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Slavery and Emancipation in the Mountain South*:*

Tables

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Table 1.1

Percentage of Total Population Enslaved, 1810–1860

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American 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
Appalachian Counties of:				
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

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American Zone:	% Increase or (Decrease) in Population	
	Free	Slave
United States	226.2	158.2
Appalachian Counties of:		
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

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

Table 1.3

Black Appalachians and Slaveholders in Southern Appalachia, 1860

| Appalachian Counties of: | Black Appalachians | | | No. Slave-holders |
	No. Free Blacks	No. Slaves	% Total 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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| | % Land Owners Holding Slaves | |
Appalachian Counties of:	Frontier Years	1860
Cherokee Nation	7.5	0
Alabama	30.8	39.2
Georgia & 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 househo
in the manuscript "Census Roll, 1835, of the Cherokee Indians." The frontie
estimates are derived from analysis of 1790-1800 county tax lists; see Duna
First American Frontier, Appendix, for methods. The 1860 estimates are der:
from analysis of the farm sample drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture
manuscripts; households were cross-matched with the manuscript slave schedu

Table 1.5

Ownership of Land and Slaves by Appalachian Households, 1860

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	% All Households			
		Land Owning Households		
Appalachian	Nonslaveholders		Slaveholders	
Counties of	Landless	Landed	Small	Large
Alabama	44.9	33.5	19.0	2.6
Georgia &				
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

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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-mat
with the manuscript Slave Schedules. Small slaveholders owned 1 to 19 slave
Large slaveholders owned 20 or more slaves.

Table 1.6

Slaveholding by Appalachian Farm Owners, 1860

Appalachian Counties of:	Nonslave- holders No.	%	Slaveholding Farm Owners Small Plantations No.	%	Large Plantations No.	%
Alabama	5,884	60.8	3,343	34.5	450	4.7
Georgia & 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 manuscrip Schedules of Slaves. These percentages were then applied to the total count farm owners in Dunaway, First American Frontier, p. 79. Small plantations h 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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| | % of Farm Owners Holding Slaves | |
Southern State with Appalachian Counties	Southern Non-Appalachian Counties	Southern Appalachian 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, "Yeoma Farmer and Westward Expansion," p. 20. Appalachian estimates were derived f Table 1.6.

Table 1.8

County Analysis: How Many Appalachian Farms Were Large Plantations?

Appalachian Counties of:	No. Counties With Large Plantations at This Level			
	Exceeded Southern Average (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

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

Table 1.9

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

No. Slaves Owned	Planter	County	Total 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. Farish	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

Table 1.10

County Analysis: How Many Appalachian Farms Were Small Plantations?

Appalachian Counties of:	No. Counties With Small Plantations at This Level						
	Exceeded Southern Average (51.9% +)	40-49%	30-39%	20-29%	10-19%	5-9%	Less than 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 Counties of:	Nonslaveholders		Small Slaveholders		Large Slaveholders	
	Avg. Acres Owned	% All Farm Land	Avg. Acres Owned	% All Farm Land	Avg. Acres Owned	% All Farm Land
Alabama	76	36.7	340	39.8	1,494	23.5
Georgia & 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 slav

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                         Table 1.12

   Slavery and Wealth Distribution among Appalachian Households, 1860

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                         % All Wealth Owned
                    Nonslaveholders        Slaveholders
Appalachian         Landless   Landed      Small     Large
Counties of         Families   Families    (1-19)    (20+)
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Alabama               3.1        12.6       41.9      42.4
Georgia &
    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-mat
with the manuscript Slave Schedules. Small slaveholders owned 1 to 19 slave
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

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| | No. Dollars Invested in Slaves to Every Dollar Invested in: | | No. Dollars Invested in Farms to Every Dollar Invested in |
American Zone:	Industry	Farms	Industry
United States	3.73	0.57	6.58
Northeast	na	na	0.84
Appalachian 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

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Source: Investments in manufacturing and farms aggregated from county total
the published 1860 Censuses of Manufacturing and Agriculture. Investments
slaves aggregated from county totals and prices in Lee, "Westward Movement
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 Zone:	Manufacturing Gross Per Capita		% Increase or (Decline)
	1810	1860	
United States	$21.93	$60.06	173.9
Southern Appalachia	$42.40	$15.81	(62.7)

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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 Co
of Living," pp. 1-80.

Table 1.15

Perception of Poor Man's Opportunities by Different Appalachian Classes

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

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Geographical Zone            %
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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
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Sources: Upper South estimate derived from Wooster, <u>Politicians, Planters</u>,
40. Lower South estimate derived from Wooster, <u>People in Power</u>, p. 41. West
North Carolina estimate derived from Inscoe, <u>Mountain masters</u>, 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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| | % Farm Owners that Were Plantations | | |
American Region	Small	Large	All

Appalachian
Counties of:

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.

Table 2.1

Agricultural Production by Appalachian Slaveholders, 1860

Part A. Percentage of All Crops Generated by Slaveholders
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Appalachian Counties of	Corn	Wheat	Tobacco	Cotton
Alabama	54	64	6	75
Georgia	59	71	18	74
Kentucky	29	37	2	
Maryland	70	68	53	
North Carolina	56	60	71	
South Carolina	42	36	7	33
Tennessee	54	52	84	95
Virginia	69	79	77	
West Virginia	33	37	10	
Region	52	56	42	69

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Part B. Percentage of Livestock Generated by Slaveholders
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Appalachian Counties of	Hogs	Cattle	Sheep	Horses/ Mules
Alabama	51	50	58	33
Georgia	50	51	37	31
Kentucky	21	26	20	13
Maryland	52	51	26	33
North Carolina	40	48	50	40
South Carolina	39	53	41	22
Tennessee	45	49	53	27
Virginia	61	69	62	68
West Virginia	23	28	26	18
Region	43	48	43	33

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Source: Derived from analysis of all slaveholders included in the sample of farms (n = 3,447) drawn from the 1860 Census of Agriculture enumerator manuscripts. The farm sample was cross-matched with the manuscript Schedule Slaves.

Table 2.2

Southern Appalachia's Agricultural Labor Force, 1860

Appalachian Counties of	White Males No.	%	Slaves No.	%	No.	Free Blacks %
Alabama	32,889	64.1	18,380	35.8	74	0.1
Georgia	26,546	66.3	13,411	33.5	89	0.2
Kentucky	45,090	88.4	5,518	10.8	397	0.8
Maryland	16,776	82.8	1,361	6.7	2,131	10.5
North Carolina	29,363	78.1	7,609	20.3	598	1.6
South Carolina	3,019	64.8	1,608	34.5	33	0.7
Tennessee	81,294	82.9	15,577	15.9	1,119	1.2
Virginia	68,347	61.1	40,488	36.2	2,973	2.7
West Virginia	63,529	90.3	5,942	8.5	835	1.2
Region	366,853	75.6	109,894	22.7	8,249	1.7

Source: Slave and free black laborers were calculated using published census counts and percentages from Table 2.5 and Table12.3. White laborers were calculated using the published count of white males older then fifteen and percentages in Dunaway, First American Frontier, Table 3.6, p. 78.

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                              Table 2.3

Occupations of Adult Appalachian Slaves Employed by Their Own Masters
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                                   % Employed by Master
Work Assignment                    Male      Female     All
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Slave Driver                       10.2        2.6       5.9
Field & outdoor farm work    29.2          10.0      19.9
Field + artisan                    29.3       35.8      31.4
Livestock specialists              8.2         --        3.6
Master's house servants            --          4.7       2.7
House + field                      2.0         --        0.9
House + field + artisan            2.0        23.7      14.2
House + artisan                    5.4        14.8      10.7
Commercial Laborers                4.8         --        2.1
Industrial Laborers                 7.5        --        3.3
House + artisan + child care
      for slave children           1.4         8.4       5.3
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Source: Analysis of all adult occupations (n = 337; males = 147; females =
identified in the Appalachian slave narratives. This table excludes those
slaves who were hired out (n = 84).

Table 2.4

Labor Management Styles of Slaveholding Farm Owners

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Owner's Style	% Farms Using Labor Management Style		
	Small	Medium	Large
Daily task assignment with minimal supervision	4.8	2.3	5.4
Owner worked in fields as "lead man" over laborers	71.4		
Owner supervised directly from house, buggy or horse	14.3	58.1	28.6
Owner used overseer to organize and supervise		14.0	35.7
Gang labor system, using overseer plus slave drivers or foremen			30.3
Owner used only slave drivers or foremen under his supervision	9.5	25.6	

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Source: Derived from analysis of 82 Appalachian slave narratives and 38 Civ
War veteran questionnaires in which the owner's labor management style was
described. Farms were categorized using size descriptions provided by the
slaves or veterans. There were 21 small farms, 43 medium farms and 56 large
farms represented in these sources. Seventy (32.5%) of the region's counties
are represented in these sources.

Table 3.1

Appalachian Slaveholding by Economic Activity, 1860

Part A. How Were Slaveholders Employed?

Appalachian	% Slaveholders Employed in:			
Counties of:	Agric.	Commerce	Industry	Mixed
Alabama	76.8	9.2	8.2	5.8
Georgia	69.8	8.6	14.1	7.5
Kentucky	65.4	8.5	14.2	11.9
Maryland	40.1	17.5	28.7	13.7
North Carolina	72.5	5.3	8.6	13.6
South Carolina	63.3	10.4	17.2	9.1
Tennessee	74.4	6.6	9.0	10.0
Virginia	65.8	9.3	18.7	14.6
West Virginia	57.4	13.0	17.3	12.3
Region	65.4	9.3	14.1	11.2

Part B. How Were Slaves Utilized?

Appalachian	% Slaves Employed by Masters in:			
Counties of:	Agric.	Commerce	Industry	Mixed
Alabama	74.8	10.0	8.9	6.3
Georgia	67.6	9.2	15.2	8.0
Kentucky	62.3	9.9	18.5	9.3
Maryland	38.2	22.4	26.5	12.9
North Carolina	69.4	10.0	14.7	5.9
South Carolina	57.5	12.1	20.0	10.4
Tennessee	60.4	13.4	15.9	10.3
Virginia	52.7	14.3	20.2	12.8
West Virginia	48.5	15.7	21.0	14.8
Region	57.0	13.9	17.5	11.6

Source: Derived from analysis of a systematic sample of 1,000 Appalachian slaveholders
drawn from the 1860 manuscript Slave Schedules, then cross-matched with the manuscript
Census of Population. "Mixed" refers to farming combined with some nonagricultural
pursuit. This is an under-estimate of black nonagricultural laborers since it allocates

slaves to the occupations identified by their masters and does not count slaves hired by agricultural owners to nonagricultural enterprises.

Table 3.2

Southern Appalachia's Adult Nonagricultural Labor Force, 1860

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Appalachian Counties of	% Laborers who were White	Slaves and Free Blacks	
		% Laborers	% Population
Alabama	52.2	47.8	20.5
Georgia	59.8	40.2	21.5
Kentucky	45.5	54.5	7.6
Maryland	69.0	31.0	11.8
North Carolina	48.0	52.0	12.7
South Carolina	47.5	52.5	22.0
Tennessee	41.3	58.7	10.9
Virginia	43.2	56.8	25.3
West Virginia	82.9	17.1	6.2
Region	56.1	43.9	15.2

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Source: Slave and free black laborers were calculated using published cens
counts and percentages from Table 3.1 and Table 3.3. White laborers were
calculated using Dunaway, First American Frontier, Table 3.6, p. 78. Popula
information derived from Table 1.3. This is an under-estimate of black
nonagricultural laborers since it allocates slaves to the occupations
identified by their masters and does not count slaves hired by agricultura
owners to nonagricultural enterprises.

Table 3.3

Occupations of Free Black Appalachians Aged 15-59, 1860

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Economic Sector	% Employed
Agriculture	45.0
Commerce and Trade	7.6
Transportation	6.1
Clergy and Teachers	0.4
Household Servants	7.8
Manufacturing and Milling	17.1
Extractive Industry	5.0
Informal Economy	11.0

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Source: Derived from analysis of a sample of free black households from the 1860 Census of Population manuscripts (n = 1,200). Town commerce includes blacks who worked for white-owned retail enterprises or who owned their own shops. The informal economy includes nonwage sources of income, such as: peddlers, washwomen, prostitutes, woodchoppers, fishermen, seamstresses.

Table 3.4

Adjusted Estimates of Slave Nonagricultural Occupations

Occupation	% All Slaves Aged 15-59		
	Employed by Owners	Hired	Total
Drivers	5.9		5.9
Full-time Domestic Service	13.4	1.8	15.2
Manufacturing Artisans and Laborers			
Full-time		7.1	7.1
Part-time	8.7		8.7
Extractive Laborers	1.6	5.0	6.6
Commerce and Trade	3.0	2.7	5.7
Transportation Artisans and Laborers	3.3	5.1	8.4
Total	35.9	21.7	57.6

Source: Derived from analysis of Appalachian slave narratives. For detail, Table 3.5. For calculation of slave hireouts, see Table 5.9.

Table 3.5

Elite Nonagricultural Slave Occupations on Plantations

Occupations	U.S.	Appalachia
ELITE SLAVE MANAGERS		
Drivers	1.8	5.9
Full-time Domestics	9.9	13.4
ELITE SKILLED ARTISANS		
Blacksmith		2.1
Carpenter/Joiner		1.8
Cabinetmaker		1.9
Millwright or Miller		0.6
Wheelwright		0.6
Distiller		0.6
Cooper		0.7
Manufacturing Laborers		0.4
Extractive Laborers		1.6
COMMERCIAL MANAGERS AND LABORERS		
Toll Collectors		0.3
Livestock Drovers/Specialists		1.7
Transportation Specialists		3.1
Store and Shop Laborers		1.2
Total Elite Managers	11.7	19.6
Total Skilled Artisans	12.9	16.3
Total Elite Occupations	24.6	35.9

Source: U.S. estimates were calculated from Olson, "Occupational Structure,"
139. Appalachian estimates were derived from analysis of Appalachian slave
narratives. Extractive laborers mined, timbered, or processed mineral ores.
Manufacturing laborers worked in mills, tanneries, blacksmith shops,
distilleries, cotton gins, tobacco manufactories, or textiles shops on
plantations. Some slaves collected tolls for ferries, roads, or bridges owned
by their masters. Transportation specialists drove wagons and stages or piloted
boats for their plantations. For greater detail about subsistence artisans,
Table 9.1

Slave and Free Black Population in Selected Appalachian Towns, 1860

Town	% Total Population that Was Black
Talladega, Alabama	52
Rome, Georgia	48
Richmond, Kentucky	35
Hagerstown, Maryland	27
Franklin, North Carolina	31
Knoxville, Tennessee	30
Lexington, Virginia	21
Winchester, Virginia	40
Martinsburg, West Virginia	32

Source: Calculated from analysis of Census of Population enumerator manuscri
and manuscript Slave Schedules

Table 5.1

The Forced Migration of Appalachian Slaves, 1840-1860

A. 1840-1860 Slave Population

Appalachian Counties of:	Actual Slave Populations		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:	Inter-regional Slave Migrations		
	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
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 enti
U.S. (+ 58.95%). Total migrations equals the third column minus the actual
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:	% Loss or (Gain) in Slaves		
	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:	% Loss or (Gain) in Slaves		
	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
were found outside the region. In addition to the nine states in which
Appalachian counties are situated, I also searched the narratives of Louis:
Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas. I included all forced migrations of
Appalachian slaves across state lines, including for instances in which sla
reported their forced migrations from Appalachia as a young child or the fo
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	Appalachian Counties 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	Appalachian Counties 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	Entire States		Appalachian Zone	
	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 th
estimated number of slave migrations due to interstate trading, expressed 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. Th
"importation rate" is defined as the estimated number of imports resulting
interstate slave purchasing, expressed as a percentage of the estimated nun
of slaves who would have resided in the Appalachian zone in 1860 if no outw
or inward migration had occurred. Statistics for the entire states are fron
Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves," Table 2.

Table 5.6

How Southern Appalachian Masters Sold Their Slaves

_____

| | Masters Utilizing Technique | |
Sales Method	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 tradin
however, some slaves reported information about more than one master.

Table 5.7

Appalachian Slave Traders: A Sample

_____

| | Second | Household Wealth | |
County	Occupation	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 Dun
First American Frontier. From that sample, I isolated every household in wh
a member was enumerated as a "slave trader," "Negro dealer," or "speculato

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                        Table 5.8

       Local Slave Sales by Southern Appalachians, 1860

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    Appalachian                          % Slave
    Counties of:        No. Slave Sales  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 U
South slaves through age 29, 5% of slaves in their thirties, and 2% of slav
older than 39 were traded locally each year. These estimates were applied t
the aggregated slave population statistics, by age group, for the Appalachi
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	Nos. 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
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

_____

| | Narratives Reporting | |
Motivation of Slaveholder	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
slave trading by masters.

Table 5.12

Comparative Application of Slave Labor to Staple Crop production

Part A. Comparative Crop Production by Slaveholders, 1860

_____

| | Average Crop Production per farm | |
Geographical Zone:	Avg. Bales Cotton	Avg. Lbs. Tobacco
Entire South	1.8	2,000.0
Appalachian Counties of:		
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
Appalachian Counties of:	
Alabama	1,671
Georgia	679
Kentucky	65
Maryland	93
North Carolina	225
South Carolina	189
Tennessee	193
Virginia	282
West Virginia	157
Southern Appalachia	349

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 enti
South are from Gray, History of Agriculture, 1: 468; James D. Foust and Da
Swan, "Productivity and Profitability of Antebellum Slave Labor: A Micro-
Approach," Agricultural History 44 (1970), 46. Southern estimates are avera
labor productivity of slaves on farms averaging less than ten slaves. For
B, tobacco and cotton production were aggregated from the published 1860 Ce
of Agriculture and then multiplied by estimated production time. For the la
time required to produce cotton and tobacco, see Chang, Agriculture and
Industrialization, p. 186. The time per full hand is equivalent to the tot
crop production time divided by the total number of full slave hands. For
ratios used to estimate the number of full slave hands based on age and se
see Battalio and Kagel, "Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture," p.

Table 5.13

Incidence of Slave Trading in Southern Appalachia, 1860

| Appalachian Counties of: | % Slave Population Involved in Transactions | | | |
	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. T
interstate sales include one year's transactions from Table 5.1. Percentage
were calculated by dividing the number of transactions by the total slave
population.

Table 5.14

Local Slave Trading and Agricultural Commodities, 1860

	$ Value of Local Commerce		Slave
Appalachian Counties of:	Local Slave Trading	Local Sales of Agricultural Commodities	Trading as Percentage of Total
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.

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                        Table 5.15

Comparative Change in Market Value of Commodities, 1840-1860
_____

                    Avg. Annual Prices      % Increase
                     in 1860 Dollars         or  Decline
Commodity           1840          1860       in Value

_____

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

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Source: Average annual prices for tobacco, cotton, pork and beef were
calculated using data from Cole, Wholesale Commodity Prices. Average prices
prime field hands were calculated using Evans, "Some Economic Aspects," Tak
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.
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
dollars were flowing out of the Appalachian counties of Alabama and Georgia
purchase slaves. By adjusting estimates from Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves,"
3 and Tadman, Speculators and Slaves, 142, I made the following age and se:
distributions of hired slaves: males: age 15-19 .065, age 20-29 .354, age
.069, age 40-49 .028; females: age 15-19 .075, age 20-29 .333, age 30-39 .(
age 40-49 .023. The prime marketable cohort were males aged 20-29 who avera
$142 year when hired out; see Starobin, "Industrial Slavery," p. 422. Price
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.
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-
who averaged $1,482 in 1859; see Tadman, Speculators and Slaves, p. 290. P:

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, "Bree
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 Slave Trading
	Agriculture	Industrial	
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.

Table 6.1

Slave's Risk of Death as Ratio of White Mortality, 1850

_____

| | Same Gender as Slave | |
Geographical Zone	Male	Female
Entire United States	1.20	1.20
Appalachian Counties of:		
Georgia	2.14	2.67
North Carolina	1.67	1.78
South Carolina	1.46	2.00
Tennessee	1.70	1.60
Virginia	1.45	1.56
West Virginia	1.60	2.33
Region	1.67	1.78

_____

Source: Calculated from Mortality Statistics of the Seventh Census, pp. 19?
249-51, 255-57, 259-61, 285-87, 289-91. Mortality data were not published ?
the Appalachian counties of Alabama, Kentucky or Maryland.

Table 6.2

Slave's Risk of Death, 1850

Geographical Zone	Ratio of Slave Mortality to White Mortality		
	Male	Female	All
U.S. South	1.31	1.17	1.24
Appalachian Counties of:			
Georgia	2.14	2.67	2.41
North Carolina	1.67	1.78	1.73
South Carolina	1.46	2.00	1.73
Tennessee	1.70	1.60	1.65
Virginia	1.45	1.56	1.51
West Virginia	1.60	2.33	1.97
Southern Appalachia	1.67	1.78	1.73

Source: Calculated from Mortality Statistics of the Seventh Census, pp. 19.
249-51, 255-57, 259-61, 285-87, 289-91. Mortality data were not published i
the Appalachian counties of Alabama, Kentucky or Maryland.

Table 6.3

Per Capita Food Production on 1860 Appalachian Farms,
Expressed in Corn Equivalencies

_____

| | Type of Production | | | |
No. Slaves Owned	Tobacco or Cotton	Grains & Livestock	Non-Farm	All
0	17.1	42.3	13.0	36.2
1-9	9.6	15.4	6.2	15.6
10-19	11.4	94.8	8.8	57.5
20-49	21.9	105.2	10.7	68.9
50+	23.5	135.0	11.1	84.8

_____

Source: Derived from analysis of a systematic sample of 3,447 farms that we
drawn from the 1860 Census enumerator manuscripts. For methods, see Dunaway
The First American frontier, pp. 329-30, 385n.

Table 7.1

Slave Family Disruptions Caused by Forced Labor Migration Strategies

_____

Forced Labor Migration Strategy   % Incidents

_____

Sale of family members by masters   59.1
Out-of-state migration by masters   4.1
Family members given to masters' children   3.5
Family members owned by neighboring masters   14.6
Family members hired out by masters   15.8
Family members assigned to different
     farms owned by the same master   2.9

_____

Source: Derived from content analysis of 171 incidents in the Appalachian s
narratives. Some slaves reported more than one family disruption.

Table 7.2

Slave Household Composition

	Percentage Slave Households	
Household Residential Pattern	Louisiana	Appalachia
Solitaire	18.4	6.2
Non-nuclear	1.2	3.3
Extended Family	1.8	4.7
Simple Family	73.1	85.8
Married Couple	8.1	8.5
Married Couple with Children	48.7	20.0
Single Female with Children	14.5	55.4
Single Male with Children	1.8	1.9

Sources: Louisiana slave household composition from Malone, Sweet Chariot, 15. Appalachian household composition derived from analysis of 217 slave narratives and of slave lists in the manuscript collections of 52 Appalachi slaveholders.

Table 7.3

Family Structure Experienced by Appalachian Slaves

_____

Family Structure   %
_____

2 Parent Families

    2 parents living together   28.5
    2 parents but father owned by another master   16.1
    2 parents until separated by master's sale,
       hireout, or migration   25.1
    2 parents until one spouse died   1.9

1 Parent Families/ Headed by Mothers

    Absent slave or free black father   4.3
    Absent White father   9.9

Children or Single Adults Living outside Families

    With slave kin   4.3
    With White masters   9.9
_____

Source: Derived from analysis of 280 Appalachian slave narratives. The only
male-headed households were two in which the wife had died.

Table 8.1

Appalachian Slave Marriages

Part A. How Was the Marriage Formalized?
_____

Method to Recognize Marriage	%
Religious ceremony	9.9
Stepping over broomstick	77.7
No ritual except master's permission	12.4

Part B. Who Selected the Slave's Spouse?
_____

Decisionmakers	%
The slave spouses alone	58.1
Masters alone	7.7
Slave spouses and Masters jointly	15.3
Masters jointly with family members of slave spouses	14.0
Overseers	4.9

Sources: Part A derived from analysis of 121 Appalachian slave narratives; B derived from analysis of 105 Appalachian slave narratives.

```
                              Table 8.2


    Evidence of Maximization of Slave Reproduction for Market, 1860

_____

                                     No. Infants        Ratio of
                                     Under 1 per          Children
                     Ratio of Slave  1,000 Women of      (0-14) to
    Southern         Women to Men,   Childbearing        Adults
    Zone             Aged 15 to 39       Age             (15-39)
_____

    Slave-selling states      1.01        177             1.19
    Slave-buying states       0.99        153             0.95
    Entire South              0.99        169             1.07

    Appalachian Counties of:
    Alabama                   1.06        206             1.26
    Georgia                   1.04        200             1.33
    Kentucky                  1.07        215             1.31
    Maryland                  1.11        104             1.02
    North Carolina            1.10        196             1.40
    South Carolina            1.18        192             1.49
    Tennessee                 1.04        196             1.30
    Virginia                  0.95        187             1.25
    West Virginia             1.05        143             1.14

    Southern Appalachia       1.02        189             1.27

_____
```

Source: Estimates were calculated from the aggregated county totals in the
published 1860 Census of Population. The slave-selling states were: Delawa[r]
Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, an[d]
Virginia; the slave-buying states were: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisi[a]
Mississippi, Missouri, and Texas. Southern ratios in the first two columns
from Sutch, "Breeding of Slaves," Tables 6 and 11. Childbearing women incl[u]
all females between the ages of 20 and 39 and one-half of the females betwe[en]
15 and 19.

Table 8.3

Number of Live Births to Mothers of Appalachian Ex-Slaves

_____

Childhood Tie to Mother	% Respondents	Average Number Children Reported by Ex-slave	Accurate Count?
Ex-slave raised by mother	47.2	13.2	yes
Mother died when ex-slave was a child	10.2	2.7	yes
Ex-slave's mother in poor health	5.1	2.3	yes
Mother had no more children after her husband died	1.9	4.0	yes
Mother/child separated when ex-slave was young	17.1	4.0	no
Ex-slave uncertain how many siblings had died or been sold away	8.3	6.8	no
Ex-slave uncertain about siblings who did not live with mother	5.1	7.0	no
Ex-slave uncertain how many children the mother bore by males other than their fathers	5.1	5.0	no
Average number children reported by all ex-slaves		8.1	
Average number children when inaccurate estimates are omitted		10.4	

_____

Source: Analysis of 216 Appalachian slave narratives

Table 8.4

Female Slave's Risk of Death as Ratio of Male Mortality, 1850

Geographical Zone	White Males	Slave Males
U.S. South	1.08	0.82
Appalachian Counties of:		
Georgia	2.29	1.07
North Carolina	1.78	1.07
South Carolina	1.46	1.00
Tennessee	1.60	0.94
Virginia	1.56	1.08
West Virginia	2.10	1.31
Region	1.78	1.07

Source: Calculated from <u>Mortality Statistics of the Seventh Census</u>, pp. 19?
249-51, 255-57, 259-61, 285-87, 289-91. Mortality data were not published f
the Appalachian counties of Alabama, Kentucky or Maryland.

Table 8.5

Profitability of Mules and Slave Children

_____

| | Average Market Price in 1860 Dollars | | |
Age	Mule	Male Slave	Female Slave
1 year	75	100	90
2 years	130	125	112
3 years	120	135	121
5 years	170	150	130

_____

Sources: Lamb, "Mule in Southern Agriculture," pp. 19, 24; Tadman, Speculat
and Slaves, pp. 287-88

Table 9.1

Subsistence Artisans and Elite Occupations among Appalachian Slaves

_____

| | % Slaves Employed on Plantations | | |
Occupation	Males	Females	All
ELITE OCCUPATIONS	50.5	22.1	35.9
SUBSISTENCE ARTISANS	24.5	82.7	55.6
Shoemaker	5.4	3.7	4.4
Tanner + Shoemaker	4.7		2.1
Tanner	3.5		1.2
Textiles Production	1.4	52.1	28.8
Midwife/Herb Doctor	2.0	11.0	7.1
Basketmaker	2.7	8.5	5.9
Potter		4.2	2.3
Soapmaker		2.1	1.0
Candlemaker		1.1	0.7
Maple Syrup or Sorghum Molasses Production	2.0		0.9
Casketmaker	1.4		0.6
Banjo/Fiddle Maker	1.4		0.6

_____

Source: Analysis of all adult occupations (n = 337) identified in the
Appalachian slave narratives. This table excludes those slaves who were hir
out (n = 84). For greater detail about elite artisans, see Table 3.5. Some
slaves worked in two or more occupations.

Table 13.1

Males Slaves (Aged 16 to 45) in the Union Army

| | % Males Slaves Enlisted | | Black Appalachian Soldiers | |
| | | | Estimated | |
Region	Entire State	Appalachian Counties	Number Enlisted	as % of U.S. Total
Alabama	6	65	5,228	2.9
Georgia & South Carolina	4	30	2,146	1.2
Kentucky	57	75	2,093	1.2
Maryland	28	40	492	0.3
North Carolina	8	25	809	0.5
Tennessee	39	65	5,316	3.0
Virginia	6	50	13,052	7.3
West Virginia	--	50	2,084	1.1
Entire U.S.	14	--	--	--
Appalachia	--	50	31,220	17.4

Source: Column 1 was derived from Freedom's Soldier's, pp. 16-17. Column 2
estimated using Appalachian slave narratives and army documents in Freedom,
vol. 2. Column 3 was calculated by applying Column 2 to 1860 county populat
totals for male slaves aged 16 to 45. Column 4 was calculated using county
totals in the 1860 Census of Population.

Table 14.1

How Appalachian Slaves Learned They Were Emancipated

_____

Who told slaves they were free?	% Cases Reported in Narratives
Union soldiers during the war	46.7
Owner after Emancipation Proclamation (1863)	0.3
Union soldiers or Freedmen's Bureau after war's end	33.0
Owner after war's end (voluntarily)	6.7
Youth not emancipated by former owner; held as an indentured orphan	13.3

_____

Source: Analysis of Appalachian slave narratives

Table 14.2

Where did Appalachian slaves go after Emancipation?

_____

Action by slave family	% Cases Reported in Narratives
Stayed with former owner:	80.8
1 year or less	11.5
2 to 4 years	38.6
5 to 9 years	19.2
10 years or longer	11.5
Left owner immediately	19.2
Stayed in home county	85.0
Migrated by 1870	15.0

_____

Source: These findings from analysis of Appalachian slave narratives are supported by Census data; see Table 14.3.

```
                         Table 14.3

        Change in Southern Appalachian Population, 1860-1870


_____

Appalachian     % Increase or (Decrease)
Counties of:         Black      White

_____

Alabama              ( 3.7)     (3.9)
Georgia              ( 5.3)      3.7
Kentucky             ( 5.0)     10.3
Maryland             ( 7.0)     13.6
North Carolina         7.0      14.2
South Carolina        15.2       5.9
Tennessee              8.1       8.9
Virginia             ( 7.1)      2.4
West Virginia        (14.7)     17.6

Appalachian Region ( 5.8)       8.2

United States         22.6       9.9

_____
```

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of county totals in the U.S. Census
Office, Population in 1860 and U.S. Census Office, Compendium 1870.

Table 14.4

Black Population Density and Population Decline

_____

                    Average Black Population in Counties
                    Showing Population Declines, 1860-1870
                     Less than   More than
Appalachian   33% pop.   50% pop.
Counties of   decline   decline

_____

Alabama   3,003   570
Georgia & South Carolina 1,497   335
Kentucky   205   63
North Carolina   1,271   301
Tennessee   1,112   242
Virginia   3,251   957
West Virginia & Maryland 482   158

Region   1,578   411

_____

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of county totals in the U.S. Cens
Office, Population in 1860 and U.S. Census Office, Compendium 1870.

Table 14.5

Occupations of Appalachian Ex-Slaves, 1870

_____

Appalachian	% Employed in Occupational Category		
Counties of	Agricultural	Nonagricultural	Mixed

_____

Alabama	60.6	25.9	13.5
Georgia	49.7	35.6	14.7
Kentucky	93.1	5.9	0.1
Maryland	48.2	34.5	17.3
North Carolina	62.3	25.0	12.7
South Carolina	70.0	20.0	10.0
Tennessee	51.8	31.7	16.5
Virginia	68.2	13.1	18.7
West Virginia	60.7	19.5	9.8
Region	61.7	24.7	13.6

_____

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of all independent black househol
(2,711) and all black individuals residing with whites (4,912) in the
Appalachian counties of Jackson AL, Floyd GA, Knox KY, Alleghany MD, Buncor
NC, Pickens SC, Knox TN, Wythe VA, and Jefferson WV, as reported in the 18
Census of Population enumerator manuscripts

Table 14.6

Other Characteristics of Appalachian Ex-Slaves, 1870

_____

Characteristic	%
Adults who were illiterate	74.3
Households that were landless	96.6
Households living next door to blacks with same surname	38.8
Family units headed by a single parent	42.4
Households containing two or more families	43.9
Households with 2 or more surnames	22.5
Family units residing as laborers in white households	25.5

_____

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of all independent black househol
(2,711) and all black individuals residing with whites (4,912) in the
Appalachian counties of Jackson AL, Floyd GA, Knox KY, Alleghany MD, Buncor
NC, Pickens SC, Knox TN, Wythe VA, and Jefferson WV, as reported in the 18
Census of Population enumerator manuscripts

Table 14.7

Wealth Distribution in Black Appalachian Households, 1870

_____

Wealth Accumulated   % Households
_____

0   69.6

1-99   0.2

100-299   17.8

300-899   9.9

900 or more   2.5

_____

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of all independent black househol
(2,711) and all black individuals residing with whites (4,912) in the
Appalachian counties of Jackson AL, Floyd GA, Knox KY, Alleghany MD, Buncor
NC, Pickens SC, Knox TN, Wythe VA, and Jefferson WV, as reported in the 18`
Census of Population enumerator manuscripts

Table 14.8

Postbellum Urbanization of Black Appalachians

_____

| Appalachian | % Households | |
Counties of:	Rural	Urban
Alabama	67.3	32.7
Georgia	58.6	41.4
Kentucky	84.1	15.9
Maryland	51.5	48.5
North Carolina	74.3	25.7
South Carolina	85.0	15.0
Tennessee	81.9	18.1
Virginia	74.6	25.4
West Virginia	90.0	10.0
Region	76.1	23.9

_____

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of all independent black househol
(2,711) and all black individuals residing with whites (4,912) in the
Appalachian counties of Jackson AL, Floyd GA, Knox KY, Alleghany MD, Buncon
NC, Pickens SC, Knox TN, Wythe VA, and Jefferson WV, as reported in the 18
Census of Population enumerator manuscripts

Table 14.9

Incidents of White Violence against Appalachian Ex-Slaves, 1866-1868

Part A. Violent Incidents per 1,000 Blacks

State	Appalachian Counties	Rest of State
Alabama	0.9	0.5
Georgia	0.6	0.3
Kentucky	1.5	0.3
North Carolina	1.1	0.2
South Carolina	0.9	0.4
Tennessee	1.1	0.7
Virginia	0.4	0.3
Region	0.7	0.4

Part B. Population Density and Racial Violence

Appalachian Counties of:	% State's Black Population	% State's Violent Incidents
Alabama	7.5	12.7
Georgia	5.2	9.9
Kentucky	3.3	14.5
North Carolina	5.0	22.9
South Carolina	0.6	1.2
Tennessee	14.2	20.5
Virginia	22.7	31.0
Region	8.9	18.6

Source: Derived from analysis of 1,162 incidents reported in Records Relat:
to Murders and Outrages toward Freedmen. Population statistics were derived
from U.S. Census Office, Compendium 1870.

Table 14.10

Types of Racial Hate Crimes against Appalachian Ex-Slaves, 1866-1868

Part A. Type of white violence against ex-slaves

_____

Type of violent incident   % all reported incidents
_____

Raids on political meetings,
assaults on black voters or candidates   11.4

Destruction or damage to black churches,
raids on religious services, assaults
on black ministers, threats or assaults
on church members   6.9

Destruction of black businesses,
assaults on self-employed blacks   0.9

Destruction of black schools, assaults
on teachers or white contributors   16.3

Lynchings or murders   24.1

Physical assaults, rapes, threats,
or property destruction   40.4
_____

Part B. Who perpetrated the violent incidents?
_____

Violent actors   % all reported incidents
_____

1 to 3 whites   54.2

Ku Klux Klan   15.2

A white group or mob
other than Ku Klux Klan   30.6

_____

Source: Derived from analysis of 1,162 incidents reported in Records Relat
to Murders and Outrages toward Freedmen.

Table 14.11

Black Office Holders during Reconstruction

_____

Appalachian Counties of:	% State's 1870 Population	% State's Elected Officials
Alabama	7.5	13.9
Georgia	5.2	6.7
North & South Carolina	3.1	1.1
Tennessee	14.2	20.0
Virginia	22.7	1.1
Region	9.4	4.4

_____

Source: Appalachians elected 26 of the 592 office holders listed in _Freedom Lawmakers_, pp. 245-60. Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia were not included in the directory of office holders. Population statistics derived from U.S. Census Office, _Compendium 1870_.

Table 14.12

Literacy of Appalachian Ex-Slaves in the 1930s

Degree of Literacy	Age of Ex-slave at emancipation				
	under 9	9-15	16-25	26+	All
Literate	70.5	46.6	14.6	7.7	44.7
Probably functionally illiterate; only a few months schooling	9.5	9.3	9.8	5.1	8.9
Illiterate	20.0	44.1	75.6	87.2	46.4

Source: Analysis of Appalachian slave narratives

Table 14.13

Did Broken Appalachian Slave Families Rebuild after Emancipation?

Postbellum Status of Broken Family	Nature of Family Disruption during Slavery			
	Spouses Separated	Children Separated from Parents	Siblings Separated	All
Never saw again after sale or removal	72.0	78.1	50.0	74.3
Knew whereabouts but not reunited	8.0	12.5	50.0	11.8
Husband left current family to return to previous family	4.0	--	--	1.7
Wife already remarried when former husband returned	4.0	--	--	1.7
Family reunited	12.0	9.4	--	9.8

Source: Analysis of Appalachian slave narratives

Table 14.14

Residency of Appalachian Ex-Slaves in Independent Households, 1870

Appalachian Counties of:	% in black households	
	Adults	Children
Alabama	72.3	70.8
Georgia	83.0	92.3
Kentucky	91.3	90.5
Maryland	69.2	68.3
North Carolina	76.3	83.1
South Carolina	74.1	68.7
Tennessee	78.3	91.8
Virginia	76.9	76.8
West Virginia	61.7	66.4
Region	74.5	78.6

Source: Derived from statistical analysis of all independent black househol
(2,711) and all black individuals residing with whites (4,912) in the
Appalachian counties of Jackson AL, Floyd GA, Knox KY, Alleghany MD, Buncor
NC, Pickens SC, Knox TN, Wythe VA, and Jefferson WV, as reported in the 187
Census of Population enumerator manuscripts