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1

THIS IMPORTANT VICTORY:
BATTLE AND AFTERMATH

In August 1870 when Peter Gallop took the census in northeastern North Carolina, very little remained of the freedmen’s colony that had existed during the previous decade on Union-occupied Roanoke Island. The federal government had removed or sold the significant buildings; most of the colonists had moved to the mainland; and vegetation was beginning to cover the grand avenues and streets of the village. Perhaps Gallop smiled when he learned that an eight-year-old boy in the North Banks household of black residents Benjamin and Director Bowser had been named Burnside to honor the Union general who had defeated the Confederates on Roanoke Island shortly before his birth. It is also likely that he reflected on the changes the island had weathered in the decade just past—changes that occasionally propelled the island onto center stage in a drama with national significance.¹

The drama had its roots in circumstances whose origins lay well beyond the island’s shores and stretched back for a number of years. The immediate impetus for the island’s involvement in the story, however, had arisen in the spring of 1861, in the aftermath of North Carolina’s secession from the Union. Realizing the strategic value of the state’s navigable rivers and sounds, Governor John W. Ellis and his successor, Governor Henry T. Clark, had called for the renovation and construction of defensive fortifications at a number of coastal outposts, including Roanoke Island. Thus, within weeks of the secession, the Confederacy had established a military presence on the island. By the next winter, there were three sand forts on the west side of the island, and small batteries on the east side and in the center of the island.²

Troop strength, however, fell pitifully short of what would have been a sufficient defense. General Henry A. Wise, the Confederate officer in charge of holding the island, commanded a force that amounted to a little less than fifteen hundred men, who were, by his own account, “undrilled, unpaid, not sufficiently clothed and quartered, and miserably armed with old flint muskets in bad order—in short, “a sad farce of ignorance and neglect combined.” The Union occupation of Hatteras in late August 1861 further highlighted the vulnerability of Roanoke Island. When Wise begged his superiors for additional men to protect the island from an almost inevitable Federal attack, they argued that the troops were needed elsewhere. Consequently, the Confederate occupation remained tenuous, and on February 8, 1862, following an unprecedented amphibious landing, an arduous trek through marshlands, and a brief but bloody battle, the more than ten thousand Union troops under Major General Ambrose E. Burnside easily overwhelmed the paltry Confederate defenses and captured Roanoke Island.³

General Wise, who lost his own son in the battle, lamented the loss of a strategic post:

It was the key to all the rear defences of Norfolk. It unlocked two sounds (Albemarle and Currituck); eight rivers (North, West, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Little, Chowan, Roanoke and Alligator); four
canals (the Albemarle and Chesapeake, Dismal Swamp, Northwest and Suffolk); and two railroads (the Petersburg and Norfolk and Seaboard and Roanoke). . . . It should have been defended at the expense of 20,000 men and of many millions of dollars.  

*The Congregationalist*, a weekly journal published in Boston, reported that newspapers in the South were “unanimous in admitting that their loss is very serious, and that this is far the most disastrous event of the war.” Burnside also thought that the battle’s outcome was significant. Some years later, he indicated his belief that the “results of this important victory were great, particularly in inspiring the confidence of the country in the efficiency of their armies in the field.” Within several months of the capture of Roanoke Island, Union troops under Burnside swiftly captured Edenton, Winton, and New Bern, and then went on to take Carolina City, Morehead City, Newport, Beaufort, and Fort Macon. Moreover, Roanoke Island remained a Union stronghold for the duration of the war, and Union troops were stationed there until the spring of 1867.  

Although Union soldiers stationed on the island after the battle professed ignorance of most things Southern, they were impressed by their proximity to the historic site of the first English settlements in America. Recalling his days on Roanoke Island as a soldier in the Twenty-fifty Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, Samuel Putnam later noted that the soldiers’ “minds naturally went back to the discovery and first settlement of Roanoke Island in the days of Elizabeth of England, nearly three centuries before.” Similarly, Alfred S. Roe of the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts later recalled that “there was a charm in standing where the brave pioneers of Sir Walter Raleigh may have been.”  

According to William Derby of the Twenty-seventh Massachusetts, a fort said to have belonged to the ill-fated colony was located “near the north end” of the island, to the rear of the place where his company had bivouacked on 8 February. Derby noted that the fort’s outlines were still “quite distinct.” During the Union occupation, this fort, which was owned by island native Walter T. Dough, remained a popular spot among the soldiers and visitors. An article in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* reported that clear outline of “the moat of the old fort erected by Sir Walter Raleigh . . . in the form of a star” was “well worthy of the visit of the antiquarian.” The fort eventually had to be placed under military guard because of vandalism.  

On the day of the battle of Roanoke Island, a writer for *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* reported that the island was “a miserable place, being nothing but an inner sandbank, ornamented with stunted trees, scrubwood and tangled brushwood.” Buffeted by storms and the constantly changing coastal weather patterns, Roanoke Island did, however, provide a more stable environment for its nineteenth-century denizens than the beach areas fronting on the Atlantic to its east. In 1860, permanent residents numbered 590, including 395 whites, 24 free blacks, and 171 slaves. Most of the white islanders scraped out livings as fishermen, watermen, farmers, carpenters, workmen, or domestics. Several white residents were merchants or mechanics; and one, Samuel Tillett, served as keeper of a lighthouse. Most of the free blacks lived and worked as servants in white households. Only three of the eighty-seven dwellings occupied by free people on the island were headed by free blacks. The island’s slave population resided in thirty slave houses on their masters’ property.
The evidence suggests that slavery on the island was not as harsh as it was in some parts of the mainland. A study of advertisements for runaway slaves in North Carolina in the antebellum period uncovered only one advertisement that originated at Roanoke Island. A few owners had apparently even violated the state law and allowed their slaves to learn to read and write. Nevertheless, by early 1862, some of the island’s slaves had found it desirable to escape to the Union lines at Hatteras Inlet. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* carried an article in which a correspondent from North Carolina described one such family: Franklin and Nancy Tillett and their seventeen children. The article’s author noted that the children bore the surnames of various former owners—five Tilletts, four Daniels, one Drinkwater, and seven Ashbys—rather than that of their father. The former slaves had built cabins and were beginning to create new lives for themselves as contrabands on Hatteras Island, where many of them worked for the Union officers. The writer conjectured that if the war ended with “an order directing their return to their owners,” many of them would “commit suicide.” The correspondent went on to relate that he had “heard them, when speculating in their cabins on this point, declare that they would never, never, never return to Roanoke and slavery.”

Union officers at Hatteras had welcomed the former slaves, whose knowledge of coastal currents and Roanoke Island fortifications proved helpful to the Union commanders preparing the attack on the island. According to Charles F. Johnson, a soldier who took part in the Roanoke Island battle, a contraband known as “Uncle Ben” spent the night before the attack “with General Burnside in the house that served as headquarters, giving information of the different works on the Island.” This Ben was probably the “old Ben” Tillett described in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* article as “a skillful inland sailor” who knew “all about the inlets and outlets, the winds and the currents, the moon and the tides, and would be a very useful man on the coast survey.” Johnson reported that Ben not only provided information about “the battery defending the only pass to the enemy’s rear, which he had helped to build,” but he “was one of, if not the very first, to fire into it [the battery].”

Another escapee, a young man named Thomas R. Robinson, offered to help Burnside’s topographical engineer, Lieutenant W. S. Andrews, locate a good landing spot. Robinson guided Andrews to Ashby’s Harbor, which Burnside chose as the point of landing. Twenty years later, Burnside’s personal recollections of the landing gave full credit to the youthful former slave who provided him “most valuable information” and led him to Ashby’s Harbor. Similarly, William Derby recounted the story of an unnamed former slave who shared valuable information about Confederate fortifications and served as a guide to the Union forces.

The island’s white residents, meanwhile, had never been strong secessionists. Independent and not inclined to be concerned with what their neighbors on the Carolina mainland were doing, many of them—even the slave owners—had traded with the North and offered assistance to the Union prior to the occupation. Bad feelings about the Confederate occupation, which had deprived islanders of much of their foodstores and disrupted their lives, also contributed to their ambivalence toward the Union troops. Disconcerted by the shift in status of Roanoke Island after the battle, the natives were, however, unsure of what the new occupation would mean for them. One Union soldier noted that Samuel Jarvis, whose house was occupied and used as a Union hospital, seemed very bewildered by
the turn of events. “I believe it was his firm conviction that we would, in the event of taking the Island, massacre the inhabitants generally,” the soldier wrote.12

Actually Jarvis had little to fear. Before landing on the island, General Burnside had issued orders demanding that his troops observe “the laws of civilized warfare” and avoid “all unnecessary injuries to houses, barns, fences, and other property.” Burnside did, however, authorize the troops to forage for food. Invading soldiers found hogs running loose, “so poor as to indicate the last stage of consumption,” but they still captured them, as well as any loose hens, geese, turkeys, and cattle they could find. One soldier from the Twenty-seventh Massachusetts wrote home describing how some of his peers had killed a hog, then skinned and fried it in preparation for a festive meal. Likewise, the Union troops quickly confiscated sweet potatoes and other vegetables that were buried in pits in the fields. When a secessionist store owner on the south end of the island denied having any whiskey in stock, one Union soldier took over the store and commenced to give away goods at very low prices. One captured Confederate, Lieutenant J. W. Wright of the Eighth North Carolina, gleefully recorded a diary entry in which he noted that “the Yankees killed every cow and hog on the Island.” Wright thought the islanders, who had betrayed the Confederacy by passing along knowledge to the Yankees and serving them as pilots, deserved the pillage.13

For the most part, however, the Union soldiers felt sorry for the natives, and some Union soldiers even shared supplies with the islanders. Captain Thomas H. Parker of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania indicated that the islanders had “suffered a great deal” under the Confederate occupation. According to Parker, the island residents had “scarcely anything to eat, all their provisions having been stolen from them.” James Emmerton, a physician with the Twenty-third Massachusetts, remembered that the troops “found so much more poverty than potatoes.” A foraging party from Emmerton’s regiment returned to the camp empty-handed, apparently concluding that the islanders offered little that the soldiers could eat. The men of Company G of the Twenty-third were so moved by the sickness and hunger they found that they furnished rations and clothing to a family with ten children.14

General Burnside thought that the islanders were “ignorant and inoffensive” people who had endured much hardship under the Confederate occupation but had not supported the Confederate cause. Within the first few weeks of the battle, he ordered his assistants to administer the oath of allegiance to any of the white citizens on Roanoke who would take it. Some residents readily took the oath; most of the natives quickly, if begrudgingly, adapted to the Union presence on the island. Most islanders were also eager to return to fishing, which the Confederate occupiers had prohibited for fear that the islanders would travel to Hatteras and share military secrets.15

Meanwhile, the Union victors put the forts in order and renamed them after Brigadier Generals John G. Foster, Jesse L. Reno, and John G. Parke, the commanders who had led the three brigades in the successful battle on the island. The northernmost battery at Weir’s Point, Fort Huger, became Fort Reno; the battery about a mile south of Weir’s Point, Fort Blanchard, was renamed Fort Parke; and the southernmost battery at Pork Point, Fort Bartow, was newly christened Fort Foster. Fort Reno had a dock and served as the location of a market where, as one soldier recounted, natives sold “poultry, eggs, pies, cookies” to the soldiers. Union headquarters and the primary landing were established
further south, near Fort Foster at Pork Point. A small hospital was also located near headquarters. Battery Defiance in the center of the island became Battery Russell, while the battery on the eastern shore became Battery Monteil—both named in honor of Union officers who lost their lives during the contest on Roanoke Island.\(^\text{16}\)

In addition to the Confederate forts, the Union army acquired barracks, officers’ quarters, military hospitals, a number of incidental buildings, and supplies. During the battle, Fort Bartow bore the brunt of the naval attack; flames destroyed the barracks located in a clearing behind the fort. A member of the 23rd Massachusetts recalled that after the fighting, his regiment had marched along the parade ground in the camp between the “smoking embers of the barracks and the shell-torn officers quarters.” Accounts from soldiers stationed on the island differed in their assessments of the capacity of the remaining captured barracks, with estimates ranging from four to twenty thousand. Most did agree that there were at least twenty-four to thirty large barracks in the camps, and that each barracks could house two companies.\(^\text{17}\)

The soldiers set up camps in the barracks near the two northern forts. General Reno’s second brigade (consisting of the Twenty-first Massachusetts, Ninth New Jersey, Fifty-first New York, and Fifty-first Pennsylvania) and General Parke’s third brigade (consisting of the Eighth Connecticut, Eleventh Connecticut, Ninth New York, Fourth Rhode Island, and Fifth Rhode Island) encamped in the barracks “on the Northern point of the Island, in a fine, dry location sheltered on all sides by woods” in a site known as Camp Reno. Matthew J. Graham, a lieutenant of the Ninth New York, later recalled that the “commodious” barracks in this camp were “arranged in a column of companies and separated from each other by wide company streets.”\(^\text{18}\)

South of Camp Reno, General Foster’s first brigade (consisting of the Tenth Connecticut, Twenty-third Massachusetts, Twenty-fourth Massachusetts, Twenty-fifth Massachusetts, and Twenty-seventh Massachusetts) settled into an encampment that they named Camp Foster. The Union’s main hospital was situated in this camp. One soldier of the Twenty-third Massachusetts later recounted that Camp Foster was located in the “newly taken barracks,” while another recalled that Camp Foster included “some large wooden barracks supplied with fire-places, windows, and separate rooms for the officers.” Similarly, Lieutenant William J. Creasey of the Twenty-third Massachusetts noted that the fort nearest Camp Foster was Fort Huger, later renamed Fort Reno. The soldiers’ recollections suggest that Camps Reno and Foster were probably both located in the same general barracks area, behind Fort Reno. After a short while the distinction between Camp Reno and Camp Foster disappeared; soldiers and others on the island called the entire camp area in the vicinity of the old Confederate barracks Camp Foster.\(^\text{19}\)

Once all the Rebel prisoners had been rounded up, things calmed down and soldiers settled into camp life. Men who had been sworn enemies during the battle swapped stories and souvenirs. On 20 February, the prisoners were sent to Elizabeth City to await exchange with Union prisoners. Alfred Roe noted that the prisoners “fairly went wild” when the regimental band of the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts struck up “Dixie” as they were loaded onto transports. Later that month, according to one soldier’s diary, Washington’s Birthday was celebrated “by salutes from the forts and a holiday in
the camp.” The New York Times reported that on 23 February, in “a pretty grove of evergreen” to the rear of the hospital at Camp Foster, a religious ceremony marked the dedication of Roanoke Cemetery, a resting place for the Union dead. Several chaplains of the Massachusetts regiments spoke, and the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts’s regimental band provided music. In early March, most of the Union regiments left the island, with only the Fifty-first Pennsylvania and Fifth Rhode Island remaining as temporary garrisons. They were replaced by the Sixth New Hampshire and Eighty-ninth New York, who had been at Hatteras during the battle of Roanoke Island, and the Ninth New York, which had left the island after the battle to conduct military excursions in eastern North Carolina. The Ninth New York was also known as Hawkins’s Zouaves in honor of the regiment’s leader, Colonel Rush C. Hawkins, and because of their flamboyant battle attire, which was modeled after the brilliant uniforms of the French Algerian Zouaves. Colonel Hawkins was appointed Post Commandant.20

Settling in for what they thought would be a lengthy stay, the men of the occupying forces soon devised a number of recreational diversions. The Ninth New York established a reading room, debating club, post office, and several baseball clubs. Several companies erected gymnastic apparatus and held sparring and wrestling matches that, according to one witness, “would have delighted the eyes of a professional.” The Ninth New York’s crowning cultural achievement, however, was the creation of the Zouaves Minstrel and Dramatic Club, which presented plays and minstrels for audiences composed of soldiers and island natives. The Club presented a play once a week, charging a regular admission fee. General Burnside, and later Colonel Hawkins, watched the plays from the comfort of a private box built for officers of rank. Although the group performed in a building that could seat five hundred people, the shows drew such large crowds that many people were turned away. One participant noted that the local response was especially spirited: “The natives of the island were not only pleased but incredulously astonished at the performances. . . . Few of the Roanokers knew what a theatre was, and scarcely any of them had ever seen a play.” The Club cleared $364.00 during its first season of productions.21

The soldiers celebrated the first Fourth of July of the occupation by firing salutes from Forts Foster and Parke, followed by a reading of the Declaration of Independence and “all kinds of sport and amusement.” Matthew Graham noted that “one specially notable feature” was a parade in which one company “gave a fine exhibition of light artillery drill with their wheelbarrow battery, which was warmly applauded by the enthusiastic spectators.”22

In August 1862 an inspection of medical conditions at the Roanoke Island post indicated that the “sanitary condition of the camps and the men in quarters” was good, and that their food was of “good quality,” but not well cooked. The post commandant had ordered the post surgeon, a Dr. Thomas, off the island, apparently because his addiction to opium rendered him “unfit to take care of the sick.” Otherwise, conditions were good at his hospital, which was near headquarters. The other post hospital, located at Camp Foster and staffed by a Dr. McClellan, was “in good order generally.” The inspector noted that the distance between headquarters and Camp Foster—three miles—made it difficult for one medical officer to handle all the sick. Thus, he recommended that neither hospital be closed, but that the one on marshlands near headquarters “be moved to a more dry and elevated spot with advantage.”23
The two hospitals remained opened. James Emmerton of the Twenty-third Massachusetts temporarily assumed Thomas’s old position of post physician. He wrote that life on Roanoke Island was a bit monotonous but “not unpleasant.” Although he occasionally sought relief from the “humid semi-tropical atmosphere of the island” by brief visits to the beach at Nags Head, where he enjoyed “the bracing sea breezes, rolling in unobstructed from opposite Africa,” he was happy to be stationed on Roanoke Island. He thought the island was “a long step nearer civilization” than Hatteras.24

Military occupation on Roanoke Island was not, however, without difficulties. The most pressing problem for Union officers was what to do with the slaves streaming into the Union camp. At the time of the battle, more than two hundred blacks were working at the Confederate camp on the island. A few were free blacks who had been impressed into Confederate service to build Confederate fortifications on the island. Most, however, were slaves. Some of them had accompanied their masters, while others had been sent to the island to build fortifications after Walter Gwynn, the Brigadier General in charge of coastal defenses, had requested their service. After the battle, crowds of these black workers were, according to one Union soldier’s account, “singing, dancing, and waiting on our men, or giving graphic accounts of the rebel boastings before the fight.”25

Informed that they could remain on the island under Union protection or return to their owners on the mainland, most of the slaves working in the Confederate camp shocked their Union liberators by noting that they wished to return to their homes. When pressed for a reason, they stated that they did not want to leave their wives and children in slavery; they planned to go home to free them, presumably with the intent of returning to the island sanctuary. Matthew J. Graham noted that only twenty-seven of the two hundred slaves in the Confederate camp immediately passed into Union hands. Graham recorded that it did not take long, however, before “others, scattered about the island, were gathered together” with them in a small camp. Shortly after the battle, another group arrived in front of Union headquarters in a dinghy.26

Meanwhile, word that slaves who made it to the Union camp would be granted freedom spread rapidly to the rest of the island and various parts of northeastern North Carolina, and others soon sought refuge in the Union Camp. The Union soldiers “don’t know what to do with them, but stand and watch them,” declared Lieutenant William J. Creasey of the Twenty-third Massachusetts. William H. Johnson, a black soldier who served with the Eighth Connecticut, observed that by early March “quite a large number” of runaways had “congregated on the island.” A writer for the National Anti-Slavery Standard estimated that seventy or eighty refugees had arrived by early March—many of them from Elizabeth City, Plymouth, and Edenton. He also reported that “hundreds” were “hiding in the woods” preparing to come. The 9th New York, in fact, took in a number of fugitives who had been hiding in the Dismal Swamp, including one who had lived there since 1855. By early April the Roanoke camp numbered approximately 250. Although a smattering of destitute white families from the mainland took sanctuary on the island, most of the refugees were black. A few of these black refugees had been free before the war, but most had been slaves.27
Initially, the contrabands worked as laundresses, cooks, woodcutters, teamsters, and porters for the Union officers and soldiers; and they lived undisturbed on the periphery of the Union camp. As the former slaves poured onto the island, however, Union authorities grew very concerned about their living conditions, primarily because of fears that sanitation problems in the makeshift camp would have adverse effects on the Union encampment. There were also fears that the proximity of the contrabands to the Union soldiers would interfere with military discipline. The search for a long-term solution to the refugee problem ultimately led to the establishment of an officially sanctioned contraband camp. That camp, in turn, became the site of the Roanoke Island freedmen’s colony.28
NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1The Bowsers were free in 1860; the 1860 census recorded that Benjamin was a mulatto, while Director was black. In 1870, Peter Gallop recorded that both Bowsers were black, that Benjamin was engaged in fishing, and that he owned real property worth $50. In 1870 the Bowsers lived across the sound from Roanoke Island, most likely on Colington Island. Burnside and the three other children in the household were probably grandchildren, since the census information indicated that both adult Bowsers were over 60 years old in 1870. Peter Gallop lived with his wife and daughter on Roanoke Island on real property worth $150; he listed his occupation as fishing. See Federal Census, Population Schedules, Free Inhabitants, North Banks, Currituck County, NC, 1860; and Nags Head Township, Dare County, NC, 1870. (In 1870, Dare County was formed from part of Currituck County. That year, Roanoke Island was part of the Nags Head Township.)

2Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 15-16, 25, 64, 73.


4Quoted in Emmerton, Twenty-Third Regiment, 60.


6Putnam, Story of Company A, 92.

7Derby, Bearing Arms, 56; Williams, “The Surroundings and Site at Raleigh’s Colony,” 58; National Anti-Slavery Standard 24 (27 February 1964). In 1864, Edward Everett Hale, who was very interested in determining the location of Raleigh’s colony, discussed the relationship of the Union camps to the lost colony. Hale concluded that maps seemed to indicate that Ralph Lane’s fort was north of the Union camps. See Hale, “Some Notes on Roanoke Island and James River,” 53. Today many archaeologists and historians believe that the fort purported to be the lost colony’s fort was actually a fort that had been built during a seventeenth-century engagement.

8Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper 13 (8 February 1862): 182; Federal Census, Population Schedules, Free Inhabitants, Roanoke Island, Currituck County, NC, 1860; Federal Census,
Population Schedules, Slave Inhabitants, Roanoke Island, Currituck County, NC, 1860. The free black heads of households were Victoria Bowser, a seine knitter; Daffany Bowser, a washerwoman; and Spencer Bowser, a fisherman. The census enumerator indicated that Victoria Bowser was a twenty-eight-year-old mulatto; three Bowser children, aged one, four, and six, lived with her. Daffany Bowser, reported as a forty-year-old mulatto, lived by herself. Spencer Bowser, classified as black, headed a household that included his wife and two children, who were all reported as mulatto.

9Parker, *Stealing a Little Freedom*, 21; “The Emancipated North Carolinians,” 1 January 1862, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 22 (25 January 1862). The advertisement, for two slaves who had escaped from Abel Ashbee and Abraham Baum, was found in Edenton’s *Star Gazette of North Carolina* in July 1791. The absence of advertisements for runaways might be interpreted as an indication that the island’s slaves were content. It is also possible that the islanders did not advertise in regional or state newspapers for runaways. Since the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* was the official journal of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it is likely that the writer of the article about the runaways on Hatteras was not an unbiased observer.

10Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 70, 100-101. Johnson recorded that Ben was owned by a North Carolinian whose sons were with the Confederate army on Roanoke Island; supposedly, Ben was one of the son’s body servants. The similarities to the Ben Tillett described in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* are, however, striking, and suggest that Johnson might have gotten the story wrong.


23 J. T. Galloupe to Dr. Snelling, 24 August 1862, Department of North Carolina, Letters Received, RG 393, Pt. I, series 3238, NA.


