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***Slavery and Emancipation in the Mountain South***

**Sources, Evidence, and Methods**

**for**

***Slavery in the American Mountain South***

**and**

***The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation***

**Wilma A. Dunaway (Cambridge University Press, 2002)**

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**Tables 1.1 to 1.17**

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Table 1.1

## Percentage of Total Population Enslaved, 1810-1860

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| American<br>Zone:               | 1810 | 1820 | 1840 | 1860 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| United States                   | 16.5 | 15.9 | 14.6 | 12.6 |
| Southern States                 | 33.5 | 34.1 | 40.7 | 36.8 |
| <i>Appalachian Counties of:</i> |      |      |      |      |
| Alabama                         | na   | 9.3  | 19.2 | 20.4 |
| Georgia                         | na   | 8.2  | 13.8 | 21.3 |
| Kentucky                        | 11.1 | 8.6  | 10.8 | 6.9  |
| Maryland                        | 14.9 | 14.8 | 9.6  | 5.1  |
| North Carolina                  | 11.1 | 16.7 | 12.3 | 11.3 |
| South Carolina                  | na   | na   | 18.9 | 21.4 |
| Tennessee                       | 9.1  | 9.1  | 9.7  | 9.9  |
| Virginia                        | 26.4 | 19.1 | 27.6 | 24.6 |
| West Virginia                   | 10.3 | 21.1 | 7.7  | 4.9  |
| Region                          | 17.2 | 15.3 | 15.3 | 13.9 |

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Source: Derived from analysis of aggregated county totals in the published Censuses for these years.

Table 1.2  
Change in Population, 1820-1860

| American<br>Zone:               | % Increase or (Decrease)<br>in Population |         |
|---------------------------------|---|---------|
|                                 | Free                                      | Slave   |
| United States                   | 226.2                                     | 158.2   |
| <i>Appalachian Counties of:</i> |   |         |
| Alabama                         | 795.1                                     | 2,130.1 |
| Georgia & South Carolina        | 1,725.9                                   | 4,300.0 |
| Kentucky                        | 172.2                                     | 69.5    |
| Maryland                        | 64.2                                      | (49.9)  |
| North Carolina                  | 112.4                                     | 75.6    |
| Tennessee                       | 147.8                                     | 183.5   |
| Virginia                        | 66.9                                      | 37.0    |
| West Virginia                   | 193.0                                     | 23.8    |
| Mountainous Terrain             | 299.2                                     | 317.8   |
| Hill-Plateau Terrain            | 169.9                                     | 101.6   |
| Ridge-Valley Terrain            | 117.9                                     | 108.7   |
| Southern Appalachia             | 162.4                                     | 105.5   |

Source: Calculated from aggregated county totals in the published censuses  
Population

Table 1.3

## Black Appalachians and Slaveholders in Southern Appalachia, 1860

| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | Black Appalachians    |               |                       | No.<br>Slave-<br>holders |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
|                             | No.<br>Free<br>Blacks | No.<br>Slaves | % Total<br>Population |                          |
| Alabama                     | 96                    | 36,841        | 20.5                  | 4,583                    |
| Georgia                     | 115                   | 29,744        | 21.5                  | 3,916                    |
| Kentucky                    | 516                   | 13,280        | 7.6                   | 2,564                    |
| Maryland                    | 2,769                 | 5,344         | 11.8                  | 1,379                    |
| North Carolina              | 776                   | 16,439        | 12.7                  | 2,528                    |
| South Carolina              | 43                    | 4,195         | 22.0                  | 529                      |
| Tennessee                   | 1,454                 | 38,666        | 10.9                  | 7,321                    |
| Virginia                    | 3,863                 | 115,192       | 25.3                  | 14,307                   |
| West Virginia               | 1,085                 | 18,371        | 6.2                   | 3,603                    |
| Region                      | 10,717                | 278,072       | 15.2                  | 40,370                   |

Source: Derived from analysis of aggregated totals in the published Census Population.

Table 1.4

## Change in Appalachian Slaveholding, 1800-1860

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| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | <u>% Land Owners Holding Slaves</u> |      |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|------|
|                             | Frontier<br>Years                   | 1860 |
| Cherokee Nation             | 7.5                                 | 0    |
| Alabama                     | 30.8                                | 39.2 |
| Georgia &<br>South Carolina | 29.6                                | 41.5 |
| Kentucky                    | 35.0                                | 14.0 |
| Maryland                    | 26.5                                | 31.2 |
| North Carolina              | 20.7                                | 24.3 |
| Tennessee                   | 23.8                                | 32.9 |
| Virginia                    | 46.7                                | 57.4 |
| West Virginia               | 17.9                                | 12.4 |
| Region                      | 27.8                                | 32.4 |

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Source: The Cherokee estimate is derived from analysis of the 2,776 households in the manuscript "Census Roll, 1835, of the Cherokee Indians." The frontier estimates are derived from analysis of 1790-1800 county tax lists; see Dunbar, First American Frontier, Appendix, for methods. The 1860 estimates are derived from analysis of the farm sample drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture manuscripts; households were cross-matched with the manuscript slave schedule.

Table 1.5

## Ownership of Land and Slaves by Appalachian Households, 1860

| Appalachian<br>Counties of  | <u>% All Households</u>       |                     |       |       |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|
|                             | <u>Land Owning Households</u> |                     |       |       |
|                             | <u>Nonslaveholders</u>        | <u>Slaveholders</u> |       |       |
|                             | Landless                      | Landed              | Small | Large |
| Alabama                     | 44.9                          | 33.5                | 19.0  | 2.6   |
| Georgia &<br>South Carolina | 39.6                          | 35.4                | 22.5  | 2.5   |
| Kentucky                    | 35.7                          | 55.3                | 8.9   | 0.1   |
| Maryland                    | 42.9                          | 39.3                | 17.6  | 0.2   |
| North Carolina              | 46.1                          | 40.8                | 12.2  | 0.9   |
| Tennessee                   | 45.6                          | 36.5                | 17.2  | 0.7   |
| Virginia                    | 51.3                          | 20.8                | 25.4  | 2.5   |
| West Virginia               | 48.7                          | 44.9                | 6.3   | 0.1   |
| Region                      | 45.8                          | 36.6                | 16.4  | 1.2   |

Source: Derived from analysis of a systematic sample (n = 3,056) drawn from 1860 Census of Population enumerator manuscripts. That sample was cross-matched with the manuscript Slave Schedules. Small slaveholders owned 1 to 19 slaves. Large slaveholders owned 20 or more slaves.

Table 1.6

## Slaveholding by Appalachian Farm Owners, 1860

| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | Nonslave-<br>holders |      | Slaveholding Farm Owners |      |                   |     |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------|--------------------------|------|-------------------|-----|
|                             | No.                  | %    | Small Plantations        |      | Large Plantations |     |
|                             | No.                  | %    | No.                      | %    | No.               | %   |
| Alabama                     | 5,884                | 60.8 | 3,343                    | 34.5 | 450               | 4.7 |
| Georgia &<br>South Carolina | 4,890                | 58.5 | 3,119                    | 37.3 | 350               | 4.2 |
| Kentucky                    | 11,190               | 86.0 | 1,821                    | 13.9 | 1                 | 0.1 |
| Maryland                    | 2,802                | 68.8 | 1,258                    | 30.9 | 11                | 0.3 |
| North Carolina              | 7,082                | 75.7 | 2,126                    | 22.7 | 150               | 1.6 |
| Tennessee                   | 13,531               | 67.1 | 6,389                    | 31.7 | 245               | 1.2 |
| Virginia                    | 9,528                | 42.6 | 11,675                   | 52.2 | 1,164             | 5.2 |
| West Virginia               | 17,086               | 87.6 | 2,416                    | 12.3 | 1                 | 0.1 |
| Region                      | 71,993               | 67.6 | 32,147                   | 30.2 | 2,372             | 2.2 |

Source: Derived from analysis of all farm owners included in the sample of farms (n = 3,447) drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture enumerator manuscripts. The sample of farm owners was cross-matched with the manuscript Schedules of Slaves. These percentages were then applied to the total count of farm owners in Dunaway, *First American Frontier*, p. 79. Small plantations held 1 to 19 slaves. Large plantations held 20 or more slaves.

Table 1.7

## Comparison of Slaveholding by Southern Farm Owners

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| Southern State<br>with Appalachian<br>Counties | <u>% of Farm Owners Holding Slaves</u>  |                                     |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|
|  | Southern<br>Non-Appalachian<br>Counties | Southern<br>Appalachian<br>Counties |
| Alabama  | 42                                      | 39.2                                |
| Georgia & South Carolina                       | 60                                      | 41.5                                |
| Kentucky                                       | 42                                      | 14.0                                |
| Maryland                                       | 48                                      | 31.2                                |
| North Carolina                                 | 51                                      | 24.3                                |
| Tennessee                                      | 45                                      | 32.9                                |
| Virginia                                       | 62                                      | 57.4                                |
| West Virginia                                  | na                                      | 12.4                                |
| Entire Region                                  | 50                                      | 32.4                                |

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Source: Slaveholding by Southern farm owners was derived from Foust, "Yeoman Farmer and Westward Expansion," p. 20. Appalachian estimates were derived from Table 1.6.



Table 1.8

County Analysis: How Many Appalachian Farms Were Large Plantations?

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| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | <u>No. Counties With Large Plantations at This Level</u> |          |            |      |
|-----------------------------|--|----------|------------|------|
|                             | Exceeded<br>Southern<br>Average<br>(8% +)                | 4% to 7% | 0.1% to 3% | None |
| Alabama                     | 1  | 4        | 8          | 0    |
| Georgia                     | 4  | 1        | 16         | 3    |
| Kentucky                    | 0  | 1        | 13         | 14   |
| Maryland                    | 0  | 1        | 3          | 0    |
| North Carolina              | 0  | 0        | 16         | 1    |
| South Carolina              | 0  | 1        | 0          | 0    |
| Tennessee                   | 0  | 1        | 36         | 3    |
| Virginia                    | 9  | 8        | 21         | 2    |
| West Virginia               | 0  | 2        | 13         | 34   |
| Region                      | 14   | 19       | 126        | 57   |

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Source: Ratio of slaveholders who owned 20 or more slaves to farms calculated from county totals in the published census of Population, 1860.

Table 1.9

## Twenty-Five of Southern Appalachia's Richest Planters, 1860

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| No.<br>Slaves<br>Owned | Planter             | County        | Total<br>Wealth |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 188                    | Selina Coles        | Albermarle VA | \$389,355       |
| 182                    | Walker Reynolds     | Talladega AL  | \$392,500       |
| 181                    | Elizabeth Watts     | Roanoke VA    | \$282,810       |
| 175                    | W.F. McKeson        | Burke NC      | \$265,000       |
| 167                    | T.W. Meriwether     | Albermarle VA | \$242,850       |
| 162                    | Lewis Tumlin        | Cass GA       | \$284,099       |
| 154                    | William Massie      | Nelson VA     | \$250,973       |
| 145                    | J.S. Rowland        | Cass GA       | \$277,513       |
| 133                    | James Woods         | Nelson VA     | \$221,586       |
| 130                    | Howell Rose         | Coosa AL      | \$375,000       |
| 130                    | William P. Faris    | Albermarle VA | \$309,780       |
| 128                    | Elizabeth Carter    | Loudon VA     | \$400,000       |
| 123                    | James R. Kent       | Montgomery VA | \$321,590       |
| 122                    | Nicholas Woodfin    | Buncombe NC   | \$165,000       |
| 121                    | Jacob Harshaw       | Burke NC      | \$147,150       |
| 113                    | Major L.D. Franklin | Jefferson AL  | \$561,000       |
| 110                    | J.W. Harris         | Cass GA       | \$228,750       |
| 107                    | Williamson Hawkins  | Jefferson AL  | \$159,975       |
| 105                    | J.G. Swain          | Talladega AL  | \$180,000       |
| 104                    | William Dickerson   | Kanawha WV    | \$258,000       |
| 103                    | P.W. Cheney         | Chatooga GA   | \$140,271       |
| 103                    | Col. Isaac T. Avery | Burke NC      | \$118,750       |
| 102                    | Joseph H. Bradford  | Coosa AL      | \$188,000       |
| 102                    | Benjamin Averett    | Talladega AL  | \$148,900       |
| 101                    | Leonard Marberry    | Coosa AL      | \$171,000       |

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Source: Manuscript Slave Schedules cross-matched with Census of Population enumerator manuscripts

Table 1.10

County Analysis: How Many Appalachian Farms Were Small Plantations?

| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | No. Counties With Small Plantations at This Level |        |        |        |        |      |                    |
|-----------------------------|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------------------|
|                             | Exceeded<br>Southern<br>Average<br>(51.9% +)      | 40-49% | 30-39% | 20-29% | 10-19% | 5-9% | Less<br>than<br>5% |
| Alabama                     | 1   | 1      | 4      | 3      | 3      | 0    | 1                  |
| Georgia                     | 6   | 1      | 4      | 4      | 7      | 2    | 0                  |
| Kentucky                    | 1   | 0      | 0      | 5      | 8      | 9    | 5                  |
| Maryland                    | 0   | 0      | 2      | 0      | 1      | 0    | 0                  |
| North Carolina              | 0   | 2      | 3      | 3      | 6      | 4    | 0                  |
| South Carolina              | 1   | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0    | 0                  |
| Tennessee                   | 4   | 2      | 10     | 7      | 15     | 1    | 1                  |
| Virginia                    | 19  | 5      | 5      | 6      | 3      | 0    | 2                  |
| West Virginia               | 2   | 0      | 2      | 3      | 11     | 11   | 20                 |
| Region                      | 34  | 11     | 30     | 31     | 54     | 27   | 29                 |

Source: Ratio of slaveholders who owned 20 or more slaves to farms calculated from county totals in the published census of Population, 1860.

Table 1.11

## Slavery and Ownership of Farm Acreage, 1860

| Appalachian<br>Counties of: | <u>Nonslaveholders</u> |                       | <u>Small<br/>Slaveholders</u> |                       | <u>Large<br/>Slaveholders</u> |                       |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
|                             | Avg.<br>Acres<br>Owned | % All<br>Farm<br>Land | Avg.<br>Acres<br>Owned        | % All<br>Farm<br>Land | Avg.<br>Acres<br>Owned        | % All<br>Farm<br>Land |
| Alabama                     | 76                     | 36.7                  | 340                           | 39.8                  | 1,494                         | 23.5                  |
| Georgia &<br>South Carolina | 81                     | 39.8                  | 279                           | 41.2                  | 1,151                         | 19.1                  |
| Kentucky                    | 188                    | 77.0                  | 568                           | 22.9                  | 2,343                         | 0.1                   |
| Maryland                    | 72                     | 50.8                  | 315                           | 47.5                  | 1,299                         | 1.7                   |
| North Carolina              | 118                    | 58.3                  | 458                           | 31.8                  | 2,013                         | 9.9                   |
| Tennessee                   | 133                    | 37.9                  | 893                           | 53.4                  | 3,776                         | 8.7                   |
| Virginia                    | 31                     | 13.5                  | 362                           | 57.4                  | 1,847                         | 29.1                  |
| West Virginia               | 138                    | 72.2                  | 775                           | 27.6                  | 2,530                         | 0.2                   |
| Region                      | 108                    | 45.8                  | 505                           | 42.5                  | 1,885                         | 11.7                  |

Source: Derived from analysis of all farm owners included in the sample of farms (n = 3,447) drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture enumerator manuscripts. The sample of farm owners was cross-matched with the Census of Population manuscripts and the manuscript Schedules of Slaves. Small slaveholders owned 1 to 19 slaves. Large slaveholders owned 20 or more slaves.

Table 1.12

## Slavery and Wealth Distribution among Appalachian Households, 1860

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| Appalachian<br>Counties of  | % All Wealth Owned     |                    |                     |                |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                             | <u>Nonslaveholders</u> |                    | <u>Slaveholders</u> |                |
|                             | Landless<br>Families   | Landed<br>Families | Small<br>(1-19)     | Large<br>(20+) |
| Alabama                     | 3.1                    | 12.6               | 41.9                | 42.4           |
| Georgia &<br>South Carolina | 2.0                    | 11.9               | 53.2                | 32.9           |
| Kentucky                    | 2.5                    | 47.6               | 49.7                | 0.2            |
| Maryland                    | 2.2                    | 29.1               | 64.4                | 4.3            |
| North Carolina              | 2.5                    | 27.1               | 40.1                | 30.3           |
| Tennessee                   | 2.2                    | 21.4               | 64.9                | 11.5           |
| Virginia                    | 2.1                    | 6.7                | 45.8                | 45.4           |
| West Virginia               | 4.3                    | 62.3               | 33.0                | 0.4            |
| Region                      | 2.6                    | 19.6               | 48.8                | 29.0           |

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Source: Derived from analysis of a systematic sample (n = 3,056) drawn from 1860 Census of Population enumerator manuscripts. That sample was cross-matched with the manuscript Slave Schedules. Small slaveholders owned 1 to 19 slaves. Large slaveholders owned 20 or more slaves. For percentage of households in each group, see Table 1.5.

Table 1.13

## Economic Investments by Sector, 1860

| American<br>Zone:           | No. Dollars<br>Invested in Slaves<br>to Every Dollar<br>Invested in: |       | No. Dollars<br>Invested in<br>Farms to<br>Every Dollar<br>Invested in |
|-----------------------------|--|-------|---|
|                             | Industry   | Farms | Industry  |
| United States               | 3.73   | 0.57  | 6.58  |
| Northeast                   | na   | na    | 0.84  |
| Appalachian<br>Counties of: |  |       |   |
| Alabama                     | 45.91  | 2.52  | 18.22   |
| Georgia                     | 28.36  | 1.29  | 22.05   |
| Kentucky                    | 5.70   | 0.42  | 13.45   |
| Maryland                    | 0.83   | 0.17  | 4.90  |
| North Carolina              | 34.87  | 0.86  | 40.48   |
| South Carolina              | 37.59  | 1.11  | 33.76   |
| Tennessee                   | 6.10   | 0.51  | 11.97   |
| Virginia                    | 18.15  | 0.73  | 24.90   |
| West Virginia               | 2.22   | 0.19  | 11.88   |
| Southern Appalachia         | 9.15   | 0.65  | 14.11   |

Source: Investments in manufacturing and farms aggregated from county totals in the published 1860 Censuses of Manufacturing and Agriculture. Investments in slaves aggregated from county totals and prices in Lee, "Westward Movement of the Cotton Economy," Appendix. U.S. slave values estimated using published population data and prices in Lee. Slaves older than 69 were not valued as investments.

Table 1.14

Change in Regional Manufacturing Position  
within National Economy, 1810-1860

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| American<br>Zone:   | Manufacturing Gross<br>Per Capita |         | % Increase<br>or (Decline) |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
|                     | 1810                              | 1860    |                            |
| United States       | \$21.93                           | \$60.06 | 173.9                      |
| Southern Appalachia | \$42.40                           | \$15.81 | (62.7)                     |

Source: Aggregated from county totals in the published 1810 and 1860 Census of Manufacturing. To permit comparisons, 1810 values were converted to 1860 dollars, using inflation adjustments in David and Solar, "History of the Cost of Living," pp. 1-80.

Table 1.15

Perception of Poor Man's Opportunities by Different Appalachian Classes

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| <u>Perception of Economic Opportunities Expressed By Veterans</u> |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| Appalachian<br>Class  | Major landholders<br>helped the poor<br>who were<br>"respectable"<br>and "deserving."<br>There were many<br>advancement<br>opportunities for<br>"hard-working" men. | No chance for a poor<br>man. The big land<br>owners controlled<br>everything and kept<br>the poor man down.<br>Very limited economic<br>opportunities for the<br>poor young man |

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|                      |       |      |
|----------------------|-------|------|
| NONSLAVEHOLDERS:     | 35.2  | 64.8 |
| Landless Poor        | 6.0   | 94.0 |
| Poor Farm Owners     | 11.5  | 88.5 |
| Middling Farm Owners | 68.6  | 31.4 |
| SLAVEHOLDERS         | 100.0 | --   |
| ALL FAMILIES         | 41.9  | 58.1 |

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Source: Derived from analysis of questionnaire responses by all Civil War veterans from Appalachian counties (N=474) in Dyer & Moore, Civil War Veteran Questionnaires. 9 of the veterans were from 5 counties of Alabama, from 11 counties of Georgia, 24 from 12 counties of North Carolina, 1 from South Carolina, 384 from Tennessee, and 37 from 19 counties of Virginia.



Table 1.16

Percentage of State Legislators Who Were Slaveholders, 1860

| Geographical Zone        | %     |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Upper South States       | 62.2  |
| Lower South States       | 68.0  |
| Appalachian Counties of: |       |
| Alabama                  | 100.0 |
| Georgia                  | 85.9  |
| Kentucky                 | 60.0  |
| Maryland                 | 46.5  |
| North Carolina           | 93.7  |
| South Carolina           | 100.0 |
| Tennessee                | 70.0  |
| Virginia                 | 77.6  |
| West Virginia            | 40.0  |

Sources: Upper South estimate derived from Wooster, Politicians, Planters, 40. Lower South estimate derived from Wooster, People in Power, p. 41. West North Carolina estimate derived from Inscoe, Mountain masters, p. 125. For Appalachian zones, names of legislators were cross-matched with manuscript slave schedules for 1850 and 1860.

Table 1.17

## Plantations in the Mountains South, 1860

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| American Region     | <u>% Farm Owners that Were Plantations</u> |       |      |
|---------------------|--|-------|------|
|                     | Small                                      | Large | All  |
| <i>Appalachian</i>  |  |       |      |
| <i>Counties of:</i> |  |       |      |
| Alabama             | 30.5                                       | 3.3   | 33.8 |
| Georgia             | 32.4                                       | 2.8   | 35.2 |
| Kentucky            | 13.8                                       | 0.5   | 14.3 |
| Maryland            | 29.4                                       | 0.2   | 29.6 |
| North Carolina      | 19.4                                       | 1.2   | 20.6 |
| South Carolina      | 37.1                                       | 3.6   | 40.7 |
| Tennessee           | 26.1                                       | 0.9   | 27.0 |
| Virginia            | 48.4                                       | 4.3   | 52.7 |
| West Virginia       | 12.4                                       | 0.3   | 12.7 |
| Mountain Terrain    | 13.9                                       | 0.6   | 14.5 |
| Hill-Plateaus       | 23.2                                       | 0.9   | 24.1 |
| Ridge-Valleys       | 40.2                                       | 3.9   | 44.1 |
| Mountain South      | 26.6                                       | 1.8   | 28.4 |
| Entire U.S.         | 17.3                                       | 2.4   | 19.7 |
| Entire U.S. South   | 55.4                                       | 7.7   | 63.1 |

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Source: Ratio of slaveholders to farm owners derived from analysis of count totals in 1860 published census.