

# SLAVEHOLDER • INVESTMENT • IN TERRITORIAL MINNESOTA

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**S**INCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT as a territory in 1849, Minnesota has outlawed the enslavement of African Americans, with one exception: a 14-month period between the US Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision in March 1857, which legalized slavery in all territories, and Minnesota's entry into the Union as a free state in May 1858. Scholarship about instances of slavery in the state has focused on a few individual enslaved people. Telling the stories of Dred and Harriet Scott and Joseph Godfrey, to use just a few examples, is important to Minnesota's history and humanizes their experiences.<sup>1</sup>

Minnesota's relationship with slavery, however, extended beyond the stories of slaves who were transported by their owners from the South to the Northwest (which then included Minnesota). From the 1850s until the end of legal slavery in the United States in 1865, dozens of Southern slaveholders invested tens of thousands of dollars in Minnesota real estate and businesses, enriching the fledgling territory and establishing some of its premier businesses and institutions. Some slaveholders came to Minnesota just to make investments and then returned home, either permanently or during the winter. Others permanently left

the South and used the wealth they gained from slave labor to establish businesses in their new home of Minnesota. Among those who stayed only temporarily in the Northwest, many continued to buy and sell slaves in the South *after* having started their investments or enterprises in Minnesota. The slaveholder-investors were not interested in bringing the institution of slavery to Minnesota, nor did Minnesotans want Southerners to settle here with their masses of unfree African Americans. Slaveholders, however, did not have to transfer their captives to Minnesota to implicate the territory in the domestic slave trade. Minnesota Territory was in desperate need of capital and its early leaders did not ask too many questions about the source of an investor's money.

SLAVEHOLDER INVESTMENT in Minnesota is rooted in relationships made during the 32nd session of the US Congress (1851–53). Among those serving together in the House of Representatives were William Aiken and



Dred and Harriet Scott

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James Orr of South Carolina, John Breckinridge of Kentucky, and Willis Gorman of Indiana. All but Gorman held slaves in their home states. In 1853 President Franklin Pierce appointed Gorman to serve as governor of Minnesota Territory. The same year, Orr became the chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, thus familiarizing himself with the country's interests in the West and Northwest. Gorman remained in touch with Orr after assuming the governorship.<sup>2</sup>

When Congress convened its 33rd session in 1854, fur trader Henry Mower Rice arrived in Washington as Minnesota Territory's elected delegate to Congress. While serving in Congress, Rice befriended Breckinridge, and Breckinridge's acquaintance Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky, as well as Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia. Toombs presented Rice's credentials when the latter was elected to the Senate in 1858 upon the admission of Minnesota to statehood. Rice's friends Breckinridge and Magoffin bought real estate in Minnesota Territory, and Orr spent more than \$4,000 on land in Stearns and Benton Counties. They were among the earliest slaveholding investors in Minnesota.<sup>3</sup> Following are stories of a few others.

## THE MASTER AS SNOWBIRD

BORN IN 1811 IN VIRGINIA, Thomas Benjamin Winston became a slaveholder in Louisiana before reaching the age of 30. In the early 1850s he strategically bought and sold a number of enslaved people as financial investments (see sidebar on p. 272). Winston left New Orleans for Minnesota in June 1855, less than half a year after his last slave sale. He arrived in St. Paul by August and immediately affiliated himself with the state's power structure through



Willis Gorman, second territorial governor of Minnesota.

his investments. He bought shares in the two-year-old St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company, and that month attended a shareholders' meeting to elect the company's board of directors. Although new to Minnesota, Winston won election to the board. His fellow victors represented the political spectrum, from territorial governor Gorman, a Democrat, to St. Paul's Whig mayor (and past and

future governor) Alexander Ramsey. What they all had in common was wealth. Winston was now associated with Minnesota Territory's most economically and politically powerful people.<sup>4</sup>

Winston joined a wave of investors, including his new associates, buying and selling real estate in the territory in the mid-1850s. He purchased one entire block and nine lots on various other blocks in Nicollet County and acquired 80 acres in the

town of Centralia in Le Sueur County. Winston's wealth from the slave trade likely made these transactions possible. Lots in the territory often sold at around \$100 each. Proceeds from sales he made of a male "house slave" in 1852 and a mother and her baby in 1854—valued at a total of \$3,000—would have allowed him to buy about 30 lots.<sup>5</sup>

Winston resumed his active participation in the slave-trading business upon his return to New Orleans for the 1855–56 winter season, this time as a broker. A December 1855 announcement in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* newspaper stated, "I want to purchase a Cotton Plantation, Negroes, &c., situated on the Mississippi River, somewhere between Memphis and Vicksburg." The petitioner, a Mississippi man, placed his name below the request, and below that was the name "Thomas B. Winston," broker of the deal. By virtue of this transaction, the new Minnesotan distinguished himself among fellow Minnesota elites by assisting in the purchasing of slaves after joining Minnesota Territory's upper class.<sup>6</sup>

## Slaveholders did not have to transfer their captives to Minnesota to implicate the territory in the domestic slave trade.

That same winter, Winston tested the extent of his political influence in Minnesota. He sent St. Paul mayor Alexander Ramsey a letter in which he vaguely claimed to have drafted a "skeleton of a charter" for the St. Peter Company to found the city of St. Peter. In the letter Winston praised this charter draft as "beneficial to the Middle Classes or Men of small means in all our Western states." He continued, "I hope you will have the charter get through the Legislature, & I will



put the machinery in motion as soon as I return, [and] if too much engaged hand it to some good influential member." Less than three months later, Minnesota Territory's legislature approved a proposal establishing the charter for St. Peter. Winston was named in the new law as one of the incorporators. He now had the attention not only of the territory's chief executive, Gorman, but also its law-making branch.<sup>7</sup>

Winston was still in New Orleans at the time of the bill's passage, but he returned with his family by boat to St. Paul in May 1856. That same month, Winston took out advertisements



Alexander Ramsey, ca. 1860.

in the *New Orleans Crescent* newspaper in which he asked his fellow Southerners to invest in Minnesota. He touted the territory's growth, and predicted even more growth after Southerners came to St. Paul "either as a source of investment for the future, or as the great 'Summer Home' of health and recreation." He wrote that Minnesota's status as a territory contributed to its growth: "I suggest the propriety and public policy of our remaining a Territory for a few years, without manifesting too much eagerness to assume the mantle of State sovereignty. Our progress is rapid, but healthy and permanent,

St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company's first home office building, 1872.







*Nininger,  
Dakota County, ca. 1890.*

and we can afford to be called political infants, while we are enlarging and developing the bone and muscle which are to give us energy, vigor and power when we arrive at manhood.”<sup>8</sup> Less than a year later, in March 1857, the Supreme Court legalized slavery in Minnesota Territory with the *Dred Scott* decision. The verdict gave Winston’s request for Minnesota to delay statehood a new context, for prolonged territorial status now meant prolonged legal slavery.<sup>9</sup>

Before he left St. Paul to spend the winter of 1856–57 in New Orleans, Winston invested in the new town of Nininger, established by Mayor Ramsey’s brother-in-law, John Nininger. During Winston’s holiday in the South, Minnesota’s newspapers started promoting the new community (located a few miles from Hastings) in advertisements. In the meantime Winston’s publicity for Minnesota continued to appear in the New Orleans press.

Winston purchased 40 acres in Scott County when he returned to Minnesota that spring. His faith in real estate was soon shaken, however,

when his two major land investments collapsed before the end of the year. The St. Peter Company lost an ambitious campaign for its city to become the territory’s new capital, and the town of Nininger struggled to survive. Winston rallied his fellow Nininger investors in July, asking them to meet with him to discuss “the advancement of the town, if not . . . the profit of its ‘original founders.’” But by September he had lost hope in the project and began writing lampoons of Nininger. That same month a devastating nationwide economic downturn—the Panic of 1857—further doomed his investments. From that point on, Winston spent less time in Minnesota.<sup>10</sup>

Winston defied generational trends. He was in his forties and owned one dozen slaves in Louisiana, but he was willing to live in a free territory for months at a time and spend his own plantation wealth on territorial enterprises. Other middle-aged owners of four or more slaves who went to Minnesota to buy land did not tend to stay long. In contrast, younger men who owned three slaves

or fewer were more willing to stay in Minnesota if not permanently, then seasonally. Many of them were not plantation owners themselves but were the sons of wealthy plantation masters. They were less committed than their fathers to slavery but still used their family’s slave-derived wealth to start business ventures in Minnesota.<sup>11</sup>

### **SLAVEHOLDING QUAKERS AND SHORT-TERM INVESTORS**

Richard Junius Mendenhall was one of the few Southerners who used plantation wealth to establish northwestern enterprises to settle permanently in Minnesota. He was born in November 1828 into a family of slaveholding Quakers in Guilford County, North Carolina. His father, also named Richard, owned one slave in 1840, but he disavowed slavery soon thereafter and called for abolition twice before the state’s general assembly. Mendenhall’s uncle, George Mendenhall, inherited slaves from his first wife, Eliza, upon her death in the 1820s. North Carolina prohibited



*Richard Mendenhall*



anyone from freeing slaves within its borders. George, however, bought land in the free state of Ohio and periodically brought some of his slaves there to resettle them as freed people. He made at least four such trips and emancipated dozens of African Americans.<sup>12</sup>

The slaves who remained on George's plantation helped to keep it in operation. He gave them training in various types of skilled labor. These instructions served a dual purpose. When trained, the enslaved people not only could maintain the plantation more efficiently but also had more job options available to them if emancipated. Still, even slaves on the plantations of benevolent, reluctant masters were impatient for their freedom and seized it for themselves. Mendenhall himself experienced this firsthand as a teenager while working briefly on his uncle's plantation. In a failed attempt to recover one of

New Hampshire. Together they sold real estate across Minnesota.<sup>14</sup>

That same year, however, the business took advantage of the *Dred Scott* decision's extension of legal slavery to Minnesota Territory. In April 1857, only one month after the verdict, the *Raleigh (NC) Semi-Weekly Standard* began running a newspaper advertisement for the firm of Beede & Mendenhall that invited slaveholding readers to come to Minnesota Territory and buy property from the agency. The advertisement published the names of four prominent North Carolina slaveholders as references, including former governors John Morehead (who held 27 slaves) and William Graham (67 slaves), and incumbent governor Thomas Bragg (12 slaves). Clearly, Beede and Mendenhall saw the influence of the ownership of more than 100 unfree African Americans as a selling point for their business.<sup>15</sup>



Jeremiah "Jerry" Sears

Northwest. He brought an eight-year-old African American boy with him from North Carolina to Minnesota in 1858. They had to pass through New York during the trip, but in 1841 New York's legislature had outlawed traveling slaveholders from keeping slaves in the state. Any slave within its borders became legally free, and state law required the boy to have free papers in order to travel through the state. George provided those papers by writing a letter that identified Mendenhall's boy as Jeremiah "Jerry" Sears—the son of a local freedwoman named Patsey Sears. (Mendenhall's father had died in 1851, leaving Uncle George as Mendenhall's only close relative in Guilford old enough to testify credibly on Sears's legal status.) Mendenhall also presented local documentation of the official emancipation of Patsey and her sister and mother by the state of North Carolina in 1818. Patsey's father, a freedman named George Sears, had sued that year for their emancipation after his own master had liberated him in his will. Patsey and her children resided in Guilford County in 1840 but by the following decade had moved almost 200 miles east to Hertford County.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Clearly, Beede and Mendenhall saw the influence of the ownership of more than 100 unfree African Americans as a selling point for their business.***

George's fugitive slaves, he and his cousin traveled through the states of Virginia and Ohio and entered Indiana before giving up the pursuit and retreating.<sup>13</sup>

After spending his early adult years in various states across the country, Mendenhall permanently relocated to Hennepin County, Minnesota, in April 1856. He had always been sickly, and he chose the Northwest in hopes of improving his health. With this move to a free territory, he initially distanced himself from slavery. He held no slaves when he arrived, and in 1857 he established a land agency with acquaintance Cyrus Beede from the free state of

Some of Mendenhall's slaveholding relatives came from his home county of Guilford, North Carolina, to acquire real estate in Minnesota. His cousins, brothers C. E. and F. E. Shober, jointly purchased a lot from him for \$300. Back in Guilford, C. E. kept one African American enslaved, and F. E. held three. Two of F. E.'s slaves were a boy he had fathered and the woman who gave birth to the child. In Minnesota, Mendenhall's uncle George purchased lots in Stearns County and Wright County while still owning more than 50 slaves.<sup>16</sup>

In the meantime, Mendenhall himself may have participated in the slave trade after settling in the



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Jeremiah Sears may have been a legal slave when he left North Carolina and a de facto slave after arriving in Minnesota, which in 1858 had become a free state. Mendenhall's diary entry about his North Carolina trip mentions that he brought an eight-year-old boy named Jerry Sears, but he identified Jerry not as Patsey's son but rather as someone's property—"a child or boy of Jerry Mendenhall, who formerly belonged to Elisha Mendenhall." In addition, Mendenhall wrote in his diary that he "made a bargain" in order to bring Jerry to Minnesota, suggesting that the transfer came at a price. Nevertheless, Jerry's name appeared in the 1860 census in Mendenhall's house-

hold in Minneapolis, contrasting with the anonymous listing of slaves under the names of owners in the federal Slave Schedule. The census, however, recorded the boy simply as "Jerry"; the absence of a surname resembled the tendency of owners to restrict slaves' identities to first names only. Furthermore, Mendenhall did not enroll Jerry in school in Minneapolis, so even if he was documented as a free person, Mendenhall did not treat him as fully free.<sup>18</sup>

In August 1860 Minnesota's fourth judicial district court emancipated Eliza Winston, a Mississippi slave who petitioned for her freedom while serving her master during his Minnesota vacation at St. Anthony's

Winslow House. For days afterward, proponents and opponents of the verdict argued over the legality of her liberation, and a mob had unsuccessfully tried to recapture her. The decision, however, did not prohibit slaveholders from investing in Minnesota, and they continued to visit the state and acquire land. Mendenhall's brother Cyrus bought real estate valued at \$780 in Stearns County in October, and he acquired land in Wright County the following month. Earlier in the year, the 1860 federal Slave Schedule recorded him as the owner of 40 slaves in North Carolina. Like his uncle, Cyrus returned to North Carolina after making his land purchases.<sup>19</sup>

George B. B. Clitherall of Alabama lived in Minnesota in the late 1850s, earning a steady income as a federal appointee. (See inside front cover.) Back in Alabama he had owned seven slaves in Greene County in 1840 and

Main Street, Clitherall, Otter Tail County, ca. 1910.



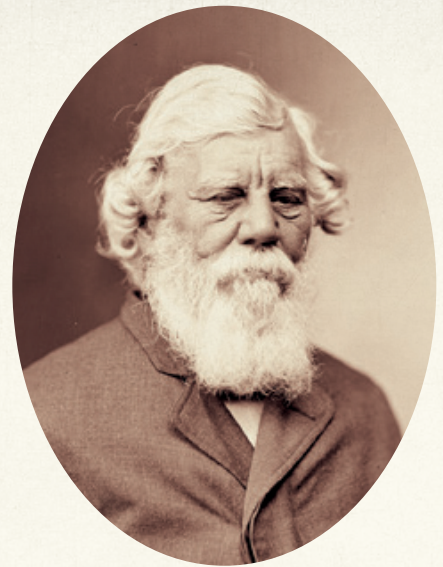


**Aiken had so much money to lend because he held more than 700 slaves at the time and received thousands of dollars in annual profits from selling the fruits of their labor.**

six slaves in 1850. He had arrived in Minnesota by 1856, purchasing land in Sherburne County and investing in Nininger. Then in 1857, shortly after entering the White House, President James Buchanan appointed him register of the US land office in Otter Tail County, Minnesota. The appointee was obligated to serve through Buchanan's four-year term. Meanwhile, that year Clitherall bought land valued at more than \$10,000 in Scott County. More than half of his purchase encompassed the town of Louisville, Minnesota. Buchanan dismissed Clitherall from office in June 1860, and by July he had returned to Alabama, where he kept four slaves. Otter Tail County, however, did not forget him, for Lake Clitherall and the town of Clitherall bear his name

today. In 1870, Clitherall purchased 61.5 acres in Otter Tail County (though he held only half interest) from black-Indian fur trader and translator George Bonga.<sup>20</sup>

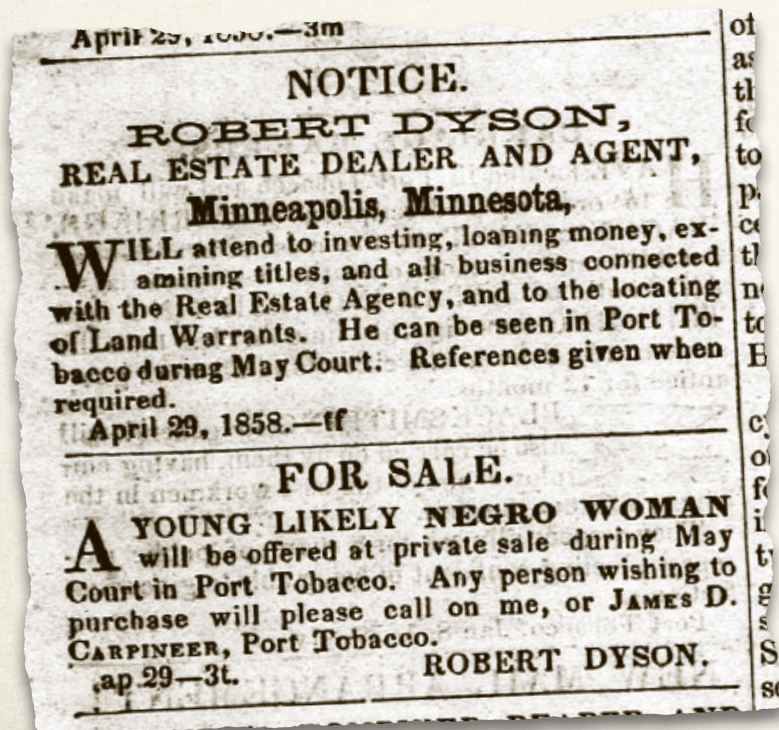
Some slaveholders left Minnesota immediately after acquiring land and participated in the slave trade within months, and sometimes weeks, of returning to the South. A New Orleans banker named Jilson P. Harrison bought land in St. Paul in the spring of 1857. That fall he offered money for anyone who returned his fugitive slave to him. His notice in a New Orleans periodical displays in stark language the mentality of the day: "ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD will be paid for the recovery of the slave ADOLPH, the property of J. P. Harrison, Esq. Said boy ran



*William Aiken Jr., governor of South Carolina from 1844-46 and benefactor of the fledgling University of Minnesota.*

away from Pass Christian on the 6th of August last, is about 5 feet, 2 or 3 inches high, a mulatto, aged about 22 years, muscular, active, and of genteel appearance, he is a Creole of this city, speaks both French and English fluently. . . ." Similarly, in May 1858 a Maryland man named Robert Dyson announced his Minneapolis-based land agency in his hometown newspaper. Just below that advertisement was his description of a slave he planned to sell that month in Maryland: "For Sale: A Young Likely NEGRO WOMAN will be offered at private sale during May Court in Port Tobacco."<sup>21</sup>

William Aiken, who had served with Gorman and Orr in Congress, was another slaveowner who did not have to stay in Minnesota long in order to significantly influence the territory with his wealth. Traveling from South Carolina to Minnesota in the summer of 1857, he loaned between \$10,000 and \$20,000 of his own money to the fledgling University of Minnesota during his short vacation. He had so much money to lend because he held more than



*1858 advertisement in Maryland newspaper.*





*The Charleston, South Carolina, house of William Aiken, 1963 view.*



*Rear side of Aiken House, with outbuildings: service building and stable on right and slave building and kitchens on left, 1963 view.*



700 slaves at the time and received thousands of dollars in annual profits from selling the fruits of their labor. The university had been closed for three years at the time of his visit, but his loan helped the institution to reopen briefly in 1858. The struggling university, however, accumulated debt before the end of the year and had to close again.<sup>22</sup>

### A SHORT-LIVED ERA

The Southern slaveholders profiled here represented a short-lived trend. The outbreak of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation would change the role of African Americans in US history. Before the war began, Thomas Winston died in November 1860 aboard a boat traveling from Tennessee to Louisiana. He was buried in New Orleans. Soon thereafter, Alexander Ramsey received a letter from Winston's sister, Ann Simpson, asking him to execute her late brother's will, as Winston had requested. Ramsey, having served as

Minnesota's first territorial governor, had just been elected governor of the young state. Simpson pleaded ignorance on her own behalf of legal matters, and she claimed that Ramsey was "the one in St. Paul most trusted by my brother to protect the interest of his two sons, now in Germany at school." Ramsey, governor of a free state, accepted the woman's petition and assessed her brother's property in Minnesota. Meanwhile, a district court in Louisiana inventoried Winston's holdings, including enslaved people, there.<sup>23</sup>

Winston's death, within months of the start of the Civil War and mere days before the first Southern state seceded from the Union, represented the end of the era. Where once he and other slaveholders could travel repeatedly between North and South to invest in Minnesota, the war's outbreak in April 1861 cut the two regions off from each other, making such cross-regional wealth-building activities impossible. Winston's home state joined the Confederacy, as did



John Nicols

Aiken's South Carolina and the Mendenhalls' North Carolina. Winston's sons fought for the Confederate Army, and Richard's brother Cyrus Mendenhall made weapons for Confederate soldiers.<sup>24</sup>

As the war started, Minnesota remained in Aiken's debt for his loan to the University of Minnesota. In 1862 the state legislature passed a

### THOMAS WINSTON'S SLAVEHOLDING PRACTICES

Details of Thomas Winston's slave practices demonstrate how one man accumulated some of the wealth that enabled him to invest in Minnesota Territory. Winston valued his captives as financial investments. When one of his slaves boarded a boat destined for New York, Winston sued the vessel's captain for \$1,200—\$400 for the cost of recovering his fugitive slave and \$800 for the slave's value. By 1850 he owned 12 African Americans, but his slave community was inconsistent because of his frequent buying and selling of African Americans throughout the early 1850s. In January 1852 he offered for sale a 25-year-old male "SUPERIOR House Servant" who had been with the family for 10 years. The price was \$1,200. In November he offered a "house servant for sale." In August 1853 he requested to buy "a Small Negro Boy . . . ten or twelve years of age," and he promised a "fair price" for "an extra smart one." After selling another slave early in 1854, he offered his 22-year-old female slave Frances and her two-

year-old daughter for sale together for \$1,800 that April. He called Frances a "first-rate General House servant, acclimated, and in fine health," and he claimed that she could earn between \$40 and \$50 per month as a hairdresser. Late in the year he bought another slave, but then in early 1855 he sold one.<sup>28</sup>

Winston had a method to his constant buying and selling. He purchased pre-adolescent slaves like the "Small Negro Boy" and resold them in their twenties, when they stood a good chance of paying off well as investments. As the child slaves approached adulthood, they grew stronger, did more labor, and were worth more money. They attained peak monetary value when they reached their twenties, and Winston then sold them for a profit. By offering Frances and her daughter as a pair, he showed some concern for keeping families together at his household. On the other hand, his purchases of children ripped them from their parents or adult caretakers on other plantations.



bill—the Minnesota Rebellion Act—that forbade residents of Confederate states from suing in Minnesota’s courts. Consequently, Aiken could not seek legal recourse for the repayment of his loan. The *Crisis* newspaper of Columbus, Ohio, recognized the law’s consequence as such, and it wryly noted, “That is the way to pay old debts.”<sup>25</sup> When the state government settled the university’s financial woes, it relied on another slaveholder to help reopen the school. John Nicols had sold iron products in Minnesota since 1855, but before then he had lived in Maryland. He had inherited slaves from his father, but he emancipated each one that reached the age of legal adulthood. He still owned two African Americans, Margaret Downs and Alexander Ross, upon his relocation to Minnesota, but he kept them in Maryland and eventually freed them there. He emancipated Downs

in January 1858 and Ross 12 months later. In 1864, Minnesota appointed Nicols as a regent of the University of Minnesota, and he and his two fellow regent appointees made plans over the next three years for the institution to reopen.<sup>26</sup>

Richard Mendenhall also stayed in Minnesota during the war and fared well upon its conclusion. In 1862 the state government appointed him to serve as the president of the state bank. He held that position for nine years and then devoted the rest of his life to horticulture. By the time he died in October 1906, he had lived in Minnesota for 50 years. His childhood experiences as the son and nephew of slaveholders in North Carolina served him well in Minnesota. As a land agent he exploited his connections to the lucrative plantations of his youth, and he applied to himself the horticultural lessons he had once taught

field slaves. The atypical combination of his antislavery childhood and his ties to slaveholder wealth gave him the gift of adaptability, and it prepared him well to negotiate Minnesota’s changes from free territory to slave territory to free state.<sup>27</sup>

More than 150 years after the end of the Civil War and the prohibition of legal slavery, many of the slaveholders’ investments remain in existence. The communities of Louisville and St. Peter still stand today, as does the University of Minnesota. The St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company has changed hands over the years and is now Travelers Insurance. Hundreds of slaves labored to make investments in these Minnesota institutions possible—from Aiken’s 700 slaves in South Carolina to Winston’s “house servants” in Louisiana. To them, Minnesota owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude. ▣

## Notes

1. For example, Lea VanderVelde’s book *Mrs. Dred Scott: A Life on Slavery’s Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) focuses on the Scott family when discussing slavery among Southern soldiers stationed at Fort Snelling, and Walt Bachman’s book *Northern Slave, Black Dakota: The Life and Times of Joseph Godfrey* (Bloomington, MN: Pond Dakota Press, 2013) tells of Joseph Godfrey, who escaped his owner in Minnesota and later fought with the Dakota against the US Army in 1862. William D. Green, *A Peculiar Imbalance: The Fall and Rise of Racial Equality in Early Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007) studies multiple instances of slavery, from the soldiers at Fort Snelling to Southern guests in Minnesota’s hotels, and it identifies a district court’s emancipating in 1860 of Eliza Winston—a slave of a Mississippi visitor in St. Anthony—as the end of Minnesota’s relationship with slaveholders. (See Green’s *Peculiar Imbalance*, 98–99, and his article “Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota 1854–1860,” *Minnesota History* 57, no. 3 [2000]: 107–22.)

2. US 1850 Slave Schedule, District 2, Shelby County, KY, 22; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Parish of St. Johns Colleton, Charleston County, SC, 9–18; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Western Division, Anderson County, SC, 20; Willis Gorman to

James Orr, Feb. 13, 1854, William B. Dodd and Family Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul (hereafter, MNHS).

3. Thomas F. Moran, “How Minnesota Became a State,” in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* 13 (1898): 180; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, July 13, 1878, 5; *Stearns County Deed Book B*, Stearns County Recorder’s Office, St. Cloud, MN, July 6, 1857, 92–93; *Benton County Deed Book B*, Benton County Recorder’s Office, Foley, MN, July 3, 1857, 505–6.

4. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 18, 1855, 3; *St. Paul Pioneer*, Nov. 3, 1855, 3.

5. Mary Letherd Wingerd, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 247–48; “T. B. Winston Inventory,” 3, 7, in Probate Records, microfilm reel 4, frames 42, 44, Ramsey County Probate Court, St. Paul, MN.

6. Advertisement, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Dec. 29, 1855, 5.

7. Thomas Winston to Alexander Ramsey, Dec. 12, 1855, Alexander Ramsey Papers, microfilm, reel 9, frame 602, MNHS; Helen McCann White, *Guide to a Microfilm Edition of the Alexander Ramsey Papers and Records* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974), 23; *Laws of the Seventh Legislature of Minnesota Territory* (St. Paul: Joseph R. Brown, Territorial Printer, 1856)

73–75; Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1882), 650–51.

8. Advertisement, *New Orleans Crescent*, May 14, 1856, 4.

9. Advertisement, *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, April 1, 1857, 2; advertisement, *New Orleans Crescent*, Aug. 28, 1857, 5; Green, *A Peculiar Imbalance*, 89–91.

10. *Scott County Deed Book E*, April 2, 1857, Scott County Recorder’s Office, Shakopee, MN; Wingerd, *North Country*, 250–51; advertisement, *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, July 17, 1857, 3; Ralph L. Harmon, “Ignatius Donnelly and His Faded Metropolis,” *Minnesota History* 17, no. 3 (1936): 274–75; Dudley S. Brainard, “Nininger: A Boom Town of the Fifties,” *Minnesota History* 13, no. 2 (1932): 139.

11. For examples of older, visiting investors (e.g., Robert Caruthers, William Aiken), see Christopher P. Lehman’s “The Slaveholders of Lowry’s Addition” in the Dec. 2015–Jan. 2016 issue of *Crossings* and “Brought to Light: The University of Minnesota’s Heritage of Slavery,” *Henepin History* 75, no. 2 (2016): 4–11. For examples of younger investors (e.g., Harwood Iglehart, Thomas Calhoun), see Lehman’s “The Slaveholders of Payne-Phalen” in the winter 2016 issue of *Ramsey County History* and “The Slaveholders of Lowry’s Addition.”



12. US 1840 Census, Guilford County, NC, 228; Richard Mendenhall, petition, NC General Assembly, Nov. 14, 1824, and Nov. 30, 1825, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; Carol Moore, *Guilford County and the Civil War* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2015), 18; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Southern Division, Guilford County, NC, 1; "An Asylum for the Oppressed," *National Era*, July 2, 1857, 107.
13. Sallie W. Stockard, *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (Knoxville, TN: Gaut-Ogden Co., 1902), 60; Levi M. Scott, "The Bench and Bar of Guilford County, Part II," *Publications of the Guilford County Literary and Historical Association*, vol. 1 (Greensboro, NC: Jos. J. Stone, 1908), 66; *Proceeding and Report of the Annual Meetings of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, May 11, 1899 and 1900*, vol. 2 (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1901), 134.
14. Hugh J. McGrath and William Stoddard, *History of the Great Northwest and Its Men of Progress* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Journal, 1901), 90–91.
15. Advertisement, *Raleigh Semi-Weekly Standard*, April 15, 1857, 3; US 1850 Slave Schedule, First District, Orange County, NC, 99–101; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Eastern District, Rockingham County, NC, 102–3; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Northampton County, NC, 15.
16. *Stearns County Deed Book B*, 145–46, 148; US 1860 Slave Schedule, North Division, Guilford County, NC, 27; US 1860 Slave Schedule, Salisbury, Rowan County, NC, 1; Thomas J. Ward, Jr., *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 3; Moore, *Guilford County and the Civil War*, 18; *Wright County Deed Book A*, Wright County Recorder's Office, Buffalo, MN, 152.
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