

TAR HEEL JUNIOR HISTORIAN

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North Carolina's Piedmont



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THE PURPOSE of the *Tar Heel Junior Historian* magazine (ISSN 0496-8913) is to present the history of North Carolina for this state's young people through a well-balanced selection of scholarly articles written by adults and junior historians, photographs and illustrations to explain concepts, informational departments, and student activities to encourage student involvement. It is published two times per year by the Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, North Carolina Museum of History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27601-2807. Copies are provided free to association members, along with the association newsletter, *Crossroads*. Individual and library subscriptions may be purchased at the rate of \$4.00 per year. ©Copyright 1990, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

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Introduction: dynamic Tar Heel heartland

by Lindley S. Butler

The piedmont, North Carolina's largest geographic region, sprawls over 22,000 square miles and forty-two counties. It contains the majority of the state's population, its largest cities, the bulk of the state's wealth, and four-fifths of its industry. The piedmont is also the center of the state. North Carolina was once described as the "Dixie Dynamo" in a 1962 *National Geographic* article, and now it has its own dynamo: the piedmont. From the legislative halls in Raleigh to the financial board rooms of Charlotte and

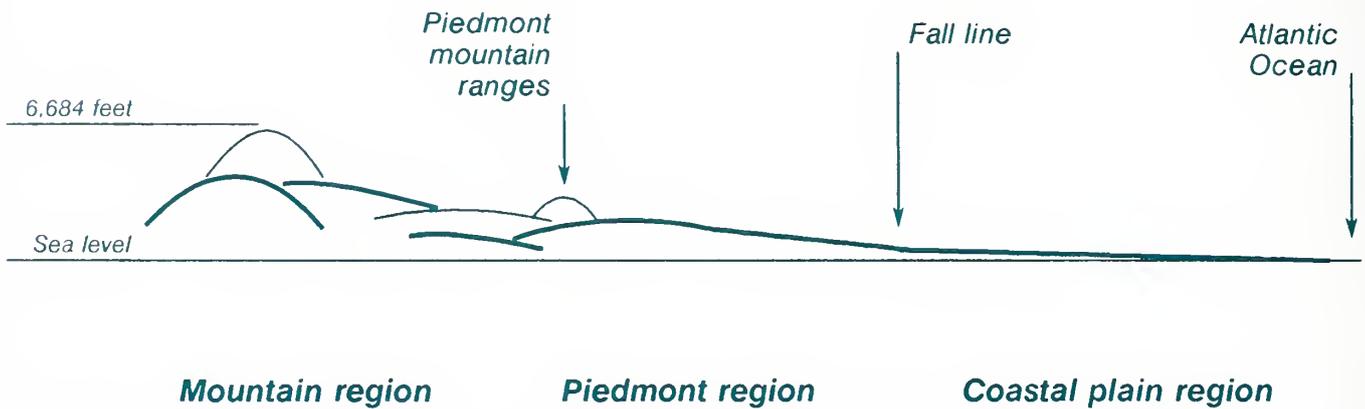
Winston-Salem to the industrial headquarters in Greensboro, Hickory, and Eden to the intellectual research centers of Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh, the future of North Carolina is planned in the piedmont.

The piedmont lies between the Atlantic Ocean, to the east, and the Appalachian mountains, to the west. It measures about 200 miles wide and gradually rises in elevation from 500 to 1,500 feet. Punctuating this gently rolling countryside are ancient mountains, varying from 1,700 to

2,700 feet in height. Among these timeworn hills are the Uwharrie Mountains near Asheboro (Randolph County), King's Mountain south of Gastonia (Gaston County), the South Mountains of Burke County, Pilot Mountain in Surry County, and the Sauratown Mountains of Stokes County. In the piedmont setting, these ranges are notable enough for their scenic beauty and their diversity of plants and animals that they are preserved in state parks and a national forest, providing recreation and relaxation for many Tar Heels.

Elevations of North Carolina's regions

Graphic not to scale



A traveler heading west across the state leaves the coastal plain east of Raleigh and enters forests dominated by oak, hickory, and poplar trees. Abandoned, open fields are abundantly dotted with pines. The clay-based soils, heavier than the sandy loams of

the east, are difficult to cultivate. Low quality soils, thick forests, and the many hills shaped a colonial economy of small farms rather than large plantations.

Unlike the broad, sluggish rivers of the coastal plain, the streams of the piedmont are

narrow, rocky, shallow, and rapid. In the colonial period, without considerable improvement, they could not be used to transport commerce to market. But these waters could be harnessed for power. The **backcountry** settlers relied on the rushing water to

People living in the piedmont took advantage of the piedmont's fast flowing rivers. The swift waters turned machinery in mill buildings such as this gristmill or sawmill (Right) and this textile mill (Opposite page, top).





power gristmills, sawmills, presses, and forges. Backcountry was a frontier area west of eastern North Carolina's settled areas. In the early 1800s, North Carolina's manufacturing giant, the textile industry, would be born in the piedmont. There it was powered by waterwheels and turbines on the region's swift rivers.

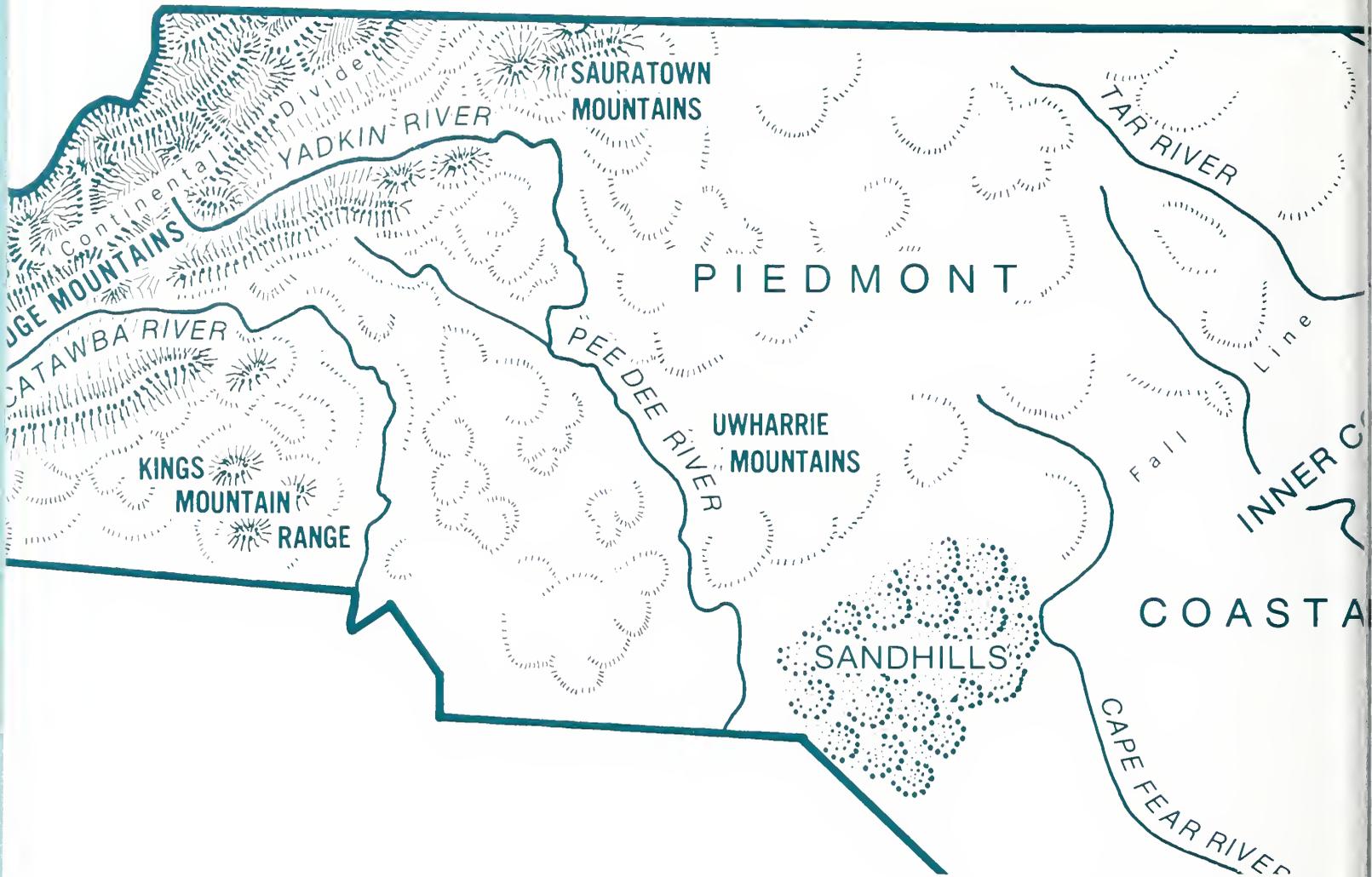
The key problem of the great piedmont river systems—the Yadkin, the Catawba, and the Roanoke—is that they flow in

the wrong direction for state development. The Yadkin and the Catawba, navigable almost to the mountains, flow into South Carolina. The Roanoke River and its tributary, the Dan River, end in Albemarle Sound, which is closed to shipping by the treacherous Oregon Inlet. The location of the Roanoke and Dan rivers on the border of Virginia and North Carolina meant that interstate cooperation was essential to improvement of the river system.

That cooperation would never come. These river systems today, while not used for transporting commerce, have been **impounded**—dams have been built—creating major reservoirs for hydroelectric power, flood control, and recreation. The most striking of the impoundments are Gaston Lake and Kerr Reservoir on the Roanoke, Lake Hickory and Lake Norman on the Catawba, and Badin Lake and High Rock Lake on the Yadkin.



John H. Kerr Reservoir, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers



The southward-flowing streams of the North Carolina backcountry led to settlement of the region by migrants moving south from Pennsylvania, down the Great Wagon Road through the Valley of Virginia. Pennsylvania's economic prosperity and its liberal political and religious atmosphere generated a rapidly growing population of Scotch-Irish and Germans. Upon arrival in that Quaker colony, they found that the best land had long been taken by colonists. Searching for rich unclaimed land, tens of thousands of the new immigrants moved south into the backcountry of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. As a result, from 1750 to 1775, North Carolina experienced a period of rapid growth. The population tripled to more than 250,000.

Large numbers of frontier folk remained in North Carolina, swelling settlement in that region to forty percent of the colony's total population. Governor William Tryon observed in 1766 that "last autumn and winter, upwards of one thousand wagons passed thro' Salisbury with families from the northward, to settle in this province chiefly."

The piedmont has become the industrial heartland of modern North Carolina. As early as 1670, the first explorer to travel extensively through the piedmont, John Lederer, noted the differences between the interior and the tidewater regions. He wrote that the piedmont region "if possessed by an ingenious and industrious people, would be improved to vast advantages by Trade." This remarkable, prophetic view became a reality

in the piedmont. The "ingenious and industrious people" proved to be the energetic Scotch-Irish and the hard-working Germans, whose descendants would develop the region to its full potential. The Moravians came to the backcountry from Pennsylvania in 1753 to settle the Wachovia tract in modern-day Forsyth County. In their town of Salem, founded in 1766, they created an industrial and trade center for the upper piedmont. Later, the piedmont cradled the post-Civil War industrial recovery known as the "New South." Textile mills seemed to appear almost overnight in cities, small towns, and villages. Today, Research Triangle Park, the brainchild of late Governor Luther H. Hodges (1954-1961), has brought to the state many research-based industries that

would only have been a dream without the 5,000-acre park between Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill.

This state has swiftly evolved from one of the most rural in America to one of the most urban. The change can be seen in the tall buildings rising in the center of Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Greensboro.

problems of urban life—commuting in congested traffic, overcrowding, high living costs, pollution, high crime rates, and over-taxed services. Yet North Carolina's cities are still small enough to deal with these problems and to be models not only for the state's rapid urbanization but also for the nation.

urbanization, New South entrepreneurs, black business leaders in the 1800s, the furniture industry, tobacco manufacturing, the farm family, and life in a textile community. Although this issue of the *Tar Heel Junior Historian* is not a complete portrait of this complex region, it touches on key components of the region's historical experience, economic development, and social change.

The piedmont was molded in the colonial backcountry by the vitality of the Scotch-Irish and the dedication to excellence by the German craftsmen. Lacking adequate waterways for trade and terrain suitable for plantations, the early settlers met these challenges by creating an economy based on diversified agriculture, manufacturing, and local markets. In the 1800s railroads solved the transportation problem, opening the region to national and world markets. In our time the Research Triangle is attracting to the state high-skill and better paying industries. The challenge for the next century will be to cope with the uncertain future of the state's historic industries—tobacco and textiles—and to provide, through our public education system, the quality training that will enable our citizens to fill the high-skill jobs on the horizon. If we answer these economic and educational challenges and plan our urban growth so that we preserve a quality environment, guaranteeing every person decent living and recreational space, then the future of the state will be bright. These challenges will be answered first and the future of North Carolina shaped by the dynamic piedmont heartland. ■

Charlotte skyline



Charlotte Chamber of Commerce

These cities are located in the "piedmont crescent". This arc was created in the mid-1800s along the route of the North Carolina Railroad and today is now sustained by freeways and interstate highways. Life does move at a faster pace in the three metropolitan areas of the state: the Research Triangle of Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill; the Triad of Greensboro, High Point, and Winston-Salem; and the Metrolina of Charlotte, which spills over into South Carolina. These cities are the fastest growing areas in the state. But the residents daily face the

From a gentle landscape to urban pollution, from the small town to the metropolis, from the dramatic profile of Pilot Mountain to the high-rise buildings of Charlotte, from the winding country roads to the congested freeways, from the textile mills to the high-tech laboratories of the Research Triangle, the diversity of the piedmont makes it difficult to characterize this vital, pulsing heartland of North Carolina. Nevertheless, the authors of this issue describe many parts of the piedmont, including the early Indians, transportation,

“The Flower of Carolina”: the piedmont

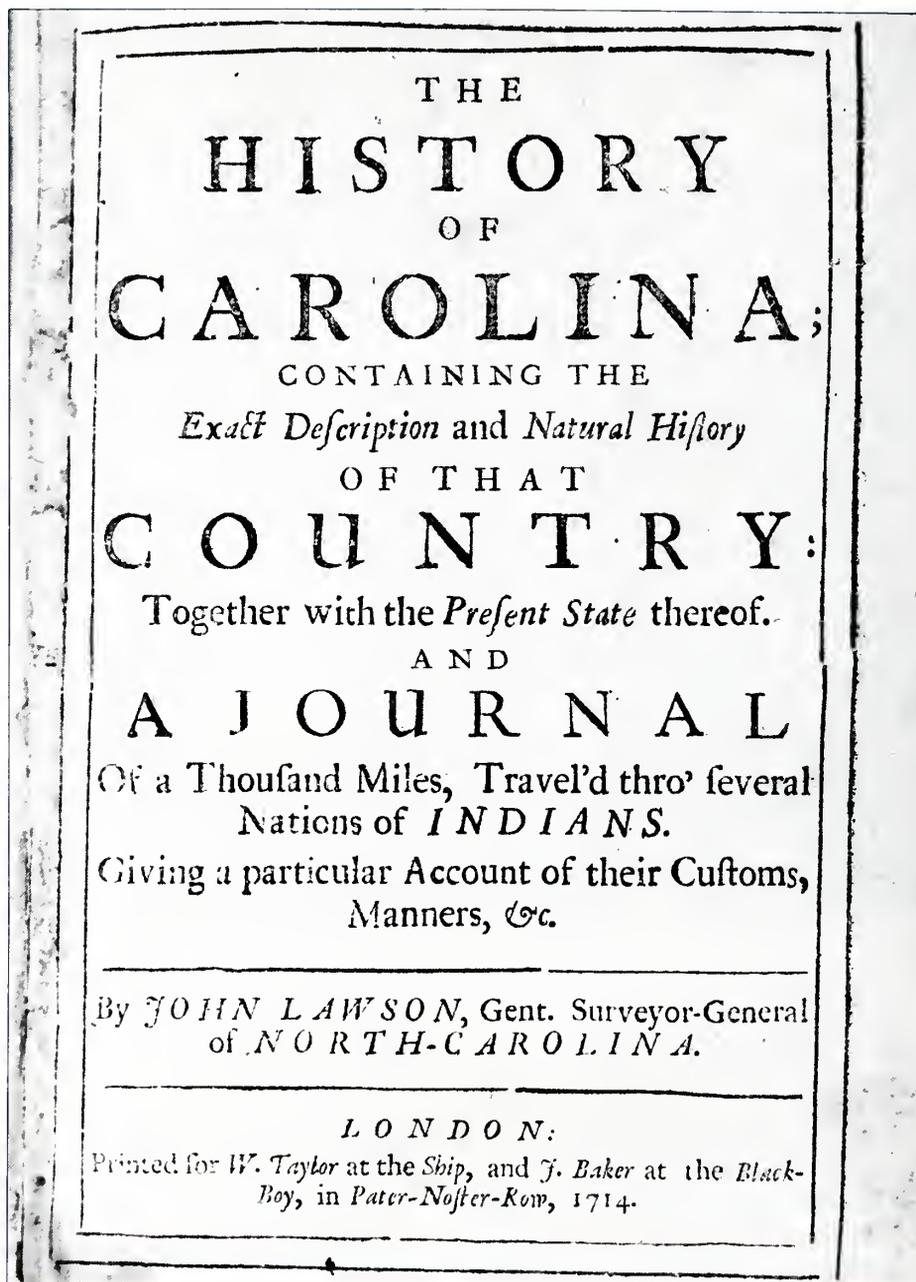
by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.

On December 28th, 1700, an adventurous young Englishman set out from Charles Town, South Carolina, to explore the Carolina backcountry. Led by native guides and accompanied by five other Englishmen, he would spend the next two months traveling almost six hundred miles through the South Carolina and North Carolina piedmont. His name was John Lawson.

Following the rivers and trails, Lawson visited over a dozen Indian villages, and he carefully recorded in his journal the peculiar and varied customs that he saw. The Indians in these villages belonged to tribes that spoke **dialects** of a language family now known as Eastern Siouan. A dialect is a form of speech spoken in a certain area or by a certain group of people. Before European settlement of America, these Eastern Siouans and their ancestors inhabited most of the piedmont, from central South Carolina to northern Virginia.

Traveling northwest through South Carolina, John Lawson's party passed through villages of the Santee, Congaree, Wateree, Waxhaw, Sugaree, and Catawba Indians. After leaving the Catawba settlements near present-day Charlotte, his party picked up the Indian Trading Path and headed northeast to the towns of the Saponi, Keyauwee, and Occaneechi.

Before reaching the Occaneechi Indians, Lawson met a party of Virginia traders



These are pages from John Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina*, published in 1709. In his book Lawson described his exploration along the piedmont Indian trails from South Carolina into eastern North Carolina. Can you read his descriptions? What did he say? How do you think archaeologists use this information when searching for an old Indian village? How do they use Lawson's account when they find a village?

Unless otherwise noted, photographs and artwork provided by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

before European settlement

ty of Provisions than these. The Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of *Carolina*, the *English* enjoying only the Fag-end of that fine Country. We had not been in the Town 2 Hours, when *Enoe-Will* came into the King's Cabin; which was our Quarters. We ask'd him, if he would conduct us to the *English*, and what he would have for his Pains; he answer'd, he would go along with us, and for what he was to have, he left that to our Discretion.

Monday.

The next Morning, we set out, with *Enoe-Will*, towards *Adshusheer*, leaving the *Virginia* Path, and striking more to the Eastward, for *Ronoack*. Several *Indians* were in our Company belonging to *Will's* Nation, who are the *Shoccories*, mixt with the *Enoe-Indians*, and those of the Nation of *Adshusheer*. *Enoe-Will* is their chief Man, and rules as far as the Banks of *Reatkin*. It was a sad stony Way to *Adshusheer*. We went over a small River by *Achonechy*, and in this 14 Miles, through several other Streams, which empty themselves into the Branches of *Cape-Fair*. The stony Way made me quite lame; so that I was an Hour or two behind the rest; but honest *Will* would not leave me, but bid me welcome when we came to his House, feasting us with hot Bread, and Bears-Oil; which is wholsome Food for Travelers. There runs a pretty Rivulet by this Town. Near the Plantation, I saw a prodigious overgrown Pine-Tree, having not seen any of that Sort of Timber for above 125 Miles: They brought us 2 Cocks, and pull'd their larger Feathers off, never plucking the lesser, but singeing them off. I took one of these Fowls in my Hand, to make it cleaner than the *Indian* had, pulling out his Guts and Liver, which I laid in a Bason; notwithstanding which, he kept such a Struggling for a considerable time, that I had much ado to hold him in my Hands. The *Indians* laugh'd at me, and told me, that *Enoe-Will* had taken a Cock of an *Indian* that was not at home, and the Fowl was design'd for another Use. I conjectur'd, that he was design'd for an Offering to their God, who, they say, hurts them, (which is the Devil.) In this Struggling, he bled afresh, and there issued out of his Body more Blood than commonly such Creatures afford. Notwithstanding all this, we cook'd him, and eat him; and if he was design'd for him, cheated the Devil. The *Indians* keep many Cocks, but seldom above one Hen, using very often such wicked Sacrifices, as I mistrusted this Fowl was design'd for.

Our

destined for the more populous Catawba and Cherokee Indians to the west, most smaller piedmont tribes also benefited from the trade. When he reached Occaneechi Town, Lawson was impressed with the prosperity of the Indians. He remarked, "Their Cabins were hung with a good sort of Tapestry, as fat Bear, and barbakued or dried Venison; no Indians having greater Plenty of Provisions than these. The Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of Carolina, the English enjoying only the Fag-end of that fine Country."¹

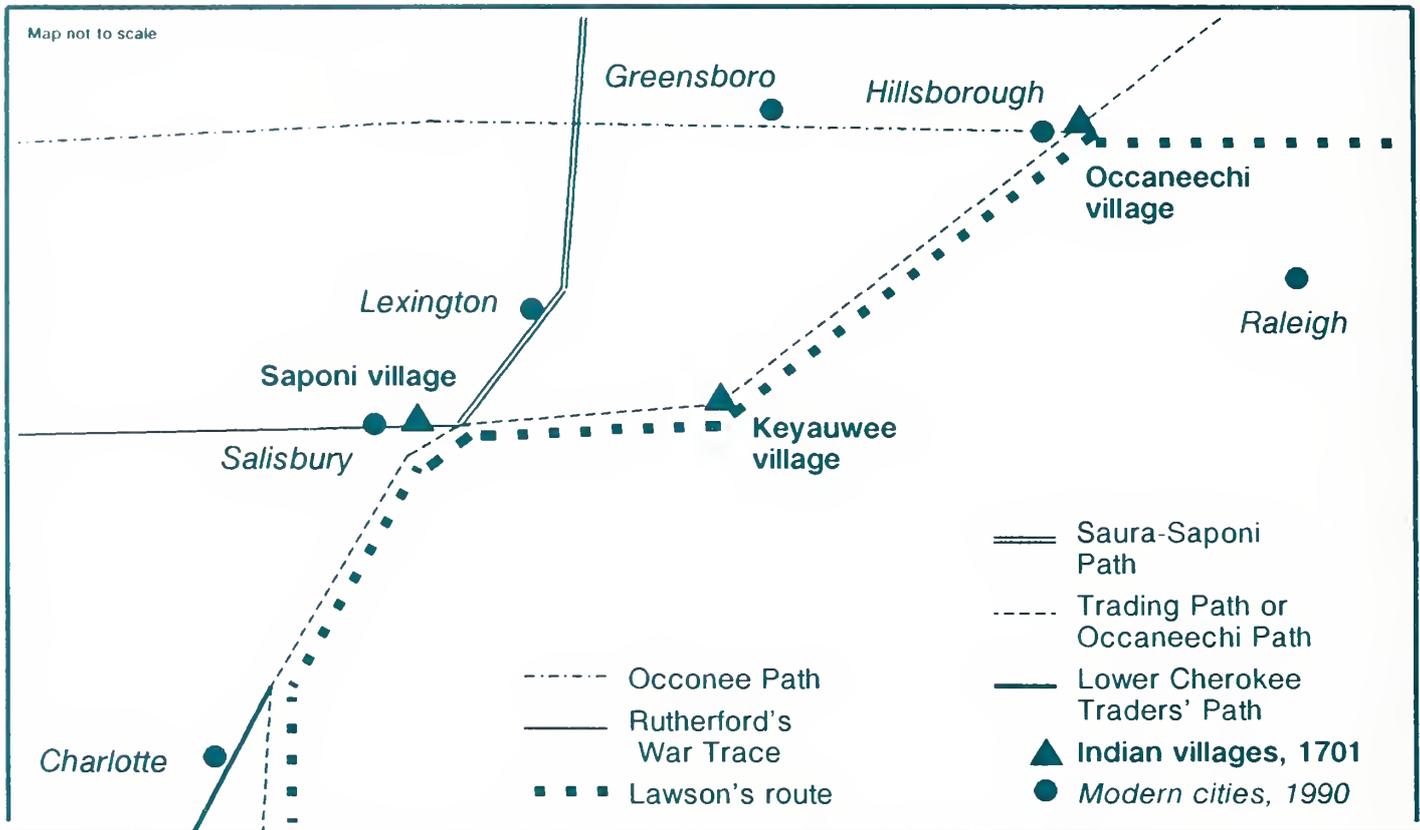
Warned that hostile "Sinnager" raiding parties were in the area, Lawson left the Trading Path at Occaneechi Town and headed due east. He passed through the village of Adshusheer before leaving the piedmont for the eastern part of the state.

Lawson's account of his travels—published as *A New Voyage to Carolina* in 1709—is of great importance to students of North Carolina Indians because it provides a unique glimpse of what piedmont Indian life was like at the beginning of the 1700s. However, the Indian tribes that he encountered were very different from those that existed before the European invasion of North America in the mid-1500s and early 1600s. The Indians of Lawson's time already had suffered the effects of European diseases and alcohol. The introduction of new diseases and

leading packhorses loaded with trade goods. For almost thirty years, a steady stream of traders had carried an assortment of manufactured goods—such as

bolts of cloth, kettles, iron tools, guns, clay pipes, and trinkets—to be used to barter with the Indians for furs and deerskins. Although many of these goods were

¹ Lefler, Hugh T. (ed.), *A New Voyage to Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 61, hereinafter cited as Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina*.



N.C. Museum of History, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh

Trails and Indian villages during Lawson's piedmont exploration, 1701 Can you follow John Lawson's route through the piedmont?

alcohol had caused great social upheaval for the Indians. Referring to the effects of smallpox and rum on them, Lawson noted that, "there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago."² Diseases introduced from Europe and Africa were dangerous to the Indians because the Indian had no natural immunity to combat them. Many died from these diseases.

The periodic influx of **epidemic** diseases disrupted social and political systems. Epidemic means that the disease spreads quickly to a lot of people. These diseases included measles, influenza, bubonic plague, and typhus. Indian villages often had to relocate because of the disruption of life

caused by these diseases. Sometimes entirely new communities were established. One village Lawson visited, Adshusheer, was created by survivors of the Shakori and Eno tribes. Usually tribes affected by these diseases simply "disappeared" or were completely absorbed by larger groups, such as the Catawba.

The Indians' religious beliefs and mental well-being also were damaged by these diseases and the resulting depopulation of tribes. The diseases must have shaken native religions, particularly when the traditional medicines used by their priests—or conjurers—failed against the new diseases. And the Indians probably noticed that many of the English who suffered through those same diseases survived.

Although the writings of John Lawson and other explorers, such as John Lederer and William Byrd, have been known for over two centuries, only recently has new information about these Siouan Indians and their ancestors become available. This new information is not from written sources but from archaeology. Archaeologists seek to understand how people lived by studying the physical remains they left behind. Archaeology provides the only method for discovering what happened before written history or where written documents either do not exist or are not clear.

Over the past seven years, archaeologists at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have been studying the Siouan tribes

² Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 232.

that lived along the Dan, Haw, and Eno rivers in North Carolina.³ The purpose of this research has been to determine more precisely how these native peoples coped with and were affected by contact with Europeans. For instance, how was the Siouan way of life following the arrival of Europeans different from their way of life before Europeans arrived? Did trade bring about changes in the Siouan way of life? Did the Indians replace their tools with European-made items? How did trade and disease affect cultural differences among various Siouan tribes? How much did these Siouans adopt European ways of doing things?

Over a dozen **prehistoric**—A.D. 1000–1620—and **historic**—A.D. 1620–1710—Siouan village sites have been excavated in order to answer these and other questions. These villages were the homes of the Keyauwee, Occaneechi, Shakori, Sissipahaw, and Sara, and their ancestors. The evolution of Siouan Indian culture from A.D. 1000 to 1710 is especially well documented at four village sites in a bend of the Eno River near present-day Hillsborough.⁴

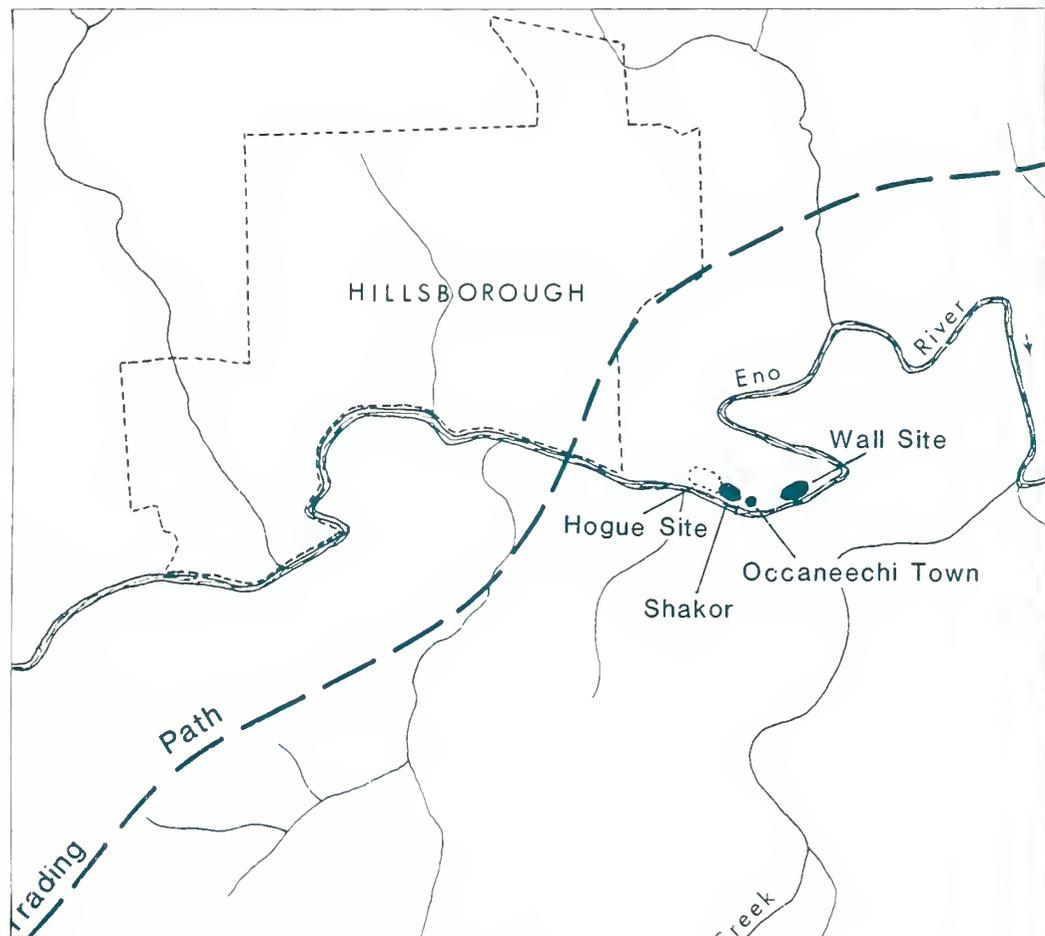
The earliest village, known as the Hogue site, was occupied from about A.D. 1000 to 1100, about 900 years ago. It had several houses scattered over a five-acre area along the river banks. Because the village was large and spread out, archaeologists do not know how many houses stood there or how they were arranged. These Indians apparently built their

houses using a **wattle-and-daub technique**. This building technique involved placing vertical wooden posts into the ground, weaving sticks between these posts, and packing the wall with mud. The Indians probably thatched the roof with reeds and grasses. The village apparently was not enclosed by a **defensive palisade or stockade**. A defensive palisade or stockade is a barrier consisting of large, strong posts fixed upright in the ground.

Much of our knowledge about the Hogue site inhabitants comes from the excavation of a deep, round storage pit and a small cemetery. The pit contained discarded stone tools, pieces of

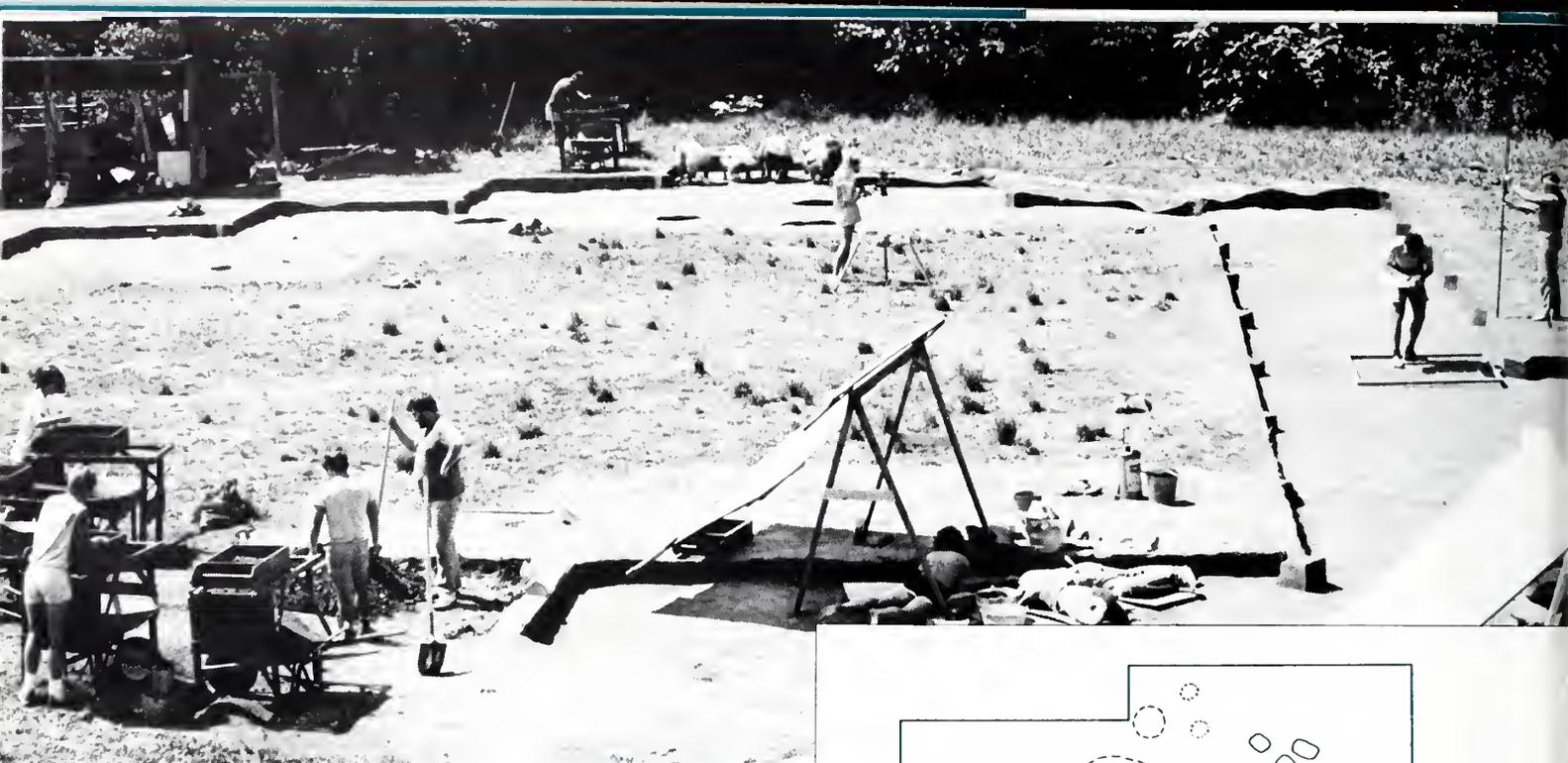
broken pots, broken rock from hot cooking fires, and charred plant remains. The small cemetery contained at least eight to ten people who were placed in simple pits without any accompanying grave offerings. These remains give clues about their technology, what and how they ate, what their and physical characteristics were like, and how they buried their dead. These Indians grew crops, primarily corn, hunted deer and other animals, and gathered a variety of seeds, greens, and nuts.

In the early 1500s, another village was established nearby. The occupants of this village are thought to be ancestors of the Shakori Indians, another Siouan



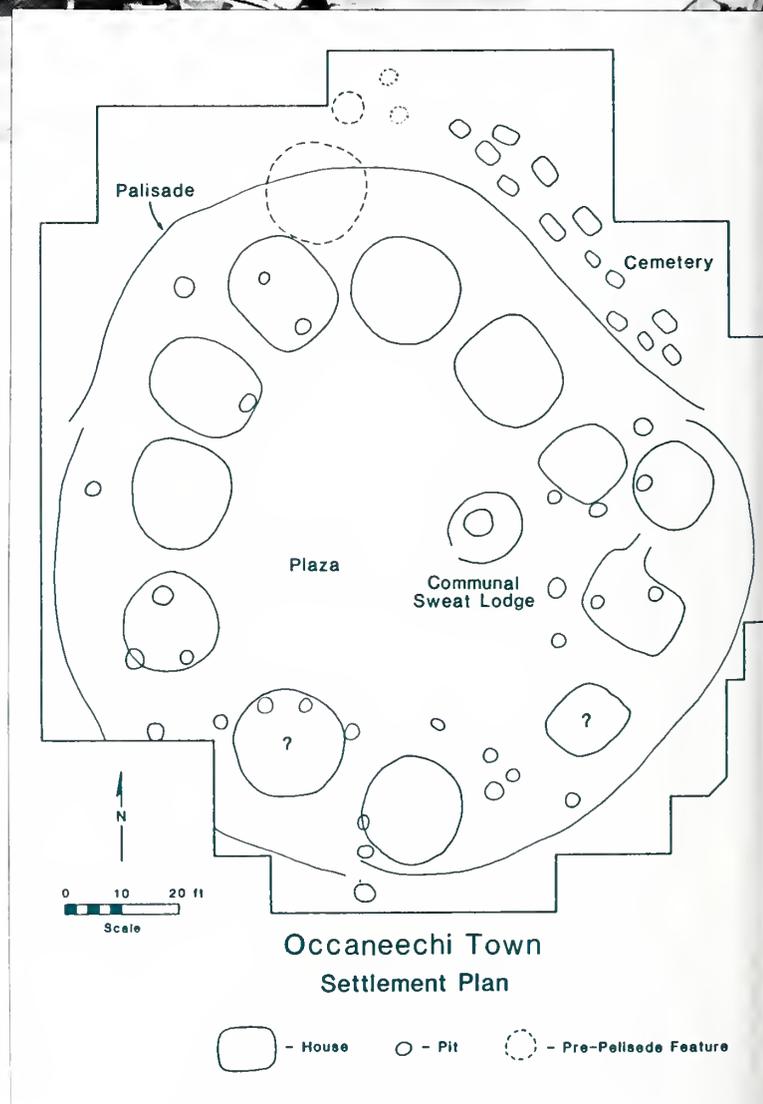
³ These investigations were conducted by the author in collaboration with H. Trawick Ward and the late Roy S. Dickens, Jr., both of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and were funded by the National Geographic Society, National Science Foundation, National Park Service, and the University of North Carolina.

⁴ A.D. is an abbreviation for Anno Domini, which are Latin words meaning "in the year of the Lord." Archaeologists use these words to describe periods of time. They also use B.C., which means "before Christ." B.C. is used with dates to describe the years before the birth of Christ, and A.D. is used with dates to describe the years after the birth of Christ.—ED.



tribe. Known as the Wall site, this village covered less area and was more compact than the earlier village at the Hogue site. It had a well-defined community plan consisting of an open central plaza surrounded by houses. The village was encircled by a sturdy palisade. The presence of several different palisades suggests that the village expanded over time. At its peak this community may have supported as many as 200 people, or about twenty-five families. Houses were circular, probably dome-shaped, and ranged from twenty to twenty-five feet in diameter. Few pits were dug for storage, and surprisingly few people were buried in the village. Unlike the graves at the Hogue village, those at the Wall site often were accompanied by grave offerings, such as small clay pots. Also, graves were placed either inside or around the houses rather than in a cemetery. Based on the artifacts and food remains found at the Wall site, the kinds of tools, foods, and ways of gathering food were not very different from those observed by archaeologists at the Hogue site.

After archaeologists discover the locations of old Indian villages, they carefully excavate them. They make careful notes of the patterns in the soil and the natural and man-made objects that they find. From their excavations of Occaneechi Town, they produced this plan. From this plan and what you have read, imagine what it would have looked like when John Lawson passed through in 1701.



Pottery-making, however, did change a lot. The pottery used by the Indians that lived at the Hogue site were mostly large storage or cooking jars. The outside surface of these jars were

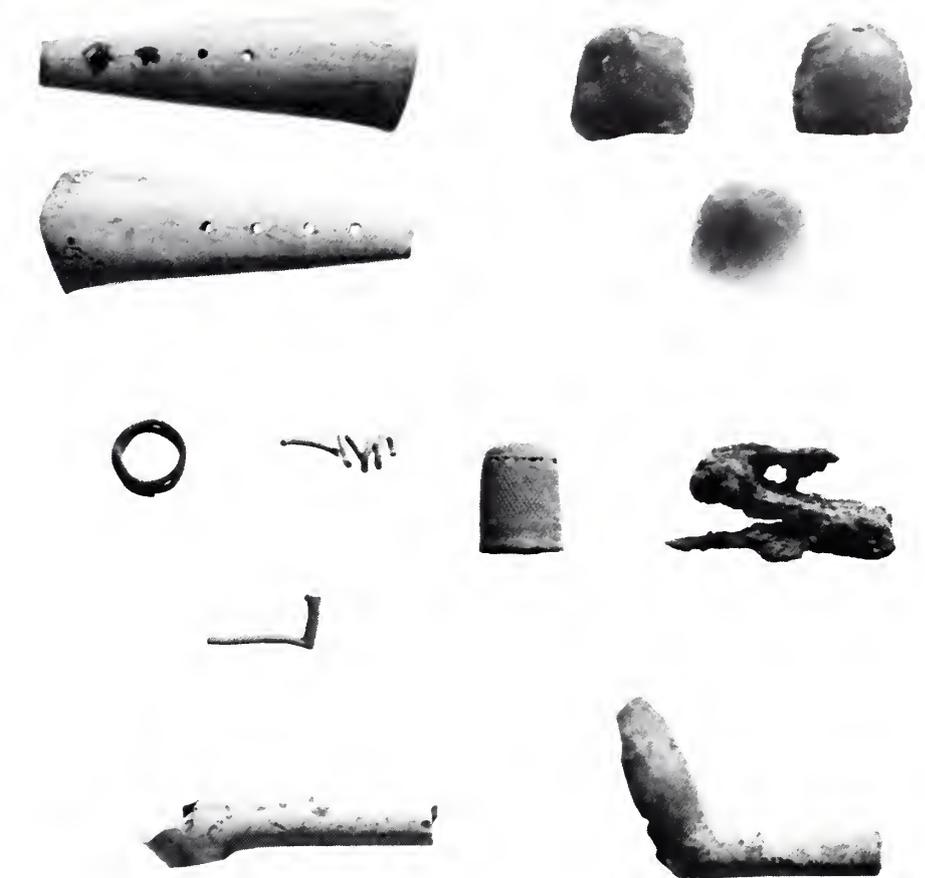
decorated by pressing a paddle wrapped with cord or nets into the damp clay before they were hardened by fire. The Indians that made the pottery at the Wall site decorated their pottery differently.

They pressed carved wooden paddles with geometric designs and often added other decorations by pressing a sharpened stick into the damp clay. The pottery at the Wall site also had different shapes and sizes and was probably used for different functions.

During the mid-1600s, a third village was established. This site was discovered in the spring of 1989 by University of North Carolina archaeologists. Archaeologists think that it may be the Shakori settlement called "Shakor," which early explorer John Lederer visited in 1670. Many of the **artifacts** found here are very similar to those from the Wall site. Artifacts are anything made or used by humans. The presence of glass beads and some other European-made artifacts, however, indicates that the Shakori were beginning to trade with the English. Indians did not know how to make glass.

Shakor also was a small village surrounded by a palisade. It covered about a half acre and probably had a population of about 150 people. The small number of burials discovered at this site suggests that disease may not yet have devastated this piedmont tribe.

The final village in this location was established by the Occaneechi Indians after 1676. They moved here when they abandoned their island settlement along the Roanoke River near Clarksville, Virginia. Although they were a small group, the Occaneechi were prominent in the deerskin trade. They served as middlemen between the English and the more remote Indians. Archaeologists excavated at "Occaneechi Town" between



While traveling in the piedmont, Lawson's group of explorers came across a group of traders. The men were using horses to haul trade items to exchange for furs owned by the Indians. Many of these trade items have been found in the ground by archaeologists. The objects found include (from top left to bottom right) bone knife handles, gun flints, coiled brass wire, a thimble, a gun mainspring, and pipes. Why do you think that the Indians wanted these items?

1983 and 1986 and completely uncovered a small, quarter-acre settlement. This village of twelve houses was surrounded by a palisade. It probably was occupied by fewer than seventy-five people for less than ten years. The dead were placed in a cemetery just outside the village. Most of the dead were accompanied by an assortment of European trading items. These included rum bottles, a brass kettle, a flintlock musket, spoons, scissors, knives, axes, hoes, pipes, glass beads, and brass ornaments. The presence of these in the grave indicate that the Occaneechi did indeed have "Plenty of Provisions." But

archaeologists think that the number of burials and small community size also suggest that the Occaneechi were rapidly declining both as a people and as a society. In fact, they abandoned the Eno Valley shortly after Lawson's visit. By 1714 they had joined the Saponi, Tutelo, and survivors from other weakened tribes at Fort Christanna in southeastern Virginia.

With the fall of the Occaneechi went the dominance of Siouan Indians in the piedmont. The "Flower of Carolina," with its swift streams, rolling hills, and rich soils, now awaited the migration of new settlers as the English colonies expanded westward. ■

Those big wheels just keep on turnin': transportation

by Allen W. Trelease

Transportation in colonial America was chiefly by water. In North Carolina that was easiest along the coast and on the coastal plain where rivers and streams were slow, wide and deep, and easy to navigate. Farther inland in the piedmont they were shallower and full of rocks and rapids, making transportation of goods difficult. Although early piedmont settlers sometimes shipped products by rafts or flatboats, settlers mostly depended on roads.

The first roads were Indian trading paths. People traveled on them by foot. Some of the trails were very long. When colonists moved into the piedmont—the backcountry—they used these trails. They added to them and widened them for wheeled vehicles, such as carts and wagons for carrying their belongings. Later, stagecoaches were used for carrying passengers and mail. But without paving or

adequate drainage, most of the roads quickly became muddy, rutted tracks. They were in such poor condition that people often drove in the woods alongside the roads in search of firmer ground. Bridges were few and far between, and streams were crossed at **fords**—naturally shallow places. On roads like these, vehicles bogged down, broke down, tipped over, and occasionally were swept away by floods.

Under these conditions, which lasted from the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s, piedmont residents were isolated. Travel was so slow, expensive, and dangerous that most people never went far from home. Farmers raised few crops for sale because it cost more than the crops were worth to take them to market.

The early 1800s brought a transportation revolution to the United States. Improved roads—or turnpikes—plank roads, canals,

steamboats, and railroads made transportation faster and cheaper, if not always safer. In the 1850s the revolution reached piedmont North Carolina in the form of **plank roads** and railroads. A plank road consisted of long, wooden beams placed lengthwise on either side of the roadway. These were then topped with thick, wooden planks placed crosswise. Covered with a layer of sand, gravel, or dirt, the plank road made a fairly smooth and speedy road for horse-drawn vehicles. Plank roads were built by private companies who charged a toll for their use. Several were built in North Carolina. The longest and most successful was the Fayetteville and Western, which extended from Fayetteville to Salem (now Winston-Salem, Forsyth County) and included what later became Main Street in High Point, Guilford County. Plank roads were an improvement over the

mud tracks that they replaced, but they were subject to decay and repair every few years.

The real revolution came with the “iron horse”—the railroad. Railroads were expensive to build and moderately expensive to maintain. But they were capable of sending passenger and freight at unheard-of speeds, exceeding twenty-five miles per hour sometimes, over long distances without having to stop overnight. North Carolina’s first railroads—the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad and the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad—were completed in eastern North Carolina in 1840.

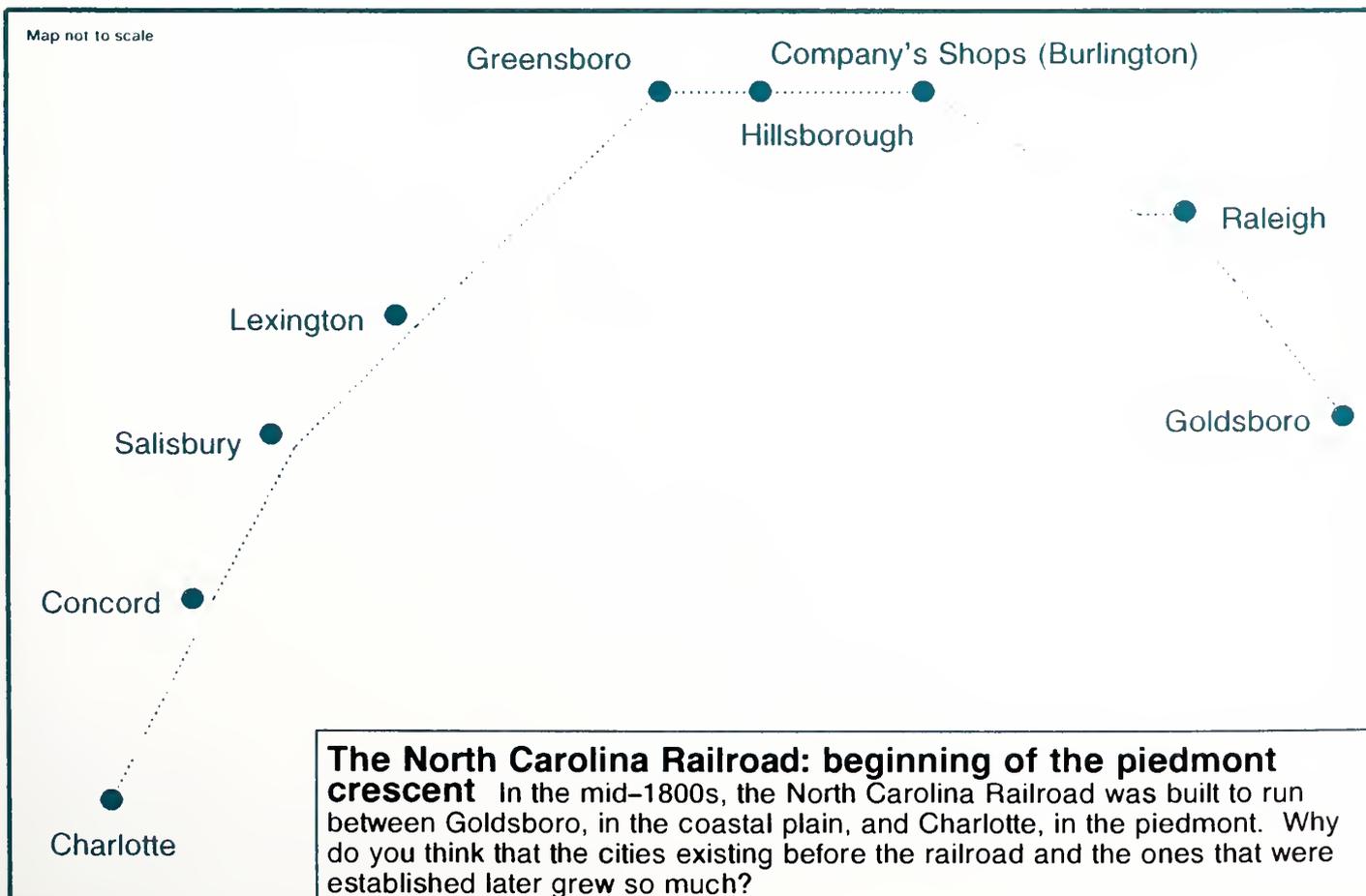
Rails came to the piedmont in 1856 with the North Carolina Railroad. It linked the coastal plain town of Goldsboro with the piedmont towns of Raleigh, Hillsborough, Greensboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte. By the

early 1900s, other rail lines connected Charlotte with Wilmington; Salisbury with Asheville and other mountain towns; Fayetteville with Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and towns north; and Raleigh with places in South Carolina and beyond. Following a national pattern, these short lines were soon **consolidated**—or joined—into regional and national systems, like the Southern Railway. The consolidation movement has continued through the 1900s, including the 1983 merger of the already large Norfolk and Western and Southern railways into the still larger Norfolk Southern.

Railroads ended the piedmont’s isolation by bringing it closer to the rest of the world. They stimulated urbanization and economic growth by encouraging commercial farming, trade, and

manufacturing. (To learn more about urbanization, see David R. Goldfield’s article, “Cities Rising from the Fields,” in this issue.) The cities and towns of the piedmont—and the textile, tobacco, and furniture industries within them—grew because of the railroads.

As railroads took over more and more of the long-distance transportation, wagon roads often fell into even worse repair than before. But roads improved dramatically after 1900 with the introduction of the internal combustion engine, powering automobiles, trucks, and buses. People bought these vehicles, and they demanded better roads for them. And as the roads improved, the number of vehicles increased, leading to demands for still better roads. Long distance travel became easier in the 1920s

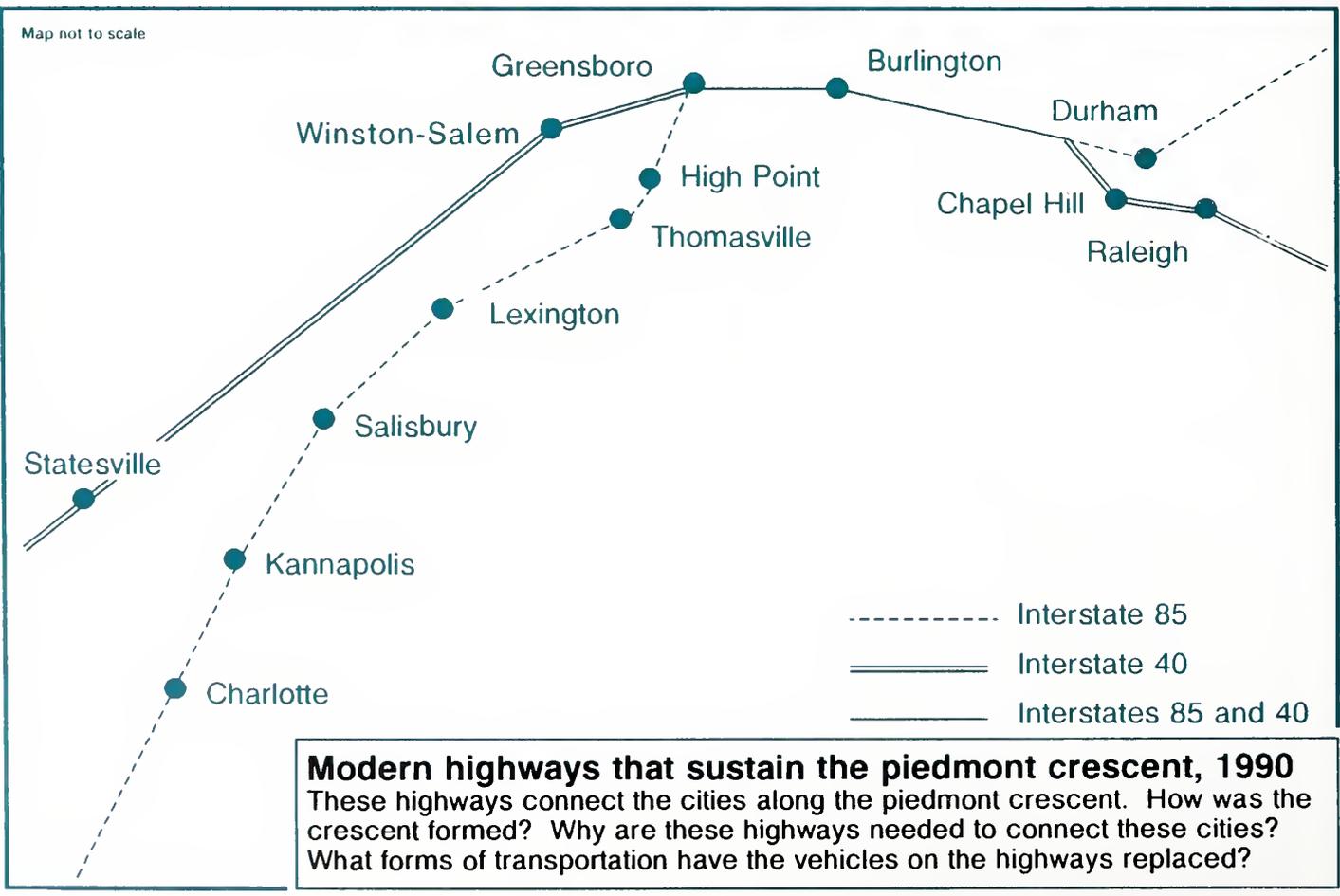




Why are these men hauling freight by wagons pulled by horses instead of hauling freight by trucks (Above, left)? What kind of road are they traveling on? This man and his family have a problem (Above, right). How will they get out of it? Poor roads like this were common in the piedmont from the colonial days until the 1930s. The state began replacing dirt roads with hard-surfaced roads because so many people needed better roads for cars, trucks, and buses. Now people drive or ride in cars, trucks, and buses on two- or four-lane highways with concrete or asphalt surfaces (Right).



Old Dominion Freightline, Inc. High Point





Many people rely on the airplane to get to distant cities. These are early versions of airliners and airports. What do they look like today? Why do some people today rely on an airplane instead of a car, bus, truck, or train? Did you know that Piedmont Airlines, now owned by USAir, was founded in North Carolina?



when bus and truck lines developed, along with greater use of the automobile.

Local roads were now incorporated into statewide and national networks. Federal Highway Acts of 1916 and 1921 created the system of United States numbered highways, eventually including U.S. 1, U.S. 29, U.S. 64, U.S. 70, and others in North Carolina. In 1956 another law established the interstate highway system, including I-40, I-77, and I-85. On the main roads at least, dirt and gravel gave way to concrete and blacktop. Two-lane roads with sharp curves and steep hills gave way to four-lane, limited access superhighways with broad curves, gentle grades, and high speed limits. By 1960, for its population and area, North Carolina had more miles of paved roads than any other state. Over ninety-six

percent of its people lived within one mile of a paved road.

All of this came about in competition with yet another form of transportation, the airplane. Like the automobile, bus, and truck, the airplane got its start around 1900. Today, airlines carry only a tiny proportion of the nation's freight, but they have come to dominate the long-distance passenger business. Piedmont North Carolina, with most of the state's population, claims its largest airports at Charlotte, Raleigh-Durham, and Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point. The first two now boast direct flights to Europe.

The automobile, airplane, and bus have captured most of the passenger business today. Since World War II, railroads have gotten most of their income from hauling freight. Some of this is carried in cooperation with truck lines. Loaded truck trailers are

carried long distances on railway flatcars and are pulled to their final destination by truck. Railroad passenger service has almost disappeared. It is restricted to one long-distance Norfolk Southern train running through the region in the middle of the night.

Industries today locate in piedmont North Carolina and elsewhere with an eye to highways, airports, and railroads. They depend on these facilities not only to send and receive goods but to communicate with other regions and even to get their employees to work. As the roads improve, more and more factories and businesses locate close to them, often in open country, drawing workers from farther and farther away. This situation is a far cry from the days when Indian trading paths carried Indians, explorers, and settlers through this region's isolated backcountry. ■

The North Carolina Railroad

by Allen W. Trelease

North Carolina Railroad schedule announcement from the Greensboro Patriot, March 1855. What does this schedule tell you about traveling by train in the mid-1800s? Why does the schedule say that the railroad connects with other railroads and "four horse post coaches"? How long do you think it would take to ride a horse or wagon between some of these locations? Compare your estimate with how long you think it would take to ride a train in the mid-1800s or how long it would take you in a car today.



North Carolina Railroad.—On and after Monday, January 1st 1855, the North Carolina Railroad will be opened for the transportation of passengers and freights from Goldsboro' to Durham's 26 miles west of Raleigh.

Passenger train leaves Goldsboro' daily	3 00 A.M.
" " passes Raleigh	" 6 00 "
" " arrives at Durham's	" 7 46 "

RETURNING:

Passenger train leaves Durham's daily	2 00 P.M.
" " passes Raleigh	" 3 30 "
" " arrives at Goldsboro'	" 6 42 "

Connecting with the United States mail train on the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad at Goldsboro'; the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, and Messrs Bland & Dunn's mail line of four horse post coaches at Durham's running daily via Hillsboro' Graham, Greensboro', Jamestown, Salem and Lexington to Salisbury; from which point to Charlotte the North Carolina Railroad Company are running a daily train. A through freight train leaves Goldsboro' every Thursday for Durham's; returning every Friday. A way freight train will run every Thursday from Goldsboro' to Stallings and return same day, and will make extra trips when necessary.

WALTER GWYNN,
Chief Engineer N. C. R. R. Co.

Jan. 1, 1855.

The undersigned are running daily four-horse Post Coaches between Durham's and Salisbury, connecting with the Rail Road Cars at those places, as follows:

- Leave Durham's for Greensboro', at 7 46, A. M.
- Arrive at Greensboro' at 1, A. M.
- Leave Greensboro' for Durham's at 8, P. M.
- Arrive at Durham's at 2, P. M.
- Leave Greensboro' for Salisbury at 8, A. M.
- Arrive at Salisbury at 10. P. M.
- Leave Salisbury for Greensboro' at 2, A. M.
- Arrive at Greensboro' at 7, P. M.

Going West, these stages pass through Salem, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; and returning East, they pass through Salem on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The other days in each week they go direct through by Jamestown.

The subscribers are now making arrangements to give through tickets to Weldon, N. C. Petersburg, Va., &c

BLAND & DUNN.
Greensboro' Jan. 1855.

The North Carolina Railroad (NCR) was chartered in 1849 and became one of the longest railroads in the country when it was completed in 1856. It runs in a 223-mile arc from Goldsboro to Charlotte, by way of Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Salisbury. Like many railroads built in that era, the NCR could not have been built without government financial aid. In fact, the state bought three-quarters of its stock. A stock is a share in a company, and someone who has bought stock owns it and is called a **stockholder**. In return the governor got to appoint two-thirds of the railroad's **board of directors** and to cast three-quarters of the votes at stockholders' meetings. A board of directors is a group of people that oversees a company. The state also got three-fourths of the annual **dividends**—or profits—on the stock. The NCR's chief fundraiser and first president was former Governor John Motley Morehead of Greensboro. William A. Graham, Paul C. Cameron, and other financial and political leaders of the 1850s also helped plan and guide the great enterprise.

For over fifteen years, the NCR operated as an independent railroad. It was originally intended to connect western North Carolina with the state's eastern seaports. Before the Civil War (1861–1865), it quickly became, with its connecting roads, part of a major north-south railway route running from New Orleans, Louisiana, to

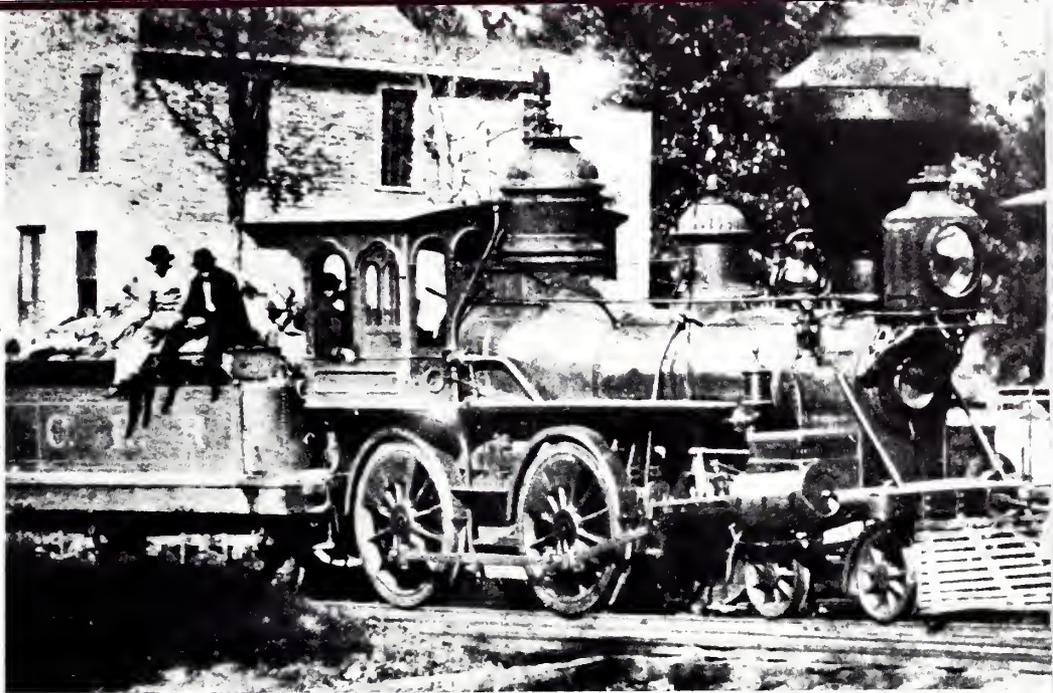
Washington, D.C. During the war the NCRR was part of the major supply line for Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

In 1871 the NCRR was leased or rented to another railroad. This business decision was part of the great **consolidation**—or joining—of American railroads that took place after the Civil War. In 1895 the Southern Railway (now part of the Norfolk Southern Railroad) took out a new lease for ninety-nine years. The NCRR track between Charlotte and Greensboro is part of its main line from New Orleans to Washington.

The NCRR and its connecting and controlling roads remade the face of piedmont North Carolina. By connecting it with the outside world, railroads brought economic and population growth. The NCRR is largely responsible for the piedmont crescent, the commercial and industrial cities located along its 223-mile course from Raleigh to Charlotte. A number of cities and towns—including Durham, Burlington, High Point, Thomasville, and Kannapolis—owe their origins to the NCRR. The town of Burlington in Alamance County (formerly called Company Shops) was founded at the middle of the road as the site of its repair shops. High Point took its name from the fact that it was located at the NCRR's highest elevation above sea level.

Because the road was leased but not sold, it still belongs to the North Carolina Railroad Company. Since three-quarters of the stock still belongs to the state, the state will have a large voice in deciding the road's future when the lease expires in 1994. Will the state sell the NCRR, negotiate a new lease, or operate the road itself? The NCRR and the state are already studying the options.

John Gibern and Grady Jeffers, *Crossings Through North Carolina* (Raleigh: The Helios Press, 1969)



Norfolk Southern Corporation, Norfolk, Virginia



This engine, built in 1855, (Top) is the North Carolina Railroad locomotive Astron, photographed around 1880. The North Carolina Railroad still operates today, but its rail line is now leased from the state by Norfolk Southern Corporation. If people are driving cars more, trucks are hauling freight, and airlines are carrying passengers, what do modern trains haul (Bottom)? Why? What is the future of the railroads in North Carolina?

Although some people favor a sale to earn money for public education and other worthwhile causes, many people oppose that option. The NCRR is a major public resource whose value is great today and may be even greater in the future. For instance, the state might want sometime to use it as a mass transit facility, to ease the overcrowded highways. Since that day will probably not come before 1994, there is a good chance that the legislature will vote to lease the road once again to the Norfolk

Southern for a shorter time and a higher rent. When the 1895 NCRR lease was made, many people thought the annual figure of \$286,000 was too small. The 1897 legislature was thrown into pandemonium as some members tried and failed to cancel the agreement. That amount is even less acceptable today, after nearly one hundred years. The future of the NCRR will be among the most important issues facing North Carolinians in the years ahead.

Cities rising from the fields

by David R. Goldfield

The North Carolina piedmont was a “natural” for cities. The numerous rivers tumbling down from the mountains provided a generous supply of waterpower to work the machines of industry. The piedmont’s gently rolling terrain offered few obstacles to the construction of railroads.

But before the piedmont was natural for cities, it was a natural for the small family farm. Profits were small, but debt was small, too. These family farmers in the piedmont traded mostly at nearby towns like Winston or Salem in Forsyth County, Greensboro in Guilford County, and Charlotte in Mecklenburg County. The local farm commerce largely sustained the piedmont towns until the 1850s.

Despite natural advantages, piedmont towns by the 1850s were little more than villages, at least compared with Wilmington, on the coast in New Hanover County. It boasted a population of more than 20,000. Why were the piedmont towns undeveloped in the 1800s? It is one thing to be blessed with natural resources, but it is quite another thing to use them. The

economy of the South flowed on rivers, carried by boats. The great cities of the region were on the coast at or near the mouths of rivers, sounds, or bays. They included New Orleans, Louisiana; Mobile, Alabama; Savannah, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; and Norfolk, Virginia. The cities had safe harbors that were used by ocean-going vessels and small boats traveling from the interior on the rivers and sounds. But North Carolina had a treacherous coastline. Wilmington—on the Cape Fear River—was relatively accessible, but navigable rivers did not go very far into the state’s interior. What few passable rivers that existed in the interior, like the Yadkin or the Catawba, flowed into South Carolina. Even the areas near these rivers produced very little that coastal merchants wanted. So the towns in the piedmont contented themselves with relying on the local trade, and they remained small.

Few **entrepreneurs**—innovative, energetic individuals who served as organizers and promoters of economic activities—sought out the piedmont. They

went to the coastal cities or to the northern states to make their fortunes. There was little future in marketing a few bales of cotton and some bushels of corn.

This situation began to change by the 1850s. The railroad competed with boats on the rivers. No longer did great cities have to be located on great bodies of water. For example, Atlanta, Georgia, is situated at the lower end of the southern piedmont, which passes from Maryland through Alabama. Atlanta provides the best example both of a new era of transportation and a new location for urbanization. Stuck on a Georgia plateau, it was nowhere near a navigable river. But promoters saw its strategic location between the deep South and the northern states, and they gambled on railroads. The gamble paid off, as it would for other piedmont towns in other southern states.

Just as railroads helped Atlanta to grow, they helped other towns grow. During the 1850s, the North Carolina Railroad crossed the piedmont from Goldsboro to Charlotte. By 1870 the Southern Railway system linked Charlotte

with Atlanta. Thirty years later Charlotte rivaled Atlanta as a rail center, with six major rail lines entering the city. By this time Charlotte was becoming the largest city in the Carolinas.

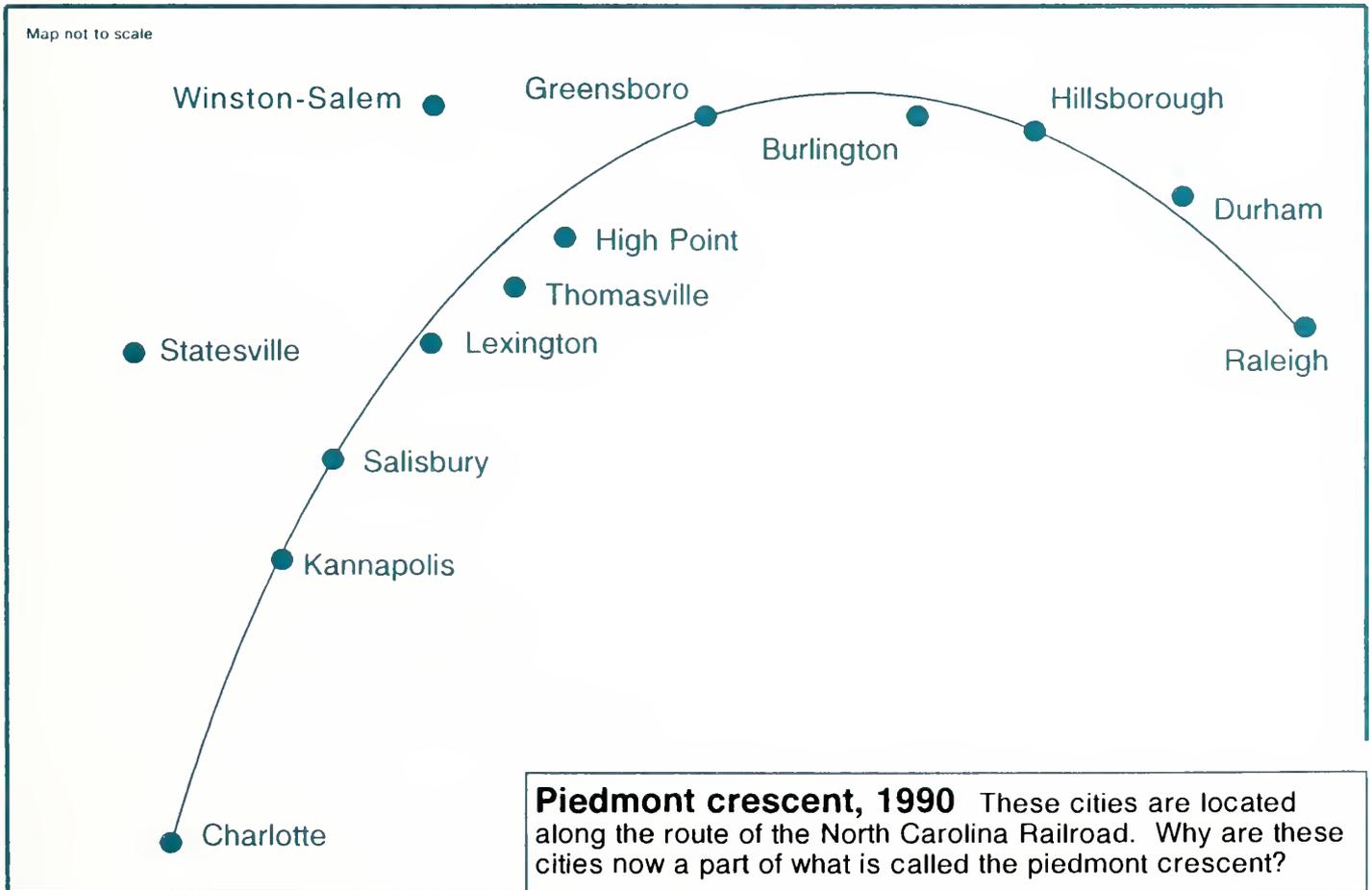
Railroads not only transported goods but people as

abundant water power in the region provided a cheap energy source, later harnessed into electric power.

Using mostly local money, Tompkins and other entrepreneurs built textile mills in the piedmont along the Southern

and Kannapolis in Cabarrus County grew up dominated by the mill, and little else.

But these mills required financing, administering, and servicing. Towns such as Charlotte and Greensboro obliged and provided these



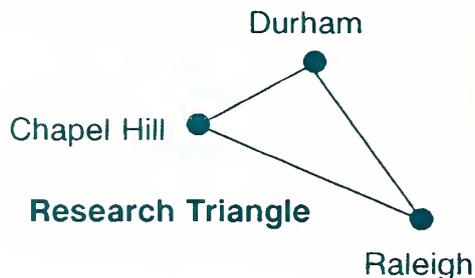
well. Among those traveling the Southern Railway up from South Carolina was D. A. Tompkins from Edgefield. As cotton cultivation (aided by fertilizers) spread to the piedmont after the Civil War, and with railroads close behind, Tompkins calculated that the region could support textile mills. Also the devastation of the Civil War and the depression in southern agriculture hit the family farm hard. Tompkins predicted that a willing and able work force from the farms would come to work in his mills. Finally, the

Railway. Mill villages, which housed the textile millworkers, did not become cities. Most often they were located on the edges of existing communities. Tompkins and his fellow entrepreneurs wanted to avoid the labor problems, alcoholism, and high divorce rates that they saw in the urban life of the big cities. It was easier to control a work force in a small-town setting. So towns like China Grove in Davidson County, McAdenville in Gaston County, Archdale in Randolph County,

services. And other industries followed—tobacco in Durham and in newly consolidated Winston-Salem and furniture in High Point and Thomasville. By 1910 the North Carolina piedmont was the fastest-growing urban region in the South and an emerging industrial center.

Urbanization stimulated reform. Urbanization means to become like a city. Women's groups that were headquartered in piedmont cities lobbied the state for better public education. Economic leaders demanded

Map not to scale



Major urban areas of the piedmont: Metrolina, Triad, and Research Triangle The cities that form each of these three urban areas grow closer and closer together geographically, economically, and politically. Is this part of urbanization? Why or why not?

improved roads. And city planning, which emerged in piedmont cities, was reflected in new streets, buildings, and neighborhoods, such as Myers Park in Charlotte, Irving Park in Greensboro, and Cameron Park in Raleigh. Though these communities mainly attracted whites who had money, planned neighborhoods, such as Biddleville in Charlotte and Columbia Heights in Winston-Salem, catered to middle-class blacks. The state's major public and private universities for both black and white were centered in the piedmont.

By the 1930s the accumulation of wealth and people in the urban piedmont was reflected in the growing skylines of the cities. A diversified economy had emerged. It was based on banking, real estate,



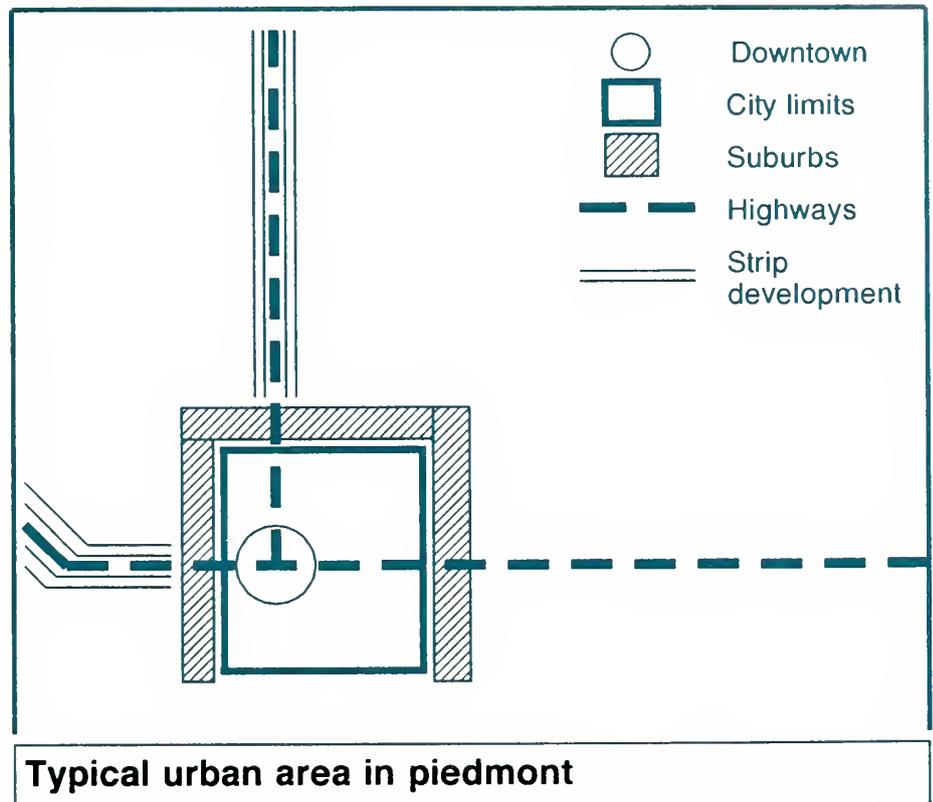
Urbanization in the piedmont has brought increased services. Fast food restaurants, gas stations, instant car repair garages, and other "fast" businesses line major urban highways. Why do you think they are located along these major roads? Do they cause the increased traffic on the roads by attracting people who need their services? Or are they located there to take advantage of the traffic already present on the road?

insurance, education, and government. While the decline in textiles after World War II (1941–1945) hurt the mill towns, the larger cities scarcely noticed it.

It was not surprising that the piedmont cities played major roles in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. After World War II, rural blacks sought out these cities for employment opportunities. The mills were still closed to black skilled labor. They not only found jobs but a thriving black community with black businesses, churches, and schools. These institutions provided the activities, nurturing, and leadership for black newcomers. Piedmont cities solved many of their racial problems peacefully because of the strength of these well-established black communities.

The postwar era witnessed the reinforcement of the piedmont's transportation advantage over the mountains and the coastal plain. Railroads declined as carriers of freight and passengers. The National Defense Highways Act of 1956, which established the interstate highway system, helped the piedmont to adjust to new transportation trends that stressed the private automobile and the truck. Eventually three major interstates—I-40, I-85, and I-77—crossed the piedmont. I-85 just about followed the tracks of the North Carolina Railroad, helping urbanization in the piedmont crescent. The interstates, like the railroad depots earlier, attracted industry, motels, shopping malls, and multi-family housing.

In the meantime piedmont cities have spread outward. In many respects these cities are



collections of **suburban neighborhoods** strung together by roads. Suburban neighborhoods are neighborhoods established at the edge or just outside of a town or city. Visitors are struck by the numerous parks and trees in these neighborhoods. But problems such as automobile pollution and ugly shopping strips also result from piedmont cities spreading outward.

Eventually, several piedmont cities will grow together to form an urban region. This is already happening in the Research Triangle of Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill and the Triad of High Point, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem. The Metrolina of Charlotte is advancing on and absorbing the small mill communities of Gaston and Cabarrus counties and moving into South Carolina. The development of urban regions means that businesses and individuals from other parts of

the country will be attracted even more to the piedmont because of its economic potential. Walk through any major shopping mall in the urban piedmont and the accents you hear are not only likely to be Yankee but foreign as well. The North Carolina piedmont, thanks to its cities, is becoming a region of diversity, quite different from the sleepy towns of more than a century ago.

During the early 1980s, for the first time in the state's history, more North Carolinians lived in cities than in rural areas. And more than two-thirds of North Carolina's urban residents live in the piedmont. Increasingly, the interests of the state and its cities are becoming identical. The major issues that concern the state in the 1990s—education, economic development, and the environment—have urban dimensions. And the piedmont will play a significant role in their resolution. ■

What's going on?

Books to read

To learn more about Indians in North Carolina, see Theda Purdue's *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1988) and *Native Americans: The People and How They Lived* by Eloise F. Potter and John B. Funderburg (Raleigh: N.C. State Museum of Natural Sciences, 1986).

There are several interesting books available about transportation. See *Railroads* by Bill Gunston (New York: The Bookwright Press, 1988); *Let's Look at Trains* by Andrew Langley (New York: The Bookwright Press, 1989); *The Tree of Life: A History of the North Carolina Railroad* (Raleigh: N.C. Railroad Company, 1972); *Southern Railway: Road of the Innovators* by Burke Davis (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

If you would like to read more about urbanization, see David R. Goldfield's *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1908* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); *Early Twentieth-Century Suburbs in North Carolina*,

Catherine W. Bishir and Lawrence S. Early, eds., (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1985).

More information is available about entrepreneurs in *The North Carolina Mutual Story: A Symbol of Progress, 1898-1970* by William J. Kennedy, Jr., (Durham: N.C. Mutual Life Insurance Company, 1970); *The Dukes of Durham* by Robert F. Durden (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975).

Several informative books on farming include *Agriculture in North Carolina Before the Civil War* by Cornelius O. Cathey (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1975) revised edition; *Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina* by Jerome E. Brooks (Raleigh, Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1975); and *The American Family Farm* by George Ancona and Joan Anderson (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publisher, 1989).

The textile industry and the people who work in the mills and factories have been the focus of many historians. See *Rise Gonna Rise: A Portrait of Southern Textile*

Workers by Mimi Conway (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979); *Hardtimes Cotton Mill Girls: Personal Histories of Womanhood and Poverty in the South* by Victoria Byerly (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1987); and *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* by Jacqueline Dowd Hall et al., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987). If you are interested in the machines that power textile mills and other mills, see *Mill* by David Macauley (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1983).

There are many books that discuss the history of your local community, town, city, or county. If you would like to read these books, go to your school library or your public library. If these books are not available through these libraries, ask your librarian to get them on interlibrary loan. The books listed above that are published by the Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, can be purchased through the Historical Publications Section. Write Historical Publications Section, Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 109 E. Jones St., Raleigh, 27601-2807.

Places to go

There are many private, city, and county history museums and historic sites in the piedmont. This is a sampling of the many that you will like to visit to learn more about local history. Call or write before you go to get information about locations and operating times. **Waldensian Museum**, 208 Rodoret St., Valdese 28690, (704) 874-2531; **Old Salem**, 600 S. Main St., Winston-Salem 27108, (919) 721-7300; **Mordecai Historic Park**, 1 Mimosa St., Raleigh 27604, (919) 834-4844; **Latta Place**, 5225 Sample Rd., Huntersville 28078, (704) 875-2312; **Josephus Hall House**, 226 S. Jackson St., Salisbury 28144, (704) 636-0103; **Historic Bethabara Park**, 2147 Bethabara Rd., Winston-Salem 27106, (919) 924-8191; **High Point Museum**, 1805 E. Lexington Ave., High Point 27262, (919) 885-6859; **Hezekiah Alexander Homesite and History Museum**, 3500 Shamrock, Charlotte 28215, (704) 568-1774; **Grimes Mill**, P.O. Box 4221, Salisbury 28144, (704) 636-0103; **Greensboro Historical Museum**, 130 Summit Ave., Greensboro 27401, (919) 373-2043; **Davidson County Historical Museum**, Old

Courthouse, 2 S. Main St., Lexington 28292, (704) 249-7011; **Cleveland County Historical Museum**, P.O. Box 1335, Shelby 28150, (704) 482-8186; **Catawba County Historical Museum**, 1716 S. College Dr., Newton 28658, (704) 465-0383; **Chinqua-Penn Plantation House**, Old Wentworth Rd., Reidsville 27320, (919) 349-4576; **Alamance County Historical Museum**, Highway 62, South, Burlington 27215, (919) 226-8254.

State museums and historic sites

The Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, state of North Carolina, administers many museums and historic sites in the piedmont. The Historic Sites Section operates **Town Creek Indian Mound**, Rt. 3, Box 50, Mt. Gilead 27306, (919) 439-6802; **Spencer Shops and Transportation Museum**, P.O. Box 165, Spencer 28159, (704) 636-2889; **Reed Gold Mine**, Rt. 2, Box 101, Stanfield 28163, (704) 786-8337; **Polk Memorial, Box 475**, Pineville 28134, (704) 889-7145; **House in the Horseshoe**, Rt. 3,

Box 942, Sanford 27330, (919) 947-2051; **Fort Dobbs**, Route 9, Box A-415, Statesville 28677, (704) 873-5866; **Duke Homestead and Tobacco Museum**, 2828 Duke Homestead Rd., Durham 27705, (919) 477-5498; **Charlotte Hawkins Brown Memorial**, P.O. Box B, Sedalia 27342, (919) 449-4846; **Bennett Place**, 4409 Bennett Memorial Rd., Durham 27705, (919) 383-4345; **Alamance Battleground**, 5803 South N.C. 62, Burlington 27215, (919) 227-4785.

The Museum Section administers the **N.C. Museum of History**, 109 E. Jones St., Raleigh 27601-2807, (919) 733-3894.

The Division of Archives and History also administers **Stagville**, P.O. Box 7127, Durham 27722-1217, (919) 620-0120; **State Capitol**, Raleigh, (919) 733-4994.

Federal museums and historic sites

The United States government administers **Guilford Courthouse National Military Park**, P.O. Box 9806, Greensboro 27429-0806, (919) 288-1776.



Business leaders in the piedmont: working for the piedmont or working for themselves?

by Dan L. Morrill

In the late 1800's more and more North Carolinians began to experience a lifestyle that differed from what they had known on the farm. No longer was toiling in the cotton, corn, or tobacco fields under a bright, hot sun the principal way these folks made a living. They migrated from the farms to work in emerging industrial centers in the piedmont, like Winston, Greensboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte. There, most of them became laborers in tobacco factories, furniture plants, and textile mills. One textile worker in the Mecklenburg Mill in Charlotte described what the daily routine was like for his mother:

After a hard shift of breathing in cotton lint, her ears ringing from the constant "banging" and "slappin'" of the motor belts, and the eternal never ending "swishing" of the

bobbins and thread, she often worked late into the night hours at our own home. Still tired from the previous day's work, she would crawl out of bed at 4:30 A.M. the next morning, cook breakfast and head out to the mill again to begin another shift.

From 1880 to 1900 the size of the industrial work force in North Carolina doubled each decade. The value of factory production rose from \$20,095,037 in 1880 to \$94,919,663 in 1900. This is an increase of more than 400 percent. A group of intelligent, bold, and aggressive businessmen were mainly responsible for the dramatic rise in the number of factories in the North Carolina piedmont between 1880 and 1900. They were also responsible for attracting farm families to their factories. The businessmen were leaders of the so-called New South

movement. They included distinguished figures such as R. J. Reynolds in Winston, Forsyth County, J. M. Odell and Samuel L. Patterson in Concord, Cabarrus County, Edwin Holt in Alamance County, and H. F. Schenck in Cleveland County, to mention only a few.

These **entrepreneurs**—people who organize and manage business or industrial ventures—were convinced that the South could overcome the poverty and shame produced by the Civil War. They thought that the South could do this only if it copied the northern states and industrialized. These men saw themselves as missionaries in a quest to transform their native region. They wanted the South to regain a sense of sectional pride by building a robust, modern economy. "New ideas have taken a firm hold in the

South, and, to succeed and prosper, we must spin cotton . . . in the light of the new order of things," proclaimed D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte. He was an influential engineer, mill designer, manufacturer, and publicist. Edward Dilworth Latta, whose Charlotte Consolidated Construction Company introduced electric streetcars—or trolleys—to the Queen City, wrote in May, 1891, "We must go forward or retrograde—there is no resting point with progress."

Were these entrepreneurs—factory and mill owners—mainly interested in providing jobs for less-fortunate, fellow southerners? Or were they looking out for themselves, seeking ways to maintain or regain a place of social and economic prominence? How did they feel about their own employees? How did these New South industrialists react to

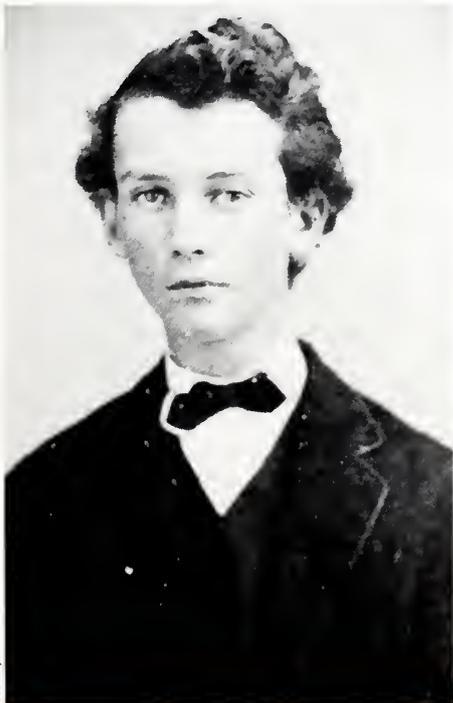
criticism? How did they act when people tried to challenge their authority to run their factories and mills as they wanted?

Two men whose careers reveal a lot about the attitudes, motivation, and behavior of the New South factory owners in the North Carolina piedmont are D. A. Tompkins and Edward Dilworth Latta. Both were born in 1851 into the planter elite of antebellum South Carolina. Elite means the best people of a region or city. D. A. Tompkins was born in Edgefield County. Edward Dilworth Latta was born in the Old Pendleton District. Both went north for their higher education. Tompkins went to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York, and Latta went to Princeton in New Jersey. Both moved to Charlotte, Tompkins in 1883 and Latta in 1876. Both became well known and gained considerable wealth. Tompkins died in 1914, Latta in 1925. Both are buried in Elmwood Cemetery in Charlotte.

D. A. Tompkins learned about the practical side of industry by working for the Bethlehem Iron Works in Pennsylvania. He was a mechanic, draftsman, and machinist. Later he moved to Charlotte as a representative of the Westinghouse Company. For the next thirty years, he labored tirelessly to promote the economic development of the piedmont section of the two Carolinas.

When I went to Charlotte, I asked nobody any favors. I was a machinist. I looked out for my own work, did each job that came my way the best I could . . . I kept at work, and kept cheerful.

Tompkins's record of accomplishments is staggering. He founded the modern *Charlotte Observer* newspaper and transformed it into an organ for urban **boosterism**. Boosterism is enthusiastically backing a project, city, or region. D. A. Tompkins traveled throughout the piedmont.



Edward Dilworth Latta is pictured as a young man before arriving in Charlotte in 1876. As an entrepreneur, Latta risked his money in many business ventures and played a key role in the industrialization and urbanization of Charlotte. One venture was the trolley-car system in Charlotte. This streetcar ran to Latta Park, an amusement park in Dilworth suburb. The suburb was developed by Latta's company, the Four C's.



D. A. Tompkins, Cotton Mill, Commercial Features (Charlotte: D. A. Tompkins, 1899)



D. A. Tompkins and his Atherton Cotton Mill

He almost single-handedly created the cottonseed oil industry. In addition to designing and overseeing the construction of dozens of textile mills and mill villages, Tompkins owned and operated three mills. They were located in North Carolina and South Carolina. Those in North Carolina were located in High Shoals, Gaston County, and in Charlotte, Mecklenburg County.

D. A. Tompkins took pride in his ability to create what he thought was a safe and pleasant environment for his mill workers. He published textbooks that influenced the design of **mill villages** throughout the South. Mill villages were small communities clustered near the mills, built by millowners for housing the workers. "The Atherton [mill] and its surroundings are marvels of beauty," commented a textile executive who visited Charlotte in May, 1900. "There is nothing to approach it in any factory settlement I have seen in the North."

But all was not as wonderful as Tompkins claimed. Cotton mills

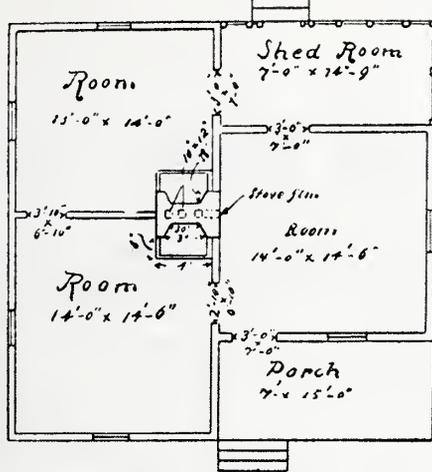
were noisy and dangerous places. They were called "hummers" because of the deafening noise that their machines produced. Accidents in cotton mills were numerous. At the Atherton Mill a worker's hands were mangled in June, 1893, and an overseer died in the carding room in October, 1902, when he became entangled in the machinery. "He was dead in six seconds," the *Charlotte Observer* reported. Working in a strict and controlled place, the workers would occasionally get angry at one another. For example, in December, 1898, a shooting occurred between two residents of the Atherton Mill village.

A letter written on October 15, 1906, to a textile official in Patterson, New Jersey, shows Tompkins's attitudes about his workers. Tompkins defended his practice of not placing closets, bathrooms, or hot water in his mill village houses. He explained that the majority of his **mill hands**—the people who worked in his mills—had grown up in rural areas. "Modern improvements" were unknown to the mill hands.

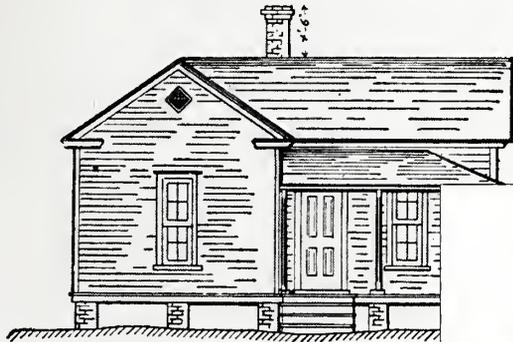
"Sometimes they would object to ordinary clothes closets," he stated, "on plea that they were receptacles for worn out shoes and skirts that ought be thrown away and destroyed."

Edward Dilworth Latta moved from New York City to Charlotte in October, 1876. He established E. D. Latta and Brothers, a men's clothing store. In 1883 he founded the Charlotte Trouser Company, a textile plant that manufactured men's trousers. But his greatest accomplishments came as president of the Charlotte Consolidated Construction Company—commonly known as "Four C's." In February, 1891, he signed a contract with the Edison Electric Company. The company agreed to install an electric streetcar system in Charlotte. The system connected the center of the city with Dilworth, a suburban housing area that he was developing just south of Charlotte.

Like Tompkins, Latta had no patience with anything but obedience from his workers. On December 2, 1903, forty-eight trolley conductors and motormen walked off the job. They marched



Floor Plan



Front Elevation



Side Elevation



D. A. Tompkins, Cotton Mill, Commercial Features (Charlotte D. A. Tompkins, 1899)

D. A. Tompkins wrote *Cotton Mill, Commercial Features: A Textbook for the Use of Textile Schools and Investors*, in 1899, to give "full information about the cotton manufacturing business." He offered advice on the construction of textile mills and how to take care of equipment. And he discussed employee relations. He also described housing and how to provide living facilities. The house (Bottom) is a three-room gable house costing \$325.00 in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was built from these plans (Left). Houses were built in villages near the mills by textile mill owners like Tompkins.

from the carbarn in Dilworth to the heart of the city. They milled about and sought support for their strike. Latta, who was in New York City when the walkout began, arrived in Charlotte on December 3. He saw many townspeople wearing buttons that boldly proclaimed, "I walk." How did Latta respond to this challenge? He simply fired all the strikers. All of them. In a letter published in the *Charlotte News*, Latta explained,

I regret, beyond expression, the exigency of the situation, causing me to part with a

body of men for many of whom I hold a personal attachment; but it could scarcely be expected by any thoughtful fair-minded person that on my return I would dismiss those who had graciously rallied to our interests and reinstate others who, without provocation during my absence, elected to abandon their position with no other expectation than that the company and the public would be without service.

D. A. Tompkins and Edward Dilworth Latta, like many leaders of the New South in the North

Carolina piedmont, struggled courageously to strengthen the economy of the region. But their actions were not completely unselfish. When challenged or threatened, men like Tompkins and Latta drew strength from the belief that their interests were also the interests of the majority of people. Do you think that their interests benefited the economic growth of piedmont North Carolina or were they merely working for themselves? ■

Black business leaders: 1865–1915

by Robert C. Kenzer

Berry O’Kelly was one of the wealthiest businessmen in North Carolina at the beginning of the 1900s. O’Kelly was born to a slave mother in Orange County in 1861. Sometime after the Civil War, he moved to the black community of Method in Wake County where his relatives helped him gain an education. With the money he earned clerking for a black storekeeper, O’Kelly eventually became a partner, and later, sole owner of the store. In 1890 he was fortunate to become the postmaster of the village of Method, which ensured that people would come into his store to pick up their mail and perhaps buy goods from him.

O’Kelly did not confine his business interests to just the village of Method. Soon he created an investment company, became a partner in another grocery store in



One of the piedmont’s early black entrepreneurs, Berry O’Kelly, was a merchant, postmaster, landlord, realtor, newspaperman, and banker. O’Kelly is standing in front of his store in Method, Wake County, in 1890 (Above). Another early black entrepreneur was Warren Coleman (Right). He was a major landowner and a leading merchant in Concord, Cabarrus County.

the black village of Oberlin, organized a shoe company, and leased space to black-operated businesses in an office building that he built in downtown Raleigh. By the 1920s he was also active in real estate, life insurance, a black newspaper, and banking. Further, he played a major role in promoting black education, was a leader in the National Negro Business League, which encouraged black business efforts throughout the United States, and served in various offices in black **fraternal societies** and the African Methodist Episcopal church. Fraternal societies are clubs or associations of people, with restricted membership, and religious, social, charitable, or professional purposes. When he died in 1931, his real estate alone was valued at \$145,855, which is the equivalent of more than \$1,000,000 today.



If Berry O'Kelly was the most successful black businessman in the eastern piedmont, Warren C. Coleman could have made a similar claim for the western piedmont. Although born to a slave mother in 1849, the fact that he had

a white father seems to have aided Coleman in receiving an unusual amount of support from the white community in Cabarrus County. From 1873 to 1874, he attended Howard University, the well-known black college in Washington, D.C. During the mid-1870s, with the help of his white father, Coleman began to buy land in Concord, the county seat of Cabarrus County. There he built homes that he later rented to blacks. Eventually, he became one of the largest landowners in the county and one of its leading merchants. In addition, he was a major black philanthropist, providing money for a number of black colleges and for the North Carolina's black orphans' home. Also, he served as the president of the North Carolina Industrial Association, the organization that aided black businesses in the state and sponsored the annual, black state fair.

Coleman's greatest achievement as a businessman was his attempt during the 1890s to form the nation's first black-owned and black-operated textile company. In this endeavor Coleman was able to win the support of many of the state's leading white businessmen, most notably Washington Duke. Nevertheless, when difficulties arose, largely because of the lack of enough money and Coleman's sudden death in 1904, the dream of a black-owned and black-operated textile mill ended.

Both Berry O'Kelly and Warren C. Coleman were clearly unique individuals in the degree of success that they achieved. But they were not the only black businessmen to leave their mark in North Carolina's piedmont. An examination of *Branson's*

Directory, North Carolina's major state business directory, reveals the names of hundreds of other black businessmen in the piedmont for the years 1865 through 1890. This book, which was published about every six years, designated a black-owned business by placing an asterisk after the name. Between 1866 and 1890, the number of black piedmont businessmen rose from nine to 104.

During the first ten years after the Civil War, most of these black firms were located in Wake County. But by 1890 the 104 black firms were spread over twenty-two piedmont counties. Although some of the largest cities in the piedmont, such as Raleigh, Charlotte, and Greensboro, had a number of black businesses, most of the black businessmen lived in small towns. To show the small-town nature of the piedmont, of its thirty-seven communities with black businesses, twenty-one contained only one such businessman. In addition, rather than having partners, nearly all of the black businessmen conducted their business alone. Only three of the black businesses were owned by women. Two of these women were seamstresses, and one ran a boarding house.

In 1890 blacks operated thirty different types of businesses in the piedmont. Generally, their activities fall into three categories. About half of the black firms can be categorized as skilled trades. These types of businessmen produced goods such as boots and shoes, or they knew how to perform a craft like blacksmithing.

The second largest group of black businessmen in 1890 provided services. The most

Black entrepreneurs like O'Kelly and Coleman contributed to their communities and their region. Among the interests of Berry O'Kelly's was the National Negro Business League.



common type of service was barbering. Because blacks had traditionally been barbers in southern society, they faced little competition from whites. In fact, some black barbers served only white customers. Other types of services black businessmen provided included running boardinghouses, restaurants, and livery stables.

The third category of business performed by blacks was mercantile. These businessmen ran grocery and general stores. Because it cost so much to keep a large amount of supplies in such stores, only the wealthiest black businessmen could afford to get involved in mercantile activity.

Besides their interest in the business world, black businessmen in the piedmont worked to improve their communities. Some held political office. Others served on school boards, helped build cemeteries, or organized fire companies. (This was before city or county fire departments or volunteer fire departments.) Many belonged to fraternal societies, such as the black Masons, who

performed a wide variety of charitable activities.

There might have been a slight downturn in the number of black businessmen during the 1890s when North Carolina and the United States experienced a severe economic depression. Yet after 1900, business prospects seemed to increase for blacks. This was especially true in piedmont cities and towns whose black population grew rapidly with the development of the tobacco, textile, and furniture industries.

No piedmont city better illustrates this growth than Durham, which went from a handful of black businesses in 1890, to sixty-five in 1905, and 110 by 1915. And just as important, the number of types of firms owned by blacks grew. While the city's blacks owned only nineteen types of businesses in 1905, the number grew to thirty-four by 1915. Additionally, not only were there more blacks involved in a greater variety of businesses in piedmont cities but the sizes of these businesses were larger than ever before. In the past most black firms were quite small

because they were owned by a single person. Some were now so large that they were organized as corporations and managed by boards of directors. For example, by 1915 Durham had a bank owned and operated by blacks—the Mechanics and Farmers Bank—and served as the headquarters for the black insurance company—the North Carolina Mutual—which became the largest black-owned business in the world. After visiting Durham in 1911, Booker T. Washington, the well-known national black leader, was so impressed by the number of black entrepreneurs that he referred to the community as “a City of Negro Enterprises.”

Within fifty years after the Civil War, some black residents of North Carolina's piedmont had made substantial strides in business. Although most blacks in the piedmont continued to toil as landless farmers or as factory laborers, a growing handful overcame great adversity and experienced success in their various business. Further, their individual success did not prevent them from demonstrating a high degree of civic concern and racial pride. ■

Student articles

Tobacco in North Carolina

by Jennifer Tucker

North Carolina is the leading tobacco producer in the United States. It produces two thirds of the flue-cured tobacco, about 560,000,000 pounds in 1989. Tobacco is grown mostly in the piedmont and the coastal plain regions. And Rockingham County grows the largest amount of tobacco of any piedmont county.

North Carolina has a suitable amount of rain and proper temperature for growing tobacco. Its soils are infertile, which allows farmers to add the proper amount of nitrogen for good-quality tobacco.

In 1839, an eighteen-year old slave on the Slade farm in Caswell County, North Carolina, after allowing the fires in a curing barn to die, added charcoal to the fire. The heat cured the tobacco to a more yellow color than normal. This light-colored tobacco sold for about four times the normal price. The use of heat to "yellow" the tobacco and then dry the leaf on the Slade farm is often credited with being the start of "flue-cured" tobacco.

The Mayan Indians in Central America were believed to be the first users of tobacco. When

Christopher Columbus arrived in the new world in 1492, he saw natives using tobacco in the same ways that we use it today. It was then introduced to Spain from Santo Domingo in 1556. In 1585 Sir Francis Drake took it to England.

Today we still use some of the same methods that the Indians used in growing tobacco: topping, suckering, and curing. But many of these techniques are done by machine now. Long ago, tobacco was planted by hand with a wooden peg, but today it is done with a mechanical planter. People used to loop tobacco together by hand after it was harvested, but now this process is done with a mechanical stringer.

Farmers who raise tobacco sow their plant beds in February. It takes sixty to seventy days for the seeds to grow. Farmers place a cloth over the beds to keep the frost off of the plants. After the plants are big enough to plant, they are transplanted into fields by mechanical planters in May. The rows are about four feet apart, and the plants are spaced about twenty-two inches apart in the rows.

To grow tobacco, farmers have to "top" the plant by removing the flower from the top of the plant. Farmers cultivate to remove the weeds around the plant so that the weeds do not compete with the tobacco. In July, farmers start **priming** when the plants are full grown. Priming is harvesting the tobacco, which is done from the bottom up. The tobacco is cured and then sold at the tobacco auction.

There are many uses for tobacco and many types of tobacco curing processes. The different uses are for cigarettes, chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars, and pipe tobacco.

The different types of tobacco curing processes are air cured, fire cured, and flue cured. Air-cured tobacco consists of two varieties, light and dark. The light air-cured is used in cigarettes. The dark air-cured is used in snuff and chewing tobacco. Fire-cured tobacco has a smokey aroma and flavor. It is used in making chewing tobacco, snuff, and strong-tasting cigars. Flue-cured tobacco is a bright-colored tobacco. It is used mostly in cigarettes.



Jennifer Tucker,
Western
Rockingham
Junior Tar Heels
II, Western
Rockingham
Middle School,
Madison.



Patrick Driscoll,
North Rowan Tar
Heel Junior
Historians, East
Spencer.



Robbie Miller,
North Rowan Tar
Heel Junior
Historians, East
Spencer.



Chip Miller,
North Rowan
Tar Heel Junior
Historians, East
Spencer.

I live in the house my grandfather grew up in. His mother, my great-grandmother, had insisted that they move from the river to what had been her parents' house so that her children could get an education in Spencer. Pa didn't have many books, and he once told me a pencil stub was a treasure. He worked hard in school, and in 1920, was one of sixteen people to graduate from Spencer High School. A man recruiting for the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill came to Spencer and got Pa to apply. He was accepted and went on to get a

history degree and a law degree, even though he had to drop out for a year to teach at East Spencer High School.

In 1928 Pa started practicing law in Salisbury, Rowan County. He maintained an active practice for forty-nine years. He said anyone could practice law for fifty years. It took real courage to quit at forty-nine.

Pa was also active in North Carolina politics. He served four terms in the North Carolina Senate. The first time he ran, in 1945, one of his opponents came to the house. He asked my grandmother

to vote for him because he was running against a young lawyer whose wife was expecting a baby, and he thought that the man should stay home with his family. My grandmother agreed with him completely. He had not realized who she was, but he was sure he had her vote.

The last term Pa served was in 1961. Because this was the last session held in the old Capitol, his name is on the plaque listing the Senate members. I think it is neat to have Pa's name on a plaque. ■

The Origin of Spencer

by Robbie Miller

Spencer is located in Rowan County. It was born on March 3, 1896, when large numbers of people marched into a field, three miles north of Salisbury, to start clearing and grading operations. The Southern Railroad ran right through this field, near where the town of Spencer is now. They were clearing the land for the railroad shops, which were to be built halfway between Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, Georgia. The shops would soon be a huge industrial plant that would inject more than a \$1,000,000 per year into the county's economy. The community near the shops became a town in 1901, and it was named Spencer for Samuel Spencer, the president of the Southern Railroad at that time. In 1961, the railroad shops closed down, but the town continued to flourish. The shops are opened to the public as a museum, holding artifacts from the late 1800s and early 1900s. ■

I interviewed my grandfather, Hayden C. Miller, Sr., about what was once called Spencer Shops. I asked him many questions. The first questions were how much money he made when he started and when he retired. He said that he made approximately 27 cents when he first worked there. Then he said he made about \$18.00 a month, but that was before the government got to it.

My next question was how long he had worked at the shops. He said that he worked there from June 19, 1932, until about December 9, 1978.

Then I asked him what jobs he did whenever he worked there. He said that when he started he was a **laborer**—someone who works on the train tracks. Then he was promoted to labor foreman. That is a person who supervises laborers working on the tracks. Finally, he was moved up to a mechanical foreman, someone who works on diesel trains. He did

Spencer Shops

by Chip Miller

that from 1959 until retirement.

Also I asked him his hours of work. He said that he worked from 3:15 to 7:15 A.M. when he was working third shift. Then he worked from 7:15 A.M. to 3:15 P.M. when he was working first shift.

Another question was, if he had a new job right now, would he like his old job better. He said that he would like the old one better.

Then I asked him which days he worked. He said that he worked all week long. He had no days off at all. Then, in 1959, he began to work from Monday until Friday and had two days off.

The next question I asked was how many people worked there. He said they had forty people working when he began, and there were only fifteen people working when he retired.

My final question was why Spencer Shops was started. He said that they had to keep the railroad engines and cars clean and repaired. ■

Furnishing the world: the furniture industry

by William G. Morrissey

Furniture manufacturing is the third largest manufacturing industry in North Carolina, following textiles and apparel, and roughly one-quarter of the furniture made in the United States is produced here. The North Carolina furniture manufacturing industry employed 86,900 people in 1989 and produced \$1,595,000,000 worth of furniture in 1986. How did this industry come to be so important to us here in North Carolina?

To understand the history of furniture making in North Carolina, we should first know a little about the development of the industry in the United States. In the colonial period (1600s–1776), there was no furniture industry as it exists today. Furniture was made by the settlers or by cabinetmakers, craftsmen who were making their products and selling them within a few miles of where they lived. Much of the very fine furniture for the well-to-do of this period was imported from Europe.

The first departure from the tradition of the cabinetmakers was

by a Jacob Foster in Charlestown, Massachusetts. In 1780 he **farmed out** the manufacture of parts to a nearby prison—he had inmates there make the parts. He then assembled the parts and finished the furniture products. From this beginning factories were built in New England, New York, and the Midwest. In 1836 the first cabinet shop in Grand Rapids, Michigan, was established to take advantage of the good timber supply, waterpower, and water transportation. Grand Rapids grew to be the center of furniture manufacturing in the United States.

But after World War II, the industry began to die out in the Grand Rapids area. The pressure of war efforts during World War I (1916–1918) and World War II (1941–1945) and the Great Depression (1929–1941) was hard on the “nonessential” furniture industry. The depression was especially hard on furniture companies making high-priced furniture in Grand Rapids, and the industry in that city fell rapidly in importance following World War II.

Also contributing to this decline was the dwindling timber supply and the failure of companies to modernize their plants in order to compete with the rising furniture industry in the South. In addition, many of the furniture firms fell victim to fire, **bankruptcy**—an inability to pay debts—**or merger**—several companies combining to form a larger company. While these events were taking place, the North Carolina plants were gradually improving their quality and establishing a reputation.

White Furniture Company in Mebane (Alamance and Orange counties) was the first factory established in North Carolina to mass produce furniture. The year was 1881. This company is still operating today as part of the Hickory Furniture Company. The Goldsboro Furniture Manufacturing Company, which later became Kemp Furniture Company, was founded in 1887. Kemp became part of Universal Furniture Industries in 1988. Although it has had different names and owners, this company

has been operating uninterrupted for over a hundred years. Another early plant was the High Point Furniture Company, established in 1889 by Ernest Snow, John Tate, and Thomas Wren. Ernest Snow was the son of Captain William Snow, a Vermonter who had returned to North Carolina after the Civil War to start a shuttle and bobbin mill in Greensboro. This plant eventually became part of Broyhill Industries.

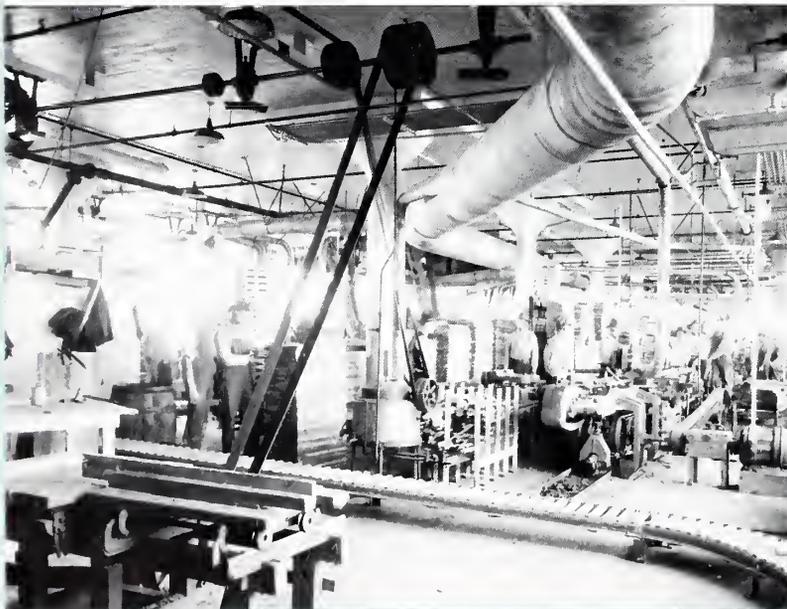
By 1889 there were six furniture plants in North Carolina turning out just over \$150,000 of production annually. It was not a very fast start for an industry destined to become one of the largest in the state. Approximately 250 furniture firms were started in North Carolina between 1900 and 1910. The state had a good supply of lumber, the cost of paying employees was low, and there was a good market for inexpensive furniture in the northern states. Some of these plants were the outgrowth of lumber companies.

Tom Broyhill got into the furniture business in 1905 when he accepted shares of stock in the Kent Furniture and Coffin Company in exchange for lumber that he had delivered to the firm. Drexel Heritage Furnishings, Incorporated, was established in 1903 by three men who owned a sawmill, which they began in 1899 to cut boards for corn cribs.

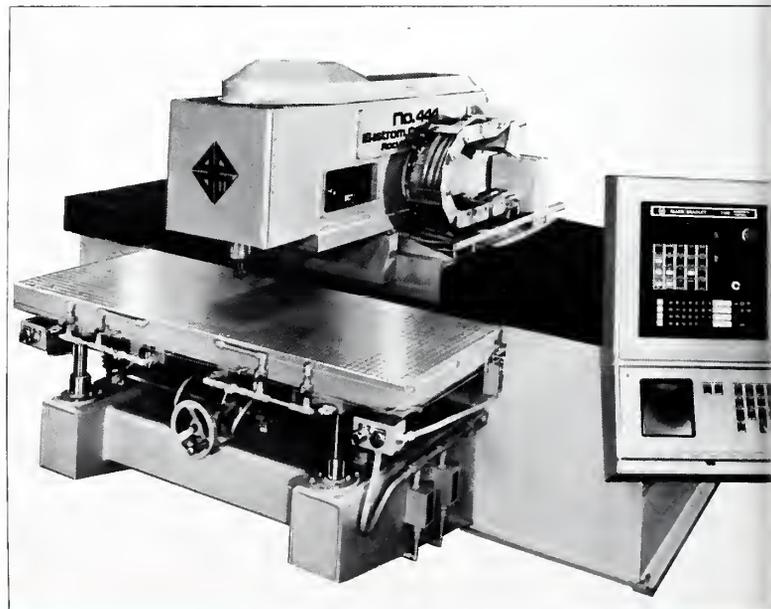
The furniture manufacturing technology that men like John Tate, Ernest Snow, Thomas Wren, and Tom Broyhill used in the late 1800s and early 1900s was far different from that used today. Most companies ran machinery powered by steam engines having long line shafts with flapping belts to drive the individual machines. The next generation of machinery was driven by electric motors. Improvements in materials and tooling for these machines were continually being made. Today, there exists machinery with electronic computerized controls,

making them capable of doing things unheard of in 1900.

At the same time, technology was bringing about changes to the adhesives, finishes, and even the wood used. In the past, wood used in furniture was in the form of solid wood or **veneers**—thinly sliced solid wood. Now it is **chipped**—the fibers separated chemically—and made up into four by eight foot sheets of chipboard or fiberboard. Veneers or plastic sheets are **laminated**—attached—to the surface of these sheets. They are cut into tops, ends, and drawer fronts for chests and other furniture. There have also been many other technical improvements in the form of fasteners, fabrics, and mechanisms for both **case goods** and **upholstered furniture**. Case goods are bedroom furniture, dining room furniture, and storage furniture such as buffets and chests of drawers. Upholstered furniture is padded and covered with fabric. Couches are good



Courtesy of author



While furniture manufacturing declined in other states in the early 1900s, it grew in North Carolina. Early technology was primitive by our standards today. The machinery used to cut, turn, sand, and finish furniture was driven by a belt that was attached to a shaft that was turning. Look for the shaft, the belt, and the machinery that they run (Left). In comparison, the machinery that is used today is not run by belts on shafts. Electric powered, computerized woodworking machinery is used in the many furniture factories throughout the piedmont (Right).



Photographs by Ron Leitch, courtesy of Home Furnishings Marketing Association, High Point



At the International Home Furnishings Market, buyers have access to the largest assortment of furniture on permanent display in the world.

examples of upholstered furniture.

Manufacturing a furniture product represents only half the job of a successful firm. The product must also be sold to the consumer. In colonial days a cabinetmaker would take orders to make furniture for customers. Later on as cities grew, some cabinetmakers would manufacture a wagonload of furniture and then haul it to the towns and cities to sell to whoever would buy it. Prior to the Civil War, photographs of furniture came into use as a selling tool. Widdicomb Furniture in Grand Rapids published the first illustrated catalog in 1877. But buyers did not want to see illustrated catalogs. They wanted to see the product. An early attempt at meeting this need was to lease railroad cars, outfit them with furniture samples, and travel from town to town, displaying and selling furniture from the cars. As furniture plants were established, furniture stores were started, and salesmen were hired to sell the products to these stores. The first organized furniture market, where manufacturers and retailers could meet to buy and sell, was held in Grand Rapids. Other major cities,

such as Chicago and New York, followed. At the New York Exposition in 1891, Charles E. Spratt established the ground rules that are still observed today for conducting an orderly furniture market: only manufacturers could exhibit, no subleasing of spaces, only exhibitors and dealers were allowed to attend, and **retailing**—selling to the public—was strictly forbidden.

By 1913 the High Point Exposition was attracting furniture manufacturers throughout the South. In June 1921, the Southern Furniture Building opened with 200,000 square feet of floor space. Today the International Home Furnishings Markets are held each year during April and October in High Point. More than 50,000 people are involved in displaying, buying, and reporting on the products exhibited there. There are about 1,600 exhibitors in 150 buildings, with a total of 6,000,000 square feet of floor space. The International Home Furnishings Center in the center of High Point is the heart of the market and occupies a five-building complex with 2,500,000

square feet of floor space.

The growth of the furniture market has been impressive. The International Home Furnishings Market is the largest and most important in the United States.

As the furniture industry has grown in North Carolina, it has led to the formation of many firms that supply the industry—finishing companies, lumber companies, machinery dealers, design firms, and many others. Educational facilities with programs geared specifically toward the furniture industry contribute to the success. Catawba Valley Community College offers a program through its furniture division for training technicians and supervisors. High Point College's home furnishings marketing program is directed toward the retail/marketing end of the furniture industry. North Carolina State University, within its college of engineering, has a four-year furniture manufacturing and management degree for educating manufacturing engineers and managers for the industry. The furniture industry in North Carolina benefits and contributes to the state economy in many ways. ■

Sassafras sticks, the bull, and Mr. Bonsack: the impact of tobacco manufacturing

by A. Dale Coats

Bright-leaf, or flue-cured, tobacco has played a major role in the development of the North Carolina piedmont since its accidental discovery in 1839. The impact of this new method for tobacco curing helped in the industrialization of this region.¹ Tobacco products have been an important segment of our manufacturing economy since the **antebellum** period—the period before the start of the Civil War in 1861.

Chewing tobacco and smoking tobacco were the two primary types of bright-leaf products manufactured in the piedmont region before the Civil War. Winston—now known as Winston-Salem—was the early center for chewing, or plug, tobacco. Durham Station—now called Durham—developed around several smoking tobacco companies. R. J. Reynolds was among the early businessmen in Winston to use bright leaf in his plug tobacco. And this decision to use bright leaf, along with a

determined sales force, was important in the rapid growth of Winston as a tobacco manufacturing center. Meanwhile in Durham Station, Robert Morris opened a small smoking tobacco factory, which was purchased during the Civil War by John R. Green. Green's factory was



plundered by General Sherman's Union troops in 1865, and the Federal soldiers developed a taste



for Durham smoking tobacco. These soldiers ordered Green's tobacco products after the war's end. And as a result, they advertised his product throughout the United States. Green then adopted the trademark "Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco." He convinced W. T. Blackwell of Person County to become a business partner.

¹ Tobacco must be "cured" before it can be used. In curing, the tobacco must be dried after it is harvested. There are different ways of curing tobacco, but the most common way is bright-leaf curing. The tobacco is placed in a storage building and heated. The slave, Stephen, who accidentally discovered the bright-leaf method, found that high heat turned the green tobacco leaf a golden color. Now, in many cases, natural gas heat is used instead of wood or charcoal.

Also, during the spring of 1865, tobacco grower Washington Duke returned to his Orange County (now Durham County) farm, after having served in the Confederate navy. He discovered that a large quantity of stored tobacco had been stolen by Union



Washington Duke

troops. And with one wagonload of leaf remaining, he peddled that tobacco as a smoking product in Raleigh. Because of his late entrance into the industry, he found himself in direct competition with Blackwell and “Bull Durham.”

Washington Duke and his three sons—Brodie, Benjamin, and James Buchanan—first made a smoking tobacco called “Pro Bono Publico”—Latin words meaning “For the Public Good.” Duke and his boys manufactured it entirely by hand, flailing dry tobacco leaves until they were broken into smaller pieces. It is believed that they used sassafras sticks to beat and flavor the product. After the leaves were beaten, the pieces of tobacco were placed in a wooden hoop with a wire screen bottom. The cured tobacco could then be filtered through the screen and the stems removed from the finely ground

particles. Washington Duke’s only daughter, Mary, sewed the tobacco sacks for the product. Her father then peddled the hand-manufactured product directly from his farm wagon.

By 1874 the Duke smoking tobacco business had grown so much that the family moved into Durham to be closer to the railroad facilities. Other tobacconists had moved into the village to open manufacturing operations, and Durham began to grow rapidly. A major conflict developed between the Dukes and Blackwell’s “Bull Durham.” The ever-popular “Bull

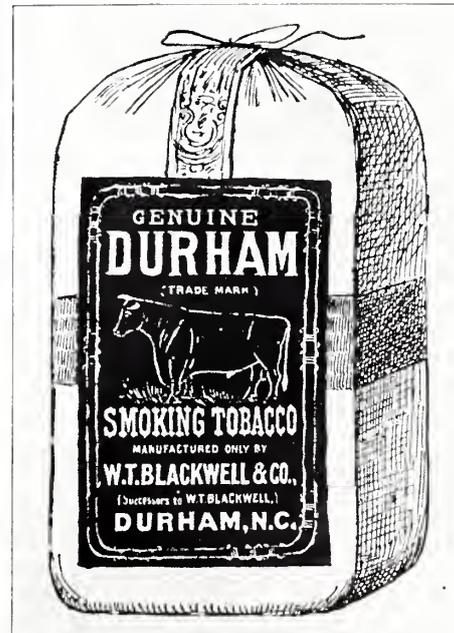


James Albert Bonsack

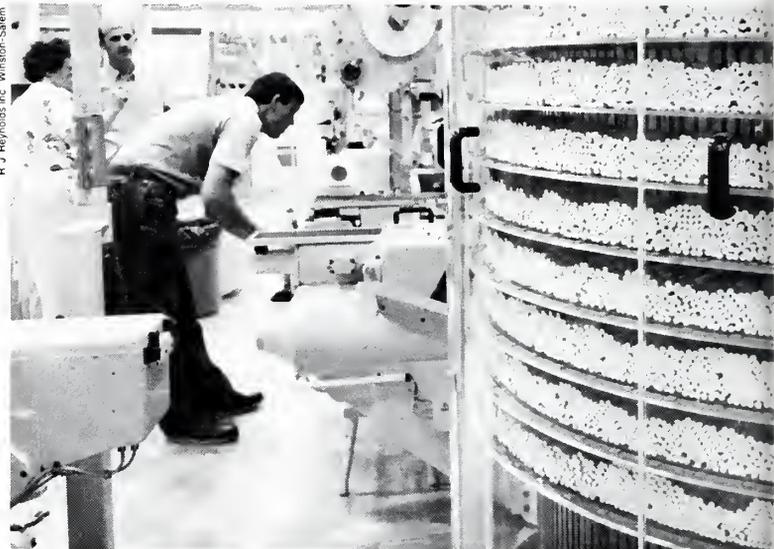
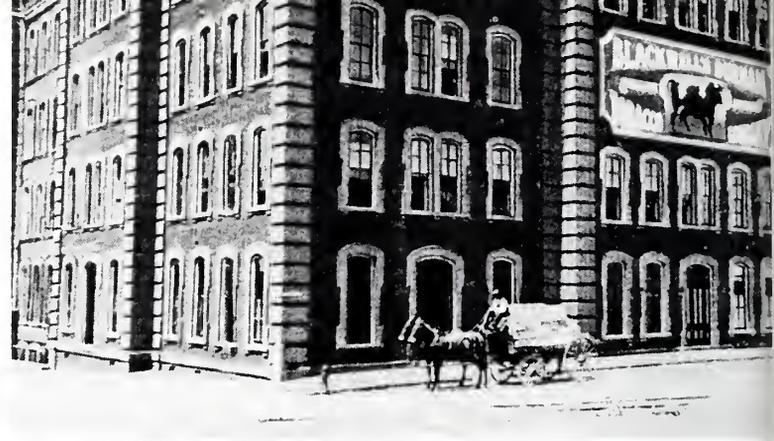
Durham” smoking tobacco provided stiff competition for the Duke products. James Duke, Washington Duke’s son, made a decision to produce cigarettes. By 1884 the Duke business was manufacturing the industry’s first machine-made cigarettes. James Albert Bonsack, a young Virginian, invented the first cigarette-making machine. His invention enabled the Dukes to capture a large share of the smoking market. This invention, along with shrewd advertising, thrust Washington Duke and his sons to the forefront

of tobacco manufacturing. They created the American Tobacco Company as the monopoly of the industry in 1890. A **monopoly**, sometimes called a **trust**, is exclusive control of an industry or product, enabling the person controlling the industry to fix prices.

Other towns in the piedmont benefited from tobacco manufacturing during this period. The Penn family of Reidsville, Rockingham County, created a chewing tobacco business that eventually was absorbed by the American Tobacco Company. Hillsborough, Orange County, had four tobacco manufacturers in 1881. Mount Airy, Surry County, and Oxford, Granville County, each had several factories. There were also a number of tobacco manufacturers scattered throughout the rural areas of the piedmont during that time.



The American Tobacco Company essentially controlled the industry as the “tobacco trust” from 1890 until 1911. When it was dissolved in 1911, the monopoly was broken into fourteen different companies. R. J. Reynolds



Tobacco manufacturing facilities have come a long way since the late 1800s. Washington Duke's home near Durham was surrounded by his tobacco storage and factory buildings (Top, left). Duke and his sons later expanded their facilities to Durham and built more modern factories of stone and brick, much like W. T. Blackwell's (Top, right). R. J. Reynolds's Tobaccoville plant (Bottom, left) covers many acres and has modern equipment (Bottom, right).

Tobacco Company, Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company, Pierre Lorillard and Company, and The American Tobacco Company remain from that breakup.

Since the breakup of the monopoly, the piedmont's tobacco industry has changed dramatically. Manufacturing is now centered in five cities: Durham (Liggett and Myers), Reidsville (American), Greensboro (Lorillard), Winston-Salem (R. J. Reynolds), and Concord (Philip Morris). All five companies produce cigarettes at extremely high volumes, compared with their counterparts 100 years ago. Advanced technology has allowed the manufacturers to computerize

their operations, and in many cases, reduce their work force. In comparison, chewing tobacco and smoking tobacco are much smaller segments of the manufacturing process today than during the antebellum period.

The tobacco industry still plays a large role in the piedmont of the 1980s and 1990s. Although cigarette consumption has decreased in this country, tobacco companies are exporting large quantities of North Carolina's bright leaf to overseas customers. Tobacco is a major contributor to our state's economy, and the future appears to be bright for the crop despite the current smoking and health

debate. Companies have **diversified**—begun manufacturing other nontobacco products—and tobacco manufacturers have become a part of another type of monopoly called **conglomerates**. Conglomerates are groups of unrelated companies operating under one owner. All of the businesses are now owned by larger organizations that have other interests besides tobacco.

From sassafras sticks to computers, from the Bull to Mr. Bonsack, tobacco in piedmont North Carolina has played an important role for 150 years. It appears the future of tobacco manufacturing continues to shine "bright!" ■

Tending the land, tending the machines

D. A. Tompkins, Cotton Mill, Commercial Features (Charlotte, D. A. Tompkins, 1899)

by Lu Ann Jones

Since the late 1800s, many piedmont farmers have had to choose between working in their fields or working in factories. The rise of industry in the 1880s went hand in hand with changes in agriculture. Farm families faced debts owed to merchants, higher taxes, and dropping prices for cotton and tobacco. They limped along from year to year.

To a child like Fred Yoder, who grew up in Catawba County during the 1890s, hard times meant an almost empty Christmas stocking. “I remember in the early

’nineties, when it came Christmas one year, the only thing that we received as children was two sticks of peppermint candy. The country stores used to sell a little box of peppermint candy in sticks about six inches long. And we’d hung up our stockings by the chimney. We got up the next morning, and all we found was the sticks of candy.”

Hard times had more serious consequences for Yoder’s father. “I remember one time he was talking to my mother, and he said that he had to pay his taxes and he didn’t have any money to pay the

taxes with. So he sacked up some wheat, and he sacked up some corn, and he sacked up some potatoes and maybe loaded a ham or two—half a dozen different products—and went to the town of Newton [Catawba County]. Just sat there in his wagon on the street trying to sell these products; he tried the merchants and so on. When he returned home, he had sold some things, but not all of these things. I might say that my father was maybe the most prosperous man in the immediate neighborhood in which we were living. So everybody had this

problem of getting even enough money to pay their taxes.”

At the same time that farming prospects on the land dimmed, the piedmont was becoming the industrial heart of the South.

Railroad tracks crisscrossed its hills, and cotton mills hugged the banks of rivers. The countryside provided factory labor as men, women, and children who tended the land began tending machines.

Flossie Moore Durham saw how economic forces and personal circumstances shaped her family’s decision to move. Her parents rented land in Chatham County until 1893, when her father died. Her mother was suddenly responsible for eight children, whose ages ranged from infancy to nineteen. Mr. Moore’s death, Flossie recalled, “left us, left my mother in a bad shape. Along in them days there wasn’t any money coming in much. We lived; we never went hungry, we never went cold. But I’ve wondered how she kept us all a-going.”

After harvesting that year’s crops and seeking neighbors’ advice, the Moores moved to Bynum. “There were several of the men that came out and met first,” Flossie remembered, “trying to decide what to do because there was a big family of us, and all of it like it was, didn’t know hardly what to do. They knew about Bynum, and it was little place to live. It’s always been a real quiet, nice place to live, almost just in the country. And of course the cotton mill was running here then.” The village was already familiar, for Flossie’s father had carted corn to be ground and cotton to be ginned at the Bynum family’s gristmill and

gin.¹ Now his children sold their labor to the Bynums’ cotton mill. At the age of ten, Flossie Moore Durham stopped picking cotton and started spinning it in the mill.

Other families combined farm and factory work. They made the change from rural to industrial life gradually. In doing so they made up a complex division of labor. Betty Davidson’s parents shared a set of looms in a cotton mill. “My father would run the looms in the wintertime,” Davidson remembered, “and go to and from work by horseback. And in the summertime when he was farming, my mother ran the looms and she stayed in town because she couldn’t ride the horse. Then on the weekends, she would come home.” Other farmers worked in the mills after crops were harvested in the fall and then quit when it was time to plant the next spring. By combining farming and factory work, a family might keep from being totally dependent on either one.

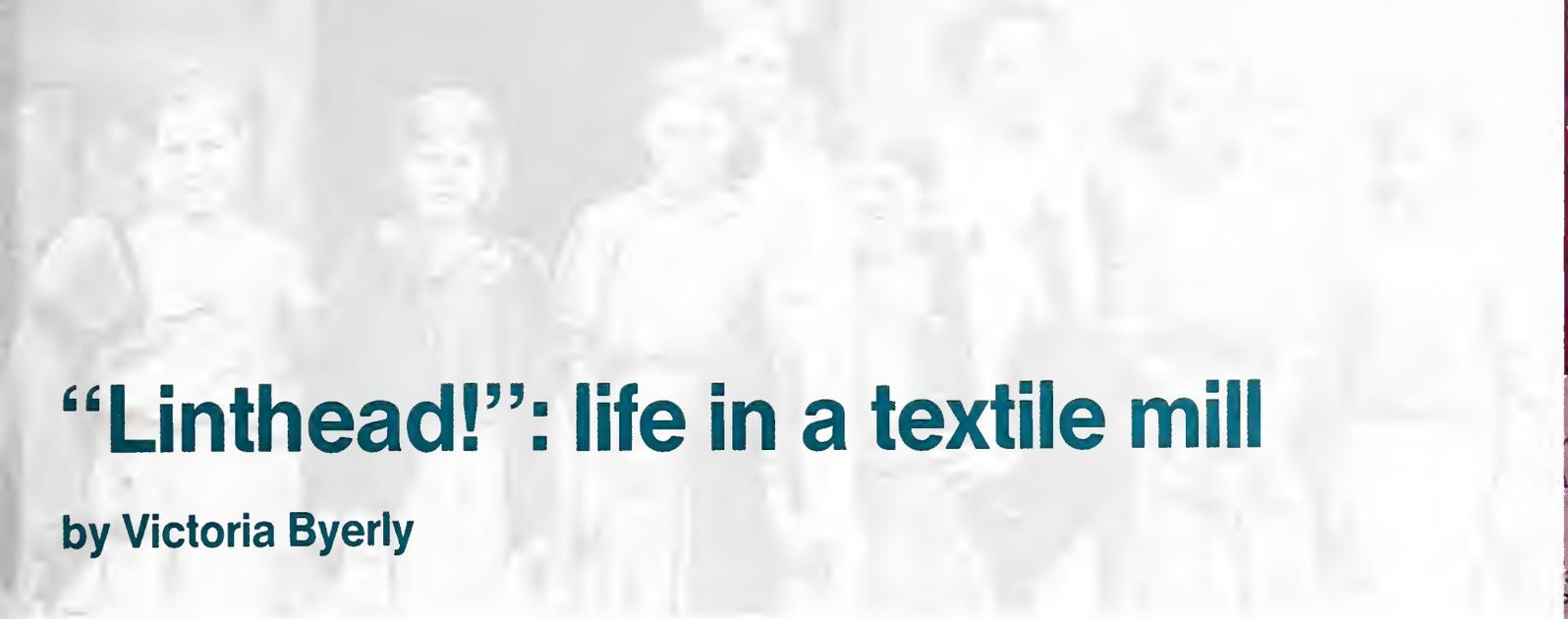
Some had no choice about working in the mill or working on the farm. Unpredictable prices, unfavorable weather, and unstoppable pests might destroy a season’s farm work nearly overnight. Claude Thomas abandoned farming reluctantly. In early 1913 he left his family’s Union County farm for the Highland Park Mill in Charlotte. Within a few weeks, he had met, courted, and married a spinner, and the newlyweds headed back to the farm. “As hard as I knew it would be, I had taken a chance. My wife has made this statement: I’ve heard her say that it’s easy enough to get a man out of the country, but it’s hard to get the

country out of the man. I hadn’t worked at public work long enough to have mastered a trade and demand what would have been a reasonable wage. And everything that I did do, it was starting at the bottom for a very meager amount of pay.”

The decision to gamble on farming did not pay off either. “My story is going to sound like I was in the middle of a bad fix and everything but in 1914, which was the first and only year my wife and I farmed, we sold our cotton for five-and-a-half cents. We didn’t make enough to pay the fertilizer bill and eat. I went and failed to make enough to pay my bills. I figured it like this: wherever I would go, whatever I did, I couldn’t make it any worse than this. Just working like convicts and not making a living.” The Thomases headed back to town.

Some people believed that staying on the farm could simply be a dead end. This seemed particularly apparent to young women. Ila Rice’s departure from her parents’ Catawba County farm in the 1930s represented an escape from years of doing “men’s work” on top of “women’s work” for little reward. The blast of factory whistles in Hickory reached her family’s fields. “On a cold, clear morning,” she recalled, “you could hear them whistles so plain.” Finally at the age of seventeen, Rice answered their call when she ran away with the hired hand “to keep from plowing.” In that move she joined thousands of other piedmont farmers-turned-mill hands who during the past century created an industrial world out of the rural world they left behind. ■

¹Cotton has to be ginned after it is picked off the cotton plant and before it is spun into thread and made into cloth. Ginning removes plant parts from the cotton fibers.



“Linthead!”: life in a textile mill

by Victoria Byerly

By the time I was eighteen, when I went to work in a textile mill, I was the fourth generation of women in my family to do so. In 1910 my great-grandfather, Cicero Hill, was hired by Charles Cannon to help dig the foundation of the Amazon Cotton Mill in Thomasville, Davidson County. When the new mill opened in 1911, his wife—my great-grandmother, Mary Francis—and her children—my grandmother, Florence, and her nine brothers and sisters—all went to work in the mill. Later their children and their children’s children worked in the mill.

In 1911, when the Amazon Cotton Mill was built, my great-grandfather was a **subsistence** farmer, owning only one acre of land. He grew everything his family ate: beans, vegetables, and corn, and he raised chickens, maybe a hog, and had a cow for milk. He also raised a little tobacco and cotton to sell for items he could not raise or make, like shoes, sugar, and flour. As soon as each of his children learned to walk and to hold a hoe, usually around five years old, they joined the rest of the family to work in the fields.

The whole family lived in a crude, two-room house, with the kitchen and toilet outside. Inside,

one room was for sitting, and at night my great-grandparents slept in this room. The other room was where the children slept. My grandmother, Florence, said that it was a long room. The boys’ beds were on one side, and the girls’ beds were on the other side, with a curtain in between. At the very end of the hall, she remembers, was a pedal-operated sewing machine, a precious possession at that time. The house was not well built. My grandmother remembers waking up in the middle of the night and brushing off the snow that had blown in through the cracks in the walls.

Mary Francis had married my great-grandfather when she was about thirteen, and over the years she gave birth to twelve children. Ten survived. Though this was considered a large family back then, it was not unusual for piedmont families at the beginning of the 1900s. Nor was it unusual for babies to die due to the lack of health care and poor nutrition.

When Mary Francis went to work in the mill in 1911, she was able to rent a four-room, mill village house that had running water and electricity. Rows and rows of these new, white, clapboard houses lined muddy roads around the Amazon Cotton

Mill. This was called the mill village. To a poor subsistence farmer’s family like my great-grandmother’s, it seemed like heaven.

Gradually during the 1920s, most of Mary Francis’s children became millworkers. She was able to stay at home to take care of housework and to prepare meals for them. These children began work in the mill when they were as young as seven years old. They remembered how they had to jump out of the bed and hurry to work in the mill. Work began at six o’clock in the morning and ended at six o’clock in the evening. On Saturdays they worked until noon. At the end of the week, they all received envelopes with their pay in them. They were not allowed to open them until they got home and gave them to their mother. She needed the money to pay the rent and buy food. Of the few dollars they brought home each week, each child was allowed to keep a quarter.

As the years went by, life in the Amazon Cotton Mill village grew harder. Charles Cannon, the owner of the mill, had become a very wealthy man. Workers only grew poorer. Many families who had left their farms wished that

they could quit the mill and return to the land. But most of the mill workers had sold their farms. Now there was no turning back. Others remembered how hard farming had been: they remembered when all that was in the field ready to be eaten was potatoes. That was all they ate. And in the winter when what food that had been canned ran out, they did without.

In the late 1800s and 1900s, my great-grandmother, Mary Frances, was a child. She remembered borrowing a quart of cornmeal from a neighbor so that she and her sisters would have something to eat that day. She remembered that they ate it raw, right out of the jar. They were so hungry they could not wait to cook it.

With memories like these, many textile workers believed that they were better off in the mill than back on the farm. This is what the owners of the textile mills counted on. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the textile mills had been located in New England, especially in Massachusetts. Farmers' daughters and, later, newly arrived immigrants were hired to run the machines. But soon textile workers in the North began to organize themselves into unions. They thought that it was unfair that they were working too hard for too little money while the mill owners made large profits. Northern millowners resented workers organizing themselves into large numbers to demand fair wages. In order to make huge profits, they needed people who would work hard for little money.

Finally by the mid-1920s, most mill owners had moved their mills to the South, especially to the piedmont region of North Carolina. Cotton was grown in the

South. So they could save on the cost of transporting cotton to the northern states by having their mills near the cotton fields. But more importantly there were thousands of poor farm families in the piedmont. Like my family they were willing to work hard to earn a better living. By the 1930s millowners bragged that southern workers were passive and were unable to organize themselves to demand decent wages as workers had done in the North.

They were wrong. As my grandmother and her sisters and brothers became adults, they continued to work in the mill. They had not been able to go to school because they had to work in the mill as children. So they could not read or write. This meant that finding another job was difficult, especially during the Great Depression of the 1930s. They remember, "You could hardly buy a job." People who lived in town had begun to make fun of millworkers. They called them names like "linthead" because the cotton from the mill would stick to their hair. Millworkers began to die of brown lung disease from breathing cotton dust. And Charles Cannon had neglected his mill houses so that the village had taken on a shabby appearance. Townspeople, even other workers in the furniture factories, poked fun at the poverty of textile millworkers.

But millworkers within the mill village stuck together. They were a poor but proud people. They helped each other out whenever they could. Finally in the 1930s and again in the 1950s, textile millworkers decided to go on strike. At the Amazon Mill everyone walked out of the mill at

once and stayed out for months. Men and women carried signs protesting the mill's unfair conditions. They cooked food and brought it to the mill to feed each other. Charles Cannon was outraged. Federal troops were called in, and they stood on the roofs of cotton mills with guns to force workers back to work. Those who refused were fired, and they had to leave to find work in another mill. Yet mill workers did not give up. They continued to organize and to demand an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, safe working conditions, and an end to child labor.

Growing up in the Amazon Cotton Mill village in the 1950s, I did not even know I was poor until we moved to another town. There, I went to High Point Central High School with the children of the millowners and children of the furniture factory owners as well as children whose parents worked in the mills. Sometimes people laughed at my cotton-gathered skirts and starched homemade blouses. And I learned that it was not to my advantage to mention to my teachers that my parents worked in the textile mill.

But I never forgot how hungry my great-grandmother, Mary Francis, had been as a child, or how my grandmother, Florence, had been denied an education, or how hard my own mother, Clara, had to work in the cotton mill everyday. So in 1967, when I took my place in the textile mill behind a machine, with the cotton dust as thick as a snow storm, noisy machines that hurt my ears, and the windows bricked up so that no one could see out, I promised myself that I would do everything I could to make a better life for myself and for all millworkers.

■

Activity: piedmont pretties

by Lynn Lye

The gently rolling piedmont was formed by the erosion of the mountains. It covers one-third of North Carolina. Its differences in elevation and types of soil provide as much variety as the many life-styles and industries. Use the pictures below to learn about life in piedmont North Carolina.

Making a living The industries in an area determine the life-style of the people who worked in the industry or those who lived nearby. Town landmarks and neighborhoods portray the industry of the town.



- Where would you expect to see this landmark?
- Why would someone want a chair in the middle of the town?
- What would be different about the economic climate today that might prohibit one industry from dominating the economy of a town?
- What type of industry is in this town?
- How can you determine this information from this picture if you do not see the buildings of that industry?
- Where do you think that this town is located?
- Write a journal entry telling of your life as a third-generation worker in this industry.

LUCKY STRIKE GREEN HAS GONE TO WAR!



- How is tobacco portrayed in these advertisements?
- Why was/is it important to tobacco farmers that cigarettes be viewed as safe?
- How were/are the advertisers trying to convince you to smoke cigarettes? On what symbols do they rely?
- How are the people portrayed in the advertisements? (Act as if you do not know the health risks associated with smoking cigarettes.)

Getting around

With few navigable rivers for highways, other transportation methods were developed.



- When would you guess these pictures were taken? Give reasons for your answer.
- Describe your ride in this covered wagon or in this school bus.
- You are a farmer who must get crops to market in the covered wagon. What problems will you have?
- How would you get your livestock (pigs, horses, cows) to market if you did not use a wagon?
- How long would it take you to go from Hickory to Morganton (twenty miles) with your livestock walking at two miles per hour?

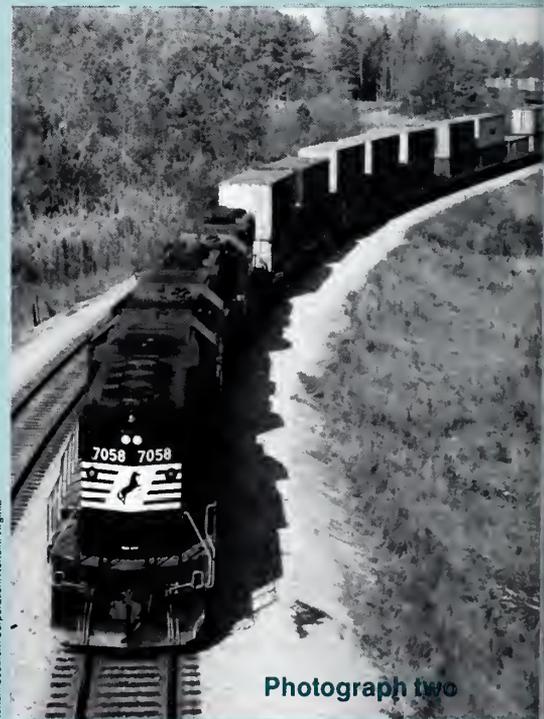


Hugh Talmage Lefter and Albert Ray Newsome. *North Carolina. History, Geography, Government* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1959)

- What is the construction material of this road?
- Why was this material good to use in road construction?
- What were three problems in building this type of road?
- Describe your ride over a plank road.



Photograph one



Photograph two

- The trains in photograph one are hauling coal. Why are trucks not hauling this product on highways?
- The train in photograph two is hauling trailers that will be removed and placed on tractor-trailer rigs and carried on the highways. What are the advantages or disadvantages of this method?

Meet the authors



Smith



Davis



Trelease



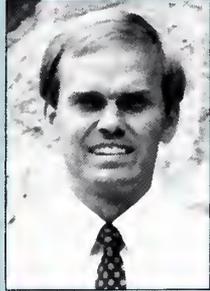
Goldfield



Kenzer



Morrissey



Coats



Jones



Byerly

Barbara Carter

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Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum, Durham (Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources). Coats grew up working on tobacco farms and remains involved in tobacco at the site in Durham County. **Lu Ann Jones** is researcher, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. She is also coauthor with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, and Christopher B. Daly of *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World*, from which this article is adapted. **Victoria Byerly** has been a lecturer at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, an organizer for the Brown Lung Association, a fundraiser for the Equal Rights Amendment, and a literacy teacher. She is the author of *Hard Times Cotton Mill Girls: Personal Histories of Womanhood and Poverty in the South*. She is currently a doctoral candidate in American history, Boston College. **Lynn Lye** is a former North Carolina public school teacher, Wake County, and works in the Education Branch, North Carolina Museum of History. ■



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