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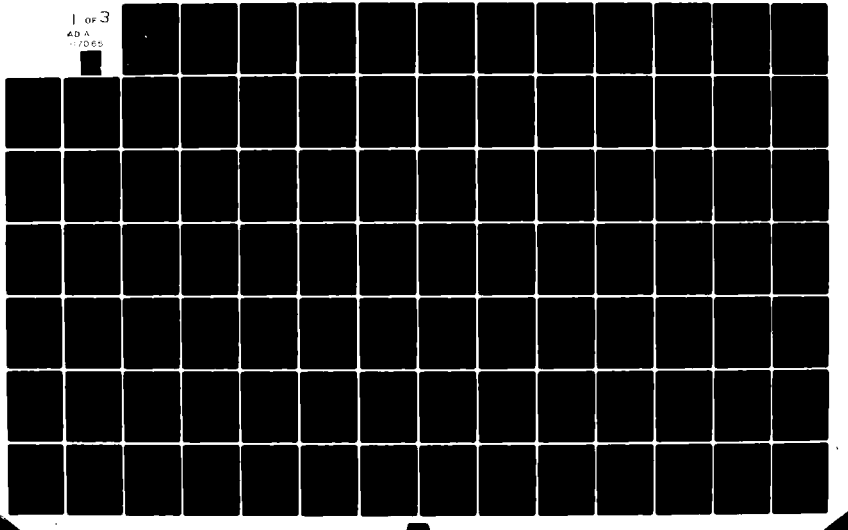

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HISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY

By
James F. Doster
and
David C. Weaver

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-The cultural heritage of the area traversed by the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway between Gainesville, Alabama, and Paden, Mississippi, in historic times has been examined in historical perspective. The area prospered from cotton cultivation with a slave labor until 1860, which was its peak year of prosperity. A considerable part of the population was dependent upon the production of livestock on the open range for a living. During the Civil War the livestock was consumed, and the labor system was destroyed. After the war cotton culture was resumed with greatly reduced output, and share-

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crop tenantry became the basis of support of most of the population , black and white. The region became dependent on outside sources for food supply and did not again become prosperous, although the merchant economy grew with emphais on local distributing and marketing centers in Columbus and Aberdeen. Since 1940 there has been an extensive out-migration of people, and a somewhat improved economic basis has developed, with a substantial amount of labor-intensive manufacturing industry. The Tombigbee River was important for steamboat and flatboat transportation in the early days of settlement, but since the completion of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in 1858 its influence has been minor. There has never been very extensive settlement in the active floodplain of the river. The narrative is supported by numerous maps and elaborate statistical analyses.

HISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY

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This is a report on work done under Contract C-5714 (78) of Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, United States Department of the Interior, funded by the United States Army Corps of Engineers. The area covered is the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway in Alabama and Mississippi.

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1981

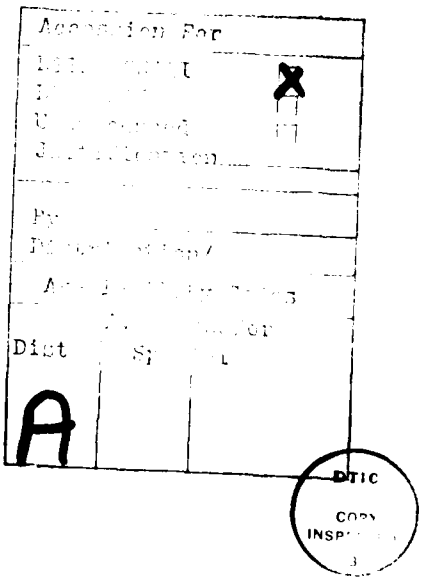
PREFACE

We report herewith the results of a documentary study made for Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta and funded by the Mobile and Nashville Districts of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. The purposes and concepts of the study and the general research design are described in the first chapter. There is a companion volume entitled Historical Geography of the Upper Tombigbee Valley. So that each may stand alone and be separately usable, it has been necessary to allow overlapping of text, illustrations, and reference matter. The duplicated portions, however, will be readily identified by the reader, who should be able to adjust his use accordingly. It was the original intention of the investigators to integrate both approaches in a single report, but separate treatment has proved more practical.

The study of settlement patterns and cultural characteristics of the Upper Tombigbee Valley and their changes through time shows them to have been a part of broad regional developments, associated only to a rather limited extent with the Tombigbee River itself. On the basis of our studies, cultural preadaption appears to have been more of a controlling force in the development of the area than the peculiarities of local environment, in apparent contravention of the famed Turner thesis on the frontier.

While the two principal investigators are primarily responsible for the form and content of the report, a large share of such credit as may attach to it is due to the able assistance and hard work of the consultants and associates whose names appear on the title page. They have been most loyally supportive beyond the call of duty.

James F. Doster
David C. Weaver



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, currently under construction, will substantially affect an area approximately 235 miles long in Alabama and Mississippi. Within that area are cultural resources--contemporary, historic, and prehistoric--which may be adversely impacted. The Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District (TMRD) has been established to satisfy the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 with respect to historic site preservation and conservation. THE TMRD is a five-mile-wide corridor centered on 135 miles of the waterway between Gainesville, Alabama, and Paden, Mississippi. The function of the TMRD is to provide a manageable mechanism for mitigating the damaging effects of construction activity on significant cultural resources.

In October, 1977, procedures for the mitigation were considered at a conference in Atlanta, attended by representatives of the Corps of Engineers, the National Park Service, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the State Historic Preservation officers of Alabama and Mississippi, and several professional archeologists. The details of this conference have been published by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway: Alabama and Mississippi: Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District Proposed Mitigation Plan (5 vols., Mobile, n.d.).

According to that document, historic resources, including both archeological and architectural sites, had been neglected in favor of prehistoric archeological sites during initial surveys conducted in the project area. In the TMRD care was to be taken to maintain a better balance. The deficiencies in initial surveys were to be corrected through reanalysis and through additional surveys required to correct the sampling bias.

The report herewith presented is a response to the perceived need to generate more information relating to the location and structure of historic sites in the Tennessee-Tombigbee area. It was substantially conditioned by a research design formulated by Interagency Archeological Services-Atlanta as the projected means for providing information about the development and importance of river towns, the organization of rural plantations and farms, and the development of commerce and industry during the period from 1830 to 1900. Because not all the details of this research design are published elsewhere, because it forms the basis for the mitigation plan, and because it relates so closely to the character of this study, the General Research Design is presented in full below.

The Research Design

The known and yet to be defined historic sites within the multi-resource district have the potential for providing much information on the changing adaptations of the residents through time. The framework for dealing with the historic occupation of the region must have its basis in the nature of the resources which will be impacted by construction.

Since these resources primarily consist of archeological sites and standing structures, the research design should provide an integrated and realistic approach to these primary data. Additionally, the work conducted should form the basis for inferring the operation of less-physically-recoverable aspects of the Tombigbee Valley occupation.

Consequently, the general research design will focus on defining the operation of the settlement and economic systems within the region and explaining changes which occurred in the systems through time. The systemic approach to the historic-period cultural resources has rarely been utilized in a large area like the multi-resource district. Formulating and testing settlement and economic models will require the integration of historical, structural, and archeological data. These models should produce a framework for evaluating the significance of the archeological sites and a foundation for systematically selecting sites for extensive excavation. An intensive, well-integrated study of these systems should also provide data for inferences on the operation of the social and political systems within the region.

The settlement system has been selected as one problem for study, since little is known about the adaptation of the nineteenth-century settlers to the area. The construction of settlement models for this region should have a marked applicability to research at least in adjacent areas. A detailed study of the economic system will provide the method for integrating the diverse adaptations to the river and upland resources and a framework for defining patterns of changing production and distribution within the region.

Settlement Systems

The settlement-pattern studies within the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District will include the articulation of such functionally-diverse sites as towns, plantations-farms-tenancies, light industries, and transportation-related construction. The consideration of the settlement system will minimally address two levels of association: the articulation of these sites in a regional context and the internal organization of each site. The emphasis should be placed on defining relationships and variability to formulate testable models of human behavior. If the settlement system changes through time, these changes must be explained.

The Settlement System in Regional Context

A consideration of the settlement system at the regional level may be structured to test a variety of Euro-American settlement models proposed by

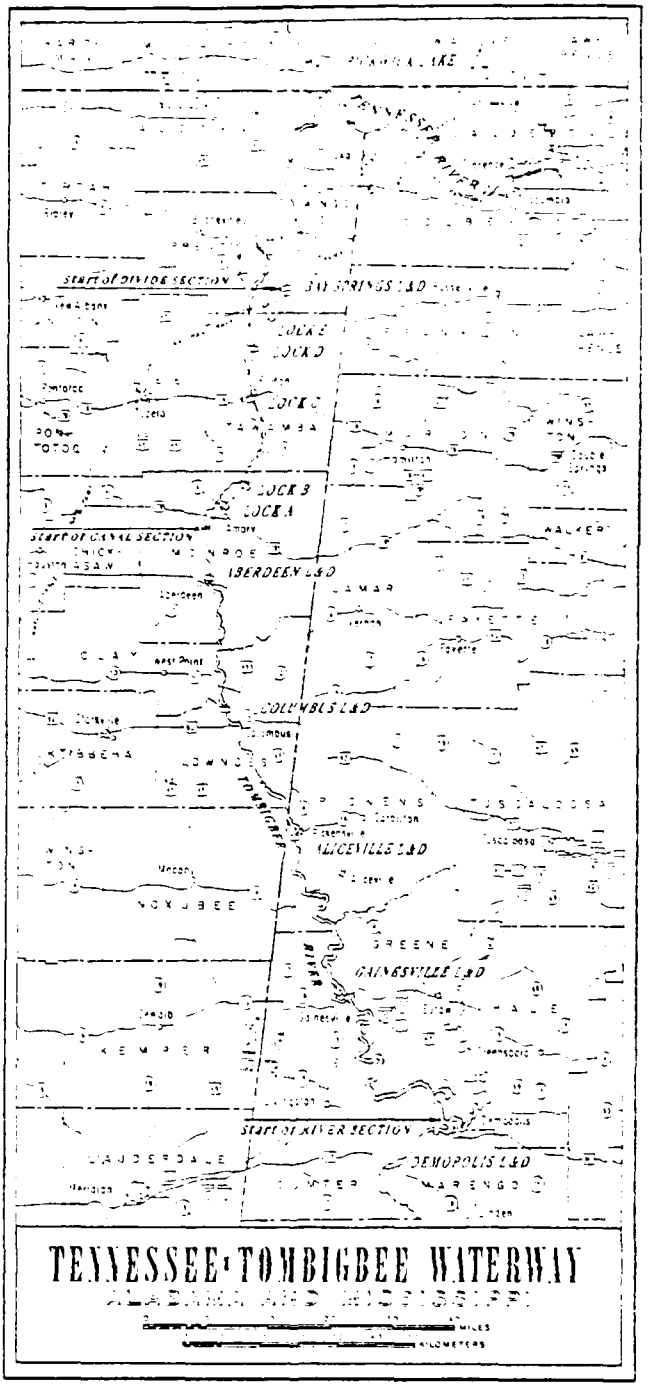

FIG. 1. THE ROUTE OF THE TENNESSEE-TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY.

cultural geographers. Although the specific problems which should be addressed during the research are not as extensively enumerated as these on an intra-site level, this aspect of the research is equally important in the settlement study. Problems which should be considered include:

1. What is the nature of white and black settlement in the region before the Chickasaw Cession? How is this pattern systematically altered following the opening of the frontier? Is the frontier model proposed by Lewis (1976) applicable in the Tombigbee?

2. How is the Tombigbee River divided into ports and landings? The ports and landings, although functionally similar, may have developed differently in response to physiography, population concentration, and other factors. Regularities in the distribution of ports and landings may show patterned changes through time. The relationships of the port or landing and the nature of the hinterland supplying its goods should be integrated.

3. What is the pattern of land use by plantations, farms, and tenancies? Although the plantations and farms may be expected to interface throughout the region, specific topographic and physiographic features may be adapted more frequently into one agricultural unit than another. Major plantation and farm structures may be expected to have a systematic relationship to each other and to the known road systems. These regularities must be defined.

4. Light industrial sites may be specifically tied to particular physiographic or topographic features as required by their function and to plantations, farms or towns. The patterned distribution of these sites should be investigated.

5. The towns as agglomerated settlements should have established hinterlands and be distributed regularly throughout the area as focal points for distributing goods and services. What are the attributes of town locations? How does the hinterland served by a town change significantly through time? How does the settlement pattern change with the birth and extinction of towns?

These problems comprise only a few of the many questions which could be explored concerning the changing settlement pattern within the Upper Tombigbee. Emphasis on certain aspects of these questions may be developed, based on particular models formulated or selected for testing within the region.

The Settlement System in Intra-Site Context

The internal relationships among the elements comprising these diverse sites must also be defined. The following specific questions should form the basis for their consideration:

a. Towns

The towns located within the impact area fall into three functional classifications: the river port towns, the county seat towns, and the manufacturing towns (Adkins 1972). These represent only three of the six classes defined by Adkins (1972) in his study of extinct towns in Mississippi. Research within these towns should attempt to define the regularities in the relationships between production, distribution, and residential sites and to deal with the essential question of whether river towns are organized differently from the manufacturing and county seat community centers. Since any differences that may be defined may relate to the differences between the functional orientation of the entire community or the orientation of only a small functional segment, these differences must be systematically investigated.

Specific research questions which must be considered generally for all towns include the following:

1. How is space utilized within each town? River towns were often organized so the business district was located between the river and the residential district and was directly tied into the transshipment point. Do all river towns share this same patterned arrangement? Is this segregation between the business and residential districts maintained in the manufacturing and county seat towns as well?

2. A preliminary examination of land records from two of the river towns indicates that residences may also have been located in the business district. Are these residences situated in specific locations within the business district? Do residences continue to be located in the business district through time? Are there any differences in status between individuals occupying residences in the business district and those living elsewhere in the town as reflected in the archeological record of the house, artifacts and food remains? Do residents in the business district practice trades which may be performed in the home, like a tailor, physician, or laundress? Are there any changes in the status of those individuals who occupy the residences in the business district through time? This question would provide information on whether population replacement in the area of the waterfront occurred during the lifetime of the town as it did in larger centers at least on the East Coast. Are there any changes in the residential part of town which parallel those taking place along the waterfront?

3. What is the nature and extent of black settlement within the towns of this region? Are there observable differences in this occupation between river and non-river oriented towns? Are observable artifactual and structural elements of social stratification present in these settlements?

4. If business districts are present in the manufacturing and county seat towns, are occasional residences also located there? Do the same questions asked for river towns have any applicability to the structure of these towns?

5. What commercial enterprises and light industries comprised the business district? Are particular trades segregated into specific parts of the business district? Are the spatial relationships of these enterprises maintained through time? If this segregation exists, what explanations could be offered for it?

6. What is the spatial relationship between the residence and support structures within the town? What kinds of support structures can be expected for specific industrial and commercial enterprises? How do the relationships between the residence and support structures or between the industry and support structures change through time?

7. Within most of the towns, the residences and their associated outbuildings and the industries and their support structures are restricted to lots of uniform size. How is the space within the lot utilized? Do the sizes of the lots change through time with associated changes in the main building and associated structures?

8. Does the Carolina artifact pattern which defines the uniformity predicted to occur in eighteenth century British Colonial sites (South 1977) appear in mid-nineteenth century residential sites in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Valley? If this pattern is not represented, can other patterns defining cultural regularities be formulated? Do these patterns change through time?

Three river towns share a specific lineal historical development and certain additional problems should be addressed during research on these locales:

1. Colbert (ca. 1830-1847), Barton (ca. 1848-1870) and Vinton (ca. 1849-1900) were river towns along the Tombigbee which developed in response to shipping locally-produced cotton and other products downriver to Mobile and distributing goods imported from other areas. These towns were sequentially occupied by essentially the same group of residents, a situation that provides a virtually unique data base for research. Studied individually, these towns reflect the operation of a river-oriented settlement over a very brief period of time; taken collectively, they provide a mechanism for systematically evaluating changes through time. Is the settlement pattern initiated at Colbert maintained in the successive settlements of Barton and Vinton?

2. Colbert and Barton developed following a town plat in which streets, blocks, and lots were established prior to concentrated settlement. Vinton apparently had no town plan. Are there any differences in the town configuration that could be attributed to this absence of a plan?

b. Plantations-Farms-Tenancies

The plantations, farms and tenancies are combined here because of their functional relationship in the primary production of agricultural products. Although they share this same functional basis, the plantations, farms, and

tenancies are not necessarily expected to be equivalent in diversity, self-sufficiency or size. Research questions to be addressed should include the following:

1. How did the plantation, farm or tenancy allocate space to the residence and supporting structures? Glassie (1976) in his study of folk housing in middle Virginia identified the two centers of activity as the house and the barn with associated supporting structures spatially separated from one another. Was the same pattern of organization used along the Tombigbee? What support structures formed an integral part of the plantation as opposed to the rural farm or the tenancy? What kinds of changes were effected following the Civil War?

2. What is the nature and extent of black settlement on the plantations, farms, and tenancies of the region?

3. What light industries were performed on the plantation, farm, or tenancy? Are minimal light industry capabilities required to maintain the function of the various producing institutions?

4. Are there differences in size and type in the support structures associated with plantations, farms, and tenancies? The number, type, and size of specific outbuildings may be related to the amount of land, the agricultural productivity, the wealth of the owner, and the decade of occupation. The variability of contemporary plantations should be defined and explanations proposed for changes through time.

5. Can specific artifact patterns defining cultural regularities on the plantation, farm, and tenancy be formulated? Do these patterns change through time?

c. Isolated Light Industries

The distribution, internal arrangement, and essential components of light industries, and landings not associated with towns or plantations, farms or tenancies within the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District must be identified. If any isolated light industries exist, explanations should be proposed for their location and individual development. Why did small towns not develop around light industry, or landing?

d. Transportation Systems

The primary factor integrating the functionally diverse settlements established in the Tennessee-Tombigbee area was the presence of roads and connecting bridges and ferries. Since this linkage was so vital to the existence of the settlements, the historic road system operating throughout the area and its changes through time must be defined as an integral part of the settlement system.

Economic Systems

The definition of the economic system operational within the impact area will involve stipulating the patterns of producing and distributing goods and services along the waterway and in the interior. Although a consideration of the economic system can only be arbitrarily separated from the settlement system, a study of the products, their origin and their distribution can provide important information in determining centers of supply and identifying their hinterlands. The products, processes of distribution, and supply centers undoubtedly change through time, and explanations for these changes must be proposed and tested. Specific problems which should be addressed include the following:

The Production Process

1. What products are locally manufactured in the river towns, the plantations, the farms, and the tenancies? Do the technology and products manufactured in the diverse locations differ?

2. How do the production techniques and equipment of each known local industry change through time? A systematic study could provide information about the time required for the adoption of innovations developed elsewhere. Additionally, the development of locally designed innovations should be detailed. Is there any evidence for modification and reuse of industrial equipment such as occurred in certain industries in New England?

3. How do the locally produced items change through time? The adoption of new styles by local craftsmen will provide good methods of comparative dating and a means of identifying local use.

4. What kinds of goods, as indicated by the artifacts, were not locally produced? Do the types and amounts of imported goods differ in the towns and on the plantations, farms, and tenancies? How do the proportions or types of these imported goods change through time?

The Distribution Process

The identification of the trade network operational within the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District should be definable by tracing the distribution of cargoes loaded and unloaded at the river towns, historically and archaeologically. The process of distributing these goods from the port of entry to the merchant and individual consumer should be at least partially determinable from the artifactual remains in the settlements. The following specific questions should be addressed:

1. How are locally produced items distributed to consumers in the region?

2. How are the imported goods distributed to the consumers? Are there any differences between the distribution systems?

3. What kinds of products imported through the river trade are transported from particular areas of the country outside the region?

4. Are there any direct relationships in the distribution process between specific inland communities and specific river towns or landings?

The problems identified in this general research design should be expanded and particularized in the proposals submitted for consideration. Specific research questions should be addressed as defined in the project specific scope-of-work.

The Literature Search

The answers to many of the questions posed by the Research Design can only be produced by detailed local field survey and archeological exploration. Because neither money nor time is available in a supply adequate to support extensive and comprehensive field surveys, archeological exploration and historic preservation must rely on the judicious selection of potentially significant or high-yielding sites for investigation. The necessary prerequisites for such selection are either a file of historic base data relating the actual and relative character of a site, or statistical inference procedures which may predict the probable incidence and character of a settlement site according to its environmental relationships.

In the absence of an adequate base reference file on either the historical evolution or the geographical character of the TMRD, a "Literature Search" focusing on these elements was judged to be a necessary preliminary stage in the mitigation scheme. The general purposes of the Literature Search were: (1) to define the operation, settlement, and economic systems within the Tennessee-Tombigbee region and to explain changes in the system through time, (2) to formulate and test sett'ement and economic models in order to provide a framework for evaluating the significance of archeological sites for extensive excavation, and (3) to provide reference data on the relationship between the social and political systems in the area and the region's material culture.

Responsibility for the Literature Search was placed through contract with the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture at The University of Alabama. The approved plan of approach was to employ a team of historians, archeologists, and geographers working jointly in a fully integrated interdisciplinary effort. The determination of specific areas of investigation was conditioned by the general research design. The designated focal points of research were:

1. Early patterns of settlement and trade in the Indian days, opening of post routes and roads through the region, locations of Indian settlements and those of white Indian countrymen, opening up of the

country to white settlement, land surveys and sales, and social and economic patterns of life.

2. Location of steamboat landings and the sites of sunken steamboats.

3. Analysis of the economic system operational within the area, with emphasis on the changing characteristics of agriculture, trade, and industry over time.

4. Definition of settlement patterns in a regional context as they change through time. Particular reference will be made to settlements as facets of the trade and transport network, to patterns of cultural association, land use, and land tenure, to the location, size, spacing, and functions of towns, and to the relationship of settlement sites to the physical environment.

5. Definition of settlement patterns in an intra-site context with particular attention to space utilizations, and internal functional characteristics of both towns and farm operations, and to the dynamic spatial relationships of buildings and their connection to the physical environment.

6. Formulation of predictive models with respect to the location and functional character of cultural sites.

7. Identification of specific settlement sites or other material remains where feasible.

Research Procedure

The research methods employed in pursuit of the targeted information were diverse. They included survey and analysis of:

1. Published books, articles, reports, and other secondary printed materials

2. Original documents such as county records, original land surveys, letters, and account books

3. A wide variety of maps, contemporary and historic

4. Aerial photographs, contemporary and historic

5. Photographic collections

6. Census materials, both published and manuscript

7. Personal interviews

8. Field surveys

The information derived from these various avenues of inquiry was collected at the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture. It was rationalized, systematized, and synthesized both by individual researchers and through frequent round table discussions involving representatives of the various academic disciplines and program managers from federal agencies. The data-gathering part of the Literature Search was conducted primarily between July, 1978, and July, 1979.

While the interdisciplinary approach generally provided an excellent vehicle for generating information and for assessing its relative significance, two difficulties became evident as the work progressed. The first was a communications problem. The historians, geographers, and archeologists had some difficulty, particularly early in the research effort, in relating to each other's disciplinary perspectives. This language barrier was reduced only with effort and over a period of time. It may have initially resulted in some unintended duplication, or oversight, or overconcentration, or misdirection of inquiry. Such disadvantages must be weighed against the undisputed data-output benefits from the broad-spectrum research approach fostered by multi-disciplinary inputs.

A second problem of the interdisciplinary approach related to the reporting of the research. The original intention of the Literature Search, reflecting the stipulations of the Research Design, had been to produce a single integrated treatise, incorporating both the temporal and spatial dimensions of regional evolution. At the conclusion of research, however, several factors militated against this method. They were: (1) the massive amount of data accumulated, (2) the diversity of the topics to be treated, (3) the need to incorporate detailed technical analysis and yet at the same time enhance popular appreciation, and (4) the professional preferences of individual researchers. Together, such factors suggested the impracticality of producing a narrative combining the historical, geographical, and archeological viewpoints.

As a result, the report of the Literature Search has been separated into two discrete parts. One volume discusses the cultural development of the TMRD as viewed through the sequence of events. The main objectives of this work are: (1) to facilitate popular comprehension of the regional history of the Upper Tombigbee, (2) to identify and elaborate the main themes of change, social, economic and political, which resulted in cultural modifications over time, and (3) to provide a temporal reference base for assessing the relative significance of historic sites.

The other volume assesses the pattern of material culture produced by the settlement process through the structural arrangements exhibited in the landscape. The main objectives in this volume are: (1) to provide detailed analysis of the specific physical form of cultural features, (2) to discuss settlement and economic models with a view to enhancing predictive capabilities concerning site characteristics, and (3) to provide a spatial framework for evaluating the significance of archeological sites.

The investigators believe that through this procedure of separately reporting results, the informational requirement expressed in the Research Design has been optimally addressed and that the potential utility of the data have been maximized. The authors hope that both lay and professional audiences will reap benefits from this approach.

CHAPTER II

THE TENNESSEE-TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY

The navigable waters of the Tennessee River reach within a few miles of the headwaters of the Tombigbee in northeast Mississippi. This spatial relationship put ideas into the heads of visionary promoters of the eighteenth century, while Indians held possession of the land and were its recognized owners. The rivers of the Gulf Coast provided natural routes for the penetration of the interior from the south, but that coast as well as the trans-Mississippi West remained in the hands of France and Spain. The Tennessee, Cumberland, and Ohio rivers provided natural transportation routes for the Old West, but they lacked favorable water communications with the populous northeastern coast of the United States and with the vast areas of the southern seaboard states of the lower South. Although the natural outlet to market for the heavy commodities of the West was down the Mississippi River and through the port of New Orleans, even after the acquisition of New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory in 1803 by the United States dissatisfaction remained with the natural waterway transportation facilities. Heavy flatboats could not be moved upstream, and unpowered keelboats could be moved against the current only by the vigorous exercise of muscle power.

Zachariah Cox, a promoter of settlement at Muscle Shoals as early as the 1790's suggested the practicability of commercial communication between the Tennessee River and Mobile by way of the Tombigbee River (Johnson, 1978). The evangelist, Lorenzo Dow, visiting the Tombigbee area in 1803, had a vision that the trade of Tennessee would one day pass through the Tombigbee River. In the succeeding years various proposals were set forth for connecting the Tennessee with the Tombigbee. Mobile became an American port in 1813. Mississippi and Alabama became states in 1817 and 1819 respectively, and Florida was acquired from Spain in 1821. The frontier population grew very rapidly. Steamboats appeared on the lower Mississippi River before the War of 1812, and after the war their use spread rapidly to the other southern and western rivers.

A well-recognized need of the rapidly growing and sprawling young nation was reliable and cheap transportation, which would supply both commercial and defense needs. By the General Survey Act of April 30, 1824, Congress charged the Army Engineers with preparing the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates for a program of internal improvements of national significance. Then a few weeks later the Rivers and Harbors Act provided for the improvement of navigation on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers by the removal of sandbars, the clearance of timber-covered banks, and the raising of planters, sawyers, and snags from the channels (Johnson, 1978, p. 44). The United States thus embarked on a program of river improvements. Next year, 1825, the opening of the very successful Erie Canal, built at the expense of the state of New York,

touched off the canal craze, an enthusiastic and uncritical demand for widespread building of canals, the economic and physical limitations of which were not clearly perceived.

The concept of a Tennessee-Tombigbee canal was only one of several schemes for connecting the Tennessee River with the salt water of the Gulf or Atlantic. In the late 1820s the Army Engineers surveyed proposed routes to connect the Tennessee with the coastal rivers. One would connect the Tennessee, by a canal, with the Altamaha; another would connect it with the headwaters of the Coosa, and a third would join it with the Savannah River. Interest in the Tennessee-Tombigbee route depended first upon the solution of the problem of navigation of the Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee, a formidable obstacle. There were shoals in the Tennessee both above and below Bear Creek, with which the Tennessee-Tombigbee canal was expected to connect. After receiving a land grant of 400,000 acres from the federal government, the state of Alabama proceeded in the 1830s to build a 12-mile canal around a part of the shoals. Although the canal was completed, it proved a failure (Johnson, 1978, p. 59). Efforts of the Army Engineers to blast a channel through the lower shoals were equally unsuccessful. Significant also is the fact that a railroad had been built from Tuscumbia to Decatur, around the worst of the shoals, before the canal was completed. Internal improvements at federal expense were interdicted and largely stopped by the sectional conflict which raged in the halls of Congress and culminated in the Civil War of 1861-65.

Meanwhile, the army engineers were by no means idle. The ends of commercial improvement and national defense were well served when individual engineers were relieved from active army service so that they might be employed in railroad construction, for which they constituted the nation's principal source of technical skill.

In the depression of the 1870s the commercial farmers of the nation were very hard hit by the effects of the unrecognized and unrestrained competition of farmer against farmer in the markets for agricultural products. This competition, compounded by the effects of bountiful productions, drove down the prices which farmers received to exceptionally low levels. It became very popular to blame the high cost of transportation to market for the farmer's troubles, and various schemes for government-built railroads and government-improved waterways were set forth as devices to force down what were regarded as excessive charges by railroads. Out of this atmosphere came an act of Congress of June 23, 1874, in which the Army Corps of Engineers was authorized to make a survey to determine whether it was possible to open a water line between the Tennessee and Tombigbee rivers (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1875).

The survey showed that slack-water navigation, which involved the use of dams to slow the current and deepen the channel, was possible over the divide between the Tennessee and Tombigbee rivers. Using Big Bear and Crippled Deer creeks for access on the Tennessee side, a canal would carry boats over the dividing ridge to Spring and Mackey's creeks on the Tombigbee side. The water supply at the divide would be provided by a feeder canal eight miles long from a reservoir to be constructed at a place on Big Bear Creek called the Gorge.

Leaving Mackey's Creek at Bay Springs, the canal would move clear of the stream, to avoid flooding the lowlands, and proceed 33 miles to Fulton Ferry on the East Fork of the Tombigbee. Since the Tombigbee end of the canal system would be inaccessible except at high water, the Tennessee end would need to be accessible only at the same times, when, it was presumed, the Tennessee River would also be at a high stage. The waterway would be usable for a short, and not altogether predictable, part of the year (probably four months), not by steamboats but by canal boats 70 feet long and 19 feet wide with a draft of four feet. A boat of such dimensions could carry about 100 tons. The cost estimate for the proposed development was $1,705,312. The report was quite detailed. Making the canal usable by Tombigbee steamboats and improving the Upper Tombigbee to match would make the cost prohibitive when measured against expected benefits. The matter was quietly laid to rest, and no more was to be heard of the building of a Tennessee-Tombigbee canal until 1915. (The Tombigbee River above its confluence with the Warrior River is known as the Little Tombigbee or Upper Tombigbee.)

In the Muscle Shoals area of the Tennessee River construction of a new lateral canal was started by the Corps of Engineers in 1875. After coping with many physical problems and with erratic appropriations by Congress, the Engineers opened the canal to traffic on November 10, 1890 (Johnson, 1978, Chapter VII). Construction began on a canal around Colbert Shoals and Bee Tree Shoals below Florence in 1891, but that canal was not finally opened until December 4, 1911. Perhaps the best that can be said of it is that its design and construction gave important experience to Colonel George W. Goethals and the Engineers, who used it soon afterwards in the building of the Panama Canal. The Muscle Shoals canal continued to operate until 1918, but it never carried heavy traffic. Lateral canals had become outmoded when advancing engineering knowledge and larger appropriations made possible the construction of large dams across the Tennessee.

In the meantime, by the construction of locks and dams, all-season slack-water navigation with a six-foot depth had been provided on the Tombigbee below Demopolis and up the Warrior past Tuscaloosa to the Warrior coal fields.

In response to an act of Congress, the Chief of Engineers in 1915 reported a plan for joining the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee River by means of a canal following essentially the same route as that proposed in 1875. To provide a six-foot channel with locks to match those below Demopolis and provide all-season slack-water navigation from Demopolis to the Tennessee River would require 65 or more locks with a large feeder canal and would probably cost over ten million dollars. A special board concluded that the cost of the project appeared to be largely in excess of any benefits that might be derived (H. Doc. 218, 63rd Congress, 1st Sess., p. 5).

While the 1915 survey was being made, Dr. E.N. Lowe, state geologist of Mississippi, proposed a scheme to divert the flood waters of the Tennessee by way of Yellow Creek and cut through the divide to Mackey's Creek, with the purpose of relieving damaging floods on the lower Mississippi River. The report, however, concluded that such a channel would cost $11 million, would flood the lowlands along the Tombigbee, and would give little relief from

the Mississippi floods, for it could not divert enough water. High-water stages commonly occurred on both the Tennessee and the Tombigbee at the same time. (H. Doc. 218, 63rd Congress, 1st Sess., pp. 16-18.)

Again in 1922, the Rivers and Harbors Act required a preliminary examination for a canal connecting the Tombigbee and Tennessee rivers. The report contemplated a waterway of six-foot depth with 62 locks and dams to be built at an estimated cost of $44,140,000. In a report of December 8, 1923, the district and division engineers disapproved construction of the waterway and recommended that the improvement of the Tombigbee River be limited to such snagging operations as might be justified by the small existing commerce (H. Doc. 269, 70th Congress, 1st Sess., p. 25).

The completion of the Wilson Dam on the Tennessee River at Florence in 1925 and the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933 led to the construction in the 1930s and 1940s of dams providing a nine-foot channel on the Tennessee River from its mouth to points well up its major tributaries in eastern Tennessee. In 1932, an extensive report of the Chief of Engineers contemplated a nine-foot channel from Columbus, Mississippi, to the mouth of Bear Creek on the Tennessee, by means of 17 locks and dams, a summit-level canal over the divide, and a reservoir, at an estimated cost of 45 million dollars. The report concluded that the benefit to be derived did not warrant construction of the waterway (H. Doc. 56, 73rd Congress, 1st Session).

On April 17, 1936, the Chief of Engineers ordered detailed surveys of two routes for a canal, one to connect the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee and the other to connect the Tennessee with the Warrior, the chief tributary of the Tombigbee, after the adequacy of the water supply of each route had been affirmatively determined. The report on the Tombigbee route, made in 1939 (H. Doc. 269, 76th Congress, 1st Session), proposed a divide cut from the Tennessee, by way of Yellow Creek to Mackey's Creek. The cut would be 27 miles long and of sufficient depth to divert water to the Tombigbee from the pool behind the planned Pickwick Dam in sufficient quantity to operate the locks of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. The channel would have a depth of not less than nine feet and a minimum bottom width of 170 feet in river and canal sections and 115 feet in the divide cut, with locks 75 by 400 feet clear inside dimensions. The estimated cost of construction was $66 million. A combination of canals, cutoffs, and locks and dams would provide a channel nine feet in depth from Demopolis to the Tennessee River. The waterway was intended to permit modern barge line operation between the Tennessee River and Demopolis. The proposal to construct a divide cut designed to divert Tennessee waters to the Tombigbee for flood relief and the development of power was rejected.

In a report, submitted about the same time as the above, the Chief of Engineers recommended the construction of a new dam at Demopolis forty feet high, which would back water up the Upper Tombigbee as far as Gainesville, with a lock chamber 75 feet wide by 600 feet long (H. Doc. 276, 76th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4), to replace four existing locks and dams. Standards applied to the Tennessee River provided for locks 110 by 600 feet, while those which had been recommended for the Upper Tombigbee were to be 75 by 450 feet. The navigable channel in the Tennessee River was to have a minimum width of 300

feet. The dimensions of a new lock at Tuscaloosa, which was a part of the Tombigbee-Warrior system, were 85 by 400 feet (H. Doc. 269, 70th Congress, 1st Session, p. 14).

The Rivers and Harbors Act of March 2, 1945, authorized construction of the proposed Demopolis Lock and Dam, with a lock chamber approximately 75 by 600 feet. Later that year the Chief of Engineers recommended that construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway be undertaken, with a width of 170 feet in river and canal sections and 150 feet in the divide cut, with locks 100 by 600 feet clear inside dimensions (H. Doc. 486, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 56). The justification given for the increased lock dimensions was that they would permit "tows now moving on the connecting waterways, Warrior-Tombigbee, Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois Rivers," to "utilize the connection without double-tripping through the locks," thus taking advantage of the economies inherent in the movement of commodities in large-size tows (H. Doc. 486, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 40). The estimated cost of construction was placed at $117 million.

Slow development work then began, and year after year some progress was reported. The 1958 report of the Chief of Engineers reveals that a waterway compact between the states of Mississippi and Alabama had been approved by Congress (Sen. Rep. 1860, 85th Congress, 2nd Session, 1958). Repeated studies were made, and in 1962 the estimated cost of completion was placed at $265 million (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1962, Vol. II, p. 592). It was reported in 1969 that the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Florida had organized a Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority to promote the project (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1969, Vol. II, p. 560). After further preparations and changes of plans, construction formally began December 12, 1972 (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1973, Vol. II, pp. 15, 16). (For a map of the Waterway see Fig. 1.)

When completed the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway will serve and impact the economy of a broad territory encompassing all of the southeastern states. The primary impact of construction, both physical and social, however, will be experienced in a relatively narrow land corridor extending from the Tennessee River on the north to the confluence of the Tombigbee and Warrior rivers on the south. This corridor, approximately 235 miles in length, parallels the course of the Upper Tombigbee River and one of its headwaters, Mackey's Creek. It occupies a substantial portion of the Upper Tombigbee drainage area in eastern Mississippi and western Alabama.

This corridor, which has considerable area, is characterized by a varied and complex distribution of natural and human resources which will affect, and be affected by, the operation of the Waterway. Unlike the Tennessee and lower Tombigbee rivers, the Upper Tombigbee has had no recent history of important channel navigation and improvement. As a result, the new waterway is likely to effect considerably greater changes in the character and activities along the Upper Tombigbee than along the already-navigable Tennessee and lower Tombigbee, and it will more significantly affect the quality of life in its adjacent territory.

In an attempt to provide a manageable mechanism for mitigating the effects of construction on significant cultural resources, the Tombigbee River Multi-

Resource District was established as a five-mile corridor along 135 miles of the waterway from Gainesville, Alabama, to Paden, Mississippi. This study is one of several funded by the Corps of Engineers. Its primary concern is with the evolving pattern of settlement in the Upper Tombigbee Valley since the European colonial period and with the cultural resource base and the economic and social history of the region.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURAL HERITAGE

The water for the operation of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway at its upper end will come from Pickwick Lake on the Tennessee River. Following in a general way the route of Yellow Creek in Tishomingo County, the Waterway will cut deeply through the Tennessee-Tombigbee drainage divide to Paden on Mackey's Creek, then follow that creek past Bay Springs and across the southeast corner of Prentiss County to Brown's Creek, below which the stream is called the East Fork of the Tombigbee River. Taking an independent course along that stream, a canal will reach southward past Fulton and Amory to Aberdeen. The volume of water will increase as the West Fork (Old Town Creek) and numerous other streams join its southward course. Although the canal section, so called, is said to end at the confluence of the East Fork and West Fork, the "river section" down to Aliceville Lock and Dam follows the valley but is itself a dredged channel that is highly independent of the meandering river. The southernmost dam necessary for the current waterway project is that at Gainesville, for the dam at Demopolis on the Tombigbee-Warrior system backs up the water of the Little Tombigbee at a navigable depth as far as Gainesville.

The country through which the Waterway cuts lies entirely within the East Gulf Coastal Plain and is characterized by broad, flat floodplains, rugged cuestas and hills, and gently rolling praries. The physiographic subdivisions of this area and of the Coastal Plain include (a) the Fall Line Hills, (b) the Black Prairie Belt, (c) the Pontotoc Hills/Ripley Cuesta, and (d) the Tombigbee Terraces (see Fig. 2). The topography is controlled by the characteristics of the underlying rocks, which outcrop in crescent-shaped bands sweeping from northeastern Mississippi southward and eastward across central Alabama into Georgia. All of the rocks of the area are of sedimentary origin. Rocks on the surface are of late Cretaceous, Paleocene, and Eocene origins except for relatively thin deposits of Pleistocene and Holocene alluvium and new terrace deposits. (See Fig. 3.)

The Upper Cretaceous rocks which were deposited approximately 70 million years ago outcrop in the northern half of the area and are mainly of deltaic, estuarine, and marine origin. They are sand, sandstone, gravelly sand, clay, marl, or calcareous clay and chalk. In order they belong to the Tuscaloosa group, the Eutaw formation, and the Selma group comprising the Mooreville and Demopolis chalk, the Ripley Formation and the Prairie Bluff chalk. The Paleocene formations are in part of estuarine and marine origin and consist of sand, sandstone, silt, clay, and thin beds of lignite. The Eocene formations are also in part of estuarine and marine origin and consist mainly of sand, sandstone, clay, and clay stone. The superficial deposits of Pleistocene and Holocene ages consist of clay, sand, and gravel deposited by streams in the last three million years and are classified as terrace and alluvial deposits.

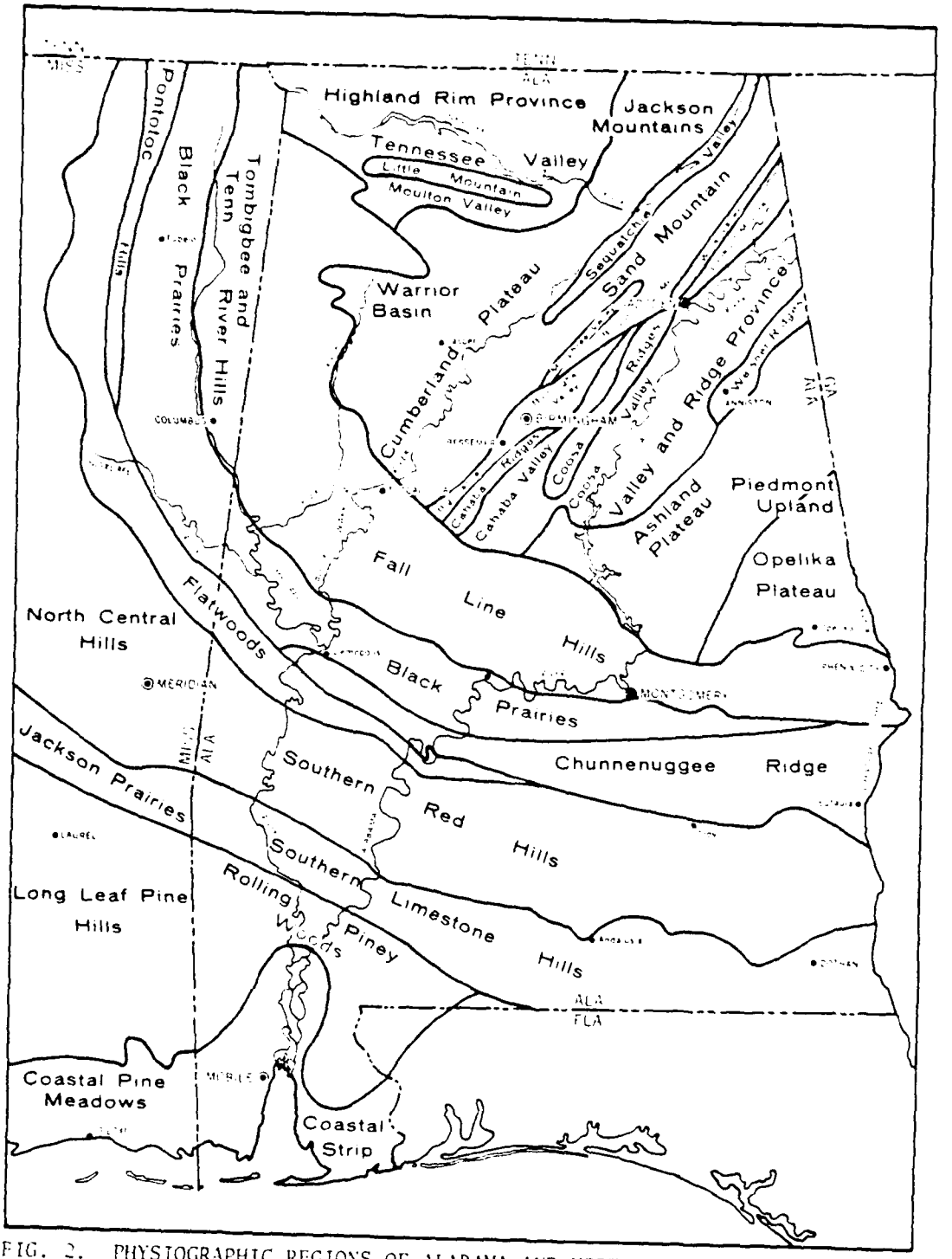

FIG. 2. PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF ALABAMA AND NORTHEASTERN MISSISSIPPI.

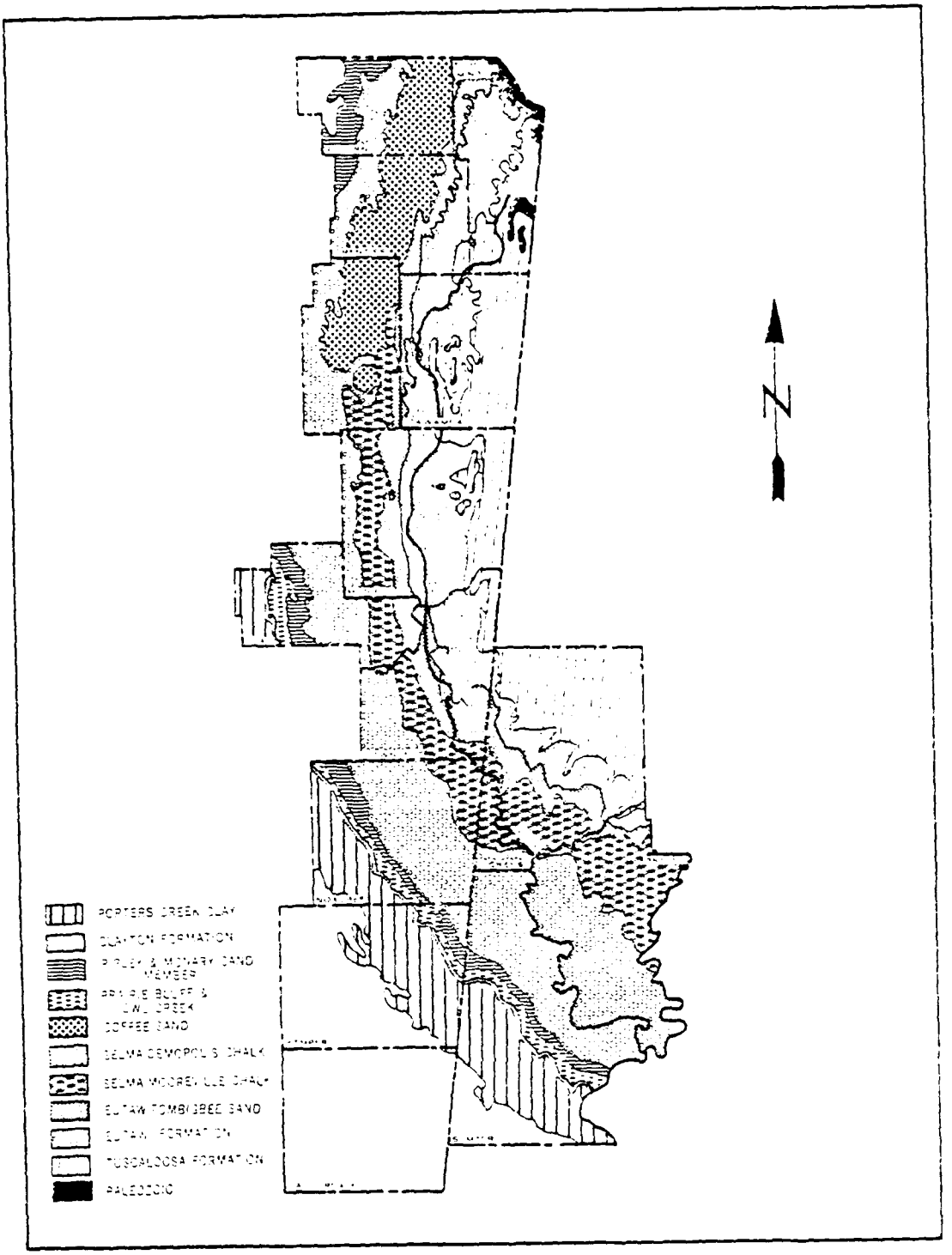

FIG. 3. GEOLOGY OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY.

The soils are derived from rock weathering and their characteristics reflect their source. However, soils may be secondarily altered by processes such as leaching or erosion. In East Mississippi and West Alabama, the rocks deposited during the late Cretaceous and Eocene time were later elevated. The rate of weathering of these rocks to form soil is determined by their chemical solubility and their texture. Soluble components such as calcium carbonate or lime quickly wash away, often resulting in erosion and thin soil. Less soluble rocks such as those containing sand deteriorate more slowly and build deeper soils. Alluvial soils which accumulate along watercourses contain components and nutrients that add to their richness for agriculture. These general characteristics may be altered locally by other factors such as slope, erosion, plant cover, and land use.

Clay soils may be unstable for construction of structures such as roads, houses, and light industrial buildings having foundations that do not extend to bedrock. These soils may become highly unstable when wet and may swell when wet and shrink when dry. Throughout much of the area, the soils are severely limiting and must be compensated for in construction. Loamy soils present fewer problems. The slope of the soils in most areas and particularly along the river courses is relatively slight. This makes them more desirable for use as crop land or pasture. Loamy, alluvial soils are usually well suited to the growing of crops. Because of their general characteristics they are good for corn, cotton, and soybeans. Clays in general are well suited for pasture and where forested may be profitably converted to this use.

The four main classes of environmental factors which affect the structure and pattern of vegetation in any area are (1) climatic, (2) geomorphic (related to land form), (3) edaphic (related to soil), and (4) biotic (related to living organisms). In the study area climatic and biotic factors do not vary sufficiently to create large-scale differences in the natural vegetation pattern. The primary variations which occur in vegetation result from a consideration of geomorphic and edaphic factors, although it must be recognized that human activities have interrupted natural landscape characteristics for most of the area.

According to A.W. Kuchler (1970), the four main vegetation divisions of the area are (a) oak-hickory-pine forest, (b) southern mixed forests, (c) Black Belt, and (d) Southern floodplain forest. In general these vegetation divisions have a spatial arrangement coincident with the physiographic subdivisions mentioned earlier. These specific characteristics will therefore be treated in the more detailed discussion of physiographic subdivisions (see Fig. 4) which follows.

The Fall Line Hills

The Fall Line Hills are marked predominantly by the Tuscaloosa and Eutaw geological formations. This district is characterized by dissected uplands with a few broad, flat ridges separated by valleys from one hundred to two hundred feet deep. The Tuscaloosa formation is the oldest of the Cretaceous formations that outcrop in the ten counties touched by the Waterway above Demopolis. Limited amounts of the formation occurring immediately above

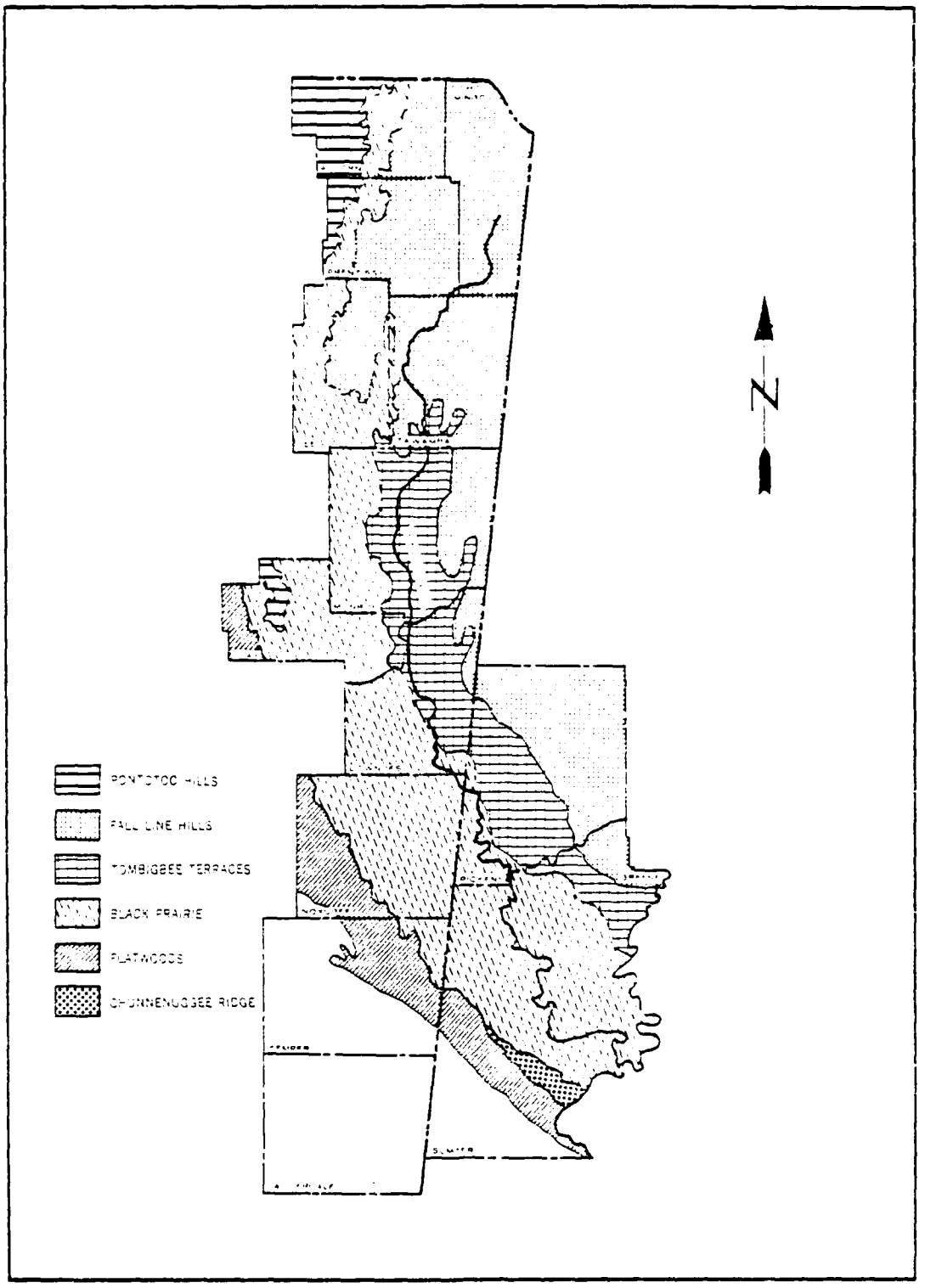

FIG. 4. PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY.

Paleozoic rocks are exposed in the northeast corner of Tishomingo County. The Tuscaloosa Formation has a thickness of about three hundred feet in northeast Mississippi and reaches one thousand feet in West Alabama counties. It consists of dark clays, thin seams of lignite, purple, red, orange, and yellow sands, some crossbedded iron-cemented sands, gravels, and in the lower part a white-grey clay (Wahl, 1968). In Mississippi the formation covers a belt of five to fifteen miles in width. Like the formations above it, it has a marked slope and tilt to the west and southwest.

The Eutaw Formation overlies the Tuscaloosa with deposits varying from ninety to as much as 390 feet in thickness. The lower portion, which overlies the Tuscaloosa Formation, consists largely of blue, dark red, orange and yellow sands, usually crossbedded. The deposits are largely discontinuous and no stratum can be traced for any long distance. The upper portion of the Eutaw, called the Tombigbee Sand, is characterized by fine-grained, micaceous sands, calcareous sands and greensand. The outcrop of the Tombigbee Sand is a narrow belt extending from northwestern Tishomingo County into Pickens and Greene counties in Alabama.

Complicating the above designation are Eocene and Paleocene deposits such as the Coffee Sand, the Lafayette or orange sand, and the Porter's Creek or Clayton formations. These formations consist of well-rounded gravels and sands of the eroded Appalachian and interior highlands carried southward into the inner coastal plain margin by ancient streams. Since their deposition modern streams have entrenched the uplifted surface, leaving this old alluvium as a discontinuous deposit that now covers hilltops and ridges often some distance from the present stream channels. The upper portions consist of fairly homogeneous red to orange sand overlying a bed of gravel. The latter is commonly well cemented by iron precipitated in ground water. The formations occur both in the Fall Line Hills adjacent to the Black Belt, and to the west of the Black Belt, where thicker, more continuous deposits lie above the chalk strata.

Except in portions adjacent to the Tombigbee River, the hill area is deeply dissected by stream erosion, and the valley bottoms are too narrow to provide a basis for extensive agriculture. The soils of the Fall Line Hills are generally gently to steeply sloping deep sandy, clayey, loamy soils with severe limitations for light construction. They are poor to fair in terms of agricultural potential, and while substantial portions of level interfluve areas were farmed in the past, most of the hill lands have reverted to timber production. Most of the agriculture which remains is restricted to alluvial terraces of varying width. Even in the hilliest county, Tishomingo, which contains the dividing ridge, four percent of the county area is classed as terrace, while twenty-one percent is classed as bottom land.

The primary vegetation of the Fall Line Hills area is a mixed pine-hardwood forest. In its undisturbed state this forest is thought to have consisted primarily of hardwoods, with single or small clusters of pines intermixed. The fact that pines quickly form essentially pure stands in areas following disturbances such as cultivation or fire has meant that scattered stands of pine are a common feature of this area. In the absence of further disturbances, however, these stands are eventually replaced by a mixed oak-hickory-pine forest. The dominant species of this forest include butternut,

mockernut, and pignut hickories, white oak, post oak, northern and southern red oak, loblolly, and short-leaf pine. On drier ridges, especially in the northern portion, Virginia pine and scarlet oak become dominant, whereas on wetter sites yellow poplar, shumard oak, willow oak, live oak, and bay magnolia are of frequent occurrence. The rich abundance of tree species provided the basis historically for timber exploitation. Lumbering activities of various kinds have provided the dominant economic activity in many parts of this physiographic region.

The Black Prairie

Chalks of the Mooreville and Demopolis members of the Selma group form the Black Prairie Belt, which is characterized by undulating, deeply weathered plains of low relief. These gently rolling lands are generally lower than the adjacent areas and have an elevation of about two hundred feet. The resistant Arcola limestone member of the Mooreville Chalk forms the Arcola Cuesta, a series of hills that are some fifty to seventy-five feet higher than the surrounding prairie.

The Mooreville Chalk overlies the Eutaw Formation. Its lower layers range up to 360 feet in thickness and consist of compact, calcareous clay or marl and clayey chalk. The color of these layers varies from yellowish grey to olive grey. The contact of the Mooreville with the Eutaw is characterized by a bed of sandy chalk from six to twelve inches thick that contains abundant shark teeth and phosphatized fossils. Frequently the fine sand and greenish grey clay of the Eutaw grade upward into the fine, clayey chalk of the Mooreville. The Arcola limestone member of the top of the Mooreville averages ten feet thick and consists of two or more beds of light grey, impure, dense limestone, six to twelve inches thick. The limestone layers are separated by beds of grey to pale olive chalky clay. The cuesta supported by the resistant Arcola Limestone member (Arcola Cuesta) is prominent in Greene County, Alabama, and can be traced northwestward into Mississippi.

The Demopolis Chalk overlies the Mooreville and outcrops in a belt that averages about eight miles in width. The formation ranges in thickness up to 520 feet. The rocks are light grey to medium light grey. Exposures of the chalk vary from light grey to white. The chalk generally has a massive appearance in the road cuts but river bluffs and roads cuts demonstrate the presence of some harder layers. The lower part of the formation consists of thin beds of marly chalk about thirty feet thick that are overlain by a relatively pure chalk layer containing seventy-five to ninety percent pure calcium carbonate.

The soils of the Black Prairie are produced by the breakdown of the Demopolis and Mooreville chalk and its solution through reaction with water and air. The calcium from the weathered limestone and marl fixes the organic remains of plants, and especially the grasses, making the soil very dark in appearance. Soils formed in the Black Belt are not thick; depth to bedrock is generally less than five feet and in some locations is only a few inches. Bald spots are common where the thin soil has been eroded away and the chalk is now exposed. Soils are generally gently sloping clays or silty clays with

high shrink-swell characteristics, which impose severe limitations on light construction. Because of their chemical constituency, however, Black Prairie soils are relatively fertile and fairly good for agriculture. These soils proved very attractive to early settlers.

The hydrology of the Black Prairie stands in great contrast to its adjacent areas. Streams originating in the prairie region tend to be seasonal, responding only to surface runoff. This is a result of the impermeability of the chalk strata. Streams that cross the prairie and have their origin elsewhere are less subject to seasonal extremes. The scarcity of good ground water makes springs rare in the prairie region, where shallow water supplies are hard to obtain and often dry up in the summer. However, the impervious nature of the chalk and the downward slope of the underlying strata have created an excellent situation for artesian wells fed by ground water from the hills to the north and east. To reach that water, however, it may be necessary to drill through several hundred feet of chalk. If the result is a free-flowing well, the effort is well spent. If the pressure brings the water within a few feet of the surface, it may be possible to hollow out a cistern in the chalk where water will accumulate and can be raised to the surface easily by the use of buckets or pumps. While drilling deep wells may have been impractical for the earliest settlers, long before the Civil War such wells were being put down through the chalk.

The natural vegetation of the Black Prairie reflects the high calcium content of the soil. The dark, heavy clay soil supports a flora with many elements in common with the prairies of the Midwest. In areas in which the soil is relatively deep a rich forest develops similar to that of surrounding regions but including a number of species found primarily on limestone sites. These include red cedar, overcup oak, shumard oak, chinquapin oak, durand oak, laurel oak, and nutmeg hickory. On areas of very thin soil and on other disturbed areas, the forest is replaced by glade-like areas that resemble prairies in many respects. Among the typical prairie species found in these open areas are the following: prairie sunflower, prairie vox, Cherokee sedge, tuberous milkweed, Torrey's rush, cutleaf verbena, and big bluestem grass. As a result of their inherent fertility, Black Prairie soils have been extensively cultivated or developed as improved pastures. The result of this farming activity has been the elimination of natural vegetation over most of the Black Prairie region.

The area has historically been referred to as the "canebrake" region. There was extensive growth of cane in many of the bottoms, especially in the Alabama Black Belt area. Large cane from fifteen to thirty feet high grew on bottoms submerged for the greater part of the year. Small cane or switch cane, under fifteen feet high, grew in the areas which were subject to overflow only in times of the highest water. The young canes made attractive forage for deer, cattle, and horses, and they had the added attractive feature of being available throughout the year. They also particularly attracted bears.

The Pontotoc Hills/Ripley Cuesta

The Pontotoc Hills or Ripley Cuesta comprise a narrow belt of low hills rising above the western and southern edge of the Black Prairie. They represent the outcrop of the Ripley formation and the Prairie Bluff chalk, which lie atop the Selma chalk. These formations are largely absent as a topographic feature between Houston and Shuqualac in Mississippi but extend north of Houston as the Pontotoc Hills and southeast of Shuqualac as the Ripley Cuesta or Chunennuggee Hills into east central Alabama. In Alabama the width of the outcrop averages about two miles.

The Ripley Formation consists of alternating strata of coarse, hard sandstone, limestone, clay, unconsolidated sand, phosphatic greensand, and lime-rich clay or marl. The lower part of the formation consists mainly of greenish-grey, fine, sandy, chalky clay, and the middle or upper parts of the Ripley Formation consist of light grey fine to medium grained sand and sandy clay that weather white, yellow, and various shades of orange. The Prairie Bluff, chalk associated with the Ripley, is composed of massive compact white chalk that contains varying amounts of sand, abundant fossils, and fossil molds and casts. Fossils in the Prairie Bluff and underlying Ripley are quite similar. In Clay County, Mississippi, the Prairie Bluff chalk runs to seventy to eighty feet in thickness and is relatively sandy, and this is an average condition along the outcrop. In Mississippi the Prairie Bluff outcrop has frequently been considered part of the Black Prairie.

Because those hills and cuestas are formed by either hard indurated beds of sandstone or dense limestone, depth to bedrock is generally very shallow. Soils are moderately sloping silty clays subject to shrinking and swelling and problematic for light construction. Their calcareous content enhances their fertility, and their drainage characteristics are better than those of the Black Prairie soils, which resulted in their attracting early settlement and cultivation. Natural vegetation on the Ripley Formation maintains many of the qualities of the vegetation of the Black Prairie. On the basic high lime soils cedars, oak, and hickorys predominate. On the acidic sandstone based soils pines are more commonly found. While much of this physiographic division was cultivated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, substantial areas are now reverting to second growth timber, which is harvested mainly for commercial purposes.

The Tombigbee Terraces

While the study area can be separated into three physiographic divisions based on the varying character of the geologic outcrops, a complication is introduced in this systematic classification by the presence throughout the region of extensive areas of alluvial deposits (see Fig. 5). These deposits have been characterized according to their age and structure as either high terrace deposits or alluvium and low terrace deposits. Both categories evidence subdued relief and in the case of recent deposits are located in the flat floodplains of the Tombigbee and tributary rivers. Along the Tibbee Creek there are in places two or three terraces extending back as much as six miles from the creek. Furthermore, the floodplains of many streams contain recent alluvial deposits a mile wide or more.

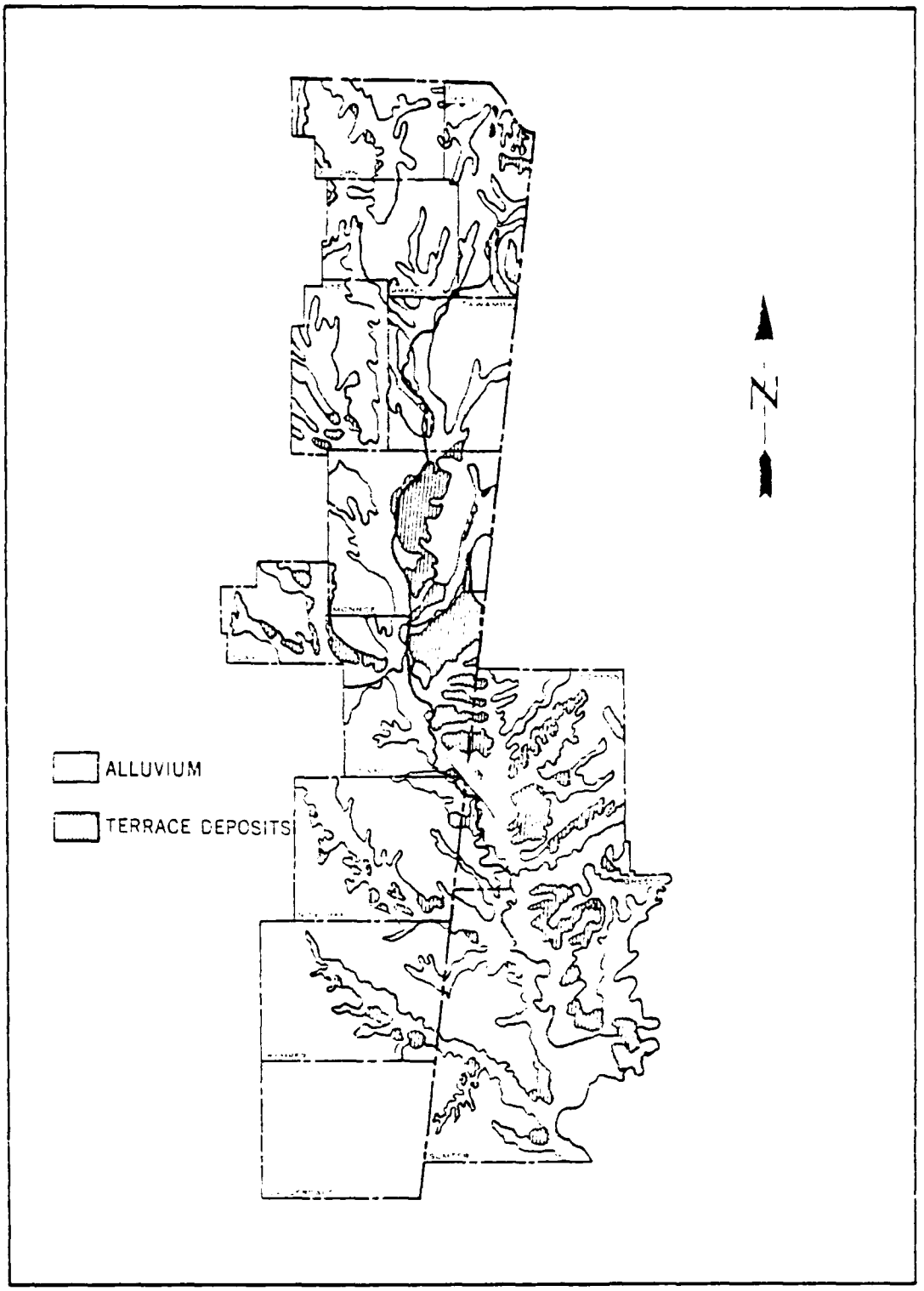

FIG. 5. ALLUVIAL DEPOSITS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY. It will be observed that alluvium and terrace deposits supply much of the soil in areas near the Tombigbee River and its tributary creeks.

In areas adjacent to the valley of the Tombigbee and its tributaries high terrace deposits of Pleistocene age are commonly found. They are generally less than fifty feet thick and overlie older rock. They consist of unconsolidated, brightly colored clay, silt, sand, and gravel and underlie broad relatively flat, bench-like surfaces that occur at elevations above the present floodplain. These benches or terraces are remnants of older floodplains formed by streams that occupied the valley during earlier stages of development. The ancient streams eroded to lower elevations, leaving part of their former floodplains at higher elevations as terraces.

Alluvium and low terrace deposits of Holocene and Pleistocene age occur along the major streams and larger tributaries. High terrace, low terrace, and alluvial deposits have similar lithologic characteristics, and therefore are mapped as a single unit. The alluvium and low terrace deposits generally consist of lenticular beds of sand, gravel, clay, and silt less than fifty feet thick. Alluvial deposits on streams draining the Black Prairie Belt consist primarily of silt and clay with only small amounts of sand derived from the Ripley Formation. Alluvial deposits along streams not in the Black Prairie Belt contain abundant sand and varying amounts of gravel derived from the high terraces.

The soils of the floodplains and terraces are generally level to gently sloping and are sandy to loamy. Depending on the amount of sand, the soils are poor to good for agriculture, but the primary wanting factor in the soils is water. Close to the rivers the water table tends to be at or very close to the surface, creating gley (saturated) conditions, which many plants tolerate with difficulty. The natural vegetation of the upper terraces resembles that of the Fall Line Hills, but the vegetation of the lower terraces and particularly of the floodplains is typical of river floodplains throughout the Gulf Southeast. This floodplain forest remains distinct as the Tombigbee passes through the Fall Line Hills and the Black Prairie. The floodplain forest is typically dominated by tupelo gums, bald cypress, pecan, and several species of oak, particularly shumard oak, overcup oak, water oak, willow oak, laurel oak, and swamp chestnut oak. Other species that are common in the forest include swamp privet, red bay, water elm, American elm, cabbage palm, sugarberry, and rattan vine. The combination of dense vegetation, saturated ground, and subjectivity to flooding made the lower alluvial lands and floodplains unattractive to residential settlement.

CHAPTER IV

INDIANS AND INDIAN COUNTRYMEN, 1540-1820

Before the first coming of the white man the Upper Tombigbee Valley had been occupied by aboriginal inhabitants for thousands of years. Archeologists have identified some two hundred and fifty prehistoric sites in areas to be impacted by the construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. Many of these are being selectively excavated before it is too late. There are also cultural resources of historic times in the impacted areas.

The beginning of historic times in the Tenn-Tom country occurred in 1540 with the coming of the Spanish expedition of Hernando de Soto, which had a strong cultural impact on the aborigines. Unfortunately, the historical records are sketchy and conflicting. According to the De Soto Expedition Commission (H. Doc. 71, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 218-225), de Soto, coming north from Mauvilla, crossed the Warrior River at Stephens Bluff on Melton's Bend, then on December 16, 1540, crossed the Tombigbee, probably at Morgan's Ferry, near Aberdeen, in the face of Indian opposition. A party on horseback, sent to outflank the Indians, crossed at some point farther north, possibly Cotton Gin Port. The Indian towns mentioned up to this point had Choctaw names. After crossing the river, de Soto moved quickly to the Chickasaw towns in the Pontotoc-Tupelo area. De Soto's chroniclers referred to the Tombigbee River as the "River of the Chickasaws." De Soto wintered on the prairie at a village of the Chickasaws and fought a battle with them. He found the Indians cultivating great fields of maize, to which he helped himself, while the Indians obtained horses and hogs from him by a similar procedure.

The impact of the de Soto expedition on the stone-age Indian cultures cannot be easily measured, but they met superior tools and weapons and military tactics, and that useful animal, the horse. But then the curtain is drawn and darkness covers the scene for a century; further European contacts were few, and we know almost nothing about them. When the French Father Marquette descended the Mississippi River in 1673, he met Chickasaws with axes, hoes, knives, beads, and double glass bottles for their powder, which they had obtained from tribes to the east, who had obtained them from English colonists on the seaboard (Myers, 1949, p. 186). English traders and English goods soon reached the Chickasaws and Choctaws directly. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the new colony of South Carolina provided the base for English trading with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. Transportation was over well-established trails (see Fig. 6). The items listed in Table 1 were identified with this trade.

In the early years of the eighteenth century the French were establishing bases at Mobile and New Orleans from which they extended their influence into the southern Indian country. In 1717 they established a fort in the heart of the Creek Indian country, where the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers flow together to form the Alabama, which fort they called the Poste des Alibamons.

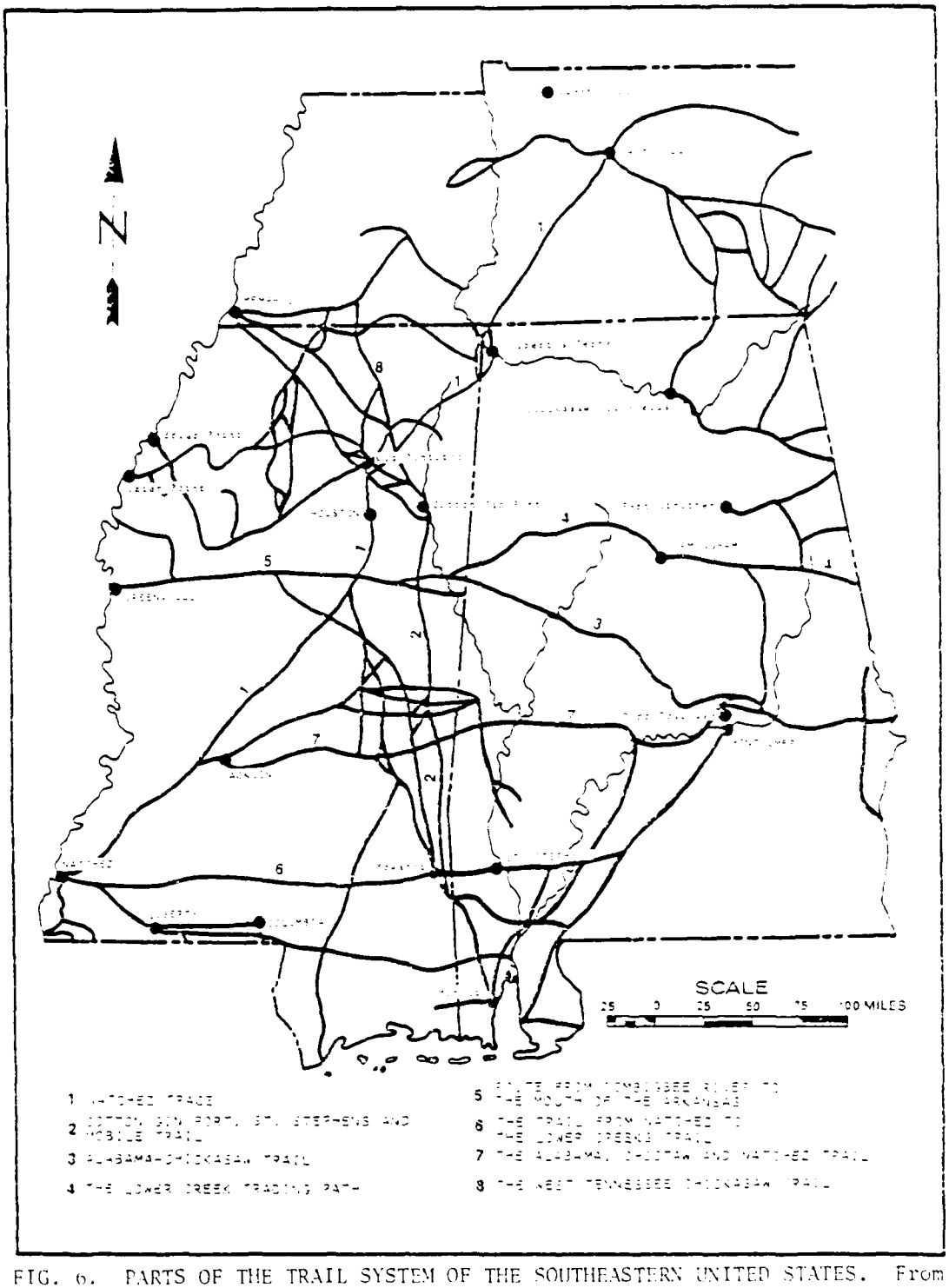

FIG. 6. PARTS OF THE TRAIL SYSTEM OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. From map of W.E. Myer, Plate 15 in Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

TABLE 1

ITEMS IN THE CHICKASAW TRADE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1729*

Limburg cloth that has two or three white stripes
Guns
White blankets
Powder
Bullets
Vermilion
Swords
Pistols
Gunflints
Red woolen ribbons like those that are tied to horses' tails
White, blue, yellow and agate beads, very large
Small ones of the same colors and also good
Shoes
Woolen stockings
Hats embroidered with imitation silver
Coats with a border of thread or of wool
Coats decorated with lace of different colors, on all the seams with the same lace
Axes
Tomahawks
Pickaxes
Pieces of steel for striking fire from flint
Worm-screws
Brass wire
Large and small knives
Large and medium-sized scissors
Mirrors
Wooden combs
Thread
Needles
Shirts for men, women and children
Women's skirts, bodices and children's coats
Straight awls with handles
Very large bells such as mules wear
Kettles of brass
Shoe buckles
Belt buckles
Porcelain plaques that are round, of the width of two crowns and perforated in the center
Large brass kettles
Brass seal rings
Ear-rings made in the form of pears, which are of porcelain
Bracelets of brass made three finger-breadths broad
Plumes of several colors
Little trade chests
Pint bottles

*Letter from Regis du Roullet to the Count de Maurepas, November 11, 1729, in Dunbar Rowland and A.G. Sanders, ed. and trans., Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1729-1740: French Dominion, Vol. 1 (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1947).

or Fort Toulouse. The Creeks never allowed the British to establish a similar post.

In 1736 the Sieur de Bienville set out from Mobile with a French force to chastise the Chickasaws. He moved up the Tombigbee River, entered the Upper Tombigbee at Demopolis, and established Fort Tombecbé on the white chalk bluff at Epes (Jones Bluff). With this firm base he obtained help from the Choctaws, between whom and the Chickasaws there was already enmity, and moved up the river by water to Cotton Gin Port, where he erected a fortification. Moving north, he made a stop at the mouth of Octibbeha (Tibbee) Creek, apparently at the site of Plymouth. The creek was the boundary between the Choctaws and Chickasaws (Rowland and Sanders, 1927, Vol. I, p. 301). A few miles to the west of Plymouth was a village of another group of Indians, the Chakchiumas (Myers, 1949, p. 180).

After being reinforced by Indian allies, Bienville moved overland to attack the Chickasaw towns near present Pontotoc. The Chickasaws, provided by English traders with arms and ammunition and advice on fortifications, had, only a few days before, defeated another French force, whose movements had been badly coordinated with those of Bienville. The Chickasaws proceeded to inflict a disastrous defeat on Bienville and his Choctaw allies. He fell back to the fortification at Cotton Gin Port, but the river there was falling so alarmingly that it might soon become unboatable. Bienville departed hastily with his boats down the river.

The French war with the Chickasaws continued intermittently. The French undoubtedly used the Tombigbee River in the interim, but the record of its use by them is sketchy and unreliable. There is some reason to suspect that there may have been for a time a French trading post on the site of Plymouth. The Indian records of the British colony of South Carolina contain various letters from traders among the Chickasaws. These frequently mention the French, but the information they contain on the subject of the French is sketchy.

The French and Indian War, supposedly beginning with General Braddock's unsuccessful expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1754, was essentially an extension of a conflict that had been underway for some years in the Indian country, where both sides sought to use the Indians as surrogates in an imperial struggle. The British of South Carolina were firm allies of the Chickasaws, against whom there were various French or French-inspired military movements between 1752 and 1754. The South Carolinians struggled to wean the Choctaws away from the French and succeeded with part of these Indians, whose attachments were divided. The rather weak colony of Georgia also moved in in this period to exert its influence.

The British appointed Edmond Atkin as Indian superintendant, and he gave support to South Carolina and Georgia efforts with the southern Indians. He negotiated several treaties with them in 1759. As an outcome of the war the French yielded in 1763 all claims to the areas east of the Mississippi River to the British, except for the Island of New Orleans. Then France ceded what was called the Louisiana Territory to Spain. This included the Island of New Orleans and a huge territory west of the Mississippi. The Spanish, on the other hand, had lost to the British all their claims to Florida. The southern Indians, who had been skillful in playing off one European nation

against another, were not altogether pleased with the new predominance of British power.

In 1763, however, the British were exhausted from a long and expensive war, and the British government undertook a broad policy of retrenchment. An effort to bring the American colonies under closer control by the mother country and to shift financial burdens to the colonies met with resistance and led to the American Revolution.

For dealing with the Indians in 1763, John Stuart of South Carolina was appointed Indian superintendent to succeed Atkin, and measures were sought for dealing with the Indians without the resort to expensive war. A part of the plan was to establish definite boundary lines with the Indians by negotiation and to restrain activities across such lines that might tend to bring conflict. Pontiac's conspiracy in the North delayed the implementation of the plan in that area, but in the South Stuart went promptly to work in 1763 to regulate relations with each of the southern tribes by formally-negotiated treaties. The attachment of some of the Indians to the French was deep, and powerful Indian elements distrusted the English. Major General Thomas Gage, the British commander in North American, with headquarters in New York, was affected by the reduction of forces for reasons of economy and greatly disliked the maintenance among the Indians of military posts too remote from their bases to be supported or reinforced in case of hostile actions. Reluctantly he consented to British occupation of the Frent Fort Tombecbé for a few years, with the joint objects of providing a base for trade with the Choctaws, and possibly to some extent the Chickasaws, and supporting the subtle efforts of Stuart's agents to keep a war going between the Choctaws and Creeks to discourage the latter from attacking the English.

Superintendent John Stuart negotiated treaties with the Creeks and Cherokees at Augusta in 1763 and with the Creeks again at Pensacola and St. Augustine in 1765. Also in 1765 he negotiated treaties at Mobile with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Definite boundary lines were delineated and provisions were made for the regulation of trade (DeVorsey, 1961). Standard prices on trade goods were agreed upon, and provisions were made for the licensing and regulating of traders. The establishment of the Indian boundary brought bitter opposition from both frontiersmen and land speculators. Imperial regulation of trade and traders stirred resentment from the traders and jealousy from the colonial governors. The British government caved in to colonial demands, and Stuart lost the battle. The governors appointed certain Indian traders as colonial agents among the Indians, and Stuart lost much of his influence and control. Rather disorderly conditions came to prevail.

In 1763 the British took over Spanish Florida and that part of French Louisiana east of the Mississippi except for the island of New Orleans, as noted above. Then the British established the colony of East Florida, with its capital at St. Augustine, and the colony of West Florida, with its capital at Pensacola. English West Florida extended from the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers on the east to the Mississippi on the west and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to latitude 32° 28" on the north.

With the first troops sent to occupy the new province were two Indian traders, John McGillivray and Daniel Ward, who established at Mobile their headquarters for trade with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, a trade in which

both had evidently been engaged for some time from a less convenient base. The items valued by the Indians, which were presumably trade items of importance, are reflected in the presents given to the Indians by the British at the Congress of Augusta in 1763 and the Congress of Mobile in 1771-72 (see Tables 2 and 3).

TABLE 2

INDIAN PRESENTS DISTRIBUTED BY THE BRITISH AT AUGUSTA

November 19, 1763

Strouds	Gartering
Duffils	Callico
Guns	Broad hoes
Powder	Belts
Ball	Tin ware
Gun flints	Brass pans
Gun locks	Gilt trunks
Hatchets	Barley corn beads
Saddles	Cutlary
Bridles	Prettys
Vermillion	Rommals
Great coats	Stirrup leathers
Shirts	Croppers
Looking glasses	

Data from Library of Congress transcripts, PRO:CO 5/65. At this Indian gathering were 2 Choctaws, 158 Chickasaws, 512 Cherokees, 505 Creeks, and 69 Catawbas. The cutlery and tinware were distributed as equally as possible.

The Indian trade was conducted primarily by the use of pack horses, although the French had to some extent used boats on the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers to reach the Indian country. Sloop navigation was possible on the Tombigbee as far north as the area of present Jackson, Alabama. Keelboats and canoes could navigate farther upstream, but on the Upper Tombigbee their progress depended on the season and the stage of the river and occasional obstructions, and the voyage could be hazardous. While the Indians had canoes and used them for crossing streams and for short trips, they did not generally take to the water for long excursions. Horse paths tended to follow the ridges as much as possible, to keep out of swampy areas and to avoid the crossing of streams as much as practicable. Where passing across swamps and fording streams were required, the paths were often blocked for long periods. Many a stream crossing was accomplished by means of a precarious footing on a fallen log, while the horses had to swim.

TABLE 3

INDIAN PRESENTS DISTRIBUTED BY THE BRITISH AT MOBILE

December, 1771-January, 1772

Strouds	Combs
Duffiles	Duffil coats
Guns	Hawks bells
Riffled guns	Pea buttons
Powder	Awl blades
Ball	Fire steels
Fints	Needles
Gun locks	Thread
Tomahawks	Brass wire
Hatchets	Laced hatts
Gun worms	Plain hats
Saddles	White Linen
Bridles	Striped flannel
Vermillion	Terrelinge [?]
Great coats	Ribbon
Ruffled shirts	Scarlet suits
Gartering & Caddice [?]	Shoes
Callico	Stockings
Hoes	Buckles
Belts	Salt
Tin potts	Gorgets
Brass kettles	Arm plates
Gilt trunks	Wrist plates
Barley corn	Carrots tobacco
Knives	Leaf tobacco
Scissors	Scarlet cloath
Razors	Silver earbobs
Nonso pretties	Handkfs [Handkerchiefs?]
Common beads	Axes
Skirts	

Data from Library of Congress Transcripts, PRO:CO 5/73.

The logistics of horse transportation in the southern Indian country needs some explanation. A well-fed horse was a wonderful asset, but pasturage for horses was good only at certain seasons except in the ranges along the streams. It was not the custom to raise food for horses, and the animals had to rough it in range pastures. A horse was not a good beast of burden unless well fed, and he required food every day. Horses in the Indian country were often "too pore," as reported by travelers, for use. The wise traveler picked the season when food for horses was plentiful. Getting fresh horses was always a problem for the traveler in a hurry. Trading for horses with people living along the way was commonly required.

Not until the early nineteenth century when post routes were being established did "stands" or "stages" (places for feeding horses) begin to appear in the Indian country. For one reason or another many a horse had to

be left behind by a traveler, and returning horses to their owners was by a process that is reminiscent of the return movement of railroad freight cars to their owners--sometimes there were delays and sometimes the route was circuitous. Stealing horses, "borrowing horses" as the Indians called it, was very common, and to an Indian it could be a form of sport involving enough danger to make it interesting. White traders often dealt in stolen horses, and horse-stealing became one of the most productive causes of conflict between white and red men.

The logistics of Indian warfare was difficult for white military men to grasp. An Indian army might travel hundreds of miles without boats, horses, or wagons. The warrior carried most of his possessions on his person. If he had a gun and ammunition, he could stop to hunt whenever he needed food, and he carried little food with him. An Indian army expended ammunition steadily without even seeing an enemy, something difficult for European military men to grasp. But the range of an expedition was limited primarily by the ammunition available for hunting, not by the usual military logistics.

The Indians were heavily dependent upon hunting for food, although the Chickasaws, and to a somewhat lesser extent the Choctaws, were extensive raisers of corn (maize). Hunters might be gone from home for months, especially in the winter. They transported their meat home on their backs or with the aid of horses. Although they stored food, the danger of running out was an ever-present source of dread. By Indian custom those with food supplied the needs of those without.

The southern Indians commonly lived along the streams, but there is scant record of Choctaws or Chickasaws living anywhere on the Upper Tombigbee in historic times. The center of the Chickasaw settlements was in the area of present Pontotoc and Tupelo. The division between Chickasaw and Choctaw territory was traditionally along Tibbee Creek and then northwestward by an indistinct line. The Choctaws lived in clusters of interior villages in central and southern Mississippi. The Creeks claimed the land as far west as the Tombigbee River in Alabama and Mississippi, but their boundary with the Choctaws was not specifically agreed upon. The Choctaws in 1805 and 1816 sold lands east of the Tombigbee formerly claimed by the Creeks, although the Creeks had already ceded to the United States the lands ceded in 1816 by the Choctaws. Indian occupation of the area between the Warrior and Tombigbee rivers in historic times was scant. (See Appendix ~ for an account of Clarence Bloomfield Moore's archeological explorations in 1901.)

The Indian trade of the Chickasaws and Choctaws might come from either east or west. To the Choctaws this meant either Mobile or Natchez. To the Chickasaws it meant either Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis) or South Carolina and Georgia. White traders entered the Chickasaw country in the late seventeenth century by pack horse from Charleston and dominated the trade of that tribe. Among the Choctaws they competed with the French, who generally had the upper hand. In the Creek country British and French traders were also rivals. The Spanish before 1783 took little part in the Indian trade of the interior. After that time they operated primarily through experienced French and British traders, chiefly the trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, which in the early 1790s had trading posts at Pensacola, Mobile, Walnut Hills (Vicksburg), and Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis, Tennessee).

In the American Revolution, the British superintendent of the southern Indians, John Stuart, worked until his dealth in 1779 to keep the friendship of the Indians for the British, while the Continental agent, George Galphin, worked to neutralize his efforts. The Creeks were divided, although late in the war they gave extensive help to the British in Georgia and South Carolina and some in East Florida. The Chickasaws, supposedly loyal to the British, were set to guard the Mississippi River, but they let the Willing expedition slip through and otherwise did not serve as very good guardians, although John McIntosh, Stuart's deputy, lived among them. The Choctaws were under British influence initially, but they were tampered with by the Spanish at New Orleans and did not prove very helpful allies to the British. The Spanish entered the war in 1779 and promptly captured the British garrison at Natchez, then, under General Bernardo de Galvez, captured Mobile in 1780 and Pensacola in 1781. By the peace treaties of Paris of 1783 Spain kept British West Florida and obtained East Florida as well. It will be remembered that West Florida's northern boundary was 32° 28" from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi, but the new American nation claimed as far south as 31°. The issue was resolved by Thomas Pinckney's Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795 in favor of the United States.

The southern Indians, before 1783 primarily pro-British, hastened to make terms with the victorious Spanish, the Choctaws and Chickasaws by treaties entered into at Mobile in 1783 and the Creeks by the Treaty of Pensacola of 1784. A critical problem for the Indians was trade, which had been heavily interdicted during the war. Ancillary agreements provided for regulation of trade, traders, and the prices of trade goods. The principal item supplied by the Indians was deerskins, but they required a great variety of European trade goods, not the least of which were guns and ammunition, desperately needed for hunting. The Spanish were not prepared to handle Indian relations effectively, nor did they have an established source of supply of trade goods. The British firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, operating out of St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile under Spanish license came to dominate the trade, although among the Choctaws and Chickasaws there were various old French traders, who were at least nominally converted into Spaniards. They lived with the Indians. There remained also several independent traders of British origin, who had Indian wives, such as James Colbert, John Pitchlynn, and Benjamin James, who had extensive influence among the Indians.

The movement of the influence of the United States into the southern Indian country is observable in the Hopewell treaties of 1785-1786 with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, which defined boundaries, forbade Americans to settle on Indian lands, and allowed the United States to regulate trade with the Indians. Until Congress should act to regulate trade, however, citizens of the United States might freely enter the Indian country to trade (Kappler, 1904, pp. 8-16). By the treaty of 1786 with the Chickasaws the United States acquired a reservation five miles in diameter on the Tennessee River at the lower part of Muscle Shoals in Alabama (Kappler, 1904, p. 15). In 1790 came the treaty of New York with the Creeks (Kappler, 1904, pp. 25-29).

Efforts of the Spanish to expand their influence and authority in the Indian country were checked by the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. Spain still controlled all of the Gulf Coast, and the Louisiana Territory, but Spain's

position was soon severely weakened by the wars of the French Revolution. The war between England and France, in which Spain was an unwilling French ally, put Panton, Leslie and Comapny in a ruinous position.

In order to open a land route of transportation from Nashville to Natchez, agents of the United States negotiated in 1801 a treaty with the Chickasaws and another with the Choctaws (Kappler, 1904, pp. 55-58). The next step was a survey in 1802 by Lieutenant Edmund P. Gaines, under orders from General James Wilkinson, of a route through the Chickasaw country for the road from Nashville. Following the survey, a road was soon opened that became known as the Natchez Trace and which for the next several years was more or less passable for wagons at some seasons. To further extend its influence among the Indians the United States prepared to establish several public trading factories among the Indians. One of these was established at Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis, Tennessee) in 1802, primarily for the Chickasaws. It was closed for a period during the War of 1812, then closed permanently in 1818. Competition from private traders and failure to make a profit were factors in the closing (Davis, 1965). In 1804, a factory was opened at Fort Stoddert, primarily for the Choctaws. It was soon moved to St. Stephens, near present Jackson, Alabama, then after the Creek war again moved to a site near Jones Bluff on the Upper Tombigbee near the present site of Epes. It operated until the Indian factory system was abolished in 1822 and was identified through most of its existence with the honest, reliable, and kindly personality of George S. Gaines, the factor (Jackson, 1957).

The Choctaws, a numerous tribe, comparable to the Creeks in number, lived in villages or towns, clustered in several parts of Mississippi, mostly westward from Jones Bluff. They seem to have had no permanent settlements on or east of the Black Prairie, so they did not live on the Upper Tombigbee River. Besides being hunters, they were also farmers, raising corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, tobacco, sweet potatoes, leeks, cabbage, garlic, and sunflowers (Myers, 1949, pp. 194-198). They also engaged in collecting wild food, such as hickory nuts, walnuts, pecans, wild strawberries and blackberries, and wild fruits.

The Chickasaws were hunters, but they, too, also engaged in agriculture. Many of them lived on the edge of the Black Prairie near Pontotoc in uncompacted agricultural settlements, where they raised crops similar to those of the Choctaws. The Chickasaws were far less numerous than the Choctaws. Both tribes had an infusion of white blood, and among them people of mixed blood were both numerous and influential out of proportion to their numbers. The Chickasaws were so mixed that they were known to traders in the eighteenth century as the "breeds." At different times they had one settlement among the Creeks and another on the Savannah River among the Cherokees, each place being known as "Breed Camp."

The acquisition of the Territory of Louisiana and of the Island of New Orleans by the United States in 1803 created an urgent need to connect the eastern seaboard of the United States with New Orleans by safe and reliable transportation. This meant the opening of roads and watercourses through the Indian Country. Growing numbers of frontiersmen were pressing upon the Indian country and tending to occupy the Indian lands illegally, although the federal government removed a good many of them. The Indians feared that permitting the opening of roads and watercourses through their country would lead to

disputes, thefts, and murders, for which all the Indians would be held responsible and punished, so they resisted and delayed the project, but the outcome of the dispute was inevitable.

In 1807 Gaines surveyed a route for a road from the head of Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River to Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee, shortly below the junction of the East and West Forks, through the Chickasaw hunting grounds. The road later opened along this route became known as Gaines' Trace (see Appendix 1). The Cotton Gin Port area had been the location of Bienville's fort in 1736, and it is said to have been a place where the federal government established a cotton gin for the Chickasaws, which the latter burned in 1801. Gaines' brother, George S. Gaines, the United States factor at St. Stephens, finding the Spanish in Mobile were interfering with the movement of trade goods to the factory in 1810, persuaded the Chickasaws to permit the opening of a horse path on the west side of the Tombigbee from Cotton Gin Port to Plymouth, which was just below Tibbee Creek and below Lincecum's Shoals on the Tombigbee.

The demand for roads through the Indian country continued to mount, although the Creeks objected vigorously. In 1811 it was decided to push the opening of roads whether the Indians consented or not. There was to be a route across the Creek country from Georgia to Fort Stoddert on the Mobile River, another from Fort Stoddert to New Orleans, and a third road to follow the line of Gaines' survey from Muscle Shoals to Cotton Gin Port and down the Tombigbee Valley to Fort Stoddert. The roads were opened in the fall of 1811, except that the work on the road down the Tombigbee was somewhat delayed. At various times work was done to improve the Natchez Trace, but it remained a very bad road for wagons. All of these roads could be difficult in wet weather. South of Plymouth much reliance was placed on the Tombigbee River, but there were considerable physical problems in its navigation at most seasons.

As a result of the war of 1812 between the United States and England and of the Creek war of 1813-1814 with the United States, the Indian resistance to penetration of the Indian country by the United States was broken. Extensive Indian land cessions opened the way for the survey and sale of the lands thus acquired by the government (see Fig. 7). Some sales had been made between 1809 and 1811 in the lower Tombigbee area and in the Mobile River area. Between 1810 and 1813 Spanish West Florida had been seized by the United States, thus opening the way to free navigation of the Mobile River and its tributaries. In 1815 peace came in North America and in Europe, and a new era in the history of the South and of the West in the United States began.

With war at an end and vast new lands in the South and West now available, settlers long anxious for land poured in. There were rapid surveys of the lands newly acquired from the Indians, and sales proceeded apace. In 1816 the Choctaws and Chickasaws surrendered their claims to all lands bordering on the eastern side of the Tombigbee and south of Gaines' Trace (Kappler, 1904, pp. 135-137). Soon the lands there were surveyed and offered for sale at auction. In 1817 the Alabama Territory was formed out of the eastern part of the Mississippi Territory, and the western part was admitted to the Union as the State of Mississippi. These events were accompanied and supported by a rapid influx of people, primarily from the states to the

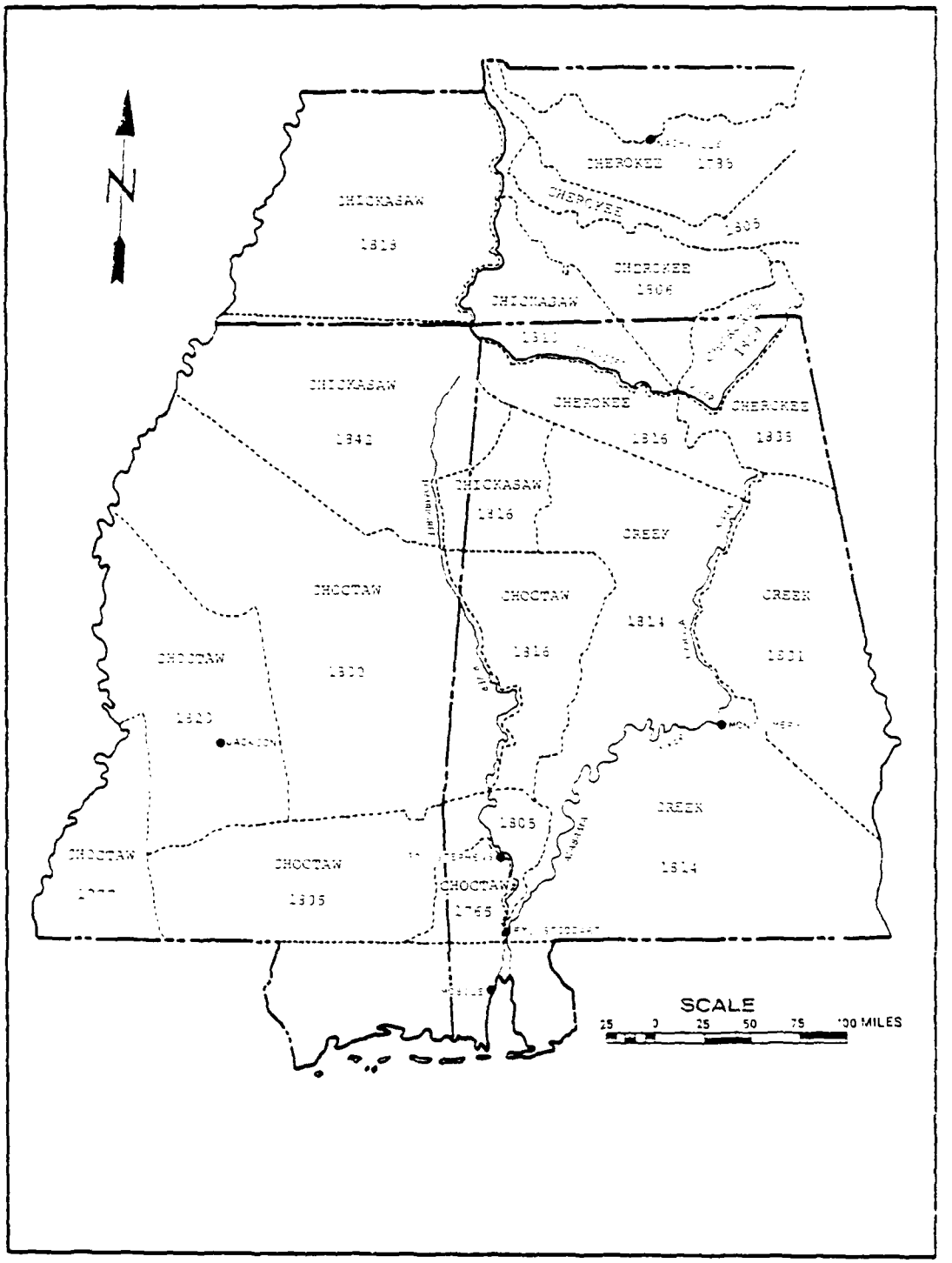

FIG. 7. INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND WESTERN TENNESSEE.

east, who were anxious to acquire productive lands cheaply. It was commonly thought that all the lands east of the Tombigbee were in Alabama.

Gaines' Trace from the Tennessee River reached the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port, and both the river and the trace became parts of the boundary of the United States with the Chickasaws under the Chickasaw treaty of 1816, which restricted the entry of white traders into Indian lands. Cotton Gin Port became an important Indian trading center. By 1820 it had a population of 46 whites and three blacks (Rodabough, February 11, 1971). Others came in the early 1820s. By 1823 there was an inn, a ferry, and a mill of some kind. John Breeding had a store at a spot called Breeding's Landing nearby. On April 15, 1824, the Cotton Gin Land Company was formed to plat the town.

In the early nineteenth century the United States brought strong influence to bear on the Indians to induce them to adopt the white man's methods in plant and animal husbandry. The response was strong but uneven and created stresses among the Indians following different ways of life. Some of them became raisers of cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, and poultry. Some, in fact, became owners of slaves and commercial producers of cotton. Most Indians continued to live with a minimum of shelter, clothing, and household utensils. However, some Indians, mostly those of mixed blood, began to build elaborate houses. Fragmentary archeological evidence observed by the authors at Tuckabatchee and Tensaw indicates that the wealthy Indains lived very much as did the wealthy white frontiersmen. In the 1820s there was a remarkable expansion of both Choctaws and Chickasaws, who moved in great numbers out of their relatively concentrated settlements to widely dispersed individual farms on selected sites.

The area about Columbus, on the east side of the Tombigbee, was of early interest to pioneer white settlers. The best pioneer description of the Columbus area comes from a pioneer settler by the name of Gideon Lincecum, who moved there from Tuscaloosa. He engaged in rafting logs on the Tombigbee River and in a wide variety of other activities. Some of these are reflected in the following account in his own words (Burkhalter, 1965, p. 26):

> *We were supposed to be in Alabama, but when the line dividing the states of Alabama and Mississippi was laid out, we found ourselves ten miles on the Mississippi side in a slip of country eighty miles long and averaging twenty miles wide. The Tombigbee River was the line betwixt us and the Indians. The legislature at length recognized us as a part of the state of Mississippi and named this long strip of land Monroe County. . . . About this time the people began to talk of sending me to the legislature and to avoid such a dilemma I went over the river and entered into a partnership with John Pitchlyn Jr. . . . He was an educated man and a very clever fellow, but a most incorrigible drunkard. But that would make no difference, as according to the contract and to evade the intercourse regulations which forbid any white man with a family dwelling within the Nation he, Pitchlyn, was to have nothing in the management of the business. In the knowledge of all outsiders, I occupied the position of a superintending clerk. Pitchlyn had a good store house at the ferry landing opposite Columbus and four or five thousand dollars worth of goods. I had about the same amount and we put them together. . . . Pitchlyn's residence was two miles from the store, a circumstance favorable to our business for he was, when drunk,*

so abusive and so often drunk, that he was not popular with the Indians. I was known to most of the Choctaws, my Indian name was Shapo-to-hola--White Hat. The first time he saw me, I had on a white hat. . . . I finished the large house Pitchlyn had commenced and on the 8th of January 1822 gave a subscription ball, $5.00 a head for men, which from the novelty of such a thing in the Choctaw Nation was attended by a number of people. The ball money paid for the house. Great was the situation for making money, we were so unhealthy that we were forced to leave it. Pitchlyn, without my knowledge, had gone up to Cotton Gin Port, rented a house and ordered his goods on the reputation of our Choctaw establishment had set up $5,000 stock of goods and engaged a drunken fellow by the name of [Andrew] Morrison to superintend the selling of them to the Chickasaw Indians. Pitchlyn spent most of his time there, where he could drink free of my interference. . . . After a while Pitchlyn came and told me that Morrison had made way with the greater part of the goods, and that he wanted me to go up and take possession and save what I could, and I finally consented. I rented houses for my family, but as we continued unhealthy, I went out into the hills and selected a quarter section of public land, entered it and built houses and moved my family, as soon as possible. Here among the clean, uncropped grass, in high dry land we all recovered our health.

Lincecum spent much of his time with the Choctaw Indians, with whose language he became familiar, and studied their ways, habits and adaptations to life on the frontier. He rather extravagantly sympathized with them against the white intruders as the words from him which follow show (Burkhalter, 1965, p. 24):

> *Now if there could be born an honest, liberty-loving leader who would take things in hand, concentrate the Indian forces, capture all the praying [sic] white races and their allies, the mixed-blood cut throats, and chop off their damn heads, there would remain the most innocent, law-abiding people on earth--the pure Indian.*

It seems safe to say that it would be hard to find another white settler who sympathized with Lincecum's viewpoint in this matter, for the Indian was generally regarded as a nuisance to be removed as soon as possible.

The Chickasaw treaty of 1816 provided, on the basis of the solicitation of the Indians, that since peddlers from the United States created disputes and misunderstandings among them and perpetrated frauds, no more licenses were to be granted by the Chickasaw agent of the United States to allow persons to traffic in merchanidse in the Chickasaw Nation. The penalty was to have the goods confiscated. The result was that those wishing to trade with the Chickasaws found it convenient to do so on the east bank of the Tombigbee River, outside the Indian territory. For this purpose Cotton Gin Port was particularly well suited for a center of the Chickasaw trade during the 1820s, it being the closest point for legal trade to the principal settlements of the Chickasaws. Half-breeds, classed as Indians, might very profitably serve as traders in the Indian country itself. It was in a situation with the Choctaws that was similar to this that the Lincecum-Pitchlyn partnership operated in the West Port area near Columbus.

For purposes of travel both the Indians and the white traders used trails which might be followed by pack horses. On this subject Merle W. Myers, the principal geographer of the region, has the following to say (Myers, 1949, p. 203):

> *As a result of their partly nomadic habits and of their rather extensive intratribal and intertribal connections, economic and military, a great many trails developed in the Chickasaw and Choctaw country. The trails were of two major types--long ones between Nations and shorter ones between villages. There were also trails extending to salt licks, water bodies, tradings posts, and so forth. The trails played a part in later development of the first roads of the region and it is logical that they should do so. Major trails followed drainage divides as much as possible, avoiding flooded land and dense canebrake and "briar" country. Some important trails ran from the Chickasaw settlements northwest to the Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis); northeast to the Tennessee River bend and beyond; southwest and southeast to the Choctaw country and Mobile. Two long trails in the Prairie, frequently mentioned by early settlers, were the "Big Trading Path" to Mobile from the Chickasaw country; and the "Six Towns Trail"; also from the Chickasaw country to the towns of the Choctaw. The trails leading southwest and northeast from the Chickasaw settlements were used late in the eighteenth century by boat men returning from the Lower Mississippi, then as a post route, finally giving rise to the celebrated Natchez trace of the early nineteenth century. Other trails even some Indian roads, developed in the nineteenth century with the establishment of mission stations and schools, Indian agencies, new trading posts and location of farms back from the streams to which they wished to be linked. Many of the Trails or Traces were still observable at the time of the government survey in the 1830's period.*

In 1817 Congress appropriated money to build a road from Reynoldsburg, on the Tennessee River, south along the eastern edge of the Black Prairie to join the Natchez Trace near the Chickasaw towns in Lee County (Myers, 1949, p. 211). With the aid of congressional appropriations the United States constructed between 1817 and 1820 what was known as the Military Road or Jackson's Military Road. It extended from Tuscumbia, Alabama, on the Tennessee River, southwestward to a crossing of the Tombigbee River at Columbus, then southwestward across the prairies of present Lowndes and Noxubee counties, crossing the Noxubee River a little above Macon. (See Fig. 8.) The portion west of the Tombigbee quickly deteriorated from neglect almost to the point of uselessness.

In 1820 the Mayhew Mission was founded west of Columbus in the northwest corner of Oktibbeha County in the Black Prairie, the particular area being known as the "Mayhew Prairie." It soon became a focal point of roads and trails through a fertile region. For example, it was soon connected with both Columbus and Plymouth Bluff by road. In the 1820s a road was opened from Athens, a new settlement in Monroe County, west across the Tombigbee below the site of the later town of Aberdeen, to a crossing of Tibbee Creek near Mayhew Mission, and on to Doak's Stand on the Natchez Trace north of Jackson. It was known as Doak's Road. East of the Tombigbee, in areas open to white settlement, roads radiated out from Columbus to Pickensville, Hamilton, Athens, and Cotton Gin Port, and eastward to Tuscaloosa (Myers, 1949, pp. 215-218). Another road of

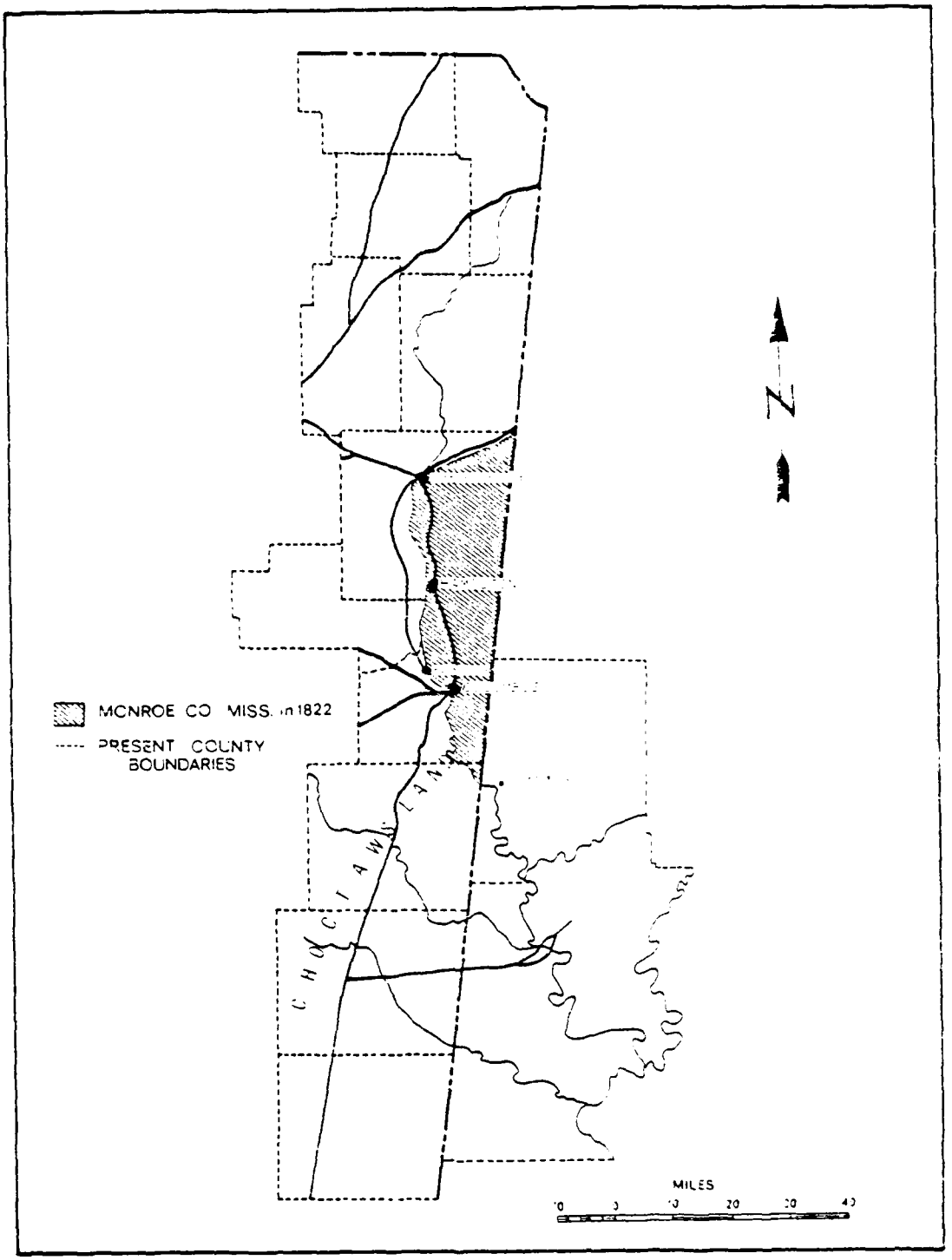

FIG. 8. MONROE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, AND SURROUNDING AREA, 1822.

the 1820s ran west from Cotton Gin Port to Tokshish Mission, the Chickasaw Agency, and the Chickasaw settlements in the Tupelo-Pontotoc area, and there were still other roads.

The land surveyors in 1820 revealed that there was a considerable area east of the Tombigbee that lay within the State of Mississippi. Thereupon in 1821 the legislature created the county of Monroe, which contained Cotton Gin Port and a little settlement far to the south, on high ground near the Tombigbee, known as Possum Town, but later, in 1822, incorporated as Columbus. The new county was isolated from the rest of Mississippi settlement by Indian territories. (See Fig. 8.) The legislature created a county seat about halfway between at Hamilton, then nonexistent, situated on Henry Willis' farm, a mile or so east of the river and two miles north of the Buttahatchee River (Riley, 1902, pp. 227-58). Present Hamilton is a new town, about five miles away. In 1822 a court house and jail were finished, and in 1825 the town was surveyed into lots (Rodabough, February 11, 1971).

The growth of a village on the Tombigbee at Columbus encouraged Congress to provide in 1821 for a road from Columbus westward to the Natchez Trace, thus connecting the isolated county by a road through the Indian country with the rest of the state. The road, soon known as the Robinson Road, connected with the Natchez Trace at Brashears' Stand, and it was kept in repair. The opening of the Military Road and the Robinson Road made possible in the mid-twenties, for the first time, continuous stage service from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans by way of Natchez (Myers, 1949, p. 13). Columbus, situated well above the floods, on the east side of the Tombigbee, was connected by river with Mobile and by road with Nashville, Natchez, and New Orleans. It was thus in a good position to develop as a commercial center. The extensive country of best agricultural promise, however, lay west of the Tombigbee and belonged to the Indians. By 1830 there were ten stands on the Robinson Road. This road did not follow the ridges but crossed extensive wet bottom lands and was expensive to maintain (Phelps, 1950).

As the geographer Myers sees it (Myers, 1949, pp. 218-219):

> *Even before the cession of the prairie . . . by the Indians, a loose network of roads, following Indian trails and drainage divides was developing. Most of the roads had as one terminus a river, especially the Tombigbee River, showing that already this was developing as an important artery of travel and communication and destined to become even more important as the Prairie lands were opened up for settlement. As was true with the major roads and traces, many of the later roads of the Indian period have continued in use to the present day, though portions of them have been abandoned. In fact, a great many of the present day roads, those not governed by the system of sectional survey, are remnants of the earlier roads and traces and still are called by their early names.*

Thus was the physical structure to govern the patterns of early settlement well laid before the actual great flow of population into the area got underway.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE WHITE SETTLERS

The lands of Monroe County, surveyed early in the 1820s, were offered for sale under the new Land Act of 1820, which abolished the credit system and made lands not taken at auction available at private sale for $1.25 per acre. One hundred dollars in cash would buy an eighty-acre lot. Men roamed about to locate the best lands they could find for purchase. We have no estimate of how many chose not to purchase but to remain as squatters on the public domain. Many looked forward with increasing eagerness to the time when the rich prairie lands west of the Tombigbee would be ceded by the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The settlements on the east side of the Tombigbee were Cotton Gin Port, Athens, Hamilton, Columbus, and Pickensville. They served as bases in the preparation for the occupation and exploitation of the lands west of the Tombigbee as soon as the Indians should cede them.

Meanwhile the impact of the developments of the 1820s on the Indians living west of the Tombigbee River was terrific. They were subjected intensively to the white man's ideas. They were increasingly surrounded by whites who wanted their lands. Their hunting was being progressively ruined. The white man's agriculture was being urged upon them as a model, and they were increasingly adopting it. They spread out rapidly from their villages, now that armed enemies no longer worried them, and built homes and farms much like those of the frontier whites. They raised livestock increasingly and wanted the same kind of stock range lands that the whites did. They became more intensive in their agriculture, and some grew considerable amounts of cotton, a few with Negro slave labor. They used the white man's money. Some opened fields and pasture lands near the Tombigbee.

The Indians were getting more like the whites; in fact, some were whites who had been taken into Indian society, and there were many others who were of mixed blood. English names among them became common, and a few of the whites and people of mixed blood were literate. It was these people among the Indians who took the lead in developing individual farms and trying to acquire wealth.

However, in 1829, Mississippi extended legal process to the Indian country, and in 1830 it extended Mississippi laws over the Indians. The white people of Alabama and Mississippi coveted the Indian lands and their demands reached a responsive government in Washington.

In 1830 at Dancing Rabbit Creek the Choctaws ceded their lands west of the Tombigbee to the United States (Kappler, 1904, pp. 310-319). The treaty provided for the removal of the Indians to the country west of the Mississippi River (see Fig. 7 for Indian land cessions). It provided that liberal land grants in fee simple would be made to individual Indians who chose to remain. On the surface it appeared that the Indians had made a very good deal for them-

selves. No white settlements were to be permitted before the main body of the Indians was removed to the West. Individual Choctaws might sell their particular land holdings and improvements. In practice the Indians fared badly. White settlers moved in despite the prohibitions of the treaty. Indians were generally swindled out of their property, and nearly all, including those of mixed blood, departed within a few years (Young, 1961). Some townships near Columbus were surveyed in 1833-34 and were offered for sale for auction in 1834.

The Chickasaws stayed longer, but in 1832 they, too, agreed to go to the West. The Treaty of Pontotoc of that year recites (Kappler, 1904, pp. 356-362):

> *The Chickasaw Nation find themselves oppressed in their present situation; by being made subject to the laws of the States in which they reside. Being ignorant of the language and laws of the white man, they cannot understand or obey them. Rather than submit to this great evil, they prefer to seek a home in the west, where they may live and be governed by their own laws.*

The treaty provided that the ceded lands should be surveyed and sold by the United States and the proceeds paid to the tribe, individuals being paid for their respective improvements. If the movement westward should not have been effected before the lands were offered for sale, individual Indians might obtain allotments from the surveyed lands to use as long as they occupied them. The Chickasaws were slow in obtaining suitable lands in the West, and meanwhile, despite treaty provisions, the whites moved in, set up stores, and sought out good lands for purchase.

Chickasaw representatives went to Washington in 1834 and negotiated the Treaty of Washington (Kappler, 1904, pp. 418-425), in which the United States agreed to keep intruders out of Chickasaw lands. It was also arranged that the allotments to individual Indians be in fee. The remaining lands were to be offered at public sale (auction), with a minimum price of $1.25 per acre. Lands unsold would subsequently be available at private entry (private sale) at the minimum price. After one year the price would be reduced to $1.00, after two years to $.50, after three years to $.25, and after four years to $.125. The lands were surveyed, and very extensive areas, including those along the Tombigbee River were covered with Indian allotments, on which the United States issued patents in the early 1840s to individual Indians. Land sales in the Chickasaw cession began in 1836. In January, 1837, the Chickasaws arranged to buy extensive Choctaw lands in Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. Whites managed to buy up most of the Indian allotments in Mississippi, usually rather cheaply. A few chiefs of mixed blood, with large allotments, did very well.

The title of the original inhabitants to the lands was recognized by the British and later by the American government. That title had to be cleared before the lands could be surveyed and sold. Indians held the lands as tenants in common, not as individuals owning separate plots. So some means had to be found to secure the general consent of the Indians, who usually resisted sale with great tenacity. This was accomplished by manipulation or intimidation of the Indians into alienating their titles by treaties of cession.

The basic system of land surveys and sales by the United States was set up by the Land Ordinance of 1785. Lands owned by the United States were surveyed

into rectangular lots and offered at public sale (auction). Lands not taken during the auction period were subsequently available at "private sale" at a fixed minimum price from the appropriate government land office. Since a large part of the lands of the United States, except on the eastern seaboard, were a part of the public domain, the policy of survey and sale by the federal government has been an important and integral part of the process of westward expansion and exploitation of resources.

As modified by the Land Act of 1796, the system of surveys provided for rectangular townships six miles square numbered from a standard base line and a standard meridian in each land district (see Fig. 9). Vertical rows of townships were called ranges and were numbered east and west from the principal meridian. The townships within each range were numbered north and south from the standard base line.

The Land Act of 1796 provided for the surveying of each township into thirty-six sections, each one mile square and containing 640 acres. The sections were numbered in each township according to a standard plan from one to thirty-six. In actual practice there were many incomplete, fractional townships. In areas where there were claims recognized before the survey took place, these claims might be surveyed first and given section numbers, so that on the lower Tombigbee River we sometimes find numbers of sections reaching above thirty-six. In many places the surveyors also divided the sections into halves, quarters, half quarters, and quarter quarters.

In 1820 credit purchases were abolished, but the minimum price was reduced from $2.00 to $1.25 per acre. There had been much overbuying of lands on credit, and the Panic of 1819, which brought severe economic difficulties, left many people unable to make payments on their lands. Various acts of Congress made it possible for the purchasers to delay payment or to relinquish part of their lands and keep the rest. There were too few early settlers near the Tombigbee for these measures to have much effect there.

The lands of the Tombigbee area were surveyed in four different land districts, each with its own principal meridian and base line. Where the district boundary is at the Tombigbee River or at Gaines' Trace, the irregularities in the survey can be very confusing. The lands east of the Tombigbee in Alabama and Mississippi obtained by treaties with the Creeks in 1814 and the Choctaws and Chickasaws in 1816 were brought to market between 1820 and 1828. Lands about Pickensville and Nashville were offered at auction in 1821. Those at Columbus, Hamilton, and Cotton Gin Port became available in 1824, all the settlers there having previously been squatters. Mary E. Young has published maps showing when all areas in Alabama and Mississippi were brought to market (see Figs. 10 and 11).

In many areas, before or after the clearing of the Indian title, settlers moved in without authorization. They would commonly clear an area, build a cabin, and plant a corn patch. These "improvements," on lands that the settlers, known as squatters, did not own, might increase the value of the land when it was sold at auction. The unauthorized settlers might form a coalition to intimidate buyers or they might get Congress to grant them preemption rights to the purchase of lots, including their improvements, at the minimum price. For a variety of reasons these problems and issues did not deeply affect the sub-

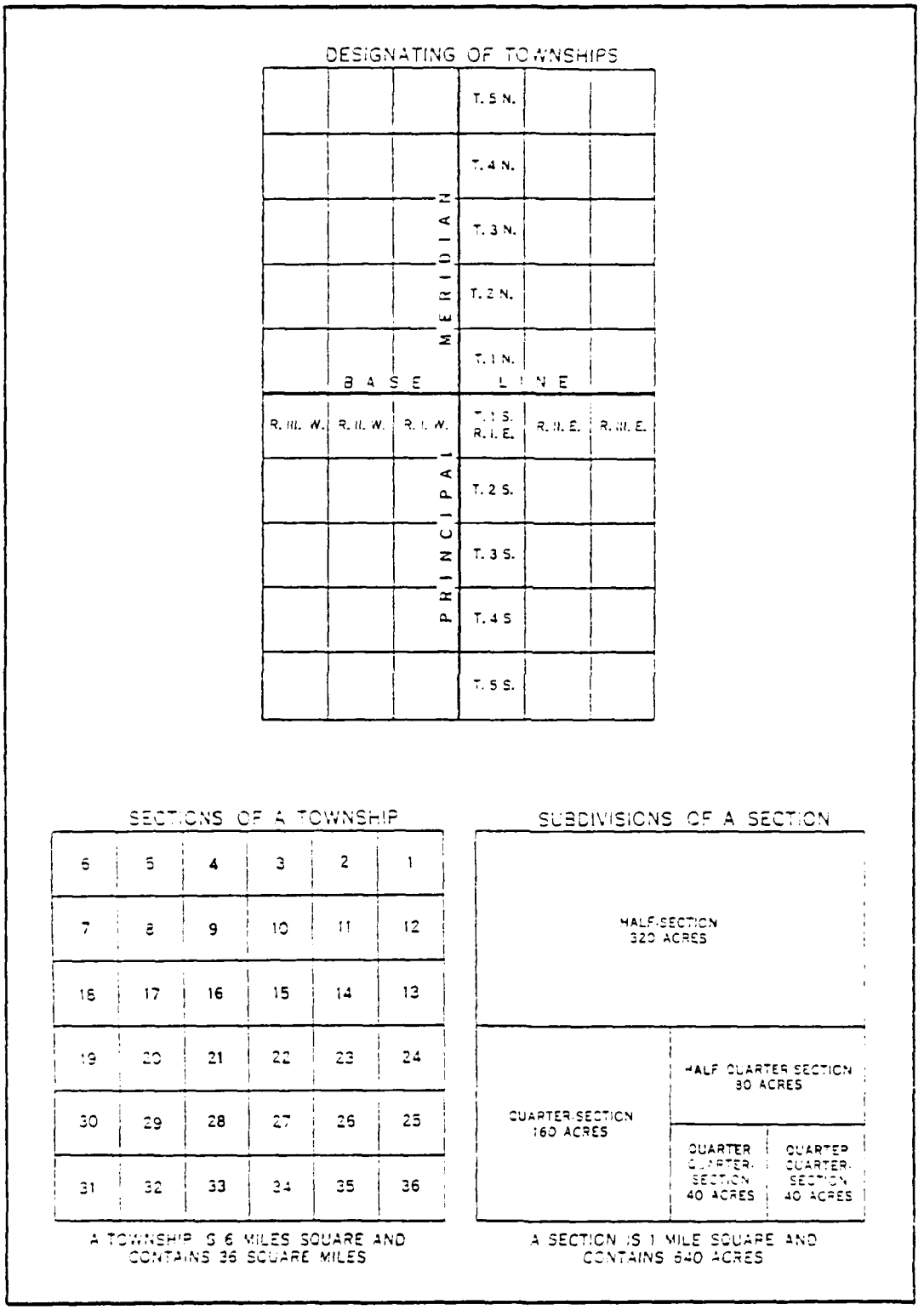

FIG. 9. THE SYSTEM OF SURVEYS PROVIDED IN THE PUBLIC LAND ACT OF 1796.

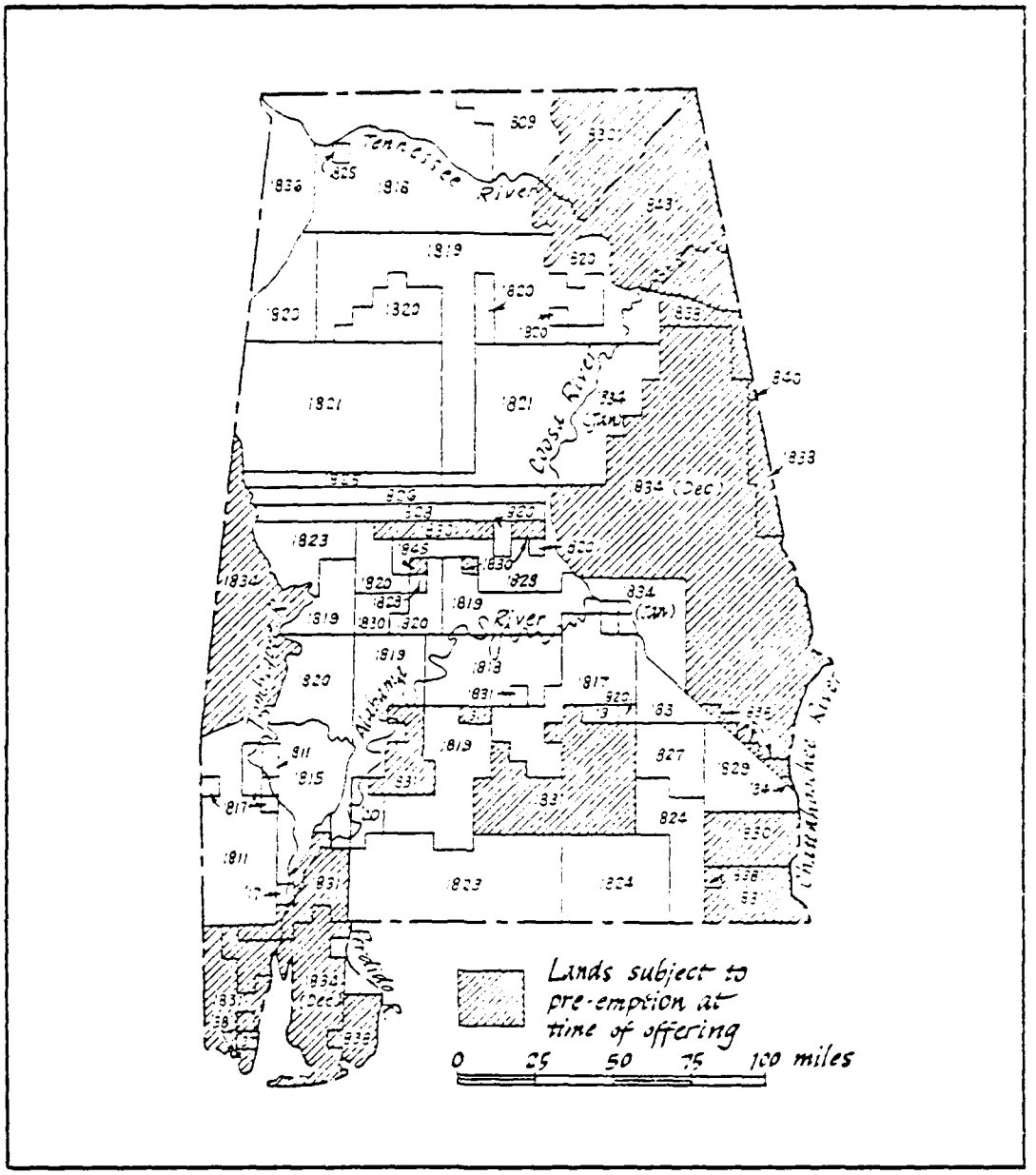

FIG. 10. LANDS OFFERED AT PUBLIC SALE IN ALABAMA, WITH DATES. Map From Mary E. Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks. Copyright, 1961, by University of Oklahoma Press. Used by permission.

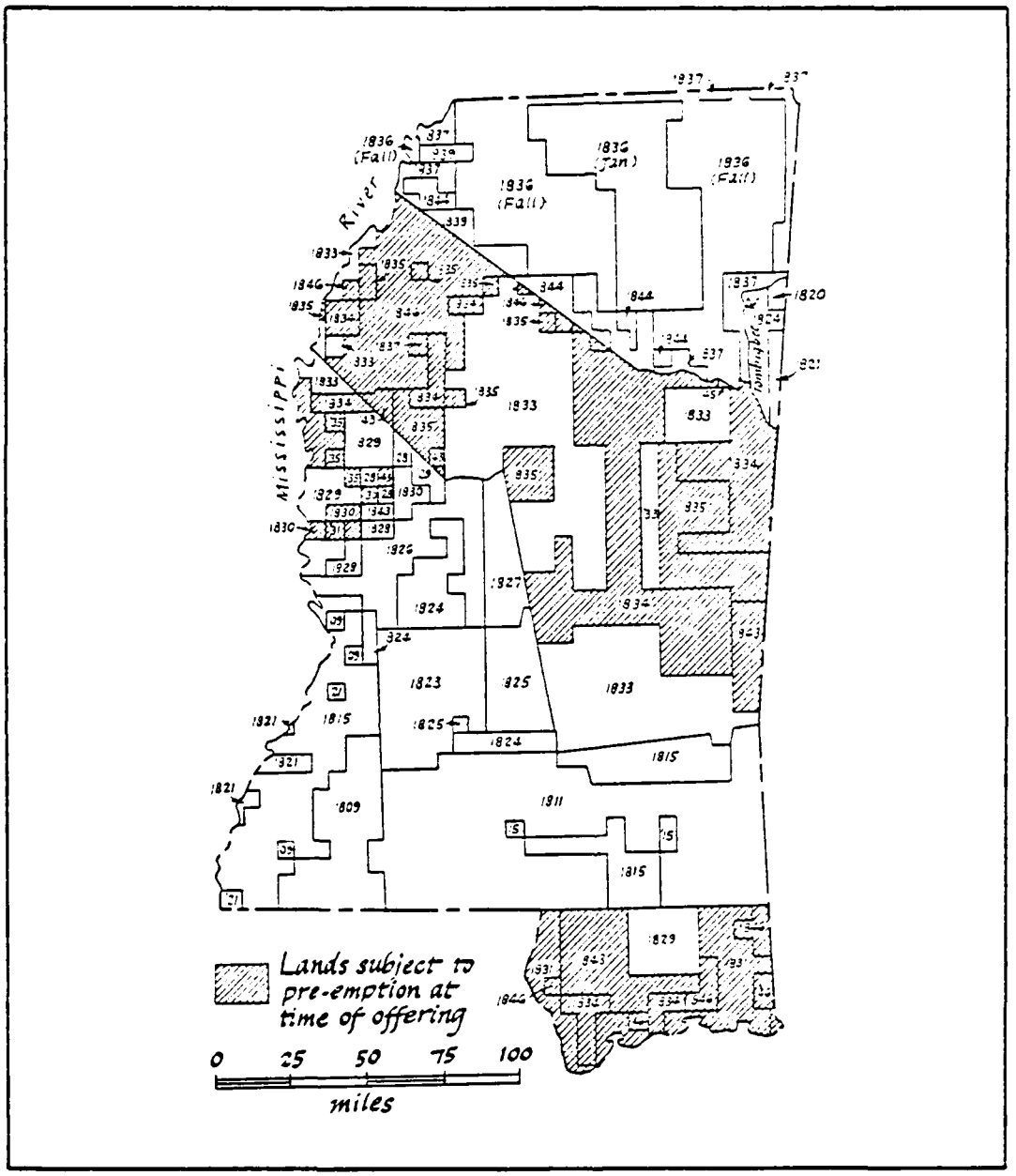

FIG. 11. LANDS OFFERED AT PUBLIC SALE IN MISSISSIPPI, WITH DATES. Map from Mary E. Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks. Copyright, 1961, by University of Oklahoma Press. Used by permission.

sequent auctions of land along the Tombigbee, except that by an act of June 30, 1834, Congress permitted preemption, in the Choctaw purchase, of 160 acres at $1.25 per acre, if the purchaser had cultivated the land in 1833 (Young, 1961, p. 581).

The problems of a settler in finding a suitable place for settlement and the issues and choices involved are illustrated in letters of James Nance of Pickensville to his father in North Carolina in 1832 (typescripts supplied by Jack D. Elliott of Palo Alto, Mississippi from copies said to be in the home of Mrs. Catherine Spell of Carrollton, Alabama). He passed the summer of 1832 in examining lands in various places. In July he made an eight-day trip alone into the Choctaw nation to look for a place to settle. For two days he saw only Indians, whose language he could not understand. Viewing the prairies, he said:

> *It looks like some ocean, not a tree nor a shrub only once and a while some scrubby blackjack, and is covered in grape and weeds from knee to six feet high and take the country generally through very rich lands enough to make any man leave home.*
>
> * * * * *
>
> *But the disadvantage in this is no water at this season of the year, only in places I rode from morning until night before I got a drop and then not good and camped with the Indians. In winter the muddiest country you ever saw and most disagreeable. . . . If government was to give me one thousand acres, I could not be satisfied to move there in my opinion for I think it will be a sickly place. Let others make the trial before me.*

Others were already moving into the prairie, but Nance went to the land office at Tuscaloosa and bought 160 acres of rich land on the east side of the Tombigbee and began clearing it. "The disadvantage is this," he said, "it is subject to overflow in large freshets. . . . We cannot live nearer than one mile and half with safety for health tho I have seen people live in worse places than that." Nance observed that he had gone to a cow-selling and seen from ten to seventy-five cattle sold. He had killed four wildcats and four deer. Along the river, where the cane was thick, he had been frightened by a bear.

In 1832 Nance described his living quarters as follows:

> *The house we live in is a small house built of logs with a shed on each side and pyazer [piazza] on the ends, no shutters for [nor] doors, a part of the floor is split pieces of poplar. I live at home and owe nothing, only to Lemuel.*

Nance soon sold his North Carolina farm and borrowed additional money to buy slaves and land near the Tombigbee. In 1833 he reported:

> *We have eighteen in family, now we require your greasy meat sticks. . . . My heaviest hog weighed 248 lbs. and I bought the hogs from the Indians in August at 4 dollars a piece. . . . I have 20 hogs for another year I also have 9 head of cattle 4 head of horses. I made a plenty of corn to serve my need tho I bought 52 bushels. . . . I bought it four [for] a debt that was owing to me at 50 cents per bushel. . . . I made 2800 lbs. of cotton and only had 20 acres. . . . This is a plentiful country to them that use industry . . .*

As to the Black Prairie in Mississippi James Nance remarked:

> *Great many disadvantages will and does attend that country tho the richest land I ever saw it is more than as good again as any land on Swift Creek. You cannot manure any land in Wake County equal to it. I have no doubt but that it will bring 1500 weight of cotton to the acre and not a single tree upon it.*

In April, 1833, Nance went to Mobile on a steamboat with his cotton, where, he said:

> *I purchased all my necessarys such as sugar, coffee, flour, fish, molasses, irons, blacksmith tools sawmill irons and when I quit I owed them three hundred and forty-seven dollars . . .*

In July, 1833, he took a three-week trip into Mississippi to examine lands. He wrote:

> *You need not think I am going to move, for I intend to saw all the pine I have before I leave this hill. If I should leave, the building of my mill is a severe job. . . . My work men sets in tomorrow week and charges the small sum of seven dollars per day.*

He made a good cotton crop and sought to buy more land, but the price in his neighborhood was fifteen to twenty dollars per acre. He did not buy at such prices but sought lands elsewhere that might be available from the government at the minimum price. He must have done very well, for Nance's Ferry across the Tombigbee and Nance's steam mills on the western side have left their mark on the map, along with Nance's brick kilns, and Nance's descendants, who lived long in the area. While Nance was no literary artist, the fragmentary observations in his letters tell us much about the country on the Tombigbee in which he lived in the early 1830s. Lands along the Tombigbee were subject to flooding, and mosquito-borne diseases were a menace. Living too close was highly undesirable, but how close it was safe to live could be determined only by some years of experience.

Settlers of the Nance type were numerous, and many had greater resources initially than he. They came from the plantation lands of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and they sought cheap and productive lands on which to grow cotton with slave labor. Others, without slaves and with lesser assets, sought to make it by their own labor and that of their families. They had to concentrate on subsistence until they could produce a surplus of a marketable crop.

Concerning the early settlers Frank L. Owsley, Sr., has this to say (Owsley, 1945, p. 171):

> *The method of migration and settlement in the South was fairly uniform during the pioneer period. Friends and relatives in the same or neighboring communities formed one or more parties and moved out together, and when they had reached the promised land they constituted a new community, which was called a "settle-ment"--and it is still so called.*

Settlements were frequently miles apart, and the inhabitants of a single settlement would be more scattered than they had been in the old community in the East; and the settlers would come in after the first trek in smaller groups or in single families and fill in the interstices. These later comers would often be relatives or friends of those who had come first, or friends of their friends. Frequently church congregations would move in a body . . .

Some of these migrants would prosper and some would not. Concerning what was to happen to them Owsley has this to say (ibid., p. 175):

The agricultural immigrants who had deliberately shunned the fertile but tough clay and lime soils and had settled upon inferior sandy-loam lands placed limitations--though not as severe--upon their future economic prosperity in a way similar to the piney wood and mountain folk. While many became well-to-do, few became rich, for the economic level of an agricultural people can rise but little above the level of the fertility of the soil. On such lands were many large farmers and small planters with ten or fifteen slaves, but there were few if any large planters. Those agricultural migrants who moved into the rich lands were the most fortunate; for, while most who settled in the black belt were possessed of only moderate means at the time of settlement, nearly all rose greatly in the economic scale and many who were poor in the beginning became immensely wealthy before 1860. There were thus several regions differing greatly in fertility of soil, and consequently in wealth. As between these regions there was segregation; but within each region there was very little. In the black belt, for example, the property of non-slaveholders and the great planters lay intermingled, and the census and tax lists show that the values of their lands and their agricultural productions per acre were about the same.

There was still another class of settlers, however, with a different background and a different way of life. This was the herdsmen. They raised cattle and hogs and sometimes other livestock on vast ranges which they did not own. These people were generally not literate, and the accounts of them come primarily from the occasional observations of others. The direct observations that have come to hand of those who settled in our subject area are few and fragmentary. They were squatters on public land or Indian land--or anybody's land. They required large areas for range pastures; such areas were available in the mountains, hills, and the piney woods. Particularly attractive were the canebrake areas of the river flood plain in Alabama and Mississippi, where all-year range pasture was available. The chief historian of these people is Frank L. Owsley, Sr., who gives us the words of several observers, although unfortunately none in our subject area. There was William H. Sparks, the jurist, from the Natchez, Mississippi, district, who observed the settlements east of Pearl River. He said (ibid, p. 157) that these were

. . . constituted of a different people [from the agricultural population farther west]: most of them were from the poorer districts of Georgia and the Carolinas. True to the instincts of the people from whom they were descended, they sought as nearly as possible just such a country as that from which they came, and were really refugees from a growing civilization

consequent upon a denser population and its necessities. They were not agriculturists in a proper sense of that term; true, they cultivated in some degree the soil, but it was not the prime pursuit of these people, nor was the location sought for this purpose. They desired an open, poor, pine country, which forbade a numerous population.

Here they reared immense herds of cattle, which subsisted exclusively upon coarse grass and reeds which grew abundantly among the tall, long-leafed pine, and along the small creeks and branches in this section. Through these almost interminable pine forests the deer were abundant, and the canebrakes full of bears. They combined the pursuit of hunting and stock-minding, and derived support and revenue almost exclusively from these.

Sparks tells the story of his grandfather, a few years after the American Revolution, migrating from Georgia (ibid., p. 158):

He carried with him a small, one-horse cart pulled by an old grey mare, one feather bed, an oven, a frying-pan, two pewter dishes, six pewter plates, as many spoons, a rifle gun, and three deer-hounds. He worried through the Creek Nation, extending then from the Oconee River [in Georgia] to the Tombigbee River [flowing through parts of eastern Mississippi and western Alabama].

After four months of arduous travel he found his way to Leaf River, and there built his cabin; and my grandmother, and my father, who was born on the trip in the heart of the Creek Nation, commenced to make a fortune. He found on a small creek on beautiful water a little bay land, and made his little field for corn and pumpkins upon that spot, all around us was poor, barren woods, and he said it was a good range for stock; but he had not an ox or cow on the face of the earth. The truth is it looked like Emanuel County [in Georgia]. The turpentine smell, the moan of the wind through the pine-trees, and nobody within fifty miles of him, was too captivating a concantation to be resisted, and he rested here.

About five years after he came, a man from Pearl River was driving some cattle by to Mobile, and gave may grandfather two cows to help him drive his cattle. It was over one hundred miles and you would have supposed it a dear bargain; but it turned out well, for the old man in about six weeks got back with six other head of cattle [he had obviously been engaged in a bit of cattle rustling]. From these he commenced to rear a stock which in time became large [which indeed, according to Sparks' account, developed into a sizable fortune]. [The brackets are Owsley's.]

Frederick L. Olmsted, the New York landscape architect, says of another southern area (ibid., p. 162):

The hills generally afford an excellent range, and the mast is usually good, much being provided by the chestnut, as well as the oak, and smaller nut bearing trees. . . . Horses, mules, cattle and swine, are raised extensively, and sheep and goats in smaller numbers throughout the mountains, and afford almost the only articles of agricultural export.

Owsley himself observes (ibid., p. 161):

The best pasture lands were always those most suited for agriculture, and the herdsmen in quest of fine pasture naturally drove their herds into those parts of the public domain which the immigrant farmers would soon occupy. The result was that all the way from the Atlantic coast to the arid regions of the Southwest and from colonial times till after the Civil War, these pastoral folk were continuously crowded from the arable lands by the agricultural folk.

Owsley further observes (ibid., p. 162):

Grazing as distinct from livestock feeding was of greater relative importance in the ante-bellum South than in any other part of the United States. Indeed, the South produced a larger number of mules, swine, and beef cattle in proportion to population than any other section until 1860.

As we shall see in a later chapter, the dynamics of time, geography, and circumstance had sealed the future fate of these people. Owley observes (ibid., p. 175):

The herdsmen, who withdrew to the rugged and sterile lands in order that they might continue the occupation that they preferred, placed drastic limitations upon their own future economic well-being. As long as the pine belt and highlands were not overcrowded by man and beast, the range remained good and these semi-pastoral folk lived well and possessed a strong sense of security. They were certainly not poor whites as a class; but neither were many of them wealthy. Eventually, when these regions began to be crowded--all this was happening a few places prior to the Civil War--the people would be compelled to graze fewer cattle and cultivate more and more land until they would find themselves farmers cultivating poor soil without much knowledge of agriculture.

The pastoral people were an ever-present factor in the settlement of the subject area, but they were generally not landowners, and they have produced but few written records, so the historians have tended to ignore them. They raised corn and vegetables for home consumption and, where the fertility of their little valleys permitted, might grow rather extensive amounts of corn to be fed to their stock or sold for feeding to herds driven through their country to market. The up-country cotton farmers and planters who settled on the new lands also had livestock, but their main emphasis was on plant husbandry.

CHAPTER VI

SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE TOMBIGBEE

A considerable tide of white settlers crossed the Tombigbee River in the 1830s. Although the prices bid at public land auctions were, with a few exceptions, unimpressive, speculators were reported to be doing considerable buying. As far as the public record shows, most of the speculation appears to have been by actual settlers and that rather limited. While prices at resale were undoubtedly in some cases considerably higher, extensive unsold lands remained available at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre in cash. The settlers came from North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia.

Some of the lands in the Choctaw cession west of the Tombigbee lay within Alabama. Out of this addition, Pickens County was expanded to the Mississippi line in 1832, and Sumter County was created in the same year. In Mississippi, a large area west of the Tombigbee was added to old Monroe, and the county seat was moved from Hamilton to Athens, in 1830. The southern part was split off to form the new county of Lowndes, with Columbus as its seat. In these counties many of the early settlers who had located and purchased good lands on the eastern side of the Tombigbee preferred to hold what they had rather than accept the hazards of settling on the rich but difficult and unfamiliar Black Prairie, west of the river. Some of those acquiring prairie lands were wealthy enough to purchase whole sections, or even thousands of acres of prairie land, either directly from the government or from land speculators. Some were able to bring large numbers of slaves with them. A considerable number of these people were members of professions, such as lawyers, doctors, and newspaper editors, but most of these engaged also in agriculture in addition to pursuing their professions. There appeared a planter society, transplated from the states to the east, producing a situation that was unusual on the frontier. Geographer Myers describes developments on the Mississippi Black Prairie as follows (Myers, 1949, p. 267):

> *The plantation system of agriculture began almost full-blown in the Prairie even before it was thrown open to white settlement and became firmly established in the antebellum period. Considering origin of the settlers, it was but natural that such a system would fix itself on the region and with its fertility of soil, along with the Alabama Black Belt, become one of the wealthiest and most prosperous farming regions in the whole of the antebellum South. Not all farms in the Black Prairie and adjacent regions were plantations, of course, but many smaller farms tended toward plantation economy and their operators became "small planters". . . . The plantation and large farm dominated the social and political life of the region.*

Existing transportation routes, especially that of the Tombigbee River, deeply affected the pattern of settlement. Myers has this to say (Ibid., p. 259):

> *Few towns developed at first. One place had little advantage over another as a town site. Also the large size of land holdings and scattered and small population as a consequence, militated against development of Prairie villages. Since many farms and plantations became relatively self-sufficient units with widely varied food production, brickyards, sawmills, gristmills, and gins, and since other less self-sufficient plantation owners purchased most of their outside needs from distant markets during their winter visits to Mobile or Memphis, there was little need for Prairie towns. Instead of towns, small hamlets developed, made up of several plantations, smaller farms with their white and negro inhabitants and centering around a store or two, a blacksmith shop and perhaps a doctor's house. In many places such community centers arose on major roads or cross-roads. When important stage routes passed through them, such little hamlets sometimes developed into small Prairie towns, such as Carrollsville, Deerbrook, or Pikeville.*

The movement of settlers into the Chickasaw cession was later in coming than that into the former land of the Choctaws, for the Chickasaws were slower in finding western lands and in moving away. The town of Aberdeen, west of the Tombigbee, was settled in 1836 and quickly became a rival of Columbus. Settlers moving into the Chickasaw lands found fertile bottom lands, and they were particularly attracted to the Pontotoc Ridge, as well as to the Black Prairie.

The northern part of the Chickasaw cession, in what became Itawamba and Tishomingo counties, seems to have been particularly attractive to herdsmen, who found there not only good grazing in the hills but also very fertile, although somewhat limited, bottom lands that were good for corn. These counties could grow hogs and cattle, and they could produce corn for sale to the drovers who brought annually-increasing numbers of hogs southwestward across this part of the country for sale in southern and western parts of Mississippi. The population of these northeastern counties did not become as dense as that of the more southerly counties, and the general character of the settlements differed. (For county statistics see Appendix 5.) Furthermore, land sales in these northeastern counties lagged notably, and the prices paid for later purchases were made very low by the application of the graduation principle.

The bounty of nature was considerable in the southern country. Wild game could be hunted, and fish abounded in many of the streams. Cattle and hogs largely raised themselves. With much labor but without expense a house could be put together. A suitable location for a corn patch and garden was not hard to find, and "clearing" of new land could be accomplished by merely girdling the trees with an axe and leaving the dead limbs to rain down in windstorms over the next twenty years. Leather for many purposes could be obtained from locally-grown cattle. Home-produced wool and cotton could be spun and woven into cloth for clothing.

Several factors tended to enforce a high degree of self-sufficiency on pioneer society. One was the great difficulty of transporting articles of necessity and convenience to the pioneer settler. Distances were great, roads

were either undeveloped or unimproved, and the distribution of goods was generally expensive. Even greater difficulty was experienced in transporting to market the products of the frontier areas, which tended to be heavy and bulky products of forests and fields with a low value per unit of weight or bulk. Furthermore, pioneer settlers were so preoccupied with the problems of survival and subduing the wilderness that producing anything at all for market tended to be difficult. The distant consumer usually had closer and more accessible sources of supply. Self-sufficiency, then, and "living at home," tended to be the rule of the frontier, and the pioneer settlers had to make do with what they had or what they could produce for themselves.

Yet there remained some necessities which had to be bought: axes, hoes, pots and pans, guns and ammunition, and numerous small articles of household and farm equipment. Local industries could supply many of the needs, such as saddles and harness, wagons and carriages, crockery, and a few other things. It was essential, however, that some things be acquired from distant sources of supply, and these had to be paid for in money. Obtaining money required the shipment of goods, and even the small frontier farmer had to market something. The livestock could walk to market, and thus we find great hog drives and cattle drives overland for marketing to secure money to pay for the purchase of necessities.

Those who hoped to prosper, however, had to turn out large quantities of marketable products and get them to market. The demand for transportation and marketing facilities became very great. Pioneers with sufficient capital, education, experience, and slaves for labor, showed a general determination to prosper. The successful ones acquired fertile lands and made their plantations not only largely self-sufficient but also efficient producers of cotton, which was by all measures the principal marketable crop of the region. Cotton was in demand to supply the raw material for the manufacturers in England and for the growing manufacturing industry of New England. Employment of slaves in eastern Virginia had lost much of its profitability, and there was a surplus of slaves from there and other parts of the southern Atlantic seaboard available for sale to the planters of Alabama and Mississippi.

Enterprising planters borrowed money when they could get it, for conditions looked very promising for a developing prosperity. The panics of 1837 and 1839 seriously upset their headway, but boom times were to come in the years ahead.

The agricultural establishments in the Black Prairie and Pontotoc Ridge in the 1830s ranged from single-family homesteads without slaves to plantations with a hundred or more. A large and well-developed plantation was a multifaceted operation. As Myers describes it (ibid., p. 270):

> *Besides the plantation home there would be an office, usually close to the main house. Scattered around the usually large and shady plantation grounds would be the homes of the slaves, or, in places, the inexpensive slave homes would extend in rows back from the main house. Also included in the plantation group of houses would be usually a gin house with some shed for storing seed cotton or ginned cotton. In all probability the plantation would have a commissary, blacksmith shop, brick yard, carpentry shop and saw mill, and sometimes gristmill. Of course, only the largest plantations had all features, especially the most self-sufficient planta-*

tions. Some plantations were much more commercial and depended on the outside for most of their needs.

The early plantation homes, however, were generally of modest construction.

At first some of the soils were considered too rich for cotton, because they tended to promote the growth of the stalk at the expense of the boll and fiber. But after several years of cultivation in corn or other crops these soils became suited to cotton production. Repeated use without crop rotation tended to reduce the yields after a few years, so there soon arose a demand for bringing in new land to sustain production. Of planting in the Black Prairie Myers has this to say (ibid., p. 273):

> *Cotton was generally planted on ridges made by throwing several furrows together to make a bed. Plowing in the heavy soils of the Prairie was quite difficult, especially with plows available at that time. One writer states that it was very hard to use cast-iron plows and that turning plows were finally made with an iron point and a wooden moldboard. Planting was done generally by hand, or, in later years, with a drill, and the ridges were opened for planting with a "scooter" or "bull tongue" plow. After growth of the cotton, it was cultivated with a hoe or several horse-drawn implements, such as the scraper, skimmer, and sweep. Thinning, then as now, was done by hoes; and generally by July the crop was "laid by".*
>
> *Cotton was little improved during the antebellum period, though attempts were being made to produce a longer staple and a higher yield of lint by use of various "improved" seed. Mexican or modified Mexican varieties of seed were most popular. Fertilizer was rarely used. "Rust", "Rot" and "Blight" were common diseases, while the caterpillar or "army worm" and bollworm were the most dreaded insect pests. In several antebellum years, there were very serious losses in the whole Cotton Belt from such pests.*

Corn was an important crop too on both plantation and farm. Of this Myers says (ibid., p. 276):

> *Though cotton was easily the major cash crop of the Black Prairie in the antebellum times, corn was another important crop of the region and occupied most of the cultivated land not used for cotton. Corn was first grown on the rich Black Prairie soils and then became an important crop in some of the bottom land that was cleared before the Civil War. . . . Nearly one-third of Mississippi's corn was grown in the Northeastern Counties, where leading corn production areas were in the Southern Black Prairie and Pontotoc Ridge.*

Most of the corn was consumed in the localities where it was produced, although some parts of the Prairie were surplus corn producers. Corn was usually planted on ridges, plowed and hoed several times, and sometimes the whole stalk and leaves were pulled green for fodder. In wooded areas, however, where stumps and dead trees remained, use of the hoe rather than the plow of necessity predominated.

Wheat came to be grown in some areas, notably on Pontotoc Ridge. Other grains were produced to some extent, especially oats. Garden crops included peas and beans and potatoes. Fields were also planted in peas and beans for direct consumption by livestock. The work stock, which had to be fed to be efficient, included horses and oxen and a few mules. In the counties of Itawamba and Tishomingo the variety of crops produced indicates a high measure of self-sufficiency. Riding and buggy horses were numerous, and considerable poultry was raised for home consumption. The characteristics described here were under development in the 1830s and were predominant during the two succeeding decades.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRANSPORTATION FACTOR

Early transportation into the Upper Tombigbee Valley was primarily by pack horse, aided in certain cases in favorable boating season by small boats on the Tombigbee and sometimes on its tributaries. As we have seen in Chapter IV, a system of trails developed first, then came roads which were intended for wagon transportation. In order to avoid the numerous creek and river swamps, roads tended to follow the ridges, and often the routes were circuitous. Some swamps had to be crossed, but sometimes for months floods made this impossible. Horses and oxen were relied upon to pull the carriages and wagons, and large teams were often required for the purpose. Saddle horses were useful for carrying people, but they could have trouble in the muck of the Black Belt, even to the point of pulling off a hoof.

Crossing the Tombigbee and smaller streams called for ferries, of which a good many came to be established, but usually they were spaced far apart and were not easily operated at high water; in fact, they might be unapproachable from the land in flood time. These ferries, operated by private owners under license, were propelled by muscle power with the aid of a rope stretched across the river or lying on the bottom. They were built as scows, with flat sides, and in earlier times were known as "flats." Getting on and off the ferries with a team and wagon or carriage could be a dangerous undertaking, and skittish horses could plunge off into the river with the vehicle. A ferryman charged a fee, which people to whom money was very scarce found irksome. Getting livestock across the Tombigbee, even with a ferry, could be troublesome. There were a great many bars in the Tombigbee, which provided fords at low water, usually from six to eight months during the year.

Those people who lived away from concentrated settlements necessarily led an isolated life in a country where settlements were widely scattered and transportation was difficult. The social effect was only one of the problems. Agricultural products required cheap transportation for heavy commodities to distant markets. Cotton, the principal product of the Tombigbee area, happened to be rather valuable in proportion to its weight, compared with corn or other grains, but getting it to market was still full of problems. The markets were distant, and the swamps and bad roads sharply limited the range of commercial traffic by wagon, especially in the rainy season. Cotton was harvested in the late summer and fall, the dry season best suited to wagon traffic, but by the time the seeds had been removed with a gin and the lint had been baled, the rainy season had arrived.

For livestock the age-old solution to the problem of transportation to market was to let the animals walk. Cattle could easily walk to market, and in antebellum times there developed a heavy movement of hogs from middle Tennessee

southwestward through Tishomingo County to the farms and plantations of Mississippi. In anticipation of the annual hog drives farmers in Tishomingo County developed a habit of producing corn in order to have it on hand for sale to the drovers in the hog-driving season.

In the 1830s, when county government was extended over the lands of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, several new counties were created. Road construction and maintenance fell under the authority of the county governments, which could levy upon able-bodied men the service of several days each year in roadbuilding and maintenance. The importance of better roads was generally recognized, but the population was thin and the task of building and maintenance was large. The work done was important, but what loomed large was the magnitude of the task of providing a newly-settled region with transportation facilities adequate to its needs. Roads remained bad.

The Upper Tombigbee River and its tributaries ramified out into northeastern Mississippi. In the Tombigbee and its branches there was a natural transportation system which had its primary focus in the port and commercial center of Mobile. The navigability of the streams generally varied in accordance with the distance from Mobile. The Upper Tombigbee was a small river, and its various tributaries were still smaller. To get the cotton out, and sometimes logs and lumber and other products, it was often feasible to build flatboats, vessels with flat sides, which were easily constructed. They were propelled by the current and manipulated with long sweeps, but they had no other motive power. These might be floated down the streams as far as Mobile at high water, but they could not come back. Smaller keelboats could also move downstream, and they could also, with the application of much muscle power to oars and poles, be moved slowly upstream and back to the point of departure.

Keelboats and flatboats were used very early on the Upper Tombigbee. The keelboat Cotton Gin Cutter from Cotton Gin Port arrived at Mobile on January 5, 1820, and next month the barge Southern Trader arrived from Columbus. In 1821 low water made the river difficult to navigate, but nevertheless the keelboat Columbus Hornet made the trip from Columbus to Mobile (Rodabough, April 19, 1973). During the 1820s, however, there was little for a keelboat or flatboat to haul from the Upper Tombigbee except what might be shipped from sparsely-settled Monroe County through the landings at Cotton Gin Port, Hamilton, Columbus, and Pickensville. With the opening of the lands west of the Tombigbee, however, in the 1830s, foundations were laid for rapidly-increasing commercial production which would have to seek a market. Flatboats and keelboats continued to be seen on the Upper Tombigbee until the late years of the nineteenth century.

The tributary streams of the Tombigbee on the east were unsuited to navigation, with the possible exception of the Sipsey River and the creeks of Pickens County, but there were many streams on the western side of sufficient volume, with little fall, to present quite a different picture. Just above Gainesville the Noxubee River entered the Tombigbee. At high water it might be navigated all the way to Macon. Above Columbus Tibbee Creek with its various branches offered interesting possibilities. Above Cotton Gin Port, the East Fork (Mackey's Creek) and West Fork (Old Town Creek) had possibilities for navigation. And there were smaller streams of limited length. These were commonly clogged with logs and obstructed by overhanging trees, and the water was usually too low

to float a boat over the obstructions. However, if the overhanging and fallen trees, and an occasional snag, could be removed, many of these streams could float a flatboat at high water.

The nomenclature used for boats was often inconsistently applied, so it is hard to tell what is meant when the word "barge" appears. Vessels called barges were moved upstream on the creeks at high water by various means and were easily brought back down. Such craft, whatever they may actually have looked like, were used for local traffic to connect with several river ports.

Mill dams and fish traps presented obstructions on creeks, and conflicts developed between those who wished to have the benefit of such facilities on the one hand and those who on the other desired the operation of boats. The building of mill dams in Mississippi was under license from the county boards of police. A restriction might be imposed on such a dam that it should not be built so as to interfere with navigation at high water. A creek declared navigable by state law must not be obstructed.

The importance placed on the navigation of the numerous streams coming into the Tombigbee from the west is illustrated by the following state laws (session laws of Mississippi for the respective years):

1838, Noxubee River declared a navigable stream to the old Choctaw council house. Obstructions to free navigation of the river are prohibited.

1838, East Branch of the Tombigbee River declared a navigable stream up to Fulton, and obstructing the same is prohibited.

1839, Tibbee Creek is declared a navigable stream from its mouth to the mouth of Trim Cane Creek. Obstructions to navigation are prohibited.

1840, Chiwapa Creek, called the western branch of the Tombigbee River, is declared navigable from its mouth up to the mouth of Old Town Creek, and the latter is declared navigable from that point to the southern boundary of Township 10, Range 3, East [all of this has subsequently come to be known as Old Town Creek]. Obstructing the free navigation of these streams is prohibited.

1840, Chuckatoncha Creek is declared a navigable stream from its junction with Tibbee Creek up to the mouth of Sloneka Creek in Chickasaw County. Obstructions are prohibited.

1846, Noxubee River is declared a navigable stream from the Alabama line to Kirksey's Mill. Felling trees across the river or constructing a dam for a fish trap or a mill is prohibited.

1846, Line Creek in Oktibbeha County is declared a navigable stream from its junction with Chuckatoncha Creek to Clarke's Bridge.

1850, Trim Cane Creek, in Oktibbeha County, is declared a navigable stream as high up as Pearson's Mill, on said stream. Twenty Mile Creek is declared a navigable stream from its confluence with Brown's Creek to Wiley Belcher's Mills in Tishomingo County.

1850, Old Town Creek is declared a navigable stream as high up as the junction of Mud Creek in Itawamba County. Penalties are specified for obstruction.

1852, Chiwapa Creek is Pontotoc County is declared a navigable stream up to Coleman's Mills.

1856, A general law is enacted relating to navigable streams. Road hands are liable for duty in improving them as in improving public roads. The Board of Police shall divide up the work. Overseers on all such navigable streams shall cause all logs and overhanging timber and other obstructions to navigation to be removed as far as their work permits.

Acts of Mississippi of 1858 and 1860 brought a repeal of some of the laws declaring creeks navigable. This action seems to have been taken in response to the construction of railroads, which might carry the traffic formerly moved by boats and which needed to build bridges, which might interfere with navigation, across the streams.

The nature of the Tombigbee River itself is indicated by the following description in the annual report of Army Chief of Engineers for 1882, p. 1287:

From Columbus to the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama is, by steamboat measurement, 366 miles. Its normal width below the mouth of the Black Warrior is about 300 feet; above, it is 150 feet. It was originally navigable for large boats only in the winter and spring for a period ranging from 4 to 7 months. During this time the river affords from 15 to 40 feet in depth, and the only obstructions on this stage of water the overhanging trees, which, on dark nights and foggy weather, not infrequently cause serious damage to steamboats. During low water, a season lasting from five to eight months, numerous bars affording 18 to 22 inches water, together with the thickly strewn snags and sunken logs, made navigation both difficult and dangerous. In fact, the head of summer navigation seldom extended above Demopolis 243 miles from Mobile and sometimes not above Bladen Springs 100 miles below.

The introduction of steamboats in the early 1820s brought a new dimension to transportation in the Upper Tombigbee area, for these boats could carry heavy cargoes both up and down stream. In 1822 a little steamboat named the Cotton Plant came to Columbus, where all the settlers were still squatters on public land and the country to the west of the river belonged to the Choctaws. The Cotton Plant was a little sidewheel steamer of 72 tons. It returned in 1823 and in December of that year advertised regular runs between Mobile and Columbus. In April, 1824, it continued upstream past Columbus and reached Cotton Gin Port (Rodabough, February 11, 1971). The era of steamboats on the Little Tombigbee had thus been inaugurated. The further operation of steamboats and flatboats on the Upper Tombigbee in the 1820s is largely unrecorded in extant records, but there seems no reason to doubt that it went on each year during the high-water season. The volume of business was not yet large, but vitally important foundations were being laid for the coming decade when the Indian lands west of the Tombigbee would become available for settlement.

In 1831 the Mobile newspapers list the steamboats Marietta, Corsair, Wild Cat, and Sun as being in the Columbus trade. In 1832 the Marietta and the Sun are again listed. On one trip the Marietta brought to Mobile "four hundred and sixty-five bales of cotton, thirty-seven bales of deer skins, thirteen hundred bales of cow hides, a box of furs, and five barrels of beeswax" (Evans, 1942, p. 218). This cargo seems to have been fairly representative of the productions of the Upper Tombigbee country at that time. The steamboats also carried passengers. In the 1830s the fertile agricultural districts west of the Tombigbee were being occupied by white settlers, but time was required to develop the facilities for living and for cultivating the soil. Mobile from the beginning was the emporium of the Upper Tombigbee trade, and the carrying on of this trade depended vitally upon the use of flatboats and steamboats on the Tombigbee River and its tributaries. From 1831 the Mobile newspapers reported each year the names of some of the steamboats and their captains, in the Upper Tombigbee trade. Carriages, wagons, horses, and oxen had to be relied on to supplement the river in the carriage of passengers and freight, and when the water was low, they were the only means of transportation even along the river.

The twenty years from 1839 to 1859 represent the great day of steamboating on the Upper Tombigbee River. Except for an area from which Eastport on the Tennessee River in Tishomingo County could be reached by wagon, the entire valley was dependent upon the river for its vital communications with Mobile. The river was the lifeline. Flatboats and keelboats continued to operate, but the predominant instrument in the carrying of the traffic was the steamboat. At high water a steamboat would occasionally ascend one of the tributaries of the river. For example, in December, 1850, the steamboat Olive, a vessel of 115 tons, proceeded up the Tombigbee by the East Fork to Fulton. Coping with leaning trees and driftwood was its principal problem. The boat returned with only one bucket missing from the paddle wheel, but no record has appeared of any other steamboats going to Fulton until after the Civil War (Rodabough, February 11, 1971). The railroad did not get there until 1925.

Although the Noxubee River, which entered the Tombigbee just above Gainesville, was very crooked, it could be ascended by steamboats under favorable circumstances as high up as Macon, the county seat of Noxubee County. The steamers that plied the Noxubee in the years from 1845 to 1853 were Olive, Jim, Noxubee, and Eliza No. 2. The Olive was a sidewheel vessel, with a double engine and a capacity of 700 bales of cotton. The Jim was a flatboat with an engine, capable of carrying 300 to 400 bales. The Noxubee was a sidewheeler with a capacity of 600 bales. The Eliza No. 2 was also a sidewheeler, with a capacity of 700 to 800 bales. In addition, there were eighteen or twenty barges that carried large quantities of cotton and other produce out of the Noxubee. (Macon Beacon, February 16, 1884.)

The steamboats known as "packets" operated on a regular schedule, with as much as one round trip every week in boating season between Mobile and the current head of navigation on the Upper Tombigbee. Their coming was often announced through advertisements in local newspapers. They commonly ran to Columbus and might extend the trip to Aberdeen when depth of water permitted. Mobile steamboats in the Columbus trade commonly made stops at intermediate landings, which would include settlements of sufficient size to be called towns, cotton warehouses located on the river bluffs, and landings at individual plantations. Stops at wood yards were also a necessity in obtaining fuel.

Cargo-handling facilities at most of these "ports" consisted primarily of the strong backs of the deck crews. Loading cotton on boats might be accomlished by a "cotton slide" which sloped down towards the boat landing from the top of a steep bluff. These slides, built of wood, were very useful but might be dangerous to those who were not quick enough to dodge the bounding bales. At some places there were steep tramways that extended several hundred feet from the warehouses down to the boats. Loaded cars might be pulled up on these with the aid of a rope and some kind of a hoisting drum or winch, operated by steam power or that of human or animal muscle. The tramway and cotton slide might be built as one structure.

The steamboats carried most of the articles of trade required by the Upper Tombigbee people. Partial lists of cargoes appear from time to time. For example, in May, 1856, the steamboat Lucy Bell landed the following articles at Columbus:

100 sacks of coffee	50 barrels of mess pork
500 sacks of salt	100 kegs of nails
50 barrels of molasses	10,000 pounds of assorted iron
50 half-barrels of molasses	5,000 pounds of assorted castings

These were staple articles, but the list does not give us as good a picture of the entire trade as do merchants' account books (see Tables 8 and 9 and Appendix 2).

Since the boating season on the Upper Tombigbee lasted only about five months, it was customary for steamboats which intended to enter the packet service to advertise the fact about the time the rains were expected to begin, perhaps late November. A typical advertisement would say that a particular steamboat expected to arrive at Columbus with the first rise of the river, to be in regular packet service during the boating season. A steamboat could make the trip from Mobile to Columbus and return in a week. In some years the failure of the rains had disastrous consequences, as reflected in the following item from the Columbus Democrat of January 20, 1855:

> *Our river in consequence of the long-continued drought is still very low and all direct communication with Mobile is prevented, as completely so as it usually is in the middle of the summer. Our planters cannot get their cotton to market and our merchants and grocers are cut off from all supplies . . . . Were it not for the supplies of flour which we are still able to procure from Jamison's and Miller's mills, we should be entirely destitute of that prime article of domestic necessity. . . . We said last week that our river was hardly ever known to keep down later than the middle of this month. This was a mistake. Navigation to our town has sometimes been closed till near the middle of February. In 1840, we believe, the first boat that reached our landing from Mobile was on the 9th or 10th of February.*

The larger planters commonly made annual trips to Mobile, sometimes with their families. For these people, the trip by steamboat was an interesting adventure, although not nearly as comfortable as romantic accounts would have us believe. Travel by steamboat, and flatboat too, was dangerous. There were sandbars and snags and overhanging trees, and the possibility of bursting steam

pipes and boilers added to the risks. There was the ever-present danger of fire, and the possibility of falling overboard was not to be taken lightly. Accidents were common.

On May 16, 1825, the little, 45-ton sidewheeler Allegheny, returning to Mobile from Hamilton, struck a snag twelve miles below Columbus and sank (Mobile Commercial Register, May 24, 1825). On January 19, 1837, the 144-ton sidewheeler Iowa caught fire and sank at Fairfield in Pickens County. This vessel was built at Pittsburgh for St. Louis interests and was enrolled as a steam vessel at Pittsburgh on March 22, 1834. It had a transom stern, a cabin on deck, and a figurehead, and measured 128 feet six inches in length and 22 feet nine inches in breadth, five feet eight inches in depth. It had only one deck and no mast (Enrollment Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.). The vessel was owned by Seymour Bates, who was also its master.

In December, 1851, the packet Forest Monarch, a 215-ton sidewheeler, struck a snag and sank just above Pickensville. Several other steam vessels are known to have gone to the bottom before the Civil War on the Upper Tombigbee River (see Appendix 6 for details). Most boats that sank were later raised, and in other cases a part of the cargo was saved. The techniques of raising sunken boats became highly developed.

In March, 1856, the steamer Azile struck a snag and sank a few miles below Columbus, heavily laden for Aberdeen, with a loss of two lives (Aberdeen Evening Tempest, April 1, 1856). The boat and cargo were declared a total loss. But the Azile was soon doing business again.

For steamboat travelers of the Upper Tombigbee River it was the steamboat Eliza Battle that established the most chilling memories. On the night of March 1, 1858, it was destroyed by fire near Kemp's Landing on the lower Tombigbee, while carrying a large number of festive passengers from Aberdeen, Pickensville, and perhaps other Upper Tombigbee points, as well as fourteen hundred bales of cotton. The fire, alleged in later years to have been of incendiary origin, started at or near the stem and spread with great rapidity. According to an official account (Proceedings of the . . . Supervising Inspectors, 1858, p. 55):

> *The water of the river was at a very high stage at that time, and inundated the bottom lands, rendering the landing of the boat, for the safety of those on board, impossible. The pilot run the boat into the woods, and in this position, the boat burned to the water's edge. Passengers and crew jumped overboard and attempted to save themselves on bales of cotton. Of the whole number of persons on board twenty-nine were lost, 15 of the passengers and 14 of the crew, and all perished from exposure to the severe weather during the night, while hanging to trees or bales of cotton to which they had resorted for safety.*
>
> *The lifeboat was on the hurricane deck, and there being no convenient means of lowering it at the time, was not available, and was of no service whatever in saving the lives of those on board. This is another instance showing the necessity of carrying the boats in such manner that they may be of ready access in case of accident.*

A very thorough investigation was had of this disaster by the local Board of Inspectors, which resulted in entirely exonerating the officers of the steamer, as they appear to have exerted themselves in every possible manner for the safety of passengers and crew.

This was not the first sinking of the Eliza Battle; on March 27, 1854, it had struck a snag and sunk, without loss of life. It had later been raised and saved for the great disaster of 1858. A somewhat similar vessel, the Eliza, was sunk and raised three times in the year 1854.

Flatboat men had their troubles too. Joseph Brown left the Upper Tombigbee in 1855 with seven flatboats and about 2500 bales of cotton, most of which he had paid for by "drawing bills against the cotton." Apparently because of the dropping water level he was unable to make it to Mobile with more than a small part of his cotton, the rest having been left at points along the river. When he reached Mobile the price of cotton had dropped. This, with the damage to the cotton from exposure, caused him great losses. (Aberdeen Sunny South, September 9, 1858).

The river ports on the Tombigbee were not really numerous, and they are rather easily identified. A secure port needed a high bluff near the river. Starting on the south, there was Gainesville on a high bluff, a commercial center of local importance. The Noxubee River, entering the Tombigbee just above Gainesville, could at some times, with difficulty, be navigated as far up as Macon. Some miles above Gainesville on the west bank of the Tombigbee was China Bluff at what might have been a good location, except that most of the local business was handled slightly farther to the north at Warsaw, a little river port of local prominence. A few miles higher on the eastern side of the river was Vienna, which had a local tributary area. Ascending the river farther, we find Fairfield on the western side, then Memphis, also on the western bank. There were ferries at all these places, but how much of the local business came from across the river is not clear.

A few miles farther to the north was Pickensville, an early settlement on the east bank. All of these places were quite small, with one or two or three stores and warehouses. The settlements were not compact, and many of the people lived along roads at some distance from the center of trade. Across the river from each there was a lower-lying country, subject to flooding, with characteristics different from those on those on the town side. The country across the river, west, from Pickensville in the Bigbee Valley area, had a considerable rural population and appears worthy of study. Certainly it was dependent upon Pickensville to some extent, but there was at least one river warehouse on the western side. The Nance family owned and operated the ferry and steam mills on the western side, apparently a grist mill, a saw mill, and a cotton gin as a part of one operation. Nance's brick kiln was also over there.

There were various rural communities near the river which had no river port of their own. An interesting case is that of Pleasant Ridge in northern Greene County, on the Tombigbee just below the mouth of the Sipsey River. This was a productive agricultural area, but its more prosperous people lived in Eutaw. The traffic of the area that did not go through Eutaw had to go across the Sipsey River to Vienna or across the Tombigbee to Warsaw or to a river warehouse across a Tombigbee ferry at the mouth of the Sipsey.

Above Pickensville a road ran along the eastern side of the river, and here lived people who farmed the areas east and west of their homes on the road. Farther up the river, in Mississippi, was the early settlement of Nashville, long since extinct, although a ferry continued to operate at the spot for many years. Just above Nashville was Union Bluff, and some distance farther up the river Moore's Bluff. Above Moore's Bluff there were landings on both sides of the river, at some of which cotton warehouses were probably maintained.

Columbus, the principal town of the Upper Tombigbee Valley, was located on a high bluff, so that only the lower portions were subject to flood damage. With this advantage, Columbus benefited further from the fact that it was a transportation center, with roads radiating in several directions and with river transportation available for about five months of the year.

West of the river and a mile west of Columbus was the town of West Port, which was well situated to get business from the broad, fertile area to the west when people did not wish to pay ferry or bridge tolls at Columbus.

A few miles upstream, on the western side of the river, we find Plymouth Bluff and the settlement of Plymouth, south of Tibbee Creek. The site of Plymouth appears to have been particularly unhealthful. In the 1820s there had been several Indian fields there, and the site had been used by Bienville in much earlier times. A couple of miles north of Tibbee Creek on the west bank of the Tombigbee was the settlement of Waverly, where there was a fine plantation home. Shortly below the present railroad bridge it appears that there was an Indian field in the 1820s on the river. Waverly was a small, local trade center and river landing and the location of light industry. (For a report of recent archeological investigations at Waverly see Adams, 1979.)

Some four or five miles to the north of Waverly were Colbert, Barton, and Vinton, now extinct. These towns, like Plymouth and West Port, had an early advantage over Columbus in being on the west side of the river where they could be easily reached by wagon from the adjacent fertile agricultural region to the west without ferriage. Time and experience, however, proved their disadvantage, which was that they lay on low bluffs where property might be destroyed at flood time. After Columbus opened a free bridge across the Tombigbee and after the outlying ports both north and south of Columbus had suffered heavy flood damage, it may be said that they dried up with the receding waters.

Farther upstream on the eastern side, in the earliest days, Hamilton was an important settlement, some distance from the river at Hamilton's Landing. The present Hamilton and New Hamilton are later settlements at different locations.

Above Hamilton were fairly good sites for landings, for the bluff seemed sufficiently high. A mile downstream, or east, of Aberdeen, on the northern or eastern side of the Tombigbee, was Martin's Bluff, a settlement older than Aberdeen, now called East Aberdeen, which had a steamboat landing.

Aberdeen grew into a place of importance, to rival Columbus, as a trade center and river port, although it was not nearly as well situated for navigation on the river. Warehouses and commercial establishments close to the river there suffered flood damage, and in time they were moved back above the flood

level. At one time a little tram railroad was built, probably with a cotton slide, to run down to the river. The car must have been pulled up the slope by a winch at the top, operated by animal or steam power.

There were many conceptions about where the head of navigation was on the Tombigbee River. Columbus was so considered, but so was Plymouth, at the foot of Lincecum Shoals. Boats could not reach Columbus all the year, but at high water they could pass it and proceed to Aberdeen. That town became a commercial center much like Columbus, and a rival of Columbus, although, being on the west side of the Tombigbee, in Chickasaw Territory, it got a late start, not being settled until 1836. It thrived for some years, but railroad construction was to leave it temporarily behind, as we shall see later.

Above Aberdeen steamboat landings were few, although boats sometimes reached Cotton Gin Port. River navigation in this area was primarily by keelboats and flatboats. Above Cotton Gin Port the river divides, with the East Fork on the east and Town Creek or West Fork on the west. There were ports on the West Fork for a time, notably Camargo, although the place was reached by very few steamboats at any time. There were cases of steamboats ascending the East Fork as far north as Fulton.

Plantation landings were in a different category from the river ports. (For a list of landings on the Upper Tombigbee, with miles from Mobile see Appendix 3.) A cotton shed for temporary storage might be sufficient for a plantation landing. Or there might be no shed at all. If a boat were known to be going upstream, it might be taken for granted that it would be coming back in a few days. Most of the business appears to have been transacted at well-established landing sites where there was a high bluff rather close to the river and a warehouse or shed maintained by a local resident or merchant. Even such places as this were not secure against floods such as that of 1847, so with experience the tendency was to pull back from the river.

While the headquarters for the operation of the steamboat transportation system on the Tombigbee River were at Mobile, the business was of such importance to points on the Upper Tombigbee River that we find local business interests concerning themselves with the movement of river traffic at early date. An act of the Mississippi legislature of 1839 incorporated the Columbus & Tombigby Transportation Company, to operate steamboats on the Tombigbee and its tributaries. The company was given authority to remove obstructions to navigation on the Tombigbee River and the tributary streams. An act of 1856 provided for the incorporation of the Aberdeen Steamboat Shipping Company. Then in 1857 another act of the legislature provided for the incorporation of the Mississippi & Alabama Shipping Company at Columbus to operate steamboats. The company might own warehouses, storehouses, and wharves, and might purchase Negroes to be used in its business. Local interests were also concerned with the operation of flatboats and barges on the tributary streams.

Stage lines appeared early and provided regular service where there was demand and where the conditions of the roads permitted. Stages (places where horses were fed) supported the operation of stagecoaches and wagon freight lines. The operation of land transportation, however, was interdicted and often completely blocked by muddy ground and high water. The developing trade centers of Columbus and Aberdeen became hubs of transportation with extensive stagecoach

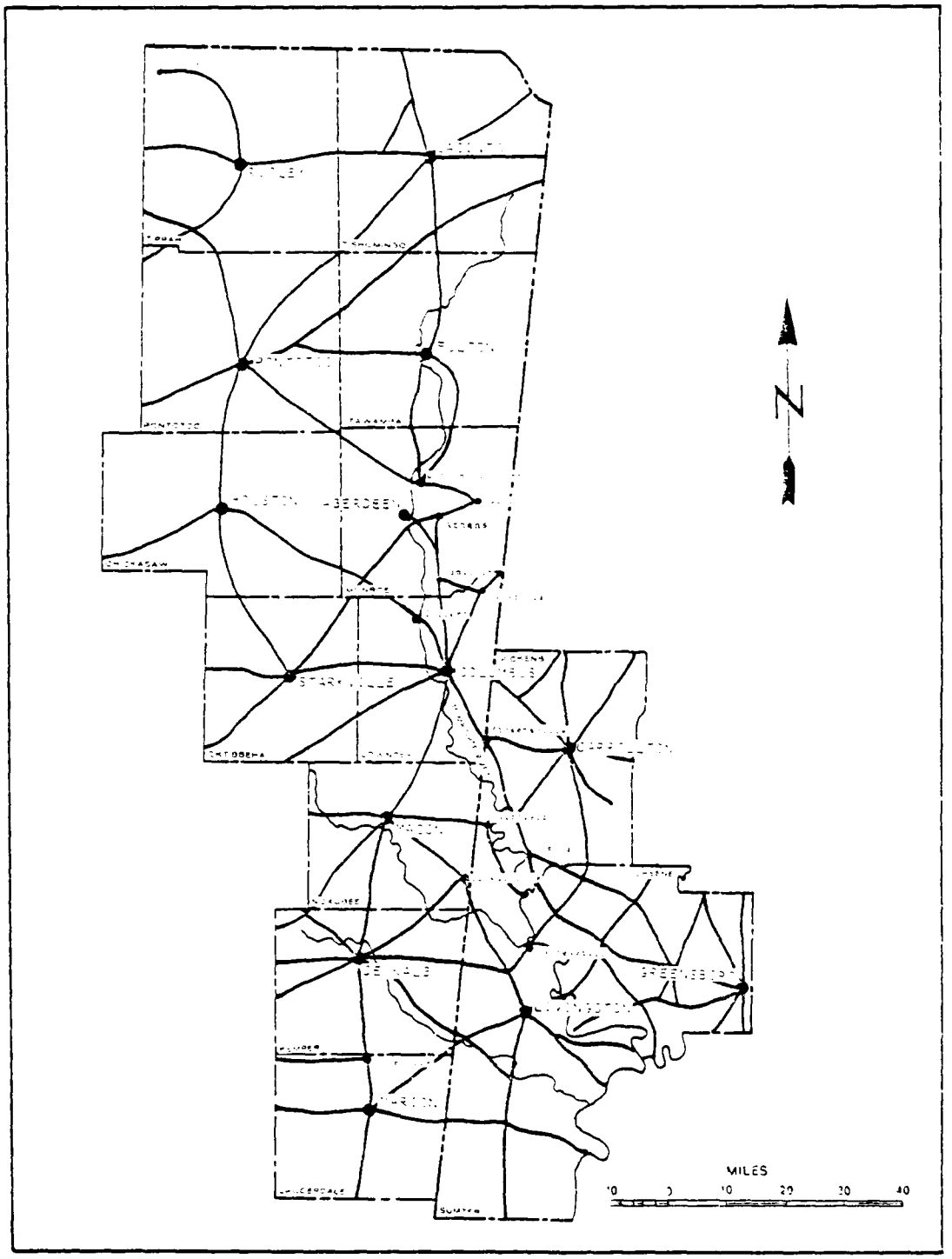

FIG. 12. THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1840.

service. Columbus was connected with Tuscaloosa by way of Pickensville and with Jackson, Mississippi, by way of the Robinson Road. Inns were established along these and numerous other stagecoach routes.

The Tuscaloosa firm of Jemison and Ficklin established a branch of operations at Aberdeen, where it adapted itself to changing needs and opportunities in public transportation. An important line connected Aberdeen with Eastport on the Tennessee River and in the opposite direction with Columbus. When the river was low, stages connected Aberdeen with steamboats at Barton's Ferry or Columbus, or even Gainesville, thus "splicing out" the river transportation to extend its effectiveness. The following quotation relates to a line running to new towns to the westward (Evans, 1942, p. 164):

> *The Aberdeen-Houston, Pontotoc-Oxford stage line was very important in the early days. Houston was the county seat of Chickasaw County, and there was a great deal of business between Houston and Aberdeen. The people from Houston often came to Aberdeen to take boats in the winter season, and much of their cotton travelled the same route, down the Tombigbee River. Pontotoc was the seat of the land office, and people from Columbus and Aberdeen made constant use of this office. Pontotoc travellers also came to Aberdeen to take boats, and ship their cotton down the river from Aberdeen. Oxford, the location of the Federal Court, was an important point for lawyers and their clients, witnesses and jurors, who made frequent trips to the seat of justice. Therefore the importance of this stage line can be readily understood, as it connected four towns with many common interests. The fact that the state university was located at Oxford increased the amount of travel between Oxford and Monroe County . . .*

When the river was low, downriver travel required the use of stagecoaches (ibid., p. 166):

> *When the Tombigbee River was not high enough for boats to come to Aberdeen with reasonable certainty of getting back down the river, but was high enough for them to come part of the way, a stage line was used to deliver Aberdeen passengers at Martin's Ferry, or at Columbus below Lincecum's Shoals. At times boats did not come above Gainesville, Alabama, and in some cases stages were the only dependable means of transportation between Gainesville and Aberdeen.*

However, not only did mud interfere with transportation by road but swamps and streams could effectively block passage. Privately-operated ferries could transport people, animals, and vehicles across the Tombigbee and its major tributary streams. Roads across swamps might be corduroyed or causewayed to help in getting wheeled vehicles across. Bridges, especially free bridges, were much desired, especially across the Tombigbee. But they were expensive to build and expensive to maintain. Their construction was an event that commonly was prepared for over many years and with frustrating delays. In the late 1840s and early 1850s plank roads had a wide popularity across the nation, and they were tried in the Tombigbee area, but in the long run they proved impractical.

High water interfered with transportation by road, but it helped the steamboats. Probably the worst kind of transportation disaster, however, arose from low water, for in some seasons the river failed to rise sufficiently to permit

the normal high-water transportation. In such seasons wagon trains were reported to be carrying cotton to Eastport on the Tennessee or even to Memphis on the Mississippi. Considerable enterprise was devoted in the 1850s to the solution of the transportation problems of the Tombigbee area, but when the Civil War broke out, the difficulties remained severe.

CHAPTER VIII

FLUSH TIMES: 1840-1860

In general the years between 1840 and 1860 represented flush times in the Tombigbee country. Pioneer foundations had been laid and a workable transportation system had been established. Eager settlers had acquired the title to lands, had moved in with or without slaves, and had established plantations and farms. The natural resources and the manpower were there to bring forth bountiful production, and the people were intent upon just that object.

The land holdings were large and the population was scattered and the roads were often impassable. Such conditions did not encourage the development of compact villages or towns. Many plantations and farms were relatively self-sufficient, food being produced at home and other needs being supplied by handicraft industries. The Mobile factors handled not only the marketing of agricultural products but also the purchasing of such items as the planters might need. Under these circumstances a considerable part of the population of the Upper Tombigbee Valley had little need for local merchants or local towns. The local communities which did develop tended to be more rural hamlets than towns. They might have a store or two and some part-time, specialized inhabitants, such as a blacksmith and a carpenter or two and maybe a physician.

Some plantations were largely self-sufficient units; others were much less self-sufficient. Some fine homes apparently were built on the plantations, but soon the planters who could afford such establishments saw the advantage of moving into Aberdeen or Columbus or Eutaw or Macon and conducting their operations from there. The bad condition of the roads may have been an important factor in inducing the wealthier planters to concentrate their habitations in the main towns. Hence, most fine homes surviving from the antebellum years in the Upper Tombigbee area are to be found in Aberdeen, Columbus, Macon, and Eutaw, not in the rural areas. The picture of a great plantation house like Washington's Mount Vernon on a high bluff overlooking its own river landing does not belong to the Upper Tombigbee. Waverly is considered an exception.

Specific designs and layouts of farms and plantations have been hard to find. From the beginning people sought to avoid building their homes on lands liable to flooding and near to swamps, but the undesirability of many locations had to be learned by experience. The river valley in numerous places was quite wide, and the river channel often ran close to a high bluff on one side, leaving a flood plain extending a mile or two on the other, so that conditions of settlement and of tillage might vary widely on opposite sides of the river. As a general rule it may be said that, with vitally important exceptions, people were averse to living close to the Tombigbee River, and their aversion grew with experience. Yet the river was important in their lives, and towns grew up along it.

Columbus and the Outports

Of these towns Columbus was the most favorably situated and the most important, but there were times when its dominant position was challenged. After the Choctaw lands west of the river were opened to settlement, landings along the western bank were located more favorably to serve the transportation and trade requirements of the settlers on the fertile prairies than was Columbus. West Port, only a mile away, was on the western bank. Plymouth, below Lincecum's Shoals and just below the mouth of Tibbee Creek, appeared to be favorably located. Farther north, after the Chickasaw lands became available to settlement, Waverly and Colbert appeared to be attractive places where the trade of the prairies might meet the river. Merchants established warehouses or sheds at the favored west bank locations, with camping grounds to permit the cotton growers of the Prairie to bring in their loaded wagons, pulled by large ox-teams struggling through the sticky gumbo of winter mud. After resting, the drivers and their slow-moving teams could return home, leaving the cotton bales in the custody of the merchants, whose sheds protected the cotton from the weather until it could be picked up by steamboats.

South of Columbus there were river landings of importance at Moore's Bluff, Union Bluff, and, on the east bank, at Nashville, with a hinterland of increasing production behind each. Crossing the Tombigbee at Columbus involved expensive and troublesome ferriage and could be cut off completely at high water.

Something of the nature of a small river port is shown in the occupations of people at Barton in 1850 and Barton-Vinton in 1860, which are listed in Table 4. At Barton in 1850 there were 57 slaves, of whom one planter owned 16 and another 11. No one claimed property worth more than four thousand dollars. At Barton-Vinton in 1860 the names of people are different from those of 1850, but their basic occupations are the same. Differences in definition of categories prevent strict comparision. In 1860 there were sixty-nine slaves, of whom one farmer owned 33 and two others nine each. One farmer listed sixty thousand dollars' worth of property and one merchant a like sum, an indication that wealth was accumulating in the hands of some of the people (Elliott, 1978, pp. 71-76). As this was a rural community, some of the tradesmen were in all probability also engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Columbus got a head start on the towns of the west bank, but it had its difficulties too. The following review of the history of Columbus appeared in the Columbus Democrat on September 25, 1856:

> *Columbus is altogether a different town from what it was 20 years ago. . . . Previous to the great land sales in 1834, the town had a slovenly appearance. The houses on the business streets were illy constructed and of wood. The streets were insufferably bad, there was no or very little pavement on the sidewalks. During rainy seasons it was almost impossible to cross on foot from one street to another. No body would attempt it. Yet the town had taken a start and was going up with a sort of mushroom growth, but without any symmetry, method, or permanence in the building improvements. From '32 to '35, the population increased with outstanding rapidity--a rapidity, which, we believe, has*

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONS IN BARTON AND BARTON-VINTON

Barton in 1850	Barton-Vinton in 1860
7 planters	8 farmers
4 merchants	3 merchants
5 carpenters	5 carpenters
3 physicians	2 physicians
1 ferryman	1 ferryman
1 millwright	2 wagon wrights
2 clerks	1 miller
2 steamboat men	1 medical student
1 gunwright	1 teacher
1 stage driver	1 student
1 mechanic	1 minister, Christian Church
1 blacksmith	6 farm laborers
1 tailor	1 confectioner (Italian)
1 no occupation	1 Negro manager
1 illegible	3 laborers
32 total	37 total

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns. At Barton in 1850 there were 57 slaves, of whom one planter owned 16 and another 11. No one claimed property worth more than four thousand dollars. At Barton-Vinton in 1860 the names of people are different from those of 1850, but their basic occupations are the same. Differences in definition of categories prevent strict comparision. In 1860 there were sixty-nine slaves, of whom one farmer owned 33 and two others nine each. One farmer listed sixty thousand dollars' worth of property and one merchant a like sum, an indication that wealth was accumulating in the hands of some of the people (Elliott, 1978, pp. 71-76).

never been equalled since. . . . In 1832 the population was 481; in 1835 it was 1623--exhibiting an increase of 237 per cent, within the short space of three years! After the land sales of '34 the town continued to improve quite rapidly for four or five years. But it was evident that the improvements were not of the right sort, and that the increase was rather fictitious than real or permanent. There was too much of speculation and overtrading going on. Mere credit and not solid capital was to a great extent the basis of trade. . . . This spirit was fostered by the banks, a most unprecented number of which had been recklessly chartered by the Legislature. These banks flooded the state with an irredeemable paper circulation, or shin-plaster currency, as it was called. Almost every person had his pockets stuffed with banknotes. The most improvident extravagance prevailed. Money was spent without stint and debts were contracted without providence or forethought. Of course, the crash soon came, and hundreds were ruined. The civil docket of our circuit courts and those of our magistrates courts exhibited a frightful number of suits. The Sheriff and the Constable were busy everywhere with their executions and writs of fi fa, and the 2 papers published here were crowded weekly with Sheriff's advertisements. The town necessarily felt the effect of the disastrous state of affairs among us, and its onward progress was for a time checked, but only for a brief time. The reckless spirit of speculation soon cooled down to sober reason and practical common sense; the indebtedness of the people was in a great measure wiped out. . . .

We set down the year 1846 as the year when Columbus began to revive from the pecuniary revulsions which were the necessary consequence of the "flush times" in Mississippi. . . . It might have been a little sooner or a little later, but it was about that time. Every improvement that has been carried on since then has been of the right sort; every building erected has been on a substantial plan, and in many instances in an elegant style. The store houses erected on Main and Market streets since the fires of 1854, are all built of excellent brick, covered with slate or tin, and made nearly fireproof. . . . In all the business portions of the town they [the streets] have been deeply covered with a heavy pebbly soil, and a gentle elevation from each side to center. . . .

The little river towns on the west bank, with their warehouses convenient to the river and to the trade of the Prairie, were not situated on ground high enough to be protected against high floods. How high the water might rise could not easily be guessed but had to be determined by experience, which in time proved that most of the bluffs on which the small ports were located were not sufficiently high to give protection against peak floods, and property was destroyed in many a warehouse. The flood of 1847 was particularly destructive, and it seems to have been the chief cause of the demise of the settlement at Nashville, below Columbus and near the Alabama line. Moore's Bluff and Union Bluff had similar troubles. The construction of a free bridge over the Tombigbee at Columbus and the attractions of trade at the larger town worked to the advantage of the smaller places. Disease, probably malaria, seems to have been a prime factor in the demise of Plymouth. The little settlement of Colbert was transferred a short distance to the new settlement of Barton, which in time gave way to another new settlement nearby at Vinton, the shifts being mainly due to high water. The decline of the outports of Columbus is indicated by the discontinuance of their post offices. Moore's Bluff and Union Bluff

never had post offices. That at Nashville was discontinued in 1852. The post office at Plymouth operated until 1855, that at Waverly until 1860. At Colbert the post office was transferred in 1848 to Barton. Ten years later it was moved to Vinton, where it was discontinued in January, 1862. The post office at West Port was discontinued in January, 1841. There continued to be enough local business to sustain some of the little river ports on a small scale. Columbus, the main part of which was located on a high bluff, was the principal beneficiary of the decline of the outports. Furthermore, in the 1840s prosperous planters moved from the Black Prairie into the town of Columbus, where they built fine homes and made the place a center of comfort, amenities, and prosperity.

The Rise of Aberdeen

The story of Aberdeen is quite different from that of the Columbus outports, for in this case Columbus had a real rival. Aberdeen, on the west bank of the Tombigbee, only a mile from the earlier settlement at Martin's Bluff on the other side, was settled in 1836, on lands of the Chickasaw purchase. It got off to a rapid start at a time when Columbus was suffering decline. The new town was not as well situated for river traffic as was Columbus, for it was farther upstream and somewhat more difficult to reach by steamboat. Its navigation season was shorter. Nevertheless, when business developed, steamboats proceeded up to Aberdeen with regular packet service. On January 4, 1837, the steamboat Fox returned to Mobile from Aberdeen, followed by Columbus, Plowboy, Vincennes, and Jack Downing (Evans, 1942, p. 217). Among the items which the steamboat Pioneer brought to Aberdeen for a local merchant in May, 1839, were coffee, whiskey, candles, loaf sugar, sugar, tobacco, nails, northern flour, brandy, Swedish iron, molasses, and cigars (Aberdeen Whig & North Mississippi Advocate, May 28, 1839). When the waters rose in late 1842, the steamboats Bristol and Native announced regular packet service between Aberdeen and Mobile, with the Native going up as far as Cotton Gin Port (Aberdeen Mississippi Advertiser, November 26, December 17, 1842). These boats also called at intermediate landings. In 1845 the Native was still running to Cotton Gin Port. There were, of course, several other vessels in the Aberdeen trade in the 1840s. It appears that in many respects the transportation service was good, but it was subject, like that of Columbus, to the seasonal variations and unpredictable vagaries of the river. In 1846 the Union, described as an Alabama-built steamboat, advertised regular trips from Mobile to Columbus, Aberdeen, and Cotton Gin Port (Aberdeen Mississippi Advertiser, March 4, 1846). In 1847, the Irene, a light-draft steamboat, announced packet service to Cotton Gin Port and Old Town Creek (West Fork) on which a new settlement was being established at Camargo (Aberdeen Mississippi Advertiser, January 27, 1847). However, navigation by steamboat above Aberdeen was difficult. The season was short and erratic and the large steamboats from Mobile were not well suited to the trade.

In April, 1847, there appeared in the Aberdeen Mississippi Advertiser a notice that the keelboat Fulton would ply regularly between Aberdeen and Fulton (on the East Fork) and sometimes points on Old Town Creek (West Fork). This reasonable adaptation to local conditions worked to the advantage of Aberdeen merchants, who by means of local water transportation could reach out into the interior and bring the trade to Aberdeen as a primary center rather

than Mobile. The town also had a considerable hinterland, the trade of which, by wagon, could not readily go elsewhere. The absence of a free ferry or free bridge across the Tombigbee, however, gave merchants of the little, older settlement at Martin's Bluff, a mile to the east, a distinct advantage in the trade of nearby areas that were east of the Tombigbee. Nevertheless, Aberdeen thrived in the early 1850s. There were a considerable number of grocery and dry goods stores, three drug stores, two book stores, three ready-made clothing stores, two auction and commission houses, two printing offices, two hotels, two livery stables, two millinery stores, two jewelry stores, and two furniture establishments (Aberdeen Sunny South, May 21, 1857).

In the season of 1855-56 Aberdeen merchants up to May 22, 1856, shipped 37,825 bales of cotton, including 7,245 which had been on hand on September 1, 1855 (Aberdeen Sunny South, March 22, 1856). This represented a very substantial business, and it all depended upon navigation of the river.

In the Sunny South of Aberdeen, March 13, 1858, there is a humorous account of a steamboat trip from Columbus to Aberdeen. It reflects the decline of the river towns on the west bank and some of the prevailing attitudes toward the river and steamboats:

> *We left the wharf at 3 o'clock and soon Columbus was lost to our sight by a bend in the river, and looming up in the distance, our strained optics discovered the ancient city of West Port.*
>
> *This place was settled about the time of the land sales, and since then its decrease in population and importance has been gradual but certain. West Port is presently located on the West bank of the river, about 20 feet below high water mark, whereby its water privileges are unequalled, particularly in rainy seasons. The principal exports are cotton and buttermilk. Notwithstanding Columbus is a port of entry, the latter commodity is known to be imported daily from West Port, duty free. It should be looked to by the collector. Bidding adieu to West Port, we soon reached Plymouth.*
>
> *The Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. They were a fanatical superstitious, bigoted, set of bluenoses, from whom are descended the Kalochs and Beechers of New England. The town of Plymouth represents no peculiarly astonishing features. It was once of sufficient importance to warrant the establishment of a post office, but since the expiration of Swearingen's contract to carry the Greensborough and Shangelo mail, the office has been discontinued, and the place now wears . . . a primeval appearance. The people are honest and industrious and are generally Democrats and hard-shell Baptists. Passing Champagne Spring which requires no particular description, the Leona ran her nose into the mud and landed a keg of nails and a box of sardines at Waverly, a place noted for its wealth and refinement. The principal attractions are its beautiful women. The men, however, are said to be "powerful homely."*
>
> *Leaving Waverly we next passed Old Colbert. Many things of interest might be said of the old settlement in connection with the hardy frontiersism [sic] who first pitched their tents on the spot. But our space will allow us only to say that it is now a waste, embracing with its . . .*

once . . . corporation limits not one tenement--not one inhabitant. It was once a beautiful place, but nothing is now left save a few rows of cedars and shrubs struggling amid the thicket of pines, as monuments of its former greatness and remembrances of the former taste of its fair daughters. We were forcibly reminded of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," and while endeavoring to recall to mind a few lines of that exquisite production, the whistle announced our approach to Barton.

Some little chivalry once existed between this place and Vinton, which is situated about three hundred yards further up the river. We believe, however, that it has now ceased. The principal avocations of the people are practicing physic,. . . politics, getting up barbecues, and pitching dollars. Nothing very interesting occurred at Barton, so we will now take our departure for Aberdeen.

We arrived at Aberdeen about 11 o'clock p.m. at which hour nearly all the passengers had retired for the night. The crowd was so great that it was impossible for all to be accommodated with staterooms; it was necessary, therefore, that a great many should bivouac on the cabin floor. . . .

The writer does not mention the sinking of the Eliza Battle a few days earlier, nor could he know that the 232-ton sidewheeler Leona, on which he traveled, would be snagged and sunk in Louisiana the next year.

Although Aberdeen, being on the west bank of the Tombigbee, got a later start than Columbus, it grew very rapidly and developed an extensive trade territory. Its warehouses too near the river suffered from floods, but new ones were built on higher ground. Aberdeen became a hub for numerous roads, which radiated in several directions. Although the roads were often difficult to travel over, they reached a wide trade area. As was the case with Columbus, many planters moved their places of residence from the Prairie to Aberdeen, making the town a center of fine homes and cultural, as well as commercial, development. It became the center of a prosperous area, and its prosperity encouraged the decline of such places as Hamilton, Athens, and Cotton Gin Port, which were its early rivals.

River Ports in Alabama:

Pickensville, Memphis, Fairfield, Vienna, and Warsaw

In Alabama above Gainesville there was no considerable town on the Tombigbee, but several little river ports maintained a local importance. There were warehouses and merchants at these points, but the principal centers of business were in Macon and Eutaw, both distant from the Tombigbee. Plantations near the river or thirty miles away, and even the town of Macon in antebellum times, might require the facilities of the little river ports. The ports were located on relatively high bluffs next to the river, and all except Pickensville were subject to inundation by occasional floods. Even at Pickensville low warehouses might be flooded.

Pickensville, on the east side of the Tombigbee, got its start before 1820, when the lands across the river to the west belonged to the Choctaws. It was made the seat of the new county of Pickens by an act of the Alabama legislature of December 19, 1819. Vienna, also on the eastern side of the river, had a postmaster by 1834. Fairfield, on the western side of the river, had one a year later, but Memphis and Warsaw had to wait until 1844. A plat of Warsaw was filed in 1840, one of Memphis at some time before 1845. All of these towns survived the Civil War. Pickensville still has a store or two, and Memphis survives as a residential neighborhood.

Steamboats served these little ports regularly when there was a sufficient depth of water over the bars. An advertisement in the Pickensville Register, of December 3, 1842, declared that the steamboat New Albany would run that season as a regular packet between Mobile and Pickensville, with stops at Vienna, Fairfield, and Memphis. It would leave Mobile each Wednesday afternoon and arrive at Pickensville on Friday afternoon, then start back to Mobile early Saturday morning and touch all intermediate landings between Pickensville and Vienna in daylight, getting to Mobile on Monday. The steamboat Southerner, in similar service, left Mobile for Pickensville each Thursday afternoon. Boats running to Columbus commonly stopped at the Alabama ports. There were also a great many plantation landings where the boats stopped according to the requirements of passengers and cargo. The actual landing places might vary considerably with the different stages of the river. At some plantation landings there were cotton sheds and other facilities for the protection of cargoes. The arrival of steamboats was usually made known by the publication of schedules in local newspapers and by the noise of steamboat whistles. The announcement of an impending arrival might also be made by the discharge of a small cannon on the steamboat. However, planters or merchants who lived at a considerable distance needed the custodial services and facilities of the merchants of the little port towns. The river warehouses commonly had facilities for camping and taking care of animals.

As any little river port was on the wrong side of the river for many people, ferries were provided at various places for their convenience, and sometimes there were rival routes. The Pickensville Journal of August 24, 1860 carried this advertisement:

> *Notice to the traveling public*
>
> *I have at my ferry a splendid new boat with iron Bannisters. Good banks on either side of the river. The ferry situated 2 1/2 miles west of Pickensville. This is the nearest route to Macon, Louisville, Koncuisko [sic], Vicksburg, & Rodney, Miss. The travellers set across at my ferry will be charged only half the usual rate.*

There was also another ferry at Pickensville. Yet the expense and inconvenience of crossing led to the establishment of a warehouse and landing on the western side, across the river from Pickensville. Beyond that point there was an interesting community known as Bigbee Valley, primarily an agricultural settlement, where some of the old appearance remains to this day. In that area too were Nance's Steam Mills for ginning cotton, sawing wood, and grinding corn, and not far from the river was Nance's Brick Kiln. Nance's Ferry was a mile to the west of Pickensville. The stage route from Columbus to Tuscaloosa ran through Pickensville, where there was an inn that served as an

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONS IN PICKENS COUNTY TOWNS, 1850

Pickensville	Carrollton	Memphis
3 carpenters	6 carpenters	2 carpenters
2 farmers	2 farmers	9 farmers
2 physicians	5 physicians	2 physicians
4 clerks	5 clerks	3 clerks
9 merchants	6 merchants	4 merchants
2 blacksmiths	1 blacksmith	1 blacksmith
1 cabinet workman	2 cabinet makers	1 ginmaker
1 wheelwright	1 wagon maker	1 wagon maker
1 student	3 students	
2 teachers	3 teachers	
3 bootmakers	2 bootmakers	
1 Methodist clergyman	1 Baptist clergyman	
1 tailor	1 tailor	
2 hotel keepers	2 hotel keepers	
4 laborers	1 laborer	
2 lawyers	8 lawyers	
1 harness maker	1 harness maker	
1 tanner	4 tanners	
2 bookkeepers	1 circuit clerk	
1 druggist	1 corn merchant	
2 overseers	1 constable	
2 carriage makers	1 stage driver	
1 painter	2 seamstresses	
1 musician	1 editor	
1 boatman	1 judge of probate	
2 saddlers	5 printers	
	1 postmaster	
	6 illegible	

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns. In 1850, according to the manuscript census, Pickensville had 31 dwellings and a population of 166, most of whom presumably lived on the little roads running into Pickensville rather than at the mercantile center itself. Carrollton, the county seat, not on the river, had 41 dwellings and a white population of 208. Memphis had 20 dwellings and a white population of 100.

overnight stop. (Occupations of the people of three Pickens County towns in 1850 are listed in Table 5.) In 1850, according to the manuscript census, Pickensville had 31 dwellings and a population of 160, most of whom presumably lived on the little roads running into Pickensville rather than at the mercantile center itself. Carrollton, the county seat, not on the river had 41 dwellings and a white population of 208. Memphis had 20 dwellings and a white population of 100.

While there is very little evidence of any cargo-handling facilities on the Upper Tombigbee, except for warehouses, cotton slides, and sometimes funicular tramways, the following excerpt from a petition of November 26, 1845, to the legislature by citizens of Memphis, requesting that the place be incorporated, is of some interest:

> *That whereas the extreme east end of Cotton Street, running to the river, is used as a Wharf and the same is not fit for receiving goods in its present condition, all goods whatsoever being shipped or landed on said wharf or landing, shall be subject to a tax or wharfage as follows, five cents per barrel, five cents per bale of cotton, twenty-five cents per cord of wood, and two and one half cents for baling and rope by the piece, and all other things not mentioned at the rate five cents per barrel, and no goods or merchandise of any kind shall remain on said wharf longer than twenty-four hours without being charged half the original wharfage. . . . It shall be the duty of the Wharfinger to collect the Wharfage on all goods as above specified, making the articles subject to the Wharfage, and pay over to the treasurer as directed by the President and the Commissioners.*

The other little river ports seem to have had a remarkable uniformity of characteristics with those described in Table 5. (An inventory of Ellington and Company of Fairfield, showing the stock of that firm in 1852, is reproduced in Appendix 2.)

The Case of Pleasant Ridge

In the northwest corner of Greene County was the rural community of Pleasant Ridge, which bordered on both the Tombigbee and Sipsey rivers. A ferry across the mouth of the Sipsey connected Pleasant Ridge with Vienna, and there was another ferry, across the Tombigbee, at the same place. Snedecor's map of 1856 shows a warehouse on the western side of the Tombigbee at the ferry crossing, which indicates that the place was a landing for steamboats (see Fig. 15). A few miles to the south there was another ferry across the Tombigbee at Warsaw, on the west bank, so the river ports of Vienna and Warsaw and the landing at the mouth of the Sipsey were all accessible to Pleasant Ridge by road. The Pleasant Ridge precinct was made up of some 34,500 acres of hilly upcountry, fertile terraces, and swampy bottom lands subject to overflow. In 1860 its total population was about 1300. The white population comprised 67 households and 355 people, of whom 68 percent were native Alabamians. Fifteen percent were from South Carolina and nine percent from North Carolina and only two percent were born outside the South. Table 6 shows the occupations of heads of households in 1855 and 1860. Additional light is cast upon the nature of the Pleasant Ridge community by the analysis of the distribution of slave ownership in 1860 given in Table 7.

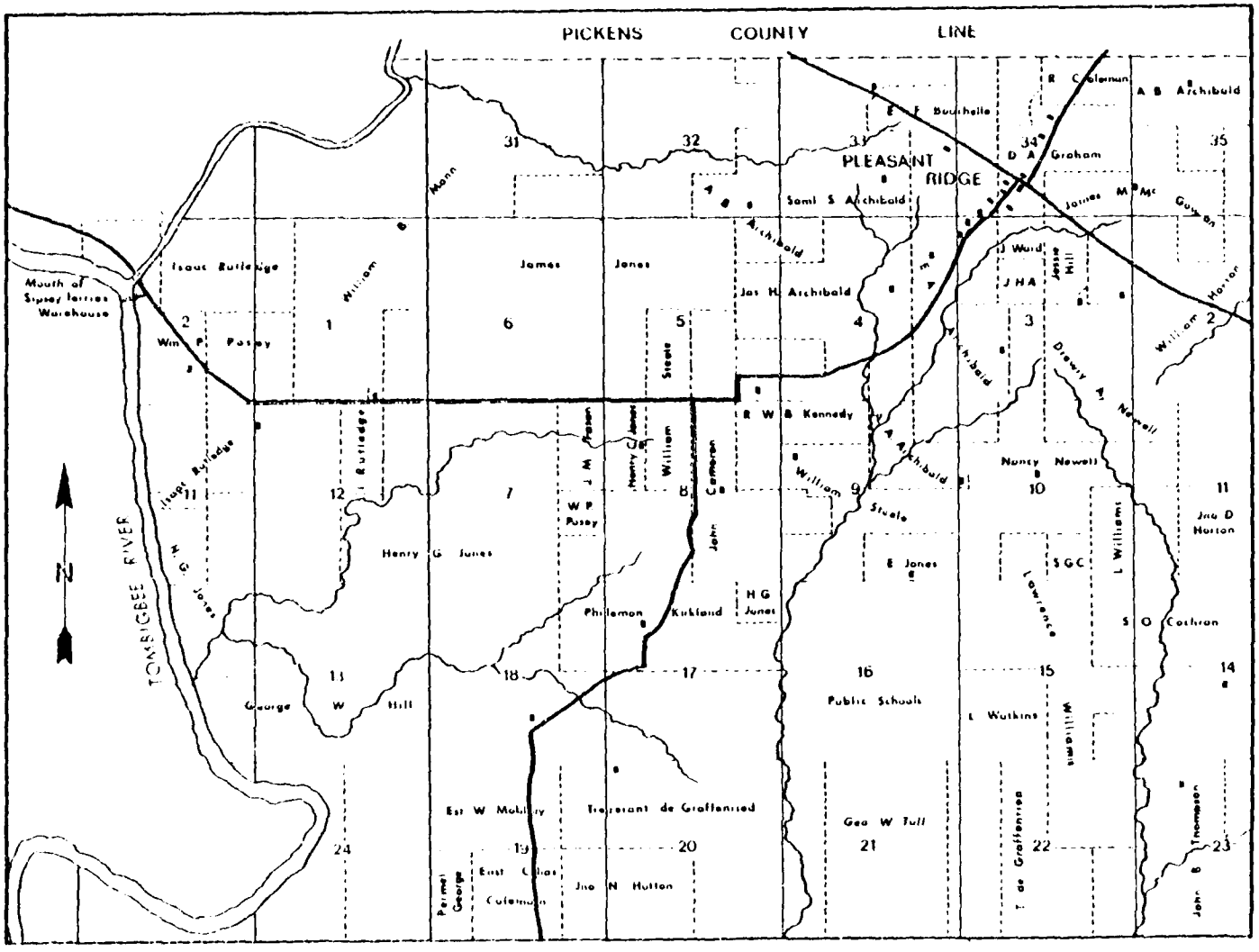

FIG. 13. THE PLEASANT RIDGE COMMUNITY IN 1856. From Snedecor's Map (Snedecor, 1856).

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN PLEASANT RIDGE

1855 AND 1860

By Heads of Households

Occupations in 1855		
Planter		62
Overseer		11
Carpenter		4
Merchant		3
Teacher		2
Physician		2
Cropper		2
Planter/Physician		1
Planter/Merchant		1
Total		88*

*Males only, no female heads of households listed.

Occupations in 1860		
Planter		50
Overseer		13
Part-time Planter		13
Planter/Teacher	2	
Planter/Doctor	5	
Planter/Carpenter	5	
Planter/Minister	1	
Planter/Dentist	1	
Planter/Hotel Keeper	1	
Planter/Merchant	1	
Planter/Commission Merchant	1	
Professional		8
Doctor	2	
Teacher	1	
Minister	1	
Retired Lawyer	1	
Merchant	3	
Craftsman/Artisan		5
Carpenter	1	
Wheelwright	1	
Blacksmith	2	
Shoemaker	1	
Other		6
Gentleman	1	
Laborer	2	
Clerk	2	
No Occupation	1	
Total		95

Data for 1855 from Snedecor, Directory of Greene County, 1856. Data for 1860 from U.S. Census manuscript returns.

TABLE 7

SIZE OF LANDHOLDINGS IN PLEASANT RIDGE IN 1860

Acres	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of Total Slave Population
1-5	16	45	4.58
6-10	9	76	8.10
11-20	15	228	24.31
21-50	12	354	37.74
51-100	3	237	25.27
Totals	55	998	100.00

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns.

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HISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY.(U)
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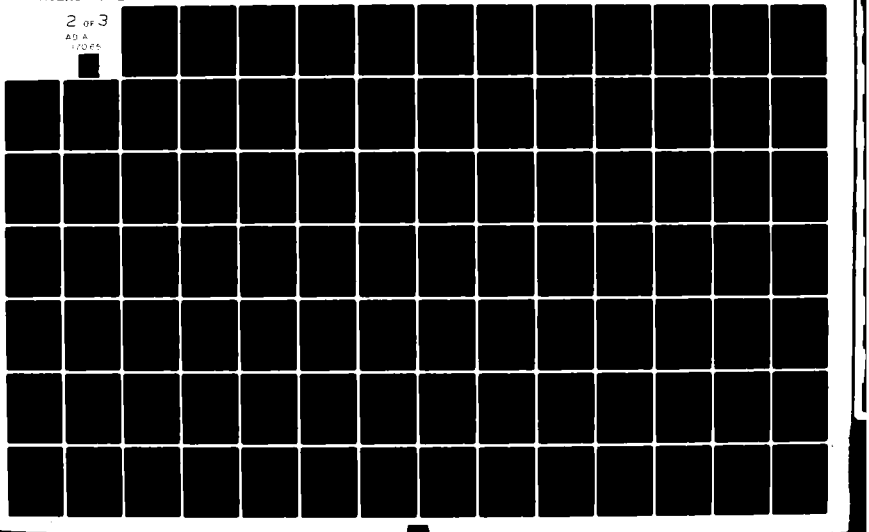

From the tables it is obvious that the primary occupation of Pleasant Ridge was agriculture. The term "planter" as used there obviously means any kind of farmer. From the number of merchants it seems clear that there were two or three stores. The 1860 figures indicate that in the five-year interval since 1855 additional specialists had established themselves under the classifications of dentist, wheelwright, blacksmith, shoemaker, and hotelkeeper. The number of overseers is indicative of absentee ownership. The population was rather scattered and not concentrated in a compact community. The analysis here made of Pleasant Ridge is intended to explore one of a kind of community that existed along the Upper Tombigbee River. It seems probable that Bigbee Valley and various other places had similar characteristics.

Eutaw and Macon

Few if any persons of substantial wealth appear to have actually lived at Pleasant Ridge. The same was probably true of the other rural districts of Greene County. The county seat of Eutaw was the home of the prosperous people, and it was there that fine homes and gracious living were concentrated. Eutaw was the center of trade. Its traffic with Mobile went through nearby landings on the Warrior River rather than the Tombigbee. It may be assumed that Pleasant Ridge plantation owners who lived in Eutaw commonly had other occupations and may have also owned plantations in other places than Pleasant Ridge. It is likely that some of the cotton crop of Pleasant Ridge was locally ginned and baled and shipped through the nearby Tombigbee ports or landings. That which went to Eutaw may be assumed to have moved down the Warrior River.

Macon, in Noxubee County, was another residential center for plantation owners. Being in the center of a cotton-producing county, it had a thriving trade. Unlike Eutaw, however, Macon depended heavily on the rather distant Tombigbee River, reached by an overland traffic to the little river ports such as Memphis, Fairfield, Warsaw, and even the larger town of Gainesville. An inventory of the Macon mercantile firm of Smith and Jones shows something of the articles of trade in 1846 (see Table 8). The firm appears to have done about three-quarters of its business in cloth and clothing. The initial inventory was valued at $10,334.51, to which new stock costing $12,000.63 was soon added. (The sources of the new purchases, beginning in January, 1846, are shown in Table 9.) By the end of the year all but $7,674 of the stock had been sold. Considering the usual markups, the store must have netted a handsome profit. (A full inventory of a Fairfield merchant's stock of goods in 1852, too long for inclusion here, appears in Appendix 2.)

Early Industries

The early pioneer knew how to live in the woods with the aid of simple but important tools. The axe, the hoe, the gun, the auger, the knife and the two-handled knife or drawing knife, the adze, the hammer, and the crosscut saw were all familiar to him. Blacksmith tools were well known.

On the farm and plantation many activities were carried on that might be called industrial in nature. Sawmilling, gristmilling, cottin ginning, blacksmithing, brickmaking, spinning and weaving, leather tanning and the manu-

TABLE 8

ITEMS IN INVENTORY OF SMITH AND JONES OF MACON

January 1, 1846

Threads of many colors	Cravats
Cotton and silk hose	Socks
Ribbons	Netting
Suspenders	Carpets
Fans	Umbrellas
Hooks and eyes	Parasols
Bolts	Lace
Pins	Canes
Buttons	Hoes
Tapes	Plows
Thimbles	Nails
Gloves	Tobacco
Cloth: gingham, crape, silk, satin, casmere [sic], tweed, muslin, linsey, flannel, linen, and velvet	Powder
	Gun cases and guns
	Collars
	Bonnets
Jewelry	Looking glasses
Shawls	Trunks
Veils	Chests
Shoes	Salt
Boots	Ropes
Knives and forks	Coffee
Coats	Tea
Pants	Axes
Shirts	Scissors
Drawers	Plates
Books	Chains
Vests	Miscellaneous hardware

Data from Smith and Jones Invoice Book, 1844-49, manuscript in Duke University Library.

TABLE 9

SOURCES OF SUPPLY OF SMITH AND JONES OF MACON

1846	
Lewis B. Boron Co. (New York)	$1,037.98
Perkins, Brooks and White (New York)	247.53
Castleton and Trottingham (New York)	1,056.96
Henrys and Smith (New York)	947.88
Kimball and Brown (New York)	1,836.19
Shelton and Phelps and Co. (New York)	1,419.74
Alfred W. Thadwell (New York)	395.43
Wiseners and Gale (New York)	128.99
Rankin Dury and Co. (New York)	605.07
Collins Brothers (New York)	149.00
A.B. Marrin (New York)	90.72
Smith, Wright and Co. (New York)	490.28
William W. Birch Co. (New York)	211.57
Caillon, Farthingham and Co. (New York)	172.30
J. Harrison and Co. (New York)	12.63
Dade and Reynolds (Mobile)	77.16
Humphry, Walsh and Co. (Mobile)	1,119.76
Hayden and Lee (Mobile)	107.48
J.H. Rivers and Co. (Mobile)	38.42
R.S. Watkins and Co. (Mobile)	182.38
H.S. Reynolds (Mobile)	441.23
John Campbell Co. (Mobile)	337.50
Coley Aenan and Co. (Mobile)	178.08
H.S. Pruett Co. (Mobile)	235.57
Samford Coley Co. (Mobile)	427.78

Invoice Book, 1844-49, manuscript in Duke University Library.

facture of saddles and harness, wagon and carriage making, wheel making, boot and shoe making, slaughtering and food processing, distilling, earthenware manufacture, lime and plaster making, tin work, syrup making, furniture making, and soapmaking were all practiced on plantations but probably not all on any one plantation. Products of such activities might be strictly for home use, or they might be traded in the community, as was very commonly done. The whole may be properly classified as household handicraft industries. There were skilled construction tradesmen, such as bricklayers, plasterers, and carpenters, many of whom were slaves. A craftsman on one farm or plantation served a wider constituency than merely his own establishment. Skilled slaves might be rented out. Sawmills, gristmills, and cotton gins were likely to serve a fairly wide constituency. There were specialist shops in the major towns and sometimes in the rural areas. A particularly important skill was blacksmithing, and the blacksmith shop was a source of many useful articles manufactured from iron. There was a small manufactory of hats in Columbus.

Power for light industries was available from three sources: water power, steam power, and animal power. In most of the Upper Tombigbee Valley there were few sites for water mills near the river. However, in the northern counties, Itawamba and Tishomingo, the terrain was rougher, the river valley narrower, and mill sites on tributary creeks near the main stream were more common. On Rose Bud Creek in southern Tishomingo County, for instance, water mills of the tub type were installed at several locations. Steam power was used close to the Tombigbee River at such places as Waverly and Bigbee Valley. Once the power source was in place, it might be used for several kinds of operations, so that it was customary to find a gristmill, a sawmill, and a cotton gin all at the same location.

While the industrial town and the factory system were almost unknown in the Upper Tombigbee Valley, an interesting exception is to be found at Bay Springs at The Narrows on Mackey's Creek in Tishomingo County (see Adams, Bay Springs, 1979). Here was a creek with a considerable flow of water that rushed through a narrow gorge, with an excellent dam site. In the early 1840s George Gresham erected at The Narrows a sawmill and gristmill, powered by water at a mill dam. In 1851 Gresham's son, James F. Gresham, was joined by John Briggs, a prominent Eastport merchant, in erecting a mill for spinning cotton, which eventually had 744 spindles. Adjoining were a cotton gin, a gristmill, a blacksmith shop, and a general store and post office (Martin, 1978, pp. 30-31 et passim). Peak employment at the establishment was said to be between 50 and 100 persons. Cotton yarn was the main product, although it is said that ropes were manufactured there in later years. Under new management, operations continued after the Civil War, apparently without much change. The market for the yarn seems to have been with the weavers in the neighborhood, who used hand looms. In 1885 or 1886 a fire, suspected to be of incendiary origin, destroyed the establishment, and it was not rebuilt.

The Upper Tombigbee Counties: A Statistical Analysis

The United States Census for 1850 and 1860 provides comprehensive data for an analysis of the Upper Tombigbee counties and for the measurement of the significant changes which were occurring in the 1850s (see Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13). The figures represent Green, Pickens, and Sumter counties in

Alabama and Itawamba, Lowndes, Monroe, Noxubee, and Tishomingo counties in Mississippi. Clay and Prentiss counties, Mississippi, had not yet been created. Because of subsequent changes in county boundaries the figures here presented are not always strictly comparable with those for later dates. Since the principal market crop was cotton, the three-fold increase in cotton production suggests a significantly growing prosperity for the region. The population growth was relatively modest, but the decrease in the proportion of white population indicates a considerable growth in Negro slaves. The number of acres per farm was becoming significantly larger, while the number of farms was decreasing. The impressive corn production and the large number of hogs, cattle, milk cows, and sheep per farm and per person indicates a high degree of self-sufficiency for the area. The great increase in the total value of livestock but not in the number of animals suggests that relative scarcity was pushing up prices of livestock as people concentrated on cotton. Another indication of growing prosperity is the impressive increase in the value of farms.

A study of the figures for individual counties shows a considerable diversity from one county to another. The average farm in Tishomingo County in 1860 produced only eight bales of cotton, compared to 84 in Noxubee County, 80 in Lowndes, and 73 in Greene and Sumter each. Itawamba produced only nine. Likewise in corn production per farm, Itawamba and Tishomingo lagged far behind the others. Itawamba ran a little ahead of the others in beef cattle and hogs in 1850 and in beef cattle in 1860. In the decade of the fifties there was a notable decline in the number of hogs and beef cattle in the area generally.

In percentage of white population there were great differences among the counties, but in each there was a relative decline from 1850 to 1860, indicating a growing number of Negro slaves in proportion to the white population. Yet in 1860, Itawamba and Tishomingo counties were about 80 percent white, compared to 23.5 percent in Greene County and 24.6 percent in Sumter.

The low value per farm in Itawamba and Tishomingo counties was presumably related to the low cotton production in these counties, as the high value in Noxubee, Lowndes, Sumter, and Greene counties was clearly related to the high production of this market crop. Yet there were some small areas of good land in Itawamba and Tishomingo counties, a fact which probably helps to account for the growing proportion of the slave population there.

TABLE 10

STATISTICS OF UPPER TOMBIGBEE COUNTIES

1850 AND 1860

Item	1850	1860
Population	161,236	184,629
Percent white	45.6	41.8
Number of Farms	8,411	7,624
Total Cotton Bales	107,011	328,340
Average Bales per Farm	12.7	43.1
Average Bales per Person	0.7	1.8
Total Bushels Corn	6,860,664	8,793,436
Average Bushels per Farm	815.7	1,153.4
Average Bushels per Person	42.6	47.6
Total Hogs	380,694	370,950
Average Hogs per Farm	45.3	48.7
Average Hogs per Person	2.4	2.0
Total Beef Cattle	81,782	73,349
Average Beef Cattle per Farm	9.7	9.6
Average Beef Cattle per Person	0.5	0.4
Total Milk Cows	41,746	40,067
Average Milk Cows per Farm	5.0	5.3
Average Milk Cows per Person	0.3	0.2
Total Sheep	72,903	79,062
Average Sheep per Farm	8.7	10.4
Average Sheep per Person	0.5	0.4
Total Value of Livestock	$4,735,201	$10,346,295
Average Value Livestock per Farm	$ 563	$ 1,357
Average Value Livestock per Person	$ 29	$ 56
Percent of Farms Operated By Owners	c.80.0[1]	c.80.0[1]
Total Value of Manufactured Goods	$ 633,002	$ 2,227,852
Total Number Wage Earners	852	1,437
Total Wages	$ 307,039	$ 449,700
Average Wage per Worker	$ 360	$ 313
Average Value of Manufactured Goods Per Worker	$ 743	$ 1,550

Data from U.S. Census. Counties are: Tishomingo, Itawamba, Monroe, Lowndes, Noxubee, Pickens, Greene, and Sumter.

[1]See Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Baton Rouge, 1949), p. 182; Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860 (Nashville, 1945), p. 65.

TABLE 11

BALES OF COTTON AND BUSHELS OF CORN PRODUCED PER FARM

UPPER TOMBIGBEE COUNTIES: 1850 AND 1860

Compared With All of Alabama and All of Mississippi

County	Bales Cotton 1850	Bales Cotton 1860	Bushels Corn 1850	Bushels Corn 1860
Greene	20	73	1,020	1,654
Pickens	9	49	604	1,085
Sumter	21	73	1,387	2,001
Clay				
Itawamba	4	9	356	436
Lowndes	21	80	1,203	1,805
Monroe	21	51	1,094	1,269
Noxubee	19	84	1,325	2,162
Prentiss				
Tishomingo	3	8	422	598
All above	12.7	43.1	816	1,153
Alabama	13	18	685	603
Mississippi	14	28	661	678

Data from U.S. Census

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF BEEF CATTLE AND NUMBER OF HOGS PER PERSON

UPPER TOMBIGBEE COUNTIES: 1850 AND 1860

Compared with All of Alabama and All of Mississippi

County	Beef Cattle 1850	Beef Cattle 1860	Hogs 1850	Hogs 1860
Greene	0.5	0.4	2.0	1.6
Pickens	0.5	0.4	2.3	2.6
Sumter	0.5	0.4	2.2	1.8
Clay				
Itawamba	0.7	0.5	3.0	2.1
Lowndes	0.4	0.3	2.0	1.9
Monroe	0.5	0.4	2.2	2.2
Noxubee	0.6	0.4	3.0	2.4
Prentiss				
Tishomingo	0.5	0.4	2.5	1.8
All above	0.5	0.4	2.4	2.0
Alabama	0.5	0.4	2.2	2.0
Mississippi	0.5	0.4	2.5	1.6

Data from U.S. Census

TABLE 13

AVERAGE FARM SIZE AND VALUE; WHITE PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

UPPER TOMBIGBEE COUNTIES: 1850 AND 1860

Compared With All of Alabama and All of Mississippi

County	Acres per Farm		Value per Farm		Percent White	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Greene	402	706	3,035	11,572	29.4	23.5
Pickens	267	394	1,346	3,148	51.0	45.3
Sumter	513	799	2,870	10,650	33.1	24.6
Clay						
Itawamba	233	323	647	1,404	84.2	80.0
Lowndes	405	502	2,839	12,053	32.8	29.2
Monroe	394	463	3,075	7,106	44.5	40.1
Noxubee	444	574	2,687	14,039	30.5	25.0
Prentiss						
Tishomingo	259	333	734	1,428	87.3	79.3
Alabama	289	347	1,533	3,189	55.3	54.6
Mississippi	309	370	1,612	4,453	48.8	44.7

Data from U.S. Census

CHAPTER IX

THE MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD

The inadequacy of the Tombigbee River as a transportation artery in serving the growing needs of commerce in northeast Mississippi led to various efforts to introduce railroads into the area. As early as 1834 the Louisiana legislature chartered the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company to build a line between the two named cities, but the Mississippi legislature, rent by conflict over the route, delayed seven years before authorizing construction across the state. The Noxubee County representatives were insistent that the road should run by Macon, which, unlike Aberdeen and Columbus, lacked acceptable river transportation (Myers, 1949, pp. 298).

By the 1850s the New Orleans and Nashville road had become the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern and had established a definite route as far as Jackson, Mississippi. To insure its continuation through Aberdeen toward Nashville the City of Aberdeen and Monroe County in 1852 subscribed heavily to the stock of a company organized to build the extension (Myers, 1949, p. 300). Meanwhile, various interests were at work to secure the construction of a railroad known as the Memphis and Charleston, to connect Memphis, Tennessee, by a route across northeastern Mississippi and the Tennessee Valley of Alabama, with Chattanooga, where connections could be had with the Atlantic seaboard. This line was built in the 1850s, passing through Corinth and Iuka in northeast Mississippi near the Tennessee line.

However, before the Civil War and for long afterwards the only railroad line to have a deep influence upon the Tombigbee area was the Mobile and Ohio. Organized in 1848, this company moved firmly to the completion of its main plan, which was the opening of a railroad line from Mobile through the fertile agricultural areas of northeast Mississippi and thence across Tennessee and western Kentucky to connect with the Illinois Central line to Chicago. In April, 1861, the full length of the line was opened from Mobile to Columbus, Kentucky, on the Ohio River, where a steamboat connection of twenty miles on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers brought it to Cairo, Illinois, the southern terminus of the Illinois Central.

The two companies were generously supported by land grants from the federal government. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company selected in scattered areas the best of the public lands that it could find, including extensive acreage in the counties of the Upper Tombigbee Valley. The company raised money for construction in Mobile and in northeastern Mississippi and also received state aid from both Alabama and Mississippi. While many interests were intended to be served, the dominating force and power lay in Mobile, the commercial interests of which city the company faithfully supported for a century.

The main line was intended to have several feeder branches, which would tap valuable tributary areas for the benefit of the company and of Mobile. A branch was to run to Gainesville and Tuscaloosa, another to Columbus, Mississippi, and Decatur, Alabama. Another would reach out to Coffeeville and beyond, maybe even to Memphis, Tennessee. The Oktibbeha Branch would reach to Starkville. Some construction occurred on all these branches, and companies were chartered to build several others which did not materialize, such as the Camargo Branch, the Louisville Branch, the Chickasaw Branch, the Pickensville Branch, and the Grenada, Houston, & Eastern (session laws, Mississippi, 1854-1860). In Kentucky there was a branch to reach out to Paducah, on the Ohio River. The line projected from Aberdeen towards New Orleans was expected to cross the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, so no branch was contemplated to Aberdeen.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad, which roughly paralleled the Tombigbee River, was pushed northward from Mobile through the piney woods and across the Mississippi line in the direction of Macon. The pine country offered little traffic, but rich business was expected when the line reached the prairie country. It reached Macon in the summer of 1856 in time to handle the season's cotton crop. The railroad's freight traffic of the calendar year of 1856 is summarized in Table 14.

It was also in 1856, at the northern end of the Black Prairie, that the first train of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad reached Cross City (later Corinth), where the Mobile and Ohio was soon to cross it (see Fig. 14).

On December 25, 1857, the Mobile and Ohio reached West Point. Before this time Columbus interests, which had been lukewarm in encouraging construction of the railroad, had waked up to the fact that they were being left off the main line of future business and had taken steps to secure the construction of a branch line from Artesia to Columbus, 13.5 miles, on which the track was laid in 1859. Also in 1859, the main line of the Mobile and Ohio was extended twenty miles north from West Point to Okolona (see Fig. 14). At the same time, track laying was underway in Tennessee and Kentucky, and the whole line to Columbus, Kentucky, was opened early in 1861.

The building of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad through the prairie country parallel to the Tombigbee River had a terrific impact not only on the country through which it passed but also on the river towns and on the function of the river itself in the future life of the area. As the railroad reached northward, each new terminus enjoyed a cotton boom: Macon, West Point, and then Okolona. At West Point there were, initially, no warehouses, and cotton bales for shipment had to be piled along the track. Between September and November, 1858, 17,215 bales of cotton were shipped from West Point (Rodabough, November 30, 1972). Soon West Point had a newspaper, the Southern Broad-Axe, in the columns of which we are informed of the following institutions serving West Point: daily passenger and freight trains, a male and female academy, an Ambrotype gallery, a church, a tin shop, street improvements, a post office, various mercantile establishments, a blacksmith business, a retail lumber establishment selling machine-dressed flooring and weatherboarding, a drug store, a hotel with a restaurant serving fresh oysters, schools, a dancing academy, and a livery stable.

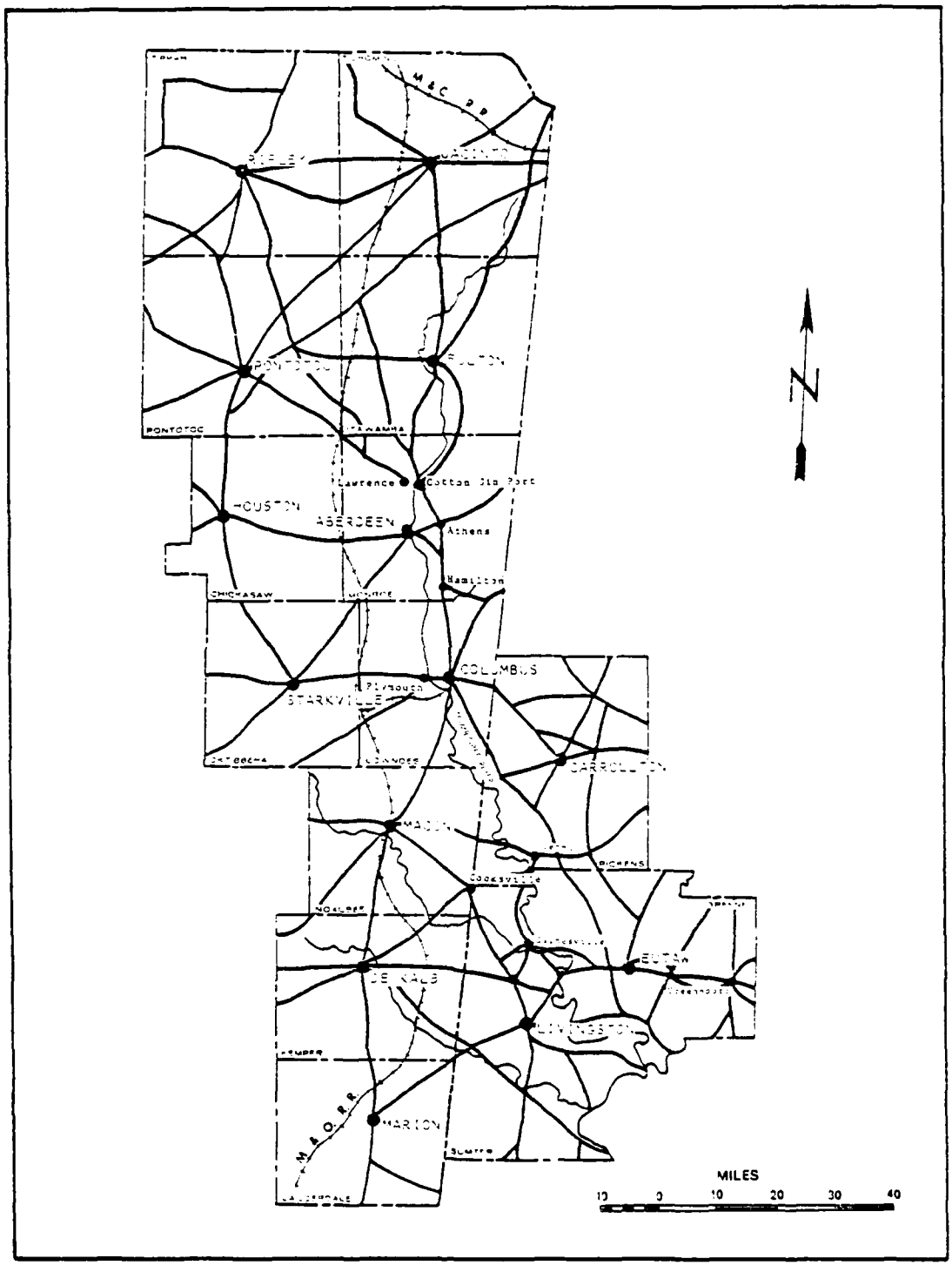

FIG. 14. THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1860.

TABLE 14

TRAFFIC OF THE MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD

Principal Articles Carried in 1856

Southbound Freight

74,885 bales of cotton	303 barrels of tar
2,193,000 bricks	1,063 livestock
10,950 cords of wood	5,154 dozen poultry
1,306 barrels of turpentine	24,050 dozen eggs
507 barrels of rosin	

Northbound Freight

298 bales of hay	2,066 sacks of bacon
3,448 sacks of meal and bran	1,437 casks of bacon
4,088 sacks of corn and oats	5,532 kegs of nails
2,069 barrels of molasses	2,765 boxes of tobacco
3,663 barrels of whiskey	6,981 pieces of bagging
1,088 barrels of pork and beef	7,333 coils of rope
6,344 barrels of flour	516 barrels of rice
4,847 sacks of coffee	1,150 boxes of candles
3,109 barrels of sugar	1,162 boxes of cheese
13,184 sacks of salt	330 carriages and wagons

Data from Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, Annual Report, 1856.

In November, 1859, the railroad was having trouble in hauling off all the cotton offered it at West Point, so some of it was sent by wagon to the Tombigbee River landing at Waverly. The Mobile and Ohio was getting the expected rich business of the Prairie country. Columbus was hurt, but it still had the river, and in 1859 came the opening of the Columbus Branch of the M & O. It was Aberdeen that was hardest hit. In 1859 and 1860 this formerly thriving place saw its cotton trade melt away, taken over by the railroad towns. While there was reason to hope in Aberdeen that the legal tangles preventing the construction of the part of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad between Aberdeen and the M & O line might be straightened out and the road quickly completed, the Civil War intervened and prevented it (see Rodabough, November 30, 1972). As Aberdeen headed into a steep decline, it was observed that the trade of the country east of the Tombigbee was being siphoned off by Columbus with the aid of a new bridge across the Buttahatchie River.

The railroad and the river had entered into a competition the economic nature of which calls for explanation. The river was a seasonal transportation route, available to all on equal terms without cost. Transportation by steamboat and barge was relatively cheap when it was available. While the wooden boats deteriorated rapidly, they could be laid up and their crews discharged when they were not in use. They could go only where the river went, however, the navigation of the tributary branches being generally unsatisfactory. The boats competed with each other, but they could withdraw from the business and go somewhere else when operations became unprofitable, there being no fixed investment in immovable facilities and improvements. The boats were highly flexible in the rates which they could charge. Their business was risky, but it usually carried a high profit margin.

The economics of railway operation were poorly understood in the 1850s but very real nevertheless. There was a very heavy fixed investment and a high maintenance cost that was largely independent of the volume of the business. Any additional business which might be taken from another carrier, or which could be created where it did not exist before, could contribute something to the fixed expenses, even if the rates charged were only a little more than sufficient to pay the immediate operating expenses involved. Getting business that paid anything above operating expenses was desirable, so there was a great margin for rate-cutting when competition required it. Nevertheless, the total business would have to be sufficient to cover all of the fixed expenses as well as operating expenses if the enterprise were to remain solvent. Railroad companies commonly charged passengers at a flat rate per mile, and freight was charged for on the basis of a mileage scale in which distance was the prime factor but in which the charges were not directly proportional to distance. For example, cotton rates to Mobile from Macon in September, 1858, 197.5 miles, were $2.35 per bale, while from Okolona, 261 miles, $2.70 per bale. The rate from Gainesville Junction to Mobile, 163 miles, was $2.15. The rates, of course, covered terminal costs, presumably about equal in each instance. (The rates quoted were published in Southern Broad-Axe [West Point], September 14, 1859.)

During much of the year the railroad had no competition from the river, except that shipments might be withheld to await a rise of the river and the

arrival of the steamboats. The railroad was a dependable, all-season, all-weather carrier, financially responsible, quick, and with reliable schedules. The river boats were generally deficient in these features. Some people who lived near the river, however, found its use more practical than that of the more distant railroad. The M & O line was marked by a string of railroad towns, mostly new, on its north and south route. When the Civil War began, the railroad's branches reached to the Tombigbee River at Gainesville and Columbus but not at Aberdeen. It crossed the Memphis and Charleston at Corinth and other railroad lines between Corinth and Columbus, Kentucky, at each of which the transfer of traffic was possible, but soon the war interfered. In truth, the impact of railroad transportation had just struck the Upper Tombigbee Valley when the war began.

CHAPTER X

CIVIL WAR AND READJUSTMENT: 1860-1870

The Civil War had far-reaching influence on the Upper Tombigbee counties. In addition, there were during the decade of the war and readjustment further powerful influences at work, which, although not basically caused by the war, were accentuated by it.

The manpower demands of the war drew many men away from the farms and plantations into the military services. Their labor was lost to the producing and capital-building activities of the area by their absence and disabilities or death caused by the war. The availability of slave labor made it possible for a high percentage of the able-bodied white men to abandon their occupations and go off to war, leaving only enough at home to provide managerial and control functions, some of which women also provided. Non-slave-holding families suffered a serious handicap.

While military activities extended around the area in a great arc, only the northern part of it was subject to direct invasion. After the fall of forts Henry and Donelson in northern Tennessee in the spring of 1862, the Federal forces moved south up the Cumberland River and took Nashville. The Tennessee River lay open as a route of approach to the lower South, which was then invaded--by steamboat. The rails of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad crossed at Corinth, giving that point a special strategic importance and making it an object of Union attack. On April 7, 1862, the Confederacy lost the battle of Shiloh Church or Pittsburgh Landing, on the Tennessee. The invading forces then moved towards Corinth, which place Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard evacuated on May 30, 1862, and retired down the Mobile and Ohio line to Tupelo.

Moving from both north and south on the Mississippi River, the Federals sought to cut the Confederacy in two. They found their most difficult obstacle at Vicksburg, which held out for another year. Federal forces meanwhile in 1862 moved up the Tennessee as far as Eastport, Mississippi. As they were planning an invasion of East Tennessee, Confederate General Braxton Bragg at Tupelo began on July 27 to withdraw most of his forces down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad to Mobile, from there to send them by a roundabout rail route to Chattanooga. In August, 1862, a body of Federal cavalry patrolling the Memphis and Charleston Railroad line, turned aside to raid Bay Springs. The factory's machinery was put of commission, but the buildings were not burned. In a movement towards Eastport, Confederate General Stirling Price met a Federal force at Iuka, where a battle occurred on September 19, 1862. The Confederates retreated the next day to Bay Springs and then to Baldwyn on the M & O Railroad. Another battle occurred at Corinth on October 3-4, 1862.

On December 13-19, 1862, Federal Colonel Theophilus Lyle Dickey made a raid against the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, his route being mainly through Lafayette and Pontotoc counties. Dickey destroyed trestle work and bridges from Saltillo to Okolona, thirty-four miles, and a large bridge south of Okolona over a branch of the Tombigbee. Eastport on the Tennessee River served as a staging point for several Federal raids into Alabama. In 1863 Vicksburg was the main center of military activity in Mississippi.

Steamboat activity on the Upper Tombigbee underwent a marked decline during the war. The cause appears to have been not so much the war as the competition of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and the decline of cotton production. Aberdeen lost most of its commercial business, while Columbus, now with a railroad connection, had less need for the river. Some steamboats, however, continued to call at Columbus. In the early 1860s the Clipper, a 242-ton sidewheel steamboat, frequently advertised service from Mobile to Gainesville and Vienna and in 1862 it also visited Warsaw. In 1862 the Warrior, a 378-ton sidewheeler, advertised similar service. And there was other steamboat activity (Rodabough, March 27, 1975):

> *The season of 1861-62 saw the W.S. Barry and Lilly reach Aberdeen, but the James Dellett and the Georgia Sykes went no higher than Columbus and very few times at that. The 1862-63 boating season was the last during the War that Columbus was reached; no boats came to Aberdeen that year. Those last boats to serve East Mississippi during the war were the Warrior (once), Cherokee (once), General Robert E. Lee (three times), W.S. Barry (once), Reindeer (twice) Alice Vivian (twice). What trade as did exist was being handled almost exclusively by the M. & O. Railroad.*
>
> *River trade remained irregular as far up the Tombigbee as Demopolis and then up the Warrior to Northport and Tuscaloosa. That area was sufficiently removed from railroads to warrant regular boats. . . .*
>
> *The most famous Tombigbee steamers during the Civil War were the Cuba and Alice Vivian. Due to the strength and speed of those vessels they were converted to blockade runners. Their hulls were braced, strengthened and made stiff to resist waves. Their cabins were entirely removed. In place of their twin smoke stacks there stood only one low one. Their sides were walled in. Each vessel made only one trip to Cuba. On the second tries the Cuba was forced aground and the Alice Vivian captured.*

The principal economic function of the Upper Tombigbee Valley in support of the Confederacy was in providing food, not cotton, for it was an area of great food-producing potential. Great numbers of cattle and hogs were bought up or driven off during the war years, and the number remaining declined to a mere fraction of what it had been in 1860.

The importance of the Upper Tombigbee Valley to the Confederacy is made manifest in the following excerpts from statements of the governing officials of Columbus, referred to the Confederate Secretary of War by President Jefferson Davis on May 8, 1863 (U.S. War Department, comp., The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume LII, Part II, pp. 461-463):

Knowing as you do our geographical position, and the importance of our rich valley, as one capable of producing breadstuffs in sufficient quantities for the supply of the entire Army of the West, we deem it unnecessary to argue the question, and content ourselves with merely calling your attention to the fact. We beg leave to say that our patriotic planters had, to a large extent, anticipated your recent proclamation and have planted their broad prairie acres in grain and other articles for the subsistence of the army. In fact, sir, our country is one vast corn-field, which if protected from the enemy will, under the smiles of Providence, furnish an amount of provisions that will relieve the Western Army from all fear of want.

* * * * *

From New Albany to B[ea]r Creek the distance is sixty-five miles. This is the important line of defense, and upon it the cavalry force of this district should be now centered.

* * * * *

Columbus is situated near the eastern boundary of the State, about midway of that fertile body of land running nearly parallel with the west bank of the Tombigbee River for a distance of 100 miles, and which from its cereal resources is capable of supplying provisions for the whole Confederate Army of the West. The city has been placed by experienced engineers, at great expense and labor, under complete and extensive military fortifications, and to suffer it, under the circumstances, by inadequate or inefficient defense, to fall into the hands of the enemy would only be placing in their power the means for our own destruction. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad, extending from the Gulf of Mexico into the enemy's lines on the north, immediately through the center of the valley of the Tombigbee, and passing within a short distance of Columbus, would furnish means of transportation, and with a fortified city as a base of operations in the possession of the enemy, the State would be completely paralyzed, and virtually subjugated, so far as its available force or power could be used for its defense. The Federal gunboats on the Mississippi have, in a great degree, closed the State on the west; the possession by the enemy of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad cuts off all communication on her northern boundary, and the military and naval occupancy of New Orleans and Gulf of Mexico on the south leave open only her eastern boundary for military operations. It will be perceived at once that the eastern limits of the State in the enemy's power and control would isolate the State from the Confederacy, and place her under complete military subjugation. In addition to the national loss which would result from a conquest of the eastern limits of Mississippi and the probable military occupancy of the State, the loss and destruction of the provision crop of the valley of the Tombigbee would be more or less felt throughout the whole Confederacy. The navigation of the Mississippi River by Federal gun-boats has in a great measure cut off our army supplies from those fertile States west of said stream. A large portion of the State of Tennessee and all of Kentucky being in possession of the enemy deprives us of supplies from that region, and we are now in a great degree dependent upon the rich valley

of the Tombigbee for provisioning our Western armies. To suffer that region to be ravaged and ruined by an invading army would be such an act of suicidal policy on the part of the Government as would be inexcusable, if in its power to avert. The recent raid of the enemy through almost the entire State of Mississippi, together with such facts as your committee have been able to obtain, convince them that the provisions made for the defense of Eastern Mississippi are totally inadequate.

After the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat at Gettysburg on July 3-4, 1863, the fortunes of the Confederacy gradually declined. However, on June 10, 1864, General Nathan B. Forrest defeated a Federal force at Brice's Cross Roads, and then on July 14-15, there was a considerable battle in the neighborhood of Tupelo, with rather mixed results.

On December 21, 1864, an expedition of 3,300 men left Memphis to threaten Corinth, then in Confederate hands, and destroyed four bridges on the M & O Railroad between Booneville and Gun Town. The main column moved farther down the railroad, destroying structures to a point between Egypt and Prairie Station, some twelve miles from Aberdeen.

In February, 1865, General William Tecumseh Sherman made a very destructive raid on Meridian from the west. The president of the railroad company observed (Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, Annual Report, 1866, H. Rep. 34, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 833): "Sherman's raid destroyed, north and south of Meridian, 'all the warehouses, water stations, bridges, and trestle-work in 48 miles, and on 21 miles of that distance he bent, and as far as possible, destroyed the rails and fastenings.'" Yet the company's chief engineer later reported (ibid., p. 841) that "at the close of the war the road was in fair running condition to Okolona, 261 miles, and passable for trains to Corinth."

When Mobile was threatened by the enemy in the spring of 1865, steamboats left that city hastily. After the danger to the boats had passed, the Mobile Daily News reported, May 11, 1865:

The steamers St. Nicholas, St. Charles, C.W. Dorrance, Jeff. Davis, Admiral, Reindeer, Cherokee, Marengo, Sumter, Waverly, Magnolia, Robt. Watson, and Duke have arrived at the city wharves from the Bigbee river, whither they were taken by the skedaddling rebels upon the evacuation of the city.

A recent author observes (Rodabough, March 27, 1975):

During the 1865-66 river season steamboats again returned to the Upper Bigbee to take advantage of the interrupted service offered by the badly damaged line of the M & O Railroad. Much cotton was stored in warehouses awaiting shipment. The Reindeer, Clara Dunning, Elmora, Waverly, Alice M., Cora, Mist, Black Diamond, Belfast, C.W. Dorrance, E.M. Bicknell, John Briggs, Virginia no. 1, Marengo, Dandridge, and Dove paid twenty-five visits to Columbus and only nine to Aberdeen.

River traffic fell off considerably the next year when the railroad began to stage a comeback. The Dandridge was the only regular boat on the Upper Bigbee. It paid three visits to Aberdeen and terminated five trips at Columbus. The Virginia no. 2 to Columbus twice. The Mary Conley ascended twice to Aberdeen. The C.W. Dorrance and Mist each paid one visit to Aberdeen. The Belfast and Mollie Glover came to Columbus once.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad property suffered severely from wartime wear and tear and from military damage. On this subject the president of the company told the stockholders on April 17, 1866 (H. Rep. 34, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 833):

As the mariner, who has been driven and tossed by winds and waves until hope is nearly extinguished, embraces the first moment of calm to take a reckoning of where he is, and calculates the chances of finally reaching the shore, so we, at the close of the late destructive war, took a reckoning of where we were, and calculated the chances of saving the great enterprise committed to our charge.

At the commencement of the war the company was in good condition--had inspired universal confidence at home and abroad, and had ample resources to meet all its engagements. The road, in its progress to completion, had met and overcome opposition of the greatest magnitude. In the State of Mississippi it had been opposed by the friends of a rival road from New Orleans; in Tennessee, it had met the violent opposition of the enterprising and energetic city of Memphis. The great length of the road, passing through sections of country having no previous business or commercial connection with each other, gave to these rival interests an opportunity of playing on the passions and prejudices of particular localities, and throwing obstacles in the way of its progress. Towns and villages a short distance from the track of the road put themselves in hostility to it because it did not change its location and send its cars directly to their doors. When the company was compelled to apply to the legislatures of the several States through which the road was located for necessary legislation to aid its completion, we were constantly met by opposition from these local and rival interests.

But by energy and perseverance this great road was completed; and on the 22d of April, 1861, when the last rail was laid in the track, the company had a road of the first class, built in the most substantial manner, with rails and fastenings and other materials unsurpassed in the United States, and supplied with rolling stock amply sufficient to meet all the requirements of its extensive business. From the resources then at our command, estimating the future earnings of the road at figures below what we had a right to expect, it was safe to calculate that, within two years from the completion of the road, we would commence the payment of dividends on our stock, having first taken up our floating liabilities, and from the sale of lands and a portion of our annual earnings, set apart for the purpose, provide for a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish our funded debt before maturity. From the time of our successful negotiations in London down to the completion of

the road all our financial calculations had been fully sustained, and we had far more reason to expect success in the future than we had had in the past.

But the war came, and the company has suffered largely by it. The confederate government controlled the transportation of the road, and we were occupied chiefly in transporting men and supplies for the army. In this way the confederate government became our debtors, including bonds, &c., as will be seen by reference to the annexed tables, in the sum of $4,983,871 23. A part of this was due long before the close of the war, but we were not able to collect it because of alleged want of means of payment. Add to this, over fifty negroes, costing $119,691, and Alabama State bonds, since declared void, being issued for purposes of the war, $125,000, and it makes the round sum in confederate currency of $5,228,562 23--all of which was lost to this company.

But our losses did not stop with a failure to get pay for services which we were, by military orders, compelled to perform. All our bridges, trestle-work, warehouses, and station buildings, between Union City, in Tennessee, and Okolona, in Mississippi, a distance of 184 miles, were destroyed. General Sherman's raid to Meridian destroyed, north and south of that place, all the warehouses, water stations, bridges, and trestle-work on 48 miles, and on 21 miles of that distance he bent and, as far as possible, destroyed the rails and fastenings. From a full supply of rolling stock of the finest quality we were reduced to one-fourth of what was necessary, and that was in bad condition. Our repair shop at Jackson, Tennessee, was broken up; and on the evacuation of Mobile, the stationary engine and tools in the shops at Whistler were destroyed. We had, at the close of the war, neither tools nor material to repair our little remaining rolling stock, and keep it on the track.

A huge debt due from the Confederate government could not be collected, but the railroad company had converted much of its liquid assets into cotton, which had been stored in Mobile and elsewhere. Although much of this was burned, stolen, or confiscated, what remained was important to the company for rehabilitation. While the company suffered heavy losses because of the war, particularly from the repudiation of Confederate debts, its principal loss came from the loss of the productive capacity of the region which it served and which was its source of traffic.

As the Mobile and Ohio Railroad was restored to operation, it moved large quantities of cotton from the Upper Tombigbee counties to both Mobile and Memphis (via Corinth). The company had great difficulty in securing the rolling stock and other equipment necessary for operation. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a combination of cotton agents, cotton factors, railroads, Memphis agents, and military officers sent trains down the M & O line to take cotton and haul it to Memphis without the company's consent (H. Doc. 34, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 833). Not including these movements, from June 1, 1865, to April 1, 1866, 100,549 bales were shipped to Mobile on the M & O and 17,179 to Corinth for Memphis. Macon shipped 15,886, Columbus 12,215. The 6,120 from Prairie probably came mostly from Aberdeen. (Table 15 gives details of shipments from the various stations.)

TABLE 15

MOVEMENT OF COTTON ON THE MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD

FROM LOCAL STATIONS TO MOBILE AND CORINTH

June 1, 1865-April 1, 1866

Local Stations	Month										Received at	
	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Mobile	Corinth
Chunchula	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
Citronelle	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Brushy Creek	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-
State Line	-	-	-	98	2	-	-	58	1	-	107	-
Buckatunna	-	91	-	-	94	323	18	1	-	4	531	-
Winchester	-	-	16	-	60	150	-	22	85	44	432	-
Waynesboro	-	194	71	651	390	207	4	119	53	32	1,751	-
Red Bluff	-	102	258	742	402	633	27	128	-	277	2,569	-
Shubuta	-	103	229	353	274	740	180	776	248	249	3,152	-
De Soto	26	145	314	139	82	475	38	232	176	59	1,686	-
Quitman	-	-	-	9	58	31	5	4	-	4	94	-
Enterprise	30	409	634	274	1,230	1,397	427	459	298	132	5,290	-
Okatibbee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meridian	-	270	1,574	1,973	1,337	599	845	647	225	200	7,670	127
Marion	-	81	110	69	362	140	879	198	142	220	2,201	-
Lockhart	-	-	-	28	40	-	-	-	205	-	273	-
Lauderdale	-	25	155	62	314	383	68	896	429	212	2,542	-
Tamola	-	-	-	-	32	261	76	58	-	-	427	-
Gainesville Junction	-	192	1,398	504	740	1,232	1,548	1,022	366	401	7,403	-
Sucarnochee	-	-	76	-	41	355	141	108	147	18	866	-
Scooba	-	-	189	20	316	1,031	527	103	246	246	2,478	887
Wahalak	-	-	11	35	77	98	-	160	90	256	727	-
Shuqualak	-	-	-	106	69	1,045	91	111	205	335	1,962	-
Macon	-	115	696	252	2,884	547	5,992	2,161	528	1,407	14,282	1,604
Brooksville	-	10	240	117	1,026	413	5,002	942	528	675	6,751	197
Crawford	-	33	105	150	318	276	596	756	458	499	2,991	1,652
Artesia	-	50	211	518	678	359	505	1,414	155	556	4,024	461
Columbus, Miss	58	694	1,268	1,108	958	803	1,935	1,728	1,521	64	10,257	1,978
Mayhew	-	-	33	-	66	71	36	517	418	318	1,459	172
Tibbee	-	15	25	266	177	581	540	870	729	505	5,284	864
West Point	-	169	641	321	1,428	586	445	648	880	330	5,248	1,926
Loonatan	-	-	-	728	-	159	175	34	-	56	1,150	1,592
Prairie	-	100	215	705	692	252	210	145	272	137	2,778	3,342
Egypt	-	260	27	84	162	33	187	136	311	118	1,338	1,150
Okolona	-	300	258	1,021	327	462	567	276	382	525	4,118	1,723
Shannon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	82	15
Verona	-	-	-	-	-	20	201	69	131	8	429	47
Tupelo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	59	120	19
Saltillo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30	14
Guntown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	7	27	5
Baldwyn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Rienza	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Pinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	15	-
Jackson, Tenn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Humboldt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	114	3,405	8,755	10,101	14,316	13,242	18,660	14,350	9,185	7,921	100,549	17,170

Data from H. Doc. 34, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess, p. 855.

Accompanying the end of the war there was a breakdown of state and local government, widespread disorder and theft, starvation and destitution, and military government that was inadequate to the systematic maintenance of law and order. The "freedmen," as the former slaves were called, roamed about, living off the country, and many of both white and black races were confronted with the danger of starvation. For a time the resources of the people had to be devoted primarily of the problem of staying alive. Of the Confederate soldiers who straggled home after the war a large part came back too late to engage in the planting of a new crop, and many suffered from wounds and debilitated health. Their homes and farms were generally in a dilapidated condition and their livestock was largely gone.

The destruction of war had hit the Upper Tombigbee Valley a devastating blow. The labor system which had produced most of the surplus for export had been destroyed. Liquid capital had been destroyed. Buildings and fields had been neglected. Then, in the aftermath, Alabama and Mississippi planters who had held their cotton in the hope of marketing it at favorable prices after the war to provide a basis for rehabilitating their farms were confronted with a heavy federal tax on cotton and with a swarm of cotton thieves, treasury agents, bandits, unscrupulous merchants, and others who took advantage of the breakdown of the rule of law.

The great body of the freedmen knew of nothing but an agricultural life, and they had had scant experience in managing their own affairs. In this situation general ineffectiveness in production was to be expected until some new system of order could be worked out. There was much confusion, much experimenting, and much interference from the Freedmen's Bureau.

Table 16 gives details of the accounts of J.C.H. Jones of Fairfield, Pickens County, with twenty-six freedmen in his employ in 1865. He apparently provided his employees with land and housing and tools and advanced them such necessities as food and clothing by some kind of a rationing system, although the record does not show all this. In addition, he paid adult males 50 cents per day and expected them to work 312 days during the year. Adult females were paid amounts varying from 50 cents to 25 cents per day. They were charged proportionately for time lost. Against their pay were also charged all additional items above the necessities. These items included extra food and clothing, tobacco, whiskey, cow feed, knives, ornaments, and occasionally exotic foods. After all these expenses one family had $235.30 left over at the end of the year and every family had something. The average was $46.98 per person. Even Judy and Jane, who were afflicted with smallpox and lost 272 work days, ended with a small cash sum due them. The account book leaves the impression that Jones was a good manager, but it does not reveal how well he fared himself.

Although much of the cotton and other traffic left the Tombigbee River after the completion of the main line of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and of its branch to Columbus, steamboats continued after the war to carry some of the traffic of points readily accessible to the river. Some of the boating activities of the late 1860s are reflected in the following account by a recent historian (Rodabough, March 27, 1975):

TABLE 16

FREEDMEN'S ACCOUNTS OF A PLANTER-MERCHANT, 1866

J.C.H. Jones of Fairfield

Group	Number in Group	Possible Work Days	Possible Wages	Lost Days	Wages Lost	Food Costs	Other Expenses	Cash Advances	Damages Charged	Total Costs	Cleared by Group	Cleared Per Person
Anderson Family	4	1248	$ 468.00	168 1/2	$ 53.50	$ 86.80	$ 22.15	$50.25	$20.00	$ 232.70	$ 235.30	$ 58.83
Matt and Charlotte (and Bill)	3	936	312.00	176 1/2	51.75	15.00	32.00	5.00	0.00	103.75	208.25	69.42
George and July	2	624	312.00	111	40.75	60.60	11.50	5.50	0.00	118.35	193.65	96.82
Cornelius Ragland	1	312	156.00	26 1/2	13.25	31.35	9.00	0.00	0.00	53.60	102.40	102.40
Sylv and Milly	2	624	234.00	99	48.05	45.30	40.00	7.00	0.00	140.35	93.65	46.82
Charles Ragland	1	312	156.00	41 1/2	20.75	20.15	27.75	3.00	0.00	71.65	84.35	84.35
Pink	1	312	156.00	34	17.00	29.05	47.60	0.00	0.00	93.65	62.35	62.35
Al Jack	1	312	156.00	9 1/2	5.25	33.25	57.10	0.00	0.00	95.60	60.40	60.40
Attock and Alcy	2	624	312.00	148	71.05	82.85	113.20	0.00	0.00	267.10	44.90	22.45
Tom	1	312	156.00	42 1/2	21.25	58.30	31.00	1.00	0.00	111.55	44.45	44.45
Alexina	1	312	78.00	94	23.63	0.00	28.00	0.00	0.00	51.63	26.37	26.37
Judy and Jane	2	432	162.00	272	92.50	48.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	141.25	20.75	10.38
Liz	1	312	93.60	123	37.80	26.20	9.50	3.00	0.00	76.50	17.10	17.10
Charles Jones Family	2	312	144.00	78	39.00	11.50	78.25	0.00	0.00	128.75	15.25	7.62
Jack and Rasty Summerville	2	624	234.00	223 1/2	97.59	74.40	51.00	0.00	0.00	222.99	11.01	5.50
Totals	26	7608	$3129.60	1647 1/2	$633.12	$623.50	$558.05	$74.75	$20.00	$1909.42	$1220.18	$ 46.93

A copy of Jones' account book is in the University of Alabama Library.

The boating season of 1867-68 saw the C.W. Dorrance, Virginia no. 2, Vigo, Clara, E.M. Bicknell, Mary Conley, Montana, and Reindeer make nine trips to Aberdeen and terminate eight voyages at Columbus. The following season the Mary Conley came to Aberdeen seven times; B.M. Terrill & Co. were the local agents. The Desoto came to Aberdeen once and terminated one trip at Columbus. The E.M. Bicknell came to Columbus once.

On October 14, 1869, Aberdeen completed its railroad connection with the main line of the M & O. From that time through the boating season of 1876-77 very little use was made of the river. Each time a steamboat would come to Aberdeen or Columbus the Railroad would lower its rate and steal the trade. Thus, the steamboat trade was strangled. Once the boats were gone, the railroads were free to charge whatever the traffic would bear.

The railroads still did not reach the little river ports, and these continued to do business by steamboat. Notices in the Carrollton (Pickens County) West Alabamian tell something of the river business at Pickensville in the immediate postwar years. Here are some abstracts:

November 28, 1866. Pickensville Warehouse

We have our upper warehouse fully repaired--convenient to town and above high water. . . .

D.A. Walker & Co.

Look out! Steamboats coming up: or, at least our friends D.A. Walker & Co., have made preparations for the coming of several Steamboats; besides, they are now prepared to receive and store cotton, merchandise &c. They also have salt, bagging & rope, and will in a short time have a supply of corn for the accommodation of their customers. . . .

December 12, 1866. Mobile, Columbus and Waverly Packet. The fast-running side-wheel Dandridge . . . now classes A No. 1 in the Insurance offices.

December 26, 1866. Pulliam Warehouse at Pickensville, Ala. W.H.C. Dunlop, proprietor.

April 3, 1867. Pulliam's Landing. Patrons shipping freight to my warehouse will please have it marked Pulliam Landing, Pickensville, Ala.

Z. Pulliam

December 4, 1867. Pickensville Warehouse. The new and commodious Cotton Shed at this old and well known shipping point, is now ready for the reception of cotton. The warehouse is also in complete order, and I will soon have completed a good camping house & lot for the accommodation of wagoners & their teams.

M.M. Lee, Successor to D.A. Walker & Co.

December 4, 1867. Regular packet for Columbus. The A No. 1 Side Wheel Steamer C.W. Dorrance . . . Will leave Mobile every Saturday evening, arriving at Columbus Tuesday morning. Leaves Columbus Tuesday 10 o'clock a.m. and Pickensville at 2 p.m. . . . Classes A no. 1 in the insurance offices.

Feb. 5, 1868. Regular Saturday Night Packet on the Little Bygbee River. The A No. 1 Side Wheel Steamer Reindeer . . . Will leave Mobile every Saturday at 4 p.m., for Pickensville, and will leave Pickensville on her return trip every Tuesday morning, arriving in Mobile on Thursday evening. For freight or passage apply on board.

Despite the survival of some of the little river ports the shift of commerce away from the river to towns along the line of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad is clearly indicated by the comprehensive traffic figures of that railroad for 1869 (see Table 17). Cotton, the principal item of traffic, was shipped from a host of small towns along the railroad. Columbus in that year shipped 14,142 bales by rail, of which only 3,684 went to Mobile. The rest went to junction points to the north, particularly Humboldt, Tennessee, and Columbus, Kentucky. Probably the largest part of the Columbus cotton sent to Mobile went by steamboat, perhaps ten thousand bales. At the end of 1869 Aberdeen was just securing its first rail connection, with the Mobile and Ohio. Such business as it had previously retained had gone primarily to steamboats. With the rail connection, however, Aberdeen entered a new era. There was little transfer of cotton from the M & O to the Memphis and Charleston at Corinth, nor does the record show whether this little moved to Memphis or to points eastward. Memphis did supply some of the distributive trade of the Upper Tombigbee Valley through Corinth, however. The river was still getting the trade between Columbus and Mobile and apparently most of it between Gainesville and Mobile and essentially all of it between Aberdeen and Mobile in 1869. At that time other traffic was still tending to follow essentially the same trade routes as cotton, but the trade pattern was undergoing rapid changes.

TABLE 17

MOVEMENT OF COTTON ON THE MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD FROM LOCAL STATIONS

TO TERMINAL OR JUNCTION POINTS

April 1, 1869-March 31, 1870

Numbers of bales.

Received at	Total	Forwarded to							
		Mobile	Enterprise	Columbus, Miss	Corinth	Jackson	Humboldt	Trenton	Columbus, Ky.
Mobile	1374	--	--	--	--	--	1314	--	60
State Line	19	19	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Buckatunna	9	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Winchester	490	490	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Waynesboro	389	389	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Red Bluff	32	32	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Shubuta	4581	4581	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DeSoto	969	969	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Quitman	174	174	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Enterprise	35481	35471	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Meridian	322741	322201	--	--	--	--	98	--	5
Marion	360	360	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lockhart	433	433	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lauderdale	2319	2319	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Timola	105	105	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Daineville Junction	3781	3779	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
Sucarnoochee	144	144	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Scooba	2358	2358	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Kandula	225	225	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Shuqualak	2607	2607	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Macon	7935	7525	157	36	10	--	84	--	105
Brooksville	2360	2057	--	303	--	--	--	--	--
Crawford	5768	5192	--	33	67	--	426	--	30
Artesia	2067	1860	--	176	--	--	25	--	--
Columbus, Miss	14142	3684	--	--	937	--	5436	445	3642
Mayhew	2888	2876	--	12	--	--	--	--	--
Tibbee	710	710	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
West Point	9994	5413	--	718	54	--	739	--	70
Loonatan	1696	1633	--	--	--	--	59	--	4
Aberdeen	9601	827	--	--	5	--	20	--	8
Prairie	32161	30491	--	--	19	--	117	--	31
Egypt	1131	1125	--	3	--	--	--	--	--
Okolona	7567	5681	--	--	38	--	1679	--	169
Shannon	1918	1781	--	--	15	--	122	--	--
Verona	2816	2659	--	--	147	--	10	--	--
Tupelo	41997	38901	--	2	78	--	32	--	197
Saltillo	1543	1172	--	--	36	--	80	26	23
Guntown	1772	1728	--	--	34	--	10	--	--
Baldwyn	2405	2359	--	--	41	--	--	--	5
Booneville	1585	1520	--	--	52	--	30	--	1
Rienzi	10089	8901	--	--	99	--	2	--	17
Corinth, Miss	167	15	--	--	--	--	151	1	--
Ramer, Tenn	11	3	--	--	8	--	--	--	--
Bethel	785	540	--	--	3	112	120	--	10
McNairy	309	302	--	--	--	3	3	--	1
Henderson	1110	1053	--	--	--	--	40	--	17
Pinson	408	378	--	--	--	--	11	1	18
Jackson, Tenn	4737	148	--	--	--	--	3561	165	1063
Carroll	17	--	--	--	--	--	17	--	--
Humboldt	88	--	--	--	--	--	53	--	15
Trenton	40241	111	--	--	--	--	1255	124	2551
Dyer	200	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	200
Rutherford	747	71	--	--	--	--	96	96	514
Kenton	477	12	--	--	--	--	26	163	276
Union City	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Jordan	3	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Moscow	26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	26
Totals	141755	113470	157	1548	1625	115	15947	1020	6885

Data from Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, Annual Report for 1870.

Received from Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad 20466 bales, from Vicksburg and Meridian Railroad 343 bales.

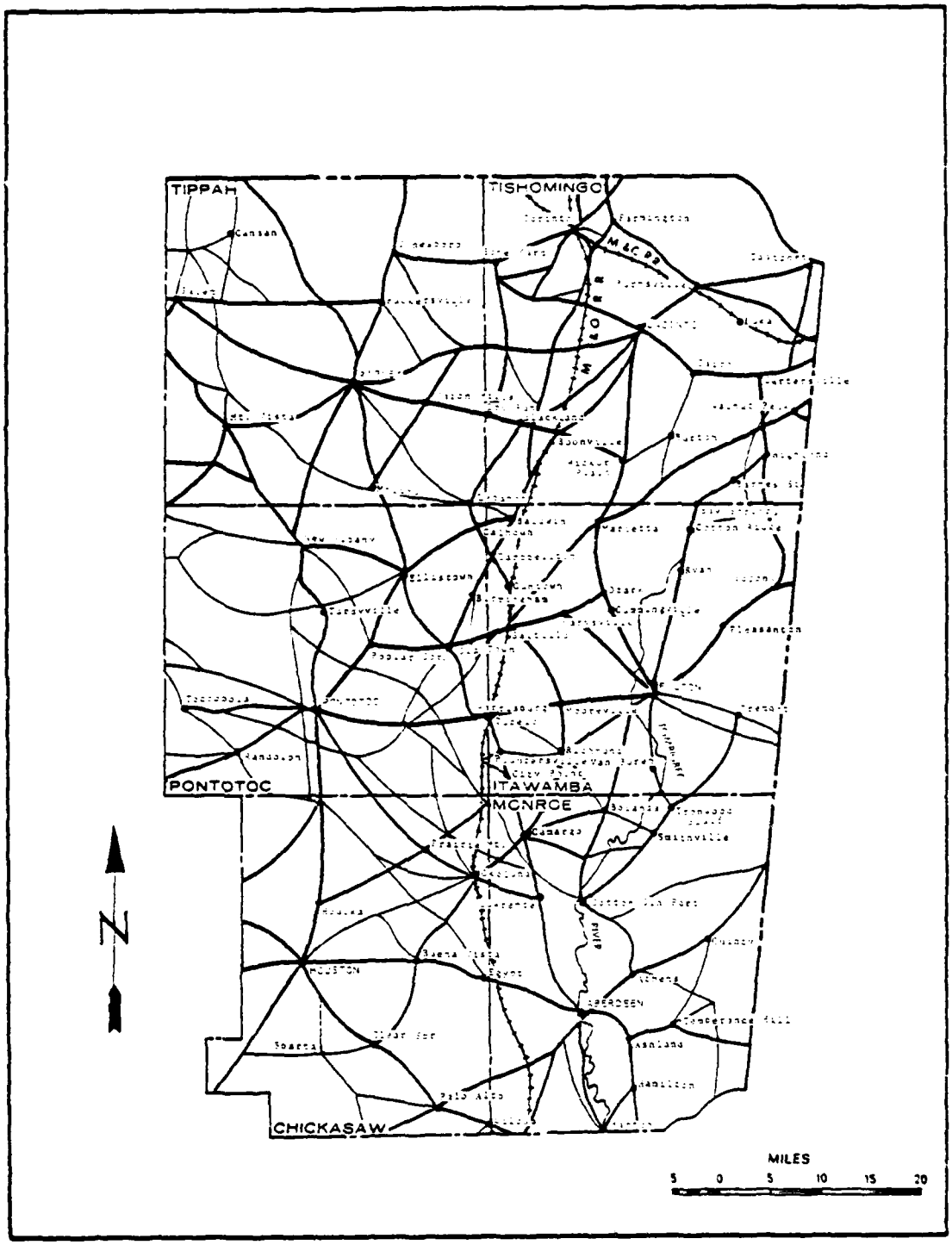

FIG. 15A. THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1865, NORTHERN PORTION. Based on a map by the U.S. Coast Survey.

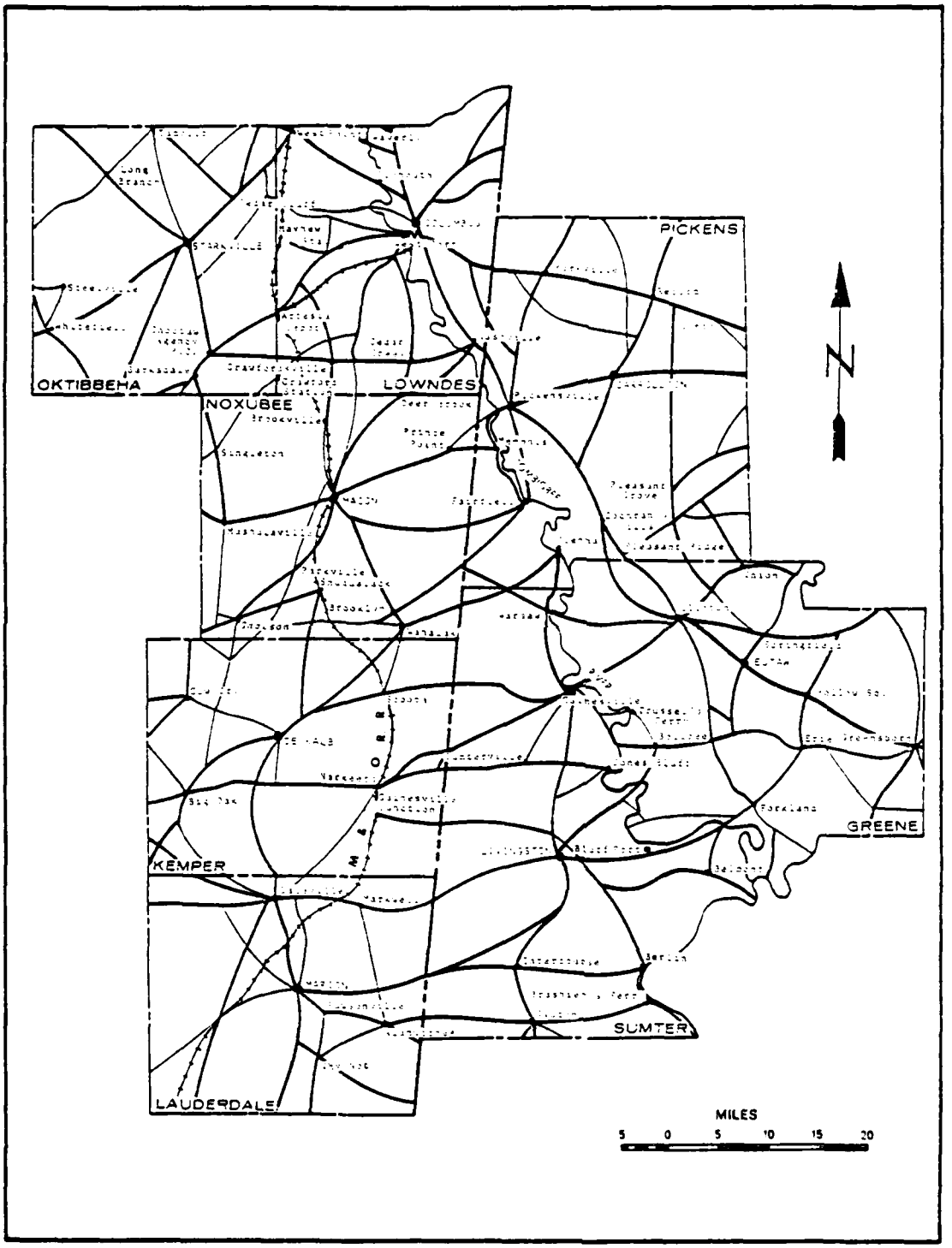

FIG. 15B. THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1865, SOUTHERN PORTION. Based on a map by the U.S. Coast Survey.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW ECONOMY: 1870-1940

Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
If men accumulate and wealth decay.
—Revised from Oliver Goldsmith's "Deserted Village."

The peak of prosperity in the counties of the Upper Tombigbee Valley was reached just before the Civil War. The damage from the war itself was formidable, and the years of the Reconstruction Era did not bring a return to prosperity. The region did not rebuild its stocks of cattle and hogs, and the production of cotton and corn per farm and per person suffered a continuing decline. Not only did the region lose its self-sufficiency but it also lost much of its ability to produce cotton, its great market crop, on which pre-war prosperity had been founded. The average of 1.8 bales of cotton produced per person in 1860 fell off to 0.8 in 1880, 0.7 in 1890, and 0.6 in 1910. The number of hogs per person, which had declined from 2.4 in 1850 to 2.0 in 1860 as farmers concentrated on cotton, dropped to 0.9 in 1880, and 0.6 in 1910, after which it underwent further decline.

A region which had been essentially self-sufficient in 1860 became highly dependent in the postwar years on outside sources of meat and bread. Furthermore, the market price of cotton underwent a continuing decline. The size of farms underwent a steady reduction as did the production per farm. The destructive economic effects of all this are reflected in the declining portion of farms operated by owners, which had declined by 1910 to 17.1 percent in Greene County and 19.9 percent in Noxubee. In the northern counties it was much higher, reaching as high as 57.9 percent in Tishomingo in 1910. By that time most of the tenants were sharecroppers. The average value of farms, which had reached rather high levels in several of the prairie counties by 1860, continued to fall off after the war to very low figures in 1890, but by 1910 there had been some revival.

Comparisons of black and white farmers in 1910 show that the condition of both was bad but that that of the blacks was worse and that black-operated farms were less productive.

The counties differed markedly in the percentage relationship of the white and black population. In general there was a steady decline in the percentage of white population down to 1890. In that year Greene County was only 14.7 percent white and Noxubee County only 17.2 percent. Yet the white portion of Itawamba County was 91.6 percent and of Tishomingo 89.3 percent. The counties of the Upper Tombigbee Valley thus differed markedly in the racial content of their population. In the counties where blacks were few their economic characteristics seem to have been more like those of the whites than in counties where the black population was proportionately high-

er. The accompanying Table 18 provides an analysis of the Tennessee-Tombigbee counties as a whole. A detailed breakdown of the figures by counties is found in Appendix 5.

A study of the community of Pleasant Ridge in Greene County reveals striking changes from 1860 to 1880. The population grew from 1300 to 2002, but economic development did not keep pace. When comparisons of 1860 and 1880 are put on a per capita basis, we find a marked decline in the number of cattle, sheep, and swine, especially the last, as well as impressive decline in the production of corn, wheat, potatoes, peas and beans, and orchard products. Clearly self-sufficiency in food became a thing of the past. But cotton production, the main source of income with which to buy food and other articles from elsewhere, also declined precipitously, both in absolute quantity and on a per capita basis. We have here in microcosm what broader figures show us to be general throughout the Upper Tombigbee counties. The figures showing the occupations of the people in the community of Pleasant Ridge in 1880 show us what kind of a community it was. (See Tables 19, 20, and 21.) In 1880 there were 210 farms in Pleasant Ridge, but only eighty-five farmers owned their land. Twenty-six farmers rented land on a fixed-rent basis (as cash tenants), and ninety-nine farmers farmed on shares. Tenantry had taken the place of slavery.

The dynamics of economic development and decline are full of subtleties that are difficult to grasp or to measure, but several important elements in the Upper Tombigbee picture can be readily described. Self-sufficiency plus bountiful commercial crops from virgin soils tilled with slave labor had brought prosperity in 1860. Now, however, there were ominous signs of soil exhaustion, and the slave labor was gone. Time was required to rebuild livestock herds; yet the surviving animals were needed for food. Furthermore, the accumulated capital necessary to support new initiatives and developments was gone.

Livestock producers who depended on open ranges were coming to the end of an era; a growing population was occupying the lands and building fences, and, worst of all, stock law was threatened, which would require the stock growers to fence their stock in. Driving animals to market over long distances grew impractical as ranges to feed the traveling animals on the road became more difficult to secure. Furthermore, the railroads began to pour in packed pork and beef from the western and northern corn-hog-cattle farms, where corn production was more bountiful than in the Tombigbee area.

Production of a commercial crop requires financing, for people must live while they produce the crop. With money gone the region could not restore commercial production until it could accumulate a surplus to sustain life while the commercial crop was being produced--that is, for one year. The surplus might be acquired a little at a time, a long drawn-out process, or credit might be sought to support the producers during the year while the crop was being produced. Cotton production languished during the Reconstruction Era, but a new labor system was worked out and a credit system was developed. Southern farmers turned increasingly to cotton, the most reliable cash crop, which they raised to the increasing neglect of corn and livestock and even their own garden vegetables. Yet, despite this concentration on cotton, its production fell off.

TABLE 18

STATISTICS OF UPPER TOMBIGBEE COUNTIES

1850-1960

	Census Years						
	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Population	161,236	184,629	204,771	212,462	235,582	255,096	218,792
Percent White	45.6	41.8	35.6	36.1	40.4	49.6	58.2
Number of Farms	8,411	7,624	19,689	24,818	29,085	38,650	17,902
Total Cotton Bales	107,011	128,540	154,444	143,957	138,886	161,192	91,695
Average Bales per Farm	12.7	16.1	7.8	5.8	5.6	4.3	5.1
Average Bales per Person	0.7	1.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.4
Total Bushels Corn	6,860,064	8,795,436	4,975,426	4,887,719	5,705,025	5,075,553	5,025,009
Average Bushels per Farm	815.7	1,153.4	252.6	196.9	91.8	131.4	169.0
Average Bushels per Person	42.6	47.6	24.3	23.0	15.7	21.6	13.8
Total Hogs	380,694	370,950	185,173	189,324	147,699	85,369	71,251
Average Hogs per Farm	45.3	48.7	9.4	7.6	5.8	2.2	4.0
Average Hogs per Person	2.4	2.0	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.3
Total Beef Cattle	81,782	75,549	55,435	77,281	70,817	81,529	206,651
Average Beef Cattle per Farm	9.7	9.6	2.8	3.1	1.8	2.1	11.5
Average Beef Cattle per Person	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.9
Total Milk Cows	41,746	40,067	45,913	50,022	59,957	67,125	41,757
Average Milk Cows per Farm	5.0	5.3	2.2	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.3
Average Milk Cows per Person	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
Total Sheep	72,903	79,062	42,206	?	15,270	6,953	17,100
Average Sheep per Farm	8.7	10.1	2.1	?	0.5	0.2	0.9
Average Sheep per Person	0.5	0.4	0.2	?	0.1	0.0	0.1
Total Value of Livestock	$1,735,201	$10,546,295	$4,554,151	$5,505,950	$10,450,050	$12,208,212	$18,590,780[1]
Average Value Livestock per Farm	$ 565	$ 1,357	$ 220	$ 222	$ 267	$ 316	$ 2,714
Average Value Livestock per Person	$ 29	$ 56	$ 21	$ 26	$ 41	$ 52	$ 222
Percent of Farms Operated By Owners	c.80.0[2]	c.80.0[2]	48.5	58.9	50.1	28.3	41.5
Total Value of Manufactured Goods	$ 655,002	$ 2,227,852	$1,115,046	$ 845,928	?	$11,795,681	$61,421,000[3]
Total Number Wage Earners	852	1,437	759	912	?	4,457	11,815
Total Wages	$ 307,059	$ 449,700	$ 129,055	$ 179,875	?	$ 2,845,658	$85,757,000[3]
Average Wage per Worker	$ 360	$ 313	$ 170	$ 191	?	$ 611	$ 2,181
Average Value of Manufactured Goods Per Worker	$ 745	$ 1,550	$ 1,467	$ 896	?	$ 2,648	$ 1,569

Data from U.S. Census. Because of significant changes in counties and county boundaries between 1860 and 1880 totals are not always strictly comparable.

[1]Sales of livestock and livestock products.

[2]See Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Baton Rouge, 1949), p. 182, Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860 (Nashville, 1945), p. 65.

[3]Amount for Tishomingo County withheld to avoid disclosing figures for individual companies.

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN PLEASANT RIDGE IN 1880

By Total Population and By Heads of Households

Occupations	Number of People in Total Population	Number of Heads of Households	
		White	Black
None	674	8	13
Laborer	565	5	78
Farmer	400	81	231
Home	139	11	0
School	88	0	0
Cook	74	1	18
Teacher	11	3	1
Servant	11	0	0
Wash Woman	6	0	0
Mechanic	5	3	2
Merchant	5	3	1
Blacksmith	4	2	0
Nurse	4	0	1
Carpenter	3	1	2
Physician	3	1	0
Store Clerk	3	1	0
Fireman	2	0	1
Lawyer	2	0	1
Miller	2	2	0
Minister	1	1	0
Totals	2,002	124	348

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns. Most children are in the "none" category. Many persons who list their occupations as "laborer" were doubtless employed on farms. Many sons of farmers, living with their parents, are designated as "farmer." It is probable that more children than indicated here attended school for a portion of the year.

TABLE 20

NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK IN PLEASANT RIDGE: 1860 AND 1880

With Figures Per Person

	1860		1880	
	Totals	Per Person	Totals	Per Person
Number of Horses	146	.11	227	.11
Number of Asses and Mules	271	.21	289	.14
Number of Milk Cows	325	.25	533	.27
Number of Working Oxen	173	.13	74	.04
Number of Other Cattle	574	.44	679	.34
Number of Sheep	575	.44	695	.35
Number of Swine	2,925	2.25	2,630	1.31
Value of Livestock	$81,050	$62.35	$53,072	$26.51

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns.

TABLE 21

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN PLEASANT RIDGE: 1860 AND 1880

With Figures Per Person

	1860		1880	
	Totals	Per Person	Totals	Per Person
Wheat, bushels	2,206	1.70	614	.31
Rye, bushels	80	.06	11	.01
Corn, bushels	66,400	51.08	55,574	27.76
Peas and beans, bushels	5,007	3.85	109	.05
Irish Potatoes, bushels	534	.41	455	.23
Sweet Potatoes, bushels	9,180	7.06	5,213	2.60
Cotton, bales	2,447*	1.88*	1,531**	.76**
Wool, pounds	921	.71	1,166	.58
Butter, pounds	10,400	8.00	14,684	7.33
Hay, tons	267	.21	1	--
Orchard Products, value	$ 900.00	$ .69	$ 710.00	$ .35

Data from U.S. Census manuscript returns.

*Four hundred pound bales.

**Four hundred and fifty pound bales.

The role of the merchant in this changing agricultural situation was considerable. Under the gradually-evolving new credit system merchants having direct contact with individual crop producers located themselves along the railroad lines. Little settlements grew into larger ones and an increasing number of people came to live in commercial centers of sizes varying from the crossroads to towns as large as Columbus. Some places were served by transportation on the Tombigbee rather than by the railroads, or in addition to them.

A merchant furnished supplies to the farmer and sometimes a little cash, and for security he commonly demanded a lien on the future crop. Farm people only rather gradually fell into the crop-lien system. As merchants demanded more planting of cotton to cover their liens, production of meat and bread fell off. Making matters worse, the exhaustion of the upland soils of the Black Prairie was not being compensated for by the application of fertilizers, and yields per acre sharply declined. An area once self-sufficient and productive of a surplus now lost that self-sufficiency and had to buy food from a distance through the merchants, with the aid of a credit system. Fat-back pork from the North replaced the earlier lean meat. Concentration on this and on wheat flour produced an ill-balanced diet and led to widespread dietary deficiencies and to a disease called pellagra.

In the degeneration of the condition of the farmers the year 1873 was particularly disastrous. The ledger of the general store of John D.H. Jones of Fairfield for that year provides a basis for synchronic study of local conditions. A randomly-selected group of three women and fifteen men from that ledger spent $203.18 for whiskey during the year at prices of fifty to sixty cents per quart. At an average of fifty-five cents this means 20.5 quarts of whiskey per customer. One bought none, but another spent $61.40. Presumably non-purchasers aided in the consumption. The group spent $227.79 for smoking tobacco, snuff, and chewing plugs, an average of $12.60 per customer. The store sold many classes of items including food, dry goods, hardware, and even livestock. John Buck bought a mule for $170 and Dick Nash bought two mules and a horse for $500. Purchases averaged $197.13 per customer, ranging from $1.75 in one case to $998.74 in another. Of particular interest is the item of bacon. Seven of the group bought none, and one of them traded bacon as a credit to his account. The other eleven bought $908.91 worth at eighteen to twenty cents per pound. At an average of nineteen cents per pound this represents 435 pounds for each of the eleven who bought bacon on credit. This figure reflects the postbellum lack of self-sufficiency. An analysis of 109 of the ledger accounts reveals a debit balance at the beginning of 1873 of $2717.27, but a year later the amount had increased to $10,386.01. Individual debts at the latter date range from eighty-five cents to $1296.27. The year was a disastrous one for Jones' customers. (A copy of the Jones ledger is in The University of Alabama Library.)

The retail merchant's business was usually small and his markups were large. He might charge interest on open accounts. Jones charged ten percent. However, the merchant's business was risky, for he made advances on the security of a crop not yet produced and the price of which was hard to predict. As cotton prices trended downward over the years the farmer was increasingly unable in bad years to pay out at the end of the season. The

merchant had to be careful not to advance too much. He himself was a debtor, getting his stock on credit from wholesale merchants, who expected to be paid off at the end of the season.

The farmer did not have the freedom to change from one furnishing merchant to another until he had paid his debt to the first. Nor could the merchant get rid of a customer who could not pay off his debt at the end of the year, unless he were willing either to sacrifice the debt or to advance supplies to the farmer for another year to make a crop which (with hope) might enable him to pay off the debt. Pressure of circumstances forced the merchant to make advances with caution and in installments. Many a farmer, particularly of the freedmen, would be wasteful and improvident with supplies advanced too early and in too-large quantities, and the crop might be neglected. The merchant needed to know his man and keep up with his progress in cultivation. As conditions gradually worsened, more and more people became enmeshed and ensnared in the crop-lien system. Merchants obtained an increasing control of their lives, and many people's condition degenerated into a state of peonage. Some slipped off to Texas, leaving their debts behind.

Some of those operating on credit were tenants and some were landowners. In decade after decade, however, we see the growth of tenantry. Some tenants rented land for a cash payment to be made after the crop had been harvested. More and more, however, the system of share-crop tenantry spread. According to varying contracts, the landlord might furnish a dwelling house, land, tools, and work stock, and the tenant and his family would provide the labor. At the end of the season the cotton crop would be divided, the tenant's share being one-third to one-half, depending on the time and place and who furnished what. The corn crop, too, would be divided, the divisions depending on who furnished the work stock and perhaps other factors. The share-crop system was unsuited to livestock production.

A landowner might make advances of various supplies to his tenant, these becoming a charge against the tenant's share of the crop. If the landowner lacked the necessary resources, resort had to be had to a merchant, perhaps with the granting of a lien on both land and crop. The tenant was responsible for the lien, but so was the landlord. Conflict developed between landowners and merchants over their respective legal rights to the control over both tenants and crops, conflicts which state legislatures were unable to resolve conclusively. The outcome is observable in a tendency for merchants to become landowners and planters and vice versa.

The declining productivity of the soils gave rise to various efforts to find solutions to the agricultural problems. Some enterprising farmers worked to develop more efficient methods, experimenting with new crops and with commercial livestock production and dairying and with increased use of fertilizers, but they found the technical and economic problems to be far from easy of solution--and very few farmers could afford to experiment.

The establishment of land-grant agricultural schools and experiment stations at Auburn in Alabama and Starkville in Mississippi brought attention to agricultural problems but little immediate practical improvement on the farm. A boy attending one of these institutions of enlightenment soon learned that the farm was no place of opportunity for him.

In the Black Prairie areas there were extensive bottom lands with poor drainage. If these could be drained, they might replace exhausted upland soils. In the 1880s there was some experimentation with drainage on the basis of individual farms and small areas in Mississippi, but it was not until 1910 that extensive drainage districts were organized under state law with the power to levy charges against the landowners who would benefit. Then for the next twenty years in several of the counties extensive works of drainage were under way. The drained lands with heavy bottom soils became the most productive areas of the Prairie. The course of creeks was changed, so that some ran almost in straight lines for miles. Rainwater no longer flooded the adjacent lowlands, so new alluvial deposits largely ceased. The silt was carried off in the rapid-running water and settled in the flood plains of the Tombigbee and its major upper branches. Better drainage solved some problems, but it also created new ones. Man-created environmental change in the Upper Tombigbee Valley thus did not start with the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

Manufacturing operations in the Upper Tombigbee Valley were few, and the successful ones were almost entirely connected either with agriculture or with the exploitation of the forests. The protection which high transportation costs had given to handicraft manufacturing for local consumption had largely been removed by the construction of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in the 1850s. Competing with large and well-organized northern industries in local markets became difficult as transportation became cheap and reliable, and the people's disposable income for purchase of anything beyond necessities was not such as to provide an encouraging market for new products. Extreme scarcity of capital and inexperience in industrial production militated against the development of manufacturing industries, except when the factors were exceedingly favorable. The local economy was oriented towards agricultural production, and neither planters nor merchants wished to lose either their labor supply or their social position to industry and industrial developers.

Yet there were opportunities in processing local raw materials and selling them in distant markets. Cotton and cotton seed were in abundant supply, and both hardwood and pine timber were plentiful in various parts of the area. Processing these raw materials and marketing the products in distant places offered various opportunities when local labor was cheap and the railroads and waterways provided low-cost transportation for heavy raw materials and products. For a variety of reasons, however, the manufacture of cotton products at Bay Springs and at the unsuccessful Cibolo Mills at Artesia amounted to very little.

The lumber industry on a commercial scale developed rather quickly after the end of the depression of the 1870s. The Upper Tombigbee River and its tributaries proved quite useful in floating logs from the woods downstream to lumber mills along the river, and the construction of new railroads tapped additional sources of raw material. Competition in the distant markets, however, limited the financial potential of the lumber business. Manufacture of staves became a specialty of some of the mills of the Upper Tombigbee.

The amount of cotton that could be carried in a freight car or a ship was limited by the volume of the bales rather than by their weight. A large

part of the southern cotton crop was sent to foreign nations by sea, and the amount to be packed on any particular ship could be vastly increased by compressing the bales. Doing this work close to the source could also increase the carrying capacity of the railroad cars used to move the cotton to ports. A cotton compress required heavy equipment and the power of steam. The bagging and ties on a bale would be loosened, and then under heavy pressure applied to the sides of the bale its dimensions would be drastically reduced. Then bagging and ties would be readjusted and the pressure would be released. This was a specialized industrial operation that required a considerable volume to be economical. The business of compressing cotton was tied to and largely controlled by railroad rates and conditions of transportation. Compresses were usually found in trade centers of considerable size where rate relationships were favorable, such as Columbus, Aberdeen, or West Point. Local interests in Macon established a compress in the early 1880s. It must have operated only at the sufferance of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, but it had the potential for strengthening Macon as a trade center as opposed to Shuqualak or Brooksville, which were also on the railroad, and to the little river ports of the Tombigbee. Noxubee County was such a large producer of cotton that it needed a market with the convenience of Macon, although that place never had the competitive power of the larger trade centers in the counties to the north, where there were also cotton compresses.

The economy of the cotton seed oil business was governed to a large extent by transportation factors. An establishment called a "cotton seed oil mill" would commonly re-gin cotton seed twice, with very sharp gin saws to remove the short fibers called "linters." Then the seeds would be crushed to separate the hulls from the "meats" or yellow, oily interiors, the latter being squeezed in presses to produce cotton seed oil and cotton seed meal, both of which were valuable products. Linters were baled like other cotton for market, and the left-over "motes" (essentially trash) even had a market. The problem of the mills was not in marketing their products but in securing their raw materials at favorable prices. Railroad rates and other transportation expenses determined the "territory" of a cotton mill and controlled the magnitude of its operations. Oil mills appeared at the transportation centers. In the 1880s one of the principal interests in the operation of steamboats on the Upper Tombigbee River arose from the desire to secure access at a minimum cost to sources of cotton seed, which seed were usually shipped in bags. This helps to account for the operation of little river steamboats from Aberdeen, Columbus, and Demopolis, where oil mills were anxious to increase their supply of cotton seed. There were three oil mills in Columbus in 1912, and the other trade centers with competitive railroad rates also had them.

In 1885 the industries of Columbus included: a woolen mill, an ice factory, cotton gins, grist mills, a cotton compress, a wooden ware manufacturing plant, a gasworks, a cotton-seed oil mill, a flour mill, sawmills, and a stave mill. There were hotels, livery stables, cotton sheds, and cotton yards.

In 1885 Aberdeen industries included a cotton compress, an oil mill, saw and planing mills, cotton gins, a grist mill, and a stave mill. There were also hotels, livery stables, cotton sheds, and cotton yards.

In the 1880s the economic pattern of the Upper Tombigbee Valley was largely set, and the basic character thus established dominated the scene until 1940. As the statistics published herewith show, there was a tendency through this period to economic degeneration rather than development. Between 1900 and 1930 there are traces of improvement, but the economic and social bondage of sharecrop tenantry and peonage seemed to be extending its grip. There was little change in the character of industrial operations. One might think that conditions could not get worse, but in the 1930s they did. Markets for the products of the area collapsed, and agricultural income, already at the bare subsistence level, fell below it. In 1933 the federal government moved to the rescue of people threatened with starvation and helped to keep many thousands of those in the Upper Tombigbee Valley alive, but recovery did not come. In 1940 survival remained the prime object of life.

CHAPTER XII

TRAFFIC, TRADE, AND THE RIVER IN THE 1870s

The generation following the Civil War saw vibrant economic expansion in the nation, exploitation of natural resources, and the accumulation of capital--but the Upper Tombigbee Valley did not share in the great material benefits of all this. Its lot was agricultural stagnation and decline. Without prosperity, however, there were great economic changes associated with improvements in transportation. Cheap freight rates and reliable movement of traffic made it possible for the heavy foodstuffs of the North to invade the territory and lay the groundwork for the credit system supporting the new agriculture. The materials were so heavy and the freight rates so low that supply by the roundabout route of Mobile and the Tombigbee River became impracticable.

Traffic figures of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company show that by the early 1870s it was successful in squeezing off the northward movement of cotton, and that nearly all of that important commodity was moving southward to Mobile, which remained a trade center handling an enormous amount of cotton. The harbor at Mobile, however, was inadequate for the larger ocean vessels now coming into the trade. Even before the Civil War many vessels had had to anchor at Navy Cove some thirty miles south of the city and rely on the service of lighters for loading. With the building of a railroad from Mobile to New Orleans in the 1870s an interesting change took place, and the cotton from Mobile was sent in railroad cars to dockside in New Orleans for loading on the ships. Mobile remained a great cotton center, but by 1880 New Orleans had become the port of Mobile.

Another element in the trade of the Upper Tombigbee Valley was the distribution of manufactured goods which came mainly from eastern manufacturers and suppliers. Some of these were purchased directly from New York and other eastern places, and some were obtained through Mobile merchants, according to the same divided pattern discerned in pre-Civil War days. Transportation costs on such goods were relatively a small part of their value, so freight rates on them were less restrictive and controlling of the routes of trade than on cotton shipped out or on foodstuffs shipped into the agricultural regions of the Upper Tombigbee Valley.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company generally favored Mobile and followed a policy of keeping Mobile's freight rates equalized with those of New Orleans.

The reliable, all-year, all-weather transportation of the railroads was much superior to the seasonal and erratic movements of freight and passengers by steamboat, although the latter could be more convenient to those who lived close to the river and who might be willing to await the boating season.

While their limited needs did help to keep steamboats in operation, the principal role of the river in the economic affairs of the region was on a different basis, which will be unfolded in the following pages.

In the early years after the Civil War the trade of Columbus with Mobile appears to have been primarily by steamboat, although the M & O's railroad spur line to Columbus had been completed in 1859. Columbus received some cotton by rail and sent some by that means to Mobile, but most of the bales it shipped out by rail went northward on the M & O to junctions with other lines. This last traffic, however, was much reduced in the 1870s.

Aberdeen had suffered heavily from its lack of a rail connection, but a spur line from that town to the M & O was finally opened late in 1869, so that by January, 1870, Aberdeen appears in the railroad traffic figures. The rejuvenation of that trade center began quickly.

In Greene County the railroad from Meridian to Tuscaloosa to Chattanooga, construction on which had been underway in the 1850s, was revived after the war, and by 1870 or 1871 Eutaw had a rather unreliable railroad connection with Meridian and thereby with Mobile. It was several years before this troubled line, the Alabama and Chattanooga, was in reliable and complete operation, however. While Eutaw was not on the Tombigbee River, it was the dominant trade center of Greene County and a considerable agricultural area, including Pleasant Ridge, on or near the Tombigbee.

Along the Mobile and Ohio Railroad was a string of shipping points which became local trade centers. These competed with Aberdeen and Columbus, which had no special rate advantages except when steamboats were in port. All were concerned almost exclusively with local trade, and railroad traffic figures from 1869 through 1873 show only a rather unimpressive wholesale trade of Columbus and Aberdeen with the neighboring towns, although Meridian traffic figures show considerable wholesale trade.

Presumably with the aid of drummers moving along the railroad, merchants at the little railroad towns were able to establish credit in the West and operate without the aid of southern jobbers. Eastern goods could be obtained from New York and the East now either by rail or through Mobile jobbers, credit and convenience being the ruling factors in the supply. While pre-war trade connections might be reestablished, the traffic in food items was governed by new economic forces. Self-sufficiency in food was a thing of the past, and now cheap and reliable transportation made it possible for food to be obtained where various factors made its production most economical. But meat and bread produced heavy tonnage of low value per ton. A large element in the value of foodstuffs was place value, in which the cost of transportation was a prime factor. The rate per pound or per ton had to be low or the traffic would not move. A difference of a couple of cents per hundred pounds would build one trade center up at the expense of another.

Merchants of towns aspiring to grow as wholesale centers gave their attention to securing differential advantages in freight rates, and the crucial rates were those from the West on foodstuffs. Competition between routes could force rates down at the points of competition. Towns adjacent to waterways wanted them improved for navigation, and these towns and all the

others craved to have the service of additional railroads. The capital-starved, destitute Upper Tombigbee Valley lacked resources to do much on its own, but this limitation did not prevent it from seeking means of improvement. One device was to subsidize new railroads by borrowing on the public credit of states, counties, and municipalities, but by 1873, when the financial panic struck, that means was in general disrepute with both borrowers and lenders. The area got no new railroads until the depression of the seventies was over.

But there were the streams, mainly the Upper Tombigbee River, and there was Congress, which had shown little regard for southern interests for many years. Now, however, the Granger movement grew strong, and the Democrats got control of the United States House of Representatives.

Congress, by an act of June 23, 1874, authorized the Army Corps of Engineers to make a survey of a route for a canal to connect the Upper Tombigbee with the Tennessee River (see Chapter II, supra), and a report was made in 1875. Such a canal would have given strong competitive advantage to both Columbus and Aberdeen and would presumably have greatly stimulated their growth, but it was not built. One of the problems was that the Tennessee River needed improvement first. The scheme appears not to have originated out of the special interests of Columbus and Aberdeen but out of a broad Granger scheme outlined in the Windom Report of 1874 (Sen. Rep. 207, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I, pp. 71-78) for securing lower railroad rates for American farmers.

The depression following the Panic of 1873 was very hard on the railroad companies of the South. They were faced with rapidly increasing competition at numerous points, which they had to meet with rate cuts, and yet their overall traffic showed little tendency to grow, and rate cuts did not seem to stimulate business. The M & O was desperately trying to survive on the traffic of an impoverished country by charging all it could where it could, while trade centers and merchants struggled with equal desperation for commercial advantage in their competition with each other, burdened as they were with diminished trade and uncollectable debts.

The rate reductions which were compelled at some points by competition made people at other points think they were being overcharged and discriminated against and provided fuel to the fire of public antagonism to the railroad companies and stirred the hostility of juries in damage suits. Anger at the Mobile and Ohio rose in Columbus, and merchants at that place schemed to force the company to reduce its rates and give Columbus greater advantages. Against river competition the railroad could fight back by cutting the rates to Mobile just as a steamboat appeared around the bend, then raise them after the boat had departed empty. Railroad rates might be raised whenever the level of the river was too low for steamboats, and there were other railroad devices for fighting steamboat competition. The Mobile and Ohio completed and opened its branch from Artesia to Starkville in 1874, but it was already in default on its first mortgage bond interest, and it fell into receivership in 1875. In March, 1875, a rumor was circulated that the M & O intended to cut off its branch line from Columbus to Artesia because of the patronage extended to the boats by Columbus merchants and because of the levy on the road by the county of a $5,000 tax (Columbus Index, quoted without date by Carrollton West Alabamian, March 3, 1875). Nevertheless, the fight by Columbus interests

to beat the rates down continued. In November the W.S. Holt, a light-draft steamboat, appeared at Columbus. It was partly owned by Columbus mercantile interests and partly by the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia. Its purpose was to serve the commercial interests of Columbus and Savannah and not those of Mobile, with the aid of a railroad connection at Demopolis on the Tombigbee River.

The W.S. Holt was a sternwheel vessel of 225 tons, capable of carrying 700-800 bales of cotton and thirty passengers, with a draft of only sixteen inches. It was 131 feet long and had a deck width of twenty-six feet, boilers twenty-two feet long and forty-two inches in diameter. It had two engines of forty horsepower each with ten-inch cylinders and a 4.5-foot stroke of pistons. On its maiden trip to Columbus in early November, 1875, it found the water at Doss Ford at the mouth of Coal Fire Creek to be only sixteen inches deep, but the vessel was pulled over the ford with a rope without much difficulty, presumably by the aid of a capstan (Columbus Weekly Index, November 12, 1875). Said the local newspaper:

> *We have heretofore paid the Mobile & Ohio railroad five dollars per bale for freight on cotton from Mobile. Aberdeen, West Point, Starkville, Macon and places as far south as Scooba, in Kemper County, paid the same high tariff. The railroad will now be forced to reduce its rates to a dollar and a half to Mobile, or lose fully forty thousand bales of cotton and, consequently, sixty thousand dollars. . . . Aberdeen has no arrangements for cheap transportation. Columbus will, therefore, pay more for cotton and get several thousand bales which now go to Aberdeen. Of course, those who sell their cotton here will buy their goods here.*

The boating season began early and was very good in 1875-76. On December 15 a Pickens County newspaper reported six boats running on the river, some going as high as Cotton Gin Port and all going to Mobile with full loads of cotton, much of which had formerly traveled by rail. The boats charged a dollar and a half per bale (plus insurance) from Pickensville on cotton going to New Orleans. (A steamboat tariff of 1875, given in Appendix 4, shows in detail the items of freight moved or sought to be moved on the river.)

The W.S. Holt did not long remain in the Columbus trade, nor did it need to, for the alternative trade route via the river had been effectively brandished in bargaining with the M & O over rates. The W.S. Holt was soon performing services on the Chattahoochee River, where it served as the Central's subsidized "pirate boat" against competing steamboats.

It may be conjectured that on the heavy western freight for Columbus there may have been competition established via water down the Mississippi to Vicksburg, then by rail to Demopolis, and by water again up the Tombigbee to Columbus. Although this route was roundabout, its water components were cheap when they were available, and it may have been effective against the M & O. Later in the decade, when the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad was put into regular and reliable operation, Columbus secured another connection by steamboat at Miller's Landing at Jones Bluff (Epes) on the Upper Tombigbee.

The town government of Aberdeen in April, 1870, pledged financial support to the Selma, Marion, and Memphis Railroad, which was to build its main line

through Aberdeen. While reconstruction politics and other troubles prevented the portion of the line through Aberdeen from being constructed (Rodabough, May 1, 1975), the carpetbag government did manage to get a bridge built across the Tombigbee. Aberdeen was not as well situated as Columbus to use the down-river water connections, but its merchants actively pursued measures to draw in the trade of the surrounding cotton country. In 1870, soon after the opening of the M & O branch railroad, the large Planters' Warehouse of Aberdeen was opened for business. It provided ample facilities for farmers to camp and take care of their stock. Rooms were furnished them free of charge, with plenty of fuel and water, and there were stalls for horses (Rodabough in Aberdeen News Herald, May 8, 1975).

Mobile and Ohio Railroad traffic figures for the early 1870s show some wholesale trade of Aberdeen with the nearby railroad towns. While in competing with Columbus Aberdeen was at some disadvantage in shipping cotton to Mobile, it was better positioned for the growing business of distributing foodstuffs brought in from the North. Aberdeen sought to use the east and west branches of the Upper Tombigbee and other seasonally navigable streams to tap a wider trade territory by barge and small steamboat.

The Mobile district engineer observed in 1879 that there was a considerable way business on the Upper Tombigbee, associated with Aberdeen, Columbus, and Demopolis, on which he was unable to get statistics (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1879, p. 832). In the fall of 1878 Aberdeen interests had a small steamboat built at Johnson's Lumber Mill, situated a little above Cotton Gin Port on the East Fork. This boat, the Lillie Lou, was simply described as a "first class light draught freight boat capable of carrying six hundred bales of cotton" (Aberdeen Examiner, January 9, 1879). It was a little sternwheeler of 58 tons. In January, 1879, the Lillie Lou and the locally-built barge Maggie Virginia were tapping for Aberdeen the trade of the upper river. Returning from Camargo, on Old Town Creek (West Fork) the Lillie Lou took on a cargo of 203 bales of cotton, sixty sacks of plasterers' hair from Newman's Tannery, and fifty-six oil barrels and went to Mobile for inspection and registration (ibid., Feb. 13, 1879). In April the Lillie Lou went up the river as far as Barr's Ferry, opposite Smithville, eighty-five miles above Aberdeen by water. Meanwhile, the Corps of Engineers was preparing to improve the channel north to Fulton. Aberdeen shipped over eighteen thousand bales of cotton that season, up from a few hundred ten years earlier. The larger steamers such as Lotus No. 2 (rebuilt as the Annie Waggoner), Hale, Ruth, and Fleta made regular runs between Aberdeen and Mobile.

The barge Maggie Virginia made regular trips upriver. On one trip in early March, 1879, it carried the following for the outports (ibid., Mar. 6, 1870):

WILLIAMS LANDING

W.W. Grady: 3 barrels flour, 1 plow, 15 sides meat; W.C. Wells: 2 sides meat, 1 sack salt, 1 keg molasses.

COTTON GIN PORT

G.T. & S.J. Williamson: 44 sides meat, 2 tierces lard; J.M. Grizzle: 5 sides meat; W.M. Snider: 3 sides meat; J.S. Davis: 1 barrel flour, 5 sides meat, 1 sack salt; Knowles & Mayfield: 1 sack bran; W. Nabors: 1 barrel flour, 4 sides meat; Dr. Watkins: 100 fruit trees.

CARDSVILLE

Boulden: 18 sides meat, 1 trunk, 1 sack potatoes, 1 keg molles, 1 sack salt.

SMITHVILLE

A.E. Dalrymple: 1 bed stead, etc., 1 safe, 7 boxes, 1 stove, 1 spring mattress, 15 shoulders, 11 sides meat, 1 sack salt, 1 keg molasses, 2 barrels kerosene oil, 1 box merchandise.

Macon, on the main line of the M & O, complained in 1872 that its cotton rate to Mobile was five dollars per bale, compared with two dollars and a half at Meridian and Corinth and three dollars and a half at Columbus (Macon Beacon, December 21, 1872). In the 1871-72 season Macon shipped 10,209 bales, in 1872-73 9,842 bales, and in 1873-74 11,550 bales (figures from annual reports of Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company). All but a tiny part of these bales went to Mobile. The numbers were substantially higher than those of the neighboring towns of Shuqualak and Brooksville. Macon, of course, wanted lower rates. It was located far up the crooked little Noxubee River, but no steamboat had reached it since the railroad arrived in 1856. It was located in a region of heavy cotton production, but in transportation rates it was hardly to be distinguished from the other stations in the area along the M & O. According to the Macon Beacon, July 11, 1877, between May 1, 1876, and May 1, 1877, Macon shipped 11,110 bales of cotton. (For freight received see Table 22.)

Discontent with the railroad at Macon was great. On November 10, 1877, there appeared in the Beacon an advertisement of J.A. Eddins and Brother at Fairfield on the Tombigbee: "Bring all your cotton either to buy or ship, 10 cents a bale for house & shipping or $1.25 through freight to Mobile." The advertisement was headed: "Come to the River!" In an advertisement of February 8, 1879, in the Beacon, a merchant of Memphis, on the Tombigbee, offered storage of cotton at twenty-five cents a bale "including marketing, weighing, and every effort made to ship at the cheapest rate." Cotton from Noxubee County might be sent by wagon to Fairfield, Memphis, or Gainesville for shipment on the river.

Gainesville merchants often sent barges a few miles up the Noxubee River to pick up cotton. Gainesville relied so much on water transportation that the M & O Railroad's Gainesville branch was unprofitable. That cash-starved company sold it for nineteen thousand dollars to a private buyer in April, 1879, and he apparently took up the track for salvage (Macon Beacon, April 19, 1879).

Eutaw, which was the principal trade center for Greene County, was well located on the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad, which came into reliable and full operation in the late 1870s, and Eutaw was less than three miles from good landings on the Warrior River and in a position to control the trade of its limited area, which, essentially, was Greene County.

The situation of the little river ports continued to be mildly favorable for serving a limited area adjacent to the Tombigbee River and occasionally taking traffic away from the Mobile and Ohio Railroad to the west. They were not favorably situated for the handling of western freight (foodstuffs), however, on a competitive basis. Their operation was seasonal, depending on the

TABLE 22

IMPORTANT ARTICLES OF FREIGHT RECEIVED AT MACON

Via Mobile and Ohio Railroad

1876-1877

Bacon	546 casks, 306 tierces
Whiskey	658 barrels, 126 half-barrels, 284 kegs
Flour	4 barrels
Beer	650 kegs
Sugar	84 casks, 660 barrels
Molasses	240 barrels, 200 half-barrels, 150 kegs
Coffee	690 sacks
Rice	114 barrels
Tobacco	744 boxes, 288 caddies
Vinegar	100 barrels
Lard	120 tierces, 50 barrels, 156 kegs

Data from Macon Beacon, July 11, 1877.

TABLE 23

IVIE'S WAREHOUSE CHARGES

Pickensville, 1878

Cotton, per bale	12.5 cents
Hh'd of meat	62.5 cents
Tierce of meat	50 cents
Molasses, per barrel	20 cents
Whiskey, per barrel	20 cents
Flour, per barrel	10 cents
Nails, per keg	5 cents
All other freight in proportion.	

Data from Carrollton West Alabamian, December 4, 1878.

stage of the river and the condition of the wagon roads. Minimal facilities included a warehouse or cotton shed and means of getting to the river boats, perhaps with the aid of a cotton slide. A platform at the top of the bluff could be helpful. A warehouse or shed would not necesarily have to be immediately adjacent to the river. Warehouses too close to the river sooner or later were flooded, and even those on fairly high bluffs were not entirely immune to the flood danger. Charges were made by the proprietor for the storage and handling of cotton or other articles shipped and for the storage of articles received. The operation of such facilities was limited to the steamboat season, although cotton might be received in anticipation of a rise in the river.

Pickensville was such a little river port, fairly well equipped and having more than one warehouse (see also Chapter VIII). The manuscript records of the 1880 Census show a population of 214. Besides two retail grocers there were seven men listed as merchants and eight as clerks in stores. There were two blacksmiths, a barber, two carpenters, three music teachers, two attorneys, four schoolteachers, one art teacher, one warehouse keeper, one physician, one jeweler, one post office clerk, and nine females from twelve to twenty years of age listed as "at school."

Pickensville itself was on high ground nearly a half a mile from the river. There were several cotton warehouses in the neighborhood, accessible to the river, in the postbellum years. The Pickensville Warehouse was closest to town, on the river. Upstream on high ground close to the river was Pulliam's Warehouse, also known as the Upper Warehouse. In 1878 Thomas J. Ivie, formerly of the Pickensville Warehouse, opened a new one at Ivie's Landing, on the west side of the river at Nance's Ferry, a mile from Pickensville, where he also operated a store and in 1891 opened a bar. In 1875 Robert T. Stringfellow built a warehouse across the river from Pickensville. He seems to have been at Nance's Ferry, presumably on the west side. A.J. Peterson advertised a new warehouse at Peterson's Landing, halfway between Pickensville and Nance's Ferry. Probably all these establishments had camping grounds and other convenient facilities such as stock pens for farmers arriving with their cotton wagons. In 1879 Peterson advertised that he was "erecting a commodious warehouse and cotton shelters" and was "building a camping house for the accommodation of all who may haul their cotton to my landing." The Pickensville warehousemen charged twenty-five cents per bale for storing cotton in the fall of 1874, but they were soon after this down to 12.5 cents. These merchants appear also to have operated farms with the aid of tenants. (Data from Carrollton West Alabamian and Pickens County News, various dates.) For Ivie's scale of charges in 1878 see Table 23.

Vienna, another of the little river ports, was described by the Carrollton West Alabamian, January 27, 1875, as "a flourishing little village with two stores." Henry C. Connerly and Company and M.F. Crooks and Company had their names on the stores. W.B. Peebles was also mentioned as a merchant, and Mrs. Haynes as the operator of a boarding house. Small flatboats were bringing cotton down the Sipsey River to Vienna.

As early as 1869 the Alabama legislature created a commission for the improvement of the bay and harbor of Mobile and the state had already contracted for the removal of obstructions in the lower Tombigbee between

McGrew's Shoals and Demopolis. The harbor commission was to employ funds obtained from the counties involved, but Congress also soon appropriated a considerable sum. By an act of July 11, 1870, Congress directed the Secretary of War to make an examination or survey of the Tombigbee River from its mouth to the head of navigation. At the same time steamboat captains were strongly complaining of the hazard to navigation caused by the drawbridge of the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad across the Upper Tombigbee at Jones Bluff. (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1871, pp. 68-69, 575; 1873, p. 67.)

The first survey of the Corps of Engineers was made in the winter of 1870-71 by Thomas Pearsall. It was done hastily at high water, and the report declared that from Columbus, the head of navigation, to the mouth, the Tombigbee River was not susceptible of permanent improvement by the use of locks and dams (ibid., 1871, p. 573). A more thorough investigation by Henry C. Fillebrown, which immediately followed, brought forth a report that the objectionable bridge, being located on a sharp bend of the river, could not be seen by pilots descending the river in time to take protective action in case the draw span should be closed. The district engineer at Mobile recommended appropriations for improvement of the lower Tombigbee and for removing snags from the Upper Tombigbee at Ten Mile Shoal below Columbus or cutting a new channel across the neck of land at Wild Cat Bend in that shoal (ibid., pp. 574-575).

An act of Congress of June 10, 1872, appropriated $10,000 for snag removal on the Tombigbee below Demopolis, part of which was subsequently transferred to the Mississippi portion of the Tombigbee (ibid., 1873, p. 67). Under the same act engineer Powhatan Robinson made a survey with the purpose of ascertaining the cost of establishing all-year navigation between Columbus and Fulton. He cut through heavy canebrakes to carry in his instruments, measured the flow of water at various points, and calculated the amount of earth required to be removed by dredging to secure a channel sixty feet wide by two and a half feet deep from Columbus to Waverly. He found the cost of improvement by this method to be prohibitive. Then he considered a plan for building locks and dams for slack-water navigation and again found the cost prohibitive when compared with expected benefits. Ten dams raising the water level by six feet each, he said, would be required between Columbus and Aberdeen, to provide all-year navigation.

Engineer Robinson then descended the Tombigbee in a skiff from Fulton to Columbus and recorded his observations of the river in some detail (ibid., p. 551):

> *The Tombigbee appears to drain a terraced basin, passing through broad plateaus, connected by inclined planes, over which the water flows with greatly increased velocity. These planteaus are broken by minor rapids, while, on the other hand, the principal rapids are relieved by the interposition of shoal pools. I did not notice this conformation until I had passed over the route, and therefore am not prepared to assign definite limits to the pools and rapids; but I will say that for about forty miles from Fulton down, there is probably as little fall as in any portion of the river for an equal distance. The first of the principal inclined planes commences some distance above "Martin's Fish-Trap," and continues in broken rapids down to "Cotton Gin Port."*

From Aberdeen to the mouth of the Buttahatchie to Columbus there is, perhaps, as great a fall or greater than on any other portion of the route of equal distance, although two pools intervene, of two miles and three miles length, respectively.

From Fulton to Town Creek the river is narrow and very tortuous. The banks are densely clad with woods throughout the entire distance, and the bed much obstructed by logs, drifts, &c.

The bottoms are wider and subject to deeper overflows than below, and the hills present themselves less frequently in bluffs on the banks.

From Town Creek to Aberdeen there is a perceptible improvement. From Aberdeen to Columbus the improvement is very striking. The river is straighter and very much wider, the channel less obstructed, and the banks not so uniformly covered with trees. It preserves throughout its characteristics of shifting sand-beds and banks somewhat subject to caving.

The distances are popularly very much overestimated. I will give them according to my own computation, noting the principal points along the river. I made this computation by observing the <u>times</u> by my watch and compounding them with the estimated velocities of my movement.

I performed this work attentively, and I think I am not far out, though much below the general estimate.

Carefully evaluating the physical and economic aspects of improvements in the Upper Tombigbee, Robinson recommended as follows (ibid., p. 552):

Dismissing, then, all schemes for the improvement of low-water navigation, I am prepared to offer a plan for the improvement of navigation during the high-water period. It can be accomplished at a very moderate outlay and will confer great benefits on the people of that section. It consists simply in the removal of all logs, drifts, stumps, fish-traps, and other obstacles in the bed, down to the level of low water; and for a width of not less than sixty feet, provided the channel be that wide; and in the felling of all leaning trees which may interfere with navigation at high water. The removal of the trees and logs will be effected by cutting them up into sections, say of 15 or 20 feet in length, so that they will easily float off at high water. If any logs should not float they must be dragged to one side or into deep water.

I have gathered all the collateral information that I could obtain from the citizens all along the route. I had an interview at Fulton with Mr. David Campbell, Mr. M.C. Cummings, Capt. I.V. Thomas, and other prominent citizens of Itawamba County. They informed me that Itawamba County, of which Fulton is the county seat, produces annually about 10,000 bales of cotton. This they must haul eighteen or twenty miles over very bad roads to Tupelo, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, where they must pay $5 per bale to ship it to Mobile. Altogether it costs them from $7.50 to $8 per bale to get their cotton to market, and they are proportionally taxed for their return supplies. This is a most grievous

burden, whereby they are shorn of the profits of their industry. They are a thrifty and industrious population, but they are too much impoverished to deliver themselves from this oppressive taxation, and unless speedy aid be rendered them, they say they will be compelled to quit the country in self-defense. All they ask is that the river be restored to its condition before the war. If they can get but from three to five months high-water navigation they will be content. It is all they need, but this much they need badly. It will enable them to send their produce to market and get their return supplies with a reduction of 50 per cent, on the freight, and this will make them comparatively easy and comfortable.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company certainly does make an extraordinary discrimination in their tariffs against the residents along their line. For example: I am told that the freight on cotton from Jackson, Tenn., and from Corinth, Miss., is $2.50 per bale, while from all the way-stations down at least to Artesia, at the junction of the Columbus branch, the charges are $5 per bale. I am also informed that the freight on flour per barrel from Saint Louis to Columbus is $1.58, but if it is shipped to Mobile, two hundred miles further, it is only 65 cents. Also that it costs 35 cents per barrel more to ship flour to Columbus than to ship it via Mobile to Tuscaloosa, Ala., involving two hundred miles additional transportation by rail, reshipment, and some five hundred miles more of river transportation. Other instances could be cited. I have not had access to the tariff-lists of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, but I received this information from sources that I esteemed entitled to credit.

To overcome this monopoly, the citizens of Columbus have already organized a chartered company, designated as the "Tombigbee Carrying Company." They propose to purchase boats at once to run as far as possible up the river, and to connect below with competing lines of railroad at Jones's Bluff and Demopolis. A large amount of money, quite sufficient to put this scheme into operation, has been subscribed already by the most substantial citizens of that section, and the list will be largely increased. I mention this to show that the proposed improvements will not be inoperative.

As evidence of the capacity of the river at high water, I would mention that in past days a boat left Fulton with about four hundred bales of cotton and passed Cotton-Gin Point [Port] with 1200 bales. This portion of the river is now effectually blocked up.

The work on the plan proposed may be satisfactorily executed from Columbus to Aberdeen for about $6,000; from Aberdeen to Fulton for $25,000; let us say for the whole $35,000, and we may rest assured that by the expenditure of this sum the river can be placed in better navigable condition than it has ever been in times past.

I most earnestly recommend the adoption of this plan. . . .

The survey of Powhatan Robinson made it clear, said the district engineer, that "neither the character of the river nor the amount of good to be accomplished would justify any attempt to secure a low-water navigation. He thinks that any effort at improvement should be limited to the removal of snags, logs, drifts, fish traps, overhanging trees, &c., which would insure good navigation at high water, a thing desired by the people of the vicinity." The district engineer endorsed Robinson's opinion (ibid., p. 548).

With a very small sum already available for improvement, the question arose as to whether to expend it above Aberdeen or below Columbus, and the respective interests of the two towns made themselves heard. Robinson observed that navigation was practicable but not good below Aberdeen, but that above Aberdeen the planters had no railroad and were subject to heavy costs in getting their cotton to market, so the work was begun above Aberdeen and pushed northward in 1873-74 to a point five or six miles above Cotton Gin Port. On this subject Engineer Robinson said (ibid., 1874, p. 581):

> *In these operations many thousands of trees, large and small, have been cut down and a good many logs removed, and islands denuded of the small growth which covers them, in order that they might not obstruct the passage of boats during the high-water stage.*

Late in 1874 the work was completed to Barr's Ferry, consisting in "the removal of snags, drift, and overhanging trees, in order to help the high-water navigation of this part of the Tombigbee." No attempt was made to make the river navigable at low water. Barr's Ferry was near the border of Monroe and Itawamba Counties, where the road from Smithville west crossed the Tombigbee. (Ibid., 1875, pp. 76, 791.)

The next important development in planning improvements affecting the Tombigbee River was the survey by engineer Powhatan Robinson in 1875 of a route for the Tennessee-Tombigbee Canal, which was discussed in Chapter II, supra. His report was adverse.

There was no further appropriation for improvements of the Upper Tombigbee until Congress appropriated $12,000 by an act of June 18, 1878, to be used for the removal of snags, sunken logs, and overhanging trees, and the improvement of the worst bars above Columbus (ibid., 1878, pp. 593-94). Then an act of March 3, 1879, charged the Corps of Engineers with making surveys of the Sipsey River and the Noxubee River (ibid., 1879, p. 106), and it added another ten thousand dollars for work above Columbus. Meanwhile, considerable work of improvement was going on on the Warrior River and the lower Tombigbee.

CHAPTER XIII

RAILROAD BUILDING AND RIVER IMPROVEMENTS IN THE 1880s

On January 1, 1879, the United States returned to the gold standard by resuming specie payments at the Treasury, and almost immediately there was a revival of confidence and a new availability of capital in the nation that stirred economic development and expansion. In its own way the Upper Tombigbee Valley felt the effects, and there began a period of intense economic activity that brought change without prosperity to that area. The economic drive was intense, and the competition between centers of trade was fierce. Transportation was the key, and efforts were concentrated upon building more railroads and forcing them through competition to cut their rates at favored points.

Steamboats, when the streams were open to navigation, could cut their rates to figures on which the railroads could not survive, so there was a drive to secure river improvements, not for the benefit of the little river ports on the Tombigbee but to force railroad rates down at points which could be reached by steamboat. The important thing was not to get cheaper carriage by steamboat but to get the railroads to favor particular points with discriminatory rates. Not actual but potential steamboat traffic was the object. Columbus, Aberdeen, and Macon were trade centers seeking advantage, but other points on railroads hoped to secure competitive rates by obtaining more railroads. West Point, not on a river, was the most interesting beneficiary of new railroad construction. It happened to be in the right place. None of the towns had sufficient capital to build a railroad, so outside interests had to be persuaded to build them. The federal government was the principal instrument for improving the streams, and political maneuvers were resorted to to obtain the necessary appropriations. The work was done by the Army Corps of Engineers. The object was to secure all-season navigation on the Tombigbee.

In 1879 the Corps decided that, contrary to previous opinions, it could by cutting through bars and removing logs from the channel obtain a minimum depth of four feet at ordinary low water as far up the Tombigbee as Demopolis and three feet from that point to Columbus. Methods to be used included snagging, cutting overhanging timber, blasting, scraping, and the building of wing dams and providing of shore protection. (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1879, pp. 381-32.)

In 1880 an engineer of the Corps made an examination of the Sipsey River, which flows into the Tombigbee below Vienna, to determine the feasibility of improving it for navigation. He found it to traverse areas from which produce could not be taken to a railroad without a wagon trip of fifty to sixty miles. Coal seams were found in the upper areas, which might be reached by barges. However, he found in that little river vast numbers of obstructions that would be troublesome to remove. At great expense, he said, it might be made

navigable for several months of the year. The district engineer described the river as "narrow, crooked, shallow, and very much obstructed by snags, logs, overhanging trees, bridges, fish traps, and mill dams." (H. Ex. Doc., 46th Cong., 3rd Sess., pp. 35-38, 105). No recommendation was made, and the matter apparently died there.

In 1879 work was earnestly undertaken to improve the Upper Tombigbee between Demopolis and Columbus, with crews working from both ends. Because of the shallowness of the river, jetties were employed on the lower end. The work force from Columbus had a formidable task with obstructions at Ten Mile Shoals. The annual report of the Chief of Engineers for 1880 says (ibid., 1880, p. 1089):

> *At Ten Mile Shoals (so called from their length) the river meanders between low alluvial banks of light sandy soil that yields readily to the action of the current. Every bend is a caving bank, with a gravel bar opposite. As the banks recede, throwing their timber into the stream, the gravel bars advance, covering up the fallen trees, so that the river bed, from bank to bar, is choked with logs. Navigation at low-water, is, of course, impossible, and boats seldom attempt it on less than a 6-foot stage. Shoals appear at intervals, affording only 14 to 18 inches of water. These occur at the "crossings;' that is, where the current crosses over from bend to bend. In bends the water is deep, often as much as twenty feet. The improvement needed is to remove the logs, deepen the shoals, and protect the caving banks to make them permanent. To accomplish this last result the plan adopted is to build spurs of brush and gravel, secured between rows of small piles, from the top of the bank sloping down to the water and extending into it 10 or 15 feet. It is generally possible to select, as the terminus of a spur, a large root of a tree lately fallen, the trunk of which lies parallel to the bank. The logs removed from the channel are placed along the bank below the spurs, with the expectation that a deposit will take place in the eddies caused by the spurs, and in time cover the logs. When a rise in the river occurs, the banks, which are only 8 to 12 feet above low-water, are soon overflowed, and the current sweeps through the swamps, being almost destroyed in the channel. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the spurs will prove effective. Up to this time nearly 1 mile at the lower end of Ten Mile Shoals has been improved according to the plan above described.*

The completion of the improvements contemplated on the Tombigbee River was intended to give an uninterrupted water communication from Columbus to Mobile. With the river open to navigation throughout the year it was expected that competition between railroads and steamboats would be such as to bring a saving in freight charges of considerable magnitude. (Ibid.)

Work on improvements north of Aberdeen was renewed in August, 1879, and was sufficiently completed to permit light-draft steamboats to reach Fulton during the high-water season which followed (ibid., p. 1091).

A report on a survey of the Noxubee from its mouth to Macon was made on March 6, 1880, and was very detailed and comprehensive. Except for a few shoals, the principal obstructions to navigation were found to be snags, drift

logs, fish traps, and overhanging trees. The shoals were found to be of white lime rock, easily excavated and removed. Improvement of the river was found to be practicable and comparatively inexpensive. (Ibid., p. 1095.) No steamboat had gone to Macon since the arrival of the railroad there in 1856, although flatboats or barges from Gainesville had continued to ply the lower part of the Noxubee to move out cotton. The river was obstructed by many mill dams and fish traps. Overhanging trees constituted a menace to high-water navigation, and snags made low-water navigation impossible. On the benefits to be derived from the opening of the river to navigation, the engineer reported (ibid., p. 1097):

> *The direct benefits to be derived from the improvement of the river consist principally in facilitating transportation of all produce raised in the vicinity of the river, with the adequate return freights, all of which has now to be transported by the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, which for some distance runs nearly parallel with the river, about on an average fifteen miles west, compelling the planters to haul their produce, &c., that distance, and, as already alluded to, through a heavy prairie soil, which during wet weather is almost impassable; and I have frequently seen four or even six yokes of oxen with only one bale of cotton, weighing 500 pounds, stuck fast in the prairie mud, unable to reach the railroad.*
>
> *Besides, the universal complaint through the whole country is that the charges on all kinds of freights on the railroad have been and are so exceedingly exorbitant, without any prospect whatever of a reduction, that the navigation of the Noxubee is looked upon as one of the greatest blessings which could be bestowed upon the community living in the vicinity of the river.*

He also thought the Noxubee could be useful for bringing in coal from abundant deposits near the Sipsey River, provided that that river also were improved. The Corps adopted the project of creating a navigable channel on the Noxubee during nine months of the year from the river's mouth to Macon and started to work on it in August, 1880.

The effort to secure a year-round navigable depth for the river between Columbus and Demopolis ran afoul of problems at Ten Mile Shoals below Columbus. The report of the Chief of Engineers for 1881 says (ibid., 1181, pp. 1206-07):

> *These shoals have always been a serious obstacle to navigation, being so badly choked with logs that a passage was seldom attempted on less than a 5 or 6 foot stage of water. They were also obstructed by 11 bars that afforded them 10 to 20 inches only at low-water.*
>
> *The work attempted was to deepen the bars to 3 feet, and to remove the logs. The latter object was mainly accomplished, and 7 bars were improved by the 1st of September. At that time the river rose 17 feet and did not again recede sufficiently to continue work on the shoals.*
>
> *The work force moved to Curtis Island, finishing the improvement at that point, and on the 6th of November, the river continuing high, work*

was suspended. After July 1, the work was done under the act of June 14, 1880, appropriating $12,000 to the Tombigbee from Columbus to Vienna. On the 15th of April the log-boat commenced dragging the crest of the bar at the head of the shoals, to dislodge the embedded logs and drift, and allow the sand to scour out. The same thing was done at Harrison's Chute, Butler's Island, and Gaston's Shoals with good effect, the full stage of water at that time affording a strong current. The work is being supplemented with wing-dams, in order to retain and, when necessary, increase the depth gained.

Building of jetties was commenced at Gaston's Shoals, and the log boat at the same time went to work on Rock Shoals, three miles below Columbus.

With the prospect of all-season navigation Columbus interests employed a steamboat to run between Columbus and Miller's Landing, where there was a connection with the Alabama Great Southern Railroad, which ran between Meridian and Chattanooga, thus subjecting the M & O to increased competition. This was the Billy Collins, a 60-ton side-wheeler, built in 1872 at Ironton, Ohio. In four and a half months the boat carried eight thousand bales of cotton from Columbus to Miller's, 804 bales from way landings to Columbus, 3,032 sacks of cotton seed from way landings to Columbus, and 250,000 pounds of meat from Miller's to Columbus (ibid., p. 1208). The through rate on compressed cotton from Columbus to Mobile by railroad was forced down to two dollars per bale, and reductions were also secured on return freight. The outlook of Columbus as a trade center was thus brightened. The next year, 1881-82, the Billy Collins carried even larger quantities of the same commodities, in addition to 4,195 sacks of guano and "about 100 car loads of miscellaneous merchandise" (ibid., p. 1208; 1882, p. 1295). The M & O followed a policy of cutting rates when the water was high and raising them when it was too low for navigation. The Billy Collins, apparently having served its purpose, moved on to operations elsewhere.

The construction of new railroads in the Upper Tombigbee Valley in the 1870s was conspicuous by its absence. The M & O opened a branch from Artesia to Starkville in 1874, but that company was already in default on interest payments on its first-mortgage bonds, and it was soon in receivership. While still in the hands of receivers it opened an extension from Columbus, Kentucky, to the Ohio River opposite Cairo on December 1, 1881, from which it could ferry its cars across the river. The company's property was not sold at auction but was returned to the stockholders in January, 1883. After changing its track to the standard gauge, the company became the lessee of a narrow-gauge line from Cairo to St. Louis, which it proceeded to convert also to the standard gauge. It opened an important branch from Columbus, Mississippi, to Tuscaloosa and Montgomery in Alabama in 1898 and finally bridged the Ohio River at Cairo in the same year.

There was a great growth of railroads in the Upper Tombigbee Valley in the 1880s (see Fig. 16). The new lines consisted of feeder branches extended into the area and transit lines built across it to connect distant points. In 1884 the Illinois Central opened a branch from Durant, on its main north-south line in western Mississippi, to West Point and Aberdeen. This introduced competition at those points and gave them a good connection with New Orleans, and soon the completion of the New Orleans and Northeastern provided

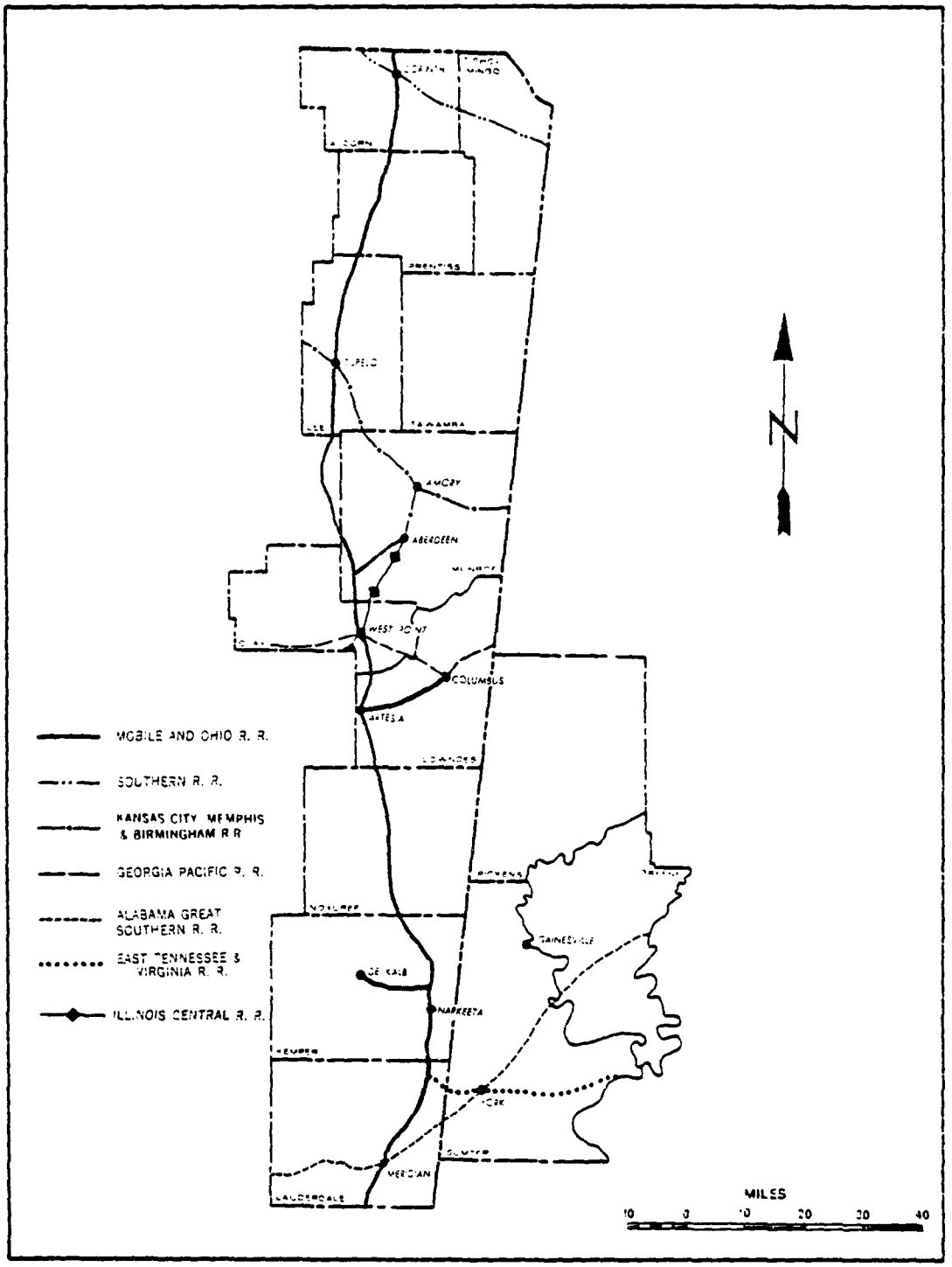

FIG. 16. RAILROADS AND TOWNS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1890.

a rival route to the same place via the M & O and Meridian. In the early 1880s the Georgia Pacific Railway Company, a subsidiary of the Richmond and Danville, projected a line from Atlanta to the Mississippi River at Greenville, via Birmingham and Columbus. The Panic of 1884 caught the company before it could complete its line and left it with three unconnected divisions. One of these reached seventy-six miles from Columbus eastward to the coal fields in Walker County, Alabama, providing an important supply of coal to the Upper Tombigbee Valley. The line was subsequently built westward from Columbus, crossing the Tombigbee at Waverly and passing through West Point, and it was put through to Greenville in 1888.

In 1887 the Kansas City, Memphis, and Birmingham opened a line across northeast Mississippi from Memphis to Birmingham. Its construction bypassed Cotton Gin Port by two miles, quickly killing that little river port but at the same time giving rise to the town of Amory nearby. In January of the following year the company opened a branch from Amory to Aberdeen. As a result of the new construction Aberdeen became the terminus of three branch lines. Three railroads passed through West Point, two through Tupelo, and with the opening of the New Orleans and Northeastern, Eutaw as well as the towns on the M & O main line, secured a new connection with New Orleans.

The resources of local people were too slender to exert much influence upon these developments, which were mainly instituted for the benefit of outsiders. Nevertheless, merchants of the local trade centers had every reason to be deeply concerned. As the new traffic routes were opened, there was a rapid intensification of commercial competition. Competition meant not only lower rates but also sharper discriminations in rates, discriminations which gave one point an advantage or disadvantage with respect to another. There was a strong tendency for favored centers to grow and for others to decline. Yet, general growth was stunted by the basic poverty of the region. Lacking economic resources to control their own destiny, the merchants turned to the federal government and enlisted its support in the cause of reducing the heavy burden of railroad rates or compelling greater discriminations in their favor. The larger river towns wanted to send out steamboats to bring in local business on the Tombigbee and its tributaries, and they wanted to establish potential water competition at all seasons in order to force railroad rates down. The railroads had basic overcapacity, and there was no fundamental economic need of the waterways except for strictly local traffic, which was at the high-water season only.

Congress responded to the demands for waterway improvement with increasingly generous appropriations, but the government showed a tendency to apportion appropriations on the basis of actual or probable traffic. Work by the Corps of Engineers went on through the 1880s on the lower Tombigbee, the Upper Tombigbee, and the Noxubee as appropriations became available.

On the Upper Tombigbee the Lillie Lou, Aberdeen's little steamboat, reached Fulton on December 26, 1880, and made several additional trips while the high-water season lasted (Rodabough, in Itawamba County Times [Fulton], February 17, 1966; Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1882, p. 1313).

Old Town Creek (West Fork of the Tombigbee) had been navigated at high water as far up as Camargo, sixteen miles from its mouth, prior to the con-

struction of the M & O Railroad, and in the early 1850s a steamboat was reported to have gone within two miles of City Point. An examination of the creek in October, 1881, brought a report that "obstructions consisted entirely in accumulations of fallen trees, drift and overhanging trees. There were no shoals or rapids in the stream and no artificial obstructions except a bridge 6 miles below City Point" (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1883, p. 999). City Point was four miles from Verona, on the M & O Railroad. A project for the improvement of Old Town Creek by the removal of snags, logs, and overhanging trees to City Point, thirty miles from its mouth, was adopted in 1883 (ibid., p. 192), and the next year the creek was opened for high-water navigation to Camargo by the removal of overhanging trees from its banks.

With the East Fork open as far up as Fulton, Engineer Horace Harding was sent in 1881 to examine the possibility of extending navigation as high as Warren's Mill, on Mackey's Creek, five miles above where the creek joined Brown's Creek to form the East Fork. The engineer concluded that between Warren's Mill and the mouth of Brown's Creek steamboat navigation was not practical, because the creek was only twenty-five feet wide and had abrupt bends. Navigation for small flatboats and lumber rafts might be possible, he said, but that would require the raising of Walker's Bridge, a county bridge that crossed the East Fork immediately below the junction of Mackey's and Brown's creeks. Between Walker's Bridge and Fulton, however, he found the stream as well adapted to high-water navigation as it was below Fulton and "a sluggish stream, free from rapids, shoals, or artificial obstructions of any kind." Navigation might be facilitated by cutting overhanging trees and removing logs, stumps, and snags. (Ibid., 1882, pp. 1512-1513). The district engineer added the following comment:

> *The benefit to be derived would be the saving of $2.50 per bale on freight of about 4,000 bales of cotton annually, and corresponding reduction on return supplies of at least 80 per cent on the value of the cotton. The cotton and return supplies are now hauled over bad roads 20 and 35 miles, to and from the Mobile and Ohio, and the Memphis and Charleston railroads respectively.*

So the project was adopted of extending high-water navigation to Walker's Bridge, and a project it remained until bypassed by the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. Walker's Bridge has never seen a steamboat.

Ambitious interests at Macon hoped that by opening navigation on the Noxubee they could force the M & O Railroad to reduce its cotton rates to the point where they might be able to compete with Columbus and Meridian merchants in buying cotton (Mississippi Sun, October 7, 1881). They established a steamboat landing at Macon, with a warehouse, and organized the Noxubee River Improvement Association in 1881. They looked forward to reducing the freight charge on cotton to Mobile. After several seasons of work with limited funds by the Corps of Engineers, in late January, 1883, the steamboat Dove arrived at Macon from Mobile. It was a vessel of 140 tons, built in Pittsburgh in 1880, 132 feet long, twenty-seven wide, drawing twelve inches of water when empty, capable of carrying 500 bales of cotton and thirty cabin passengers (Macon Beacon, January 27, 1883). In February the Dove was back at Macon again, followed closely by Aberdeen's little Lillie Lou, but neither boat seems to have gotten much cotton (ibid., February 17, 1883).

In the 1882-83 season the average rate of freight from Macon to Mobile by railroad was said to be $3.75 per bale, while the rate by river steamer, including insurance, ran about $2.50 per bale, representing a difference of $1.25 (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1883, p. 1024). The Macon Beacon (Feb. 5, 1883) exulted that now was the turning point in the commericial history of the town, which must next have a large warehouse and a steam compress.

The Lillie Lou, however, did not make it back to the Tombigbee. Said the Beacon on February 17:

> *At Cards Ferry about 17 miles below Macon there is a slight bend in the river which the pilot Capt. Newbold attempted to round without slackening speed. A heavy gust of wind caught the boat and drove it into the bank. As the boat swung around the stern struck a stump on the bank and a hole was made big enough to sink it in 15 or 20 minutes. It now lies on the west side of the river on a level bank outside the channel and can easily be gotten to if the river falls. It had about eighty bales of cotton "half of which floated off was recovered below."*

The Billy Collins rendered assistance, and the hole in the hull was repaired. Lillie Lou was back in service the next season. By that time the M & O had reduced the cotton rate from Macon to Mobile to $2.75 a bale. In February, 1884, the former captain of the Lillie Lou brought the larger Niobara to Macon. It was a vessel 165 feet long by thirty-three feet wide. Work on improving the Noxubee was tapered off, and in the 1884-85 season there was no rise in the river until the cotton-shipping season was over. (Macon Beacon, Oct. 20, 1883; Feb. 23, 1884; May 30, 1885.)

Except for barges operating on the lower part of the Noxubee there was not much traffic on that river. However, Gainesville merchants continued to tap it for trade. Early in 1887 they leased the little steamboat Viola to run on the Noxubee, and it finally reached Macon in February of 1887. It offered to take cotton to Mobile for $1.50 a bale but obtained little. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad was soon hauling to Mobile for $1.60 a bale and to Memphis for $2.25. (Ibid., Feb. 26, Aug. 20, 1887.)

Railroad construction and competition of the 1880s firmly established Columbus, Aberdeen, and West Point as the principal distribution centers of the Upper Tombigbee Valley, with Macon and Eutaw being places of local importance, as were Tupelo and Corinth to the northwest. Other business centers within the area were confined to a local trade. Columbus and Aberdeen overshadowed everything else on the river. The commercial growth of Aberdeen is reflected in the number of bales of cotton handled annually (see Table 24).

Under the new conditions of competition the little river ports suffered heavily and tended to dry up, but at some of them there remained a continuing business. In 1882 warehouseman Robert T. Stringfellow advertised himself as the Pickensville agent of the Columbus Oil Mill, presumably meaning that he was a local buyer for cotton seed to be shipped upriver to the mill. There may also have been at Pickensville a buyer for the rival mill at Demopolis, in the other direction. In that same year it was reported that on one occasion A.J. Peterson received twenty thousand pounds of meat by steamboat and that in six days it was all gone. Nance's Ferry seems to have been leased

TABLE 24

COTTON HANDLED AT ABERDEEN

By Years, 1871-1901

Year	Bales	Year	Bales
1871	6,350	1887	24,288
1872	10,195	1888	25,886
1873	13,208	1889	21,240
1874	12,507	1890	12,316
1875	11,703	1891	17,659
1876	15,009	1892	17,568
1877	16,085	1893	8,974
1878	17,400	1894	18,454
1879	18,876	1895	26,173
1880	20,623	1896	30,634
1881	21,228	1897	48,460
1882	18,838	1898	41,275
1883	24,328	1899	35,175
1884	25,200	1900	38,726
1885	24,495	1901	21,836
1886	27,050		

Data from Rodabough, March 11, 1971.

out annually to the highest bidder. Less than half a mile to the west of the ferry were Nance's steam mills for grinding corn and sawing wood. By 1891 Thomas J. Ivie, another warehouseman, was charging only five cents per barrel for handling flour and fifteen cents for whiskey. Ivie already had a store, but in that year he added a bar. In 1892 there came a great flood in which Stringfellow lost his warehouse, account books, and two mules. Ivie lost his warehouse and grocery store and various other buildings. Peterson's cotton houses were destroyed. As the river reached forty-two feet above low water mark the losses of others were also heavy. (Data from Carrollton West Alabamian, various dates.)

The project depth for the Tombigbee from Mobile to Demopolis was four feet at ordinary low water, from Demopolis to Columbus three feet. After years of work all that had been accomplished by 1886 was the following: from Mobile to Demopolis three feet at ordinary low water, from Demopolis to Columbus three feet on a two-foot rise above ordinary low water (this translates into one foot at ordinary low water). The river was navigable to Fulton for small boats on a stage of four feet above low water. (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1886, pp. 1196-1198). The district engineer described the benefits of the improvements made as follows:

> *The immediate commercial advantage that may be expected upon the completion of the improvement will arise, not so much from the increased amount of business done upon the river, as from the reduction of freight charges on the whole traffic of the Tombigbee Valley. When the freight tariff shall be regulated by competition between rail and river, maintained perennially, the advantage to the community of the improved river is to be measured by the amount of business affected by competition rates, and this will be all the transportation business of the Tombigbee Valley, whether handled by river or rail.*

The engineers appear to have been very slow to realize that cutting of bars and removal of snags had reached its limit as a means of providing all-season navigation on the Tombigbee River. Cutting a bar had the effect of draining the pool above it and reducing its depth, so there was a definite limit to the advantage which bar cutting could bring to the deepening of low-water channels.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RIVER IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY: 1890-1940

From the middle 1880s work on the Upper Tombigbee River and its branches by the Corps of Engineers was largely confined to the maintenance of existing improvements. Larger funds were made available for the improvement of the Warrior River than for the Upper Tombigbee, because of the possibility of providing cheap transportation for coal from the Warrior Coal Fields to market. Experience soon showed that the heavy coal barges could not be economically handled without a greater depth of water than could be provided in dry seasons by bar cutting. The answer was slack-water navigation, which could be provided only by the construction of locks and dams. Such improvements would be expensive. If the Warrior were provided with a system of locks and dams, their usefulness would be very limited unless the lower Tombigbee could also be so provided. The Upper Tombigbee was tied to the system at Demopolis. The Rivers and Harbors Act of August 5, 1886, required surveys to ascertain whether such improvements were necessary and practical for the Tombigbee River from Vienna to Walker's Bridge and for the Noxubee also.

An elaborate engineering report of 1890 recommended a system of improvements for the Warrior and lower Tombigbee Rivers to provide a channel with a low-water depth of six feet, to be maintained by a system of locks and dams. Considering the rivers as one system, a further recommendation was made to extend the six-foot depth up the Upper Tombigbee River as far as Columbus by the installation of dams with pneumatic gates. (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 1716-1717). The planned improvements of the Tombigbee-Warrior system were put into effect, but those for the Upper Tombigbee remained in limbo for the very good reason that there was no expected commerce on the Upper Tombigbee to justify the expense. They were not, however, forgotten. In 1897 the annual report of the Chief of Engineers recommended a six-foot channel from Demopolis to Columbus, to be secured by a system of ten locks and dams like those under construction on the lower Tombigbee and the Warrior, to provide a six-foot channel as high as Columbus.

Some work was done from time to time on the Noxubee, but the navigation season for that river was found to be much shorter than previously anticipated. The district engineer in 1889 remarked that the proposed completely-improved channel from the mouth of the Noxubee up to Macon had substantially been attained. He went on to add that "no further improvement should be considered until the Tombigbee River below Gainesville is completely improved" (ibid., 1889, p. 1142). Only an occasional steamboat showed up at Macon, none after 1889. The railroads lowered freight rates to such an extent as to keep all business away from that river, but the river was cleared of obstructions again in 1894.

In December, 1894, the district engineer made a report on the feasibility of clearing the Noxubee above Macon for river traffic. He concluded that this portion of the river was not worthy of improvement, because it was small and crooked, averaging thirty feet in width, with a minimum of twelve feet and a depth of eight inches at low water. Two bridges without draws crossed it, he said, and the saving to those on or near the river in freight on cotton, lumber, and other products of the country by the improvement would be very small (ibid., 1895, p. 1716). There was some navigation of the lower part of the Noxubee in 1899, and in that year some further work was done in removing obstructions (ibid., 1899, p. 1716), but a local dispute arose over the desirability of abandoning the river as a navigable stream. Fish traps were soon reported in the channel, and no further work was done on the Noxubee after 1899. Other forces then governed the railroad rates of Macon.

The River Between Walker's Bridge and Columbus

In the 1880s the production of lumber and staves became an important industry from Aberdeen northward. In 1885 the owners of a stave factory at Aberdeen built a new steamboat, the Hattie Belle, of 57 tons, which with the Lillie Lou made two homemade steamboats for that town to ply the upper river areas (ibid., 1885, p. 1355; Proceedings of . . . the Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels, 1890, p. 267). Forest industries developed along the entire Upper Tombigbee River from its mouth to the upper reaches of Mackey's Creek and the other tributary streams. Logs, heavy timbers, lumber, and staves were heavy commodities, in the production and marketing of which cheap transportation was a vital factor. The streams served with the railroads in providing that cheap transportation, and forest products gradually came to be the principal commodities transported on the river.

Between Walker's Bridge and Fulton the channel was originally navigable only for small rafts at high water, and very troublesome for them. By June 30, 1891, the project of clearing the river in that area was sufficiently complete to permit timber rafts of a larger size than formerly to be floated down without breaking them. Rafts eighty-eight feet long by twenty-two feet wide with a four-foot draft might now be used when the water was five feet above low water (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1891, p. 1779). In 1891 lumber floated down this portion of the river amounted to 3,000 tons, in 1892 to 8,250 tons, in 1893 11,880 tons. Firewood and staves were in addition to these figures. In 1895 there were 30,000 tons of logs and lumber, 100 tons of staves, and forty tons of firewood shipped. (Ibid., 1891-1893). After the building of the Kansas City, Memphis, and Birmingham Railroad bridge across the Tombigbee at Amory, two large lumber mills were located at that point on the river. The clearing of the river above encouraged the lumbermen to open up the tributary creeks to float the timber down to these mills, which were actively operating in 1894. In 1895 the log traffic amounted to 50,000 tons. With occasional channel improvement by the Corps of Engineers this section of the river continued to be used in the succeeding years for bringing down logs and timber at high water. In 1901 the district engineer recommended that the availability of the channel for high-water navigation be maintained (ibid., 1901, p. 1839).

The log traffic above Amory, with the logs floating directly in the river, remained important well into the twentieth century, for Itawamba County had no railroad, and none was convenient to the forested areas on the upper tributaries of the Tombigbee. The Mississippian Railroad, a logging road, started from Amory in 1921, running close to the East Fork, was not completed to Fulton until 1925, but the population of that little center increased from 200 in 1920 to 800 in 1930.

While the stretch of the Tombigbee between Fulton and Columbus was increasingly used after 1890 for logs and timber, it was used for little else. Although fitful efforts were made from time to time to remove obstructions to high-water navigation, there was scant steamboat activity except for that of the small boats owned at Aberdeen and Columbus. To aid the loggers in 1896 the Corps of Engineers ordered the quarter boat Fulton and the snag boat Pickensville into the river above Columbus. The Pickensville was snagged and sunk in going through a chute just above Columbus, but within a few days it was raised and repaired. Work was done near the railroad bridge at Amory to close up Long Chicken Slough and Boiling Slough, where high water had been carrying rafts of timber into the swamps. (Ibid., 1896, p. 1445.) Pine, cypress, and oak logs continued to be floated downstream at high water, the amount varying with the state of business.

In 1908 the People's Oil Mill and Fertilizer Works of Aberdeen built a little boat to carry thirty tons of freight, powered with a thirty-two horsepower gasoline engine, named Aberdeen. With a barge named Itawamba, it was expected to gather cotton seed at points along the river between Fulton and Aberdeen, but the river proved to be so clogged with obstructions that the enterprise was not effective (Rodabough, March 3, 1866 [sic]).

The River Between Columbus and Demopolis

The rapid improvement of the railroad connections of Columbus in the 1880s diminished the importance of river traffic at that trade center at the same time that the plan to provide all-season navigation by bar cutting was proving a failure. Locks and dams to provide slack-water navigation on the river lacked economic justification. By 1889 few steamboats were venturing above Vienna, but the area below that point continued to be served by them in the handling of cotton, grain, iron, lumber, and general merchandise. The volume of cotton traffic on the river is shown in Table 25. (Data from Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1890, p. 1704; 1892, p. 1452; 1893, p. 1760; 1894, p. 1316.) With at least four bales of cotton per ton the figures represent a considerable amount of cotton still being moved on the river from Vienna and points to the south.

Apparently there was no commerce in this period on the river between Columbus and Vienna until Columbus interests built at Columbus the little steamboat City of Columbus, of fifty-six tons, which went into operation in 1893. There were also small steamboats which operated out of Demopolis, apparently in the interest of that place. The Baltimore, forty-six tons, built in Pittsburgh in 1877, seems to have been based in Demopolis in 1893. Larger boats from Mobile continued to traverse the river regularly as far up as Vienna. Removal of obstructions was continued each year by snag boats

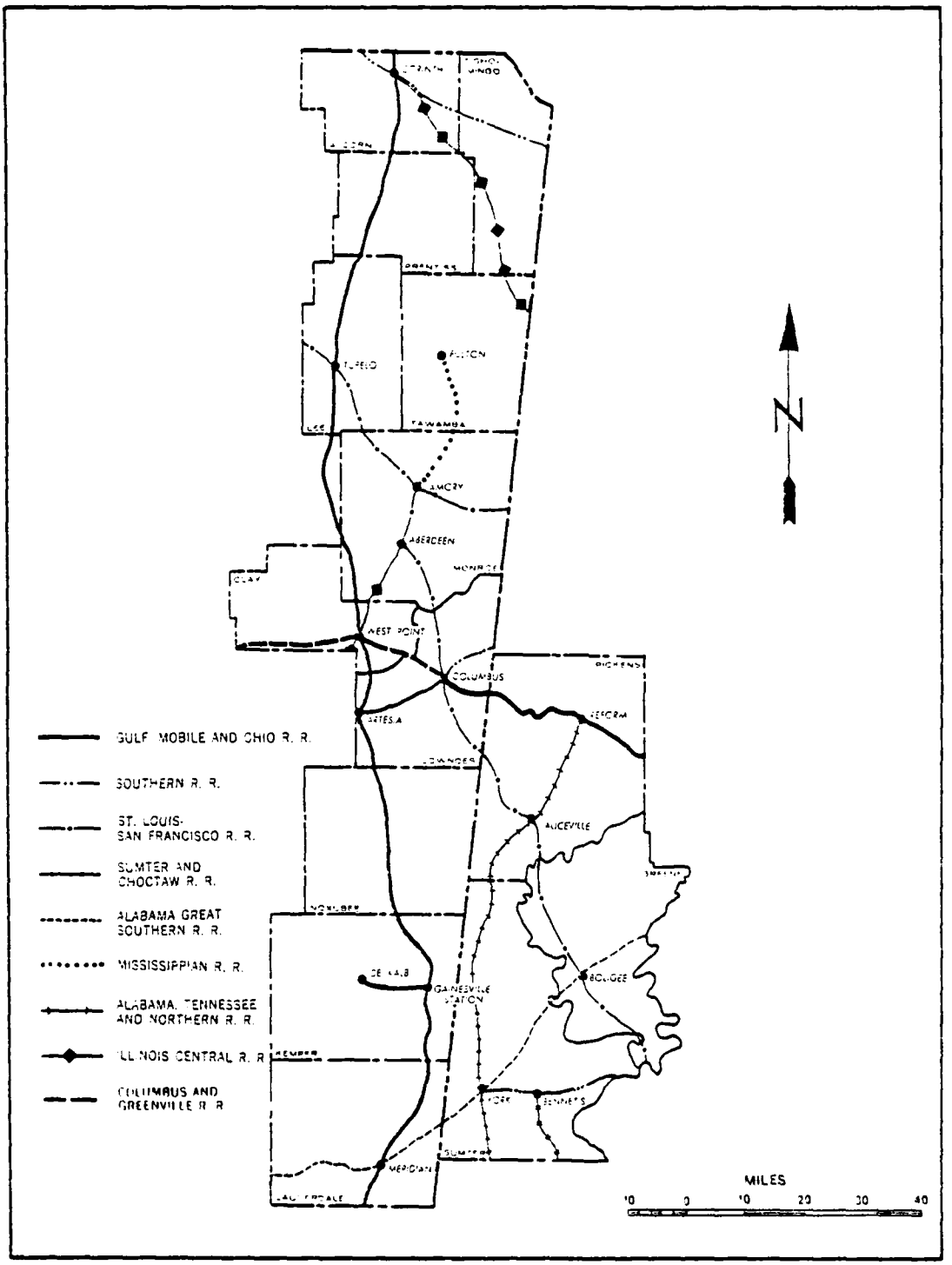

FIG. 17. RAILROADS AND TOWNS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY IN 1948.

TABLE 25

COTTON TRAFFIC ON UPPER TOMBIGBEE RIVER

Between Columbus And Demopolis

Year	Tons of Cotton
1889	11,489
1890	8,982
1891	N.A.
1892	3,000
1893	2,000
1894	2,400

Data from Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1890, p. 1704; 1892, p. 1452; 1893, p. 1760; 1894, p. 1316. With at least four bales of cotton per ton the above figures represent a considerable amount of cotton still being moved on the river from Vienna and points to the south.

TABLE 26

TOMBIGBEE RIVER TRAFFIC IN 1912

Between Demopolis and Columbus

Articles	Tons
Cotton	1,038
Cotton seed	655
Staves	11,737
Logs	21,576
Fertilizer	947
Corn	504

Data from H. Doc.1137,64th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 11.

between Demopolis and Columbus, although the channel was not really well maintained. No commercial statistics appear at all for the river between Columbus and Demopolis for the years 1897 and 1898; in 1899 813 tons of cotton and a total tonnage of 1,613 were reported. In 1901 the tonnage was 45,055, which included about forty thousand tons of logs and lumber. (Chief of Engineers, Annual Report, 1899, p. 1714; 1902, p. 1298.)

The packet boat Vienna, a vessel of 176 tons, was built at Columbus by Columbus interests in 1898, equipped with boilers of 1885. The Vienna remained in operation until it struck a hidden obstruction at Ten Mile Shoals below Columbus on January 19, 1907, and sank. This was apparently the last regular packet boat in operation on the Upper Tombigbee River. Various other steamboats, however, continued to be used, either as freight boats or in the towing mode, for special purposes from time to time, particularly in the handling of lumber and logs. The Cornelius C., 26 tons, was built at Columbus in 1904 and was still there in 1906. The four-ton towboat Lillie, built at Pensacola in 1900, was apparently based at Columbus in 1909. Besides these vessels the snag boats of the Corps of Engineers made their appearance from time to time on the Upper Tombigbee River.

The commercial vessels continued to perform in a limited way their old functions of gathering trade for the local trade centers, moving cotton from the little river ports to railroad connections or to Mobile, and serving to some extent as a club over the heads of the railroads in rate matters. By far the largest tonnage, however, came to be that of logs, lumber, and other forest products. Below Columbus the mode of floating logs and timber in the river was gradually abandoned, until practically all such were carried on barges. Logs were commonly loaded by hoisting equipment carried on board the barges. In 1920 there was not a real wharf on the river, and cargo-handling facilities were described as totally lacking but adequate.

The Alabama, Tennessee, and Northern Railroad, constructed during the first decade of the twentieth century, reaching northward from Mobile, ran up the western side of Sumter County to Stone's Ferry near Fairfield, where it crossed the Tombigbee and went on to Aliceville and to a connection at Reform with the Columbus-Tuscaloosa-Montgomery branch of the Mobile and Ohio (see Fig. 17). Despite the railroad, the river maintained a limited usefulness for the movement of forest products. The St. Louis and San Francisco Line (Frisco) from Columbus to Pickensville, Aliceville, Boligee, Demopolis, and Pensacola, was not built until 1927.

Locks and Dams on the Tombigbee-Warrior System

After 1890 the Warrior River and the Tombigbee below Demopolis underwent a rapid canalization, which in time produced an all-season, six-foot channel from Mobile to the coal fields above Birmingham. After the completion of the first three locks and dams at Tuscaloosa in the middle 1890s, others were gradually constructed until in 1916 the last of seventeen dams and eighteen locks was opened for business. Tow boats could move heavy coal barges over the full distance through the locks. At high water the steamboats could move up or down stream right over all of the dams except one. The actual development of traffic was rather slow, but the new competition had its effect on the

rates of the railroads, particularly after the establishment at Demopolis, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingport of terminal facilities for general cargo with railroad connections. The effects were accentuated by the establishment of the subsidized Federal Barge Lines. All this, however, passed the Upper Tombigbee by.

Railroad Competition and Regulation

The establishment of the Mississippi Railroad Commission in 1884 introduced a new factor into the railroad rate structure and the competition of the trade centers of northeast Mississippi. Rigidity of the regulations established by the commission made it difficult for railroads to change rates arbitrarily or to raise rates seasonally or to make variations in published tariffs. In its 1886 annual report the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company complained that the commission had tried arbitrarily to reduce the local tariffs of the state's railroads to a confiscatory degree. The company's 1887 report, complaining of decreased revenue from cotton, said this "was mainly the direct result of the reduction of rates forced upon us by the Mississippi Railway Commission, and further by the active competition of new lines entering our territory, which resulted in drawing cotton away from our line and reducing our haul to junction instead of our own terminal points." The fact was that too many railroads were competing for an agricultural business that was showing little growth. Competing lines drove down the rates at competitive points, and the railroad commission sought to force down the local rate scale, which was exceedingly high for short-to-modest distances.

Rates were adjusted, as they generally were throughout the South, so as to equalize the position of competitive points as far as possible. The through rate to a non-competitive point would be the rate to a nearby competitive point, plus the local rate back or forward to the non-competitive point. This meant that goods received by a merchant at a non-competitive point would pay the same over-all rate, whether the goods were bought from a distant wholesaler direct or were purchased and sold by a wholesale merchant at the nearby competitive point. Columbus, Aberdeen, and West Point were thus enabled to become wholesale centers for a distributive trade in which they competed with each other and with distant suppliers but not with the merchants at the non-competitive points. These latter had only a local distributive trade. This, the basing-point system, became standard throughout the South. The main conflict was over the overlapping wholesale-trade territories of the basing-point towns. After adjustments were made to it, the system did not necessarily hurt anyone, but it determined very clearly which towns would be the wholesale centers and which would not, thus affecting very deeply the trade patterns of the Upper Tombigbee Valley.

The Columbus and Greenville Railroad, originally a part of the Georgia Pacific line from Atlanta to Greenville, never prospered, but it was probably a more important part of the competition at Columbus than was the Tombigbee River, for it introduced an alternative route, via the Mississippi River, for the heavy tonnage traffic in foodstuffs from the Midwest, a circuitous route that might not haul much but which could maintain cut-rates on a traffic which might not come to it at all at fully-remunerative rates. It served West Point in similar fashion.

Columbus, Aberdeen, and West Point were successful in securing standing as basing points for railroad rates, thus assuring their preeminence, but their growth was nevertheless stunted by the failure of the production and wealth of the territory to grow. Their limitations lay in the limitations of the economic base of the region.

Documents in the Southern Class Rate Investigation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the early 1920s (ICC Docket No. 13494, Exhibit No. 300) reveal an elaborate pattern of competitive readjustment of rates on western freight to Mississippi basing points, showing an intensive rivalry among these centers. Most of the rates of Aberdeen, Columbus, West Point, and Starkville had been equalized to put them on the same competitive basis. One might expect these Mississippi wholesale centers to grow large enough to become industrial and commercial centers of considerable local importance, and to an extent they did just that.

Proposed Improvements of the Upper Tombigbee River

In 1905 there was an examination of the Tombigbee River from Demopolis to Columbus with the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of improvements in the river (H. Doc. 334, 59th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1906). The recommendation made was that although improvement by locks and dams was physically feasible, the small benefits to be derived therefrom did not justify such a development.

Another investigation was made in 1912 (H. Doc. 1157, 64th Cong., 1st Sess.). On the section between Columbus and Demopolis the report observed:

> *Plantations line both banks of the river through almost this entire section, though there are reaches where one or both banks are heavily timbered. The principal farm products are cotton, corn, and alfalfa. The soil is especially adapted to all kinds of agriculture and the yield per acre is high. The alfalfa yield is remarkably heavy near the river. Cotton is the chief crop. A large business is done in cotton seed products. Much of the region is heavily timbered with pine, oak, cypress, gum, and sycamore. The making of staves is an important industry. The forests are not extensively utilized for lumber, on account of the high cost of transportation.*

The report observed that three packet boats from Mobile regularly plied the river when it was navigable, but it did not say that these went as high as Columbus. The principal articles of traffic in 1912 are shown in Table 26.

After a preliminary examination the supervising board concluded that the Tombigbee from Demopolis to Columbus was worthy of improvement by the construction of locks and dams and recommended a more detailed survey. Further examination, however, and detailed plans for a system of nine locks and dams to provide a six-foot channel brought such an expensive proposal for canalization that the board to decided to defer undertaking the improvement. Since there was no large manufacturing, mining, or commercial industry to create a large tonnage, reasoned the board, reliance must be placed upon farm production for prospective commerce. The anticipated business would thus justify only removal of snags to permit safe navigation during the high stages of the river.

The report, rendered April 11, 1916, said that the bottom lands adjacent to the river were largely under cultivation and that the principal products at that time were cotton, corn, and alfalfa. (H. Doc. 1137, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 4, 12. For landings described see Table 27.)

The facilities at Columbus were described in 1916 as follows (ibid., p. 9):

> *Columbus, Miss., is located on the east bank of the Tombigbee River, 379 miles from Mobile by river, and has a population of about 9,000. There are no improved water terminals at the city; such terminals as exist are the natural banks of the river, without wharves or improvements of any kind. The landing is open to all water carriers on equal terms without charge. The river as high as Columbus for some years past has been used very little by steamers, practically all of its commerce, consisting principally of cotton, cottonseed products, etc., handled by rail. The Southern Railway and the Mobile & Ohio Railroad enter Columbus; they have no tracks along the river to the water terminal, no mechanical facilities for handling freight, and no traffic arrangements with any water carrier. These roads have no transfer facilities at the river and can take no freight direct from water carriers. If any freight comes from the river to the railroad it must be hauled by the consignor to the local depot of the company and shipped in the same manner as freight from inland. There are no improved or adequate highways to the water terminals.*

Conditions on the Upper Tombigbee are described in a government report of 1921 as follows (H. Doc. 652, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 1044):

> *The existing project provides for a channel 6 feet deep at low water by snagging, tree cutting, bank revetment, the construction of locks and dams from Demopolis to Columbus, 149 miles, and for a high-water channel by the removal of obstructions from Columbus to Walkers Bridge. No provision has as yet been made by Congress for lock and dam construction.*
>
> *The commerce during 1918 amounted to 28,349 short tons, of which 98 per cent consisted of logs, lumber, and staves, originating at the mills located along this section of the river. This commerce was handled in rafts, and by towboats and barges with a maximum draft of 5 feet, and only during mean and high stages of the river.*
>
> *There are no terminals along this river other than the usual log landings, the heaviest material being loaded by floating derricks which accompany each tow, and the light material, such as staves and stave bolts, by improvised frame chutes fed by hand. There is no interchange in traffic from the railroads to the river boats. No terminals are needed, as the present and prospective commerce, which consists of logs, lumber, staves and stave bolts, can be no more economically handled than by the present methods.*
>
> *The facilities are considered ample for present and prospective commerce.*

TABLE 27

TOMBIGBEE RIVER LANDINGS FROM GAINESVILLE TO COLUMBUS IN 1916

Name	Miles above Mobile	Location, general description, etc.	Approximate distance to nearest railroad	Highway
Gainesville	290.8	Bluff on west bank; town; has warehouse; no charges; good commerce in cotton, seed, and staves.	Alabama Great Southern R.R., 11 miles; Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 7 miles.	Poor road.
Craigs Landing	300.4	Bluff on east bank; has warehouse; no charges on cotton; fair commerce in cotton, seed, and staves; Eutaw, Ala., 25 miles.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 5 miles.	Do.
Warsaw Landing	303.0	Bluff on west bank; has warehouse; charges 10 cents bale cotton; good commerce in cotton and seed.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 3 miles.	Do.
Mouth of Sipsey River	312.8	Low landing on east bank; no warehouse; no charges; ordinary commerce in cotton and seed.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 12 miles.	Sandy road.
Vienna	314.4	Bluff on east bank. (Other description same as above.)	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 9 miles.	Do.
Stones Ferry	328.7	Bluff on west bank; warehouse; charges 10 cents bale cotton; small commerce; Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R. crossing.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., at terminal.	Do.
Gregorys Landing	330.7	Bluff on west bank; has warehouse; no charges; ordinary, commerce in cotton and seed.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 4 miles.	Prairie road.
Memphis	336.8	Bluff on west bank; has warehouse; no charges; ordinary commerce in cotton, seed, and lumber.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 7 miles; Mobile & Ohio R.R., 10 miles.	Do.
Ringolds Bluff	339.7	Bluff on east bank; 3 miles from Aliceville, has warehouse; fair commerce in cotton, seed, and staves.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 5 miles.	Sandy road.
Jacksons Ferry	344.3	Bluff on west bank; has warehouse; no charges; ordinary commerce in cotton and seed.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 8 miles.	Poor road.
Pickensville	348.2	Bluff on west bank, has warehouse; charges 10 cents bale cotton, good commerce in cotton, seed, and staves.	Alabama, Tennessee & Northern R.R., 8 miles, Mobile & Ohio R.R., 11 miles.	Sandy road.
Union Bluff	358.6	Bluff on west bank; has warehouse; charges 10 cents bale cotton; ordinary commerce in cotton and seed.	Mobile & Ohio R.R., 15 miles.	Prairie road.
Columbus	379.0	Bluff on east bank; town warehouse; 3 oil mills, cotton compress, large commerce in cotton and compress cotton for export.	Mobile & Ohio R.R. and Southern Ry., at terminal.	Poor road.

Data from H. Doc. 1157, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 8.

There was no subsequent significant revival of traffic on the Upper Tombigbee River. The Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1932 (p. 818) says of the Tombigbee between Demopolis and Walker's Bridge:

> *There are no terminal facilities along this waterway and none are required, as there are no transportation lines using this section of the Tombigbee River, and the commerce consists almost entirely of forest products handled to mills.*

In the report for the next year (p. 712), we read the following: "Under date of October 17, 1932, the Chief of Engineers recommended the abandonment of the project for slack water improvement of the Tombigbee River above Demopolis." (See also H. Doc. 56, 73rd Cong., 1st Sess.) Snag removal and river improvement after that time were not dropped, but they were kept to the minimum.

In the depression years, under authority of the Flood Control Act of June 22, 1936, a project was authorized for the alleviation of floods in Itawamba County for a distance of fifty-three miles along the East Fork of the Tombigbee from Walker's Bridge to the Monroe County line by clearing the banks of trees and underbrush, removal of drift jams, and excavation of thirteen cutoff channels to protect people and valuable agricultural property from the overflow waters of the river. The work was done by the Corps of Engineers in 1938 and 1939. The further concern of the federal government with the Upper Tombigbee was associated with plans for the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, as explained in Chapter II supra.

The improvement of roads in the Upper Tombigbee Valley was not notable between 1860 and World War I. However, a significant development occurred with the passage of the Federal Highway Act in 1916. This measure provided matching grants to the states for the purpose of highway building, according to a system of allotments based upon area and population rather than wealth. To meet the requirements of the act Mississippi created a state highway department and strained itself to make the necessary matching appropriations. As a result, during the 1920s the construction of a system of gravel roads to connect county seats and commercial centers was actively pushed. The road improvements were quite substantial, but hard-surface, all-weather roads were not to be found in the area until after the middle 1930s.

Since Mississippi was overall the poorest state in the Union, and Alabama was not far above, the principle of distributing federal funds where the people were rather than where the money was had startling potential, even on a token basis. The devastating effect of the depression in the early 1930s was felt nationwide, and the failure of other approaches quickly led to the distribution of huge relief funds to keep people alive. Relief money was spent where the people in need were, and Mississippi got a larger share than its share paid in taxes. The effect beyond the immediate objectives was certainly rather limited, but new thinking was going on and new concepts were being developed and accepted which were to bring great changes within a few years. Their effect, however, was hardly noticeable before the end of the terrible decade of the 1930s.

CHAPTER XV

STEAMBOAT TYPES AND OPERATIONS ON THE TOMBIGBEE RIVER

The development of the steamboat was centered primarily in the Northeast and on the banks of the Mississippi River system, the "Western Waters." The early boats, particularly in the East, were adapted from marine types with hulls designed for strength. They were built and operated like ocean-going vessels. A vertical one-cylinder, double-acting steam engine moved an overhead beam up and down, from which a connecting rod drove a transverse crankshaft that spun a small propelling wheel on each side of the vessel. A heavy flywheel was necessary to absorb the surges of power from the engine and provide smooth operation. These engines were of the Watt and Boulton type, using low pressure. The exhaust steam went into a drum, where it was condensed by a spray of water, thereby forming a vacuum of perhaps ten pounds per square inch. Rods from the beam drove two pumps, one to get the water out of the condensing drum and the other to force water into the boiler. In the early 1840s the first auxiliary engine, "the doctor," appeared on a steamboat for pumping water into the boiler, and the use of the device gradually spread. Another engine to operate a fire pump came to be added to the equipment on some boats.

The horizontal boiler was cylindrical in shape, made of wrought iron except that the ends were of heavy iron castings. Steam pipes, difficult to make, were frequently of cast iron. A tall, wrought iron chimney provided a draft for the fire and carried the hot gases away. The firebox was stoked with wood, which provided an abundance of heat. Light-wood knots could be added to supply additional heat. The vessel was steered with a rudder at the stern. Using river water, the boilers tended to accumulate mud, which sometimes had to be removed by the laborious process of taking off one of the ends of the boiler and washing the system out.

As long as there were side wheels extending outside the hull of the vessel, the hull had to be relatively narrow. To protect the wheels the decks were extended on either side, these extensions being known as the "guards." The guards provided valuable additional deck space for stowing cargo, and on the upper decks where the cabin passengers lived, a promenade for passengers. Deck passengers and deck hands remained on the main deck and slept wherever they could stretch out.

Shallow draft was found desirable for navigating small rivers and even some places on large ones. Hulls underwent evolutionary changes, which eliminated the keel and made most of the bottoms nearly flat. Strength, not much needed on river boats, was sacrificed for navigability and carrying capacity.

The first steamboat on the lower Mississippi was of about three hundred gross tons. Although later vessels in use on the Mississippi grew to more than two thousand tons, a vessel of three hundred tons was about as large as

was practical to use on the Upper Tombigbee River, and only two or three steamboats of over four hundred tons were ever used on that stream.

The low-pressure engines and boilers were heavy and cumbersome in construction, features which discouraged redesigning to supply greater power. To solve the problem the high-pressure engine was tried. It could supply the power, and it was simpler to operate, but at modest boiler pressures it was claimed to be less efficient than the low-pressure engine. However, since fuel was cheap, few people cared about this. The high-pressure engine did not require a condenser, and the steam was discharged through an exhaust pipe reaching through the top deck, creating a great noise. A device to cut off the steam before the piston had traveled more than two-thirds or three-quarters of its stroke improved efficiency and reduced the noise.

In time, some steamboats came to have two engines, one for each side wheel. This eliminated the main crankshaft and made the wheels operate independently, so that one could be run in one direction and the other in the other to turn the vessel. In this system each side wheel seems to have been driven by a crosshead and pitman (connecting rod) instead of an overhead beam, and the cylinders were slanted upward from the horizontal (with the beam engine the cylinder was vertical).

To supply additional steam a second boiler might be added parallel to the first and the boiler length might be increased. Two chimneys, resulting from two boilers, provided less obstruction than one to the view of the river from the pilot's wheelhouse on the top deck. The boilers were operated in parallel, with connections for water at the bottom and steam at the top without check valves. They were improved gradually in reliability and efficiency, but the materials used and the operating practices followed entailed a considerable risk of explosions. The introduction of boiler tubes (fire tubes) in the boilers improved efficiency, but a boiler explosion might be caused by a collapse of one of these tubes. Making of boiler heads from wrought iron required equipment and skill that were developed rather slowly, but in time this material replaced the riskier cast iron in boiler heads. Making steam pipes of wrought iron instead of cast iron reduced another hazard. The larger vessels had donkey boilers to provide steam for auxiliary equipment that was gradually added and perhaps also to provide heat for the passengers.

While wood provided good fuel for the steam boilers when it was dry, it was bulky, and the boilers and propulsion equipment were inefficient. Frequent stops for wood had to be made. For pioneer steamboats the crew had to be sent out to cut the wood, but the practice arose among residents along the river of operating private woodyards as a business, so that steamboats could stop and buy their fuel as it was needed. By the end of the century coal had come into common use.

Before the Civil War most steamboats were side wheelers. It became popular to locate the wheels about two-thirds of the way back from the bow. With the passage of time larger and larger wheels came to be used. There were a few sternwheelers, but they were generally looked upon with disfavor. They were not easy to handle, and the weight of the wheel projecting over the stern tended to make the center of the vessel rise up, and effect known as "hogging."

In time various technical developments occurred that made the sternwheelers more attractive. Hogging was checked by the installation of heavy iron rods, one on each side, which extended up from the hull and towards the center of the vessel at an angle, and then were bent down horizontally to be joined by turnbuckles. These rods were known as "hog chains." The difficulty of steering a sternwheel vessel was solved by the use of multiple rudders just forward of the wheel, rudders which extended partly under the vessel and partly under the wheel and could be turned in parallel, giving excellent control. With the wheel operating in reverse, the water was projected directly against the rudders, making steering more responsive in reverse than in going forward. Power was applied to the wheel by a double-acting steam cylinder on each side of the vessel driving a crosshead, which in turn was coupled to a crank at the end of the wheel by a long pitman. The stroke was long and the movement relatively slow. The cranks were set ninety degrees apart, providing a smooth flow of power, and the wheel was made large and heavy enough to eliminate any need for a flywheel.

Eliminating the side wheels made it possible to reduce the width of the guards and to widen the hull, making a vessel of shallow draft, suited to small and shallow rivers. Few sternwheel vessels were seen on the Tombigbee before the Civil War, but after the war they gradually took over the steamboat business.

Better boilers, made of better materials, gradually made possible the increasing of steam pressures, with somewhat greater efficiency in the engines. After the Civil War steam pressures of over one hundred pounds per square inch became common. The development of auxiliary equipment improved the effectiveness of steamboat operation. An old device was the capstan, a vertical, concave drum, turned by sticks thrust into holes at the top. It might be turned by one man or forty, depending on the space available and the length of the sticks. With several turns of the rope around the drum one man would put tension on the fall of the rope, thus regulating the slippage. It was a wonderful shock-absorbing device to pull on a heavy rope with a minimum risk of breakage. A capstan operated by steam power could be controlled by one man. Some vessels were also provided with steam winches.

The lower deck of a steamboat was usually open in the central part of the vessel, and the upper decks did not extend over the forward part. The lower deck was used for cargo, fuel, boilers, and deck passengers, as well as for the engines. Mud drums below the boilers proved useful in keeping boilers clear of mud.

The steering of the vessel was accomplished by means of a wheel with projecting spokes. Around a drum on the hub of the wheel would be several turns of a rope that ran aft to operate the rudders. A steering wheel on a large steamboat might be eight feet or more in diameter, and operating it in a crooked river required considerable exertion. In the center of the vessel at the forward edge of the upper decks there would be a pole, used an aid in steering the vessel and perhaps in supporting a boom to raise the gangplank or landing stage. A few feet on either side of this pole would be heavier masts with booms used in handling cargo and for other purposes. Use of a landing stage, a long and heavy gangplank, supported at midpoint by a boom, made it possible to receive or land either passengers or cargo well up the bank.

Since the deck space for cargo, especially bulky cargo such as cotton, was rather limited, many a boat carried a barge on one side, perhaps a "model" barge with each end shaped like a steamboat bow, somewhat narrower than the steamboat itself. There might even be such a barge on each side. It was possible to leave barges behind and continue up a narrow river in search of cargo and then pick up the barges on the return downstream.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the towing mode of handling traffic was used increasingly. Unpowered scows might be loaded with no towboat present, then picked up by the towboat, which might move several of them together either up or downstream. River "towboats" almost invariably pushed instead of pulling the tow. Floating logs also might be chained together and moved alongside a towboat. Many boats were designed especially for towing, and many other steamboats had a structure built over the bow that facilitated the pushing of barges.

The Army Corps of Engineers had various boats especially designed for special service. Of particular interest were snag boats, of which there were several designs. One type, used by Henry Shreve before the Civil War in clearing the Red River, had two hulls; the snag would be drawn up on a platform between them with the aid of heavy mechanical equipment. Later snag boats tended to be simpler and would raise a snag ahead of the bow with the aid of an A-frame or a boom. Sometimes the snag equipment would be built on a barge, complete with boiler and steam winch, and pushed around by a towboat when needed. Special grappling devices were developed to seize the snags.

The Corps also operated dredges. From a distance these unbeauteous vessels looked like houses built on scows. They carried various devices for dredging the bottom of the river, one of which was a clumsy rotary cutter with a suction pipe in the center, operated by a large pump on the vessel, to take the spoil away through the pipe and dispose of it several hundred feet away.

There were many controlling factors in the operation of steamboats, one of the most obvious of which was water depth. The Upper Tombigbee River was made up of a series of pools, dammed up by sand bars or mud bars. At low water it might be difficult or impossible to get a steamboat over a bar, but there were many devices and techniques that could be tried. To get a boat off a bar a heavy spar might be launched over the bow at an angle and shoved downward and outward by a rope and blocks with a heavy purchase and the use of a capstan. Operated with the sternwheel forcing water under the boat, this device would raise the forward part of the vessel slightly and push it backward. The practice was known as "booming off." To get over a bar there was a popular practice called "grasshoppering," but whether this was applied on the Upper Tombigbee has not been determined. By this method a spar on each side of the bow, supported by a boom, would be lowered through a chain loop, made fast to the gunwales, then forced downward against the bottom as in booming off. Using the proper angles and aided by the sternwheel, the boat might thus be able to get over the bar. Sometimes an officer would be sent ahead in a small boat called a yawl to search out a boatable channel. It was of course possible to pull a small steamboat by making a rope fast to a tree on the bank and working the capstan. To get over a mud bank it was sometimes possible to turn the vessel around and back over it, letting the stern wheel cut into the mud and at the same time force water under the boat.

Despite all these devices and techniques it was impossible to operate steamboats on the Upper Tombigbee River and its tributaries during much of the year. The effective season for boating was generally limited to the months of December to June, but conditions varied widely from year to year.

On small rivers there were problems with snags at low water and with overhanging trees at high water. A tree on a caving bank might fall into the river at flood time and be shoved gradually downstream. With the passage of time its limbs would be sheared off, leaving only the heavier elements. The stump would hold the tree down and the more or less pointed ends would extend downstream, often out of sight and below the surface of the water. The hull of a vessel striking such a snag might be penetrated, letting in the water and sinking the vessel. Steamboat sinkings were exceedingly common, but most sunken boats were later raised and put back into service.

Steamboats were dangerous to operate, but striking snags was only one of the perils. There were often no guard rails around the lower deck, and many a man fell overboard. It was not generally understood how dangerous the waters around a traveling steamboat were for swimmers. There is the story of two deck hands who got into a fight. One knocked the other overboard and the captain seized the first, who broke away and jumped overboard to escape. Both were drowned. One of the greatest menaces was fire, which could spread very rapidly on a steamboat. Cotton, hay, cotton seed, wood and coal, and other combustibles were easily ignited and sometimes were stored very close to the fires under the boilers on a crowded steamboat. The vessels were built of wood. Water might be pumped to put out a fire, but often the pumps could not be operated or the fire-fighting was otherwise ineffective. If the tiller ropes got burned through, the vessel became uncontrollable.

The reckless operation of steamboats was notorious, and crew members were often poorly qualified for their work. The engineer and his assistant operated the engines and controlled the boilers. While the boilers were equipped with safety valves, the early ones lacked pressure gauges, and the safety valves were often unreliable. The efficiency of the propulsion equipment was greater at higher steam pressures. An engineer tended to be regarded as a competent and effective officer when he could operate the engines at a high speed. So boilers were commonly operated at pressures well above those for which they had been designed. It is said that some boilers would "pant." That is, the sides of the boiler would make pulsating movements in and out to correspond with the strokes of the engine.

The problem of securing the safe operation of steam engines on vessels, on both salt and fresh water, led to the adoption of the law of August 30, 1852, providing for the inspection of steam boilers on vessels by an agency of the United States Government. Its records, for the Mobile District, supply a good deal of information on Tombigbee steamboats. Standards were adopted for boilers of particular size, thickness of plate, and strength of materials, and the steamboat inspectors could resort to elaborate tables to determine the safe operating pressure of a particular boiler. They could inspect safety valves but could do nothing to prevent the adding of extra weights to safety valves after the vessel had left port. The seams of an abused boiler might eventually open and cause an explosion, but a collapsed boiler tube could be nearly as damaging, and so could an exploded steam pipe. Breakage of a long,

iron-bound, wooden pitman could cause damage to the engine and permit the escape of steam. Most steam accidents did not result in the destruction of the vessel, but they did scald those exposed to the escaping steam and kill a good many.

In a report of 1866 the supervising inspector of steam vessels at New Orleans remarked (Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels, . . . 1866 [Baltimore, 1866]):

> *Engineers have had too much confidence in the strength of iron, and too little in the power and force of steam, and as a consequence, have, when they could do so without detection, overloaded their safety valves. This, in my opinion, has been the cause, either immediate or remote, of nine-tenths of the sad disasters that have so frequently shocked the country, and disgraced our engineering skill. I am by no means disposed to place all the blame in this particular upon the engineers, but must allow of masters, owners and passengers even, to share in the responsibility. If an engineer gets the reputation of a low steam or slow engineer, he may as well quit the business, for however skillful he may be, he is only employed when no high steam or fast engineer can be had. His reputation as an engineer depends upon his ability or willingness to push the boat ahead as fast or faster than any other, no matter by what means. The late law of Congress, together with the action of this Board, relating to the Locked Safety Valve, will remedy all this, and give engineers a chance to show their skill in engineering and not as firemen. Old boilers that have long been subject to this unlawful pressure may occasionally give way.*

The following account, published in the Montgomery Advertiser of Septem- 12, 1949, is derived from the reminiscences of Dr. J.M. Glenn of Midway, Alabama. It relates to two steamboats well known on the Upper Tombigbee for many years. It is presented to illustrate the spirit in which steamboats were sometimes operated:

> *Once, about 60 years ago, and near where the writer was living, the "brag boat of the Tombigbee," the Hattie B. Moore, was proceeding down that river, when ahead the crew saw the old Hard Cash coming quite sedately toward Mobile. The Hattie B. very proudly swept by the much older and less famous boat, with loud yells from its crew to "come on down to Mobile," mingled with whistle-blowing and many derisive comments from both crew and passengers, about its alleged very stupendous lack of speed.*
>
> *Upon the Hard Cash the crew on duty, including the captain, mate, pilot, and engineer, immediately held a council of war. Then one of them went down to the boilers and told the colored firemen, "Shake 'em up, boys, shake 'em up. It means a dollar apiece, and a drink all around, when we get to Mobile, if you will help to pass the Hattie."*
>
> *As the colored deckhands and firemen had been included very intensively--as usual in such cases--in the jeers from the colored contingent on the newer boat, they also felt that they had a debt to pay, and they proceeded to "shake 'em up" very decidedly. Selected fat wood was rushed into the fireboxes, with maybe some oil added. The long rakes were put*

into unusually busy use, to stir up the fires, and the old boat began to skake from stem to stern under the increased pressure. The engineer, entering into the spirit of the occasion, began to "exhaust through the smokestacks," in other words to send the exhaust steam from the engines through the smokestacks, instead of the usual pipes at the rear, thereby increasing very much both the draft and the speed.

Those on the Hattie B. Moore, proceeding very contentedly down the river, and chuckling very happily over their "victory" above, did not know what was happening up the river, as they went along at the usual gait.

Suddenly from around a bend above, there came an entirely unexpected apparition--a steamboat with dense black smoke pouring from its stacks, and its furnaces roaring as seldom ever they did. Then woe, and alas, for the "brag boat of the Tombigbee," the old Hard Cash swept grandly right by it, with loud whistle-blowing, cat-calls, and loud whoops and yells from both crew and passengers to "come on down to Mobile," as it dashed like a reigning queen down the river, leaving the newer boat far behind.

It so happened that Captain Woodie Stone, of the Hattie B. Moore, was asleep at the time and when at last he awoke and learned what had happened he was not only amazed, but he said, "I wouldn't have had the Hattie B. beaten by the old Hard Cash for $500." However, it already had been did.

Steamboats were not generally operated by men of a saltwater background. Their officiers, and sometimes crew members, had often been operators of flatboats and keelboats, and they knew the rivers and the traffic. On the western rivers the captain was often a part-owner of the boat, but only occasionally was he a pilot. It was the pilot who controlled the boat's operation. Conditions on the Tombigbee, however, were different. The boats were smaller, the crews were smaller, and it seems probable that the captain was commonly associated with the actual operation of the vessel. Assisting the captain would be one or more mates, and there might be special pilots when needed. The person who dealt with the public in the business of the boat was called the "clerk." For the comfort and convenience of passengers there had to be cooks and stewards, but on a small boat functions would be less specialized than on a large one. Cargo was handled primarily by the deck crew, which had to move it on and off boats by muscle power at many landings. A long, wide, and heavy landing stage at the front of the vessel was supported by a boom and manipulated by the crew at landings.

The techniques of operating steamboats at night were developed rather early, and it was customary for them to run both day and night except under especially difficult or unfamiliar conditions. Fog was a frequent menace on the rivers and could quickly force a boat to tie up to the bank until visibility improved.

A boat which operated on a regular schedule was known as a "packet." Two or more boats cooperating in a schedule would be called a "line," whether under a common ownership or not. The regularity of their operation made

packet boats attractive to users. A great many boats, however, went where the traffic was but did not follow a regular schedule. Since the Upper Tombigbee was boatable only for a limited season, and since the handling of the traffic might be accomplished in an even shorter season, a boat would have to find some other place to work during the rest of the year or be laid up. Many of the boats entering the Upper Tombigbee came there from distant places to operate for a limited season. Steamboating on the Upper Tombigbee was only a tiny fragment of a much larger picture in the operation of steamboats on American rivers, including those reaching into the interior of the southern states from the Gulf of Mexico. Many a boat came from the Mississippi River at New Orleans, through the Mississippi Sound to Mobile to operate on the Alabama rivers and even the upper reaches of the Tombigbee. Some boats well known on the Upper Tombigbee turned up on the Apalachicola and Chattachoochee rivers. The clear meaning of this is that they had to go out to sea. Steamboats were not structurally designed for use on the open sea, and such a boat would probably break up in rough water; the surprising thing is that they could operate at all. The river craft had little freeboard and their shallow hulls and nearly-flat bottoms were not suited to the open water.

A steamboat was constructed of wood and might be built almost anywhere: Mobile, Demopolis, or Columbus. Nevertheless, most of the steamboats used in Alabama came from such distant places as Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or Jeffersonville, Indiana, on the Ohio River. Many remained on the rivers of Alabama and Mississippi only for a season. Mobile was the principal center of operations, and a boat found on the Tombigbee one week might be on the Alabama River the next. The life of a steamboat was generally short. If it were not sunk by a snag or destroyed by fire or explosion, the hull would soon rot. As with other wooden vessels, the maintenance of steamboat hulls required frequent work. Planking had to be replaced and seams had to be caulked. For such purposes a marine railway was convenient. A carriage on railway tracks sloping gently down to the water and extending below the draft of the boat could be pulled up the bank with the boat riding upon it. Then work on the hull could take place on dry land. In the water wood rotted rapidly, although various preservatives were tried upon it. Of these, pressure creosoting in the end proved the most effective. But the wood still rotted. The hulls leaked, too, and had to be watched carefully and pumped out. The same was true of associated barges.

The places for the manufacture of boilers and engines for steamboats were nowhere near the Tombigbee River. Boats built along the Tombigbee often utilized boilers and engines of other boats either scapped or sunk. Many an engine was older than the boat which it propelled, for engines and boilers outlasted boats. In the early years of steamboats, the life of a boat might be expected to be four or five years, although some boats had exceptional longevity. A great many steamboats were destroyed by accidents before they had time to rot. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, some boats, such as the Hard Cash and Hattie B. Moore, with proper maintenance might last for fifteen or twenty years or even more.

Enrollment records in the National Archives in Washington make it possible to trace the ownership of nearly every steamboat. For many boats, there were very frequent changes of ownership. When a boat was traded or raised from the bottom and refitted, it might take on a new name. The most prominent center

for ownership and operation of steamboats on the Upper Tombigbee was Mobile, which was the principal commercial center serving that region by water. Some boats, however, were owned by local interests along the river at Demopolis, Gainesville, Columbus, or Aberdeen. The captain was likely to be a part owner. A locally-owned boat might be expected to serve the special interests of the local owners. The Corps of Engineers boats are a story unto themselves.

Steamboats competed with railroads in a violent and erratic manner. The economics of the two modes of transportation so differed that they commonly could not operate well in harmony. When conditions were favorable, steamboats could operate more cheaply than railroads, which had to own and maintain their tracks, and the boats could charge lower rates between the points they served. The railroads fought back with a variety of measures.

The great day of the steamboats on the Upper Tombigbee belongs to the 1840s and 1850s. After the Civil War steamboats continued in use, especially for points located right on the river, but the river towns, except when they had railroads, tended to dry up, while the business moved away to the nearest railroad.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY SINCE 1940

The patterns of life in the Upper Tombigbee Valley had taken a set by 1885 that saw little basic change down to 1940. The draining of the bottom lands and the building of all-weather gravel roads were developments of some significance, but agricultural production, trade patterns, and industry remained rather firmly fixed in character, and the role of the Tombigbee River saw little change.

The depression of the 1930s hit the area hard and brought great distress, and relief came from the federal government. Although this intervention was thought to be a temporary, emergency phenomenon at the time, it laid the basis for a new departure. As years passed and no strong revival appeared, more and more radical legislation was adopted by Congress. Recovery had not really come when a new collapse arrived in 1938. Southern representatives in Congress, dissatisfied with President Roosevelt's wages and hours bill, blocked the measure for several months and sought special attention to the problems of their region. He responded by appointing a large committee of representative Southerners, who, in a fact-filled booklet, called Report on Economic Conditions of the South, tersely told him what he needed to know.

Congress went to work to study intensively the nation's economic problems through the Temporary National Economic Committee, but what might have been the result of all this cannot be determined, for the effect of the war in Europe soon overshadowed everything else. The war gave rise to economic demand, which stimulated a rapid increase in employment in the United States. As this country moved into preparation for participation in the war, a strong economic stimulus was broadly felt, but with little immediate effect in the Upper Tombigbee Valley.

Then the United States entered the war in December, 1941, and a tremendous effort was made to mobilize the nation's resources of every kind. There was a huge amount of slack in the economy, and it was not until 1943 that the relief programs could be abandoned, but meanwhile there were job opportunities opening up on all sides. Over ten million people were employed at one time in the armed services, and great numbers were required for war-supporting industry. By 1944 the nation had reached full employment, and there were more jobs than there were people to fill them.

All of this had a gradually-increasing effect upon the people of the Upper Tombigbee Valley. As labor became scarce, industries were established where the people were, at the expense of the federal government. The Upper Tombigbee Valley perhaps had less than its proportionate share of these, but it

obtained the great air base north of Columbus, which continues in operation to this day. War work was available outside the area, and many people left to seek employment where the jobs were. Existing industries found a ready market for all they could produce.

Those who entered the armed services and their dependents were paid at the same rate nation-wide, so a region of low incomes was in an advantageous position. Jobs were available for the uneducated, unskilled, and the "unemployable," who previously had had trouble in job competition. Training opportunities were widely available. Furthermore, there was a demand for agricultural products, as accumulated surpluses disappeared and farmers moved into war work. Opportunities were broadly available for black as well as white people, and all were deeply affected.

One of the most striking effects of the war was that the country was able to fight the greatest war in history and greatly raise the national standard of living at the same time, as the slack in the economy disappeared. National production went up. The depression was over.

If the stimulus of demand created by the war could bring about economic prosperity, could not the same stimulus be maintained in peacetime with the same effect? The mechanism of all this was not, and is not yet, fully understood, but Congress in 1946 dedicated itself to policies which would maintain full employment opportunities for the American people. This was a large order, but conditions were favorable. The pent-up needs of the depression years were converted into demand when people had the money with which to buy. Expansionary economic policies, new credit institutions designed to promote the free flow of capital into regions where it was scarce, and a host of federal programs were put to work to bring about a rapid reconversion of the economy to a peace-time basis. The G.I. Bill of Rights giving advantage to war veterans helped formerly disadvantaged people and disadvantaged regions. Farm price supports and quotas were very helpful to an area which depended primarily upon agriculture for support. Keeping national demand at a high level brought opportunity to poorly-educated and inexperienced people and entrepreneurs in all parts of the country. There seemed to be a market for everything now, including farm products, and the prices were good.

Technological change finally hit agriculture with terrific force. The mechanical cotton picker and new cultivation techniques reduced the amount of labor required to produce a bale of cotton within a few years to about one-seventh of what it had been in 1930, and synthetic fibers were competing to keep the market for cotton from growing. The effect of this on an area that specialized in cotton production and had a large, poorly-educated population not readily adaptable to anything else was extremely serious. As the cotton-picking machines lumbered across the fields, one two-row mechanical picker could do the work of a hundred human pickers, who sometimes could be seen in the field trying with futility to meet the competition. The inevitable outcome was that thousands of agricultural workers ceased to be needed, and a large part of them were not readily adaptable to other kinds of work.

By maintaining price supports and quotas for cotton, Congress made it possible for many of the older share-croppers to continue operating on one-mule farms for some years, after which several kinds of charitable aids from

the same source made it possible for them to remain where they were and continue their lives much as before, while younger members of their families, more adaptable, obtained benefits of education and training for different kinds of work. Vast numbers emigrated, particularly the young and unattached, in search of economic opportunities.

The Upper Tombigbee Valley counties began a vast transformation to adapt themselves to the new conditions and opportunities. Without much sympathy from people of more fortunate regions, but with much help, and also much interference, from the policies of the federal government, great changes were effected.

The heavy exodus of population from the area between 1940 and 1960 was much greater in the black component than in the white. As it was generally the more enterprising and the better educated of the black people who left, the region was not relieved of the burden of an illiterate, unproductive black population. Although there was a heavy exodus of white people, the white percentage of the population in the ten counties increased from 49.6 in 1930 to 58.2 in 1960. (For detailed figures see Appendix 5.)

The population movement was largely a farm-to-town movement. Most of the employment opportunities were outside the Upper Tombigbee Valley. Towns and cities of Mississippi and Alabama rapidly increased in population but were unable to absorb fully the rural exodus. Mississippi had an absolute loss in population, and Alabama's gain was quite small over the twenty years, despite a great excess of births over deaths.

It was difficult for former farm hands to adapt to non-agricultural work, when at least a ninth-grade education was required in order to get and hold securely a job. Those able to qualify, particularly blacks, left the area in droves, leaving the ineffective workers behind to constitute the population of the Upper Tombigbee Valley counties.

As might be expected, however, not all of the picture was bleak. Some local industries were started and others were attracted by the peculiarities of the local scene in a period of near full employment in the nation. Besides providing extended agricultural services and continuing to perform the operations associated with forest products, Columbus saw a considerable development of manufacturing industry, as did various other communities in the Upper Tombigbee Valley. (See Table 28.)

In Alabama the Upper Tombigbee counties remained essentially devoid of manufacturing industries except for those associated with agricultural processing and service and with the forest industries. These counties were primarily black, and they lost population heavily. But in Aliceville, in Pickens County, textile industries made headway, in spinning, weaving, and knitting. Papermaker's felts and sanforized blankets were also produced there, as well as carbonated beverages.

In general, most of the new industries were labor-intensive, low-wage enterprises, with low capital investment. They could easily close down or move, and they required labor willing to work but of low skill. The federally-controlled minimum wage helped to keep up the buying power of the employees,

TABLE 28

MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY

1967

Columbus

Automobile ignition systems	Concrete stave silos
Electrical equipment	Bakery products
Large industrial electric motors	Steel drums
Packaged milk	Rubber goods
Cottage cheese	Chemicals
Concrete pipe	Furniture case goods
Precast concrete	Agricultural implements
Soft drinks	Concrete blocks
Face brick	Rubber-covered rollers
Soil conditioners	Men's and boys' slacks
Steel signs	Cotton-picker spindles
Automobile license plates	Herbicides
Molded plastics	Asphaltic concrete
Marble monuments	Wood cabinets
Meat products	Fabricated textile parts
Sheet metal products	

Aberdeen

Soft Drinks	Livestock feed
Fire-ant bait	Plastic products
Tree cutters	Men's slacks
Road patrol shear cutters	Automobile exhaust systems
Lounge and reclining chairs	Flexible steel tubing

Amory

Sportswear	Upholstered furniture
Trousers	Livestock feed
Waistbanding	Fertilizer
Refrigerated, custom-made truck and beverage bodies	Lawn sprinklers
	Tubular products
Metal plating	Rail anchors
Bakery products	

Smaller Towns in Monroe County

Bermuda shorts	Reclining chairs
Wood handle stock	Swivel rockers
Men's dress pants and slacks	Fabricated polyurethane products

(Continued)

TABLE 28

MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY

1967

(Continued)

Itawamba County

Work trousers	Die-cut cardboard
Shoes	Sports shirts and western pants
Drapes	Wooden furniture
Wood crates	Sport and dress shirts
Corrugated boxes	

Clay County

Aluminum food containers	Processed poultry
Bamboo fishing poles	Fabricated structural steel
Steam generating equipment	Mixed feed
Playground equipment	Cotton tablecloths and napkins
Canned meat	Aluminum screens and doors
Fresh beef	Men's underwear and sleepwear
Pork	Ready-mixed concrete
Sausage	Latex squeeze-toys
Aluminum fishing boats	Butter and cheese
Anodized aluminum	Caskets
Chrome-plated steel	Soft drinks
Fertilizer	Machine shop work
Dairy products	Wooden handles and furniture parts
	Work gloves

Tishomingo County

Pants and playclothes	Laminated aluminum foil
Cured meat	Dairy feed
Building rock	Packaged milk
Men's and boys' sports pants and shorts	Ladies' blouses
	Sports shirts
Prepared food for animals and fowls	Dress shirts
	Shoes
Utility trousers	

(Continued)

TABLE 28

MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY

1967

(Continued)

Prentiss County

Chipped beef and ham	Sports shirts and work shirts
Corned beef	Injection-molded plastic products
Canadian bacon	Special truck bodies and trailers
Church furniture	Upholstered furniture
Shirts	Wood furniture frames
Blouses	Women's blouses
Processed soybeans	Jeans
Shoes	Grinders
Mixed feeds	Billiard tables
Hickory ski blanks and handle blanks	Picnic tables
Hickory barbecue blocks	Food chopping blocks
Hickory sawdust for meat smoking	Upholstered furniture
Pool tables	Clay brick and tile
Cheese	
Boys' and men's outerwear	
Sorghum syrup	

Noxubee County

Livestock feed	Commercial feeds
Cheddar cheese	Freight pallets
Face brick	Chairs and stools
Soft drinks	Cattle feed
Creosoted poles and posts and lumber	Plywood
Trousers	Hickory chips
	Wood chips

Data from Mississippi Manufacturers Directory (Jackson: Mississippi Research and Development Center, 1967).

however, and the jobs were generally well suited to the abilities of the available labor force. They provided opportunity with relatively high pay for the unskilled and fed money into the local economy.

In agriculture, the number of farmers sharply declined between 1940 and 1960, but farm income rose. The size of farms and the productivity of farm workers increased mightily, as results of rapidly-improving technology. Capital investment in equipment greatly increased. The local agricultural labor force was not easily adaptable to the responsibilities of employment in the new agriculture, for reliability and capacity in handling and taking care of equipment were required.

There was a strong tendency in the area to turn to beef and dairy cattle; these required a large working-capital investment and extensive pasture lands but less labor than row crops. In the 1950s the production of poultry by new methods was rapidly expanded, and many a farmer became a kind of chicken-factory operator, aided by service and processing firms, which supplied the baby chicks, the mixed feed, and even necessary advice, and which processed and marketed the product. The widespread construction of hard-surface roads gave access to towns and made practical the use of large and small trucks everywhere.

The twenty years from 1940 to 1960 saw the growth of a large rural, non-farm population. Part of these people commuted on newly-improved roads to work at a considerable distance. Part of them lived cheaply on government benefits. They could do without modern conveniences and produce much of their own food. Some were part-time workers at one kind of remunerative activity or another. A large part were underemployed.

The influences of the years from 1940 to 1960 brought great improvements, but the readjustments that great numbers of people had to make were severe. Better living and prosperity came to some, and there was some capital-building, but great numbers found it necessary to leave the region. The low educational level and general unreliability of the black population created an enormous problem when the agricultural basis of making a living was destroyed. The direct efforts of the federal government to aid that severely disadvantaged element were helpful only to a limited degree. The greatest aid came from expansionary economic policies, which stimulated job creation and opened the way to the employment to those with poor qualifications. The economic forces behind that expansion, however, appear to have run their course, and the outlook for the black population of the Upper Tombigbee Valley appears bleak.

Those who wish to understand the past must inevitably view it through the eyes of the present, for there are no others. As long as the old conditions prevailed it was relatively easy to explain life in an agricultural society to people to whom that life was their own. But the great changes since 1940 have transformed this land, and few of us left today can remember the old agricultural society and the old agricultural economy of the South. That is the life, however, that has left its record in artifacts in the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District.

APPENDIX 1

SURVEY OF GAINES' TRACE, 1807

Captain Edmund Pendleton Gaines, under orders from the Secretary of War, in the fall of 1807 surveyed routes to connect the Tennessee River is the Muscle Shoals area by road with Cotton Gin Port on the Tomibigbee River. His report is found in a letter of January 29, 1808, to the Secretary of War, reproduced in The Territorial Papers of the United States, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., Volume V, The Territory of Mississippi: 1798-1817 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937) pp. 598-602, as follows:

EDMUND P. GAINES TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

FORT STODDERT, on the Mobille River *January* 29. 1808.

SIR, I have the honor to inform you that, agreeably to your instructions of the 31st July 1807, I have surveyed and marked a way for a road from the head of the Muscle Shoals, Tennessee, to the Cotton Gin Port, head Navigable waters of the Tombigby River, near the Chickasaw Nation—Distance 89 Miles. I have also explored the route, from the lower end of the Shoals to the head waters of Bear Creek, near where the last will intersect the first mentioned route, distance from lower end of the Shoals to Tombigby River 74 miles, nearly.—And from connecting this with a survey which I made in 1802, by order of General Wilkinson, I find the distance from Colberts ferry to the Cotton Gin Port, 62 Miles;—and 45 Miles from what is deemed the highest point of Navigation on Bear Creek, about 25 miles South of Colberts, to the Gin Port. About 25 to 30 Miles of each of the last mentioned routes are not yet Surveyed or marked,—as I deemed it expedient to have those parts re-explored, in order the better to ascertain the most eligible ground for a road. The first mentioned route is, therefore, the only one completely laid off; along which an excellent road may, at a moderate expense be opened. I am persuaded that, in good weather, One hundred active pioneers, would open from 6 to 10, miles pr day, so as to admit an easy passage for waggons loaded at the rate of 500lbs for each Horse of the team. For the greater part of this route I found no ascent or descent that exceeded 7. degrees. From the head of the Shoals to the N. E. sources of Bear creek, distance 35 Miles, is as nearly level as could be wished, either for making a good road, or for cultivation The land is firm,—and the soil, which in places is mixt with gravel, is deep and of a dark red colour, thinly timbered with Hickory and Black oak, with little or no underwood, except on the margins of some of the creeks and Branches.—and there, only in small skirts--about 7/8 of this distance, I find to be upland of the first quality, intersected by beautiful gravelly-bottom creeks and rivulets of excellent water,—none of which appear to form

any serious obstacle to the intended road. From the 35th to the 46th Mile, across the head waters of Bear creek, the country is too hilly to admit of a good road for carriages by going near a straight course; but by waving the course in conformity to the Slopes of the Ridges, all will be crossed without an ascent or descent of more than 13 1/2 degrees.—The land is stony in places, but generally Strong, and well timbered and watered. From the 46th to the 75th Mile I find low waving Ridges, firm land, and thin greyish and redish Soil,—Oak, Hickory and pine timber, and but little under wood. The route for the greater part of this Distance, is on the Dividing Ridges, between the waters of Tennesse and Mobille,—and between two large branches of the Tombigby river,—and consequently not subject to the inconvenience of crossing water courses, save one small creek, and a few rivulets, which will require but little bridging or causeway. From the 75 Mile to the Cotton Gin port, the land is firm and nearly level, and of a good quality, having Hickory, Oak & some pine timber, and is intersected by several small rivulets with gravelly bottoms. we here run a small distance from the low grounds of, and parallel to, a Stream or river called Lunecisto, which, in 1802 I explored up to the mouth of 20 Mile creek, about 25 miles N. N. W. from the Gin port, and about 45 Miles from Colberts ferry,—and 23 Miles from the highest navigable waters of Bear Creek,—S. of Colberts. At the mouth of 20 mile creek, Lunecisto is 28 yards wide, increasing in Size to its mouth, where it is from 50 to 55 yards wide. It is generally from 3 to 12 foot deep, gravelly, sandy and clay bottom, & gentle current. The passage is, however considerably obstructed by fallen and Drifted timber, which in many places extend nearly across the Stream, but which may be easily removed by cuting loose the largest and longest trees when the river is low, and at the next rise of the water they will be drifted down. Between the mouth of Lunecisto and 20 mile creek, the former receives two large creeks, and several small ones. The low grounds of Lunecisto are generally from One to three Miles wide, the greater part of which overflow anually,—but there being little or no current, the soil receives no injury, but is, in many places benefited by their inundations: and I am persuaded, if the river was cleared of fallen timber, it would not only afford safe and easy Navigation for Boats, but by giving a free passage to the water, obviate, in a great degree the injury which the Spring freshes would doubtless do the cultivation of these lands, and afford, for the culture of cotton, corn, and rice, Thousands of acres of rich land, that would now be deemed useless, but for the excellent timber with which it abounds. My survey strikes the River at a handsome Bluff on the left bank, at the Gin port, a short distance below the junction of Lunecisto and Town Creek; here I find high land and open woods on both sides the river,—which renders this a most eligible crossing place for a road,—as well as a very suitable place for a commercial seat. The River is 62 yards wide, and 8. to 12 foot deep current at the rate of 2 miles pr Hour, & free of obstruction.

The road from Natchez to the State of Tennesse might be much improved by passing from the head waters of the Big Black, at the Pigeon Roost, North eastwardly, direct to this place, and hence along my new Survey to the head of the Muscle Shoals: or, after crossing Bear creek, to the foot of the Shoals. This road would be of great utility to those who travel to east Tennessee, or North eastwardly thereof.—and more particularly for the conveyance of the mails of

the U. S. from the seat of Government to Natchez.—As by this means the distance from S. W. Point to Natchez would be shortened nearly an hundred miles; and a much drier and better road be made than the one now in use. for between this place and Tennesse, there is not a watercourse but may at all times be crossed without danger or difficulty, even in times of the highest freshes, by the help of foot-logs and none of them bordered by swamps that will require causeway, save a small branch of Sipsey, which may for 60 or 70 perch require it. In dry weather, or when the rains are not immoderate, these creeks will not, any of them, take a Horse above the Knee. I have reconoitred a considerable part of the country betwixt the Gin port and the head waters of Big Black, and am of opinion that it will admit of an excellent road. I found no inhabitants on the route from Tennessee, or within Ten miles of the Gin Port,—but was assured by several Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians, that, so soon as we should commence opening the road, they would immediately settle at convenient places for raising corn and other necessaries for Travellers. Several Cherokees have designated different places, where they promise to settle in the course of the present Year, along the way as far as Bear creek ridge, which they call their S° boundary. Majr Colbert, I understand was opposed to laying out this road, but his opposition evidently proceeded from self interstedness; he has a ferry on the Tennessee, and the road that crosses not at his ferry, he pretends to consider injurious to the interests of His people. The operation of this principal however, is by no means confined to Majr Colbert. It is to be found amongst the different tribes of savages throughout this country, and no where more conspicuous than in the Creek Nation, where through the avarice of a few chiefs (some of them partly white) they contrive to keep our mails and citizens who travel through their country, exposed to all the dangers and inconveniencies of an extensive wilderness, by opposing the erection of stations on the road.

I was unable to purchase at the Gin port, suitable canoes for descending the River, and was obliged to construct two for the purpose, which my recruits effected in three days. I then commenced a survey of the River down to Oak Noxaby, to which place from the mouth of Sinta Bogue was some time ago surveyed by Silas Dinsmoor, Esquire.—a rise in the river of about 4 foot above low water, prevented a complete examination, and puts it out of my power to give an exact account of the ordinary depth and Velocity of the water, for it continued to rise as I descended to St Stephens, where it is near 10 foot deeper than usual in dry weather. The inconveniencies which attend the navigation of this River appear to be confined to the two following—viz: first—The Trees which grow near the edge of the water, and lean obliquely over it. These trees at short turns, and where the river is divided by Islands, lean over the strongest part of the current,—and many of them bending up the river, receive small boats betwixt them and the water, where the side next the Tree is sometimes pressed so far under it, as to receive water and overset, or sink. But these trees may easily be removed, or may always be avoided. The next obstacle, and all that seems worth notice is, small Islands which in several places divide the River into 3 to 5 channels. At these Islands the velocity of the current is near 3 miles pr Hour.--and at some of them I found the water no more than 5 1,2 foot deep.--by which it

appears that, in low water, these places, are less than 2 foot deep. Except at these Islands the river is from 8 to 20 foot deep, and widening as we descend, from 60 to 120 yards. The Bottom of the River, at all shoaly places, is composed of gravel, sand, or clay. Near the Bluffs we sometimes found the Bottom composed of the soft, chalky, Greyish rock, which forms the base of most of the Bluffs,—with a nearly smooth surface, as if worn so by the water itself. I found no grit or other sort of stone, except in very small quantities, and in but few places,—and none that would in the least interrup the Navigation of the river. I have not yet had time to adjust my notes, or finish my calculations, and cannot at present give you the exact distance from the gin port to this place,—It is however something under 380 miles as the river meanders,—the greater part of the way bordered with excellent lands:—and upon the whole one of the most interesting channels of communication for commercial purposes, in the western or perhaps any other country, for an equal distance from the a sea port to the Interior.

My pack Horse party have not yet arrived and having some small payments to make them, cannot at present complete my accounts for the expenses of the tour, but shall forward them, together with my notes and sketch of the route from S° W. Point to this place, as soon as practicable.[3]

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir your obd[t] Servant,

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES,
Captain 2[nd] Reg[t] U. S. Infantry.

THE HON[ble] H. DEARBORNE Sec[y] at war.

APPENDIX 2

INVENTORY OF THE STOCK OF A MERCHANT OF FAIRFIELD, ALABAMA, JANUARY 26, 1852

The stock of goods of Ellington & Company, which was changing hands at the beginning of 1852, is listed in an inventory found in an account book of the company, a copy of which is in the University of Alabama Library. It represents the articles of trade at a country store on the Upper Tombigbee River, from which much may be inferred concerning the lives of the nearby people of that time. The designation 1/- or 2/- indicates one bit or two bits, i.e., 12.5 cents or 25 cents, and so on for larger sums indicated in bits. Many items are priced in cents. The full list follows.

1 Doz Cups & saucers 12/-	$ 1.50	1 Coat $4.00	4.00
1 sett plates 5/-	.63	1 Boy's Coat $3.50	3.50
5 Soup plates at 4/- a sett	.42	1 Boy's Coat $3.00	3.00
2 Bottles Claret 30¢ (ea)	.60	3 summer coats $2.00 (ea)	6.00
5 Bots. Pie fruit 45¢ (ea)	2.25	1 Boy's cap 8/-	1.00
2 Bots. Cordial 3/- (ea)	.75	1 Fine Coat $10.00	10.00
3 Bots. Mustard 8¢ (ea)	.24	2 Boy's satin vests $2.00 (ea)	4.00
1 1/2 Doz Toy plates 3/- (ea)	.56	1 silk vest $2.50	2.50
1 1/2 setts Toys (Cups & Saucers) 8/- per doz.	.75	1 pr. pants 14/-	1.75
		1 pr. pants $3.50	3.50
3 China soap dishes 4/- (ea)	1.20	10 pr. gaiters 11/- (ea)	13.75
2 pr. flower vases 8/- (ea)	1.00	6 pr. shoes 8/- (ea)	6.00
1 Box soda powders .10/	.10	4 pr. Black gaiters 14/- (ea)	7.00
15 Cow Hides at 5¢ (ea)	.75	1 pr. " " 10/-	1.25
1 pr. China Candle sticks 20/-	2.50	8 Knives 4/- (ea)	4.00
1 Bot. Lime Juice 30¢	.30	2 Boxes Cable cord 3/- (ea)	.75
1 Tin wash pan 2/-	.25	2 Toilet Bottles 8/- (ea)	1.00
3 pr. shoes 8/- (ea)	3.00	2 Bots cloves 18¢ (ea)	.36
3 pr. boys' shoes 80¢ (ea)	2.40	20 Paste-boards 5¢ (ea)	1.00
5 pr. shoes 70¢ (ea)	3.50	32 Boxes Hooks & Eyes 29 1/2¢ a doz.	.79
4 pr. shoes 60¢ (ea)	2.40		
1 pr. shoes 10/-	1.25	8 Cards Hooks & Eyes 10¢ (ea)	.80
1 pr. Neapolitan Boots $3.00	3.00	1 pr. suspenders 8/-	1.00
4 pr. Misses' shoes 60¢ (ea)	2.40	2 pr. fine scissors 3/- (ea)	.75
6 pr. Childrens shoes and gaiters 60¢ (ea)	3.60	10 Bunches Fish line 5¢ (ea)	.50
		20 Cotton spools thread 4¢ (ea)	.80
1 Leghorn Hat 10/-	1.25	11 Iron thimbles 2¢ (ea)	.22
3 palm Hats 20¢ (ea)	.60	4 silver thimbles 3/- (ea)	1.50
1 Fur Hats 12/- (ea)	1.50	1 small pen knife 10/-	1.25
1 Boys' Hat 8/-	1.00	8 Bunches grass Rope 1/6 (ea)	1.50
1 Mole skin Hat at $3.25	3.25	6 Bunches Cotton " 1/- (ea)	.75
1 pr. girls gaiters 8/-	1.00	4 pr. Ladies silk gloves 66 2/3¢ (ea)	2.66
2 Spring coats $6.50 (ea)	13.00		
1 Coat $4.50	4.50	9 pr. Ladies Black silk mits 42¢ (ea)	3.78

1 pr. Ladies Black gloves 6/-	.75
3 pr. Mens Blue Merino Hose 27¢ (ea)	.81
8 ladies Hdkffs 10/- (ea)	10.00
11 ladies Hdkffs 72¢ (ea)	7.92
5 " " 38¢ (ea)	1.90
12 pr. Ladies Black Silk gloves 21¢ (ea)	2.52
10 pr. Men's Cotton gloves 9 1/2¢ (ea)	.95
4 Superiour pad locks 1/6 (ea)	.75
5 other pad Locks 10¢ (ea)	.50
3 1/2 Quires Common paper (writing) 10¢ (ea)	.35
7 pr. Misses Cotton Hose 10¢ (ea)	.70
1 Doz Boys Cotton Hose 10¢ (a pair)	1.20
14 Horn Tuck Combs 4¢ (ea)	.56
3 pr. Horn side combs 5¢ (ea)	.15
10 Fine tooth Combs 1/- (ea)	1.25
1 Doz Rolls Cotton tape 3/-	.38
19 pen-holders 2¢ (ea)	.38
2 Bunches Cotton cord for trimming 2/- (ea)	.50
7 papers tacks 3 1/2¢ (ea)	.24
11 Doz knitting needles 1/- (ea)	1.38
3 pr. fine silk Hose 12/- (ea)	4.50
1 pr. Merino Hose 4/-	.50
9 silk Lacetts at 40¢ per Doz.	.30
1 pr. gents silk gloves 3/-	.38
9 gun tubes 75¢	.75
2 1/2 Doz Bunches narrow tape 2/- (ea)	.63
8 2 inch Butts 8¢ (ea)	.64
2 papers screws 2/- (ea)	.50
2 1/2 Doz steel pens 1/6 (ea)	.48
17 Doz Buttons 2¢ (ea)	.34
12 Doz buttons 7¢ (ea)	.84
5 Doz buttons 8 1/3¢ (ea)	.42
22 sticks whalebone --¢ (ea)	1.50
6 Doz Limeric fish hooks 5¢ (ea)	.30
2 Doz Common " " 3¢ (ea)	.06
16 Curry Combs 10¢ (ea)	1.60
3 grass skirts 6/- (ea)	2.25
1 cotton Corded skirt 9/-	1.13
1 " " " 6/-	.75
1 Satin Bonnet	5.00
1 Leghorn " $1.75	1.75
2 " " $3 (ea)	6.00
2 " " 12/-	3.00
2 straw Bonnets 12/- (ea)	3.00
2 straw Bonnets 6/- (ea)	1.50
2 children Bonnets 9/- (ea)	2.25
1 Russett Col[ore]d Trunk $2.75	2.75
20 Common fans 5¢ (ea)	1.00
3 little finer fans 8¢ (ea)	.24
4 Feather fans 2/- (ea)	1.00
2 Fine fans $4 (ea)	8.00
1 " " 22/-	2.75
5 parasols 4/- (ea)	2.50
3 parasols 11/- (ea)	4.13
3 very fine parasols (finest) $4 (ea)	12.00
2 parasols 22/- (ea)	5.50
2 pr. pants 10/- (ea)	2.50
2 Coats 10/- (ea)	2.50
2 Coats 9/- (ea)	2.25
3 Coats $1.60 (ea)	4.80
7 Coats $1.37 1/2¢ (ea)	9.62
8 Bunches fine flowers $1.36 (ea)	10.88
9 " common " 1/- (ea)	1.13
6 flasks at 8 1/3¢ (ea)	.50
12 3/4 yds. Turkey Red 30¢	3.83
23 1/2 " ginghams 2/-	7.13
26 " " 2/-	6.50
40 1/2 " " 2/-	10.12
38 " " 2/-	9.50
40 " " 21¢	8.40
30 " " 21¢	6.30
8 " domestic 8¢	.64
31 " Nankeen 15¢	4.65
38 " " 30¢	11.40
7 yds. Curtain Calico 1/-	.88
13 " Silk Poplin 58¢	3.54
30 " Blue Cambric 8 1/2¢	2.55
36 " Pink " 8 1/2¢	3.06
6 " Black " 7¢	.42
31 " Striped domestic 9¢	2.79
30 1/2 yds. plain Linen 2/-	7.62
6 1/4 yds. Jaconet [?] 22¢	1.38
12 1/2 yds. " 18 3/4¢	2.35
13 yds. blue Chambray 15¢	1.95
40 " yellow " 15¢	6.00
20 1/2 yds. Pink Chambray 18 3/4¢	3.84
11 yds. Calico 10¢	1.10
32 1/4 yds. Calico 11 1/2¢	3.71
8 " " 10¢	.80
2 " " 1/-	.25
17 yds. Lead Cambric 7¢	1.19
6 1/2 yds. Lead Cambric 7¢	.46
6 3/4 " Apson [?] silk 8/-	6.75
10 yds. Delane @ 2/-	2.50
22 1/2 yds. flanel @ 4/-	11.25
7 2/4 " Gingham @ 14¢	1.05
8 2/4 " " @ 20¢	1.70
12 1/4 " " @ 2/-	3.06
11 1/2 " " @ 20¢	2.30

7 yds. Linen @ 35 2.45
9 " " @ 5/- 5.63
2 1/4 yds." @ 4/- 1.12
8 1/2 yds. Brown Holland @ 17¢ 1.45
9 yds. Rusa[?] Linen @ 28¢ 2.52
[1] pr. starched Gowns 4/- .50
30 yds. Curtin Muslin @ 45 13.50
35 " Tarlton Muslin @ 60 21.00
2 patrons [?] Bevage [?] @ $3.25 6.50
2 " Dotted [?] Sump [?] @ 4.00 8.00
24 yds patrons plain Delane @ 35 8.40
12 " " Chery Bevage [?] @ 3/- 4.50
24 yds patrons [?] Col[ore]d Bevage @ 30 7.20
4 yds patrons Tissue [?] Silk @ 35 8.40
1 patron Doted muslin $3.00 3.00
24 yds patrons fancy Delain @ 90¢ 21.60
19 1/2 yds Dotted Muslin @ 35 6.83
9 " Swep " @ 32 2.88
10 " " " @ 42 4.20
7 1/2 " " " @ 60 4.50
5 yds Doted Muslin @ 30¢ 1.50
2 " Paper Cambric @ 1/- .25
12 " Blue Flaxam Silk @ 30¢ 3.60
10 " thead Lace @ 55¢ 5.50
14 " Thead Inserting @ 9/- 15.75
21 " Wide Lace @ 16¢ 3.36
11 " Thead " @ 6/- 8.25
22 " " Edging @ 18¢ 3.96
4 3/4 yds " @ 3/- 1.82
18 yds Blk Lace @ 14¢ 2.52
24 " " " @ 7¢ 1.68
12 " " Silk wide @ 3/- 4.50
14 " Silk Lace @ 3/- White 5.25
5 1/2 yds figure Bobnut @ 32¢ 1.76
11 3/4 yds Blk. " @ 2/- 2.94
11 yds plain " " @ 30¢ 3.30
10 " white figd merit @ 55¢ 5.50
10 1/2 yds plain wht. Bobnut @ 2/- 2.63
24 yds Bobnut Lace @ 8¢ 1.92
24 " " " @ 10 2.40
18 " Velmean Edging @ 1/- 2.25
15 1/2 yds Immitation Thead Lace @ 9¢ 1.40
15 yds Immitation Thead Lace @ 1/- 1.87
24 yds Cotton Edging @ 1 1/2¢ .36
48 " " inserting 2 2 1/2¢ 1.20
3 ps Cotton Edging @ 8/- 9.78
11 1/2 yds Lace Edging & instg @ 85 9.78
1 ps cotton Edging 7/- .87
33 yds Jact Edging @ 11¢ 3.63
8 " " inserting @ 2/- 2.00
10 1/2 yds Swep [?] Edging @ 17¢ 1.79
6 " " inserting @ 28¢ 1.68
15 " " " @ 15¢ 2.25
6 " " " @ 28¢ 1.68
1 " Blk Silk Fringe $4.00 4.00
1 pr Blk Gaiters 14/- 1.75
4 1/2 yds yellow florence 30¢ 1.35
5 " Green " 30¢ 1.50
4 3/4 " Purple " 30¢ 1.42
5 1/2 " veil Bevage 4/- 2.75
4 veils 3/- 1.50
1 pr. sleeves $4.75 4.75
1 " " 10/- 1.25
1 " " 12/- 1.50
1 " " 28/- 3.50
1 " " 11/- 1.38
1 " " 9/- 1.12
1 " " 9/- 1.13
1 " " 9/- 1.12
5 " " 32¢ 1.60
3 " " 8/- 3.00
1 Lace Cape $4 4.00
3 cape 10/- (ea) 3.75
2 " 12/- (ea) 3.00
3 collars 11/- (ea) 4.13
2 collars 2/- .50
2 pr. Cuffs $1.80 (ea) 3.60
3 Collars 6/- (ea) 2.25
4 Collars 20¢ .80
2 Collars 65¢ 1.30
3 Chemisettes 10/- (ea) 3.75
2 " 4/- 1.00
1 Mautelet $15 15.00
2 " $10.50 (ea) 21.00
2 silk Black cravats 5/- (ea) 1.25
1 Box Colo. puffering $1.83 1/3 1.83
1 Red silk Hdkffs 4/- .50
1 ps. Black crape $2.50 2.50
18 doz. buttons 29 1/2¢ (ea) 5.31
5 pr. Ladies kid gloves $10.50 a dozen 4.38
30 Boxes Hooks & Eyes 29 1/2¢ (ea) Doz. .74
1 Box spool silk 10/- 1.25
2 Jenny Lind perfume bags 2/- (ea) .50
steel trimmings & beads $3.00 3.00
1 pr. scissors 3/- (ea) .38
4 Ladies Neck Hdkffs 5/- (ea) 2.50
8 spools purse silk 2/- (ea) 2.00

1 Doz. embroidered neck Ribbons 6/- (ea)	9.00
2 Doz. bunches Col[ore]d silk Braid 10/- (ea)	2.50
1 Doz. bunches Black silk Braid 6/-	.75
9 Bunches Black silk Braid 12/- (a doz.)	1.13
6 oz. skein silk $3.25	3.25
4 pr. embroidered gloves 7/-	3.50
1 pr. Lind Braid 12/-	1.50
10 Doz. yds draw Ribbon 10/- (ea)	12.50
14 yds blue draw trimming 1/- (ea)	1.75
1 ps. Chenille trimming 16/-	2.00
1 ps. " " 8/-	1.00
3 ps. Cap Ribbon 12/- (ea)	4.50
2 ps. Belt Ribbon 10/- (ea)	2.50
2 ps. Cap Ribbon 8/- (ea)	2.00
4 ps. Belt Ribbon $7.00	7.00
1 ps. Ribbon $5.00	5.00
1 ps. Ribbon $7.50	7.50
1 ps. Ribbon $7.40	7.40
1 ps. Yellow Bonnet $4.50	4.50
1 " Ribbon 84¢	.84
1 ps. Ribbon (White) $4.25	4.25
1 ps. green figd Ribbon $3.75	3.75
1 ps. pink Ribbon $4.50	4.50
9 yds Chery Ribbon @ 58¢ (ea)	5.22
6 3/4 yds Blk Ribbon @ 58¢ (ea)	3.92
1 3/4 yds Ribbon 36¢ (ea)	.63
4 3/4 " " 4/- (ea)	2.37
5 1/4 " " 60¢ (ea)	3.25
6 3/4 " " 60¢ (ea)	4.05
9 1/2 " " 53¢ (ea)	5.04
10 " mourning Ribbon 30¢	3.00
12 " White Ribbon $2.25	2.25
5 ps. Ribbon 60¢ (ea)	3.00
2 ps. " 30¢	.60
1 ps. Ribbon 40¢	.40
1 " " 3/-	.37
12 yds Ribbon 34 1/4¢	4.11
9 " " 3/-	3.38
10 " " 1/6	1.87
4 1/2 yds Ribbon 30¢	1.35
6 1/4 " " 23¢	1.44
5 " " 3/-	1.88
6 " " 3/-	2.25
1 Bolt Ribbon 20¢	.20
8 yds Robbon @ 34	2.72
8 " Blk Ribbon 1/-	1.00
1 Bolt Ribbon 8/-	1.00
1 " " 4/-	.50
5 Bolts Ribbon 30¢ (ea)	1.50
2 " " 2/- (ea)	.50
8 " " 1/6 (ea)	1.50
1 Trunk 14/-	1.75
2 glass flasks 8 1/3¢ (ea)	.17
3 1/2 gals. wine $2.00	7.00
60 lbs. Copperas 4¢	2.40
20 " Salasotas 10¢	2.00
2 lbs. Indigo 12/- (ea)	3.00
1 1/2 lbs. Cloves & nutmegs 5/-	.94
16 lbs. spice 15¢	2.25
8 lbs. ginger 1/-	1.00

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF LANDINGS

FROM FULTON TO GAINESVILLE

With Distance in Miles from Mobile

Fulton	535	Butler's	415	Crim's	365
Camargo	530	Erwin's	415	Jones' Landing	365
Terrapin Bluff	492	Mrs. Cox's Woodyard	412	Perkins'	365
Cotton Gin Port	480	Pinhook	409	James Clinton's	365
Mullen's	479	Lowndesville	408	Hines'	362.5
John Thompson's	478	Lindsay's Ferry	408	Gregory's	362.5
Reynolds' Bluff	476	Hairston's	400	Pope's	362
Parrsville	475	Moore's Bluff	399	Hugh Windham	362
Joe May's	473	Harvey's Bluff	397	Cook's Upper	362
Aberdeen	470	Blue Rock	397	Fairfield	361
Martin's Bluff	469	McCarty's Bluff	394	Stone's Ferry	360
Strawhorn's	469	Union Bluff	395	Jim Clanton's	360
N. Whitfield's	469	Nashville	392	Newport	360
Lackay's	468	Blewett's Shed	390	Summerville's	359
Jenkins' Woodyard	467	Petty's Bluff	389	Thomas' or Trantham's	357
Saunders' or Taylor's	467	Lee's Gin	388.5	Cat Fish Bend	349
Dan Willis	464	Albert Cox's Shed	388	Windham's	347
Vera Cruz	462	[Pumpkin] Creek	384.5	Drische's	347
Gore's	461	Mouth of Coal Fire	384	Halsey's	346
Ogburne's	459	McLaran's	383	Dean's Upper	346
Allen's or Tatum's	454	Pullam's	381.5	Cuba	344
Hamilton's Old	453	Pickensville	381	Vienna	343
Vinton's Ferry	445	Peterson's	380.5	Mouth of Sipsey	340
Vinton	445	Nance's Ferry	380	Conway's	337
Barton's	444	Stringfellow's	379	Pleasant Ridge	336
Parker's Bluff	444	Holt's	379	Hill's Upper	335
Barton's Ferry	443.5	Cockrell's	378	Kirkland's	335
Colbert's	443	Goor's	378	Burk's	334.5
Collins' Woodyard	440	Bush's	378	Childers'	334
Cox's Woodyard	438	Jackson's Ferry	378	Barnes' Gin	333
Malone's Woodyard	434	Big Creek	376	Drake's	332.5
Waverly	434	Corbin's	375.5	Hibler's	332.5
Burt's Gin	433	Ringgold's Bluff	373	Jo. Little's Gin	332.5
Barry's	430	McFadden's	372	Hutton's Old Ferry	330.5
Plymouth	426	Carroway's	370	Gresham's Wood Yard	330
Malone's Cotton Shed	423	Turnipseed's	370	Carpenter's	330
West Port	421	Memphis	369	Warsaw	328
Columbus	420	Isaac Taylor's Shed	366	Warsaw Ferry	328
Law's	419	May's Mill	366	Hellow	327.5
Neal's	418	S.G. Coleman's	365	Clanton's Bluff	326.5

AD-A117 065 ALABAMA UNIV IN BIRMINGHAM CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF SO--ETC F/G 5/4
HISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY.(U)
FEB 81 J F DOSTER, D C WEAVER C-5714(78)

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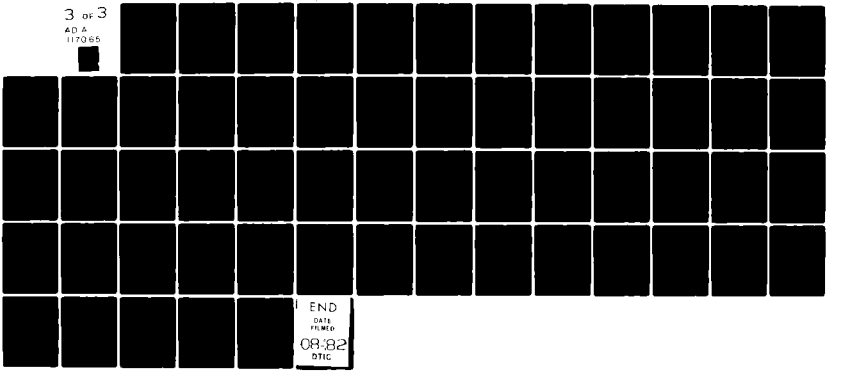

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China Bluff	326	Bracket's	323	May's	319.5
Taylor's Upper	325.5	Carpenter's Lower	323.5	M.P. Goodson	319
Craig's Ferry	325	Hicks'	322.5	Whitsitt's Gin	318
Carpenter's Upper	325	Mobley's	322	Mouth of Noxubee	317
Taylor's Lower	324.5	Dr. May's	320	Hill's	316
Mrs. Walker's	324	Smith's Ferry	320	Gainesville	315

APPENDIX 4

STEAMBOAT TARIFFS, 1875

A comprehensive list of articles carried on Tombigbee steamboats is quite a rarity. Such, however, is found in the freight tariff which is reproduced below from a broadside advertisement. Some of the steamboats listed are known to have engaged in the trade of the Upper Tombigbee. The items listed are presumed to represent articles carried or likely to be carried on the steamboats, and they throw a good deal of light on the life and the trade of people in the areas served by the boats. The section on "down freights" lists the items expected to be carried southward and reflects the items produced for sale in the Tombigbee area in 1875. The full freight tariff follows.

TARIFF & FREIGHTS

ADOPTED SEPTEMBER 7th, 1875,

FOR THE WARRIOR AND BIGBEE RIVERS,

By FRANK STONE'S GRANGE LINE,

CONTRACTOR FOR THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY,

COMPOSED OF THE FOLLOWING STEAMERS:

D. L. TALLY, VICTORIA, MAGGIE C, EMMA,
LOTUS No. 2, LULU D, ATLANTA, HALE.

FRANK STONE, Manager.

BARRELS.

Flour, Onions, Potatoes, Nuts, Apples, Beans, Rice, Meal, Rosin, Crackers, Sundries, and all dry barrels	50
Pork, Beef, Mackerel, Sugar, Cider, Ale, Vinegar, Krout, Bacon, &c.	75
Cement, Plaster, Plaster Paris	50
Whiskey, Brandy, Gin, Oil, Kerosene, Turpentine, Alcohol, each	1 00
Molasses	1 00
Molasses, in half barrels	75
Empty Barrels in lots	20
Empty Half Barrels in lots	10
Hardware in casks, per cwt	25
" half barrels in proportion	
Hams and Meats	75
Sugar, Half Barrels	50
Molasses, Half Barrels	50
Fish, Half Barrels	50
Lard, Half Barrels	50

TIERCES.

Hams, Lard, Tallow, Bacon, Sundries, Coffee and Rice, each	1 50
Hardware in tierces, per cwt	25

CASKS AND HOGSHEADS.

Hardware and White Lead, per 100 lbs	25
Sugar, each	4 00
Bacon, Coal	3 00
Claret, Ice	2 50
Crockery, Merchandise, per cubic foot	10
Beer, Porter, Ale, casks, each	75

KEGS.

Butter, Spice, Groceries, Medicines, Oils, Merchandise, Molasses	25
Nails, Lard, White Lead, Pigs Feet	25
Shot and Lead, per 100 pounds	25
Liquors	50
Powder	1 00
" half kegs	50
" quarter kegs	25
Containing can	25
Empty, in lots	15

PIPES.

Wines and Liquors	
" " " ½ pipes	2 00
" " " ¼ pipes	1 50
" " " ⅛ pipes	75

CRATES.

Crockery. Merchandise, etc., per cubic foot	10

HAMPERS.

Bottles, etc., per cubic foot	10

BALES.

Merchandise, Old Goods, Bedding, etc., per cubic foot	10
Hay and Moss, per bale	1 00
Oakum, per bale	50

BOXES AND CASES.

Breakfast Bacon, each	50
Powder (25 lbs)	50
" (50 lbs)	1 00
Soap, Candles, Wine, Figs, Raisins, Vermicelli, Macaroni, Ink, Cheese, Pipes, Buckwheat, Tea, Herrings, Pickles, Preserves, Sardines, Pie Fruits, Soda, Oysters, Cordials, Starch, Bitters, Sugar Lemon, Window Glass, etc., each	25
Tin Plate, Oranges, Lemons, Apples, Claret and Liquors, each	50
Tobacco, boxes and ¾ boxes	50
" ½ boxes and caddies	25
Axes, double boxes	50
" single	25
Coffee Mills, Cotton and Wool Cards, per box	25
Coal Oil and Kerosene	50
Hats, Boots, Shoes, Merchandise, per cubic foot	10
Small boxes strapped together, each counted	15
Havana Sugar	1 50

CARBOYS AND DOG HOUSES.

Containing Acids, etc	2 00
" " Combustibles	4 00

TRUNKS.

Merchandise and in nests, per cu ft	10
Empty, large	10
" medium	10
" small	10
None less than	25

SACKS.

Corn, per bushel	10
Turk's Island Salt, Meal, each	30
" " " " large, each	40
Oats, Bran, Guano, Peas, Onions, Bacon, Potatoes, Apples, Rye, Wheat, Malt, etc., each, ordinary size	40
Coffee, Pepper, Spice, Almonds, Nuts, Rice, each	50
Salt, large lots, over 50 sacks	30
" small lots, under 50 sacks	40
Shot, Horse Shoe Nails, Corks, each	25
Feathers, small, each	25
" large, each in proportion	
Cotton Seed, two bushel sacks	25

DEMIJOHNS.

Five Gallons, each	75
Small, each	50
Empty, each	15

CANS.

Ten Gallons, each, Oil, etc	50
Five " "	30
Small, each	25
Empty, each	15

BAGGING.

Kentucky, per roll, hemp	50
India, " roll 100 yards	75
" " " 130 "	1 00
" " " 160 "	1 25
Jute or Flax, per roll, 100 yards	75
Half roll Bagging	40

ROPE.

Baling and Grass, per coil	50
Small Cords, Plow Lines, etc., pr coil	25
Heavy Cordage, per 100 lbs	50

IRON TIES.

For Baling Cotton, per bundle	20
" in lots of 50 or more, pr bdl	20

WOOD AND WILLOW WARE.

Tubs, per nest, (3 or more)	50
Buckets, per dozen	50
Buckets, covered, nest of three	50
Buckets, well, per dozen	1 00
Buckets, well, in bales or bundles, pr ft	10
Measures, per rack	50
Barrel Covers, Wash Boards, etc., per dozen	50
Churns, each	50
Brooms, per dozen	50
Scythe Snaths, per dozen, or bundle Rakes, " " " Hay and Manure Forks, per dozen.	50
Clothes Baskets, in nests	75
Market Baskets, per bundle	50
Willow Cabs and Cradles, each	50
Bird Cages, large, each	50
Step Ladders and Clothes Horses, each	1 00
" " " small, each	50
Seives, per dozen	25
Spinning Wheels, each	50

CARRIAGES.

Fine, each	8 00
Rockaways, Barouches, Ambulances, each	8 00
Jersey or Spring Wagons, each	6 00
One horse Spring Wagons, each	5 00
Omnibuses and Stage Coaches, each	20 00
Buggies, with top, each	5 00
" no top, each	5 00
Sulkies, each	4 00

WAGONS.

Two Horse, with body, each	6 00
" without body, each	5 00
Four Horse, with body, each	7 00
" without body, each	6 00
Cane Carts, each	5 00
Cane Wagons, each	4 00
Drays and Carts, each	4 00
Timber Wheels, large, each " " small, each Grocery Barrows, each Hand Carts, each (per contract)	
Wheel Barrows, each	50

Dirt Barrows, in lots, each,.....	50

FURNITURE.

Boxed, per cubic foot.....	10
Bureaus, Fine, with Glass.....	3 00
" Extra Fine, Marble Top.....	2 00
" Medium.....	1 00
" Common.....	75
Washstands, Common, Marble Top...	50
" Medium.....	1 00
Tables, Extension, each.....	2 00
" Dining, large, each.....	2 00
" Dining, small, each.....	1 00
" Office, large, each.....	2 00
" Office, small, each.....	1 00
" Centre, Fine Marble Top, each	2 50
" Centre, Fine Marble Top, small	1 50
" Centre, Medium and Common	1 00
" Card, Fine.....	1 00
" " Common.....	75
" Kitchen.....	50
Side Boards, Marble Top, fine, each..10	00
" " " " medium, ea	8 00
" " " " common, ea	5 00
Desks, fine, large, each.....	4 00
" medium, each.....	3 00
" common, small, each.....	2 00
Book Cases, fine, each.....	8 00
" medium, each.....	5 00
" small, each.....	3 00
Hat Racks, fine, each.....	2 00
" medium, each.....	1 00
" common, each.....	1 00
What Nots, fine, large.....	2 00
" medium, each.....	1 50
" small, each.....	1 00
Sofas, fine, medium, each.....	5 00
" common, each.....	3 00
Tete-a-Tetes and Divans, each.....	2 00
Parlor Chairs, fine, each.....	50
" " medium, each.....	25
Rockers and Easy Chairs, fine, each..	1 00
" medium, each.....	75
" common and small, each....	50
Reclining, Dentists and Barbers' Ch'rs	2 00
Office and Arm Chairs, each...	75
Common and Split Bottom Chairs, in bundles of two...	25
Revolving Chairs, each.....	50
Bedsteads, fine and cornice, each.....	3 00
" common, " each.....	2 00
" common high post, each...	1 50
" common low post, each....	1 00
" cottage, double, each,.....	1 50
" " single or trundle,.	1 00
Armoirs, fine, each.....	5 00
" medium, and common, each	4 00
Safes or Cupboards, large, each.....	2 50
" medium, each.....	1 50
" small, each.....	1 00
Mattresses, Spring, each.....	50
" Double, each.....	75
" Spring, each.....	50
Spring Bottoms, set up, each.....	75
" " - rolled up, each.....	50
Sewing Machines, each.....	1 50
Oil Cloth, rolled, per running foot....	25
Pianos, upright, each.....	5 00
" horizontal, each.....	8 00
Piano Stools, each.....	50
Carpets and Matting, in bales, pr cu ft	10

BUILDING MATERIAL.

Or Contract.

Lumber, per M.....	7 00
Laths, per bundle.....	20
Bricks, per M.....	7 50
Shingles, per M.....	1 50
Slate, per square,.....	3 00
Tiles, each, small.....	10
Doors, Panel, each.....	50
" " small, each.....	25
Sash in bundles, per cubic foot...	10
" " glazed, per cu ft	15
Blinds, Door and Window Frames, in bundles, per foot.....	10
Tin Pipes and Gutters, per running foot.....	5

MACHINERY.

Or Contract.

Shingle Machines, each.....10	00
Circular Saws, boxed, each..... 2	00
Straight Saws, bundles of two..	75
Cross-cut Saws, bundles of two..	50
Garden Engines, each..... 2	00
Corn Cob Crushers, each..... / Bark Mills, each..... \	8 00
Chain Pump, boxed.....	75
Washing Machine, large, each.. 1	50
" " med. and sm'll 1	00
Mill Stones, 36 inch, per pair....15	00
" 30 inch, per pair....10	00
" 24 inch, per pair.... 8	00
" 12 inch, and under, in lots, per pair..... 1	00
Flue Boilers, per running foot.... 1	50
Cylinder Boilers, per running foot 1	00
Chimneys, small, " "	50
" large, " "	75
Portable Engines, complete, per horse power.....	
Saw and Grist Mill Engines, Heavy Machinery and Castings, Double Circular Saw Mills, complete, Planing, Moulding and Brick Machines, Sugar Rollers, per 100 pounds.....	
Morticing Machines, each.....	
Sugar Kettles, each, per inch....	10
Grind Stones, large lots, pr in diameter.....	2
Grind Stones, small lots, pr in diameter	5
Anvils, each.....	50
Vices and bundles of tongs, each.	25
Smiths' Bellows, each..... 2	00
Sorghum Mills, each..... 1	50

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Fanning Mills, each, (or C)	3 00
Corn Mills, small, each	4 00
" " large, each	7 00
" " extra large, each	8 00
Straw Cutters, small and medium, ea.	1 00
" " large, each	3 00
Corn Shellers, small, each	1 00
" " large, each	3 00
Ploughs, each	40
" large, each	50
" in lots over 25, each	50
Or Contract. Gang Plows, each	1 50
Sulky Plows, each	2 00
Threshing Machines small, each	10 00
Threshing Machines, endless chain, 2 horse power compl'te	30 00
Threshing Machines, endless chain, 4 horse power, compl'te	60 00
Threshing Machines, endless, chain Lever and Separator	65 00
Cotton Sander and Duster, (or C)	10 00
Cotton Gins, 40 to 50 saws	10c. per saw.
" " 50 to 80 saws	
Cotton Gin Condenser, per foot	10
Smut Mills, each	10 00
Mowing Machines, each	10 00
Cotton Planters, large, each	4 00
" ", small, each	2 00
Cultivators, each	2 00
Spades, Shovels & Handle Hoes, per doz	50

STOVES, IRON AND CASTING.

Bars, Bundles, and Slabs, large lots, per 100 lbs	25
In small lots, per bar	10
Iron Slabs and Bundles, each	25
Hollow-ware, etc., per 100 pounds	50
" small lots, per piece	10
Sheet Iron, per bundle	75
Boiler Iron, per sheet	75
Iron Railings and Ornaments, pr 100 lbs	50
Cast Iron Pipes, per 100 lbs	25
Railroad Iron, per 100 lbs	25
Pig and old Iron, per 100 lbs	25
Stoves, Cooking, large, No. 8 and 9	4 00
" " medium, No. 6 and 7	3 00
" " small, No. 5 and less	2 50
Cooking Ranges, each	6 00
Heating Stoves, large, each	3 00
" " medium, each	2 00
" " small, each	1 00
Fixtures, boxed, per cubic foot	10
Stove Pipe, per bundle	50
Stoves, in lots to dealers, 10 pr cent. less	
Iron Safes, per cubic foot, (or C)	50

MISCELLANEOUS.

Jugs, Jars and Churns, per gallon	5
Paper, printing, per bundle, small	25
" " " " large	50
" wrapping " " "	50
" " " " small	25
Metalic Burial Cases, per cubic foot	10
Baskets Champagne, each	75
" Oil and Cordial, each	50
Collars, Hames and Saddle-Trees, per dozen	50
Kits, Mackerel and Salmon, each	25
Firkins, Butter, each	50
Trucks, for store, small, each	1 00
" " " and cotton, large, ea	1 50
Ice, per ton, (or C)	10 00
Hogshead Poles, per M (or C)	10 00
Barrel Poles, per M (or C)	10 00
Church and Plantation Bell, per 100 lbs	50
Ice Chests, per cubic foot	10
Farmers' Boilers, per gallon	10
Cotton Scales and Frame, complete	2 00
Marble, in blocks, per 100 lbs (or C)	50
" Tombstones, large, each (or C)	8 00
" " medium, each (C)	5 00
" " small, each (or C)	3 00
Ordinary Skiffs, each	2 00

STOCK.

Race & Blooded Horses, each, pr contract.	
Horses, Mules, each	4 00
Hogs, Sheep and Goats, each, loose	50
" " " boxed, 10c per ft.	
Cow and Oxen, each	4 00
" Calf	4 00

DOWN FREIGHTS.

Cotton, from Gainesville, per bale	1 25
" " Finch's Ferry, "	1 25
" " Tuskaloosa, "	1 50
" " Pickensville, "	1 50
Osnaburgs and Sheeting, per bale	75
Wool, per bale	1 25
Sugar, per hogshead	4 00
Molasses, per barrel	1 00
" per half barrel	50
Beef, Lard, Tallow, Wax, in lots, pr tce	1 00
" " " " per barrel	75
Leather, per roll, large	50
" " " small	25
Corn, Flour, Wheat, Rye, Barley, etc., per sack, ordinary size	25
Peltries and Skins, in bales, per 100 lbs	30
Beef Hides, in bales, pres'd, pr 100 lbs	30
" " " not " " "	30
Dry Hides, each	10
Green Hides, per bundle, not over two	25
Horses & Mules, in droves, pr head (C)	4 00
Cattle, in droves, per head (C)	4 00
Yearlings, " " " (C)	2 00
Hogs, Sheep and Goats, in droves, per head	30
Horses and Mules, per head	4 00
Cotton Seed, per ton	4 00
Tar, per barrel	75
Hay, per bale	75
Coal, per cask, 1,000 pounds	2 50
Coal, in bulk, per ton	2 50
Moss	1 00
Scrap Iron, per ton	4 00
Staves, per M	Contract

RATES OF PASSAGE:

Mobile to Jackson, $3 00. Mobile to Tompkins, $5 00. Mobile to Merriwethers, $7 00. Mobile to Tuscaloosa, $8 00
" " Bladon, 4 00. " Demopolis, 6 00. " Warsaw, 7 00. " Pickensville, 8 00

APPENDIX 5

STATISTICS OF TEN UPPER TOMBIGBEE VALLEY COUNTIES

1850-1960

DATA FROM U.S. CENSUS

The tabulations which follow show comparative values by counties for selected census years between 1850 and 1960. While there are important differences between counties, the general trends of development show broad similarities through time. Not all census years are used, but those thought to be representative have been chosen. In general there appears to have been a strong and general economic advance from 1850 to 1860, a sharp drop in 1880, and a continuing decline to 1930, but a rise of impressive dimensions in 1960. Decennial Census years may not catch the timing of all trends precisely, but the general picture seems clear enough. The figures for 1940, not used, are thought to show little improvement over 1930. It is the years from 1940 to 1960 that represent the great improvement.

Farms grew in size from 1850 to 1860, declined thereafter to 1930, but rose again in 1960. These trends were general throughout the counties.

There was a shocking decline in the value of farms after 1860. Particularly notable is the destruction of farm values in Greene, Sumter, Lowndes, and Noxubee counties from 1860 to 1880. These prosperous areas were essentially destroyed by the Civil War and associated developments, and they did not recover. The improvement in value per farm between 1890 and 1910 partly reflects mild inflationary trends in that period but also probably represents a genuine improvement. Even so, the figures remain astonishingly low.

The decrease in the number of hogs per person and cattle per person reflects the decline of self-sufficiency and the increasing emphasis on the market crop of cotton. The decrease in cotton production per person, despite increasing emphasis on that crop, is very general. Some of the figures suggest a modest increase in the efficiency of cotton production between 1910 and 1930.

The decline of almost all values after 1860 and the rise or improvement of values after 1930 (really after 1940) appear strongly as trends, which are discussed in the text.

The poor counties of Itawamba and Tishomingo show resistance to the advance of the tenant system but a tendency over time to give way to it. The independent small farmers of these counties were degenerating into tenants, as were those elsewhere.

An analysis of farm ownership figures for 1910 reveals that 43% of the white farmers in the ten counties were owners of farms, but only 6% of the black farmers. Yet in Itawamba and Tishomingo counties black ownership ran to 16% and 25% respectively. The white-black population ratio varied greatly from one county to another, from 92% white in Itawamba and Tishomingo counties in 1910, for example, to 16% in Noxubee and Greene. Social and political differences accompanied these variations.

Because of changes in counties and county boundaries, not all figures presented here are strictly comparable. The main effect of the county changes, however, has been eliminated by presenting the figures on a per capita, per farm, or percentage basis.

TABLE 29

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS IN ACRES

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	402	706	136	112	68	53	183
Pickens	267	394	215	149	89	77	243
Sumter	513	799	151	122	80	67	198
Clay			132	88	72	60	149
Itawamba	233	323	182	130	94	71	103
Lowndes	405	502	126	123	59	65	134
Monroe	394	463	141	92	69	60	122
Noxubee	444	574	174	105	56	53	191
Prentiss			112	135	76	58	95
Tishomingo	259	333	188	156	93	70	102
Alabama	289	347	139	126	79	68	142
Mississippi	309	370	156	122	68	55	135

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 30

AVERAGE VALUE PER FARM

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	$3,035	$11,572	$ 634	$ 620	$1,169	$1,202	$ 9,847
Pickens	1,346	3,148	853	724	1,169	1,473	11,244
Sumter	2,870	10,650	699	583	1,360	1,524	12,381
Clay			920	906	1,542	1,616	9,852
Itawamba	647	1,404	546	424	914	1,278	7,424
Lowndes	2,839	12,053	1,089	1,229	1,507	2,179	13,351
Monroe	3,075	7,106	985	837	1,355	1,939	11,683
Noxubee	2,687	14,039	1,400	783	1,157	1,447	9,326
Prentiss			606	669	1,081	1,499	7,980
Tishomingo	734	1,428	538	426	767	1,219	6,464
Alabama	1,533	3,189	581	704	1,096	1,952	12,780
Mississippi	1,612	4,453	912	883	1,218	1,818	14,292

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 31

PERCENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	82.0	82.0	29.3	23.5	17.1	13.0	23.1
Pickens			72.5	53.5	38.9	27.7	56.1
Sumter			31.1	23.0	18.4	14.7	25.1
Clay			42.8	32.3	33.3	22.1	52.8
Itawamba			80.4	66.1	53.9	38.1	58.4
Lowndes	94.2	92.0	37.3	35.8	22.0	20.2	46.9
Monroe			46.5	30.9	32.8	24.9	46.8
Noxubee			38.2	26.9	16.9	15.6	37.5
Prentiss			60.3	67.4	39.9	29.3	47.7
Tishomingo	75.7	65.0	75.2	77.2	57.9	38.1	54.9
Alabama			53.2	51.4	39.5	35.1	72.1
Mississippi			56.2	47.2	33.6	27.5	67.9

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 32

NUMBER OF HOGS PER PERSON

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	2.0	1.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.2
Pickens	2.3	2.6	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.2
Sumter	2.2	1.8	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.3
Clay			0.6	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.2
Itawamba	3.0	2.1	1.4	1.5	0.6	0.3	0.7
Lowndes	2.0	1.9	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.1
Monroe	2.2	2.2	1.1	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.4
Noxubee	3.0	2.4	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.6
Prentiss			1.2	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.5
Tishomingo	2.5	1.8	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.2	0.5
Ten Counties	2.4	2.0	0.9	0.9	C 6	0.4	0.3
Alabama	2.2	2.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.2
Mississippi	2.5	1.6	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.4

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF BEEF CATTLE PER PERSON

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.8
Pickens	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.9
Sumter	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	2.3
Clay			0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.9
Itawamba	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4
Lowndes	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5
Monroe	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.7
Noxubee	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	2.3
Prentiss			0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3
Tishomingo	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2
Ten Counties	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.9
Alabama	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.7
Mississippi	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.8

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 34

AVERAGE BALES OF COTTON PRODUCED PER PERSON

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	0.8	1.9	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.5
Pickens	0.6	2.8	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.3
Sumter	0.6	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.3
Clay			0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.2
Itawamba	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.4
Lowndes	0.8	2.2	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.4
Monroe	0.8	2.2	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6
Noxubee	0.8	2.4	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.4
Prentiss			0.6	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.6
Tishomingo	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.4
Alabama	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2
Mississippi	0.8	1.5	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.7

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 35

AVERAGE BUSHELS OF CORN PRODUCED PER PERSON

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	42.5	42.5	18.4	22.5	11.3	16.6	21.5
Pickens	40.4	62.0	22.9	22.8	12.9	21.3	15.3
Sumter	41.7	41.5	24.4	26.6	14.9	13.1	20.7
Clay			23.1	22.8	15.8	23.6	7.1
Itawamba	39.4	35.5	28.6	24.0	28.5	32.4	33.4
Lowndes	44.6	49.0	20.6	21.7	10.5	14.3	5.2
Monroe	42.6	53.8	27.4	26.0	16.6	24.9	20.1
Noxubee	55.0	62.3	24.8	24.0	11.5	19.6	11.8
Prentiss			30.3	27.2	26.1	34.1	7.0
Tishomingo	34.0	36.6	31.9	25.6	22.3	22.4	6.8
Alabama	37.3	34.5	20.2	19.9	14.4	15.5	19.2
Mississippi	37.0	36.7	18.9	20.3	15.8	17.4	19.5

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 36

AVERAGE BALES OF COTTON PRODUCED PER FARM

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	20	73	7	8	4.0	4.0	4.0
Pickens	9	49	8	7	4.0	4.0	4.0
Sumter	21	73	8	7	4.0	4.0	3.0
Clay			9	5	4.4	4.0	3.3
Itawamba	4	9	4	2	2.6	3.5	3.5
Lowndes	21	80	11	8	3.6	4.9	11.4
Monroe	21	51	9	5	3.9	4.2	7.7
Noxubee	19	84	14	8	3.8	4.4	3.1
Prentiss			4	2	2.9	4.4	5.1
Tishomingo	3	8	2	1.5	1.9	4.0	4.2
Ten Counties	12.7	45.1	7.8	5.8	3.6	4.3	5.1
Alabama	13	18	5		4.3	5.1	5.9
Mississippi	14	28	10		4.1	6.0	11.3

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 37

AVERAGE BUSHELS OF CORN PRODUCED PER FARM

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	1,020	1,654	186	198	62	92	182
Pickens	604	1,085	239	178	78	128	204
Sumter	1,387	2,001	240	217	92	80	266
Clay			266	187	103	145	102
Itawamba	356	436	217	164	141	171	284
Lowndes	1,205	1,805	300	271	78	121	159
Monroe	1,094	1,269	238	193	101	157	259
Noxubee	1,525	2,162	402	245	64	108	98
Prentiss			202	222	145	177	62
Tishomingo	422	598	260	200	138	145	74
Ten Counties	816	1,153	253	197	95	132	169
Alabama	685	605	187		117	139	541
Mississippi	661	678	210		104	112	308

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 38

FARM OWNERSHIP, 1910

By Race

	Number of Farmers			Owners of Mortgage Free Farms					
County	Total	White	Black	Total	%	White	%	Black	%
Greene	4,099	565	3,536	450	11%	287	51%	163	5%
Pickens	4,144	1,954	2,190	1,116	27%	965	49%	151	7%
Sumter	4,624	744	3,880	532	12%	349	47%	183	5%
Clay	3,092	851	2,241	662	21%	484	57%	178	8%
Itawamba	2,933	2,731	202	1,155	39%	1,123	41%	32	16%
Lowndes	4,133	836	3,297	524	13%	376	45%	148	5%
Monroe	5,748	2,439	3,309	1,201	21%	1,011	41%	190	6%
Noxubee	5,107	685	4,422	566	11%	365	53%	201	5%
Prentiss	3,091	2,618	473	807	26%	785	30%	22	5%
Tishomingo	2,114	1,983	131	881	42%	848	43%	33	25%
Ten Counties	39,085	15,404	23,681	7,894	20%	6,595	43%	1,301	6%

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 39

FARM VALUE AND PRODUCTION, 1910

By Race

County	Average Value Per Farm		Bales Cotton Per Acre		Bushels Corn Per Acre	
	All Farms	Black Operated Farms	Black Operated Farms	White Operated Farms	Black Operated Farms	White Operated Farms
Greene	$1,169	$ 545	0.2	0.5	7.8	11.0
Pickens	1,169	591	0.2	0.5	7.4	9.1
Sumter	1,360	611	0.2	0.5	9.7	11.7
Clay	1,945	1,158	0.2	0.2	11.6	10.8
Itawamba	1,230	671	0.5	0.5	9.6	13.0
Lowndes	1,875	914	0.2	0.5	9.3	12.4
Monroe	1,707	1,102	0.2	0.5	10.8	13.6
Noxubee	1,473	873	0.2	0.2	8.2	10.2
Prentiss	1,424	898	0.2	0.5	12.6	14.2
Tishomingo	1,047	597	0.5	0.5	13.7	13.6
Ten Counties	1,440	796	0.2	0.5	10.1	12.0

Data from U.S. Census.

TABLE 40

PERCENT OF POPULATION WHITE

By Census Years

State or County	1850	1860	1880	1890	1910	1930	1960
Greene	29.4	23.5	17.2	14.7	15.9	17.6	18.7
Pickens	51.0	45.3	42.5	41.3	48.3	52.1	55.3
Sumter	33.1	24.6	22.5	20.1	18.7	21.1	23.7
Clay			30.3	30.2	30.2	38.0	48.7
Itawamba	84.2	80.0	89.6	91.6	91.8	94.2	94.2
Lowndes	32.8	29.2	19.8	22.2	29.0	42.1	61.9
Monroe	44.5	40.1	41.3	39.4	44.5	55.4	64.6
Noxubee	30.3	25.0	17.7	17.2	16.0	21.1	28.1
Prentiss			80.0	79.2	83.0	87.1	87.8
Tishomingo	87.3	79.3	86.7	89.3	91.7	93.7	95.3
Alabama	55.3	54.6	52.5		57.5	64.3	69.9
Mississippi	48.8	44.7	42.4		45.7	49.7	57.7

Data from U.S. Census.

APPENDIX 6

STEAMBOAT WRECKS

By W. Stuart Harris

In Table 41, below, are listed 17 wrecks which occurred on the Upper Tombigbee River, between the towns of Aberdeen, Mississippi, and Gainesville, Alabama, with the cause of the sinking, the date, and the approximate location of each. Neville's (1962) river mileage figures, which he obtained from Saffold Berney's Handbook of Alabama (1879), are on the left, while Saltus' modern figures (Saltus, 1977) are found on the right.

TABLE 41

WRECKS ON THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE RIVER

Steamboats Lost			Miles From Mobile	
Name	Cause	Date	Neville	Saltus
1. Allegheny	Snagged	May 1825	432	376
2. Iowa	Burned	Jan. 1857	361	317
3. Triumph	Snagged	Oct. 1857		
4. Isora	Snagged	Apr. 1842	325	289
5. Canebrake	Stranded	Jan. 1845	328	291
6. Putnam	Snagged	Feb. 1848	420	364
7. Motive	Snagged	Mar. 1850	438	382
8. Wm. Bradstreet	Snagged	Mar. 1852	468	
9. Eliza No. 2	Snagged	Dec. 1854		
10. Forest Monarch	Snagged	Apr. 1855	381	334.8
11. Billy Stratton	Wrecked	Mar. 1856	394	346
12. Azile	Sunk	1856	420	364
13. W.H. Gardner	Burned	Mar. 1887	312	
14. City of Columbus	Wrecked	Early 1900	420	364
15. Vienna	Snagged	1907	399	350
16. American	Burned	Apr. 1915	381	335
17. Swan	Aground	ca. 1920	318	282

1. ALLEGHENY

This 45-ton sidewheeler was built in 1832 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Neville, 1962). She was serving in the Alabama River trade in 1824 (Cahawba Press and Alabama State Intelligencer, May 29, 1824). No description of the vessel has been located. On May 16, 1825, while on a passage from Hamilton, Mississippi, to Mobile, she was snagged in the Upper Tombigbee River, 12 miles above Columbus. A newspaper reported: "As the water is shallow where she lies, it is supposed she may be got off when the river is low (Mobile Commercial Register, May 24, 1825);" however, she was never mentioned in the newspapers again.

2. IOWA

This 143-ton sidewheeler was built in 1834 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Neville, 1962). She was probably used on the western rivers before coming into the Tombigbee trade, since there is little information pertaining to her in the Mobile newspapers. She burned at Fairfield, Pickens County, Alabama, on Jan. 17, 1837 (ibid.).

3. TRIUMPH

This small 68-ton sidewheeler was built in 1837 in Cincinnati, Ohio (ibid.). Saltus, using information from Rodabough (Feb. 18, 1971), stated that the vessel was snagged below Columbus. In fact, the boat was snagged on October 15, 1837, but down river rather than near Columbus, as seen in the following newspaper notice (Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot, October 16, 1837):

> *The steamboat Triumph, Capt. Drown, from this city, bound to Columbus, Mississippi, with a full freight and a number of cabin passengers, struck a snag yesterday morning, at about 5 o'clock, at the mouth of the Tombigbee River, and sank in a short space of 15 minutes. The water was from 12 to 15 feet deep, and the entire cargo was more or less damaged. The passengers with their baggage got ashore in safety, and arrived in this city this morning in the steamboats Cahawba and Anna Calhoun. It is the opinion of Capt. Drown, that the boat can be raised, and the cargo secured without material loss.*

The Triumph was soon raised and serving in the Aberdeen to Mobile trade by December of that same year (ibid.). The boat was reduced to third class status in April, 1839 (Mobile Register and Journal, April 19, 1839), and was finally abandoned in 1843 (Neville, 1962).

4. ISORA

This 124-ton sidewheeler was built in 1839 at Smithland, Kentucky (ibid.). In the fall of 1841, it was serving as a light draft steamer on the Alabama River between Wetumpka and Mobile (Mobile Daily Advertiser and Chronicle, September 11, 1841) but was hauling cotton out of Aberdeen to Mobile by

January of the following year on the Upper Tombigbee (Mobile Register and Journal, January 29, 1842).

On April 30, 1842, the "Isora" sank, as indicated in the following newspaper announcement (ibid.):

> *A letter addressed to Capt. Robertson, received by the Southerner of last evening, announces the loss of the steamboat Isora. The cause of the accident is not given. It is simply stated that she struck on landing at Gray's Ferry last Saturday evening, and sunk over deck in a few minutes. The engine and furniture would be saved, but it was thought on the instant, that the boat was past recovery. She sank at sunset, and at ten o'clock when the letter was written, they had saved most of the deck load and were stripping the cabin . . .*

5. CANEBRAKE

This 162-ton sidewheeler was built in Cincinnati in 1840 (Neville, 1962). In the spring of 1842, it was known as the "Mobile and Greene County Packet," and one advertisement stated that it "has been throughly repaired, a new & spacious cabin built during the past summer" (Mobile Daily Advertiser and Chronicle, March 1, 1842). During the winter of 1842, she was engaged in the Alabama River trade, between Montgomery and Mobile (Mobile Register and Journal, November 16, 1842).

This vessel was stranded on the Little Tombigbee River at Warsaw, Sumter County, on January 1, 1845 (Neville, 1962). The boat was no doubt stripped of all useful items and probably disassembled at that time, as was the usual case when boats were left stranded.

6. PUTNAM

This 109-ton sidewheeler was built in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1841 (ibid.). This boat probably accomplished most of its service on the Ohio or Mississippi rivers, since it does not appear in Alabama newspapers. While Saltus (1977) states that it was "snagged" on Feb. 13, 1848, Neville (1962) and Scruggs (1953) state that it was stranded on that date at Ten Mile Shoals, below Columbus, Mississippi.

7. MOTIVE

This small 67-ton sternwheeler was built in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, in 1845 (Neville, 1962). The boat was snagged in February, 1850, as indicated by the following newspaper notice (Daily Alabama Journal [Montgomery], March 5, 1850):

> *The Motive, Captain Buffington, from Fulton, for Mobile, with about 240 bales of cotton struck a snag near Cox's Woodyard, between Waverly and Boston, on the Tombigbee river, and immediately sunk. The cotton on deck, about 174 bales, was taken off by the Sunny South, and brought to Mobile. The remainder was in the hold and could not be reached.*

8. WM. BRADSTREET

This 247-ton sidewheeler was built in 1845 in New Albany, Indiana (Neville, 1962). This large steamer served on the Tombigbee and Warrior rivers during the winter and spring "as long as the river was navigable" (Alabama Beacon [Greensboro], May 6, 1848), but operated as a packet on the Alabama in the summer (ibid., May 20, 1848). During the winter season of 1851-52, she served on the Alabama River between Wetumpka and Mobile (Mobile Daily Advertiser, December 14, 1851).

Although no newspaper notice has been located pertaining to her sinking, she was snagged near Lackey's Ferry, just south of Aberdeen, on the Upper Tombigbee, in March, 1852 (Neville, 1962).

9. ELIZA NO. 2

Neville stated that this 349-ton sidewheeler was built in 1852 in Cincinnati, Ohio (ibid.); however, I have found a notice proving that the vessel was operating on the Alabama River as early as December, 1851 (Mobile Daily Advertiser, December 14, 1851). By June, 1852, she was engaged on the Upper Tombigbee River, running between Columbus and Mobile (ibid., June 5, 1852). She was re-built in 1853, as stated below (ibid., December 30, 1853):

> *The Eliza No. 2.--This low water steamer arrived in port from Gainesville a few days since so altered in appearance as to be scarcely recognized. During the summer months she has undergone considerable repairs, a large portion of her cabin has been taken off and she has been otherwise lightened so as to enable her to navigate our little streams in low water with as much ease as others of much less capacity.*

Early in April, 1854, the Eliza No. 2 struck a snag while 25 miles below Columbus and sank with a full load of cotton (ibid., April 12, 1854); however, she was raised and returned to Mobile for repairs in May (ibid., May 25, 1854).

10. FOREST MONARCH

This 215-ton sidewheeler was built in 1848 in New Albany, Indiana (Neville, 1962), and arrived for service on the Alabama River in November of that same year (Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser [Montgomery], November 30, 1848). By the month of December, 1851, she was serving as a "Regular Monday Packet for Columbus" out of Mobile (Mobile Daily Advertiser, December 21, 1851).

The Forest Monarch was snagged and sunk just above Pickensville, on the Upper Tombigbee River, on April 14, 1855 (ibid., December 27, 1855). When the steamer Lucy Belle, a 169-ton sidewheeler, was snagged in December, 1855, it was thought that she had struck the wreck of the Forest Monarch, but in raising her, it was determined that she had snagged on a stump located to the side of the Forest Monarch (ibid., December 27, 1855).

11. BILLY STRATTON

Unfortunately, there is no directory of t[illegible]boats, and newspapers seldom mentioned them except when they sank while hauling valuable cargoes. The following notice from a Mobile newspaper contains information pertaining to one of those exceptions (ibid., March 7, 1955):

> *Flat Boat Sunk.--We find the following memorandum attached to the manifest of the steamer Le Comte, arrived yesterday from Aberdeen: On the evening of the 3rd inst., the flat boat "Billy Stratton," Robinson, master, was wrecked and sunk near McCarty's Bluff, having on board some 300 or 400 bales cotton.*

12. AZILE

This 132-ton sidewheeler was built in 1852 in New Albany, Indiana (Neville, 1962). The arrival of this new boat drew the following comments from a Mobile newspaper (Mobile Daily Advertiser, May 16, 1852):

> *The Arrival of the Azile.--This fine, new and neat little passenger steamer, the departure from Louisville of which we noticed a few days ago, arrived at our wharves yesterday, sure enough. The want of such a craft for the summer trade, to run to Bladon and along shore, has long been felt in this community, and notwithstanding that she is rather small, several of our citizens were aboard to examine her accommodations, and the general expression were those of entire satisfaction.*

Bladon Springs was a popular watering place in southern Choctaw County, about 143 river miles above Mobile. During the summer months, the Azile listed her major landings as "Bladon Springs, Demopolis and Gainesville" (ibid., June 5, 1852). In the latter part of June she had to discontinue her trip to Gainesville, as the following notice indicates (ibid., June 22, 1852):

> *The Azile left last Tuesday the 15th for Gainesville but only succeeded in reaching Demopolis, and was even then much delayed by the great scarcity of water upon the bars.*

In March, 1855, the Azile was sunk by a snag, and it was thought that she would not be raised, as the following newspaper notice indicates (Alabama State Centinel [Selma], March 20, 1855):

> *We learn from the Mobile Register of the 13th inst., that the steamer Azile on her downward trip, sunk at Burk's landing, and it is believed the boat, with a good portion of her cargo, will be a total loss. The Azile had on board 528 bales of cotton, and 23 passengers. . . . About 250 bales of her cotton were brought down by the Cuba, yesterday--the rest, together with the boat, as we have said, goes for clear loss, the water being about 20 feet deep where she sank.*

The boat was raised and rebuilt to carry passengers; she had been used in past few seasons exclusively for hauling freight (Mobile Daily Advertiser, November 6, 1855). She then disappears from the newspapers. Rodabough

(November 28, 1974) states that she sank in 1856 at Ten Mile Shoals, south of Columbus, Mississippi, while Neville (1962) states that she was abandoned in 1857.

13. W.H. GARDNER

This 174-ton sternwheeler was built in 1880 in Mobile (ibid.), and was operated principally by several Demopolis businessmen. She was destroyed by fire on March 2, 1887, at Howard's Bar, approximately three miles south of Gainesville, on the Upper Tombigbee River, killing some 23 persons in the conflagation. Heavily laden with cotton, the boat was racing with the steamer D.L. Talley, when a fire was discovered in the cotton carried by the W.H. Gardner (Montgomery Advertiser, March 4, 1887). A newspaper report said (ibid., Mar. 3, 1887):

> *The fire was discovered by Captain Stone. A negro deck hand threw water on the burning bale, and in throwing another bucketfull his clothes caught fire. Panic stricken he ran from place to place setting fire to cotton bales, and in a few minutes the boat was in flames all over. She was in mid stream and in motion. The crew and passengers jumped overboard. Those lost were drowned. It is not thought that more than one or two were burned. . . . Later intelligence shows that the fire originated from a spark from the chimney and was spread by a negro deck hand as related.*

14. CITY OF COLUMBUS

This small 59-ton sidewheeler was built in 1893 at Columbus, Mississippi (Neville, 1962). I have found little information pertaining to this insignificant vessel, which was probably used mainly for local trade. Saltus (1977) states that she was "wrecked" at Columbus in early 1900.

15. VIENNA

This 176-ton sternwheeler was built in 1898 at Columbus. Three excellent photographs of this boat may be found in Bert Neville's Directory of River Packets in the Mobile-Alabama-Warrior-Tombigbee Trades, pages 349-351.

The Vienna was snagged at Moore's Bluff (Ten Mile Shoals) below Columbus in 1907. Saltus (1977) states that she was "bound for Mobile with a cargo of cotton, cottonseed meal, and cotton seed chaff" when snagged.

16. AMERICAN

This 190-ton sternwheeler was built in 1902 at Decatur, Alabama, by the American Oak & Extract Company, for the purpose of hauling lumber and hides. She was modeled after the Avalon the largest boat on the Tennessee River, against the advice of pilots who believed that she was too large for her intended purpose. On her first trip into a creek after a load of chestnut

wood, she ran into the trees, losing some of her gingerbread from the pilot house and some of the boiler deck railings (information from an interview of W. Stuart Harris with Bert Neville).

The owners sold her to Vicksburg interests for use on the Yazoo River. When the Vienna sank (see above), Peeples & Stuart, a company operating out of Vienna and Pickensville, sent Captain Sam Cosper, Sr. to Vicksburg to purchase a replacement, and the "American" was his choice (ibid.).

Peeples & Stuart operated the American out of Demopolis and Columbus to Mobile during the high water seasons. During the low water seasons, she was leased for the Alabama River trade from Mobile to Lower Peach Tree or to Selma. On one occasion she was snagged and sank at Portland, Dallas County, but was soon raised and placed again into operation (ibid.).

Photographs of the American may be found in Neville's directory, pages 141-142, and also in the files of the Special Collections, University of Alabama Library. She was destroyed by fire on April 4, 1915, at Pickensville, on the Upper Tombigbee River. I have found no newspaper notice of the destruction.

17. SWAN

This 47-ton sternwheeler was the only steam towboat listed among these 17 wrecks. First called the Jackson, she was built in Mobile in 1900, and measured 102.2 x 22.2 x 2.4 feet (Neville, 1964). She was sold to Tuscaloosa interests around 1907 to take the palce of the Alert and was re-named Swan about 1913 (ibid.).

She was re-built in 1913, becoming a 60-ton vessel, measuring 100 x 21.5 x 2.5 feet, and was used to transport log rafts from Phifers, Alabama (28 water miles below Tuscaloosa) to Tuscaloosa. She was later sold to a sawmill near Epes, on the Upper Tombigbee River. Around 1920, she went aground at Whitsitt's Landing during a flood, where she broke in half and was abandoned.

APPENDIX 7

CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE AND HIS LITTLE TOMBIGBEE ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION

By Kenneth R. Wesson

Clarence Bloomfield Moore was born in Philadelphia on January 14, 1852, the son of Bloomfield H. and Clara S. (Jessup) Moore. He was graduated from Harvard with an A.B. degree in 1873; his major area of study was archeology. After his graduation Moore traveled across much of Europe, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Turkey, as well as the United States. He enjoyed big-game hunts and safari trips (Wardle, 1956, p. 9), and in 1876 he journeyed across the Andes Mountains and down the Amazon River. During 1878-79 he took another trip around the world. (Who Was Who in America, 1943, s.v. "Clarence Bloomfield Moore.")

Subsequent to his extensive world travel Moore spent a considerable portion of the next thirty years indulging himself in archeological exploration and investigation in the southeastern United States, then but little known archeologically. By 1893 Moore had become associated with Dr. Milo G. Miller, secretary, co-worker, physician, and friend, who was to remain Moore's inseparable companion to the end of his scientific work (Wardle, 1956, p. 9). Mainly concerning himself with aboriginal sites, Moore traveled the coasts and many of the inland waterways of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana (Who Was Who in America, 1943, s.v. "Clarence Bloomfield Moore"). Moore utilized a flat-bottomed steamboat, the Gopher, for his water transportation (Moore, 1905, p. 125; Wardle, 1956, p. 10; Arrow Points 7 [1923]:114). The captain of the boat for many years was one J.S. Raybon, who examined in advance such territory as Moore intended to explore and obtained permission to investigate from the owners (Moore, 1909, p. 7). The archeological campaigns were well organized. Expeditions usually occurred in the spring, while summers were devoted to cleaning, repairing, photographing, and studying the collection of artifacts; the writing of the reports followed in the fall (Wardle, 1956, p. 9).

During the winter of 1901 Moore explored sites along the Little Tombigbee River in Mississippi and Alabama. Starting from Columbus, Mississippi, he conducted six weeks of "vigorous work" on many sites, while descending the river. Moore's primary objective was to locate and excavate aboriginal cemeteries, but only isolated and fragmentary skeletal remains were found; some pottery and other artifacts were also uncovered. He found no evidence of aboriginal cremations along the Tombigbee River. The mounds and campsites visited were all measured, examined, and recorded, together with any information concerning the findings of excavation. Having uncovered comparatively little, however, the investigation was abandoned twenty-nine miles

below Demopolis, Alabama, at Bickley's Landing (Moore, 1901, pp. 499, 504, 514).

In his published account of the 1901 Tombigbee River exploration Moore included a list of mounds, camp-sites, landings, and locations along the river from Columbus, Mississippi, to the confluence of the Alabama River. Included in the list are the names of owners of the property on which mounds and camp-sites were located, and whether or not the owner had given his permission to excavate the site. The following list is a reproduction of Moore's from Columbus, Mississippi, to Gainesville, Alabama. The first item in each citation is the name of the location. The second item is the prospective site to be excavated (either mound[s] or [and] camp-site[s]). The third item is the property owner's name(s). The final item, if listed, is the word "permission," meaning that the property owner(s) had given permission for excavation to be performed on the property; if the word "permission" does not appear, it is assumed that excavation was not allowed. See Fig. 18.

Butler's Gin, mound, James Cox, Esq.
Chowder Spring, mounds, William S. Mustin, Esq., permission.
Chowder Spring, mound, Messrs. Halbert & Vaughn, permission.
Halbert Lake, mound, P.M. Halbert, Esq.
Moore's Bluff, camp-sites, J.T.W. Hairston, Esq., permission.
Moore's Bluff, camp-site, W. Snowton, Esq.
Blue Rock Landing, camp-sites, A.B. Mybrick, Esq., permission.
Wild Cat Bend, mound and camp-site, J.T.W. Hairston, Esq., permission.
Union Bluff, camp-site, Hon. T.B. Franklin, permission.
Opposite Union Bluff, mound, J.T.W. Hairston, Esq., permission.
Jim Creek, camp-site, William Baldwin, Esq.
Pumpkin Landing, camp-site, Mrs. S.C. Monk.
Davis Gin Landing, mound and camp-site, J.E. Stewart, Esq.
McLaren's Landing, mound and camp-site, Winston Jones, Esq.
Pickensville Landing, camp-site, Mrs. W.A. Peterson, permission.
Pickensville Landing, camp-site, W.H. Horton, Esq., permission.
Jackson Landing, camp-site, Mrs. Elizabeth Jones.
Ringgold's Bluff, camp-site, Milton B. Curry, Esq., permission.
Ringgold's Bluff, mound and camp-sites, Mrs. Susan West, permission.
McFatton Landing, mound and camp-site, B.B. Cohen, Esq., permission.
Carraway Landing, camp-site, Mrs. Caroline Carraway.
Memphis Landing, mound, Mr. Mouchett, permission.
Blubber Creek, mounds, Lee Stone, Esq., permission.
Coleman Landing, mounds and camp-sites, A.H. Cooper, Esq., permission.
Clanton Landing, camp-sites, Mrs. Henrietta Bradford, permission.
Stone's Ferry, camp-site, Richard Lang, Esq.
Summerville, mound, James B. Summerville, Esq., permission.
Kearney's Bluff, camp-site, William Hagaman, Esq., permission.
Ballard Lake, camp-site, William Hagaman, Esq., permission.
Cat-fish Landing, camp-sites, James Luke, Esq., permission.
Windham Landing, mound and camp-sites, W.B. Peebles, Esq., permission.
Sipsey Landing, camp-site, D. Poynor, Esq., permission.
Hill's Landing, camp-site, John W. Cook, Esq., permission.
Opposite Barnes' Gin, camp-site, John W. Cook, Esq., permission.
Barnes' Gin, camp-site, Messrs. W.M. and J.A. Halsell, permission.
Hibbler's Landing, camp-site, Messrs. W.M. and J.A. Halsell, permission.

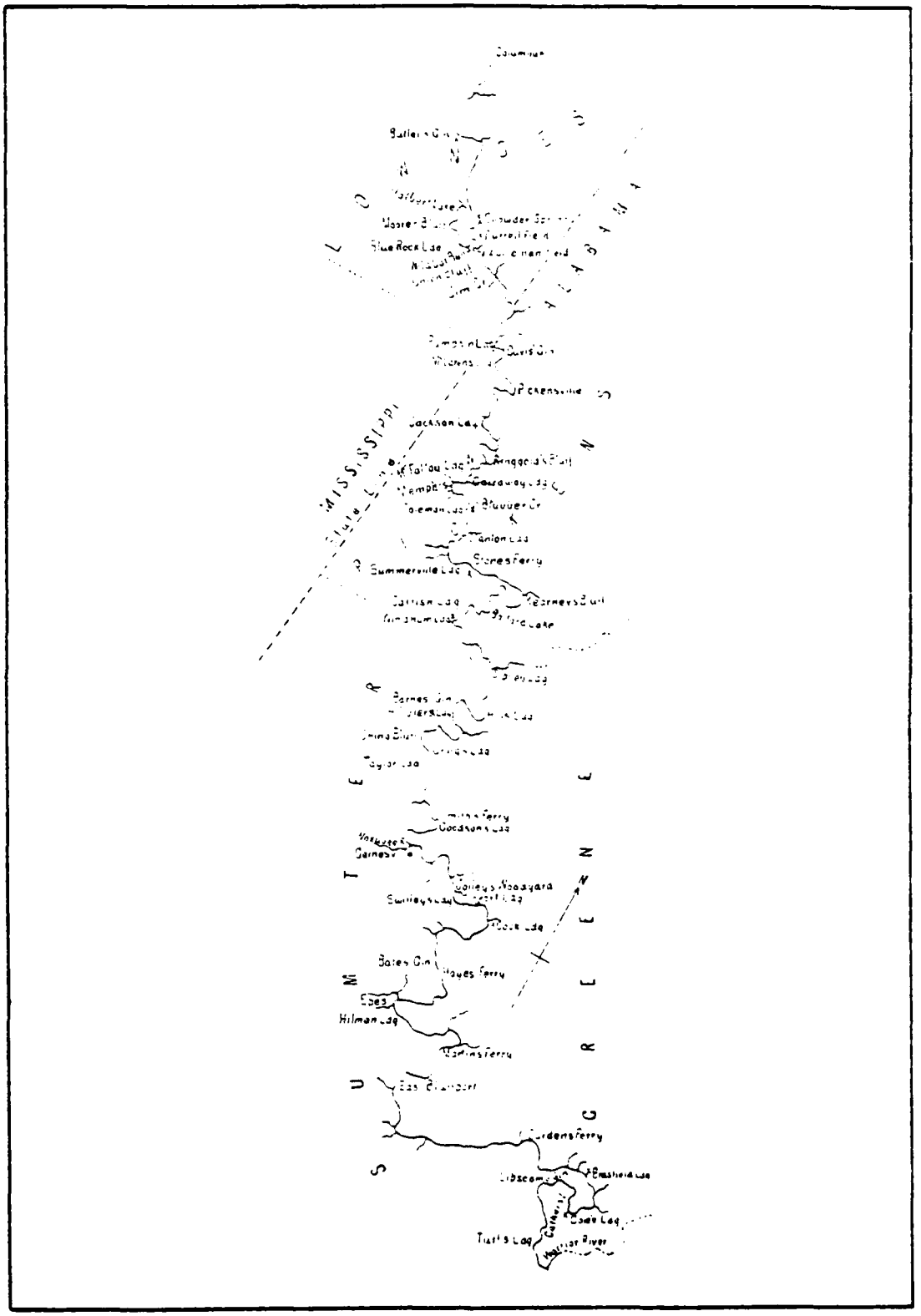

FIG. 18. CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE'S MAP OF THE TOMBIGBEE RIVER BELOW COLUMBUS, 1901.

China Bluff Landing, camp-site, John W. Cook, Esq., permission.
Craig's Landing, mounds, John W. Cook, Esq., permission.
Taylor's Landing, mounds, Mrs. Jane Pettit, permission.
Smith's Ferry, camp-site, Hugh Lang, Esq., permission.
Goodson's Landing, mound and camp-site, Logan Waller, Esq., permission.
Noxubee River, camp-sites, R. Hibler, Esq., permission.
Gainesville, camp-site, B. May, Esq.
Gainesville, camp-site, Dr. Williams, permission. (Ibid., pp. 500-01.)

Perhaps Moore's most successful archeological exploration was conducted in 1905 at Moundville, Alabama. There he discovered highly artistic objects in shell, pottery, stone, and copper, belonging to a great Indian ceremonial and burial center. Moore returned to Moundville in 1906 and with him were some ten to fifteen men employed to dig, as well as several trained assistants; the crew worked there for almost a month. Although not as fruitful as his first visit, Moore's second excavation at Moundville did expose many Indian artifacts. (Wardle, 1956, pp. 9-10; Arrow Points 7 [1923]:112.)

Through more than a quarter of a century Moore explored sites where the Indians of the southern states had made their homes and had buried their dead. Moore had carefully recorded his data, and he had uncovered much physical evidence to be preserved. From 1892 to 1921 Moore published his findings in more than twenty books and articles. Though some of his writings were privately printed, most were published through the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; his work was also published in The American Naturalist and in American Anthropologist. Moore donated much of his collection of American Indian archeological artifacts and materials to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. With his approval, the collection was later sold to the Museum of American Indian-Heye Foundation in New York City, except for a few artifacts given to the Wagner Institute in Philadelphia. (Wardle, 1956, pp. 10-11; National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1966, p. 8.) Moore died in 1936.

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Introductory Comments

While secondary works have been of real value to this project, the backbone of the work has been in primary sources. The best results have come from documentary and cartographic investigations rather than from "literature search." Opportunities for further advancement of knowledge also lie in this area.

Libraries and Depositories of Records

Useful records have been found in many places, the most important of which are listed below, with some of their most interesting collections.

1. Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery. A vast collection of material on the history of Alabama. Of special interest:

John Anthony Winston papers (personal and political)
Albert J. Pickett collection
Peter A. Brannon papers
Doy McCall papers (on steamboats)
Thomas M. Owen papers
Biographical collections (very extensive)
Collections of Alabama newspapers (very extensive)
Microfilms of manuscript U.S. Census records

2. Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson. A well-managed enterprise with extensive collections of material on Mississippi. Of special interest:

W.W. Humphries plantation papers (diary, account books, contracts with sharecroppers, 1879-1883)
Henry B. Whitfield & Co., letter books, 1867-1868. (Lowndes County, Mississippi, business letters depicting failure of a proposed cotton gin-grist mill operation)
J.J. Reynolds papers relating to Tishomingo County (letters and tax receipts)
Bertie Shaw Rollins papers (letters and an account of hotels in Aberdeen, 1847-1951)
William F. Shields papers (Lowndes County plantation records, 1840-1841)
Henry B. Whitfield and Company (letters relating to the unsuccessful Cibolo Cotton and Grist Mills near Artesia in the Reconstruction Era)
William F. Shields papers, 1821-1870 (a naval officer's papers, including plantation accounts in Lowndes County)

George Hampton Young papers, 1836-1845 (a microfilm of documents belonging to the owners of Waverly plantations, mostly legal documents of limited usefulness)
Extensive collections of Mississippi newspapers
Works Progress Administration histories of Mississippi counties
Microfilms of manuscript U.S. Census records

3. University of Alabama Main Library, Tuscaloosa. Special collections include extensive manuscripts and maps. Other items of special interest:

A very extensive collection of U.S. Government publications, especially congressional documents, an almost complete collection of the annual reports of the army's Chief of Engineers
Theses on Alabama subjects
Extensive collections of Alabama newspapers
Microfilms of manuscript U.S. Census records

4. Mississippi State University Library, Starkville. Special collections include maps, monographs, and other documents. Of special interest:

Bertie Shaw Rollins papers, showing various aspects of life in Monroe County
William F. Shields papers (plantation records) of Lowndes County
Randolph-Sherman papers (microfilm), relating to Lowndes County
Microfilms of miscellaneous Lowndes County papers

5. University of Mississippi Library, Oxford. Miscellaneous items on Mississippi, of which the following are of special interest:

Clippings files on Mississippi, arranged by county
Theses on Mississippi counties
Extensive records of the lumber industry
Files of Mississippi newspapers

6. Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham. Here is found the very extensive Rucker Agee collection of early maps of the Southeast and Gulf Coast, some very rare.

7. Mobile Public Library, Mobile. Here are extensive records of Mobile and of Mobile's trade, including that on the rivers. Of special interest is the collection of Mobile city directories, showing businesses, commission merchants, factors, and names of people in the area. Steamboat landings on the Upper Tombigbee River, with distances from Mobile, are regularly listed in these directories.

8. Army Corps of Engineers Office, Mobile. Some records of the Upper Tombigbee River are kept here, but the Corps has not generally preserved archival records. Extensive atlases of the Upper Tombigbee, with dates of 1916 and 1938, preserved at the Tuscaloosa office, are currently in Mobile. The Mobile office has current maps and current records that have been useful to this project.

9. Geological Survey of Alabama Library, at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa. Collections of maps and documents here on geology and geography and natural history relate almost entirely to the State of Alabama. Hard-to-find tracts and monographs are often available here, and the collections include some rather rare maps, as well as comprehensive collections of maps showing current geography and geology.

10. Mississippi University for Women Library, Columbus. The principal collection of interest found here is of the records of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Authority, which has only very recently been made accessible.

11. W.A. Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen. Extensive documents including ledgers and other account books of local enterprises. Detailed descriptions and finding aids are largely lacking, so quick and well-directed use of the collections is not to be anticipated.

12. Lowndes County Public Library, Columbus. This public library has a special collections section that undertakes to acquire items relating to the local history of the county. It has various documents, clippings, and photographs relating to the Tombigbee River.

13. Natchez Trace Parkway Library, Tupelo. The special collection here relates very narrowly to the Natchez Trace and matters directly related to it. It has a collection of maps.

14. County Courthouses of the ten Upper Tombigbee counties all contain extensive local records, which can provide the basis for research and analysis.

15. Southern Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Extensive manuscript collections cover the entire South. Of special interest to the Upper Tombigbee area are the following:

Samuel Andrew Agnew (1833-1902) diary (relates to northeast Mississippi)
Billups Family papers, relating to Noxubee County
Elizabeth Amis Cameron (Hooper Blanchard papers, describing antebellum plantation life in Lowndes County)
Belle Edmundson Diary, describes trip from Shelby County, Tennessee, to Columbus in 1864
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Hairston and Wilson family papers (Lowndes County plantation)
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Charles Eaton Hamilton papers (Lowndes County plantation)
Ernest Haywood collection (Greene County plantation)
Holliday and Pendleton family papers (antebellum Aberdeen)
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William Ruffin Smith papers (Lowndes County plantation)
James Perrin Quarles, Jr., collection (relates in part to Chickasaw lands)
Walton Family papers (Greene County, family and business)
Wetmore Family papers (Sumter County)
Gaston Hillary Wilder papers (Greene County plantation and store records)

Robert W. Withers papers (Greene County plantation, business, and medical practice records)
Marcus Joseph Wright papers (Greene County family, plantation, and legislative)

16. Duke University Library, Durham, N.C. Limited manuscripts of interest to Upper Tombigbee area, particularly:

James D. Dunn papers (Greene County business and steamboats)
A.H. Jones Invoice Book (Noxubee County trade, property lists and inventories)

17. National Archives, Washington. This institution is unsurpassed as a repository of the archival records of the United States government. Its facilities are inadequate to cope with recent creations, however. These are either being stored in temporary facilities or in the Federal records centers in various parts of the country, which now have archives branches. In the main building in Washington the following are of special interest:

Land plats from original surveys, with field notes
Records of steam vessels, including steamboats
Archival records of the Army Chief of Engineers
Post Office records
Records of aerial photographic surveys

18. Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. Records of the sales of public lands are found here, in the archives branch. Still in Records are the records of the Interstate Commerce Commissions's Docket 13494, the Southern Class Rate Investigation, which were used in the present study.

19. Federal Records Center, Archives Branch, East Point, Georgia. A considerable body of records of the Mobile District Office of the Corps of Engineers is to be found here, including working papers for feasibility studies of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

20. Library of Congress, Washington. This is a national library of a tremendous scope of operations. In its collections some items of special interest are:

Thousands of maps of Alabama and Mississippi areas in the Map Division
County histories for Alabama and Mississippi
Pictures of individuals and sites in the Prints and Photographic Division

21. U.S. Bureau of Land Management, Silver Spring, Maryland. This bureau maintains records and maps for its own operations on a very extensive scale. Its collections contain many maps showing details of survey of areas in the Upper Tombigbee Valley in Alabama and Mississippi. Of special interest are the tract books, which show original purchasers of public lands, acres purchased, precise location, price per acre, and date of purchase, arranged by townships. Microfilms of the tract books for Alabama and Mississippi have been acquired by the University of Alabama Library and the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture of that institution.

22. U.S. Postal Service Library, Washington. This contains published records of post offices and postmaster appointments.

23. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Library, Washington. This contains a complete set of the annual reports of the Chief of Engineers and a very elaborate comprehensive index to those reports. Most of the working papers and maps of the Corps appear to have been routinely destroyed when no longer needed in the conduct of operations.

24. Library of the Bureau of Railway Economics, Association of American Railroads, Washington. Although greatly reduced from its former glory, this is still a national fountain of information relating to railroads, including those of the Upper Tombigbee Valley.

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