

*Prehistoric: How One Biracial Community in Appalachia Uncovers an Underappreciated
Reality of American History*

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Introduction

Black Americans have an inevitable termination in their entire family ancestry prior to 1865. Census Records in the United States did not include African-Americans as individuals until the 1870 census. Prior to the 1870 census, Black Americans were chattel only listed in numbers under their master's name.

The absence of Black history prior to 1865 becomes more pronounced as our society struggles to acknowledge the contributions of African Americans throughout American history. Our society attempts to understand Black history prior to 1865 with stories of Nat Turner, George Washington Carver, and other great figures. The Great Man theory, a nineteenth century approach in which history can be mostly explained by the impact of great men or heroes, runs counter to the narrative of Black history, about which we know so little. Most professional historians stopped writing top-down history in the 1960s in favor of bottom-up histories that seek to explore the experiences and agency of marginalized groups of individuals within a society. Examining history from the bottom-up presents ordinary people's lives and struggles as central to the historical process.

Dulatown is a historically Black community in the foothills of Western North Carolina, situated within the region known as Appalachia. The community was established in 1855 with the construction of a plank house for an enslaved woman, Harriet Harshaw, by her master, Alfred Dula. It has an interesting interracial background that has been explored by previous scholars and, therefore, provides the opportunity to use ethnography as a lens to deepen our understanding of the African American community as participants in the American Experience. This analysis is organized into three key facets of ethnography: theory, myth, and dialectic. The purpose of this

work will be to review the body of work so far conducted on their community, and to further understand the true impact historical work can have on understanding community, culture, and society.

Dialectic is a method of examining and discussing opposing ideas in order to find the truth.¹ The Dula family consists of ancestral lines that are divided along racial lines of White and Black descent. The White members of the family have a history that can extend far further back than the history of the Black members, whose documented history only goes back to 1865. The Dulatown community provides a prime example of a dialectic with Black Dulas having both enslaved and White ancestry. This phenomenon is traceable to many families and communities throughout the United States.

Race in Appalachia

Stereotypically known for its white “hillbillies” and beautiful vistas, Appalachia remains strange and unknown 150 years after its “discovery.” Only forty years ago, historians began to acknowledge the presence of diversity in Appalachia.² There are a plethora of Black communities residing within the mountain region, some more well known than others. The presence of racial diversity in Appalachia is best proved through the narratives and histories shared by members of these communities. Slavery in Appalachia is illuminated by studying Dula family history which resembles other communities of its kind.

¹ “Dialectic,” The Britannica Dictionary, accessed November 27, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/dialectic>; Eubanks, W. Ralph. “Color Lines: How DNA Ancestry Testing Can Turn Our Notions of Race and Ethnicity Upside Down.” *American Scholar* 82, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 20–28.

² William H. Turner, and Edward J. Cabbell. “The Black South and White Appalachia,” in *Blacks in Appalachia*, (The University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 51.

Beginning in the 1870s, local color writers created stereotypes about the Appalachian people.³ These writers eternalized the myth of Appalachia because of their fascination with the peculiarities of mountain people, creating a characterization that persists today.⁴ They portrayed the region as plagued with poverty caused by geographic isolation. The myth of Appalachia ultimately othered the region in the eyes of the rest of the nation, allowing Americans to believe that they needed to civilize and uplift Appalachia by altering mountain culture.⁵ Local Color Writers crafted a particular view of Appalachian culture that appealed to Northern middle class Whites' necessity to "civilize" a specific group of people.⁶

The discovery of Appalachia accompanied the emergence of Appalachian exceptionalism, the notion that Appalachia somehow differs from the rest of the United States. Local color writers first othered Appalachia following the Civil War when they began to describe mountain life and people in magazines such as *Harper's*, *Lippincott's Weekly*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*.⁷ Out of these articles emerged the genre of "local color fiction" that stressed the supposed peculiarity of Appalachia and popularized the notion of Appalachian exceptionalism. The formation of the "other" confirmed urban middle-class Northerners' identity as civilized.⁸ In turn, they visited Appalachia for its simplicity and to see the spectacle of the Southern mountaineer.

³ Henry Shapiro, "Appalachia and the Idea of America: The Problem of the Persisting Frontier," *Appalachian Journal* 4, no. 4 (July 1977): 43.

⁴ Mary Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller, "Taking Exception with Exceptionalism: New Approaches to the Social History of Early Appalachia" in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Mary Pudup et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 1.

⁵ Noe, Kenneth W., "Appalachia before Mr. Peabody: Some Recent Literature on the Southern Mountain Region," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 110, no. 1, January 1, 2002, 8.

⁶ Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 5-7.

⁷ Pudup, Billings, and Waller, "Taking Exception with Exceptionalism," 1.

⁸ Noe, "Appalachia before Mr. Peabody" 8.

Developed by local colorists, the Myth of Racial Purity fabricated Appalachia as an area of perceived Whiteness. Northern observers repeatedly emphasized that mountain Whites were more homogeneous and distinctly American than their Northern counterparts. William M. Brewer, writer for the Northern Magazine *Cosmopolitan*, claimed, “Nowhere will be found purer Anglo-Saxon blood,” in reference to White people in the mountain South.⁹ The obsession with racial purity in Appalachia developed into a declaration that mountain people were “our contemporary ancestors.”¹⁰ This description derived from the practice of moonshining and feuding that educators, missionaries, and travelers observed in Appalachian people. Such primitive activities were allegedly connected to the distinctly Anglo-Saxon and American genealogies recognizable in the mountain South and were remnants of the nostalgic frontier spirit admired in early America.¹¹

The White Appalachians existed as a close equal to Blacks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in terms of socioeconomic status. Like Blacks, they endured the stereotypical awareness by “civilized” Whites as lazy, cunning, and barbaric.¹² Because of this characterization of mountain people, Americans sought to end poverty in Appalachia. Deprivation afflicted White and Black mountaineers, but lawmakers ignored African-American poverty. The discovery of Appalachia by Northern Whites in the 1870s hindered Black advancement during the Reconstruction era. White mountain folk replaced Blacks in national awareness.¹³ Historians did not recognize the presence and importance of African-Americans in Appalachia until the 1980s, most notably in the book, *Blacks in Appalachia*, edited by William Turner and Edward Cabbell.¹⁴ *Blacks in Appalachia* stated that one out of every fourteen

⁹ William Brewer, “Moonshining in Georgia,” *Cosmopolitan* 23 (June 1897), 132.

¹⁰ Noe, “Appalachia before Mr. Peabody,” 7.

¹¹ Frost, “Our Contemporary Ancestors”, 319.

¹² Turner, and Cabbell. “The Black South and White Appalachia,” 51.

¹³ Turner and Cabbell, “The Black South and White Appalachia,” 57.

¹⁴ Turner, William Hobart, and Edward J. Cabbell. *Blacks in Appalachia*.

Appalachians is Black based on a brochure released by the Appalachian Commission in 1973.¹⁵ As of 2020, ten percent of Appalachians are African-American.¹⁶ This shows that not only do Black populations exist in Appalachia, but they are growing in size.

Common historical belief maintains that Mountain residents did not own slaves or that the practice was more mild in the region.¹⁷ During the late nineteenth century, William Frost popularized the Geographic Isolation Model of Appalachia. Frost argued that the Appalachian mountains served as a physical barrier that blocked civilization and the market economy from entering the region, thereby forcing mountain residents to remain in poverty. The Isolation Model was based on Appalachian exceptionalism and is, therefore, the basis of Appalachian scholarship.¹⁸ The Isolation Model served to confirm Racial isolation in Appalachia, and “even racial ‘innocence,’ with respect to slavery and the slaves themselves.” Until the 1980s, many researchers claimed slavery never influenced Appalachian culture and society using the Isolation Model as evidence.¹⁹

Slavery did exist in Appalachia, and government records show the condition of the institution in the southern mountains. According to records from the Antebellum period in Appalachia, slavery expanded in the area. Burke County, the place of Harriet Harshaw Dula’s birth, experienced a growth in the percentage of slaves in the county population from seven percent in 1790 to 27 percent in 1850 and 26 percent in 1860. The total population of the county only rose from 8,110 in 1790 to 9,239 in 1860.²⁰ Doing the math indicates there were about 568

¹⁵ Turner, William Hobart, and Edward J. Cabbell. *Blacks in Appalachia*, 3.

¹⁶ “Population and Age in Appalachia,” Appalachian Regional Commission, accessed November 28, 2022, <https://www.arc.gov/appalachias-population/>.

¹⁷ John C. Inscoe, *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 17.

¹⁸ William G. Frost, “Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains,” *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1899), 311.

¹⁹ Inscoe, *Appalachians and Race*, 253.

²⁰ Inscoe, *Appalachians and Race*, 20.

slaves in Burke County in 1790 and 2,402 slaves in 1860. This data proves that mountain residents owned a growing number of slaves, a difference in the slave population of 1,834 individuals.

Dehumanization of slaves is a key part of slavery, and was present in Appalachia as in the rest of the South. Slaves were rarely allowed to freely roam, either in town or on the plantation. Slave patrollers would go out in squads at night and whip any slaves they found without documents. One Appalachian master, Andrew Goodman, trained his bloodhounds and for fun he would order some slave boys to run for about an hour before setting his dogs on the trail. Some mountain slaves would have to wear chains around their ankles to the field for bad behavior. Owners also used non-physical punishment such as withdrawing slave privileges to attend social gatherings or family visitations. Worse than any of these punishments was the threat of being sold “down the river” or being “southed.” In fact, 10 percent of slave sales made by mountain masters were completed to get rid of slaves who resisted authority or threatened the peculiar institution. Women slaves who were sexually assaulted would be whipped or sold when they physically harmed their White sexual attackers. People of Color, today, are still oppressed by their lack of known ancestry, creating a major gap in the American experience for an entire race.²¹

In Antebellum America, White Men routinely sexually assaulted their slaves. Nearly 15 percent of narratives in the WPA slave narratives collection recount acts of white sexual exploitation of enslaved women. Most of these narratives include descriptions of male force or physical violence. One in ten Appalachian slave families were headed by a woman whose

²¹ Wilma A. Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 164-165.

children resulted from her sexual exploitation by white males.²² Not only could White men easily fulfill their sexual desires, but they could easily increase their slave holdings with little or no charge to them. The exploited slave women were carefully chosen by White men. The women of choice were often within close reach of the masters often working as cooks, maids or nursemaids.²³ Some White masters built their slave mistresses a separate home and kept them in concubine status.

Dulatown: Origins and History

The Dulatown Community not only proves the existence of slavery in Appalachia and emphasizes the genealogical brick wall which many African Americans face, but also demonstrates the sense of identity a community can provide. Dulatown, as a biracial community, is different from other Black communities—it holds a special identity in Appalachian history while revealing an underappreciated reality of African American history. Though the family history contains both slave owners and slaves, the family has made great progress in reconstructing the past while respecting each other's perspectives.

Harriet Harshaw Dula arrived at her master's plantation sometime between 1846 and 1851 to work as the Dula family housekeeper. She was of African,



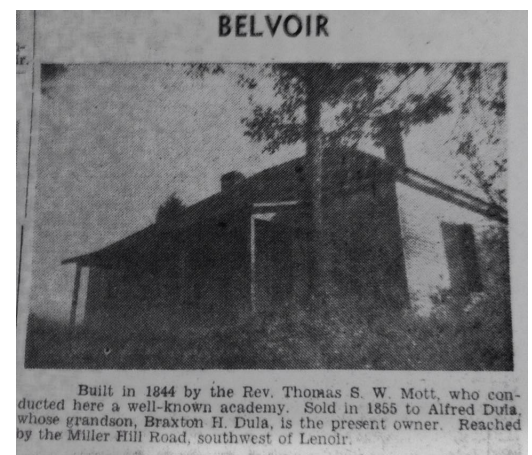
Harriet Harshaw, from Dula family records

²² Wilma A. Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 120.

²³ Dunaway, Wilma A. *The African-American Family*, 121.

Native American, and perhaps Caucasian heritage with deep set eyes and high cheekbones. In census records, beginning in 1870, she is listed as mulatto. Harriet's mother and father are unknown, but oral tradition maintains that she had seven sisters. Four of the sisters were Teeny, Katie, Celia, and Viney. Harriet and her master, Alfred Dula, developed a sexual relationship after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth. Their first child together was born in 1852. There is no way to know the exact circumstances of Harriet and Alfred's relationship, but overwhelming evidence from the time period suggests the relationship was not necessarily one of love. Interestingly, Harriet chose to remain as Alfred's housekeeper after emancipation. By choosing to remain with a man who had owned her at one time, Harriet forces historians to explore further the context of their interracial relationship. Assuming the common features of a newly emancipated slave in 1865, Harriet's reasoning for staying with Alfred becomes more clear. Alfred had the ability to provide Harriet's children with a better life. Indeed, Alfred paid Harriet for her housekeeping services after emancipation. Had she left Alfred, Harriet would be required to leave behind her children, as she could not support them with her meager earnings, and the home she had been given by Alfred. Alfred ensured Harriet could live a good enough life, regardless of Alfred's territorial claim on her.

In 1855, Alfred purchased a plantation named Belvoir near what is now known as Miller Hill Road in Lenoir, North Carolina. This was the beginning of the Dulatown community. About one mile away from this plantation, Alfred built



From *The Lenoir News Topic*

Harriet a small plank house. This plank house became the home of Harriet and her children. It is also the first settlement in the Dulatown Community.²⁴

It is unknown how Alfred came to own Harriet. The descendants of Harriet have several theories regarding her enslavement. One theory states that the ownership of Harriet transferred to Alfred's first wife, Elizabeth, as a wedding present from Elizabeth's father, Abram Corpening. It is unlikely that Corpening had been Harriet's owner, however, due to conventional naming practices of the time. Slaves often assumed the last names of their slave owners in Antebellum America.²⁵ Since Harriet's last name is Harshaw, not Corpening, this theory is questionable.

Alfred and Elizabeth were married in 1834. According to Harriet's headstone, she was born sometime in 1824. Harriet's birthdate also contradicts the first theory, since she would have been ten years old at the time of Alfred and Elizabeth's wedding. Harriet had two children upon arriving at the Dula household. A ten-year-old girl with two children is implausible. Therefore, this first theory must be regarded as false.²⁶

A second theory follows that Alfred purchased Harriet from a Harshaw plantation in Burke County, most likely the plantation of Jacob Harshaw. Jacob Harshaw was the third largest slaveholder in Western North Carolina in 1860, owning 121 slaves at that time.²⁷ Elizabeth, Alfred's wife, died in 1846.²⁸ Alfred and Elizabeth had six children together before her death. Harriet arrived at Alfred's Redcliff Plantation, also known as Dula House, in 1846 to work as the Dula family housekeeper.²⁹ She arrived at the household with her two children, Solomon and Amanda, whose father(s) are unknown.

²⁴ Leslie Dula McKesson, *Black and White: The Story of Harriet Harshaw and "Squire" Alfred James Dula* (North Carolina: MLS Publishing, 2013), 27.

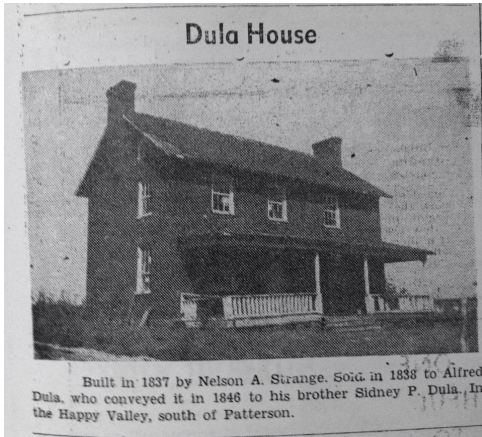
²⁵ Dunaway, *The African-American Family*, 1.

²⁶ McKesson, *Black and White*, 32-33.

²⁷ John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters: Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 265.

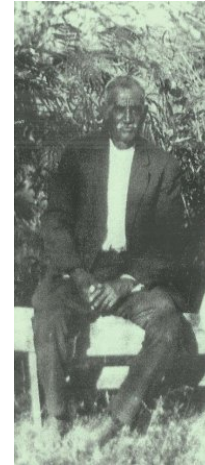
²⁸ McKesson, *Black and White*, 40.

²⁹ McKesson, *Black and White*, 36.



From *The Lenoir News Topic*

After Elizabeth's death, Alfred sold Redcliff Plantation to Sidney Patterson Dula. Alfred and his children moved to Belvoir Plantation, as mentioned earlier. Harriet lived with her children in the plank house built by Alfred about a mile away. The relationship between Harriet and Alfred formed after Elizabeth's death. Samuel,



Samuel,
from Dula Family Records

the couple's first son was born in 1852. Alexander, their second son was born in 1854. Together, the pair would have eight children, each about two years apart.³⁰

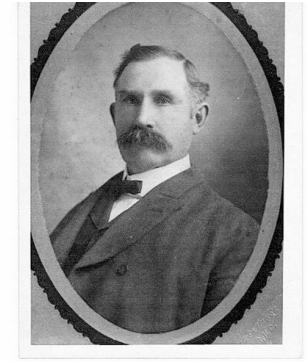
Harriet did have a brief relationship with a Black man and became pregnant with his child. Harriet and the man approached Alfred for permission to marry. Alfred was displeased by this request. When Alfred caught the couple visiting on Harriet's porch one day, he ran the man off with a shotgun. Alfred told the man not to return. Later, Harriet gave birth to a baby girl named Reather, fathered by the Black man. Reather died of unknown causes as an infant. She was buried under an unmarked stone on Belvoir's property. This land was ceded by Grant, Harriet and Alfred's youngest, for the Dulatown Cemetery after Harriet's death.³¹

Alfred's descendants describe him as nearly six-feet tall. He had a stocky build and sandy blonde hair. He was born on May 16, 1812, to Thomas Dula and Elizabeth Hulme. His maternal grandfather, William Hulme, served in both branches of the North Carolina legislature representing Wilkes County. His paternal grandfather, Captain William Dula, was a revolutionary

³⁰ McKesson, *Black and White*, 44. Harriet and Alfred's eight children were: Samuel, Alexander, Caroline (Callie), Kelly, Wallace, Emma, Edward, and Grant.

³¹ McKesson, *Black and White*, 55.

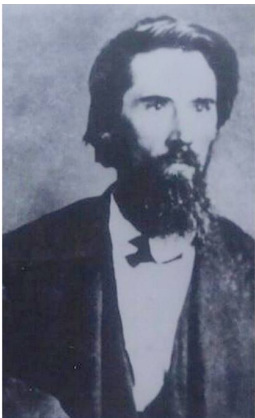
war veteran.³² Alfred's direct paternal lineage can be traced to Ireland in 1690, and at least as far back to the early 1500s in England. Alfred was nicknamed "Squire" because of his vast landholdings.³³ Two of Alfred's sons with Elizabeth, Aurelius James and Julius Abram, fought on the Confederate side during the Civil War. They were assigned to the North Carolina 22nd Regiment Infantry, Company A.³⁴



AJ Dula, ca. 1895; NC Senate

The Appalachian folk legend Tom Dula/Dooley, who was convicted of killing Laura Foster, was a cousin to Alfred. Tom Dooley was hanged for the crime. The Kingston Trio's version of the Tom Dooley folk song hit number one on the music charts on November 19, 1958. After Alfred's relationship with Harriet, Tom Dooley's crimes further darkened the family's reputation.³⁵

Alfred is remembered as a good man who treated Harriet and her children well. Alfred would visit Harriet's small plank house on the weekends. During these visits, he taught Harriet and their four youngest children to read and write. In his Last Will and Testament in 1879, Alfred left most of his money to his children with Elizabeth and his land to his children with Harriet.³⁶ The will instructed the executor to use all means, even to the exhaustion of the estate, to protect the rights of the "colored people." This ensured Harriet and her descendants would receive their part of the will.³⁷ Despite fighting on the Confederate



Julius Abram Dula,
from Dula Family Records

side in the war, Julius Abram Dula, who served as Alfred's executor

³² E. Carl Anderson and John O. Hawkins, *The Heritage of Caldwell County North Carolina, Volume I* (Winston Salem, NC: Hunter), 341.

³³ McKesson, *Black and White*, 105-106.

³⁴ McKesson, *Black and White*, 112-113.

³⁵ McKesson, *Black and White*, 123.

³⁶ McKesson, *Black and White*, 157-159.

³⁷ Davison, Beth, "Dulatown," April 25, 2019, PBS NC History and Documentary, <https://www.pbs.org/video/dulatown-petzam/>

of his will, ensured Harriet and her children received the property designated to them through Alfred's Last Will and Testament. Alfred died on July 22, 1884.³⁸ Harriet owned about eighty acres of land deeded to her by Alfred as a life estate. This property, along with the land deeded to Alfred's sons with Harriet, is what would formally become Dulatown.

Sustained sexual relationships between White men and enslaved women were popular in the Antebellum South.³⁹ Formerly enslaved people rarely received anything from their former masters. Women, especially, seldom owned property in the nineteenth century. Alfred defied traditional standards of race during the nineteenth century by granting Harriet and her children his land.

A story from Lucy Powell Dula, Grant's wife, described Alfred's treatment of his sons with Harriet. This story is meant to portray how Alfred did not treat his enslaved sons as enslaved despite them being such. In the early 1870s, Alfred gave Solomon and Samuel a chore they did not want to do. In their anger, the two boys ran off to Georgia for almost three weeks. Alfred became worried because he did not know the two men's condition or location. When they eventually came back home after finding Georgia unpleasant, Alfred employed them as overseers on his farm and paid them a good wage. In about 1876, Alfred transferred property to Samuel and Alexander for the price of a mule each. Alfred had given the two boys the mules himself.⁴⁰

Alfred paid Harriet a good wage for her housekeeping duties after emancipation. The money Harriet received for her housekeeping duties with her extra money she earned from sewing enabled her to purchase land on Harrington Street in Lenoir's Freedmen Community. This land was later conveyed to Harriet's grandson, Dr. Arthur Garfield Dula. In 1926, under the

³⁸ McKesson, *Black and White*, 121.

³⁹ Daina Berry and Leslie Harris, *Sexuality and Slavery: Reclaiming Intimate Histories in the Americas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 163.

⁴⁰ McKesson, *Black and White*, 69.

leadership of Reverend Theophilus Lacy Phillips, the Freedmen School for black children moved to this property. A four-room school building and chapel housed grades one through seven. Until 1932, Black children had to attend school in Asheville or Hendersonville if they wanted a High School education.⁴¹ The site of the Freedman School became Lenoir Junior High in 1967 until 1977. It then became William Lenoir Middle School from 1977 until 2015. Presently, it is the Freedman Cultural Center.⁴²



Grant, from Dula Family Records

Harriet died on March 16, 1907, at the age of 83. About 92 grandchildren of Harriet and Alfred were the third generation of Dulatown Residents. Harriet and Alfred Dula were the founding parents of the largest single community of Dulas in the United States.⁴³

Harriet's descendants became influential members in the Caldwell County Community. Harriet's third child, Samuel, had a son, Arthur Garfield Dula. Arthur Garfield Dula became the first Black medical doctor in Caldwell County.⁴⁴ Harriet's ninth child, Edward, would serve in various leadership positions, including a Board of Education appointment as one of the first Committeemen for District 3 of Caldwell County Public Schools.⁴⁵ Harriet's tenth child, Grant, would also serve as a District three Committeeman with Edward. Harriet would spend her last years alive living with Grant's family.⁴⁶

⁴¹ McKesson, *Black and White*, 70-71.

⁴² "School Information / WLMS History," School Information / WLMS History, accessed October 27, 2022, <https://www.caldwellschools.com/Page/2866>.

⁴³ Anderson and Hawkins, *The Heritage of Caldwell County*, 341.

⁴⁴ McKesson, *Black and White*, 59.

⁴⁵ McKesson, *Black and White*, 61.

⁴⁶ McKesson, *Black and White*, 61.



Edward Vine Dula,
from Dula Family Records

On July 12, 1913, Ed, Grant, and their wives sold a parcel of land to the Caldwell County School Board for one dollar to establish a school. Ed, Grant, and Sam built a plank house and, with the help of community members, contracted a teacher to educate Black children at the Dula-Slough Branch School. Fannie Ramseur and Helen Rhyne were the first people contracted to teach at the school.

The Dula-Slough Branch school taught regular classes and Sunday school classes, formerly taught in Harriet's home. In 1922, the Sunday

school separated from the public school and became the Dulatown Presbyterian Church, still in existence today, originally led by Reverend Theophilus L. Phillips.⁴⁷ The Dula family has been extremely involved in the education of Caldwell county's Black youth.

Numbers, Not Names

The ancestry of Black Dulas is almost exclusively rooted in records of Alfred Dula's ancestors, but this constitutes only one-half of Black Dula history. The other half of Black Dula ancestry can be traced to Harriet before history disappears. Black Dula family members do not know and cannot know half of their identity, or where half of their ancestry originated from.

There are actually a lot more Black family members carrying the surname, Dula, that are from the Alfred-Harriet bloodline than there are White's carrying the name.⁴⁸ Many Americans have recently become enamored with ancestry since the creation of ancestry.com. For White Americans, the search for ancestors instills a sense of belonging and pride. Some White

⁴⁷ McKesson, *Black and White*, 74-75.

⁴⁸ Davison, "Dulatown."

researchers can trace their ancestry back to the Middle Ages. For descendants of former slaves, ancestral discovery consists of fairly modern information.

There is no way for Black Americans to trace where their first slave ancestors came from, how they were treated while enslaved, or their migration patterns throughout the United States. In fact, 65 percent of Black Americans say their ancestry is an important part of their self-identity while 46 percent of Black Americans say the location where they grew up is very or extremely important to personal identity.⁴⁹ The Dulatown community exemplifies these statistics, but also demonstrates the connectedness of Appalachia to American culture. Race and African communities are present throughout America, including in Appalachia. Dulatown is a particular gem of a biracial community in Western North Carolina.

Interest in genealogy has increased in the United States since the 1970s. A 1977 poll found that 29 percent of Americans were “very interested” in family history. In 2005, this poll showed an increase to 73 percent of Americans interested in family history.⁵⁰ The introduction of the internet in the 1990s transformed ancestral research by making more records easily available. Regardless, African-American genealogists faced specific difficulties with ancestral research. Discovering ancestral records back to 1865 was relatively easy and not much different for an African-American and White American, but genealogical research became much more difficult for Black American when delving into the era before slavery. Genealogists pored over plantation correspondence and slave records to identify their ancestors. Some genealogists were able to identify their ancestors, but many hit a wall in 1865. Slave records prior to 1870 did not list slaves by name. Rather slaves are identified by their master, age, gender, and race. Not only does

⁴⁹ “Black Americans: Personal Identity and Intra-Racial Connections” Pew Research Center, accessed November 17, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-ethnicity/2022/04/14/black-americans-personal-identity-and-intra-racial-connections/>.

⁵⁰ François Weil, “Pedigrees and the Market.” in *Family Trees*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 198.

this restrict the reliability of finding a specific individual, but these records were not always correct interpretations of the individuals listed.⁵¹ For instance, the 1850 slave schedule for Caldwell County, North Carolina, lists all of Alfred Dula's slaves as "Black" although we know from pictorial evidence and oral histories of the Dula family that Harriet, one of Alfred's slaves at the time, was "Mulatto." Incorrect census data is as detrimental to the interpretation of the Dula genealogy as the lack of listing the former slaves by name.

The Dula family is a prime example of the dialectic between White and Black Americans. The Black members of the Dula family can trace their first African-American ancestor to Harriet Harshaw Dula, but no further. This is because of the lack of census records listing Black people prior to 1870, but also because slaves were not taught or, in many cases, allowed to read or write. Most family narratives had to be passed down orally. Dulatown is such a central community for Black Dulas because it lends them the sense of belonging their ancestry cannot supply. Those who believe racism can be completely eradicated fail to understand the Black experience in America. Many activists cite systemic racism as a main impediment to equality for people of color; however, the lack of ancestral identity is an automatic barrier for Black Americans in culture.

In many Caldwell County history books, White Dulas are mentioned and described with pristine clarity.⁵² The Black Dulas are all but erased from history. For example, in the book, *The World of My Childhood*, by R.L. Isbell, D.D., the author mentions the hanging of Tom Dooley in the aftermath of Laura Foster's murder, but does not mention Alfred's interracial relationship with Harriet at all despite Tom and Alfred being cousins. *The World of My Childhood* is a compilation of newspaper articles published in the Lenoir News Topic from the late 1940s to the

⁵¹ Weil, *Family Trees*, 200.

⁵² Anderson and Hawkins, *The Heritage of Caldwell County*.

early 1950s. These articles were put into book form by Nancy Alexander. Isbell references the White Dula's multiple times as founding settlers of the Caldwell area. The stain left on the Dula family from the convicted murderer Tom Dooley is more acceptable than the acknowledgement of sexual relations and a sustained relationship between a White plantation owner and his slave.⁵³

Today, the Dula family is spread across the United States, but there is still a strong sense of heritage to the Dulatown Community. There is also a facebook group named "Dulatown" for family and friends of the community where ancestry, pictures, and stories are posted for Dula family members around the world to study. The sign welcoming residents and visitors to Dulatown says, "Dula, it's not a name, it's a legacy."⁵⁴ This is a prime example of the pride Dula family members have in their heritage and how Harriet has given the Black side of the Dula family a sense of origin where many African-Americans cannot establish an origin. Without the relationship between Harriet and Alfred, many wonderful people would not be alive today, nor would the community of Dulatown. Furthermore, Dulatown defies the stereotype of a lack of African American history prior to 1865 by tracing Harriet's history back to 1846, the year she was purchased by Alfred. With modern DNA technology, the Dula family has been able to mostly pinpoint who Harriet's father is, but they have no idea who her mother is. It is truly outstanding that the Black Dulas can find comfort and solace in each other and in their community.⁵⁵

Insight from Community Members

Leslie Dula McKesson, a university professor and the writer of *Black and White*, shares her thoughts and feelings towards her ancestry as a Black Dula descendant. As mentioned

⁵³R.L. Isbell, D.D., *The World of My Childhood* (Lenoir, NC: The Lenoir News Topic, 1955), 103-105.

⁵⁴ Davison, "Dulatown."

⁵⁵ Davisonr, "Dulatown"

previously, the family knows a good amount of Alfred's lineage, but nothing about Harriet before she came to the Dula household.

It feels conflicting and frustrating. Going through international records searches I have traced Alfred's line back as far as 1150 England to my 26th great-grandfather, but I can't even decisively determine a first name for Harriet's mother — who is only five generations away from me.

It's conflicting because while it's cool to be able to trace a strand of my ancestry to nobility, the privilege that came with nobility was a foreshadow of modern white supremacy, and that takes away any pride that I might have felt in that lineage.

It's frustrating because research privileges primary written records and European methodologies over oral tradition, the latter often being the way African people transmitted genealogy. In addition to that, when my African ancestors were enslaved, tribal ethnicities, identities, and histories were stripped from them. They were largely banned from talking about their African experiences, so those experiences were lost to oppression and time. African descendants were forced to adopt a re-written history with a genesis in slavery that solidified a narrative of inferiority, a narrative that continues to this day.⁵⁶

For Black history, in particular, oral history must be valued more than government records because those government records do not exist prior to 1865. American historians must step outside of Western ideologies when it comes to historical research in order to reconcile with the nation's African American history. McKesson has recently become a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution organization through her ancestral research. The interracial relationship between Harriet and Alfred that began over 150 years ago had enabled a Black woman to enter an organization of predominantly White women.

To further the discussion on Black history, McKesson responds to how much of a role oral history can play in ancestry for Black Americans and where it fails.

I agree that there is a brick wall that often extends even into the 20th century and the early days of Jim Crow. Much of the census information that exists contains errors and misspellings. Even public records such as death certificates are known to mis-identify parentage, but that may not be unique to African Americans. What is unique is that most of the information available about Black people is in the form of inventories and journal entries, receipts and other business or property records that treat enslaved people as commodities and record their existences much as one would for their livestock. Little has

⁵⁶ Leslie Dula McKesson, email response to author, November, 28 2022.

been written about the lives they lived outside the master's house, in those few hours that they might call their own. Most records imply that enslaved people had no lives apart from their owners' demands.

Oral history is an important piece of the historic puzzle and I'm glad that scholars are now giving it more attention and analytical space. Also, historically informed analyses such as those used by Tiya Miles and Annette Gordon-Reed should be considered if the goal is to better understand slavery from the viewpoint of the enslaved. Apart from what can be inferred through anthropology at the few existing slave sites, there is no way to know about the lives of the enslaved without engaging in contextually informed extrapolations. In using such a process, it should always be clear that it is an extrapolation and that the "truth" cannot be decisively known, but that our understanding of the collective experiences of enslaved people might be enhanced through such processes.

Even given the preference for primary authority, lies and inaccuracies can be recorded in the moment and passed down as authority, telling a particular story to accomplish a social goal. It is important to allow the voices of enslaved people to speak through oral histories, family narratives, and other non standard research methodologies. Not to do so is to silence them yet again.⁵⁷

Oral histories of enslaved people and their descendants are valuable to research, but also to expose Black invisibility in Appalachia. Fayette Allen claims in *Blacks in Appalachia* that, "Blacks in Appalachia live in some of the worst colonial-type racism and exploitation in the country."⁵⁸ In fact, Allen believed the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s did not even reach the Appalachian mountains. Afro-American scholars and social movements connected to racial justice rarely ever include Black Appalachian experiences in research or decision-making processes. The lack of inclusion of the Black Appalachian in studies further indicates black "invisibility" in Appalachia.⁵⁹ Books on Black communities in Appalachia, such as McKesson's *Black and White*, are necessary to eliminate Black invisibility in Appalachia.

Kelly Ervin, a retired middle school science and math teacher, is a resident of Dulatown and a descendant of Harriet and Alfred through her great-grandfather, Edward Vine Dula. Kelly is a beautiful light in the Dulatown community, and has done extensive ancestry work for the

⁵⁷ McKesson, email, November 28, 2022.

⁵⁸ Turner, Hobart, and Cabbell, *Blacks in Appalachia*, 3.

⁵⁹ Turner, Hobart, and Cabbell, *Blacks in Appalachia*, 4.

family. She now serves as one of the administrators for the Dulatown facebook page alongside Leslie Dula McKesson and serves as the chief financial officer and treasurer of the Dulatown Preservation Society. As a long time educator, Kelly had the ability to explain race to children from first-hand experience.

Kelly Ervin shared how she taught race in school to her middle school aged children in an oral interview. Her comments on the word, nigger, are as follows, “I taught math and science, but there was times when we got into some things that were about history and they're fascinated by it. And I would, you know, tell them, this is the word, nigger. It's not the n-word, that's not what they used. You need to hear it. You need to feel it. Because that is what people heard.”⁶⁰ Envisioning a present day individual transported into the past as a Black person and hearing themselves being called a “nigger” by a White person is enough to make anyone’s skin prick, no matter their color. This is facing it, facing racial injustice.

Kelly Ervin furthers her discussion of classroom lessons on race by defining racism. “We talked about the term racism 'cause I got tired of hearing it. I said, I want to give you all a working definition of racism. We don't have many racists around here. We have a lot of bigots. Racism is a combination of bigotry plus power. And it's a much, much bigger thing. It's a system that's designed to keep a group of people back. Bigotry is what most people are dealing with. Bigotry works both ways. Racism may not, but bigotry does. It's out there, all colors. People think the two terms are synonymous, but they're not. Racism is much more dangerous and it's a much bigger problem.”⁶¹ Defining a clear line between bigotry and racism based on the presence, or lack thereof, of power gives the term, racism, a much more significant meaning. In elevating

⁶⁰ Kelly Ervin, Oral History Recording, November 26, 2022.

⁶¹ Kelly Ervin, Oral History Recording, November 26, 2022.

the significance of racism, the term is not in everyday use and, therefore, makes being racist much more taboo.

Within the Dula family are some cousins that are White presenting although they are direct descendents of Harriet and Alfred. In her interview, Kelly Ervin described how these family members dealt with their ancestry in her interview by giving the example of one member in particular. For privacy purposes, this family member will be referred to under the pseudonym, “CP.” CP lives in the Dulatown community, and is a cousin of Kelly Ervin. CP’s great grandfather was Grant, Harriet and Alfred’s youngest son. Both CP’s grandfather and father were open about who they were, and their race. However, when Ervin and CP went to school in the 1970s, CP would try to hide his mixed race. CP was blonde and blue-eyed, but kept “a slight tan all year long.” Kelly Ervin and her other cousins would “just kinda laugh about it because we knew what it was.”⁶² This story shows that not all parts of the Dula family are proud of their heritage. They would rather hide their ancestry and be perceived as White. “You can’t undo history... This is history. That’s what it is, it’s not the future, and let’s just talk about it.”⁶³ Kelly Ervin cites the fear of talking freely about history as one of the problems Black people face when working to improve race relations.

In the Modern day, the Dula family, White and Black, have begun to come together in reunions to celebrate their shared ancestry. Beginning in the 1970s, Dulatown residents began a reunion of Harriet Dula’s descendants. This was a reunion of exclusively the Black side of the Dula family. Many White family members did not acknowledge their Black family members until the 1990’s when they began to attend the Dula reunion as well. In fact, some members would not even acknowledge the existence of Black Dulas for their entire life. Some White Dula

⁶² Kelly Ervin, Oral History Recording, November 26, 2022.

⁶³ Kelly Ervin, Oral History Recording, November 26, 2022.

family members in the 1970s were still trying to deny that Alfred had any children with Harriet. They claimed that the Black Dula's had taken on the Dula name because they were his slaves in spite of public documents that acknowledged his paternity. An example of this is Ed's marriage license where Alfred is listed as his father.⁶⁴

White Dulas were not the only family members who denied their heritage. Black relatives of the Dula family, particularly Harriet and Alfred's grandchildren, did not want the story told. Of the six death certificates found for Harriets and Alfred's children, only three list "Squire" Alfred as their father. Dr. Arthur Garfield Dula, Harriet and Alfred's grandson through Samuel, attended all the Black people, gypsies, and other people under this classification in the Caldwell area. When his aunts and uncles died, he knew the story and who his grandfather was. Dr. Dula was the physician of record, but did not supply it for the death certificate. Leslie Dula McKesson states that, "there was clearly some resentment, and there was some hurt there."⁶⁵ The Dulatown story is far more complex than the master and slave mistress. It is composed of many facets of community, family, and interracial relations that have been concealed and, more recently, exposed.

The Dula family reunions allowed family members who no longer lived in the area to still visit their relatives and be connected to the Dulatown community.⁶⁶ Dula family members have also come together to form the Dulatown Preservation Society which strives to protect the legacy of Dulatown.⁶⁷ Regardless of whether the relationship between Harriet and Alfred was one of love, Harriet was able to create a thriving family community that continues to exist in the 21st

⁶⁴ Davison, "Dulatown"

⁶⁵ Davison, "Dulatown"

⁶⁶ Davison, "Dulatown"

⁶⁷ Dawn Fleming, "Dulatown Preservation Society to hold a special event," *Lenoir News Topic*, July 22, 2022, A4.

century despite her enslavement in the 19th century. The power of family bonds and community is greater than a White man's institution of enslaved labor.

Black individuals were listed, but only as property and a number, in government documents prior to 1865. Our society has not given due attention to the contributions of African Americans throughout American history, and in many ways this cannot be corrected. Black history in America is composed of a select elite of African American figures that White men perceived as acceptable to include in American history. It is families and communities, like Dulatown, that have been erased or forgotten from American awareness. The historian must uncover these communities and tell their stories in an attempt to repair the incompleteness of American history. For many African-American ethnographies, the research ends in 1865. Dulatown is exceptional because the Black side of its history can extend to 1846-1851 through Harriet Harshaw Dula.

The entanglement between Black and White history is a difficult subject to discuss, but is even more perplexing for the modern Black American who wants to uncover their family ancestry. Black Americans have a history, but most of the history they have access to is from a prior oppressor, usually in the form of a White slaveholder. The White oppressor's descendants maintain their ancestry, but the progeny of slaves depend on oral histories to construct an incomplete family tree. Black Americans are "othered" by their lack of ancestry, and may never attain enough ancestry in America to not feel "othered." In a nation where White individuals are recognized as founders, slaves are not and cannot be recognized for their contributions. Without proper insight into the experiences of the enslaved, from the mouths of the enslaved, history is constructed for Black Americans by White individuals. Oral history is one of the only modes of ancestral knowledge descendants of former slaves can use to construct a family tree.

In examining the Dula family, and the dialectic between Black and White, arises the myth of Blackness and Whiteness. The Dula family is a spectrum of flesh tones, it is not an absolute divide at Black versus White. The percentage of Whiteness or Blackness a person has, designates the amount of oppression or exploitation an individual gives or receives. Individuals have learned to build obstacles or cope with barriers posed against them based on their position on the flesh tone spectrum. The social construct of race depends on the range of skin tones all humans have. White-presenting people have been able to maintain an ancestral lineage because of their skin tone. People of Color's ancestral lineage was taken from them by the White oppressor. Black Americans are pushed to depend on their community to form the personal identity stolen from them by generation of chattel slavery.

Summary and Assessment of Census Slave Records

Through further examination of Antebellum Caldwell County, United States Federal Census Slave Schedules can provide some, but not complete insight into the enslaved population. Caldwell County emerged from parts of Burke and Wilkes County's in 1841. The slave schedules provide documentation of slaves owners names alongside slave ages, race, and gender. As previously discussed, no slave names are mentioned in the slave schedules. This means the only method of tracing enslaved ancestors in the United States Slave Schedules is through age, sex, race, and the slave owner's name.

A portion of this Thesis project included digitizing the 1850 and 1860 Slave Schedules for Caldwell County. The University access to Ancestry Library allows individuals to access many US Census documents and to view them by state, county, and then district. Given that Caldwell County was incorporated in 1841, the only Slave Schedules available for Caldwell

County are 1850 and 1860. In 1850, Caldwell County was divided into five Census districts—Johns River, Little River, Lower Creek, Summers, and Yadkin. In 1860, the Caldwell County Census districts shifted to include—Buffaloe, Johns River, Lenoir, Patterson, and Puetts.

The process of digitizing Census documents from almost two centuries ago is tedious given all information is handwritten by Census Takers. The information given by the Head of Household is not guaranteed to be accurate. Heads of Households could easily have lied about or altered the statistics of their enslaved population. Keeping this information in mind, recording and interpreting the names, numbers, and criteria listed on original census documents into a digital excel sheet is immensely helpful in breaking down the statistical data of slavery in Caldwell County in 1850 and 1860. Of the 6,317 individuals residing in Caldwell County in 1850, 1,201 of these individuals were slaves, meaning 19% of the total population of Caldwell County in 1850 was enslaved. The 1860 census documents 1088 slaves (15% of total population). These numbers alone invalidate the common myth that Appalachian people did not own slaves.

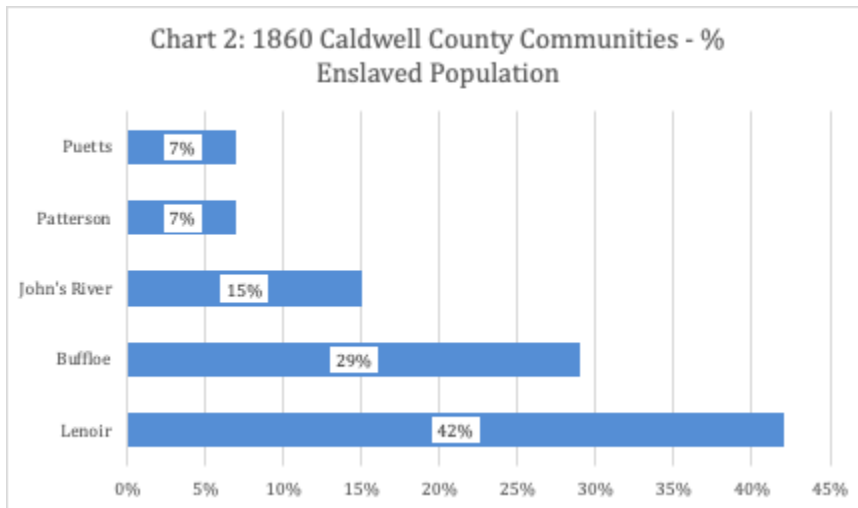
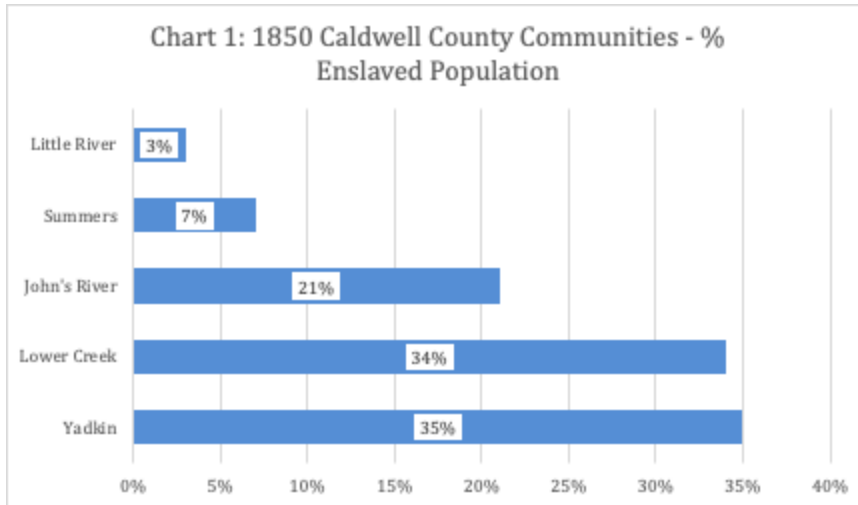
Of the enslaved from the 1850s and 1860s slave schedule, slightly more than half were females, the median age was around 14.5 years of age and the oldest slave in Caldwell County during 1850 was 100 years old (see tables 1 and 2).

Table 1: Caldwell County Slaves by Gender				
	1850 Frequency	1850 Percentage	1860 Frequency	1860 Percentage
Females	629	52.4	597	54.9
Males	567	47.2	491	45.1
Total	1201		1088	

Table 2: Caldwell County Slave by Age		
	1850 Census	1860 Census
Mean	19.24	19.99
Median	15	14
Mode	1	1

Table 3: Caldwell County Slaves by Race				
	1850 Census		1860 Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Black	1141	95	1046	96.1
Mulatto	60	5	42	3.9
Total	1201		1088	

In Table 3, Almost 100% of enslaved individuals were listed as Black with very few listed as Mulatto. Given the evidence from pictures and oral histories that detail mating practices between slave woman and slave master, the racial makeup of Caldwell County in 1850 as depicted in the census is incorrect. A larger percentage of the population should have been mulatto.



In 1850, the Yadkin Community in Caldwell County had the largest percentage of slaves at (35%) being unfree, but was closely followed by the Lower Creek Community at 34 percent of the population being enslaved. The community names shifted somewhat between 1850 and 1860. The Lenoir Community now maintained the largest percentage of slaves at 42 percent of the enslaved population. Buffaloe had the second largest percentage of slaves at 29 percent of the enslaved population (see Charts 1 & 2).

Table 4 shows slaves distributed by surname in the 1850 slave schedule, 13 surnames maintained 50% of the enslaved population. Caldwell County had a total of 171 slave owners in 1850. The Dula family cumulatively owned 42 slaves which made up 5.2 percent of the total slave population. Alfred Dula owned 13 slaves which composed 1.1 percent of the total enslaved population. A list of all individual slave owners and slaves owned is in the Appendix.

Table 4: 1850 Slave Schedule for Caldwell County			
Slave Owner Surname	Frequency	% of all slaves	Cumulative % of slaves
Jones	71	5.9	5.9
Dula	62	5.2	11.1
Witherspoon	62	5.2	16.2
Haton	51	4.2	20.5
Corpening	50	4.2	24.6
Lenoir	46	3.8	28.5
Conly	45	3.7	32.2
Miller	45	3.7	36.0
Moore	37	3.1	39.1

Patterson	36	3.0	42.0
Suddreth	36	3.0	45.0
Baker	28	2.3	47.4
Davenport	27	2.2	49.6

Table 5: 1860 Slave Schedule for Caldwell County

Slave Owner Surname	Frequency	% of all slaves	Cumulative % of slaves
Horton	87	8.0	8.0
Corpening	76	7.0	15.0
Jones	74	6.8	21.8
Witherspoon	59	5.4	27.2
Lenoir	55	5.1	32.3
Dula	40	3.7	35.9
Patterson	36	3.3	39.2
Miller	31	2.8	42.1
Powell	27	2.5	44.6
Dickson	26	2.4	47.0

Moon	26	2.4	49.4
Steel	25	2.3	51.7

In 1860, 7,497 individuals resided in Caldwell County. The enslaved population of Caldwell County was 1,088, comprising 14.51% of the total population. In 1860, 12 surnames maintained 52 percent of the enslaved population. Caldwell County had 176 slave owners in 1860 (see appendix). This figure increased by five in comparison to the 1850 data. The Dula family cumulatively owned 40 slaves which made up 3.7 percent of the total slave population. Alfred Dula, as in 1850, owned 13 slaves which made up 1.2 percent of the total enslaved population.

Glimpse into Antebellum Caldwell County

Slaves in Antebellum Caldwell County lived on the plantations in the county or near the plantation homes in town.⁶⁸ Though all Caldwell County citizens did not own slaves, enslaved people composed 19% of the total population in 1850. The more wealthy slave owners owned as many as 60 to 80 slaves at one time according to census records. Land was the measure of wealth in the Antebellum time period. Along the valley between Wilkesboro and Lenoir, large plantation homes were erected. The rich soil of the bottomlands tended by slave labor produced large quantities of cotton, wheat, melons, and vegetables. Most plantations had blacksmiths, shoe shops, carpentry shops, and loom rooms. Slaves took on the roles of gardeners, dairy maids, coach men, hostlers, cowherders, sheep tenders, and field hands. Additionally, there were house servants—the cooks, nurses, and maids. Typically, one nurse was assigned to each child of the family. Slave children raked leaves, served as playmates for the white children, carried food from

⁶⁸ Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 125.

the kitchen to the main house, and waved peacock fly-brushes at meal time to keep flies from the food.⁶⁹

Antebellum Caldwell County lacked extensive medical care in the form of physicians and surgeons. Because of this, many people attempted cures of witchcraft beliefs combined with the remedies of Indians. For instance, colds were treated with a tea made of rabbit tobacco leaves boneset, or with a syrup of honey, vinegar, and butter; the stings of insects were treated with wet tobacco leaves; and pneumonia was treated with a poultice of onion and garlic. Additionally, pine resin was kept in water buckets to purify the water. Although many members of the community were devout church members, they were also firm believers in the power of witches, but also of common Appalachian superstitions.⁷⁰

The first schools were established during the 1850s and 1860s in Caldwell County. Churches and their preachers were the most responsible for the growth of education in Caldwell County. One of the earliest schools to be started in Caldwell County was Belvoir. Belvoir was established in 1842 by Reverend Thomas S W. Mott.⁷¹ Davenport College opened in 1858 as an institution of higher learning for women.⁷² Classes at Davenport College continued throughout the Civil War, though the girls and faculty had to do without many necessities. Buildings were lit with candlelight and water was carried from a well at the bottom of a hill. When Stoneman's raiders came through Lenoir in the Spring of 1865, they stripped the building of everything they could. Unfortunately, Davenport School burned in 1877; however, the school was reopened in 1883. Davenport College continued to hold classes until 1933 when it closed and combined with

⁶⁹ Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 63.

⁷⁰ Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 84-85.

⁷¹ Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 113.

⁷² Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 115.

Greensboro College. The property is now used for Davenport A+ Elementary School, and the Caldwell Heritage Museum.

Roads and methods of travel within North Carolina were scarce in the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the state was connected by trails, not roads or railroads. James C. Harper, along with other supporters, incorporated the Blowing Rock Turnpike in the Legislature in 1845. The Blowing Rock Turnpike was a graded dirt road, similar to most of the roads across North Carolina at the time. Once completed the trip required about half of a day by wagon, carry-all, or buggy. People of the mountain sections of Caldwell County traveled the road often to bring their cattle, livestock, and produce to market. The development of the turnpike made the mountains more accessible. Because of this, many Caldwell citizens began to recognize the advantages of spending the summer months in the cool climate of Blowing Rock and Boone. Many wealthy families built homes and bought land on top of the mountain, where previously the mountains were thought to be of no value.⁷³

⁷³ Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell*, 120-121.

APPENDIX

List of Slave Owners for Caldwell County from 1850 & 1860 Slave Schedule

1850 Slave Owners	# of Slaves	% of all Slaves
Witherspoon John	52	4.3
Haton David E.	51	4.2
Lenior Thomas	46	3.8
Patterson Samuel F.	36	3.0
Dula William B.	29	2.4
Corpening Elizabeth	28	2.3
Davenport William	27	2.2
Jones L.G.	27	2.2
Suddreth Abraham	26	2.2
Jans? Collett	25	2.1
Miller E.P.	24	2.0
Dickson W.M.	23	1.9
Conly George	22	1.8
Jones E.W.	21	1.7
Corpening Joseph	20	1.7
Norwood Jos. C.	20	1.7
Conly J.P.	19	1.6

Jones Thomas	19	1.6
Baker Banhaba	18	1.5
Carrol William	17	1.4
Miller R.C.	17	1.4
Mott Rev. T.S.W.	17	1.4
Isbell Thomas	16	1.3
Dula Alfred	13	1.1
Powell George	13	1.1
Ferguson James	12	1.0
Kerby Cinthia	12	1.0
Collett James H.	11	.9
Kent Achilles	11	.9
Thompson Sidney	11	.9
Barns John	10	.8
Dula William H	10	.8
Harper James	10	.8
Perkins Alex	10	.8
Sherrel Bable	10	.8
Stuart Samuel	10	.8
Witherspoon Joshua	10	.8

Ballew William A.	9	.7
Gragg William	9	.7
Lilly Lewis	9	.7
Thompson John	9	.7
Tuttle B. M.	9	.7
Coffey Ann	8	.7
Costephens Maragaret	8	.7
Deal William	8	.7
Jopling Benj?	8	.7
Steel James	8	.7
Suddreth Catharine	8	.7
Davis James	7	.6
Estes Joseph	7	.6
Moore Daniel ?	7	.6
Moore E.S.	7	.6
Moore Job	7	.6
Abernathy Moses T.	6	.5
Baker Lucy	6	.5
Bradshaw Seth	6	.5
Collett Charles	6	.5

Downs Aaron	6	.5
Estes Lance	6	.5
Halloway Geroge	6	.5
Harper Jas? C.	6	.5
Harshaw Newton	6	.5
Horten Thomas N.	6	.5
Moore Jesse	6	.5
Powell Smith H.	6	.5
Steel John	6	.5
Bradly Burton	5	.4
Calloway Prudence	5	.4
Coffey Ella	5	.4
Dula Sanford	5	.4
Kent Archilus	5	.4
Sumpter Henry	5	.4
Tuttle L.M.	5	.4
Baker Richard	4	.3
Conly J.M.	4	.3
Crump Elizabeth	4	.3
Emmons Isaac	4	.3

Estes A.J.	4	.3
Estes Leonard	4	.3
Gilbert James	4	.3
Hartly Levi	4	.3
Kincaid Robert	4	.3
Laxton Allen	4	.3
Miller H.N.	4	.3
Moore Carrol	4	.3
Moore David	4	.3
Bradly Jackson	3	.2
Catrell William	3	.2
Catron John	3	.2
Clarke C.W.	3	.2
Dula Elizabeth	3	.2
Gaither Wilie	3	.2
Hagler S.W.	3	.2
Hagler William	3	.2
Hickman James	3	.2
Jones Lloyd T.	3	.2
McCall Catharine	3	.2

Paine Aquilla	3	.2
Paine Catharine	3	.2
Paine Coleman	3	.2
Poovy David	3	.2
Settlemyre H.H.	3	.2
Shell Azor	3	.2
Spencer John	3	.2
Steel Peter	3	.2
Stuart Hugh	3	.2
Tilly Edmond	3	.2
Barns Manly	2	.2
Bradly Calvin	2	.2
Brown Sarah	2	.2
Bullen William A.	2	.2
Coffey Hannah	2	.2
Corpening A.J.	2	.2
Craig Samuel	2	.2
Day Aquila	2	.2
Dula S.P.	2	.2
Earnest Evaline	2	.2

Edminson W.H.	2	.2
Ester or Estes Lot	2	.2
Estes J.C.	2	.2
Fo(e)rguson Allen	2	.2
Hayre Abraham	2	.2
Hise Leonard	2	.2
Hood Archibald	2	.2
Hood James	2	.2
Laxton Thomas	2	.2
McCall Samuel A.	2	.2
Mull Abraham	2	.2
Nelson Israel	2	.2
Powell Nelson A.	2	.2
Puett Joseph	2	.2
Robards Thomas	2	.2
Suddreth James	2	.2
Tuttle A.H.	2	.2
Wakefield Robert	2	.2
Beard William	1	.1
Berry James	1	.1

Biringer? Simon	1	.1
Boutman Caleb	1	.1
Coffey George	1	.1
Coffey Gilem	1	.1
Coffey Mariel?	1	.1
Coffey Mary	1	.1
Dean T.P.	1	.1
Ester Reuben	1	.1
Estes Robeson	1	.1
Glasebrooks John	1	.1
Gragg Allen	1	.1
Gragg Isam	1	.1
Haas Bergan	1	.1
Haas George	1	.1
Hagler Weightetell?	1	.1
Harris Lewis	1	.1
Harris Miniard ?	1	.1
Harrison Joseph	1	.1
Jones L.G.	1	.1
Lee Jordan	1	.1

Love Susan	1	.1
Lowdermilk William C.	1	.1
Martin Benjamin	1	.1
Moore Rufus	1	.1
Moore T.H.	1	.1
Powell John	1	.1
Puett Cinthia	1	.1
Reed Stephen	1	.1
Robards William	1	.1
Settle mire George	1	.1
Setzer William	1	.1
Starnes Jacob	1	.1
Tuttle R.G.	1	.1
Webb	1	.1
Total	1201	100.0

1860 Slave Owners	# of Slaves	% of all Slaves
Horton David E	63	5.8
Witherspoon John	59	5.4
Jones Ed W.	55	5.1
Lenoir Thomas	47	4.3
Corpening Joseph	36	3.3
Patterson S.F.	36	3.3
Corpening Elizabeth	27	2.5
Dickson C. McD	26	2.4
Miller E.P.	24	2.2
Carroll William	23	2.1
Collett James H	19	1.7
Harper James	19	1.7
Horton Thomas	18	1.7
Dula Alfred	13	1.2
Ferguson James	13	1.2
Isbell Thomas	13	1.2
Powell George	13	1.2
Kent A.S.	12	1.1
Norwood J.C.	11	1.0

Stewart Samuel	11	1.0
Tuttle B.M.	11	1.0
Coffey Anna	10	.9
Harshaw Jacob N.	10	.9
Steel Henry	10	.9
Baker Richard	9	.8
Barnes John	9	.8
Steel John J	9	.8
Conly Israel P.	8	.7
Davis James	8	.7
Jones Charles B	8	.7
Jones John L	8	.7
Shell Agor	8	.7
Suddreth Catharine	8	.7
Chambers Elijah	7	.6
Conley Sarah M.	7	.6
Conly Joseph M.	7	.6
Cottrell William	7	.6
Dula Sidney P.	7	.6
Harris Jess (Jeff) C.	7	.6

Rankin Jesse	7	.6
Settlemoir H.H.	7	.6
Thompson Lucy	7	.6
Corpening A.J.	6	.6
Crump Elizabeth	6	.6
Dula John W.	6	.6
Dula Sanford	6	.6
Earnest Henry	6	.6
Edminston W. H.	6	.6
Harris Lewis	6	.6
Horton L.L.	6	.6
Lenoir W.A.	6	.6
Locks M. T.	6	.6
Miller Nelson A.	6	.6
Moon Daniel	6	.6
Payne Thomas C.	6	.6
Scroggs A.A.	6	.6
Tilley Edmund	6	.6
Webb Senig	6	.6
Abernathy Eliza	5	.5

Carter G.N.	5	.5
Clarke C.W.	5	.5
Comtuy James	5	.5
Estes L.C.	5	.5
Gaither William	5	.5
Hagler S.W.	5	.5
Harper James C.	5	.5
Moon Carrol	5	.5
Moon Job	5	.5
Moon Judson	5	.5
Powell S.H.	5	.5
Stewart Nancy	5	.5
Thompson Sidney	5	.5
Tilley Lewis	5	.5
Bernhardt M.A.	4	.4
Boyle R.B.	4	.4
Corpening J. W.	4	.4
Earnest Levi	4	.4
McCall Catharine	4	.4
Moon David	4	.4

Powell Joseph T.	4	.4
Steel James C.	4	.4
Ballew W. A.	3	.3
Barnes Manly	3	.3
Cloyd Uriah	3	.3
Corpening John E.	3	.3
Downs Aaron	3	.3
Dula Elizabeth	3	.3
Dula James	3	.3
Earnest E.E.	3	.3
Estes Charity	3	.3
Hagler L.D.	3	.3
Hartly Levi	3	.3
Hickman James	3	.3
Hood H.M.	3	.3
Laxton Allen	3	.3
Martin John	3	.3
Mullins Jesse	3	.3
Prooy David	3	.3
Puett D.M.	3	.3

Purtt D.M.	3	.3
Spencer John	3	.3
Tuttle L.M.	3	.3
Wakefield R.R.	3	.3
Brown Alva	2	.2
Coffey Hannah	2	.2
Coffey Thomas	2	.2
Coffey William	2	.2
Craige Samuel	2	.2
Deal William	2	.2
Downs David	2	.2
Downs W.W.	2	.2
Estes Robert F	2	.2
Estes A.J.	2	.2
Hays Abram	2	.2
Hood James	2	.2
Jones Lloyd T	2	.2
Lenoir Rufus T	2	.2
Lindsay Laban E.	2	.2
Mull Abram	2	.2

Perkins Valencia	2	.2
Powell Nelson A.	2	.2
Powell John B.	2	.2
Puett John	2	.2
Puett Joseph	2	.2
Roberts Thomas	2	.2
Saxton Thomas	2	.2
Sherrill Joseph	2	.2
Steel Peter	2	.2
Sumpter Henry	2	.2
Triplett Rufsel	2	.2
Tugman James	2	.2
White William	2	.2
Austin A.W.	1	.1
Barnes G.W.	1	.1
Brown J.F.	1	.1
Bysann Simon	1	.1
Catron Jon	1	.1
Coffey Mary	1	.1
Coffey Rufus	1	.1

Coffey Wilborn	1	.1
Deal W.F.	1	.1
Dula Margaret	1	.1
Dula Julius A.	1	.1
Estes Edmund	1	.1
Estes Eliza	1	.1
Estes Joseph G.	1	.1
Estes Lewis	1	.1
Estes Reuben	1	.1
Graham W.W.	1	.1
Harrison Jane	1	.1
Hays John	1	.1
Hays Moses B.	1	.1
Hood Archibald	1	.1
Jones W. F	1	.1
Kincaid R. F.	1	.1
Lutze A.A.	1	.1
Miller H.N.	1	.1
Moon Jesse	1	.1
Payne Catharine	1	.1

Payne W.L.	1	.1
Powell Jones E.	1	.1
Rankin N.P.	1	.1
Roberson J.M.	1	.1
Sargent Phillip	1	.1
Scott Allen	1	.1
Sherrill B.W.	1	.1
Sherrill Jacob	1	.1
Stanton Nancy	1	.1
Starnes Jacob C.	1	.1
Stewart Thomas	1	.1
Suddreth J.M.	1	.1
Suddreth James	1	.1
Tilley Sarah	1	.1
Tuttle A.H.	1	.1
Tuttle R.G.	1	.1
Wakefield R.A.	1	.1
Total	1088	100.0

Conclusion

This essay serves to extinguish the argument that slaves were not an integral part of Appalachian communities. My research explores the presence of slaves in Appalachia and their profound impact on their respective communities. Americans with slave ancestry cannot trace their ancestry in government records before 1870 due to a lack of documentation, thus they must rely on oral histories and other familial documentation, often held by White descendants of slave owners. The slave schedules, such as those I examined for 1850 and 1860 in Caldwell County, provide numbers of slaves according to slave master, but do not list the names of individual slaves. The Dulatown community has documented their lineage to one of the Dula slaves (Harriet), but information on the other Dula slaves is unknown. This obscures ancestral research reliant on government documents. Furthermore, there is a conflict for biracial Americans who have both slave and slaveholder ancestry. Families, such as the Dula family, have ancestral lines divided between White and Black. This phenomenon makes it extremely difficult to form a complete sense of ancestral pride, leading many individuals of biracial descent with incomplete histories.