dr. Beverly Jones household.

Wesley Lash (55), farmer

Viny [sic] Lash (44), wife

William T. (2), son

(adjacent household) Mat Covers [sic; Koger] (34), son-in-law, laborer

Bettie Covers [sic; Koger], 25, daughter

William Miller (15), laborer [cousin?]

Wesley Lash owned eighty acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

1900 Census:

Wesley Lash (70), married 1860, farmer, owned farm

Melvina Lash (65), wife

Wesley Lash's approximately 79-acre estate division was delineated on March 2, 1905 when county surveyor A. E. Conrad measured the property, creating two parts of equal value (recorded on May 20, 1905, Deed Book 75, pages 333-336).

His grandchildren by his daughter Harriett Lash Miller (deceased), wife of Calvin Miller, inherited lots 1 and 2 (37.65 acres).

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<sup>205</sup> Although several deeds give Blanche Lash's maiden name as "Winters," her death certificate states that her father's name was "Withers." 1900 Federal Census

Emma Miller Washington, wife of Erastus Washington  
Susan Miller Davis, wife of Robert Davis  
John Miller  
Henry Miller  
Lillie Miller Reynolds, wife of John Reynolds  
Vina Miller  
Harriet Miller

His daughter Bettie Lash Koger, wife of Mat Koger, inherited lots 3 and 4 (41.77 acres)

### **Willis Lash and Lavinia “Vinnie” Lash**

1870 Census: enumerated in Old Richmond township between white farmers John B. Vest, Tandy? Harris, Julius M. Gordon, Jeremiah Keen, and Louis M. Vest. Willis did not own property, but provided labor on a farm. The Lash household consisted of Willis (48), his wife Lavinia (36), and their children: Eli (14) farm laborer, Isella [sic] (11), Martha (9), Elizabeth (7), Jane (4), and Permelia (1).

Willis and Vinnie’s daughter Sarah Jane (October 22, 1866-May 22, 1938) married Edward N. Beck and the couple owned a farm on Old Richmond Road in Vienna Township. Sarah was a laundress (death certificate, 1920 census, gravemarker in Bethania A. M. E. Zion Cemetery).

### **Other Lash family members”**

Edward Roy Lash (March 17, 1918- April 18, 1918), buried in Bethania on April 19, 1918

Millie Lash, born prematurely on February 28, 1919 to Julius C. and Emma C. Lash in Bethania, died March 2, 1919, buried in Bethania (death certificate)

Manne [Mamie?] Louise Shouse (September 12, 1923-October 27, 1936), was mentally handicapped, died of pneumonia, buried in Bethania on October 28, 1936 (death certificate)

Willa Lash lives on Bethania-Rural Hall Road (attended W-S Teacher’s College [WSSU])

### **LOVE**

Anderson and Annie Love were founding members of Bethania AMEZ Church in 1875 and Anderson Love was a local preacher (Jospeh Loftan Lash, “History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina,” circa 1934, Chapter 2, pages 1 and 7).

Anderson Love owned four acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson’s North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **MILLER**

#### **Calvin and Harriet Lash Miller**

1880 Census: Old Town Township, enumerated next to Thomas (60) and Mandy (30) Miller, his father? and stepmother?

Calvin Miller (29), day laborer  
Harriette [sic], 21, wife, keeping house  
Emma E. (4), daughter  
John T. (2), son  
Vina (2 months), daughter

Calvin Miller owned three acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson’s North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

Calvin and Harriet Miller’s youngest daughter Harriet Miller (9), b. February 1891, resided with her cousins Mat and Bettie Koger in 1900 and attended school five months of that year.

Wesley Lash’s approximately 79-acre estate division was delineated on March 2, 1905 when county surveyor A. E. Conrad measured the property, creating two parts of equal value (recorded on May 20, 1905, Deed Book 75, pages 333-336).

Wesley Lash’s grandchildren by his daughter Harriett Lash Miller (deceased), wife of Calvin Miller, inherited

lots 1 and 2 (37.65 acres).

Emma Miller Washington, wife of William Erastus Washington

Susan Miller Davis, wife of Robert Davis

John Miller

Henry Miller

Lillie Miller Reynolds, wife of John Reynolds

Vina Miller (Viney Miller married Ernest Clayton)

Harriet Miller

Wesley Lash's daughter Bettie Lash Koger, wife of Mat Koger, inherited lots 3 and 4 (41.77 acres)

**Sandy Alexander and Ada Shouse Miller** (Ada was the daughter of Aaron and Addie Shouse)

1900 Census:

Alex (26), married ca. 1898, laborer, rented house

Ada (23), wife, mother of two children, both living

Della (1), daughter, born August 1898

Emmy [sic] (3 months), daughter, born February 1900

1910 Census: Washington Town Road

Alexander (36), black, married for twelve years, farmer, owned house

Ada M. (31), mulatto, wife, mother of six children, five living

Della M. (11), mulatto, daughter

Erma W. [sic] (10), mulatto, daughter

Conrad A. (5), mulatto, son

Ira C. (3), mulatto, son

Foster M. (1 4/12), mulatto, son

1920 Census: Old Town Road in Old Town Township

Alexander (46), black, married for twelve years, farmer, owned house

Ada M. (42), black, wife

Conrad A. (15), son

Ira C. (13), son

Foster M. (11), son

Beatrice L. (6), daughter

Rebecca (2 8/12), daughter

**Ada Shouse Miller** (b. June 2, 1877 – d. February 12, 1956), housewife, widowed, died of heart disease, father Avon [sic] Shouse, mother Addie Shouse, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate).

**Sandy Alexander Miller** (b. January 23, 1874 – d. February 15, 1943), farmer, married to Ada Shouse Miller, born in Forsyth County to Lewis and Sarah Lash Miller, died of “cardiac block,” buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate).

**Della May Miller Crutchfield** (b. August 5, 1898 – d. August 29, 1929), worked as a domestic, married to “Doc” Crutchfield, father Alex Miller, mother Ada Shouse, died of tuberculosis, buried in Bethania (death certificate).

Daughter Ada Louise Crutchfield (March 13, 1919-May 6, 2002; obituary *Winston-Salem Journal*, May 10-11, 2002) married Robert D. Shouse. The couple purchased a lot in Lash Heights in 1952 upon which they built a house. Louise Crutchfield Shouse inherited the property that had belonged to her great uncles Samuel and Reuben Benjamin Miller at 1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road.

**Erma Miller** (b. February 2, 1900 – d. June 26, 1936), worked as a domestic, married to Roddie Miller, father Alex Miller, mother Ada Shouse, died of tuberculosis, buried in Bethania (death certificate).

**Conrad Alexander Miller** (b. August 2, 1904 – d. October 6, 1974), worked as a maintenance man at Pine Hall Brick Company, married to Mozelle Lambert, father Sandy Alex Miller, mother Ada M. Shouse, died of cerebral thrombosis related to cardiovascular disease, buried at Bethlehem A. M. E. Zion Church in Pfafftown (death certificate).

**Ira Cornelius Miller** (b. November 8, 1906 – d. December 27, 1991) married Beulah

**Beatrice Miller Kimbrough** (b. April 11, 1913 – d. October 6, 1941), married Albert Kimbrough, worked as a domestic, father Alex Miller, mother Ada Miller, died of tuberculosis, buried in Bethania (death certificate).

**Sarah Rebecca Miller Sellers** (b. April 23, 1917 – d. February 17, 1944), worked as a domestic and a cafeteria helper, married to Augustus Sellers, father Sandy Alex Miller, mother Ada Shouse, died of acute nephritis, buried at Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church (death certificate).

### **Lewis and Sarah Lash Miller**

\*Sarah Lash was Milly Lash's (first burial in what is now Bethania AME Zion cemetery in 1847) granddaughter. Milly belonged to Johann Christian Loesch [Lash] and her husband Dave to Brother Schumann when Brother Pfohl baptized their son at his home on August 30, 1812 (Joseph Lofton Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," Chapter 1, page 3).

1880 Census: Lewis and Sarah Miller were enumerated between the households of white farmers W. F. Clayton and Mathew C. Clayton. Three other African American households (Shouse-Lash family) resided near the Clayton family farm (FY 563), which currently has an address of 5809 Stanleyville Drive (John Clayton House, 1800; Mathew Columbus Clayton House, 1879).

- Lewis Miller (43), farmer
- Sarah (33), wife, keeping house
- S. L. [Samuel] (12), son
- F. E. (7), daughter
- Mary (9), daughter
- S. E. [sic; Sandy Alexander] (6), son
- Wick? (3), daughter

1900 Census: enumerated between the households of African American farmer Jack Spease and white gunsmith Perminia [sic] (male) Stoltz

- Lewis Miller (60), born April 1840, married for 35 years, day laborer, owned home
- Sarah (56), wife, born March 1844, married for 35 years, mother of eight children, five of whom were still living, house keeper
- Samuel (32), son, born February 1867, day laborer
- Ben (15), son, born September 1884, day laborer
- Betsey [sic] Lash, [Sarah's] mother, (87), born October 1812, mother of fifteen children, three of whom were still living, retired

1910 Census: enumerated on Germanton Road before the household of J. Lofton [sic] Lash, an African American public school teacher

- Samuel L. Miller (43), owned home, single, farmer, working on his own account,
- Sarah (66), mother, widowed, mulatto
- A. Gray (10), ward
- R. Benjamin Miller (25), brother, laborer in a tobacco factory

1920 Census:

- Samuel L. Miller (53), owned home, single, farmer
- Sarah A. Miller (75), mother, widowed

**Reuben Benjamin Miller** (September 16, 1884 – October 19, 1967), never married, school teacher, son of Lewis and Sarah Lash Miller, died of cardiac arrest and buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery, Dr. Harvey Allen was his physician (death certificate).

Reuben Benjamin Miller (b. September 27, 1884), resided at 825 Ridge Avenue, married to Vivian Miller, worked as a laborer at American Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem (WWI Draft Registration Card, September 12, 1918). This may not be the same person based upon discrepancies between this document and the death certificate.

At an auction held to settle a special proceedings case entitled "Reuben Benjamin Miller vs Ada S. Miller, Conrad A. Miller, Mozelle L. Miller, Ira C. Miller, Beulah T. Miller, James A. Crutchfield, Alphonso Miller, et. al," Reuben Benjamin

Miller purchased two parcels, one in Old Town Township and the other a 3 3/10-acre lot that was conveyed from Bettie Lash Koger to Samuel L. Miller, less Ira C. Miller's one-acre lot (Deed Book 607, page 168)

Reuben Benjamin Miller sold 1.25 acres to Thomas L. and Katie Lee McArthur Hatcher of Mt. Airy for \$10 on March 4, 1950 (Deed Book 616, page 9). The Hatchers did not have family in the area. They hired Wilson Brothers (general contractors and lumber company) of Rural Hall to build their brick Ranch house at 1675 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1958 (Katie Hatcher, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 17, 2011).

Louise Crutchfield Shouse inherited the property that had belonged to her great uncles Samuel and Reuben Benjamin Miller at 1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. She gave the remaining approximately two acres of the Miller's property to Rayvon L. and Gloria A. Cuthrell on May 30, 1995 (Deed Book 1860, page 1475). This property (1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) contains a mobile home and an early-twentieth-century frame house.

**Samuel Lewis Miller** (February 9, 1878 – April 6, 1943), single, farmer, son of Lewis and Sarah Lash Miller, died from pneumonia and buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

Samuel L. Miller purchased 3 3/10 acres of what had been Wesley Lash's property from Bettie Lash Koger for \$50.40 on February 5, 1906 (Deed Book 80, page 226).

Samuel L. Miller was the general manager of the ninth annual Forsyth County Colored Agricultural and Industrial Fair, held in Rural Hall September 27-29, 1916.

Samuel L. Miller (single) sold one acre of the property referenced above to Ira C. Miller for \$60.00 on November 16, 1937.

### **Thomas Miller**

Thomas Miller was a founding member of Bethania AMEZ Church in 1875 and a local preacher (Joseph Loftin Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," Chapter 2, pages 1 and 7).

Thomas Miller owned four acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **Other Millers interred in Bethania A. M. E. Zion Cemetery:**

Charles E. Miller (1936-2002) and his wife Willie A. Miller (1938-2010)  
Emma Duncan Miller (April 23, 1921-May 8, 2002)

### **MURREL**

William Murrel owned eighteen acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **SCOTT**

Olivia Gertrude Scott (May 5, 1885-February 23, 1965), housewife, widow of Charlie Scott, daughter of Anna Bitting, no information on father, buried in A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery, informant Henrietta Lash of Detroit, Michigan (death certificate).

1930 Census: original image missing online

Charley [sic] Scott (46)  
Olivia (44), wife  
A.Z. (8), son

Anna Bitting McMullen, who lived between Lydia Alspaugh and Bettie Koger, gave her daughter, Olivia Gertrude Scott, a lot on the west side of Bethania-Rural Hall Road across from Samuel L. Miller's house on July 14, 1925 (Forsyth County Deed Book 484, page 217).

## SHOUSE

### Addie (October 1, 1860-November 24, 1943) and Aaron Shouse

Addie Shouse was born on October 1, 1860 (gravemarker) and married Aaron Shouse on April 6, 1877. The marriage register gives her maiden name as Shouse, her age as 18, Aaron's age as 23, and their place of residence as Bethania. Census records indicate that the young couple lived on a farm in between Bethania and Rural Hall with extended family. Addie had four children and was widowed by 1900, at which time she resided in the Winston-Salem household of Ellen Shelton, where she worked as a cook. She died on November 24, 1943. Her death certificate lists her parents' names as unknown. Her son Joe Willie Shouse's death certificate states that Aaron Shouse was from Old Town and Addie Shouse was from Salem. She was buried in the Bethania A. M. Zion Church cemetery (North Carolina marriage indexes; death certificate).

1880 Census: Addie and Aaron Shouse were one of the three African American Shouse-Lash family households enumerated together near the Clayton family farm (FY 563), which currently has an address of 5809 Stanleyville Drive (John Clayton House, 1800; Mathew Columbus Clayton House, 1879). In 1870, two white farmers, Edward Shouse? and John Laurence [sic] were enumerated between the households of Mathew Clayton and Adline [sic] Clayton.

Aaron Shouse (29), black, farmer  
Addie (19) mulatto, wife, keeping house  
A. M. (3), black, daughter  
Willie (10 months), black, son

1900 Census: Addie Shouse resided in a Winston-Salem household where she worked as a cook

Ellen E. Shelton (59) widowed  
Charles E. Shelton (26), married three years, merchant  
Sadie Shelton (25), daughter-in-law (Charles's wife)  
Henry B. Shelton (23), wholesale grocer  
Bertha J. Shelton (21)  
Addie Shouse (37), b. October 1862, black, widowed, mother of four children, all living, cook  
Bettie Hauser (21), b. June 1878, black, chambermaid

1910 Census: Addie Shouse was the head of one of the three African American Shouse-Lash family households enumerated together on Shamel Road near Germanton Road

Addie Shouse (49), mulatto, widowed, owned home  
Sadie (6), mulatto, daughter

1920 Census: Addie lived with her daughter Cornelia and son-in-law Julius Lash and their family

1930 Census: Addie lived next to her daughter Cornelia and son-in-law Julius Lash and their family

### **Addie and Aaron Shouse's children:**

**Ada Shouse Miller** (b. June 2, 1877 – d. February 12, 1956), housewife, widowed, died of heart disease, father Avon [sic] Shouse, mother Addie Shouse, buried in Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate).

**Cornelia Shouse Lash** (b. June 1, 1882 – d. December 9, 1938), married J. C. Lash, housewife, died of heart disease, father Aaron Shouse, mother Addie Shouse, buried in Bethania (death certificate).

**Joe Willie Shouse** (b. August 1, 1879 – d. July 10, 1915), laborer, tobacco factory, died of bowel inflammation, single, attended common school in Bethania, father Aaron Shouse of Old Town, mother Addie Shouse of Salem, buried near Bethania (death certificate).

**Ruben Decatur Shouse** (November 27, 1867 – March 4, 1949) was a widowed farmer at the time of his death. He was interred in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery. His death certificate indicates that he was born around 1874, but his gravemarker gives an 1867 date. His death certificate also states that his mother was Lydia Shouse and his father Peirce [sic] Alspaugh. Lydia's maiden name was Beck and she married Pierce Alspaugh on September 2, 1871, so this indicates an earlier marriage or relationship. Attempts to locate a marriage certificate have been unsuccessful.

**Ruben Decatur Shouse** married **Hannah A.** (February 26, 1874 – July 20, 1936, according to cemetery records) and their heirs own 1840 Bethania-Rural Hall Road. Decatur and Hannah Shouse's heirs include: Natalie K. Summers, Hannah Eldridge, Mollie S. McLain, and Henry Herman Shouse (deceased 2010)

Hannah Shouse was a registered midwife.

1900 Census:

Cato Shouse (32), b. November 1867, married ca. 1895, day laborer  
Hanna [sic] Shouse (26), b. February 1873, mother of four children, four living  
Lancy Shouse (8), daughter, b. June 1892  
John Shouse (3), son, b. February 1897  
Lenora Shouse (3), daughter, b. February 1897  
Caroline Shouse (1), daughter, b. 1899

1910 Census:

Decatur [sic] Shouse (42), married twelve years, laborer in a tobacco factory, owned home  
Hannah Shouse (36), wife, mother of eight children, eight living  
Blanche Shouse (17), daughter, servant, private family  
Leonora Shouse (13), daughter, servant, private family  
John Shouse (13), son  
Carole C. Shouse (9), daughter  
Harry Shouse (7), son  
Lewis Shouse (6), son  
Bennie E. Shouse (4), son  
Stedman Shouse (2), son

1920 Census:

Decater [sic] Shouse (50), rented a house, farmer  
Hannah L. Shouse (44), wife  
Carril [sic, Caroline] C. Shouse (18), daughter  
Harrie [sic] G. Shouse (17), son  
Lewis F. Shouse (16), son  
Bennie E. Shouse (14), son  
James S. [Stedman] Shouse (11), son  
Mary E. Shouse (7), daughter  
Robert D. (5), son

1930 Census:

Decter [sic] Shouse (61), rented a house valued at \$8, laborer at a sawmill  
Hannah (56), wife  
Mary (18), daughter  
Robert (15), son  
Lydia Alspaugh (78), mother

Robert and Barbara Miller sold a three-acre parcel that included what is now 1710 Bethania-Rural Hall Road (a .36-acre tract) to Annie Bitting McMullen on November 19, 1913 (Forsyth County Deed Book 436, page 155). The parcel was bounded by land owned by the Jones family and the Bethania-Germanton Road. Annie Bitting McMullen subdivided her land on July 14, 1925, conveying lot number three to Gideon Bitting with the understanding that he would provide her with a home and care for her for the rest of her life (Forsyth County Deed Book 672, page 459). Gideon Bitting's heirs Minnie Bitting Shouse, Olivian Bitting Scott, Rhoda Bitting Allen, and Ernest Bitting sold this lot to Nelson Scales and his wife Margaret E. Shouse Scales for ten dollars on May 23, 1956 (Forsyth County Deed Book 728, page 29). Henry H. and Doris Shouse purchased the property from his sister and her husband for ten dollars on July 18, 1959 (Forsyth County Deed Book 791, page 68).

### **Decatur and Hannah Shouse's children:**

**Blanche Shouse** (21; b. 1892) married Ellie [Ellis O.] Kiser (21) of Bethania on May 11, 1913. Reverend J. L. Lash of Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church married the couple at a private home [location unclear, marriage register says "my residence"]. Witnesses included Mayer Beck, S. L. Miller, and Lenora Shouse.

Their children:

Ellis J. Kiser (September 17, 1914 – November 16, 1963), resided at 1805 East 25<sup>th</sup> Street in Winston-Salem with his wife, Esther W. Mr. Kiser worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, died of "malignant hypertension," and was interred in Evergreen Cemetery.

**John H. Shouse** (b. February 1897; Lenora's twin) married Minnie L. Bitting (d. March 4, 1973). The couple resided with her mother, Anna Bitting, in 1920 and then lived in Rural Hall.

John and Minnie Shouse had eleven children, nine of whom were living in 2011 including:

William T. Shouse (b. 1921), attended Oak Grove School, Rural Hall, Piney Grove, Carver; enlisted in the military at Ft. Bragg on October 20, 1942; worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company for 43 years

Anna Shouse Ervin, married Joseph Franklin Ervin on April 8, 1950 (J. L. Lash performed the ceremony, Gilbert C. Ervin and Butler Ervin witnessed the union); a Mt. Airy contractor built the couple's house at 1915 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in the Lash Heights subdivision in 1961; Mr. Ervin worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem (telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 17, 2011)

Henry Herman Shouse (June 6, 1933-November 17, 2010), lived at 1710 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, graduated from Carver High School in 1955, married Doris Morris in 1957, served in the Navy, and worked at Old Town Telephone Company (Alltel) until his retirement ("Henry Herman Shouse," *Winston-Salem Journal*, November 21, 2010)

Hannah Shouse Eldridge

Mollie Shouse McLain

Margaret E. Shouse Scales(married Nelson Scales)

**Lenora Shouse** (b. February 1897 – d. September 20, 1974; John's twin) married Moir [sic; Moyer] Beck (21), also of Bethania, on April 7, 1915 (marriage register). The couple subsequently moved to Ohio (Alsbaugh-Shouse Heirs, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011). The correct spelling of his name is Moyer according to Natalie K. Summers.

**Harry Garfield Shouse** (December 10, 1900 – January 6, 1964), resided at 1214 N. Cherry Street, worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, died from heart disease, and was interred at the Bethania A. M. Zion Church cemetery. His wife Hattie Carter (June 12, 1910 – August 11, 1941) preceded him in death. She was born in Yadkinville to Ernest and Doll Carter, worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, died of uterine cancer, and was buried at Odd Fellows cemetery in Winston-Salem (death certificate).

**Lewis Wilson Shouse** (December 7, 1903 – December 13, 1975), married Elizabeth Beck on November 15, 1924, worked as a janitor for the Winston-Salem school system, resided in Oakwood Knolls in Kernersville, father Decatur Shouse, mother Hannah Shouse, died of prostate cancer, buried in Evergreen cemetery (death certificate, marriage register).

**Caroline Shouse** (21; born in 1905, deceased), married Robert Edward Joyce (23; November 8, 1903 – April 22, 1995), on November 20, 1926 in Winston-Salem. Reverend W. M. Francum officiated. Blanche Kiser, W. A. Mickle, and C. B. Taylor witnessed the union (marriage and death registers). Robert lived and worked on his family's farm on Bethania Road in 1920. His household included his parents, William and Henrietta Joyce; an older sister, Rosa R. Glenn; three younger siblings; and William's niece Della M. King. Thomas J. Joyce, likely Robert's older brother, lived next door with his family. Other neighbors included William M. Kimbrough, his wife Lucinda, and their nine children (1920 Federal Census). William and Lucinda's son Joseph T. Kimbrough married Caroline's sister Mary Elizabeth Shouse.

Robert and Caroline Joyce's daughter, Alma Joyce, still resides in the family home.

**Bennie Eugene Shouse** (May 1, 1906 – February 5, 1978) married Della Washington (November 29, 1909 – February 24, 1998) of Rural Hall in Winston-Salem on March 4, 1933. Justice of the Peace C. W. Carter officiated and W. T. Fletcher and H. L. Holland witnessed the union (marriage register). In 1930 Della resided with her parents, Elmer A. and Selona Washington, and six siblings in Rural Hall and worked as a house servant for a private family. Her parents owned a farm valued at \$500 (1930 Federal Census). Della Shouse's death certificate indicates that she was born in Surry County, had a twelfth-grade education, and died from breast cancer.

**Stedman James Shouse** (June 26, 1908 – October 12, 1985), married

**Mary Elizabeth Shouse** (January 11, 1911 – June 12, 1996) married Joseph Thomas Kimbrough (March 19, 1911 – December 15, 1988) on July 18, 1932 in Winston-Salem. Justice of the Peace C. F. Penry officiated and J. J. Styers and Lula K. Powell witnessed the union (marriage register). The couple lived on Miller Road in a house that they had constructed around 1933. Their children include four surviving daughters and one deceased son (Alspaugh-Shouse Heirs, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, May 19, 2011). Mr. Kimbrough's death certificate indicates that he had an eighth-grade education and was a farmer. The Kimbroughs are buried in the Bethania A. M. E. Zion cemetery.

Their children:

Virginia Kimbrough Allen (b. May 3, 1933)  
Joseph Thomas Kimbrough Jr. (b. January 27, 1936; deceased)  
Dorothy Kimbrough Napper (b. December 5, 1944)  
Phyllis Kimbrough Baldwin (b. March 5, 1948)  
Natalie Kimbrough Summers (b. August 14, 1950)

Natalie K. Summers remembers that her father worked in R. J. Reynolds Factory Number 97-1 and then in Factory Number 12 in casing and cutting. He drove a carpool for a group of Bethania-Rural Hall residents who also worked at R. J. R. The family had a large garden. The Kimbrough girls worked in the factory during the summers to pay for their Winston-Salem State University tuition. Joseph Thomas Kimbrough Jr. attended Hampton University (Natalie K. Summers, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, September 27, 2011).

**Robert Decatur Shouse** (September 29, 1914 – December 10, 1996) married Gladys Groves

Their children:

Gladys Shouse (June 19, 1933 – June 20, 1933, premature birth)  
Robert Decatur Shouse Jr. (February 12, 1937 – April 11, 1937)

**John H. and Minnie L. Bitting Shouse's son:**

**Henry Herman Shouse** (June 6, 1933-November 17, 2010)

Mr. Henry Herman Shouse, 77, of 1710 Bethania-Rural Hall Road was born June 6, 1933 to the late Johnny and Minnie Bitting Shouse. He departed this life unexpectedly on Wednesday, November 17, 2010. In addition to his parents, he was preceded in death by six siblings.

Mr. Shouse was a 1955 graduate of Carver High school. He served in the United States Navy and was employed and retired from Old Town Telephone Company (Alltel).

Henry is survived by his loving and devoted wife of fifty-three years, Doris Morris Shouse of the home; brother, William T. Shouse; sisters: Anna (Joseph) Ervin, Margaret Scales, Hannah Eldridge and Mollie McLain; brothers-in-law: Allen (Alma) Morris, Carlos (Rosa) Morris and sister-in-law, Dorothy Graves, all of Winston-Salem, NC. Funeral services will be held Tuesday, November 23 at Bethania AME Zion Church. The family will meet with friends from 1:00 PM to 2:00 PM followed by the service. Interment will be in the church cemetery.

<http://www.clarksbrownandsons.com/Obituaries/files/archive-nov-2010.html>

**Other Shouse family members:**

**Graddy Monroe Shouse** (April 24, 1929-October 29, 2001) SD3 US Navy, World War II, Korea

**John Shouse** (worked at Reynolds)

Raleigh Nelson Scales, Sr. (deceased) and Margaret Scales (1975 Bethania-Rural Hall Road)  
Raleigh Nelson Scales, Jr.

**John and Lucretia Shouse**

John Sanford Shouse (1854-1944), Joe and Judith Shouse's son, married Lucretia Julia Conrad (1864-1951), John and Lucy Conrad's daughter

Their children:

1. Myrtle Geneva Shouse (1895-1971), married Berkely {?} B. Lash  
Their children: Howard Kenneth Lash (1915-1992) married Virginia Fulp  
William Alexander Lash

Pauline Lash, married Deacon Sims and had a son, John  
Joseph Lash (b. 1922)  
James W. Lash (b. 1924)

2. Josephine Shouse (1890-1972)
3. Hattie Shouse

\*information from family tree compiled by Richard Washington

John Shouse owned nine acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

1910 Census: John Shouse was the head of one of three African American Shouse-Lash family households enumerated together on Shamel Road near Germanton Road

John Shouse (55), married twenty-six years, owned home, farmer  
Lucretia (44), wife, mother of nine children, three living, servant, private family  
R.? Josephine (19), daughter, servant, private family  
Myrtle G. (15), daughter  
Cammie? A. (9), grandson  
M. Octavia (7), granddaughter

### **Joseph Shouse**

Joseph Shouse was a founding member of Bethania AMEZ Church in 1875 and a local preacher (Joseph Loften Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 2, pages 1 and 7).

### **Juda? Shouse**

1880 Census: Juda Shouse was the head of one of the three African American Shouse-Lash family households enumerated together near the Clayton family farm (FY 563), which currently has an address of 5809 Stanleyville Drive (Mathew Columbus Clayton House, 1879).

Juda [sic] Shouse (67), black, keeping house  
Lewis (33), son, laborer  
Isabell [sic] (27), daughter-in-law, at home  
G. A. (7), grandson  
B. F. (4), granddaughter  
Mary B. (2), granddaughter  
S. E. (8 months), granddaughter  
John (23), son, laborer

### **Lewis Shouse**

Lewis Shouse owned four acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

**Louise Crutchfield Shouse** (born March 13, 1919, married Robert Decater [sic] Shouse, grandmother was Ada Shouse) inherited what is now 1645 Bethania-Rural Hall Road from her great uncle Reuben Benjamin Miller and sold the property to the current owners, Gloria and Rayvon L. Cuthrell.

Other Shouse family members buried in Bethania A. M. E. Zion cemetery:

John Alfred Shouse (March 2, 1859 – August 30, 1936)  
John S. Shouse (October 14, 1854 – October 26, 1944)

### **SPEASE**

#### **Harmon Speas**

Harmon Speas owned four acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

### **Jacob and Levinia Stauber Speas**

1870 Census: Old Richmond Township, enumerated between the households of white farmers Jonathan Speas and John H. Shore and after the African American household of Millie Sprinkle (29) and her four daughters, including Emily (11).

Jacob Speas (56), black, labor on farm  
Levenia (45), black, keeping house  
Jane (18), black, at home  
Julia (11), black, at home  
Willis S. (8), black, at home  
Isreal T. (6), black, at home

1880 Census: enumerated between the households of African American farmers Isaac Speace [sic; Speas] (44) and James Speace (30), African American laborer Soloman Speace (24) and white farmer Israel Speace (45)

Jacob Speas (66), farmer  
Vina (52), black, keeping house  
Willis (18), black, farming  
Isreal T. (15), black, farming

Viney [sic] Speas lived with her son James A. Speas (62), a farmer who owned his home; his wife Bittie (60); and two of their daughters, Ella (40) and Russie (22) in 1920. Vinie [sic] passed away on November 2, 1920 at the age of 96. She was born around 1824 to George Stauber (mother's name not listed) (death certificate).

### **Israel T. and Emma Speas**

Israel T. Speas [sic] (21) married Emily Sprinkle (23). Justice of the Peace E. L. Reed performed the ceremony at his home on April 2, 1885. P. M. Reed, E. S. Sugg, and John Colet witnessed the union.

Israel T. Speas sold a two-acre lot adjoining the lands of A. M. Vogler and Eugene Vogler to William Conrad for \$25 on November 13, 1900?. Israel and his wife Emma signed the deed in the presence of Justice of the Peace T. E. Kapp on December 13, 1916 (Deed Book 133, page 69).

1920 Census:

I. T. Spease (55), owned home, general farmer  
Emma (55), wife

I. T. Spease purchased lot 9 from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on August 31, 1937 for \$10.00 (Deed Book 422, page 78).

**Charlie Speas** (1883-August 23, 1936), son of Israel and Amie [sic] Washington Spease, was a widowed factory worker and resided at 907 East First Street in Winston-Salem at the time of his death. He was buried in Bethania (death certificate).

**Flora Ellen Bitting** (March 6, 1886-July 2, 1933), the daughter of Israel and Annie [sic] Sprinkle Speas, married Ernest T. Bitting and died at City Memorial Hospital in Winston-Salem from complications of an acute intestinal obstruction and was interred in Bethania (death certificate).

### **Carrington Spease, Jr. (1933-2009)**

WINSTON-SALEM - Mr. Carrington Spease, Jr., 75, of Winston-Salem, passed away, Monday, March 23, 2009 at Forsyth Medical Center. He was born June 7, 1933 in Forsyth County to the late Betty Jane Spease Kaiser and Carrington Spease, Sr. He retired from Teamsters Local 639 as a trucker driver. He was preceded in death by two brothers, Richard and Edward Spease. He is survived by his loving wife of 50 years, Ruby Spease of the home; son, Donald Martin (Mary) of Washington, DC; daughter, Brenda McNeil; brothers, Allen and Paul Spease; sister, Mary Jane Spease; grandchildren, Latandra and Tameka Vance, Crystal Martin, who was especially devoted, and Samuel and Walter McNeil; great-grandson, RaJzon Gandy, all of Winston-Salem; and numerous nieces, nephews and godchildren. A Funeral Service will be held at 1:30 p.m. Saturday, March 28, 2009 in the Clark S. Brown & Sons Chapel. Family visitation will be 30 minutes prior to the service. Interment will be in Bethania AME Zion Church Cemetery. The family wishes to thank the doctors and nurses of Forsyth Medical Center for their kindness and loving care. (Clark S. Brown & Sons)

Published in the *Winston-Salem Journal* on March 27, 2009, <http://boards.ancestry.com.au/surnames.spease/19/mb.ashx>

## WASHINGTON

### William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington

#### 1900 Census:

Rastus [sic] Washington (25), black, born May 1870, married four years, laborer in a brick yard, rented home  
Emona [sic] (24), black, wife, born June 1875, mother of three children, three living  
William E. (3), son, born May 1897  
Mable [sic] (2), daughter, born December 1897  
Virgil M. (8 months), son, born September 1899

#### 1910 Census:

Erastus Washington (34), mulatto, married fourteen years, laborer on someone else's farm, rented home  
Emma (33), black, wife, mother of eight children, seven living  
Elsie (13), mulatto, son  
Mabel (12), mulatto, daughter  
Spurgeon (10), mulatto, son  
Rose (9), mulatto, daughter  
George (5), mulatto, son  
Stella (3), mulatto, daughter  
Alta (1), mulatto, daughter

#### 1920 Census:

William E. Washington (44), black, owned home, farmer  
Emma E. (43), wife,  
Spurgeon M. (20), son, laborer, sawmill  
Rosa O. (18), daughter  
George D. (14), son  
Stella E. (13), daughter  
Alta A. (11), daughter  
John C. (9), son  
Julia M. (5), daughter  
Haywood R. (3 5/12), son  
Russell L. (2 1 7/12), son

#### 1930 Census:

Erastus Washington (54), farmer, owned home  
Emma (53), wife  
George (24), son, janitor in a hospital  
Alta (21), daughter  
John (18), son  
Julia (16), daughter  
Haywood R. (13), son  
Russell (11), son

**William Erastus Washington** (May 13, 1875-July 14, 1965), son of John and Vennie Cobb Washington, married to Saloma King Washington, was a tobacco worker, buried at the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate)

**Emma E. Miller Washington** (June 2, 1876-August 7, 1934), daughter of Calvin and Harriet Lash Miller, William Erastus Washington's first wife, worked as a domestic, buried in Bethania (death certificate)

**Saloma King Washington** (October 15, 1886 – January 20, 1966), William Erastus Washington's second wife, worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company

### **William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington's children:**

**George T. Washington** (January 19, 1905-January 28, 1960), son of William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington, married to Pearl Washington, worked at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, died of a coronary occlusion, buried at the Bethania A. M. E. Zion Church cemetery (death certificate)

**Pearl Alsbrooks Washington Davis** (owned 1600-1620 Bethania-Rural Hall Church Road)

Pearl Alsbrooks Washington Davis died intestate, her brother? Joe Louis Alsbrooks, predeceased her, so her son James Leon Washington inherited the property. Betty C. Williams was the executor of the estate (Deed Book 2204, pages 1696 and 1700, August 21, 2001).

Pearl Alsbrooks Washington Davis (January 28, 1911-June 8, 2001), born in Union County, 10<sup>th</sup> grade education (death certificate)

Mrs. **Pearl Alsbrooks Davis**, 90, of 2721 N. Glenn Ave., passed away Friday, June 8, 2001, at Wake Forest University-Baptist Medical Center. She was born Jan. 28, 1911, in Monroe, Union County, to Annie Elizabeth **Alsbrooks** and A.D. Johnson. She moved to Winston-Salem and later made her home in Bethania, where she married George **Washington**. To this union a son was born, James Leon **Washington**. Years later, when her husband had passed away, she married the late Nero **Davis**. She was a faithful member of the Phillips Chapel Baptist Church and was a retired employee of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. Mrs. **Davis** was a member of the Elizabeth Chapter No. 310 Order of Free Masons, Scottish Rites. Mrs. **Davis** is survived by a son, James Leon **Washington** (Anne); two grand-daughters, **Pearl** Elizabeth and Kenya Regina **Washington**; a great-granddaughter, Landis Brown of Roswell, Ga.; a very special cousin, Eugene Hall (Ginny) of Monroe; other cousins, nieces, nephews of Monroe; a dear niece, Willena **Alsbrooks**; special caregivers, Helen Win-bush and Margaret Speight; a sister-in-law, Julia Lash of Bethania; a devoted extended family member, Betty C. Williams; and other relatives and friends. Funeral services will be 1:30 p.m. Friday, June 15, 2001, at the Phillips Chapel Baptist Church, with the Rev. Leon Ogelsby officiating. Interment will be in the Piedmont Memorial Gardens. The family visitation will be from 12:45 to 1:30 p.m. with Masonic rites by the Elizabeth Chapter No. 310, Free Scottish Masons, beginning at 1 p.m. at the church. (Russell) *Winston-Salem Journal* obituary June 14-15, 2001

Pearl's brother Joe Louis Alsbrooks (23) married Gwendolyn La-Doris Crump (22) in Winston-Salem on September 3, 1961. Minister J. W. Gwynn performed the ceremony. John Baldwin witnessed the union (marriage register). The couple divorced on September 16, 1968.

**George T. and Pearl Washington** purchased lot 2 (1.73 acres) of Hervey Jones Doughton's 1937 plat from Charles Lord Baltimore and his wife Vincent Baltimore for \$100 on November 29, 1951 (Deed Book 644, page 347). The Baltimores purchased lot 2 from Hervey Jones Doughton and her husband James H. Doughton on November 15, 1937 for \$1.00 (Deed Book 424, page 195).

**Julia Washington**, daughter of William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington (February 21, 1914-March 23, 2004 in Morristown, New Jersey) married Aldean Lash (July 16, 1914-June 29, 1995) and the couple built the house at 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1948.

Julia and Aldean Lash's children:

Emma Lash married Richard D. Martin (Mrs. Martin resides in Morristown, New Jersey)

Emma and Richard's daughter: Tammy Lash Martin (lives in Maryland)

Ira C. and Beulah Miller sold Aldean and Julia Washington Lash one acre (what is now 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road) for \$100 on February 21, 1947 (Deed Book 562, page 375).

Mrs. **Julia W. Lash**, 90, of 1705 Bethania-Rural Hall Road and Morristown, N.J., where she spent winters with her daughter and family, passed away Tuesday, March 23, 2004, in Morristown, N.J. She was born in Winston-Salem to Erastus and Emma (Miller) **Washington**. She was the widow of Aldean **Lash**. Mrs. **Lash** was a factory worker for R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. for 35 years. She was a member of Bethania AME Zion Church, where she was a member of the Senior Missionary Society, the Trustee Board and the Bethania Choir. Mrs. **Lash** is survived by her daughter, Emma, wife of Richard Martin of Morris Township; and her granddaughter, Tammi- **Lash** Martin of Mitchellville, Md. The funeral service will be held at 2 p.m. Sunday, March 28, at Bethania AME Zion Church, with the Rev. Johnny Ruff, Pastor, officiating. The family will visit with friends 30 minutes prior to the service. Interment will follow in the church cemetery. (Clark S. Brown & Sons) obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal* March 27, 2004

**Alta Washington** (April 10, 1909-April 4, 1992), William Erastus and Emma Miller Washington's daughter, married South Carolina native William Maceo Ervin (August 8, 1913-February 2, 1979). The couple lived at 1725 Bethania-Rural Hall Road, a frame house erected on her parent's property in 1940, before building a brick Ranch house directly across the road at 1740 Bethania-Rural Hall Road in 1960. The couple worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.

Their son Robert Ervin married Brenda, who had two daughters from a previous marriage. Brenda subsequently remarried and resides in Winston-Sale with one of her daughters, Tony? (Natalie K. Summers, conversation with Heather Fearnbach on September 27, 2011).

Other Washington family members:

**Lydia Washington** was a founding member of Bethania AMEZ Church in 1875 (Joseph Loften Lash, "History of the A. M. E. Zion Church of Bethania, North Carolina," circa 1934, Chapter 2, page 1).

**Richard Washington** (pictured sitting on stool in 1928 Koger cannery photo)

**Meaton Wolff**

Meaton Wolff owned twelve acres near Bethania in 1886 according to *Charles Emerson's North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory: embracing the counties of Alamance, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Rockingham, Vance and Wake* (Greensboro: Charles Emerson, 1886).

**WHITE NEIGHBORS**

**CONRAD**

**\*See published Conrad family genealogy**

Abraham Conrad (born April 23, 1784 in Heidelberg Township, PA) married on December 26, 1822 to Christina Philipina Loesch Hauser (widow John Henry Hauser) (April 3, 1788-August 3, 1847)

Daughter Julia Amelia

Dr. George Follett Wilson

Jan. 25, 1805-Oct. 31, 1857

Mrs. George Follett (Henrietta Sophia Hauser)

May 9, 1813-Feb. 19, 1878

George Follett II

July 20, 1863-March 28, 1930

Mrs. George Follett II (Ella Spach)

May 17, 1866-July 4, 1925

**FLYNT**

**William and Elizabeth Ballard Flynt**

William Flynt (March 23, 1762-January 21, 1810), Richard and Ann Fountain Flynt's son, married Elizabeth Ballard in 1788. Their children:

William Jr., married Mary Bennett

Alexander, known as "Sandy," married Mary Magdalen Salome Hauser

Sanford (Alexander's twin), married Sally [last name unknown]

Allen, married Nancy Kirby

Nancy, never married

Betsy, married Colonel Henry Shouse

Proctor, married Elizabeth Vest

Lucinda, married Jesse Briggs

John P., married Elizabeth East

James, married Katy Sear

Fountain (March 23, 1809-October 19, 1880), married Eliza Spainhour on October 29, 1839<sup>206</sup>

**Dr. Soloman Spainhour Flynt and Sally Stauber**

Dr. Soloman Spainhour Flynt (May 10, 1860 – June 15, 1933), Fountain Flynt and Eliza Spainhour's youngest son, studied at his brother William's boarding school, Dalton Institute, in southwest Stokes County. In the late 1880s, Soloman became a teacher at the "Number One Schoolhouse," a Forsyth County public school located at what is now 1412 Turfwood Drive (opposite the property upon which E. B. and Nora Flynt built their house). He attended the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1891-1893. Soloman married a young woman he met while teaching, Sally Stauber (Samuel B. Stauber's daughter), and the couple settled in Rural Hall and had a large family.<sup>207</sup> Dr. Flynt treated Wesley Lash before his death in 1904.

**Dewitt C. Flynt (Allen and Nancy Flynt's son) and Elizabeth Butner**

Their children included Edmund Burke Flynt, Sr.

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<sup>206</sup> Vernon Flynt, "Flynt Family History," undated document (circa 1970), courtesy of Richard Bovender.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

**Edmund Burke Flynt, Sr. and Nora Alice Livengood**<sup>208</sup>

Edmund Burke Flynt, Sr. (August 25, 1876 – October 3, 1959), died of a “massive gastric hemorrhage,” buried in Bethania Moravian Church’s God’s Acre (death certificate)

Nora Alice Livengood Flynt (April 9, 1878 – September 29, 1961)

**Their children:** (all deceased)

Paul C. (1901-1976), attended Bethania School, married Lillian V. Bailey (b. 1903), moved to Florida and lived there until his death

Their children:

Paul C. Jr. (b. 1922)

Carolyn (b. 1926)

Nathaniel “Nat” Edward (1903-1972), attended Bethania School, married Ruth N. Baker

Their son:

William E. (b. 1930), married Susie Lowe Gibson (b. 1932)

Ralph A. (December 31, 1905 – May 17, 1966), married Mary Mounce (b. 1909)

Their children:

Roumell Elizabeth (February 22, 1929 - April 29, 2009), married Roger Frederick Doub

Allen Edmund (b. 1931)

Betty Ann (b. 1933), married Kenneth Barker

Nora Alice (born November 8, 1935), married Bobby Adams, resides in Bethania

George Luther (b. 1937)

Ralph Dewitt (b. 1942)

Jimmy Lee (b. 1945)

Ethel Mae (1908-1989), married William E. Doub

Their children:

Peggy (b. 1934)

Susan Jane (b. 1947)

Helen G. (b. 1909), worked Mingle Box Company on Liberty Street, which became the Container Corporation of America, and attended business college in Winston-Salem. She never married and resided with her parents in the family home, which she inherited.

Herman Elwood (1912-1983), worked for Pepsi-Cola in Winston-Salem and Greensboro, owned an oil and air conditioning company, moved to Greensboro, married Claudia Shelton (b. 1916)

Their children:

H. Elwood Jr. (b. 1939)

Marie (b. 1940)

Evelyn (b. 1943)

Edmund Burke Jr. (March 28, 1916 – June 13, 1991), graduated from Old Town High School, married Emma Frances Barbee, worked for Pepsi-Cola in Winston-Salem and Greensboro and owned a Firestone Tire Company franchise, moved to Greensboro, enlisted in the military at Fort Bragg on April 13, 1944 and served in the Pacific

Their children:

William Burke (b. 1941)

Phyllis Ann (b. February 15, 1944)

Thomas Allen (b. July 17, 1948)

James E. (b. August 19, 1953)

Maxine (March 31, 1918-October 26, 2009), graduated from Old Town High School, married Roy Richard Bovender, who was a Winston-Salem police officer.

(1919-1975)

Their children

Richard Roy (b. 1942)

William (b. 1953)

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<sup>208</sup> Most of the genealogical information regarding E. B. and Nora Flynt’s family is from the chart, “Descendants of Edmund Burke Flynt,” compiled by Edwin S. Nordin of Columbus, Ohio.

### E. B. Flynt Sr. Land Transactions on Bethania-Rural Hall Road:

E. B. Flynt purchased 11.37 acres (lot # 4 of Wesley Lash's estate) from Mat and Bettie Koger for \$120.55 on April 13, 1905 (Deed Book 76, page 29). Wesley Lash's estate commissioners were D. W. (Dewitt) C. Flynt (E. B. Flynt's father), L. C. Hall, and Columbus Kapp.

E. B. Flynt purchased 15 acres "adjoining the lands of Jesse Shouse heirs, Bettie Koger, Jones heirs," from E. B. Jones and Susan B. Jones Hauser for \$265 on August 7, 1912 (Deed Book 94, pages 288). This was "part of the Col Kiser and Mat and Bettie Koger land conveyed to E. B. Jones on May 15, 1907 from Tinley Kiser and Bettie Koger. E. B. Flynt built the house at what is now 1415 Bethania-Rural Hall Road on this property.

E. B. Flynt purchased 24.53 acres "adjoining the lands of the late Jesse Shouse, Dr. E. F. Strickland, Mattie Koger, and others" from George Hauser for \$612.50 on August 7, 1912 (Deed Book 115, pages 265-266). The property was known as the "Joe Hauser lot" and had been conveyed to George Hauser from the Board of Provincial Elders of the Moravian Church, likely as part of the 182 acres described in Deed Book 111, page 508-509, registered on July 13, 1912. E. B. and Nora Flynt's daughter Ethel Flynt Doub sold this property to her brother E. B. Flynt Jr. for \$10.00 in July 1965 (Deed Book 908, page 101).

E. B. Flynt purchased 3.6 acres (parcel no. 4) of Susie Davis's estate for \$209 at a public auction held as a result of a special proceedings case decided by the Forsyth County Superior Court. The acreage was adjacent to property he already owned (Deed Book 151, page 266).

E. B. Flynt purchased 40.1 acres from E. F. and Lillian Strickland for \$3,003.75 on December 19, 1918 (Deed Book 166, page 44). The acreage was adjacent to property he already owned. In 1936, he subdivided twenty acres of this tract (southeast of his house and fronting Murray Road) into three adjacent parcels for his children Ralph, Nat, and Ethel. Nat and his wife Ruth purchased the northernmost five acres for \$375 (Deed Book 394, page 246) and Ralph and his wife Mary acquired five acres to the south for the same amount (Deed Book 619, page 203). Ethel and her husband William E. Doub paid \$750 for the southernmost ten acres (Deed Book 395, page 87). Ethel sold 0.48 acres at this tract's southeast corner to her sister Helen on August 30, 1962 (Deed Book 849, page 259). Their sister Maxine and her husband Roy R. Bovender purchased an adjacent parcel of about the same size north of Helen's lot from Ethel on April 4, 1968 (Deed Book 962, page 500). Maxine and Roy's son Richard Bovender purchased the western 5.153 acres of Ethel's property on April 29, 1976 (Deed Book 1172, pages 1595-1596).

E. B. and Nora Flynt sold Luther Eldridge 14 acres [11.37 acres (lot # 4) of Wesley Lash's estate and a 3.6 tract] for \$1,150 on October 28, 1919 (Deed Book 175, page 118).

E. B. Flynt purchased 14 acres [11.37 acres (lot # 4) of Wesley Lash's estate and a 3.6 tract] from Luther and Ada Eldridge at a public auction on April 10, 1922 for \$1,100 (Deed Book 192, page 64). He then sold it back to them on June 17, 1922 (Deed Book 201, page 273).

E. B. Flynt purchased 0.33 acres adjacent to his farm from Dr. A. G. and Nannie E. Jones on July 11, 1927 for \$33.33 (Deed Book 314, page 84).

E. B. Flynt purchased 0.13 acres adjacent to his farm from Roy L. and Henrietta W. Holland on May 4, 1949 (Deed Book 599, page 204). The property had belonged to J. W. and Fannie Lee Murray.

E. B. and Nora Flynt deeded 4.22 acres containing their home to their unmarried daughter Helen, who lived with them, on March 21, 1950 (Deed Book 652, page 211). Helen conveyed the eastern 2.96 acres of this tract to her niece Roumell Flynt Doub and Roumell's husband Roger F. Doub for \$10.00 on June 27, 1962 and the western 0.85 acres of the property to her brother E. B. Flynt Jr. and his wife Frances on the same day (Deed Book 849, page 325).

### 1850 Census:

Dewitt C. Flynt enumerated in his parent's household in the Richmond District of Stokes County

Allen Flynt(45), farmer, owned real estate valued at \$500

Nancy (40)

Dewitt C. (15)

James M. (12)

John R. (10)

Lucinda E. (8)

1860 Census:

Dewitt [sic] C. Flynt enumerated in his parent's household, after the households of Fountain Flynt (51) and Elizabeth Flynt (43)

Allen Flynt(55), farmer, owned real estate valued at \$2,000 and personal property valued at \$1,000

Nancy (55)

Dewitt C. (24), school teacher

James M. (22), farm labor

John R. (19)

Lucinda E. (16)

1870 Census:

Dewitt C. (34) and Elizabeth Flynt enumerated after the households of Fountain and Mary Flynt, Elizabeth Flynt, and John R. Flynt and before Samuel Stoltz. Their real estate was valued at \$800 and personal property at \$350.

Elizabeth (32), wife

Fabuous (9), son

Claudius (6), son

James C. (4), son

Mary A. (2), daughter

Samson (2/12), son

Nancy (63)

1880 Census:

D. [Dewitt] C. Flynt (44), farmer (Bethania Township, enumerated near the households of white farmers Adam Kiger and J. C. Zimmerman and laborers Wiley Shouse (white) and Isaac Beck (African American).

Elizabeth (41), wife

F. A. (18), son

C. D. (15), son

J. C. (14), son

N. A. L. (12), daughter

Samuel (9), son

C. F. (6), son

**E. B.** (3), son

E. S. (1), daughter

Nancy (74), mother

1920 Census:

**E. Burke Flynt** (43), rented home, general farmer

Nora A. (41) wife

Paul C. (18) son, farmer

Nathaniel E. (16) son, farmer

Ralph A. (14), son

Ethel M. (11) daughter

Helen G. (9) daughter

Herman E. (7) son

Burke Jr. (4 3/12) son

Maxine (1 11/12) daughter

1930 Census:

**E. Burke Flynt** (53), owned home, no value listed, general farmer [occupations are not listed for anyone else in his household]

Nora A. (52) wife

Ethel (22) daughter

Helen (20) daughter

Herman (17) son

Burke (14) son

Maxine (12) daughter

**Ralph A. Flynt** (22, E. B. and Nora's son) lived in a rental property near his parents in 1930, owned \$10-worth of property and was a skilled house carpenter. His household included his wife Mary (20) and their daughter Roumell (1) (1930 census). He later built his personal residence on Murray Road near the homes of his siblings Nat and Ethel. Ralph worked for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and was then employed by Wilson Brothers to build houses before going into the carpentry business with his brothers. They built and remodeled homes in the Bethania area including residences in the Briarcliffe and Wedgewood subdivisions (Alice Flynt Adams, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 16, 2011).

No 1925 NC Farm Census returns for Bethania Township; not included in 1935, which is incomplete; E. B. Sr. (59 acres) and Ralph (5 acres) listed in 1945.

**E. B. Flynt Jr.** married Emma Francis Barbee (a descendant of Christopher Barbee of Chapel Hill). The couple met at Old Town High School and married after Emma returned from attending nursing school for a year at King's College in Brooklyn. They resided in Greensboro. Their son James E. Flynt and Jerome Livengood now own eighty-four acres once associated with the Flynt family's farm on Bethania-Rural Hall Road (James E. Flynt, conversation with Heather Fearnbach, August 15, 2011).

**Roumell Elizabeth Flynt** of Winston-Salem married Roger Frederick Doub of Tobaccoville on August 13, 1949. Minister George G. Higgins performed the ceremony and Roy R. Bovender, Maxine F. Bovender, and Helen Flynt witnessed the event (marriage register).

### JONES

Jones, Dr. Beverly	Aug. 18, 1811 - Nov. 8, 1902
Jones, Mrs. Beverly (Julia Amelia Conrad)	Jan. 25, 1824 - May 1, 1913
Jones, Judge Erastus Beverly	Aug. 21, 1852 - Aug. 15 1923
Jones, James Benjamin	April 16, 1846 - Nov. 8, 1911
Jones, Lucien Guinn	Dec. 9, 1863- Feb 7, 1943
Jones, Dr. Robert Henry	July 23, 1850- May 8, 1933

### **Beverly and Julia Jones**

1870 Census

Beverly Jones (59), physician, owned real estate valued at \$9,600 and personal property valued at \$1,190  
Julia (46), keeping house  
Abraham (25), physician  
Robert (20), laboring on farm  
Erastus (17), attending school  
Ellen (15), attending school  
Virginia (19), attending school  
Julia (11), attending school  
Catherine (9), attending school  
Lucian (6), at home  
Nancy Jones (52), black, domestic servant  
Paulina Jones (22), black, domestic servant  
Joshua Jones (3), black, at home  
Edwin Jones (17), black, labor on farm  
George Jones (10), black, at home

The next household to be enumerated in 1870 is that of Coley and Caroline Conrad (African American, see Conrad section).

1880 Census:

Beverly Jones (69)  
July [sic] A. (56), wife  
Erastus (23), son, lawyer  
Ellen M. (20), daughter

Virginia (18), daughter  
Julia (17), daughter  
Katie (15), daughter  
Lucus? G. (14), son

Adjacent African American households:

Ross Conrad (22), laborer  
Mary (20), wife  
Will Ferguson (24), laborer  
Nancy Conrad (66)  
Francis B. Conrad(18), servant  
Armelia Bitting (26?), servant  
Malinda Conrad (50), servant

**Hervey Jones Doughton**

Hervey resided with her parents, attorney Erastus B. Jones (66) and Susie Jones (54), in a house the family owned on West Fifth Street in Winston-Salem in 1920. Her mother was from Kentucky. Attorney John H. Clement (39) and an African American cook, Pearl Knox (19), resided with the family.

Hervey Louise Jones (19) of Winston-Salem and James H. Doughton (35) of Roanoke, Virginia were issued a marriage license on May 26, 1925.

An August 1937 plat divides some of the land Hervey inherited from her father. G. F. Hinshaw, surveyor, "Map showing property of Mrs. Hervey Jones Doughton," Forsyth County Plat Book 8, page 194.

Hervey had married C. W. Witherow by 1952, when she and other Jones family members sold 42 acres flanking Bethania-Rural Hall Road to developers W. R. and Lillian Weir, who created Lash Heights, platted by civil engineer J. E. Ellerbe in two sections (Plat Book 16, page 122, December 29, 1952 and Plat Book 16, page 157, May 22, 1953).

**LASH**

**Flavius H. and Mary Jane Lash**

1880 Census:

F. H. Lash (35), merchant  
Mary J. Lash (36), wife  
Clarence (12), son  
Ann Lash (18), black, servant  
Elizabeth (4), black, Ann's child  
William (1), black, Ann's child  
Eli Lash (22), black, laborer  
Victoria (18), black, Eli's wife

1910 Census: F. H. Lash's household was enumerated after Addie Shouse, Julius Lash, and John Shouse and before James R. Clayton on Shamel Road.

F. H. Lash was the executor of Wesley Lash's estate in 1904-06. Flavius H. Lash's father Thomas B. Lash and his father's brother Israel G. Lash were Wesley Lash's former owners.

F. H. Lash (August 19, 1844-February 24, 1915), born in Bethania to Thomas B. Lash and Willhelmana [sic] Stoltz, was a widowed farmer at the time of his death due to gangrene and other complications from diabetes. He had attended college (death certificate).

**KAPP**

WINSTON-SALEM - John Henry Kapp, II was born November 27, 1916 in Forsyth County and passed away on Tuesday, February 1, 2011, at the age of 94 at Forsyth Memorial Hospital. He was the son of Ernest Elias Kapp and Mary Amanda Kapp. Rev. Kapp attended Bethania School (1921-1923), and Old Town School (1924-1934). He earned the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Moravian College (1934-1938) and subsequently attended Moravian Theological Seminary (1938-1941)

where he earned the Master of Divinity. While at Moravian, he won the Hebrew and Greek prizes for the highest scholastic average and was awarded the John David Bishop Prize presented annually to the most outstanding theological student graduate. He was married to Louise Bowles on June 30, 1942, at Beck's Baptist Church by Bishop Pfohl and the Rev. Charles Parker. Before entering Moravian pastoral service, Rev. Kapp held Bible Schools in Moravian churches, Southern Province from 1938-1941. He had a lifelong attachment to Bethania Moravian Church. He was ordained as a Moravian minister in 1941 and served actively in eleven congregations for 65 years. He was Dean of Camps at Camp Hanes and Laurel Ridge and youth group leader at most of the churches where he served. In addition to his pastoral duties, he directed bands and choirs, teaching adults and children to play and sing, and directed the Madison High School band for two years while serving as full-time minister. Rev. Kapp was Secretary of the Moravian Ministers' Conference, Chairman of Liturgy and Music for Southern Province, Coordinator with Thor Johnson in Moravian Musical Festivals, served on the Moravian Archives Board, the Board of World Mission, and as Secretary for the Mission Society for 40 years. He served on the board of the Wachovia Historical Society and was President of the reorganized Bethania Historical Association for 15 years. Rev. Kapp was a life-long dedicated servant of the Lord. He loved people and people loved him. His kind, gentle spirit touched the lives of so many, and he will be greatly missed. He is survived by his wife, Louise and their daughter, Mary Louise Kapp Peebles and husband Wade from Bethania. Other survivors include three nieces and their families: Mrs. Ernestine Studer, Ms. Melinda Kapp and Mrs. Marie Nodine (Dennis). Funeral Services will be on Sunday, February 6, 2011 at 3:30 p.m. at Bethania Moravian Church. Rev. Kapp will lie in state in the vestibule from 2:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Officiating the service will be the Rt. Rev. Lane Sapp and the Rt. Rev. Graham Rights. Burial will be in the Bethania Moravian Graveyard. The family will greet friends following the service. Memorials may be made to the building fund of Bethania Moravian Church, P.O. Box 170, Bethania, NC 27010. Salem Funeral Home is assisting the Kapp family. Online condolences may be made to [www.salemfh.com](http://www.salemfh.com). Obituary from the *Winston-Salem Journal*, February 4, 2011.

## **SPEAS**

### **Edwin N. and Antionette (also listed as Jenetta and Nettie Ann) Styers Speas**

1860 Census: enumerated between the households of white farmers Augustin [sic] E. Shore and Jacob H. Wolffe

Edwin Spease [sic] (35), farmer, owned real estate valued at \$700 and personal property worth \$1,200  
 Jenetta (28), keeping house  
 Mary (11), at home  
 Jesse D. (10), labor on farm  
 Augustin (8), labor on farm  
 John L. (4), labor on farm  
 Francis (1), at home

1870 Census: enumerated between the households of African American farmer Sanford Conrad and white farmer Edwin Cline

Edwin Spease [sic] (48), farmer, owned real estate valued at \$1,500 and personal property worth \$400  
 Jenetta (40), keeping house  
 Mary E. (21), at home  
 Jesse D. (19), labor on farm  
 Augustus (17), labor on farm  
 John L. (13), labor on farm  
 Francis (11), at home  
 Julius A. (8), at home  
 Edwin (6), at home  
 Erastus (4), at home  
 Cornelia (2), at home  
 Martha Spease (17), black, domestic servant  
 Patrick Spease (16), black, labor on farm

### **John Leander Speas (April 12, 1857-June 19, 1940) and Lucinda C. Spainhour (May 17, 1867 – September 13, 1918)**

1910 Census: (Enumerated between William Conrad and James M. Koger)

John L. Speas (53), married 25 years, farmer, employed laborers, owned home  
 Lucinda C. (43), wife, mother of six children, four living  
 Dallas C. (23), son, no occupation  
 Zebulon O. (19), son, farm laborer, home farm  
 Norman C. (17), son, farm laborer, home farm

1930 Census: [microfilm image missing]

Norman C. Speas (37)

Annie M. Speas (31), wife

Althes M. Speas (12), son

John L. Speas (7), son

John L. Speas (72), father

Jameel Smith (15), black, lodger

John Leander Speas (April 12, 1857-June 19, 1940), the son of Edwin Speas and Nettie Ann Styers, was buried at the Jefferson Christian Church cemetery near Rural Hall.

## Appendix C. Agricultural Census Resource Descriptions

Federal and North Carolina census records provide statistics regarding agricultural production. The 1840 federal census was the first to include agricultural data and is organized by state. Census takers created schedules recording the returns of specific farmers by state and county beginning in 1850. Enumerators further organized the schedules by district and post office locations in 1860 and township divisions in 1870 and 1880. The United States government published a general analysis of agricultural statistics within a few years of each federal census. It is important to note that census takers did not include every farm in the agricultural schedule. For example, only farms with an annual production of more than \$100 were enumerated in 1850. By 1870, census takers only recorded returns for farms of more than three acres with annual production valued at more than \$500.<sup>209</sup>

Federal census takers also compiled manufacturing schedules in 1820 and from 1850 to 1880. This information is useful in conjunction with the agricultural census returns as farmers often supplemented their income by producing marketable foodstuffs such as cheese, butter, and honey or by operating distilleries, saw and grist mills, tanneries, and blacksmith or cooper shops. Only manufacturing operations generating more than \$500-worth of products annually were enumerated. Unlike the federal population schedules, both the manufacturing and agricultural schedules include all proprietors of businesses and farms in a particular township who met the minimum ownership and production criteria, regardless of whether they resided in that township or elsewhere.<sup>210</sup>

Most of the federal census data for 1890 was destroyed in a 1921 fire at the National Archives, and, although federal census takers created agricultural schedules delineating individual farm production in the early twentieth century, those returns are not publicly available. Agricultural data at the county, state, and national levels continued to be collected in conjunction with the decennial census until 1950, and the census bureau also compiled mid-decade statistics in 1925, 1935, and 1945. From 1954 through 1974, enumerators gathered agricultural data in years ending in “4” or “7.” In 1976, Congress adjusted the five-year cycle to allow for data collection in years ending in “2” and “7.”

The North Carolina Department of Agriculture Statistic’s Division compiled a farm census every year between 1918 and 1948 based on information farmers were required to submit with their property tax listings. A 1947 law changed the farm return reporting period to January of every five years, and the schedule was subsequently adjusted to fall on each decade’s first and middle years.<sup>211</sup> Only a few years of reports (1925, 1935, 1945, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, and 1978) were retained and stored at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. The remaining returns were disposed of according to the division’s records’ retention schedule.

As is the case with federal census records, which contain confidential information and are thus not released for seventy-two years after being taken, the North Carolina Agricultural Census reports are not publicly accessible. The documents may only be viewed after an appeal is made to the North Carolina Department of Agriculture Statistic’s Division and the information may be used only in the context of the project for which it was requested. Ms. Fearnbach obtained permission to view the records for Forsyth County townships. Unfortunately, the returns for seven of the county’s thirteen

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<sup>209</sup> “Nonpopulation Census Records: Agricultural and Manufacturing Schedules,”

<http://www.archives.gov/genealogy/census/nonpopulation/index.html#ag>

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> “Census Records Farming Trends: Flow of Vital Data Broken by Law Stretching Interval to Five Years,” *The News and Observer*, Raleigh, Annual Farm Edition, February 16, 1948, page 37.

enumerated townships are missing in 1925.<sup>212</sup> In addition, for a variety of reasons, the completeness and accuracy of the farm census reports vary widely by township and year.

In an effort to delineate county trends, Fearnbach History Services, Inc. compiled and analyzed the data in order to discern patterns and detect anomalies. The next step involved comparison of this data with other historic documents, particularly C. M. Miller's 1907 and 1927 Forsyth County maps that show farm locations, Charles Emerson's 1886 *North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory*, and Federal census schedules and reports, in order to allow for a more informed understanding of Forsyth County's agricultural development. The historical overview and township farm census summaries provide a general synopsis of these findings. Given time and budgetary constraints, available farm census data, and the large number of extant surveyed farms from the mid-twentieth century, the township analysis focuses on the 1925 to 1945 period.

It is important to note that the North Carolina Farm Census only lists farm owners by name, although certain years include statistics for numbers of farm laborers. The North Carolina Department of Agriculture generally employed a farmer who resided in the township to collect and compile the returns. Although most North Carolina Farm Census reports enumerate African American-owned farms at the end of each township, examination of the Federal population census revealed a larger number of African American farm owners, indicating that some of these farm owners did not provide statistics. This was also the case with white farm owners, some of whom refused or were unable to make year-end reports for a variety of reasons. Census takers sometimes included explanations, such as the owner's illness, for incomplete or missing returns.

Given the scope of this project, it was impossible to verify name spelling and other such details utilizing primary sources such as birth, death, or cemetery records, so farm owner names are spelled as they appear in the North Carolina Farm Census reports unless additional information suggesting a more accurate spelling was readily available.

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<sup>212</sup> Forsyth County has fourteen townships, but Winston-Salem Township was not included in the North Carolina Farm Census reports. Clemmonsville, Lewisville, Old Town, Salem Chapel, South Fork, and Vienna are the six townships with 1925 returns on file at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh.

## Appendix D. Professional Qualifications

### FEARNBACH HISTORY SERVICES, INC.

#### HEATHER FEARNBACH

##### EDUCATION

- Ph.D. in History coursework, 2006-2007, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
- Master of Arts in History, emphasis in Public History, 1997, Middle Tennessee State University
- Graduate coursework in Anthropology, 1994-1995, University of Tennessee at Knoxville
- Bachelor of Arts in English Literature, 1993, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

##### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**President and Architectural Historian**, Fearnbach History Services, Inc., Winston-Salem, N.C.,  
established May 2008

- Prepare Section 106/4f reports, National Register of Historic Places nominations, local designation reports, site management plans, historic structures reports, and historic furnishings plans
- Conduct comprehensive architectural surveys and historical research
- Provide historic restoration tax credit consultation

**Lecturer**, History and Interior Architecture Departments, University of North Carolina at Greensboro,  
Spring 2008 to present

- Teach HIS/IAR 628, “Identification and Evaluation of the Historic Built Environment” to graduate students

**Lecturer**, Art Department, Salem College, Winston-Salem, N.C., Spring 2003 to present; Coordinator of the  
Certificate Program in Historic Preservation beginning Summer 2010

- Teach “Introduction to Historic Preservation” (ARTI 206/PRSV230) and “Preservation-Sensitive Sustainable Design” (PRSV 240) to undergraduates
- Recruit and advise certificate program students
- Arrange and supervise historic preservation internships

**Architectural Historian**, Edwards-Pitman Environmental, Inc., Winston-Salem, N.C., January 2003 to June  
2008

- Managed regional office of Georgia-based consulting firm
- Wrote National Register nominations, local designation reports, and site management plans
- Prepared historic resource documentation as required by Section 106/4f and coordinated reviews with local, state, and federal agencies as needed
- Performed field surveys to identify, evaluate, research, and document historic resources located in the areas of potential effect for proposed projects
- Conducted comprehensive architectural surveys for the State Historic Preservation Offices in North Carolina and South Carolina

**Architectural Historian**, Historic Architecture Section, Project Development and Environmental  
Analysis Branch, Department of Transportation, Raleigh, N.C., October 2000 to January 2003

- Performed architectural identification and analysis for project planning process
- Assessed project effects, devised and implemented mitigation as required by Section 106/4f
- Prepared relevant parts of environmental documents as required by NEPA
- Provided technical expertise for staff, Division personnel, and the general public
- Coordinated historic bridge relocation and reuse program
- Reviewed in-house staff documents and consultant documents

**Restoration Specialist**, Architecture Branch, Historic Sites Section, Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, N.C., January 1999 to October 2000

- Served as Head of the Architecture Branch
- Supervised Facility Architect I position and temporary position
- Managed restoration, renovation, and new construction projects at twenty-two state historic sites
- Monitored in-house job request system and prioritized projects
- Provided expertise, advice, and counsel on building code, design, historic architecture, ADA, and restoration issues to site managers, maintenance personnel, and the public
- Coordinated the development of the section's programming for individual projects
- Handled the section's review of plans and specifications and provided written comments
- Acted as liaison with the State Historic Preservation Office

**Historic Site Manager II**, Somerset Place State Historic Site, Creswell, N.C., April 1998 to January 1999

- Managed daily operations involving administration, interpretation, and personnel
- Supervised and reviewed research projects
- Prepared general research and planning reports
- Revised the interpretive script for the site
- Revamped the education program and began a teacher's packet
- Reissued Somerset Place Foundation, Inc. publications
- Updated web page for the Historic Albemarle Tour web site
- Conducted regular, specialized and hands-on tours of Somerset Place, an antebellum plantation

**Field Surveyor and Assistant Coordinator**, The Center for Historic Preservation, Murfreesboro, T.N., August 1997 to May 1998

- Conducted grant-supported research and survey work to prepare one multiple property nomination including denominational histories and thirteen individual nominations of rural African American churches in Tennessee to the National Register of Historic Places
- Coordinated research and planning for the Civil War Heritage Area in Tennessee

**Graduate Research Assistant**, The Center for Historic Preservation, Murfreesboro, T.N., August 1996 to August 1997

- Museums: Developed an exhibit entitled "Murfreesboro: Settlement to Reconstruction" for Bradley Academy, an African American school converted into a local history museum
- Heritage Education: Drafted design proposal for a 1920s heritage classroom at Bradley Academy and assisted with grant writing and preliminary exhibit design for the new Children's Discovery House
- Heritage Tourism: Designed Civil War history wayside exhibits and an interpretive brochure for the Stones River and Lytle Creek Greenway in Murfreesboro, performed bibliographic research for the Civil War Heritage Area in Tennessee project and created a brochure for the Leadership Rutherford Committee

**Researcher**, National Park Service - Natchez Trace Parkway, Tupelo, M.S., May 1997 to September 1997

- Visited repositories in Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi to accumulate information for a comprehensive bibliography on the modern motor road that is the major transportation corridor of the Natchez Trace Parkway
- Evaluated project research to date
- Prepared a final report (published 1998)

## **SUPPLEMENTARY PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

**Board Member**, State Capitol Foundation, Raleigh, N.C., 2010-present

**Commission Member**, Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, Raleigh, N.C., 2002-2003

- Served on the Certificate of Appropriateness and Research Committees
- **Board Member**, Historic Stagville Foundation, Durham, N.C., 2001-2003
- Served on the Buildings Committee (examined and documented historic resources)
- Assisted with special events
- **Consultant**, Terracon, Duluth, G.A., 2001-2003
- Prepared communications tower review forms, conduct fieldwork, and provide additional documentation as requested for Section 106 compliance
- Presented proposed projects to the staff at the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and the Office of State Archaeology
- **Board Member**, Joel Lane House, Inc., 1999-2002
- Served as House Chairman (regularly inspected historic resources and scheduled repairs)
- Assisted with special event planning and execution
- Developed and implemented cyclical maintenance plan

## **ARCHITECTURAL SURVEYS**

- Forsyth County, North Carolina Phases I, II, III, and IV Architectural Survey (2006-2011)
- Bethania Freedmen's Community Survey, Forsyth County, North Carolina (2011)
- City of Concord Downtown Commercial Districts Survey Update, Cabarrus County (2008)
- City of Concord Residential Historic Districts Survey Update, Cabarrus County, North Carolina (2006)
- City of Lexington Architectural Survey (Historic Residential Neighborhoods and Erlanger Mill Village), Davidson County, North Carolina (2005)
- City of Thomasville Architectural Survey, Davidson County, North Carolina (2004)
- City of Rock Hill, South Carolina Architectural Survey for the City of Rock Hill and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (2004)
- City of Greenville, South Carolina Architectural Survey for the City of Greenville and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (2003)

## **STUDY LIST APPLICATIONS AND NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATIONS**

- Wilkinson-Hurdle House National Register Nomination, Tarboro vicinity, Edgecombe County (2011)
- City Hospital - Gaston Memorial Hospital Study List Application and National Register Nomination, Gastonia, Gaston County (2011)
- Asheboro Hosiery Mills – Cranford Furniture Company Study List Application and National Register Nomination, Asheboro, Randolph County (2011)
- Chatham Manufacturing Company National Register Nomination, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2011)
- Washington Street Historic District National Register Nomination, High Point, Guilford County (2010)
- Farmington Historic District National Register Nomination, Farmington, Davie County (2010)
- Carolina Mill Study List Application, Carolina, Alamance County (2010)
- Booker T. Washington High School Study List Application, Rocky Mount, Edgecombe County (2009)
- Moore-Cordell House Study List Application, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2009)
- Stonecutter Mills Study List Application, Spindale, Rutherford County (2009)
- Beverly Hills Historic District National Register Nomination, Burlington, Alamance County (2009)
- Central City Historic District National Register Nomination Boundary Increase, Decrease, and Additional Documentation, Rocky Mount, Nash and Edgecombe Counties (2009)
- St. Stephen United Methodist Church National Register Nomination Draft, Lexington, Davidson County (2008)
- Blair Farm National Register Nomination, Boone, Watauga County (2008)
- Foust-Carpenter and Dean Dick Farms Study List Application and National Register Nomination, Whitsett vicinity, Guilford County (2007, 2008)
- Alexander Manufacturing Company Mill Village Study List Application and National Register Nomination, Forest City, Rutherford County (2005, 2008)
- Erlanger Mill Village Historic District Study List Application and National Register Nomination,

#### Davidson County (2005, 2007)

- Lenoir Downtown Historic District National Register Nomination, Caldwell County (2006)
- Lexington Residential Historic District Study List Application and National Register Nomination, Davidson County (2005, 2006)
- West Main Street Historic District National Register Nomination, Forest City, Rutherford County (2005)
- Loray Mill Historic District Boundary Expansion, Gastonia, Gaston County (2005)
- East Main Street Historic District National Register Nomination, Forest City, Rutherford County (2005)
- York-Chester Historic District National Register Nomination, Gaston County (2004)
- Turner and Amelia Smith House National Register Nomination, Wake County (2004)
- Kenworth Historic District National Register Nomination, Catawba County (2004)
- Main Street Historic District National Register Boundary Expansion, Forest City, Rutherford County (2004)
- Lewis-Thornburg Farm National Register Nomination, Randolph County (2003)
- Henrietta-Caroleen High School National Register Nomination, Rutherford County (2003)
- Everetts Christian Church National Register Nomination, Martin County (2003)
- First Christian Church National Register Nomination, Martin County (2003)
- Oak City Church National Register Nomination, Martin County (2003)
- West Raleigh National Register Nomination, Wake County, North Carolina (2003)
- Study List Applications: Randleman School, Randolph County; Linden School, Cumberland County; Cleveland School, Johnston County (2002)
- Peace House National Register Nomination, Granville County (2002)
- Ashland National Register Nomination, Bertie County (2002)
- Frank and Mary Smith House National Register Nomination, Wake County (2002)
- Winfall Historic District National Register Nomination, Perquimans County (2002)
- King Parker House National Register Nomination, Hertford County (2002)
- Study List Applications: Brentwood School, Guilford County; Powell-Horton House, Hertford County (2002)
- Porter Houses and Armstrong Kitchen National Register Nomination, Edgecombe County (2002)
- Hauser Farm (Horne Creek Farm State Historic Site) National Register Nomination, Surry County (2001)
- Garrett's Island House National Register Nomination, Washington County (2000)
- *CSS Neuse* National Register Nomination, Lenoir County (1999)
- St. Luke's A.M.E. Church National Register Nomination, Halifax County (1999); church destroyed by Hurricane Floyd in September 1999

#### **LOCAL DESIGNATION REPORTS AND DESIGN GUIDELINES**

- Downtown Concord Historic District Local Designation Consultation and Report, Cabarrus County (2008, 2010)
- Lexington Residential Historic District and Erlanger Mill Village Historic District Local Designation Reports and Design Guidelines, Davidson County (2007-2008)
- Foust-Carpenter and Dean Dick Farms Local Historic District Designation Report, Whitsett vicinity, Guilford County (2007)
- Ludwick and Elizabeth Summers House Local Landmark Designation Report, Gibsonville vicinity, Guilford County (2007)
- James B. and Diana M. Dyer House, Local Landmark Designation Report, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2005)
- Grimes Mill Local Landmark Designation Report, Lexington, Davidson County (2005)

#### **HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORTS AND RESTORATION PLANS**

- Restoration plan preparation for the Robson House and consultation during its installation in the chronological North Carolina history exhibit at the Museum of History in Raleigh, North Carolina (2009-2010)
- Leigh Farm Historic Structures Report and Site Management Plan, Durham County (2006)
- Burnt Chimney CDBG Redevelopment Project Recordation Plan, Florence Mill Property, Forest City, Rutherford County (2006)

- Lewis-Thornburg Farm Site Management Plan, Randolph County (2003)
- Historic Structures Report on the Robson House, with Peter Sandbeck, prepared for the Museum of History, Raleigh, North Carolina (2002)

## **SECTION 106 REPORTS**

- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: Intensive Evaluation, Watkins Farm, Cornwall, Granville County (2010)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: Intensive Evaluation, Ramsey Farm, I-40/I-77 Interchange Improvements, Statesville, Iredell County (2009-2010)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: Greensboro Northern and Eastern Loops, Guilford County (2006)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: US 52 Improvement Project, Forsyth County (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: NC 109 Improvement Project, Forsyth and Davidson Counties (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey: Correction of Differential Settling along US 158 (Elizabeth Street) from NC 34 (North Water Street) to US 17 Business in Elizabeth City, Pasquotank County (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey: Correction of Differential Settling along US 17 Business/NC 37 from the Perquimans River Bridge to the NC 37 split, Hertford vicinity, Perquimans County (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey: Improvements to NC 33 from US 264 in Greenville to US 64 in Tarboro, Pitt and Edgecombe Counties (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: Kerr Avenue Improvements, Wilmington, New Hanover County (2005)
- North Carolina Department of Transportation Phase II Historic Architectural Resources Survey Report: Salem Creek Connector, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2004)

## **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

- “Northup and O’Brien,” biographical entry completed in 2010 upon the request of Catherine Bishir for the *Dictionary of North Carolina Architects and Builders*, an online resource administered by North Carolina State University.
- “Denominational Histories,” with Teresa Douglas, Rebecca Smith, and Carroll Van West, in *Powerful Artifacts: A Guide to Surveying and Documenting Rural African-American Churches in the South*, Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, July 2000.
- *Paving the Way: A Bibliography of the Modern Natchez Trace Parkway* with Timothy Davis, Sara Amy Leach, and Ashley Vaughn, Natchez Trace Parkway, National Park Service, 1999.
- Index, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Winter 1998.
- “Andrew Jackson Donelson,” “Samuel Donelson,” and “Stockly Donelson,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, 1998.

## **HISTORIC PRESERVATION CERTIFICATION APPLICATIONS FOR TAX CREDIT PROJECTS**

- City Hospital - Gaston Memorial Hospital Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Gastonia, Gaston County (2011)
- Asheboro Hosiery Mills – Cranford Furniture Company Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Asheboro, Randolph County (2011)
- Chatham Manufacturing Company Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2011)

- W. L. Robison Building Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2011)
- Royster Building Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Shelby, Cleveland County (2010)
- Romina Theater, Horne Mercantile, Forest City Diner, Smiths Department Store, and Central Hotel Income-Producing Tax Credit Applications, Forest City, Rutherford County (2010)
- Church Street School Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, Thomasville, Davidson County (2009)
- Property owner assistance with the preparation of non-income producing tax credit applications for residences in National Register historic districts in Winston-Salem, Forsyth County (2003-2010)
- Peace House Income-Producing Tax Credit Application, rural Granville County (2002)

#### **SELECTED PRESENTATIONS (CONFERENCES/ANNUAL MEETINGS/STUDY PROGRAMS)**

- Forsyth County’s Agricultural Heritage, keynote address at the 2011 Farm City Banquet, held by the Forsyth County Agricultural Extension Service, November 2011
- “From Farm to Factory: Continuity and Change in the Bethania Freedmen’s Community,” Southeastern Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Conference, South Carolina, October 2011
- “Winston-Salem’s Mid-Twentieth-Century Architecture,” Reynolda House Museum of American Art, October 2011
- “Forsyth County Architectural Survey Update,” numerous presentations for entities including the Winston-Salem-Forsyth County Planning Board, Historic Resources Commission, City Council, and County Commissioners; the Forsyth County Genealogical Society, the State Historic Preservation Office’s National Register Advisory Committee in Raleigh, the Winston-Salem Colonial Dames Chapter, and the Old Salem Garden Club
- “From the Roaring Twenties to the Space Age: Winston-Salem, North Carolina’s Mid-Twentieth-Century Architecture,” Southeastern Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee, October 2010
- “Winston-Salem’s Mid-Twentieth-Century Architecture,” Historic Preservation Month Lecture Series, Old Salem Visitor Center, May 2010
- “Forsyth County’s Cultural Landscapes,” Historic Preservation Month Lecture Series, Old Salem Visitor Center, May 2009
- “Forsyth County’s Historic African American Resources,” Preserve Historic Forsyth Annual Meeting, March 2009
- “Set in Stone: The Work of Frank W. Murrell and Sons,” Southeastern Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Conference, Greensboro, North Carolina, October 2008
- “From Frontier to Factory Revisited: Forsyth County’s Diverse Architectural Legacy,” opening lecture at the Preservation North Carolina Annual Conference, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, October 2008
- “Leave No Stone Unturned: An Attempt to Uncover the Work of Charleston’s African American Stonemasons,” Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Summer Institute, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, July 2008
- “Early North Carolina Architecture,” North Carolina Museums Council Annual Meeting, Hickory, North Carolina, March 2007
- “An Anglomaniac Mansion in Tobacco Town: Mayer, Murray and Phillip’s Dyer House of 1931,” Colonial Dames Meeting, Winston-Salem, January 2007; Historic Architecture Round Table, Raleigh, North Carolina, October 2005
- “Gastonia’s Architecture: Portrait of a New South Economy,” with Sarah W. David, Preservation North Carolina Annual Conference, Gastonia, North Carolina, October 2005
- “Aladdin Homes: Built in a Day,” Fall Institute 2004, Perspectives on American Decorative Arts, 1776-1920, Winterthur, Wilmington, Delaware
- “A Movable Beast: NCDOT’s Historic Truss Bridge Reuse and Relocation Program,” Preservation North Carolina Annual Conference, Statesville, North Carolina, 2001
- “The African American Community of Bethania,” Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Summer Institute, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, July 1997

## **SPECIALIZED TRAINING**

- Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Summer Institute: Charleston, in Winston-Salem, NC, July 2008
- “Green Strategies for Historic Buildings,” presented by the National Preservation Institute in Greensboro, NC, April 2008
- The Historic New England Program in New England Studies, Boston, June 2006
- “Historic Landscapes: Planning, Management, and Cultural Landscape Reports,” presented by the National Preservation Institute in Greensboro, NC, April 2005
- Winterthur Fall Institute 2004, Perspectives on American Decorative Arts, 1776-1920, Wilmington, DE
- “Disadvantaged Business Enterprises Program Improvement Training,” presented by the South Carolina Department of Transportation in Columbia, S.C., March 2003
- “NEPA Environmental Cross-Cutters Course,” presented by National Environmental Protection Agency in Raleigh, NC, July 2002
- “Advanced Section 4(f) Workshop,” presented by the Federal Highways Administration in Raleigh, N.C., November 2002
- “Assessing Indirect and Cumulative Impacts of Transportation Projects in North Carolina,” presented by the Louis Berger Group, Inc. in Raleigh, N.C., December 2002
- “Introduction to Section 106,” presented by the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Raleigh, N.C., April 2002
- Restoration Field School, taught by Travis McDonald at Thomas Jefferson’s Poplar Forest in Forest, Virginia, Summer 2000
- “History of North Carolina Architecture,” taught by Catherine Bishir at North Carolina State University in Raleigh, N.C., Spring 2000
- Victorian Society Summer School in Newport, Rhode Island, taught by Richard Guy Wilson, Summer 1999
- Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Summer Institute: The Backcountry, in Winston-Salem, N.C., Summer 1997

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Association for State and Local History  
Friends of MESDA and the Collections  
National Trust for Historic Preservation  
National Council on Public History  
Preservation North Carolina  
Southeastern Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians  
Vernacular Architecture Forum