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

Christopher P. Lehman is a professor of ethnic studies at St. Cloud State University. He is the author of Slavery in the Upper Mississippi Valley (McFarland, 2011). He was a visiting fellow at Harvard University’s W. E. B. DuBois Institute in the summer of 2011.
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.2

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.3 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 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.4

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.5

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.6

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.7

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 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,

Alexander Ramsey, ca. 1860.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

**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...
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.12

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 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.13

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 New Hampshire. Together they sold real estate across Minnesota.14

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.15

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.16

In the meantime, Mendenhall himself may have participated in the slave trade after settling in the 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.17

Clearly, Beede and Mendenhall saw the influence of the ownership of more than 100 unfree African Americans as a selling point for their business.
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 household 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.18

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.19

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...
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 registrar 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.20

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 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.”21

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

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.

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.22

**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.23

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 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.24

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.28

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.
instances of slavery, from the soldiers at Fort Equality in Early Minnesota (St. Paul: Minnesota Peculiar Imbalance: The Fall and Rise of Racial against the US Army in 1862. William D. Green, in Minnesota and later fought with the Dakota

tells of Joseph Godfrey, who escaped his owner
Northern Slave, Black Southern soldiers stationed at Fort Snelling, and
they there. He emancipated Downs
in January 1858 and Ross 12 months later. In 1864, Minnesota appointed
 Nicol s 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.26

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 horti-
cultural 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.27

More than 150 years after the end
of the Civil War and the prohibition of
legal slavery, many of the slavehold-
ers’ 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, Min-
nesota 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
tells of Joseph Godfrey, who escaped his owner
in Minnesota and later fought with the Dakota
instances of slavery, from the soldiers at Fort
Snelling to Southern guests in Minnesota’s
hotels, and it identifies a district court’s emanci-
pating in 1860 of Eliza Winston—a slave of a Mis-
sissippian 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).

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
8, 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 Pica-
yune, Dec. 29, 1855, 5.

7. Thomas Winston to Alexander Ramsey,
Dec. 12, 1855, Alexander Ramsey Papers, micro-
film reel 9, frame 602, MNHS; Helen McCann
White, Guide to a Microfilm Edition of the Alexan-
der Ramsey Papers and Records (St. Paul: Minne-
sota 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
issue of Crossings and “Brought to Light: The Uni-
versity of Minnesota’s Heritage of Slavery,” Hen-
nepin History 75, no. 2 (2016): 4–11. For examples
of younger investors (e.g., Harwood Iglehart,
Thomas Calhoun), see Lehman’s “The Slavehold-
ers of Payne-Phalen” in the winter 2016 issue of
Ramsey County History and “The Slaveholders of
Lowry’s Addition.”


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.


18. US 1850 Census, Southern District, Hertford County, NC, 54; R. J. Mendenhall, diary entry, Oct. 11, 1858, R. J. Mendenhall Papers; US 1860 Census, Minneapolis Third Ward, Hennepin County, MN, 219; Samuel J. Pickens to Abel Gardner, R. J. Mendenhall Papers.


Photo on p. 270 (top) Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-BH83-30228, (bottom) image from Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser of May 6, 1858, courtesy of author; p. 271, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, (top) HABS SC-10-CHAR-177—2, (bottom) HABS SC-10-CHAR-177—7. All other photos are in MNHS collections.
If you think you may need permission, here are some guidelines:

**Students and researchers**
- You **do not** need permission to quote or paraphrase portions of an article, as long as your work falls within the fair use provision of copyright law. Using information from an article to develop an argument is fair use. Quoting brief pieces of text in an unpublished paper or thesis is fair use. Even quoting in a work to be published can be fair use, depending on the amount quoted. Read about fair use here: [http://www.copyright.gov/fls/fl102.html](http://www.copyright.gov/fls/fl102.html)
- You **should**, however, always credit the article as a source for your work.

**Teachers**
- You **do not** need permission to incorporate parts of an article into a lesson.
- You **do** need permission to assign an article, either by downloading multiple copies or by sending students to the online pdf. There is a small per-copy use fee for assigned reading. [Contact us](mailto:contactus@mnhs.org) for more information.

**About Illustrations**
- [Minnesota History](http://www.mnhistory.org) credits the sources for illustrations at the end of each article. [Minnesota History](http://www.mnhistory.org) itself does not hold copyright on images and therefore cannot grant permission to reproduce them.
- For information on using illustrations owned by the Minnesota Historical Society, see [MHS Library FAQ](http://www.mnhistory.org).