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“In the Grip of Slavery:

The Rise of a Slave Society Surrounding the Establishment of Stock Stands along the Buncombe

Turnpike, 1790 to 1855.”

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A Senior Thesis

Submitted the Faculty of the Department of History
In Candidacy for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History

Asheville, NC
November 20, 2015

Abstract

Western North Carolina is often seen as a region where African-American slavery was uncommon, and non-essential to the economy. However, in Buncombe County, especially the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike, slavery was common and played an important role in the economy. Many of Buncombe's most wealthy and prominent slave-owners ran "stock stands" or inns along the road. Over two generations, the elements of a slave society (including the consolidation of wealth, a new profitable commodity, and a strengthening of slave codes) manifested themselves in Buncombe and by 1855 the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike were in the grip of slavery.

“In the Grip of Slavery:

The Rise of a Slave Society Surrounding the Establishment of Stock Stands along the Buncombe Turnpike, 1790 to 1855.”

Richard, [Aggy], Jo, and Leah. It is my will and desire that they have full liberty and I do by these presents give them full liberty to go and live with any of my children where their own children live, not as slaves, but as old acquaintances who have labored and spent their strength to raise my children and their own also. I enjoin upon my children who may have the children of said old Black people not to confine them, but let them go awhile to one and awhile to another where their children may be. I enjoin upon my children to see that the evening of the lives of those Black people slide down as comfortably as may be.¹

David Vance Senior, 1813

Every autumn in the mid nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of hogs made their way from farms in Tennessee and Kentucky down the Buncombe Turnpike to market in South Carolina. The turnpike was created to blaze a safer route of transport for livestock through the treacherous and isolated Blue Ridge Mountains. The road ran parallel to the French Broad River, and created an opportunity for the slaveholding elite of Western North Carolina to profit from the traffic moving through their county. By 1835 many of Buncombe County’s most elite had moved their families, and their slaves, to homes along the new route to accommodate travelers like James Silk Buckingham, Esq., who observed that Buncombe County had been “esteemed the most healthy and beautiful portion of all the Southern country, which I can readily believe, from what I have seen of it.”² He lamented that slaves lived in “dirty and comfortless” conditions, yet

¹ “The Last Will and Testament of David Vance Senior, 1813,” Weaverville, NC, “Vance Family Histories,” Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection,

² James Silk Buckingham, Esq. *The Slave States of America*, vol. II, (London: Fisher and Sons and Co., 1842) The Internet Archive, 197. <https://archive.org/stream/slavestatesofame02buckuoft#page/n13/mode/2up>, (accessed 8/20/15).

“the business of the inn is left mostly to black servants to manage as they see fit.”³ The system of slavery that Buckingham observed manifested itself in the second generation of Buncombe county’s elite who used slave labor to operate multifaceted inns and farms. These entrepreneurial farmers used their economic status and political power to transform the area along the French Broad River from society with slaves into a slave society.

John Campbell wrote in *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* that the southern Appalachians were populated with poor yeoman farmers fleeing the oppression of slave labor. Campbell acknowledged that slaves were rarely used in the mountains, but concluded that, “Generally speaking... there were no Negroes in the Highlands in early times.”⁴ When it comes to the communities in the economic sphere of the Buncombe Turnpike, however, evidence displays Appalachian people who thrived in and enabled a unique slave society.

Ira Berlin defines both a slave society and a society with slaves in, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. The society with slaves is one where “slaves were marginal to the central productive process; slavery was just one form among many,” while a slave society is in contrast a society in which, “Slavery stood at the center of economic production...Whereas slaveholders were just one portion of a propertied elite in societies with slaves, they were the ruling class in slave societies; nearly everyone -- free and slave-- aspired to enter the slaveholding class.”⁵ He argues that in the early European settlements in North America there were four distinct slave societies; the North, the Chesapeake, the South Atlantic, and the Lower Mississippi Valley.⁶ His study of slavery in North America focuses heavily on the regional identities and markers of slavery, arguing that the presentations of

³ James Silk Buckingham, Esq. *The Slave States of America*, 193.

⁴ John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1921) 94. The Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/southernhighlan00unkngoog>. (accessed 11/10/15).

⁵ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) 9.

⁶ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 7.

slavery in different regions of the continent were important and changed from time to time and from place to place, and created a framework to understand how Buncombe County, particularly the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike, transitioned over time to become a slave society.⁷

The foundation of the slave society in Buncombe was laid by the first generation of wealthy mountain settlers. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* by Daniel Fischer and James Kelly outlines the migratory streams that left Virginia just before the American Revolution. Understanding the diaspora from Virginia into North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky is important to understanding the development of a slave society in Buncombe County. Just before the American Revolution the focus of the people turned from Europe to their own affairs, and the spirit of westward migration began. This new spirit of American movement west was the wave that inspired many young, adventurous men, coming mostly from elite families of Virginia, to blaze their way westward and begin a new chapter in American history. The migrants populated Kentucky, Tennessee, and western North Carolina and began farming there. The mountains of North Carolina proved fertile and the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee provided grazing land for livestock, particularly hogs and cattle.⁸ The settlers created farms for subsistence and local market trade, and in some cases used slaves to do so.

Since Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone* was published there has been an increase the study of regional slavery.⁹ From the beginning of the new millennium many Southern history scholars have moved their focus to the study of the "other" South; Southern Appalachia. Buncombe County in Western North Carolina, like Berlin's other geographically determined slave societies

⁷ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 4.

⁸ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 4.

⁹ John Inscoc, *Mountain Masters: Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000) xvii.

was full of what have been described as “Mountain Masters;” men who in many ways fit the categorical standard of any other antebellum Southern slaveholder, that is, a gentleman farmer whose occupation relied heavily on slave labor, and had great social and political influence. As Berlin argued, these mountain masters must be studied in a way that takes careful account of their geography, time, and their cultural and physical capital in order to make a legitimate assertion that their society fit the mold of a “slave society.”¹⁰ *Many Thousands Gone* does not include any part of the Southern Mountain region as one of its slave societies, and perhaps this is because the material covers a period slightly before heavy settlement in the area by Europeans. However, Berlin’s work gives a complete analysis of these other regional slave societies; leaving room for additional scholarship concerning those regions left behind in *Many Thousands Gone*.

Focusing on the economy of antebellum Appalachian communities, Sociologist Wilma Dunaway concludes the mountain South had its own slave society. Dunaway provides the reader with compelling evidence in her study, *Slavery in the American Mountain South* to suggest that Appalachia did have unique slave society from those of the rest of the South, however, her book presents some grave flaws. Dunaway provides a copious amount of empirical evidence and data throughout her book, and this is no doubt a great triumph, however in some cases she falls short in her analysis of the primary source material. Dunaway uses generalized social classes as a skeleton on which to build and support her research and in some cases could be considered guilty of illusory correlation by concluding numerical data by examining primary sources rooted in memory rather than fact, like the WPA slave narratives. For instance, Dunaway observed, “Appalachian ex-slaves reported slave selling twice as often as other WPA interviewees...” so

¹⁰ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 7.

she concluded that, “about one of every three mountain slaves was sold...”¹¹ Although she erred in her analysis of the material, there is still significant evidence to support that she is right in concluding that “the political economies of all Mountain South counties were in the grip of slavery... slaveholders owned a disproportionate share of the wealth and land, held a majority of important state and county offices and championed pro-slavery agendas.”¹² Dunaway’s work is useful in determining that Appalachia was indeed its own slave society, but her research flaws discredit her argument.¹³

The conversation about regional political identity in Western North Carolina just before and during the Civil War was spearheaded by Gordon B. McKinney. Dr. McKinney penned *Southern Mountain Republicans: 1865 - 1900* which discusses the perceptions that shaped popular views of Appalachia and Western North Carolina in the wake of the Civil War. For many, Appalachia was seen as a region without slaves, and therefore never established a slave society or had political goals and connections related to slavery. However in *Southern Mountain Republicans* McKinney argues that the popular assumptions about Appalachia’s feelings toward slavery and the war were “not built on a pre-existing tradition or community... The image of a distinct Mountain South political heritage was deliberately created by Republican politicians in order to appeal to Mountain voters.”¹⁴ This statement makes it clear, that before the Civil War the majority of people of Western North Carolina were not abolitionists, and regardless of their economic background by the time the war came, they felt “awful Southern.”¹⁵

¹¹ Wilma Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 241.

¹² Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, 242.

¹³ Inscoc, *Mountain Masters*, 13.

¹⁴ Gordon B. McKinney, *Southern Mountain Republicans: 1865 - 1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1998) 11.

¹⁵ John C. Inscoc and Gordon B. McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) 58.

John Inscoc followed McKinney's lead in attempting to dismantle the myth of a Western North Carolina absent of slaves and masters with his work *Mountain Masters: Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina*. *Mountain Masters* examines Western North Carolina's experience with slavery through the lens of the politics and prerogatives of the region's most wealthy. Inscoc presents evidence of the importance of slavery to the economy of the region, asserting that slaves were essential in the growing tourist economy and the keystone of the thriving small-farm based agriculture and micro-manufacturing industries.¹⁶ Inscoc presents compelling empirical data demonstrating the popularity of slavery among the elite in Western North Carolina and blends it with interesting primary source records to create a full picture of a unique hierarchical and political struggle in the mountains of North Carolina that would easily translate into the rest of the Southern Appalachian region.

Other scholars in the field like Dr. Darin Waters, have worked toward bringing Buncombe County's slave history to the forefront of the local history conversation. His doctoral dissertation "Life Beneath The Veneer: The Black Community in Asheville, North Carolina from 1793 to 1900" focuses on the social and economic development of the black community in Asheville, the seat of Buncombe County, taking into account the historical implications of race, circumstance and memory and how they affected this cultural center of Appalachia.¹⁷ Waters argues that the black population of Asheville and the surrounding areas, while not nearly as sizeable as those further east or south, was an integral part of the region's history and culture.

Context for life and the development of communities in Buncombe County and along the turnpike are abundant. Manly Wellman's *Kingdom of Madison*, Wilma Dykeman's *The French*

¹⁶ Inscoc, *Mountain Masters*, 98.

¹⁷ Darin Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer: The Black Community of Asheville, North Carolina from 1793 to 1900" (doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2012) Carolina Digital Repository, <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/record/uuid:3cb18a4b-3a75-419b-ba4b-d9f8a483af7f>. (accessed 05/05/15).

Broad, and Gordon B. McKinney's biography of Zebulon Vance all provide a picture of antebellum Buncombe County. Wellman and Dykeman each include chapters on the Buncombe Turnpike specifically. Dykeman most elegantly described the Buncombe Turnpike and its importance to the mountain people,

Narrow, rough, clinging to the cliffs, this was no highway over which the farmers of Kentucky and Tennessee could haul their great crops of corn and grain and hay to the deeper south markets, and so perhaps the ruggedness of this one third of the French Broad land became the major reason for the enormous droves of livestock that dominated, for three quarters of a century, its people, economics, and society.¹⁸

This economic system was not absent of slaves, however.

This work aims not to generalize all of Appalachia as a slave society; rather to reexamine the practice of slavery in Buncombe over time to determine that Buncombe County, particularly the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike, transformed into a slave society. Unlike Inscoe's *Mountain Masters* which focuses on the politics of slavery in the region, this work will focus on the development of a slave labor based economy in the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike and its transition from a society with slaves to a slave society.

Just after the Revolutionary War, North Carolinians moved onward into the backcountry and began settling around the French Broad River and its tributaries.¹⁹ Over time, these communities surrounding the river developed a unique economy with slavery at its core. There were several contributing factors to the rise of a slave society in Buncombe that follow a pattern suggested by Ira Berlin. According to Berlin, the development of a slave society began with the consolidation of the ruling class, particularly surrounding some sort of new commodity. This is

¹⁸ Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad*, (Newport, TN: Wakestone Books, 1955) 137.

¹⁹ John Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*, 13.

typically followed by the marginalization of the poor, stricter slave codes, and an increase in their sale by speculators.²⁰

The transformation of Buncombe is most easily revealed when studying the first two generations of the county elite and how they lived over time and place. Because of the service of Zebulon Baird Vance (a Buncombe county native) as governor, his family history is preserved in collections held at Zebulon's birthplace, now a North Carolina state historic site. Their journey over time serves as a particularly good example of how a slave economy arose in Buncombe. The Vance family patriarch, grandfather to Zebulon, David Vance Sr., was born in Frederick County, Virginia in 1755.²¹ Presuming he spent some time in North Carolina before his marriage in Rowan County in 1775, it is probable that David left Virginia toward the North Carolina shortly after his mother's death in 1772.²² After the War of Independence Vance eventually made his way to Burke County, then Reems Creek in what would become Buncombe County in 1792. Vance, as a member of the North Carolina House of Commons along with William Davidson, made the proposal for the new county. The pair immediately became two of its leading members. David Vance was elected County Clerk and held that office until his death in 1813 and assisted in the surveying of the North Carolina, Tennessee border.²³

In the time of David Vance Senior, Buncombe County was not yet a slave society. Early Buncombe was sparsely populated and isolated geographically to the larger markets lying further south. Western North Carolina farmers grew mostly cereals, corn, and other fruits and vegetables and depended on the local market to make their money.²⁴ Vance had only a few slaves in his

²⁰ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 9.

²¹ Rowan County, NC. Marriage Records. David Vance to Priscilla Brank. Ancestry.com. (accessed 07/20/15).

²² "Family Tree," Weaverville, NC, "Vance Family Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

²³ Buncombe County, NC. Record of Court Proceedings. Old Buncombe Genealogy.<http://www.obcgs.com/research-resources/buncombe-county-court-minutes/792-2/>. (accessed 07/20/15).

²⁴ Inscoc, *Mountain Masters*, 18-20.

early years on Reems Creek, but as Buncombe became more settled and established, Vance's slaveholding increased more than threefold so that by the 1800 census the Vance family had ten slaves.²⁵ It is very likely that most of these slaves were adults (and therefore, productive) because the majority were probably purchased once the family settled into their new farm.²⁶

Vance had a large slave holding relative to most in Buncombe, thus, like his peers, he was likely producing goods to sell in the local market. In his will, David Sr. requested that he be buried near his beloved peach orchard.²⁷ The fruit it produced could be sold unprocessed or in its distilled form as brandy. The farm on Reems Creek was rather opulent for its time, boasting a very large log home with a brick fireplace, an attached kitchen, and a number of outbuildings situated on more than 600 acres of land. Like many of his fellow settlers, Vance came from a background of privilege, and had served as an officer during the Revolution. He invested in property and was able to gain a foothold as a founding member of the largest county in the state. Vance was also an elder in Reems Creek Presbyterian Church where he allowed at least one of his slaves, Agnes or Aggy (as she is sometimes called) to become a member.²⁸

In the practice of mixed, small production agriculture, slaves were a part of everyday life, and were certainly being bought and sold in Buncombe, but because agricultural production was mostly for the local market, slave labor was not essential to uphold that economic model.

Discussing early agriculture in Western North Carolina, Inscocoe asserts, "Crop production would

²⁵ David Vance, Sr. Census Record, United States Federal Census Bureau. Buncombe Co., NC, 1800. Photocopies. Ancestry.com. (accessed 07/20/2015).

²⁶ Some records suggest that only one of the original three slaves was female, but that information is not conclusive. In the 1870 Census, Hudson Vance, the son of Richard and Aggy Vance, claimed his parents were born in Virginia. Leah, the wife of Richard mentioned in David Sr.'s will is thought to have been born in North Carolina.

²⁷ "The Last Will and Testament of David Vance Senior, 1813" Weaverville, NC, "Vance Family Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

²⁸ "Reems Creek Presbyterian membership records," Weaverville, NC, "Vance Slave Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

hardly amount to enough work to occupy a slave labor force all year round.”²⁹ These small numbers of slaves were simply an aide to the already wealthy of Buncombe to further increase their wealth. Slaves, like land, were a form of investment capital; almost certain to supply dividends.³⁰

The isolating geography of the Blue Ridge Mountains made it difficult to get agricultural goods to market, but isolation worked in the favor of early mountain settlers who were able to acquire large tracts of prime farmland and profit from the agricultural production with little competition. Families who already carried political clout, and whose patriarchs had served in the Revolution, were able to settle first grew in social, economic, and political power leaving little room for newcomers or those with fewer resources to advance.³¹ Vance used his wealth from farming and investing in land, and social clout as a former state representative and county clerk so that by the time of his death he had an ownership interest in more than 25,000 acres of land in both North Carolina and Tennessee.³² The geography and pattern of settlement of Buncombe helped create the conditions necessary for the first important step toward becoming a slave society, a consolidation of political and economic power.

The social and monetary capital that David Vance Sr. accumulated was passed to his sons. Vance died in 1813 and left David Jr., the father of Zebulon Vance, a large portion of his estate. David Jr. began his adult life with an advantage, as did most of the second generation of Buncombe’s elite. David Sr. left 898 acres in Reems Creek to David Jr. and his brother Robert, in addition to some 1000 acres or more in the state of Tennessee. Additionally, he was left with

²⁹ Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*, 68.

³⁰ Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*, 69.

³¹ Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*, 18-20.

³² Buncombe Co., NC. Buncombe County Register of Deeds. “Online Records Search” results for David Vance 1790-1813. <http://registerofdeeds.buncombecounty.org/External/LandRecords/protected/v4/SrchName.aspx>. (accessed 07/20/15). For record of land in Tennessee, see “The Last Will and Testament of David Vance Senior, 1813.” in “Vance Family Histories.”

some livestock, and three slaves.³³ David Jr. began a family of his own in July of 1825 when he married Mira Margaret Baird, the daughter of another mountain master.³⁴ The Vance family continued to live on the farm at Reems Creek and by 1830, nine slaves lived and worked on the farm.³⁵ In passing down their political power, social, and physical capital to their sons, David Vance Sr. and his peers helped lay the foundation for the second generation economy.

By the early 1800's, the abundant agricultural output of the surrounding areas and increasing populations in remote settlements like Warm Springs prompted a need for better transportation through the mountains to Asheville, the county seat. Traffic on this road already existed and yet Barnard's station, about 15 miles south of Warm Springs, was the only place to find refreshment and rest at that time.³⁶ Wealthy residents of Buncombe took note of this need and proposed a plan to improve the road so that they could increase its economic potential. In 1823 a young David Swain, the future governor, helped finalize a bill to secure funding for a turnpike road to improve travel from Warm Springs to the Saluda Gap. Regardless of some political disagreements, the Buncombe Turnpike was built through to Asheville by 1827, and the wealthy farmers and businessmen of Buncombe were ready to fill the need for places of refuge along the improved turnpike.³⁷

With the new opportunity along the French Broad, economic activity shifted from simply farming to a multifaceted operation: the maintenance of a drover's stand. Although the road was still too rough to easily move fragile vegetable crops, farmers in Tennessee and Kentucky found that the Buncombe Turnpike was a good route to move livestock to market. The drover's stands provided a tavern like stop along the road so that those driving livestock could feed and water

³³ "The Last Will and Testament of David Vance Senior, 1813"

³⁴ North Carolina Marriage Records Index, 1741-2011, 497. Ancestry.com. (accessed 07/20/15).

³⁵ David Vance, Jr. Census Record, United States Federal Census Bureau. Buncombe Co., NC, 1830. Photocopies. Ancestry.com. (accessed 07/20/2015).

³⁶ Wellman, *Kingdom of Madison*, 36.

³⁷ Wellman, *Kingdom of Madison*, 36-42.

their animals, particularly hogs, and themselves. In addition for providing food and shelter for both people and animals, many stands operated a dry goods store, and the stand owners often served as a place to buy the local newspaper, the *Highland Messenger*.³⁸ M.W Alexander advertised in the same paper that his stand had a “well regulated bar” to serve spirits to its guests.³⁹ Stands also served more distinguished guests like James Silk Buckingham, Esq. who stayed in several of these stands during his travels through Western North Carolina. Buckingham noted one such stand about halfway in between Asheville and Warm Springs was “excellent...kept by a colonel,” which was “superior in its cleanliness and general order.”⁴⁰ Wellman proposes that Buckingham could have easily been speaking of the Vance home, which was well regarded for its cleanliness and hospitality.⁴¹

Just as their fathers had done when they first settled western North Carolina, the new generation of Buncombe’s wealthy were able to quickly purchase large tracts of land along the new road, and maintain their already consolidated political and economic power by capitalizing on the need for taverns along the Buncombe Turnpike. By the year 1834 David Jr. made up his mind about investing in the stock stand business. He sold off two tracts of land in Asheville, 650 acres in Reems Creek, and in 1839 Vance purchased a small amount of land off Casebolts Branch near the French Broad River. In 1840, David bought a share of 550 acres on the French Broad, and for the next two years he sold most of his farm on Reems Creek and bought 900 more acres of land near Lapland, what is now Marshall in Madison County.⁴² The Vance stand stood

³⁸ “Agents of the Highland Messenger” *Highland Messenger*, Sep. 10, 1841, 2. Newspapers.com. (accessed 10/15/15).

³⁹ M.W. Alexander, *Highland Messenger*. Advertisement. Jul. 10, 1846, 4, (accessed 8/27/15).

⁴⁰ Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, 207.

⁴¹ Wellman, *Kingdom of Madison*, 38.

⁴² Buncombe County, Buncombe County Register of Deeds, “Online Records Search.” results for David Vance 1820-1845. (accessed 07/20/2015).

in what is now the center of the town, directly across from the river.⁴³ By the time the Vance stock stand was in operation David Jr. held ownership interest in more than 1500 acres on the turnpike and 75 acres in Reems Creek. According to the 1840 census he had 12 slaves, two were engaged in agriculture and one in manufacture or trade.⁴⁴ Vance's peer, James Alexander, followed a similar pattern. Land purchase records suggest that he purchased a small tract of land for a home and family farm, and later once they had established themselves, he purchased a larger piece for the operation of a stand.⁴⁵

The increase in trade and economic development surrounding the turnpike was significant. Thousands of head of hogs, cattle, and horses came through Buncombe on their way to market. In November 1841 the *Highland Messenger* updated residents on the "great number of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs" that would be traveling through town to southern markets in the coming months. The paper assured all that with such an abundance of hogs there would be plenty of the "greasy doin's".⁴⁶ Stock stands became an essential part of the trip to market. The stands provided travelers with "provisions of all kinds common in the country," including meals and medicines and a place to rest overnight.⁴⁷ An advertisement in the *Highland Messenger* in 1849 informed readers that they could purchase "Brandeth Pills," a patent medicine meant to cleanse the blood and, "assist nature to do her own work, in her own way, in her own time" at several popular stands, including Patton's in Warm Springs and Deaver's in Sulphur Springs.⁴⁸

⁴³ "David Vance," County Historical Marker, Marshall, Madison County, NC. "Marshall, NC Historic Markers," visitmadisoncounty.com, <http://www.visitmadisoncounty.com/activities/self-guided-tours/marshall-historic-markers/> (accessed 11/17/15).

⁴⁴ David Vance, Jr. Census Record, United States Federal Census Bureau. Buncombe Co., NC, 1840. Photocopies. Ancestry.com. (accessed 07/20/2015).

⁴⁵ Buncombe Co. Buncombe County Register of Deeds. "Online Records Search" Results for James Alexander, 1825-1841, deed book and page: 14/83; 15/328; 16/245. David Vance 1825-1841, deed book and page: 21/440; 22/131. (accessed 08/27/2015).

⁴⁶ *Highland Messenger*. Advertisement. Dec. 12, 1841, pg. 2. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/15).

⁴⁷ *Highland Messenger*. Advertisement. Jul. 20, 1846, pg. 4. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/15).

⁴⁸ "Conversation, Between Two Friends, about Brandeth's Pills" Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*, Jul. 10 1846, 4. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/21/15).

The increase in traffic on the road also led to an increase in slave numbers. In 1800 about six percent of all people in Buncombe were enslaved, by 1840 that number had increased to nearly twelve percent.⁴⁹ While those numbers may seem small, the concentration of those slaves in the hands of stock stand owners was disproportionate. In 1840 9.2 percent of all slaves were held by five of Buncombe's most wealthy men. Stock Stand owners David Vance, Samuel Chunn, Robert Deaver and Hezekiah Barnard owned 52 slaves total. Thomas Patton who ran a hotel in Swannanoa, just east of Asheville, had 59 slaves.⁵⁰ According to Census records not all of these slaves were employed in agriculture, some were engaged in manufacture or trade, while others did jobs to maintain the stock stands.⁵¹

The typical Stock Stand estate was large in size and grandeur, serving as a gathering place for both elite travelers and livestock drovers. When the estate of James Weaver, a popular stand owner and half-owner of the turnpike, (at that time commonly referred to as "Patton and Weaver's Road") was sold in 1854 it included more than 1500 acres of valuable farmland both near the stand and further down the road, and "22 likely and valuable negroes, of different ages and sexes, ten of them grown or nearly so."⁵² Other large farms were sold in the area and included large fields of wheat, mills, and stands of mulberry trees.⁵³ The grounds were well kept, and meant to provide guests with a comfortable experience. Robert Deaver, the owner of

⁴⁹ "Buncombe County, North Carolina, 1840," Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/start.php?year=V1840> (accessed 08/20/15).

⁵⁰ David Vance, Samuel Chunn, Robert Deaver, Hezekiah Barnard Census Records, United States Federal Census Bureau. Buncombe Co., NC, 1840.

⁵¹ David Vance, Samuel Chunn, Robert Deaver, Hezekiah Barnard Census Records, United States Federal Census Bureau. Buncombe Co., NC, 1840.

⁵² William McSween, "Chancery Sale of Land, Slaves, and Turnpike Road," Advertisement. *Asheville News*. Jan. 11, 1855, 3. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/15).

⁵³ *Highland Messenger*. Assorted Advertisement Clippings. 1840-1855. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/15). Mulberry trees are used in the production of silk. Some mountaineers thought that silk production would be easily profitable in the mountains, so the mulberry tree became an investment crop for a few optimistic mountain farmers. For more on silk in NC see, David A. Norris, "Silk," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, William S. Powell, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 1036.

the Sulphur Springs Hotel, boasted about his newly enlarged spaces, pleasurable gardens and comfortable bathhouses to draw in visitors.⁵⁴ A traveler from New York, Frederick Law Olmstead, described one of the hotels near Asheville as having, “a long piazza for smokers, loungers and flirts, and a bowling alley and shuffle board,” to entertain its guests.⁵⁵

Vance had twelve slaves in 1844 who worked to help operate his farm and stand.⁵⁶ Thanks to records from the sale of his estate, the some names of Vance slaves are recorded. Venus was the oldest, others in the group were Ann, May, and Bob.⁵⁷ Female slaves would have been doing primarily domestic tasks, especially along the turnpike. Advertisements in the *Highland Messenger* typically mention that a good female slave was a young, smart, and active girl who was a wonderful washer, ironer, and cook. The production of textiles was important to many living in the mountains. Sarah Gudger, an ex-slave from Buncombe County, recalled in an interview conducted by the Federal Writer’s Project that she would spend hours and hours carding and spinning wool for weaving.⁵⁸ One of the Vance slaves known as young Leah was said to have been one of the finest cooks in Western North Carolina.⁵⁹ Slave Children also worked in the stands. Buckingham encountered children who were charged with household chores like sweeping, and Olmstead met slave children who helped in the kitchen. Thomas

⁵⁴ R. Deaver. Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*. Aug. 14, 1840, 4. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/15).

⁵⁵ Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey in the Back Country*, (New York: Mason Brothers, 1860) The Internet Archive, 251. <https://archive.org/details/cu31924030995900>, (accessed 8/27/15).

⁵⁶ N. Blackstock and B.J Smith, “Administrator’s Sale” Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*, Jul. 19, 1844, pg. 4. Newspapers.com Accessed 8/27/15.

⁵⁷ “Ledger of August 1844 Administrator’s Sale,” Weaverville, NC, “Vance Family Histories”, Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Primary Source Collection.

⁵⁸ Sarah Gudger and Marjorie Jones, interviewer. “Sarah Gudger, ex-slave, 121 years.” *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writer’s Project 1936-1938*. Library of Congress. http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem_8pcq::. (accessed 05/05/2015).

⁵⁹ “Letter from Pack Library,” Weaverville, NC, “Vance Family Histories,” Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace collection.

Patton often ran advertisements in the local newspaper offering up slave children to rent for \$1.50 to \$2.50 per month.⁶⁰

Male slaves on the Vance farm would have been mostly participating in agriculture or some sort of trade. An advertisement for David Junior's estate sale in the *Highland Messenger* says that one of his slaves was a young blacksmith.⁶¹ A cane seat chair in the collection at the Zebulon Vance Birthplace at the farm on Reems Creek was said to have been made by an expert chair maker belonging to the Slimp family of East Tennessee.⁶² Vance slaves would have been cultivating crops on the farm like watermelons, corn, and wheat, while others might be keeping watch over cattle and hogs and assisting drovers as they came to rest at the stand with their herds.⁶³ As the turnpike became a central part of the economy of Buncombe, African American slavery expanded from the field and home to other sectors of the economy such as craft trades like blacksmithing or tanning and large scale service industry requirements like cooking and cleaning, grounds maintenance, and supervision of the constant flow of livestock that made its way from Tennessee and Kentucky each fall.

Just as with the hogs, ease of transportation through western North Carolina to markets further south allowed for the maintenance of fear over slaves with the threat of being sold to the "cotton country." Slave speculators traveled the Buncombe Turnpike, and mountain slave owners threatened slaves with disposal to the feared "cotton country" where the work was harder and masters were less benevolent. W.P Bost, a slave from Caldwell County, at the foothills of the Blue Ridge, observed slaves that were forced to walk chained together, "on the last of

⁶⁰ Thomas Patton, Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*, Jan. 16, 1846, 2. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/27/2015).

⁶¹ N. Blackstock and B.J Smith, "Administrator's Sale" Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*, Jul. 19, 1844, 4. Newspapers.com, (accessed 8/27/15).

⁶² Entry in Vance Birthplace Digital Collections Catalog, Weaverville, NC, Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁶³ Frontis W. Johnston, ed. *The Papers of Zebulon Vance, Vol. I.* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1963.) 10.

December so the niggers would be ready for sale on the first day of January.”⁶⁴ Sarah Gudger remembered that her master would bring speculators on to the plantation who would “talk to ol’Marse, and den dey slaps de han’ cuffs on him an’ take him away to de cotton country.”⁶⁵

Dunaway argued in *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, “Mountain masters meted out the two most severe forms of punishment to slaves more frequently than their counterparts in other Southern Regions. Appalachian ex-slaves reported slave selling twice as often as other WPA interviewees; thus about one of every three mountain slaves was sold...”⁶⁶ Dunaway’s assertion suggests that speculators seem to have been prevalent, in fact, one of the slaves that worked alongside Sarah Gudger was according to her narrative bought from a speculator in Virginia.⁶⁷ However, there are only 321 recorded bills of sale for slaves in Buncombe County over the course of 89 years. Other systems like the leasing and hiring out of slaves appears more common.⁶⁸

The slaveholders of Buncombe seem to have acted differently than Dunaway argues they may have while still maintaining economic power over those who did not own slaves. Uniquely, the buying and selling of slaves was not as common as leasing them out among many mountain slaveholders. Rather than continually buy and sell slaves mountain masters more frequently made the most of their investment by hiring them out to other members of the community. It was not uncommon to see some of the turnpike stand owners leasing out their slaves after the busy fall harvest and livestock driving season was complete. Around the end of November,

⁶⁴ W.P Bost, “W.P. Bost” *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writer’s Project 1936-1938*. Library of Congress, 1. http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem_8pcq:.. (accessed 05/05/2015).

⁶⁵ “Sarah Gudger ex-slave, 121 years,” 4.

⁶⁶ Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, 242.

⁶⁷ “Sarah Gudger, ex-slave, 121 years,” 6.

⁶⁸ Buncombe County Register of Deeds, “Slave Deeds,” Buncombe County Register of Deeds and the UNC Asheville Center for Diversity Education. https://www.buncombecounty.org/Governing/Depts/RegisterDeeds/Genealogy_SlaveDeeds.aspx. (accessed 03/01/2015).

advertisements in the *Highland Messenger* began to appear posted by subscribers who were looking for a slave to lease out, or someone attempting to make their slaves useful to someone else. In October of 1849, Thomas Patton offered up several of his male slaves to the Gold Mines, hoping to make extra profit from them.⁶⁹ The Patton family were the most frequent buyers and sellers of slaves in Buncombe county according to records held by the Buncombe County Register of Deeds. They had more recorded transactions with more slaves than anyone else between 1776 and 1865.⁷⁰ There is also evidence of the Vance family participating in the practice of leasing out slaves. While there is no surviving record of David Vance Jr. participating in this practice, there is evidence that his brother Robert leased out slaves. In his will, Robert indicates that one of his slaves was in the care of James Patton, and that rather than selling him with the rest of his estate, he could stay there, as that is what Robert believes would be his desire.⁷¹

According to newspaper advertisements, it appears that the leasing of slaves was more common than the intentional investment for speculation, while some other slave owners were selling large lots of young slaves, as many as twelve at a time.⁷² W.P Bost said the wife of his former master, “was a good woman. She never allowed the Massa to buy or sell and slaves.”⁷³ Gudger also mentioned that her second master never bought or sold any slaves.⁷⁴ After David Vance Jr.’s death in 1844 all of his slaves were to be put up for sale, but his widow Mira had purchased seven of the twelve slaves by the end of the sale. One slave in particular, Venus, was

⁶⁹ Thomas Patton, *Highland Messenger*. Advertisement. Oct. 31, 1849. Newspapers.com. Accessed 08/27/2015.

⁷⁰ Buncombe County Register of Deeds, “Slave Deeds.”

⁷¹ “The Last will and Testament of Robert Vance,” Weaverville, NC, *Vance Family Histories*, Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁷² William F. McKesson. Advertisement. *Highland Messenger*, May 21, 1841. Newspapers.com. (accessed 8/21/15).

⁷³ “W.P. Bost,” 1.

⁷⁴ “Sarah Gudger ex-slave, 121 years,” 3.

purchased for one dollar.⁷⁵ Mira continued to have a unique relationship with former Vance slaves throughout her life. Two former slaves, Sandy and Leah Erwin, remained in contact with her until her death, and sat at the head of her casket at her funeral.⁷⁶

The relationships mountain slave owners had with their slaves was diverse, and complicated. Family connections seem to have been more important to mountain slave holders, and were taken into careful account when buying, selling, and relocating slaves. Previously mentioned, Sandy Erwin came to the Vance family through Myra's family and marriage. He was the property of Mira's mother, Hannah Erwin Baird, and willed to her son A.E. Baird in 1849 with strict directions for him not to be sold out of the family.⁷⁷ While these social practices may seem as if they negate the idea that the communities along the Buncombe Turnpike generated an economy based on slavery, family wishes were fiercely important to mountain people in which this particular slave economy took rise. Hannah Erwin Baird would not sell Sandy because it was her wish to not sell anything given to her by her father, similarly, when Mira chose to purchase her own slaves back it was, according to later reports from her son Robert, due to her sentimental connection to them, and previous family wishes that they not be sold.⁷⁸

Although the cultural atmosphere tended to demonstrate that mountain masters were more apt to keep families intact, other records suggest it was only when it was to their financial benefit. Slaves were also rising in price and were an important investment for many mountain farming families; they could be used as replacement capital in case of an emergency or a poor harvest. Priscilla Vance kept her husband's wishes by not selling Aggy outside of the family,

⁷⁵ "Ledger of August 1844 Estate Sale," Weaverville, NC, "Vance Family Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁷⁶ "Letter from Pack Library," Weaverville, NC, "Vance Family Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁷⁷ "Last will and Testament of Hannah Erwin Baird, 1849," Weaverville, NC, "Vance Family Histories," Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁷⁸ Inscoc, *Mountain Masters*, 92.

rather allowing her a choice of with whom to live and requested that her children not be sold until after her death. However, David Junior had a difference of opinion. In an 1836 letter to his sister Jane Davidson, David writes about his mother Pricilla, “She had fixed and prepared her worldly possessions some time before her death, and I urged that she dispose of Ann & Hudson now. She said that they are to remain with their mother until her death.” Pricilla asked that after their mother died they be sold and the profits divided amongst her daughters. David begrudgingly wrote, “I would rather it could be done now.”⁷⁹ David’s decision to obey his parent’s wishes seems to be more connected to his obligation to honor his parents rather than some moral conviction.⁸⁰

The investments in land and slaves by mountain masters marginalized poor whites who could not afford slaves or their own land. They were primarily farmers working for themselves and producing small amounts of goods for the local market, but they could not keep up with the competitive prices and the model of a self-sufficient tavern run on slave labor. In his travels, Frederick Law Olmstead encountered a man who informed him that “A nigger...that wouldn’t bring more than \$300 seven years ago, will catch more than \$1000, cash, quick, this year; but now, hogs, they ain’t worth so much as they used to be; there’s so many of them driven through here from Tennessee, they’ve brought the price down.”⁸¹ With the influx of pork from Tennessee and Kentucky, local farmers could no longer make money selling livestock. This was especially true because stand owners (the would-be consumer of locally raised livestock) often accepted payment from drovers in the form of crippled animals.⁸² Even more so than falling pork prices, slavery disrupted the participation of small farmers in the local market. Slaves allowed the inns

⁷⁹ “Letter from David Vance Jr. to his sister, Jane Davidson, 1836,” Weaverville, NC, “Digital Collection,” Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁸⁰ “The Last Will and Testament of David Vance Sr., 1813,” Weaverville, NC, “Vance Family Histories,” Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace Collection.

⁸¹ Olmsted, *A Journey in the Back Country*, 226.

⁸² Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad*, 147.

along the French Broad River to produce nearly everything they needed from furniture to agricultural goods; further limiting the market for poor farmers. One mountaineer living near Asheville lamented that, “Ain’t general for people to hire here only for harvest time; fact is, a man couldn’t earn his board, let alone his wages, for six months in the year.”⁸³ Low prices and sparse work made life difficult for less-than-wealthy mountain whites.

The use of slave labor by the largest landowners in Buncombe had created an economy where those who did not have political, social, and economic power could not find work. During Frederick Law Olmstead’s travels to the region he encountered several poor mountaineers who inquired about Texas, and the lands further west. Often they inquired about finding work there, or other economic opportunity. Olmstead concluded of the economic climate in the mountains that the poor whites simply could not make a living with “negro competition.” He went on to say that poor whites had virtually no economic stimulus as long as “the monopoly of the opportunity to make money goes to the negro owners.”⁸⁴

The frustrations of poor whites in grip of a slave-based system manifested in alternate opinions on the issue of slavery in the mountains. Abolitionism or Colonialism were popular causes among some poor whites because of the lack of economic opportunity afforded them in a slave economy. However, the wealthy of the region felt differently. Often stock stands and hotels in Buncombe hosted wealthy travelers from the far South, and the survival of some of these hotels depended on the wealth of the southern planters and their ability to travel to the mountains. Drovers were known to trade livestock or other goods to pay for room and board, but the more elite were able to pay with cash money, an elusive commodity in Western North

⁸³ Olmstead, *A Journey in the Back Country*, 227.

⁸⁴ Olmstead, *A Journey in the Back Country*, 265.

Carolina.⁸⁵ Thus, the economic station of the far southern elite was important to the stand owners. Ensuring that visiting southern gentry's opinions of the hotels, and their servants, remained positive was imperative to their survival.

Just after the Buncombe Turnpike was completed in 1831, North Carolina modified its slave codes. These new laws included provisions which restricted the right of free blacks and slaves to interact or socialize in many settings, and allowed for local sheriff's to begin "slave patrols" to watch for runaways or otherwise unlawful behavior by slaves.⁸⁶ Many mountain counties established such patrols, and in the years leading up to the Civil War many advertisements were placed in the *Highland Messenger* and the *Asheville News* offering rewards for found runaway slaves. Olmstead encountered several well-off mountaineers in Eastern Tennessee and Western North Carolina in his travels, most of whom were averse to the idea of freeing slaves, and one who thought they should all be sent to Liberia.⁸⁷ Many saw slavery in general as a curse upon society, but slave labor worked to the benefit of those who could afford it, and helped mountain masters maintain a secure grip on the regional economy.

From its early years, Buncombe was ripe for the development of a slave society. It's wealthy, war-hero, politician, elite were able to use their resources to purchase large tracts of fertile farmland, and used slave labor build their wealth within the local market. As populations in Kentucky and Tennessee, as well as inside the borders of Buncombe County grew, the construction of a clear, safe road from Paint Rock to the Saluda gap became necessary to move people and goods to a wider geographical range.

⁸⁵ Dykeman, *The French Broad*, 147.

⁸⁶ North Carolina General Assembly, "Slaves and Free Persons of Color: An Act Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color", 1831. University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, Documenting the American South. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/slavesfree/slavesfree.html>. (accessed 7/20/15).

⁸⁷ Olmstead, *A Journey in the Back Country*, 263.

With the help of their social status and the success of their fathers, the second generation of Buncombe's elite slave holding class were able to tighten their grip on the economic activity in the region by serving drovers and wealthy travelers in self-sufficient stock stand inns and taverns. Between 1800 and 1840, nearly all of the stock stand owners slave numbers increased. By 1860, at the dawn of the Civil War, fifteen percent of the county population was enslaved by the most elite two percent.⁸⁸ Owning on average 10-15 slaves each, the stock stand owners were able to provide for nearly all of their needs from agricultural services to home and farm manufacturing needs like weaving, milling, and metallurgy. The self-sufficiency and privilege afforded the typical stock stand owner disenfranchised many of the poor in the area, leaving them without work most of the year while increased availability of livestock drove prices down, further hurting small farmers.

In the course of about fifty years, Buncombe transformed into a slave society. Wealth and power was consolidated along the turnpike by the slave holding elite, and by the time traffic was at its peak in the 1840's slaveholding numbers had doubled. Slave owners made the most of their investment by leasing out slaves, or selling lots of them at market or to speculators. However, it is apparent that mountain slave holders had a unique relationship with their slaves, and according to narratives and evidence, slaves were typically held in family units and weren't bought and sold in Buncombe nearly to the extent that they were elsewhere. Still, in 1831 North Carolina's slave codes harshened and runaways were common. The use of slave labor marginalized the poor, but increased the wealth of stand owners. The economic opportunity the Buncombe Turnpike presented was quickly taken by the Buncombe County elite, and the economic model

⁸⁸ "Buncombe County, North Carolina, 1860," Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/start.php?year=V1840> (accessed 08/20/15).

they used put slaves at the center not only as a labor source, but also as a long term capital investment.

While Buncombe and the communities along the turnpike may have transformed into a slave society, other counties and communities in Western North Carolina did not. Other western counties had much smaller numbers of slaves, and were more geographically isolated than Buncombe.⁸⁹ However, this research serves to highlight that slave societies can exist on the small scale. The complexity of antebellum Appalachia lies within its isolating geography, making access to larger outside markets difficult and economic opportunity scarcer.

Buncombe County had the right conditions, at the right time, in the right place, to become a small slave society. As Buncombe becomes an increasingly popular tourist destination, it is imperative that this history of slavery be more prominently woven into our public historical narrative. The notion of an Appalachia absent of slaves is unrealistic, and if we continue to ignore the presence of slavery in our past, we will be discounting the contributions made by enslaved peoples to Buncombe county and its early economic development. Finding information about those who were enslaved by the Vance family and others was a challenge; the history of slavery in Buncombe is already fragile. It is vital, then, that we take the opportunity and what little information history has left us, and preserve our past.

⁸⁹ Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. (accessed 08/20/15).

Annotated Bibliography of Primary Sources

Asheville, Buncombe County, North Carolina. Buncombe County Register of Deeds and The UNC Asheville Center for Diversity Education. "Slave Deeds in Buncombe County property records from 1776 to 1865"
http://www.buncombecounty.org/Governing/Depts/RegisterDeeds/Genealogy_SlaveDeeds.aspx

The Buncombe County Slave Deed Collection provides information on the sale and transfer of slaves in Buncombe County from its earliest years. The collection spans from 1776-1865. The provided Excel database reveals that there are certain affluent families who appear to trade slaves more often, and in larger numbers than their peers. The 321 transactions over 82 years reveals that the buying and selling of slaves was not a common practice in Buncombe County, and suggests that mountain masters had unique relationships with their slaves.

Buckingham, James Silk Esq. *The Slave States of America*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Library, 1842. The Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/stream/slavestatesofame02buckuoft#page/n13/mode/2up>.

Buckingham was a Cornish traveler who came through the southern United States and gave insight into the treatment and well-being of slaves. He spent quite a bit of time in Western North Carolina and mentions spending some time in Asheville. Buckingham gives vivid descriptions of life on the Turnpike and in other communities in Western North Carolina and East Tennessee. This account will help to understand the “outside” perspective of slavery in this region, and how it is set apart from slavery elsewhere in the U.S.

The Library of Congress. “Born In Slavery: The Slave Narratives of the Federal Writers Project 1936-1938, North Carolina, Tennessee.” The Federal Writers Project. The Library of Congress, 2011. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/>.

The WPA Slave Narratives provide insight into the often lost voice of the African-Americans who experienced slavery. The two narratives most useful to this research are Sarah Gudger and W.P. Bost. Gudger, reportedly 121 years old, had been a citizen of Buncombe county her whole life. She spent most of her time on a plantation in the Swannanoa Valley. Her Account is slightly different than what would be expected in this part of North Carolina, however, she mentions the turnpike, and the manufacturing of cloth for use on the plantation and to be sold elsewhere. Bost was a former resident of Catawba County. His narrative gives insight into the world of hospitality which was a major part of the economy of WNC at the time. He speaks of a trip to Asheville.

Olmsted, Frederick Law. *A Journey in the Back Country*. New York: Mason Brothers, 1860. The Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/stream/cu31924030995900#page/n7/mode/2up>.

Olmstead, like Buckingham traveled through the Mountain South. Olmsted wrote about the conditions of the people living in the mountains, and speaks in detail about slavery in the region. He spent extensive time in Buncombe County and eventually was the Landscape Architect of the Biltmore Estate.

The United States Online Census Bureau Records. Retrieved from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. Accessed 10/15/15. <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/index.html>.

The large scale census records are used to look at changes in slave and master populations over time. The Historical Census Browser allows the user to look at populations on a large scale and over time; comparing states and counties.

Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site. Miscellaneous unpublished materials, two large binder notebooks acquired from Historic Site Staff, *Vance Family Histories*, and *Vance Slave Histories*.

These Notebooks contain a large amount of information regarding the site itself, and Vance family history. Included in these books are tour guide orientation materials with fine details about the Vance farm in its early years, including copies of slave deeds and schedules. There are also included in these books a collection of assorted Vance family papers. Letters and wills create the bulk of the material. Some of these papers are copies of what can be found through the North Carolina Digital collection, but others stand alone or are unpublished on the internet as of now. Of particular interest are some letters that include messages from Reems Creek slaves to those living in East Tennessee with one of the older Vance daughters. Also interesting in this small collection are the wills of the Vance family members which give interesting insight into the way their slaves were treated and valued.

Manuscripts

Ancestry.com

The United States Federal Census, 1800-1850.

M.W. Alexander
 Hezekiah Barnard
 Samuel Chunn
 Robert Deaver
 William Gudger
 James Patton
 Thomas Patton
 David Vance, Jr.
 David Vance, Sr.

The United States Federal Census, 1870.

Hudson Vance

North Carolina Marriage Records Index, Photocopies, 1776-2012.

David Vance, Sr., 1775

David Vance, Jr., 1825

Ancestry is a large online database of scanned copies of a wide array of vital, census, marriage, birth, and death records from across the globe. These records were used to evaluate individual slave owners over time and obtain biographical information.

Newspapers.com

Newspapers.com is a large online database of historical newspapers. Buncombe County was served by two newspapers in the antebellum period. This research was focused on advertisements for the buying, selling, and leasing of slaves as well as information about estates for sale. The *Highland Messenger* is mislabeled on the website and is superficially entitled the *Asheville Messenger*.

Asheville News, 1851-1860

Highland Messenger, 1840-1860

Bibliography of Secondary Sources

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

In this work Dr. Berlin covers the first two centuries of American Slavery pointing out the geographical and cultural nuances of the practice as it appeared in different regions of North America. While covering the North, the Chesapeake Bay region, the lower South and Mississippi Valley, *Many Thousands Gone* ignores the Highland South. Berlin outlines the steps that communities take as they transform into slave societies; the consolidation of economic power surrounding a new commodity, the marginalization of the poor, an increase in slave trafficking, and a strengthening of slave codes. I use this framework to analyze slavery as it was practiced and appeared in the highlands of Western North Carolina, specifically along the Buncombe Turnpike, in order to establish that the region transitioned into a slave society over time.

Campbell, John C. *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1921.

The Southern Highlander and His Homeland was a work produced by John Campbell for the Russel Sage Foundation. The foundation is focused on the advancement of the social sciences. This work gives a telling look into Appalachian life. Campbell focused his work primarily on interviewing farmers, however, part of the book provides background information of the region. Campbell writes, like many believed at the time, that Appalachia was mostly absent of slaves, slavery, and confederate sympathy in general.

Dunaway, Wilma. *Slavery in the American Mountain South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Wilma Dunaway is a professor of sociology at the University of Virginia. *Slavery in the American Mountain South* gives a deep analytical analysis of slavery in Appalachia from its inception until reconstruction. Some have been critical of this work because of its tone and often eyebrow-raising claims. While some of the research is legitimate and helpful, this work is used mostly to give examples of the trouble with not taking caution to the error of memory and circumstance when studying the complicated Southern Highlands region and to highlight the nuances of geographical location and regional culture and commerce.

Dykeman, Wilma. *The French Broad*. Newport, TN: Wakestone Books, 1955.

Dykeman presents the history of the French Broad River and its commerce in a narrative, and intriguing way. Chapter nine of this book provides a thorough examination of life along the Buncombe Turnpike and for the drovers that traversed it. *The French Broad* provides context for life in early Buncombe and the surrounding areas in an accurate, and artistic way.

Inscoe, John and Gordon McKinney. *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina and the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

In this work Inscoe and McKinney, a biographer of Zebulon Vance, and John Inscoe work together to show their reader how the sectional crisis and the nuances of slavery in the region caused the people of Western North Carolina to take sides quickly inspiring a “whose side are you on?” mentality just before the Civil War. This division is important in understanding the differences between the “fire-eating” mountain masters like Thomas Clingman, James Patton,

W.T Weaver and Zebulon Vance and their mountain yeoman counterparts and their struggle to come together as a unified state standing with the confederacy.

Inscoe, John. *Mountain Masters: Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996.

Dr. Inscoe's work *Mountain Masters* is an in-depth study of the sectional crisis and slavery in Western North Carolina prior to the Civil war. His work will provides an abundance of statistics related to the region as well as a framework for the functions of slavery as they pertain directly to Western North Carolina. Inscoe discusses important families in WNC that had ties to the Vance family and Reems Creek and who crowned the network of hotels, drover stands, and farms scattered from Asheville to Warm Springs. Inscoe argues that the sectional crisis was experienced differently in WNC than elsewhere because of the geographical nuances that complicated slavery and the opinions surrounding it from developing the same way they did elsewhere in the South.

McKinney, Gordon. *Southern Mountain Republicans: 1865-1900*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998.

Dr. McKinney is a well-known retired professor of History who resides in Asheville, NC. His previous works focus heavily on the region and the life and career of Zebulon Vance. *Southern Mountain Republicans* discusses the issues in Western North Carolina and the rest of the Appalachian region regarding their stance of separating from the Union and ideas about internal improvements just before and after the Civil War. The political climate of the region was tense, making discussions about emancipation and removal that much more important to not only the "fire-eaters" but the poor white yeomen as well.

_____, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Leader*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

In this work McKinney explores the life of Governor Vance. Several parts of this work include stories about Vance's early life in Buncombe County, North Carolina and discusses his views on slavery. This work provides context for the life of a young Buncombe county elite whose family owned a stock stand.

Straw, Richard A. and H. Tyler Blethen. *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Each Chapter in *High Mountains Rising* gives a great deal of information about the different aspects of life that not only define Southern Appalachia as a place, but also as a unique culture. Sections on slavery and politics give context for the researcher of Appalachian history.

Waters, Darin J. "Life beneath the Veneer: The Black Community in Asheville, North Carolina from 1793-1900." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2012.

Dr. Waters's dissertation gives insight into the Black experience in Western North Carolina from slavery to segregation and discusses the problems that surrounded the black community in the region. Dr. Waters discusses the impact that slaves had in the region and the work that they did in Asheville as it was the only large cultural and economic center in Western North Carolina at the time. Additionally, the thesis discusses how as a small minority blacks had trouble accessing any political agency and therefore the struggle for freedom was more difficult. This will be important to me as I attempt to pin down the functions of Slavery in Western North Carolina.

Wellman, Manly Wade. *The Kingdom of Madison: A Southern Mountain Fastness and Its People*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

The Kingdom of Madison is a comprehensive history of Madison County, North Carolina. Originally a part of the very large Buncombe County, this is where the Stock Stand of Zeb Vance's father was located. This book provides a wealth of information about the Buncombe Turnpike, stock stands, and the early life of Zeb Vance, his family, and his neighbors.

The Vance Birthplace North Carolina State Historic Site. *Tour Guide and Site History*. North Carolina Dept. Of Cultural Resources, ~1980.

This notebook contains all the information we know regarding the Vance family and their time in the Reems Creek Valley from 1789-1835. It covers their move to WNC from Virginia and their life running the farm on Reems Creek including a register of slaves and their progeny and their travels to and from the Vance homestead as well as their transfer to and from other local slaveholders, particularly those of their extended families, the Branks and Bairds.

