University of North Carolina at Asheville

The Buncombe Turnpike and Its Impact on Western North Carolina’s Drovers and Economy

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The Buncombe Turnpike had a tremendous impact on Western North Carolina. It allowed drovers to herd their animals to market and gave travelers better access to the area. The North Carolina General Assembly’s decision in 1824 to construct the Buncombe Turnpike contributed to the increase in economic growth of livestock and agriculture for many local residents. The drovers that traveled along the turnpike generated revenue for Western North Carolina and the turnpike road eventually transformed the area from one dominated by agriculture to one that promoted tourism. The Buncombe Turnpike allowed the drovers easier access to inns and stands, as well as helped establish businesses which promoted economic growth for local residents and communities.

A drover is a person who drives sheep or cattle.¹ Driving their livestock to market was a normal way of life every year for farmers during the nineteenth century. People living in the mountains of Western North Carolina had to deal with dangerous terrain since many of its roads were created from old Indian tracks used for hundreds of years.² Travel along these routes was considered perilous because of the mountains and because the roads themselves were often in disrepair. The problems only increased with the enormous amounts of livestock that the drovers moved through the area every October, November, and December. Drovers typically brought around 150,000 animals a year through the mountains of Western North Carolina on their way to the markets in the southern low country, South Carolina and Georgia. Upon the request of many local citizens, the General Assembly of North Carolina developed a plan to construct a 75 mile stretch of road that led from Greenville, Tennessee to Greenville,

¹ Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, s.v. “drover.”
² William Cullen Bryant, Picturesque America, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1974; originally published in 1874), 144.
South Carolina. This road would improve travel for local residences, drovers, and the influx of tourists that had began to visit Western North Carolina. After continued planning and surveys, a law was passed in 1824 by the General Assembly to construct a turnpike road to be named “the Buncombe Turnpike.”

A number of scholars have researched the Buncombe Turnpike and its impact on Western North Carolina. Much of the previous research has come from books and newspaper articles. Wilma Dykeman’s book, *The French Broad*, gives a detailed description about drovers and their daily lives. One chapter of the book is specifically devoted to the drovers and their travels along the banks of the French Broad River. Throughout the chapter, Dykeman wrote about the French Broad gorge and the impact that it had during the sixty plus years that it was used as a route to transport livestock from the neighboring states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. She gave such vivid details about the local beauty and scenery that people can imagine thousands of animals being herded down a dirt path. This chapter helps explain the overall importance of the drovers to the area of Western North Carolina due to the income they provided the local farmers and merchants. Alexander’s Inn was considered one of the biggest drover stands or inns along the turnpike and Dykeman wrote how Alexander’s along with others, served as a local tourist resort during the off season for residents trying to escape the humid season of summer in the low country.

Much of the information located within the chapters of Dykeman’s book corresponds with articles that have appeared in *The Asheville Citizen Times* through the years. John Parris was a well-known writer for the local paper throughout the twentieth century and contributed

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many articles about the Buncombe Turnpike and its impact on the area. In “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness,” Parris discussed the impact of the drovers on the local economy and focused his article on many of the local stand operators and gave a detailed account of the livestock that moved through the area during specific years the turnpike was in operation as a drovers’ path. One of the most memorable things that he included in his article, along with Dykeman in her book *The French Broad*, is the reference of how the turnpike resembled a parade out of Noah’s Ark during the fall months every year. Many of the articles concerning the drovers that were written by Parris during his years with *The Asheville Citizen Times* have a similar theme and restate much of the same information.5

The lives of the drovers changed throughout the nineteenth century as the Civil War affected agriculture in the area as well as travel through the mountains. Another innovation that eventually led to the disappearance of the practice altogether was when the Western North Carolina Railroad pulled into the Asheville area in 1880. In her book *The Story of Henderson County*, Sadie Smathers Patton described the history of the railroad trying to move into the area of the Blue Ridge starting in 1836. She gave details surrounding the turmoil that different people faced concerning the railroad and how it took forty-three years for the railroad to finally pull into Henderson County. Not only did this innovation affect people by giving them an easier trip into the mountains, it also allowed for local people to transport their livestock and agriculture to other areas in a shorter amount of time. The innovation of the railroad was the final act that ended travel along the turnpike for drovers hauling livestock. Having access to

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the new railroad helped drovers move their produce quicker without dealing with the exhausting and strenuous journey they had been taking for so many years.\textsuperscript{6}

In this paper, I will establish how the Buncombe Turnpike impacted the drovers’ lives and allowed an easier access of travel for them. Throughout my research I have found different people who have stated how the turnpike affected certain groups of people. I will show that the turnpike was a positive innovation for all the people involved, both those who lived in the area of Western North Carolina as well as those who used it for travel and trade. Along the turnpike, tolls were charged at different gates and at the crossing of bridges. Information has been given in past readings of the amount that was charged for passage over bridges such as the one owned by James Smith, however little has been written on the amount that others were charged or received at toll gates. I will give new information concerning the south toll gate during the time of the Civil War showing how money and agriculture was still circulating through Henderson County along the southern section of the Buncombe Turnpike throughout the war.

During the late eighteen century a migration of people arrived in the area of Western North Carolina to establish new communities from the land they had been granted from the federal government following the Revolutionary War. In 1791, Col. David Vance and Col. William Davidson traveled to New Bern to request that a new county be formed in the Western territory. It would divide Burke and Rutherford counties. This new land was to be named Union County, but the name was changed to Buncombe in honor of the Revolutionary war hero, Edward Buncombe. In 1792, a bill was ratified and the county’s boundaries established. This

\textsuperscript{6} Sadie Smathers Patton, The Story of Henderson County (Spartanburg: Reprint Company Publishers, 1976; originally published in 1947), 221-223.
new land was a vast wilderness of unexplored Indian territory and was referred to as the “State of Buncombe.”

Throughout the new territory people traveled along the original Indian trails that had been established hundreds of years earlier. One of the first orders of business in the newly formed county was to widen the trails enough to make the roads more passable. The work was performed by local male residents who were required to spend a specified number of days each year working and contributing to road building and maintenance. I have been unable to access any records showing the exact number of days that were spent each year by locals concerning building and road maintenance. The roads were referred to as both “fearful and wonderful,” referring to the beautiful landscape, but also the treacherous gorges. During the early 1800s, the first Methodist Bishop, Francis Asbury, visited the area a number of times and recorded the following in his journal on November 3, 1802; “We labored over the Blue Ridge and Paint Mountain: I held on awhile, but grew afraid and dismounted, and with the help of a pine sapling, worked my way down the steepest and roughest part.”

Dangerous areas were not only restricted to mountain ranges but the French Broad River as well. On Friday, October 13, 1813, Bishop Asbury described a section of the French Broad stating, “the builders encountered large precipices, usually ends of mountain spurs, whose bases the water of the stream washed. In order to get around such precipices the road was built at their bases into the water, usually not more than an eighth of a mile wide. These

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8 Bryant, 144.
were called “side fords” and were impassable at times of floods in the river.”¹¹ (Fig. 1) Hazards such as these caused many people in Western North Carolina to implore the state to make some types of provisions to make the road bed safer and more passable. This persistence led the North Carolina General Assembly to address the need for a turnpike road.

In 1822, it was reported by one of the state appointed survey companies that many gentlemen in the area of Western North Carolina had requested that the current road be examined for consideration to be improved. The section that was examined at that time was the road that leads from Paint Rock at the Tennessee line to Asheville and from Asheville to the South Carolina line at Saluda Gap Road. The surveyor, Mr. Fulton, reported, “Although I was not instructed by the Board to attend to these things, yet I felt it my duty to comply with the wishes of those gentlemen, more particularly so as the objects were very important.”¹² Throughout the report Mr. Fulton describes the current road as being impassible in some locations and explains that the current landscapes are unavoidable, but that they could be greatly improved. (Fig. 2) He states that “unless it is that part of the produce which moves itself, such as horses, cattle and hogs, it becomes a most arduous and difficult task to transport anything in the present condition of the road.”¹³ Within the report he suggests that new paths could be cut into the road which would allow for a flatter path in some areas which were currently more dangerous because of the steep terrain. Mr. Fulton goes on to say that, “I believe it is the intention of those gentlemen who requested me to make the examination, to apply to the Legislature for an act to incorporate a Turnpike Company for the purpose of making and maintaining a good

¹¹ Asbury, 667
¹³ North Carolina General Assembly, 1822, 63.
road.”¹⁴ To conclude his report, Mr. Fulton estimates that to complete the improvements upon the road would require a cost of $5000.¹⁵

In 1823, a decision was made by the General Assembly of North Carolina to authorize the making of a Turnpike Road. Local prestigious gentlemen were appointed Commissioners of the project. They were James Patton, Samuel Chunn, and George Swain of Buncombe County. Others included Isaac T. Avery, W.W. Erwin and John Caldwell of Burke County, and George Walton, John Paxton, and Joseph McDowell Carson of Rutherford County.¹⁶ These men would “receive subscriptions to the amount of twenty-thousand dollars, for the purpose of lying out and making the Turnpike Road.”¹⁷ The Buncombe Turnpike Company that was established had an authorized capital stock of $50,000 at $50 a share. James Mitchell Alexander was placed in charge as contractor of the project.¹⁸

It took four years to complete the Buncombe Turnpike which allowed for a new and safer means of travel into the area of Western North Carolina. Upon its completion, Western North Carolina started to transform. Stagecoaches began running regular routes from Charleston, S.C. to Greenville, S.C., bringing seasonal tourist to the mountains to help them escape the humid air of the low country. Once arriving in Greenville, these resort seekers could gain transportation from a stagecoach that would take them the rest of their journey up the turnpike into North Carolina. Companies started to advertise special reservations that could be obtained to transport people along the turnpike from Greenville to Hendersonville or Asheville.

¹⁴ North Carolina General Assembly 1822, 65.
¹⁵ North Carolina General Assembly 1822, 66.
¹⁷ North Carolina General Assembly 1823, 22.
¹⁸ Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness”
Along the trip several stops were made at the inns and taverns that were becoming well established as overnight lodging.¹⁹ In a pamphlet wrote by Henry Colton, he describes Alexander’s Inn and other places of interest in Western North Carolina. He writes in, Guidebook to the Scenery of Western North Carolina about A.M. Alexander’s being located ten miles from Asheville:

Is a dinner house for stage passengers and a better place could not have been selected. One who has ever stopped there never forgets the excellent table set for his accommodation and the nice clean beds upon which he rests himself. It is pleasantly situated immediately on the banks of the French Broad and is very much a place of resort. We have often heard persons sat they would ride two hours after dark to get to Alexander’s.²⁰

Places such as these helped serve the tourists who visited mainly during the summer. Once summer was complete, the season of the drover would start again and this would keep many stand owners busy for the reminder of the year.²¹

With the establishment of the turnpike and the influx of tourists, Henderson County was established in 1838. The turnpike made the area of Henderson County, “the southern gateway,” to Western North Carolina.²² This was a statement written by Sadie Smathers Patton that Jones and Helsley referenced in their book A Guide to Historic Henderson County, North Carolina. The turnpike was the major road for Henderson County and with it came post offices and inns. Tourists saw the area as one that provided a healthful climate and the areas of Flat Rock and Fletcher became elite tourist spots. Along the turnpike there were toll gates which

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¹⁹ Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness”
²⁰ Henry Colton, Guidebook to the Scenery of Western North Carolina (Asheville: Printed at Western Advocate Office, 1860), 9.
²¹ Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness”
required payment for travel. The money from these toll gates provided revenue to keep the road in repair.\textsuperscript{23} The first toll gate to open was in the area that would later become Hendersonville in 1827. Another innovation that would increase travel along the turnpike came in 1851, when the road from Asheville to Hendersonville became a plank road. During the building of the plank road, the route of the turnpike in Henderson County changed to run down Main Street. This allowed for even faster travel and a smoother trip, but was short lived as the wood could not withstand the continuous flow of traffic and by the mid-1860s was deconstructed never to be replaced.\textsuperscript{24}

The turnpike road allowed for not only safer travel for humans, but also for the animals. Previously the trail herding the animals across the vast terrain caused farmers to lose their animals due to the environment in which they had to travel in.\textsuperscript{25} A major reason besides the new road that safety improved for both the drovers and their animals was the creation of new stands and ferry crossings. However, many of the ferries still took hours to cross and to do it called for experience by the drover as well as patience.\textsuperscript{26} Stands were originally created to service the drovers and local farmers. That is due to the stands also serving as local mercantile centers for families living in the area. No longer did farmers have to travel far distances to retrieve supplies, they were able to trade produce for supplies locally. One positive aspect of this was that it allowed local goods and income to remain within the communities.\textsuperscript{27} (Fig. 3)

\textsuperscript{23} Patton, 102.
\textsuperscript{24} Helsley and Jones, 23-37.
\textsuperscript{25} John Parris, “River Road- A Drover’s Thoroughfare,” \textit{Asheville Citizen Times}, February 23, 1986.
\textsuperscript{26} Fanny D Eubanks, “Drovers Trail Riders Found Adventure and Profit in Early Days,” \textit{Asheville Citizen Times}, June 28, 1936.
\textsuperscript{27} John Parris, “U.S. 25 Was Once a Drovers Road,” \textit{Asheville Citizen}, July 15, 1966.
The official name for the turnpike road was the Buncombe Turnpike, but it had other names as well. The one that was most recognized was the Drovers’ Road. Drovers relied heavily on the local farmers and merchants while traveling along the Buncombe Turnpike. The trade of herding livestock began long before Western North Carolina was settled. Scottish Irish immigrants, along with German immigrants, migrated from the north into the area of North Carolina. In an article written in 1966 by Eugene Wilhelm titled “Animal Drives in the Southern Highlands,” he writes, “Some of the settlers who came down from the north drove their horses, cattle and hogs before them.” He continues later saying, “Many of these creatures were rounded up by the first settlers and stock raising became a lucrative business.”

The Buncombe Turnpike was most used by the drovers between the years of 1827 to 1880 when the railroad arrived in Asheville. Farmers would get ready to herd their livestock to market as early as August, making sure they had their crops and livestock in “prime condition,” according to Fanny Eubanks’ article in 1936. Drovers traveled from different areas, but the greatest number came from Kentucky and Tennessee. Drovers would typically herd their animals during the fall months of October, November, and December. A number of different animals were herded along the Buncombe Turnpike: cattle, turkeys, mules, sheep, horses, and the most important, hogs. (Fig.4)

During the nineteenth century, hogs were the staple livestock that was produced for consumption, and by the late 1820s the hog traffic along the turnpike had grown to outstanding

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29 John Parris, “U.S. 25 Was Once a Drovers Road.”
30 Eubanks, “Drovers Trail Riders Found Adventure and Profit in Early Days.”
proportions. These animals were driven through Western North Carolina on their way to the markets in the low country by the drovers, who would herd anywhere from a few animals to hundreds.\textsuperscript{33} The trip would typically take around a month to complete, depending on which market a drover would take his livestock to in South Carolina or Georgia.\textsuperscript{34} These animals would walk throughout the day under the watchful eye of the drovers. The main purpose for these drives was to sell livestock to the cotton plantations, where very little livestock was raised. Once drovers arrived in cities such as Traveler’s Rest, Augusta, Greenville, or Charleston, they would stay around two weeks to complete the sale of their livestock.\textsuperscript{35} Edmund Burnett writes, “the price of hogs in S.C. was determined by the price of cotton. If the price of cotton was 14 cents, the price of hogs was 7 cents a pound.”\textsuperscript{36} One of the biggest problems with this was that between the time that a farmer might purchase hogs to fatten and the time they got them to the market, the price of cotton could have dropped which in turn greatly affected their profits.\textsuperscript{37}

The number of hogs that traveled along the Buncombe Turnpike every year was overwhelming. On average in the mountains of Western North Carolina, around 150,000 hogs would travel throughout the entire area during those three fall months. Most farmers had livestock of every kind, but none as many as hogs.\textsuperscript{38} In \textit{Letters from the Alleghany Mountains}, J.S. Skinner received a letter from Congressman T.L. Clingman saying, “North Carolina in 1844 stated that according to turnpike records the value of livestock passing through Buncombe

\textsuperscript{33} Burnett, 87.  
\textsuperscript{34} Dykeman, 141.  
\textsuperscript{35} Dykeman, 149.  
\textsuperscript{36} Burnett, 103.  
\textsuperscript{37} Burnett, 103.  
\textsuperscript{38} Frank Lawrence Owsley, \textit{Plain Folk of the Old South} (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2008; originally published in 1949), 45.
County annually is from two million to three million dollars.”39 Within a letter from Issac B. Sawyer, the Master in Equity for the Buncombe County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to Thomas Atkin, editor of the *Asheville Highland Messenger* regarding some of the totals for Buncombe County so far that year he stated,

> Calculating that they were fed seven times in the county, and that they were allowed eight bushels of corn to the hundred, would make 23,500 bushels of corn. You may safely calculate the corn at 50 cents per bushel, and you will have the sum of $11,760, cash to the farmers of Buncombe from the states of Tennessee and Kentucky.40

This letter confirms the economic value the drovers were to the local farmers and economy.

Another animal that drovers would herd down the Buncombe Turnpike to the markets were turkeys. Turkeys during this time weighed more than average birds do now. Most could weigh in at around 30 pounds. That is one aspect that made these birds attractive, as was the “turkey trot,” which it was called at one point. The term “turkey trot” refers to the way the birds would come trotting down the hills. In a 1927 article from the *Asheville Citizen Times*, an eyewitness, Mr. Lande, states that the “fun was in watching hundreds of them strutting solemnly down the pike like so many soldiers going to battle with the old master gobbler in the lead as if he were the commanding general.”41 One problem with turkeys being driven was that they are birds that naturally roost, so if a drover was unable to make it to the next stand before these gigantic birds decided they were tired, the drover would get to spend the night outside.42

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40 Issac B. Sawyer, letter to the editor, *Asheville Highland Messenger*, December 19, 1845.
41 “Turkey Trot, Cut Path To Old Inn Here,” *Asheville Times*, November 27, 1927.
In the oral history of George Coggins, he recalls the stories of the turkey drives and how they literally left a mark on his family. He says,

Those turkey tracks you see in my bricks in my fireplace are drovers’ turkey tracks. Now the drovers came from Tennessee and Kentucky states and they were going through to ship their stock from Charleston, South Carolina, and they drove their cattle and their hogs and mules, horses and turkeys and chickens and so on all the way from those origins north to the coast line to put on ship and when they drove them through here the turkeys walked over these fresh bricks that had just been molded and hadn’t been dried yet and they made turkey tracks all over these bricks. This is why I put them in my fireplace.  

George’s family was from the Swannanoa valley area and owned a farm which since has been sold off.

The staple crop for the livestock that traveled down the Buncombe Turnpike was corn, especially for the hogs. The corn was grown to feed the hogs and they in turn were sold to be fed to the cotton growers of the south. Every farmer grew corn; it was the guaranteed crop to help fatten your livestock. Fattening the hogs started around the middle of August and the animal would reach his finishing stage around November. Most farmers wanted a little extra weight on their livestock because of the long road they would have to walk. As I stated earlier, the drovers served as a great benefit to the local farmers. Farmers were able to sell their produce to the mercantile stands and drovers which helped feed the animals. During the fall months every year, stand operators would advertise that on a certain day they would receive corn as payment on store accounts. The farmers were allowed 50 cents per bushel towards

43 George Coggins, interviewed by Dorothy Jones for Voices of Asheville, Asheville, October 30, 1998. [Dorothy Jones did Voices of Asheville as an oral history project and conducted 199 interviews of area residents. In 1996, she donated the interviews given by Asheville residents to the special collection library at UNCA.]
44 Burnett, 87-88.
45 Lamb, 36-37.
their store account for corn. Parris wrote in a 1983 article that “farmers would begin delivering by daylight and continue until after midnight, and their wagons would be strung out for a mile as thick as they could be wedged.”\textsuperscript{46} In the article, “Turnpike Brought Drovers to Market,” Parris wrote how stock stand owner, Zachariah Candler, from Sandy Bottoms, reported in 1826 that he “was estimating that at least 200,000 hogs had come through his area from Tennessee and Kentucky.”\textsuperscript{47} Later in 1828, Candler sold over 2,000 bushels of corn to drovers as they passed his property. Typically, stand owners needed to have 24 bushels of corn a day per 1,000 hogs which means that Candler fed over 80,000 hogs that season. This helped the economy of Buncombe County because it led to an increase in the settlement of the area. People started moving in and clearing away land to grow crops. \textsuperscript{48}

Drover days on the Buncombe Turnpike began before the sun rose and ended long after the moon had risen. It involved a long day of walking, tending to the animals, and making debts along the way. According to Cody Burnett, “a drove of hogs could travel only 8 to 10 miles a day, therefore it was essential that establishments where the drovers and their livestock could be housed and fed should be available at close intervals along the route.”\textsuperscript{49} Drovers used tools to get the livestock to follow their lead. Most times they would use a whip which according to Edmund Burnett who participated on a drove in the later part of the nineteenth century “had a short stout stock, wound artistically with a leather strap, and a long plaited leather lash terminating in a cracker, a narrow strip of tough leather. A skillful manipulator could not only make it talk with a resounding thwack but could produce a pretty good imitation of a clap of

\textsuperscript{46} Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness.”  
\textsuperscript{47} Parris, “Turnpike Brought Drovers to Market.”  
\textsuperscript{48} Lamb, “WNC’ Drovers’ Road.”  
\textsuperscript{49} Burnett, 99.
People reported hearing the drovers long before they arrived from the familiar sounds of cracking whips and the yells of “ho-o-o-yuh, ho-o-o-yuh.”

Along the turnpike many well-known men owned stands that served as resting stops for the drovers and feed lots for the livestock. The most famous of all the stands was Alexander’s, located along the river in the area of present day Alexander in the northern part of Buncombe County. Alexander’s was owned by Mitchell Alexander and provided many services to drovers but also to the local community. Alexander’s offered a hotel, store, tanyard, shoe-shop, harness shop, black-smith shop, wagon-factory, grist mill, and saw mill. They also had a working farm that operated their own ferry. The hotel at Alexander’s was even well known throughout the east, from Cincinnati to Charleston as a summer resort. Edmund Burnett recalls a story of a night at Alexander’s stating, “there were as many as 10 separate droves there for the night. This he remarks was about 4,000 hogs, with one man to a hundred hogs, making a total of 50 men to find beds for.”

There were many different activities that occurred while the drovers stayed for the night at Alexander’s. Typically one of the drovers would ride ahead to let the operator know they were coming and how many to expect. Once the drovers arrived with their livestock, they would give the animals their daily ration of corn. Hogs were typically only fed in the afternoon and only once a day. A hog will walk at a slow pace if they have too much food on their stomachs in the morning. Once the livestock was tended to, the drovers would settle in for a home cooked meal and an evening of leisure with other drovers traveling along the turnpike.

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50 Burnett, 92.
51 Burnett, 88.
52 Dykeman, 144.
53 Burnett, 100.
This gave them an opportunity to converse about the trip and the prices at the market. It was a rule among the drovers that they never competed with each other once they arrived at the markets, considering it would cut the prices for drovers to follow. After spending some time relaxing, the men would retire for the evening and get ready to continue along the turnpike the following day.54

Travel along the turnpike brought many new challenges to the drovers as they encountered different geographical areas and new merchants. Once the drovers traveled down the turnpike along the French Broad River, the road would turn and lead the men and their livestock into the Asheville area along the street that is now Broadway. Once there they could receive the same accommodations that they had received traveling in the rural areas along the turnpike. One of the well known places to stay was Smith’s Hotel or the Buck Hotel. It would house about 20 to 30 people and was open to both travelers and boarders.55 One of the greatest hardships among drovers was crossing the rapids of the French Broad Rivers. Along with a hotel, tannery and mercantile, James Smith owned the Smith Bridge that operated as a toll bridge. The bridge was built in late 1833 or early 1834 and was a simple wood bridge that was supported on each side by wood railings. This bridge for many years was also the only bridge that could take people across the French Broad River at Asheville. During the April 1834 session of the Buncombe County Court of Pleas and Quarter Session, Smith was granted permission to charge high rates at his bridge crossing. Here is a detailed list of charges made to people for crossing,
4 horse wagon loaded  50 cents
Buggy-                  37 ½ cents
Gig or Sulky    25 cents
Man and Horse    6 1/4 cents
Foot man     2 cents
Cattle       2 cents
Sheep or Hogs 1 cent
Fowl     ½ cent

Smith’s bridge remained the only crossing for the French Broad in the Asheville area until a free bridge was established around 1846.  

Upon leaving Asheville, the distance to Hendersonville was about 22 miles. Between these two areas there were about four stands, the best known was owned by Dr. George Fletcher, who was of service day or night as the local physician. (Fig 6) The Widow Patton’s was also a favored spot along the trail “where apple brandy was manufactured at its government distillery and a decanter called Black Betsy stood on the sideboard from which anyone might help himself free and welcome.” Once arriving in Hendersonville, the primary place to stay was at the McDowell House. However, Hendersonville was different from many other locations along the turnpike. They were closest to the state line and therefore a major attraction for people coming from the areas of the low country. This aspect did not affect the drover trade however, due to their drivers being conducted in the fall months when many middle and upper class people returned to their homes along the coast.

56 Buncombe County Court of Pleas and Session Minutes, April Session, 1834.
57 Iobst, 9.
58 Burnett, 100.
59 Dykeman, 144.
60 Burnett, 100.
Hendersonville was a town bustling with tourists who were arriving and departing on the local stagecoach. Stagecoaches were a normal sight on the turnpike until several years following the Civil War. Besides tourists coming to the mountains, the government had a contract with the local stagecoach company to transport the mail. In 1840, the local stagecoach company was bought and operated by Valentine Ripley. Besides the stagecoach, Ripley operated many other businesses. He was a man from Virginia that came into the Henderson County area around the same time that the county was formed. One interesting thing about Ripley is that he married Ruth Smith, who was the daughter of James Smith from Asheville. Ripley also owned one of the local establishments, the Ripley Hotel that accommodated tourists once they arrived in Hendersonville from Greenville.

Sadie Smathers Patton comments in her book, *The Story of Henderson County* that the “mail and stage service were greatly interrupted along the turnpike by the Civil War.” Her assertion is incorrect according to the receipt records from the stagecoach company of Rutledge, Pool, and Ripley which shows continued service being given on the turnpike at the south gate between the years of 1860 to 1863. The receipt book shows that the mail coach paid consecutively every three months during those first three years that the war was in progress, which proves that the turnpike was still promoting economic growth. All the receipts for the mail coaches read as follows:

*January 4\(^{th}\), 1860*

Received of Rutledge, Pool and Ripley by hand of V. Ripley Sixty two Dollars and 50 cents for Mail Coach passing through South Gate of Buncombe Turnpike from 1 Oct 1859 to 1 Jan 1860.

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61 Patton, 101.
This receipt is repeated every three months for the same amount of money, showing that the local people were still getting their regular mail service and that it was being paid by the government for delivery. Besides the mail, many other products were also delivered by Rutledge, Pool and Ripley. The major product among them was bushels of corn that were delivered to people’s homes or to the local stable.

January 11th, 1860
Received of Rutledge, Ripley and Pool by hand of Ripley thirty two Dollars and 80 cents for 52 ½ bushels of corn received at my house.

W. M. Henderson

Corn was not the only product that was being delivered throughout Henderson County during the Civil War by Rutledge, Pool and Ripley. The other predominant products listed are “fodder” and “sundry.” Fodder was food for horses and cows and sundry meant various items. Many times items such as these were delivered to the Hendersonville Stage Stables. There are 38 receipts for the three year period that concern the stagecoach and the Buncombe Turnpike during the Civil War. In total the stagecoach company of Rutledge, Pool and Ripley collected $2273.33 dollars from different individuals and companies, showing that they indeed were making revenue. It is interesting to note that the receipts stop every year at the beginning of October and resume the following year in January. This intersects with the period that the drovers traveled the turnpike road every year. This receipt book also shows how the local

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63 Rutledge, Pool and Ripley Receipt Book, 1859-1864, Valentine Ripley Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, NC.
64 Rutledge, Pool and Ripley Receipt Book, 1859-1864.
65 Rutledge, Pool and Ripley Receipt Book, 1859-1864.
community of farmers and merchants were still being impacted with revenue along the turnpike during a time when the drovers were not able to travel as frequently due to the war.

Drovers would stay in Hendersonville no longer than any other place, anxious to get to the market, sell their livestock, and return home. Between Hendersonville and Greenville, tourists and drovers would pass seven stands until they would come to the desired location of Greenville. Once there some would stay to market and others would go on to other markets in Charleston and Georgia. Throughout the years many drovers established relationships with the proprietors of the markets and continued to travel to deal directly with them. The drovers would stay at the pens ten days to two weeks selling livestock, praying they were getting the best price. Once the task was complete the drovers would leave and start the return trip home, which would last typically about four to five days. One of the advantages of returning home on foot was that they were able to take short cuts through the mountains, allowing them to reach home quicker. The drovers’ also had good reason to want to be quick since many of them were carrying several thousand dollars within their pockets and the risk of robbery was always present. This precious money would be needed to get ready for the next crop and herd that would take the same long trip over the winding turnpike road the following year.

Over time and with technology the railroad was finally accessible for people of Western North Carolina as well as the drovers’ who were then able to transport their livestock more easily and quickly. The Western North Carolina Railroad in the area of Buncombe County was started years before its completion, but was never able to be completed due to the subscribed

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66 Eubanks, “Drovers’ Trail Riders Found Adventure and Profit in Early Days.”
money being stolen in 1869. The railroad was an idea that was established earlier in the nineteenth century during the 1830s. A proposal was made to run a connection from East Tennessee through Asheville to the town of Old Fort on the eastern side of Buncombe County. A railroad company was established, the Western North Carolina Railroad, but by the time the Civil War started little work had been accomplished towards the rail’s completion. Following the war, construction again revived but was cut short when in 1869 the president of the Western North Carolina Railroad disappeared with four million dollars in bonds, delaying the railroad’s construction towards Asheville.

In the acts and charter of the western division of the Western North Carolina Railroad, the chief engineer James Turner discussed in his report how part of the western division of the railroad that ran from Asheville to Paint Rock would be laid upon the Buncombe Turnpike road. At the time that he conducted his report there were still questions between the turnpike company and the railroad company regarding issues related to the Buncombe Turnpike. These issues were resolved in 1869, by a legislative act that according to its subtitle was, “To enable the Buncombe Turnpike Company to subscribe the stock in their road to the Western North Carolina Railroad.” Within the acts and charter which was enacted by the General Assembly of North Carolina, there were four sections created to connect the two companies. They consisted of rights that the turnpike company had concerning the road and their rights to

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68 Dykeman, 154-159.
continue to collect tolls upon the portions that would not be used by the Western North Carolina Railroad.\textsuperscript{70}

Despite the constant setbacks, the railroad struggled through and during the 1870s made tremendous progress. The half built culverts and arches finally started to be complete and the railroad moved closer to Asheville, which would become the future railroad center of Western North Carolina. Having access to the railroad would unlock many doors for the area as the local farmers had started to cultivate new crops, mainly tobacco. Another innovation that the railroad offered to the local economy was a chance for manufacturing growth, especially along the French Broad were there were already a number of mill sites. Other important things that the railroad would offer the mountain people were easier access for tourists as well as easier transportation of goods, such as produce and livestock.\textsuperscript{71}

The railroad finally started to become a realized dream for many people when forty-three years following a railroad convention in Knoxville, the railroad finally reached Hendersonville, on July 4, 1879. Sadie Samthers Patton writes that, “the people of Henderson County saw their greatest dream come true, the ‘Iron Horse’ roared over the crest of the Blue Ridge and down the long grade from Butte Mountain, bringing behind it a train of cars with the first passengers.”\textsuperscript{72} On October 3, 1880, the line from Old Fort to Asheville was complete and tourists started arriving and manufactured goods were transported out.\textsuperscript{73} (Fig. 7) Two years later, the western division from Asheville to Paint Rock that was constructed on much of the

\textsuperscript{70} Western North Carolina Railroad, 22.
\textsuperscript{71} King, 539-541.
\textsuperscript{72} Patton, 223.
\textsuperscript{73} Dykeman, 163.
route of the Buncombe Turnpike\textsuperscript{74} was complete and Western North Carolina’s economy continued to grow. Progress would continue in the years to come on the stretch of railroad that was laid from Asheville to Hendersonville on part of the turnpike. On September 5, 1881, the Buncombe Turnpike Company relinquished the last area it still controlled between Asheville and Hendersonville to the Asheville and Buncombe County Board of Commissioners.\textsuperscript{75} It would be only a few years later that the two biggest cities in Western North Carolina were connected and interest about them grew even more. Continued advertising in railroad pamphlets (Fig 8) and guidebooks would increase the influx of people to the area. In \textit{The Standard Guidebook to Asheville and Western North Carolina}, written in 1887, the area of Asheville in this way:

\begin{quote}
Since the advent of the railroad in 1881, the town has grown rapidly until it has become a thriving city of 8000 people, and it is one of the leading resorts of the south. Last year some 60,000 tourists and invalids came from nearby every state and territory to enjoy the beautiful scenery and the health giving air for which this region is so justly celebrated.\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

The changes that came from the railroad changed not only the landscape of Asheville but the local communities were transformed also.

Local farmers and the drovers that traveled through the area along the turnpike found the railroad an innovation that helped make life easier and more profitable. Farmers realized that by using the railroad they could get their produce to further markets, much quicker and cheaper. Another new and exciting change for many local residents was the new goods that were being brought in by train and sold at different stores around Asheville and Hendersonville.

\textsuperscript{74} Western North Carolina Railroad, 90.
\textsuperscript{75} Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness.”
Life for the drovers that had traveled the area changed very much also. They also started utilizing the railroad for the quicker, cheaper, and safer way it transported their livestock to the markets for sale.\textsuperscript{77} No longer was there a constant threat from losing animals to the mountains or rivers, nor did the animals lose a substantial amount of weight from the long daily walks they use to take along the turnpike road. By 1885, only a few farmers still preferred to transport their animals on foot. The railroad forever changed the landscape of the Buncombe Turnpike, the French Broad River, and the local communities. Many merchant stands that had been used for many years just to service the drovers started to go into disrepair and eventually they disappeared almost as if they never existed.\textsuperscript{78}

The creation of the Buncombe Turnpike had a tremendous impact on the drovers and Western North Carolina. It made travel along the mountains and ridges safer and more inviting for people outside the area. The drovers helped the economy by providing local farmers with more opportunities to sell their crops to merchants. Merchants also benefitted from the money they made during the drove and from the influx of tourist at other times of the year that would come to stay and spend time in the mountains. Besides store merchants and farmers other businesses were also able to flourish such as the stagecoaches of Rutledge, Pool and Ripley. The drovers continued through this area until the end of the nineteenth century when the railroad became the dominant source of travel, but the legacy of how they impacted the local landscape will not be soon forgotten for many local historians.

\textsuperscript{77} Parris, “The Road that Opened the Buncombe Wilderness.”
\textsuperscript{78} Dykeman, 150.
Figure 1

“A Cliff on French Broad,” from Asheville to Warm Springs. The photo was created by the company of Taylor and Jones, but there is no given name for the photographer. The date of the picture is estimated at 1880-1886. The image shows a buggy or covered wagon from the back that is traveling in the French Broad River, next to the cliffs edge. This picture shows how people occasionally had to travel in shallow areas of the river.

Taylor and Jones. “A Cliff on French Broad.” Asheville: Taylor and Jones, 1880-1886. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# D917-5 and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]
Figure 2

“Along the French Broad Road to Warm Springs.” This picture is taken from Alexander’s Inn on the French Broad River along the Buncombe Turnpike. Besides the road you can see the French Broad River and the mountains further beyond in the distance. The estimated time that the picture was taken was between the years of 1880-1886. The picture was created by the company of Taylor and Jones, but the name of the photographer is unknown.

Taylor and Jones. “Along the French Broad Road to Warm Springs.” Asheville: Taylor and Jones, 1880-1886. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# F539-5 and can be assessed within vertical file #588]
Figure 3

“Western North Carolina in the era of Drovers’ Inns and Turnpikes 1783-1880.” Map that was designed and drawn by Herman Rector which was used in Ora Blackman’s book Western North Carolina. The map shows the route of the Buncombe Turnpike and the bordering counties. It gives the date of the counties formations and the names of specific stands located along the Buncombe Turnpike.

Herman, Recto. “Western North Carolina in the Era of Drovers Inn and Turnpikes 1783-1880.” Appalachian State University: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1977 [This map is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# MAP701B and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]
Figure 4

Picture depicted in Harper’s Monthly Magazine in an 1857 issue for an article titled, “Winter in the South.” It shows three hog drovers with whips moving their hogs along the trail.

Figure 5

A picture of Alexander’s Inn located on the Buncombe Turnpike along the French Broad River. In the glass plate negative the house is identified as Vance Hall. There is an unidentified woman standing in the far right of the picture. This allows people to see how the drovers would have traveled in front of the house along the turnpike as others observed from the long porches on front of the house.

Caldwell, John D. “Alexander’s Inn.” Asheville: Publisher Unknown, 1903-1929. [This picture was photographed by John Caldwell, but no known publisher is given. It is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# A697-11 and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]
This picture shows Dr. Fletcher’s house which was located between Asheville and Hendersonville. The house later became Fletcher Inn and was used as a stop for travelers along the Buncombe Turnpike.

Helsley, Alexia Jones, and Dr. George A. Jones. *A Guide to Historic Henderson County North Carolina* (Charleston: The History Press, 2007), 29. [This is from the collection of Bertha Fletcher Holland.]
This picture shows a steam engine crossing the Swannanoa River on the Western North Carolina Railroad. The estimated date of this picture is around 1890.

Taylor, Nat W. “Class B View on Swannanoa River.” Asheville: Taylor, Estimated Date 1890. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# L596-5.]
This pamphlet was created by the Western North Carolina Railroad to be used as an advertisement for tourists interested in traveling along the railroad coming to North Carolina.

Passenger Department Office. *Illustrated Guidebook of the Western North Carolina Railroad*. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1882. [This guidebook is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection.]
Primary Source Bibliography


This is the journal of Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury and gives specific details pertaining to Western North Carolina and his travels through the area on different occasions. He gives details concerning the people and the landscape, as well as the condition of the land. His diaries are vivid in their description of how rugged and dangerous the landscape is.


This manuscript was written as William Bryant traveled throughout different areas within American documenting the landscape and creating drawings to help people establish a visual image of those places. A number of illustrations were created depicting Western North Carolina.

Buncombe County Court of Pleas and Session Minutes, April Session, 1834. [Originally cited in Dr. Richard Iosbt, “Smith-McDowell House: Report Part One, House Beginnings.”]

During this court meeting, James Smith was given permission to charge elaborate rates for passage across his toll bridge located in Asheville. I have seen the ledger book containing this information in Raleigh, but do not have the name of the documenter for the April 1834 court meeting. The present Craven St. Bridge is the location of the original toll bridge that Smith operated.


Mr. Burnett, the author, lived during the era of livestock driving and gives a first person account of his and his neighbor’s experiences. Within the article he includes a list of the drover stands and their operators, and list specific details concerning the stands that were better known, and the impact these stands made.
Coggins, George, interviewed by Dorothy Jones for Voices of Asheville, Asheville, October 30, 1998. UNCA Special Collections

Dorothy Jones started an oral history project called, Voices of Asheville. It lasted approximately 9 years and she conducted 199 interviews. George Coggins family had a farm in the Asheville area and sold produce to the drover’s. In his interview he is describing the practice of droving and describing the scene of turkeys being drove to market and the lasting impression they made. Jones donated the local Asheville resident oral histories to UNCA’s special collections.

Colton, Henry. *Guidebook to the Scenery of Western North Carolina*. Asheville: Printed at the Western Advocate Office, 1860. [This pamphlet is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library.]

This pamphlet was created by Henry Colton and describes different establishments in Western North Carolina that would be of interest to the many tourists that were coming into the area. Besides giving descriptions for many locations it also gives the prices that are charged for lodging and meals. The pamphlet was created to look more like a small book than many of the typical pamphlets of the time period.


This guidebook offers an array of information regarding Asheville and some of the surrounding area. It gives detailed descriptions of hotels and places of interest. The guidebook is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection.


This story is discusses a lot concerning the area and part of it is told through a fictional story. It discusses different areas of Western North Carolina and some of the important things
that the area offers. It also discusses the situation of the railroad and what Asheville and surrounding suffered from the results of the railroad money being stolen.


This book describes the travels of Charles Lanman’s travels through Georgia, North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Within some of the letter’s, information is given concerning the Buncombe Turnpike.


This gives a detailed account of the information obtained by the Civil Engineer for the state of North Carolina. Within the report it gives detailed information concerning the geography of the area and current status of the road before a decision was made for improvements.


This book gives information on the General assembly meetings from 1823 and discusses in detail the General Assembly’s decision to build a turnpike road and gives specific details pertaining to the law that was passed.


This report details some of the work and the progress of specific areas that have given cause for concern, especially areas that are around the French Broad River. It gives short reports on the engineer’s progress concerning those areas.

This article gives a first person account of James Erwin Parris who lived during the late 1800’s and is celebrating his 100th birthday. In it he gives a detailed account of his memories as a boy and his involvement with the drovers’ road. This article is accessible at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library.

It can be viewed using microfilm, or by looking at a copy in vertical file #588.

Rutledge, Pool and Ripley Receipt Book, 1859-1864, Valentine Ripley Papers, Duke University Library Special Collection, Durham, NC. [Selected pages from the volume related to the Buncombe Turnpike]

The receipt is from the stagecoach company of Rutledge, Pool, and Ripley and gives three years of details showing specific products that were being paid through the gate and the exact amount that was being receipted, also showing revenue for the company.


This letter is written to be published in the Asheville Highland Messenger and within it states the total number of animals and money that has passed through the lower gate of the Buncombe Turnpike during a certain month of the year. He writes the letter feeling that the local community would be curious to know how much revenue the area has made.


This book was the acts and charters that were enacted by the North Carolina General Assembly. It consists of the acts that related to the Buncombe Turnpike, and gives the report of James Turner the chief engineer of the Western North Carolina Railroad.
Images

Caldwell, John D. “Alexander’s Inn.” Asheville: Publisher Unknown, 1903-1929. [This picture was photographed by John Caldwell, but no known publisher is given. It is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# A697-11 and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]


Herman, Rector, “Western North Carolina in the Era of Drovers Inn and Turnpikes 1783-1880.” Appalachian State University: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1977 [This map is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# MAP701B and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]

Passenger Department Office. Illustrated Guidebook of the Western North Carolina Railroad. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1882. [This guidebook is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection.]

Taylor and Jones. “A Cliff on French Broad.” Asheville: Taylor and Jones, 1880-1886. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# D917-5 and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]

Taylor and Jones. “Along the French Broad Road to Warm Springs.” Asheville: Taylor and Jones, 1880-1886. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# F539-5 and can be assessed within vertical file #588.]
Taylor, Nat W. “Class B View on Swannanoa River.” Asheville: Taylor, Estimated Date 1890. [This picture is located in the NC Collection at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library. It’s listed under ID# L596-5.]

Secondary Bibliography


This web site is from the Western North Carolina Historical Association and goes into greater detail concerning the drover’s road, later to be known as the Buncombe Turnpike. The reason this information is so helpful is that WNCHA operates the Smith-McDowell House which was built and owned by James Smith, who was a big part of the drover trade. He owned a hotel downtown that serviced the drovers and he also owned the only bridge that crossed the French Broad at one time.


This article describes the turkeys that use to travel down the turnpike, how they were different from the traditional turkeys of today. It gives the weight of the typical turkey and explains how the drovers used different methods to keep the turkeys moving along the route as they made their way to the low country markets.


This book offers an entire chapter that is devoted strictly to the Drover’s that traveled along the Buncombe Turnpike which ran beside the French Broad River. It discusses their travels through Western North Carolina in great detail and offers some wonderful links to more primary sources. In the next chapter, Dykeman discusses the introduction of the railroad into Western North Carolina and how it affected the local community.

Eubanks, Fanny D., “Drovers’ Trail Riders Found Adventure and Profit in Early Days.” *Asheville Citizen Times,* June 28, 1936

This article discusses some of the profits that could be made for all the people involved in the yearly livestock drive, from the drovers’ to the stand operators to the markets in SC and GA. It also lists the names of the stand operators from all along the Turnpike from Tennessee to
South Carolina. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection, vertical file #588.


This book gives a great overview of Henderson County that discusses the creation of Henderson County. It gives information concerning the Buncombe Turnpike and its relation and importance to Henderson County during the 19th century. There are also images and illustrations that relate to people involved with the Turnpike.


This manuscript was created by Dr. Richard Ibost who was the president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association from 1969-1970. He created this unpublished manuscript to help tell the early history of James Smith and his house which is now the Smith-McDowell House Museum. It is written in four sections, the first one is related to James Smith and the following sections concern the years that his son-in-law and daughter lived in the house. The book is housed in the library collection at the Smith-McDowell Museum.


This article examines in detail the life of a drover and discusses how ferries were used to help transport animals across the rivers. It also details some of the rates that the Buncombe County Court established for such ferries. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection, vertical file #588.

This book focuses on the yeomen farmers from the south and assessed common southerners as major players in antebellum social, economic and political life of the South. This book will be useful to establish the lifestyles of farmers and those considered to be lower and middle class during the 1800s.


This is a lengthy article looking at some of the original locations for the drovers’ road and what those areas use to be concerning the Indians. It talks about the first merchants that came to Buncombe across the Saluda Gap. It also looks at some of the history of the road within the state of South Carolina and its connection from the state line to Greenville. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection vertical file #588.


The article discusses certain stand owners, their geographical locations along the trail, and the influence they had as stand owners and merchants on the community. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection vertical file #588.


This article goes into great detail about the drovers and the stand operators. It discusses some aspects of a drover’s life and the activities surrounding their day. It refers to the French Broad River as being haunted by the ghost of the long ago past. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection vertical file #588.

-----. “When The Turnpike was the Drover’s Road.” *Asheville Citizen Times*, February 17, 1974.

This article is strictly devoted to the drovers and their influence to the Buncombe Turnpike. It describes the life of drovers and discusses many of the stand owners and the common practices that the drovers partook in while on their journey. This article is located at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection vertical file #588.

This book describes the history of Henderson County and its heritage. It discusses the plank road that ran from Henderson County to Spartanburg. It also gives a lot of detail concerning Valentine Ripley and the influence that his stagecoach company had on the area of Hendersonville. It also discusses some of the downtown businesses in Hendersonville during the mid-19th century.


This book gives small descriptive details about Buncombe County and the changes that it has gone through since its creation. Many of the details in the book are accompanied by pictures which help tell the story of different decades and important events in Buncombe County.

“Turkey Trot, Cut Path to Old Inn Here” *Asheville Citizens Times*, November 27, 1927.

This article discussed the way that people viewed the way the turkey’s made their way down the path, doing the ‘turkey trot.’ It describes the memories of Mr. Lande who remembers the days that the turkeys use to travel on their way to market along the turnpike.


This article discusses more of the history of settlers moving in the areas of the Southern Highlands and how many of the livestock drives began in the area. It looks at more specific details involving drovers and their practices; concerning community involvement. It also talks about how the drovers made sure the drives ran smoothly and discussed the order of rank
among the drovers while they were on a drive. This article can be accessed at the Asheville-Buncombe Public Library in the NC Collection vertical file #588.