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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 6.1 to 6.3

Instructions for Using This File:

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Table 5.1

The Forced Migration of Appalachian Slaves, 1840-1860

A. 1840-1860 Slave Population

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>Actual Slave Populations</u>		Estimated 1860 Slave Population With Natural Increase
	1840	1860	
Alabama	14,278	36,841	22,695
Georgia	9,778	29,744	15,542
Kentucky	11,573	13,280	18,395
Maryland	7,803	5,344	12,403
North Carolina	12,904	16,439	20,511
South Carolina	2,715	4,195	4,315
Tennessee	26,155	38,666	41,573
Virginia	100,358	115,183	159,516
West Virginia	18,488	18,368	29,386
Region	204,052	278,060	324,336

B. Out-migrations (-) and In-migrations (+) of Slaves

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>Inter-regional Slave Migrations</u>		
	Total Migrations	Migrations with Masters	Interstate Sales
Alabama	+ 14,146	+ 2,164	+ 11,982
Georgia	+ 14,202	+ 2,173	+ 12,029
Kentucky	- 5,115	- 783	- 4,332
Maryland	- 7,059	- 1,080	- 5,979
North Carolina	- 4,072	- 623	- 3,449
South Carolina	- 120	- 18	- 102
Tennessee	- 2,907	- 445	- 2,462
Virginia	- 44,333	- 6,783	- 37,550
West Virginia	- 11,018	- 1,686	- 9,332

Region	- 74,624	- 11,418	- 63,206
	+ 28,348	+ 4,337	+ 24,011

Table 5.1 Source Notes

Sources: Actual populations were aggregated from county totals in the 1840 and 1860 Censuses of Populations. The third column estimates the number of slaves that should have resided in the region in the region as a result of natural increase at the same level as slave population growth for the entire U.S. (+ 58.95%). Total migrations equals the third column minus the actual 1860 population. The percentage from Table 5.3 was utilized to calculate total migrations with masters. The total number of migrations minus the number of migrations with masters equals the number of interstate slave sales.

Table 5.2

1840-1860 Cohort Analysis for Appalachian Slaves

A. What Happened to the 1840 Cohort Aged 0 to 9?

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>% Loss or (Gain) in Slaves</u>		
	Males	Females	Total
Alabama	(16.3)	(22.8)	(19.5)
Georgia	(49.9)	(54.8)	(52.3)
Kentucky	41.4	40.5	41.0
Maryland	56.4	48.7	52.8
North Carolina	42.7	37.0	39.9
South Carolina	38.1	22.4	30.1
Tennessee	25.7	18.9	22.4
Virginia	38.9	42.9	40.9
West Virginia	46.6	41.4	44.1
Region	38.8	38.5	38.7

B. What Happened to the 1840 Cohort Aged 10 to 59?

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>% Loss or (Gain) in Slaves</u>		
	Males	Females	Total
Alabama	6.9	3.0	4.9
Georgia	(20.0)	(26.3)	(23.2)
Kentucky	55.2	51.1	53.1
Maryland	75.7	67.0	71.5
North Carolina	44.4	41.8	43.1
South Carolina	43.3	32.4	37.7
Tennessee	42.3	36.7	39.4
Virginia	44.0	43.4	43.7
West Virginia	55.6	48.6	52.3
Region	44.1	40.7	42.4

Sources: Derived from analysis of aggregated county totals in the 1840 and 1860 published

Censuses. Adjustments are made for deaths, manumissions and runaways using averages in Statistics of the United States in 1860, 286, 37-8. Statistics for the 1840 cohort aged 0 to 9 was compared with the 1860 cohort aged 20 to 29. Statistics for the 1840 cohorts aged 10 to 59 were compared with the 1860 cohort aged 30 to 79.

Table 5.3

Forced Migration Strategies of Appalachian Masters

Forced Migration Strategy	Type of Slave Narratives Used		
	Appalachian	Other	All
Interstate Sales	85.1%	84.5%	84.7%
Interregional Migration with Master	14.9%	15.5%	15.3%

Source: Derived from analysis of slave narratives in which slaves were transferred outside the Appalachian region. 110 were Appalachian narratives; 84 were found outside the region. In addition to the nine states in which Appalachian counties are situated, I also searched the narratives of Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas. I included all forced migrations of Appalachian slaves across state lines, including for instances in which slaves reported their forced migrations from Appalachia as a young child or the forced migration of their parents.

Table 5.4

Interregional Migration of Appalachian Slaves, 1840-1860

Part A. All Slaves Exported (-) or Imported (+)

Southern Zone	Entire State	<u>Appalachian Counties</u>	
		No.	% Total
Alabama	+ 27,284	+ 14,146	+ 51.9
Georgia	+ 19,873	+ 14,202	+ 71.5
Kentucky	- 50,481	- 5,115	- 10.1
Maryland	- 43,125	- 7,059	- 16.4
North Carolina	- 44,871	- 4,072	- 9.1
South Carolina	- 94,000	- 120	- 0.1
Tennessee	- 12,865	- 2,907	- 22.6
Virginia	- 171,491	- 55,351	- 32.3
Region	- 416,833	- 74,624	- 17.9
	+ 47,157	+ 28,348	+ 60.1

Part B. Slaves Exported (-) or Imported (+) through
Interstate Sales

Southern Zone	Entire State	<u>Appalachian Counties</u>	
		No.	% Total
Alabama	+ 23,164	+ 11,982	+ 51.7
Georgia	+ 16,872	+ 12,029	+ 71.3
Kentucky	- 42,858	- 4,332	- 10.1
Maryland	- 36,613	- 5,979	- 16.3
North Carolina	- 38,095	- 3,449	- 9.1
South Carolina	- 79,806	- 102	- 0.1
Tennessee	- 10,922	- 2,462	- 22.5
Virginia	- 145,596	- 46,882	- 32.2
Region	- 353,890	- 63,206	- 17.9
	+ 40,036	+ 24,011	+ 59.9

Source: Appalachian slave exports/ imports derived from Table 5.1. State totals from Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, p. 12. For Part B, I subtracted from state totals that

15.1% of slaves who migrated with masters; see Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, p. 45n. There was heavy migration into northern Alabama and northern Georgia during this era since the Indians were removed in the late 1830s. For this table, West Virginia counties are included in the Virginia totals.

Table 5.5

Slave Exportation Rates Each Decade, 1840-1860

Southern Zone	<u>Entire States</u>		<u>Appalachian Zone</u>	
	Export. Rate	Import. Rate	Export. Rate	Import. Rate
Alabama		+ 3.8		+ 26.3
Georgia	- 2.4			+ 45.7
Kentucky	- 15.8		- 13.9	
Maryland	- 19.7		- 28.4	
North Carolina	- 7.3		- 9.9	
South Carolina	- 13.4		- 2.8	
Tennessee	- 10.3		- 7.0	
Virginia	- 12.0		- 13.9	
West Virginia	na		- 18.7	
Region	- 10.8		- 13.1	

Source: Calculated using Table 5.4. The "exportation rate" is defined as the estimated number of slave migrations due to interstate trading, expressed as a percentage of the estimated number of slaves who would have resided in the Appalachian zone in 1860 if no outward or inward migration had occurred. The "importation rate" is defined as the estimated number of imports resulting from interstate slave purchasing, expressed as a percentage of the estimated number of slaves who would have resided in the Appalachian zone in 1860 if no outward or inward migration had occurred. Statistics for the entire states are from Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves," Table 2.

Table 5.6

How Southern Appalachian Masters Sold Their Slaves

Sales Method	<u>Masters Utilizing Technique</u>	
	No.	%
MASTERS SOLD SLAVES LOCALLY:		29.3
Direct seller-buyer transaction	46	
Sale arranged through a local middleman	6	
Local auction blocks utilized	8	
MASTERS EXPORTED SLAVES OUT OF COUNTY OF RESIDENCE:		65.8
Took slaves to a distant regional slave market	55	
Sold slaves to a trader engaged in interstate speculation	80	
NO CLEAR METHOD SPECIFIED	10	4.9
Total No. Masters Described	205	

Source: 167 Appalachian slave narratives include discussion of slave trading; however, some slaves reported information about more than one master.

Table 5.7

Appalachian Slave Traders: A Sample

County	Second Occupation	Household Wealth	
		Real Estate	Personal
Floyd GA	laborer	\$600	\$150
Cass GA	land speculator	\$4,000	\$4,000
Catoosa GA		---	\$5,000
Frederick MD	merchant	\$2,500	\$3,500
Burke NC		---	---
Cherokee NC		\$1,000	\$4,700
Rhea TN		---	\$1,200
Jefferson TN	wagoner	\$40,000	\$71,000
Giles VA		\$1,500	\$12,000
Giles VA		---	---
Giles VA		---	---
Franklin VA		---	\$200
Fauquier	farmer	\$17,680	\$29,985
Montgomery VA		\$4,500	\$9,000
Montgomery VA		---	\$150
Greenbrier WV		\$2,000	---
Berkeley WV		---	\$100
Randolph WV		\$1,500	\$300
Tyler WV		---	\$300
Pocahontas WV		\$440	\$500

Source: Derived from analysis of the household sample (n = 3,056) drawn systematically from the Census of Population enumerator manuscripts in Dunaway, First American Frontier. From that sample, I isolated every household in which a member was enumerated as a "slave trader," "Negro dealer," or "speculator."

Table 5.8

Local Slave Sales by Southern Appalachians, 1860

Appalachian Counties of:	No. Slave Sales	% Slave Population
Alabama	3,146	8.5
Georgia	2,544	8.6
Kentucky	1,127	8.5
Maryland	448	8.4
North Carolina	1,384	8.4
South Carolina	359	8.6
Tennessee	3,298	8.5
Virginia	9,444	8.2
West Virginia	1,503	8.2
Region	23,253	8.4

Source: Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, p. 45, estimates that 10% of Upper South slaves through age 29, 5% of slaves in their thirties, and 2% of slaves older than 39 were traded locally each year. These estimates were applied to the aggregated slave population statistics, by age group, for the Appalachian counties.

Table 5.9

Estimates of Hireouts of the Slaves Aged 15-59, 1860

Part A. % Appalachian Slave Narratives Reporting Hireouts

Appalachian Counties of:	% Slaves Hired Out	No. Slaves Hired Out
Alabama	9.4	1,668
Georgia	11.6	1,615
Kentucky	15.4	968
Maryland	46.2	1,296
North Carolina	14.3	1,074
South Carolina	50.0	928
Tennessee	29.8	5,483
Virginia	40.6	40,783
West Virginia	16.0	1,497
Region	24.9	55,312

Part B. Slave Hiring by Economic Activity

Economic Activity	% All Hires	No. Hired	% All Slaves
Agriculture	13.1	7,246	3.2
Domestic Service	7.2	3,983	1.8
Commerce & Trade	10.7	5,918	2.7
Transportation	20.3	11,228	5.1
Manufacturing	28.5	15,764	7.1
Extractive Industries	20.2	11,173	5.0
Total	24.9	55,312	24.9

Source: Derived from analysis of 280 Appalachian slave narratives. Number estimates were calculated by multiplying percentages from slave narrative analysis by total Appalachian slave population aged 15-59, aggregated from the 1860 census.

Table 5.10

Incidence of Slave Selling by Masters

Action reported in narratives	All U.S.	Appalachia
Masters sold slaves.	33.5%	60.6%
Masters never sold slaves.	66.5%	39.4%

Sources: Findings for all U.S. slaves from Fogel, Galantine, and Manning, Without Consent or Contract, 3: 346. Information about Appalachian slaves derived from analysis of Appalachian slave narratives. 167 of the narratives include discussion of whether or not masters engaged in selling. 109 of the narratives are silent about this topic. Only three narratives state directly that masters never sold slaves.

Table 5.11

Appalachian Slaveholders' Motivations for Selling Slaves

Motivation of Slaveholder	Narratives Reporting	
	No.	%
Speculation or profit-seeking	101	60.5
Economic difficulty or indebtedness	26	15.5
Only sold unruly slaves	10	6.0
Sale of old, ill or infertile slaves	8	4.8
Estate settlement or dissolution	8	4.8
Only sold "free issue" children	4	2.4
Master's motivation unclear	10	6.0
Total Number Narratives Which Discussed the Slaveholders' Slave Trading Motivations	167	100.0

Source: Analysis of 167 Appalachian slave narratives that include discussion of slave trading by masters.

Table 5.12

Comparative Application of Slave Labor to Staple Crop production

Part A. Comparative Crop Production by Slaveholders, 1860

Geographical Zone:	<u>Average Crop Production per farm</u>	
	Avg. Bales Cotton	Avg. Lbs. Tobacco
Entire South	1.8	2,000.0
<u>Appalachian Counties of:</u>		
Alabama	1.8	--
Georgia	0.7	5.0
Kentucky	--	2.2
Maryland	--	57.0
North Carolina	--	219.0
South Carolina	0.1	0.3
Tennessee	1.0	299.0
Virginia	--	162.0
West Virginia	--	6.0

Part B. Comparative Utilization of Slave Labor Time, 1860

Geographical Zone:	Average Staple Crop Labor Hours per Full Slave Hand
United States	1,399
<u>Appalachian Counties of:</u>	
Alabama	1,671
Georgia	679
Kentucky	65
Maryland	93
North Carolina	225
South Carolina	189
Tennessee	193
Virginia	282
West Virginia	157

Table 5.12 Source Notes

Source: Part A derived from analysis of the sample of 3,447 farms systematically drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture manuscripts in Dunaway, First American Frontier. Labor productivity estimates for the entire South are from Gray, History of Agriculture, 1: 468; James D. Foust and Dale E. Swan, "Productivity and Profitability of Antebellum Slave Labor: A Micro-Approach," Agricultural History 44 (1970), 46. Southern estimates are average labor productivity of slaves on farms averaging less than ten slaves. For Part B, tobacco and cotton production were aggregated from the published 1860 Census of Agriculture and then multiplied by estimated production time. For the labor time required to produce cotton and tobacco, see Chang, Agriculture and Industrialization, p. 186. The time per full hand is equivalent to the total crop production time divided by the total number of full slave hands. For the ratios used to estimate the number of full slave hands based on age and sex, see Battalio and Kagel, "Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture," p. 26.

Table 5.13

Incidence of Slave Trading in Southern Appalachia, 1860

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>% Slave Population Involved in Transactions</u>			
	Hireouts	Local Sales	Inter- state Sales	All Types of Trading
Alabama	9.4	8.5	1.6	19.5
Georgia	11.6	8.6	2.0	22.2
Kentucky	15.4	8.5	1.6	25.5
Maryland	46.2	8.4	5.6	60.2
North Carolina	14.3	8.4	1.1	23.8
South Carolina	50.0	8.6	0.1	58.7
Tennessee	29.8	8.5	0.3	38.6
Virginia	40.6	8.2	1.6	50.4
West Virginia	16.0	8.2	2.6	26.8
Region	24.9	8.4	1.6	34.9

Sources: Hires and local sales derived from Table 5.8 and Table 5.9. The interstate sales include one year's transactions from Table 5.1. Percentages were calculated by dividing the number of transactions by the total slave population.

Table 5.14

Local Slave Trading and Agricultural Commodities, 1860

Appalachian Counties of:	<u>\$ Value of Local Commerce</u>		Slave Trading as Percentage of Total
	Local Slave Trading	Local Sales of Agricultural Commodities	
Alabama	2,525,361	1,031,904	71.0
Georgia	2,074,360	1,423,490	59.3
Kentucky	949,536	1,162,742	45.0
Maryland	487,813	938,469	34.2
North Carolina	1,152,169	1,014,559	53.2
South Carolina	377,516	160,248	70.2
Tennessee	3,099,656	2,621,146	54.2
Virginia	11,913,781	3,888,344	75.4
West Virginia	1,291,283	2,630,022	32.9
Region	23,871,475	14,870,924	61.6

Source: Slave trading is the aggregated value of local sales and hires derived from Tables 5.8 and 5.9. For methods to estimate slave prices, see Table 5.16. The value of local agricultural sales is derived from Dunaway, "Incorporation," p. 1102.

Table 5.15

Comparative Change in Market Value of Commodities, 1840-1860

Commodity	Avg. Annual Prices in 1860 Dollars		% Increase or Decline in Value
	1840	1860	
Tobacco (per pound)	.086	.080	- 7.0)
Pork (per barrel)	18.460	19.080	+ 3.4
Beef (per barrel)	16.560	13.200	-20.3)
Flour (per barrel)	6.700	6.910	+ 3.1
Corn Meal (per barrel)	3.320	3.480	+ 4.8
Salt (per bushel)	.501	.270	-46.1
Coal (per bushel)	.270	.166	-38.5
Cotton (per pound)	.089	.109	+22.5
Slaves	1,123.38	1,353.330	+20.5

Source: Average annual prices for tobacco, cotton, pork and beef were calculated using data from Cole, Wholesale Commodity Prices. Average prices for prime field hands were calculated using Evans, "Some Economic Aspects," Table 1. Prior to comparison over time, all prices were converted to 1860 dollar values, using David and Solar, "History of Cost of Living," Table 1.

Table 5.16

Economic Significance of Slave Trading, 1860

Appalachian Counties of:	\$ Value Slave Hireouts	\$ Value of Local Slave Sales	\$ Value of Interstate Slave Sales
Alabama	202,015	2,323,346	- 589,714
Georgia	195,596	1,878,764	- 592,667
Kentucky	117,237	832,299	213,636
Maryland	156,961	330,852	294,365
North Carolina	130,074	1,022,095	170,318
South Carolina	112,392	265,124	4,923
Tennessee	664,057	2,435,599	121,093
Virginia	4,939,311	6,974,470	1,848,885
West Virginia	181,305	1,109,978	459,760
Region	6,698,948	17,172,527	4,295,361

Source: Number of traded slaves derived from Tables 5.1, 5.8, and 5.9. See the Appendix for methods used to estimate value of slave trading. The minus signs indicate the value of slaves imported from outside the region; that is, dollars were flowing out of the Appalachian counties of Alabama and Georgia to purchase slaves. By adjusting estimates from Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves," Table 3 and Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 142, I made the following age and sex distributions of hired slaves: males: age 15-19 .065, age 20-29 .354, age 30-39 .069, age 40-49 .028; females: age 15-19 .075, age 20-29 .333, age 30-39 .053, age 40-49 .023. The prime marketable cohort were males aged 20-29 who averaged \$142 year when hired out; see Starobin, "Industrial Slavery," p. 422. Prices for other cohorts were estimated as proportions of the value of prime hands, using an average of the three scales in Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, p. 283. These annual hiring rates were utilized:

Age Cohort	Males	Females
15-19	\$126	\$105
20-29	\$142	\$118
30-39	\$109	\$ 91
40-49	\$ 67	\$ 55

In interstate transactions, the prime marketable cohort were males aged 20-29 who averaged \$1,482 in 1859; see Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, p. 290. Prices for other cohorts were estimated as proportions of the value of prime hands using and average of the three scales in Tadman, *Speculators*

Table 5.16 *Source Notes, continued*

and *Slaves*, p. 283. These interstate sales values were assumed:

Interstate slave prices

Age	Males	Females
Under 10	469	450
10-14	1,141	956
15-29	1,482	1,126
30-39	1,274	897
40-49	800	645
50-59	467	345
60+	188	89

The age and sex distribution of slave exports was derived from Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves," Table 3.

% All Exported Slaves

Age	Males	Females
Under 10	.092	.087
10-14	.051	.050
15-29	.229	.227
30-39	.069	.053
40-49	.028	.023
50-59	.030	.029
60+	.017	.015

For local slave sales, I assumed the same age and sex distribution as for interstate trades; however, I estimated prices at 3/4 of interstate trade.

Table 5.17

Slave Trading and Other Economic Activities, 1860

Part A. Value of Major Economic Sectors (Local Sales and Exports)

Appalachian Counties of:	Slave Trading	Agricultural Agricultural	Industrial Industrial
Alabama	3,115,075	6,760,407	1,517,850
Georgia	2,667,027	4,126,924	1,043,997
Kentucky	1,163,172	6,291,810	2,049,084
Maryland	782,178	2,265,097	5,830,589
North Carolina	1,322,487	4,705,450	641,202
South Carolina	382,439	336,675	36,085
Tennessee	3,220,749	13,599,710	5,664,644
Virginia	13,762,666	8,800,853	8,947,721
West Virginia	1,751,043	3,059,869	8,948,751
Region	28,166,836	49,946,795	34,679,923

D. Slave Trading in Comparison with Other Economic Sectors

Appalachian Counties of:	Dollars in Slave Trading to Every \$1.00 From		% Total Gross From
	Agriculture	Industrial	Slave Trading
Alabama	0.46	2.05	27.3
Georgia	0.64	2.55	34.0
Kentucky	0.19	0.57	12.2
Maryland	0.35	0.13	8.8
North Carolina	0.28	2.06	19.8
South Carolina	1.14	10.60	50.6
Tennessee	0.24	0.57	14.3
Virginia	1.56	1.54	43.7
West Virginia	0.57	0.20	12.7
Region	0.56	0.81	25.0

Source: Slave trading is the aggregated value of local sales, hires, and interstate

sales derived from Table 5.16. The value of local sales and distant exports of agricultural commodities is derived from Dunaway, "Incorporation," pp. 1102, 1128. Industrial products include extractive byproducts and manufactured goods. The value of industrial commodities was aggregated from county totals in the published 1860 Census of Manufacturing.