

Study of the Built Landscape of the Original Campus of Wake Forest University

Slavery, Race and Memory Project

Wake Forest University, as a southern institution founded decades before the Civil War, has a history bound up with slavery and its tragic legacies. Attempts to recover, understand and reckon more fully with that complex past have accelerated in recent years and are collected in a many-faceted Slavery, Race, and Memory Project. This effort extends across and beyond our Winston-Salem and original Wake Forest, N.C. campuses and includes active membership in the Universities Studying Slavery consortium. The Slavery, Race and Memory Project will guide the research, preservation, and communication of an accurate depiction of the University's relationship to slavery and its implications across Wake Forest's history.

One of the first steps in the work of the Slavery, Race, and Memory project is taking account of what information is already available (although sometimes forgotten or overlooked) about enslavement in the early years of what would become Wake Forest University. This summer, senior Matthew Capps, undertook a 6-week research project to document existing evidence related to the role enslavement played in the built environment of the original Wake Forest campus.

Prior to Capps's research, the Wake Forest Historical Museum had not formally studied the built environment of the Calvin Jones plantation or the nineteenth-century Wake Forest College campus. In 2015 and 2016, museum staff worked with the Town of Wake Forest's Historic Preservation Planner to conduct an architectural survey of the Calvin Jones House while preparing the house's nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, but because the house stood on its fourth site, research primarily focused on the historical significance of the house. Building on this research, Capps investigated census records and papers of Wake Forest College students, faculty, and trustees to better understand the original plantation complex and college campus.

We hope that Capps's report prompts new research into the varied experiences of the enslaved individuals who lived and labored in Wake Forest. Within the report, Capps suggests several areas for further inquiry: the architecture and daily life of the Calvin Jones plantation, the movement of enslaved laborers to and from Wake Forest College by contracted builders like John Berry, the organization of Olive Branch Baptist Church, and the College's role in the development of the town's residential districts. Additional research and collaboration between Wake Forest University and the Wake Forest Historical Museum will create opportunities for students to guide the research, preservation, and interpretation of Wake Forest University's relationship to slavery and its legacies.

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Report on the Built Landscape of the Original Campus

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To understand the lived experience of the enslaved people who built, lived, and worked on the Wake Forest College campus, this report provides a historical study of the built landscape of the Calvin Jones Plantation and the early Wake Forest College campus in Wake Forest, North Carolina from the 1820s through the 1840s. The following pages describe the Calvin Jones Plantation, purchased in 1832 by the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, and explain how Trustees, administrators, faculty, students, paid staff, and enslaved laborers adapted the plantation setting into an institution of higher learning. While this report largely focuses on buildings, it also captures people's relationships to those structures. In doing so, this report provides a greater understanding of the relationships among all people on campus, particularly the hierarchical relationship between Trustees, faculty, and students and the enslaved individuals who labored on campus and from whom they immeasurably profited.

The experiences of enslaved individuals who lived and worked on the Wake Forest College campus are difficult to study. Many lived on campus for short periods of time, because the university hired individuals on an annual basis or enslaved people traveled to and from the college with faculty, staff, and students. Furthermore, many enslaved people had nominal resources to document their lives, so this report largely depends on the records of their enslavers — builders, students, and faculty — who were at Wake Forest throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Some of these sources were written many years later as recollections of the College.¹ Many of the collections used are housed today at the Wake Forest Historical Museum, the Southern Historical Collection of the Wilson Library Special Collections at the University of North

¹ Many of these recollections were published in *The Wake Forest Student*. *The Student* was a student magazine which ran from 1882-1960.

Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the Special Collections and Archives at the Z. Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest University.

In 1832, the North Carolina Baptist State Convention purchased a plantation from Calvin Jones to serve as the site of an institute to train aspiring ministers.² Convention members found the plantation's "commodious buildings" and expansive fields suitable for the Manual Labor Institute. Therefore, an understanding of the built landscape of Wake Forest College must begin with the Calvin Jones Plantation.³

By 1821, Calvin Jones had purchased a 615 acre plantation in northern Wake County, which he named Wake Forest.⁴ However, sometime around 1823, Jones decided to purchase land in Tennessee and sell his plantation in Wake Forest.⁵ In an advertisement for the plantation published in the *Raleigh Register* on September 14, 1827, Jones described his land:

It is 16 miles from Raleigh on the mail road to Oxford, and the nearest and much travelled road to Warrenton and Petersburg, 5 miles from Colonel Donaldson's works at the falls of Neuse, and in one of the best neighbourhoods in the state, the Forest district containing three excellent schools, (one classical) and two well constructed and well filled meeting houses for Baptists and Methodists, and has a lawyer and a doctor... My plantation consists of about 617 acres, on Richland creek, which is without a mill seat and of course healthy [the mills for neighborhood use being on Horse creek 3 miles distant, and at the falls.] It is divided into 5 fields for a regular and systematic course of

² *Minutes of the Baptist State Convention*, 1832, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers, (MS117), Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

³ "An Interview with Wake Forest's First Student," *The Wake Forest Student* 28, no. 4, (January 1909), 304; George W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College, vol I, 1834-1865* (Wake Forest, North Carolina: Wake Forest College, 1935), 46-47. *History of Wake Forest College* is a dense multi-volume work begun by Paschal to preserve the story of Wake Forest College. His citations are infamously inconsistent.

⁴ Letter from Calvin Jones to William Williams, July 12, 1821; Letter from Temperance Jones to Calvin Jones, February 7, 1820, *History of the Calvin Jones Family I*, Box 95, Wake Forest Historical Museum. The Plantation was originally owned by Davis Battle who built what would eventually be known as the Calvin Jones House sometime before 1820. Jones had been looking to purchase Battle's land in early 1820 but there is no record of Jones living on the property until 1821.

⁵ Calvin Jones, "Also for Sale," *Weekly Raleigh Register*, December 5, 1823, 3.

cropping, besides a field for a succession of root crops and clover... The house is beautifully situated 100 yards from the road, in a fine grove of oaks, presents a good appearance, and commands an extensive and interesting prospect. It has a portico or double porch in front, has 5 rooms with fire places, 3 lodging rooms without, and garrets and good cellars, the whole decently furnished and in good repair. The outhouses, farm yard, and garden, are neatly and conveniently arranged, Among the outhouses the kitchen, store house, office, carriage house, &c. are finished and painted frame buildings, - the office has 4 plaistered and ceiled rooms & the carriage house will contain 4 four wheeled carriages. Besides these there are barns, blacksmith's and carpenter's shops, overseer's house and other buildings necessary to a well ordered plantation.⁶

The Jones house stood in a grove of oaks and faced east, looking down an avenue to a front gate that opened on the main road. Beyond the oaks and road, fields stretched in all directions. The Jones house was two-storied with an attic level. The main block of the house included a dining room on the north side and a hall. Behind the parlor and hall was an entry room, two narrow rooms, and a set of stairs which led to the second floor. The second floor consisted of a wide center passage flanked by the Jones family's four bedrooms and a narrow stair leading to the attic. At the top of the attic stairs were three doors. The north and south doors opened to two rooms and the western door opened to a storage room.⁷ It is likely that the enslaved individuals who tended to the Jones family and household lived in the two attic rooms.

Not listed in Jones's advertisement from 1827 are the seven dwellings in which the enslaved laborers lived. The main gate that opened onto the road was part of a fence which

⁶ Calvin Jones, "My Wake Forest Plantation for Sale," *The Raleigh Register*, September 14, 1827, 3; G. W. Paschal, *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, 1925-1927, 34. The Baptist church was likely either Cross Roads Church, now Wake Cross Roads Baptist Church, or Wake Union Church. The Methodist Church's identity is also unknown but could have been associated with the current Wake Forest United Methodist Church.

⁷ National Register of Historic Places, Dr. Calvin Jones House, Historic and Architectural Resources of Wake County, North Carolina, Wake Forest, Wake County, North Carolina, National Register #16000880; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 69. Paschal points out that there was also a flower garden about where Lea Laboratory stands today. It would have likely been on the other side of the oak grove leading up to the fence along the road to the east. The road ran north and south possibly from Oxford to Raleigh.

extended along the western side of the road. The homes of the enslaved were likely in a field lining the east side of the road. On some estates, such as Tuckahoe and Howard's Neck in Virginia, enslaved dwellings would flank the road leading to the main house. It may have been Jones's hope that guests would be impressed by the number of people he enslaved indicated by the dwellings. The Jones Plantation also resembles the Cedar Grove Plantation plan of Halifax County, North Carolina. Like at Cedar Grove, Jones placed the enslaved quarters approximately 100 yards away from the main residence and screened by trees to keep them out of sight of the main building (see *Figure 1* in *Appendix*).⁸ According to Jones's *Farm Journal*, "Corn about the negro houses and margin of the low grounds is 5 feet high – poor low grounds 2 feet – over the road towards Holden 2 feet."⁹ This suggests that at least several of the enslaved dwellings were in the northeast field, not within the oak grove nor in the direction of the Holden plantation to the southeast. There were more houses north of the vegetable garden, which was north of the Jones house.¹⁰ A description of the structures as they were in 1834 was given by Samuel Wait in the 1850s as "substantial log cabins, made mostly of white oak, with hewn logs; good doors, floors, roofs, and, with one exception, windows."¹¹ A plan for the central chimneys of these dwellings

⁸ A. G. Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest," *The Wake Forest Student* 21, (1901-1902), 8; John Michal Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 21, 186.

⁹ *Farm Journal, 1820-1835* in the Calvin Jones Papers #921, Southern Historical Collection of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 195. Calvin Jones's farm journal is a ledger-like journal that includes entries detailing daily farm activities, diagrams and construction plans (gates, fences, chimneys, farm machines, etc.), and drawings of fields.

¹⁰ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 69; A. G. Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest," 86.

¹¹ Samuel Wait, "The Origin and Early History of Wake Forest College," *The Wake Forest Student* 2, (1882-1883), 53-54.

and the office of Calvin Jones can be found in the *Farm Journal* (see *Figure 2* in *Appendix*).¹²

The overseer's house was grouped amongst offices and other outbuildings, like the stables, but not among the homes of the enslaved workers.¹³ This defined that space as a managerial section of the estate.¹⁴

Calvin Jones drew diagrams of the fields in relation to his house, Richland Creek, and the road which ran in front of the house (see *Figure 3* in *Appendix*).¹⁵ The fields behind the house extended westward to Richland Creek, with the lowland fields nearest the creek. The upland fields surrounded the house and extended to the north, south, and east. The orchard was south of the house. The main water sources on the plantation were a well to the rear of the house and a stream to the northeast near the gullies and close to the slave dwellings.¹⁶ There was also a pond near Richland Creek.¹⁷

¹² *Farm Journal*, 250. The plan of the chimney may be helpful in identifying the houses of enslaved people and Calvin Jones's office in future investigations.

¹³ *Farm Journal*, 96, 98. In his *Farm Journal*, Jones includes duties of his overseers and complaints about how they fall short of what Jones deems as a good overseer. He dedicates a few pages listing qualities he looks for in a good overseer and qualities of bad ones. Good qualities include being able to catch and flog an enslaved person and owning a dog that can track down and catch a person if they run. There were many occurrences of enslaved people on the plantation attempting to escape.

¹⁴ Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 138. The Jones Plantation was possibly divided into sections much like the Farintosh plantation in Durham County, NC.

¹⁵ *Farm Journal*, 96, 98.

¹⁶ *Farm Journal*, 96, 98. In one instance recorded in the *Farm Journal*, the overseer did not let the enslaved workers take water to the fields with them. It mentions that the water was about one mile from where the enslaved were working in the fields. It is unclear which water source the enslaved workers would have used.

¹⁷ David R. Cerecy, "Early Days at Wake Forest College," *The Wake Forest Student* 28, no. 4, (January 1909) 311.

The stables were likely southwest of the house, near the overseer's home and on the western edge of the upland fields.¹⁸ Other structures included a corn crib, shelter for cattle, shelter for carts and wagons, coal house, workshop, oven, and milk house.¹⁹ The locations of these structures are unknown but they may be among the farm buildings southwest of the main house mentioned by George Paschal in the *History of Wake Forest College*.²⁰

When the doors of the Manual Labor Institute opened for students in February 1834, the buildings that faculty and students used were, at first, those which Calvin Jones left behind when he moved to Tennessee in 1832. Samuel Wait, President of the Institute, his wife Sarah (Sally) Wait, and her brother, C. R. Merriam, who served as the steward and farmer, lived together in the Jones house. Years later, students recalled living in the enslaved cabins east of the house.²¹ The 16 feet by 24 feet carriage house was used for chapel and lectures, the office was also used for lectures, and students operated the blacksmith shop.²²

The Trustees intended to pay neighboring enslavers to hire their enslaved laborers to work on campus, however the Trustees underestimated the amount of work needed to run the plantation and waited too late in the hiring season to acquire the number of enslaved laborers that they wanted.²³ In 1834, Merriam, the students, two enslaved men, Ellich and Harry, Harry's

¹⁸ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 69; *Farm Journal*, 38. In his *Farm Journal*, Jones describes the upland fields as being near the house and across the road while the lowland fields were to the west near Richland Creek.

¹⁹ *Farm Journal*, 101, 104, 137, 140.

²⁰ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 69.

²¹ G. W. Paschal, "A History of Wake Forest College," *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, (1924-1925), 20.

²² "An Interview with Wake Forest's First Student," 304; Letter from Samuel Wait to John Armstrong, March 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers, (MS117), Folder 2, Box 4, Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives; G. W. Paschal, "A History of Wake Forest College," 20.

²³ Wait, "The Origins and Early History of Wake Forest College," 54.

wife, and a young girl or woman named Charlotte were the primary laborers on campus.²⁴ The Trustees paid William Crenshaw for the labor of Ellich, Charlotte, and Harry and his wife. It is unclear where they lived on campus, but it is likely they slept in the Jones house with the Waits or in the kitchen building to the north. Ellich and Harry held specific roles on campus. One worked in the field leading the oxen and the other was the cook.²⁵ In late 1835 or 1836 the Institute paid A. J. Battle or D. Thompson for the hiring of an enslaved man named Philip who laid floors in one of the buildings on campus.²⁶ Because of the Trustees' difficulty finding enslaved workers, the Waits had to take part in duties otherwise reserved for the enslaved such as making feather mattresses for students and cooking.²⁷

Students paid people enslaved by farmers on neighboring plantations to cook and bring them late-night dinners. A former student, A. G. Headen, recalled a story from 1834 of a blind enslaved man who climbed over the fence to bring food to the students' quarters.²⁸ It is unclear whether this man was hired by the Institute. Students also recalled an African-American man named Peter who brought late-night meals to the cabins on weekends.²⁹

²⁴ Letter from Samuel Wait to Thomas Meredith, March 31, 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117), Folder 2, Box 4; Enrollment Book, Jody Totten Collection, Box 128, Wake Forest Historical Museum; 1830 United States Census, New Bern, North Carolina, "Samuel Wait," 7. In 1834, Samuel Wait wrote to Thomas Meredith that the Institute employed two enslaved men. There is no record of their names, until the Enrollment Book of 1834 documents payments to William Crenshaw for the hiring of Ellich, Harry and his wife, and Charlotte; Although two enslaved women lived at Samuel Wait's residence in New Bern in 1830, it is not likely that they moved to campus with him, as they are not mentioned in any records nor do they show up in the 1840 census.

²⁵ Letter from Samuel Wait to Thomas Meredith, March 31, 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117).

²⁶ Statement of Payments between A. J. Battle and D. Thompson and Wake Forest Institute, 1836, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117), Folder 8, Box 4.

²⁷ Wait, "The Origins and Early History of Wake Forest College," 52-55.

²⁸ Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest," 86; David R. Cerecy, "Early Days at Wake Forest College," 311.

²⁹ Sanders M. Ingram, "Manual Labor Days at Wake Forest," *The Wake Forest Student* 13, 1893-1894, 199.

When the Institute opened, all of the buildings and fences were degraded and out of repair, and the accommodations were not large enough to hold more than seventy-eight students.³⁰ The carriage house, located to the rear of where Stealy Hall and the Library are today, was the only building large enough to hold chapel. However, the building was still not large enough to hold every student.³¹ The largest room in the Jones house was 18 feet square and there was no space for all the students to dine together. The solution was to erect a 70 feet long cloth tent under which all of the students could fit to take meals.³² The kitchen was only large enough for a single family and was equipped as such, not for the great number of students who had entered the Institute in 1834. It was separate and likely north of the Jones house near the dinning tent, as there was an exterior door on the north side of the house which entered the dining room.³³

Improvements to the accommodations quickly began after classes started and four buildings were constructed in the early years of the Manual Labor Institute. The Trustees commissioned Isham Young to build one two-story house, 50 feet by 30 feet, and a smaller house, 26 feet by 12 feet, and Foster Fort to build another small house, 26 feet by 12 feet. The 1830 census reported that Forster Fort enslaved fifteen people and the 1840 census reported that

³⁰ J. H. Gorrell, "A History of the Grounds of Wake Forest College," *Bulletin of Wake Forest College* 2, no. 2, 1907, 100; Letter from Samuel Wait to Prof. A. Caswell, February 23, 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117); *Minutes of the Baptist State Convention*, 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117).

³¹ Sanders M. Ingram, "Manual Labor Days at Wake Forest," *The Wake Forest Student* 13, (1893-1894), 197.

³² Wait, "The Origins and Early History of Wake Forest College," 54.

³³ Sanders M. Ingram, "Manual Labor Days at Wake Forest," 75.

Young enslaved two people.³⁴ Fort and Young likely brought these individuals to campus to construct the buildings.

Often referred to as “temporary buildings,” these three structures were meant to be used until a permanent college building could be constructed.³⁵ Completed by the end of 1834, each temporary building included a separate ten-foot shed and stack chimney. The two smaller structures were on opposite ends of the campus, one on the north end and the other on the south end.³⁶ Their specific locations are unknown. The larger building was located near the carriage house. Students constructed a fourth building in 1835.³⁷ The structure was a small four room house for professors. The building is likely portrayed to the right and rear of the College Building in the 1850 Lithograph of Wake Forest College (see *Figure 4 in Appendix*) which could be the building mentioned in the 1890s by a former student, G. W. Greene, as being twenty steps from the northwest corner of the College Building.³⁸

Of the larger temporary building commissioned to Young, Paschal writes, “the first floor was used for recitation rooms and probably college chapel. The second floor was divided into lodging rooms.”³⁹ The structure was eventually moved sometime after June 1844 to the rear of John M. Brewer’s property on Lot 27 (see *Figure 5 in Appendix*) By 1849 it came into the use of

³⁴ 1830 United States Census, Forrest [sic], Wake County, North Carolina, “Foster Fort,” 6; 1840 United States Census, Wake County, North Carolina, “Isham Young,” 31.

³⁵ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 104.

³⁶ Crenshaw, “An Interview with Wake Forest’s First Student,” 304.

³⁷ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 104-105, 108.

³⁸ G. W. Greene, “A Quarter of a Century at Wake Forest,” *The Wake Forest Student* 10, no. 7, (1890-91), 421.

³⁹ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 104.

the black Baptist congregation and became known as the “African Chapel.”⁴⁰ During the Civil War the two congregations regrouped and held services together in this building while the College Building, where the white congregation previously held services, was being used as a hospital for wounded soldiers.⁴¹ After the Civil War, the black congregation became formally known as Olive Branch Baptist Church, and in 1879 they moved northeast to a new building on East Juniper Avenue where they continue to hold services.⁴² The original building no longer stands.

In the late 1830s, the Institute began allowing faculty to bring more enslaved people to work on the plantation due to students’ unwillingness to participate in “dirty work.”⁴³ The farmer who replaced Merriam, Henry Wall, brought a woman and five children to campus in 1835. Three of the children worked as agricultural laborers.⁴⁴ Wall lived in either the north or south temporary building with a professor, John Armstrong.⁴⁵ In 1836, Jesse Jones replaced Wall and likely brought one enslaved woman to work with him.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ J. H. Gorrell, “The Wake Forest Baptist Church: 1835-1865,” *The Wake Forest Student* 31, (1911-1912), 93.

⁴¹ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 194.

⁴² “History of Olive Branch Baptist Church,” Olive Branch Baptist Church, accessed July 24, 2019, olivebranch-baptist.com/about-us/history/.

⁴³ Paschal, *Wake Forest College Bulletin*, 1925-1927, 41. Paschal cites “Amicus in a November 2, 1836 *Biblical Recorder* article.”

⁴⁴ Sikes, E. W. Sikes, “The Genesis of Wake Forest College,” in *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905* by North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, 555; 1840 United States Census, Wake County, North Carolina, “Henry Wall,” 17.

⁴⁵ Crenshaw, “An Interview with Wake Forest’s First Student,” 304

⁴⁶ 1840 United States Census, Wake County, North Carolina, “Jesse Jones,” 28; G. W. Paschal, “A History of Wake Forest College,” *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, 1926-1927, 9.

From 1838 to 1839, either the north or south temporary building was lived in by the new steward, George Ryan. Ryan was allowed to bring two enslaved women “for the use of the Institute.”⁴⁷ The steward was required to:

Visit all unoccupied students’ rooms, and outhouses, keep them locked and preserve the key... to pay all necessary attention to sick students, but to see that in no case food was carried in the College Building except to a sick student... to keep an account with every student charging [them] with all the injury [they] might do to the property of the Trustees; if the injury could not be fixed on its doer it was to be charged to the general account.⁴⁸

Those enslaved individuals who worked with the steward also carried out these tasks. According to the 1840 census George Ryan enslaved three individuals. A free African-American woman also lived with him. Two of the three enslaved individuals were likely the two who helped him with his steward work. The third enslaved person likely worked as an agricultural laborer on campus.⁴⁹

In 1842, Samuel Wait purchased the north temporary building from the College and moved it behind his home on Lot 23, intending that his daughter Ann Eliza and her husband John Brewer would make it their summer residence.⁵⁰ Charles Taylor purchased and renovated the Wait house in the 1870s. It was then that he moved the north temporary building west to the corner of North College Street and Pine Avenue, where it resides today.

⁴⁷ Sikes, “The Genesis of Wake Forest College,” 554; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 450-451.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ 1840 United States Census, Wake County, North Carolina, “George Ryan,” 15.

⁵⁰ Letter from John M. Brewer to Ann Eliza, August 31, 1844, in procession of author; J. H. Gorrell, “A History of the Grounds of Wake Forest College,” 101; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 104, 195.

The history of the south temporary building is not well recorded. It could be the Ryan house or the farmer's house, but it is uncertain. It is only known to have eventually become part of a residence on the corner of South Main St. and Elm Ave. which no longer stands. According to Paschal, it was used for a time there as a school.⁵¹

To provide more space for an increasing number of students, John Berry, an architect and builder from Hillsborough, North Carolina, began construction on the College Building in 1835. Trustees intended the College Building to sit on the original location of the Calvin Jones house and serve as a permanent administrative building, chapel, dormitory, and meeting space for the Institute.⁵² The Jones house was moved approximately 50 yards west.⁵³ The College Building was designed by Thomas Ligon.⁵⁴ Ligon's design was printed in the *Biblical Recorder* of December 30, 1834:

The whole front is 32 feet in length. The centre building 46 by 61 feet, the wings 43 by 45 feet, contain fifty-three rooms. The centre building is three stories, and has the following rooms. viz: The first floor is a chapel 57 by 42 feet, and 18 feet pitch. The second floor contains a Philosophical and Chemical room, and a Library room 42 by 25 feet, 10 feet pitch and a lobby 42 by 8 feet. The third floor contains two Society rooms 43 by 26 feet, 10 feet pitch with arched ceiling, and a lobby 43 by 8 feet. The wings are four stories. The first and second stories are 10 feet pitch, the third and fourth 9 feet pitch. There are 12 study rooms on each floor 13 by 15 feet, and a lobby 10 feet.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 198.

⁵² Diary of William Tell Brooks. William Tell Brooks Papers (MS12), Folder 22, Box 1, Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives. The dormitories of the College Building were moved into on August 24, 1836 and worship was first conducted in the College Chapel on July 2, 1837.

⁵³ National Register of Historic Places, Dr. Calvin Jones House, Historic and Architectural Resources of Wake County, North Carolina, Wake Forest, Wake County, North Carolina, National Register #16000880

⁵⁴ "Ligon and Perry," *North Carolina Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*, accessed July 25, 2019, <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000599>.

⁵⁵ Thomas Meredith, "Wake Forest," *The Biblical Recorder*, December 30, 1834.

Individuals enslaved by John Berry undertook construction of the College Building and likely had a role in the construction or improvement of every building on campus built from 1834 to 1838 except the one house built by students in 1835.⁵⁶ These include the North and South Brick Houses, each two stories high 36 feet long and 32 feet wide, the north and south temporary buildings, the large temporary building, and the College Building.⁵⁷ According to a descendant of Berry, he likely moved his entire family and enslaved laborers to the college during his commission. Enslaved workers brought all of Berry's tools and equipment and constructed quarters to live in until the work was completed.⁵⁸ Months before construction began, the laborers would cut lumber, make brick near the site, and gather materials. The brick was made near a stream to the northeast between the present campus and the railroad.⁵⁹

The number of enslaved people who moved to the College with Berry is unknown, but an idea of their count can be gathered from the 1830 and 1840 censuses. Berry likely arrived on campus before August 1835, and he had returned to his home in Hillsborough by March 1840.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ "An Interview with Wake Forest's First Student," 305; Account with John Berry, 1838. Folder 1, Box 8, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117).

⁵⁷ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 113. Eva I. Gatling, "John Berry of Hillsboro, North Carolina," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1951, John Berry Papers (MS5), Folder 5, Box 1. The work on the South Brick House is well documented in the *Board of Trustees Minutes*, but I was unable to gain access to them.

⁵⁸ *Hillsborough Historical Society, Inc. News-Letter* No. 18, John Berry Papers (MS5), Folder 5, Box 1, Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives.

⁵⁹ J. H. Gorrell, "A History of the Grounds of Wake Forest College," 102; David R. Cerecy, "Early Days at Wake Forest College," 311; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 111-112. *Farm Journal*, 323. In his *Farm Journal*, Calvin Jones mentions gullies near a stream on his property. The brick was likely made in this vicinity. The brick hole was known to fill with water and Cerecy mentions boys skating on the ice in the brick hole in winter after a freeze.

⁶⁰ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 111. The article that Paschal quotes from is from a November 18, 1835 issue of the *Biblical Recorder*; Correspondence from John Berry to Samuel Wait, March 1840, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117).

The 1830 census records seventeen people in Berry's household, ten enslaved blacks and seven free whites.⁶¹ The 1840 census shows that twenty-eight people lived in Berry's household, sixteen enslaved blacks and twelve free whites.⁶²

While working on the campus, two people enslaved by Berry died from falling from the College Building during its construction.⁶³ Paschal claimed that they were buried in the Wake Forest Cemetery, but he did not cite this information.⁶⁴ The *Board of Trustees Minutes* and the *Diary of William T. Brooks*, which both discuss the laying off of the early Wake Forest Cemetery, may discuss the burials of these two men. Paschal writes that they were buried in a single pit grave surrounded by walls of brick which were about two feet tall. The brick walls were lost by 1898. According to Francis M. Jordan the graves were in an "old field" to the east of campus. The "old field" was referred to by students to be the area between the railroad and the oaks which surrounded the main campus buildings.⁶⁵ It may be that Berry's enslaved men were buried in this vicinity, but it is uncertain.

⁶¹ 1830 United States Census, Orange County, North Carolina, "John Berry," 3.

⁶² 1840 United States Census, Orange County, North Carolina, "John Berry," 99.

⁶³ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 112; Francis M. Jordan, *Life and Labors of Elder F. M. Jordan*, (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton 1899), 40.

⁶⁴ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 112.

⁶⁵ Jordan, *Life and Labors of F. M. Jordan*, 40; Greene, "A Quarter of a Century at Wake Forest," 421; James Henry Foote, "Reminiscences of Early College Life," *The Wake Forest Student* 28, no. 4, January 1909, 332.

By 1840 the Waits had moved into the North Brick House.⁶⁶ According to the 1840 census, two enslaved men and two enslaved women worked for Wait.⁶⁷ The men were likely employed in agriculture on Wait's farm and the women likely worked in the Wait household.⁶⁸ According to an 1839 bill of sale, the two women's names were Dicey and Mary.⁶⁹ Dicey and Mary may have lived in the house with the Waits or in an outbuilding on the North Brick House property.⁷⁰

To pay off the great amount of debt the College had accumulated during the construction of the College Building, the Trustees decided to sell whatever lands were no longer needed by the College in 1838.⁷¹ In February 1839, a committee created by the Board of Trustees surveyed the College's property and created a lot map. The lot map and future sales laid the foundation for the Town of Wake Forest's development.⁷²

⁶⁶ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 191, 401. Paschal claims that the Waits lived in the North Brick House until about 1846, however it is more likely that they had moved to their new property on N. Main St. on Lot 23 around 1843 seen in Ann Eliza and John Brewer's 1844 letters cited previously about the movement of the temporary buildings.

⁶⁷ 1840 United States Census, Wake County, North Carolina, "Samuel Wait," 24.

⁶⁸ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 397.

⁶⁹ Samuel Wait Bill of Sale, January 1, 1839, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117).

⁷⁰ Those enslaved by the Waits likely lived with the family and C. R. Merriam in the Calvin Jones house or in the kitchen to the north of the house. Dicey and Mary likely lived with the Waits in the North Brick House from 1839-1842.

⁷¹ Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 188.

⁷² Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, 195. Paschal elaborates on these land sales. Notably, Samuel Wait purchased Lots 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 45, and 47 in 1842 to create a farm which he called Elmwood. Not much is known about this farm other than its location. Elmwood's land was likely worked by enslaved hands.

Future research of these land sales and the development of the Town of Wake Forest will provide a more complete picture of the built landscape of Wake Forest College.⁷³ While much of the town's development took place after the Civil War, enslaved men and women lived and worked on many of the residential properties in what is now the contemporary Wake Forest Historic District. Such a study should also consider the communities enslaved African-Americans created and preserved after emancipation, particularly the community created by the Olive Branch congregation and the relationships among field laborers and domestic workers.

This research is incomplete, constrained by time and resources. Many sources consulted throughout this report cite the *Board of Trustees Minutes*, but I was unable to gain access to these records. They would have been especially helpful in understanding Berry's commission and the experiences of the enslaved people who built the College Building and the Brick Houses. Additionally, I suggest future researchers look more closely at the *Diaries of William Tell Brooks*, Calvin Jones's *Farm Journal*, the *Samuel and Sally Wait Papers*, and the *Sanders Meredith Ingram Papers*.⁷⁴ Other collections which may be helpful are the *Foster Fort*, *Isham Young*, and *Samuel Wait Collections* at the North Carolina State Archives. This project will take

⁷³ For example, sometime before 1850, an unidentified building was moved to Lot 26 where it became a store. It is not clear who moved the building to Lot 26 or who operated the store. According to Paschal, the College likely owned the lot until after the Civil War and the building was rented for a store well into the 1850s. The building can be seen on Lot 26 in the 1850 Lithograph of WFC Campus.

⁷⁴ The *Diaries of William Tell Brooks*, the *Samuel and Sally Wait Papers*, and the *Sanders Meredith Ingram Papers* can all be found at the Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, USA. Calvin Jones's *Farm Journal* can be found at the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The *Diaries of William Tell Brooks* is cited in Paschal as describing the setting off of the graveyard for the first student who died on campus. Brooks may also talk about the graves of the enslaved who died while constructing the College Building. The *Farm Journal* provides daily entries of farm activities, overseer duties, machinery and infrastructure construction directions with diagrams, diagrams of the fields on the Calvin Jones Plantation, amongst other general plantation information which will be helpful in understanding the lived experience on the Plantation. I believe a letter from Malachi Nicholas Strickland found at the ZSR Special Collections and Archives at WFU may also be helpful in describing the early campus.

several years before it reaches completion, but I hope this study will prove valuable to future researchers who seek to understand all who lived, worked, and built Wake Forest College.

Appendix

Figure 1. Plan of the Cedar Grove Plantation, Halifax County, NC from John Michael Vlach's *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 210.

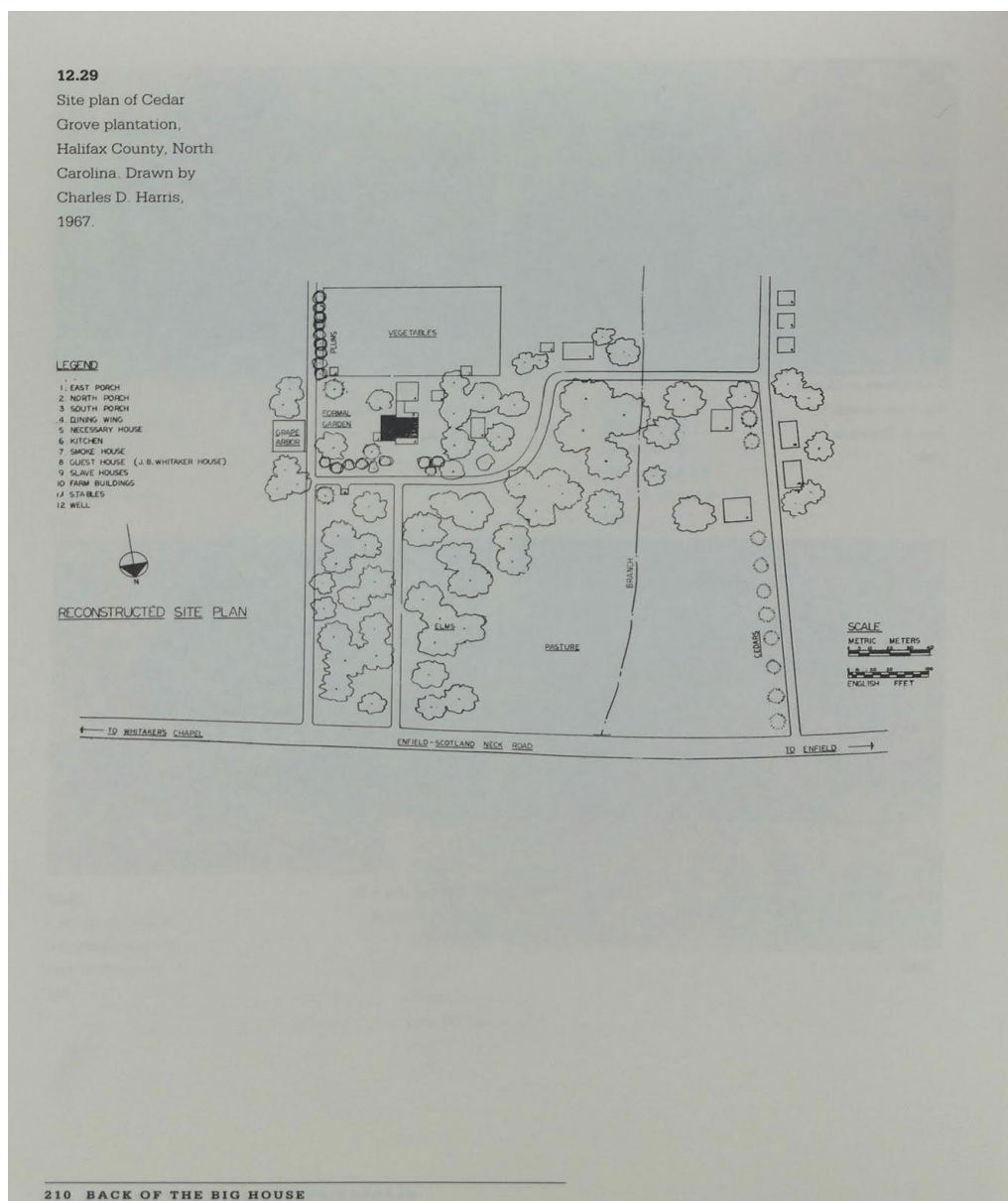


Figure 2. Plan of Chimneys of the Houses for the Enslaved or Office at the Calvin Jones Plantation by Calvin Jones. *Farm Journal*, 1820-1835, in the Calvin Jones Papers #921, Southern Historical Collection of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 250.

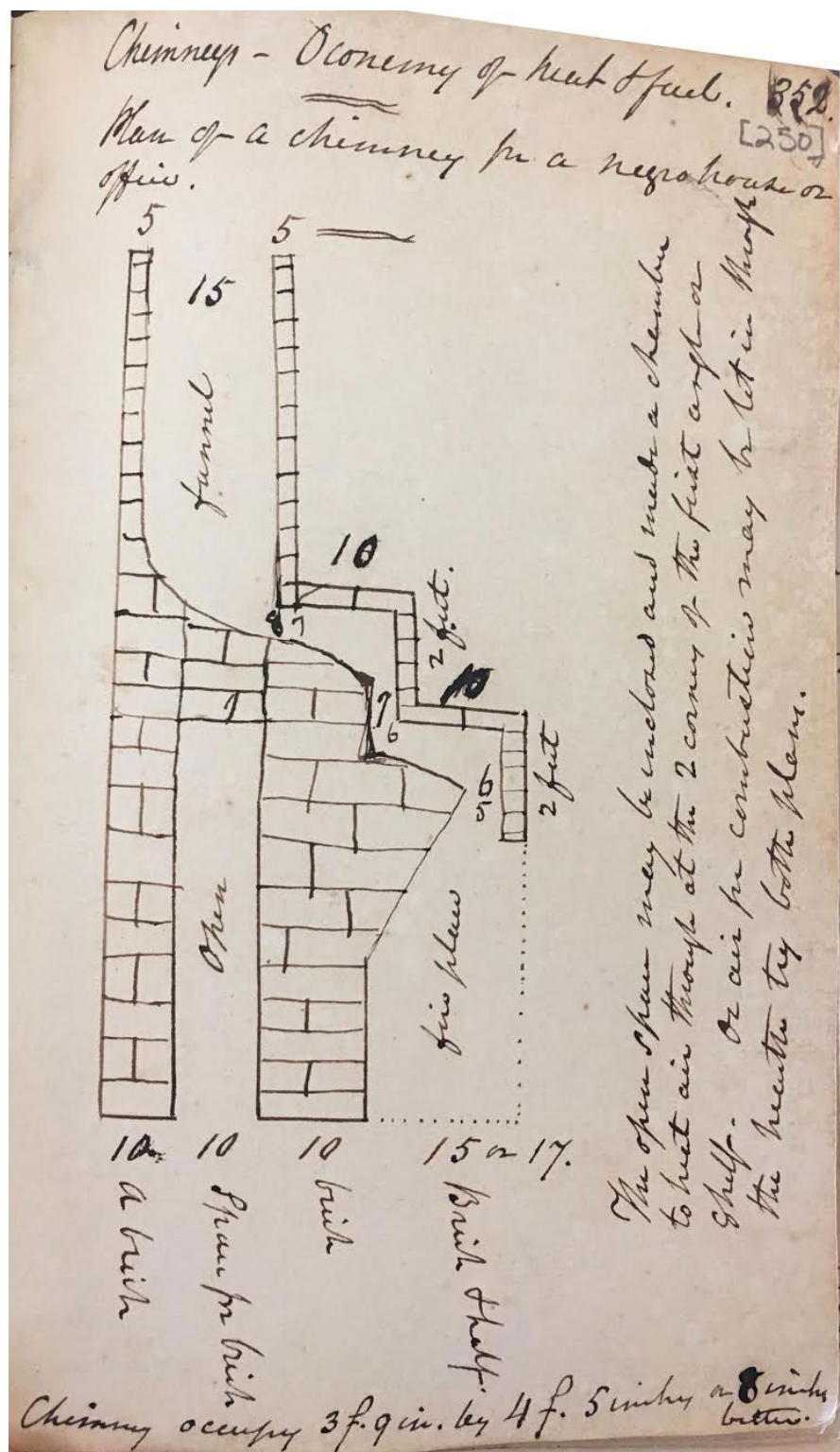


Figure 3. Plantation Field Diagrams by Calvin Jones from his *Farm Journal*. *Farm Journal*, 1820-1835, in the Calvin Jones Papers #921, Southern Historical Collection of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 96, 98.

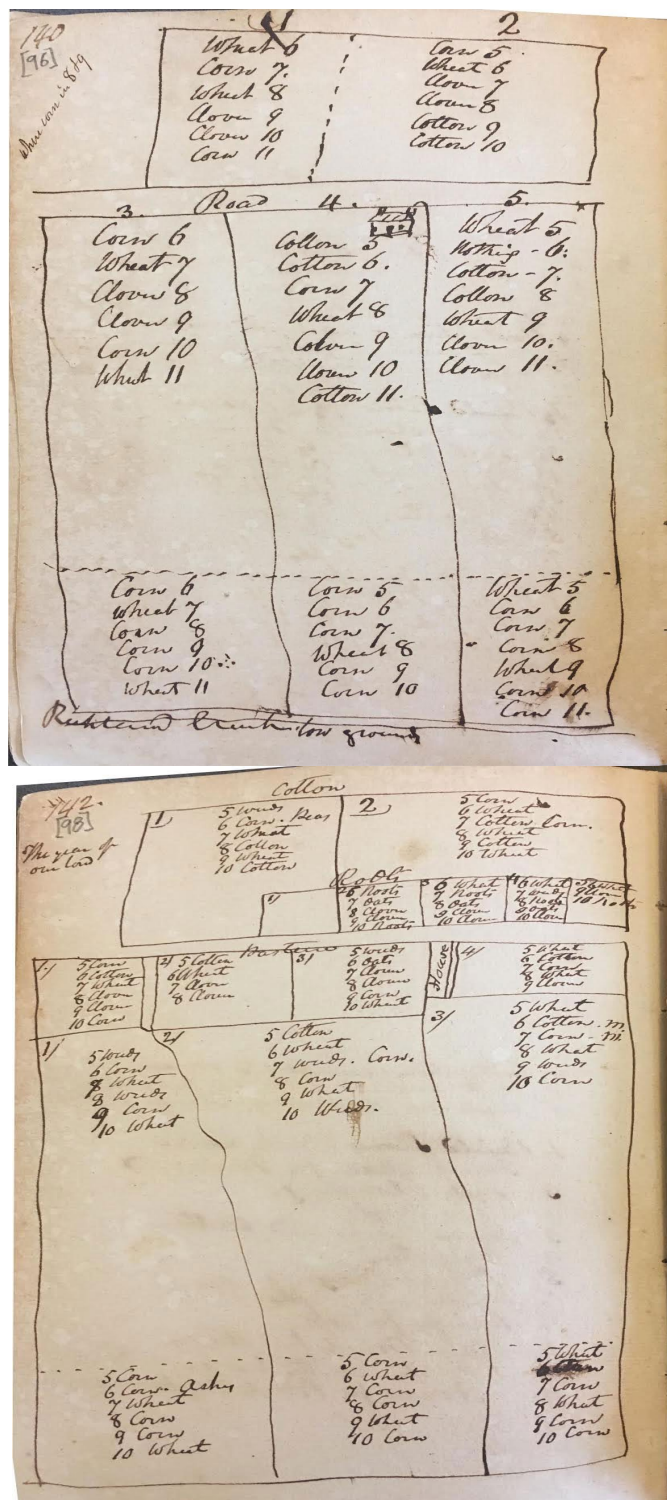


Figure 4. Lithograph of Wake Forest College Campus, 1850, Wake Forest Historical Museum.



Figure 5. Wake Forest Town Plot Map created by a committee appointed by the Board of Trustees in 1839 to lay off lots of College land to be sold to create a town. J. H. Gorrell, "A History of the Grounds of Wake Forest College," *Bulletin of Wake Forest College* 2, no. 2, 103.

