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Suggested Citation:

Campbell, James B. "East Tennessee During the Radical Regime, 1865-1869." *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* 20 (1948): 84-102.

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reconstruction, ten per cent of the number of votes cast in the election of 1860. The new legislature met in April, and Brownlow was inaugurated shortly before Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Thus Tennessee has a native-controlled civil government before the official end of the Civil War.¹

This "scalawag" government, which remained largely intact until the elections of 1869, was dominated throughout its existence by its East Tennessee members. Much of its legislation was designed to prevent the return to power of ex-Confederates. Other acts, while inspired by the same motive in the main, were constructive in their implications. In the latter category might be placed the acts granting Negroes the right to testify in court, to vote, and to hold office and sit on juries. One piece of legislation which is thought by most objective historians of the period to have had outstanding merit was the school law of 1867. The worst legislation in the opinion of most historians was that in which aid to railroads was involved. But perhaps the condemnation of that phase has been too severe. Certainly the relation between railroad magnates and the Tennessee state government was no worse than the average relation between such elements in the period of rapid railroad expansion throughout the country.

But while legislators passed laws in Nashville, people elsewhere had to live their ordinary work-a-day lives. It is the purpose of this paper to give a few glimpses of such daily living as it took place in East Tennessee.

By the spring of 1865 the regions between Knoxville and Chattanooga were on the road to recovery. Farmers were beginning to plant normal crops, and trade was on a sharp upswing in the towns. The wheat crop while not bountiful was almost sufficient for home consumption and the oat crop was comparable to that of almost any of the pre-war years. Hay and corn were also abundant.²

This happy condition, however, did not prevail in the northeast corner of the region. There Confederate occupation, or the threat of it, had impeded steps toward rehabilitation until after Appomattox. Greene, Johnson, Carter, Washington, Hawkins, and Sullivan counties still had the denuded appearance that followed the passing of armies. The East Tennessee Relief Association concentrated its activities in this section, and thousands of dollars worth of food and clothing were distributed from the main centers. In some cases

¹James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 48-50; Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee, A History, 1673-1932*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), II, Ch. XXXVII.

²Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, July 19, 1865; in February, 1866, this paper's name was shortened to "*Knoxville Whig*." Hereafter Brownlow's paper and its successors will be cited as "*Whig*."

the need was so great that impatience and disorder attended the distribution. This was notably true at Rogersville, Greeneville, and Elizabethton. At the latter place an attempt was made to sell the relief supplies to those who were able to pay before making a free distribution. The hungry crowd would have none of this. They demanded that the agents give the goods away without delay, and their manner was so forceful that the agents complied.³ Not until after the harvests of 1866 did this section recover sufficiently to feed itself.⁴

This period saw a considerable influx of population to the principal towns, Knoxville and Chattanooga. Laboring people sought employment there, while wealthier elements, many of whom had pro-Confederate records, were safer in the cities from the Unionist counter-terror than they would have been in the rural areas.⁵ City life in these places was quite primitive by modern standards, although Knoxville seems to have been somewhat ahead of Chattanooga in urban refinements.

Chattanooga's main street, Market, was described as scarcely more than a long mudhole as late as 1868. There was no street lighting of any sort until a jeweler put up a coal-oil lamp on a post at his own expense.⁶ In dry weather this metropolitan thoroughfare changed from a sea of mud to a sea of dust. This situation was ameliorated somewhat when a public-spirited and enterprising gentleman contracted with businessmen affected to spray the street daily between the hours of 1:30 and 7:00 in the morning.⁷ Nevertheless, even with these lighting and sprinkling systems, the *Chattanooga Daily Republican* was moved to say as late as 1869 that Market Street's appearance indicated "Wealth to doctors and bankruptcy to life insurance companies."⁸ At this time there were few stores, and most of those that were operating were carried on in converted government warehouses. The residences were described as mostly dingy, unpainted frame shanties.⁹ Only in rare cases were sidewalks found. These dated from the flood in 1867 and were intended more as bridges than as what one would normally consider sidewalks. Constructed of planks, they constituted a strong tempta-

³Thomas W. Humes, *Third and Fourth Reports to the East Tennessee Relief Association at Knoxville* (Knoxville, 1868), 12.

⁴*Ibid.*, 14.

⁵Paul A. Counce, *The Social and Economic History of Kingsport before 1908* (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1939), 78.

⁶J. W. Livingood, "Chattanooga, Tennessee: Its Economic History in the Years Immediately Following Appomattox," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 15 (Knoxville, 1943), 39.

⁷*Chattanooga American Union*, March 29, 1868.

⁸Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 39.

⁹Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Tennessee*, Hamilton County Edition (Nashville, 1887), 868.

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tion to seekers for fuel and lumber. Hence, many gaps appeared, to the dire peril of nocturnal pedestrians.¹⁰

In 1868 there was a mild controversy between the editors of the *Athens Post* and the *Chattanooga Daily Republican* over the degree of unimpressiveness of Chattanooga's appearance. The *Athens* editor, on a visit to Chattanooga, said that the "spirit of improvement does not seem to be exercising control," and that "a portion of the buildings begin to look time-worn and seedy." This, the *Chattanooga* editor did not challenge, but when the critic went on to say that two-thirds of Chattanooga's houses were miserable board shanties with clay chimneys, the *Chattanooga* editor offered some argument as to the correctness of the proportion.¹¹

Lawlessness was common, and the city court dockets were usually crowded. Keepers of bawdy houses flourished. The local police policy was to bring these offenders in once a week in order to collect a five-dollar fine. This, in effect, amounted to a licensing system with a fee of five dollars per week. On one occasion, a local newspaper reported that five bawdy house keepers, one of whom kept two houses with eight girls in each, came in to pay their fines in one day. The newspaper pointed out that these were not all, that more were to be notified by the police to come in and pay the fine.¹²

The condition of the city jail should have kept prospective lawbreakers on the straight and narrow path. A correspondent of a local newspaper in late 1867 described it as being completely devoid of stoves and panes of glass. In the upper story he found over a dozen women in one room without a single chair, bench, or bed visible. There were holes in the ceiling, and the roof was badly in need of repair.¹³

The laboring man scarcely lived off the fat of the land. Unskilled labor received from 75 cents to \$1.50 per day.¹⁴ The city paid a little more than the scale in private industry. In March, 1868, the city council set a schedule under which laborers would receive \$1.75 per day; mechanics, \$2.50; teams, \$3.00; foremen, \$2.00; and quarry men, \$1.50.¹⁵ If the worker lived in a boarding house he would not have much left from his pay check for liquor and riotous living, since a typical rate for board was \$25 per month, \$5 per week, and 35 cents per individual meal.¹⁶ The constant

¹⁰*Chattanooga American Union*, February 18, 1868.

¹¹Livingood, "Chattanooga," loc. cit., 38.

¹²*Chattanooga American Union*, March 12, 1868.

¹³*Ibid.*, November 1, 1867.

¹⁴*Facts and Figures Concerning the Climate, Manufacturing Advantages and the Agricultural and Mineral Resources of East Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1869), 17.

¹⁵*Chattanooga American Union*, March 11, 1868.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, April 4, 1868.

threat of unemployment also limited the working man's security during this period.¹⁷

However, there was a rosier side to the picture of the Mountain City. If one had money he could live in comfort and even enjoy some luxuries. In the income tax returns submitted to the federal internal revenue department for 1867 appear the names of fifty-three residents of Hamilton County, most of whom were Chattanoogaans. While the highest taxable income listed was only \$6582.83, it is to be assumed that the actual income in each case was considerably greater than that declared to the government.¹⁸

There were opportunities to spend money on luxury goods and entertainment. Several dealers carried such food items as dates, oranges, lemons, and oysters.¹⁹ There were billiard parlors, saloons, bowling alleys, and houses featuring intriguing gambling devices.²⁰ A summer resort was opened on Lookout Mountain in 1865.²¹ Circuses and traveling shows were frequent occurrences.²² Baseball was played during most of the year, and Chattanooga had several clubs, one of which, the Mountain City, played games against representatives of Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis.²³ For those with more refined tastes there were frequent musical programs and performances by amateur players.²⁴

Chattanooga had had a good bridge across the Tennessee (constructed by the Federal army) prior to the flood of 1867. After this bridge was swept away a crude ferry was the only means of crossing the river. No improved roads extended into the hinterland, and such dirt roads as existed became impassable in bad weather.²⁵ When Chattanoogaans went to the county seat at Harrison, about 14 miles away, they preferred to go by steamer on the river.²⁶

Knoxville entered the period of the Radical regime greatly damaged as a result of occupation, successively, by southern and northern armies. It was still a country town in which boys frequently chased rabbits through the streets and gardens, and a gentleman caught a large opossum under his house in the heart of the city as late as the fall of 1868.²⁷ Garbage disposal was the responsibility of the individual citizen, who apparently did not

¹⁷*Ibid.*, February 4, 1868.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, April 4, 1868.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, January 7, 1868.

²⁰*Ibid.*, February 29, 1868.

²¹*Whig*, August 16, 1865.

²²*Chattanooga American Union*, November 1, 1867, January 15, 1868.

²³*Ibid.*, March 10, 1868.

²⁴*Ibid.*, December 8, 1867, February 9, 1868.

²⁵Livingood, "Chattanooga," loc. cit., 39.

²⁶*Chattanooga American Union*, February 4, 1868.

²⁷*Knoxville Press and Herald*, December 1, 1868.

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always assume his responsibility. The city council passed an ordinance in 1868 requiring residents to remove all offensive material from their premises under pain of having it removed by the city marshal at the expense of the property holder. The same council meeting recorded a petition signed by a large number of citizens requesting an ordinance to prohibit "hogs running loose in the streets."²⁸ But Knoxville's growth and development was more rapid and more even than that of Chattanooga. Its population steadily advanced during the period.²⁹ While the city had been left fenceless and with most of its buildings either destroyed or damaged in 1864, its recovery in this respect was unbelievably rapid.³⁰ By 1867 the building boom had made progress to the extent that four hundred houses were erected during the year. Nor were these board shanties. Most of them were "commodious houses of brick, or large frame dwellings, or neat cottages."³¹

John Fleming, whose hatred of the Radical regime, led him to decry the "evil times upon which our people have fallen," said editorially of Knoxville:

But Knoxville seems to be a wonderful exception to the general rule. In all directions, as if by magic, factories, machine shops, storehouses, dwelling houses, and buildings of every description are springing up. Business, in all its varieties, seems to be thriving. The people, generally, seem to have remunerative occupations—at least they dress well, look well, and appear to be healthy.³²

An early campaign was sponsored by the *Whig* to get street lighting,³³ but the result was not achieved until September, 1867.³⁴ The Knoxville Gas Company submitted a bill for over \$200 for October, the first month of operation, for gas used in public lamps. While this was deemed exorbitant by the city council, and negotiations were carried on in order to reduce it, the amount seems to indicate rather extensive street lighting.³⁵

A rather modern fire department was in operation. The city bought a steam fire engine, 1,200 feet of hose, and a hose carriage in January, 1868, at the expense of over \$8,000.³⁶ During the latter part of the same year, a two-story brick building forty feet square

²⁸*Whig*, March 11, 1868.

²⁹*Facts and Figures*, 20.

³⁰*Knoxville Free Press*, August 22, 1867.

³¹*Ibid.*, November 5, 1867.

³²*Knoxville Press and Herald*, October 24, 1868.

³³*Whig*, March 5, 1864.

³⁴*Knoxville Free Press*, September 1, 1867.

³⁵*Knoxville Herald*, November 9, 1867.

³⁶William Rule (ed.), *Standard History of Knoxville* (Chicago, 1900), 106.

was built for the new fire engine at the head of Market Square. The fire engine occupied the lower floor, while the municipal offices were located upstairs.³⁷

Law enforcement seems to have been a little more efficient in Knoxville than in Chattanooga. Prostitutes were barred from the city by ordinance. However, the suburbs were not distant, and there, according to the *Free Press*,³⁸ they could "be seen walking the streets at almost all hours of the day and night, plying their infamous vocation."

Several of the streets were graded and had curbs, and a few were macadamized.³⁹ The roads entering the city were considerably superior to the corresponding ones into Chattanooga. A number of these roads were built by turnpike companies including those from Tazewell and Kingston. The Kingston Turnpike Company, chartered by the legislature in 1866, raised funds by subscription in order to build and macadamize the first five miles. From there on, the plan was "pay as you go." A toll gate was erected and fees were collected to build the next five miles.⁴⁰ A traveler on the Tazewell Pike in 1867 saw six miles of road lined with stone for macadamizing. Many workers were engaged in pounding the large stones into small ones. It was estimated that the Pike would be macadamized nine miles out of Knoxville by the spring of 1868.⁴¹

The wage scale in Knoxville was about the same as in Chattanooga, except that the city council seems to have paid a slightly lower rate.⁴² Apparently Knoxville had only one labor union during reconstruction. It was a branch of the typographical union and was organized November 9, 1867. This was no militant or radical organization, and it aroused no fears, apparently, in the breasts of the newspaper owners. The union called for a ten-hour day and a minimum wage of \$16 per week.⁴³ The *Knoxville Free Press* assumed an attitude of benevolent paternalism toward the union and gave the members an editorial pat on the back as follows:

The terms laid down by the Knoxville "Union" are no higher than those already allowed, we believe, by all the proprietors. We wish the boys a pleasant time and trust they may prosper in carrying out the legitimate objects of their "Union."⁴⁴

³⁷*Ibid.*, 106-107.

³⁸September 5, 1867.

³⁹*Whig*, June 10, 1867, September 30, 1869.

⁴⁰Rule, *Knoxville*, 272-273. State aid was granted to the turnpike companies in 1866. *Acts of Tennessee*, 1865-1866, p. 266.

⁴¹*Knoxville Herald*, November 8, 1867.

⁴²*Whig*, March 11, 1868.

⁴³*Knoxville Herald*, November 12, 1867.

⁴⁴*Knoxville Free Press*, November 14, 1867.

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Rents were so high in 1866 that Brownlow thought nearly all dwelling houses were out of the reach of the "mechanic or the man of small capital."⁴⁵ Retail prices of food, however, began to decline in 1865, and by late 1866 they had reached a level comparable with pre-war normal. Variety was on the increase, and gradually imported foods and delicacies appeared in quantity in the stores. Raisins, tea, lemons, and spices were on the shelves of Knoxville shops by February, 1866.⁴⁶ Such terms as cudbear, logwood, madder, and copperas appeared often in the market advertisements.⁴⁷ These substances were used in dyeing cloth, a practice which was still common in rural homes. Ginseng was sold on the general market for medicinal purposes. Furs were also prominent on market list advertisements, particularly fox, coon, mink, muskrat, otter, and opossum, with prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$3.00 for an otter skin to five cents for an opossum fur.⁴⁸ Eggs, chickens, turkeys, and ducks were plentiful and cheap after 1866, and venison was on the market most of the time. Sugar, candy, and coal-oil were expensive items, the latter ranging from 75 cents to \$2.50 per gallon.⁴⁹

For leisure time Knoxville offered many recreational opportunities. There were a number of saloons and billiard parlors, in some cases the two in combination. One advertised itself as "directly in rear of the *Press and Herald* office where you can read the news or drink the dews."⁵⁰ An ice cream parlor was opened on Market Square in the spring of 1865.⁵¹ A dancing club organized in 1868 sponsored dances regularly in the local auditorium.⁵² Circuses passed through frequently, and shows featuring freaks were common.⁵³ Baseball was extremely popular and Knoxville had at least five teams at one time, not counting the Negro teams.⁵⁴ A baseball tournament held in the fall of 1867 was said to have been witnessed by "14,141 of Knoxville's fairest, bravest, smallest, largest, and blackest."⁵⁵

An auditorium begun in the fall of 1867 was completed the following year. According to its published plans the structure could seat 1,500 persons and was lighted with gas and heated with hot air pipes.⁵⁶ About the same time Professor Knabe, the local music teacher, organized a chorus and orchestra into the Philharmonic

⁴⁵*Whig*, December 12, 1866.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, February 7, 1866.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, February 7, 1866, July 7, 1869.

⁴⁸*Knoxville Commercial*, March 13, 1866.

⁴⁹*Whig*, July 7, 19, 1869.

⁵⁰*Knoxville Press and Herald*, October 14, 1868.

⁵¹*Whig*, May 10, 1865.

⁵²*Knoxville Press and Herald*, November 5, 1868.

⁵³*Ibid.*, October 6, 1868.

⁵⁴*Knoxville Free Press*, September 4, 1867.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, November 6, 1867.

⁵⁶*Knoxville Herald*, November 17, 1867.

Society,⁵⁷ which gave a concert of classical and semi-classical music in the fall of 1868. The critic of the *Press and Herald*,⁵⁸ which carried a long review of the performance, thought the orchestra work generally good, but thought the lady pianist a little too delicate in her touch for a performance in an auditorium. Some pieces were too long, he complained, and he suggested that it would have been more appropriate to have interspersed some old popular music with the classical.

The Germans of Knoxville had their own cultural organization, the *Turn Verein*, which gave musical and recreational programs frequently. One of these programs, called by the originators a "Moonlight Promenade Concert," featured instrumental music, singing, dancing, and athletic feats.⁵⁹ Further proof that Knoxville was not indifferent to music lay in the prominence of advertisements for organs and pianos and also in the fact that 147 pianos were reported on the tax list of 1867.⁶⁰

The emergence of East Tennessee as an industrial and mining region, prophesied by leaders from the time of Ezekial Birdseye, began to take form in this period. It is true that not much momentum was gained before the 1870's, but the signs were unmistakable. Industrial associations and boards of trade were formed to promote the movement. These booster groups did not boast so much of achievements as of possibilities. One such organization, the Knoxville Industrial Association, published a pamphlet on the status of manufacturing, agriculture, and mining as of 1868. This pamphlet, *Facts and Figures*, pointed out that with the exception of a few furnaces and foundries, a nail factory, a few cotton yarn factories, "a steam tannery or two, some plow factories, a soap factory, a few steam saw mills . . . one zinc establishment; a few rolling mills . . . we are just where we were fifty years ago"; and that there was only one woolen goods factory in the state and none for weaving any cotton cloth other than brown domestic.⁶¹ The practice of importing so much was deplored as follows:

We import from other states all our reapers, mowers, threshers and engines, all of our chairs, axes, shovels, hoes, rakes, forks, wire, sheet-iron, iron pipes, hinges, scythes, picks, willowware and rope, and even our ax and pick handles and wagon spokes, most of our plows, brooms, furniture, wooden-ware, fire grates, stoves, corn shellers, horse shoes and horse shoe nails, domestic prints, woolens, boots, shoes, hats, clothing, and most of our carriages, and many of our wagons, besides hundreds of other articles. The

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, December 20, 1867.

⁵⁸December 6, 1868.

⁵⁹*Whig*, July 21, 1869.

⁶⁰*Rule*, Knoxville, 107.

⁶¹*Facts and Figures*, 16-17.

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⁶²*Ibid.*

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The pamphlet further deplored paying freight on reapers and mowers from Chicago; plows, axes, and horseshoes from Connecticut; stoves from Albany, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati; carriages from New Hampshire, and brooms from New York.⁶³

A more detailed catalog of the industry already started, however, seems a little more impressive than the *Facts and Figures* pamphlet would indicate. Knoxville and Chattanooga were, of course, the main centers of the rising new industry, although there were other centers of more than negligible importance.

By 1869 Knoxville had one establishment, the Knoxville Iron Company, which included a rolling mill, a foundry, a machine shop, a nail mill, and a railroad spike machine.⁶⁴ This company was formed by a carpetbagger, who had been a Federal quartermaster, in partnership with some Welsh immigrants.⁶⁵ Under its auspices the first coal to be transported on the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad was brought into Knoxville.⁶⁶ Other foundries were the Knoxville Foundry and Machine Shop, which, in addition to doing repair work for the railroads and other factories and mills, made plows, grates, hollow ware and circular saws for saw mills;⁶⁷ and the Cumberland, which made railroad castings, hollow ware, grates, and stoves.⁶⁸

Knoxville also had four furniture factories (although nine-tenths of her furniture was still imported from the North), a tannery, a pork factory that produced bacon and lard, a soap factory, two breweries, three planing mills which operated sash, door, and blind factories; a gas works which lighted the principal streets and a large share of the stores and private residences, seven flour mills, two saw mills, one pottery mill, one turning mill, four tin-working shops, and a paper mill.⁶⁹

Chattanooga industry grew from 22 small industries employing 214 men in 1860 to 58 industrial establishments employing 850 workmen in 1870.⁷⁰ Retail and wholesale trade was still the main business in the Mountain City but there were several saw mills, grist mills, and two furniture factories in the city during this period.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 17.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Helms' Knoxville City Directory*, 1869 (Knoxville, 1869), 45-46.

⁶⁵*Rule*, *Knoxville*, 207.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 208.

⁶⁷*Whig*, October 10, 1866.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*; *Rule*, *Knoxville*, 198.

⁶⁹*Knoxville Commercial*, August 1, 1866; *Knoxville Free Press*, August 30, 1867; *Helms' Knoxville Directory*, 46-47.

⁷⁰Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 37-38.

The latter made bureaus, beds, chairs, and school furniture.⁷¹ Far more important was the incipient iron industry. In 1864 a rolling mill to reroll iron rails was built by the federal government.⁷² This property was leased to private citizens in October, 1865. The company failed in 1868 due to failure to get enough iron to operate at capacity,⁷³ and early in 1869 it was sold to J. T. Wilder, the greatest of the carpetbaggers to settle in East Tennessee, and was made a part of the Roane Iron Company. Wilder put in puddling furnaces and began making iron rails.⁷⁴

Wilder had served in the war as a commander of a distinguished unit referred to as Wilder's Lightning Brigade. On release from the army he sought a milder climate because of poor health. East Tennessee's climate together with her resources in minerals caused him to decide to migrate here. Moving to Chattanooga at the age of 36, he prospected about the region until he found the right combination of coal and iron in Roane County. Joined by other capitalists he formed the Roane Iron Company in 1867.⁷⁵

The Roane County plant was located at Oak Springs, four miles from the Tennessee River. The iron ore was dug about one-half mile from the furnace at a cost of fifty cents per ton and was hauled to the furnace on a small railway. Coal also was mined only one-half mile from the furnace. A high quality of iron was made and operating expenses were low.⁷⁶ Output in the beginning was said to be 9,000 tons per year. Wilder thought the coal mine was the thickest vein in the world. He stated that an air course driven through the vein indicated it to be over 100 feet thick, "more than twice the thickness of the largest bed of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania."⁷⁷

In Polk County a copper-mining industry supported a population of about 3,000.⁷⁸ These mines in Copper Basin were said to yield more copper than any other in the United States with the exception of the Lake Superior mines.⁷⁹ The East Tennessee Zinc Company, located in Jefferson County at a mine with an ore vein five to six feet thick, was said to be one of four of its kind in the United States. The operating machinery was powered by a turbine wheel. The company told Mr. Bokum, the state immigration com-

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 44.

⁷²Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, 262.

⁷³Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 45.

⁷⁴Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, 262.

⁷⁵Samuel C. Williams, *General John T. Wilder, Commander of the Lightning Brigade* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1936), 40, 42.

⁷⁶Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, 262.

⁷⁷*Whig*, July 21, 1869.

⁷⁸Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrant's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1868), 42.

⁷⁹*Facts and Figures*, 15.

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missioner, that it expected to make 2,500 pounds of zinc oxide during 1868 and twice that amount during 1869.⁸⁰ Iron mines were operating in Greene County and lead mines in Bradley.⁸¹ Much marble was quarried in Hawkins County near Rogersville. This area furnished marble for the state capitols of Ohio and South Carolina and for the National Capitol at Washington.⁸²

Apparently the only factory manufacturing woolen cloth was at Kingsport. Set up by a man who had formerly operated a cotton factory in Des Moines, Iowa, this factory sent out wagons to twelve counties in East Tennessee to exchange manufactured cloth and blankets for raw wool to make more cloth and blankets. Operated by water power, its machinery included carding machines, looms, and finishing machines. One loom could weave ten to fifteen blankets per day. From eight to ten looms, each of which could weave forty yards per day, were used for weaving woolen cloth. Weavers were paid two and one-half cents per yard and, therefore, if they worked diligently, could make \$1.00 per day. Ten women and five men were employed in the plant. Most of the cloth woven was either red-and-white-striped, widely preferred for petticoats, or solid gray.⁸³

A wool-spinning factory was enough of a rarity to create something of a sensation at Elizabethton as late as 1869. According to the *Knoxville Whig*,⁸⁴ men, women, and children came from miles around on horseback, on foot, in carriages and wagons to see it operate and to witness the results of rough wool "just as it was sheared from the backs of the sheep going through three or four processes and coming out into beautiful and finely sprun threads as even and as uniform as the hairs in a horse's mane."

To emphasize the overwhelming rural nature of East Tennessee society in this period, only two towns, with the exception of Knoxville and Chattanooga, had populations of more than 1,000. These were Greeneville and Cleveland.⁸⁵ Most of the people lived on farms of from 20 to 100 acres. A few counties, notably Jefferson, Sullivan, Blount, Greene, Monroe, McMinn, and Rhea, had a substantial proportion of farms larger than 100 acres. There were eighty farms in East Tennessee ranging from 500 to 1,000 acres, while only eleven in the whole region were larger than 1,000 acres.⁸⁶ Knox,

⁸⁰Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 25.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 40.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 22.

⁸³Counce, Kingsport, 79-80.

⁸⁴June 10, 1869.

⁸⁵United States Census Office, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870* (Washington, 1872), 328-339.

⁸⁶Ninth Census, *The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States, 1870* (Washington, 1872), 362.

Greene, Washington, Roane, Blount, Hamilton, and Jefferson were the wealthiest counties in the order given, as judged by the total value of their real and personal property, while Morgan, Scott, and Sequatchie were the poorest by the same criterion.⁸⁷

Farming was more diversified than in any other section of the state. Very little cotton was grown, the total in 1869 amounting to a little over 2,000 bales. Nearly all the counties raised substantial quantities of tobacco, Irish and sweet potatoes, winter wheat, corn, and oats. Lesser quantities of beans, hay, spring wheat, rye, barley, buckwheat, rice, hemp, flax, sorghum, butter, cheese, wine, maple sugar, wax, honey, apples, peaches, and pears were also produced.⁸⁸

Livestock raised included horses, mules, asses, milk cows, working oxen, beef cattle, sheep, and hogs. In East Tennessee oxen were used far more extensively for draft purposes than mules. This was another respect in which the region differed from the rest of the state. Greene, Knox, and Jefferson were the greatest producers of livestock.⁸⁹

Bottom lands along the creeks and rivers were said to yield upwards of fifty bushels of corn to the acre.⁹⁰ Land prices for these bottom lands ranged from \$50 to \$100 per acre. Other good improved farm lands could be bought for \$5 to \$25 per acre, while mountain lands sold for as little as 30 cents per acre.⁹¹ The average assessed valuation of land per acre ranged from 53 cents in Scott County to \$12.06 in Hamilton.⁹²

From the beginning of the reconstruction period East Tennessee made efforts to attract immigrants to her soil. In this Parson Brownlow and the Radicals took the lead, but there was no disagreement on the part of the Conservatives and the Democrats in this matter. Contact with northern troops in the Federal army, some of whom had remained to settle in Tennessee, was a factor in accelerating the movement for inducing northerners to come down with their capital or their labor power. The commissioners of the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee lent their endorsement to the idea. Near Loudon they had visited with a planter who, having employed a discharged Yankee soldier to work for him, was more than satisfied: "He said the soldier did more work in one day than any negro did in five."⁹³ The commissioners also remarked in the report of their trip

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 57-58.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 242-249.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰*Facts and Figures*, 6.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁹²Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 52.

⁹³*Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee . . .* (Philadelphia, 1864), 22.

that "East Tennessee with its fertile lands, its rich mines, and valuable water power, presents a fine field for the application of northern labor and capital, and when this calamity is overpast, and a direct railroad communication with the North is secured, it will prosper as never before."⁹⁴

About the same time Brownlow began to wage an editorial campaign in the *Whig* on the subject of immigration. He said that East Tennessee needed tin and stove shops, carpenters, cabinet makers, boot and shoe shops, tanneries, tailors, blacksmiths, machinists, saddlers, harness makers, carriage makers, school teachers, and physicians. He invited loyal immigrants to come in and perform these jobs in place of the "rebel lick spittles" who had fled south. "The country now looks bad," concluded the Parson, "but the war over and everything will spring into life."⁹⁵

In early 1866 the German Association of Knoxville had a bureau of immigration to promote the flow of German-born immigrants to East Tennessee. The association had already secured an agreement with the president of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad to transport immigrants at half price. The trip was made by steamer to Norfolk and then to Knoxville by rail. Julius Ochs, the president of the immigration bureau, announced that many German families wished to come to East Tennessee.⁹⁶

Newspapers, both Conservative and Radical, joined in the clamor for immigration, although the Radical press was a little more enthusiastic about the matter. "We want an emigration [*sic*] of enterprising men in all the avocations of life to hammer old fogyism out of all of us," stated the *Jonesboro Union Flag* (Radical).⁹⁷ The paper further said that East Tennessee would do well to adopt the northern system of industry and education, and that if this were done it would make the section one "boasting opulent and wealthy cities" and that East Tennessee would then "march on to her grand destiny amid the thunder roar of innumerable factories."

Whether as a result of the campaign or for other reasons, a sizeable number of immigrants did come to East Tennessee. Some of these were outstanding capitalists such as J. T. Wilder, H. S. Chamberlain, and William J. Ramage.⁹⁸ The *Nashville Press and Times* estimated that six to eight families per week were entering East Tennessee early in 1867.⁹⁹ Yet it was capital rather than labor

⁹⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁵*Whig*, January 16, 1864.

⁹⁶*Knoxville Commercial*, March 13, 1866.

⁹⁷August 16, 1867.

⁹⁸Rule, *Knoxville*, 333.

⁹⁹W. B. Hesseltine, "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 106.

which migrated, few northern laborers finding the enticements attractive enough. Those laborers who did come favored East Tennessee.¹⁰⁰

There were some discordant notes mingled with the hymns of invitation, however. The Conservative press often found it necessary to use the carpetbagger designation as a political weapon. For example, Horace Maynard was denounced as an "adventurer from Massachusetts who settled here several years ago."¹⁰¹ Such attacks did not help attract other "adventurers." Then there was some tendency on the part of natives to exploit the newcomers. The German Association sent a questionnaire to farmers asking the price of land. A Bradley County farmer replied that he had some uncleared land that he would be willing to part with at the rate of \$20 per acre. At this time such land could be bought in Minnesota for \$1.25 per acre. The Knoxville *Herald*¹⁰² thought the Bradley farmer underestimated the native shrewdness of prospective German immigrants. "People won't come to Tennessee," it warned editorially, "to benefit the present inhabitants, but to make money and improve their own condition."

In December, 1867, the legislature created a state board of immigration,¹⁰³ and Hermann Bokum was chosen commissioner of immigration. His experience had included work with the United States Department of State Bureau of Immigration,¹⁰⁴ and he had also served for a time as agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in East Tennessee.¹⁰⁵ Shortly after Bokum's appointment the East Tennessee Immigration Society was formed at a convention of East Tennessee teachers.¹⁰⁶

Bokum took his duties seriously. Early in 1868 he published a book extolling the attractions of Tennessee, in which book East Tennessee got a disproportionate share of space. The mineral and industrial possibilities were emphasized over the agricultural. In addition to his book, Bokum wrote numerous letters to New York papers extolling the climate, resources, and freedom from lawlessness in East Tennessee.¹⁰⁷

The following year the Knoxville Industrial Association published a pamphlet designed to promote immigration. Emphasizing the

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 105-106.

¹⁰¹Knoxville *Commercial*, August 1, 1866. Actually, Maynard had come to Tennessee long before the war and also long before the editor of the *Commercial* settled in the state.

¹⁰²December 21, 1867.

¹⁰³Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 108.

¹⁰⁴Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 3.

¹⁰⁵Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 109.

¹⁰⁶Knoxville *Herald*, December 27, 1867.

¹⁰⁷Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 112.

industrial and mineral resources of the section, this pamphlet offered the additional enticements of cheap labor, equable climate, and freedom from disorder. On the latter point the pamphlet said: "The people of East Tennessee are at peace. The outrages of which strangers may read are in Middle and West Tennessee. There are no Ku Klux outrages here."¹⁰⁸ The association arranged for special railway rates for persons coming south in order to prospect for homes or opportunities for investment.¹⁰⁹ The Knoxville city council cooperated by offering to buy fifteen to twenty acres of land and give it to any capitalist willing to invest \$100,000 in a manufacturing enterprise.¹¹⁰

The *Chattanooga Daily Republican* carried an advertisement beginning December 8, 1868, and continuing for a month, with the heading "Wanted Immediately, Any Number of Carpetbaggers to Come to Chattanooga and Settle." The advertisement went on to extol the climate, soil, minerals, and railroads of the region and to assure prospective immigrants that the jurisdiction of the "Ku Klux Klan and other vermin does not extend over these parts."¹¹¹

The results of the various campaigns are difficult to evaluate. No doubt some of the migration of northern capital and labor were due to such propaganda. One sixth of the property of Knoxville was owned by northern immigrants in 1869.¹¹² But some emigration from the section occurred during the period, particularly to Missouri.¹¹³ In the fall elections of 1869 the Democrats won control of the state government, but no fundamental change in the policy of encouraging immigration resulted. However, the emphasis was shifted perceptibly to European immigrants rather than northern capital.¹¹⁴

The railroads existing or being built during this period were the East Tennessee and Virginia running from Knoxville to Bristol with a branch line to Rogersville; the East Tennessee and Georgia, from Knoxville to Chattanooga with a branch extending to Dalton from Cleveland; the Knoxville and Kentucky; the Knoxville and Charleston; and the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap, and Charleston.¹¹⁵

The East Tennessee and Georgia and the East Tennessee and Virginia had been completed before the war.¹¹⁶ These two railroads

¹⁰⁸*Facts and Figures*, 11.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁰*Whig*, September 30, 1869.

¹¹¹Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 40.

¹¹²Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 105.

¹¹³*Whig*, September 30, 1869.

¹¹⁴Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 115.

¹¹⁵Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, frontispiece map.

¹¹⁶These roads were consolidated in 1869. R. O. Biggs, *The Development of Railroad Transportation in East Tennessee During the Reconstruction Period* (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1934), 140-141.

made connections with Baltimore and New York. The trip from Knoxville to New York required fifty-two hours, and the fare was \$33.20. Freight for the same distance was at the rate of \$2.70 per hundred pounds. The trip from Knoxville to Chattanooga took about nine hours,¹¹⁷ possibly due to stops at the eating houses on the way. Trains stopped full time for meals at Knoxville,¹¹⁸ and eating houses were located at various towns between there and Chattanooga for the benefit of rail travelers, those at Loudon and Mouse Creek (Niota) being cited for their good meals.¹¹⁹

The Knoxville and Kentucky had been graded to Clinton before the war, and rails had been laid ten miles out of Knoxville. During the war Joseph A. Mabry, the president of the company, used the line mainly to haul wood for the Confederates. By the end of the war less than six miles of track remained, and the main bridges were missing.¹²⁰ As early as the last months of 1863 efforts were made to complete construction of the road to Lexington as a military project. Burnside prepared to construct it,¹²¹ and Brownlow urged Lincoln to press it on Congress in his next annual message.¹²² Federal subsidy failed to materialize, but the state government was more kind. With lavish state subsidies the road was completed thirty-two miles out of Knoxville by March, 1866.¹²³ No more was completed until 1868 when seven more miles of track were laid. The cost of construction of the first thirty-two miles had been at the rate of \$43,000 per mile, but when the full thirty-nine miles had been completed the average cost had jumped to \$60,000 per mile.¹²⁴

It is to be noted that the Radicals were not alone in their support of Mabry and his railroad exploits and exploitations. The Conservative press in East Tennessee was as loud in its praise and support as the *Whig*. The *Knoxville Free Press*, on November 22, 1867, praised the Omnibus Bill which appropriated \$800,000 to the Knoxville and Kentucky. "We are glad to see that Hon. D. C. Senter is strongly pressing the bill," the editorial continued. A week later, the same paper observed:

Much praise is due alike to General Mabry, for the faithful and able manner in which he has presented the subject to the favorable notice of the

¹¹⁷*Whig*, September 6, 1864, November 1, 1865.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, April 2, 1864.

¹¹⁹*Knoxville Commercial*, March 13, 1866.

¹²⁰Biggs, *Railroad Transportation*, 59, 61, 63.

¹²¹E. M. Coulter, William G. Brownlow, *Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 249-250.

¹²²*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, pt. 3, p. 278.

¹²³*Report of the Joint Select Committee of the Tennessee General Assembly on the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad* (Nashville, 1870), 6.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, 19.

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The Knoxville and Charleston was also aided by a state grant in 1866. The road was completed to Maryville in 1868, the first train making the trip on August 3 of that year, but financial difficulties prevented further progress.¹²⁶

By the middle of 1866 the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap, and Charleston had been completed forty miles out of Morristown. Daily trains ran on this line, which connected with an Asheville stage line at Wolf Creek. Three hours and twenty minutes were required for the trip from Morristown to Wolf Creek.¹²⁷

The other great means of transportation in East Tennessee was the Tennessee River. Many river craft plied the stream between Loudon and Chattanooga at all seasons of the year. Smaller craft reached Knoxville at all seasons and ascended such tributary streams as the French Broad, the Little Tennessee, the Clinch, the Hiwassee, Sale Creek, and Emory River.¹²⁸ Much competition was carried on for the trade in produce along the river banks. The farmers along the upper river piled their freight at the wharf, and the first steamer captain to cover the freight with his tarpaulin was entitled by the law of the river to collect what he had covered on his return trip. Often there was a race for the wharves between competing steamers.¹²⁹

Many new boats were built immediately after the war and others were purchased and brought from the Ohio and the Mississippi in order to meet the transportation needs of the coal and iron mines being opened in the valley.¹³⁰ Iron was brought by water from mines in Roane, Rhea, and Meigs counties, and coal from Rockwood, Sale Creek, and Soddy.¹³¹ Other boats carried on a sort of peddling trade along the river exchanging goods for poultry, eggs, butter, and other farm produce.¹³² A typical load for a steamboat entering Chattanooga included 3,500 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of wheat, oats, butter, eggs, and potatoes, and twenty passengers.¹³³

In March, 1867, the most disastrous flood in history occurred on the Tennessee River. Most of the bridges were destroyed, and thousands of dollars worth of property was swept away. A steamboat that made a trip to Loudon during the flood was able to go up a high-

¹²⁵Knoxville Free Press, December 1, 1867.

¹²⁶Biggs, Railroad Transportation, 38.

¹²⁷Whig, July 21, 1866.

¹²⁸Livingood, "Chattanooga," loc. cit., 41.

¹²⁹T. J. Campbell, *The Upper Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1932), 58.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 57-58.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 59.

¹³²Livingood, "Chattanooga," loc. cit., 41.

¹³³Chattanooga American Union, January 30, 1868.

way bed one and a half miles to the town of Washington in Rhea County. In Chattanooga the same boat steamed up Market Street five blocks and could have gone farther had the Mayor not urged return to the river bank, in order not to endanger the tottering foundations of the partially submerged frame buildings.¹³⁴

The focussing of attention on the river that came as a result of the flood may have been an important factor in the movement that arose during the following year for river improvement. This movement seems to have originated in Chattanooga. In February, 1868, a meeting was called there to discuss ways and means of getting federal aid to remove obstructions to river traffic near Chattanooga and at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. It was decided to call on the county courts of the Tennessee Valley to appoint delegations to an East Tennessee-wide convention. The Chattanooga meeting pointed out that such improvements would provide an outlet for East Tennessee mineral and farm products and at the same time make the importation of manufactured goods from the North and tropical foods cheaper and in greater volume.¹³⁵ Cities as well as county courts elected delegates to the East Tennessee convention. The Chattanooga City Council appointed forty delegates and appropriated \$100 for their expenses.¹³⁶ The meeting which was held on March 18, 1868, in the city hall at Chattanooga, had about 125 delegates in attendance. Knox, Hamilton, Rhea, Monroe, Roane, Sullivan, and Marion counties in Tennessee, as well as the cities of Chattanooga and Knoxville, were represented, and delegates also came from Marshall County and the towns of Decatur, Tuscumbia, Bellefont, and Huntsville in Alabama. There was even one delegate representing the city of St. Louis. The Tennessee River Improvement Association was formed with Colonel T. R. Stanley of Chattanooga as president.¹³⁷ This association started the agitation for federal aid in river improvement which reached its ultimate fruition in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

While East Tennessee was still an overwhelmingly rural society in 1869, the first slow steps toward industrial development had been made. Thus were laid the first stones of the foundation for the exploitation of the region's abundant raw materials in the twentieth century.

¹³⁴Campbell, *Upper Tennessee*, 63-64.

¹³⁵Chattanooga *American Union*, February 8, 1868.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, March 15, 1868.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, March 19, 1868.