

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

FETER A. BRANNON, Editor



Published by the
STATE DEPARTMENT
OF
ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

VOL. 18

NO. 3

FALL ISSUE

1956

WETUMPKA PRINTING CO.
Printers and Publishers
Wetumpka, Ala.
1956



5

CONTENTS

Editorial	289
Cotton Manufacture in Alabama to 1865, by Richard W. Griffin.....	289
“Scraps”, by Thomas Smith Malone	309
Alabama License Returns, Limestone County, 1826, 1827	381
Original Limestone County Land Purchases	392
Recollections of Caroline Leadingham	397
Proceedings of Alabama Legislature, December 8, 1820	401
Dr. Shackelford’s Red Rovers	404
The Tennessee State Line, by Peter A. Brannon	412

COTTON MANUFACTURE IN ALABAMA TO 1865

By

RICHARD W. GRIFFIN*

The census of 1810 reported the existence of 22 cotton factories, however, small, in the Mississippi Territory; of these, some must have been in the region of Alabama.¹ However, it was not until 1822 that real interest began to develop in cotton manufacture on significant scale. In that year the Huntsville *Democrat*, discussing the rapid increase in the production of cotton in Tennessee river valley, suggested the need for the manufacture of cotton bagging. The editor recommended that this be done either in private homes or in a factory to be established by local citizens. There were several advantages in such a plan: it would render Alabama planters independent of Kentucky hemp growers and manufacturers; the owners of such a mill would find it a profitable investment; and a factory would create a demand for refuse cotton and last pickings which were too poor to be exported profitably.² A few years later a second editor in Huntsville revived the question, urging that negro cloth as well as bagging could be profitably manufactured.³

In the autumn of 1827 the editor of the *Kentucky Reporter* chided the citizens of Mobile for their desire to destroy the infant hemp and cotton industry by opposition to the protective tariff. The Jacksonian Democrats of Mobile were evidently not united in this anti-tariff policy, for the meeting resulted in "some bitter debate" before the resolutions were carried. The resolutions provided "that all duties except such as may be necessary for revenue, or for the purpose of advancing the interest of some of the U. S. at the expense of the rest, particularly in the articles of *Hemp, Cotton-bagging*, and cotton goods, was unjust . . . and oppressive to the Southern Atlantic states, . . . and . . . should be repealed." The editor of the *Reporter*, convinced that Jackson

*Dr. Griffin is Professor of History and Director of the North Alabama Tennessee Valley Historical Manuscript Collection, at Athens College.

aimed at the destruction of the American System, suggested that his Alabama adherents had better wait until he was elected before attacking domestic industry.*

The tariff objections were heightened by the passage of the "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828. Fortunately cooler heads prevailed in Alabama than in South Carolina. Governor Murphey, in his message to the Alabama Legislature, said that the only legal redress of the state was to present a strong memorial of protest to Congress. In addition, he urged Alabamans to be economic in domestic affairs, and to encourage citizens of the state to build manufactories.

Joseph Gales, North Carolinian and editor of the *National Intelligencer*, commended this conciliatory message, saying that all the South need do was apply their superior advantages for manufacture of cotton and they would be able to undersell all other parts of the Union. This would have such effect on the Middle and Western States that they would be "not only eager to repeal the tariff, but be the foremost to have inserted in the Federal Constitution, a clause restraining Congress to the imposition of duties upon imports for the purpose of revenue only."

The Tennessee valley was admirably suited, by virtue of its vast water power, for the introduction of manufactures. It is evident that there were well-formulated plans to build a cotton mill in this area before the passage of the tariff. The Hobbs brothers of Athens began building a small spinning factory in conjunction with their grist and saw mill in the autumn of 1827. This mill was built on Swann creek, half way between Athens and Mooresville in Limestone county. The water power here was not sufficient for the cotton mill and the proprietors installed a 42 horse-power steam engine, built at Wheeling, Virginia, under the direction of H. H. Hobbs. The throstle-frames and power-looms for the factory were purchased by an agent near Providence, Rhode Island. Because of the inexperience of the owners and laborers the yarn was coarse, but it was claimed that the cloth, although not as smooth as Northern fabrics, was more durable.

The brothers employed negro slaves—sixteen adults and children—who were trained in all the departments of the mill. Slaves were employed at the looms, spindles, and even as engineers for the steam engine. Mr. Hobbs reported that they learned as easily as the poor whites. The most difficult problem of the proprietors, due to the current opinion in the North that Alabama's climate was unhealthy, was to secure a trained superintendent at a reasonable salary.

The brothers Hobbs, in conjunction with the Crenshaw Brass and Iron Foundry which was located in their neighborhood, proposed to stimulate the manufacture of cotton in the state by the manufacture of cotton mill machinery. The editor of the *Democrat* urged people to visit Hobbs' Fulton Factory; and, in referring to the cost of the mill, said that above all "we sincerely hope that a liberal public will not be withholding a well timed, and (we will add) a *well-merited* patronage, permit it to have been expended in vain."⁶

The 1830's and '40's were productive of increasing interest in the manufacture of cotton in this region. By 1849 almost every county in the valley had one or more cotton factories in operation.⁷ In 1842 the Huntsville *Herald* reported that several bagging and rope factories were being built in Jackson county, and that there were four cotton factories in operation in Madison county alone.⁸

The development of the cotton textile industry was not without its setbacks, for in 1840 and 1844 two of the most extensive mills in North Alabama were destroyed. Fire was one of the constant dangers of these primitive factories. The Bell Factory of Patton, Donegan and Company, in Madison county, was burned with a loss of \$40,000 with only \$20,000 insurance.⁹ The Globe Factory of Martin and Cassity, near Florence, described as one of the most extensive in the South, was destroyed with an uninsured loss of \$15,000. "It supplied a large portion of the country with the best cotton fabrics, and afforded employment to nearly one hundred and fifty persons, who had no better dependence for their subsistence."¹⁰ Fortunately, the owners of

both these mills had the energy and capital to rebuild their mills for the benefit of community, labor, and themselves.

In 1848 James A. Patterson of Decatur offered his large factory for sale. This mill was only two years old when it was offered for sale, and the operating 924 spindles and 27 looms. The factory was in a frame building 82 by 36 feet, with an engine and drying house attached. The engine was of 25 horse-power; all the mill machinery had been manufactured by Rogers, Ketchum and Grovesnor of Paterson, New Jersey.

Patterson reported that "the mill is now in operation and doing well, and would not have been thus offered for sale, had I the means and ability to carry on such an extensive establishment." The mill, he said, would clear \$15,000 the first year; although the cost had been \$18,000, he set the sale price at only \$22,000, offering to accept good land and young negroes as payment.¹¹

The destruction of a cotton mill in DeKalb county gives some idea of the variety of activities of early proprietors. J. R. and G. W. Smedley suffered the loss of their investment—"consisting of a factory, Grist Mill and Cotton Gin, with 40 or 50,000 lbs. of cotton, cash and books, \$150 worth of medicine, Post Office books, cash received in Justice of Peace' office, &c." Thus a few hours saw the destruction of this industry and public service establishment after less than a years' operation.¹²

The cotton mills along the Tennessee river were, by 1850, in a flourishing condition. The Bell Factory was reported to be producing a variety of plain and colored goods including cottonades, gingham, checks, and osnaburgs. These products were judged to compare favorably in durability and quality with those from the North. The Globe Factory was earning large profits for its proprietors. This mill operated 1,600 spindles and 46 looms, upon which 80,000 yards of cloth were produced weekly. Not only were the existing factories producing at peak capacity, but a new mill to consume 2,000 bales of cotton annually was in process of construction.¹³ In this year the Bell, Globe, and Deca-

tur Factories were running 5,500 spindles.¹⁴

Two years before the outbreak of the Civil War the prosperity and success of the Bell and Globe Factories was noted by a national journal. The Bell Mill was operated entirely by slave labor and represented a capital investment of \$400,000 in its buildings, machinery, and operatives. In Florence, Martin, Weakly, and Company were so successful that by 1858 they had three mills operating, running 23,000 spindles and providing a livelihood to 800 persons. In 1855 the three factories of the Globe Company earned 50 per cent on the invested capital.¹⁵

These three valuable mills were burned by Federal invaders in 1862 and 1863, the valley having been open to attack early in the war. When Robert Somers visited Florence in 1871 all that remained were blackened and crumbling walls and burned twisted machinery scattered around. He described what was to him the unaccountable action of the Yankee armies. "They destroyed instantly and without remorse every cotton factory within their reach, and one can hardly harmonize the pure anti-slavery professions of the war party in the North with depredations so systematically directed against establishments employing only free labor."¹⁶ It took many years for the valley cotton industry to recover from the horrors of the War and Reconstruction.

Interestingly, the black belt region was as fertile a location for cotton manufactories as the Tennessee valley. A whole group of counties from Tuscaloosa in the west to Tallapoosa in the east became centers for cotton factories.¹⁷ This was doubtless due to the water of the Warrior, Cahaba, Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers, as well as to many smaller creeks in the region.

The pioneer cotton manufacturer in the black belt was David Scott of Tuscaloosa, who took over the management of the factory of the Tuscaloosa Manufacturing Company shortly after its establishment in 1834. The original owners from Centreville invested \$40,000 and planned not only to manufacture cotton, but to buy seed cotton and extract from it the oil.¹⁸ This company was chartered by the state legislature, to be located in Bibb county.

After David Scott assumed the management and majority of the stock, the village became known as Scottsville. A Tuscaloosa editor visited this establishment in 1838 and reported on the activities of the company. He found the factory a large three-story brick building where twenty white, men, women, and children were employed, operating with skill the 800 spindles. These hands were drawn from the poor white class living in the neighborhood and were said to be happy with their work. They manufactured 430 dozen spools of thread, whose quality was judged as excellent by a local woman, saying "that she wove 30 yards of it without breaking a thread."

In addition to the factory the company, as was common with many mills, operated a grist and saw mill. These additional enterprises drew customers and made it possible to trade yarns for other salable products. This company at that time was contemplating the introduction of looms. The owners reported that profits were flattering and "sales brisk."¹⁹

By 1845 the company had invested \$70,000 in this plant, operating 1,300 spindles and 24 looms and giving employment to 45 hands. The weekly product was 4,500 yards of negro cloth, consuming 400 bales of cotton annually. David Scott was noted for his success with this mill, which always paid a dividend of 15 per cent, while in some years it rose to as much as 33 per cent. The company was so prosperous that it increased the capital stock to \$100,000 in order to purchase more machinery.²⁰ In 1850 it began to ship some of its products to the Boston market to enter world trade.²¹

On the eve of the War the Scottsville Mill had become one of the most extensive cotton manufactories in the South. By 1858 the original mill had been enlarged by the addition of two wings, and was operating 25,000 spindles and 50 looms. Beginning in 1841 the management had begun to purchase slaves with part of its earnings. The original slave family purchased for \$2,200 had, by natural increase and rising slave prices, increased in value to \$10,000. The company owned 3,000 acres of land, and on it a flourishing village made up of workers' houses, a

hotel, company store, shoe shop, a church, and resident blacksmith, carpenter, and wheelwright. At the outbreak of the war the stock of the Scottville Mill was selling above its par value.²²

In 1842 a group of Tuscaloosa citizens received a charter as the Warrior Manufacturing Company. This company proposed to build at a convenient water power site on the Black Warrior river a large cotton factory as a means of proving the "expediency of such investment of capital in the Southwest."²³ The *National Intelligencer*, taking note of the formation of this company, claimed there was sufficient coal in Tuscaloosa county to operate all the mills in the United States. Joseph Gales predicted that Tuscaloosa would become the Lowell of the South.²⁴

The factory of Marks and Barnett on the Tallapoosa river, having exhausted the local market for its cotton yarns, was in 1845 shipping surplusses to the North for sale. The *Montgomery Independent* applauded them for contributing to the export trade of Alabama, for increasing the value of cotton by manufacture, and especially for increasing the wealth of the state. This editor looked forward to the day when the state would be furnished all its requirements of cotton fabrics by the mills of Alabama, saying in conclusion that "this is the true, safe and effective remedy against all oppression of the tariff, real or imaginary."²⁵

Wetumpka, once Alabama's capital, was also stirred by the promotional efforts of the 1840's. The editor of the *Whig* announced that a prominent cotton manufacturer from Petersburg, Virginia, was on his way to Wetumpka to survey the falls of the Ccosa as a possible site for a cotton mill. This led the editor to rhapsodize as he predicted that "there can be little doubt that within ten years, the West Bank will be lined with Factories. The water power is almost illimitable, . . ."²⁶ *

*Wetumpka was never the State Capital (Ed)

The *Tuscaloosa Monitor* (Perhaps as a promotional device) reported in 1847 that there were eighteen cotton factories in the state, whose capital investment was a million and a half dollars, paying annual dividends from 18 to 24 per cent.²⁷

By the late 1840's many planters had become desperate over the continuing downward spiral of cotton prices. One planter wrote the *Alabama Planter*, saying: "cotton raising is a rather uncertain and unprofitable calling. It is a little like gold digging, delusive: yet I do not know what else to engage in, unless I build a factory." His hope was that some one with capital would join him in using water power site he owned. In his opinion such a factory would pay for itself in a year and a half.²⁸

In neighboring Autauga county there was much more action and fewer predictions. Daniel Pratt was the pioneer manufacturer in that area, building a large cotton gin manufactory in 1834. In 1846 the cotton mill fever hit Prattville, as it was doing all over the South. Pratt built a factory of 3,000 spindles at a cost of \$40,000. The labor for the mill came from the poor white families of Autauga county, who were furnished homes in the company village at small rent. The average wages paid to the two hundred men, women, and children of Prattville Factory was eight dollars a month.

Prattville contained two schools for the children of the workers, a Methodist and Baptist church, several stores, and a physician. There was even talk of establishing a newspaper in this village.²⁹ By 1851 the mill and village had been expanded until there were "three churches, two schools, four stores, a carriage-shop, two smith-shops, and about sixty-five dwellings." The village had eight hundred inhabitants, with almost every family having a member employed in one of the Pratt enterprises. Elevation of the people, and development of their moral character, was the concern of Daniel Pratt. Schools and churches were one element of control, while the legislature provided another by enacting a law forbidding the sale of ardent spirits within two miles of the village.³⁰

A second factory in this county was established in 1849, and showed promise of becoming "one of the *heaviest* manufacturing counties in the State." This mill was located on Swift creek at the new village of Autaugaville. The owners of the mill invested \$100,000 in building a large brick building and furnishing it with

3,500 spindles and 100 looms. The factory was almost ready for operation in the autumn of 1849, with forty dwellings for the workers completed.³¹ This mill manufactured osnaburgs, sheeting, thread, and yarn. There were at first 81 employees—mostly women—and it was reported that as soon as the equipment was all in place the total work force would be increased to 110 men, women, and children. Two years later these early predictions were satisfied.

Autuagaville has grown up in the woods during two years past. It now has a population of 350 souls—four mercantile establishments—two churches, and a third is soon to be built, and two good schools.³²

The *Mobile Tribune*, soon after operations had begun, noted that the factory was in full operation, and that this and other mills in Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia “now supply the bulk of the negro osnaburgs and unbleached cotton goods required for the planting states.” The editor was cheered by such developments, which promised the South release from Northern bondage as far as these products were concerned, and at the same time held equal promise for the Southern manufacturer with regard to the finer manufactured textiles.³³ A third factory, to be located a mile and a half above Autuagaville, was also in process of organization in 1849.³⁴ By 1850 Alabama had many cotton factories in all sections of the state.³⁵

In Calhoun county Messrs. Burton and Malory built a small cotton factory producing thread of a superior quality. These entrepreneurs were also planning to install looms as soon as a demand arose for woven products.³⁶

Jones M. Gunn, of Dallas county, built the first mill in that county—a factory with 1,152 spindles. This mill was operated by steam power, the engine secured from Gindrat and Company of Montgomery. The editor of the *Selma Enterprise* urged the planters to support this establishment, advising them to “spend your money at home, do your own work, patronize your own mechanics and in a few years you’ll see the differ-

ence."³⁷ The same journal announced in 1852 that the Gunn Factory was preparing to install looms and asked the merchants to buy these products.³⁸

Gunn's Factory was destroyed in the general collapse of the Confederacy. This factory was burned during the sack of Selma by Wilson's raiders in 1865. Gunn told the tale to J. T. Trowbridge while he was investigating Southern Reconstruction in 1866.

'I owned a cotton factory in Dallas County, above Selma. I had two plantations besides, and an interest in a tan-yard. Wilson's thieves came in, and just stripped me of everything. They burned eight hundred bales of cotton for me. That was because I happened to be running my mill for the Confederate government. I was making Osnaburgs for the government for a dollar a yard, when citizens would have paid me four dollars a yard, and do you imagine I'd have done that except under compulsion? But the Yankee rascals didn't stop to consider that fact.'³⁹

South Alabama also had the beginnings of cotton manufacture before the Civil War. In 1850 the *Mobile Herald* described efforts to build two cotton factories in the vicinity. The Mobile Factory had its buildings almost completed and its machinery on shipboard in the bay; however, that of John Bloodgood, north of the city, was expected to begin operations first.⁴⁰ Bloodgood's mill commenced operations in August, 1850. He secured some of the machinery in England, and the company was using refuse and waste cotton in the manufacture of batting and wicking. However, it was promised that once the factory was completely ready for the manufacture of cotton cloth it would use only the best cotton.

This factory was a large frame building three stories in height. In the mill, ready to start, were 1,700 spindles, with 1,000 more to be delivered. In addition to the factory building the company had an engine house for its steam engine, and a machine shop for the repair of equipment. The mill was ex-

pected to consume 500 bales of cotton per year and employ seventy-five hands.⁴²

Fulton Factory, owned by John Bloodgood, was built on Dog river a few miles above Mobile, where ships with supplies and those taking cargos could come within fifty yards of the factory dock. The mill was located out of the city to protect its workers from the degrading influences of the city and the annual threat of plague. This factory had a three-story brick building, with slate roof and iron door and window frames to make it as fire-proof as possible. The front of the building had a large four-story tower with a water reservoir, with hose leading to every floor. The total cost of the building was \$27,000. It contained 5,040 spindles and 176 looms, propelled by a steam engine. The mill gave employment to two hundred hands—mostly females—who produced six thousand yards of cloth daily.⁴²

In 1857 Fulton Factory was in flourishing condition, despite many difficulties in the beginning—including a fire and a shortage of suitable labor. The original owners had sold their interest to a new group in 1852, who placed the operations in the capable hands of Edward H. Rogers. The company had invested a total of \$150,000 in the plant, and its products—osnaburgs and sheetings—had by 1857 earned a satisfied market among the merchants of Mobile and New Orleans. J. D. B. DeBow praised the proprietors for their success, which he felt would be an encouragement to others with similar interests.⁴³

As for other cotton mills in south Alabama there is little information, although there is some indication there may have been one each in Barbour, Coffee, and Dale counties.⁴⁴

In the general development of the cotton textile industry of Alabama, there were three outstanding Alabama promoters: Henry Watkins Collier, Chief Justice and Governor of Alabama; Daniel Pratt, probably the most noted manufacturer in the state; and James Martin, owner of the largest cotton manufacturing mills of the ante-bellum period.

Judge Collier was the earliest to make a strong plea for the extension of the textile industry. In 1846 he spoke before a manufacturers' convention held at Tuscaloosa. His remarks were based on observations made at a cotton mill in Cincinnati, Ohio, and information obtained from the owner of the Bell Factory near Huntsville.

Collier pointed out first the overwhelming advantages that Alabama possessed for this industry—the cheap and abundant supply of cotton, the ability to purchase cotton as it was needed rather than tying up capital in stored supplies, the warm climate which would save on the cost of fuel and of houses for workers, and the cheapness of labor. He tried also to change the contemporary view that factory employment would undermine the health of the employees. “There is nothing in tending a loom, to harden a lady’s hand; and in a well-ventilated and properly heated house. . . there is nothing to cause the *rouge* upon the cheek to fade, although the skin may become bleached by remaining so much in the shade.”

Manufacturing, he predicted, would stimulate agriculture and mechanical arts to improvements, and farms and farm people would become neater in appearance. Wealth would flow into the state, morals would be improved, and knowledge spread.

Planters were called upon to join together and build factories which would consume their cotton, and to employ twenty per cent of their slaves in these mills. This would automatically reduce the production of cotton and create a greater demand for the remainder, causing a general rise in price. Such a plan, Collier felt, could not fail to make Alabama and such interested parties wealthier. He urged that the poor white be employed in areas where there were few slaves, saying:

‘*Besides*, in a country where the facilities for living are as great as they are in the South, there are, and must continue to be thousands who, without any visible employment, live as an *incubus* upon the bosom of society. Many of these could be reclaimed and induced to work, and their children

might be reared up to habits of industry by giving them employment, if manufactories upon a large scale were established. The Southern people, then, should be prompted not only by a solicitude for profit, but by a sentiment of benevolence, to engage at once in the manufacture of cotton.'

In hiring either black or white the preference must be with the employer. Collier said, however, he did not favor the exclusive employment of slaves. "I am solicitous for the moral and intellectual elevation of man wherever found, . . . of seeing everyone industriously employed as one of the most effective means of promoting virtue and all its happy results."

In conclusion he stated: "I am perhaps an enthusiast. But if this be so, I would merely add, that every great moral reform is greatly indebted to enthusiasm for its consummation."⁴⁵ Four years later, when sectional issues were at white heat, Collier (then governor) urged in his message to the legislature an embargo on Northern goods and the widespread manufacture of cotton in Alabama.⁴⁶

In 1851 Daniel Pratt, who had been manufacturing cotton successfully for several years, urged Southerners to devote their money and energy to encouraging home industry, rather than wasting it on fruitless commercial conventions. He called on planters to buy at home and stop sending their money to the North. If this were done, he predicted, there would be a greater improvement in the South than any dreamed possible. In summation he said:

Instead of these angry debates at our public meetings, let us unite and say we will give Southern manufactures the preference. . . If all would unite in this plan and carry it out, it would not be long before they could be supplied at home with most of the articles we consume, and such as are not made here, our own merchants could import.

In 1846 Daniel Pratt, born and reared in New Hampshire, was given recognition for his contributions toward the diversifi-

cation of his adopted state's economy. •President Manly of the University of Alabama said Alabama was indebted to Pratt for his making men "*wiser, better, and happier.*" Pratt was saluted for supporting schools for the working man as well as the rich, and also for supporting religious institutions among his hands. For these reasons the University of Alabama conferred upon him the honorary degree of *Master of the Mechanic and Useful Arts.*²²⁴⁷

In 1858 James Martin, senior partner of the Globe Mill, wrote a pro-industrial article for *DeBow's Review*. He call on all patriotic Southerners to contribute their abilities to the development and growth of diversified industry. He applauded those efforts, in the manufacture of coarse and negro cloth, which had driven out all Northern competition, and urged Southerners to redouble their efforts and manufacture the finer grades of cotton textiles. Planters were asked to take their places alongside the pioneer manufacturers and lend their capital and leadership to an expanded effort.

Martin warned that there were factories which had failed, and the result was the fear of capitalists to venture money in similar enterprises. The requisites for success, he said, were a sufficient capital, ordinary skill, and attention to good business habits. These should be combined with a healthy location, convenient transportation, and a plentiful supply of labor, provisions and fuel. Above all, Martin warned, some one of the company needed to have some knowledge of the business, so that he could judge the capabilities of a superintendent to operate at a profit.

One of the misfortunes of Alabama and the South was the lack of skilled supervisory personnel, suitable for the training of the operatives. This shortage, Martin believed, was due to the belief current among intelligent young men that "training of the mind and hand to any kind of handicraft, causes them to lose caste in society." Martin felt that this failure to accord labor its due recognition of dignity had to be overcome, for the ignorant could not teach the ignorant.

He described the efforts made by the Globe Company to elevate the poor whites and in this way make them useful to society.

Our three factories, at this time, are capable of working up or consuming four thousand bales of cotton per annum, and will require a population of about eight hundred persons—that is, the operatives and their families. Now, those four thousand bales of cotton, when made into such goods as we are making, is considered to be doubled in value—that is, will sell for the value of eight thousand bales raw cotton. Therefore, these people have virtually added to the wealth of the country an equivalent to four thousand bales of cotton, who would not, perhaps, if left in the woods from whence we obtained them, produced ten bales, and, perhaps not much of anything else. This enables them to live a much more comfortable life, and by constant employment, enables them to make much more useful and better citizens. We had among them twenty-five marriages during the last twelve months. . . . We have a day-school, a Sunday-school, well attended, and a church for their benefit, and in this way hope to benefit them, while we benefit ourselves.

Martin called on the planter class to stop investing money in land and costly negroes, and invest in cotton manufacture instead. The money so saved could furnish dozens of ships for direct trade with Europe or hundreds of miles of railroads. In conclusions Martin said:

It is vain to talk unless we act. There is a large amount of labor growing up that must be employed, or society at large must suffer. Who is to do this? Of course those who are able—the benefits will be mutual.⁴⁸

Just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Alabama's twenty-four cotton factories were running more than 100,000 spindles, over 1,000 looms, with an investment of from two to three million dollars, and giving employment to 3,000 negro slaves and poor whites.⁴⁹ This represented an excellent example

of the growing diversification of ante-bellum Alabama's economy.

The bright prospects of most of the cotton manufacturers were blighted by the war. Mills located in the Tennessee valley were all wantonly destroyed in 1862 and 1863; at the end of the war, Wilson's raid—with its useless destruction—destroyed, at least temporarily, most of the cotton factories in the middle belt of counties. Yet the human resources trained in the ante-bellum period provided the nucleus for eventual recovery after the end of Reconstruction.

NOTES

1. *Niles' Register*, VI (July 9, 1814), p. 323.
2. *Ibid.*, XXIII (December 2, 1822), pp. 242-243, citing the Huntsville (Ala.) *Democrat*.
3. *Ibid.*, XXXII (July 28, 1827), p. 355, citing the Huntsville (Ala.) *Southern Advocate*.
4. *Lexington Kentucky Reporter*, November 3, 1827, citing the Mobile (Ala.) *Commercial Register*, August 29, 1827.
5. *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), December 18, 1828.
6. *The Democrat* (Huntsville, Ala.), November 27, 1829, citing the *Athenian* (Athens, Alabama).
7. There were cotton factories in Lauderdale, Lawrence, Limestone, Morgan, Madison, Jackson, and DeKalb counties. *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, La.) July 3, 1845.
8. *Niles' Register*, LXIII (October 24, 1842), p. 144.
9. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), July 17, 1841. *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, La.), July 15, 1841.
10. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1844.
11. Huntsville (Ala.) *Democrat*, January 13, 1848, an advertisement.
12. The Charlotte (N.C.) *Journal*, May 18, 1848, citing the Chattanooga (Tenn.) *Gazette*.
13. *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat* (Little Rock), May 3, 1850. *DeBow's Review*, IX (July, 1850), p. 119.
14. *DeBow's Review*, IX (October, 1850), p. 433.
15. *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXXVIII (April, 1858), p. 509.
16. Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War 1870-1871* (New York, 1871), pp. 136-137.

17. Tuscaloosa, Bibb, Perry, Autauga, Coosa, Elmore, Dallas, Macon, Calhoun, and Tallapoosa.
18. *Niles' Register*, XLVII (November 8, 1834), p. 147.
19. *Ibid.*, LIV (June 28, 1838), p. 258.
20. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), May 7, 1845.
21. *Brownlow's Whig* (Knoxville, Tenn.), August 17, 1850.
22. Des Arc (Ark.) *Citizen*, January 8, 1859. *DeBow's Review*, XXV (June, 1858), p. 717.
23. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), March 23, 1843, citing the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *Monitor*. The incorporators of the Warrior Manufacturing Company were James B. Wallace, John R. Drish, William Cochran, William G. Parish, Daniel H. Bingham, and William Banks.
24. *Ibid.*, April v, 1846, citing the Charleston (S.C.) *News*.
25. *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 22, 1845, citing the Montgomery (Ala.) *Independent*.
26. *Arkansas State Gazette* (Little Rock), October 20, 1845, citing the Wetumpka (Ala.) *Whig*.
27. *Niles' Register*, LXX (June 26, 1847), p. 260, citing the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *Monitor*.
28. *Scientific American*, III (May 6, 1848), p. 261, citing the *Alabama Planter*.
29. *DeBow's Review*, IV (September, 1847), pp. 136-137.
30. *Ibid.*, X (February, 1851), pp. 225-226.
31. The Charlotte (N.C.) *Journal*, September 14, 1849.
32. *DeBow's Review*, X (April, 1851), p. 461.
33. Hillsbrough, (N.C.) *Recorder*, May 14, 1851, citing the Mobile (Ala.) *Tribune*. The owners of Autaugaville Mill were Rev. David B. Smedley, Major Lewis Tyns, and Capt. John N. Stoudenmire. The officers of the company were: Col. Samuel Stoudenmire, President; Malcolm Smith, Louis Hauser, Col. Edward Stoudenmire, Rev. David Smedley, Directors; and Willim Stringfellow, Agent.
34. The Charlotte (N.C.) *Journal*, September 14, 1849.
35. J.D.B. DeBow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1852-1853), I, p. 233.
Cotton Factories in Alabama in 1850.
Bell Factory, in Madison County 2,500 spindles
Lorence Factory, in Lauderdale County 2,000 spindles
Decatur Factory, in Lawrence county 1,000 spindles

Tuscaloosa Factory, in Bibb County	1,800 spindles
Clement's Factory, in Bibb County	500 spindles
Fish-pond Factory, in Tallapoosa Co.	600 spindles
Tallassee Factory, in Tallapoosa Co.	1,000 spindles
Bradford's Factory, in Coosa County	600 spindles
Warrior Factory, in Tuscaloosa County	1,000 spindles
Prattville Factory, in Autauga County	2,682 spindles
Autaugaville Factory, in Autauga Co.	3,080 spindles
Mobile Factory, in Mobile County	3,000 spindles

	19,762 spindles

This is an incomplete list and is only useful as an indication of the extent of cotton manufactures in Alabama in 1850.

36. *The Constitutionalist* (Augusta, Ga.), April 21, 1850.
37. *Constitutionalist and Republic* (Augusta, Ga.), November 4, 1851.
38. *DeBow's Review*, XII (January, 1852), p. 93.
39. J. T. Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States; and the Work of Restoration*, 1865-1868 (Hartford, 1868), p. 425
40. *The Constitutionalist* (Augusta, Ga.), May 9, 1850, citing the *Mobile* (Ala.) *Herald*.
41. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1851, citing the *Mobile* (Ala.) *Tribune*.
42. *Scientific American*, V (June 26, 1850), p. 322, citing the *Mobile* (Ala.) *Advertiser*. *DeBow's Review*, IX (October, 1850), p. 431.
43. *DeBow's Review*, XXII (January, 1857), p. 111, citing the *Mobile Herald* and *Tribune*.
44. Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905): see industrial map on p. 150.
45. *Hillsborough* (N.C.) *Recorder*, February 25, 1846, citing the *Tuscaloosa* (Ala.) *Monitor*.
46. *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat* (Little Rock, December 13, 1850).
47. *DeBow's Review*, X (February, 1851), pp. 225-228. Fort Smith (Ark.) *Herald*, December 6, 1850, citing the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Journal*.
48. James Martin, "The Field for Southern Manufactures," *DeBow's Review*, XXIV (May, 1858), pp. 382-386.
49. These figures are largest estimates made from a few actual statistics found in the materials consulted. In case where actual figures are known they are included.

Fulton Factory (Limestone) 1827

?

Bell Factory (Huntsville) 1831	2,500 (1850)
Tuscaloosa Factory (Scottsville) 1834	25,000 (1858)
Globe Factory (Florence) 1840	23,000 (1858)
Warrior Factory (Tuscaloosa) 1843	?
Prattville Factory (Prattville) 1846	3,000 (1847)
Decatur Factory (Decatur) 1846	914 (1848)
Marks and Barnett (Tallapoosa) 1845	?
Smedley Factory (DeKalb) 1849	?
Autauga Factory (Autauga) 1849	3,500 (1849)
Fulton Factory (Mobile) 1850	5,040 (1850)
Gunn Factory (Dallas) 1850	1,152 (1852)
Mobile Factory (Mobile) 1850	2,700 (1850)
Burton and Mallory (?) 1846	?
Clement's Factory (Bibb)	500 (1850)
Fish-pond Factory (Tallapoosa)	600 (1850)
Tallasse Factory (Tallapoosa)	1,000 (1850)
Bradford's Factory (Coosa)	600 (1850)
Barbour County Factory	?
Coffee County Factory	?
Dale County Factory	?
Jackson County Factories (Jackson)	?