North Carolina:
The Origin and Rise of the Cotton Textile Industry
1830-1880

Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of the Ohio State
University

By
Richard Worden Griffin, M. B. S. M. A.
The Ohio State University
1954

Approved by:

Henry H. Simms
Advisor
Frontispiece: An early plea for Southern industrialization
"With respect to cotton, you do not pretend to deny that a sufficient quantity may be produced. Several of the Southern Colonies are so favorable to it that, with due cultivation, in a couple of years they would afford enough to clothe the whole continent. As to the expense of bringing it by land, the best way will be to manufacture it where it grows, and afterwards transport it to the other colonies." Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, 1775.
CONTENTS

Introduction
North Carolina: Political and Social Setting, 1830-1880 1-15

Chapter I
Origins of Cotton Manufacturing in North Carolina, 1800-1830 16-44

Chapter II
A Cotton Manufacturing Interest Develops in North Carolina, 1830-1860 45-104

Chapter III
North Carolina Cotton Mills During Civil War and Reconstruction, 1860-1880 105-158

Chapter IV
Cotton Mill Finance and Management, 1830-1880 159-205

Chapter V
Labor, Factory and Mill Village, 1830-1880 206-228

Chapter VI
Opinion in North Carolina of the Cotton Textile Industry, 1830-1880 229-253

Conclusions 254-267

Appendices
I. Contract for machinery for the Lincoln Mill 1816 269-270
II. Fisher Report 1828 271-282
III. Cotton Manufactures in the Old Atlantic Southern States 1845 283-309
IV. Speech of Judge Collier at an Alabama Manufacturers' Convention 1846 310-314
V. Invoice of Machinery for the Elkin Manufacturing Company 1848 315-316
VI. An Alphabetical Listing of Cotton Mills, including names of Stockholders, location of mill, date of founding, in North Carolina 1804-1880 317-330
VII. A Chronological list of North Carolina Cotton Mills founded from 1804-1880 331-335
VIII. Persons associated with the Building of the North Carolina Cotton Textile Industry 1804-1880 336-365

IX. Contemporary Cotton Mill Listings and Statistics in North Carolina Counties 366-393

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>366-368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1866-1867</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1867-1868</td>
<td>369-371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>371-374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>375-377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>378-381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>383-388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>388-393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Photographic Credits 394

Bibliography 395-403
Maps, Plates, and Documents

Frontispiece
Front page of The Charlotte Journal September 5, 1845
An early plea for the manufacture of cotton

Plates

Plate 1. Lincoln Factory 1813 25
Plate 2. Leaksville Factory 25
Plate 3. John M. Morehead 25
Plate 4. Edwin M. Holt 58
Plate 5. William A. Erwin 58
Plate 6. Salisbury Manufacturing Company 1839-1857 as used during the Civil War as a Confederate Prison 120
Plate 7. Primitive Spinning wheel and loom 182
Plate 8. H. and F. Fries Cotton and Woolen Mill 182

Documents

Document 1. Bill of Incorporation of the Cane Creek Cotton Factory 1837 40
Document 2. Stockholders Report of the Cane Creek Cotton Factory March 6, 1848 176-177
Document 3. Typescript of Beam-Schenck Contract for Lincoln Factory machinery 2 269
Document 4. Photograph of the original Beam-Schenck Contract 270

Maps

Map I. Cumberland County Statistics and Map 28-29

Map II. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1800-1830 43
Map III. Richmond County
Statistics and Map 53-54

Map IV. Alamance County
Statistics and Map 60-61

Map V. Randolph County
Statistics and Map 71-72

Map VI. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1830-1839 81

Map VII. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1840-1849 94

Map VIII. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1850-1859 102

Map IX. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations during the Civil War 111

Map X. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1866-1880 153

Map XI. North Carolina Cotton Mill Locations 1804-1880 158
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly indebted to my advisor, Henry H. Simms, of his wise counsel and keen criticism. I wish to thank Mr. O. V. Clark and Mr. C. J. Frarey, assistant librarians of the University of North Carolina and Duke University. My appreciation goes as well to Dr. J. W. Patton of the Southern Historical Collection, and Mr. Jay Luvaas of the Flowers Collection. I am indebted to Miss Mary Thornton and Mr. William Powell of the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina. I also wish to thank Mrs. Sarah Walters, Mrs. Elizabeth Ryan, Miss Anna Brook Allen and Mrs. Mary Fisher of the Southern Historical Collection, Miss Mattie Russell and Mrs. B. F. Beers of the Flowers Manuscript Collection of Duke University, and finally, I wish to extend my appreciation to Mrs. Jean Kahler, Mrs. Ralph Ross, Miss Melba Colgrove, and Miss Margaret Sanders for assisting with the proof reading.

R.W.G.
INTRODUCTION

North Carolina:
Political and Social Setting, 1830-1880

The year 1830 may be taken as the beginning of a new era in the economic development of North Carolina. By this date it was evident to many that the old system of strict agrarianism was breaking down, and there was much concern for the future prospects of the state. The most vocal elements were heard discussing the manifold problems from the rostrum of the state capitol, at political rallies, and in the social and religious gatherings of great and small.

North Carolina, because of its geographical sectionalization, easily fell prey to regionalism and a strong sense of distinct localism. The preceding half century had laid the ghost of revolutionary divisions, but new elements of schism appeared to replace those of the past. There arose new questions which divided the state on economic, political, social, and even religious bases. By 1830 these issues had largely become centered in the political struggle becoming yearly more intense in nature.¹

The two contending sections might have been divided by an imaginary line running southwest from Roanoke Rapids to Smithville, Fayetteville, and to the South Carolina line in Anson County.

East of this line lay the rich alluvial plain where the planter-commercial aristocracy was dominant, and the ports of New Bern, Wilmington, and Fayetteville served as the urban centers of this group. The eastern part of the state, most heavily populated when the first constitution was written in 1776, had, by 1830, begun to be a minority section. Yet political power was still in the hands of the people of this area. By this means they held the entire state in political and economic thralldom.2

For those living in the east, business and social intercourse was carried on easily between the component parts. The many navigable streams and the great Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds offered cheap and ready communication and transportation. This was in direct contrast to the situation of the people living in the area west of this line who were widely separated, and whose rivers were unusable for transportation and whose few roads were often impassable.3

The cash crops of the coastal region were largely of a staple variety, although grains and fruits were produced.

The most popular crops were cotton, tobacco, and rice, which were readily salable and exportable. The labor of this section was largely that of Negro slaves, and the population was unequally divided between blacks and whites, with the blacks predominating. The policies of the planters were usually supported by the local farmers, the only discordant note in eastern society being the poor whites, who were either engaged in working on the turpentine plantations or as vagrants in the towns. These people, by reason of their lonely occupations and slovenly way of life, were considered the dregs of eastern society. 4

Although there were planters and slaves in the west, the planter was less influential and slavery was quite unpopular in many areas. The chief western crops were grains that were readily transformed into flour and whiskey, the latter being more profitable and marketable. There were also orchards producing fruits that could be made into brandy, while some fresh fruits were sent to the markets of South Carolina. 5 A rising group of manufacturers in the west fabricating iron, paper, and cotton had economic interests which differed from those of the planters. However, these varied groups were as one regarding the desire for internal improvements.

5. The Charlotte Journal, September 12, 1845. See Appendix III.
This western area, settled widely by Germans, Moravians, Scotch-Irish, and other small groups, did not have the homogeneity of the coastal plain, which was largely Anglo-Saxon in origin. In the west there were many who could not find a satisfactory means of earning a living, and they, like many rich planters of the east, moved to Alabama and Mississippi in search of new economic opportunity.6 Thus the groups which once presented an impressive opposition to slavery were either assimilated by the surrounding population or emigrated to free states such as Indiana and Illinois in protest against the slave system.7

The upper classes lived gracefully, although not usually in the way made famous by novelists and romancers. They lived in comfortable homes usually having no architectural distinction. Although some houses were copied after the classic Greek Revival and Georgian styles, these were rather rare.

Planters often had sizable libraries, and comfortable furnishings of fashionable styles. The plantation family secured the comforts and luxuries of life from the North and England, where they found ready markets for their products. Their tables were often covered with the finest Irish linens, and the hospitable dinners were served in the products of

Wedgewood, with tableware made by eminent silversmiths. They often read Northern and English newspapers and other imported literature, while their wine cellars were stocked with the wines of the world, as well as the more potent distillations of the neighborhood. 8

Those in the west lived on a much more simple scale. Log or frame houses predominated, with a few being built of brick and native stone. There were fewer private libraries and the houses, although comfortable, often contained home-made furniture. Although there was a strong temperance movement developing in the thirties, whiskey sold in some localities as low as 37½ cents a gallon. 9 The majority of items consumed were home-produced. The people of this area had little money to spend for anything that was not a necessity.

The sons of planters received their preparatory education either by private tutors on the plantation or in the many private academies of the state. Some obtained their advanced education at the University of North Carolina, while the majority attended universities in the North. In the west there was little time to devote to education, and although there were good academies in the west, ignorance and illiteracy were much more widespread there than in the coastal region. 10

8. Ibid., 61-86, 224-227.
Politically the people of the east were much more conservative than those in the west, although there were little pockets of progressive people in the urban centers of the coastal area, and some planters who were ready to aid the expansion of the state. The people of the west, if not liberal, were progressive to the extent that their isolation required.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus the desires and needs of the two sections were so diverse as to cause a growing animosity. The European imbroglio and the Anglo-American War of 1812 made manifest to many in each section the weaknesses of North Carolina. There were fewer reformers in the eastern part of the state, but they were strengthened by the large number in the west. The growing demands of the west for state action in behalf of that area brought a program of gradual improvement.

The legislative battle, centering around the constitutional convention, was long and bitter. The years from 1828 to 1835 were characterised by unrest, which was generated by the economic, social, and political stagnation of North Carolina. The people living west of the fall line were cut off, as we have previously seen, from the eastern coastal region and its ports. Roads were few and poor, and their maintenance depended on an outmoded and inefficient

\textsuperscript{11} Hamilton, \textit{op. cit.}, 17-29.
corvee-like system. Those elements which dominated the government refused to heed the cry of the west for improved transportation facilities, as road and canal building were expensive. If the state were to undertake the financial burden of aid to turnpike, canal and—later—railroad companies, it would be the property owners who would bear the burden. These were mostly the great planters who owned large tracts of improved land and much personal property, which was the basis of the state taxing system. It is understandable why the planter class tenaciously resisted this costly program, for they could see no direct benefits for themselves. Their dilemma was settled happily when the state received its share of the money from the Distribution Act introduced by Henry Clay. This money was applied to the development of internal improvements and made increased taxation unnecessary for a time.

Some of the western leaders, who were accepting and promoting Jacksonian democracy, wished to see its wider diffusion in North Carolina. They urged a constitutional convention which could eliminate property qualifications for voting and holding office, give the state a popularly elected governor, and above all make possible an equitable system of representation. In the half century following 1776 the

13. Ibid., 34-35.
population of the west began to expand at a much greater rate than that in the east, but under the revolutionary constitution the eastern section, which had at that time been more populous, held control of the government. Since the basis of representation in the general assembly was by county, the east maintained its control by creating a new eastern county to balance the establishment of each new western one.  

The coming of the railway age had considerable influence on the transportation desires of the people of North Carolina. The desire for state-aided railroad construction grew among the western people, and internal improvements, which came, in North Carolina, to mean railway building, were viewed by large segments of North Carolinians as a panacea for the debility of the state. The columns of the state newspapers, for the following thirty years, were filled with the glowing promise that this mode of transportation extended.

The legislative halls in Raleigh rang out with acrimonious debate for five years after 1830, with an increasing attack on the domination of the state government by a moribund system which conferred power on a minority section. By 1835 it was evident to the eastern representatives that they must introduce reforms, and do so while they still had

14. Ibid.
15. Hillsborough Recorder, Western Carolinian, Raleigh Register, and Greensborough Patriot, passim.
the authority and opportunity to exercise a restraining influence, for otherwise open rebellion threatened. In that year the major issues were adjusted. Thus the east retained some of its power, while the west gained some of its demands. Governors after 1835 were popularly elected, property qualifications for holding office and voting were modified or abolished, representation changed so that the shift in power would be gradual. The free Negro lost his right to vote at this time, and the Catholic disabilities were dropped, but there was still the requirement that to hold office one must be a Christian.

Although the gubernatorial power was negligible, this popular election gave the people of all localities of the state a common goal, and in this way provided the basis for party government and responsibility.

In the period 1835-1836 there began the development of a two party system, Whig and Democrat. The Whig party contained the more progressive of the great property owners and a large group of plain people who supported their progressive program. The North Carolina Whigs tended to favor the program of Henry Clay and his "American System." Western Whigs seemed to offer the most alert leadership, especially regarding the question of state internal improvements, which, as understood by most North Carolinians, meant

16. Ibid.
the construction of railroads. The building of railroads, and state aid for their construction, was the most important issue in state politics from 1836 to 1850. This fourteen-year period was dominated by four Whig governors, representing both eastern and western sections of the state.18

Edward B. Dudley, of New Hanover County, was the first of these governors, 1836-1840. His two terms were a transition period, in which parties and programs were consolidated. Dudley, president of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, was vitally interested in the further construction of railways.

John Motley Morehead, of Guilford County, governor from 1840 to 1844, was likewise a promoter of railways and of cotton factories, having large investments in both of these businesses. It was under Morehead and his successor, W. A. Graham of Lincoln County, who served from 1844 to 1848, that the North Carolina Railroad was largely promoted, thus reflecting the progressive spirit of the community.

Charles Manley, brother-in-law of Edward Dudley, was the last of the Whig governors, his term of office running from 1848 to 1850. It was in this period that the Whig party as a national and state party began its fragmentation and subsequent disappearance.19

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 92-125.
The Democrats, by 1850, had assumed parts of the program of the declining Whig Party and included many of its former members. They sponsored internal improvements and their views were more in accord with the attitude, being adopted by the South, of defending Southern ideals.

There were in the period 1836-1850 many distinguished North Carolinians who took active interest in the building of cotton textile mills, and in this period there was an extensive growth of this industry, from Lenoir in the west to Rocky Mount in the east. Many planters were active in the building and operating of these factories. From the middle fifties until 1860 the promotion of, and the interest in, the industry declined sharply. There are many possible reasons why this was true, the most significant being the need to consolidate the rapid expansion of the preceding twenty years, the revival of agricultural prices after 1849, and the eventual depression of 1857.

The growing attack on slavery, and the vituperative language used with regard to the Southern way of life and against the planter class, brought many more North Carolinians into a party rapidly growing sectional. The sectional differences were becoming greatly magnified along with the breakup of the old party structures.

The "immovable object" of the slave system was meeting head on the "irresistible force" of those determined to contain slavery within its existing bounds. It was in 1860
that the splinter parties presented their varied choices for the presidency to the electorate of the United States. A minority president, Abraham Lincoln, viewed in the South as hostile to its way of life, was elected.20

North Carolina, taking neither extreme side, was caught between the Scylla of Northern intentions and the Charybdis of Southern resistance. The more moderate element was able to defeat secession until Lincoln called for troops. Thus the state's dilemma was settled at Fort Sumter and in Washington. Once the decision was irrevocably made North Carolina joined wholeheartedly in the effort to win Southern independence.

The impetus of war and blockade brought renewed interest in railway construction, making diversified industry a necessity, and self-sufficiency a goal. In the period of the war North Carolina and its people were forced by necessity, and perhaps by inclination, to take a greater interest in cotton textile promotion and expansion. Many North Carolina industrialists, including John M. Morehead, were accused of war profiteering and occasionally of having Union sympathies. In spite of adverse criticism these manufacturers did an admirable job of producing yarn and cloth, with the result that North Carolina troops were considered the best provided for in the Confederacy. Cotton factories suffered with all

20. Ibid., 194-200.
other types of property because of the war. Machinery was worn out, mills were burned by invaders, and there was suspicion that at least one mill had been burned by a saboteur.21

The growth of North Carolina industry was retarded momentarily by the fall of the Confederacy, which invalidated millions of dollars in currency and bonds. Also contributing to the slowing down of economic progress was the unrest caused by hostile and destructive occupation troops, and the confusion generated by presidential and congressional plans of Reconstruction. The state was bankrupt, private financial institutions closed their doors, and almost every individual suffered losses of property and money. The beginning of the year 1865 found almost all types of business at a standstill, and the abolition of slavery completely disorganized agriculture. That year, with governments functioning under the presidential plan, there was momentarily a remarkable recovery in the economic, political, and social life of the state. This was brought to an abrupt end with the implementing of the more vindictive plan of Congress.22

Reconstruction once begun, the energies of the people and the state were directed toward resistance. Capital once more vanished in fear that it would be confiscated, and

22. Ibid.
conditions became so unsettled, and the price of cotton so high, that no one was interested in investing money in old or new cotton factories. The conditions in the state began to approach normalcy in 1870, for in that year Governor W. W. Holden was removed from office and the radical control of the state was broken. Capital from North Carolinians once more began to flow into industry, and this amount became greater in each succeeding year as the cotton textile industry made great forward strides. The repudiation by the state of part of the state debts caused Northern and European investors to refrain from sending money into North Carolina, and this lack of outside capital was intensified after the panic of 1873 when there arose a scarcity of fluid capital everywhere.

The disputed Hayes-Tilden election ended, at least for a time, the excessive interest of Southerners in national politics. After 1876 the energies of the people of North Carolina and the South were turned to industrial expansion, and especially to cotton textiles. Old mills were rebuilt and reincorporated, new mills built and dozens of others projected, all of this accomplished almost exclusively with capital raised in the state. This was collected in small amounts, as low as twenty-five cents a week, a program which had been suggested before the war.

The experience of the past proved the capacity to develop further the cotton industry. Men trained in cotton
factories still in operation became managers of new ones, men who had begun in ante-bellum times as mere laborers now became owners, and experienced labor was secured from those areas where mills had been burned during the war or had closed for lack of operating capital.

Thus in 1860 when the cotton textile industry of North Carolina, and of the entire South, began once more to boom, and new leaders and publicists resorted to old tried and proven arguments used in pre-war times. The many mills which had survived the war, the workers and managers without jobs, served as a nucleus for the restoration of the industry. The growth of the preceding half century was resumed and swelled into a flood tide of cotton mill construction in North Carolina.

23. Mark Morgan was an example of the poor ante-bellum laborer becoming a cotton mill owner. By 1895 he owned three cotton factories in North Carolina. The News and Observer (Raleigh), November 28-29, 1895, a special supplement dealing with the growth of the cotton industry in North Carolina.
CHAPTER I

Origins of Cotton Manufacturing
in North Carolina 1800-1830

Although factory industry languished throughout the Southern States and was an inferior handmaiden of agriculture, it received some impetus from the extended domestic manufacture which then flourished. The home production of cotton and woollen fabrics, especially in the upland areas, provided a basis for later factory production.

As early as 1794 Tench Coxe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, wrote that the back country regions of all the South Atlantic States produced textiles in greater quantities than they imported from abroad.¹ He said further that "family manufactures in cotton are much greater in the four southeastern most states, than in the four eastern states."² He urged the people of the South to take advantage of the possibilities for profit and to realize the value of these home productions by expanding them further. It was his opinion that manufacturing would not interfere with agricultural pursuits, but on the contrary would provide an

¹ Tench Coxe, A View of the United States of America, 298.
² Ibid., 274, 304.
increased demand for farm products.

"The objection, that manufactures take the people from agriculture, is not solid as elsewhere observed; since women, children, horses, water, and fire, all work at manufactures, and perform four-fifths the labour; and as many manufacturers migrate to the United States, it may be fairly asserted that the quantity of agricultural industry is increased by the impulse and demand arising from manufactures. It may be reasonably asked, whether a farmer does not raise the more cotton, flax, hemp, and wool, because his wife and daughters spin and weave them, or because a water-work spin for them?"3

It was also noted, at this early date, that efforts were being made by sister states of North Carolina to establish cotton factories. Groups in Virginia, South Carolina, and Kentucky drew Coxe's attention.

"An association in Virginia, another in the territory south of the Ohio, and a company in the western district of South Carolina, have provided themselves with carding and spinning machinery on the British plans to manufacture their native cotton. The planters in the southern states raise great quantities of this raw material, unthought of before the war, and until the discussion of the subject of manufactures, which took place some time after the treaty of peace....An association containing forty of the most respectable planters of South Carolina, has been established within a few years for the promoting of manufactures, and agriculture. A subscription to the amount of about 25,000 dollars, has been made in the territory south of the Ohio for the purpose of carrying on the cotton manufactory.—An indication of the zeal not equalled in any middle or northern state, considering that the whole population of the government is 30,000 whites, and 5,000 blacks."4

3. Ibid., 301.
4. Ibid., 303, 305.
Special notice was taken of manufacturing efforts in North Carolina. The legislature of the state extended a loan toward the establishment of a paper mill which, operating in the thriving Moravian settlement of Salem, North Carolina, was the most westerly and southerly in the United States. The village was then also noted for the manufacture of hats out of wool partially imported from Philadelphia. As early as 1791 a cotton factory was established at Manchester, in the Mero District near Nashville in Tennessee; but, being too close to the frontier, its operation was hampered by Indian interference.

In 1810 Coxe asserted that North Carolina produced in the domestic system textile products of greater value than Massachusetts, which had both home and factory production of textiles. The home manufacture of both yarn and cloth was carried on by slave women on the plantation. Although we know neither the value and extent of these manufactures, nor the number of persons involved in the production, it is known that excellent work was done by many of these slaves.

Any industry in this period was faced by a somewhat skeptical and prejudiced planter class; but of all the many types of factory industry open to Southern development, the most logical and the one least antipathetic to Southern

8. Holland Thompson, From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill, 11.
9. Ibid., 250-251.
sensitivities was the manufacture of cotton.

North Carolina provided for a variety of agricultural and industrial developments, containing as it did three distinct physiographical regions—the alluvial coastal plain, the rolling hills of the piedmont, and the high mountains. Neither the coastal plain nor the mountainous region was as extensive as the piedmont, the area extending from the base of the Appalachians to the plains in the eastern part of the state.

Settlement had slowly spread over the coastal area by immigrants from Virginia, and by those coming up the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and by way of the Neuse, Roanoke, and Cape Fear Rivers. This early settlement, with the notable exception of the Swiss, was largely of Anglo-Saxon yeoman farmers; who, having been pushed inexorably out of the better Virginia lands by the expanding planter economy, went to North Carolina to emulate their betters and create in the wilderness a similar planter-staple crop regime.

These settlers, as they increased in wealth, lands, and slaves, readily accepted the economic views and social prejudices of the dominant Southern society. It was this class which was largely responsible for the retarded development of North Carolina's back country. Controlling the political machinery of the state, they fought internal improvements and the radical equalitarian views of the people of the western part of the state, remaining intransigent regarding all
change until forced by western unrest to agree to the constitutional convention of 1835. It was after this date that the more progressive elements gained control of the government for almost fifteen years, an era of Whig supremacy. The Whig Party consisted of the progressive planters, men of commerce, and a majority of the few industrialists of that period. They stood for a program of internal improvements which attracted the mass of western voters to their gubernatorial candidates, and occasionally gave them control of the General Assembly.

The piedmont population was quite distinct from that of the east. Here the lands were settled by Scotch-Irish, Scotch-Highlanders, Germans, Moravians, and those pushed out of the coastal area. The former groups penetrated from the North, through the Valley of Virginia, pushing to the frontier and down the eastern wall of the Allegheny Mountains. These settlers, unindoctrinated by planter philosophy and cut off from cheap and convenient transportation, found it necessary to retain their old trades and arts and produce at home what they needed. Once the pioneer stage was at an end, the increasing demands of civilization produced desires less easily gratified, and for that reason small industries began to develop in many towns and villages. So it was that these industrious people of the piedmont began to devote their skills to more complex enterprises.10

10. Supra, 18.
North Carolina, of all the Southern States, was perhaps the best suited to respond to the industrial impulse. It was a state which was cut off from natural avenues of commerce, and parts of whose population were in dire need of a means for earning a livelihood.

A North Carolinian writing to Miles' Register stated the situation very succinctly, saying that despite all the natural advantages possessed by the state it was losing "the cream of her population," as the laboring classes were leaving.11 The writer noted that the rolling hills of the piedmont and its innumerable streams offered excellent and almost inexhaustible sources of water power. There were many fast and shallow streams, whose channels were filled with shoals and falls and whose mouths were blocked by sand bars and accumulated sediment; although eliminated as good avenues of commerce, their value for manufacturing purposes was early recognised.

Hugh Williamson, writing his History of North Carolina in 1811, noted the early interest in cotton manufacture. He wrote:

"It is hardly necessary to observe, that they raise, or can raise, in every part of the state, all the cotton they can use in the most extensive manufactories. It is certainly to be presumed, that people who live in a healthy climate where provisions are remarkably cheap, who are well supplied with good streams of water that are

easily managed, and who have an ample supply of all the raw materials, will avail themselves of these advantages. It is to be presumed, we say: for the Moravians, who are remarkably prudent and industrious, have lately made considerable progress in the manufacture of cotton; and in the course of last year, (1811) several gentlemen in the low country, where they work under great disadvantages, have introduced machines for spinning cotton. This spirit, as we infer from the manner in which it spreads, will soon pervade the community: a circumstance that must produce a balance of trade in favor of the state. 12

These sanguine views were perhaps a little premature, but there was evidence on all sides which must have been encouraging.

The stimulus provided by Whitney's cotton gin, which produced an unlimited supply of cotton for manufacture, and Samuel Slater's cotton mill, the first built in the United States, could not fail to strike the imagination of some enterprising Southerner. So it was that a North Carolinian, Michael Beam, living in the foothills of the upper piedmont, apparently feeling the need of economic opportunity and either too poor or not desiring to emigrate as did thousands of his fellow citizens, decided to look for a means to capitalize on his western lands.

In 1804 at the age of twenty-two Beam made a short visit to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he viewed a cotton factory in operation. Making the most of the opportunity he drew a rough sketch of the machinery in use. On his return to

Lincoln County he built a machine called a "mule spinner" in a blacksmith shop; this machine he erected and operated successfully on Buffalo Creek in what is now Cleveland County. "This was doubtless the first cotton factory ever erected in North Carolina and it was put in operation about the year 1804." It is probable that this was one of the earliest cotton mills in the Southern States, if not the first, and it undoubtedly served as the impulse for the further development of this industry in North Carolina.

The series of national crises stemming from the Napoleonic Wars were intensified after 1807 by the Jeffersonian Embargo, and culminated in the outbreak of the War of 1812. These emergencies served as the stimulus for a national industrial development. Michael Schenck and Absalom Warlick, in this period, built a small cotton factory on the South Fork of the Catawba River in Lincoln County. It is possible that the motivating forces were the pressure of the war and the prior example of the effort of Michael Beam. This mill was built a mile and a half south of Lincolnton, North Carolina, where the machinery imported from the North, and that built by Warlick, was installed. About the time the war came to an end, a freshet washed away the power dam of the Lincoln Mill. In 1816 Schenck and Warlick rebuilt their dam.

13. Daily Charlotte Observer, October 9, 1881, a printed interview with Peter Beam, brother of Michael Beam.
and secured more machinery. Existing evidence shows conclusively that Michael Beam, who had been operating his own mill for a number of years, was called upon to build part of the machinery. 14 

The Lincoln Manufacturing Company was so successful and profitable that it went through several reorganizations, admitting new partners who poured in more capital for the enlargement of this mill. In 1819 Michael Schenck, John Hoke, and Dr. James Bivens increased the size of the mill so that it afterwards operated 3,000 spindles. They exchanged part of their yarn for raw material, and to supply this need people came from long distances. Sometime shortly after 1830 Schenck and Bivens sold their interest in the factory to John Hoke, who continued its active operation until his death in 1844. 15 It is likely that the larger and more efficient Lincoln Mill caused Michael Beam to abandon his smaller enterprise about 1827, for in 1826 Miles’ Register counted four cotton mills in North Carolina and in 1828 only three. 16

While the western edge of the piedmont was experiencing this embryonic development of the cotton textile industry, there were other primal stirrings at the eastern edge. In 1816 Henry A. Donaldson, a New Englander with cotton mill experience, was apparently forced into seeking opportunity

16. Miles’ Register, vol. 30, July 1, 1826, 321; vol. 34, May 10, 1828, 175.
Plate 1. Lincoln Factory 1913

Plate 4. Leaksville Factory

Plate 3. John M. Morehead
elsewhere because of the closing of war-born cotton factories in Rhode Island. Donaldson went to North Carolina where he fortuitously met Joel Battle, a wealthy and energetic planter of Edgecombe County. The combination of technical ability and surplus capital gave rise to the construction of the Rocky Mount Mill at the falls of the Tar River. This factory, begun in 1816, was completed and in operation by 1818 and is the oldest continuously operating cotton mill in North Carolina. Evidence of its early operation is indicated in a contemporary letter, in which a boy attending one of the excellent academies of North Carolina located at the falls wrote his father in May of 1821 that "the factory is now operating." 17

Donaldson in the early twenties left the Rocky Mount Mill and moved on to Fayetteville, North Carolina. 18 Here he interested George McNeil in the establishment of a cotton factory, which was the first mill in a town destined to be the urban center of the cotton textile industry in ante-bellum North Carolina. *Miles' Register* reported in 1825 that "a cotton factory is now erecting in Fayetteville, (N.C.) capable of containing 10,000 spindles; it is the property of Mr. McNeil of that place, and a gentleman of Providence, (R. I.)." 19 The following year *Miles* reported four factories

17. William Ross Papers, 1758-1875, MMS., Manuscripts Division, Duke University. Cited hereafter as M.D.U.
It appeared that North Carolina was beginning to gain some national notice as a result of its industrial effort, and there was increased interest in North Carolina cotton mills when it was noted that the Rocky Mount Factory had sent twenty bales of cotton yarn to the New York market in 1628. This invasion of the Northern market was wished the greatest success. It thus appeared that even the earliest of these factories were not bound by the horizons of a local demand, but were seeking and finding distant markets for their yarns.

Factories founded in the first quarter of the nineteenth century suggest Michael Beam, Michael Schenck, Absalom Warlick, John Hoke, Dr. James Bivens, Joel Battle, Henry A. Donaldson, and George McNeil as true pioneers of the cotton textile industry in North Carolina, if not of the entire South.

These early industrial beginnings were born of crisis and necessity, and their existence was far from assured in this critical period. Their influence for similar enterprise was invaluable, but it took new crises to give additional momentum to the movement.

In the ensuing decade the price of cotton was high, and

20. Ibid., vol. 30, July 1, 1826, 321.
21. Ibid., vol. 34, May 10, 1828, 175, citing the Tarborough Free Press.
CUMBERLAND COUNTY 1830-1880

Cotton Factories Built

McNeil and Donaldson Cotton Factory 1825- ?
Rockfish Manufacturing Company 1837-1865
Rockfish Manufacturing Company 1872-
Phoenix Manufacturing Company 1838-1865
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company 1841-
and Bluff Mill 1873-
Cross Creek Manufacturing Company 1841-1865
Little River Manufacturing Company 1841-1865
Blount's Creek Manufacturing Company 1848-1865
Blount's Creek Manufacturing Company 1868-
Union Manufacturing Company 1849-1865
Enterprise Manufacturing Company 1864-1865
Brothers Manufacturing Company 1872-
Murphy Mills Manufacturing Company 1872-
Whitney Manufacturing Company 1873-

Proposed Cotton Mills

Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company 1828
Fayetteville Manufacturing Company 1828
Cross Creek Manufacturing Company 1864
Fayetteville Manufacturing Company 1864
most people with available capital turned it into more lands and slaves, with the result that the fleecy staple spread across the alluvial plain into the piedmont. As might be expected, the rapid expansion of cotton production laid the basis for new agricultural problems. Even as the virgin acres of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were cleared and planted, the spectre of over-production began to haunt the planter and farmer. The price of cotton began to decline steadily, and finally to sag disastrously, which cut yearly into planters' profits. This brought starvation and hard times to marginal farmers and to those who depended on the prosperity of the great planters for their means of earning a living. Consequently the weaknesses of an exclusively agrarian state became manifest to those who had the best interests of North Carolina at heart. The agricultural problems of the planter and farmer were further intensified by the passage of the "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828.

Governor Iredell of North Carolina, in a message to the legislature regarding the tariff of 1828, suggested that a mild protest should be made but that "a dissolution of the Union is not to be thought of." He further stated that should the tariff be continued "North Carolina is as capable as any State of subsisting upon her own resources." Niles applauded this conciliatory message; insisting however, that North Carolinians had no reasonable protest, but should expend their energies in the promotion of internal improvements and
in encouraging further building of manufactories.\textsuperscript{22}

The consequent development of the nullification crisis in South Carolina confused further the issue of industrial promotion. The \textit{Register} verbally laughed at the firebrands such as Calhoun. The aim of this tariff was to encourage the domestic manufacturers. The supporters of state rights were so violently opposed to the tariff that they began wearing domestically-manufactured cloth. Thus in an attempt to publicly show their protest against the passage of this tariff they were unwittingly aiding the accomplishment of this act—theroby promoting domestic industry.\textsuperscript{23}

It was under the pressure of dropping prices, and the ensuing unrest of the western part of the state, that the legislature of North Carolina began to look for a means to make the state powerful and prosperous once more, and to stem the growing tide of emigration. There was also the desire to direct the efforts of Manumission Societies and anti-slave groups to other endeavors. The way to accomplish these varied objects was to encourage both diversified agriculture and industry.

A select committee was established by the general assembly to investigate the possibility of a more widespread introduction of sheep to furnish wool, and to encourage the

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
erection of woolen and cotton textile mills. This committee was under the chairmanship of Charles Fisher, an ardent advocate of this plan and a representative from Rowan County, in the western part of the state. In 1827 Niles' Register noted the establishment of the Fisher Committee, commended North Carolina's growing interest in manufacturing, and remarked that no area was better suited for this than the middle and western parts of the state.24

Charles Fisher was a promoter of internal improvements, defender of western interests, and editor and publisher of the Western Carolinian of Salisbury. In this paper he promoted cotton mills, railway transportation, banking, agriculture, and the views of the Democratic Party. In addition to his journalistic interests in these fields he actively engaged in their development, being a cotton mill stockholder, director and president of the North Carolina Railroad, a bank director, a planter, and an eminent politician. These accomplishments and efforts place him alongside William Gregg, noted South Carolinian, as a promoter, and suggest that he surpasses Gregg as a builder. Charles Fisher was only one of a group of distinguished North Carolinians prominent in the annals of the state's economic and industrial development in the ante-bellum era.25

A few of the many other outstanding North Carolinians promoting factories were a politician such as Archibald D. Murphey; Editors Edward J. Hale of the Fayetteville Observer, Joseph, Weston and Seaton Gales of the Raleigh Register, Dennis Heartt of the Hillsborough Recorder, T. J. Holton of the Charlotte Journal, and William Swaim of the Greensboro Patriot; Chief Justices Thomas Ruffin and William H. Battle; and Governors John Owen, John M. Morehead, and John W. Ellis. Prominent families were the Holts and Newlins of Alamance County; Leakes and Steeles of Richmond County; the Moreheads of Rockingham; the Malletts, McNeils, and Hoggs of Cumberland. Many of these men helped make the efforts of the Fisher Committee a success.

The Fisher Committee, after investigating the many facets of the problem, presented a complete report of their findings to the legislature. In it they recognized the many obvious advantages that would accrue to the state by the introduction of manufactures. They foresaw the widespread ramifications that such a plan would have—to open new economic opportunity for the poor, to encourage and revive agriculture, and to introduce general prosperity to all North Carolinians.

It was the opinion of this committee that North Carolina was at the cross roads, when the citizens of the state must either divert a part of their labor and efforts to pursuits other than agriculture or face ruin as a community. The
people were heavily in debt, to bankers and others, for several million dollars. These debts had been accumulated at a more prosperous time when it appeared that such indebtedness could more easily be reduced.

The depression in agricultural prices in the 1820's had not only caused a decline in property values but had made money so scarce as to figuratively double the existing debts. Cotton and tobacco from the interior were the only products that could be remuneratively shipped from this part of the state, while rice and naval stores from the seaboard were the chief exports. This state of things was due largely to the lack of navigable streams and shortage of port facilities.

The demand for lumber declined with the loss of the West Indies trade. Tobacco was almost taxed out of British and foreign markets; in Britain alone the tax was about 600 per cent. The competition in the growing of cotton was rapidly increased not only in the United States but in foreign countries such as Greece, Egypt, India, and South America. The competition from the farmer in the new rich lands of the southwest was even more pressing, for he was able to raise more cotton and at less expense. It thus appeared that unless a local demand was created for North Carolina cotton the planters would be driven from its production by low prices.

The exports of the state were declining while the imports from European and Northern sources continued unabated. The
existing unfavorable trade balance threatened the state with wholesale bankruptcy.

It was pointed out that North Carolina had all the facilities for manufacturing, yet the residents of the state ignored these and purchased millions of dollars worth of foreign articles manufactured of North Carolina materials. There was no reason why the state should not supply many more of its wants at home, which could be achieved by the introduction of the manufacturing system.

The estimate was made that the annual cotton production of North Carolina was eighty thousand bales, worth about two and a half million dollars. It was assumed that if the entire cotton supply were manufactured at home it would increase the income of the state by some seven million dollars for manufactured articles and make a total annual income of ten million dollars from cotton alone.

Since the commercial possibilities of the state were so limited due to poor navigation and ports, it would be to the advantage of the state to export manufactured goods rather than the raw material. It would cost no more to export $40,000 worth of fabrics than it did to export $10,000 worth of raw cotton. The domestic manufacture of cotton was held to be the only possible way that prosperity could be restored. "As it is now, we lose it, and the profits are enjoyed by Old and New England."

The suggested program had the added benefits of creat-
ing work for the poor, taking surplus labor from the field of agriculture, and furnishing markets for the food products of the farmer.

The introduction of manufactures, said the Fisher Report, would:

"...build up flourishing villages in the interior of our State, and improve not only the physical, but the moral and intellectual condition of our citizens. This is no speculation: the same causes, under similar circumstances, will always produce the same effects....

But, it may be asked, are the circumstances of our State such as to render practicable the introduction of this system among us? We answer they are. The hand of nature itself seems to point out North Carolina as a region of country well adapted to manufactories. Cut off from the ocean by a sand bound coast, her rivers filled with shoals and obstructions along their whole extent, and their mouths inaccessible to large vessels, she can never be greatly commercial. On the other hand, her climate and soil are equal to those of any of her sister states, and she abounds with all the facilities necessary to the manufacturing arts.

The following may be considered as the elements indispensable for building up and sustaining manufacturing establishments:

1. The raw materials out of which the articles wanted are fabricated.
2. The power necessary to give motion to the labour-saving machinery, employed in manufacturing.
3. Labour, at prices which will afford profit.
5. Climate, healthy and mild.
6. Skill and capital."

The Fisher Committee went on to analyze each of these several elements and their application to the situation of

North Carolina. They viewed the abundance of the staple available, estimating the savings on the transportation to other markets at twenty-five per cent of the total cost. There was, they pointed out, an advantage in having the cotton fresh from the seed, for this was considered as the best time for it to be spun. The Southern manufacturer and planter could save the cost of bagging, roping, and waste, a saving estimated by Mr. Donaldson at 10 per cent of the total cost to the Northern and European Manufacturer.27

It was further asserted that no section of the Union had better water power prospects, with the large number of small rivers and large creeks furnishing permanent power sources. These were so abundant that power would not become a major item of expenditure for mills in North Carolina, as it had become in New England. The Committee also proposed the use of swamp drainage canals in the coastal region for cotton mill power sites.28

The report pointed out the advantages of the state as a region where the products of North and South could be grown with equal facility. North Carolina, it claimed, could produce all the grains and vegetables necessary for sustenance, and that once a market was assured these would be produced in sufficient quantities and at a reasonable price. The same

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
was claimed for meats, especially beef and mutton. "In a word then, so far as the manufacturing establishments depend on supplies of provisions, abundant and cheap, North Carolina can furnish them." The climate of the state was praised for its mildness and healthfulness, a condition which made necessary less fuel for manufacturing operations, while the shorter winters with little or no freezing prevented long costly stoppages of factories.

This very valuable report of the Fisher Committee was concluded as follows:

"The Committee have thus, at greater length than they could wish, presented their views on the policy of introducing the Manufacturing System into North Carolina. They firmly believe that it is the only course that will relieve our people from the evils that now so heavily press on them. They have nearly reached the lowest point of depression, and it is time for the reaction to begin. Our habits and prejudices are against manufacturing, but we must yield to the force of things, and profit by the indications of nature. The policy that resists the change, is unwise and suicidal. Nothing else can restore us.

Let the Manufacturing System take root among us, and it will soon flourish like a vigorous plant in its native soil: It will become our greatest means of wealth and prosperity; it will change the course of trade, and, in a great measure, make us independent of Europe and the North.

Nature has made us far more independent of them than they are of us. They can manufacture our raw material, but they cannot produce it. We can raise it and manufacture it too. Such are our superior advantages, that we may anticipate the time, when the manufactured articles of the South will be shipped North, and sold in their markets cheaper than their own fabrics, and when the course of trade and difference of exchange will turn in our favor. The committee, at this time, are not aware that it is within the powers of this General Assembly, by any legislative act, to forward the
the introduction of the system into North Carolina. They however recommend the granting of acts of incorporation to companies for manufacturing purposes as often as suitable applications may be made. 29

The insight shown in this statement influenced the governing body of the state of North Carolina to take its first notice of an issue of overwhelming importance to the citizens of that state. Niles' Register highly approved of this valuable report of the Fisher Committee. It hoped that it would receive wide circulation and be seriously considered by North Carolinians, for the great natural resources of the state should be used for the general welfare. "With the growth of manufactures, causing the circulation of much money, will cease the present rickety state of banks, and rather render North Carolina a creditor state than a debtor state, in her domestic and foreign commerce." 30 Niles urged North Carolinians to take advantage of the tariff and secure the benefits anticipated from the American System, "and buffet the Northern manufacturer with their own weapons." 31

John Motley Morehead, close friend of Charles Fisher, was perhaps the first to act under the inducement of this favorable and encouraging report. In 1828 he and his brothers James and Samuel established in their home county, Rockingham, an extensive business of general nature, which included a

29. Ibid.
31. Ibid., vol. 34, May 10, 1828, 175.
A Bill to incorporate the Cane Creek Furnace and Mechanic Cotton Manufacturing Company of Orange and Chatham.

In Senate, 26th of Dec. 1837, subscribed and signed by order of A. D. Stone, Esq.,

The House of Commons, 17th day of March, 1838,

And 12½ times, signed and sealed to be enrolled.

By order, G. Manly.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that Jacob Hadley, Joseph Durden, William McPherson, and Wm. H. D. McPherson, their associates, successors and assigns, and they are hereby created a corporation and body politic by law and in fact by the name and style of the Cane Creek Furnace & Mechanics Cotton Manufacturing Company of Orange and Chatham, and by that

Document 1.
Bill of incorporation of the Cane Creek Cotton Factory 1837
mill to manufacture cotton. This factory prospered and flourished throughout the ante-bellum period and after.

Morehead was a leading exponent of all progressive improvements. The most eminent of the North Carolina Whigs, he served two terms as governor of the state, 1840-1844. He was instrumental in the encouragement of railway building, serving as president and virtually as builder of the North Carolina Railroad. On many occasions John Morehead had worked in both houses of the state legislature in support of railroads, sometimes in opposition to dominant and hostile Democrats. He was prominent in national Whig councils, was mentioned as a possible Whig presidential candidate, and served as president of the national convention that nominated General Taylor in 1848.

Morehead's interest in the promotion of the cotton textile industry was extensive, as shown in his personal investments in his Leaksville Factory, and in the encouragement of others.

"He early became greatly interested in manufacturing—for he could do nothing without doing it with all his might—a business, which he carried on up to his death. He was a pioneer in that business and his factory is situated on a river [Dan] and in a county [Rockingham] that will, before many years, be vocal with the music of the spindle and loom.... He was a pioneer in this section of North Carolina in rearing factories and in driving them."33

Henry Humphreys, related to Morehead by marriage, built in 1832-1833 the Mount Hecla Steam Cotton Mill in Greensboro with the latter's active support. Morehead also had an interest in a cotton mill in Salem, North Carolina. He and Charles Fisher were among the foremost promoters of a progressive program of industrial, agricultural, and educational betterment in North Carolina, and the cotton textile industry, in this cradle and walking stage in North Carolina, was sparked by the suggestions of the one and the activities of the other.

Morehead's action in setting up the cotton factory at Leaksville was followed in the same year (1828) by the organization of several others. The Leaks and Crawfords were given a charter for the Richmond-Rockingham Manufacturing Company at Rockingham, North Carolina. Hugh McCain, Jesse Walker, Benjamin Elliott, and Jonathan Worth were incorporated to form the Randolph Manufacturing Company. The charter for the Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company was given to W. A. Blount, John Myers, and William Ellison, while Henry A. Donaldson and a group of prominent residents of Fayetteville secured a charter for a cotton factory in that city. Joel Battle, and a large group in Edgecombe County, organized the Edgecombe Manufacturing Company. These five projected cotton

---

34. Konkle, op. cit., 127.
35. Greensborough Patriot, October 14, 1859.
factories were capitalized at a total of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and were given the right to manufacture a variety of fibers—cotton, wool, flax, and hemp. Evidently the incorporators had considerable difficulty in raising the necessary capital, for there is no evidence showing that any of them carried their ideas to fruition before the middle 1830's. 36

Thus the cotton mill campaign begun by the Fisher Report, which was widely circulated in pamphlet form by newspapers throughout North Carolina, has continued up to this day, one hundred and twenty-five years later. True, the momentum faltered under the sectional crisis of the fifties and during the lethargic period induced by defeat and radical Reconstruction, but even in these periods new cotton mills were being built, old ones being modernized, and others being projected.

Both encouraging and discouraging signs, on the eve of this new era, evidenced the great deal of hard work that would have to be done to make a success of this new type of enterprise.

CHAPTER II

A Cotton Manufacturing Interest Develops in North Carolina, 1830-1860

The latter part of the 1820's and the first half of 1830 constituted a period of comparative quiet as far as the construction of cotton mills was concerned. The initial flurry caused by the publication of the Fisher Report proved rather abortive. In the seven years intervening between the issuance of this report and the inauguration of the first Whig governor, fifteen cotton mills were projected. Only seven of these mills were successfully completed, seven were stillborn, and one, the Neuse Manufacturing Company, failed to survive the effects of the panic of 1837.

During these hectic days of political upheaval and remarkable interest in the promotion of internal improvements, cotton factory construction began to gather greater forward momentum. In the thirties there was a definite increase in the tempo of cotton mill building over the previous thirty years. Each new mill that was successfully completed served as added impetus to invest in such establishments. As early as 1830 the sons of General William Lenoir, living in east Tennessee and western North Carolina, were corresponding in
regard to their cotton factories. The Tennessee branch had a cotton mill in operation about 1830, while the North Carolina Lenoirs, who evidently had investments for a long time in the Patterson Factory, built the Elkin Cotton Factory in 1848 at Elkin in Surry County. Thus the Lenoir families were extensively engaged in the cotton manufacturing business of these two states.¹

In 1831 it was suggested that North Carolina should be one of the most ardent advocates of the American System, because of its adaptations for manufactures, and because the majority of the people favored industry. It was Niles’s opinion that there was an excellent possibility for an economic balance in North Carolina, with the low country supplying raw materials for factory production, and the highlands producing quantities of provisions. This combination, it was pointed out, would provide for a profitable and safe intrastate trade.²

By 1832 a new departure was made in the growing cotton industry of North Carolina. In that year Henry Humphreys of

1. General William B. Lenoir was a hero of Kings Mountain, first president of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, and an early speaker of the North Carolina House of Commons. The County of Lenoir in eastern North Carolina was named in his honor. The family home was at Fort Defiance near Lenoir, county seat of Caldwell County. Major William B. and Issac T. Lenoir moved to Tennessee where they settled Lenoir City on the Little Tennessee River in Loudon County; here they built their cotton mill. Colonel Thomas and Albert S. Lenoir remained on the family lands in western North Carolina.

Greensborough began the construction of the Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Factory. There was no available water power in this town and Humphreys built the first steam-operated factory in the state. His steam engine was purchased in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and how it was taken to Greensborough is not known. The Mount Hecla Mill was a four-story building, containing twenty-five hundred spindles and seventy-five looms. It produced sheeting, shirting and osnaburgs, and also cotton yarns which were packaged in five pound skeins. Although there was an extensive local demand, some surplus goods had to be sent to market in western North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and western Kentucky.

In 1832 Charles Fisher also made an early attempt to establish a cotton factory. He and a group of his Salisbury friends had received a charter for the Yadkin Manufacturing Company, but the efforts to raise the requisite capital evidently failed for it was not until 1839, under a second charter with a different group of incorporators, that this company was successfully launched. Fisher was not satisfied merely with this effort, for he advertised in the *Western Carolinian* the establishment of his foundry, prepared to manufacture cotton mill machinery. In an attempt to spur on lagging interest in mill building he once again published,

4. Ibid., 64.
In an abridged form, his report of 1828. Thus he took time away from his many interests to take a more active part in the direct promotion of cotton mill construction.

In 1836, in his inaugural address, Governor Edward B. Dudley said that "as a State, we stand fifth in population, first in climate, equal in soil, minerals and ores, with superior advantages for manufacturing and with a hardy, industrious and economical people." He further stated that with all these advantages the state was last in wealth and industry, with land values depressed, manufacturing unimproved, and the condition of the state becoming worse. Despite entering office on this rather depressed note, the administration of Governor Dudley and his three Whig successors marked a period of unparalleled progress. Professor William K. Boyd, in evaluating the North Carolina Whig Party, has stated:

"Nowhere did the old-line Whigs of the South leave a finer record than in North Carolina. Broad, constructive ideas and cooperation with the ideals of other sections of the country characterized their leaders. Public schools and State aid to railways at home, internal improvements and a protective tariff by the Federal Government were typical measures advocated by the party."8

Throughout the thirties, and especially in the two gubernatorial terms of Edward Dudley, twenty-four cotton

6. Western Carolinian, April 11, 1839.
7. Hamilton, op. cit., 44.
mills were projected. Twenty of these were actually built, and of these fifteen were completed in the years while Dudley served as governor. These mills were located in eighteen counties, from Caldwell in the west to Northampton in the east, and from Caswell in the north to Richmond in the South.

There were many in the state awake to the needs of North Carolina. As early as 1833 promoters of internal improvements met in convention in Raleigh. They took the opportunity to urge the legislature to set up a special fund for use in aiding road and railroad building. The chief aim of this group was to create and improve the marketing facilities in the state for all types of domestic products.\(^9\) When they again met, five years later, Governor Dudley addressed them on the need for further improvement of transportation facilities. He pointed to the vast resources of the state, and suggested various schemes that could be adopted to improve their development.\(^10\) The Raleigh Register published a long appeal for the utilization of North Carolina resources, and especially for the construction of more cotton factories.\(^11\)

By 1840 there was sufficient manufacturing in the state to warrant the holding of a manufacturers' convention. Their avowed aims were "for the purpose of arranging the domestic

---

market of cotton yarns, and to take steps as may be deemed of importance in circulating information calculated to show the usefulness and propriety of a more extended operation."\textsuperscript{12}

Thus by 1840 there had developed a definite manufacturing interest in North Carolina. It was awake to the needs of the state, and was not afraid to encourage competition in the form of more factories in North Carolina.

The state newspapers carried daily more information which was directed toward the encouragement of the cotton textile industry. The \textit{Hillsborough Recorder} printed in 1839 the encouraging news of large dividends being paid by cotton factories in the Petersburg, Virginia, area. Dennis Heartt, its editor, said "the time is coming when the chain of dependence will be upon other necks."\textsuperscript{13}

The expansion of the North Carolina textile industry was so rapid and encouraging that Niles reported in 1840 that North Carolina had a greater number of factories of different kinds than there had been in all the Southern states in 1830.\textsuperscript{14} Edward J. Hale, editor of the \textit{Fayetteville Observer}, was so cheered by the general development of the cotton textile industry in his state that he gave it a special toast at the Charleston Commercial Convention. "She [North Carolina] is rapidly developing all her resources,  

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., June 4, 1840. \textit{Niles' Register}, vol. 58, June 13, 1840, 230.  
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Hillsborough Recorder}, July 25, 1839.  
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Niles' Register}, vol. 58, May 2, 1840, 138.
multiplying her facilities of internal and external intercourse, and is making such progress in manufacture, that ere long she will be found importing cotton from her Southern neighbors, and exporting her fabrics in return. ¹⁵ Hale had good reason to take a prophetic tone, for Fayetteville had three cotton factories in operation, there were two others in the county, and three more projected for the town at that time. It was Fayetteville, of all North Carolina urban centers, which was to develop a significant antebellum cotton industry.

In the thirties Niles urged the old Southeastern states to become "extensive manufacturing states." This, in his opinion, would be the only means by which the slaveholders of this region could compete with the virgin soil and products of new states such as Alabama and Mississippi. Once more factories were established there would spring up new markets for the staple and cereal crops of the agriculturalist, which in turn would cause the building of railroads and consequently bring about an increase in population and the rise of towns. North Carolina was as well suited for this industry as any of the other states. The people of the old North state "encouraged and excited by distinguished individuals, are about to ascertain and profit by their resources." ¹⁶

¹⁶. Miles' Register, vol. 45, August 31, 1833, 4.
The panic of 1837 and the depression years following retarded little the forward movement in mill building, for eleven cotton factories were put in operation from 1837 to 1840. The owners of the Mount Hecla Mill of Greensborough, and that of Danforth, McCuistan, and Trollinger at Haw River, reduced the price of their products and advertised their willingness to accept South Carolina currency at par.\textsuperscript{17} In the spring preceding this financial debacle several state newspapers recorded the establishment of the Cedar Falls Factory in Randolph County, the Mocksville Steam Cotton Mill in Davie County, and the Lexington Steam Cotton Factory in Davidson County.\textsuperscript{18} Charles Fisher, praising these efforts, took the opportunity to chide his own townsmen by saying, "Poor old Salisbury!—When will she awake to a sense of her interest, and danger! The capital is here to start a noble establishment,—but the other thing is wanting—the spirit,—the enterprise. When, a few weeks ago, it was spoken of in this place, will it be believed that there are some men among us who threw cold water on the enterprise?"\textsuperscript{19}

The depression failed to dampen the ardor of the state newspaper editors, for they continued to point out the manifold advantages which would grow out of the expansion of the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Hillsborough Recorder,} June 30, 1837.
  \item \textit{The Charlotte Journal,} March 17, 1837, citing the \textit{Southern Citizen} (Asheboro, N. C.). \textit{Hillsborough Recorder,} March 17, 1837, citing the \textit{Western Carolinian} (Salisbury, N. C.).
  \item \textit{The Charlotte Journal,} March 17, 1837.
\end{itemize}
RICHMOND COUNTY 1830-1880

Cotton Factories Built

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1834-1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>1864-1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company (Rebuilt)</td>
<td>1869-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversion Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1870-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aycock Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fee Dee Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1875-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proposed Cotton Mills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

textile industry. It was insisted that labor was cheaper in North Carolina than in any other state, with power cheaply furnished by its many rivers and creeks and its soil able to furnish unlimited amounts of provisions. Charles Fisher editorialized as follows:

"What then is to prevent our becoming very prosperous, if our people will but awaken to their true interest? Nothing—and that such would be the case must be evident to everyone, from the good effects already produced by the establishment of a few Cotton Factories." 20

In an attempt to encourage the building of more mills and to inform the public of the progress in this field, various newspapers in 1838 presented their readers with a list of cotton factories then existing in the state. They listed fourteen such factories in operation and nine in process of construction. This list gave some information as to the owners, location, and type of power used in these factories. It was reported that in one case an Englishman had purchased Fullenwider's Iron Works with the intention of enlarging the iron works and the addition of a woolen mill.

"From these facts it will be seen that North Carolina is making rapid progress in Cotton Manufacturing; and we think the work has just commenced. Her facilities are so great that the business once started must go on.

We have water power abundant, and cheap,...raw material at hand, and what is remarkable, labor in the western counties of North Carolina, is cheaper than in New England."

20. Hillsborough Recorder, April 13, 1838, citing the Western Carolinian.
These editors were gratified to be able to report that North Carolina mills were furnishing the entire domestic demand for yarns, as well as sending a surplus of yarns to the market in New York City and finding a profitable market there. It was predicted that within two years the mills of the state would supply the entire domestic demand for coarse cloth.

"On the whole, the manufacturers of the Northern States need not much longer count North Carolina as one of their markets: they may rather regard her as a competitor, and one who will soon become very formidable." \(^21\)

The Hillsborough Recorder added to the list, a few days later, the Cane Creek Factory and the Alamance Factory of Holt and Carrigan. \(^22\) However, none of these papers seems to have seen the list of Orange County factories in the North Carolina Standard. This list included the Mount Arrarat Mill at Haw River, as well as Cane Creek and Alamance Factories, already noted. These were about equal in size; each contained about 528 spindles, and the paper optimistically editorialized that "from the known perseverance and industry of their owners, there is little doubt that the whole area of these buildings will soon be filled with machinery, and the full compliment of spindles put into operation." After seeing samples of the yarns of these mills, the editor

21. Hillsborough Recorder, July 19, 1838, citing the Western Carolinian and Fayetteville Observer.
22. Hillsborough Recorder, August 1, 1838.
claimed that they were of a quality equal to that of any Northern factory. It was also noted, with satisfaction, that the Cane Creek Factory was preparing to install weaving machinery.23

The various newspapers thus presented impressive lists of the factories in operation; and, what is still more significant, that eight were being built at the height of the panic. It is certainly evident that there was a growing interest manifested, among North Carolinians with surplus capital, in this industry.

A national magazine noted as early as 1837 four cotton mills in operation around the Salem area. It reported the Mount Hecla Steam Cotton Factory, operating two thousand spindles, as the largest.24 Salem was naturally a place interested in industrial expansion, and was a center of interest in cotton manufacture as early as 1808.25

There were many interesting personalities concerned in this stage of development in the textile industry. Francis Fries and Edwin M. Holt, who began manufacturing textile products about the same time, were close friends. In order

23. The North Carolina Standard (Raleigh), February 1, 1838.
24. Miles' Register, vol. 53, April 1, 1837, 80.
25. Adelaide Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 6, 2929, citing the minutes of the Salem Board. "July 6, 1808. There is a report that Bro. Eberhardt is building a machine for spinning cotton....We think it will be much better for the Sisters House to undertake as soon as possible to supply itself with a proper machine for spinning cotton, and also a wool-carding machine, as there is no doubt that there will be plenty of work, especially if it should be possible to re-establish weaving...."
Plate 4. Edwin M. Holt

Plate 5. William A. Erwin
to save each other time and expense they made alternate trips to the North. Their trips were for the purpose of investigating new improvements in machinery, ascertaining marketing conditions, and seeking any other information that might be of assistance in their businesses.26

Edwin M. Holt, who established his Alamance Factory about 1837, had many difficulties to overcome before he was able to build his mill. He became interested in the business as a result of his many visits to the Mount Hecla Cotton Mill in Greensborough. Holt recorded the vicissitudes of his affairs in a diary from 1844 to 1854. In addition to his cotton mill he operated a grist mill, a saw mill, a distillery, and several retail stores. He was also a planter of some means, growing wheat, oats, corn, tobacco, potatoes, peas, onions, cucumbers, and radishes. He made his grain into flour, meal, and some of it into whiskey. He made his own crout, salt- and smoke-cured five thousand pounds of pork annually, butcheted his own beef, and made butter which he sold as far as Fayetteville.27

Although he was a staunch Whig, Holt never ran for public office; however, he served as a county commissioner. His first entry in his diary records his attendance at a Whig meeting in Raleigh, at which Henry Clay spoke. Clay's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1835-1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Cotton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1836-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamance Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1837-1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamance Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1871-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1838-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1844-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Falls Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1845-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1869-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haw River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1879-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altamahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1880-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
speech dealt extensively with the need for the encourage-
ment of domestic industry in the South. He said, in part:

"It cannot be questioned that the chief cause of the reduced price of Cotton is the excess of production. The price of it would rise, if less were produced, by diverting a portion of the labor employed in its cultivation to some other branch of industry. This new pursuit would furnish new subjects for exchange, and those who might embark in it, as well as those who would continue in the growth of cotton, would be both benefited by mutual exchanges. The day will come and is not distant, when the South will feel an imperative necessity voluntarily to make such a division of a portion of its labor. Considering the vast water power, and other facilities for manufacturing, now wasting and unemployed, at the South, and its possession at home of the choice raw material, I believe the day will come when the cotton region will be the greatest manufacturing region of Cotton in the world...."28

Edwin Holt's rather interesting reaction to this speech was that "Mr. Clay addressed the people in his usual plain and happy style which was listened to with marked attention and gave unusual satisfaction to Whigs and Democrats."29

There were many other interesting entries in this diary, which described the growth of his factory and his developing prosperity.30

29. Holt Diary, op. cit.
30. Ibid., passim. September 10, 1844, Lexington Factory burnt at night loss estimated at about 65 thousand dollars. September 27, 1844, Stopped Factory for want of water. March 17, 1845, Starting to New York to purchase machinery and goods. March 27, 1845 Bought of C. Danforth 528 spindles and preparation and returned. March 2, 1846, Thomas Mill commenced work at 5.00 per month. May 2, 1846, Went to Jersey Mill and the trading ford on the Yadkin and examined a mill site which could be made available by much labor. May 24, 1846, At Cedar Falls examined their
In 1849 Benson J. Lossing, traveling over the South to gather material for his history of the Revolution, came upon the cotton factory on Alamance Creek. Lossing, writing his reaction to this establishment, wrote that "around this mill quite a village of log-houses, occupied by operatives, were collected and everything had the appearance of thrift." He was impressed by the industry of the white female workers of the factory, and commended the owners of all the mills he had seen in the Carolinas for providing honest employment for poor girls and for "augmenting the true wealth of the nation." He considered cotton factories a profitable business, and mentioned that Holt and Carrigan had 1350 spindles and twelve looms in operation making yarn and coarse cloth.31

The correspondence of Holt and Carrigan also gives interesting views as to the operations of their cotton mill. Holt's father-in-law, who sold their yarns, wrote inquiring about an increase in price of ten per cent, which was not machinery stayed with Mr. Eliot, he asked 28 thousand dollars for the factory. May 31, 1846 Mr. F. Fries came and made arrangements to build a Factory provided we can get a site. Mr. Fries is to visit the mills on the South Yadkin and report. March 18, 1847 Commenced framing addition to Factory. Borrowed from F. Fries $2,000. June 19, 1847 Mr. Robinson a weaver came here. December 29, 1847 Started our looms. January 21, 1848 Measles at Factory—some 14 cases—much of machinery stopped on a/c measles. August 11, 1851 First ground broke on N.C.R.R. Electod a director—attended meeting of directors. September 13, 1852 Stopped Factory on a/c of the revival. February 15, 1853 Bought a carriage $435.00."

expected so shortly after the panic. He closed his letter saying "I am glad to here [sic] you have started your new machinery and it done [sic] well."32

The most serious problem facing these early manufacturers was transportation. There were no railways and freight was usually transported by wagons. Holt and Carrigan, wanting to ship some yarn to Petersburg, looked for wagons going there. A friend wrote "if I heare [sic] of anyone that will hall [sic] for you I will send them down to see you or give you information in hast [sic]."33 Other factories, such as the Milton Manufacturing Company, located on the Dan River and unable to send their goods by boat, used their own wagon. John Wilson, agent of this cotton factory, wrote Hagood and Claiborne of Danville that "I have charged you and Mr. Ross, one dollar each for the hire of the wagon, which is about equal to ordinary freight—the bridge tolls we pay ourselves."34 The need for better means of transportation was evidently one of the important requirements of these manufacturers.

There were other unforeseen difficulties which faced the mill owner. The Alamance Mill, for example, lost twenty-five hundred dollars when a Philadelphia commission house

33. Ibid., Eli Smith to Edwin Holt, March 23, 1839.
34. William Clark Grasty and John F. Rison Papers, 1788-1876, MSS., M.D.U., John Wilson to Hagood and Claiborne, November 1, 1838.
selling their yarn went bankrupt. Carrigan, who was in charge of the finances of the company, went to Philadelphia in an attempt to salvage as much as he could from the loss, which was about fifty cents on the dollar.35

The sons of Edwin Holt and those of W. A. Carrigan were all sent to Chapel Hill for their collegiate training. This was not unusual, as many of the founders of cotton mills in North Carolina, as well as their children, were graduates of the University of North Carolina. William Carrigan wrote a series of letters to his nephew regarding the family, the factory, and other news. He complained of the cost of sending his sons to the Caldwell Institute and the University of North Carolina, philosophizing his position by saying "I don't see what else I can do with them [sic] I can't make them work."36

Religious activities played their part at the factory, and Robert Carrigan, home from Chapel Hill, visited one of the revivals held for the workers. His father in amusement recounted that "they got to shouting and praying about him [Robert] and soared him half to death [sic] he could not get out of the house, there is [sic] but three girls at the Factory but what have professed religion."37

The business of the mill was excellent in 1848, but only

36. Ibid., W. A. Carrigan to W. A. Carrigan, Jr., July 22, 1848.
37. Ibid., February 14, 1853.
two years later this was reversed by an unexpected rise in the price of cotton, an increase more rapid than that for yarn or cloth. Business grew so bad that Holt and Carrigan planned to close the factory as soon as they had consumed their existing supply of cotton, reopening once the new cotton crop came onto the market. This rise in the price of cotton made the business somewhat precarious, and W. A. Carrigan sold his interest in the mill to E. M. Holt in 1851 and migrated with his sons to Arkansas. Thomas M. Holt, son of Edwin Holt, was taken into the business this same year, as his father needed assistance after the withdrawal of Carrigan.

No sooner were factories established than there were attempts to defraud them. The Fayetteville factories, and perhaps others, reported the receipt of fraudulently-packed bales of cotton. This was often done by watering the cotton, and even at times by the extreme of placing bricks inside the bales. This was merely one of the many problems, others being water shortages, depressions, strikes, and the closing of factories for week long revivals. The constant threat of fire was always present in these mills, and in 1838 the Cane Creek Factory, which like many others was of frame construction, was reported ruined by fire. In this case the report

38. Ibid., January 27, 1850.
39. See Chapter V.
40. Raleigh Register, April 16, 1838.
was untrue, as only a grist mill and cotton gin belonging to the factory were destroyed; but even this caused the company a loss of $3,000. The much more extensive Lexington Cotton Factory was burned at a loss of sixty-five thousand dollars, and was never rebuilt. Throughout these fifty years many cotton factories were wiped out by this menace.

Other factories were built in these years, concerning which we have less information. The efforts of Thomas McNeely, who built a steam cotton mill at Mocksville, were highly praised. Constructing it of brick, McNeely made it extensive enough to contain three thousand spindles. He probably began with 526 spindles, but planned to fill the remaining space with machinery purchased with profits. The editor of The Charlotte Journal said of McNeely, "we wish every possible success to the enterprising gentleman who has thus set this worthy example to men richer than himself."

The many cotton factories as they were established were given considerable space in the newspapers. The Randolph Manufacturing Company reported it had in operation a merchant mill, a saw mill, and a wool carding machine, even before the cotton factory was completed. This company built houses for its operatives and made brick for its factory building at the same time. Benjamin Coffin, a director of the corporation, went to the North to purchase the machinery while

41. Hillsborough Recorder, November 15, 29, 1838.
42. The Charlotte Journal, Hillsborough Recorder, March 17, 1838.
the building was being completed. In an article concerning the Randolph Factory, the editor of a Raleigh newspaper employed the technique of the classified advertisement in an attempt to encourage workers to go to this factory. He wrote that "here is a fine opening for hardy, industrious young men, who are willing to work hard, live well, earn money honestly, and enjoy one of the most healthful situations in this or any other country."43

In an attempt to give added impetus to the lagging interest in the organization of cotton mill companies, Charles Fisher wrote an especially lengthy feature on the Lexington Cotton Factory. He reported this company as having a splendid brick building rising above the town of Lexington and employing over a thousand spindles and ten looms.44 Fisher was especially interested in encouraging the building of a cotton factory in the vicinity of Salisbury, hoping the people of the state would take up the work. He said:

"The subject is one in which the people of Rowan ought to take a deep interest: facts are the most powerful arguments in any question, and having these, we need make no appeal to the feelings of men, further than to ask if they are content to see the counties all around them pushing boldly forward while Rowan remains behind hesitating and doubting whether she ought to improve the opportunity to rise with them, or wait until by an increased competition, the difficulties be increased. Now is the time for action; the manifold advantages, we think, no man can doubt."45

43. Raleigh Register, April 23, 1838.
44. Western Carolinian, February 21, 1839.
45. Ibid.
The cotton factories at Fayetteville, in 1838, were gaining an excellent national as well as state reputation. The factory of Charles B. Mallett had begun to send yarns to Northern markets. As a result of this he received an order for four thousand pounds of yarn monthly from St. Louis. This impelled E. J. Hale to comment that "this is not only a flattering testimonial of the excellence of the fabrics here manufactured, but is encouraging to those who have engaged, and are disposed to engage in manufactures in North Carolina." The products of these factories were claimed to be equal to any on the market and they commanded a higher price than the Northern products.

The rapid growth of this industry, in the thirties, was given credit for a general change in the trade of the state. In a few years the shipment of North Carolina raw cotton had declined and the yarn needs of the area were met at home. "Now probably not a bundle of Northern yarn is brought into the state, whilst a large quantity is exported." The Charlotte Journal reported in May of 1838 that fifty bales of North Carolina textile products had been sent to the markets of Philadelphia and New York.

The advantages of cotton factories were shown in the local markets created for the cotton of planters and

46. Hillsborough Recorder, November 29, 1838, citing the Fayetteville Observer.
47. Ibid.
farmers. It was reported that one hundred bales were purchased in Rowan County alone for local factories, and this was becoming the case in many areas of the state. Newspapers claimed that within two years' time North Carolina factories would furnish the domestic demand for coarse fabrics and that they would be sending additional supplies into other markets. The mills of North Carolina were paying, at the door of the planter and farmer, the same prices obtainable in distant market towns, and instead of sending their cotton to neighboring states, it was kept and used in North Carolina, thus giving employment to needy people, and retaining profits within the state. It was pointed out that such a program would bring to a halt the "depopulating and impoverishing tide of emigration" and bring about the development of the unused resources of the state. It was also urged that this movement would create many new occupations, give new business to others, and that the profits of all merchants and mechanics would increase.

The manufacturing advantages of Davie and Randolph Counties were carefully indicated, in hope that their development would create prosperity in Greensborough. The Deep River in Randolph County already had on its banks two cotton factories valued at sixty thousand dollars. "The never failing water power which Deep River affords; the

49. Greensborough Patriot, March 6, 1839.
50. Western Carolinian, March 7, 1839.
RANDOLPH COUNTY 1830-1880

Cotton Factories Built

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company 1836-1857
Franklinville Manufacturing Company 1838-1851
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company (Rebuilt) 1853-
Randolph Manufacturing Company 1838-
Island Ford Manufacturing Company 1845-
Deep River Manufacturing Company 1848-
Columbia Cotton Factory 1849-
Union Manufacturing Company 1849-1865
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company 1859
Randolph Manufacturing Company 1863-
Randleman Manufacturing Company 1867-
Horsa Ford Manufacturing Company 1873-
Naomi Manufacturing Company 1879-
Enterprise Manufacturing Company 1880-

Proposed Cotton Mills

Randolph Manufacturing Company 1828
inexhaustible forests of pine timber, for building, on the adjacent ridges; the facility of access from the cotton sections of the South and West, combine to render this one of the most important manufacturing districts of the State. 51 These areas needed only good railway connections with the cotton suppliers and the ports of the east to develop fully their natural advantages. Davie county was considered as a most excellent place for the manufacturer and the mechanic to practice their art, as the Yadkin and South Yadkin Rivers form the eastern and southern boundaries. "Nature has pointed out the spot, and nature will prevail over art." Thus these two counties seemed to have outstanding prospects for becoming centers of the cotton textile industry. Randolph County most assuredly fulfilled these expectations, as it had seven cotton mills by 1865, and ten by 1880. 52

Planters and farmers were urged to purchase the products of North Carolina factories, and in an effort to secure the patronage of the rice planters in the Wilmington area, the Phoenix Mill sent a sample bale of its fabrics to be displayed by the merchants there. The Charlotte Journal asked North Carolinians to patronize home industry, saying "how much better it would be to purchase a good article from our own looms, than to buy the same from the factories of other States." 53

52. Ibid., March 29, 1839. Western Carolinian, March 14, 1839.
The 1830's were both good and bad as far as the cotton textile manufacturers were concerned. The majority of the pioneer cotton manufacturers were still successful, yet they were too few really to convince subsequent entrepreneurs. Those who built cotton mills in the thirties were, therefore, as much pioneers in this industry as those who began prior to 1830. Some mills were built and were eminently successful, and in spite of the economic collapse of 1837 several other mills were begun. The most important aspect of this ten-year period was the creation of a manufacturing interest in the state, which was ready to encourage others to enter this industry, particularly as manufacturers were making satisfactory profits in all the markets they entered. The Hillsborough Recorder evaluated the period from 1835 to 1838 as one bringing about a veritable revolution in the economic prospects of North Carolina. This period also saw the beginnings of a more advanced development of the industry, for mills were starting to weave cloth in addition to yarn.54

Thus the incubation period came to an end with North Carolina able to boast of twenty-five textile factories in active operation by 1840.55 This marked the beginning of a period of greater interest and expansion in the state's cotton textile industry. In spite of the depression, the

55. See Appendix VI.
political confusion, and the competition for financial backing by promoters of internal improvements, the interest in cotton factories grew and the number of its adherents increased.

In the succeeding two decades, 1840-1860, the cotton industry continued to grow—very rapidly in the forties and slowing materially in the fifties. Cotton mill construction was neither immediately nor substantially affected by the panic of 1837. The upsurge of building in this industry, which had begun in 1835-1836, provided sufficient momentum to prevent a decline until 1842, when John Motley Morehead, a cotton manufacturer of considerable experience, was serving as governor of North Carolina.

Morehead, in his state papers, left little doubt as to his active interest in the promotion of the infant industry. In his inaugural address he urged North Carolinians to employ the vast resources of the state, "the exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, [her] extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufacturers...[and] whatever measures you [the General Assembly] may adopt to encourage Agriculture, to induce the Husbandman, while he toils and sweats, to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce, and to aid Industry in all the departments of life to reap its full reward, will meet with my cordial approbation."56

56. Raleigh Register, January 5, 1841.
During his campaign for reelection to the governorship, in 1842, Morehead carried on several debates with the candidate of the Democratic Party. In Fayetteville he and Louis D. Henry debated for ten and a half hours. Henry had also taken some interest in cotton factories, having been, in 1828, one of the incorporators of the stillborn Fayetteville Manufacturing Company. Morehead attacked Henry for loaning money at excessive interest rates and for making investments in other states. Morehead claimed his own money and intellect had been used in promoting industrial pursuits "within the good old state of North Carolina." His money had gone to develop "manufacturing, mechanical and farming operations, by which he afforded employment to many of his poor neighbors, mechanics, etc."

57. Ibid., June 14, 1842.

In 1842 Governor Morehead sent a message to the newly elected Democrat-Locofoco Assembly in which he pointed out the needs of the state as follows:
"This vast extent of territory reaching from the Blue Ridge in the West to the alluvial region in the East, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe, for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for Manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory be found, combining all these advantages, upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation. ... When good roads shall be established in the region [the mountains] it is believed the population will increase with rapidity... and Manufacture and Mechanic Arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth."

In the message he attacked free trade and the competition of European pauper labor. "We have the power not only to raise Revenue by imposing duties, but we have the power, by imposing them, to protect American industry against European Industry." Thus the Whig executive left no doubt as to his views on domestic manufactures, internal improvements and the protective tariff.

It was probably evident to cotton manufacturers, most of whom were Whigs, that their interests and wishes would be cared for by the state. The newspapers devoted their efforts, in the years from 1840 to 1844, to an attempt to maintain the interest of North Carolinians, large capitalists and the investing public, in cotton mills. In 1840 and 1841 they were able to point to the establishment of seven additional cotton factories: the H. and F. Fries Woolen and Cotton Factory at Salem; the Mount Airy Factory in Surry

county; the Concord and Salisbury Cotton Mills in Cabarrus and Rowan Counties, respectively; and three in Cumberland County. The Randolph Manufacturing Company, which had been organized in 1838, was ready to begin operations in 1840; a meeting of its stockholders was held at Franklinsville where officers were elected for the company. Jacob Brower, of Surry Country, constructed two other cotton mills in the vicinity of Mt. Airy—Buck Shoals in 1850 and the Hamburg Mill in 1851.

The products of the North Carolina factories were highly praised. the Lexington Factory was said by Charles Fisher to be producing textiles superior to any from the North, being "of the first quality, which is rarely the case with similar fabrics of Northern manufacture, but the thread is even, well twisted, and the weaving done in great perfection; and what adds to all, it is remarkable cheap." The low price was due more perhaps to the depression of the times than to any other conditions.

The Fayetteville Observer noted in 1840 that the rise of a domestic manufacturing industry was having a good effect on the prices paid for raw cotton. It was reported that four thousand bales of cotton were purchased for the Fayetteville factories, and for factories in the interior which purchased

60. The Charlotte Journal, February 6, 1840, Hugh McCain, President; John Miller, Henry Kivett, John A. Kivett, Dr. John G. Hanner, and Elisha Coffin, Directors.
61. J. G. Hollingsworth, History of Surry County or the Annals of Northwest North Carolina, 156.
62. Hillsborough Recorder, October 8, 1840.
their supply of the raw material in that market. The price
paid in Fayetteville made it more profitable for the planter
to sell his cotton there than to send it to New York or
other markets. "The home demand, for the supply of our own
manufactories, is beginning to be felt materially in
regulating prices."^63

There was also in this period the question of quality
versus quantity production in North Carolina factories. The
president of the Rockfish Manufacturing Company gave for
publication a letter from an agent in New Bedford,
Massachusetts. This reported the sale of a consignment of
goods in New England. "The merchants of New Bedford say your
goods are too honestly made for the market. You cannot
compete with Northern manufactures until you get the art of
'slight of hand,' or in other words make poor goods look
well."^64

The reaction of Edward J. Hale to this view was that
it was laudable that the local factories were determined to
make quality goods and that these did not "just seem to be." This honesty of manufacture secured for the fabrics of North Carolina an excellent reputation, thus obtaining a growing market in the North and West. Hale lamented "that this reputation is as yet greatest in Northern cities and Western

63. Greensborough Patriot, December 22, 1840.
64. Fayetteville Observer, cited in the Hillsborough
    Recorder, October 27, 1842.
States, where the people make a more careful examination as to capacity for service, than is usually made in the South. He chided North Carolinians for their failure to support state factories by buying their manufactures. He admitted that prices and profits were low, but attempted to encourage the manufacturer with the thought that a good reputation was being built which would later pay dividends by increased and extended business.

It was reported that a large amount of the yarns and cloths of the North Carolina factories were being shipped to Philadelphia and New York, and that a day seldom passed without one of the Fayetteville factories receiving orders from the most widely known commission houses; one factory received five such orders in one day. Edward Hale called the development of the North Carolina textile industry a veritable revolution changing the course of trade for that state.

The cotton business, both in and out of the state, must have been good, for Niles' Register reported in 1841 that there were six factories in Fayetteville alone, two of which had been placed in operation that year. These six factories had 11,498 spindles, 160 looms, employed 417 persons, and

---

66. Greensborough Patriot, April 12, 1842.
67. Fayetteville Observer, cited in the Baltimore American which was cited in the Niles' Weekly Register, vol. 64, June 24, 1843, 272.
were valued at $297,000. The value of the same mills was estimated by various newspapers of the state at $347,000. The growth was not merely localized in Cumberland County, for the Greensborough Patriot listed eight cotton factories within less than a day's ride of that city. There was a total of from twenty-five to twenty-seven mills in operation, valued at one million and fifty thousand dollars, operating fifty thousand spindles and giving employment to twelve or fifteen hundred persons.

The estimates of contemporaries regarding the cotton industry were quite variable and frequently unreliable. There were as many different estimates as to the extent and value of the number of cotton mills as there were authors. Zekeiah Niles gave much the same information as the Fayetteville Observer, although he made a serious error in reporting the number of cotton mill operatives at twelve thousand. He viewed the general expansion of the cotton industry as a good sign of economic progress in North Carolina. He editorialized that, considering the state was "out of debt, and having the longest railroad and the finest state capitol in the Union, the name of 'Rip van Winkle' as is applied to North Carolina, may be considered a clear case of 'lucus a non lucendo.' We hope it may be 'many a day' ere her enter-

63. Niles' Register, vol. 60, May 1, 1841, 131-132.
69. Hillsborough Recorder, June 15, 1843.
70. Greensborough Patriot, cited in the Fayetteville Observer, October 4, 1843.
piring manufacturers may know the want of a good protective tariff.™  

Various publications, both inside and outside of the state, made attempts to estimate and to list the number of cotton factories and their locations. TM The Western Carolinian reported twenty-seven factories valued at close to one million dollars, running 47,931 spindles and with 1219 employees. TM This information was obviously taken from the census report of 1840, with some additions by Charlesisher. TM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Mills</th>
<th>Number of Hands</th>
<th>Value of Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mfg. Articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spindles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>$22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14,234</td>
<td>177,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>16,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18,000(?)</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,284</td>
<td>21,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>14,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stokes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47,931</td>
<td>438,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>995,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71. Hiles' Register, vol. 65, November 11, 1843, 170.
72. Hillsborough Recorder, September 1, 1841. Dennis Heartt reported that there were twenty-six cotton factories with 49,681 spindles, employing 1350 operatives in Chatham 1, Caswell 1, Rowan 1, Davie 1, Cumberland 8, Davidson 1, Edgecombe 1, Guilford 1, Orange 3, Montgomery 1, Randolph 2, Rockingham 1, Richmond 1, Surry 1, and Stokes 1.™
73. Western Carolinian, September 9, 1842.
74. Allen, Thomas, Compendium of the 6th Census, passim.
A letter of a North Carolina manufacturer taken from the National Intelligencer discussed the extent of the cotton industry in the state. He reported "twenty cotton factories, worked by, I presume 1,800 white operatives, and, although N. Carolina will not obtrude herself upon the time of Congress with petitions for a discriminating tariff, yet she is to be vitally affected by it, in the success of those large factories recently established. I am now shipping a lot of goods directly to New Bedford, and expect to supply that market with a portion of what they require for shipment around Cape Horn. Southern goods stand high in New York, Philadelphia, and other markets into which they have been introduced." 75

The continued progress and expansion of this industry led the editor of the Wilmington Chronicle to rhapsodize about the developing manufacturing interest in the state and its future prospects. He was jubilant over the export of North Carolina textiles to the North, some of which came from factories in the interior of the state. The article was concluded with the statement that "this is by no means an uncommon occurrence; shipments of this kind are making frequently." 76

The interest of editors in cotton mills was unflagging;

they published all the information they could obtain on the subject. Many presented long articles on the advantages and developments in various counties.\(^77\) Although the effects of the panic were wearing off by 1844, some cotton factories still seemed to suffer from their influence. In January of that year, the Milton Manufacturing Company, overstocked with yarn and cloth, advertised an auction sale of their yarn, sheeting, and osnaburgs. The company was willing to sell any size lots for cash or credit, depending upon the quantity of the purchase.\(^78\) The effects of the panic were pretty well dispelled by 1845 and the construction of cotton mills once more went forward.

The Charlotte Journal published a long article on the benefits introduced by factories in the area of Paterson, New Jersey. These factories were invaluable, it was pointed out, in building up the community and raising prices paid for agricultural products, and "there is indubitable evidence that the encouragement of manufactures in this country has no tendency to degenerate the operative class."\(^79\) This same paper devoted fourteen full columns to a series of articles taken from the Charleston Courier on the reasons why cotton mills should be built and agriculture diversified.\(^80\)

---

77. Greensborough Patriot, February 2, 1841.
80. Ibid., August 29, September 5, 12, 19, 1845, See entire text in Appendix III.
Information was circulated which made it appear that greater profits and benefits were to be expected from this industry.

Currency was given the claim that a workman in Paterson, New Jersey had invented a simplification of the throstle then in use which "is likely to work a great revolution in the Cotton Manufacturing business." This invention was said to make it possible to use one-half the power required by existing machines, to produce less waste, to require less oil, to make bands unnecessary, to enable a worker to oversee more spindles, and to produce more yarn of better quality. It certainly sounded promising and one could hardly ask more of one invention. It was also suggested in the same issue that the manufacture of cotton mattresses should be begun in North Carolina.81

There was an attempt to get the planters and farmers of the South to use cotton bagging and twine, instead of hemp, for baling their cotton, and the Concord Factory was suggested as a source for these manufactures. Among the stockholders of this company, established in 1841, appears the name of Cannon, one of great significance in later developments of the North Carolina cotton textile industry. The products of this factory were evaluated as "superior to any articles of the kind we have seen...the twine seems to be an excellent article and much stronger than ordinary

81. Hillsborough Recorder, February 13, 1845.
hemp twine." The **Camden (S.C.) Journal** urged that all things being equal the planters of the area should encourage this home enterprise.²²

The beginning of two new mills, one in Montgomery and the other in Orange, was noted by the **Fayetteville Observer**. L. J. Hale wished them every success but did not fail to use the opportunity to promote his home town. He mentioned the superior advantages existing there, such as abundant and cheap water power, inexpensive living, the plentiful supply of cotton, easy access to markets, the opportunity to secure experienced operatives, and the ease by which experienced mechanics could be found to repair machinery. He said "there is abundant room for more establishments, and the manufacturers and citizens will welcome them amongst us."³³

The collector of the port of Wilmington estimated the value of cotton mills already in Fayetteville at $340,000, reporting their annual profits at fourteen per cent. He stated further that there were from twenty-five to thirty manufactories in North Carolina, most of them cotton.³⁴

Newspapers and other periodicals devoted the remainder of the 1840's to publishing information regarding new factories in North Carolina and the general developments in the other Southern States. They also predicted an extended

---

³³. *Fayetteville Observer*, December 2, 1845.
³⁴. *DeBow's Review*, vol. 6 (1848), 285.
growth of this industry, and prophesied that the South would become the greatest center for textile manufactures.

The Catawba Manufacturing Company was established by General William H. Neel, H. E. Williams, and Peter M. Brown, the latter two of Charlotte. The equipment of this company was judged to be the equal of any in the state, and its yarn of excellent make. The Charlotte Journal said that "this is another evidence that men of capital consider cotton manufacturing a safe investment." 85

The seventh cotton factory in Fayetteville, Blount's Creek Cotton Factory, was built at a cost of thirty thousand dollars, and provided for both spinning and weaving. George McNeil, formerly engaged with Henry Donaldson in building a factory in 1825, was the president of the company. The Fayetteville Observer noted that this factory was going "into operation at a period of great depression in manufactures; but when things get to the worst they generally mend." It was felt that this was then the case and that the proprietors could expect to profit personally and at the same time to benefit the community. 86

The textile industry in Gaston County had its beginnings about 1845 when the Woodlawn Factory was begun by the Lineberger Brothers later joined by Moses H. Rhyne, who was

a benefactor of Lenoir-Rhyne College of Hickory, North Carolina. The Woodlawn Factory was a frame building on stone foundations. Its machinery, purchased in England and Philadelphia, was shipped to Charleston. From that point it was sent by railroad and wagon to the site of the factory. The operation of the various activities of the mill were divided between the chief stockholders "as suited each one's ability." In 1846 Jasper and E. B. Stowe established the Stoweville Mill in Gaston County. Colonel Jasper Stowe became one of the most prominent textile manufacturers in North Carolina.87

In 1849 the old Mount Hecla Steam Cotton Mill was moved from Greensborough to Gaston County. Thomas Tate, son-in-law of Henry Humphreys, moved this mill to Mountain Island on the Catawba River, the shortage of wood around Greensborough and the cheapness of water power motivating the transfer. Mountain Island was chosen because "there was a partially constructed canal, originally intended to convey cotton to Charleston, but which could easily be used as a race." The Tate Factory manufactured plain sheeting used for underclothing and shirts. That used for making women's dresses and for other purposes was "dyed with copperas and maple bark. Sumac berries were sometimes used in colors." The mill produced yarns and their products were sold in North

Carolina and Tennessee. 88

As late as 1848 some of the factories were still taking
goods in payment for their yarn and cloth. In that year Gwyn
and Hickerson, operating a store in Wilkesboro, received
from the LeaKsville Mill of Governor Morehead 500 bunches of
yarn and 2409 yards of 4/4 sheeting. The superintendent of
you had 100\% worth of trade which he has agreed to take [sic]
you had 100\% worth of trade which he has agreed to take [sic]
please send that down by wagon also." It was further
requested that should the wagon not have a full load more
trade goods would be accepted to fill it. 89 James Gwyn, of
this partnership, became financially interested in the
Patterson and Elkin Cotton Factories in the 1850's.

Correspondents and newspaper editors, in the late 1840's,
foresaw a great future and hope in the North Carolina cotton
textile industry. A letter to a North Carolina Congressman
said "let N. C. rise up in her majesty & no longer lie in
slumber for her own interests sake, [sic] in consequence of
our slumber the North & England is Rich on our poverty, [sic]
we can make broad cloth." 90

The correspondence of the Lenoir family gives interest­
ing views of the cotton textile business in the years 1848
to 1850. The Lenoirs in Tennessee inquired about the efforts

89. James Gwyn Papers, MSS., S.H.C., U.N.C., J. H. Bullard to
Messrs. Gwyn and Hickerson, April 10, 1848.
Baggally to Congressman A. Mitchell, September 13, 1847.
of J. Gwyn and also L. W. Jones toward the establishment of cotton mills. Jones had anticipated the construction of a factory on the Yadkin River, and it was reported that the Yadkin Cotton Factory had completed making brick for the mill and was then engaged in building a dam. William Lenoir, writing from Tennessee, described a shortage of waterpower which prevented the expansion of his factory, and commented that his cotton mill was "not as profitable business as it has been, but will probably for some years be as good as almost any other, when attended with good natural advantages." Regardless of conditions, he reported in the fall of 1850 the enlargement of his mill by the addition of another story. He mentioned a shortage of cotton, and an oversupply of thread, all due to the bad effects of the high price of cotton. Young Tom Lenoir wrote to his uncle saying "I look upon the manufacturing establishments springing up in every part of North Carolina as her surest hope for future wealth and prosperity." The Charlotte Journal cited a letter of a man of scientific ability and great experience to the effect that North Carolina's "resources only required to be skillfully developed to make it one of the most prosperous communities

92. Ibid., Thomas Lenoir, Jr., to William E. Lenoir, April 2, 1849.
in the Union.' The successful factories in existence encouraged other capitalists to invest in industry. "There is a very respectable number of factories in the full tide of successful operation...capitalists are becoming aroused to the importance of the peculiar advantages we enjoy, in having such an unending amount of water power, so near...the cotton...where provisions of all kind are to be procured so cheap." The editor of the paper concluded that "the people seem to be awakening to their true interest; and if the spirit which is alive, continue to increase, the hum of industry, the buzz of enterprise and the bustle of business, will make our community as truly the beehive of peace, as it was deservedly the 'hornet's nest' of war." 93

The years from 1845 to 1849 were the high tide of cotton mill construction in the ante-bellum period. In this five-year period seventeen cotton factories were built and three others organized but not completed. There were predictions of a future day when the greatest cotton-growing states would be the greatest manufacturing states. This happy occurrence was to be brought about because "western North Carolina, northwestern South Carolina, North Georgia and Alabama, and parts of Tennessee, afford some of the finest water power on the globe, so contiguous to the cotton..." 94

94. Ibid., June 21, 1848.
It became ever clearer to North Carolinians that they could not remain prosperous by growing cotton alone, especially since it was overproduced and the price very low. The only hope of the state to remain independent was a diversification of its labor. 95 The Philadelphia News mentioned the increasing number of cotton factories throughout the South. It observed that "they [the planters] are tired of selling their raw cotton for five cents a pound, when simply by spinning it into yarn, they can get twelve." 96

Owners of cotton factories, located in the territory to be served by the North Carolina Railroad, were urged to support the promotion of the railroad. It was urged by D. L. Swain, president of the University of North Carolina, that the mills needed the transportation facilities to expand their markets and that the railroad needed the revenue furnished by shipping raw and manufactured cotton. He mentioned that the local supply of cotton was insufficient for the demand of the factories of the state, and that cotton production in North Carolina was declining. Swain stated that North Carolina, if it had to depend on outside sources for cotton, would be at a competitive disadvantage with Northern mills. It was cheaper to ship the cotton by sea than to transport it overland. If this occurred North

95. Richmond Times, cited in the Charlotte Observer, April 20, 1849.
Carolina factories no longer able to compete would be forced out of business, "and the bright visions of our becoming a great manufacturing state vanish in thin air." Swain appealed to the financial interest of North Carolinians by insisting that their support for the railroad would be to their advantage. He pointed out that the "railroad is of the utmost importance to the middle region of North Carolina, and to the county of Orange in particular, which abounds, (probably more than any other county in the State,) with water power. Every owner of a mill site is therefore deeply interested in the success of the enterprise, and may expect its value to be greatly enhanced by the completion of the work." 97

James W. Osborne, writing for DeBow's, made the same type of appeal to the citizens of the state. Give western North Carolina a connection with the seaboard, he said, and that area "must become the most important manufacturing region South of the Potomac." 98 DeBow, making a general and sectional appeal for the development of domestic industry in the nation, said "the spindles and the looms must be brought to the cotton fields. This is the true location of this powerful assistant of the grower. In the West, in the East or in the North, would be better than any foreign country; but the best location is the sunny South, where the cotton grows." 99

97. Hillsborough Recorder, August 8, 1849.
99. Ibid., 485.
Thus on a note of encouragement and hope for the future came to an end the period of greatest cotton mill expansion in ante-bellum North Carolina. In 1850 the state still had approximately forty-six operating cotton mills, although some had been projected and never brought to fruition, and a few had gone out of business for various reasons. The mill construction of the 1850's was primarily the result of the impetus of the previous decade, which continued in the first few years of the fifties.

The ten-year depression in the price of raw cotton came to a rather abrupt end in the season 1848-1849, when the prices paid were double those of the previous year. This unexpected rise had unfortunate consequences on the manufacturing industry. From Rhode Island through Virginia, mills were reported closed or operating part-time.100 This was also true in other Southern States to some extent. The industrial depression was attributed to several causes: the low tariff; the high price of cotton; and the manufacture of too many coarse goods. "The first we cannot discuss without being drawn into the field of politics. The second affects manufacturers by turning capital into other channels; and the third by overstocking the markets with coarse goods, and leaving our citizens dependent on other countries for fine ones."101

100. J.D.B. DeBow., The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, vol. 1, 210.
101. Ibid.
The question of the tariff was an issue of a most controversial nature. The manufacturers generally favored it, and the cotton planters opposed. The rise in the price of cotton, of course, gave Southerners an opportunity to resume operations in the field they found most congenial. The surplus capital, some of which had in the preceding decade gone into manufactories, was once more devoted to the cultivation of the staple. Many factories which had rented slaves for operatives found them recalled by the planter to be used in the cotton fields. The production by more and more establishments of osnaburgs, brown sheeting, and shirting had caused at least a temporary glut on the local and distant markets. Business of many of the North Carolina factories was slow and profits declining.

A North Carolinian wrote complaining of the lack of interest of his fellow citizens in manufacturing. He underestimated the efforts that had been made, saying "North Carolina has embarked to a limited extent in manufactures." This seems to be rather an unfair statement when one considers the expansion of the previous fifteen years. He stated that the capital of the state was being devoted to developing other states or being left unused. Yet, all was not dark, for in February of 1850 the Milledgeville Manufacturing Company of Montgomery County announced a semi-annual dividend of ten

per cent on the capital. 103

The Greensborough Patriot noted that conditions for manufacturing were not as propitious as they had been. Speaking of the newly-established Deep River Manufacturing Company, the newspaper editorialized that "the rise in cotton, just at the time the mills were ready for business, had prevented a favorable start." The Union Factory was also just beginning operation on Deep River, and it was predicted that "under the first favorable change in prices, they will, like their contemporaries, embark on a 'full tide of successful experiment.'" The Cedar Falls and Franklinsville Mills, which were much older, were reported to be scenes of busy industry. The capital invested in these four cotton mills in Randolph County was $200,000, and there was anticipation of further building on Deep River once the railroad and plank road were completed. 104

DeBow's Review, poorly informed as to the extent of the developments in North Carolina, reported that "manufactures chiefly exist in the shape of household industry." This periodical was evidently relying on the questionable census figures of 1840, which were no longer applicable. 105 The New York Express printed the new census figures which aroused the ire of E. J. Hale. Hale objected strongly

103. Hillsborough Recorder, February 27, 1850.
to the figures of 1840 and those of 1350 regarding the expansion and size of the North Carolina cotton textile industry. He estimated that there were no less than forty cotton factories and he believed there were nearer fifty. There was a general tendency either to slight or ignore North Carolina in the magazines and newspapers of the North and South. This led Hale to say "our State is doomed again to suffer its usual injustice." 106

In December of 1650 the industrialists of North Carolina assembled in Raleigh to hold a convention. John M. Moorehead, of the Leasburg Factory, served as its president, and Col. R. E. Elliott, of the Cedar Falls Factory, made the main address. This group resolved "in order to promote and encourage all those engaged in the various branches of productive industry, and to stimulate and reward enterprise, excellence and skill, to organize a society." The proposed society was to follow the lead of other Southern States and hold at its annual meetings an exhibition of articles of agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and mechanical departments. This group in 1851 sponsored the first North Carolina state fair. 107 By this means, it was decided, the products of the state could be displayed to the public and prizes offered for excellence and skill, and the products of the manufacturer, as a result, would become better known.

106. Fayetteville Observer, December 16, 1851.
107. Hillsborough Recorder, January 8, 1851.
by the people of North Carolina.

Dennis Heardt reported receiving a sample of cotton yarns of the Mount Arrarat Factory of General Trollinger, and announced that this company had had specimens of its manufacture at the 1853 state fair and had won a premium. The Hillsborough Recorder listed next year the prizes offered for manufactured articles at the state fair. "For the best specimen of heavy jeans, ten yards, $3; For the best osnaburks, 10 yards, $3; For the best specimen shirtings, sheetings, etc., $3; For the best specimen Cotton Yarns, $3."\(^{108}\)

The Fayetteville Observer approved highly of the Southern state fairs, saying they brought about improvements in manufactures and agriculture.\(^{109}\)

Northern newspapers were referred to whenever they promoted the growth of Southern industry. One such paper pointed to the cheapness of labor, the exhaustless water power, and the vast supply of cotton as great Southern advantages. It predicted that once the labor had achieved equal skill with that of the North, the Southern fabrics would monopolize many markets. It was further stated that "there is no reason, therefore, why the South should not rival, and even outstrip New England in manufacturing. More than one shrewd Northern capitalist has begun to invest

\(^{108}\) Ibid., October 26, 1853; August 23, 1854.

\(^{109}\) Fayetteville Observer, November 21, 1851.
largely at the South.\textsuperscript{110}

After the middle fifties the rise in price of cotton rather effectively dissolved the former wide interest expressed in cotton factories by newspapers. The change of view was intensified as more space was devoted to the defense of slavery, attacks on the abolitionists, and discussions of the political situation. The old party structures were breaking up and new alignments being formed. Also in this period the South made much of the point that Northern industry was worse than slavery; was brutalizing and degrading the factory operative, then casting him off once his working ability began to decline. Naturally among Southerners there was less of a tendency to promote industry, since it was under attack. On various occasions after 1850 the nation seemed poised on the brink of civil war. South Carolinians, being the most radical proponents of disunion, proposed in 1851 to manufacture their own arms. E. J. Hale commented that "she had better propose to manufacture her own cotton."\textsuperscript{111}

There was also the constant complaint that local merchants refused to buy textiles in North Carolina. Much of the yarn and cloth made in the state was exported to markets in the North, where it was often purchased by North Carolina merchants and shipped back. This led Edward Hale to

\textsuperscript{110} Hillsborough Recorder, January 15, 1851.

\textsuperscript{111} Fayetteville Observer, April 8, 1851.
remark that "they [cotton textiles] some times have new virtues, before undiscovered, imparted to them by being sold in the North."\textsuperscript{112} The Lincoln Factory was in this period shipping cotton warps to the market at Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{113}

The panic of 1857 contributed a further retarding influence to the construction of cotton textile mills, as one or two went bankrupt. The Salisbury Manufacturing Company closed its doors and it seems that the Milton Manufacturing Company did also. In 1858 Grasty and Rison, former customers of the Milton Company, were purchasing their cloth and yarn from E. I. Holt.\textsuperscript{114} Business continued to be fair but few new mills were constructed in this decade; of twelve mills organized, only nine were completed.

By 1860 there were approximately fifty cotton factories operating in North Carolina. The Hillaborough Recorder spoke of the pride North Carolinians should feel in the extensive cotton manufactures of the state, claiming that the state had more cotton factories than any other Southern state. Dennis Heartt said "it appears that in 1859, about 29,000 bales of cotton were manufactured into cloth in North Carolina, while Georgia 'the Empire State of the South' the

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., June 16, 1856.
\textsuperscript{114} Grasty-Rison Papers, op. cit., E. I. Holt to Grasty and Rison, October 16, 1858.
number of bales was 26,000.  

North Carolina on the eve of the Civil War had a very extensive textile industry, for which she was given credit neither then nor in our own day. The Georgia Helicon reported the number of cotton mills in Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Alabama as 98, with a total investment of one million dollars. This was in 1851, while North Carolina had, in 1840, twenty-seven factories valued at over one million dollars.

The geographical situation peculiar to North Carolina had earlier pointed to the likelihood of its being the leading cotton textile manufacturing state in the South; this it was!
CHAPTER III

North Carolina Cotton Mills During Civil War and Reconstruction 1860-1880

On the eve of the Civil War the North Carolina cotton textile industry was flourishing, with newspapers once more lending their support to the industry by printing articles and editorials concerned with its activity. In the spring of 1860 the Fayetteville Observer devoted space in almost every issue to publicizing the existing cotton mills. It listed the mills, the names of the proprietors, the number of spindles and looms, and their annual product.¹ The Baltimore Observer, March 19, 1860.

¹ The Baltimore Observer, March 19, 1860. "Home manufactures. We have received memoranda from four more establishments, making seven in all since our proposition to notice such things editorially, viz:
No. 4. Concord Cotton Factory; steam power; J. McDonald & Sons Proprietors; situated near the town of Concord, Cabarrus County. Spins annually about 600 bales of cotton; runs 1800 spindles and 37 looms; manufactures Yarn, Sheetings, Osnaburgs and Grain bagging. Since July last have made the greater part of the sheeting into wheat, corn and flour sacks—made on a sewing machine run by power. Last month 24,000 yards of cloth and 7,500 lbs. of yarn. One-third additional machinery is being added. This is believed to be the only steam propelled Cotton Factory in the state...

No. 7. Saxapahaw Cotton Factory; Alamance County; J. Newlin & Sons, Proprietors; consumes upwards of 500 bales of cotton; made last year 108,890 lbs. of Cotton Yarn, and 158,100 yards of Sheetings and Drills, besides smaller quantities of plain and twilled Linseys, bed-cords, plow-lines, well-ropes, seine twine, coarse sewing thread, stocking thread, wrapping twines, carpet warp and filling,
American indicated the weaknesses of states with a single economic interest, pointing out that the state which encourages and possesses all phases of economic endeavor is the one "which can become prosperous, powerful and great." Great Britain was held up as the perfect example for the Southern States in regard to their diversification of effort.2

In spite of the "sound and fury" of Southern secessionist firebrands in the preceding decade, the Civil War burst over North Carolina with an appalling suddenness, and with an impact particularly felt by the cotton textile industry. This was the only industry in North Carolina which held out any promise of meeting the demands of the public—a public which had for generations depended upon outside sources for most producer and consumer goods. Unprepared for this state of affairs, the cotton mills, now cut off from their sources of machinery and repair parts, were called upon to supply a demand which was entirely beyond their capabilities. The Lincolnton Iron Foundry could replace rudimentary equipment, but if anything of a complicated nature was broken there was almost no means of making repairs.


battling for quilts and mattresses." Fayetteville Observer, April 19, 1860. No. 11. The Elkin Cotton Factory; water power; at Elkin, Surry County, N.C., owned by R. Gwyn, L. Hickerson, J. Gwyn, C. B. Franklin, and R. R. Gwyn, styled the 'Elkin Manufacturing Company'. Spins annually near 300 bales of cotton; runs near 1,000 spindles and 10 looms; makes yarn and 4/4 heavy sheeting. The proprietors speak of adding about one-third additional machinery soon. They have many more orders than they can fill...."
The North Carolina factories which had succeeded in meeting the state demand for yarns and coarse fabrics were now called on to furnish vast quantities of materials for military and civilian use. The cotton industry was asked to furnish cloth for uniforms, tents, knapsacks, and for many other military items, while it was also expected to furnish the public with the dozens of items which became increasingly scarce on the markets. The war greatly magnified the demand for all textiles, while the tightening blockade made them much more difficult to secure. James Harper, associated with the Patterson Factory, recorded in his diary in 1861 that the mill was "very busy indeed all day carding and selling Yarn & Leather." He noted further that the factory could not "make Yarn & Cloth fast enough for customers....Not able to supply the demand for Yarn & Cloth....A great many people here for Yarn & Cloth, & many disappointed."3

The laws of supply and demand were operating inexorably, and the prices of yarn and cloth began a steady rise lasting throughout the war. Another manufacturer wrote that his yarns were increasing in price weekly. He reported that he contracted to manufacture yarn for one dollar and thirty cents a bunch and within a week was offered one dollar and sixty cents.4 E. M. Holt wrote his customers that he was

increasing the price of his cloth five cents a yard, saying "I am offered 26c for all I can make delivered in Richmond, but I prefer furnishing customers, even at less prices than I can get." Sending part of an order, Holt remarked, "I cannot furnish one-tenth part of the Yarn wanted & W. Eass may consider himself fortunate to get one hundred bunches." He regretted his production was declining because he was forced to use bad oil which "gums our machinery & retards our operation very much." By the autumn of 1862 these Danville customers of E. I. Holt were being supplied by his son, Thomas Holt of Haw River, whose yarns were priced wholesale at five dollars and fifty cents a bunch.

In a very short period prices in this field had doubled and even trebled their pre-war price. The increasing demand of the Confederate and state quartermasters, the declining outside supply caused by the blockade, the depreciating Confederate currency and the resulting inflation, caused the prices to rise.

In the spring of 1862 the North Carolina Standard reported that the "great mass of people are indignant at the conduct of the cotton manufacturers." They were said to be as bad as speculators, farmers, distillers, and tanners. All these groups were accused of "asking two or three times the real value of everything they have to sell." This

2. Ibid., Thomas Holt to Grasty and Rison, October 23, 1862.
indignation was directed especially toward the cotton manufacturer since he could get plenty of cotton at a very low price, and a particular threat was directed at these cotton industrialists by suggesting that "the people will match the cotton manufacturers by and by, when the war is over, and the blockade is raised, with a low tariff."7

Confederate and state authorities and individuals did what they could to relieve the growing shortages of cloth. Since North Carolina furnished more manpower to the Confederate Army than any of the other Southern states, the convention authorized the state government to give financial assistance to increase the production of cotton and wool cards. The Confederate Government attempted to remedy the same problem by helping to keep trained workers and managers in essential industries. The Confederate Congress passed an act which would serve a double purpose of keeping prices under control and allowing for the exemption of essential

8. The North Carolina Standard, March 1, 1862. "The following ordinance was passed by the convention on Monday last ....To encourage the manufacture of Cotton and Wool Cards. That if any person or persons shall erect buildings and construct machinery for the purpose of manufacturing Cotton and Wool Cards, and shall make proof to the Governor of the cost of such works, the Governor be and he is hereby authorized to draw on the Treasury for sums not exceeding the cost of said works, to be loaned to the thereof on the execution by them of bonds payable to the State with sufficient security, conditioned to repay such sums at such time as the General Assembly may prescribe, and with such interest as may be required, not exceeding six per cent. per annum: Provided further, that the cards thus manufactured shall in the first place be offered for sale to the citizens of this State."
manpower for industry. A few months later the Fayetteville Observer published further information about the military exemption of essential industrial personnel.

An act of this type had become a necessity, as the problem of operatives and of prices was getting out of hand.

9. The North Carolina Standard, October 10, 1862, "The Military Exemption Act.—That the exemption herein granted to persons by reason of their peculiar mechanical or other occupation or employment not connected with the public service shall be subject to the condition that the product of the labor of such exempts, or of the Companies and establishments with which they are connected, shall be sold and disposed of by the proprietors at prices not exceeding seventy-five per centum upon the cost of production or within a maximum to be fixed by the Secretary of War under such regulations as he may prescribe; and it is further provided that if the proprietors of such manufacturing establishment shall be shown upon evidence to be submitted and judged by the Secretary of War to have violated, or in any manner evaded, the true intent and spirit of the foregoing provisions, the exemptions therein granted shall no longer be extended to them, superintendents or operatives in said establishments, but they, and each and every one of them, shall be forthwith enrolled under the provisions of this act, and ordered into the Confederate army, and shall in no event be again exempted therefrom by reason of said manufacturing establishments or employments therein." Fayetteville Observer, November 17, 1862, "When application is made to exempt superintendents and operatives in...cotton factories...the president or some director, if the company be incorporated, if not, the proprietor of the business...shall make oath in writing that the said superintendents, operatives, managers or mechanics, as the case may be, are skilled and actually employed in their said vocations; that they are habitually working for the public; that they are absolutely necessary for the successful prosecution of the business of the concern; that the products thereof shall not be sold, exchanged, or bartered, during the said exemption for a price exceeding the cost or production and seventy-five per cent. profit thereon; that no shift, contrivence or arrangement shall be made to evade the law, or secure a larger return or profit than it allows; and that exemption is not sought for a larger number of persons than is absolutely necessary for the successful prosecution of the business of the concern."
The situation had grown so bad in Georgia that the state legislature threatened to seize the cotton mills and the factories. This threat was perhaps an attempt to coerce the Georgia manufacturers to reduce their prices. The state Finance Committee set a maximum price acceptable for certain items of great scarceness: leather at one dollar a pound; shoes at three dollars a pair; cotton yarn at two and a half dollars per bunch; osnaburgs at twenty-five cents a yard; blue jeans at two dollars; cotton sheeting three-quarter width at twenty cents a yard, and wider sheeting at a proportional price. The committee suggested that should it be necessary to seize the factories "the Governor [was] to employ operatives to work them, and retain possession until every Georgia soldier is furnished with a good pair of shoes and a good suit of clothes." It was said that this would not be necessary if the manufacturers would accept the generous terms of the Exemption Act of the Confederate Congress. 10

Dennis Heard, noting that the South Carolina legislature also was trying to enact price controls, characterized this action as "a very absurd and a very impossible thing." 11

The cotton manufacturers of Georgia probably accepted the terms of the government act, but evidently not with the same grace as North Carolina businessmen. The threat to seize the factories was rendered unnecessary when the

11. Ibid., January 7, 1863.
Georgia legislature provided sixty thousand dollars to purchase a half interest in a cotton card manufacturing company. With the use of penitentiary inmates, twenty card making machines were to be duplicated; these were to produce fifteen thousand cards per month and "with such a supply of cards the women of the State can speedily clothe themselves and their gallant troops without seizing the factories..."12

Thus the states of the Confederacy tried to meet the very serious problem of inflation, by means of price control and by state aid to industry.

This problem was avoided in North Carolina by offering state financial aid for the establishment of a cotton and woolen card industry, and the acceptance of the very generous provisions of the Confederate Exemption Act. The North Carolina manufacturers gathered in a special convention in Greensborough to express their views regarding this act, meeting on December 3, 1862, with a large group of prominent cotton manufacturers in attendance.13 George Makepeace,

chairman of the convention, and E. M. Holt, dean of North Carolina textile manufacturers, were appointed to invite Governor Zebulon B. Vance to the sessions of the convention. Governor Vance attended and made "a few able and appropriate remarks." A group of the leading manufacturers were chosen as a committee to draft resolutions for the consideration of the assembled delegates.

The committee presented the following report at the afternoon session:

"Resolved, That we will sell all the products of our several mills at a profit not exceeding 75 per cent., and further that we give the orders of the State the preference.

Resolved, That we will use our best endeavors to discourage speculation in Factory fabrics, and to secure this end we will sell in quantities to such agents only, as will prevent them reaching the hands of speculators.

Resolved, That we believe the following prices are in conformity at present with the Exemption Act, to wit; 4/4 sheetings 35 cents per yard; Cotton yarn No. 5's to 7's at $3.25 per bunch of five pounds, No. 8's to 10's at $3.50, No. 11's to 12's at $3.75.

Resolved, That C. W. Garrett, A.Q.M. at Raleigh be requested to publish once a month the list of prices he pays each Factory for their goods.

Resolved, That all manufacturers here not represented, be requested to comply with the requisitions of the Exemption Act.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this convention be published in the Greensborough papers, and that the other papers in the State be requested to copy."

The convention came to an end in a spirit of accord with the officials of the state and Confederate governments. Two of those attending the session claimed they were only

14. Ibid.
casually present and could not pledge their companies, but they concurred with all the resolutions.

W. W. Holden, reporting this convention, asserted that its success was due to Governor Vance and the cooperation of Dr. Hogg and the Fayetteville Factories. He called on the farmers to reduce the price of meat and bread, and meet the manufacturer half way.15

One of the most prominent names missing from the list of representatives at the Greensborough Convention was that of John Motley Morehead.16 William Holden took special notice of the absence of the former governor, particularly since the convention had been held in his place of residence. Holden, long a political foe of Morehead, remarked "surely, if the other manufacturers of the state are satisfied with seventy-five per cent. profit, he might be satisfied with it also...but without explanation on his part, it does seem to us that he is disposed

'To give the mighty space of his large honors,  
For so much trash as may be grasped thus.'"17

The Patterson Factory was reported to have accepted the

16. Others not represented at the Greensborough Convention were: W. S. Battle of the Rocky Mount Mill, Francis Fries of H. and F. Fries Company, the Lenoirs of Patterson Factory, Thomas Tate of Mountain Island Mill, or representatives of Linclon Factory, Eagle Mill, Rock Creek Shoal Factory, and the three Brower Mills in Surry County, William Edgerton of the Little River Factory, or the Cane Creek Factory.
terms of the Exemption Act. Rockfish and Blount's Creek had also accepted just before the meeting of the convention. They had made special announcements in order to make their decision effective in preventing speculators from getting their products. The Rockfish Factory reported it would sell to merchants at the same price as it was paid by the state, but the merchants had to obligate themselves to sell this by the piece at a profit not exceeding five cents a yard. Blount's Creek Factory also agreed to observe the reduction of prices and expressed a hope that it would be able to supply the demand of its customers.18

The war gave rise to some factories in North Carolina which attempted to increase the supply of yarn and cloth. In Fayetteville a factory was established to manufacture cotton cards, which produced twenty cards a day. In Hillsborough Simpson and Hooker began making the "flying shuttle and old fashioned looms, spinning wheels..." and other desired articles. At least two new cotton factories were built during the war. In Salem Rufus L. Patterson, already one of the owners of the Patterson Cotton Factory in Wilkes County, built the Wachovia Steam Cotton Mill. This mill manufactured thread only, which was a very scarce item.19 George Brandt built the Enterprise Cotton Mill in Fayetteville. This mill had machinery that was brought from Europe through the

19. Ibid., February 5, 1862; July 29, 1863.
blockade, and E. J. Hale reported that this machinery so recently in Europe was now "being used to assist in clothing our soldiers.\textsuperscript{20} The Enterprise Factory advertised shortly thereafter its willingness to trade its yarn for bacon and corn.\textsuperscript{21}

There was an increasing tendency for factories to barter rather than accept Confederate currency. Governor Morehead was accused during the war of refusing to take such money, but his reason for this refusal was explained by a later apologist; "except for a short time, when he was forced to do so in order to get supplies of indispensible necessity for the employees of his factory, he never refused to take Confederate money for anything he had for sale....\textsuperscript{22}

As we have seen in the case of the Enterprise Factory, some machinery was brought into the state during the war. This had been made possible by the foresight of Governor Zebulon Vance, who succeeded in having the state purchase a blockade runner. The ship, named the "Ad-Vance" in honor of the governor, was a very successful and profitable investment, for it furnished the state with many items otherwise unobtainable. The Richmond Manufacturing Company secured machinery to put up a woolen factory as a subsidiary to its cotton mill.\textsuperscript{23} The Lincoln Cotton Factory, which was burned

\textsuperscript{20} Fayetteville Observer, March 21, 1864.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., June 16, 1864.
\textsuperscript{22} In Memoriam Hon. John M. Morehead, 35.
\textsuperscript{23} DeBow's Review, vol. 32 (1862), 331.
In 1862, secured further machinery for carding wool and making woolen cloth. The owners rented their factory site to the Confederate Government for a laboratory, and the manager of the factory wrote, "I proposed to let them have the shoal buildings free of rent for five years, they to erect substantial buildings, & 2 wheels and at the end of that time the buildings are to belong to the owners..."24

W. W. Holden, again attacking the state officials, pointed out to the legislature a serious error in a revenue bill. He drew attention to the fact that it had provided for taxation for incorporated cotton factories but that it had failed to include those owned by individuals or partnerships. He asked, "Why then are these manufacturers of cotton, woolens, and leathers, whose prodigious profits are almost beyond calculation taxed nothing! I know some of these cotton spinners who are realizing in clear profits one thousand dollars per day! The legislature certainly cannot intend to exempt their business from taxation..."25 Although this was undoubtedly an error of omission, Holden seemed constantly at odds with the state government.

The troops and civilians of North Carolina received comparatively more textile products than the citizens of any other Southern state, as the factories and imports by block-

ade runners kept the state fairly well supplied with these necessities.²⁶ Although the manufacturers of North Carolina had many problems to face during the war, they supplied the needs of the state, and in addition furnished vast quantities of woolen and cotton cloth to Confederate authorities.²⁷

Cotton mills were subject early in the war to actual military action. The Union troops that occupied New Bern used it as a base for attacks on the interior counties of North Carolina. Among the places destroyed in 1863 by a column of troops which moved up the Tar River Valley was the Rocky Mount Mill. The Norfolk Journal reported that the Federals visited Rocky Mount where "they tore up the track of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, burnt the depot, burnt Battles' Cotton Factory and mills, at the falls, and appropriated all the hams, negroes, jewelry and chickens they could carry off."²⁸

This early destruction of a cotton factory presaged the destruction that was to fall on many cotton mills in 1865. In that year North Carolina was invaded from the south by General W. T. Sherman, whose troops burned the mills of the Richmond Manufacturing Company, Rockfish Mill, Phoenix Mill, Blount's Creek Factory, Little River Manufacturing Company, ²⁶ Cornelia Phillips Spencer, The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina, ²².
Plate 6. Salisbury Manufacturing Company 1839-1857, as used during the Civil War as a Confederate Prison
General Stoneman, invading from eastern Tennessee, destroyed the Patterson Factory, Eagle Mills, and others in western North Carolina. His main objective was the release of the prisoners in the infamous Salisbury prison; the buildings in which the prisoners were housed had been the Salisbury Manufacturing Company until 1857. The Beaver Creek Factory, the only cotton mill near Fayetteville not destroyed, was saved by factory hands who put out the fire after the Union troopers left.

There were several contemporary accounts of the Stoneman invasion. G. W. F. Harper wrote in his diary: "The Yanks under Stoneman 10,000 strong made their appearance at Patterson, 1 O'clock Tues.—Wed. at 3 they set fire to the factory, burned it and other buildings and left the same night." James Gwyn reported that Stoneman "went on from here to Elkin...They took possession of the Factory,...used up what was there in the way of provisions...but did not burn either the Factory or the cotton." Mrs. Spencer also described the action, "There seemed to be no systematic plan

of destruction; for while some mills and factories were burned, others in the same neighborhood and quite as easily accessible were spared....The Factories on Hunting Creek, in the upper part of Iredell, were burned with large quantities of cotton. Eagle Mills lost eight hundred bales. At High Point they burned...seventeen hundred bales of cotton belonging to Francis Fries of Salem. W. D. Turner wrote that "two thousand soldiers of Stoneman's army were coming from Elkin toward Statesville. They stopped at Eagle Mills and burned that,—they started toward Turnersburg to burn our factory." Local militia was sent out from Statesville and the approaches to the Turner Factory were fortified, but the Federal troops turned aside and the mill was spared. They were led to believe that General Johnston was there waiting with his army. 

The war interrupted or ended the operation of many of the oldest and most outstanding cotton mills of North Carolina. Many of the factories which survived the torch of the invaders were unable to survive the effects of worn machinery and the shortage of operating capital. Colonel Charles Malloy of the Laurel Hill Factory was informed by the Federal tax collector that if his back taxes were not paid his mill would be seized and sold for taxes and "the

34. Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers, 1870-1918, (Turnersburg Collection), Mss., L.D.U., miscellaneous paper, n.d.
penalties prescribed by law. So please, Col., don't fail to send me the am't by the above time stated.  

"Here is just one of the many cases where the manufacturer was having trouble securing money for necessities.

Thus the cotton industry which had had its beginnings in 1804 suffered serious destruction or was thrown into confusion by the events of the war years and the invasion of troops and Carpetbaggers. Turmoil reigned in the first few months after the war, and there was a complete collapse of the usual routine of living. The excellent railway system of the state was disrupted and partially destroyed. The emancipation of the slaves had overturned the traditional labor system and sounded the death knell of the old agrarian civilization.

The collapse of the Confederate Government obliterated what lingering value its currency had retained. This financial loss was further accentuated by the forced repudiation of the war debts of the Confederate and Southern state governments, an action which wiped out the investments of thousands of people, banks, insurance companies, and many other institutions. The loss of capital represented by these bonds was almost irreplaceable. There were a few people who possessed gold or cotton, which was just as valuable, and others who had deposits abroad, but conditions

35. Ibid., (Malloy and Morgan Collection), W. P. Terry to Colonel Charles Malloy, November 9, 1868.
were too unsettled for the immediate return or reinvestment of this capital. Furthermore, any large influx of capital was blocked for a time by the beginning of Radical Reconstruction.

Northerners were coming into the state, but they were primarily interested in the cultivation of cotton. The mills of the North and England, long cut off from an adequate supply of cotton, were anxious to buy, and the price reached undreamed-of heights. This in part made it impractical for new factories to begin in the South, for the excessive price of cotton made the need for capital too pressing. The only real encouragement for the building of factories was the cotton tax, for this was not collectable if the cotton was manufactured in the district in which it was grown.36 When new districts for the collection of the cotton tax were set up, little regard had been paid the natural channels of trade, as whole sections were arbitrarily cut off from their source of raw cotton.37

When the tax was increased to three cents in 1866, provision was made for a central place in each district for the weighing of cotton and assessing the tax.38 The plan adopted allowed the unobstructed movement of cotton in any collection district, but the tax had to be paid, or, upon

38. Statutes at Large, vol. 14, 98.
the execution of bonds, permission of the assessor granted, before it could be removed from the area in which it was grown. The cotton was not taxed until it was removed from the district, which led DeBow to suggest that mills for its manufacture be set up in each district.\footnote{DeBow's Review, vol. 34, 84.}

In some cases shipments were impeded to such an extent as to be a source of annoyance to planter, transportation company, and factors.\footnote{House Executive Document, No. 55, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess.} The planter was required to take his crop to certain specified centers so that the revenue agent could estimate and collect the tax. These centers were in inconvenient places, and the planter was forced to transport his crop to them at great expense. This delay, and the extra expense of transhipping to the regular points of shipment to market, cost the planter the opportune time to dispose of his crops at the best market price. The government had not chosen obvious shipping points for their weighing and assessing stations, and could not profit from this extra expense to the planter. These difficulties created a pressure which secured more support for the manufacture of cotton.

As early as July of 1865 the \textit{North Carolina Advertiser} had plantations, stores, mills and factory sites for sale.

It carried the notice of one grist mill which it suggested be remodeled into a cotton factory.\footnote{North Carolina Advertiser (Raleigh), July 8, 1865; September 9, 1865.} The Raleigh \textit{Sentinel}
announced the organization of the "Southern Real Estate and Emigration Company, whose object is to introduce capital and mechanical skill and emigration into the Southern States."  

There were many obvious advantages in the reestablishment of cotton factories. In 1860 there were at least fifty cotton factories in operation, and three or more others had been established during the war. Many of these were burned or idle, leaving available a surplus of trained factory operatives. North Carolina had prior to the war approximately four to five thousand persons who had been employed in this industry. Fayetteville alone had had seven factories, with two others in the county. All of these, with the exception of one, were burned, leaving a large trained labor force unemployed in the area. There was also a supply of trained superintendents and management personnel who had lost their positions when the mills were put out of business. Thus in the post-war era North Carolina must have had at least two thousand surplus laborers and a proportionate number of managers.

Contemporary accounts and letters give some idea of the problems which faced the owners of those mills which had continued to operate. Wilfred Turner, for example, wrote in the spring of 1866 to one of his retailers "in regard to the yarn you will please dispose of it on the best terms you can.

---

42. The Daily Sentinel (Raleigh), September 15, 1865.
It would be difficult for me to fix a certain price as prices are so fluctuating." 43

Northern markets were once more open to the Southern factories, and a Philadelphia commission house reported to B. ... Holt that "we sold all the coarse yarn & mixed bales you sent pr. last invoice at 50¢...this was the best price our market affords at present & we were able to make prompt sales of it because it was Holt-yarn." They said that there was plenty of good yarn of Georgia manufacture available at 46¢, but the local manufacturers preferred the products of the Alamance Mill. They also promised to send further orders when it was warranted by the local market. 44

By 1866 conditions had improved and newspapers once more began to appear and to resume their promotional efforts, which had begun to decline in 1850 with the opening of the sectional crisis. The Western Democrat informed the public that there were seventy-two cotton factories being built in Georgia. This, it stated, was the natural effect of the changes brought about by the war. The destruction of slavery had ended the almost exclusive investment in agricultural pursuits by Southerners, and the prediction was made that "Cotton and Woolen Mills will be multiplied from year to year, until the South will finally be able to work up her

entire crop of cotton, and export the manufactured article instead of the raw material." This was claimed to be especially true for North Carolina, whose "unlimited water power, salubrious climate and fertile soil" were conducive to the building of factories. The Democrat was interested in the development of the Rock Island Factory in Charlotte. It had excellent machinery, able managers, and was making fine products. Unfortunately, however, this mill went bankrupt in a very short time.

Many newspapers in their promotional zeal printed fiction rather than facts when discussing cotton mill construction. The Sandersville Georgian printed a long article on the growth of the Southern cotton textile industry. It said of Fayetteville, North Carolina, that there were a dozen cotton factories in operation, though actually there were no more than two. A report concerning the Rock Island Mill of Charlotte claimed 25,000 spindles, but there were at most two thousand, while the claim that there were seventy-two cotton mills being built in Georgia was questionable. In order to encourage others to build cotton factories this paper entered the field of misrepresentation on a grand scale.

The Wilmington Journal published a letter by W. H.

45. Western Democrat, October 10, 1866.
46. Ibid., November 13, 1866.
Willard, obviously an agent for English machinery manufacturers, who wrote to awaken interest in cotton factories. He reported that the best machinery was to be secured in England and was worth the thirty-five per cent import duty that had to be paid. This letter was published because of "the great interest now felt in the South in the establishment of manufactories."48

A long article was published on the need of manufacturing cotton, as well as planting it, in North Carolina. The advantages that the state and the South possessed over the North were indicated. In conclusion the editor of the Journal pointed out that those who had invested in manufactures had been amply rewarded. The building of some new factories and the enlargement of others was noted. The claim was made that the field of cotton textiles was one in which there were unparalleled profits. Some Northern factories were pointed out as paying dividends of from forty-five to ninety per cent per year.49

The newspapers also devoted as much space as was necessary to give full notice to the affairs of old and new cotton factories in North Carolina. A story on the Beaver Creek Factory, which had been so miraculously saved from destruction at the hands of Sherman's army, included its

49. Ibid., December 6, 1866, February 6, 9, 1867.
activities for the month of May. Its sixty looms had produced 70,000 yards of sheeting and they had spun 9,700 pounds of yarn, and to make this they had consumed eighty-one bales of cotton. The rebuilding of Murchison's Factory was also noticed. Thus Fayetteville had two cotton factories in operation in the spring of 1867. The Fayetteville Observer discussed the general pre-Sherman condition of that town. There had been seven cotton factories, one of which had been a hosiery mill which "flooded this part of N. C. with socks." Enterprising men were now urged to come and employ the extensive water power which had once been so greatly used. It was said that Fayetteville was the most inviting place for capital and that any article manufactured there would find an excellent market "from the thickly settled wide-spread back country."

The Wilmington Journal ran four separate stories on the Rocky Mount Mill. In one of these was given a short history, from the origin and the subsequent development of this mill to its destruction in 1863 by Federal troops. The editor of the Wilson Carolinian remarked that the "destruction and loss of valuable machinery and property, was a trifling consideration to Mr. Battle, but by this act of vandalism, numbers of poor boys and girls with aged and infirm parents were involved."

dependent upon them, were thrown out of employment, and hundreds reduced to absolute want. A similar destruction of an insignificant iron foundry in Pennsylvania by Southern troops, created a howl of cowardly indignation North, and to this day is sounded in the Halls of the National Congress, and furnished a plea for wholesale confiscation of Southern property..."52 In this way a subtle dig was taken at Thaddeus Stevens, who was becoming to most Southerners a sort of arch-fiend.

It was reported that William H. Battle, the proprietor of the Rocky Mount Mill, would regulate his prices so that they would appeal to the people of North Carolina yet the merchants still went to New York and Philadelphia to buy Battle Factory products, which they could have purchased more cheaply at home. There were employed at this factory sixty hands, who wove fifteen hundred yards of cloth daily. He paid his operatives a weekly salary of about two dollars and a half. It was pointed out that this mill employed all white operatives, "a feature in the institution which is interesting to those who have been by the calamities of the war reduced to the necessity of finding light and honorable employment for their children." Rocky Mount Mill offered its employees the opportunity of night school instruction in the winter.53 A fourth article applauded Battle for offering

remunerative employment to poor females, mostly between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, who preferred factory employment to farm work; and also it enabled "many poor girls to earn an honest livelihood, and avoid the paths of crime to which destitution so frequently drives them." It was estimated that the factory cost about seventy thousand dollars to rebuild in 1867. Shortly afterward the factory was destroyed for a second time by fire but it was again rebuilt.

Other factories were given notice in the newspapers. The Union Factory of Randolph County was offered for sale at auction in 1868. There was much activity reported in Surry County where two new mills were under construction, while four others of ante-bellum origin were in operation. The rebuilding of the Richmond Manufacturing Company, made possible by the investments of several prominent North Carolinians, was noted. The Leak Family was again the principal supporter of this factory, as it had been in 1828, 1834, and 1863. A second mill was being built on the same stream by some of the stockholders of the Richmond Manufacturing Company. Thus throughout the state the hammer, saw and trowel were being employed in the rebuilding of the North Carolina cotton textile industry.

54. Ibid., February 14, 1869.
55. Greensborough Patriot, May 1, 1868.
56. The Patriot and Times (Greensborough), January 28, 1869.
The newspapers and people of North Carolina in 1868 devoted themselves almost wholly to the debate involving the new constitutional convention and the Carpetbaggers who were legislating for North Carolinians. For many months the Congressional Reconstruction program for the South and for the state was under local attack. The promotion of mills took a secondary place throughout 1868. Once North Carolina was readmitted to the Union everyone began to take greater interest in the diversification and development of the state's economy. Periodicals reiterated the advantages and needs of the South. They spoke of the vast amounts of water power and raw materials available, the cheapness of food and shelter, and the prevailing low wages. They indicated that the money which would be saved on commissions and freights would serve as an important differential in the markets of the world, and noted that the two items most lacking were capital and skilled labor—but both these items had been supplied in the ante-bellum period by North Carolinians and other Southerners. They suggested that future developments would depend on this same native source for capital.

The dividends of some of the Southern mills were fabulous and they were characterized as sufficient to "clog the avaricious cravings of Shylock himself." The New York Times commented on the possibilities of Southern industry.

58. The Land We Love (Charlotte, N. C.), vol. 6, 431.
and its competition. The South was warned not to expect to see in a few years what it had taken New England a generation to accomplish. A distinctly sectional view was expressed when it was said:

"The Yankee, who for years has made himself sharp by delving in the keen atmosphere of the higher latitudes has naturally more aptitude for making money and 'pushing things' than the man accustomed to a hot climate which robs a man of his ambition, and deadens all his disposition for thrift. Under the present condition of things, the Northern capitalist does not feel safe to invest in cotton manufactures at the South, and not until 'peace' is fully established, will he make a movement in that direction. In short, when a Northern man can express his opinions as freely there as he can in New York or Massachusetts, there will be plenty of music by the side of the water-powers of the South, and the Northern manufacturer will find in the Southern manufacturer an able rival."59

In this manner the New York newspaper belittled the abilities of the Southerner, evaluated the climatic effects of the South in an absurd manner, and intimated that the defeated section was unable to develop its resources without the aid of Northern leadership and capital. Fifty years of successful manufacture in the Southern States showed how poorly the North, as represented in these views, was acquainted with the South. The following decade was to show even more graphically how mistaken the article had been.

The state papers reported glowingly the progress of other Southern States in building cotton mills which were paying

large dividends. The praise of one of the foremost Northern
textile manufacturers was widely circulated. Senator Sprague
of Rhode Island invested in a mill site near Columbia, South
Carolina. He had visited Augusta, Georgia, and gave his
opinion of one of the cotton factories there, saying that it
"today will surpass in the success of its operation the best
one in New England."60

The newspapers of each state urged that their state
should immediately begin the manufacture of cotton, for each
would profit more from early participation, and then be
established before competition was too great. The editor of
the Daily Journal, in a long editorial, called on all the
states to do their best to develop their resources, for "the
rushing falls of Tennessee and the murmuring streams cease­
lessly coursing to the ocean from the mountains of the
Carolinas and Georgia, chide us with the inertness which
former times may have rendered excusable, but which is a
standing reproach as long as such advantages are neglected
in the future."61

One of the most important considerations for all who
were interested in cotton factories was the cost of con­
struction and that of starting operations. There was no end
to the various schemes that were proposed and tried for the

60. The Daily Journal, April 14, 1869. The Congressional
Globe, 41st Congress, 1st Session, 1869, vol. 138, 64.
61. The Daily Journal, April 14, 16, 1869.
After 1863 the price of cotton began to decline in the world markets, and this downward spiral continued through 1869. The few years of high prices had contributed materially to the recovery of North Carolina, and the South in general. Once the price of, and the demand for, cotton was more competitive, marginal planters and farmers took up other activities. Those who had surplus capital, and were looking for profitable investments, turned to cotton mills.

The state by 1870 was ready for a real forward step in the expansion of the cotton textile industry. North Carolina had been reconstructed and admitted once more into the Union. The Carpetbaggers were being eliminated and with them their creature, William W. Holden. Holden, long a controversial character in North Carolina, had been in 1861 an ardent secessionist. Late in the war he developed pro-Union sympathies and after 1867 served as Provisional Governor of the state under Radical Reconstruction. He became extremely unpopular because of his dictatorial methods, association with Carpetbaggers, and his persecution of former supporters of the Confederacy. In 1869 he was impeached and removed from the governorship. By this time conservative elements were beginning to regain control of the state government, and they continued to consolidate their position in the

following decade.

In 1850 the census reported thirty-five cotton mills valued at $1,327,400. In 1860 the number was estimated at thirty-nine valued at $1,272,750. By 1870 the cotton textile industry of North Carolina made an amazing recovery, with a reported investment of $2,250,000 in cotton mills. In 1870 the census listed the total number of such enterprises as thirty-three and their total capitalization at $1,030,900. A business directory of North Carolina gave the total number of mills as forty-six in 1869, with a total invested capital of $2,272,000. It is more probable that there were nearly fifty cotton factories in operation in North Carolina at this latter date.

The decade of the seventies was one in which the tempo of cotton mill building equalled that of the decade from 1840 to 1850; the interest in, and the amount of building completed, being about the same. In these ten years conditions brought about by Civil War and Reconstruction made real economic diversification necessary, and after 1870 the state, newspapers, and private agencies devoted themselves to the promotion of the cotton textile industry. The advantages in

64. F. B. Goodard, Where to Emigrate and Why, 379.
66. Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1869, 181. For other contemporary statistics of North Carolina see Appendix IX.
67. Compare the developments in the two decades in Appendix VII.
the state remained much the same, or had increased, since the publication of the Fisher Report in 1828, and the efforts of this advertising program were largely directed toward attracting outside capital and labor. They met, in spite of their elaborate efforts, with a uniform failure, for the capital and labor which were poured into the industry came almost wholly from sources within North Carolina.

The cotton textile industry of this period was established almost entirely by North Carolinians of the highest standing and repute, who drew the capital for cotton factories from persons in all walks of life. There was only one real scoundrel among its builders, George W. Swepson, who was associated with a group of Northern capitalists in the establishment of the Lockville Cotton Factory in 1869. Among the incorporators of this factory was perhaps the most notorious name with an infamous reputation throughout the South, that of Benjamin F. Butler. George Swepson was involved in the looting of the state bonds belonging to the Western North Carolina Railroad. While he served as president of this line, the bonds which were to pay for the completion of it were taken to New York and sold for the profit of the embezzlers.68 Swepson also gained notoriety in North Carolina by killing Adolphus Moore. The reason and the circumstance of this killing are obscure, but Swepson was

68. John P. Arthur, Western North Carolina A History from 1730 to 1913, 457-468.
not convicted of murder. Moore was at the time of his death the partner of Thomas M. Holt in the Granite Cotton Factory at Haw River, and Swepson was the owner of a cotton mill a few miles south of Haw River at Swepsonville.69

One of the most interesting episodes in the post-war promotion of cotton mills was the dispute that arose between the Charlotte Observer and the Southern Home.70 Other newspapers took only the most encouraging tone in dealing with the cotton factory question. The Wilmington Journal noted and applauded early in this decade the efforts of some Southern states to encourage the industry by extending to it an exemption from taxation for a period of ten years. The editor lamented that the North Carolina "constitution, which too frequently intervenes between the State and her material progress, does not allow such an exemption." The city of Wilmington did propose to exempt cotton factories from city taxation, should any be built there.71 The North Carolina Constitution of 1868 was very specific on this point, the law reading that "laws shall be passed taxing, by a uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies or otherwise; and also, all real and personal property, according to its true value in money." It was urged that an amendment be made which would allow this

69. Daily Charlotte Observer, February 1, 1876.
70. See Chapter IV.
71. The Daily Journal, June 4, 1874.
extra encouragement for the building of cotton mills. The New York Herald recommended to all the Southern States the exemption of such enterprises from taxation for a period of time.72

In 1875 a convention was called in North Carolina to review the constitution for possible revision, and it was hoped that this group would be able to take some action with regard to the article on taxation. Two legislators, Avery of Burke and Bennett of Anson, introduced a bill to repeal this provision. Although this repeal was for a worthy cause, "we have thought that, unfortunately, one of the restrictions was directly in the face of this exemption." This would necessitate the delegates breaking their oath, which was unthinkable, wrote the editor of the Charlotte Observer. The saving on taxation for a period was one more advantage given to Southern mills to aid in the competitive race for markets, for the Georgia legislature, in order to encourage the manufacture of cotton, wool, and iron, exempted all such establishments in that state from taxation for ten years.73

In the post-war era, after the bacchanalia of the state reconstruction government, the conservatives cut taxation and spending to a minimum. The state paid only token salaries to officials; education, public health, and other

73. Daily Charlotte Observer, February 18, 1873.
Phases of state interest were ignored or merely allowed to linger, sustained by appropriations of litigation size.

In the promotion of cotton factories, Charlotte and Wilmington were the most outspoken. The Daily Journal of Wilmington and the Daily Charlotte Observer did everything possible to interest the citizens of their respective towns in investing in cotton mills. Practically every editor had a plan for raising capital, or published the plans of others.

The efforts in Wilmington were the most fruitful, and a cotton factory was established there relatively early in the seventies. In 1873 the Wilmington Journal suggested an association similar to those of building and loan groups, with three thousand shares being issued, to be paid in five-dollar installments. A correspondent of the paper had a plan which seemed to hold even more promise of success. This gentleman suggested that the subscriptions for a cotton factory be made in materials and equipment. One gentleman offered to subscribe a factory site which was valued at ten thousand dollars. It was suggested that brick, lumber, lime, and all building materials could be obtained the same way. In a like manner the labor of mechanics, brick-masons and that of all other necessary occupations could be used so that the factory would be built with a minimum expenditure of cash.74

The citizens of Wilmington were subjected to a

74. The Daily Journal, March 7, 1873.
Veritable bombardment of information about cotton factories. Every new mill was given extensive publicity and, in addition, any change or improvement in existing mills was noted. Two articles were taken from Virginia newspapers, giving detailed information regarding the cost of building and operating a cotton factory. The figures presented by the Norfolk Landmark were said to have been made elastic enough to cover all contingencies.

"A cotton mill containing 10,000 spindles and 250 looms is, we shall assume, about what is contemplated to start with here. The 250 looms will consume all the yarn spun by 10,000 spindles, and we will take No. 10 yarn as a basis to make the style of goods suitable for the requirements of our trade. The 10,000 spindles will consume about 23,000 pounds of raw cotton per week, and produce about 10,000 pounds of spun yarn. The cost of the spinning machinery, with all the latest improvements and all necessary expenses for belting, bands, etc., for driving, would be $85,000. This is, of course, exclusive of boilers, the price of which can easily be ascertained."

The cost of the looms and the necessary equipment to operate them was estimated at twenty-seven thousand dollars. This department was to employ seventy-five hands which were to weave 241 yards each during a sixty-hour week. It was observed that the majority of the mills ran over sixty hours, but this estimate allowed for stoppages of any type. The factory building would be 130 by 75 feet and five stories high, having an auxiliary three-story building 40 by 26 feet for picking room, cotton storage, and boiler room. The 120-horsepower engine chosen to operate the mill would consume thirty-four tons of coal per week, of which eighty-four per
cent would be used for operating the machinery, and the remainder for heating the factory.\textsuperscript{75}

The \textit{Norfolk Virginian} made a minute estimate of the amount of labor required, and its cost, and claimed that it would cost $150,000 to build and put in operation a cotton factory.\textsuperscript{76} This was the kind of information which businessmen needed to indicate the possibilities of raising the

\textsuperscript{75} Norfolk Landmark, cited in the \textit{Daily Journal}, February 19, 1874.

\textsuperscript{76} Norfolk Virginian, cited in the \textit{Daily Journal}, February 15, 1874.

$100,000 will be enough to build a factory and furnish it with 250 looms. Such a factory would weave 300,000 yards of 4/4 sheeting monthly, at 12\frac{1}{2} cents a yard this amounts to $37,500.

To make 300,000 yards of sheeting would require of middling cotton 120,030 pounds, allowing that to cost 16 cents per pound, will make $10,248.

The labor and number of operatives would cost about the following prices:

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline

1 President and clerk & $400.00 \\
1 Superintendent and clerk & $400.00 \\
1 bookkeeper & $100.00 \\
3 watchmen at $30 & $60.00 \\
3 drays and draymen & $100.00 \\
1 office and yard hand & $25.00 \\
\hline

$1,235.00 & 1 Card Room

Card Room

1 head carder & $75.00 \\
2 second carders & $80.00 \\
2 willowers/openers & $30.00 \\
6 spreader tenders & $120.00 \\
6 railway tenders & $72.00 \\
1 card grinder & $30.00 \\
12 drawing tenders & $114.00 \\
12 speed tenders & $114.00 \\
2 roving tenders & $30.00 \\
2 spreader tenders & $20.00 \\
\hline

$650.00 & 1 Dressing and baling Room

Dressing and baling Room

1 head dresser & $60.00 \\
1 second dresser & $35.00 \\
6 warpers & $90.00 \\
\hline

$180.00 & 1 Weaving Room

Weaving Room

1 head weaver & $75.00 \\
6 dresser tenders & $180.00 \\
80.00 & 1 reeders & $90.00 \\
1,875.00 & 2 cloth trimmers & $30.00 \\
20.00 & 2 measurers & $50.00 \\
\hline

$2,050.00 & 1 Engine Room

Engine Room

1 Engineer & $50.00 \\
1 Firemen & $110.00 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
necessary capital in Wilmington, or in any other city.

Local merchants and all of the people of Wilmington were urged to support the projected cotton mill, the Journal pointing out that the city would never achieve real importance until "we levy industrial contribution upon the products which seek a market here... so long as we only handle the raw materials for others to manufacture... so long we lag behind." 77

In March, 1874, the organization of the Wilmington Cotton Mill was announced. Those who wanted to subscribe were told they could examine the books at the Wilmington Trust Company and Savings Bank, and in Goldsboro at the Branch Bank of New Hanover. The incorporators sought to raise $150,000 and they asked that the sum be subscribed between March 8 and 17, 1874. Dr. A. J. DeRossett, George R. French, Donald McRae, J. W. Atkinson, and Silas N. Martin were then appointed to draw up by-laws to be presented to the first

Making a total of 253 employees at a cost of $5,867.00. For supplies and materials for repairs, such as oils, leather bobbins, reeds, shuttles, iron, lumber, etc., say $1,500.00.

200 cords of wood $600.00.

Insurance 2½ per cent. $419.67.

To keep the property up to par value, say 5 per cent.

$883.33

Lights, taxes, &c., say $400.00.

Freights, commissions and guarantee on year's sales $38,000 at 7½ per cent. $2,850.00.

Gross expense per month $12,467.00

$19,248.00 cost of material

$31,715.00

Which deducted from the gross earnings, leaves a profit per month, of $5,785, or a profit per annum of $69,420 or which lacks a fraction of 28 per cent. on the investment." 77

77. The Daily Journal, February 27, 1874.
meeting of the stockholders. On the 17th only $20,000 had been pledged and the projectors were determined to abandon the undertaking if the balance was not immediately taken.78 The threat was sufficient to draw the remaining $60,000 from the public, and the first meeting of the stockholders was held in April at the Bank of New Hanover. After the directors were elected at this meeting, the stockholders retired so the directors could activate the project. They called for the payment of a five per cent installment to be paid at once.79

The Wilmington Journal, understandably satisfied with its part in the promotion of a cotton factory, turned its attention to informing the public of other leading North Carolina cotton factories.80 After the Wilmington Factory was well established and undoubtedly a success, this paper published a long article by Silas N. Martin, one of the directors of this company. This article described the factory, commented on its progress, and emphasized the advantages it was bringing to the city.81

An equal amount of interest was expressed in Charlotte regarding a cotton mill, but this evoked more discussion than action. The editor of the Observer said that he had hoped "by this time, we would have at least one Cotton Factory in successful operation, as a monument to the enter-

78. The Daily Journal, March 8, 17, 1874.
79. Ibid., April 12, 1874.
80. Ibid., passim, 1874-1880.
81. Ibid., November 23, 1875.
prise of our citizens." Although everyone agreed that a factory was essential to the future of the city, no one seemed willing to take the initiative in making the desired result an actuality.

A plan was proposed for raising the capital, very similar to that used in Wilmington, but more specific with regard to the possibilities inherent in such a program. It was suggested that the capital be set at one hundred thousand dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars. These subscriptions were to be paid off in weekly installments of one dollar. October 1, 1874, was chosen as the date for the beginning of weekly payments. These sums were to be placed on deposit at interest until a sum sufficient to build was accumulated, and it was estimated that there would be twenty thousand dollars collected by the opening of the building season the next spring. The company could then build, mortgage the property to secure machinery, and pledge the weekly installments for the liquidation of the debt. If this plan was adopted, it was promised that a factory would appear in Charlotte in twelve months. In spite of the publicity given it, the proposal was not acted upon.82

The editor of the Observer, almost desperate to secure the construction of a cotton factory in Charlotte, turned next to interesting the Grange, as a group, in building a

82 Daily Charlotte Observer, September 5, 10, 1874.
cotton mill. It was estimated that there were twenty granges in and around the city, and that each had about fifty members. This was a total of one thousand men who, if each paid five dollars a month for a year, would build up a capital of sixty thousand dollars. This would be sufficient to build a forty thousand dollar factory, while leaving twenty thousand dollars for operating expenses.

The use of steam-operated equipment was suggested, for Charlotte had no water power. Fries Steam Factory and the steam factory at Concord were cited as examples of successfully operated steam mills. The editor concluded his appeal by saying "let us have a thundering big factory, and let it be in Charlotte. Let us hear the whir of spindles in Rock Island once more."83

The suggestion did gain some promise; in fact, the editor was suddenly deluged by embryo cotton factories during the following months, and Charlotte was confronted with the projection of four such mills. The Catawba River Council of the Patrons of Husbandry had discussed and were considering the possibility of sponsoring a cotton factory. A group of Charlotte gentlemen, "the very mention of whose names is a synonym of success," also suggested the incorporation of a mill. The owners of the Rock Island Factory property began negotiations to sell that abandoned property to still a

83. Ibid., June 6, 1874.
third group of investors. Lastly, a citizen of Charlotte, J. H. Wilson—with a partner, James E. Moore, of Augusta, Georgia—planned to build a cotton factory ten miles north of the city. This sudden boom in interest in cotton mills carried the editor of the Observer away on clouds of enthusiasm and he urged his fellow citizens to "do what we can to help along any enterprise which is so full of promise."84

An article in the New York World noted the rapid expansion of the cotton industry in the South, especially in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Undoubtedly it was thought that Charlotte was on the verge of becoming another textile center. This dream collapsed when three of the projected mills for Charlotte failed to materialize. The Wilson and Moore Factory was built with a paltry capital of seven thousand dollars miles away from the city. The editors reaction was "it is a great pity that Charlotte has no cotton manufactories and so few of other kinds."85 Interest in the subject limped on for the next few years, while information was printed about other mills in North Carolina and throughout the other Southern States. The dispute which had been carried on between the Charlotte Observer and the Southern Home in the last six months of 1875 had undoubtedly been very harmful.86

84. Ibid., October 9, 1874.
85. Ibid., November 20, 1875. Southern Home, July 5, 1875.
86. See Chapter IV.
Reference was made to the great profits being made in factories in Georgia and South Carolina, especially in Columbus, Georgia, where the cotton mills were adding so much to civic growth and prosperity. The Observer editor insisted there was no reason why this could not be true of Charlotte if people would support all efforts that appeared.\footnote{87}

Two years later the interest seemed to rise again, and some citizens of Charlotte talked once more of building a cotton mill. E. C. Grier and Sons did build, in the southern part of the county, a small mill which used the "Clement Attachment" and had only 264 spindles.\footnote{88}

The Clement Attachment, invented by a South Carolinian, was expected to revolutionize the cotton textile industry. This machine was designed to eliminate the necessity of both ginning and cleaning the cotton before manufacture was begun. The cotton, after being picked, was taken directly to the mill and placed in this machine. It removed the seeds and dirt and delivered the cotton directly to the carding machines.\footnote{89} It had neither wide-spread use in the cotton factories nor publicity in the newspapers of North Carolina. The E. C. Grier Mill in Mecklenburg County was the only factory mentioned as using this machine prior to 1880.\footnote{90}

\footnotesize{\begin{tabular}{l}
87. \textit{Sun and Enquirer} (Columbus, Ga.), cited in the \textit{Daily Charlotte Observer}, July 17, 1877. \\
88. \textit{Daily Charlotte Observer}, December 9, 1877. \\
89. Facts secured in an interview with Harriet Herring of the Institute of Social Research, U.N.C. \\
\end{tabular}}
In order to encourage renewed interest in the building of cotton factories, the average profits of one South Carolina mill were published. In the period from 1872 through 1877, the Langley Factory earned annually an average profit of $59,000. It was operating overtime and was three months behind in its orders. "These facts and figures are calculated to arouse general interest in the important matter of cotton manufacturing, particularly in sections like ours, where cotton is the principal staple."\(^91\)

The Grangers once more planned to build a cotton factory, and the Granges of Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, Lincoln and Gaston Counties began pooling their efforts and money for this purpose. They had accumulated a total of $90,000, which was to be applied on the building of a mill on the Catawba River in Gaston County, and were reported to "have no doubts of ultimate success in their undertaking and—no middle men need apply."\(^92\)

As this decade, 1870-1880, approached its end, the Charlotte Observer listed nine cotton factories within thirty-five miles of that city.\(^93\) Yet, outside of the promotion of textile mills in Charlotte and Wilmington, and the debate regarding banks and cotton mills in Charlotte, this decade was more of action than of words. At the end of the

---

91. Ibid., April 6, 1878.
92. Ibid., August 6, 1878.
93. Ibid., January 15, 1879. See Appendix IX.
period the Wilmington Cotton Mill, established in 1874, was fulfilling its promise, but Charlotte was still dreaming of a cotton factory. However, men of a new age brought new energy to play on the subject, and the Charlotte Cotton Mill was built about 1880.

The many newspapers in North Carolina were printing considerable amounts of information concerning the growth of the industry in the state but, other than the Observer and the Journal, the state newspapers publicized cotton mills in their neighborhoods, rather than directly entering into promotional efforts of an original nature. Others copied largely the information which appeared in these two leading North Carolina periodicals. Most of this was done as a public service, although at least one newspaper, and perhaps a few others, attempted to combine public service with the making of profits. The editor of the Raleigh News circularized all the cotton mills of the state with the following letter:

"I propose making in the columns of the Daily and Weekly News, a complete exhibit of the Manufacturing Power of North Carolina, taking the cotton factories first; my object being to show the world what we are doing in this line, & to give some idea of the water power of the State. To execute my design, which I believe would redound to the general interest of the State, & of all concerned, your cordial cooperation is earnestly solicited. We will insert a sketch of your factory, which you may prepare, in both issues of our paper for the small cost of 25 cts. per line, & call editorial attention to the same. We will also furnish as many copies as you may desire at 3 cts. per copy. We would suggest the following outline as covering the leading points of interest. 1. The year
in which it was established. 2. A concise outline of its history. 3. Its location, giving distance to nearest railway or steamboat line. 4. Whether run by water or by steam. 5. Character of the water power. 6. Class of goods manufactured. 7. Number of spindles. 8. Number of operatives. 9. Annual consumption of cotton. 10. Any other facts of interest in value connected with your enterprise. Your views on the subject of Manufacturing in N. C. would be of value & are respectfully solicited." 94

The Raleigh _Farmer and Mechanic_ the next year counted fifty-two cotton factories in furnishing at least a partial list of those in the state. The editor said that although "the factories were mostly small,...they make a good beginning in any rate. The number of looms as far as reported, is 1,464 and spindles 90,686. The aggregate capital invested is estimated at above $1,600,000 and of operatives employed 2,288." Other large mills were reported then under construction. 95 The census figures for 1880 reported only forty-nine factories, capitalized at $2,855,000 and giving employment to 3,232 workers. 96 Undoubtedly there were more than forty-nine mills, as six others were built in 1879 and 1880.

Fire and flood took their toll of the cotton mills in this ten year period, but in every case they were rebuilt

---

or repaired. The Alamance Factory of E. B. Holt was burned, incurring a loss of sixty thousand dollars. "This loss was a public one. A large number of operatives were employed and its celebrated Plaids had an extensive sale all over the country." The mill was insured for twenty-five thousand and, with the vast resources of the Holt Family, was reopened in a short time. A small boy, an employee in the mill, was burned to death in the conflagration.97 The Big Falls Mill of Murray Brothers, also in Alamance County, was destroyed by fire with a large loss. This mill was older than the Alamance Mill and dated from the ante-bellum period. Although the factory was not insured it was rebuilt almost immediately. The property of the Richmond Manufacturing Company and that of James Aycock was damaged by a flood. The Great Falls Mill of the former company sustained a loss of ten thousand dollars, but that of Aycock was damaged to a lesser extent.98

There were a great many cotton factories built in these years; some entirely new, others on the sites of those venerable in the history of North Carolina textiles. The town of Fayetteville began to recover from the blighting effect of Sherman's march, the Fayetteville Eagle reporting in 1873 that there were four cotton mills then operating

there "run with a profit of 12 per cent or more." This town, once the greatest ante-bellum center of the cotton textile industry, was replaced as a center in the post-war era by other counties in which greater developments were being made.

By 1883 the banks of the Deep River were lined with eleven cotton factories, nine of which were located in Randolph County. These extended for thirty-six miles, from Jamestown in Guilford County to Enterprise in Randolph County. They operated 28,000 spindles and 750 looms, employed 1,200 hands who had 5,000 people dependent upon them, and a total capitalization of $786,000. Alamance County was not far behind Randolph, for by 1880 eight cotton mills, belonging almost exclusively to members of the Holt Family, were operated there.

There were, in 1880, no less than seventy-five, and it is probable that there were more than eighty, cotton mills being operated in the state. The Civil War had wreaked havoc on the cotton textile industry, but the capitalists, trained managers, and experienced operatives who survived the catastrophe united almost immediately to resume their efforts. Thus the fifteen-year period following the end of

100. Fayetteville Observer, November 15, 1883.
the Civil War found the cotton textile industry of North Carolina recovering and surpassing that of the ante-bellum period.

The industrial revolution in North Carolina, if the gradual development beginning in 1804 could be so described, had its real forward thrust shortly before the depression of 1837. With the exception of the year 1865, when a dozen cotton mills were wantonly destroyed, the industry moved forward constantly. The decades following 1880 were great years of expansion, and the rush into the cotton industry was brought about because of the dreams and efforts of the outstanding North Carolina textile pioneers. That the business was and had been profitable could not be doubted, for in 1884, when he died, Edwin M. Holt was accounted the wealthiest citizen of North Carolina.

The pioneers of the industry promoted cotton mills, founded them, invested in them, managed them, and believed in them. In the annals of North Carolina history the names of such men are legion. Without the experience, the capital, the ambition, and the disciples of these pioneers, the cotton textile industry of the South would have barely begun the great growth which, in the thirty years following 1880, saw the same proud New England industry shaken to its foundations.

103. See Appendix VIII.
The editor of the Daily Journal was rather bemused in the late 1870's by the future he foresaw. With irony he commented "if it shall turn out that one of the results of the war will be the transfer to the South of one of the most important industries of the North, we suspect that some of our brethren of the colder climes in America will begin to think the price paid for the preservation of the glorious Union was a trifle high. It is just possible when it shall be seen that the surrender of the cotton factories by the North is a sure consequence of the surrender of slaves by the South that the beauties of emancipation will not be so apparent. So far as we of the South are concerned, we say what we have always said, and that is we accept the situation. If the factories must come, we say let them come."\[104

104. The Daily Journal, June 7, 1876.
CHAPTER IV
Cotton Mill Finance and Management
1830-1880

Two of the most significant aspects of the rise of the cotton textile industry were those of finance and management. These two matters were rather closely related, as the men who contributed the money generally constituted the managerial force of the cotton factories. It is interesting, but not surprising to note that the availability of venture capital, during specific periods, was usually correlated with the prosperity of agriculture.

The stimuli for the earliest mills stem from several sources: distance from markets; poor transportation; a desire for increased economic opportunity; and the unusual demand created by the War of 1812 and its antecedents. The coastal region of North Carolina, which was largely dependent on imported textiles, found itself cut off from its British centers of supply during the war, and the products of the state's domestic producers were insufficient to meet the abnormal demands.¹

¹ Supra, 22-24.
Undoubtedly these factors account for the early venture of capital into the novel experiment of the factory manufacture of yarn and cloth. There is evidence that the burgers of Salem, under the pressure of private enterprise, investigated as early as 1808 the purchase of spinning and weaving machinery for their communal industry; while in the coastal plantation belt a group of planters established spinning machinery about 1811.

The capital necessary for those factories which were established prior to 1830 was secured largely on an individual basis. Michael Beam used his mechanical ability in lieu of money, building his own factory and machinery and operating them in Lincoln County. The more extensive mills at Lincolnton and Rocky Mount were largely family ventures—the former financed by the Schenck Family and the latter by the Battle Family. The almost immediate success of these two factories forced an expansion of their facilities, which necessitated the admission of partners with more capital. The Beam Factory, which was small, had inadequate finances and after a few years ceased operations.

Technical skill was often given in lieu of capital, but it was of no less importance in these formative years. The most outstanding example of this type of contribution was

2. A. Fries, editor, Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 6, 2929.
4. Daily Charlotte Observer, October 9, 1881.
that of Henry A. Donaldson, who lent his ability and experience toward the establishment of the Rocky Mount Mill and then moved on to Fayetteville, where he became the pioneer promoter for the area. His inspiration so moved the progressive elements of the town that it became the urban center of the textile industry in ante-bellum North Carolina.

Donaldson was one of the most important witnesses called to testify before the Fisher Committee. This committee was seeking to encourage the expansion of the manufacture of cotton and wool in North Carolina and looked to the North for a supply of fluid capital, realizing that most local capital was almost exclusively invested in lands and slaves. The committee, however, noted that if such aid was not forthcoming, for whatever reasons, capital could be raised by the joint efforts of many individuals. "Companies may be formed in every county of the state, composed of individuals, each contributing a small amount, which in the aggregate, will make sums sufficient for the object." They urged the legislature to incorporate companies with this object in view, for this would mobilize small capital and provide for larger factories. It was contended that the larger establishments were more efficient and profitable, for they could secure the best skill and management to be had in New England. As an example they pointed out the great

5. The Daily Journal, February 14, 1869.
Waltham Factory which, during the war of 1812, paid dividends of forty per cent. This was at a time when smaller factories complained of little or no profits. The committee hastened to make assurances that smaller mills could also make profits and that they were extremely valuable in improving the community.  

Niles reported in 1828 that a good deal of manufacturing of a very prosperous nature was being done in North Carolina. This type of information was calculated to get others to invest in manufacturing, since it was so profitable a type of investment. Niles urged that all the South needed to do was invest a few millions in this industry, and thus add to her wealth, population, refinement and security. The experiment is fairly begun in Georgia, and is too profitable to be relinquished.

The Lenoir family made heavy investments in the cotton industry, both in North Carolina and Tennessee. In 1830 Major William B. Lenoir, of east Tennessee, wrote that a local cotton mill had been burned while operating at night. It is probable that the Lenoirs were then operating their own cotton mill near Knoxville, and there is definite evidence that by 1834 they were doing so.

8. Ibid., vol. 45, August 31, 1833, 4.
Lenoir, who managed his own factory, spoke in 1836 of the operation of his machinery. A new throstle had been installed, which was expected to increase production. He also mentioned having heard that "P. has taken back his factory."¹⁰

Securing sufficient cotton was a problem for the Tennessee Lenoirs. They reported that "what cotton there is in the country is very good, but there is not enough if we could buy it all, to keep us spinning a year. It will therefore be necessary for someone to go to Alabama or by sending run the risk of getting bad cotton."¹¹

Their thread was in great demand, and it was the chief product of the Tennessee factory. In a two week-period in 1837 they manufactured twenty-eight hundred dozen of thread.¹² As more factories were built and as transportation improved, business became more competitive and prices went down. They received eight and a half cents a dozen for thread in 1848, although when they first started operating their factory they had received twenty cents a dozen for poorer quality.¹³

The Morehead Brothers—John Motley, James Turner, and Samuel—established at Leaksville a variety of enterprises, which in time included a cotton mill. They and the Lenoirs

¹⁰. Ibid., August 3, 1836. (P. is probably Rufus Lenoir Patterson.)
¹¹. Ibid., Isaac T. Lenoir to Albert S. Lenoir, November November 9, 1836.
¹². Ibid., William B. Lenoir to Albert S. Lenoir, May 11, 1837.
seem to have been actuated by the interest aroused by the
Fisher Report.

There appears to be no evidence of any attempt to
establish a joint stock company until after the efforts of
Thus the year 1828 produced a new concept for the financing
of cotton mills in the state. In that year the state
legislature enacted an incorporation law, after closely
examining means by which to encourage the development of
this industry. After this date the most favored means of
raising capital was by the sale of stock certificates to a
number of investors. The sale of stock was usually limited
to the immediate neighborhood of a proposed factory, and in
this way the most prominent residents became stockholders,
directors, and managers.

During the first year that the law was in operation six
cotton manufacturing companies were chartered, with a total
capitalization of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{14}
These initial efforts to muster many small sums into a
sufficiently large capital proved abortive, and it was thus
made clear to entrepreneurs that the idea of buying stock
had to be sold to the investing public before it could be a
success. Many more successful efforts are discussed later in
the chapter. Not one of these six mills was built; but the

\textsuperscript{14} Ashe, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. 2, 317.
that effort was very important, as it placed the scheme before the public.

There were individuals and families throughout this fifty-year period who could command sufficient capital to build and operate their own cotton mills. Henry Humphreys built the Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Factory about 1832; Rufus Lenoir Patterson established the Patterson Factory about 1834; and Thomas McNeely built a steam cotton mill at Mocksville in the late 1830's.

The problems of Henry Humphreys are similar to those of other factory builders. The spinning machinery had to be sent by ship either to Petersburg, Virginia, or Fayetteville, North Carolina, and then taken overland by wagon to its destination. Humphreys, like others, had problems regarding the cost of his machinery. The firm of Rogers, Ketchum and Grovnor, manufacturers of cotton mill machinery at Paterson, New Jersey, wrote him that "wages with mechanics have advanced in much greater rate and there is a scarcity of workmen. Besides the Trade Unions have created throughout all the whole Northern and Eastern section of the country much insubordination. Workmen have struck in many places for a reduction of the hours of labor. The cotton mills have been standing out for eleven hours per day for more than four weeks. We trust the reasons stated are sufficient to justify the increased price of the 120 spindle frames." This firm did send James Danforth along to help install the
machinery, and he remained two years to help train the locally obtained white laborers. 15

The Holt family of Alamance County was perhaps the most seriously interested in the cotton textile industry of the state of North Carolina. Edwin M. Holt built his first mill in 1837, and trained and financed all his sons and sons-in-law in establishing more factories until his death in 1884. 16 Although his initial effort was inspired by Henry Humphreys, his close friendship with Francis Fries contributed to his interest in the industry. Fries lent Holt money on at least one occasion, and the two planned for a time to become partners in building a cotton factory on the Yadkin River. 17

16. The Alamance Gleaner, May 22, 1884 (Graham, N. C.). "On yesterday there passed away peacefully and calmly one of the foremost men who ever lived in North Carolina; a man who during a long life among us set an example of thrift, of business integrity, of industry, enterprise and high moral excellence. For 78 years he went in and out among our people, winning praises and kind words and receiving many tokens of esteem, admiration and regard. But it is in his chosen field of the manufacturer that North Carolina owes him the greatest obligation. He was the first man to engage in the business of manufacturing plaids at the South, and he demonstrated years ago that this branch of industry could be successfully carried by the talent and application of our native sons. Beginning his work long before the war, he maintained it with such capacity and skill that eventually it brought him a handsome fortune, and as years passed his business grew until his immediate family now own and operate seven large factories. His example and his success exercised a most remarkable and beneficial influence in awakening our people to the possibilities of this new field of industry in our midst, and in recent years many have not hesitated to follow where he blazed the path."
17. Holt Diary, op. cit., May 2, 24, 31, 1846; March 18, 1847.
Holt was reputedly the wealthiest man in North Carolina at his death; although he had varied financial interests, the core of his wealth was in the cotton textile industry. He began with one small frame factory in 1837 with 528 spindles, and by 1884 he and his family owned eight mills operating over 25,000 spindles. Edwin Holt built a veritable dynasty in cotton textiles, banking, railroads, and agriculture. The saga of the rise of this family was told by his son, Governor Thomas M. Holt, in the early nineties.

Edwin Holt, who established the Alamance Factory about 1837, had, according to his son's biographical sketch, many difficulties to overcome before he was able to build this first mill. He became interested in the business after making many visits to the Mount Hecla Factory, which was located in Greensborough; and as a result of their frequent contact, he and Henry Humphreys became good friends. With the encouragement and example of Humphreys, Holt determined to build a cotton mill. In 1836 he approached his father, Michael Holt, who was a large planter of Orange County.

Edwin, enthused over the project, explained that he wished to utilize to propel his machinery some of the power of Alamance Creek, where his father had a grist mill. The elder Holt, bitterly opposed to the scheme, exacted a promise that he should not be financially involved if the plan was attempted. Unwilling to go into the business alone, Edwin turned to his brother-in-law, William A. Carrigan, who
evinced little interest in the idea.

Undaunted by the rebuff of his father and by Carrigan's lack of interest, Holt went to Paterson, New Jersey, to order machinery for his mill. On the return trip he encountered Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Ruffin, interested in internal improvement, was quite excited by the plan. He offered to become a partner, or to lend the necessary money, or to give the site of his grist mill on Haw River. Holt, reassured by this unexpected support, returned home and announced the offers of Judge Ruffin. Michael Holt and William Carrigan were convinced by the support of such a noted North Carolinian, and Holt and Carrigan then formed a partnership, and purchased the site of the elder Holt's grist mill at a nominal price. The factory was begun and completed during the panic of 1837.

The manufacturers of the machinery sent an expert to Alamance Factory to install and operate it until Holt was able to operate it alone. The latter then managed the factory, and Carrigan operated the store and kept the books for the mill. In telling of these early days, Governor Holt wrote:

"The mill ran 12 hours a day. I was a little fellow, only six years old, when the cotton factory started and well do I remember sitting up with my mother waiting for my father to come home at night. In the winter time the mill would stop at 7 o'clock and after stopping he would remain in the build-
ing for half an hour, to see that all the lamps were out and
the stove in such a condition as there could be no danger of
fire and then he would ride a mile and a quarter to his home.
In the morning he would eat his breakfast by day-light and
be at the mill by 6:30 o'clock to start the machinery going.
He kept this habit up for several years until his mill was
paid for and in the meantime he engaged a bright young man
from the country and taught him to run the mill. After this
young man became competent to run the mill, it was turned
over to him and run by him...”18

In 1853 Thomas Holt, who had become his father's
assistant, was given permission to hire an itinerant French
dyer. With an eye to increasing the company's business, the
owners introduced colored goods to the local market.

"In the year 1853 there came to our place of
business on Alamance Creek a Frenchman, who was a
dyer, and who was 'hard up' and out of money, and
without funds. He proposed to teach me how to
color cotton yarn if I would pay him the sum of
one hundred dollars and give him his board..... We
immediately went to work with such appliances as
we could scrape up, which were an eighty-gallon
copper boiler (which my grandfather used for the
purpose of boiling potatoes and turnips for his
hogs), and a large cast-iron wash-pot which
happened to be in the store on sale at the time.
With these implements I learned my A. B. C.'s in
dyeing.....I got along very well, with the
exception of dyeing indigo blue. Afterwards, an
expert dyer in blue was employed to come out from
Philadelphia, and he taught me the art of dyeing
in that color.....I am entitled to the honor of
having dyed with my own hands and had woven under

my own supervision the first yard of colored goods manufactured in the South."

When this article was written Governor Holt was owner of the Granite Falls Cotton Factory, which was running over fifteen thousand spindles in one mill.19

Raising sufficient capital was perhaps the most perplexing problem that faced the promoters of cotton mill construction throughout this period. There being few large accumulations of capital in North Carolina, the most feasible means of financing new companies was the sale of stock in a corporation. The plan was modified to meet conditions as warranted, but the means usually adopted provided that an investor subscribe for a specific number of shares of stock, usually making a small down payment on its par value. The charters of the various companies provided for many different share values, but the one hundred dollar share was the most popular.

In 1839 the North Carolina Legislature, creating the charter of the Rocky Mount Mill, made provisions designed to prevent fraudulent financial manipulations. The charter provided:

"Dividend and net profits of the said company, shall be made at such time as shall be determined ...Provided, that at no time shall the profits accumulate to an amount fifteen per cent. of the capital stock, and remain so accumulated for more than six months; and provided further, that no

19. Ibid.
dividend shall be made of any part of the capital stock, under pretence of making a dividend of profits,..."20

As soon as the stock issue of a company was fully taken, the stockholders met and adopted by-laws and elected directors for the company. These men were to carry on the active management, and held responsibility for the success of the factory. As the construction of a factory progressed and the initial payment of the stockholders was exhausted, the directors would call for further installments on the unpaid balances. In this way the entire payment for the stock might be extended over a year or more, and no heavy outlay of capital was called for at the initiation of a cotton mill. This plan seemed to meet effectively the needs of investors, who were thus enabled to make larger investments than if they had to pay the full cost at once.

There were certain disadvantages in this plan, however, as occasionally the subscriber might lose interest in the project, or subscribe for more stock than he could afford. It was this type of problem which constantly embarrassed the affairs of the Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Cotton Manufacturing Company. This company, made up of many small country investors, began with a capital of twenty thousand dollars, with which a small factory was built and operations begun with 528 spindles. The officers of this company

appear to have been very progressive and were constantly agitating for the expansion of the manufacturing facilities. The stockholders met regularly at the mill for the semi-annual meetings in March and September.

In one of their earliest meetings they enacted regulations which covered the penalties to be assessed on stockholders who were delinquent in the payment of installments on the shares they had purchased. The stockholders' meeting provided that should any stockholder "fail or refuse to pay such portions of his stock as may be required of him by the President and directors...for the prosecution of the work," his stock was to be resold, or as much of it as was necessary to make up the arrears. Such stock was to be sold at public auction at the factory after a month's notice had been given at the factory and one other public place in the county.21

In the following months the financial report of the president stated that several stockholders owed a total of $2,893.00 to the company for subscribed shares. The following March, as this company prepared to pay its first dividend, the stockholders' meeting provided that all stockholders in arrears must either pay the amount due plus interest, or give a note for the amount of their delinquency.

21. Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers (Cane Creek Minute Book, 1836-1857), MMS., M.D.U., July 8, 1837.
before they could receive dividends. The total amount outstanding had risen to over five thousand dollars in a year. The great increase in the failure of subscribers to meet their obligations was due doubtlessly to the effects of the panic of 1837.

This situation was one which was very embarrassing to the manager of the factory; and, to keep the business in operation, one president was forced to secure a large loan on his own credit. The corporation's debts had grown to over seven thousand dollars, these being "due various individuals among which our late operator Timothy Worsley is not the least." Worsley left the Cane Creek Company and became one of the organizers of the Randolph Manufacturing Company in 1838. It thus appears that the first superintendent of the Cane Creek Mill had left his position because his salary was not paid. In spite of this clouded financial situation a semi-annual dividend of ten per cent was declared on the capital stock. This dividend was to be payable in six months, unless a stockholder wished to take his share in yarns at the wholesale price. The following spring a second ten per cent dividend was declared. Thus in the first year of operation, and despite the depression, a twenty per cent dividend was paid.

This prosperity was more apparent than real, for the

22. Ibid., September 3, 1838.
company failed to make provisions for depreciation, expansion, or working capital. William Albright, president of the corporation, suggested that the owners should "determine whether it would not be the best economy to withhold dividends until the establishment is released from debt and a small capital on hand so as to prevent the inconvenience under which we are at present labouring." 23

The company was forced to seek loans to provide for any improvements, as well as to pay for additional machinery on time. The directors were given the authority, by the stockholders, to buy machinery, and added to their equipment four throstle frames of one hundred and thirty-two spindles each. This machinery was purchased from Henry Humphreys of the Mt. Hecla Factory. Humphreys was paid six dollars a spindle, or a total of $3,168; an amount which was carried on credit, not including interest, for two years. The Cane Creek Mill also acquired at the same time two thousand dollars' worth of looms from Northern manufacturers. 24

The company also suffered losses which made heavy inroads in their meagre capital. In 1838 their ginhouse, grist mill, and cotton supply were accidentally destroyed, causing a loss of $3,000. 25 The company was also involved in a dispute with a neighbor when the mill pond spilled over

23. Ibid., March 4, 1839.
24. Ibid.
into some adjacent farm land.

In 1847 the semi-annual business report of the Cane Creek Factory gave the cost of operating its spinning and weaving departments, the expense of labor, materials, and supplies totaling $2,090.00. Production for the period was listed at 61,910 pounds of yarn and 14,500 yards of cloth. The president estimated the profits at $1,250, which allowed a dividend of five per cent, but he recommended that only three per cent be paid. In a corresponding six-month period in 1848 the two departments cost $2,224.40 to operate, producing 56,710 pounds of yarn and 29,574 yards of cloth. This showed a decline in yarns for marketing and an increase in the manufacture of cloth. The profits of the company increased approximately twenty per cent, which was a total of $1,692.

According to this 1848 report their yarn was selling for sixteen cents a pound and the cloth at eight cents a yard. The sale value of their cloth was $2,365.92, and of the yarn $8,073.60. In this same period the company improved their facilities by again rebuilding their ginhouse and grist mill.

The stockholders of the Cane Creek Company made provisions, in 1837, that would protect those who owned small numbers of shares. They provided that stockholders could

26. Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers (Cane Creek Minute Book, 1836-1857), op. cit., September 6, 1847.
27. Ibid., March 6, 1848.
The Stockholders of the C.C. & Company, met
according to appointment in the 6th of March 1848. The
President read a report and by motion of the body
the report was adopted.
Which is as follows:

Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Annual Meeting March 6th

Gentlemen

In compliance with my official duty
I offer the following report:

At our last meeting according to debenture
we had due us in notes and accounts
New cotton on hand estimated at
Year cotton on hand, estimated at
Cloth on hand, estimated at
Grain on hand, estimated at
Wagon and team, estimated
Goods on hand, estimated at

Total

$12,545

And were indebted to the amount of $687.77
leaving a balance in our favor $11,857.23

Year for the last six months

Receipts from all sources
Total

$12,048.70

we now

Document 2.

Stockholders Report of the Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Cotton Factory March 6, 1848
And here are the total balances:

- Raw cotton on hand: estimated at 1836.55
- Raw cotton & cloth on hand: 150.00
- Grain on hand and flour on hand: 1854.00
- Wagon & team on hand: 387.00
- One load of cotton gins & cloth at off: 335.00
- Goods on hand & cloth: 1240.00
- Cash on hand: 224.95

Total: $1835.55

If my estimate on cotton we have in our favor at the close of our expenses of growing both crops the last six months was $2324.66. We have during the last six months 56710 bales of that and have added 7110 bales, 400 bales of cotton, 16710 bales of cotton gins, 16710 bales of cloth and have 29544 yarns. The average price of gins at 16.75 at the cloth at 3.75 at the cotton gin, 3.75 per hundred yards. This is the best of our farm.

The profits on the spinning average of my estimate is $1693 - we have made improvements in the last six months to the amount of some $370 in the form of fence having a house 80 feet and building a cotton gin.

We have a large lot on hand building our barn. Will, in my opinion is we ought not to call it a dividend at this time. If we turn the money in hand at the end of six months we can pay it out than all of which is respectfully submitted.

James Whittaker Peer

P.S. Please sign the name. (signature)

Stockholders Report March 6, 1848
cast one vote for each share they held up to twenty, and then one vote for each five shares over twenty. In 1856 Abraham Rencher, a noted capitalist of Chatham County, proposed that this be changed to allow one vote for every share; he was at the time the largest stockholder, having fifty-three shares of the two hundred and fifteen represented at the meeting. His suggestion was not popular with the majority of the stockholders and was withdrawn. Shortly afterwards Rencher was appointed territorial governor of New Mexico, a post he held until 1861.

Many individuals and companies that began factories followed the practice of starting with a minimum of machinery and then using profits to expand their facilities as they could. Machinery was their greatest item of expense. They could build factory buildings of logs cut on their own land, they could get cheap labor or slaves for building, but machinery had to be purchased in the North. It was expensive, difficult to transport, and had to be paid for in a relatively short time.

The panic of 1837, of course, intensified the chronic shortage of ready money, always a problem in North Carolina. In this year, due doubtlessly to the stringency of the

28. Ibid., September 23, 1856.
29. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1849, 1729. Abraham Rencher, graduate of the University of North Carolina, 1822; served in Congress 1829-1839, 1843-1847; offered post of Secretary of the Navy by Buchanan; appointed Governor of New Mexico in 1857.
currency market, as caused by the panic, Henry Humphreys issued his own currency in fifty cent, one and two dollar denominations. This was probably used to pay the workers, so they might pay rent on company houses and secure necessities at the company store.  

News of the activity in the cotton milling industry in other states was printed to counteract flagging interest. In 1839 Petersburg, Virginia, was reported to have five cotton factories operating twenty thousand spindles, and a total capital investment of $800,000. This was certainly the most extensive cotton textile manufacturing center south of the Potomac. In an effort to encourage Southerners to begin manufacturing, the editor of the Richmond Enquirer reported the Southern advantages as indicated by Northern manufacturers. It took less fuel to operate in the South, there were infrequent stoppages due to freezing weather, and it was not necessary to keep a large stock of cotton on hand; for these reasons it took less capital to build and operate a cotton factory. The Portsmouth Times reported that the dividends paid by these Petersburg factories were surprising to the Northern manufacturer.  

By the publication of such information Charles Fisher shamed his most prominent fellow citizens into the formation of cotton factories.

of the Salisbury Manufacturing Company. Fisher was able to announce at the end of March, 1839, that the capital stock for this company had been subscribed. The organizers held a town meeting at the court house to discuss the factory, and it was reported that "the meeting was addressed by several gentlemen on the importance of the proposition, and urging upon the consideration of the citizens the necessity of adopting forthwith some measures for the improvement of the Town, recommending this scheme in particular as a most profitable investment of capital, as has been sufficiently proven by successful experiment in other parts of the State."

At the close of the meeting over twenty thousand dollars were subscribed, and in the following few days five thousand more were secured.

In the following month the officers of this company were chosen and the by-laws adopted. It was stated that "with these gentlemen at the head of the enterprise we have full confidence that the business will go forward with energy, and in the best possible manner." These men had business experience and planned to have the factory in operation by the time the new cotton crop was on the market. However, the company took two years to begin operations.

33. *The Western Carolinian*, February 21, 1839. Maxwell Chambers, one of the organizers and directors of this company, gave money to Davidson College to build what was described as the most magnificent college building in North Carolina.

34. Ibid., March 28, 1839.

35. Ibid., April 4, 1839.
during these depression days.

The Salem Manufacturing Company, organized by a large group of Salem residents, was built in 1836-1837 and was the first regular cotton factory in this city. Francis Fries, who began his career as a textile manufacturer, was the agent of this company. He, being untrained in this field, traveled to the Northern States to visit cotton factories and the manufacturers of mill machinery, and in this way gained practical information regarding his task. Fries, with an assistant trained in England and in the North, proceeded to draw plans for the factory and supervise the erection of the building and the installation of the machinery. The factory commenced operations with one thousand spindles and thirty-six power looms. They hoped to add further machinery until the space, which would accommodate twenty-five hundred spindles and seventy-five looms, was filled. Francis Fries was not compatible with Mr. Frederick Schuman, the president of the Salem Company, and left its employ.

After gaining this very valuable experience, Fries joined his father in the construction of a woolen factory. They intended to build on a lot behind their home, but were forced to change their plans because neighbors objected to the anticipated smoke and noise. There was also an old Salem city ordinance, enacted to protect native artisans,

Plate 7. Primitive Spinning Wheel and Loom

Plate 8. F. and H. Fries Cotton and Woolen Mill Salem, North Carolina
which forbade the teaching of a trade or profession to slaves. Although the city fathers decided operating machinery was not a breach of this law, a site was finally chosen outside the corporate limits of Salem. In 1846 a small cotton mill was added to the Fries Woolen Factory to provide cotton warps for the celebrated "Salem Jeans" which they manufactured. Francis Fries traveled by buggy throughout North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, securing orders and wool for his factory. In 1880 he and Henry Fries, his brother, established the Arista Cotton Factory in Salem, which was the first factory in the South lighted by electricity.

In the 1840's considerable interest was expressed on all sides as to the financing and management of cotton mills, and the construction of factories once more began in the middle forties. The Lineberger brothers were among those who responded to the new interest which was developing in the South, and they began cotton manufacturing in Gaston County about 1845, when they built the Woodlawn Factory. The operation of the various activities of the mill was divided between the chief stockholders.

The Fayetteville Observer, in an effort to encourage investment, pointed out the strength of the Southern cotton

37. F. H. Fries, op. cit.
factories throughout the depression years. E. J. Hale editorialized to the effect that "the pecuniary difficulties, beginning in 1837 and extending over five years, till 1842, were too alarming to all, too ruinous to many, we believe, though some [factories] were completed which had been begun in better times."40 This paper quoted from a letter which indicated the serious difficulties experienced by mills located in Europe and in the North. Many factories there were sold at forced sale for a tenth of their value, and others operated only part time, to prevent their operatives from starving; but it was insisted that this had not been true in the case of Southern mills. "During this period out of 25 Cotton Factories in North Carolina, 15 in South Carolina, and 19 in Georgia, from the best information at hand, but 2 have changed hands." The sale of the Saluda factory was reported to have brought two-thirds of its original value, "not be any means a sacrifice considering the times." It was further asserted that, with a single exception, not a factory in Virginia, North and South Carolina, or Georgia was forced to operate part-time, "thus much for the stability of manufacturing investments at the South."41

A very healthy picture was being painted of the Southern cotton textile industry, and Hale had good reason

40. Fayetteville Observer, December 2, 1845.
41. Ibid., n. d., 1844.
to feel optimistic, for Fayetteville had six successful mills in operation, with two others in the county.

Encouraging news was published regarding the success of the Randolph Manufacturing Company and the Cedar Falls Factory. The Randolph Company paid, out of profits for the year 1844, a dividend of fifteen per cent and placed an additional six per cent in a sinking fund. It was stated in a newspaper article that the workers of these mills were all white and "sustain a moral character equal to that of any portion of the surrounding population." This kind of information was calculated to restore the confidence of the investing public, and to allay fears of the debilitating effects of factory employment on the operative; a purpose evidently achieved, for the construction of a great many cotton mills was begun.

It was noted that public opinion was very favorable toward manufactures, the success of those already started drawing the interest of others; and "but for the difficulty or rather impossibility of changing vested capital of the country, we should see a rush into this new field." It was anticipated that, regardless of this difficulty, large amounts of capital would go into manufactures. The editor of the Georgia Journal went on to say:

"From Virginia to Mississippi the investments in manufactures are in rapid progress. Large amounts are going into the useful articles it supplies. The manufacture of Wool and Cotton is now claiming first attention, and has already made a progress little suspected by most persons. The amount of cotton spun and wove in manufactories south of the Potomac cannot fall short of fifty thousand bales."

This was estimated to be about ten per cent of the total production of the cotton factories of the United States.44

In South Carolina one editor said it was no divergence from the true principles of the Free Trade party to favor manufacturing as a means of bringing back prosperity. The lack of good management was lamented when attention was called to the negligence characterizing the operation of cotton factories in South Carolina. He reported that "the only anxiety on the part of stockholders was to pay up their installments, and when this was done, or even before this, they cast all responsibility on some itinerant machinist; who was interested in making all operations of this kind as unproductive as he could possibly make them,...he should have been advised by an enterprising council." The editor's answer for this poor management was for the stockholders and directors to secure a good superintendent and then to watch affairs of the company attentively. The best type of manager, he suggested, would be a successful and capable plantation overseer, who could be just as accomplished in developing large profits from manufactures as he could from agri-

44. Ibid.
The Lenoir family of Caldwell County, as we have seen, were prominent textile manufacturers in North Carolina as well as Tennessee. In 1848 Colonel Thomas Lenoir purchased the Patterson Factory from J. C. and J. Harper. In the same year he built the Elkin Manufacturing Company in Surry County, sending his son to Paterson, New Jersey, to purchase the apparatus for this mill. Young Lenoir wrote his father from Philadelphia, saying "I have the satisfaction of thinking that the Elkin Manufacturing Company will have as good machinery & at as low prices as it could have been purchased." Subsequently Colonel Lenoir received from Rogers, Ketchum and Grovnor, of Paterson, a statement regarding the machinery required and its cost.

This account listed minutely the machines that would be needed, from throstle frames to a tack hammer. The total cost of the machinery was to be $4,240.20, plus the cost of packing and shipping.

"We will warrant all the machinery to be finished in the most substantial and workmanlike manner, the best materials used in its construction and the pattern to be the most improved — unsurpassed in the United States. We shall be glad, if favored with your order, to execute it promptly and in the best manner."47

Information as to the cost of equipment for a cotton

45. Hillsborough Recorder, November 20, 1845.
46. Lenoir Family Papers (North Carolina Branch) op. cit., Thomas Lenoir, Jr., to Colonel Thomas Lenoir, January 3, 1848.
47. Ibid., Rogers, Ketchum and Grovnor to Colonel Thomas Lenoir, March 22, 1848. See Appendix V.
factory is rather scarce, and this is the only complete statement found.

Francis Fries' diary listed in 1840 the cost of his machinery and the steam engine at £4,111.47. His expenses appear to have been somewhat cheaper than Lenoirs, considering the cost of an engine. This difference may have been caused by the continuing depression in 1840.

In Iredell County A. D. Gage, I. W. Wilson, and R. D. Tomlinson were engaged in the construction of the Rock Creek Shoals Factory. Wilson and Gage exchanged a series of letters in which they discussed the most minute details of the building of the foundation and walls. Mortar being expensive, the question of the thickness of the walls was one of serious consideration. Wilson wrote Gage suggesting a narrower wall, saying "the reduction of the thickness of the wall, one foot would save more than one third of the masons bill...£125." This modification depended on whether possible future expansion would require the addition of another story to the factory. Wilson wrote that he would not send any of his slaves for work on the mill. "I will not send them now. Shd it be found mutually convenient & advantageous perhaps after we go into operation, we can agree on an agreement by which I may locate a part of my blacks at the factory." 49

The following December Wilson visited the proprietors of the Catawba Manufacturing Company, of which General W. H. Neel was one of the partners. Neel advised Wilson not to order the machinery, but to send a suitable person to make the purchase, and thus save more than the expense of the trip. He also urged them to get their castings and other machinery in the North and not depend on the Lincoln Foundry for anything except shafting, which they made very well.

Wilson's eyes were opened to the power required to operate a cotton factory. He was told that each throstle frame required power equal to that for running a cotton gin. "The power to propel a factory is greater than I had supposed." He was also concerned by the news that some of the machinery would be more expensive than Tomlinson had estimated.

Wilson benefited greatly from the visit, as General Neel made many helpful suggestions concerning details which he and his partners had learned by experience with their own construction. He was somewhat cheered by Neel's explanation of financial conditions, and relayed the information to his associates. He said "there had been a great fall since we purchased, in the price of machinery. He [Neel] mentioned the difference amounting to nearly two dollars on the spindle & proportionate fall on the other requisite machinery. This is an important consideration. Williams of Catawba Factory thinks that a better contract cd be made
with Cornelius Speer than with Rogers & Co. from the fact
that he is generally in need of money & for cash he wd give
a bargain." Wilson passed on other information of a more
technical nature, and suggested that they delay getting
their machinery until the factory was ready for operation.
He hoped in this way to profit by the European financial
troubles and thus save further on the cost of the machinery. 50

In 1850 Gage and Wilson signed a contract with N. D.
Tomlinson giving him the right to build a second cotton
mill and use the surplus water power of the Rock Creek
Shoals Factory. Tomlinson agreed not to interfere with the
operation of the original mill, its existing machinery or
any that might be added in the future; also never to sell
this mill to anyone else, although he reserved the right to
remove his machinery or buildings at any time. 51

Other companies were undergoing problems of various
types and solving them with ingenuity. The management of the
Randolph Manufacturing Company, for instance, had, in an
attempt to reduce costs, begun making its own bobbins. These
were used considerably and had been prior to this time
imported from the North. 52

In the middle and late forties newspapers and magazines

50. Ibid., I. W. Wilson to Dr. A. D. Gage, December 4, 1847.
51. Ibid., Indenture between A. D. Gage and I. W. Wilson
    with N. D. Tomlinson, April 5, 1850.
52. Greensborough Patriot, cited in the Hillsborough
    Recorder, October 16, 1850.
were trying to show the advantages and profits in the investment of capital in cotton factories. The *Southern Cultivator* published a letter which said that cotton mills, "when properly managed, could not be realizing less than 20 per cent. on their capital, and no doubt, a great deal more ..."53 The *Georgia Journal* urged its readers to shift from cotton planting to cotton manufacturing, while the *South Carolinian* said that if capitalists were patriotic that state would have plenty of cotton factories and ten times the population. "If capitalists will not embark in such enterprises, we advise those who have energy, to go into business forthwith. Energy is capital. Credit based on character and enterprise is capital and will be appreciated by our banks." It was for this reason that banks existed, commented the editor, and anything which would so benefit the state must be rewarded by financial aid. One capitalist in Charleston was reported to be ready to invest $50,000 "and from his known discretion in the investment of funds, and management of fiscal affairs, we regard it as a good omen, for at least candid confidence in this work."54

A correspondent of the *New Orleans Tropic* reported the Whigs of West Florida were profiting both politically and financially from investments in a cotton factory.

---

Special attention was called to the "Pecofoces" of this progressive movement by Florida Whigs.55

South Carolinians were urged either to emigrate to the southwestern states and plant cotton, or invest their money in cotton mills. There was no chance of planting profitably, the editor of the South Carolinian pointed out, and "if the statesmen of S. Carolina are wise, they will advise them to adopt the latter; and if the people possess the good sense we give them credit for, they will take this advice and act upon it."56 The building of the Catawba Cotton Factory led the editor of the Charlotte Journal to tell the public that there was another evidence that men with capital considered cotton manufacturing a safe investment.57 DeBow felt there was no reason why North Carolina should not be a great manufacturing state, possessed of so many advantages as she was, and he urged the Southern planter to reduce the production of cotton and to place his surplus capital in cotton mills. This would bring the two-fold advantage of raising the price of cotton and diversifying the economy of the South.58

Throughout North Carolina there was a general boom in cotton factory construction, which was an impetus to the building of others. It was said that "all around, they are

---
waking up to the importance of diverting labor to this kind of employment, and placing some of their capital in this species of investment."59 Large amounts of money were reported as being invested in cotton mills on the Catawba River.

One North Carolinian lamented that manufacturing was no greater than it was. He said much North Carolina capital was sent off to other states, capitalists finding nothing profitable in North Carolina for investment, while some remained idle. It was hoped that "a new spirit of enterprise will be infused in the minds of our people; that as they are determined to overcome the difficulties which lie in their way to free and rapid communication with the markets of the world, they will employ those means they have to make North Carolina one of the first States in the Union in wealth and enterprise."60

Sources of capital became an increasing problem in the 1850's. The rise in price of cotton in 1848-1849 caused a change in the investment activities of Southern people, and on occasion mill owners found it necessary to try to stimulate the interest of planters, so that they would invest in cotton factories. H. B. Elliott, a director of the Cedar Falls and Franklinsville Factories, attempted successfully

60. DeBow's Review, VIII (1850), 199.
to interest Dr. R. L. Beall, a planter who had long dealt
with these factories in selling his cotton, in the recon-
struction of the recently destroyed Franklinsville Mill.
They arranged to meet at the commencement of Normal College
(now Duke University), where Beall was furnished with
information on manufacturing.

One letter from Elliott to Beall was especially
interesting as an expression of the opinion of a factory
operator on current affairs. Elliott said:

"How do you like the nomination of Gen'l Scott? I
must confess to some disappointment, but yet I
have not entertained any doubt in regard to his
fealty to the Constitution & the Compromise; & his
prompt & cordial acceptance of the nomination 'with
the resolutions' & his engagement to discountenance
& suppress all agitation of the slave question, would
have quieted them, if I had had any. I see the
leaders of the new fangled Union Party in Georgia,
are making themselves so foolish and impractical as
the S. C. Disunionists, & about as mischievous. So
also Gentry and Williams of Tennessee. I fear Sir
that there is more corruption, even among Whigs of
high standing, than the honest mass dream of. When
politics become a trade, we may no longer expect the
public good to influence in any degree the conduct of
the incumbent. It is as demoralising as gambling! It
is gambling, & the stakes are, the Interests &
Welfare of its people! But I did not intend to bore
you with a homily on the 'corruption of the times,'
& will therefore close with the summary conclusion:
that ours is fast becoming the most corrupt
Government on earth."61

In 1850 and 1851 business of many mills declined very
seriously. The partnership of Holt and Carrigan was brought
to an end when Carrigan sold his interest to Edwin Holt,

to Dr. R. L. Beall, July 14, 1852.
due to the fact that the mill was not making an income sufficient to provide for two families. However, some North Carolina factories were doing well in the fifties, as evidenced by the statement of the Milledgeville Factory in Montgomery County, which announced a semi-annual dividend of ten per cent on its capital. There were also a few brave investors, such as James Gwyna, who invested two thousand dollars in the Elkin Manufacturing Company in 1853. The Gwynas, Lenoirs, and Harpers were rather closely associated in cotton mills in northwestern North Carolina.

Despite the difficult economic conditions, it was predicted that the South would soon rival New England, if not outstrip her, in the manufacture of textiles. Many Northern capitalists were reported investing large amounts in the South. One editor said that "in twenty years, when practice shall have placed the two sections on a fairer footing as to skill, the South will be able to undersell the North in all cotton fabrics. We are a Northerner, born and bred. But we venerate the truth, we have written thus."

During the Civil War there were a few cotton factories built. The Leak family added a woolen mill to the Richmond Manufacturing Company, George Brandt secured machinery in Europe and had it brought through the blockade to establish

62. Hillsborough Recorder, February 27, 1852.
the Enterprise Manufacturing Company in Fayetteville, and Rufus L. Patterson built the Wachovia Cotton Mill in Salem. The state of North Carolina extended state financial aid for the establishment of manufactories of cotton and woolen cards. The state of Georgia purchased a half-interest in a cotton card factory and used penitentiary inmates as workers. This may have presaged the nefarious system of convict-lease labor in the post-war decades.

The war brought many North Carolina mills to an end, and in the Reconstruction era there were often insufficient funds to keep factories in operation.

In the immediate post-war years it was noted that many North Carolinians were loath to give up the practice of buying land with surplus capital, although this was no longer profitable and "a vast amount of capital will be compelled to seek investment in other branches of industry." The best place for this money was said to be in the cotton textile industry, and it was accordingly predicted that as the mills multiplied yearly the South would manufacture its entire crop and thus gain financial independence. 65 DeBow's Review made the following suggestion: "Let the people turn their annual surplus of money into...cotton and woolen mills, and they will achieve the great work that lies before them, in the path which nature has marked out for

65. The Western Democrat, October 10, 1866.
them to tread. Not purchases of negroes and land, but the erection of busy water wheels, and looms and spindles... will make the future all that I can paint it, or her children desire, in opulence and wealth."\textsuperscript{66}

Many thought it was strange that European capitalists did not invest in Southern textile mills, building branch factories of the parent European firms in the Southern States, and by this means by-passing the tariff. However, the foreign capitalist was more interested in the restoration of the cultivation of cotton. It is also significant that the high price of the staple had the effect of maintaining, in the immediate post-war years, the cultivation of cotton as the chief economic activity in the Southern States.

This wholesale return to the growing of cotton was the result of two pressures. One was that of available capital. British banks agreed to extend financial aid to the planter, providing every inch of land be planted in cotton.\textsuperscript{67} Northern sources promoting the local merchant also insisted on the full production of the staple;\textsuperscript{68} while the newly established national banks in the Southern States were using their entire resources to promote cotton culture. This was true to such an extent that persons needing a sum as trifling as five hundred dollars, for other purposes, found it

\textsuperscript{66} DeBow's Review, vol. 34 (1867), 89-90.
\textsuperscript{67} Harris Dickson, The Story of King Cotton, 30.
\textsuperscript{68} M. B. Hammond, The Cotton Industry, 151.
necessary to send North for it. 69

A second pressure was that of the cotton planting tradition of the South. The majority of the planters knew little else than cotton planting; this fact, plus the high price of the staple, had a strong appeal for them.

The Confederacy and the state of North Carolina had built many buildings during the course of the war that could be remodeled into factory property. It was reported in 1866 that the state army works at Greenville had been sold for conversion into a cotton factory. 70 A year later the Webb brothers, cotton manufacturers of Orange County, were reported to have purchased the property of the Georgia Mining Company in Raleigh. They had received their machinery and were ready to move in when Federal authorities claimed the building had been property of the Confederate Government and thus subject to confiscation. The editor of the Sentinel stated "it is hoped, however, that it will be surrendered in a few days. The Company are now spinning fine thread at their Orange Mills, for their looms in this city, which will be put up as soon as the premises are secured." It was later announced that the project had been abandoned. The editor lamented the fact, saying "factories are absolutely necessary in this city to give employment to our large poe-

70. Sentinel (Raleigh), cited in the Daily Journal, February 14, 1867.
female population." It was hoped that the project would be revived at a more propitious time.71

In spite of financial paralysis South Carolina was attempting to reestablish her fallen fortunes by building cotton factories.72 The Augusta Mill in Georgia was pointed out as being eminently successful and worth emulation. It was paying very large dividends and had at the same time built up a reserve fund of $225,000 for future expansion.73 Most of the Southern States exempted factory property from taxation in order to encourage the flow of capital into the industry. The city of Augusta paid out-of-state investors a bonus of three per cent on all capital brought into their town. Everyone was interested in assisting the expansion of the textile industry, the newspapers publicizing the large dividends of the more successful companies to attract more capital. The mills of Randolph County were reported to represent an investment of over three quarters of a million dollars. "The question asked, where does this capital come from?—None of our citizens have large capital. The answer is easy. The people are forming joint stock companies, and cooperating to furnish work for those who need it and to build up the country."74

Promoters, becoming aware that the capital was not flow-

73. Sentinel (Raleigh), April 28, 1869. The Daily Journal, January 3, 1869.
74. Fayetteville Observer, November 15, 1863.
ing in as they wished, began to think of other means of raising the necessary capital. In Wilmington the donation of the necessary goods and services was suggested, with stock in the company to be exchanged for labor, materials, site, and everything needed to begin a factory. Other plans were suggested, such as following the organizational plan of building and loan associations; or encouraging large groups, such as the Grange, in the building of mills.

The people of Raleigh were urged to investigate the possibilities of forming a joint stock company and establishing a cotton factory. A Louisiana planter, writing a treatise to aid people coming into the South who wanted to plant cotton, urged the building of cotton mills as a subsidiary interest to agriculture. It was his plan that the planter stop investing in private gins, gin-houses, cotton sheds, and baling equipment. Instead of each planter duplicating his neighbor's expensive machinery and buildings, an effort should be made to work cooperatively within an immediate area and to use the money thus saved for building and equipping of a cotton factory. These factories were to gin and bale cotton, to provide adequate storage facilities, and to have sufficient spinning and weaving machinery to supply their needs and those of the surrounding area.

In the middle seventies Colonel Jasper Stowe, in need

75. Sentinel (Raleigh), May 12, 1869.
76. Lynum, J. B., Cotton Culture, 133-141.
of capital, became involved in a dispute with newspapers and bankers. The recriminations were carried in the columns of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* and the *Southern Home*. Lamenting that the newspapers of the state were too indifferent in their promotion of the textile industry, Stowe claimed that "about once a year, when the leading factory companies of South Carolina and Georgia authorize the publication of dividends of from 20 to 25 per cent. paid to the stockholders out of their net earnings for one year, a few of the 'craft editorial' take occasion to applaud Southern enterprise and give capitalists some wholesome advice. Another year of silent indifference follows this outburst."

Too little was done to indicate the advantages for manufacturing in North Carolina, Stowe complained. A few cities had able advocates who brought the subject before public attention, but the industrialists of North Carolina "whose wealth is augmenting more rapidly than that of any other class" were not trying to encourage others to enter the field. These men kept their dividends and profits secret and did nothing to "induce an enterprising people to engage in a pursuit so beneficial to the country at large."

The Holt family was indicated as an example of the manner in which one family profited from manufacturing cotton. They had numerous large factories, much valuable land, beautiful homes, "safes well stored with good paying bonds and stocks, and a large bank for a plaything, all a
result of well directed energy in cotton manufacture." The cotton industry was claimed to be the only hope of the state to gain wealth and prosperity. Its benefits, Stowe pointed out, were boundless—to the investor, to the operators, to the state, to employees, and to the farmer. Every factory in the state large enough to employ good skill and efficient management, he said, was making large profits.

While industry languished in other parts of the country, due to the depression, one Southern factory paid a dividend of nineteen per cent on its capital stock. Colonel Stowe estimated that comparable North Carolina factories should have earnings twice as high, for their labor costs were fifty per cent less than those of any other Southern state. In spite of these low wages women were ready to "rejoice to obtain the privilege of working in factories at these seemingly low rates." He considered manufacturing a great producer of wealth, as all the elements necessary for the manufacture of cotton textiles were domestically produced. As he put it, the cotton and the labor was furnished by the country, the manufacturer paid for this, and in turn the country bought his products. The public was therefore urged by Stowe to take an interest in the cotton industry and employ every means possible to increase its size.

He suggested that country people take their money out of the banks and put it into this growing industry, thus realizing an income from the great profits that were being
made by others. The infatuation with banks he considered due either to ignorance or to lack of ambition, and stated that banks were kept in operation only by confidence and little security other than that of the deposits. The bankers, he said, were paying depositors six per cent interest while they were realizing over twenty on their investments. They controlled, he asserted, over seventy-five per cent of the fluid capital in the state, and were in turn controlled by twenty men. 77 A general attack was made on finance capitalism in North Carolina.

The editor of the Charlotte Observer rushed to the defense of banks and bankers, 78 with Jasper Stowe replying to the counter-attack by saying that banks were generally opposed to manufactures. He said "there is—always has been—and always will be so long as monopolies prey upon the country, an irrepressible conflict between productive labor and the predatory combinations." He insisted, in his argument, that any money that went into industry must be withdrawn from banks. Since this lessened the working capital of these institutions, the bankers objected to losing this money and did all they could to keep their depositors from putting money into the cotton industry; they wished, said Stowe to keep these great dividends for themselves.

The Charlotte Observer accused Stowe of being "agrarian,

77. Southern Home, July 12, 1875. 
In closing the controversy this paper said that with few exceptions all cotton factories in the South had been failures, mentioning several factories that had become bankrupt in North Carolina and using them as a general example of the insecurity of the industry. It said that too frequently the mills were managed by adventurers from the North, or if Southerners were managing them they did not give their undivided attention to proper operations. The cotton industry was characterized as one which had never had much success except by "newspaper report." Hence the public was afraid to invest in such speculative undertakings regardless of the patriotic advantages that would result therefrom.

This brought a storm of protest from the many successful manufacturers in the state. They accused the editor of doing incalculable harm to the industry and forced him to print a half-hearted retraction of his slanders. The only achievement of this long controversy was to harm the entire cause of cotton mill promotion in central North Carolina. It is certainly one of the causes for the inability of Charlotte to build a cotton factory in the Reconstruction era.

The financial support of the cotton textile industry

79. Ibid., August 25, 1875.
80. Ibid., December 12, 1875.
81. Ibid., December 23, 1875.
in North Carolina, throughout this fifty-year period, came from sources within the state. Through their own efforts the people, great and small, laid the foundations for a great industry in their midst. Not only the money, but the managerial and operating skill as well, was largely furnished by citizens of North Carolina, who thus brought great profits into their state. The amount of capital invested in cotton textile manufacturing doubled in the seventies, and more and larger factories dotted the landscape, monuments to the sacrifices and struggles of forward-looking men who had contributed to the growth of a new and powerful industry.
CHAPTER V

Labor, Factory and Mill Village
1830-1880

There is less information available regarding factory operatives than any other phase of the rise of the cotton textile industry. In the general promotional activities in the years from 1830 to 1880 the most notable interest was shown in the cheapness of labor.

In 1828 Miles printed a letter from a North Carolinian who said that unless the state encouraged domestic industry she would continue to lose the cream of her population, as emigration was taking the free white laboring class to more prosperous and energetic areas of the South. The vast sources of water power should be used to satisfy the needs of the state, the writer said, and he predicted that capital and labor would flow into the state once works were begun which "would separate the free white people from the mere working-machines, or negroes, and thus make labour honorable. Until this is done, the poor, but thinking whites will seek a home in places where they can earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brows, without its being imputed to them as a degradation by their wealthy neighbors—who, though possessed of property worth 50 or
100,000 dollars, shall not feel humiliated in holding their own plow, or driving their own wagon to market, laden with the supplies of their own fields.\footnote{1}

It was claimed that the white people living in North Carolina were as well suited for work in factories as those located in any part of the country; this was especially true of those living in the piedmont section.\footnote{2} In the coastal plain there was, at first, a tendency to employ slaves in the early factories rather than white operatives. The Rocky Mount Factory and that of Donaldson and McNeil, located on the edge of the coastal plain, used slaves from the outset of their enterprises; for this reason they were probably welcomed by their neighbors, as they provided employment for planters' idle slaves.\footnote{3} The Beam and the Schenck Mills were built deep in the piedmont where there was a need for employment for the white population, and thus all such economic effort was very welcome.

There was often skepticism with regard to industrial establishments in the plantation area, and many who attempted to build cotton mills were derided by some planters. In spite of skeptical reactions, the rural cotton factories were successful.

The Fisher Committee investigated all aspects of the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1}{Miles' Register, vol. 35, October 11, 1828, 96.}
\footnote{2}{Ibid., vol. 41, December 3, 1831, 250-251.}
\footnote{3}{Fisher Report, op. cit.}
\end{footnotes}
introduction of the cotton textile industry. It considered the possible situation with regard to labor, and called to the attention of all who were interested that there were two possible types to consider. They compared the situation existing in Old and New England, where wages ranged from one to three dollars per week. Comparing this with the cost of North Carolina labor, the committee estimated that labor was cheaper in the South, and reasonably so, for the cost of living was less. The types of employees used in a cotton mill—largely women and children—would accept very low wages as there was little other demand for their labor.

It was stated in the report that "Mr. Donaldson, who owns a Cotton Factory at Fayetteville, and another one at the Falls of Tar River—a gentleman who has visited the Northern establishments and those of England, and who is well acquainted with the subject, gives it to the committee as his decided opinion, that Factory labour is cheaper here..."

The committee considered the possibilities inherent in the use of Negro slaves as factory operatives and ridiculed the idea that slaves could not be used, employing as an example the many branches of endeavor in which Negroes were often distinguished for their skill. They, of course, had more powerful evidence than mere conjecture and comparison. Their report quoted an authority of the day:

4. Ibid.
"Mr. Donaldson, before mentioned, says that he has been for some time, in the habit of working blacks in his factories, and he not only finds them equal to whites in aptness to learn and skill to execute, but, all things considered, he actually prefers them. Mr. D. further states, that he has had several superintendents from the North, and all of them, with the exception of one, decidedly preferred black help, as they term it, to white—with the blacks there is no turning out for wages, and no time lost in visiting musters and other public exhibitions. But one of the great advantages of black labour is, that you can attach it permanently to the establishment by purchase."5

The group then presented long and involved figures to show the advantages of slave over free labor, and to show that over a ten-year period the saving between the two types would be fifteen thousand dollars, in a mill with one thousand spindles, with proportional gain for larger mills.6

It was further recognized that lack of skill and capital was the foremost deficiency faced by the state. An analogy was drawn to the initial problem that had faced New England pioneer manufacturers. New England being almost entirely commercial, skilled factory labor was lacking; however, under the instruction of trained English superintendents, New England labor gained the requisite manufacturing skill and made rapid progress. In the opinion of the Fisher Committee the same would be true of North Carolina, once large-scale efforts were attempted. This was borne out when the Mt. Heola Mill of Henry Humphreys, the Alamance

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. See Appendix II.
Mill of Holt and Carrigan, and the Salem Manufacturing Company were established; and manufacturers of their machinery sent competent men along to set up the machinery and to train the laborers and managers in the operation of it.  

Newspapers made their own evaluation of the labor-management problem. In 1838 the Rocky Mount Mill was applauded for increasing the prosperity of the state and "affording ample compensation to their fifty operatives." The Randolph Manufacturing Company was indicated as a fine place, providing employment for industrious persons willing to work hard and earn an honest living. Charles Fisher saluted the Lexington Factory for giving employment to so many hands and increasing the prospects of that town. This splendid factory, he said, provided light work for girls who each attended 120 spindles "with ease and having considerable time to sit down." The increase of business, brought about by factory wages, introduced great prosperity to the towns where cotton mills were built.

The Charlotte Journal, reporting the burning of a cotton factory, indicated the feeling hands often had for their places of employment. The reporter stated that "the shrieks of

10. The Western Carolinian, February 21, 1838.
11. Ibid., March 7, 1839.
the women and children, when they witnessed the destruction of the property from which they derived their daily sustenance, were distressing in the extreme.”

By the early forties operatives were beginning to achieve considerable skill and efficiency. The Fayetteville factories reported that the workers were becoming so skillful in the use of the spindle and loom that prices of manufactured goods were declining. The Rockfish Factory near Fayetteville noted that three girls who had worked there only a few months were able to produce ninety yards of cloth a day. Less than two years later, in the same factory, operatives were weaving 107 ½ yards of cloth daily. Edward J. Hale, editor of the Fayetteville Observer, remarked that “the amount of work performed by the perfect machines of the present age, when directed by skill and industry, is truly wonderful.” It was estimated that in twenty years, with the introduction of the power loom, the daily output of weavers had increased, from five or six yards, almost twentyfold. The productiveness of the workers of the Rockfish Factory had increased eight per cent. During the week ending October 8, 1842, this factory wove 19,387 yards of various types of cloth.

Wages in the factories were very low throughout this

12. The Charlotte Journal, April 9, 1840.
period, children employed in factories often getting wages as low as twelve and a half cents a week.\textsuperscript{15} This was in a period when children under twelve were getting a dollar a week in New England mills.\textsuperscript{16} Factory wages were not only low, but the hours of work were long; workers put in a six-day week, of eleven to thirteen hours per day. In Gaston County in the middle forties "short hours were unknown...the mill operated from sun up to sun down. Men's wages from twenty-five to forty cents a day. Women received the same for weaving. The pay of small boys was from five to twenty-five cents. There was no age limit and free schools were unknown: consequently, there was nothing else for children to do but work."\textsuperscript{17}

The editor of the \textit{North Carolina Standard}, writing under the caption "The Mechanic Arts", had the following to say:

"It is a matter of daily regret with the observant that the people of the Eastern part of North Carolina import from abroad so many articles, which they could manufacture at home so much more cheaply and profitably....But it is attributable, also to a false idea of the social position of the Mechanic, and to a prejudice against his pursuit, as wanting in dignity. Ideas and prejudices of this character are injurious to the program of any community—they are behind the intelligence, the age and hostile to all the principles of a democratic government."\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Johnson, G. G., \textit{Ante-Bellum North Carolina}, 255.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Fisher Report, \textit{op. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Pruett, \textit{op. cit.}, 187-188.
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{The North Carolina Standard} (Raleigh, N. C.), January 26, 1842.
\end{itemize}
This was not at all an uncommon lament in the press of that day. John Morehead was hailed for his efforts to promote industry by investing in cotton manufactures, and thus giving "employment to many of his poor neighbors." Around his Leaksville Factory were brick and frame houses for his workers and their families who, it was pointed out, "earn honest and respectable support from the capital here invested." 

The Charlotte Journal published a long article on the benefits of manufactories at Paterson, New Jersey, saying that they made agriculture more prosperous, increased the business of local merchants, and gave remunerative employment to the poor. The progress of this place, the Journal stated, was due to its factories and this proved that "manufactures in this country have no tendency to degrade the operative class." The workers of the Randolph Manufacturing Company were said to have a moral character equal to that of the surrounding population.

In the charters of several cotton factories the State Legislature attempted to protect the moral character of employees, this apparently being a matter of some concern during the times. One charter provided that no person would be allowed to sell liquor to the operatives or hands, or to

19. Raleigh Register, June 14, 1842.
22. Greensborough Patriot, January 18, 1845.
sell it within one mile of the factory. A fine of twenty dollars was to be assessed in the event this law was broken, the amount to be divided between the local school district and the informer. 23 A second charter provided that of such fines "one half of the money shall be applied to the benefit of the moral or literary instruction of the operatives in said factory..." 24

There was no information printed in North Carolina newspapers concerning strikes in cotton mills, but W. A. Carrigan nephew and namesake of the junior partner of the Alamance Factory, wrote to Alfred Holt concerning a strike in this mill.

"They had a considerable blow up at the Factory among the hands for the last week they stopt the factory last tuesday. I do knot know as I can tell you all the cause but Kimball and some hands blown up at Boon for his being too tight and thought that he would get the whole management of the Factory, but uncle and your father told him out of that. I expect they will have a general clean up amongst them." 25

It was reported that the cotton mill owners around Pittsburgh were seeking to relocate their factories on the Ohio River in western Virginia. They intended to move their machinery to this less populated region in hope of avoiding frequent strikes which interrupted their business, feeling that these were fomented by the large population in the larger cities of the country. 26

The many cotton mills of Augusta, Georgia, gave employment to poor and destitute girls, thus making them useful and respectable members of the community. These mills also furnished schools for their employees. No Negroes were engaged in either these mills or in that at Graniteville. The wages of these operatives were very low while they were learning to operate the machinery, and the children of these families were given little more than their room and board, with their wages increasing very little as they became more adept at their work.27

The Southern Cultivator urged planters to assist in the building of cotton mills. Dr. Lee, its editor, said:

"Society can not enjoy the highest prosperity and exemption from ignorance and crime, until it shall take due pains to protect all persons, whether black or white, bond or free, from the temptation, against which we are commanded to pray that we be led not into."28

Women and children made up, almost exclusively, the labor force of cotton factories. By 1849 the Lincoln Cotton Mill was employing only white girls.29 One gentleman traveling through North Carolina in 1849 visited the Alamance Mill, where he found a mill village built of logs, and everything appearing neat and thrifty. He applauded this and all the mills he had seen in the South that offered employment to many poor girls who might otherwise be

wretched....I went in, and was pleased to see females employed in useful occupation."  

Frederick Law Olmsted, visiting the South in the early fifties, discussed visiting a factory near Fayetteville, and reported that Scotch Highlanders were the chief source of labor for Fayetteville mills. It was his opinion that "in modesty, cleanliness, and neatness of apparel, though evidently poor, they certainly compared favorably with the girls employed in a cotton factory I visited near Glasgow, a few years ago; but the proprietor told me that they very seldom laid up anything, and spent the greater part of their earnings very foolishly, as fast as they received them." One employee told Olmsted that all their poverty and misfortunes were due to slavery, and he wished he lived in a Northern state.  

From what we have seen of the wages that were paid, these operatives could not have been able to save much of their meagre incomes.

The use of Negroes, free or slave, was never very widespread in the factories of North Carolina. In the early fifties the few thus employed were replaced by white laborers. Holland Thompson cites a letter of a contemporary regarding the problems of the change-over.

"I took charge of the Rocky Mount Mill in Nov. 1849. We worked at that time only negroes—nearly all of those slaves. There were 2 or 3 old issue

30. Lossing, op. cit., 388.
free negroes. I introduced white labor in 1861. The whites seemed to think it humiliating to work in a cotton mill and I had much difficulty in getting them to go in.  

In Tennessee it was reported that about half the labor force in the cotton mills was slave. The rise in the price of cotton in the late forties accounts for the removal of slaves as operatives; since the slaves were usually rented from neighboring planters, when they were once again needed in the race for high cotton prices the planters called them back to the fields.

During the Civil War the question of a sufficient number of trained operatives was an important issue. Since North Carolina furnished more manpower to the Confederate Army than any other Southern State, the drain on manpower was accordingly felt more heavily in the cotton textile mills. The Daily Journal urged every man to take his place, but insisted that this did not necessarily mean joining the army. It was explained that a man "may do ten times as much good out of the army as in it....There must be mechanics left to carry on the manufacture of cloths." James Harper, of the Patterson Factory, reported "we have great difficulty in keeping hands, have several new ones now—but it is uncertain how long we can keep them."

32. Thompson, Holland, From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill, 261.
Trained workers were, of course, at much more a premium in the Confederacy than in the Union. The Confederate government attempted to remedy this problem by keeping trained workers and managers in essential industry. This was accomplished by giving exemptions to such people, with the provision that if the factory owner charged speculative prices for his goods his men would be drafted into service.\(^{36}\)

In 1862 the Georgia Legislature threatened to seize the cotton factories in that state because of the excessively high prices they asked.\(^{37}\) This problem was resolved by the state buying a half interest in a factory making cotton cards, and employing inmates of the state penitentiary as workers. These cards were distributed to the women of the state so they could make their own cloth and thus furnish the army with such necessities.\(^{38}\) One manufacturer of Georgia urged the Confederate and state governments to establish factories, for under war conditions an individual could secure neither the necessary capital nor the labor to be used for operation of mills.\(^{39}\)

When the various invading armies penetrated North Carolina they destroyed factories from one end of the state to the other. Sherman's army destroyed all the factories in

36. Supra, 110.
Fayetteville, with one exception; after the troops had put the torch to the Beaver Creek Mill they rode off and its operatives rushed in and put out the fire.\textsuperscript{40}

The Rocky Mount Mill was also destroyed by Federal troops. The effect of this action was that "numbers of boys and girls with aged parents dependent upon them, were thrown out of employment, and hundreds reduced to absolute want."\textsuperscript{41}

The Rocky Mount Factory was rebuilt immediately after the war, and employed sixty hands who wove fifteen hundred yards of cloth daily, with workers being paid average weekly wages of two dollars and fifty cents. The mill employed all white operatives; "it is a feature in the institution which is interesting to those who have been by the calamities of the war reduced to the necessity of finding light and honorable employment for their children." This factory also offered its employees, mostly females between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, the opportunity of night school instruction in the winter months.\textsuperscript{42}

"The heart of the moralist will thank Mr. B. for enabling so many poor girls to earn an honest livelihood, and avoid the paths of crime to which destitution so frequently drives them. This class of laborers is always abundant and cheap, as they infinitely prefer working in numerous companionship in the shade, for certain wages, to farming, exposed to the weather with remuneration more uncertain."\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40} North Carolina Pamphlets, Historical, vol. 8, "Short History of Cumberland County and the Cape Fear Section," 15.

\textsuperscript{41} Wilson Carolinian, cited in the Daily Journal, July 12, 17, 1867.

\textsuperscript{42} The Daily Journal, January 12, 1869.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., February 14, 1869, (Mr. B. refers to W. H. Battle).
In the post-war period a group of planters joined to establish a cotton factory near Corinth, Mississippi, hoping to secure children from a nearby Confederate orphanage as employees. Another mill in the same state employed seventy-five hands, "principally widows and daughters of families impoverished during the war..."

In 1874 the North Carolina Press Association held an outing at the Granite Cotton Factory of Colonel T. M. Holt, and editors and reporters went away quite impressed with the advantages given the workers in this mill. This mill employed some two hundred operatives, mostly women and children, "some of the latter quite small. We saw many young women and children receiving profitable employment, who would otherwise grow up in idleness and crime. Coming so lately from the elegant Female Schools of Raleigh where so many of the lovely daughters of the State are receiving mental and moral culture, and who are destined to give tone and character to society, we could not but feel that here too was a school humble in its pretention, but not less beneficent in its results. If the enterprise and industry of the gentlemanly proprietors of this factory did no other good, we saw in this alone enough to recommend manufactures to the people of the state..." 

44. Robert Somers, Southern States Since the War, 142.
45. The Daily Journal, November 4, 1869.
46. Ibid., May 24, 1874.
Colonel Jasper Stowe, who began his cotton milling career by building the Stoweville Factory in 1848, estimated that in 1875 women were receiving thirty to forty cents a day in the cotton mills, and that factory wages were fifty per cent lower in North Carolina than in any other Southern States.\textsuperscript{47} Indeed, throughout this fifty-year period wages were very low and the hours of labor were long. As has been pointed out, the majority of the employees of cotton mills were white women and children, many made destitute by the war, who were often taken advantage of by the factory owners. There are indications that other benefits than wages were considered, and the general welfare of the worker was becoming a matter of concern to the employer.

Cotton Factories and Mill Villages

The Rocky Mount Mill, owned and operated by the Battle family, was one of the oldest in the state and was originally built about 1817. After the war this once-flourishing mill was rebuilt, using the original foundation of solid rock. It was constructed of brick, four stories high; the first floor was devoted to carding, the second to spinning, and the third to reels. It received its power from a massive stone dam built at the falls of Tar River, and the factory was surrounded by the neat white cottages of the workers which formed a little village.\textsuperscript{48} The enterprises of the

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{The Southern Home}, July 12, 1875.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{The Daily Journal}, February 14, 1869.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Richmond Whig}, cited in Konkle, op. cit., 356.
Morehead brothers were also very numerous. They had, in addition to the Leaksville Factory, an oil mill, a flour mill, and a saw mill, as well as interests in other textile mills throughout the state.49

The Mt. Hecla Mill, built in 1832, was a five-story structure built of brick. It was one hundred and fifty feet long by fifty feet wide. This very large mill operated twenty-five hundred spindles and seventy-five looms.50

The Richmond Manufacturing Company's Great Falls Mill was a large five-story building of brick rebuilt after the original mill was destroyed in the Civil War. It had a large tower in the front, which housed a water reservoir to use in case of fire.

The Rockfish Factory, one of the older Fayetteville Mills, had a large brick building; it was one hundred and seventy-five feet by fifty-five feet, and the mill operated 4,500 spindles and 100 looms.51

Charles Fisher, in an attempt to urge on the people of Salisbury, waxed eloquent over the magnificent factory at Lexington, North Carolina. This factory was built of brick, three stories high and eighty feet long. Fisher was especially interested in the machinery which propelled the mill.

50. Stockard, op. cit., 63.
"But of all the inventions of the present age, none, in my humble opinion, is to be compared with the Steam Engine; it is, in fact, the machine of machines. Though the one to which I now allude is apparently firm and regular in its motions, yet it puffs and blows and makes so much fuss and has so many pugnacious actions that it makes one, in spite of all his philosophy, fairly quail to look at it, and yet when he reflects that this very machine,—this concentration of force, which gives life and motion to the whole operation—is the invention of man and equal to 30 horses, he is lost in admiration at the march of improvement of the age."  

The Saxapahaw Factory, built about 1844, was another large brick building, the brick made from clay secured along the banks of a nearby stream. This mill was heated by fireplaces and was lighted with candles and oil lamps.

Most of the factories of any size were built of brick, and there were often other business in operating conjunction with the cotton mill. Most of the mills were built away from towns, and they generally furnished the workers with houses. Churches and schools were frequently built for the benefit of the workers. A few of the earlier mills were of frame construction, but these were usually replaced with more substantial structures as the owners' finances improved.

The mill village was not primarily a post-war phenomenon. The cotton factories built in the ante-bellum period, like many of those after the war, were built in rural areas along the banks of power-producing rivers and creeks. It was

52. The Western Carolinian, February 21, 1839.
often necessary for factory owners to provide living and recreational facilities for their operatives.

In some areas, such as Randolph County, the workers were frequently the daughters of local farmers who lived at home, or boarded with friends or relatives, and walked to and from the mill to work. There was little prejudice against factory employment and a girl would remain a sufficient time to provide for her trousseau and hope chest and would then get married and leave. The mill owners were usually men of high character and they felt a high parental relation to their employees.54

One of the earliest records of a factory providing its workers with houses and recreational facilities was the Lexington Manufacturing Company. There were undoubtedly others who made similar provisions earlier. This mill furnished "small one and a half story dwellings occupied by the operatives, tastefully arranged and newly painted..." Nearby they provided an "extensive grove, designed for the amusement of and recreation of the females during their hours of leisure."55

The Leakesville Factory of John Morehead provided neat brick and frame houses for its several hundred employees. These were built on the hills around the mill.56

54. Thompson, op. cit., 51-52.
55. The Western Carolinian, February 21, 1839.
The Alamance Factory, it appears, provided its workers with houses almost from the beginning of its operation, as it was described in 1849 as a neat and thrifty appearing log village.57

The Graniteville Mill in South Carolina built a village for the "families of crackers" who were thus "reclaimed from their idle lives in the woods." The factory hired primarily poor girls who were offered the opportunity of going to a school provided by the factory after work.58 This mill village was pointed out as a model by the Charlotte Journal. The factory was built of granite, and the workers' houses were frame, "put up in good taste—the streets and grounds laid out and ornamented, and nothing spared which will add to the beauty of the scene, and inspire pride in the operatives. There is said to be scarcely a town in New England which will compare with it for neatness and beauty." This, the article concluded, was one of the brightest spots in South Carolina and should encourage public sentiment in favor of cotton factories.59

Even cotton factories built in the larger towns offered houses for their workers, and frequently this was the largest part of their remuneration. The Salisbury Factory had in addition to the factory a small number of houses for

57. Lossing, op. cit., 388.
its hands. These were used, along with the factory building, to hold captured soldiers during the Civil War.  

As an aftermath of the war, some mills were bankrupted and their property sold at auction. The Union Factory on Deep River was forced to sell its property in this manner, and listed among its assets were thirteen houses for the accommodation of the workers. The Rocky Mount Mill, which was rebuilt after the war, was surrounded with neat white cottages, sufficiently numerous to have the appearance of a small village, situated within convenient distance for the workers. W. H. Battle, owner of the Rocky Mount Mill, also provided his hands with a night school in the winter.

The Richmond Manufacturing Company which had been, like the Rocky Mount Factory, established long before the war, provided a village for its operatives.

"There have been at least a dozen new cottages built lately for the 'hands', they are extremely neat and pretty, all painted white, and nicely finished off, containing three or four rooms, a porch and an entry. Besides these new houses, the old ones having been renovated, make up quite a thriving little village; and the flower plots, flourishing beds of vegetables, and graceful flowering vines give it an appearance of taste, comfort and beauty."  

The cottages making up this little village were clustered on the hillsides around the factory and mill pond.

The Granite Factory of Colonel Thomas Holt at Haw River

---

61. Greensborough Patriot, May 1, 1868.
had a village of some forty dwellings attached to the mill. The mill village also had both a church and school for the intellectual and moral training of the workers. This mill employed one hundred and seventy-five men, women and children. "The employees are well cared for, are of good moral character, and the proprietors have erected a neat church edifice for their especial benefit."63

Silas N. Martin, one of the officers of the Wilmington Cotton Mill, wrote a long feature article on this mill. He said it was built in the southern part of the city where there was ample space for all the buildings and for the operatives' houses.64 On Deep River there were eleven cotton factories which had around them thriving villages of from two hundred to one thousand inhabitants. "It is but justice to say, here, that the people of Randolph are of a high average of intelligence; steady going, modest and moral; in short, model North Carolinians."65

63. The Daily Journal, May 24, 1874, November 20, 1875.
64. Ibid., November 23, 1875.
65. Fayetteville Observer, November 15, 1883.
CHAPTER VI

North Carolina Opinion of the Cotton Textile Industry 1830-1880

In the period from 1830 to 1880 the feelings of North Carolinians toward the manufacture of cotton were widely expressed; although some were doubtful, those who were most vocal expressed an opinion favorable to the development of the industry.

The North Carolina Legislature, composed of the leading people of the state, was very much interested in the cotton textile industry, as attested by the fact that it so extensively investigated means of encouraging it under the direction of Charles Fisher. This eminent North Carolinian served as chairman of the investigating committee, and pointed out at the end of the report that, despite habits and prejudices of the residents of the state against manufacturing, the force of necessity was irresistible. "The policy that resists the change is unwise and suicidal. Nothing else can restore us."¹

The state newspapers, which were almost entirely united

¹ Fisher Report, op. cit.
in the promotion of cotton factories, strongly reflected the general view. In 1828 one North Carolinian wrote that the state would never flourish until manufactures were encouraged, and in 1831 Miles claimed that no state was more suited for manufacturing and that a large group of "her most valuable citizens were decidedly in favor of it."3

Readers were assured that manufactures would cause an increased circulation of money and restore the banks of the state to soundness.4 Miles said:

"We heartily wish success in manufactures to the people of the South. In a domestic 'scuffle', the general good must be advanced. A spirited home competition is at once the safety of consumers and a national benefit; and, instead of producing ruinous drafts of specie for foreign supplies, will accumulate the precious metals from foreign places, and invigorate all our pursuits."5

Miles reported that the many letters he received from North Carolina convinced him that the people of the state had "a clear view of their deep interest in the success of domestic industry....I have no manner of doubt, that this state will become a leading one in behalf of the home market, by encouraging domestic manufactures and internal improvement, which so admirably work together to give value to lands and their products, while lessening the price of all sorts of commodities to consumers."6 He predicted that

2. Miles' Register, vol. 35, October 11, 1828, 96.
3. Ibid., vol. 41, December 3, 1831, 250-251.
4. Ibid., vol. 33, January 10, 1828, 346.
5. Ibid., vol. 34, May 10, 1828, 175.
6. Ibid., vol. 41, December 3, 1831, 251.
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia would become leading manufacturing states, as it was only by developing a manufacturing interest that the planter could successfully compete with the agriculturalists in the new states. This economic system would create new markets for cotton and provisions which would lead to improved farming and an increase in the population. Later it was claimed that only by building roads, canals, and manufactories could North Carolina planters be assured of profitable agriculture.

Once the interest of capitalists was aroused, even the depression of 1837 could not stifle the promotion of cotton mills. Dennis Heartt pointed out that the manufactories of the state were furnishing the entire domestic requirements for yarn, were beginning to weave coarse cloth, and would soon be actively competing with the North in all markets. Heartt indicated that labor in North Carolina was cheaper than in any state in the Union, that the water power of the state was unlimited, and that food supplies were abundantly sufficient for the supply of factory towns. He said there was nothing to prevent North Carolina from becoming very prosperous—and that such would be the case must be evident to everyone, from the good effects already produced by the

7. Ibid., vol. 45, August 31, 1833, 4.
8. Ibid., 7.
establishment of a few Cotton Factories." This newspaper listed twenty-four mills, either in operation or in process of construction, which were affecting the state's trade by eliminating the import of yarns, and which gave prospect of ending the importation of coarse cloth. Edward J. Hale remarked, during the same period, that "we think the day is not distant, when all the cotton grown in the state will be consumed here, and not a yard of domestic imported, but much exported. Speed Manufactures! say we."11

In describing the Rocky Mount Factory at the falls of Tar River T. J. Holton reported that it was in flourishing operation, competing favorably with Northern factories as to price and quality, giving the workers ample compensation, "and at the same time yielding a handsome profit on the capital invested."12 This type of information led Edward J. Hale to take a prophetic tone at the Charleston Commercial Convention of 1839. He told the assembled delegates that North Carolina was making such progress in the manufacture of cotton that soon she would be importing cotton from other Southern States and exporting finished goods in exchange.13

Charles Fisher reported with pleasure how factories were benefiting the planter. The factories in the counties

10. Ibid., April 13, 1838; July 19, 1838.
11. Fayetteville Observer, cited in the Hillsborough Recorder, November 29, 1838. See Appendix IX.
around Rowan were furnishing a profitable home market for the cotton of local planters, paying at the plantation prices equal to those received in distant market towns. The continued encouragement of such enterprises would, Fisher said, bring increased profit and prosperity to agriculturalists, industrialists, merchants, and mechanics.¹⁴

North Carolina newspapers utilized newspaper exchanges from the other Southern States to stimulate the growing interest in the textile industry of the state. These out-of-state articles were reprinted as a promotional device, along with the presentation of unusual activities in encouragement of the industry. The Richmond Enquirer, as an instance, reported in 1839 on the growth of Petersburg as a manufacturing center. The first mill was built in that city in 1827, at a cost of sixty thousand dollars and with two thousand spindles, and this had increased by 1839 to five cotton factories with twenty thousand spindles and a total investment of eight hundred thousand dollars. Charles Fisher, commenting on the article, expressed the thought that Salisbury could at least follow this example to the extent of building one cotton mill.¹⁵

It was lamented in the early forties that the people of eastern North Carolina discouraged the development of

---

¹⁴ Western Carolinian, March 7, 1839.
¹⁵ Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, cited in the Western Carolinian, March 21, 1839.
industry by looking down on the laborer. It was said that such views as these were not only old-fashioned but also undemocratic. Yet it was in this decade that all classes of North Carolina society took a greater interest in the manufacturing industry.

The Hillsborough Recorder, realizing that the planters' capital was largely tied up in lands and slaves, presented two interesting ways in which the planter could encourage the manufacture of cotton with a minimum of expense. Dennis Heartt, editor of this journal, pointed out that five planters in Mississippi were attempting to encourage the establishment of a cotton factory to make coarse cloth. They offered, as an inducement to some entrepreneur, ninety-five bales of cotton each, to be given annually for five years; they also pledged themselves to buy from such a factory all the cotton goods needed for their respective plantations.

Heartt later published a very significant address by Henry W. Collier, which dealt with this question. Collier, a planter and Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, spoke of the many advantages inherent in the South for manufactures. He stated that cotton factories could and should be built in the cotton fields, and that great profits could be realized by such efforts. It was his suggestion that planters in an adjoining area unite efforts to build a

17. Vicksburg (Miss.) Whig, cited in the Hillsborough Recorder, November 7, 1844.
factory and place twenty per cent of their slaves in such mills, thus causing an increased demand for their crops and a twenty per cent decrease in cotton production.

Judge Collier said that it was a safe occupation and no longer unhealthy; there was nothing in mill work "to harden the lady's hand...to cause the rouge upon the cheek to fade..." He stated that the cultivation of cotton at the then low price was too unrewarding to compensate for the care, anxiety, and moral responsibility of slavery. It was foolish to raise cotton with slaves when those who made the great profits felt no sympathy for the Southern way of life. The slaves, he said, were being employed to make the manufacturers of New England rich while they "are denouncing us with all bitterness, as slave breeders and relentless task masters."

Planters as a class displayed no opposition to manufacturing. They were interested in agriculture and did not have the capital or time to spare for other interests. In the 1840's, when cotton prices fell very low, they were forced to look to other means of maintaining their incomes. Thus in this decade they took greater interest in manufact-

turing. Great planters of the coastal plain—Stephan Norfleet, Henry and Pollack Burgwyn, Colin and David Clark, and Thomas P. Devereux—attempted to establish cotton factories in their midst. Many of these efforts came in the late forties, but the revival of agricultural prosperity prevented them from coming to fruition.19

In New Bern, which was the very heart of the plantation region, a woolen mill was built in the late forties. The editor of the Newbernian said that "if success attends this investment that we now have reason to anticipate, a Cotton Factory should be the next move, and we predict the erection of one, at no distant day."20 The planter no doubt found the cotton plantation more congenial, but economic necessity seemed to force him to seek other places for profitable investment.

The editor of the Georgia Journal pointed out that it was useless to plant more and more cotton to obtain an increased income with which to pay debts. His suggestion was that the planter sell land to pay his debts, then "make an effort to build a manufactory." He drew attention to possibilities in that direction by asking "have you not in

your neighborhood a fine stream affording water power for a manufactory? 21 The report that a cotton factory was being built in Charleston led the editor of the Charlotte Journal to remark in mock amazement: "A factory in South Carolina! What will Mr. Calhoun say, who thinks his fellow citizens were all created to export raw material and import the manufactured article?...Truly we live in an age of wondrous things." 22

The Richmond Times pointed out to the planter the need for diversification by saying:

"How then are we to get rich by pursuing a single branch of business, to the destruction of prices, and to the impoverishment of our lands? What the South needs is a division of labor, variety of pursuits, and enterprise to develop the wealth that teems in our forests, our water-courses, our hills and valleys. No people are blessed by nature with such abundant capabilities to be completely independent." 23

Dozens of North Carolina planters were stockholders in cotton mills and the same must have been true throughout the Southern States. The fabled opposition of the planters to manufacturing was produced and kept alive by politicians. In actuality, of course, the planter was not opposed to profits, and if agriculture did not yield them he was forced to turn where possible to other enterprises for investment of some of his capital.

---

The Scientific American reported that already one Southern state had begun to manufacture cotton "and not a bit of chivalry sacrificed, but rather stimulated. We trust, however, that with the progress of manufactures in the South, the cold hearted greed of gain will not banish the ancient pride of noble hospitality."  

Even in distant Florida the manufacturing impulse was operating. The editor of the Pensacola Gazette suggested that "if Southern statesmen had all along employed their influence in getting up cotton factories at the South instead of fighting against the tariff (as Don Quixote did against the wind mill, supposing it was a great giant), the South could now be independent of Northern capital." The same feeling was expressed in North Carolina. It was said by some if Southern politicians would urge the people to take advantage of the tariff, rather than blame all the ills of agriculture on it, the prosperity that was so vainly sought would be found. The depression in cotton planting was blamed on the expansion of this type of agriculture into the newer states of the Southwest. In 1845 it was claimed that public opinion was wholly behind the manufacture of cotton. This was induced by the success of the many factories operating in North Carolina.
Dennis Heartt quoted from the Nashville Banner in support of the tariff as an aid for domestic manufactures. Its editor had said that "the tariff was intended as much for our benefit as that of the people of New England. Ignorant persons, to be sure, have been persuaded by demagogues seeking office and by the cross-road politician, that it was passed only with the view of putting money into the pockets of the manufacturers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and that its influence was not felt, except to their detriment by the population south of Mason and Dixon's line."28 It was evident, or should have been, that if the New England manufacturer could make money, so could one in North Carolina.

In 1845 E. J. Hale noted the effect the panic of 1837 had had on slowing down the expansion of the cotton textile industry in North Carolina. In that year he also reported the building of two new cotton mills and suggested that in Fayetteville "there is abundant room...for more establishments, and the manufacturers and citizens will welcome them amongst us."29 T. J. Holton, editor of the Charlotte Journal, discussed the operations of the Catawba Manufacturing Company near Charlotte. In his opinion the Southern States presented so many advantages for manufacturing "that we see no reason

29. Fayetteville Observer, December 2, 1845.
why these sections, so contiguous to the cotton gins, should not become manufacturers of the staple; the course of events seem to tend that way, we fondly anticipate the time, when we can manufacture all the cotton goods we use, ourselves, and save paying two freights and the manufacturers', the exporters' and the importers' profits.  

The editor of the Southern Cultivator said that the best policy for the improvement of the Southern States was to encourage manufacturing.

"To neglect the poor, and despise mechanical pursuits, will be productive of evils from which planters can no more escape than any other members of the community. The peaceful arts and a diversified industry can not be dispensed with in any state with impunity...."  

There was a tendency for Democrats to become less hostile to the Whig policy of promoting industry. The editor of the South Carolinian and River State Review said:

"It does not necessarily involve a departure from the true principle which govern the Free Trade party, when we utter a few words in favor of manufacturing establishments in South Carolina as one of the means of inducing prosperity again to exhibit itself in our midst."  

The New York Express seeing this type of view expressed in Southern journals had the following to say:

"Southern Loco Focos, in the turn of the tide, are actually beginning to boast that the South cannot only manufacture goods as well as the North, but that a market is actually found in the North for Southern goods. Well, this is delightful after all.

32. South Carolinian and River State Review, cited in the Hillsborough Recorder, November 20, 1845."
the croaking and scolding about home manufactures, and the exceeding benefit of sending all cotton abroad for foreign manufacture. Even the Charleston Mercury, which looks upon "Yankeedom" as a sort of Beelzebub's kitchen, and Lowell and Dover as the hot beds of vice and monopoly, has learned to say a good word of Southern manufacture. Hear it, ye free traders, and give ear all ye who have ever doubted that the South, once wedded to gain, would not like the rest of us, improve its opportunity. We are glad the South is realizing the benefits of a system it had hitherto decried; and we predict that, with a moderate protection, it will become more and more the advocate of the system of home manufactures. 33

The prosperity of the North was attributed to manufactures and it was predicted by Edward J. Hale that the same would be true in the South. Everyone with surplus capital was urged to buy stock in cotton mills, which would not only bring an excellent financial return, but also benefit the community at large. Those who loaned money at high rates of interest were said to lack initiative, as they preferred to continue to use their money for devices of extortion, rather than combining this capital to build cotton mills. Had they done this, according the Heartt, they would have made large profits, as well as benefited the poorer people. 34

The Augusta Republic estimated that the South had one-quarter as many mills as New England; its estimate was "that there were 175,000 spindles running in the Cotton States, requiring not less than 100,000 bales to supply their consumption." It reported that ninety-four cotton mills in

34. Hillsborough Recorder, November 20, 1845.
Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee were operating, that this number was constantly being increased, that there were twenty cotton mills in North Carolina and that a smaller number existed in Virginia, Florida, and Mississippi. The Republic, in summation, gave as its opinion that there were about one hundred and fifty factories in the Southern States.

Edward J. Hale, commenting on these figures, said this was "another evidence either of gross ignorance, or of a determination to depreciate North Carolina. It has been stated over and over that there are almost forty cotton factories in this state; yet it is as pertinaciously repeated, again and again, by the South Carolina or Georgia papers, that she has twenty." He said further that if there was one factory in North Carolina there were at least forty, and in his opinion there were nearer fifty.  

Dennis Heartt reported that every paper he received from the cotton states mentioned the development of the manufacture of cotton. In his opinion, although this industry was merely beginning, it had had greater progress than anyone suspected. Heartt cited the Western Journal, which had presented a long article on the necessity and advisability of the Southern States following manufacturing as well as agricultural pursuits. The Journal claimed that the

36. Hillsborough Recorder, May 1, 1845.
issue that presented itself to the planter was "whether shall the cotton fields be carried to the factory or the factory to the cotton field." 37 Heartt also chided his fellow citizens for allowing the manufacturers of Massachusetts to make all the profits from slave labor when they were unwilling to enforce the Southern-supported Fugitive Slave Law. 38

One of the often recurring suggestions was that cotton mills should be encouraged in order to create diversification of economic effort. The cotton planter, increasingly beset in the forties with declining prices for his product, hoped vainly that this situation would be relieved by a voluntary reduction of cotton acreage by all cotton growers. The planter was urged to reduce his capital investment and use any surplus to promote the manufacture of cotton. This, according to DeBow's Review, would produce a twofold advantage: a reduction of the amount of cotton on the market; and the creation of an increased home demand for domestic cotton. 39

The renewed prosperity of agriculture in the early 1850's and the growing sectional crisis somewhat dampened the spirits of newspapermen in regard to cotton manufacture. In 1851 the cotton manufacturers of North Carolina held a

38. Hillsborough Recorder, June 30, 1851.
second convention where they launched the "North Carolina Industrial Association." Their first act was to sponsor and promote a North Carolina State Fair, which, throughout the fifties, yearly brought before the public the products and activities of the cotton factories. Edward Hale commented on the importance of Southern State fairs for encouraging manufacturing and agricultural improvements. In conclusion he said that "they encourage the people to show off abilities that can be expanded."

In 1851 Dennis Heartt published the last pro-industrial article that appeared in his journal before 1860. He said:

"The man who will build and put into successful operation a cotton factory of five thousand spindles, would do more good to the South, and contribute more largely to her independence and security, pecuniarily and politically, than a dozen Nashville Conventions, ten thousand 'blood and thunder' resolutions, and half a million South Carolina ordinances."

In 1854 Congressman W. A. Venable delivered before the Union Agricultural Society of Virginia and North Carolina a speech on the improvements necessary in the South. He said:

"When will the people of North Carolina learn the lesson that the falls of the Roanoke, at Weldon, afford water power enough to grind every grain of wheat, spin every pound of cotton and wool, and manufacture every ton of iron in the State, and that the same water power is unemployed, save, one little mill..."

Here was a politician speaking before the leading

40. Hillsborough Recorder, January 9, 1853.
41. Fayetteville Observer, November 21, 1853.
42. Hillsborough Recorder, June 30, 1851.
planters of two states urging the encouragement of manufactures in the South.

Dennis Heartt commented, on the eve of the Civil War, that only a nation which combined agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which encourages varied arts and knowledge, and which fosters productive skill can become prosperous and great. He urged North Carolina to build a large cotton industry.

In North Carolina, during the Civil War, the need for the domestic manufacture of cloth was so great that every agency, private and public, was mobilized to encourage the expansion of the number and size of textile mills. Cotton manufacturers were occasionally attacked for charging excessively high prices and for avoiding the payment of taxes, but the need for their services was too great to hinder their operations.

The Civil War brought about the destruction of dozens of cotton factories in all the Southern States. Millions of dollars worth of this type of property was put to the torch by the various invading armies, from the Potomac to the Mississippi.

After the war the need for a diversified economy was clear to everyone. In 1865 the Sentinel of Raleigh called on the North to help the South in its recuperation, suggesting

44. Hillsborough Recorder, April 22, 1860.
45. The North Carolina Standard, March 1, 1862.
that Northern capitalists aid in the reorganization of Southern industry.\textsuperscript{46} State and city governments, individuals, and newspapers joined efforts to promote the growth of this vital industry. The end of slavery disgusted many planters with agriculture; and the confusion with freedmen as laborers, plus the interference of the Freedmen's Bureau, led many to invest in industrial pursuits.

North Carolinians were urged to buy textile products made in the state and thus help in the recovery of the state. One editor pointed out to the planter that he could avoid the payment of the cotton tax by helping to build manufactories in the collection district, for the staple was not taxed if manufactured there.\textsuperscript{47}

The advantages for manufacturing were once more placed before the public eye in all the newspapers. The huge profits being made were printed, new factories and their advantages to the community were minutely described, and the need for employment of the many people impoverished by the war was indicated. The cost of building and operating mills was carefully investigated. Means of raising the necessary capital were legion—every editor seemed to have a special scheme which could not fail.

In December of 1866 it was said that the South must manufacture as well as plant—the war made it imperative to

\textsuperscript{46} The Daily Sentinel, September 15, 1865.
\textsuperscript{47} The Daily Journal, December 19, 1866.
promote industry as well as agriculture. It was the opinion of the Daily Journal that pre-war poverty of the South was attributable to a lack of a balanced economy. The editor felt North Carolina to be an area most congenial to manufactures. The South no longer had a choice; the extinction of slavery made it necessary to manufacture.

"The few public spirited capitalists in the South, who have invested in manufactures have been amply rewarded. 'The harvest is plenteous, but the laborers few.'"48

The editor of the Western Democrat said in 1867 that "nothing can be more suicidal, in the present depressed condition of our beloved South, than to neglect our own manufactories, and run after foreign fabrics, in every way inferior. Will the Southern people never come to their senses and act wisely in this matter?"49

It was said that North Carolina must promote manufactures and move forward on the path of progress. The people of the state were urged to duplicate the efforts of those in other countries, and to encourage the mechanic arts. This editor concluded as follows:

"Let this Southern land and country once more rejoice in the superabundance of something to eat. Let the fearful cries of hunger and starvation once more be hushed and let our land be a land of plenty, yea a land of milk and honey, and then the manufacturer, the mechanic, the artisan, the skilled

48. Ibid., December 6, 1866.
49. The Western Democrat, April 16, 1867.
farmer, can come here. . . . Have we not coal, iron and copper ore, the precious metals, cotton, wool and all other material for manufacturing purposes in boundless extent, with water power unsurpassed, sufficient to turn the machinery of the world? . . . Fellow citizens and fellow farmers, think over these things and let us change our system to suit the times, and from our fall, the past and our present poverty learn real wisdom and progress.50

The Washington Chronicle advocated cotton manufacture in the South and the use of all its resources. It noted the progress made elsewhere and urged the Southerner never to fall into the delusion of making cotton cultivation his only activity.51 The newspapers of North Carolina took up the whole scheme of promoting cotton factories, their argument being that North Carolina should no longer pay an expensive tribute to the "Yankee for the privilege of bringing back our cotton in the form of pictured calicoes, realizing as he does enormous fortunes in the transformation."52

The Daily Journal listed the establishment of new factories. It was its opinion that one successful factory would produce more results than all the warm invitations that newspapers and others could extend.53 A Charlotte paper pointed out that manufacturing was a great wealth producer. It was the view of this editor that, except for oil and minor things, the manufacture of cotton would be entirely domestic—the country furnishing the material and labor, the

50. Ibid., March 24, 1868.
52. The Daily Journal, April 14, 1869.
53. Ibid., January 29, 1874.
factory paying wages, and the operatives and planters buying the products of the mill. This system would circulate money in the area of a factory and yearly increase the wealth of a community. 54

As a further advantage of manufacturing it was pointed out that factories would bring a reduction in taxes. The Charlotte Observer, as an example, printed an article showing evidence of this in Columbus, Georgia. In 1877 it was reported that the mills in Columbus were paying one-sixth of the state taxes paid in Muscogee County—$10,000; and one-twelfth of the city taxes collected—$7,765.37. "By the erection of these gigantic mills the taxes of the people have been greatly reduced and thousands of the people sustained." This was indicated as merely one example of how cotton mills were of benefit to the South. 55

The building of mills, it was said, gave promise of winning independence for the South, giving employment to maimed and destitute, and bringing back prosperity. After the war a group of planters joined to establish a cotton factory near Corinth, Mississippi, where they hoped to employ children in a nearby Confederate orphanage. Another factory had operatives that were mainly women and children left destitute by the war. 56 This was an oft-expressed advantage

54. The Southern Home, November 4, 1869.
55. Columbus (Ga.) Sun and Sentinel, cited in the Charlotte Observer, July 17, 1877.
56. The Daily Journal, November 4, 1869.
the cotton mills could bring—employment to those who had been reduced to want by the Civil War.

Newspapers in North Carolina were pleased by being able to report the establishment of new factories, pointing out that this indicated a bright future for the state as a manufacturing state. They ceaselessly indicated that the entire South had better water power, cheaper labor, more convenient supplies of cotton, and fewer expenses. Their efforts were certainly not in vain, for the number of cotton mills grew greater year by year. Every newspaper seemed to be pushing the people into the cotton manufacturing business. John B. Palmer was one of the South Carolinians most quoted as to the cost and profits of building cotton mills. The newspapers also revived the many pro-industrial speeches of Governor Hammond of South Carolina, who had made many speeches in the forties and fifties in support of manufactures. These were just as applicable in the 1870's as they had been in the 1840's.

In the seventies the tempo of promotion was increased. The great dividends paid by factories were published, and the public urged to invest their meagre funds in such profitable and patriotic institutions. It was claimed that the South had operating in 1870 169,772 spindles, as compared to some 5,848,477 in the North. However, the

57. The Southern Home, May 12, 1870.
58. Ibid.
Southern Home reported two years later there were only 150,000 spindles in the South, paying dividends from ten to twenty per cent on invested capital. This is typical of the divergence in contemporary opinion, and the difficulty of obtaining accurate information regarding the cotton textile industry of that period.

The New York Journal of Commerce stated that the South was adopting industrialism wholeheartedly. The Southern States, it said, were encouraging the development of manufacturing interests by exempting mills from taxation, in addition to promoting public subscriptions, and where mills were properly organized and managed great profits were made and high dividends paid.

In 1874 another financial journal listed the number of cotton mills, spindles, and cotton consumption in the various Southern States: "Alabama 16 mills, 57,594 spindles, 13,777 bales; Georgia 42 mills, 137,330 spindles, 39,920 bales; N. Carolina 30 mills, 55,498 spindles, 14,776 bales; S. Carolina 18 mills, 62,872 spindles, 15,376 bales; Tennessee 42 mills, 47,053 spindles, 13,518 bales; Virginia 10 mills, 56,490 spindles, 11,498 bales." The editor of the Charlotte Observer, citing these figures, was pleased by the showing made by North Carolina, but he was disappointed that the statistics indicated that the mills were small.

59. Ibid., October 18, 1872.
1872 the *Southern Home* had reported that there were 150,000 spindles operating in the South, but the foregoing report of 1874 listed almost three hundred per cent more—414,837 spindles, not taking into account Florida, Mississippi, or Louisiana.

The *New York World* reported on the rapid growth of the Southern cotton textile industry, stating that well-managed cotton mills were paying dividends from fifteen to twenty-five per cent annually. Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, it said, were the leading states in the production of cotton textiles. Various textile centers of these states were listed, with the comment that "many of these mills have been in operation since long before the war. Their stocks are among the very best in the South, and have stood the test of civil war and political troubles better than any other security." The prediction was made that within twenty-five years the majority of the cotton mills would be found in the cotton fields, with the South enjoying a monopoly of the manufacture of cotton in the United States.62

The *Baltimore Gazette* claimed that the panic of 1873 had affected the Northern mills seriously, and to keep in the competitive market they were selling and exporting goods "at the expense of impoverishing the operatives." The Fall River workers, it was reported, had struck in protest against a ten per cent wage reduction; the strike ended in failure.

and a second reduction of ten per cent was forced on them by the vindictive mill owners. 63

This depression retarded the slight flow of Northern capital into the Southern textile industry. It was noted, however, that Southerners were continuing to invest in and build extensive cotton factories.

The Philadelphia American called attention to the amazing recovery and growth of the Southern industry since the war, stating in an editorial that 41,530 spindles were added in the period from 1865 to 1870; and 134,189 more by 1876. This editorial further said that "the entire cotton region and all the states bordering it have entered upon this progress, and the profits of the mills have been so large and regular as to encourage further investments. But these appear to be heaviest in the purely cotton growing states, so that the cotton planters are finding an augmented home market for their crops in their own States." The losses incurred by the Civil War had been recovered, it was said, and in spite of the crash of 1873 and the resulting depression, the Southern cotton textile industry was rapidly growing. 64

In 1878 the tax collectors of the counties were asked to supply the North Carolina Secretary of State with a statement of the number of cotton mills, looms, and spindles.

This information was to be given to the National Cotton Exchange for publication. The Secretary of State concluded this letter by saying:

"'It is unnecessary to point out to you the importance to the South of developing her manufactures, by the introduction of fresh capital. To do this it is essential that accurate and reliable information should be obtained and transmitted to the world regarding those manufactures, and especially that of cotton, which may be said to form the mainstay of our section.'"65

Thus the movement toward the development of the industry was general throughout the Southern States. However, the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia seemed to be making the greatest progress in the post-war era, as they had previously done during ante-bellum decades.

The newspapers of North Carolina, almost from the beginning of the rise of a textile manufacturing interest, kept their readers informed of the opinions and growth of the industry in other Southern States, as well as those at home. Their foremost aim seemed to be keeping the issue of cotton factory construction before the public, and much of the information taken from other papers was printed with the calculated purpose of creating public opinion in favor of this industry. This purpose succeeded beyond their wildest dreams!

Conclusions

The evidence indicates that the cotton textile industry in North Carolina, and to a varying degree in the entire South, made considerable progress in the decades following 1830. There were several successful attempts to establish cotton factories in North Carolina in 1804, 1815, 1816, and 1825. The interest in this field was such that Hugh Williamson, writing his *History of North Carolina* in 1811, mentioned contemporary efforts made by a group of planters in the coastal region and by the Moravians at Salem.

These early attempts were unusual, as there was no conscious effort to promote this industry before 1827-1828. In their pattern of success, and in the evidence their owners were able to furnish the Fisher Committee, lies much of the value of these early efforts. This committee was appointed in 1827 to investigate the possibilities for the establishment of cotton and woolen factories in North Carolina. The publication of the Fisher Report in 1828 began a promotional movement for manufactures in North Carolina which has never ceased.

The result of this report was the incorporation of five
cotton mill companies, none of which produced any immediate results, but which in the following five years gave rise to the actual building of several cotton factories. The years were rare, after 1830, when at least one new cotton factory was not put into operation. By 1840 there was a minimum of twenty-five factories in operation in North Carolina.

Interest in the manufacturing system developed in the South as early as it did in New England. This interest developed only gradually, for reasons geographic, climatic, and economic. The three New England states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, which had the most extensive manufactures, possessed only 14,690 square miles of land area. Their total area was thus very limited and agriculture was handicapped by the thin, rocky, and unproductive soil. The three southeastern states, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which were to develop the most extensive interest in manufactures, had a total land area of 142,585 square miles. Furthermore, these lands were very fertile, and they were eminently suitable for the production of staple cash crops—tobacco, rice, cotton and sugar.

The growing season in New England was limited, while the Southern planter could rely on a growing season of from eight to ten months in length. The South, having a warm and moist climate with unlimited fertile lands, a sparse predominantly rural population, and cultivating products which had a constant world demand, was by natural law an
agricultural area. New England, with a much smaller land area, poor soil, a short growing season, and proportionally larger population of an urban character, was by nature a manufacturing region.

New England had at first become prosperous as a result of her commercial economy, but the loss of her valuable connections with the British Empire, the effects of the Franco-American Naval War, the Jeffersonian Embargo, and the War of 1812 had curtailed this field of investment. These states were thus forced to adopt and to develop rapidly an industrial economy, which would preserve their prosperity and give employment to their masses. The New England states also had the advantage of being on the main sea lanes from Europe, and their population was constantly being augmented by skilled and semi-skilled laborers.

North Carolina was too far north to be completely suited to the exclusive production of staple crops. As her population increased and the prices paid for her staple declined, the North Carolinian was faced with several possible remedies. He might move to the new rich lands of Alabama, Mississippi, or Texas; or he could turn to other economic pursuits—among which was the manufacture of cotton. These conditions were true to a lesser extent in South Carolina and Georgia.

The North Carolina Legislature, searching for a way to stem the tide of emigration and to promote prosperity, took
interest in the encouragement of cotton manufactures. By this expedient they could create a home market for cotton, give employment to many persons, cause the rise of towns and thus a market for the food products of the farmer, utilize the water power potential of the state, and provide an investment and income for capitalists. It was in this period of the 1830's that the Whig party arose as a dominant force in North Carolina politics. The Whigs promoted a progressive program on the state and national levels. In North Carolina they devoted their efforts to the encouragement of diversified agriculture, the establishment of public schools, the construction of roads and railroads, the improvement of port facilities, and the encouragement of home industries.

Governor John M. Morehead was one of the most notable examples of Whig leadership: he was a large planter; he owned the Leaksville Cotton Factory; he served as president and stockholder in the North Carolina Railroad; he developed Morehead City as a port; and he built and maintained the Edgeworth Female Seminary in Greensborough. Morehead was the prototype of a large group of progressive North Carolinians.

Each decade after 1830 showed an increased number of cotton factories in North Carolina. The depressions of 1837, 1857, and 1873 took small toll, although fires were responsible for the extinction of a few mills. Regardless
of the various retarding influences experienced by the manufacturers, they maintained their faith in this industry. There are excellent examples of North Carolina families who maintained an active interest through peace, war, and reconstruction. Most of these families occasionally lost mills because of depressions, or by fire of an accidental or military nature, but they continued their active participation in the expansion of the industry.

The industrial careers of these families and of many other individuals covered the whole evolutionary transition from the cotton field to the cotton mill in these fifty years. The pioneers of the textile industry lived to see sons and grandsons carrying on the family businesses or building mills of their own.

These mill builders were often criticized by their contemporaries, as well as by writers of today, for their varied interests; however, it was not unusual for a cotton factory to have many subsidiary enterprises connected closely with it. It has been said that these factories cannot be considered of importance because they were not cotton mills exclusively, but this is hardly reasonable considering

l. Some of the families were the Battles of Rocky Mount; the Holts of Alamance; the Leaks of Rockingham; the Moreheads of Leaksville; the Gwyns, Harpers, and Lenoirs of Caldwell; the Stowes of Gaston; the Fries of Salem; the Browers of Surry; the Griers of Mecklenburg; the Halls, Hoggs, Malletts, and McNeils of Cumberland; the Cannons and Nicelors of Cabarrus; the Newlins and Murrays of Alamance; the Webbs of Orange; the Coffins, Elliotts, and Marshes of Randolph.
the widespread interests of capitalists and corporations of today. They were in their way small corporations—the owners usually operated grist mills, cotton mills, saw mills, and distilleries; some even operated retail stores. If these were family businesses various members of the family managed the different activities. Often these enterprises constituted corporations with various stockholders or directors managing the factory, the mills, and other branches. Edwin Holt trained what would be called today junior executives, each of whom eventually took charge of one phase of the business, under the overall supervision of Holt.

These multifarious activities had certain definite advantages, acting as public services which drew customers to the factory. The retail store gave the owner an outlet in town or on the highway, and there he could trade his manufactures for other commodities which could later be disposed of in his store. Grain was ground into meal, flour, or made into whiskey; and timber was made into lumber. The manufacturers were men of great ability who could supervise these businesses and make considerable profit.

The experience gained by the workers and superintendents was to prove invaluable after the Civil War, when the demand for supervisory ability and trained labor was at a maximum. Although many cotton mills were worn out and a number destroyed by the events of the war, buildings and equipment were not irreplaceable, because the personnel who were able
to rebuild, manage, and operate these factories had survived the war. This is adequately shown, as mills were often rebuilt where they had before existed. Thus there was a supply of trained labor at hand to place new factories in operation. Once the demand outgrew this supply of unemployed operatives, the experienced workers were used to train the inexperienced.

There is no way to ascertain the specific number of people who were directly dependent on the cotton industry for their support. There was a minimum of seven hundred and fifty individuals who were stockholders in the various cotton mills from 1804 to 1880. These stockholders represented probably seven hundred families; since the average family in North Carolina in this period was five, a total of thirty-five hundred persons derived some part of their support from investments in cotton mills. The Fayetteville Observer reported in 1883 that the factories in Randolph County employed twelve hundred hands, "besides others who find connected work, so that some 4,000 or 5,000 are supported by these enterprises."2 Taking this estimate as a basis for further conjecture, there must have been five thousand people directly dependent on cotton mills. In 1850 the census reported 1,619 employees who probably gave support to about sixty-five hundred dependents. In 1860 there were 1,864 cotton mill operatives whose dependents

2. Fayetteville Observer, November 15, 1883.
were approximately nine thousand. Thus throughout the ante-bellum period some ten to twelve thousand persons were directly dependent, to some extent, on the cotton factories.

The little mill villages, and such textile centers as Fayetteville, supplied goods and services to the factories and their employees. Thus there were many merchants whose business came from mill owners and workers. The planters and the farmers in the neighborhood of cotton factories found a ready market for their cotton and food stuffs. There were also waggoners, trainmen, and boatmen who depended in some measure on the mills for a portion of their incomes.

The Southern States were far from being destitute of skilled laborers, and they most assuredly had men of long experience in the management of cotton factories. There is evidence of North Carolinians who, beginning as laborers in the mills before the war, rose to the ownership and management of their own factories. Two examples of this type of advancement were Mark Morgan, of the Laurel Hill Factory, and James O. Pickard, of the Naomi and Randleman Manufacturing Companies.

Cotton manufacturers who were scoffed at in the ante-bellum era had, on the eve of 1880, become, in the eyes of the public, practically omnipotent. They became the leaders of the post-war era and reached the zenith of success and public respect. They were able in many cases to rebuild mills that had been destroyed or whose machinery had been
worn out. The Battle family rebuilt the Rocky Mount Mill twice after the war, in 1867 and again in 1869.

In the ante-bellum period the industry had made gains in spite of the scarcity of capital, non-existent transportation, and depressions. In the period from 1804 to 1828 four cotton factories were put in operation, one of which went out of business before the latter date. From 1828 to 1839 thirty mills were projected or built. The census of 1840 reported twenty-five cotton factories operating in North Carolina. There were probably twenty-eight in operation, as not all were listed in the census. In the period from 1840 to 1849 twenty-six additional cotton mills were organized or put into operation. Omitting those which were not completed, and those which were destroyed, there were approximately forty-eight mills running in 1850. The cotton mill campaign was considerably relaxed in the 1850's, as conditions were not as propitious in this decade as in those preceding. In the ten-year period from 1850 to 1859 some fifteen new mills were organized, five never were completed beyond the planning stage, and two or three fell prey to the panic of 1857. Yet on the eve of the Civil War there were about fifty-five factories operating an estimated seventy thousand spindles.

During the turbulent war years the demand for yarn and cloth, and the great profits of the cotton industry, served as the impetus for the organization of ten more factories.
The blockade, and the lack of manufacturing facilities for producing the requisite machinery, made it almost impossible to secure equipment to open new factories. Three mills were actually built—George Brandt built the Enterprise Manufacturing Company at Fayetteville, Rufus Lenoir Patterson built the Wachovia Steam Cotton Mill at Salem, and the owners of the Richmond Manufacturing Company added a woolen factory to the cotton mill at Rockingham. The other seven were merely organized during the war although three of these were completed before the war began.

The war years produced many unusual developments which introduced problems for cotton manufacturers. There were Confederate and State efforts to introduce price controls, threatened seizure and operation of cotton factories due to the national emergency, military exemptions for essential operative and supervisory personnel, state financial aid for the expansion of indispensable industries, employment of state penitentiary inmates for the manufacture of scarce machinery, attacks on war profiteers, and efforts to extinguish black markets. The war had ended temporarily the existence of thirteen cotton factories. The closing and destruction of these factories reduced the number in operation to approximately forty-two in 1865.

From 1864 to 1865 there had been an effort to organize and build eighty-four cotton factories in North Carolina, and of this number seventy were actually built. Of those
built, some failed in depressions, others were burned, and a dozen were destroyed in the Civil War. However, over half the mills built in the ante-bellum period survived the war and provided a healthy nucleus for the post-war development of this industry.

In the post-war period it was no longer practical to invest heavily in lands, and slavery was gone; thus there was more time and money to devote to manufacturing interests. The phenomenal success of cotton factories in the Civil War awakened a great interest in this industry. With the overthrow of the slave system, the operation of large scale farming was no longer profitable; thus cotton factories offered a place for the profitable investment of capital. The leading newspapers of North Carolina devoted many columns to the promotion of this industry. The promotion of industrialization was not entirely unopposed; many of the leaders of the old agrarian regime dreamed of continuing the old system with coolie or other immigrant labor. They were able to indicate the disadvantages of industrial expansion, but they were voices unheeded in the post-war era, as the promoters had often been in the ante-bellum period.

In the sixties and seventies there were many protests against the lack of support given by banks in North Carolina. The banks were devoting their resources to farm loans at excessive rates of interest. This gave rise to the nefarious crop-lien system, the ills of the system of farm tenancy
and share-cropping, and general agricultural ills that have long plagued the South. Colonel Jasper Stowe, founder of the Stoweville Factory, became involved in a dispute over bank policies. He vigorously attacked finance capitalism and was branded a communist, a radical, and an agrarian. This is probably the only instance of a manufacturer being called a communist, for this sobriquet was seldom used in the South. This dispute arose in a day when the ferment of the agrarian protest was rising; the Grange even contemplated and attempted to organize a cotton mill to avoid the middle-men.

Newspapers indicated to prospective investors the advantages of the native white population for factory hands. These people, they said, were docile and untainted by European radicalism and communistic ideas, while the Northern laborers were organized in trade unions which were striking and committing destructive acts. These immigrants, it was claimed, were imbued with communism which was anti-Christian, anti-social, and unpatriotic. The newspapers pointed out that such a taint had not spread to the native American people of North Carolina, and it was their fervent hope that it never would. Thus the population of the state offered excellent sociological reasons for the construction of cotton mills.

There were few attempts to establish cotton factories by Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, for the industry had been originated by loyal Southerners; and in North Carolina, from
1804 to 1880, it was primarily promoted, financed, managed and operated by North Carolinians.

It seems clear that the growth of the cotton textile industry in North Carolina, and in the entire South, was an evolutionary process. It was a slow process, and was in 1880, and to a large extent today, a limited factor in an economy which is still primarily agrarian. The great achievement of the whole period was the development of a diversified economy—the aim of most of the promoters from the origin of the industry. North Carolina was the most progressive state throughout the whole era, if for no other reason than that of sheer necessity.

The efforts of Charles Fisher, in the promotion and building of cotton mills, appear Gargantuan in comparison with those of his contemporaries. He began a program which grew from year to year, decade after decade, until North Carolina ultimately became the leading producer of cotton textiles in this country. There was no sharp break in this movement in 1865, and no appreciable change in the leadership of this industry was made in the post-war era; it was merely augmented by others who were convinced of its importance by the success of those who had survived the crucible of war. Certainly the fact that the wealthiest man after the Civil War, in North Carolina, was a textile magnate is indicative of the significance of this industry.

North Carolina was far behind Massachusetts, the leading
textile manufacturing state, throughout the fifty year period from 1830 to 1880. In 1840 the census reported Massachusetts as having 278 cotton factories, 665,095 spindles, and a capital of $17,414,099 invested in this industry. North Carolina had 25 cotton mills, operating 47,934 spindles, and a total capital investment of $995,300. By 1880 Massachusetts possessed 206 cotton factories, 62,903 workers, and an invested capital of $74,118,801. North Carolina had 49 cotton mills, 3,232 employees, and a capital investment of $2,855,800. By 1920 North Carolina was second only to Massachusetts in the size of its textile industry, and by 1940 North Carolina was the leading textile manufacturing state in the Union.

In the years from 1866 through 1880 forty-seven cotton mills were projected and the majority of them successfully put into operation. Yet this fourteen-year period produced no greater growth than that from 1836 to 1850. There was a total of one hundred and twenty cotton mills projected in this fifty-year period. North Carolina made one of the most significant contributions to the development of industry in the South. This occurred before industrialism assumed its vital importance; and prepared for North Carolinians and Southerners a substitute for their century-old civilization, which was modified with the collapse in 1865.

APPENDICES
ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Made and entered into this 27th day of April 1816

Between

MICHAEL SHENK & ABSOLOM WARLICK

Of the County of Lincoln & State of North Carolina of the one part, and Michael Beam of the County and State aforesaid of the other part.

Witnesseth

That the said Michael Beam obliges himself to build for the said Shenk & Warlick within twelve months from this date, a spinning machine with one hundred and forty-four fliers, with three sets of flooted rollers the back set to be of wood, the other two sets to be of iron, the machine to be made in two frames with two sets of wheels, one carding machine, with two sets of cards to run two ropings, each to be one foot wide, with a plaking machine to be attached to it with as many saws as may be necessary to feed the carding machine, one roving machine with four heads. All of the above machinery to be completed in a workmanlike manner, and the said Beam is to board himself & find all the materials for the machine & set the machine going on a branch on Ab. Warlick's land, below where the old machine stood; the said Shenk & Warlick are to have the house for the machine, & running gears made at their expense, but the said Beam is to fix the whole machinery above described there to; the wooden cans for the roping & spinning & the real to be furnished by said Shenk & Warlick. All of the straps and bands necessary for the machinery to be furnished by said Shenk & Warlick. In consideration of which the said Shenk & Warlick are to pay the said Beam, the sum of thirteen hundred dollars as follows, to wit three hundred dollars this day two hundred dollars three months from this date, one hundred dollars six months from this date, and the balance of the thirteen hundred dollars, to be paid to the said M. Beam within twelve months after the said machine is started to spinning.—In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seals the day and year above written.

Test.

Absolom Warlick (Seal)
Michael Shenk (Seal)
Michael Beam (Seal)

Robt. Burton.
Appendix II


"On Tuesday, January 1, 1828 The Select Committee, to whom was referred the Resolution on the subject of Cotton and Woolen Manufactories, and on the growing of Wool in North Carolina, have had the same under consideration, and Report,

That the subject of the Resolution is one, which deeply concerns the citizens of this state, and is vitally connected with their best interest and prosperity. A crisis is at hand, when our citizens must turn a portion of their labor and enterprise into other channels of industry; otherwise poverty and ruin will fall on every class of our community. It is a lamentable fact, that the people of North Carolina are indebted to one another, and to the Banks, to an amount appalling to the mind, that looks to unfortunate consequences. According to recent statements, the debts due the local institutions alone, amount to $5,221,677; and, in the absence of data, that the debt due the U. States office at Fayetteville, will swell the amount to six millions of dollars. In addition to this, we esteem it a moderate calculation, that the people of North Carolina owe to merchants, to usurers, to note-shavers, and to one another in general, the further sum of five millions, making in all ten million of dollars. Many of these debts were contracted at a time, when a more prosperous state of things held out better prospects of easy and speedy payments; but the great fall in prices of agricultural products, has not only reduced the value of every species of property, but, as a consequence has in effect, doubled the debts of individuals.

Owing to the want of navigable streams in our state, leading to good marts, hitherto but few of our agricultural products would admit the expense of carrying to market. Cotton and Tobacco from the interior, are almost the only articles that will bear transportation, while rice and naval stores, on the seacoast, are the principal exports. When the prices of these articles were up, the farming interest

1. Legislative Papers of North Carolina, 1800-1860, Department of History and Archives, Raleigh, N. C.
of North Carolina presented something like the appearance of prosperity; but a great depression has taken place in their value, and at this time, they are scarcely worth producing. The loss of the West India Trade has lessened the demand for lumber. Tobacco is now taxed in British markets, more than 600 per cent. while the demand for cotton, our other great staple, does not keep pace with its increased production. Every year, new sources of supply, are opened in our own, and in other countries. Egypt, Greece, the British East India possessions, and South America, are all well adapted to the culture of the article. If the planter in North Carolina can barely afford to raise cotton at 8 cents per lb. he must soon be driven from its culture altogether, by the farmers of the west, whose new rich lands enable them to produce it with less labour and expense. Thus, while the exports of these, our great staples, have rapidly fallen off, our importations of various articles continue nearly the same, or at most do not diminish in a corresponding ratio with our exports. The consequence is, that the balance of trade against us, for several years past, has been greatly increased. To meet the debt created by this balance of trade, the notes of our banks are carried to northern cities, where they cease to perform the part of money, but like other merchantable commodities, are sold at a discount of 4 to 5 per cent. on their nominal value. The notes thus sent to the north, are soon returned on the bank, when another loss of 4 to 5 per cent. is sustained by these institutions in procuring such funds as will be taken by the northern holder. The annual tax thus paid to the northern cities, is by no means inconsiderable, and in its effects on the banks, and through them on the people, greatly add to the difficulties of the time.

The balance of trade against us, produces another state of things on the monied concerns of North Carolina, which threatens not only the ruin of our local institutions, but as an inevitable consequence, bankruptcy and distress throughout the community. The United States Bank at Fayetteville, receives in payments the notes of the local banks, but pays out none of her own. The consequence is, that nine-tenths of her issues are sent to the North, to meet the debt created by the balance of trade; while the debts due her, are always paid in local notes.

With all the materials and elements for manufacturing we annually expend millions in the purchase of articles manufactured in Europe and at the North, out of our own raw materials. While under this state of things, we have been growing poorer, the manufacturers have been growing rich. The individual who buys more than he sells, whose expenditure is greater than his income, sooner or later must reach the brink of poverty and bankruptcy. The remark is equally true as to a state or community.

In setting about to ameliorate our condition, the first step is to adopt some system that will enable us to buy less
and sell more,—that will enable us to supply within ourselves our own wants and necessities. And here, we remark, that in its effects on us, it is all the same, whether we buy from Europe, or the Northern States. Our trade with Europe is through the Northern Cities, and the profits of that trade, whether outward or inward, are mostly made at the North. But how is this important revolution to be accomplished?—We unhesitatingly answer—by introducing the manufacturing system into our own State, and fabricating, at least to the extent of our own wants. We go further. Instead of sending off at great expense of transportation, our raw material, convert it into fabrics at home, and in that state, bring it into market. In this way, our want of navigation will not be so severely felt, for it will cost no more to send off $40,000 worth of the fabric, than it will $10,000 of the raw material, and of course, the expense will be less felt as it will be divided among a larger amount.

North Carolina, during good crop years, is estimated to have shipped for the North and Europe, through her own ports and those of her sister states, at least, 80,000 bales of cotton. Eighty thousand bales, at $30 per bale, amounts to $2,400,000 in the raw state, when converted into fabrics, are increased in value four fold, which will make the sum of $9,600,000, or 7,200,000 more than we obtained for it.

Again—it is not thought extravagant to estimate, that the people of North Carolina annually consume, in cotton manufactures of various descriptions, one-fourth of the crop shipped from the state—equal to 20,000 bales. If so, then the manufacturers pay us for our 80,000 bales, by sending back, of our own raw material, 20,000 bales in the manufactured state, retaining for their trouble, and the use of "scientific power," the remaining 60,000 bales, which, when converted, according to the admitted rule, will bring them $7,200,000. Now if the raw material was wrought up among ourselves, this immense sum would be made by our own citizens, and would diffuse wealth and prosperity among all classes. As it is now, we lose it, and the profits are enjoyed by Old and New England.

But the profits arising from the process of converting the raw material, are not the only advantages attending the system. Another is, that it will take from agriculture some of the surplus labour, and turn it into other pursuits. It will convert producers into consumers, and thus create at home, in the bosom of the community, good markets for the products of the Farmer.

To a community having good water communication, these neighborhood markets are not so essential; but to North Carolina, which is without such means, their importance is incalculable. The introduction of the manufacturing system would give employment at home to our people, and arrest the tide of emigration, which is bearing off our population, our wealth and enterprise, and leaving those behind, poor and dispirited. It would build up flourishing villages in the
interior of our State, and improve not only the physical, but the moral and intellectual condition of our citizens. This is not speculation: the same causes, under similar circumstances, will always produce the same effects. Look to the North—visit their manufacturing villages and establishments, and you will find contented, happy and prospering people. By way of example, we point to the town of Lowell, in Massachusetts. Six years ago, its present site was unoccupied by the dwellings of man. Since manufactures have been there erected, a town has sprung up of neat and commodious buildings, with a population of 6,000 souls. There are several churches for public worship, and schools for the education of children. Look also to Waltham, to Taunton, to Manyuck, and to a hundred other places in the New England and Northern States, where this system is diffusing wealth and prosperity, and improving the moral condition of society.

But, it may be asked, are the circumstances of our State such as to render practicable the introduction of this system among us? We answer they are. The hand of nature itself seems to point out North Carolina as a region of country well adapted to manufactories. Cut off from the ocean by a sand bound coast, her rivers filled with shoals and obstructions along their whole extent, and their mouths inaccessible to large vessels, she can never be greatly commercial. On the other hand, her climate and soil are equal to those of any of her sister states, and she abounds with all the facilities necessary to the manufacturing arts.

The following may be considered as the elements indispensable for the building up and sustaining manufacturing establishments.

1. The raw material out of which the articles wanted, are fabricated.
2. The power necessary to give motion to the labour-saving machinery, employed in manufacturing.
3. Labour at prices which will afford profit.
5. Climate healthy and mild.
6. Skill and capital.

I. The Raw Material

Cotton. — The soil and climate of North Carolina, excepting the mountainous regions, are well adapted to the growth of this great staple; and for the past ten years, her exports of this crop as before stated, may be estimated at 80,000 bales. The quality of the staple has been pronounced, by some of the most skillful manufacturers at the North, to be equal or superior to any raised in the United States of the same species—that is, of the common short staple. The fibres are not so long, but in texture they are finer and more silky than further south or west. It seems to be a principle in Cotton to grow finer in staple as it goes North.
Thus, the Mexican Cotton, in its progress to the north, loses something in length, but makes up for it in fineness. The raw material, then, abounds in North Carolina, where it may be had, without the expense of transportation. The advantages of having the raw material on the spot, are much more important than at first may appear.—First, the expense of transportation is saved. This is equal, on the average, to 25 per cent. on the present prices, or to 2½ cents per lb. or $7.50 per bale, on all shipments, either to the North or Europe. Thus the 80,000 bales sent from North Carolina, cost for transportation $600,000, which would be saved, if manufactured on the spot. An establishment at Lowell, Paterson or Blackstone, consuming 500 bales, must pay annually for transportation, $3,750 which would be clear gain to a similar establishment in North Carolina.—Another advantage in our favor is, that the Cotton here would be delivered in the seed. Cotton taken from the gin is in the best state for spinning. Besides, we should save the bagging, roping and wastage—all of which, Mr. Donaldson of Fayetteville, estimates equal to ten per cent. in our favor... 

II. Water Power

Few States in the Union abound more in sites of Water Power than North Carolina. The shoals and falls in her primary and secondary Rivers, obstructing navigation; the small Rivers and large Creeks, all furnish never-failing supplies of the finest water power in America. Much of this power is found in that range of country where the cotton grows well, and is extensively cultivated; and high up, in the mountains, there is no limit to this power. It being thus abundant, it must forever remain cheap, while at the North it is dear. A water privilege, conveniently located at the North, with power to carry 5,000 spindles, is worth 12 or $15,000 often more; here, it may be had, in favorable situations, for one-tenth of that amount. Even in the eastern section of our State, this species of power may be commanded. When those extensive lakes, Mattamuskett and others, are drained, the canals drawing off the water, will furnish admirable sites for Mills and Manufacturing Establishments. Under the head of climate, we shall mention an important advantage which our streams have over those of the North. On the score of Power, then, we have all that can be desired.

III. Labour

It has hitherto been urged against the establishment of Manufactures in North Carolina, and in the Southern Country generally, that the price of labour is too high to yield profits, or to enable us to compete with the Northern States and England, where population is more dense. This is a great mistake. If it were so, when the price of cotton ranged from 15 to 20 cents per lb. it is certainly not so now, since the great fall in the price of it and other staples.

We have two species of labour—white Labour and black Labour. As to White Labour, we hazard nothing in saying,
that it is cheaper in North Carolina than it is either in England or at the north. The price of labour in England is regulated by the price of provisions and the onerous taxes imposed on the people. When these are considered, it is clear, that a common operator could not live in that country unless he received nearly double what is paid here. In England, veal is worth from 16 to 18 cents per lb.; beef from 14 to 16 cents; mutton from 12 to 14 cents; while other provisions in proportion.

Mr. Thomas Massey, a very intelligent Manufacturer, who has been for eighteen years engaged in the business, gives the following as the lowest prices ever known in his neighborhood, viz:

For boys and girls, under 12 years, per week $1.00
For do 15 do  $1.50
For do 18 do  $2.00

In the Flannel Factories at Amesbury, Massachusetts, the wages for females is 50 cents per day, and of males one dollar. The wages of girls of 14 years old at Lowell, average more than $1 a week and their board.

According to a statement taken from the Paterson Intelligencer, there are employed at the Paterson Factory, 381 men, 386 women and 686 girls and boys. The average wages of the whole is $152 per year, or nearly $3 per week.

Now let anyone compare these prices with similar labour in the interior of North Carolina, and he will at once come to the conclusion that labour is cheaper here than at the north. Indeed labourers of the South can always afford to take lower wages, as they require less fuel and clothing than in New England. The species of labour that has been high at the South, is that of male adults; while that of females and children, has always been low.

Mr. Donaldson, who owns a Cotton Factory at Fayetteville, and another at the Falls of Tar River—a gentleman who has visited the Northern Establishments and those of England, and who is well acquainted with the subject, gives it to the committee as his decided opinion, that Factory labour is cheaper here than either in Old or New England.

Black Labour.—But if this be the fact as to white labour, it is still more so when black labour is employed. We are aware, that the opinion is entertained at the north, and even by some persons among ourselves, that our slaves cannot be advantageously employed in Manufactory. 1st. Because, it is alleged, they are deficient in intellectual qualifications; and 2nd. because they have no moral principle.—Now, that the Northern Manufacturers should hold out these ideas, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that it is to their interest to do so; but that these notions should be entertained by any well informed persons acquainted with our black population, is strange indeed. What branch of Mechanics have we in our country, in which we do not find negroes often distinguished for their skill and ingenuity? In every place, we see them equalling
the best white mechanics.

But if evidence drawn from analogous pursuits be deemed insufficient, we offer proof in point. Mr. Donaldson, before mentioned, says, that he has been for some time in the habit of working blacks in his Factories, and that he not only finds them equal to whites in aptness to learn and skill to execute, but, that all things considered, he actually prefers them. Mr. D. further states, that he has had several Superintendents from the North, and all of them, with the exception of one, decidedly preferred black help, as they term it, to white.—With the blacks, there is no turning out for wages, and no time lost in visiting musters and other public exhibitions.

But one of the great advantages of black labour is, that you can attach it permanently to the establishment by purchase. The following calculations will shew the difference in cost between white and black labour:

We suppose a Factory is erected in New England, to be carried on for ten years, by white operatives.

Another is erected in North Carolina to be carried on for the same length of time by black operatives. Each of 1,000 spindles, and both conducted by good managers.

1. The one with white labour.

According to statements to be relied on, it requires 33 hands, large and small to carry on 1,000 spindles.

At the most moderate rates, the hands will cost per week $70. Or if paid at the end of the year.....$3,640.

The fact is, however, that the $70 is always paid at the end of each week, which, when the interest is carried forward to the end of the year, makes yearly, or altogether $109 more; but we will throw this aside, and state the sum of $3,640.

From the time of paying the first $3,640 to the end of the term of ten years, will be nine years; therefrom count the interest on that sum for nine years. On the payment of the wages for the 2nd year, count interest for eight years, on the wages for the 3rd year, add interest for seven years; and so on to the end of the ten years. When it will be ascertained, that the sum paid out for wages alone, with simple interest thereon, will amount to more than $46,000.

2. The establishment with black labour.

In place of hiring hands, we say let them be purchased, and we allow enough, when we estimate the hands of the right description may be had for 200 dollars each, on an average.

Instead of taking 33 operatives, the number employed in the white establishment, add one to eleven, making 36.—These supernumeraries are put in to make up for any loss of time on account of sickness or other causes. 36 slaves, at 200 dollars each is 7,200 dollars.

The next inquiry is, what will it cost per annum to clothe and feed these 36 blacks? Some very intelligent gentlemen, large owners of slaves, give it as their opinion, that slaves of this description can be decently clothed and
plentifully fed for 25 dollars each, which would make 850 dollars per year; but not to fall under the mark, the Committee estimate that the cost will be 1,000 dollars per year. To these sums should so be added, the wages of a Superintendent—say 500 dollars per year. These being the expenses of black labour, we wish now to compare it with the cost of the white labour of 33 hands.

The 33 whites we have seen will cost 3,640 dollars per year, or, in other words, their wages may be put down as worth 3,640 dollars.

Now 36 blacks, and 1 white superintendent, can certainly do as much work as 33 whites. We therefore put their labour down at the same price of 3,640 dollars.

Having thus ascertained the cost of black labour, and its value in wages, we proceed to make annual calculations during the term of ten years.

At the end of the first year.

Dr. To capital vested in purchase of slaves $7,200.00
To interest thereon for 12 months 432.00
Clothing and feeding slaves, 1st year 1,000.00
Wages to a white Superintendent 500.00

Cr. By what the same quantum of labor will cost, if performed by white operatives $3,640.00
$5,132.00

At the end of 2nd year.

Dr. To balance unpaid, as above $5,492.00
Interest thereon 329.52
Clothing and feeding blacks, and wages to Superintendent 1,500.00

Cr. By wages, as above $3,640.00
$3,881.52

At end of 3rd year.

Dr. To balance as above $3,681.52
Interest for twelve months 220.89
3rd item, as above 1,500.00

Cr. As above $3,640.00
$1,762.41

At end of 4th year.

Dr. To balance as above $1,762.41
Interest thereon 157.44
3rd item, as above 1,500.00

Cr. By wages, as above $3,640.00
$3,419.85

Thus, at the end of the fourth year, the capital invested in slaves, with interest regularly carried forward, will be paid off, and more than paid, by $220.15. Besides this,
The slaves have been well fed and clothed, and 500 dollars annually allowed, as wages to a white Superintendent. Now carry on this sum of 220.15, with interest, from the end of the fourth year, to the end of the term of 10 years, is $299.40 net wages of the fifth year, (after deducting 1,000 dollars for clothing and feeding, and 500 dollars for Superintendent) will be 2,140 dollars and interest to the end of term, $2,740.00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Net Wages, with Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>2,653.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>2,525.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>2,396.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>2,258.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>2,140.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus at the end of the term of 10 years the establishment carried on by white operatives has cost for labour alone $46,000. While the one carried on by blacks has paid the purchase money with interest, has fed and clothed the hands, has paid a Superintendent, and made a saving on the basis of white labour of $15,021.00.

In addition to this, the blacks are still on hand, and worth more than when first purchased. But, to be on the safe side, deduct for deaths and casualties 25 per cent. from the first cost, leaves 5,400 dollars.

That so far as regards wages of operatives, if you employ white labour, at the end of ten years you pay about 46,000 dollars.

If blacks are employed, you have the same labour, and at the end of ten years, actually save $15,021.00.

The two sums added together, 61,021 dollars, shows the difference between black and white labour for ten years, in an establishment of only 1,000 spindles. But there are many establishments of 5,000; of course, the difference would be in proportion, that is, 305,105 dollars.

To this add the item of transportation on the raw material for 10 years, on 500 bales, at $7.50, is $37,500.

Total difference in favor of black establishments, is $342,605.


The soil and climate of North Carolina are well suited to the production of all the necessaries of life depending on agriculture. In this respect it unites advantages over the States either further north or south. We occupy a sort of middle ground where the staples and products of the north and south meet in social proximity in the same rich fields. As we recede from the seaboard towards the western part of the State, we are constantly ascending, and it is known that climate depends as much on altitude as latitude. Thus, in the upper regions of the State, we have a climate and atmosphere well suited to the growth of all small grains and all the vegetables necessary for the comforts of life.

Indeed there is no part of the State where they do not grow well. Furnish but markets for articles of this description,
and they will soon be produced here in the greatest quantities and at the cheapest rates. The same may be said of butcher's meat, particularly beef and mutton. In a word then, so far as the manufacturing establishments depend upon supplies of provisions, abundant and cheap, North Carolina can furnish them.

5th. Climate healthy and mild.

The rigor of the New England climate is a drawback on the profits of manufacturing. 1st. It requires more fuel there to keep the establishments comfortable, and for the use of the operatives than here. 2nd. The operatives have to be more thickly and expensively clothed. And 3d. The streams often freeze up and stop operations altogether.

In North Carolina we have a milder climate; our streams but seldom freeze. In point of healthiness, the western section of the State is not inferior to any part of the Union; and when the swamps in the east are drained, the same may be anticipated of that section.

6th. Skill and Capital.

In these two requisites, North Carolina acknowledges her deficiency; but they are wants that can be supplied; they are elements that may be created. For skill we must in the beginning, be indebted to the North and to Europe, but let the system once take root among us, and experience will create skill at home. When manufactories were first introduced into New England, the want of knowledge and skill in the business was as much felt there, as we now feel it here. Indeed, they laboured under greater disadvantages than we do; for they had to import their Superintendents and mechanics from Europe, while we have them nearby at home. They found it difficult, owing to the laws of Great Britain, to get out from that country suitable and qualified persons; while we shall find no difficulty in procuring such persons from the North.

As to capital, owing to the pursuits of our people, it is hard to command here. The wealth of our citizens consists in property that is not easily converted into money; in lands and negroes. We can find among us few persons who are able to command either the whole, or a part of the funds necessary to put manufactories into operation; and, therefore, for capital as for skill, we must in some measure be dependent on the Northern States; and it is certain, when the monied and enterprising men of the North fully understand how profitably the business may be pursued here, they will be the first to embark in it. But if, from prejudice, or from want of knowledge of the superior advantages enjoyed here, should that not be the case, then there is yet a way by which capital in sufficient amount may be collected, to move forward the system. What one or two, of a few individuals cannot effect, may be accomplished by the union of many persons. Companies may be formed in every county of the State, composed of individuals, each contributing a small amount, which in the aggregate, will make sums
sufficient to carry through the object. It is a fact, well known, that the manufacturing system was first principally introduced and established in New England, by the means of incorporated companies. Thus, we see during a single session of the Massachusetts Legislature, that eight manufacturing companies were incorporated, some with large capitals, and in none of the States at the North are applications of this nature ever refused. The "London Magazine," in a very able article on the resources of our country, remarks on this subject: 'By what secret the Americans contrive to render concerns under the management of companies of this sort profitable, would be worth enquiring; for it is evident, from the gradual and continued growth of establishments of this kind, that they are not unprofitable. Seeing that they do prosper, companies of this description are of the highest importance in a country like America. Though wealth increase rapidly, it is also much subdivided, by the custom of equal partition of property among children, in a country where marriage is universal, and families are large. There are few large capitals; and the enterprises which require large capitals, if performed at all, must be performed by the union of small portions of wealth, which, in a saving and thriving country, must remain unemployed in the hands of the owners, unless employed by others for them.'

Another reason in favor of incorporation of this kind is, that in this way large capitals may be concentrated, and large capitals will build up large establishments. Large establishments always make greater profit than small ones; among other reasons, because they can afford to procure greater skill and better management. Thus, some few years ago, before the late protection, the Waltham Factory, which had an immense capital, divided 40 per cent. profits, while the smaller establishments complained of making nothing. To insure success in our State, therefore, the first establishment ought to be commenced on a scale of considerable extent, and then they could afford to procure the best managers that the Northern States can furnish.

We wish not by this remark, to convey the idea that small establishments cannot be made profitable. On the contrary, these are the ones that will do most to improve the general condition of the community.

The Committee have thus, at greater length than they could wish, presented their views on the policy of introducing the Manufacturing System into North Carolina. They firmly believe that it is the only course that will relieve our people from the evils that now so heavily press on them. We have nearly reached the lowest point of depression, and it is time for the reaction to begin. Our habits and prejudices are against manufacturing, but we must yield to the force of things, and profit by the indications of nature. The policy that resists the change, is unwise and suicidal. Nothing else can restore us.

Let the Manufacturing System but take root among us,
and it will soon flourish like a vigorous plant in its native soil: It will become our greatest means of wealth and prosperity; it will change the course of trade, and, in a great measure, make us independent of Europe and the North.

Nature has made us far more independent of them than they are of us. They can manufacture our raw material, but they cannot produce it. We can raise it and manufacture it too. Such are our superior advantages, that we may anticipate the time, when the manufactured articles of the South will be shipped North, and sold in their markets cheaper than their own fabrics, and when the course of trade and difference of exchange will turn in our favor. The Committee, at this time, are not aware that it is within the powers of this General Assembly, by any legislative act, to forward the introduction of the system into North Carolina. They however recommend the granting of acts of incorporation to companies for manufacturing purposes as often as suitable applications may be made.

All which is respectfully submitted,

CHARLES FISHER, Ch'm.
APPENDIX III

"Cotton Manufactures in the Old Atlantic Southern States. Their effects on the present state of agriculture, education, and the body politic. Their influence on foreign commerce, and the protective system of the United States. How they are to be introduced, the capital which will be necessary, and what class of men are to perform the work."

No. 1

'The subject of the embarrassed condition of that portion of the old Atlantic States engaged in the growth of cotton commerce is one of anxious inquiry with all classes of our community. It is a matter of the deepest concern to us in every point of view, and there is no question, at the present time, so full of interest to our whole community—none pregnant with such important consequences to every portion of society, as the changes in our industrial pursuits necessary to renovate our fortunes. The extraordinary progress of the growth of cotton has, it is well known, gone far ahead of consumption and this with other causes has reduced the value of our great staple to so low a point as to render it no longer a commodity to be relied on as a means of dependence in the old Atlantic States, particularly in sections where the land has been exhausted. Many attribute the whole cause to overproduction—others mainly to the protective system; and these are of course topics of absorbing and interesting comment, and with some, sources of a great deal of bitterness of party feeling. It is enough for those who do not busy themselves, to know the fact, that prices have gone down and are likely to remain so. To such, we think there is a subject of consideration far more important. That is, how the evil is to be permanently avoided! Were it possible to arrive at the truth, and demonstrate it to the conviction of every mind, that the evil has been produced by either the one or the other; or were it possible to arrive at the truth, to the fraction of a cent, how much of a depression is justly chargeable to the protective system, the question would still remain open as to the means to be used to obtain permanent relief.

1. Charleston Courier, cited in the Charlotte Journal, No. 1, August 29, 1845; No. 2, September 5, 1845; No. 3, September 12, 1845; No. 4, September 19, 1845.
If caused entirely by overproduction, any temporizing
measures on our part, such as efforts to form combinations
for the purpose of planting less cotton and in failure to
produce the desired results. If the cause of depression be
traced to the protective system either wholly or in part,
then prudence and sound policy dictates to us the propriety
of accompanying our endeavors to overthrow the protective
system, with efforts to produce such changes in our indus-
trial pursuits as to render us not only independent of those
who have fastened this evil upon us, but of the whole world,
for we will not find lasting relief in falling into the
embraces of old England. She has never been particularly
famed for liberality towards her dependents, but rather for
wielding an iron sceptre in taking care of the interests of
her own subjects. Indeed, independence at home is the only
source from which we may expect permanent relief. We may by
combinations of parties, and united efforts on the part of
our Southern statesmen procure a majority in Congress
sufficiently large to repeal, or very much modify the
present tariff, and we may be induced to entertain hopes
that the protective system will be wholly abandoned. But
such hopes we think will prove fallacious, for the changes
which may be brought about by combinations among the
politicians of the country although greatly aided by the
honest convictions produced by the eloquence of our states-
men, will lack the guarantee which independence at home will
alone give. The very next Congress which sits after the
repeal of the tariff, may restore it in a more aggravated
form than that in which it now exists. It then stands (us)
in hand, while our statesmen are battling the cause of free
trade in the halls of Congress, to be on the alert at home.
Let us see to it, that we do not continue a policy which
holds out the strongest inducements to our opponents to
adhere to their restrictive policy. Let us try to encourage
the investment of capital in all species of husbandry and
manufacture, which may promise us a supply of the prime
necessaries of life. Let our planters raise less cotton and
attend more to the rearing of stock and supplying themselves
with bread—we may in this way teach old Kentucky that we
can do without her horses, hemp, rope, and bagging cloth;
Ohio and Indiana that we can supply ourselves with mules,
beef, cattle, hogs, &c.; the State of Pennsylvania that we
can make our own iron; New York, Connecticut and Maine, that
we can raise our own hay, make our own butter and cheese; and
Massachusetts that we can, when hard pressed, supply our-
selves from our own granite quarries with stone for the
erection of our own buildings and the paving of our streets;
and New England in general, that the oppression which she
has heaped upon us, may by possibility drive us to investi-
gations which may lead us to the conclusion, that it is
our interest to employ our own poor people, instead of
theirs, to convert our native raw material into Cloths for
all the common domestic purposes of life.
And this will truly be backing our statesmen with demonstrations which will readily be understood by the constituents of their opponents. If over production be the cause of depressed prices, and we think it has been clearly shown by Governor Hammond, in his Agricultural address at Columbia, in November, 1841, to be a leading cause, and one which is likely to act injuriously for all times to come; then the mode of relief will be found in diverting a portion of our labor to other pursuits, diversifying it in such a manner as to avoid the embarrassments to which all countries are liable that place their reliance on one or two great staples.

And this leads us to the consideration of the best modes of diversifying and bringing into employment all the labor of our country, the judicious management of which is the only sure source of wealth. We think that the introduction of manufactures will be found to be the best means of effecting the object; and judging from the effects it has produced in other countries, we are led to hope that it will not fail to produce similar results with us. Unless the whole population of a country can find employment, it cannot reasonably be expected to thrive, and when we come to consider the fact that there is scarcely a branch of manufactures which would not be found to be adaptable to the labor of the poor white people now unemployed in our State, the proper direction of which could not fail to lead to wealth, it is a matter of surprise that we have not long since seriously considered the propriety of making strenuous efforts for their introduction. Labor is capital, but we seem not to be aware of it. Those who have heretofore directed the destinies of the State seem to have overlooked altogether the necessity of giving a proper direction to the labor of our poor white population, and to have passed entirely unnoticed the loss, in the scale of national wealth, which attends the idleness of the thousands within the borders of South Carolina not employed even in raising sufficient bread for themselves. The appropriation annually made by our legislature for our school fund, everyone must be aware, as far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money, and all efforts to adopt a more successful system have failed, and while we are aware that the Northern and Eastern States find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are nearly ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school, notwithstanding it could be done without a cent of expense. It has always been a subject of anxious inquiry with many persons, how the condition of this class of persons could be ameliorated. Many have exhausted their wits in devising schemes for the better regulating our school fund, but none have yet been able to fathom the mystery which has hitherto attended our failure.
We have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened our convictions, that the evil exists in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things, could barely pass through our country without being struck with the fact, that all the capital, enterprise and intelligence, is employed in directing slave labor, and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a State, but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a great change in public sentiment, will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent— they must be stimulated to mental life; and this we may believe may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures, where there seems to be no other employment so well calculated to induce them to habits of industry. It is believed that there is not a population in any country that could be more readily brought into such employments, and when the wheels are once set in motion, there can be but little doubt that we will see talents springing up from amongst these people, that our State will be justly proud of their efforts, if well directed, will soon lift the curtain and unfold to the world our boundless source of wealth, which will bring us floods of Artisans, Mechanical and Agricultural emigrants from all parts of the globe, to mingle with and assist us in renovating our fortunes. One of the natural results of the change will be a home market for such agricultural products as our planters may be induced to raise instead of cotton. Another would be, lucrative employments to the scores of young men now around us, who would willingly work if employment befitting their education and early habits of life could be procured. But really when we come to look around us for employment for a well educated young man, who has not been reared to the mechanical trade, we find that we meet with great embarrassments. If he is not very expert as a bookkeeper, or as a salesman in a store, there will be great difficulty in procuring a situation where a mere living may be earned; take away that alternative, and what resource is left but that of taking a situation by the side of a negro in a corn or cotton field. And it is but little better with the young mechanic, if he has the ambition that every young man ought to possess, he will expect to establish himself in his profession; and to do so he has to contend against the general lack of building spirits which pervades our town and country. I have had occasion recently to hear many heart rending stories from the young men of the city, for since the spirit of manufacturing has sprung up among us, many desponding young men have been cheered up with the fond hope that they will not be forced to hie themselves from their native State, and leave behind relatives, friends and everything that is dear. Many an earnest inquiry has been made of me as to the
probability of the introduction of manufactures and consequent resuscitation of the business of our State; and would to God I could give assurances that such was to be the case for I feel well convinced, that if some radical change does not take place, our city will continue to do what she has been doing for many years past, furnish 2500 to 3000 emigrants to people other States and Cities.

If the protective system is the cause of the depressed price of our great staple, cotton, and it cannot be denied that this and overproduction are both causes working against us, the surest means of effecting a repeal will be found in rendering ourselves independent of, and no longer customers to those whose avarice has induced to fasten the system upon us.

No. 2

We will open the subject again by a quotation from the address of Governor Hammond, before alluded to.

'But it is vain to lament what Providence seems to have decreed. As it would be to expect to avert it, by closing our eyes upon the fact and indulging in the short and foolish happiness of wilful blindness. We have no alternative but to prepare to meet the difficulties which await us. If my fears may indeed have magnified the danger, we can lose nothing, at all events, by a serious consideration of the facts I have presented, and an immediate and earnest inquiry into the resources we possess, and of which we can avail ourselves, in case of need.'

Again—

'Next to a short staple of cotton, and perhaps hardware, and not far behind either, leather is the most important article of traffic. The consumption of the various branches of its manufacture in South Carolina cannot fall short of two and a half millions of dollars, and it is probable that four fifths of this sum goes abroad for the purchase of it. We can now furnish almost an adequate supply of the raw hides for this consumption, and in a few years will furnish vastly more. The chief materials for tanning are everywhere at hand, and the process is one of the most simple in the whole range of useful arts. Nor is that of manufacturing a large portion of the articles into which it is made for our use, much more difficult. But the leather once prepared in sufficient quantities, we should soon find abundant of the best mechanics on the spot and thus save to ourselves the whole sum. But it is not only by the amount of money which would be saved to us by making and manufacturing our own leather, or by cotton factories or iron works, nor even by foreign commerce, they might ultimately give us, that we should be benefited. Although it is a false principle in legislation that manufacturing should be forced upon a country by protecting duties injurious to other interests, there cannot be a doubt that where it grows up spontaneously, it is a great blessing. It makes an immense difference in
the prosperity of any people, and especially of an agri-
cultural people, whether their workshops are at home or are
in other countries. Not only are they freed from heavy
taxation in the shape of commissions, freights and tariffs,
but the mechanic classes are valuable consumers of agri-
cultural produce. They consume, too, the productions of one
another. They add vastly to the nerve and sinew of the body
politic. And when united in the same community with a class
of industrious and enlightened agriculturalists, they
continually enrich and strengthen one another. It is this
union which has made Great Britain what she is, and will, I
trust, at no distant duture, shed its happy influence over
the Southern country.

But we might convert our surplus corn and grain into
livestock as well as any people in the world, and thus keep
at home immense sums which are annually drawn from us in
exchange for horses, mules, cattle, hogs, sheep, and even
poultry. Our climate has not been found too warm for any
species of domestic animal. English cattle and sheep, as
well as English horses, flourish even on our sea-board, and
our mild winters enable us to keep all kinds of stock at
comparatively little expense for either food or shelter. Our
swamps are covered with natural and nutritious evergreens;
most artificial grasses have been found to succeed; while
among our own diversified productions, we have substitutes
which render them scarcely necessary. Carrots, beets, and
turnips, all do well. Pindars and sweet potatoes, more
valuable perhaps for stock than these, are peculiarly our
products. With these two articles, the luxuriant cow-pea,
and the common grains, we can, for 9 months in the year,
furnish, at a cheap rate, the richest and most abundant
pasturage; and what country can do more? Indeed, in raising
hogs, could we find a foreign market, or had we large cities
or numerous factories among us to afford non-producing
consumers, we would do a business not at all less profitable
than growing cotton at 12½ cents a pound. With tolerable
pasturage a hog weighing 200 lbs., nett, may be reared and
fattened on 8 bushels of corn. On average land, 300 bushels
to each hand and horse, would not be more than a fair crop—
100 bushels will feed the hand and horse leaving 200 bushels
surplus. With this, 25 hogs weighing 5000 lbs. nett, may be
raised. At 4 cents per lb. for this pork, or 6 cents when
converted into bacon, the gross income per hand will be
$200. While 1200 lbs. of cotton at 12½ cts., will bring only
$150 gross; thus enabling us to make a very liberal
allowance for the trouble of attending to the stock, and any
errors there may be in the calculation. That we should under
these circumstances, ever purchase meat from other States,
proves, I think, that there has been some want both of
reflection and experiment. Yet for this article, and other
kinds of provisions, and for mules and horses, it is pretty
certain that we send away annually in the aggregate the
immense sum of $2,000,000 or more.'
The present situation of the Carolinas and Georgia is not unlike the state of things which existed in a large portion of Pennsylvania, New York and the New England States thirty years ago, with this difference, that we are far better off in point of climate and soil. About the commencement of the last war those States were suffering under a depleting emigration of population, caused principally by the embarrassment of an exhausted soil. They were indeed regarded by many to be worn out countries, not worth the labor necessary to resuscitate them. That class of men (Which is always a large one) who preferred sticking to the destinies of the land of their birth, labored under many disadvantages. They saw very clearly they could not afford to bestow half their labor to resuscitation, and then successfully meet the competition which was rapidly springing up, in the opening and bringing into cultivation the rich lands of the northwest. They saw clearly that a competition in foreign markets, with these new and inexhaustible lands, could not be maintained except at the expenses of poverty and depopulation. They saw clearly that a home market for their agricultural products was the only hope on which they could rely, and that this could only be produced by such a diversity of pursuits as would give them a consuming population engaged profitably in other than agricultural pursuits, and these considerations led to the introduction of manufactures. And everyone at all conversant with the history of our country must be aware, that with the introduction of manufactures, and cotton the principle one, commenced a change which had made a garden spot of the whole country. The old worn out fields have been renewed and made to produce four-fold to what they did in their virgin state, the barren ridges and the stony mountains have been enriched and put into profitable cultivation, and the whole country may be said literally to groan under the weight of the richest products of nature. Every inhabitant in a land of universal prosperity, inhabited by the happiest people to be found on the globe. And we believe that the same change would produce the same results with us, and that it is little better than madness to entertain a hope that we may become a more prosperous people than we are now without many radical changes in our habits, investments of capital and industrial pursuits.

Although cotton is one of the greatest staples in the world, and has hitherto yielded a greater profit to the labor bestowed on its culture than any known commodity, its production is only in its infancy. The world seems only recently to have discovered the immense profit which may be derived from its culture on the best soils; and having now made the discovery, it is not unreasonable to suppose that prices will be kept so low, as to bring its profits on a level with other agricultural products. Many suppose that land congenial to the cotton plant, will not be found to keep pace with the rapidly increasing consumption. But we
think the spread of civilization will open new countries to its growth, and that over production and consequent low prices, will be the only causes to check its rapid advance. In 1824 and 1825 the crop of the U. States was 507,000 bales and we distinctly recollect that it was then predicted that an increase of consumption to double this quantity could not be supplied without putting nearly, if not all, of our land in the cotton growing regions into requisition, and that the consequences would be higher prices than had ever been previously known. In 1834 and 1835 the crop was 1,254,000; in 1844 and 1845, 2,400,000; and a similar ratio of advance for the next ten or fifteen years will only be prevented by prices ranging lower than they have even for the past year. Recent events have shown most clearly that this is to be the course of things in the future, for the slightest advance in the price of cotton has invariably had the tendency to shorten consumption, and it must be evident that the exhausted lands of South Carolina cannot long hold a successful competition with the rich and virgin soils of the Western States in the production of cotton or any other agricultural articles except rice. It then becomes us to look about in sober earnest to ascertain what changes can be made to avert the evils which seem to threaten us. To remain as we are, purchasers of everything and sellers of nothing but cotton and rice, unless prices range higher than the nature of circumstances will justly allow us to expect, must lead to poverty and dependence, depletion of population and capital. And to those who are not intentionally blind, we think it must be apparent, that an agricultural laborer engaged in the growth of cotton in South Carolina will not be able to hold a successful competition with the same species of labor in the South-west, and certainly not with the manufacturing operatives of New England or any other country. The one is all hard work, while the aid of machinery gives to each person in the other, an equivalent to thirty hands. We think it has been shown in a recent publication that the manufacture of Yarn, and all the coarsest cotton fabrics, may be successfully conducted in South Carolina, not only to the supplying of all our domestic wants, but to the exporting large quantities. And we believe most sincerely that this branch of manufactures once fully introduced would be a nucleus which would bring around it all other branches of manufactures necessary to supply us with the common articles of every day home consumption. And it certainly cannot fail to be the means of producing a great and happy change in the agriculture of our shameful deficiency in these particulars. It would scarcely be believed in any other country, were we to tell the story that we have not such a thing as a hatter's shop in the good city of Charleston, for one might look in vain for the smallest village in any of the Eastern States, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana or Kentucky, that had not one or more establishments of this kind where hats are made and
repaired. There are no hats imported into Kentucky, they are all made at home and principally with negro labor. Yet strange to say such a thing as a hat maker's shop cannot be found in our city; neither is there one in Columbia; and we believe that it would be difficult to find one in the State of South Carolina. It is not quite so bad in the article of leather, shoes, saddlery, harness, &c., for we do not attempt these branches to a small way, but there is a vast amount of money sent abroad by us annually for these articles, which could and ought to be saved to the State. From the sea-board to the mountains you will scarcely find a pair of bridle reins that are not of Yankee manufacture purchased with cash, including in the cost, the various charges incident to their passage from that country to this, and withal, loaded with the profits of some half dozen merchants whose hands they have passed through; when, if things were as they should be, the purchaser, if a farmer, would have obtained the side of leather from which they are made by the exchange of a few bushels of grain, taken for the domestic supply of his neighbor, the tanner; and through the course of things the consumer would seldom fail to receive a much more durable article, for it is a fact well known to those who tan and deal in leather, that the Southern tanned leather of superior quality, finds a better market in the Northern cities than is afforded here; it is there made into shoes for domestic use. Those who purchase it make shoes and sell them directly to the wearer, and are not ignorant of the advantages of retaining the beat at home for their own domestic consumption.

Paper is another article which should by all means be made in our State. Instead of this, however, a great portion of these articles consumed by us is now imported into South Carolina, and many of our rags are swept into the gutters, and with our waste cotton, large quantities are annually swept into our docks and serve no better purpose than to rot there and generate fever. The rags of our interior towns are generally thrown away, and it is not until recently that this large city has had a rag merchant, and much to the credit of this individual, who has become a resident and owner of real estate in our city, he has added his mite, in an honest way to the saving of very considerable sums to our State, if there is a possibility of ascertaining how much this city has lost on the rags and waste cotton which have been thrown away, it is thought, we would not have to date far back to multiply a sum which would pay for paving with stone all the streets in Charleston.

Among the articles are straw, palm leaf and chip hats and bonnets, although an article insignificant in appearance, yet a source of considerable revenue where they are manufactured. We could not but notice in passing through the interior of New England, that almost every country store kept palm leaf for sale, and wagons were constantly met passing the road loaded with this article, which is given out by
the merchant to the country-women, to make up into hats and bonnets, for which they pay according to pattern—4, 6, 8, 10 and 12 cents each. Sometimes the raw material is sold and the hats and bonnets purchased in turn when made up. And this affords employment to nearly every woman and child down to 5 years of age, and so the visiting and idle hours are filled up. And be assured the reflection was most impressively forced upon us—what a happy thing it would be could our poor sand hill people have such means of feeding, clothing and educating themselves?

Corn brooms is another article, which although apparently not worth naming, takes from us many thousands of dollars annually; and we have all over the state the best material for the manufacture of this article. They are to be sure made in limited quantities in different parts of the State, but of inferior quality and finish—the northern people with the aid of machinery, are to make a much more handsome article for half the money. Hence they are to be found in common use in almost every cabin in our State. It is not an uncommon thing to see men at work in the interior of this State, in this branch of business, who have been engaged at it all their lives, with the use of a few other tools than the saw and drawing knife, while in New England, the operation is performed by water-power and machinery, the manufacturer, and all his children, boys and girls, assisting; and he is enabled by the machinery to make a much more perfect article, and five times the quantity per hand.

Wagons, cars, and wheelbarrows are also made by machinery at the North, imported here and cost this State large sums of money. Many other articles of equal importance could be named, if time and space would permit. In our next we will speak of one or two, the manufacture of all of which would follow in the wake of cotton manufacturers. The rearing and manufacturing of silk would no doubt grow into an important branch of business, and add to the many other sources of creating and saving money, and population, and the latter not by any means the least important, for it is known to us all that every flood of prosperity which comes along, carries with it from our State, if we may be allowed the expression, rafts of our most enterprising planters with their scores of negroes, and the ready money necessary to purchase new lands and settle them.

No. 3

It would take a volume to enumerate all the articles of daily consumption which we ought to produce among ourselves; but at the risk of being tedious, I will only yet allude to the article of fruit, which, although it may cost us a smaller expenditure than many other articles which could be named; yet it is a very considerable source of expense, and why is it that in this most congenial climate for such delicacies we have not undertaken the growth of choice
fruits, the culture of which has marked the advance of civilization in all ages; and which has now become almost an indispensible luxury with the whole civilized world? There is certainly nothing which marks so plainly the advance of a country in the scale of human happiness, as her orchards of choice fruit; and in passing through the States of South Carolina and Georgia, there is nothing which strikes the eye of a stranger with such force—nothing which makes such an indelible impression on his mind, as the wholly neglected state of this part of our husbandry; and may not the whole of it be charged to the thirst for making more cotton, to purchase more negroes—and then again to raise more cotton, to purchase more negroes, and we might as well finish the sentence by adding to go to Mississippi or Texas, where more cotton can be raised to the hand.

It is a well known fact that all the stone fruits grow in the middle and upper parts of our State in the greatest profusion and perfection—that it is only necessary to scatter the seeds in the fence corners to produce fruit for two generations, and with all this we see these delicious fruits almost wholly neglected. You may find many men in very easy circumstances who have lived from youth to old age on a farm, without rearing a half dozen peach trees—many planters making their fifty bales of cotton, without a fruit tree, except now and then a seedling which has been by chance permitted to grow. In contrast with this, we see persons in Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey planting large peach orchards, knowing at the same time that the average duration of a peach tree is but five years, and that at best, but three crops can be gathered from a tree before it dies; still, notwithstanding this great barrier to success, large fortunes are made by the operation; and were it not for the perishable nature of this fruit, there can be no doubt that these very men would now be furnishing the Charleston market with peaches. And why is it that our enterprising suburban vegetable farmers have not undertaken this branch of business on a large scale? They have done themselves much credit in driving from our markets the culinary vegetables that were formerly brought here in large quantities from the north and turned the tables by furnishing the northern cities with early potatoes, peas, cabbages, tomatoes, cucumbers, melons, &c., and in this they have done more for the State than all the commercial conventions that ever have met or ever will assemble. There is no doubt but a few individuals by making a bold step would create a great revolution in this particular, and that means would be soon found to destroy the insect which has heretofore disappointed us in successfully cultivating the stone fruits. Such an undertaking would soon be followed by orchards flourishing along our lines of Rail Road.

Why is it that our markets are not regularly supplied with fruit raised on our soil? The reason we apprehend, is, that it is sold too high—yes, it is actually so dear an
article in the Charleston market that those who are in the daily habit of vending agricultural supplies are deterred from undertaking this most profitable branch of husbandry, and we think the reason will be seen in the sequel.

In passing through the Northern States and viewing their towns and villages, the first objects that arrest the eye of the stranger are the innumerable orchards and the immense quantity of fruit brought to the markets. The question which he is constantly asking himself is, where can all this fruit find customers? This can only be solved by observing the market carts and the baskets of the citizens returning to their homes laden, invariably, in part with fruit. Go into the hotels, boarding houses, and gentleman's mansion or peasant's hut, into the prisons and alms-houses, you find fruit not only a luxury but a seeming necessity of life. You will hardly find a table which is not supplied with fruit morning, noon and night. Pastry cooks, preservers and confectioners, in fact every matron in the country is busying herself during fruit season in the various modes of its preservation. In the town of Wilmington, Delaware, containing a population of about 10,000 it is not an uncommon thing to sell 500 bushels of peaches in one market day. They are furnished so cheaply that every man, woman and child is a regular customer, and fruit may be said to have become prime articles of necessity, and although sold for from 40 to 50 cents per bushel, so well is the grower paid, that large investments are made in the business, and those who are engaged in it are traversing the world for choice varieties of fruits. One individual near Wilmington, Del., realized from his peach orchards last summer the sum of $22,000.

And how is it with us in Charleston? With a population of 40,000 persons I have known the market actually glutted with ten barrels of peaches. A wagon load of fruit may come in at times and meet a ready market at handsome prices, at other times the same may not pay for hauling. Speak to a farmer about supplying our market and he will tell you at once, to plant an orchard in our vicinity would overstock the market, and be wholly destructive of profits. The fact is that our markets are so irregularly supplied with the fruits which are congenial to our climate and soil, that they are sold so high as to forbid their becoming articles of general consumption. At this time to purchase very ordinary pears for making a single dessert for an ordinary sized family will cost about 50 cents, and so with nearly all our fruits. The consequence is that a large portion of our community are not regular consumers of this the greatest of luxuries of life, and the tables of the more wealthy are supplied from the Northern States and the West Indies; and in fact every thing but the delicious fruits which may be produced by our own soil.

Many persons entertain the belief that the growth of
apples is not suited to our climate—is a mistake. In former
days Columbia and Augusta were supplied with Northern apples,
but of recent years North Carolina has taken the trade, and
furnishes apples far superior in quality, and which keep as
well in winter, and there is no good reason why the same
should not be undertaken in the upper and middle districts
of our State, and that our Rail Road Company should not look
to this as promising a source of considerable revenue at some
future day.

Aside from the considerable embarrassments which must
attend the strictly and exclusively agricultural country, in
droughts, commercial convulsions and combinations, tariffs,
&c., if we but look at the vast difference in productiveness
between the mechanic or factory operative and agricultural
laborer, we will be led at once to the conclusion that every
country should have the work shops at home which supply her
with all the actual necessities of life, and to suppose, as
many do, that the species of independence would cripple
commerce, is to indulge in absurdities not tenable with
argument. The greater the diversity of pursuits, generally
speaking, the greater the prosperity of a country, and
prosperity never fails to stimulate commerce; hence it will
be seen that countries which seemingly manufacture every
article which can administer to the comfort and luxury of
man, have the widest spread commerce. One would suppose that
the manufactures of France might suffice to supply the wants
of a Parisian, yet we find him indulging his fancy on the
purchase of the costly fabrics of London, Roman, Genevan
and Chinese work shops, and so with the fashionable of
London. They are not satisfied with the beautiful fabrics of
England, but must be arrayed in the contraband articles
smuggled from France. We see this most clearly exemplified
in New England, wherever one would suppose ships are found
traversing every known sea, and from her mountains to the
sea-board you will not find a peasant who is not indulging
in articles of finery or luxury from the remotest parts of
the globe, and that country may in truth be said to be
literally alive with commerce. To illustrate the difference
of productiveness between the agricultural and manufacturing
laborer, and showing the bearing which such has in the
various ramifications alluded to, 'Domestic Industry, or an
inquiry into the expediency of establishing manufactures in
South Carolina,' and select for our purpose the Lowell Mill,
which belongs to a company, having a capital of $600,000,
engaged in business. They own a mill for the manufacture of
carpets, one also for woollen linseys, and a cotton factory
of 5,000 spindles engaged in making osnaburgs. As these
establishments with their appurtenances, cost $600,000, it
would probably be but fair to estimate the cotton mill at
$200,000; but, least we undershoot the mark, we will put it
at $300,000—one-half the capital of the company, who have,
as above stated three mills, and they are all located in one
yard. It appears that in this mill they employ 175 hands, whose wages collectively amount to $35,867 per annum, which is about $200 to each person. The difference between the cost of the raw material, supposing it to be purchased in So. Carolina, and the amount for which it seems the goods were sold, amounted to $210,663; from this take the sum paid for wages, $35,867. The dividends paid on capital, the average of which, for ten years, as will appear in the appendix, is 9 per cent. per annum, say $27,000, and you will have left $152,196, which is of course expended in the various ramifications of conducting the business, and goes to compensate the various classes of persons which are, of necessity, drawn around such an establishment. This sum, you will perceive, gives employment to 765 persons, at $200 each per ann., or 4 37/100 persons to each factory operative.

Taking another view of the subject by the same statement you will perceive that after deducting 9 per cent. interest for capital employed by the owners in conducting the business, say $27,000, there will be left the sum of $192,003, equal to $1,098 to the hand, produced by the aid of water-power and machinery, and this sum leaves an excess, after paying ample wages to the operatives, to afford all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, the sum of $153,198 to be expended in the community around such an establishment, and although it would be extremely difficult to trace out the various sources through which this sum becomes divided in a community, yet it explains at once why a cotton factory of 5,000 spindles, employing 175 hands, never fails to bring up a fillage around it, and give an impetus to a high state of agriculture to a large circle of country in its vicinity. Had we such an establishment on either branch of our Rail Road, Charleston would receive a large share of this sum which would be made in our State. The Rail Road Company would receive an accession to her business of at least $10,000 per annum, for the regular business of such an establishment in the transport of raw material, manufactured goods, machinery, agricultural and merchantile supplies, could not fall short of $6,000. The transit of owners, visitors on business with either those engaged in the factory, or those drawn around it in other pursuits, together with those who visit for pleasure, and the mechanics and operatives going to and fro, would in all probability produce full four thousand more. And how will this state of things compare with agricultural pursuits unaided by a home market,—such labor engaged in the culture of cotton in this State, may be estimated to produce an average of 3 bales or 1200 lbs. to the hand, worth not more than $70; it is true he makes more provisions than he consumes, but the cotton is the only marketable article which is produced, and when sold you have to deduct the cost of bagging and rope, which is necessary to prepare for market, the hire of the operative, of the interest of his cost, the interest on the land which he tills, the mule and agricultural implements which he uses.
You then have to clothe him, and the balance will be the sum left to support the community around him. In speaking of the innumerable sources of profitable employment which a cotton factory of necessity gives, this very occupation of cotton growing will be enhanced by it, and when we shall have such establishments scattered throughout our State, and God speed the day, how much good will be done in giving employment to the young men now to be found in throngs about our towns and villages with little else to do than smoke cigars of whittle with their knives.

In New England the manufacturers turn into coarse cloth from 10 to 24 bales of cotton, 345 lbs. to the hand, per annum, and the labor costs from 2½ to 5 cents per lb. according to the fineness or weight of the cloth. The experience of manufacturers of South Carolina have proven that the same may be done here with equal facility. We have now in our possession several monthly returns from cotton factories in this State, shewing the cost of all the labor attending the operation of converting raw cotton into cloth to be 2 3/10 to 2 3/4 cts. per lb., and yarn from 1 3/4 to 2 cts. and these statements include all the labor from opening the bale of raw cotton to delivering the bales of yarn and cloth into the wagon at the factory door, including the pay of machinest and night watch, in fact all the indoor expense attending the operation, these establishments are in an improving condition and the proprietors are confident of being able in future to produce still better results. One of them, a small establishment, produced in four weeks, ending May 31st, 10,550 lbs. of yarn and 19,267 lbs. of 28,533 yards of cloth, the cotton cost 5½, cloth sold for 8½ cts. per yard of 17 cts. per lb. the yarn for 15 and 18 cts. per lb. the latter principally in New York.

These statements are authentic and we think are such as ought to carry conviction to the minds of all, of the perfect practicability of conducting this branch of business in South Carolina. The establishments from which these statements were made, are on a small scale, and of course cannot work to the same advantage which larger ones would be expected to do. Their results, however, show most conclusively that larger ones, put up with all the improvements of the age, would defy competition from any quarter. Can anyone doubt, who believes these statements, that capital will pay remunerable interest if judiciously invested in cotton manufacturing in South Carolina? Will men who have sense enough to make money in any other pursuits, doubt their ability to make a judicious investment in machinery for this purpose? To harbor such doubts, is little better than locking up gold and silver, putting it beyond the light of day, lest it take wings and fly away. Such distrusts do not become the enlightened capitalists of our country, and wherever they prevail in the present age of progressive improvement, their influence will be most seriously felt in paralysing enterprise in every department of trade. We
cannot believe that the capitalists of Charleston, and in fact the State in general, lack the boldness and forecast necessary to push this pursuit to the glorious consummation of all we think it is destined to effect. To insure success, the most important considerations are, healthy location, never failing water-power, proximity to a market for purchasing raw material, and sale of the manufactured goods; in procuring machinery, avoiding by all means new inventions, taking for a guide the best New England mills in successful operation, and making the kind of cloth which is intended to be made. After this, a judicious selection of agents to conduct the business, and the careful attention which is requisite in the management of a large capital in any other pursuit, will insure success.

It is here shown that cotton is turned into yarn and cloth, in our own State, with our own domestic labor, at a cost which would not pay the various charges which attend the transfer of the raw material from the interior of South Carolina to many of the interior manufacturing establishments in New England, and it must be self evident, that before we cease to make profits by this species of manufacture, the mills of the interior of the Northern and Eastern States must either abandon the coarser fabrics, or cease to run. Need we undertake to still the apprehensions of those who entertain bad forebodings on the score of the political changes to which the introduction of manufactures may lead? Can any man in his sober judgement conjure up a dream, by which he can bring himself to the conclusion that a capitalist in South Carolina, in changing his investment from cotton planting to cotton spinning, would thereby be induced to abandon his free trade principles? Is there anything inherent in this business of spinning and weaving cotton, that should naturally prompt men to avaricious grasping after monopoly? Is there any common sense in the supposition that men so engaged will seek government protection from competition with the European manufacturer, while they are able to convert cotton into all the common cloths of which it is made, for 2 1/2 to 5 cts. per lb?

The idea is too preposterous to be for a moment entertained. Many of the European spinners pay, in addition to first cost, fully the latter sum, before it is delivered to their hands—all the charges incident to the passage of cotton from any of our interior towns to the warehouses of the seaports of England and France—now the duty is off in England, may be fairly estimated at 2 1/2 cents, and in many instances it pays an additional sum fully equal to this, before it reaches its final destination.

In looking to the proposed change may we with any propriety apprehend embarrassment in making our foreign exchanges with Great Britain or other countries? Certainly those who find it necessary to purchase our cotton will not be able with any justice to complain at its bestowing on it before it leaves us all the labor which its enhanced value
will compensate. We go for all that can be done to profit; if we can put our cotton into a shape that will render a bag worth 60 to $80 when it reaches Charleston, instead of $25 as at present, we say it should be done and risk the consequences. If those who are purchasers of our raw material are to have the power, not only to fix prices to our great staple, but to prescribe just how much labor we shall bestow on it, we shall indeed be in a bad box. There is no duty on Cotton Yarn in England, and there can be no doubt on the subject of her receiving the coarser Yarns from us as freely as she has heretofore done our raw cotton, not only for export, but for her own consumption, and so it would be with France. And there is no good reason why we should not set in a claim for a portion of the forty millions of dollars worth of Yarn exported yearly from Great Britain to the German States. Neither is there anything reasonable in the supposition that we may become spinners for the looms of New England if we can sell them yarn cheaper than they can purchase the raw cotton and spin it themselves, it will not take them long to find it out, when they will be found ready in exchanging their muslins, calicoes, fancy goods and Yankee notions for it. Many entertain the idea that the introduction of manufactures will naturally create monopolies and restrictions which will cripple freedom of trade. It is certainly natural and just that every man should be allowed to sell and purchase where and from whom he pleases, without restriction, but this does not at all clash with the doctrine of home manufactures, for when once established we will find it desirable to trade at home, for the reason that our own tradesmen will be able to serve us better, and cheaper than foreigners. As to monopolies, this is too enlightened an age to hold them up as bug bears. Accumulation of capital in one individual's hands, is in some sort a monopoly, and so is a congregation of capital made up from several individuals. The congregation of a large amount of capital for any particular purpose, may in the same sense be termed a monopoly, but we hold in our State, for all the purposes for which they have been used, they have proven monopolies for good and not for evil. To illustrate the effect which congregated capital in cotton manufacturing would produce upon the people and interests around us, we will take the veriest set of robbers and plunderers, as they are sometime called among us. The Massachusetts incorporated company at Lowell, with a capital of $800,000 in lands, houses and machinery, and $400,000 in mercantile capital. They own four mills, all located in one yard, containing about 27,000 spindles and 880 looms; they manufacture about 10,000 bales of cotton into cloth of superior quality per annum., with the labor of 885 hands; this cloth is at the present time, in all the principal markets, from 22 to 26 cents per lb. Now, let us picture to ourselves a similar establishment in South Carolina. It is said that among the
individuals whose names are attached to a subscription for raising the necessary capital to put up a factory in Charleston, there are four individuals who are collectively worth $2,000,000. Let us suppose, now, that these men form a company—a joint stock company—with a charter from the Legislature, if you will have it, with a capital of $1,000,000. We will locate them at a healthy point, where a waterfall on a never failing stream may be obtained. They invest in lands, machinery, buildings, &c., $800,000, and reserve $200,000 for merchantile purposes, which will be ample, as the raw material is so near at hand. They would have to employ 1000 to 1200 hands, particularly at first, to do what 850 accomplish in Lowell. They would turn 10,000 bales of cotton into cloth or 20,000 bales into yarn in twelve months, and this latter article would be worth No. 12 to 20, about 18 cts. per lb. The operation could not fail to build up a town of about 3,000 inhabitants, give an impetus to agriculture and all species of trade for many miles around, and add some thirty or forty thousand dollars worth of trade to the South Carolina Rail Road, and do for Charleston about as much good as if the establishment were located within the bounds of the city, for her merchants would furnish all the supplies and dispose of the manufactured goods.

Reader, look to this picture, and see whether you can possibly conjure up out of it a frightful bug bear. Could these gentlemen by such a disposition of their capital be regarded other than benefactors of their country, and should they in their lordly power even stand by, oh, tell it not in Gath, with their hands in their pockets, and employ agents who should live in fine houses and wear silk gloves; for be it remembered that to manage such an establishment would require a man of more than ordinary talents. We think there are few men to be found who would not be willing to award to such men the title of benefactors of their country, for if they employ whites, the establishment would be far greater charity than our Orphan Asylum, and in a religious point of view would be worth a dozen missionaries.

No. 4

It has been urged by some writers that manufactures have not thrived and cannot thrive in Southern climates, but this we hold to be a great mistake, and those who feel an interest in the matter may soon satisfy themselves on the subject, by reference to the history of the world for a few centuries back. It is true that manufactures are carried on most satisfactorily, at present in Northern climates, but we hold that this has been brought about by accidental circumstances, and not by natural causes; the idea of one country rearing the raw material and another manufacturing it, is of recent date. Hemp growing countries have always been, and are now, the most successful manufacturers of that article.
The same may be said of flax and silk, and was the case with cotton until very recently.

As far back as 2000 years before the Christian era, we have accounts of the cotton manufactures of the East Indies. In Alexander's time we read of the splendid cotton robes and calicoes of the East. The city of Rome, in days of her glory, was a large consumer of Indian cotton cloths. In Arabia, upper Egypt, and many other parts of Africa, the inhabitants were growers and manufacturers of cotton. When Mexico was discovered, cotton was grown in that country, and its manufacture into beautiful and costly robes had advanced to a considerable perfection. In the 12, 14, 15, and 16th centuries, Italy, the south of France, and Spain, were famed for manufactures. As late as the 17th century, Spain was regarded to be the most skillful of the European nations in the manufacture of silk and cotton. She lost the art and her artisans through the religious persecutions. Many persons were exiled and found protection and every possible encouragement in England, where the value of home manufactures began to be appreciated, and notwithstanding the great encouragement given to manufactures in England, she struggled for many years against her more successful Southern competitors. From the year 1697 to 1700, England imported about 35 millions of dollars worth of India cotton fabrics, and about this time it being made apparent to Parliament that these goods cost five parts in six less than they could be manufactured for in England, laws were passed prohibiting all such goods as could be made in Great Britain; but notwithstanding all this, heavy drains still continued to be made on that nation for the finer fabrics and manufacture of which seems to be peculiarly adapted to a patient, enduring, locomotiveless people of Southern climates.

About the year 1780, the new and wonderful lights of science began to break in on the world, when machinery began to be adapted to manufactures; this produced very important changes by giving ascendancy to Christian and civilized nations, which alone could apply the arts and give stability and security to property, so vitally important in the prosecution of business requiring large investments of capital. About this time, the continental war broke out, which convulsed for many years the great portion of the civilized world. England remained comparatively quiet while her Commercial neighbors were suffering under the devastating influence of war, which brought fire and sword to the door of every inhabitant, paralysing every human effort, and scarcely allowing sufficient quiet to produce the bread of life; this accounts for the success of England over her neighbors on the continent. She is, however, very fast losing her ascendancy. France is making rapid strides and will not be contented while she is second to England. In the south of France and in parts of Italy, the manufacture of fine woollens, silks, and cotton goods are already far in
advance of England—thus much for Europe. Now, how has it been with us in the United States? It was not until 1808 to '11 that we thought seriously of manufacturing and it is well known that, at that period South Carolina [illegible] New England suffering under an exhausted soil and crippled commerce, so that she may be said to have been driven into the business, and had the same causes existed then which are now operating in South Carolina to induce her to embark in such pursuits, there can be no doubt as to what the results would have been. From reading the accounts of the loathsome condition of the factory operatives of Manchester, many are led to the erronious impression that manufacturing has a tendency to degenerate morally and physically the operative; that operatives are of necessity shut up in close, dusty, unhealthy apartments, where the heat must render the atmosphere detrimental to human health. It would probably be well to inform such persons that cotton factories are of necessity well ventilated, being open, with windows to admit light from every side.

Such buildings range in size from 40 to 65 feet in width, and from 80 to 400 feet in length, and are from 3 to 5 stories high; so much for the factory buildings; and as regards dwelling houses, our operatives will not be likely to be crowded together, 20 or 30 in a room 20 feet square, as in Manchester, having to resort to such crowds to keep warm in winter, and having no means of procuring better quarter in summer. We have plenty of space, and an abundance of fuel, we all know how cheaply log cabins may be put up in the country, and that while such a resort secures the operative from the poisonous effects of a confined atmosphere, it accords with our Ideas of comfort. Any one who has spent the summer as an operative in the cool shade of one of these manufacturing establishments, will be very reluctant in our climate, to change his situation and encounter the broiling sun of a cotton field. The labor is exceedingly light, and we are very sure that in the heat of summer many an operative if asked, would tell you that the hardest part of his day's labor was walking home a quarter of a mile through the hot sun for his dinner. Our factory operatives invariably give up the business with the greatest reluctance, and when driven from establishments for bad conduct, they are sure to be found hanging around another seeking employment. And taking it altogether we think it clearly susceptible of proof that manufacturing labor is a more befitting employment for southern than northern peasantry.

Are we fearful that we may become so infatuated with the business as to produce a ruinous competition among ourselves? For we think it has been proven that foreign competition must give way to us in the coarser fabrics. To satisfy ourselves on this point we have only to take a glance at the immense amount of capital now engaged in this particular species of manufacture and to the immense markets
daily opening for such goods, and at the rapidity with which
the New England people are embarking new capital in it. Yes,
the spindles put in operation in the northern and eastern
States, in the last twelve months, are more than we may
expect to supply ourselves with for ten years, should we
even set about the matter with the most determined spirit,
and we must not forget that the mills of New England will
be our competitors for all the markets of the world, our own
not excepted, and while we labor under the disadvantage of
their competition, we receive none of the advantages which
are always derived from communion. We should certainly not
be content with anything short of supplying ourselves for
home consumption of the State and a considerable surplus to
export. This article, however, constitutes but a small
portion of the coarse fabrics which it will be found to our
interest to make, the range of which covers all the brown
goods sold in this market, as well as those from which, all
the bleached, dyed and printed cloths are made of a fineness
not exceeding 55 threads to the inch. To give some idea of
the immense consumption of such goods in this State and
Georgia, we will here remark that a single house in
Charleston has sold in one year 4,033 packages, making
3,379,727 yards of coarse cotton cloth, other than osnaburgs,
and this alone is a greater number of yards than is produced
by all the manufacturing establishments now in operation in
Georgia and South Carolina.

How much may be added to this quantity by the importa-
tions of other merchants of this city, Augusta, Columbia,
and the smaller towns, whose merchants trade directly with
the Northern and Eastern cities, we leave the reader to draw
his own conclusions. And when we come to add to this,
immense quantities of Linseys which we will supply ourselves
with, so soon as the dogs are killed off, and our yeomanry
can supply wool in sufficient quantities, the amount swells
to an enormous extent, and we perceive at once we have a
great work to accomplish before we shall be even able to
supply ourselves with all the domestic fabrics of prime
necessity and every day use. Permit me to repeat again that
our only hope for a more prosperous state of things, will be
found in rendering available, the resources which nature has
spread in profusion around us. It is perfectly idle for us
at this day to talk of producing particular staples only,
and purchasing by commercial exchanges the necessaries of
life which every planter ought to have around him, the
product of his own labor and soil. Any country will grow
poor that depends on foreigners to supply her with bread and
meat. We have a diversity of climate and soil peculiarly
calculated to render us the most independent of states.

Georgia and southern wheat when made into merchantable
flour is preferred by the bakers of all countries, and we
believe it has been decided to have more nutriment than that
which is made from wheat grown in northern climates. Yet,
strange to say, we are large consumers of flour made from wheat which has been raised in Ohio and the interior of New York, where it is purchased at from 90 cents to $1 per bushel, and has to traverse a distance of nearly two thousand miles before it reaches this city to be distributed throughout the State.

Let us endeavor to supply ourselves with corn, oats and hay; we surely cannot consider this a profitless business, while the farmers on the Roanoke, in North Carolina, and persons in Maryland, find profit in making grain for us, after paying all the charges incident to its transit to our markets; and persons on the banks of the Kennebec, in Maine, find themselves compensated in furnishing us with hay, notwithstanding the immensely heavy charges which must attend this bulky article from the interior of the State of Maine to Columbia and Hamburg in our State. Indeed, it is a reproach upon our country that the patriotic efforts of our Rail Road Directors, in reducing the freight of hay below that of any other article, to promote its importation into Charleston from the interior of South Carolina, should have resulted in the shipment of large quantities of northern hay to Columbia and Hamburg; while it is a well known fact that we have many thousands of acres of swamp land in the vicinity of both these places, some of which, near Columbia, have been put in cultivation, and are now yielding three tons (6,600 lbs.) to the acre, worth from $1 to $1.25 per hundred, and not requiring more labor than it is necessary to bestow on an acre of land cultivated in cotton. Why should we not raise our own horses, mules, beef cattle, hogs and sheep? Why should we not spin our own domestic cloths? Why should we permit ourselves to be imposed upon by the northern trash brought out of here in the shape of shoes, while we have all the materials and labor around us necessary to do ourselves justice in procuring such supplies? Let us encourage our iron masters to persevere, by putting their own shoulders to the wheel, to import men of science, who are making such rapid strides in developing the resources of other States, not as rich in material treasures as our own. Let us encourage the formation of new agricultural societies, that every man who feels an interest in his country may be enlisted in the cause for pushing forward scientific agriculture and the mechanic arts. We will thus be brought into contact with each other—many will be induced to write, and others to read. In this way the literary man will be able to impart his knowledge to the working man, and receive in return the physical results of the observant laborer, and in this matter we shall be able to combine our efforts in promoting any change which may be thought desirable to be effected in the country. As there has been a great deal said on the subject of the revolution which must soon take place in the industrial pursuits of our State, and particularly as to our
becoming a manufacturing people, we will venture a few brief remarks on this subject before we close. What is intended by those who advocate the introduction of manufactures, particularly that of cotton? Some people seem to think that every planter should go to work to spin his own cotton into yarn, make his own shoes, &c.; others that the present system of agriculture will be at once overturned, our rice and cotton fields turned into potato patches, and we become as it were by magic, a farming and great manufacturing people. Any change for the better must be gradual, or it will not be permanent. In attempting to introduce manufactures, no doubt many improper things will be done, and much capital will be wholly lost to its owners by injudicious investments in machinery. The idea of a planter manufacturing his own cotton into yarn, is impracticable, and should not be attempted until manufacturing knowledge is more general with us, unless it be by those who can go sufficiently large into it to avail themselves of all the advantages which manufacturing derives from the employment of men understanding the business.

To proceed, we will ask, again, how is the change to be made? We would say, let the present agricultural capital and labor of the country remain very much as it is. Those engaged in these pursuits must be content to look for their advantages in the general prosperity which will be brought around them, in an increased white population, good common schools, the example of a working class of white people around their children, a home market for their agricultural products, increased value of real estate, and good roads for the transportation of produce to market. They must learn to keep out of debt—to stay at home and save their money (much of which is unnecessarily expended in visiting the Northern States) to be expended in improving and beautifying our own country; thus making it not only desirable for ourselves to remain in but inviting to those who would raise more horses and mules, beef cattle and hogs—pay more attention to the rearing of sheep—in short, plant less cotton, and become, by degrees, more agricultural. But the question about manufactures is yet to be answered. To what extent is it desirable to embark in this business, and how is it to be brought about without heavy drafts on the agricultural capital and labor of the country? We should say that South Carolina ought to have about 40 or 50 factories located at various points over the State, and they should be similar establishments to those belonging to the Massachusetts Company at Lowell, and be employed in making the kind of goods produced by those mills, say, brown shirting and sheeting, 3/4 and yard wide, three yards to the lb.; drills, 270-100 to the lb., and yarn for export. These mills contain about 7,000 spindles each and 220 looms. They should be put in operation and owned by the capitalists in the State. They should work white or black labor, spin yarn
and weave it, or spin alone, as their interest might prompt them. These mills might be expected to work up about 2,500 bales each per annum, and, assuming the latter number of mills, say 50, would convert collectively 125,000 bales of cotton into yarn and cloth of a fineness varying from No. 12 to 24, and we might estimate each mill to require from 225 to 250 operatives; and this you will perceive, would give employment to about 12,506 persons. They would be whites or blacks, as inclination might lead the owners. The presumption is that the majority would be whites, and these we have in abundance around us, and there is no doubt but the introduction of manufactures would bring them all into employment, either in such pursuits or in agricultural operations, that force would, in all probability, be strengthened by the operation, without even an emigration to our State. But who can doubt that the introduction of manufactures would give us large acceions to our white population. Any one who has looked at the progress of other countries that have introduced manufactures, can attest to the truth, that it has, in all cases, bettered the condition of all classes, by enhancing its value of agricultural products, and giving profitable employment to all who are willing to work.

Each mill would require about $250,000 capital to put it in complete order and furnish all the mercantile capital necessary to its successful operation. $12,500,000 would be requisite to establish 50 mills and carry on the whole business. One-fourth of this sum would be mercantile capital, the greater portion of which is so desirable to all banking institutions, and the lack of which is the reason why our Banks cannot pay good dividends to their stockholders. The operations of the Vaucluse Factory are principally carried on by a credit from the Bank of Hamburg, when it is necessary to purchase cotton for the supply of the factory. That institution discounts the bills of the proprietors drawn on Charleston at six months. These bills are met in Charleston by a payment in money, or what is more desirable to the Bank which has the collection, a draft on the commission merchant who has charge of the sale of the manufactured goods in Charleston, New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York, and these drafts are drawn at 10, 20, 30, 60, 90 days or four months, as may suit the parties drawing, as well as those who discount the bills. Can any man doubt as to the practibility of raising so large a sum? Prove the business to be profitable and it will soon be forthcoming, either from capitalists in or out of the State, and it matters not which. It would, however, be years before it could be applied. A single mill such as we have named could not be put in operation in less than two years, and with all the zeal we could bring to our aid it would require ten, fifteen, and probably twenty years to put 50 large cotton mills in operation, so that it will be perceived that
there is no great danger of having every thing turned topsy-turvy by the introduction of cotton manufacturing in S. Carolina. The changes, however, which the establishment of fifty cotton factories would make in this State is a fruitful theme for the imagination. They would be competent to spin a quantity of cotton more than equal to the entire consumption of the State of Massachusetts, and if well managed we think would take from her the business of coarse spinning, which has made her the richest and proudest State in the Union. She has heretofore done the coarse spinning of this country, and the advantage she has had in the raw material has given her the supremacy over England in this branch of cotton manufacturing, and enabled her to successfully compete for, and in many instances to monopolize the best markets of the world. And we possessing nearly as many advantages over Massachusetts as she has over England, what is to prevent us from striking for this immensely valuable trade? While our present agricultural population would remain to be employed very much as it is, in planting cotton, though we think it in a very improved condition; these fifty factories with their 12,500 operatives, could not fail to do for us what has been done for Massachusetts, in a short space of time, double our white population, clear up our swamps, and put our thousands of acres of wilderness into a high state of cultivation, elevate the condition of our sand hill population, and give, as it has done in Massachusetts, a new impetus to every thing around us. In all this change, can anyone for a moment suppose that the wheels of our commerce are to be impeded? England would not stop to count the cost of this operation to her manufactures. The Yankees are now making efforts to compete with her in fine numbers and have made heavy strides and large inroads into this branch of her trade, and it will only be through them that our competition will be felt, as we push them from the coarse to the finer numbers. We think it will not be considered extravagant to predict that the day is not distant when the whole world will be looking to the cotton growing States for yarn to supply their hand and power looms.

In conclusion, let me urge the good people of South Carolina to press forward in strenuous endeavors to bring about such changes as will bring into active use all the capital in our State to set the wheels to work and give employment to the idle persons around us. If we do not by this means shorten the production of our great staple, we shall cut off the sources which are every day impoverishing us, and we shall grow rich in spite of the tariff and the low price of cotton. Let us listen to no man who will tell us that our delightful climate is too debilitating for successfully prosecuting manufactures. It is perfectly idle to talk about combinations to shorten the production of cotton, or to expect permanent relief from the tariff, by other means than rendering ourselves independent of those
who have combined to fix it upon us. This will only be
affected by making available the magnificent sources of
wealth which nature has scattered throughout our land.

The beginning of our days of prosperity will have
commenced when we shall hear our northern friends complain-
ing of the lavish expenditures of the public purse, for the
reason that it comes out of their own pockets. When we shall
hear complaints from a certain class of our brethren in the
far east, who by their wits have learned that they can half
tan a hide with hemlock bark, split it into four parts,
imperfectly stich, or peg, or paste it together and palm it
off on a southern man for a shoe. When we hear that this
class of men lamenting that South Carolina has her eye teeth
cut, and has really become sensible of the fact, that the
best of oak for tanning abounds in all parts of the State,
that her citizens have learned that it is better to pay
1.12 to 1.25 for a pair of shoes honestly and faithfully
put together, made of well tanned unsplit leather, which
will last a whole winter, than to give 65 to 80 cts. for a
pair made to deceive the purchaser, and often unfit for use
after two or three weeks wear.

And her prosperity will be in full tide, when we shall
hear of large manufactories being put up at the east, to be
filled with thousands of power looms, to weave up southern
yarn—when we shall hear Kentucky complain that we are no
longer customers for her hemp bagging cloth—when we shall
hear the great valley of the west complain that her horses,
mules, beef and pork will no longer bring them money in
return from the southern States, that she is compelled to
take in return what we now term Yankee homespuns or
domestics—when our hills will be covered with green pastures,
and grazing flocks of sheep—when South Carolina may be
furnishing herself with iron—when we will see a large
portion of the swamp lands of the Santee, Pedee, Wateree,
Congaree, Edisto and Savannah, &c. brought into cultivation,
the Edisto and Ashley connected by a canal, the stock of the
Santee Canal restored to its original value by the transit
of boats loaded with grain and sacks of hay, thus supplying
our low country with that which we are now importing from
other States—when we shall have Rail Roads leading to our
iron mines—Macadamised roads from Columbia and Hamburg to
the various points on the North Carolina line, thus enabling
us to feed on our interior wheat—when our lumber cutters
shall be found to be engaged in producing the materials for
the construction of towns and villages in our own State
instead of others, then we say, will the tides of our
prosperity be in full flood, and we will no longer be under
the necessity of seeking expedients of relief such as those
recommended by Mr. Davie. We will have ceased to be under
the influence of fluctuations of the Liverpool market, and
will have rid ourselves of that position which has made us
of recent days a football to be kicked about by Manchester
spinners and Liverpool cotton brokers. We will have discontinued to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for those who tax us as they please. Our tub will stand on its own bottom.

SOUTH CAROLINA'"
Appendix IV

"Manufactures at the South.—We find in the 'Monitor' printed at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, an account of a conversational meeting held in the Capitol, by eminent men of the State, on the subject of establishing Manufactories. The following, being the substance of what Judge Collier said, will interest our readers:

'It was peculiarly proper that the people of the South should enter extensively into the manufacture of cotton goods. The raw material was in our midst, inviting us to make it available for the uses of man. While the price at our doors was five or six cents the pound, we were saving an expense of at least twenty-five per cent., which a Northern Manufacturer was required to pay for transportation and other incidental charges. Add to this the practicability of purchasing at least six months in the year, the raw material as the Manufacturer needed it, and if the planter was assured that he could find an advantageous home market, there would in all probability, be enough kept on hand during the entire year to supply the demand. Here, too, the climate was so mild, that the cost of houses for operatives would be much less. Besides these advantages, manufacturers, instead of always making an outlay for supplies, could advantageously exchange goods for cotton. Nor was this all, the price of labor was less in Alabama than in New England, or any of the non-slave holding States, and this whether free or slave labor.

I assume the price of labor has not been reduced at the North within a year. The last authentic statement I have seen, put down the average paid at Lowell, at three dollars per week, board included. I visited, during the last summer, a large establishment in Cincinnati, which had but just gone into operation, intended when fully put in motion to employ nine thousand spindles, and two hundred and fifty looms; one of the proprietors to whom I was conducted, was both courteous and communicative. He informed me that he

paid his weavers two dollars and a half per week. I was so much struck with the healthfulness and neatness of their appearance, that I was induced to inquire why it was, that his operatives appeared so much better than the laborers I saw elsewhere in the city. His answer was, that they were better paid, and, said he, although they appear clean, many of them have on overdresses, which they lay aside when they are done their days work, and exhibit still greater neatness. The work, he continued, about which they are employed is not calculated injuriously to affect health, or impair physical energy—so you see they have ample space between the looms for exercise, and there are stools provided, on which when fatigued, they can sit down and rest.

My firm conviction is, that labor in a cotton factory, under the improved state of machinery and building, is as little prejudicial to health as any other indoor employment, at which one can earn a livelihood. There is nothing in tending a loom, to harden a lady's hand; and in a well-ventilated and properly heated house, such as all the large establishments of recent erection have, there is nothing to cause the rouge upon the cheek to fade, although the skin may become bleached by remaining so much in the shade.

Industry is social, and if it manifests itself in some one pursuit, it will soon seek other objects to which to direct its energies. No man can enter a well regulated manufacturing establishment without being struck with the order and method prevailing there; and is apt to leave with a higher appreciation of the blessings of industry. Let manufacturing be extensively undertaken, agriculture and mechanical art will soon catch the impulse; neatness, comfort and elegance will be seen at the homestead, and among the household. Increased wealth will flow in upon us, public morals will be elevated, and knowledge will be diffused in proportion as we can induce the idle and profligate to labor.

The cultivation of cotton, at its present depressed price, makes but a poor return for the care, anxiety and moral responsibility to which the planter is necessarily compelled to submit. It is really time to pause and reflect, to inquire for whom we have been growing the article, and who has received the profits of our labor. The manufacturer of cotton into cloth, it is supposed, keeping out of view the heavier fabrics will add to its value upon an average five hundred per cent. All this profit has been realized from the product of slave labor, mainly by England and some of the Northern States of the Union. It is easy to account, with profits like these, for the immense fortunes manufacturers have amassed, which tell by hundreds of thousands and millions. When large sums of money are required for any enterprise, they who have made the profits from our great staple, are the capitalists who are most usually applied to, to furnish the means. We have our slaves and our lands, but comparatively little money. As fast as we realize, we
invest in the purchase of more slaves, to make more cotton, instead of diverting a portion of our capital to the manu-
facture of raw material. This ceaseless round, while it adds but little to our wealth, increases our productive force, so as to depreciate the price of cotton, by the overproduction of the article. Humiliating then as it may seem, we nurture and employ our slaves for those who feel no sympathy with us. We receive about one-fifth of the profits that might be made from the great staple, while four-fifths are freely yielded up to the manufacturer abroad. Thus you see, that we are foregoing large profits which result from slave labor, and allowing others to realize them, who are denounced with all bitterness, as slave breeders and relentless taskmasters.

It requires less than three cents to manufacture a pound of cotton into the fabrics most extensively used in this country. The heavy Lowells, for which we have had to pay nine or ten cents a yard by the piece, cannot cost the manufacturer at the present price, far from four cents a yard, and shirtings it is believed do not cost as much. With advantages in our favor equivalent to a bounty of full forty per cent. we could not only supply the demand of the South, but we could compete with any other manufactures in the foreign market. The raw material is now purchased at our own sea ports by speculators, or for factories, either at the North or on the other side of the Atlantic—it was not exported by us. But the change in employment of labor, which we are urging should take place, then we should become our own exporters, and consequently importers. Our Southern seaports would receive an impulse—then they would become importing cities. This would be the natural course of trade. The idea of importing to any great extent, where instead of exporting for ourselves, others to do it for us, was delusive—it looked to a forced unnatural state of things, that would never be realized.

I agree with Mr. Manley, that we are, and must be, for years to come, essentially an agricultural people; the great quantity of wild but fertile lands in the South, will very naturally induce the greater portion of our population to cultivate the soil. I would not if I could, have this otherwise; it best comports with the established state of things, and the apparent order of Providence. But it would be much more profitable to divert a portion of labor from agriculture to manufacturing, and thus secure to the country more independence, and give to the agriculturalist and manufacturer a better return for his industry. To this there has been, and can be no objection. Besides, in a country where the facilities for living are as great as they are in the South, there are, and must continue to be thousands who, without any visible employment, live as an incubus upon the bosom of society. Many of these could be reclaimed and induced to work, and their children might be reared up to habits of industry by giving them employment, if manufac-
tories upon a large scale were established. The Southern people, then, should be prompted not only by a solicitude for profit, but by a sentiment of benevolence, to engage at once in the manufacture of cotton.

It is however supposed, that our climate is unfavorable to the factory system. In considering the subject, this was among the first questions that presented itself to mind. With but little knowledge of the business of manufacturing, I concluded that if the length of our summers were more enervating to the human constitution than the warm seasons of the higher Northern latitudes, that the advantage we had for manufacturing, would enable us to abate ten or twenty per cent. from the hours of labor, and still realize a greater profit than is made at Lowell, or other places in that region. I am still persuaded that this conclusion is correct.

But is it by any means certain, that the length of a Southern summer unfit man for long continued labor? The heat of our summer is not perhaps as great as it is in Massachusetts, and the nights are confessedly cooler, this making sleep more refreshing, that our strength may be renewed for the labor of the day.

It is insisted, that as manufactures were first put in operation in the southern part of the eastern hemisphere, where they had long since ceased to be extensively and profitably employed, the same result must follow the enterprise should the southern people engage in it. The conclusion is certainly not the necessary consequence of the promise. A portion of the southern part of Europe, certainly does not enjoy as high a degree of prosperity as it once did, but its wane is attributable to known causes having no connection with climate. The decline of manufactures in Egypt, India, and other parts of the earth, can with no propriety be set down to the account of climate, but rather let it be charged to the luxury and consequent indolence of those in whose hands centered all the wealth of the country: to the ignorance, poverty and oppression of the masses, to a contempt for religion and virtue, on which civilization mainly rests.

New England did not outstrip the other portions of the Union in manufacturing merely because she happened to be situated in a higher northern altitude. It was the sterility of her soil in its natural state, and the density of her population, which made it more difficult to obtain the means of living. These, with the principles of her people inherited from their fathers, induced them to cast around for new channels of industry. The facility of subsisting here, has had the tendency to make great numbers of our people inert—neglecting the necessary efforts to obtain not only the elegancies and luxuries, but even the comforts of life. To prove that climate has no influence in this respect, only visit the fertile districts of Tennessee, Kentucky,
Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, and you will there learn that the charge of indolence, if not more justly applicable, is quite as much so, as in Alabama.

In respect to the employment of slave labor, I think there can be no question but it can be profitably employed. The business of manufacturing cotton is a very different employment from what it was fifteen years ago. Machinery is greatly improved and simplified. The work rooms are comfortable, well ventilated, and heated in cold weather, so as to insure health to as great an extent as may be. I have heard it said that slaves were employed in Richmond, Va., and a gentleman who is perhaps as largely interested as any one else in this State, in the manufacture of cotton, has repeatedly said to me, that slave labor, all things considered, was quite equal, if not preferable to free white operatives—some of whom, as soon as they become interested, are apt to leave. Thus making it necessary always to have some in a status of pupilage. Whereas, if slaves were employed, the change of hands would be less frequent. Let it not, however, be understood, that I desire to see slave labor exclusively employed in this branch of industry. I am solicitous for the moral and intellectual elevation of man wherever found, am desirous of seeing everyone industriously employed as one of the most efficient means of promoting virtue and all its happy results. I have long been persuaded that instead of inflicting a curse, God really gave us a blessing when in our fallen state, he doomed us to ceaseless labor. A life of idleness is incompatible with the teaching of revelation.

Before this meeting closes, I will take leave to make one more suggestion. It is this: in the wealthiest parts of the country, let planters unite, put up manufacturing establishments, employ them with their own hands, spin, and, if they think proper, weave their own crops. The increased value given to raw material, even by spinning would be more than one hundred per cent. The profit made by thus converting eight hundred or two thousand bales of cotton, would pay for machinery enough to manufacture that quantity annually. In some neighborhoods may be found five planters, each of whom works fifty hands; if these would each place eight or ten hands in a factory, their crops, if spun, would yield them one hundred per cent, and thus fifty hands at the spindles, would net as much as two hundred in the field, and if the loom were added, much more.

What I have remarked, has been said with the view of awakening inquiry upon this interesting subject. I am perhaps an enthusiast. But if this be so, I would merely add, that every great moral reform is greatly indebted to enthusiasm for its consummation."
Appendix V

Invoice of Proposed Machinery for the Elkin Cotton Manufacturing Company from the Firm of Rogers, Ketchum and Grovnor of Paterson, New Jersey.

"Paterson March 22, 1848

Thomas I. Lenoir, Esq.
President
Dear Sir

We propose to furnish

1 Willow
1 30 inch picker & lap machine
250.--
5 30 inch most improved flat cards with
improved cylinder & doffer 19 flats
675.--
each c. 135.
5 sets of card clothing best quality
250.--
c. 50.
1 improved railway drawing head &
fixtures for the attachment complete
200.--
1 3 head drawing frame—long rollers
156.--
1 16 strand improved belt condensing
speeder improved radius bar
240.--
1 Grinding frame improved cylinder
75.--
4 132 spindle throats, spindles and flyer
528 spindles @ 3½
1,716.--
1 Reel
Iron & Brass work for 2 Reels @ $16.50
33.--
1 banding frame
20.--
1 roller covering machine & tools
12.--
Slide rest & tools to turn card cylinder
15.
1 Regulator
75.
1 yarn press, without table
35.
1000 speed bobbins, large c. 3
30.
Amount carried forward
$3,872.
2000 best throttle bobbins c. 3
60.--
‡ doz. " sheep skins c. $8
4.
‡ doz. " calf skins c. $18
4.50
1 bobbin reamer
3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 washer punches</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr. stout erad plyers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 spindle collar reamer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 belt awls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tack hammer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lap rollers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dozen assorted oil cans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fillet wrench</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 drilling machine &amp; drills</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 lb. wire for cut pins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set of stocks, tapes &amp; dies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Geared turning lathe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell chuck &amp; tools for wood and iron comprising an assortment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 35 gallon oil can &amp; spigot at cost of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 12 in. tin cans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 10 in. Do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 8 in. Do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 lb Emery at cost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lb. best Russia isinglass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$4,240.20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Belt leather at pr. lb 4/25

Packing boxes at cost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Unit Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heavy cast gearing fitted complete @ 5\text{1/2} lb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light do</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrot iron shafting turned &amp; polished &amp; fitted up with turned couplings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cast iron pulleys for drawing the machinery, bored, turning &amp; fitted to the shafts in such a manner to suit any machine @ 4/7\text{1/2} per pound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bolts & nuts

Deliverable on board ship at the port of New York. We will warrant all the machinery to be finished in the most substantial and workmanlike manner, the best materials used in its construction and the pattern to be the most improved — unsurpassed in the United States.

We shall be glad, if favored with your order, to execute it promptly and in the best manner.

Very respectfully
Yr friends & obt. servts
Rogers, Ketchun & Grovnor

pr. J. M. Hall.
Appendix VI

An Alphabetical Listing of Cotton Mills, including names of stockholders, location of mills, and date of founding in North Carolina, 1804-1880

Altamahaw Cotton Mill 1880 Alamance
Mr. Davidson and Mr. Gant.

Alamance Cotton Factory 1837 Alamance
Edwin M. Holt and William A. Carrigan

Arista Cotton Factory 1880 Forsyth
Francis and Henry Fries.

Aycock Cotton Factory 1874 Richmond
James H. Aycock.

Beam Cotton Mill 1804 Lincoln (Cleveland)
Michael Beam.

Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company 1841 Cumberland
Constant Johnson and John H. Hall.

Beaver Creek and Bluff Mills 1867 Cumberland
Edward J. Lilly, Henry Lilly, and John Shaw.

Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company 1828 Cumberland
William A. Blount, William Ellison, and John Myers.

Belmont Cotton Mill 1879 Alamance
Lawrence S. Holt and Lynn Banks Holt.
Bertie Manufacturing Company 1851 Bertie (Windsor)


Big Falls Manufacturing Company 1835 Alamance

J. A. Murray and W. J. Murray.

Bladen Manufacturing Company 1867 Bladen


Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company 1848 Cumberland


Brothers' Manufacturing Company 1872 Cumberland

A. A. McKethan, Jr. and Edwin T. McKethan.

Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company 1851 Surry

Jacob M. Brower, A. B. F. Gaither, James Grant, William B. Grant, Alexander L. Lawrence, and Moses L. Mikel.

Bynum Manufacturing Company 1874 Chatham

E. W. Atwater, Mathew Atwater, and George W. Thompson.

Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Cotton Manufacturing Company 1836 Orange-Chatham


Cape Fear Manufacturing Company 1847 New Hanover (Wilmington)
   William A. Berry, Richard Bradley, John McRae, and Gilbert Potter.

Carolina Cotton Mill 1869 Alamance

Cary Steam Cotton Factory 1874 Wake

Catawba Manufacturing Company 1847 Mecklenburg
   General William H. Meel, Peter M. Brown, and W. H. Williams.

Catawba Mills 1854 Catawba
   Mr. Powell and Thomas R. Tate.

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company 1836 Randolph
   Benjamin Elliott, Henry B. Elliott, Philip Horney, and Alfred H. Marsh.

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company 1859 Randolph (Reorganized)

Charlotte Cotton Mill 1880 Mecklenburg (Charlotte)
   R. M. Oates.

Cleveland Mills 1874 Cleveland
   H. F. Schenek and Mr. Ramsour.

Concord Factory 1841 Cabarrus (Concord)
   Paul Barringer, Ibsen Cannon, Kiah P. Harris, John McDonald, John Phifer, John Rodgers, and P. P. Villipique.
Columbia Cotton Mills  1849/1879  Randolph
                   J. S. Spencer.

Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills  1864  Richmond

Cross Creek Manufacturing Company  1841  Cumberland
                   Charles Benbow and Jesse Sanders.

Cross Creek Manufacturing Company  1864  Cumberland
                   Edward J. Lilly, James R. Lee, John Shaw, Augustus W. Steele.

Deep River Manufacturing Company  1848  Randolph

Double Shoals Cotton Factory  c.1860  Cleveland
                   N. A. Jackson.

Eagle Cotton Mills  c.1860/1867  Iredell
                   Mr. Gaither, J. Cooper, T. M. Cooper, and J. H. Dalton.

Edgecombe Manufacturing Company  1828  Edgecombe
                   David Barnes, Joel Battle, David Clark, Peter Evans, B. M. Jackson, Edmund McNair, Theophilus Parker, and William Plummer.

Elkin Cotton Factory  c.1868  Wilkes
                   M. P. Foard, R. W. Foard, and Mr. VanEaton.

Elkin Manufacturing Company  1848  Surry

Enterprise Manufacturing Company  1864  Cumberland
                   George Brandt and Mr. Hendricks.
Enterprise Manufacturing Company 1880 Randolph
  J. A. Cole.

Fayetteville Manufacturing Company 1828 Cumberland

Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Company 1864 Cumberland

Franconia Manufacturing Company 1870 Duplin

Franklinsville Manufacturing Company 1853 Randolph

H. and F. Fries Wollen and Cotton Mill 1840 Forsyth (Salem)
  Francis, Henry and William Fries.

Gastonia Cotton Mill 1876 Mecklenburg
  J. H. Wilson, Jr.

Glenroy Cotton Mill 1877 Mecklenburg
  E. C. Grier.

Granite Falls Factory 1845/1851 Alamance
  Edwin M. Holt, Thomas M. Holt, and Adolphus Moore.

Granite Shoals Factory 1854 Catawba
  Mr. Claywell, Mr. Powell, and Mr. Shufford.

Greenhill Cotton Mill 1869 Surry
  Samuel L. Gilmore, W. A. Moore, and Rufus Roberts.
Halifax Manufacturing Company 1869 Halifax


Haw River Manufacturing Company 1874 Alamance

James S. Boyd, R. Y. McAden and George W. Swepson.

High Falls Factory 1845 Alamance

Dr. Montgomery.

Horse Ford Manufacturing Company 1873 Randolph


Iredell Manufacturing Company 1835 Iredell

Thomas A. Allison, Joseph M. Bogle, Joseph Caldwell, James Campbell, Joseph Chambers, George F. Davidson, Joseph Davidson, Theophilus Falls, and Samuel King.

Island Ford Manufacturing Company 1845 Randolph


Ivey Shoals Manufacturing Company 1849 Lincoln

Mr. Allison and Mr. Phifer.

Johnston-Little River Manufacturing Co. 1849 Johnston


Larkin Cotton Mill c.1868 Surry

Mr. Sparks.

Laurel Hill Mill c.1867 Scotland

Charles Malloy and Mark Morgan.
Leaksville Manufacturing Company  c.1826  Rockingham


Lexington Manufacturing Company  1838  Davidson


Lincoln Manufacturing Company  1813  Lincoln

Dr. James Bivens, Col. L. D. Childs, John Hoke, Michael Schenck, and Absolom Warlick.

Little River Manufacturing Company  1841  Cumberland

James Battle, Duncan Murchison, and David Reid.

Lockville Manufacturing Company  1869  Chatham


Logan Manufacturing Company  1865  Guilford


Louisburg Manufacturing Company  1869  Franklin


McNeil and Donaldson Cotton Factory  1825  Cumberland

Henry A. Donaldson and George McNeil.

Middle Falls Manufacturing Company  1869  Richmond

General Alfred Dockery, William McRay, Robert J. Steele, Jr., and Thomas J. Steele.

Milton Manufacturing Company  1836  Caswell

Mocksvillle Factory 1836 Davie

Thomas MoNeely.

Montgomery Manufacturing Company 1838 Montgomery

Edward Burrage and William McRay.

Mt. Airy Cotton Mill 1840 Surry

Jacob M. Brower.

Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory 1838 Alamance

Mr. Danforth, Mr. McCuistan, and General Trollinger.

Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Factory 1832 Guilford

Henry Humphrey, John Morehead, and Thomas R. Tate.

Mountain Island Cotton Mill 1849 Gaston
(Old Mt. Hecla Mill)

G. K. Tate and Thomas R. Tate.

Murphy Mill Manufacturing Company 1872 Cumberland

E. H. Evans, Neil McQueen, David Murphey, P. Murphey, A. W. Steele, and John B. Williams.

Naomi Manufacturing Company 1879 Randolph

John H. Ferree, Amos Grayson, J. O. Pickard, and Jesse E. Walker.

Neuse Manufacturing Company 1877 Craven

John Bell, William Boylan, John McLeod, David Thompson, Josiah O. Watson, and William White.

Neuse Manufacturing Company 1851 Wake

George Allen, Richard Berry, and J. D. Claypoole.

Neuse River Manufacturing Company 1877 Craven

Peterson Dunn, John M. Flemming, David Gill, John Green, Willie L. Jones, and James D. Newsom.

Newbern Manufacturing Company 1849 Craven

Northampton Manufacturing Company 1835 Northampton

Colin W. Barnes, Simmons Barnes, Augustus Moore, John H. Patterson, Jabez Smith, John Southall, Richard H. Weaver, and Nathaniel Williams.

Orange Factory 1852 Orange


Patterson Cotton Factory c.1834 Caldwell


Pee Dee Manufacturing Company 1874 Richmond

William J. Everett, John W. Leak, Thomas C. Leak, Henry Rishton, Jesse S. Spencer, Robert L. Steele, and Walter L. Steele.

Phoenix Manufacturing Company 1839 Cumberland

Charles P. Mallett, John S. Pearson, and James H. Hooper.

Pineville Water Power and Manufacturing Company 1869 Johnston


Pioneer Manufacturing Company 1871 Halifax


Raleigh Cotton Factory 1867 Wake


Randleman Manufacturing Company 1849/1867 Randolph

(Old Union)

Randolph Manufacturing Company 1828 Randolph

Benjamin Elliott, Hugh McCain, Jesse E. Walker, John D. Williams, and Jonathan Worth.

Randolph Manufacturing Company 1838 Randolph

Elisha Coffin, Dr. John G. Hanner, Henry Kivett, Hugh McCain, John Miller, John B. Troy, Jesse Wheeler, and Timothy Worsley.

Randolph Manufacturing Company 1863 Randolph

J. M. Coffin, Issac H. Foust, Alexander S. Horney, Hugh Parks, George H. Williams, and John D. Williams.

Reversion Manufacturing Company 1870 Richmond

John Shortridge, John D. Shortridge, L. H. Shortridge, R. J. Steele, Jr., and Thomas J. Steele.

Richmond-Rockingham Manufacturing Company 1828 Richmond

Mr. Crawford, Francis T. Leak, John W. Leak, and Walter F. Leak.

Richmond Manufacturing Company 1834 Richmond


Richmond Manufacturing Company 1869 Richmond


Rock Creek Shoals Factory 1847 Iredell

Dr. A. D. Gage, Notley D. Tomlinson, and J. W. Wilson.

Rock Island Manufacturing Company 1851 Mecklenburg

Zenas A. Grier and Richard L. Parsons.

Rock Island Manufacturing Company 1866 Mecklenburg

James Earnshaw, John Wilkes, Miles L. Wriston, and John A. Young.
Rockfish Manufacturing Company 1837 Cumberland

Edward J. Hale, Charles T. Haigh, Thomas Hogg, Charles F. Mallett, John Owen, John W. Sanford, and John W. Wright.

Rockfish Manufacturing Company 1872 Cumberland

Ambrose T. Beguer, Thomas C. Oakman, and Sidney J. Salma.

Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company 1875 Richmond


Rocky Mount Mill 1816 Edgecombe


Rocky River Manufacturing Company 1860 Cabarrus

W. J. Black, J. R. Neilson, J. R. Nicelor, and John Phifer.

Rutherford Manufacturing Company 1875 Rutherford


Salem Manufacturing Company 1837 Forsyth


Salisbury Manufacturing Company 1839 Rowan

Saxapahaw Cotton Mill 1844 Alamance


Shoals Manufacturing Company 1870 Davie-Rowan


Stowe Cotton Factory 1848 Gaston

Edward Stowe, W. B. Stowe, Colonel Jasper Stowe, and William Stowe.

Swift Island Manufacturing Company 1845 Montgomery


Swift Island Manufacturing Company 1869 Montgomery

James Bradley, Oliver T. Dockery, E. Hurley, Duncan N. Patterson, and Calvin Wooley.

Taylorsville Manufacturing Company 1869 Alexander

Messrs. Alspaugh, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Jones.

Tomlinson Cotton Factory 1850 Iredell

Notley D. Tomlinson.

Turnersburg Cotton Mill 1847/1850 Iredell

Wilfred Turner.

Tuscarora Cotton Mill 1876 Halifax (Enfield)

John T. Bellamy.

Union Manufacturing Company 1849 Randolph

Union Manufacturing Company 1849 Cumberland

Wachovia Steam Cotton Mill 1862 Forsyth
Rufus L. Patterson.

Weldon Manufacturing Company 1839 Halifax

Weldon Manufacturing Company 1851 Halifax

Whitney Manufacturing Company 1872 Cumberland

Willow Brook Cotton Mill 1880 Guilford (Jamestown)
Nathan Chaffin and W. D. Jones.

Wilmington Cotton Factory 1874 New Hanover

Wilmington Gingham Factory 1867 New Hanover
W. H. Willard.

Woodlawn Manufacturing Company 1848 Gaston
John W. Clemmer, Calib J. Lineberger, John L. Lineberger, Laban Lineberger, Lewis Lineberger, Able Rhyme, and Moses H. Rhyme.
Yadkin Manufacturing Company 1832 Rowan


Yadkin Manufacturing Company 1839 Rowan-Davie

Dr. Benjamin Austin, Charles Fisher, Charles Frederick Fisher, and Samuel Lemley.

Yadkin Cotton Factory 1849 Wilkes

Edmund W. Jones.

Yadkin Manufacturing Company 1855 Davidson-Rowan

Joseph W. Hill.

Yadkin Falls Manufacturing Company 1857 Montgomery

Enoch H. Davis, Moses Holmes, Ephraim Mauney, Valentine Mauney, and William McAlister.
### Appendix VII
A Chronological List of
North Carolina Cotton Mills Founded from 1804-1880

#### 1804-1829

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mill/Company</th>
<th>Founded to</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1804-1827</td>
<td>Lincoln (Cleveland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1813-1863</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Mount Mill</td>
<td>1816-1863</td>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1867-1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNeil and Donaldson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Cumberland (Fayetteville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Cumberland (Fayetteville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayetteville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Cumberland (Fayetteville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaksville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Rockingham (Leaksville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Richmond (Rockingham)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1830-1839

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mill/Company</th>
<th>Founded to</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1832-1849</td>
<td>Guilford (Greensborough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuse Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1832-1838</td>
<td>Wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1832*</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>c.1834-1865</td>
<td>Caldwell (near Lenoir) - burned by Stoneman's troops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1834-1865</td>
<td>Richmond (Rockingham) - burned by Sherman's troops.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Probably never built.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1835-1873</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iredell Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Iredell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1835*</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Cotton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1836-</td>
<td>Orange-Chatham-Alamance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1836-1857</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1836-</td>
<td>Caswell(Milton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mocksville Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1836-1844</td>
<td>Davie(Mocksvilie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1837-1871</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamance Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1871-</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1837-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland(Near Fayetteville) burned by Sherman's troops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1837-</td>
<td>Forsyth(Salem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklinville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838-*</td>
<td>Randolph(Franklinville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1838-1844</td>
<td>Davidson(Lexington) burned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838-</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland-burned by Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838*</td>
<td>Halifax(Weldon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1838-</td>
<td>Rowan-Davie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. and F. Fries Cotton and Woolen Mill</td>
<td>1840-</td>
<td>Forsyth(Salem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Airy Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1840-</td>
<td>Surry(Mt. Airy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1841-</td>
<td>Cumberland(near Fayetteville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1841-</td>
<td>Cabarrus(Concord)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1841-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland-burned by Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1841-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland-burned by Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1841-1857</td>
<td>Rowan(Salisbury)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1844-</td>
<td>Alamance(Saxapahaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Falls Factory</td>
<td>1845-</td>
<td>Alamance(Haw River)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Probable never built.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1845-1924</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1845-</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catawba Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1846-1865</td>
<td>Mecklenburg (Grist mill after War)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Fear Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1847*</td>
<td>New Hanover (Wilmington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1848-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Surry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Creek Shoals Factory</td>
<td>1847-</td>
<td>Iredell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1848-</td>
<td>Gaston (Woodlawn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowe Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Gaston (Stoveville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1848-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland (burned by Sherman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivey Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston-Little River Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Gaston (Formerly Mt. Hecla Mill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newbern Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849*</td>
<td>Craven (Newbern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1849-</td>
<td>Wilkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1850-1865</td>
<td>Iredell-burned by Stoneman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson's Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1850-</td>
<td>Iredell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1851*</td>
<td>Bertie (Windsor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1851-</td>
<td>Surry (near Mt. Airy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuse River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1851*</td>
<td>Wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1851-1858</td>
<td>Mecklenburg (Charlotte)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1851-1867</td>
<td>Halifax (Weldon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Factory</td>
<td>1852-</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catawba Mill</td>
<td>1852-</td>
<td>Catawba (Catawba Station)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklinsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1853-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granite Shoals Factory</td>
<td>1854-</td>
<td>Catawba (Catawba Station)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1855-</td>
<td>Davidson-Rowan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Probably never built.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yadkin Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1857-1859</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1859-</td>
<td>Randolph (Reorganized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Shoals Cotton Factory</td>
<td>c.1860-</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1860-</td>
<td>Cabarrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wachovia Steam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1862-</td>
<td>Forsyth (Salem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1863-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1864*</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>1864-1865</td>
<td>Richmond-burned by Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayetteville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1864*</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1864-1865</td>
<td>Cumberland-burned by Sherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1865-</td>
<td>Guilford (Jamestown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1866-1867</td>
<td>Mecklenburg (Charlotte)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bladen Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1867*</td>
<td>Bladen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1867-</td>
<td>Iredell (Reorganized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raleigh Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1867*</td>
<td>Wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randleman Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1867-</td>
<td>Randolph (Old Union Factory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1867*</td>
<td>New Hanover (Wilmington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurel Hill Cotton Mill</td>
<td>c.1867-</td>
<td>Scotland-Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkin Cotton Factory</td>
<td>c.1868-</td>
<td>Wilkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larkin Cotton Mill</td>
<td>c.1868-</td>
<td>Surry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Alamance (Burlington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhill Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Surry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisburg Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineville Water Power and Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Richmond (Reorganized)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Probably never built.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylorsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1869-</td>
<td>Alexander (Taylorsville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franconia Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1870-</td>
<td>Duplin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversion Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1870-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1870-</td>
<td>Davie-Rowan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioneer Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1871-</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1872-</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphy Mills Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1872-</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1872-</td>
<td>Cumberland (Reorganized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1872-</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1873-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkin Mills</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Bladen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aycock Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bynum Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cary Steam Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Wake (Cary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Mills</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haw River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Alamance (Swepsonville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee Dee Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Factory</td>
<td>1874-</td>
<td>New Hanover (Wilmington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1875-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutherford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1875-</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastonia Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1876-</td>
<td>Gaston (Gastonia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuscarora Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1876-</td>
<td>Halifax (Enfield)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenroy Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1877-</td>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meuse Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1877-</td>
<td>Craven (Newbern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1879-</td>
<td>Alamance (Burlington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1879-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arista Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1880-</td>
<td>Forsyth (Salem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamahaw Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1880-</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1880-</td>
<td>Mecklenburg (Charlotte)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>1880-</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow Brook Cotton Mill</td>
<td>1880-</td>
<td>Guilford (High Point)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix VIII

Persons Associated with the Building of the North Carolina Cotton Textile Industry, 1804–1880

Abbott, Joseph C.
Bladen Manufacturing Company
Bladen County 1867

Adams, Stirling
Shoals Manufacturing Company
Davie-Rowan Counties 1870

Albright, William
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
 Alamance County 1836

Allen, George
Morse Manufacturing Company
Craven County 1877

Allen, John
Deep River Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1849

Allen, M. A.
Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871

Allen, Solomon
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
 Alamance County 1836

Allen, Thomas
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
 Alamance County 1836

Allen, William
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
 Alamance County 1836

Allison, Mr.
Ivey Shoals Factory
Lincoln County 1849

Allison, Thomas A.
Iredell Manufacturing Company
Iredell County 1835

Allred, Joseph A.
Deep River Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1849

Alspaugh Brothers
Taylorsville Manufacturing Company
Alexander County 1868

Alston, J. P.
Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871

Andrews, A. B.
Lockville Manufacturing Company
Chatham County 1869

Argo, T. M.
Lockville Manufacturing Company
Chatham County 1869

Atkinson, Col. A. T.
Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874

Atkinson, Mathew
Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874

Atwater, E. W.
Bynum Manufacturing Company
Chatham County 1874
Atwater, Mathew  
Bynum Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1874

Austin, Dr. Benjamin J.  
Yadkin Manufacturing Company  
Rowan-Davie Counties  
1839

Aycock, James H.  
Aycock Manufacturing Company  
Richmond County  
1874

Bacham, William K.  
Louisburg Manufacturing Company  
Franklin County  
1871

Baker, M. A.  
Whitney Manufacturing Company  
Cumberland County  
1872

Baldwin, Richard  
Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company  
Cumberland County  
1849

Barnes, Colin W.  
Northampton Manufacturing Company  
Northampton County  
1835

Barnes, David  
edgecombe Manufacturing Company  
Edgecombe County  
1828

Barnes, Simmons  
Northampton Manufacturing Company  
Northampton County  
1835

Barringer, Paul  
Concord Manufacturing Company  
Cabarrus County  
1841

Barrow, William  
Halifax Manufacturing Company  
Halifax County  
1869

Batchelor, L. W.  
Pioneer Manufacturing Company  
Halifax County  
1871

Battle, Amos  
Rocky Mount Mill  
Edgecombe County  
1816

Battle, Benjamin D.  
Rocky Mount Mill  
Edgecombe County  
1816

Battle, Christopher C.  
Rocky Mount Mill  
edgecombe County  
1816

Battle, James  
Little River Manufacturing Company  
Cumberland County  
1841

Battle, Joel  
Rocky Mount Mill  
Edgecombe County  
1816

Battle, Joel  
Edgecombe Manufacturing Company  
edgecombe County  
1828

Battle, William H.  
Rocky Mount Mill  
Edgecombe County  
1816

Battle, William S.  
Rocky Mount Mill  
Edgecombe County  
1816

Bass, Benjamin W.  
Weldon Manufacturing Company  
Halifax County  
1851

Beam, Michael  
Beam Cotton Factory  
Lincoln County  
1804

Beguer, Ambrose Y.  
Rockfish Manufacturing Company  
Cumberland County  
1872

Bell, John  
Neuse Manufacturing Company  
Wake County  
1832

Bellamy, John T.  
Tuscorora Cotton Mill  
Halifax County  
1876
Belo, Edward
Benbow, Charles
Benbow, Panls
Berry, Richard
Berry, William A.
Biggs, Kader
Bird, Joseph
Bishop, William
Bivens, Dr. James
Black, W. J.
Blount, William A.
Blum, Levi
Blum, John J.
Bogle, Joseph M.
Bond, Lewis T.
Bond, Thomas
Bowers, William E.
Boyd, James S.
Boyd, Robert J., Sr.
Boylan, William
Boyle, Mr.
Bradley, James
Bradley, J. M.
Bradley, Richard
Brandt, George
Bray, Mathias D.

Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1836
Cross Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1841
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Neuse Manufacturing Company
Craven County 1877
Cape Fear Manufacturing Company
New Hanover County 1847
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Lincoln Manufacturing Company
Lincoln County 1813
Rocky River Cotton Mill
Cabarrus County 1860
Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1828
Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1836
Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1836
Iredell Manufacturing Company
Iredell County 1835
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871
Haw River Cotton Mill
Alamance County 1874
Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871
Neuse Manufacturing Company
Wake County 1832
Taylorstown Manufacturing Company
Alexander County 1868
Swift Island Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1869
Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Cape Fear Manufacturing Company
New Hanover County 1847
Enterprise Cotton Factory
Cumberland County 1864
Deep River Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1848
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brice, William</td>
<td>Franconia Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Duplin</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridges, John</td>
<td>Halifax Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridges, Robert R.</td>
<td>Halifax Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brietz, Christian</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, T. T.</td>
<td>Logan Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Abraham</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Alfred M.</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Jacob M.</td>
<td>Mt. Airy Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Jacob M.</td>
<td>Hamburg Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>c.1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Jacob M.</td>
<td>Buck Shoals Factory</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>c.1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, James W.</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, T. M.</td>
<td>Hamburg Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>c.1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brower, Washington</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Alfred</td>
<td>Franklinsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Alfred</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, George W.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Michael</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Michael</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Peter M.</td>
<td>Catawba Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan, James L.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumpass, Rev. Sidney D.</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgess, John C.</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgwyn, Henry K.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgwyn, T. Pollack</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrage, Edward</td>
<td>Montgomery Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Butler, Benjamin F.  
Lockville Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1869

Bynum, Luther B.  
Bynum Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1874

Cairns, James G.  
Lexington Manufacturing Company  
Davidson County  
1838

Caldwell, Joseph  
Iredell Manufacturing Company  
Iredell County  
1835

Caldwell, Richard A.  
Shoals Manufacturing Company  
Daviess-Rowan Counties  
1870

Caldwell, William A.  
Union Manufacturing Company  
Randolph County  
1849

Cameron, Paul  
Richmond Manufacturing Company  
Richmond County  
1869

Campbell, James  
Iredell Manufacturing Company  
Iredell County  
1835

Campbell, John  
Weldon Manufacturing Company  
Halifax County  
1851

Campbell, William A.  
Union Manufacturing Company  
Randolph County  
1849

Cannon, Ibsen  
Concord Manufacturing Company  
Carrboro County  
1841

Capehart, A.  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Capehart, Cullen  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Capehart, G. W.  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Cape, A. W. E.  
Deep River Manufacturing Company  
Randolph County  
1848

Carlton, John L.  
Franconia Manufacturing Company  
Duplin County  
1870

Carr, O. W.  
Randleman Manufacturing Company  
Randolph County  
1867

Carrigan, William A.  
Alamance Factory  
Alamance County  
1837

Cashwell, James  
Bladen Manufacturing Company  
Bladen County  
1877

Caskill, G. M.  
Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company  
Richmond County  
1875

Chadbourn, J. H.  
Wilmington Cotton Mill  
New Hanover County  
1874

Chaffin, Nathan  
Willow Brook Cotton Mill  
Guilford County  
1880

Chambers, Joseph  
Iredell Manufacturing Company  
Iredell County  
1835

Chambers, Maxwell  
Yadkin Manufacturing Company  
Rowan County  
1832

Chambers, Maxwell  
Salisbury Manufacturing Company  
Rowan County  
1839
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chambers, William</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambers, William</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry, James</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry, Joseph P.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childs, Col. L. D.</td>
<td>Lincoln Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Lincoln County</td>
<td>1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian, Samuel H.</td>
<td>Swift Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Alexander</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Colin M.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, David</td>
<td>Edgecombe Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Edgecombe County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, William</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claypoole, J. D.</td>
<td>Neuse Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Craven County</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claywell, Mr.</td>
<td>Granite Shoals Factory</td>
<td>Catawba County</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemmer, John</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston County</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clendenen, Fisher</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, B. F.</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, Elisha</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, Elisha</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, Emery</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, John M.</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, John M.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coit, J. C.</td>
<td>Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole, J. A.</td>
<td>Enterprise Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole, William M.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coltraine, Daniel</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook, J. B.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, J.</td>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>c.1850/1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, John</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, Joseph</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, T. N.</td>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>c.1850/1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowan, Thomas L.</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowan, Thomas L.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox, Joshua</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox, Micajah</td>
<td>Johnston-Little River Mfg. Company</td>
<td>Johnston County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox, Michael</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox, O. R.</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Messrs.</td>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Mfg. Company</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, John</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curne, John D.</td>
<td>Bladen Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bladen County</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtis, Dennis</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton, J. H.</td>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>c.1850/1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danforth, Mr.</td>
<td>Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson, Mr.</td>
<td>Almahaw Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson, George F.</td>
<td>Iredell Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson, Joseph</td>
<td>Iredell Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Dolphin A.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Enoch H.</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Joseph J.</td>
<td>Louisburg Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Franklin County</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, M. M.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal, A. J.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeBerry, Edmund</td>
<td>High Shoals Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denke, C. F.</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent, James</td>
<td>Louisburg Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Franklin County</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeRosa#t, Dr. A. J.</td>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Mill</td>
<td>New Hanover County</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devereux, Thomas P.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewey, Thomas W.</td>
<td>Woodlawn Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Gaston County</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick, James</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon, Jesse</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon, John</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon, Joseph</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon, Thomas</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobbin, John M.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dockery, Gen. Alfred</td>
<td>Middle Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dockery, Gen. Alfred</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dockery, Oliver T.</td>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodson, Stephan</td>
<td>Milton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Caswell County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dollins, Nehemiah</td>
<td>Rutherford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rutherford County</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldson, Henry A.</td>
<td>Rocky Mount Mill</td>
<td>Edgecombe County</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldson, Henry A.</td>
<td>McNeil and Donaldson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldson, Henry A.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas, Mr.</td>
<td>Orange Factory</td>
<td>Orange County</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douthet, Mr.</td>
<td>Hunting Creek Factory</td>
<td>Surry County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dausset, A. J.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunn, Peterson</td>
<td>House Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Wake County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyer, D. H.</td>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Mill</td>
<td>New Hanover County</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnshaw, James</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Benjamin</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Benjamin</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Henry B.</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Henry B.</td>
<td>Franklinsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellis, John W.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellis, W. H.</td>
<td>Horse Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellison, William</td>
<td>Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etheridge, Joseph</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estes, L. Y.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erwin, W. A.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans, E. H.</td>
<td>Murphey Mills Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans, Peter</td>
<td>Rocky Mount Mill</td>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans, Peter</td>
<td>Edgecombe Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everett, Joseph C.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everett, Lawrence T.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everett, William J.</td>
<td>Pee Dee Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falls, Theophilus</td>
<td>Iredell Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Iredell</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanning, Thomas</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, John</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, William</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferree, John H.</td>
<td>Naomi Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferree, John H.</td>
<td>Randiseman Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ferrell, Michael
Ferrell, Weldon Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1851

Finley, Augustus
Finley, Milton Manufacturing Company
Caswell County 1837

Fisher, Charles
Fisher, Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Rowan County 1832

Fisher, Charles
Fisher, Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Davie County 1839

Fisher, Charles
Fisher, Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Davie Counties 1839

Fitzpatrick, James
Fitzpatrick, Logan Manufacturing Company
Guilford County 1865

Flemming, John M.
Flemming, Neuse River Manufacturing Company
Wake County 1851

Foard, N. P.
Foard, Elkin Cotton Factory
Wilkes County c.1850

Foard, R. W.
Foard, Elkin Cotton Factory
Wilkes County c.1850

Folk, William
Folk, Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851

Foster, Joshua
Foster, Island Ford Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1845

Foust, Issac H.
Foust, Deep River Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1849

Foust, Issac H.
Foust, Randolph Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1863

Foust, John
Foust, Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836

Foust, Peter
Foust, Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836

Franklin, C. B.
Franklin, Elkin Manufacturing Company
Surry County 1848

Fransu, Magdalena
Fransu, Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1837

French, George R.
French, Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874

French, George Z.
French, Bladen Manufacturing Company
Bladen County 1867

French, William A.
French, Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874

Fries, Francis
Fries, Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1837

Fries, Francis
Fries, H. and F. Fries Woolen and Cotton Mill Forsyth County 1840

Fries, Francis
Fries, Arista Cotton Mill Forsyth County 1880

Fries, Henry
Fries, H. and F. Fries Woolen and Cotton Mill Forsyth County 1840

Fries, Henry
Fries, Arista Cotton Mill Forsyth County 1880

Fries, William
Fries, Salem Manufacturing Company Forsyth County 1837
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company, Location and Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fries, William</td>
<td>H. and F. Fries Woolen and Cotton Mill Forsyth County 1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gage, Dr. A. D.</td>
<td>Rock Creek Shoals Factory Iredell County 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaither, A. B. F.</td>
<td>Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company Surry County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaither, Mr.</td>
<td>Eagle Cotton Mill Iredell County c.1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gant, Mr.</td>
<td>Altamahaaw Cotton Mill Alamance County 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardner, Grafton</td>
<td>Logan Manufacturing Company Guilford County 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, David D.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company Richmond County 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, William F.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company Richmond County 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gill, David</td>
<td>Neuse River Manufacturing Company Wake County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilliam, Henry</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilliam, John H.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilliam, Willie J.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmer, Samuel L.</td>
<td>Greenhill Cotton Mill Surry County 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham, James M.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company Richmond County 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant, James</td>
<td>Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company Surry County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant, William B.</td>
<td>Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company Surry County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, George</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, Robert</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, William</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson, Amos</td>
<td>Naomi Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, John</td>
<td>Neuse River Manufacturing Company Wake County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, John</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grier, E. C.</td>
<td>Glenroy Cotton Factory Mecklenburg County 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grier, Zenas A.</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company Mecklenburg County 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guthrie, George</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory Alamance County 1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, James</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, James</td>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, Ransom R.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, Ransom R.</td>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, Richard</td>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwyn, Richard</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale, Edward J.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale, Edward J.</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haigh, Charles T.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairston, P. H.</td>
<td>Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, John H.</td>
<td>Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanaford, W. T.</td>
<td>Franconia Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanner, Dr. John G.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardie, R. W.</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardie, Whitmel H.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardy, Henry B.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardy, Humphrey H.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hargrove, Franklin G.</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hargrove, Hamilton J.</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hargrove, John L.</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hargrove, Samuel</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper, Hugh G.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper, J.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper, James C.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper, Richard</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harper, S. F. Patterson Cotton Factory
Caldwell County c.1834
Harris, Kiah P. Concord Manufacturing Company
Cabarrus County 1841
Harris, Thomas W. Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871
Hawley, Samuel T. Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Hayes, O. S. Lookout Manufacturing Company
Chatham County 1869
Johnston County 1869
Henderson, Archibald Salisbury Manufacturing Company
Rowan County 1839
Hendricks, Mr. Enterprise Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1864
Henry, Louis D. Fayetteville Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1828
Heptonstall, John W. Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871
Hickerson, L. Elkin Manufacturing Company
Surry County 1848
Hileck, Simeon Salisbury Manufacturing Company
Rowan County 1839
Hill, Joseph W. Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Davidson-Rowan Counties 1855
Hill, Samuel Union Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1848
Hinshaw, William, Sr. Union Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1848
Hodgin, James Union Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1848
Hoffman, Jonas Woodlawn Manufacturing Company
Gaston County 1848
Hogg, Thomas Rockfish Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1837
Hoke, John Lincoln Cotton Mill
Lincoln County 1813
Holdhauser, Jacob Salisbury Manufacturing Company
Rowan County 1839
Holliday, Joseph Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Hollowell, Thomas L. Johnston-Little River Mfg. Company
Johnston County 1849
Holly, Augustus Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Holman, Mr. Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Holmes, Moses S. Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1857
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Factory/Company</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Edwin M.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Edwin M.</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Edwin M.</td>
<td>Granite Falls Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Edwin M.</td>
<td>Carolina Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, J. H.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, J. H.</td>
<td>Carolina Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Lawrence S.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Lawrence S.</td>
<td>Belmont Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Lynn Banks</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Lynn Banks</td>
<td>Belmont Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Thomas M.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Thomas M.</td>
<td>Granite Falls Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, W. E.</td>
<td>Alamance Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, W. E.</td>
<td>Carolina Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooper, James H.</td>
<td>Phoenix Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horah, William H.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horney, Alexander S.</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horney, Alexander S.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horney, Philip</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornsley, A. R.</td>
<td>Rutherford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rutherford County</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horton, P.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphreys, Henry</td>
<td>Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Guilford County</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey, James P.</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Davidson County</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, P. A.</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurley, E.</td>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huston, J. K.</td>
<td>Franconia Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Duplin County</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, B. M.</td>
<td>Edgecombe Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Edgecombe County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, N. A.</td>
<td>Double Shoals Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Cleveland County</td>
<td>c.1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobson, John C.</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerkin, J.</td>
<td>Newbern Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Craven County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Constant</td>
<td>Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Hiram</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Joshua</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Susana</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, W. R.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mills Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, David</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E. P.</td>
<td>Logan Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Guilford County</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Edmund W.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Willie L.</td>
<td>Neuse River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Wake County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, W. D.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, W. D.</td>
<td>Willow Brook Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Guilford County</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Mr.</td>
<td>Taylorsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Alexander County</td>
<td>c.1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan, Joseph</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyner, Andrew</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyner, Andrew</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerchner, F. W.</td>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Mill</td>
<td>New Hanover County</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kershaw, John</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidder, Edward</td>
<td>Wilmington Cotton Mill</td>
<td>New Hanover County</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kince, David</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Samuel</td>
<td>Iredell Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Iredell</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivett, David</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivett, Henry</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivett, Henry</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivett, John A.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kremer, Charles</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamin, William H. N.</td>
<td>Rocky Ford Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lash, William A., Jr.</td>
<td>Shoals Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Davie-Rowan Counties</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lassiter, R. W.</td>
<td>Looksville Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence, Alexander S.</td>
<td>Buck Shoals Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Francis T.</td>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Francis T.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, John W.</td>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, John W.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, John W.</td>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, John W.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, John W.</td>
<td>Fee Dee Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Thomas C.</td>
<td>Fee Dee Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Walter F.</td>
<td>Richmond-Rockingham Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Walter F.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Walter F.</td>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leak, Walter F.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, James R.</td>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, James R.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mill Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, James R,</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ledbetter, Robert L.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leinbach, Harry</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lembach, Trangot</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemly, Samuel</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemly, Samuel</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Albert S.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Col. Thomas</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Col. Thomas</td>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Thomas I.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Thomas I.</td>
<td>Elkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenoir, Walter W.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, Warner M.</td>
<td>Milton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Edward J.</td>
<td>Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Edward J.</td>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Edward J.</td>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Edward J.</td>
<td>Beaver Creek and Bluff Mills</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Henry</td>
<td>Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Henry</td>
<td>Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, Henry</td>
<td>Beaver Creek and Bluff Mills</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindley, A. H.</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineberger, Calib J.</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineberger, Laban</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineberger, Lewis</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineberger, John L.</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lock, A., Jr.  Shoals Manufacturing Company  Davie-Rowan Counties  1870
Lockwood, A. D.  Lockville Manufacturing Company  Chatham County  1869
Long, Nicholas M.  Weldon Manufacturing Company  Halifax County  1851
Long, Nicholas M.  Halifax Manufacturing Company  Halifax County  1869
Long, William L.  Weldon Manufacturing Company  Halifax County  1851
Lyerly, John L.  Horse Ford Manufacturing Company  Randolph County  1873

Mabry, John P.  Lexington Manufacturing Company  Davidson County  1839
McAlister, William  Yadkin Manufacturing Company  Montgomery County  1857
McArthur, Walter  Rutherford Manufacturing Company  Rutherford County  1875
McCain, Hugh  Randolph Manufacturing Company  Randolph County  1828
McCain, Hugh  Randolph Manufacturing Company  Randolph County  1838
McCuistan, Mr.  Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory  Alamance County  1836
McDonald, John  Concord Cotton Factory  Cabarrus County  1841
McGehee, William M.  Milton Manufacturing Company  Caswell County  1836
McGonnaughey, James C.  Salisbury Manufacturing Company  Rowan County  1839
McIntyre, William  Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company  Cumberland County  1849
McKethan, A. A., Jr.  Brother's Manufacturing Company  Cumberland County  1872
McKethan, Edwin T.  Brother's Manufacturing Company  Cumberland County  1872
McLauchlin, Alexander  Blounts' Creek Manufacturing Company  Cumberland County  1849
McLaughlin, Hugh  Fayetteville Manufacturing Company  Cumberland County  1828
McLeod, John  Neuse Manufacturing Company  Wake County  1832
McMaster, William  Franklinsville Manufacturing Company  Randolph County  1853
McNair, Edmund  Edgecombe Manufacturing Company  Edgecombe County  1828
McNeely, Thomas  Mocksville Cotton Mill  Davie County  1836
McNeil, George
McNeil, George
McPherson, William
McQueen, Neill
McRae, Alexander
McRae, D. G.
McRae, Donald
McRae, Duncan G.
McRae, John
McRae, Peter
McRay, William
McRay, William
Makepeace, George
Makepeace, George
Makepeace, George
Makepeace, George H.
Mallett, A. F.
Mallett, Charles B.
Mallett, Charles B.
Mallett, Charles B.
Mallett, W. P.
Malloy, Col. Charles
Marsh, Alfred H.
Marsh, Alfred H.
McNeil and Donaldson Cotton Mill
Cumberland County 1825
Blount's Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Gane Creek Cotton Factory
 Alamance County 1836
Murphey Mills Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1872
Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1875
Whitney Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1872
Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874
Logan Manufacturing Company
Guilford County 1865
Cape Fear Manufacturing Company
New Hanover County 1847
Rocky Ford Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1875
Montgomery Cotton Factory
Montgomery County 1838
Middle Falls Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1869
Island Ford Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1845
Swift Island Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1847
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1853
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1859
Swift Island Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1847
Union Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Rockfish Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1837
Phoenix Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1839
Union Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Union Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Laurel Hill Mill c.1867
Scotland-Richmond Counties
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1836
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1853
Marsh, Alfred H.
Marsh, James F.
Marsh, Robert
Marsh, Robert
Martin, James
Martin, Silas N.
Martindale, F. G.
Mauney, Ephrim
Mauney, Valentine M.
Mecky, Solomon
Mendenhall, Cyrus P.
Mendenhall, Cyrus P.
Mikel, Moses L.
Miller, John
Miller, John
Mitchell, Alexander
Moffitt, Benjamin
Moffitt, Mrs. E. E.
Moffitt, Eli N.
Montgomery, Dr.
Moore, Adolphus
Moore, Augustus
Moore, Bat F.
Moore, W. A.
Morehead, John Motley

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1859
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1859
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1859
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1853
Blount's Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1849
Wilmington Cotton Mill
New Hanover County 1874
Lockville Manufacturing Company
Chatham County 1869
Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1857
Yadkin Manufacturing Company
Montgomery County 1857
Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1837
Union Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1848
Logan Manufacturing Company
Guilford County 1865
Buck Shoals Manufacturing Company
Surry County 1851
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1853
Randolph Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1838
Newbern Manufacturing Company
Craven County 1849
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1877
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1877
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1877
High Falls Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1845
Granite Falls Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1845
Northampton Manufacturing Company
Northampton County 1835
Halifax Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1869
Greenhill Manufacturing Company
Surry County 1869
Leasburg Manufacturing Company
Rockingham County 0.1828
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morehead, John Motley</td>
<td>Mt. Heola Steam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Guilford County</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morehead, John Motley</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morehead, James Turner</td>
<td>Leaville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rockingham County</td>
<td>c.1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morehead, Samuel</td>
<td>Leaville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rockingham County</td>
<td>c.1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, E. A.</td>
<td>Double Shoals Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Cleveland County</td>
<td>c.1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Mark</td>
<td>Laurel Hill Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Scotland-Richmond County</td>
<td>c.1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moring, William</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motz, Wade H.</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston County</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowery, Frederick</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murchison, Duncan</td>
<td>Little River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphey, David</td>
<td>Murphey Mills Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphey, John</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphey, John</td>
<td>Yadkin Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphey, William</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, J. A.</td>
<td>Big Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, W. J.</td>
<td>Big Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myers, John</td>
<td>Belfort Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neel, Gen. William H.</td>
<td>Catawba Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neilson, J. R.</td>
<td>Rocky River Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Cabarrus County</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newburus, F. A.</td>
<td>Franconia Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Duplin County</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newlin, James</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newlin, John</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newlin, Jonathan</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newlin, Joseph</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsom, James D.</td>
<td>Neuse River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Wake County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicelor, J. R.</td>
<td>Rocky River Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Cabarrus County</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfleet, Stephan</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakman, Thomas C.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oates, R. M.</td>
<td>Charlotte Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odell, J. M.</td>
<td>Odell Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cabarrus County</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osborne, James W.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osborne, James W.</td>
<td>Halifax Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlaw, David</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen, John</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, John C.</td>
<td>Salisbury Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rowan County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Theophilus</td>
<td>Edgecombe Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Edgecombe County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks, Hugh</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks, Hugh</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks, Hugh</td>
<td>Franklinville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons, Richard L.</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, Duncan N.</td>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, R. A.</td>
<td>Pioneer Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, Rufus Lenoir</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, Rufus Lenoir</td>
<td>Washovia Steam Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Forsyth County</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, S. F.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payne, Charles L.</td>
<td>Lexington Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Davidson County</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson, Charles H.</td>
<td>Pioneer Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax County</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson, John S.</td>
<td>Phoenix Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson, John S.</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Peebles, W. H. Halifax Manufacturing Company Halifax County 1869
Pemberton, Edward L. Whitney Manufacturing Company Cumberland County 1872
Pemberton, Edward L. Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Co. Cumberland County 1863
Pemberton, John A. Whitney Manufacturing Company Cumberland County 1872
Perkins, Needham T. Johnston-Little River Mfg. Company Johnston County 1849
Pfohl, T. C. Salem Manufacturing Company Forsyth County 1837
Phifer, John Concord Manufacturing Company Cabarrus County 1841
Phifer, John Ivey Shoals Manufacturing Company Lincoln County 1849
Phifer, John Rocky River Manufacturing Company Cabarrus County 1860
Pickard, James O. Randleman Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1867
Pickard, James O. Naomi Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1879
Pickerell, Z. U. Logan Manufacturing Company Guilford County 1865
Plummer, William Edgecombe Manufacturing Company Edgecombe County 1828
Pope, Benjamin A. Weldon Manufacturing Company Halifax County 1839
Potter, Gilbert Cape Fear Manufacturing Company New Hanover County 1847
Powell, A. M. Horse Ford Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1873
Powell, Mr. Granite Shoals Factory Catawba County 1852
Powell, Mr. Catawba Mills Catawba County 1854
Price, Ransom Rutherford Manufacturing Company Rutherford County 1875
Pugh, William A. Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851
Ramsour, A. L. Cleveland Mills Cleveland County 1874
Ramsour, A. L. Horse Ford Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1873
Randleman, John Banner Randleman Manufacturing Company Randolph County 1867
Ransom, Mat W. Halifax Manufacturing Company Halifax County 1869
Rascoe, John P. Bertie Manufacturing Company Bertie County 1851
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rascoe, Joseph J.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raynor, James R.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rechlin, C. D.</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reeves, Samuel, Jr.</td>
<td>Shoals Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Davie-Rowan</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reich, Jacob</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid, David</td>
<td>Little River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rencher, Abraham</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes, William H.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyne, Abel</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyne, Moses</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, Thomas</td>
<td>Island Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riley, John</td>
<td>Fayetteville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rishton, Henry</td>
<td>Pee Dee Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberts, Rufus</td>
<td>Greenhill Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, John</td>
<td>Concord Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Cabarrus</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruffin, John T.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanders, Jesse</td>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salms, Sidney J.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanford, John W.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scales, John W.</td>
<td>Richmond Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenck, H. F.</td>
<td>Cleveland Mills</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenck, Michael</td>
<td>Lincoln Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schuman, Dr. Frederick</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, A. L.</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servoss, Henry H.</td>
<td>Bladen Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bladen</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, John</td>
<td>Fayetteville Mill Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, John</td>
<td>Cross Creek Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, John</td>
<td>Beever Creek and Bluff Mills</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, John</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoher, Emanuel</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge, J. D.</td>
<td>Reversion Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge, John</td>
<td>Reversion Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortridge, L. H.</td>
<td>Reversion Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shufford, A. N.</td>
<td>Horse Ford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shufford, Mr.</td>
<td>Granite Shoals Mill</td>
<td>Catawba</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shultz, Jacob</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shultz, Johanna</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shultz, Samuel</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shultz, Theodore</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simmons, James</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simmons, James P.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sloan, William</td>
<td>Woodlawn Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slocumb, A. H.</td>
<td>Whitney Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slover, Charles</td>
<td>Newbern Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Craven</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallwood, Thomas P.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Jabez</td>
<td>Northampton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Jabez</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Richard H.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, William R.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southall, John</td>
<td>Northampton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spach, Elizabeth
Sparks, Mr.
Speller, Thomas H.
Spencer, Jesse S.
Spencer, Jesse S.
Spruill, William E.
Stafford, Baalam
Stafford, George
Stafford, John
Stafford, Lewis
Staley, Martin
Stanber, Catherine
Stanley, Adolphus E.
Starr, J. B.
Steele, Augustus W.
Steele, Augustus W.
Steele, Robert J., Jr.
Steele, Robert J., Jr.
Steele, Robert L.
Steele, Robert L.
Steele, Thomas J.
Steele, Thomas J.
Stone, William John
Stout, Job
Stout, Henry

Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1837
Larkin Cotton Mill
Surry County c.1868
Bertie Manufacturing Company
Bertie County 1851
Pee Dee Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1874
Columbia Manufacturing Company
Randolph County 1849/1879
Pioneer Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1871
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Salem Manufacturing Company
Forsyth County 1837
Logan Manufacturing Company
Guilford County 1865
Whitney Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1872
Cross Creek Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1864
Murphy Mills Manufacturing Company
Cumberland County 1872
Middle Falls Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1869
Reversion Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1870
Richmond Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1869
Pee Dee Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1874
Middle Falls Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1869
Reversion Manufacturing Company
Richmond County 1869
Halifax Manufacturing Company
Halifax County 1869
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Cane Creek Cotton Factory
Alamance County 1836
Stout, Nathan  
Cane Creek Cotton Factory  
Alamance County  
1836

Stout, Peter  
Cane Creek Cotton Factory  
Alamance County  
1836

Stout, William  
Cane Creek Cotton Factory  
Alamance County  
1836

Stowe, Edwin E.  
Stowe Cotton Factory  
Gaston County  
1848

Stowe, Col. Jasper  
Stowe Cotton Factory  
Gaston County  
1848

Stowe, William  
Stowe Cotton Factory  
Gaston County  
1848

Sturgis, William E.  
Louisburg Manufacturing Company  
Franklin County  
1871

Sutton, William T.  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Swain, Whitmel R.  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Sweet, W. H. S.  
Lockville Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1869

Sweepson, George W.  
Lockville Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1869

Sweepson, George W.  
Haw River Manufacturing Company  
Alamance County  
1874

Tate, G. K.  
Mountain Island Cotton Mill  
Gaston County  
1832/1848

Tate, Thomas R.  
Mountain Island Cotton Mill  
Gaston County  
1832/1848

Tate, Thomas R.  
Catawba Mill  
Catawba County  
1854

Tate, Thomas R.  
Mt. Hecla Steam Cotton Mill  
Guilford County  
1832

Taylor, Jonathan  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Taylor, Richard N.  
Newbern Manufacturing Company  
Craven County  
1849

Teague, Isaiah  
Cane Creek Cotton Factory  
Alamance County  
1836

Thamish, Louisa  
Salem Manufacturing Company  
Forsyth County  
1837

Thomas, Thomas K.  
Louisburg Manufacturing Company  
Franklin County  
1871

Thompson, David  
Neuse Manufacturing Company  
Wake County  
1832

Thompson, George W.  
Bynum Manufacturing Company  
Chatham County  
1877

Thompson, Lewis  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851

Thompson, Noah H.  
Bertie Manufacturing Company  
Bertie County  
1851
Thorne, S. A.  
Thorne, William H.  
Tomlinson, Notley D.  
Tomlinson, Notley D.  
Tomlinson, W. H.  
Trollinger, General  
Troy, John B.  
Troy, John B.  
Troy, John B.  
Tucker, R. L.  
Turner, Wilfred  
Unthank, Temple  
Utley, M.  
VanEaton, Mr.  
Villepique, P. F.  
Vogler, John  
Waddell, John  
Warner, Benjamin  
Waterson, Margaret  
Pioneer Manufacturing Company  
Pioneer Manufacturing Company  
Rock Creek Shoals Factory  
Tomlinson's Cotton Factory  
Whitney Manufacturing Company  
Mt. Arrarat Factory  
Randolph Manufacturing Company  
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company  
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company  
Lockville Manufacturing Company  
Turnersburg Cotton Mill  
Cane Creek Cotton Factory  
Whitney Manufacturing Company  
Elkin Cotton Factory  
Concord Cotton Factory  
Salem Manufacturing Company  
Blount's Creek Manufacturing Company  
Randolph Manufacturing Company  
Union Manufacturing Company  
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company  
Naomi Manufacturing Company  
Lincoln Cotton Factory  
Salem Manufacturing Company  
Salem Manufacturing Company  
1871  
1871  
1847  
1850  
1872  
1836  
1838  
1853  
1859  
1869  
1847/1850  
1836  
1872  
c.1868  
1841  
1837  
1849  
1828  
1849  
1859  
1879  
1813  
1837  
1837
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watkins, W. H.</td>
<td>Deep River Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, Josiah O.</td>
<td>Neuse Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Wake</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waugh, John</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver, Richard H.</td>
<td>Northampton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, J.</td>
<td>Orange Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, J. H.</td>
<td>Orange Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, Lorenzo S.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler, Jesse</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, J. W.</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, William</td>
<td>Neuse Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Wake</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehead, James</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiatt, Thomas G.</td>
<td>Weldon Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkes, John</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkins, Thomas</td>
<td>Rutherford Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Rutherford</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, W. H.</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>1836/1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, W. H.</td>
<td>Wilmington Gingham Factory</td>
<td>New Hanover</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, W. H.</td>
<td>Orange Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1852/1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, W. H.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, H. B.</td>
<td>Catawba Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, George H.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, John B.</td>
<td>Murphy Mills Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, John D.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, John D.</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Nathaniel T.</td>
<td>Northampton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Factory Name</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamson, Dr. John L.</td>
<td>Saxapahaw Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Atherton</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, I. W.</td>
<td>Rock Creek Shoals Factory</td>
<td>Iredell County</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, J. H.</td>
<td>Gastonia Cotton Mill</td>
<td>Gaston County</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, John</td>
<td>Milton Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Caswell County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, R. J.</td>
<td>Patterson Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td>c.1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Dr. T.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winkler, C. H.</td>
<td>Salem Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Forsyth County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winslow, J. P.</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winstead, C. S.</td>
<td>Lockville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Chatham County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston, P. H.</td>
<td>Bertie Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bertie County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Lorenzo</td>
<td>Franklinsville Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woody, Hugh</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woollen, C. W.</td>
<td>Union Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooley, Calvin</td>
<td>Swift Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooten, Benjamin</td>
<td>Bladen Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Bladen County</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsley, Timothy</td>
<td>Cane Creek Cotton Factory</td>
<td>Alamance County</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsley, Timothy</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worth, J. M.</td>
<td>Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worth, Jonathan</td>
<td>Randolph Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Randolph County</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, John W.</td>
<td>Rockfish Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wriston, Miles L.</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, John A.</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, John A.</td>
<td>Rock Island Manufacturing Company</td>
<td>Mecklenburg County</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix IX

Contemporary Cotton Mill Listings and Statistics in North Carolina Counties

No. 1

"The following list of Factories in N. Carolina in operation and in process of construction, is from the Salisbury Carolinian, with some correction by the Fayetteville Observer. 1

'Cotton Manufactories in North Carolina.—Since we became proprietors of the Carolinian, we have taken some pains to obtain all the information within our reach concerning Cotton Manufactories in North Carolina, knowing that it would prove interesting to our readers. Our list is not yet complete, but even as far as it goes, many of our citizens will be surprised to see the progress North Carolina has made in the establishment of Manufactories:—it should be recollected that all these establishments, with the exception of two or three, have sprung up in the last three or four years. The following is, as far as we can ascertain, a list of the Cotton Factories in actual operation in North Carolina.

1. Factory at the Falls of Tar River, in Edgecombe County. This is the oldest in the state; owned by a company.
2. Factory near Lincolnton, Lincoln County, built by a company,—but is now owned by Mr. John Hoke.
3. One at Fayetteville, owned by Mr. Mallett.
4. Another at Fayetteville, owned by Benbow and Company.
5. One at Greensborough—steam power, owned by Mr. Humphreys.
6. One at Milton, owned by an incorporated company.
7. One at Mocksville, Davie County, owned by Mr. Thomas McNeely.
8. One or perhaps two, in Orange County, owned by companies.
9. One at Salem, steam power, recently started, owned by a company.
10. One in Randolph County, owned by a company.
11. One in Lexington, Davidson County—steam power, if not already started, will be within a few days, owned by a company.

1. Hillsborough Recorder, July 19, 1838."
List of Factories now being built.

1. One at Rockfish, near Fayetteville, a fine water power, owned by a company.
2. One near Rockingham, in Richmond County, water power, owned by a company.
3. One on Deep River, near Ashborough, owned by a company.
4. One near Leaksville, on Dan River, building of stone, owned by John M. Morehead, Esq.
5. One in Surry County, on Hunting Creek, owned by Mr. Douthat.
6. One on the Yadkin a few miles below Stoke's Ferry, in Montgomery County, owned by Mr. Edward Burrage and Company.
7. One on South Yadkin River, 10 miles N.W. of Salisbury, owned by Messrs. Fisher and Lemly.
8. The Phoenix Woollen Factory, for spinning and weaving, in Fayetteville, owned by James H. Hooper, John Stokes Pearson and Charles Beatty Mallett, Esqs. will be in operation in a few weeks.

We understand that several wealthy individuals have purchased Buckhorn Shoals below Haywood, in Chatham County, —but have not learned whether they have yet commenced operations.

It is also understood that an Englishman has purchased Fullenwider's Iron Works,—intending not only to enlarge the iron Establishment, but to erect a Woollen Manufactory.

We also learn that there is a large Cotton Manufactory either in actual operation, or will be soon, in Northampton County.

Besides these, it is very probable that there may be one or two others in the state, either in actual operation, or in process of erecting.

From these facts it will be seen that North Carolina is making rapid progress in Cotton Manufacturing; and we think the work has just commenced. Her facilities are so great that the business once started must go on.

We have water power abundant, and cheap. We have raw material at hand, and what is remarkable, labor in the western counties of North Carolina, is cheaper than in New England.

The effects of the establishments already in operation begin to be felt throughout the State; three years ago immense quantities of the Cotton Yarns were brought in the State by our merchants from the North, and sold to our citizens:—now, not a hank is brought;—our own establish-ments not only supply our wants for home consumption, but are beginning to export the article. Parcels of North Carolina yarns have already been sent to market in the City of New York, and find a ready sale at fair profits. Even now, several of our establishments are making preparations to commence the weaving of coarse cottons. We may venture the opinion that in two years, North Carolina will not only
supply the demand for her own consumption with the coarser cotton fabrics, but will also send them out for sale into the markets of the world. On the whole, the Manufacturers of the Northern States need not much longer count North Carolina as one of their markets: they may rather regard her as a competitor, and one who will soon become very formidable."

No. 2

"Domestic Manufactures. 2—The Greensborough Patriot mentions eight Cotton Factories, one Mt. Hecla, in that town, and the others within less than a days ride of it, viz:

The High Falls and Alamance Factories, in Orange; the Cedar Falls, and Franklinsville Factories, in Randolph; the Lexington, in Davidson; the Salem, in Stokes; and the Leaksville, in Rockingham.

In this town and immediate vicinity there are six, viz: Mallett's, Cross Creek, Phoenix, Rockfish, Beaver Creek, and Little River.

Besides these, there are in other parts of the State, one at Salisbury; one at Rockingham; one at Lincolnton; one at Rocky Mount, Edgecombe; one at Milton; one at Mocksville; one at Milledgeville, Montgomery County; one in Surry County; and one other in Orange County. Making 25 in all. The capital invested in these establishments is about a million and fifty thousand dollars; the number of spindles about 50,000, persons employed 12 to 1500.

We wish it were in our power to state what number of bales of cotton are consumed. It is not less than 15,000, we think."

2. Fayetteville Observer, October 4, 1843.
No. 3
1866-1867³

beaver Creek Cotton Factory, J. H. Hall, Fayetteville.
Rocky Mount Cotton Factory, W. S. Battle, Rocky Mount.
Cotton Factory, J. McDonald and Son. (Concord).
Cedar Falls Cotton Factory, George Makepeace, Cedar Falls.
Franklinsville Cotton Factory, George Makepeace,
Franklinville.
Cotton Factory, Phifer and Nicelor, near Concord.

No. 4
1867-1868⁴

Alamance County

Cane Creek Cotton Factory, Clover Orchard, W. H. Willard.
Holt's Cotton Factory, Holt's Store, E. M. Holt and Sons.
Granite Cotton Factory, Haw River, T. M. Holt.
Murray's Cotton Factory, Big Falls, W. J. and A. Murray.
Newlin's Cotton Factory, Saxapahaw, J. Newlin and Sons.

Alexander County

Cotton Factory, Taylorsville, Boyle and Jones Props.

Cabarrus County

Cotton Factory, (Steam) Concord, John McDonald and Sons.

Caldwell County

Cotton Factory, Patterson, R. L. Patterson.

Catawba County

Cotton Factory, near Catawba Station, Powell and Shufford.
Cotton Factory, near Catawba Station, Powell and Tate.

Cumberland County

Enterprise Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville, George Brandt, Prop.
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville, John Shaw, Pres.
Little River Manufacturing Company, Manchester, Duncan Murchison.

Edgecombe County

Cotton Factory, Rocky Mount, W. S. Battle.

Forsyth County

Woolen and Cotton Factory, Salem, H. W. Fries.

Gaston County

Tate's Cotton Factory, Woodlawn, T. R. Tate.
Woodlawn Cotton Factory, L. S. Lineberger and Co.

Guilford County

Cotton Factory, Jamestown, Mr. Hill, Agt.

Iredell County

Cotton Factory, Turnersburg, Wilfred Turner.

Johnston County


Lincoln County


Montgomery County

Swift Island Manufacturing Company, (Cotton Factory).

Randolph County

Island Ford Manufacturing Company, Franklinsville, Hugh Parks, Agt.
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company, George Makepeace, Agt.
Union Manufacturing Company, New Market, J. E. Walker, Agt.

Rockingham County
Cotton Factory, Leaksville, Turner Morehead.

Surry County
Cotton Factory, Elkin, Foard and Sons.

Wilkes County
Elkin Cotton Factory, Van Eaton and Foard.

Addenda
Rocky River, Cabarrus Co., Phifer and Nicelor.
Eagle Mills, Iredell County, J. H. Dalton
Milledgeville Factory, Stanley Co., Valentine Mauney.

No. 5
1869

Alamance County (page 10)
Alamance Mills, Holt's Store, E. M. Holt, 1837, 1400
Spindles, 30 looms, 80 hands, $50,000 capital.
Big Falls, Big Falls, W. J. and J. Murray, 1835, 1000
spindles, 25 hands, $30,000 capital.
Cane Creek, Clover Orchard, Holman Bros.
Granite, Haw River, T. M. Holt, 1858, 1,104 spindles, 35
hands, $50,000 capital.
Holt's New Factory, Graham, E. M. Holt and Sons, 1869, 1728
spindles, 50 hands, $60,000 capital
Saxapahaw, Saxapahaw, J. Newlin and Sons.

Alexander County (page 12)
Taylorsville Cotton Mill, Boyle and Jones.

Cabarrus County (page 25)
Steam Cotton Factory, Concord, J. McDonald and Sons.
Cotton Factory, Rocky River, J. R. Nicelor.

Caldwell County (page 28)
Cotton Factory, Patterson, Harper, Jones and Company.

Catawba County (page 34)
Cotton Mill, Catawba Station, Powell and Shufford, Granite Shoals, 1852, 800 spindles, 18 looms, 25 hands, $15,000 capital.
Cotton Mill, Catawba Station, Tate and Powell, Catawba Mills, 1854, 650 spindles, 20 hands, $14,000 capital.

Cleveland County (page 42)

Cumberland County (page 50)
Enterprise Manufacturing Company, George Brandt, Pres.
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company, D. Murchison, 1,000 spindles, 24 looms, 20 hands, $33,000 capital.

Edgecombe County (page 58)
Rocky Mount Cotton Mill, Rocky Mount, William S. Battle, 1820, 1,600 spindles, 20 looms, 50 hands, $50,000 capital.

Forsyth County (page 60)

Gaston County (page 64)
Cotton Mill, Woodlawn, L. Lineberger and Company
Cotton Mill, Woodlawn, J. and E. B. Stowe, Stowe's Mill, 1,154 spindles, 24 looms, 35 hands, $50,000 capital.

Guilford County (page 70)
Logan Manufacturing Company, Jamestown, W. L. Hill, Agt., 1868, 2,400 spindles, 65 hands, $50,000 capital.
Iredell County (page 82)

Eagle Mills, Morrison, Gaither and Company
Eagle Mills, T. N. and J. Cooper.
Cotton Mill, Turnersburg, Wilfred Turner, Turner's Mills, 1856, 660 spindles, 10 looms, 25 hands, $30,000 capital.

Lincoln County (page 88)

Cotton Mill, Lincolnton, Phifer and Allison, Ivey Shoals
Cotton Mill, 1849, 816 spindles, 26 looms, 30 hands, $20,000 capital.

Montgomery County (page 103)

Cotton Mill, Milledgeville, Mauney and McAlister.

Orange County (page 124)


Randolph County (page 133)

Cotton Mill, Franklinsville, Hugh Parks, Agt.
Cotton Mill, Cedar Falls.
Cotton Mill (Columbia), Franklinsville, D. Curtis, Agt., 1850, Deep River Manufacturing Company, 1,056 spindles, 20 looms, 50 hands, $20,000 capital.

Richmond County (page 136)

Cotton Mill, Rockingham, John Shortridge.
Cotton Mill, Rockingham, Col. Charles Malloy.

Rockingham County (page 138)

Cotton Mill, Leaksville, J. Turner Morehead, 1839, 2,800, spindles, 26 looms, 80 hands, $75,000 capital.

Stanley County (page 145)

Cotton Mill, Milledgeville, V. Mauney.
Surry County (page 148)

Cotton Mill, Elkin, Foard and Sons, 1,800 spindles, 20 looms, 50 hands, $75,000.

Wilkes County (page 167)

Cotton Mill, Van Eaton and Foard.

Yadkin County (page 170)

Cotton Mill, Larkin, Sparkes, Johnson and Company.

Mecklenburg County (Addenda)

Rock Island Manufacturing Company, Charlotte, wool and cotton, 1852, Young, Wilkes and Company, 2,200 spindles, 63 looms, 102 hands, $150,000 capital.

Richmond County

Richmond Mills, Rockingham, 1869, 4,000 spindles, 50 looms, 150 hands, $150,000 capital.

Surry County

Mt. Airy Mills, J. M. Brower and Brother, 600 spindles, 20 hands, $150,000 capital.

Johnston County

Lowell Mills, Selma, William Edgerton, 1,000 spindles, 20 looms, 25 hands, $25,000 capital

Branson's Directory listed a total of forty-six cotton mills in North Carolina in 1869. The census of 1870 listed thirty-three mills.

Page 181 of Branson's gave the total as 45 cotton mills, 54,575 spindles, 1,126 looms, 1,987 hands, and a capital investment of $2,272,000. The eighteen mills which were listed with their statistics in this volume reported 26,068 spindles, 332 looms, 887 hands and $1,047,000 capital.
Alamance County (page 18)

Alamance Factory, Holt's Store, E. M. Holt and Sons.
Big Falls Cotton Factory, Big Falls, M. J. and A. Murray.
Saxapahaw Cotton Factory, Saxapahaw, John Newlin and Co.
Clover Orchard Manufacturing Company, Clover Orchard, Holman Brothers.

Alexander County (page 21)

Taylorsville Cotton Mill, Taylorsville, Alspaugh Brothers.

Cabarrus County (page 42)

Concord Cotton Mill, Concord, John A. McDonald.
Rocky River Cotton Mill, Concord, J. R. Neilson.

Caldwell County (page 45)

Patterson Mill, Patterson, Gwyn, Harper and Company.

Catawba County (page 54)

Granite Shoals, Catawba Station, Tate and Powell.
Long Island, Catawba Station, Powell and Shufford.

Cleveland County (page 66)


Cumberland County (page 76)

Cotton Mill, Fayetteville, John Shaw, Pres.
Cotton Mill, Fayetteville, J. D. Williams.

Edgecombe County (page 89)

Rocky Mount Mills, Rocky Mount, W. S. Battle and Son.

Forsyth County (page 93)

Cotton Factory, F. and H. Fries, Salem.
Gaston County (page 100)
Woodlawn Cotton Mills, Woodlawn, Lineberger, Rhyne and Co.
Stowe's Cotton Mill, Stowesville, J. and E. B. Stowe.
Mt. Island Cotton Mill, Woodlawn, Thomas R. Tate.

Guilford County (page 111)
Logan Manufacturing Company, Jamestown, L. H. Hill, Agt.

Iredell County (page 127)
Cotton Yarns and Cloth, Turnersburg, Wilfred Turner and Son.
Cotton Yarns and Cloth, Eagle Mills, Morrison, Gaither and Company.
Cotton Yarns, Eagle Mills, Jesse H. Dalton.

Johnston County (page 132)
Little River Manufacturing Company, Pine Level, William Edgerton.

Lincoln County (page 139)
Cotton Yarns and Sheetings, Lincolnton, Phifer and Allison.

Montgomery County (page 157)
Cotton Mill, Milledgeville, Mauney and McAlister.

Randolph County (page 192)
Cotton Mill, New Market, Randleman and Company.
Cedar Falls Company, (2 miles), Franklinsville, George Makepeace.
Randolph Manufacturing Company, Franklinsville, Hugh Parks.
Deep River Manufacturing Company, Franklinsville, Dennis Curtis.

Richmond County (page 195)
Malloy's Factory, Laurel Hill, Col. Charles Malloy.

Rockingham County (page 199)
Surry County (page 212)

Elkin Cotton Mill, Elkin, N. P. Foard.
Greenhill Cotton Mill, Mt. Airy, W. A. Moore, Samuel L. Gilmer, and Rufus Roberts.

This directory listed a total of thirty-nine cotton mills in operation in North Carolina.

No. 7

1879

"Within 35 miles of Charlotte there are 9 cotton factories, viz: 1. The Mountain Island Mill, 12 miles from Charlotte; 5,000 spindles; makes osnaburgs, plaids, sheetings, yarns, and warps; lights with gas of its own manufacture; sells its products in Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago, and at Charlotte, N. C.

2. The Woodlawn Mills, 16 miles; employing 100 hands, 75 looms, 2,500 spindles; manufactures about 800 bales of sheeting and about 250 bales of yarn, and sells its productions from this market. 1 mile from Lowell.

3. The Lawrence Mills, 16 miles; 2,500 spindles, capacity 5,000; makes warps and yarns; 1 mile from Woodlawn Mills, at Lowell, Gaston County, distant one mile is depot.

4. Mount Holly Mills, 12 miles; 1,200 spindles; makes warps, sells North; is increasing.

5. Gaston Mills, 17 miles; 3,600 spindles; makes warps and yarns and sells North.

6. Stowesville Factory, 16 miles; 2,000 spindles, 24 looms; makes yarns and sheetings for home market; is increasing.

7. Odell & Co. Mills, 18 miles; runs 2,000 spindles and 50 looms; makes yarns and sheetings for home market.

8. Phifer and Allison, 35 miles; run 1,500 spindles and 30 looms; makes sheetings and yarns for home market.

9. Rocky River Mills, 20 miles; 1,000 spindles; 15 looms; yarns and sheeting for home market. The Lawrence Mills, mentioned above, are entirely new, having only commenced operations this year."

Alamance County

Alamance Cotton Factory, 1872, 1,200 spindles, 70 looms, 60 hands, Graham, E. M. Holt, water power.
Carolina Cotton Factory, water power, 3,000 spindles, 54 looms, 110 hands, Graham, J. H. and W. E. Holt.
Clover Orchard Factory, water power, 1,200 spindles, 44 looms, 60 hands, 1840, $25,000 capital, W. H. Holman.
Falls of Neuse Manufacturing Company, 1876, water power, 3,968 spindles, 140 hands.
Granite Cotton Factory, 1845, water power, 4,856 spindles, 110 looms, 185 hands, T. M. Holt, Haw River.
Saxapahaw Factory, water power, 1,400 spindles, 20 looms, Holt, White and Williamson, $16,000, 60 hands.

Alexander County

Taylorsville Cotton Mills, Taylorsville, water power, 528 spindles, 12 looms, 1853, 24 hands, Alspaugh Brothers.

Cabarrus County

Rocky River Mills, 1861, Concord, water power, 812 spindles, 16 looms, 17 hands, Weisler and Archibald.
Odell Manufacturing Company, Concord, steam power, 2,000 spindles, 45 hands, $15,000 capital.

Caldwell County

Patterson Factory, Patterson, water power, 960 spindles, 18 looms, 50 hands, 1872, Gwyn, Harper and Company.

Catawba County

Long Island Factory, 1852, Catawba Station, water power, 1,000 spindles, 24 looms, 35 hands, Powell and Shufford, $20,000 capital.
Granite Shoals Factory, 1854, Catawba Station, water power, 1,200 spindles, 24 looms, 50 hands, Claywell, Powell and Company, $25,000 capital.

Chatham County

Chatham Cotton Mills, 1877, Pittsboro, water power, 1,600 spindles, 15 looms, 40 hands, Bynum Manufacturing Company, $52,000.

Cleveland County

Cleveland Cotton Mills, 1874, Gardner's Ford, water power, 828 spindles, 20 looms, 28 hands, Schenck, Ramsour and Company, $25,000 capital.

Broad Rim Mills, 1852, Shelby, water power, 1,056 spindles, $25,000 capital, 26 hands.

Craven County

Neuse Manufacturing Company, 1877, New Bern, steam power, 2,000 spindles, J. D. Claypoole, George Allen, Richard Berry, $25,000 capital.

Cumberland County

Beaver Creek Cotton Factory, 1841, Fayetteville, water power, 2,900 spindles, 75 looms, John Shaw, pres., 72 looms.

Bluff Cotton Factory, 1873, Fayetteville, water power, 2,800 spindles, 60 looms, 72 hands, John Shaw, pres.

Hope Mills of Rockfish Manufacturing Company, 1873, Fayetteville, water power, 4,000 spindles, 80 hands, T. C. Oakman, pres., $150,000 capital.

Manchester Mills, 1878, Manchester, water power, 528 spindles, 30 hands.

Linwood Manufacturing Company, 1875, Manchester, water power, 600 spindles, 30 hands, $10,000 capital.

Forsyth County

F. and H. Fries Company, 1840, Salem, steam power, 1,614 spindles, 40 looms, 100 hands.

Franklin County

Laurel Factory, 1876, Laurel, water power, 612 spindles, 12 hands, J. F. Jones, $15,000 capital.

Gaston County

Woodlawn Mills, 1852, Pin Hook, water power, 2,500 spindles, 75 looms, 100 hands, C. J. Lineberger and Sons, $75,000 capital.

Mount Holly Springs Mills, 1876, Woodlawn, water power, 1,232 spindles, 26 hands, $36,000 capital.

Stowesville Mills, Garibaldi, 1854, water power, 1,200 spindles, 24 looms, 50 hands, Hornsley and Oats, $50,000 capital.

Mountain Island Mills, 1874, Mountain Island, water power, 5,000 spindles, 110 looms, 150 hands, G. K. Tate.

Island Creek Mills, 1875, Dallas, water power, 3,400 spindles,
50 hands, Wilson and Moore, $80,000 capital.
Lawrence Warp Mills, 1878, Pin Hook, water power, 2,240
spindles, 35 hands, $40,000.

Guilford County

Oakdale Cotton Mills, 1866, Jamestown, water power, 3,600
spindles, 60 hands, $60,000 capital.

Halifax County

Tuscarora Cotton Mills, 1876, Enfield, water power, 1,500
spindles, 26 hands, John T. Bellamy, $40,000 capital.

Iredell County

Turnersburg Cotton Mill, 1849, Turnersburg, water power, 650
spindles, 10 looms, 28 hands, W. Turner and Son, $26,000
capital.
Eagle Mills, Eagle Mill, 2,500 spindles, Morrison, Gaither
and Company

Johnston County

Johnston Little River Factory, 1850, Pine Level, water power,
1,320 spindles, 24 hands, William Edgerton, $40,000.

Lincoln County

Ivey Shoals Cotton Factory, 1848, Lincolnton, water power,
1,800 spindles, 26 looms, 50 hands, $25,000 capital.

Mecklenburg County

Glenroy Cotton Mills, 1878, Matthews, steam power, 264
spindles, 7 hands, E. C. Grier and Son, $7,000.

Nash County

Rocky Mount Mills, 1820/1870, Rocky Mount, water power,
3,084 spindles, 64 looms, 90 hands, W. S. Battle and Son.

New Hanover County

Wilmington Cotton Mills, 1875, Wilmington, steam power,
5,304 spindles, 156 looms, 95 hands, $125,300 capital.

Orange County

Orange Factory, 1852, Orange Factory, water power, 1,300
spindles, 42 looms.
Randolph County

Randolph Manufacturing Company, 1850, Franklinsville, water power, 1,200 spindles, 25 looms, 75 hands, Hugh Parks, Agent, $35,000 capital.

Franklinsville Manufacturing Company, 1870, Franklinsville water power, 1,100 spindles, 20 looms, 75 hands, $35,000 capital.

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company, 1856, Franklinsville, water power, 1,824 spindles, 58 looms, 90 hands, O. K. Cox, Agent, $25,000 capital.

Deep River Manufacturing Company, 1850, Franklinsville, water power, 1,100 spindles, 25 looms, 50 hands, D. Curtis, Agent, $20,000 capital.

Randleman Plaid Mills, 1869, High Point, water and steam power, 3,500 spindles, 200 looms, 200 hands, J. B. Randleman, Pres., $100,000 capital, $2,500 monthly payroll.

Richmond County

Great Falls Manufacturing Company, 1871, Rockingham, water power, 3,840 spindles, 130 looms, 130 hands, Robert L. Steele, Pres., $150,000 capital.

Pee Dee Manufacturing Company, 1877, Rockingham, water power, 2,016 spindles, 100 looms, 120 hands, Henry Rishton, Sup't, $150,000 capital.

Richmond Cotton Mills, 1867, Laurel Hill, water power, 1,900 spindles, 25 hands, Malloy and Morgan, $25,000.

Rockingham County

Leaksville Cotton Mills, 1839, Leaksville, water power, 3,632 spindles, 80 looms, 106 hands, J. Turner Morehead and Company, $125,000 capital.

Surry County

Green Hill Mills, 1869, Mount Airy, water power, 1,000 spindles, 21 looms, 35 hands, J. F. and W. A. Moore, $40,000 capital.

Elkin Manufacturing Company, 1849, Elkin, water power, 1,000 spindles, 15 looms, 32 hands, $20,000 capital.

This report listed in 1879 a total of fifty factories in North Carolina, of this total fifty reported the operation of 99,648 spindles, thirty-three reported 1,783 looms in operation, forty-eight reported 3,060 hands, and thirty-three reported a total capital of $1,710,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Mills</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>$643,000</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>$83,285</td>
<td>$317,743</td>
<td>$577,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabarrus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>30,235</td>
<td>59,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>13,675</td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catawba</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9,684</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>51,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49,000</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11,396</td>
<td>41,454</td>
<td>85,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5,201</td>
<td>20,445</td>
<td>38,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craven</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>36,500</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>242,000</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>44,340</td>
<td>155,588</td>
<td>239,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forsyth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3,504</td>
<td>13,040</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaston</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>57,489</td>
<td>223,167</td>
<td>393,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>18,900</td>
<td>56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iredell</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,405</td>
<td>13,186</td>
<td>21,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>35,465</td>
<td>59,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>13,233</td>
<td>46,451</td>
<td>76,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hanover</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>18,900</td>
<td>34,507</td>
<td>81,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7,267</td>
<td>10,018</td>
<td>25,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>301,000</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>82,625</td>
<td>205,527</td>
<td>372,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>158,800</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>23,137</td>
<td>74,604</td>
<td>135,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>21,500</td>
<td>67,168</td>
<td>98,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>36,900</td>
<td>57,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,855,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,232</strong></td>
<td><strong>$439,659</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,463,645</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,554,482</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 10
188310

"Cotton manufacturing has long been an established industry in North Carolina. Though generally prosperous it advanced cautiously until within the last six or eight years, within which time it has been doubled.

In 1870 the census reported thirty three establishments, with a capital of $1,030,900, operating 618 looms and 39,897 spindles.

The census bulletin on Specific Cotton Manufactures states the number of establishments to be forty nine, an increase of sixteen over that of 1870, with a capital of $2,855,800, an increase of $1,824,900; 1,790 looms, an increase of 1,172; and 92,385 spindles, an increase of 52,488.

The actual number of completed mills in the state, ascertained by reports from mill owners made to the Department of Agriculture, a list of which is subjoined, is sixty four. These mills operate 2,855 looms and 156,030 spindles. It will be seen that within the past twelve years the number of establishments has almost doubled, and if two mills now under construction and with machinery on the floors are counted in, there are exactly as many mills again as in 1870. The number of looms has increased four hundred and fifty per cent., and the number of spindles three hundred per cent. There are no accessible statistics by which a comparison of products can be made, but the large increase in looms will add greatly to the money value of the total product. Number 14 is the average yarn spun. The cloths, bags and bagging woven are of excellent quality and rank as leading standard goods in the markets. All these mills except about 12 are operated by water power. While good water powers will always be favorite investments, the low rates at which coal is and will continue to be delivered at stations along the lines of railway that run through the cotton belt, and where raw material for manufacture can be bought at the factory doors, will modify the almost exclusive use of water power as a motive power and will aid in building mills in localities that are supplied with other governing facilities for manufacturing.

The amount of capital invested in cotton factories in the state by other than native citizens is inconsiderable. Five mills have been completed during the year ending September 1st., 1882, and 31,000 spindles were added. Three mills to run about 10,000 spindles, are now building, and several more projected. The opinion of the best informed and most experienced manufacturer is to the effect that the proven, undeniable advantages of making at least the coarser fabrics,—where the material for them is grown, and where a favorable climate, light taxes and cheap labor are auxiliary conditions,—will maintain the rate of increase of the past five years.

**Alamance County**

Clover Orchard Manufacturing Company, Clover Orchard, 40 looms, 1,200 spindles, W. C. Holman, owner.
Rock Creek Manufacturing Company, Graham, 30 looms, C. C. Curtis & Co.
Carolina Cotton Mills, Graham, 52 looms, 3,000 spindles, J. H. and W. E. Holt.
Alamance Cotton Mills, Graham, 92 looms, 1,000 spindles, E. M. Holt's Sons.
Granite Cotton Mill, Graham, 220 looms, 8,424 spindles, T. M. Holt.
Altamahaw Cotton Mill, Company Shops, 1,008 spindles, Davidson and Gant.
Falls of the Neuse Manufacturing Company, Haw River, 2,240 spindles, George W. Swepson.

**Alexander County**

Sulphur Spring Manufacturing Company, Stony Point, 600 spindles, J. L. Davis and Co.
Taylorsville Manufacturing Company, Taylorsville, 12 looms, 528 spindles, Alsapough Brothers.

**Bertie County**

Harden Manufacturing Company, Windsor, 612 spindles, C. T. Harden, President.
Cabarrus County

Rocky River Cotton Factory, Concord, 400 spindles, W. J. Black.
Odell Manufacturing Company, Concord, 126 looms, 4,500 spindles, J. M. Odell, President.

Caldwell County

Gwyn, Chatham and Company, Patterson, 19 looms, 1,808 spindles.

Catawba County

Beaumont Falls Cotton Mill, Monbo, 50 looms, 1,500 spindles, Turner Brothers.
Newton Cotton Mill, Newton, 2,040 spindles.
Long Island Manufacturing Company, Catawba Station, 40 looms, 1,000 spindles, Powell and Shufford.

Chatham County


Cleveland County

Cleveland Mills, Shelby, 20 looms, 848 Spindles, Schenck, Ramsour, and Company.
Morgan Falls Manufacturing Company, Double Shoals, 1,224 spindles, E. A. Morgan and Company.

Craven County

New Berne Manufacturing Company, New Berne, 2,100 spindles, T. A. Green.

Cumberland County

Manchester Mills, Manchester, 46 looms, 1,700 spindles, A. K. McDairmid, President.
Linwood Cotton Mill, Manchester, 700 spindles, W. J. McDairmid, Treasurer.
Beaver Creek Cotton Mill, Fayetteville, 69 looms, 3,360 spindles, E. J. Lilly, President.
Bluff Creek Cotton Mill, Fayetteville, 62 looms, 3,028 spindles, E. J. Lilly, President.
Rockfish Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville, 4,500 spindles, T. C. Oakman.
Durham County
Orange Factory, Orange Factory, 45 looms, 1,300 spindles, S. H. Holman.

Forsyth County
Fries' Factory, Salem, 76 looms, 3,372 spindles, F. and H. Fries.

Franklin County
Laurel Cotton Factory, Laurel, 650 spindles, J. F. Jones.

Gaston County
Stowesville Cotton Mill, Garibaldi, 1,400 spindles, T. H. Gaither.
Gastonia Cotton Mill, Gastonia, 2,500 spindles, J. H. Wilson, Jr.
Woodlawn Manufacturing Company, Lowell, 50 looms, 2,500 spindles, C. J. Lineberger, President.
Lawrence Manufacturing Company, Lowell, 5,000 spindles, C. J. Lineberger, President.
Mountain Island Mill, Mountain Island, 150 looms, 6,000 spindles, F. A. and G. K. Tate.

Guilford County
Mt. Pleasant Manufacturing Company, brick Church, 30 looms, 864 spindles, W. M. Kline, Secretary.
High Point Manufacturing Company, High Point, 3,000 spindles, O. J. Causey, Treasurer.
Oakdale Manufacturing Company, Jamestown, 125 looms, 3,120 spindles, C. P. Mendenhall.

Iredell County

Johnston County
Lowell Cotton Factory, Pine Level, 1,320 spindles, William Edgerton.
Lincoln County
Ivey Shoals Manufacturing Company, Lincolnton, 75 looms, 2,016 spindles, Phifer and Allison.

Mecklenburg County
Charlotte Cotton Mill, Charlotte, 6,056 spindles, Oates Bros.

Montgomery County
Yadkin Falls Cotton Mill, Milledgeville, 12 looms, 600 spindles, McAlister and Company.

Nash County
Rocky Mount Mill, Rocky Mount, 80 looms, 3,616 spindles, Battle and Son.

New Hanover County
Wilmington Cotton Mill, Wilmington, 156 looms, 5,304 spindles, W. O. McRae, Secretary.

Pasquotank County
Clement Attachment, Elizabeth City, 708 spindles, S. S. Fowler.

Randolph County
Central Falls Manufacturing Company, Ashboro, 5,000 spindles, J. H. Ferree, President.
Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company, Cedar Falls, 60 looms, 2,144 spindles, O. R. Cox, Agent.
Columbus Manufacturing Company, Columbus Factory, 2,880 spindles, W. H. Watkins, Agent.
Franklinsville Manufacturing Company, Franklinsville, 20 looms, 960 spindles, Benjamin Moffitt, Secretary.
Randolph Manufacturing Company, Franklinsville, 50 looms, 2,000 spindles, Hugh Parks, Agent.
Naomi Manufacturing Company, Randleman, 118 looms, 4,608 spindles, J. H. Ferree, President.
Randleman Manufacturing Company, Randleman, 290 looms, 3,500 spindles, J. H. Ferree, President.
Foust's Mills, 26 looms, 1,100 spindles.

Richmond County
Richmond Cotton Mill, Laurel Hill, 2,408 spindles, Mark Morgan.
Poe Dee Manufacturing Company, Rockingham, 100 looms, 4,032 spindles, R. L. Steele, President.
Great Falls Manufacturing Company, 130 spindles, 4,280 spindles, R. L. Steele, President.

Rockingham County


Surry County

Hamburg Mills, Mt. Airy, 576 spindles, A. Hines.
Elkin Manufacturing Company, Elkin, 15 looms, 1,500 spindles, R. R. Gwyn, Agent.
Cotton Mill, Mt. Airy, 25 looms, 1,000 spindles, J. F. and W. A. Moore.

Wilson County

(New Mill)——

This listing gave a total of 2,858 looms, and 156,030 spindles in these North Carolina cotton mills.

No. 11
1884

Alamance County

Granite Falls Mill, 1845, Haw River, T. M. Holt, 8,450 spindles, 218 looms, 275 hands.
Alamance Cotton Mill, Company Shops, E. M. Holt's Sons, 1,000 spindles, 92 looms, $50,000 capital.
Sweaton Mills, Haw River, R. Y. McAden, President, 1876, 2,240 spindles, 101 looms, 109 hands, $50,000 capital.

Saxapahaw Cotton Mill, 1874, Holt, White and Williamson, 5,000 spindles, 60 hands.
Ossipee Cotton Mill, 1882, Gibsonville, J. N. Williamson, 2,000 spindles, 100 looms, 75 hands, $65,000 capital.
Sidney Cotton Mill, 1883, Graham, Scott, Donnell and Scott, (Steam).
Altamahaw Cotton Mill, Gibsonville, 1880, Davidson and Gant, 1,008 spindles, 20 hands, $50,000 capital.
Rock Creek Cotton Mill, 1881, Rock Creek, C. C. Curtis and Co., 30 looms, 15 hands.
Big Falls, Graham, (building).
Holman Manufacturing Company, Cane Creek.
E. M. Holt Plaid Mills, Company Shops, L. S. Holt, President, (building), W. A. Erwin, Secretary.

Alexander County

Sulpher Springs Manufacturing Company, Stony Point, J. L. Davis and Company, 600 spindles.
Taylorsville Manufacturing Company, Alspaugh Brothers, 528 spindles, 12 looms, $15,000 capital.

Cabarrus County

Odell Manufacturing Company, 1840/1882, Concord, J. M. Odell, President, 6,000 spindles, 212 looms, 275 hands, $140,000 capital.
Rocky River Mills, 1860, Concord, Jack Black, 500 spindles, 12 looms, 15 hands, $15,000 capital.

Caldwell County

Cotton Factory, Patterson, Gwyn, Harper and Company, 1,808 spindles, 19 looms.
Cotton Factory, Granite, Shufford, Gwyn and Company.

Catawba County

Granite Shoals Mills, Monbo, Turner Brothers.
Long Island Mills, Catawba, Powell and Shufford.
Newton Cotton Mills, Newton, W. H. Williams, President.

Chatham County

Bynum Manufacturing Company, Pittsboro.
Cleveland County

Cotton Factory, 1874, Cleveland Mills, H. F. Schenck, 848 spindles, 20 looms.
Morgan Falls Manufacturing Company, Double Shoals, E. A. Morgan and Company, 1,224 spindles.

Craven County

Cotton Yarns and Plaid Manufacturing Company, T. A. Green, President, 2,100 spindles, $40,000 capital.

Cumberland County

Manchester Manufacturing Company, Manchester, A. K. McDairmid, President, 2,500 spindles, 46 looms, $50,000 capital.
Rockfish Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville, 4,500 spindles, cotton yarns.
Cotton Yarn Factory, Fayetteville, J. M. Beasley.
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville, E. J. Lilly, president, 6,388 spindles, 131 looms, $75,000 capital.
Star Mills, Fayetteville, (not running).

Forsyth County

Arista Cotton Mill, 1880, Salem, F. and H. Fries, (steam), 3,394 spindles, 102 looms, 100 hands, light with electricity.

Franklin County

Cotton Factory, Laurel, J. F. Jones, 650 spindles.

Gaston County

Gastonia Cotton Mills, 1876, Lowell, J. H. Wilson, Jr., 2,500 spindles, 40 hands, $60,000 capital.
Lawrence Manufacturing Company, C. J. Lineberger and Company, 5,000 spindles, 60 hands, $60,000 capital.
McAden Mills, Lowell, R. Y. McAden, 10,000 spindles, 1882, 100 hands, Edison Electric light, $200,000 capital.
Stowesville Cotton Mills, Garibaldi, T. H. Gaither, 1,400 spindles.
Mountain Island Plaid Mills, 1832/1848, Tate Brothers, 6,000 spindles, 150 looms, 75 hands.
Woodlawn Manufacturing Company, Lowell, C. J. Lineberger and Company, 2,500 spindles, 50 looms, 50 hands, $50,000 capital.
Guilford County

Willow Brook Manufacturing Company, High Point, W. D. Jones, President, 1880, 3,000 spindles, 60 looms, 100 hands, (steam).

Oakdale Manufacturing Company, Jamestown, C. P. Mendenhall, president, 2,700 spindles, 80 hands, $86,000 capital.

Halifax County

Cotton Factory, Enfield, J. T. Bellamy.

Iredell County


Eagle Mills, Eagle Mill, Morrison, Gaither and Company, 600 spindles.

Cotton Factory, 1849, Turnersburg, Wilfred Turner and Son, 680 spindles, 10 looms, $26,000 capital.

Johnston County


Lincoln County

Cotton Factory, Lincolnton, Phifer and Allison.

Cotton Factory, Lincolnton, Sumner and Phifer.

Mecklenburg County

Charlotte Cotton Mill, 1880, Charlotte, R. M. Oates, 6,240 spindles, 80 hands, $125,000 capital.

Montgomery County


Cotton Factory, Milledgeville, Mauney, McAlister and Company.

Nash County

Rocky Mount Mill, Rocky Mount, W. S. Battle and Son.

New Hanover County

Cotton Factory, Wilmington, Donald McRae, president, 5,000 spindles, 100 hands, $70,000 capital.

Pasquotank County

Cotton Spinning, Elizabeth City, S. S. Fowler.
Randolph County

Franklinsville Manufacturing Company, 1839/1876, Hugh Parks, pres., 1,280 spindles, 30 looms, 83 hands, $50,000 capital.

Randolph Manufacturing Company, 1839/1857, J. D. Williams, 1,800 spindles, 50 looms, 60 hands, $32,000 capital.

Randleman Manufacturing Company, 1849/1870, O. W. Carr, pres., 4,500 spindles, 300 looms, 375 hands, $100,000 capital.

Naomi Manufacturing Company, Randleman, 1879, J. H. Ferree, pres., 5,500 spindles, 150 plaid looms, 12 bag looms, $150,000 capital.

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company, 1841/1877, Cedar Falls, Dr. J. M. Worth, pres., 2,144 spindles, 30 looms, 90 hands, $48,000 capital.

Central Falls Manufacturing Company, Central Falls, J. H. Ferree, pres., 2,500 spindles, 36 looms, 65 hands, $75,000 capital.

J. M. Worth Manufacturing Company, Worthville, Dr. J. M. Worth, pres., 5,000 spindles, 52 looms, 125 hands, $150,000 capital.


Columbia Manufacturing Company, 1849/1879, Columbia Factory, J. S. Spencer, pres., 2,880 spindles, 50 hands, $60,000.

Richmond County

Pee Dee Manufacturing Company, 1874, Rockingham, Col. W. L. Steele, pres., 4,032 spindles, 136 looms, 150 hands, $103,000 capital.

Great Falls Manufacturing Company, 1834/1869, Rockingham, R. L. Steele, pres., 4,200 spindles, 130 looms, 120 hands, $150,000 capital.

Ledbetter Mills, Rockingham, T. B. and J. S. Ledbetter, 1,000 spindles, 100 hands, $25,000 capital.

Roberdell Manufacturing Company, 1882, Rockingham, 3,264 spindles, 100 hands, $100,000 capital, 100 looms.

Malloy's Mills, 1873, Laurel Hill, Malloy and Morgan, 1,200 spindles, 35 hands, $25,000 capital.

Midway Mills, 1881, Rockingham, Leak, Wall and McRae, 1,000 spindles, 25 hands, $35,000 capital.

Rockingham County

Surry County

Elkin Manufacturing Company, 1848, Elkin, James Gwyn, 1,200 spindles, 15 looms, 35 hands, $28,000 capital.
Cotton Factory, Mt. Airy, Arden Hines.
Cotton Factory, Mt. Airy, Eureka Manufacturing Company.

Wilson County

Wilson Cotton Mills, Wilson, A. Branch, pres., 5,320 spindles, 80 hands, $100,000 capital.

This directory listed a total of eighty cotton mills in operation in North Carolina. Fifty-four of these mills reported a total of 156,816 spindles; thirty-two of them reported a total of 2,765 looms; thirty-eight of them reported a total of 3,376 hands; and thirty-six of them reported a total capitalization of $2,460,000.
Photographic Credits


Documents 1-3 Manuscript Division of Duke University.

Document 4 Department of Archives and History, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographies


Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1941.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the Historical Commission, Edwards and Broughton, Raleigh, 1941.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Alamance Mills Collection, 1840-1880, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. P. Battle Collection, 1815-1878, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Beall-Harper Papers, 1840-1860, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Alexander and Joseph Brevard Papers, 1800-1827, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Hamilton Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

John Warren Carrigan Papers, 1817-1901, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company, 1846-1880, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers, 1871-1918, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

Including:

Laurel Hill Mill, 1871-1880
Beaver Creek and Bluff Mills, 1878-1880
Stowesville Mills, 1846-1860
Turnersburg Mills, 1847-1880
Yadkin Falls Manufacturing Company, 1876-1880
Double Shoals Mill, 1875-1879

Cane Creek Cotton Factory, 1836-1857.
O. D. Davis Papers, 1830-1850, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

W. H. Flinn Letters and Papers, 1862-1863, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1800-1860, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Francis Henry Fries, The History of the Fries Family A.D. 810-1930, typescript, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

H. W. Fries Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

William Clark Grasty and John F. Rison Papers, 1788(1800-1869)-1876, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

Gwyn Records, 1850-1884, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

James Gwyn Papers, 1850-1880, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

J. Gwyn Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

E. J. Hale Papers, 1840-1867, Department of Archives and History, North Carolina Historical Commission, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

G. W. F. Harper Papers, 1840-1880, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Diary and Accounts of James C. Harper, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

John Steele Henderson Papers, 1840-1880, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Hoke Papers, 1790-1861, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
William A. Hoke Papers and Books, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Edwin Michael Holt, Occasional Diary, 1844-1854, typescript, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Francis T. Leak Diary, 1850-1857, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.


Lenoir Family Papers, 1830-1860, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Lenoir Family No. 2, 1830-1860, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Morehead Papers, 1815-1880, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson Papers, 1795(1810-1925)1939, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

William Ross Papers, 1738(1789-1833)1875, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1860-1870, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Michael Shenk Paper, Department of Archives and History, North Carolina Historical Commission, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

John Steele Papers, 1800-1829, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Newspapers and Periodicals

Located in the Duke University Newspaper Collection, and the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The **Alamance Gleaner** (Graham, N. C.), 1874-1884.

The **Charlotte Journal** (Charlotte, N. C.), 1835-1850.

**Daily Charlotte Observer** (Charlotte, N. C.), 1868-1880.


The **Fayetteville News** (Fayetteville, N. C.), 1869-1873.

**Fayetteville Observer** (Fayetteville, N. C.), 1830-1883.

**Greensborough Patriot** (Greensborough, N. C.), 1839-1869.

**Greensborough Patriot and Times** (Greensborough, N. C.), 1867-1869.


**Hillsborough Recorder** (Hillsborough, N. C.), 1828-1865.

**The Daily Journal** (Wilmington, N. C.), 1866-1880.

**The Land We Love,** 1866-1869, 6 vols., Charlotte, N. C.


**The News and Observer** (Raleigh, N. C.), 1890-1895.

**Niles' Register,** 1811-1849, Baltimore and Philadelphia.

**North Carolina Advertiser** (Raleigh, N. C.), 1867-1868.

**North Carolina Standard** (Raleigh, N. C.), 1840-1880.
Raleigh Register (Raleigh, N. C.), 1840-1850.
The Sentinel (Raleigh, N. C.).
The Southern Cultivator, 1846-1880, Athens, Georgia.
The Southern Home (Charlotte, N. C.), 1869-1880.
The Western Carolinian (Salisbury, N. C.), 1835-1850.
The Western Democrat (Charlotte, N. C.), 1854-1875.

Government Documents

Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States, Gales and Seaton, Washington, 1823.
Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1830-1880.
Handbook of the State of North Carolina, The Board of Agriculture, Ashe and Gatling, Raleigh, 1883.
Handbook of North Carolina, Board of Agriculture, P. M. Hale, Raleigh, 1886.
Statistics of the United States of America, Sixth Census, Blair and Reeves, Washington, 1841.
Compendium of the Sixth Census, Thomas Allen Printer, Washington, 1841.


Contemporary Books and Pamphlets

Andrews, Sidney, The South Since the War, Ticknor and Fields, Boston, 1866.

Branson and Farrar's North Carolina Business Directory, for 1867, 1868, 1869, 1872, 1884, Raleigh, N. C.

Cox, Tench, A View of the United States of America, William Hall and Wrigley and Berriman, Philadelphia, 1794.

DeBow, J. D. B., The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, 3 vols., Appleton, New York, 1854.


Hale, P. M., In the Coal and Iron Counties of North Carolina, E. J. Hale and Son, New York, 1883.

In Memoriam, Hon. John M. Morehead, Nichols and Gorman, Raleigh, 1868.


North Carolina Pamphlets, Historical, vol. 8, "Short History of Cumberland County and the Cape Fear Section," 1905.


Olmsted, Frederick L., A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, Mason Brothers, New York, 1856.

Lynam, J. B., Cotton Culture, Orange Judd and Company, New York, 1868.


General and Special Histories

Alexander, J. B., The History of Mecklenburg County From 1740 to 1900, Observer Printing Press, 1902.

Arthur, John P., Western North Carolina A History from 1730 to 1913, Edwards and Broughton, Raleigh, 1911.


Dickson, Harris, *The Story of King Cotton*, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1937.


I, Richard Worden Griffin, was born in Columbus, Ohio, June 13, 1922. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Columbus, Ohio. My undergraduate training was obtained at Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina, from which I received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1946. From the Ohio State University, I received the degree of Master of Arts in 1948. In 1951 I received an appointment as Graduate Assistant in The Ohio State University, where I specialized in the Department of History. I held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.