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East Tennessee within the World-Economy (1790-1850): Pre-Capitalist Isolation or Peripheral Capitalism?

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Christopher Warren Baker

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Donald Clelland for his devotion to the liberation of others through education.

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A number of people are responsible for this project. In particular I would like to thank Wilma Dunaway for her selfless assistance and devotion. I would like to thank the rest of my committee Dr. Sherry Cable and Dr. John Gaventa for their assistance and encouragement. I would also like to thank Dr. Donald Hastings for his comments.

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Abstract

This thesis unifies a large body of primary and secondary sources showing pre-Civil War East Tennessee as a production zone integrated into a regional commodity chain. Found within these sources and others is a significant amount of evidence that early East Tennessee exhibited a stratified society with a regional elite and large landless population dating from settlement to the Civil War. The theoretical perspective used is the World-Systems and its theory of incorporation. The main goal will be to document East Tennessee's incorporation into the national economy as a frontier periphery. Inherent in the early incorporation processes were initial patterns of large land speculation resulting in the commodification of land and the rise of a capitalist elite. In the antebellum period we find patterns of increased landlessness and the development of an exporting economy facilitated by high levels of agriculture and livestock production.

Contrary to this wealth of information, romantic mythologies prevail within Appalachian studies depicting antebellum East tennessee as an isolated and self-sufficient region with an egalitarian society. This thesis systematically examines East Tennessee's pre-Civil War political economy from settlement to the Civil War. The results contradict the myths documenting the exploitation of

the region's population and resources pre-date the Civil War.

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Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION

Studies of the political economy of frontier and antebellum Appalachia are incomplete due to a reliance on early historical misconceptions. Political economists, specifically those associated with the dependency paradigm, have focused only on the post Civil War period in analyzing the exploitation of Southern and Central Appalachia in terms of outside landownership and their dependent relations with the regional and world-economy. For these theorists, the emergence of industrial capitalism in the late 1860's is responsible for the current economic conditions that plague Southern and Central Appalachia. They presume frontier and antebellum Appalachia was an economically isolated region that was egalitarian and self-sufficient.

According to the dependency view, capitalist exploitation of the regions began after the Civil War with the destruction of a stagnant self-contained society. Yet, data from this project show this view to be false. With the use of ideas derived from the World-System's approach on the incorporation of periphery regions into the world-economy, I argue that early East Tennessee was linked to the world-economy in the form of a frontier periphery. The region was integrated into a commodity chain by supplying surplus

agrarian produce in the form of corn and hogs to core regions in the United States, including the east coastal markets of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Charleston and the lower south plantation economies. Paralleling World-Systems theory, I contend that this linkage with the world-economy resulted in the development of peripheral capitalism in the area with a polarized class structure with a regional capitalist elite and a large landless labor force.

These patterns have their origin in the early settlement of East Tennessee which, contrary to an egalitarian society model, was shaped by early land speculation patterns that resulted in large land and wealth distributions and a large landless population.

The history of Appalachia remains incomplete without analysis of its early political economy and class structure. An analysis of the region's settlement and subsequent economic growth show that the patterns of exploitation that arose after the Civil War in Appalachia were preceded by patterns of peripheral capitalism derived from the area's integration into the world-economy.

This thesis examines the political economy of East Tennessee for the period between 1790 to 1850. This time period is divided into the frontier period beginning with white settlement to 1800 and the antebellum period from 1801 to 1850. These dates cover the period in which the region moved through the incorporation phase of the world-economy.

The region is viewed as a peripheral extension of the upper south. The upper south and northern United States were semi-peripheries of the world system in this period.

During the frontier period, I trace the emergence of the region's internal political economy looking at settlement patterns that were shaped by the original entry of large land speculators. These became a regional capitalist elite, shaping social, and economic growth through economic and political dominance.

These patterns include the rise of a large frontier tenancy population that evolved into a labor force of semi-proletarian households that worked for both wages outside the household and subsistence within the household. They became part of the export economy by their involvement with landowners who received rent payments in the form of agrarian products and land clearance. These landless tenants and wage workers comprised over 50 percent of the population in the frontier and antebellum periods. Slavery also was an important labor mechanism and a source of commodity investment in the antebellum period. I examine East Tennessee's role as a border slavetrading state and how slaveholding was an important component of the region's class structure in the frontier and antebellum periods.

The two foci of analysis for the antebellum period are the area's relationship with the world-economy and the antebellum class structure. The first involves documenting

the region's internal economy and describing it's integration with the core regions in the United States and world-economy. I measure the productivity of the region's more isolated areas to show the surplus available for export. The second focus entails providing evidence of a class structure polarized by wealth and land inequalities. I maintain that this region was neither unstratified nor egalitarian from its original settlement.

Statement of the Problem

The field of Appalachian studies has two overlapping wings: one focuses on culture and artifacts and thereby on history, and a second emphasizes the twentieth century political economy. Little attention is paid to the political economy of the Appalachian region before the late nineteenth century.

Writers in the early twentieth century portrayed Southern Appalachia as geographically and economically isolated (Campbell, 1921; Kepthart, 1913). It was assumed that the social and economic structures of Southern Appalachia were simple reflections of a simple past. Appalachia is pictured as backward and undeveloped from the years of its earliest settlements.

Recent scholarship on Appalachian political economy in the twentieth century has supported and reinforced a number

of these same ideas about nineteenth century Appalachia. Three theoretical models have been developed since the 1950's to explain Appalachian underdevelopment. They are the subculture of poverty model, the regional development model, and the internal colonial model. Despite disagreements on the causes of contemporary poverty, the models are similar in their assumptions of the economic history of the region. Common to these approaches are the assumptions that the region was geographically and economically isolated (Weller, 1965; ARC, 1979); that it had no agricultural surpluses to export past local markets and was dependent upon barter trade only (Dykeman, 1977); that the division of land was relatively equal (Eller, 1982); and that a pre-capitalist mode of production was predominant (Cobb, 1983; Eller, 1982). These assumptions have been accepted and have consequently deflected study of landed elites, absentee ownership, slavery, tenancy, and production for export as part of the region's economic history (Dunaway, 1989).

This thesis examines the economic activity of one segment of Southern Appalachia, the East Tennessee region during white settlement. East Tennessee is chosen for the study because it was a key entry point for the settlement of the first post-revolution frontier and because of its relative neglect within Appalachian studies. Consonant with new approaches on Appalachian political economy (Dunaway,

1989; Hsiuing, 1989; Stotik, 1990), I will demonstrate that early East Tennessee was not economically isolated; that its agrarian economy was not pre-capitalist, but was organized for surplus appropriation through surplus production and export; and that economic dominance by wealthy capitalists is reflected in a high concentration of land ownership. The time period studied spans 1790 to 1850, placing the region within the advancement of the colonial frontier westward. The process that will be examined is the "incorporation" of a region into the national and world-economy (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1987). The key group studied will be the white settler capitalists who transformed this region into a peripheral extension of the upper south, itself then a semi-periphery of the world-system (Chase-Dunn, 1980).

Chapter II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter, I look at the perspectives that have been applied to Southern Appalachia starting with the folk society perspective then the current perspectives on Southern Appalachia. Current perspectives include the regional development model, the culture of poverty model, and the internal colonial model. Next, I examine the World-Systems theory of incorporation, outlining the processes involved in the peripheral incorporation of an external area into the larger world-economy.

Current Perspectives on Southern Appalachian

The notion of Southern Appalachia as a unique cultural region was created in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by certain figures in the literary movement of local color writers (Walls, 1976). This concept is referred to as the Missionary or Folk Society model. Southern Appalachia was defined as a social problem region by early missionaries affiliated with Protestant church mission boards. These movements looked at the strangeness of the mountain culture and region which was outside the mainstream American life. The character of the mountaineers was described as

independent and self-reliant on the one hand, and poor, illiterate and violent on the other. The region contradicted the nineteenth century American myth of uniform progress and cultural convergence (Shapiro, 1978). The belief in the Folk Society Model provided the social action focus and intellectual grounding for a number of studies of the region involving the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Council of Southern Mountain Workers organized by John C. Campbell (Walls, 1976).

A renewed focus on the region arose in the 1960's in part because of the decline of the coal industry, several floods in eastern Kentucky, and increased national public concern with poverty. These concerns led to policies centering mostly on the problem of poverty as the foundation for the regional development model. These policies were implemented through the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). The ARC approach involves providing economic and social capital along with job training for the region's people (ARC, 1979). Growth is to be stimulated by outside demand for the region's products. An infrastructure is developed through an improved transportation system and urban development. The ARC program uses a dual state-federal bureaucracy to help develop policies that emphasize mainstream economic theory. The ARC program uses a political base containing multi-county development

districts. The regional model is a top down approach involving regional and national planners who define development as large scale technical development. The approach originated from the Appalachian Regional Act in 1965, a legacy of the Kennedy administration, and is directed toward investing capital into the areas with the most growth potential for the future. Metropolitan areas, many on the periphery of Appalachia, receive growth assistance in an effort to restructure the region and to draw migrants from internal Appalachia (Walls, 1976). The ARC finds solutions to the problems of the backward area outside the region itself. Development will follow only after the diffusion or interjection of technology, modern values, and capital from the advanced areas (Arnett, 1978). This approach to the development of Appalachia holds the idea that underdevelopment is an original state and is due to geographic isolation and supply-side economic failure.

Another model used to explain Appalachian poverty was the culture or subculture of poverty model which viewed Appalachians as radically different and culturally deficient (Weller, 1965). It was developed in the 1960's and focused on the internal deficiencies of lower-class culture in Appalachia. This class culture is depicted as a uniform folk culture that failed to prepare its members for participation in modern technological society. Traditionalism is seen as the basis of the region's

problems. Differences in community patterns and class distinctions are ignored. The emphasis is on an all inclusive folk culture that is deficient in diet, education, and ability to cope with the modern world. The culture is compared with the values and lifestyles of the mainstream middle class. Jack Weller describes the difference in leadership, "Every other class and region in the United States has its intellectual leadership institutionalized in the metropolitan community, a number of universities, or a social institution" (Weller, 1965:22). The culture of poverty approach has led to a blaming of the victim mentality. It keeps analysts from examining the evolution of the economic realities that have shaped the region's land and wealth distributions. The isolation thesis underlining both the regional development and the subculture of poverty arguments leads us to downplay or even ignore the early economic history of the region.

A third model of Appalachian poverty is the internal colonial approach (Lewis, 1978)). This model was developed in the late 1960's with a focus on the outside exploitative forces that have led to the underdevelopment of the region. The colonial model analyses the problems of the region in the light of political and economic processes that have been institutionalized in Appalachia. Variants of the colonial model were derived from Robert Blauner's (1972) model of the process of internal colonization of black Americans and

ideas of Latin American theorists, (Andre Gunder Frank, Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, and Theotonio Dos Santos). Concerning underdevelopment Frank claimed the capitalist structure itself produced the underdeveloped condition that characterized peripheral areas. These areas were able to produce their own primary products before reconstruction of their economies by outside exploiters. Frank focuses on the relations of exchange and drain of capital between countries and regions within countries (1966). Gonzalez Casanova (1969) worked within a diffusionist framework and looked at the notion of domination of natives over natives. He described internal colonialism as a structure bound to policies of the national government with a monopoly of commerce and trade by the dominate center. Dos Santos's (1970) theory suggests that dominant countries have technological, commercial capital, and political dominance over dependent countries. Such dependency leads to the conditions of exploitation and surplus extraction. These propositions provided an alternative explanation of underdevelopment and poverty in Latin America. These theorists, with the possible exception of Gonzalez Casanova, were direct critics of the traditional diffusionist approach that called for the interjection of values, technology, and capital so that the traditional society might catch up with the modern world. Dependency theorists argued that such interjection had already occurred but had merely been the

source of the development of permanent underdevelopment.

The internal colony/dependency model was applied in Appalachia (Lewis, 1978; Gaventa, 1980; Walls, 1979) during the 1960's, 70's and 80's[1]. Poverty was viewed as a result of Appalachia's particular form of integration into the United States economy and society. For the colonial theorist, Appalachia once had a pre-capitalist subsistence economy, a traditional American moral economy that had been undermined by capitalist development. Most studies using this approach focus on the period of industrialization. Ronald Eller (1982), has been the main advocate of this approach for East Tennessee emphasizing that prior to the Civil War East Tennessee was a pre-capitalist region that exhibited self-sufficiency. He holds that exploitation within the area began with the advent of industrial capitalism in the 1860's.

THE WORLD-SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical perspective used in this thesis is World-Systems theory with a special focus on its concept of incorporation. This perspective, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein promotes the thesis that the world is a single system, a capitalist world-system. This system has expanded from its original European base to encompass the globe. The

[1](See also, Cobb, 1983; Walls, 1976; and Arnett, 1978)

World-Systems perspective examines capitalism as a historical social system. The origin of the system dates to late fifteenth-century Europe. Wallerstein views the capitalist system as cause and consequence of actors whose goal is the endless accumulation of capital. The history of the modern world, then, is viewed as the development of a capitalist world-economy. The system has expanded over the globe by incorporating zones that were formerly outside it. Wallerstein recognizes one dominant mode of production in the modern world, the capitalist one. The incorporation process is part of the geographical expansion of the capitalist mode of production. Wallerstein defines the world-economy as, "...a set of integrated production processes linked in a continuing (though evolving) social division of labor which fundamentally determines social behavior (or social action) within its area (boundaries) over time" (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1987:764).

Historical capitalism has meant the commodification of exchange, production, distribution, investment, and other social processes within a market situation that reflects the law of value. The exchange-value of commodities determines how entrepreneurs in modified price-competitive situations make decisions and construct their worlds. The market is shaped by the interstate system and world-wide non-government networks. Exchange relations are a function of a social organization of production which is structured for

unequal exchange.

The world-economy consists of a territorial division of labor and an interstate system which contains multiple states that facilitate the law of value. Wallerstein argues that the law of value only works in cases when its operation can be protected from pressures that mitigate its impact. The exploited within this system, or the direct producers, try to contain the operations of the law of values. The world-economy is an area characterized by the emergence of three zones of economic activity: the core, semi-periphery, and periphery.

Capitalism has flourished due to a multiplicity of political units. Strong core states compete for control of peripheral areas. Periphery areas have weak states. Colonial areas have dependent states and neo-colonial states have a low degree of autonomy. Semi-periphery areas are territories with advantageous economic relations with its own periphery but disadvantageous relations to core states. Colonial America is viewed by Wallerstein (1989) as an emerging semi-periphery. The United States later became a full-fledged core country around 1890. It was dependent upon other core nations until a mercantile period: (1790-1840) and a national industrialization period (1840-1890) (Agnew, 1987). An hypothesis of this study is that East Tennessee provided a new production zone to the world-economy through its exporting of agricultural products.

This project places East Tennessee within the Southern Appalachian region. The incorporation of this larger area came in two historical distinct waves. The first wave was from about 1700 through the Revolutionary War and the second from 1790 to the Civil War period (Dunaway, 1989). This incorporation process created a peripheral zone that is situated in modern time within the geographical boundaries of one of the core countries of the world-system. The first phase saw Southern Appalachia incorporated as a marginal periphery controlled by the Europeans. Following the revolution it became a frontier agrarian periphery in the United States. The United States held a semi-peripheral status at this time. Southern Appalachia went through further peripheralization based on timber and coal, from 1880-1920 (Dunaway, 1989).

A main unit of analysis used in World-Systems theory is the household. The household is a relatively stable structure where income is pooled and capital may be accumulated. While household boundaries change, rational decisions are made within it that reflect its adaptation to the world-economy. Wallerstein looks at the division of labor within the household that has evolved in both precapitalist and capitalist societies. A trend under capitalism has been the devaluation of what became women's work entailing an emphasis on men's wage-labor outside the household supported by unproductive women's subsistence

labor inside the household (Wallerstein, 1983). Wallerstein believes that most households within the world-economy have obtained less than fifty percent of their total income from actual wages found outside the household. The logic of capitalism states that producers employing wage workers are forced to minimize labor costs. Because of the total involvement of all household members, the outside wage worker can accept a lower wage. This minimum acceptable wage for workers outside the household is supported by subsistence activities inside the household and petty commodity production traditionally done by women (Wallerstein, 1983).

Such households are referred to as semi-proletarian while households that rely on a high percentage of wage income are proletarian households. The incorporation of new zones in the world-economy involves the promotion of the emergence of semi-proletarian households within the incorporated area. State policies are usually geared toward maintaining families engaged in some wage labor. This often has involved taxation and restriction on the movement or separation of household members (Wallerstein, 1983).

Work forces that have previously been incorporated in the world-economy eventually move toward full proletarianization. As core workers become more reliant on wages outside the household they increase their share of surplus within the core. This squeeze on profits, coupled

with the stagnation of the world-economy, has led to the incorporation of new work forces destined to be semi-proletarianized.

The incorporation of a new zone has meant its semi-proletarian households have provided low cost labor and become part of the social division of labor that makes up the world-economy. The incorporated zones slowly become peripheralized as their production of commodities for export within processes of the world-economy increases (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1987). Every new zone incorporated in the world-economy has accepted wages near the bottom of the world-systems hierarchy of wage levels.

Research Agenda

A hypothesis of this thesis is that East Tennessee provided a new production zone to the world-economy through its exporting of agricultural products such as grain and livestock and iron production. This proposition is contrary to those approaches assuming that until the late nineteenth century East Tennessee was pre-capitalist. Literature focusing on pre-capitalist isolation and equalization of land in Appalachia previous to raw material industrialization presumes very limited land concentration or polarization, a small landless population, and very little labor coercion. The two contrasting approaches

generate empirical questions about the economic productivity of the region. In my analysis, I will address five primary questions based on the World-Systems approach:

1. How was nineteenth century East Tennessee linked into the national and world-economy?
2. What was the political-economic structure of nineteenth century East Tennessee?
3. To what extent was the region organized around export production?
4. What types of labor mechanisms were used in the region?
5. To what extent was the region characterized by wealth and class disparity as measured by the concentration of landownership and the presence of an economically powerful elite?

Next, I look at the methodology and sources of data used in this thesis to address these research questions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

The subject of this thesis is the political economy of early East Tennessee (1790-1850). Although we will address this subregion as a whole, we will focus especially on a three county area that includes the first settlements in Tennessee. These counties are Washington, Sullivan, and Carter. A fourth county Johnson was later separated from Carter. These four upper East Tennessee counties will be divided into terrain types[1]. Of the four counties two are mountainous (Carter and Johnson) and two are hill/plateau (Sullivan and Washington). This division will allow for specific examination of the mountainous type terrain described in Appalachian studies as typical isolated subsistence areas. Washington County was formed in 1777 as the first county in Tennessee. Sullivan was formed in 1779 as the second county in Tennessee. Carter was formed in 1779 out of Washington County. Johnson County was formed in 1836 out of Carter County. This group of counties provide a constant land mass that can be sampled and studied within the same boundaries covering a sixty year time period.

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[1]I am using the definition of terrain types used by the Appalachian Regional Commission (1979). These include mountainous, hill/plateau, and ridge/valley. These definitions were introduced to me by Dunaway (1989) to whom I am indebted, more generally, for the cliometric focus of this research.

Sources

Both primary and secondary sources were obtained from the University of Tennessee's main Library and Special Collections, the Appalachian Archives located at East Tennessee State University and the East Tennessee Historical Society. These libraries and Archives provided numerous published and unpublished materials. Primary sources include: U.S. Census manuscripts[2], tax lists available for selected East Tennessee counties between the years 1790-1814, the Tennessee Civil War Questionnaires[3], and the slave narratives that relate to antebellum East Tennessee.

The 1840 and 1850 U.S. Censuses for Tennessee are available on microfilm and housed at the Hodges Library, University of Tennessee. The published Census of Agriculture (IV) has been used for every East Tennessee county in 1840 and the population schedule (I) has been used for four counties: Sullivan, Washington, Carter, and Johnson in 1850. The agricultural schedule contains the following information: the head of household, the number of acres of land (improved and unimproved), the value of the farm,

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[2]During the War of 1812 the Federal census records were destroyed and in 1820 census records for East Tennessee counties were lost (Creekmore, 1951). The Census of Agriculture starts for Tennessee in 1850. The 1840 agricultural census exist only for the county as a whole.

[3]The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires (Dyer and Moore, 1985) included questions pertaining to class and slave society in East Tennessee.

number of farm implements, number of livestock, and their value, number of persons employed, number of bushels of grain (wheat, corn, rye) and number and value of manufactured items. The population schedule contains the following information: the head of family (household), the number and ages of free whites and blacks, and the number of persons in each household employed in agriculture, mining, commerce, manufacturing, and trade. The total number of households for the four counties in the population sample is 5,618. The information taken from the population schedule includes: the occupations of all family members in the household and the value of real estate owned by all family members. The measures derived from the population sample include the distribution of occupations and landownership for heads of household. The sampling size for the population sample for each county includes:

1. Carter, (1002) total, 334 sampled at every 3rd household.
2. Johnson, (588) total, 294 sampled at every 2nd household.
3. Sullivan, (1,826) total, 304 sampled at every 6th household.
4. Washington, (2,202) total, 315 sampled at every 7th household.

A random number was selected between (1-40) for each county as a starting point for systematic sampling.

The tax lists[4] for selected East Tennessee counties have been utilized starting in 1790 to 1814. These years are the most complete of the frontier and antebellum lists. Some variation in the information provided occurs between the lists. The town lots included in these lists have been dropped from calculations. Such exclusions amount to less than one percent of the landownership calculations. Included in the tax list are the amount of taxes paid, the amount of land owned, and the number of slaves owned.[5] Most have listed a poll tax, created so that every citizen should pay tax on one hundred acres of property and was paid regardless of how much property of wealth was owned.

The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires include interviews with 700 Civil War veterans providing information that relates to the political structure of Tennessee. Questions were asked that expose the class antagonisms between the poor whites and the elite land and slave owners. I have used the interviews that relate directly to the East Tennessee social structure.

Slave narratives pertinent to East Tennessee have been used. Interviews with former slaves provide a wealth of information on labor and class distinctions in antebellum

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[4]Curtis (1964) and Creekmore (1962) have been the major compilers of the county by county tax list for East Tennessee. In addition to the four counties previously listed, tax lists from Grainger, Anderson, and Jefferson Counties were used.

[5]Only slaves between the ages of 12 and 50 were taxed. Thus, the number of slaves found will be an undercount.

East Tennessee. They provide information on the importance of slavery in East Tennessee, the uses of slave labor, and the importance of slaves as commodities.

Other primary published sources include travel accounts, journals, memoirs, and other archival material providing historical information.

Existing secondary studies provide detailed information on East Tennessee's frontier and antebellum economy. Early sources have been obtained from archives providing historical information. Other important secondary sources have been obtained from sociological and historical journals.

Unpublished theses and dissertations have been used that relate to the social structure and political economy of East Tennessee. Many early theses have not been utilized in Appalachian studies and I have used several written before 1950.

Operationalizations

Examining the research questions involves the operationalization of these measures: economic sector, land concentration, landlessness, total agricultural production, total agricultural consumption, and agricultural commodity production for export. Measures were derived from the census manuscripts and tax records.

Distribution of Households in Economic Sectors

Capitalism is characterized by the presence of a variety of interdependent economic sectors. Since conventional historical lore claims that the 19th-century East Tennessee economy was overwhelmingly based in agriculture, it is essential to measure how many households were engaged exclusively in farming. Using the household sample from the 1850 Census of Population manuscripts, I assessed the distribution of household occupations by economic sectors.

I paid particular attention to identifying the number of households with members engaged in general labor or in occupations linked to more than one economic sector. The presence of such households demonstrates the emergence of the semi-proletariat, a concept central to incorporation in world-system analysis. Semi-proletarian households are those whose members are frequently unemployed; thus, they are engaged in wage-working pursuits only a limited part of their work lives. Such households find it necessary to seek out income from more than one sector of the economy since they cannot earn their subsistence in any one occupation. For example, many landless farmers had children who earned wages as general laborers or wives who earned cash as wash-women. In addition, many agricultural households reported

second occupations as skilled artisans or shopkeepers.

Land Ownership Patterns

Land ownership patterns for the early period were examined by using nineteenth century tax lists for the counties of Sullivan, Carter, Washington, Grainger, Jefferson, and Anderson.[6] Because many early records have been lost or destroyed, it is not possible to locate tax lists for the same year for every county; therefore, I have used the earliest possible tax lists available for each of the counties.[7]

These tax lists permit three measures of land distribution: landlessness, land concentration, and absentee ownership of acreage. Because these tax lists reported the number of acres owned by every household, it is possible to count the number of landless families and to assess the concentration of acreage into the hands of a small proportion of the resident population. Following the methodological conventions of Soltow, (1981), I assumed that only residents paid the required county poll tax. Consequently, any land owner who paid no poll tax is assumed

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[6]These sources were used: Creekmore, (1951; 1956); Curtis, (1964); McCown, (1964).

[7]The following tax lists were used: Sullivan 1797; Carter, 1798; Washington, 1790 and 1814; Grainger, 1799; Jefferson, 1801; Anderson, 1802.

to be an absentee owner. In this way, I can determine how much land was controlled by absentee holders.

Surplus Production of Counties

External trading and the marketing of surplus commodities for profits are central to the analysis of regions that have been newly incorporated into the capitalist world-economy. If we are to understand the degree to which antebellum East Tennessee was incorporated into this world-system, it is essential to measure the level of surplus commodity production in the region. By using the 1840 published Census, I assessed the agricultural commodities available for external marketing outside each county. Four statistical steps were completed.

1. Following the methodological conventions of Battalio and Kagel (1970) and of Dunaway (1989), I converted total annual crops into a single production score, expressed as corn equivalencies.[8]
2. Following the methodological conventions of Hilliard (1972) and of Dunaway (1989), I

[8]The following conversion formulae were utilized from Battalio and Kagel (1970) and Dunaway (1989): 1 bushel wheat = .769 bushel corn; 1 cattle = 2.25 bushels corn; 1 hog = 5.5 bushels corn; 1 bushel rye = 0.5 bushel corn; 1 bushel oats = 0.5 bushel corn; 1 bushel potatoes = 0.25 bushel corn; 1 bushel peas/beans = 0.36 bushel corn.

calculated the total consumption of agricultural crops by each county. Consumption includes food for all humans, livestock feeds, and a 5 percent seed reservation for future plantings.[9]

3. To ascertain how many corn equivalencies were available for external marketing from each county, I subtracted total consumption from total production.
4. To determine what proportion of total agricultural production was available for external marketing, I divided total surplus production (step #3) by total crop production (step #1).

In the following chapter, I will systematically apply these economic measures within the historical analysis of the patterns of peripheral capitalism that developed in East Tennessee during its incorporation into the national economy prior to the Civil War.

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[9]County consumption was calculated following these annual subsistence allowances of Hilliard (1972) and Dunaway (1989): pork consumption = 2.2 swine per adult and 1.1 swine per child; beef consumption = 1 beef per household; wheat consumption = 2 bushels per adult and 1 bushel per child. Corn was assumed to have been consumed at the following annual levels: adults = 13 bushels; children = 6.5 bushels; horses = 7.5 bushels; swine = 7.5 bushels; cattle = 2.25 bushels.

Chapter IV

PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM IN EAST TENNESSEE

This chapter looks at the patterns of peripheral capitalism that developed during early East Tennessee's incorporation into the national economy as a frontier periphery. East Tennessee's incorporation occurred between 1790 to the Civil War placing it within the second wave of incorporation of Southern Appalachia as an agrarian periphery of the United States. The United States was a semi-peripheral region in the world-economy during this period. Incorporation in the world-economy entails that a region is organized around the production of a surplus of basic commodities for export. A part of such a surplus may be consumed by workers producing for world trade. Thus the original agricultural surplus is incorporated into a lengthy commodity chain that crosses regional and state boundaries. The chain is based on the peripheralization of a labor force who provide cheap labor embodied in commodities supplied to core regions. The price of labor within the peripheral region depends upon the world market. A polarized class structure arises including a capitalist elite who control the means of production and a peripheral population characterized by landlessness and seasonal employment.

In this chapter we will examine the following components of East Tennessee's economic history: 1) early settlement and trade routes, 2) land speculation, 3) landownership patterns, 4) agricultural production, 5) surplus production, 6) the export economy, 7) the internal economy, 8) iron production 9) the occupational structure, 10) labor mechanisms, 11) slavery, and 12) class structure.

Early Settlement and Trade Routes

Like the rest of the region early East Tennessee's incorporation into the world-economy was downplayed by Appalachian scholars who relied on incomplete histories of the diverse region of Southern Appalachia. The idea of the destruction of a timeless pre-capitalist society by industrial capitalists in the late 1800's defies a massive amount of unexplored literature showing a region with a coordinated internal economy controlled by a merchant and elite class geared toward trade with plantation economies in the south and east coast.

Although isolation exists even today in East Tennessee, this isolation is relative to one's access to main routes. East Tennessee was a key point of entry for the migration of settlers across the Appalachian transmontaine to the newly opened regions of the Southwest territory. The East Tennessee valley become the destination of many of these

migrants traveling through the Appalachian mountain chain that runs from Maryland southwest to central Alabama. These migrants took advantage of valleys intersecting the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains. The Valley of Virginia extends southward into the valley of East Tennessee providing the easiest route for migration from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia (Barnhart, 1959; Abernethy, 1961). Migrants often moved several times in search of lands for profit and settlement. The frontier movement depended on commodity prices, usually cotton. In East Tennessee it was after 1815 that heavy immigration took place with rising cotton prices and the opening of new lands in northern Alabama (Otto, 1989). The settlement of the region was not by a population of pioneers looking for a place to hide from the world. By 1800 most of the nation's population was still east of the Appalachian mountains with the Tennessee and Kentucky settlements making up much of the population west of the Appalachians. The frontiersmen and pioneers migrated for many reasons, the most important of which was to improve their lives through commercial and entrepreneurial success, as yeoman farmers, as slave owners looking for lands to grow cotton on (Hilliard, 1972), or as tenant laborers dreaming of future mobility. In addition to agrarian capitalists, the settlers included a large population of indentured servants, fleeing European famines and repression. After 1795 the East Tennessee section was

safe from the Indians and emigrants flooded into East Tennessee usually with little more than what they could carry. Contrary to Hopkins and Wallerstein's discussion of the generic incorporation of peripheral areas (1987), the frontier incorporation of East Tennessee entailed a massive migration of cheap, exploitable labor. The majority of this new settler population became tenant farmers and wage laborers who moved from region to region and within regions settling for semi-proletariat status in working for low-wage part time labor with the larger households facilitating survival through subsistence activities.

The yeomen and merchants settled the best agrarian lands usually in valleys, and pushed the tenant farmers onto the less productive lands. Their intentions were displayed in their agrarian production and their sheer determination to market products outside the region for monetary rewards. Although isolation in East Tennessee has been a factor in its political and economic history, its inhabitants adapted to an existing trail system used by the Indians for thousands of years. The Great War Path ran southwest through upper East Tennessee coming from the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia ending in North Georgia. Most early roads through upper east Tennessee ran parallel to the Great War Path (Hsiung, 1989). This route followed the valley through the Appalachian chain of mountains and was used for Indian migrations by the overhill Cherokees. Other

routes developed through East Tennessee facilitating travel and trade. Boone's Trail went through East Tennessee from North Carolina at Kingsport into southwest Virginia then to the Cumberland Gap on into Kentucky. Boone first traveled this route in 1775 while scouting and surveying for Richard Henderson (Kincaid, 1947).

Smaller routes developed throughout upper east Tennnessee based on these main routes. The Holston and Nolichucky settlements were built on the waterways that ran throughout the region. Travel was often on one of the major networks of waterways running southwest through East Tennessee supplying water from the mountains to the cotton growing states. Jonesboro became a major center with a road built from it to Burke County North Carolina in 1777. This route was made to connect the residents of Tennessee to North Carolina's capital at that time in New Bern and to facilitate wagon travel to sea ports on the east coast (Hsiung, 1989). Beans Station in Hawkins County was at the intersection of the Baltimore Turnpike and the Charleston and Louisville Turnpike. Much traffic went through there from all directions until the coming of the railroads in 1858 (Mathews, 1930). A major early route in lower East Tennessee was the French Broad route from Greenville to the French Broad River going over the mountains to North Carolina. Another route in East Tennessee ran north to south. It was called the Catawba Trail, and ran from the

Cumberland Gap to the French Broad River in Newport. As the Indians were pushed back, a route from Knoxville to Nashville was established by 1802 known as Walton's Road, which was set with markers every three miles. Arnow says that in general the main roads of Tennessee were better than most in the United States of that day (1963). Toll roads had come in the forefront and government roads were replaced by free enterprise.

The surviving records of the public roads in East Tennessee that existed often underestimate their connection with the private and informal trails that existed. These trails and paths connected the seemingly isolated regions to the main transportation system throughout the region (Hsuing, 1989). Roads were built to facilitate the economic activities that grew in the region. Grist mills were important to grinding corn and wheat and roads were built by the county to the most important locations to meet public demand (Gump, 1989).

In the most isolated regions of Carter and later Johnson County, iron manufacturers hauled iron on horses out of the mountain coves to distribution centers along trails connecting the interior regions to trade networks (Nave, 1953; Wood, 1963).

The road system was coordinated with a large system of waterways. The Holston River crossed into East Tennessee from the northern tip running to Knoxville which was close

to the center of East Tennessee. The Watauga ran out of the Holston in the northwest section, south through Washington County into North Carolina. The Nolichucky ran south of the Holston into the French Broad then into North Carolina at Cocke County. The French Broad splits where it meets the Nolichucky going also into Knoxville. In the northeast section of East Tennessee, the Powell River enters from Kentucky and the Clinch River enters East Tennessee from Virginia. These rivers empty into the Tennessee River below Knoxville which runs into northern Alabama and then up through West Tennessee into Kentucky and eventually into the Mississippi River.

Along these main water routes, towns arose as the land was opened for settlement. Some were only 30 to 40 miles apart and became commercial centers for farmers in the more isolated farm regions. Knoxville is in the center of East Tennessee connecting Maryville and Kingston west of Knoxville to towns east of Knoxville (see Figure 1 below). Dandridge is southeast of Knoxville with Rutledge and then Rogersville is to the northeast. In upper east Tennessee, Greenville is in between Jonesboro and Knoxville with Kingsport north of Jonesboro. These towns provided a linkage for trading and communication.

Taverns and inns were founded in every town in East

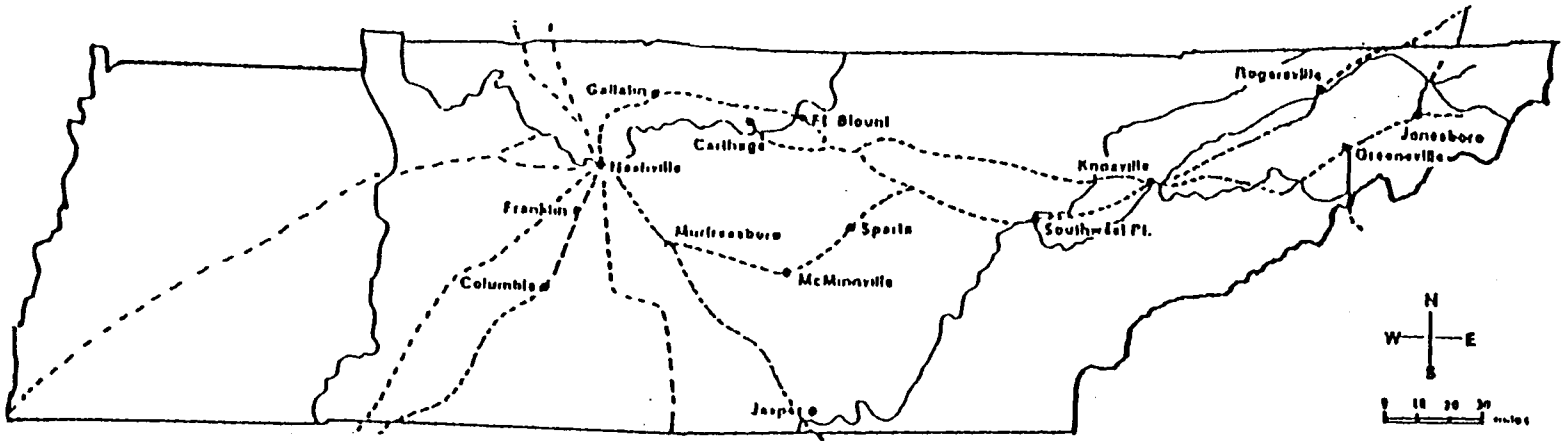


Figure 1. Map of early Tennessee roads.

Adapted from facts on file, 1984: John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, Tennessee, The Volunteer State: 1769-1923 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1923), I, 807; William Edward Myer, "The Indian Trails of the Southeast," 42nd Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1928).

Hsiuing, David C. 1989. "How Isolated Was Appalachia? Upper East Tennessee, 1790-1835." Appalachian Journal 16: p.345.

Tennessee from early times. Most were located on crossroads supplying trading, entertainment, and lodging. They became centers for information dispersion and for drinking and dancing. Political factions operated from taverns and inns, most notably John Tipton in his many battles with John Sevier (Abernethy, 1969).

Now we will look at the major form of investment in early East Tennessee: land.

Land Speculation in East Tennessee

The question of incorporating areas into semi-peripheral Colonial America centered around land speculation. The settlers preferred to displace Indians instead of incorporating them as a labor force. Seemingly independent settlements in trans-Appalachia became settler frontier periphery zones. Problems arose between the eastern governments in North Carolina and frontier East Tennessee because of the sea-to-sea charter held by North Carolina. Speculators settled the land west of North Carolina, creating disputes between newly established governments run by speculators in East Tennessee and a North Carolina government in need of capital to pay off its public debt (Wallerstein, 1989).

Almost all of frontier East Tennessee came to be owned by speculators involved with land companies. Some East

Tennessee lands became payment for North Carolina's Revolutionary War veterans. Even these grants became consolidated by speculators who bought and then sold them off. The settlement of frontier and antebellum East Tennessee was shaped by the ambitions of a handful of capitalist land speculators investing in the agrarian future of Indian territories west of the Alleghenies. These regions became part of the expansion of the world-economy over the U.S. continent, with East Tennessee becoming a frontier periphery of the semi-peripheral upper south. These land speculators from prosperous classes in North Carolina and Virginia found abundant land resources an important commodity in the newly opening regions of the southwest (Masterson, 1955; Abernethy, 1932).

Through land investment and control of newly formed governments, several of East Tennessee's early statesmen held state level monopolies. Landholdings outlined on early East Tennessee tax lists and other secondary sources all reveal that large tracts of land were owned as commodities by many early local politicians and absentee owners. William Blount, John Sevier, and Richard White represented early officials who, along with nonresident land speculators like Richard Henderson, were the frontier capitalists involved in the commodification of land and the incorporation of East Tennessee into the world-economy. The distribution of this land was the forerunner to the

processes that later were to integrate East Tennessee as a new production zone.

Throughout the antebellum period, these men controlled vast territories of land in what is now East and Middle Tennessee, Kentucky, and other southern states. The traditional role assigned to our brave Indian fighters and commonwealth builders can only be understood when we place it in the context of their political and economic intentions. The goal of the land speculator was a greater western population, including indentured servants and other emigrants who could purchase or rent land as civilization raised land values (Masterson, 1955).

Tennessee's experience was unique because it was the first state to pass through post-revolutionary territorial status. Before it became a territory in 1790 and then a state in 1796, two illegal governments had been attempted, including the Watagua Association and the State of Franklin. The leaders of these pre-state governments were to become the dominant actors in Tennessee politics from 1772 on into the early antebellum period.

Present day East Tennessee was once part of North Carolina's territory which stretched straight past the transmontaine to West Tennessee, stopping at the Mississippi River. The settlement of East Tennessee started as early as 1769, following the breaking of King George's Proclamation (1763) which forbade settlement on lands west of the

mountain ranges reserved as Indian lands. This proclamation was declared partially to quiet Indians tribes fearing white settlement (Livermore, 1968).

Speculation on Indian lands between the time of the Proclamation of 1763 and the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785 was done legally only by making treaties with the Indian nations under the authority of the British government. The Hopewell treaty was the first Indian negotiation under the United States government (Williams, 1944). Several treaties were made between North American Indian nations and British authority pushed the Indians west. The first treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768 purchased hunting grounds that overlapped with Cherokee claims lying south of the Ohio River from six northern Indian nations (Livermore, 1968). The Cherokees resented the northern tribes, especially the remumeration of the Iroquois for lands that the Cherokees claimed. Later, their downfall was caused by selling their lands for very little compensation.

The first treaty with the Cherokees was Hard Labor in 1768. It pushed their boundry line west of the Carolinas and Virginia with no whites permitted to settle on their new lands. The first wave of settlers in East Tennessee came from Virginia and settled on the upper waters of the Holston and Watauga River Valleys with some settlements below present day Kingsport.

These migrations into present day Sullivan and Hawkins Counties became the Watauga settlements and were still Indian territory when the Indian line was pushed back again at the Treaty of Lochaber in 1770 (Hamer, 1931). The Wataugans settled on Indian lands assuming they were within Virginian territory. Lochaber pushed the Cherokees along the present day boundary of Virginia and North Carolina to within six miles of Kingsport and north all the way to Ohio (Abernethy, 1969; Hamer, 1931). These illegal settlements were actually within North Carolinas limits and had been set aside on Kings orders for the Indians.

The Watauga and Nolichucky settlements became the Watauga Association from 1772 to 1779. It governed itself, created its own laws, and raised its own troops. In 1772 one of its five commissioners, James Robertson, leased the country on the waters of the Watauga from the Cherokees until 1777, giving them an estimated five or six thousand dollars and other items (Haywood,1891). Another transaction of the settlement was Jacob Brown's leasing of land on the Nolichucky river. He integrated with the Indians by setting up a frontier store, and he made a contract that was the same as Robertsons. In both these transactions property was advanced to purchase the goods paid to the Indians. A landoffice was set up with James Robertson conveying land by sub-leasing on the principle that the Wataugans owned the land (Dixon, 1976).

The Wataugans maintained their settlement despite Indian grievances and orders in 1771 and 1774 to remove them by proclamation of the Royal governors and later by Congress for their occupation of Indian land (Hamer, 1931). The Wataugans' thirst for freedom can only be explained in considering the rewards that came later on for a handful of its leaders. The Cherokees were restless and in fear as they became surrounded by white settlers who had the intentions of destroying them. The Wataugans supported the Virginian Governor Lord Dunsmore against the Shawnees with a company of 50 men led by Captain Evan Shelby in present day Carter and Sullivan Counties (Haywood, 1891).

Until 1775 the Wataugans leased their land from the Cherokees. In 1775 they purchased two thousand square miles of land on the Watauga, South Holston, and parts of several North Carolina counties (Dixon, 1976). Another land office was set up in 1775 with sales going to those who contributed to the purchase from the Indians. Land was distributed among the Wataugans with many holding more than one tract. Records show most were in 200 and 400 acre tracts, with John Carter, John Sevier, and Robert Lucas holding vast acreage (Dixon, 1976). These men and others received land titles that they and their decendents retained into the antebellum era. The Watauga tracts were considered legitimate in 1777 with new titles required with preference given to those with holdings acquired through Robertson.

The Wataugans had fought hard during the American Revolution, embracing the patriot cause and maintaining a peaceful coexistence with North America. It was Richard Henderson whose claims at Sycamore Shoals were disputed in 1775. He, along with other absentee owners, worked to obtain vast territories in Tennessee and Kentucky through control of capital obtained through speculation and political manipulation in their home state of North Carolina.

In 1775, Richard Henderson, a lawyer from North Carolina, formed the Transylvania Land Company out of the Lousia Land Company. The company consisted of several North Carolina investors who set out to purchase and colonize western lands, among them John Williams, Leonard Bullack, William Johnson, James Hogg, Thomas Hart, John Luttrell, and Nathaniel and David Hart (Livermore, 1968). Henderson's knowledge of the western territories came from his association with Daniel Boone. Boone worked for Henderson, trailblazing, surveying, and negotiating with Indian tribes prior to the Transylvania purchase. He later helped set up landoffices for selling titles in Kentucky (Livermore, 1968). Henderson backed Boone with money procured in his earlier political career. Henderson, like his father, had been a sheriff and a judge in Grandville, North Carolina. He was one of the main actors in the Regulator Movement in North Carolina. This movement saw local farmers rebel

against oppressive control maintained by various local politicians, most importantly by sheriffs. Henderson's house was burned in 1771 and much of the capital required for trips of exploration were procured through questionable officeholding transactions (Livermore, 1968). In 1775, following Lord Dunmore's War, when the Indians were in a position to negotiate, Boone arranged for a transaction that resulted in the Transylvania Purchase at Sycamore Shoals in present day Elizabethian. This treaty, the Sycamore Shoals Treaty, was denounced by both Virginia and North Carolina. It was purchased from the Cherokees most of what is now Kentucky and large tracts of middle and north east Tennessee in what was called the great deed. The Wataugans purchased land in the Watauga and Holston valleys with Jacob Brown buying land in the Nolichucky valley. These purchases, bought for 2000 pounds sterling, were called the path deed. The great deed cost 10,000 pounds sterling worth of goods, including food, clothes, and assorted trinkets, about 50,000 dollars, one-forth of one cent for each acre granted (Williams, 1919; Kincaid, 1947).

The deal itself was made without alcohol, which was rare for an Indian treaty at this time. Henderson arbitrated the Watauga and Holston purchase, the path deal, by explaining to the Indians that he did not want to walk to Kaintuchee over the land of his brothers. Few of the Indians questioned the deal; only Dragging Canoe, the son of

Little Carpenter, said to Daniel Boone about the land, "You will find its settlement dark and bloody" (Kincaid, 1947:99).

The Transylvania companies actions were found to be a direct violation of the proclamation of 1763 which forbade the issuing of landgrants west of the proclamation line. In 1779, Virginia declared the Transylvania purchase void within the charter limits of Virginia. Henderson received 200,000 acres in what is now Henderson, Kentucky which was sold in small parcels by the partners. In 1780 Henderson framed with his surveyor, James Robertson, the Cumberland Compact in Middle Tennessee. Robertson had led a band of Wataugans to the Nashville area in 1779 (Williams, 1919). Henderson settled in Nashville and set up a land office with 243 settlers. The settlement maintained their title until 1783 when North Carolina refuted yet another Richard Henderson land deal. North Carolina gave the Transylvania Company 200,000 acres for compensation of lands in its territories at Sycamore Shoals in Powell Valley in what is now present day Claiborne, Grainger, Union, Campbell, Anderson, and Knox Counties (Williams, 1919).

These tracts on the Powell and Clinch rivers included rich river bottom lands for future agrarian settlement. The Cumberland Mountain section was purposely avoided. It was later subject to speculation in the 1880's for its valuable mineral wealth in coal (Gaventa, 1980). The lands obtained

by the Watauga settlement and Transylvania Company from the Cherokees were legally leased as proprietorships. Proprietary governments favored grants to individuals rather than groups of settlers and were adapted to a system of direct land sales to incoming settlers. This system of chartering land came from the late Tudor and early Stuart practices of maintaining political control over issued corporate charters (Livermore, 1968).

These charters were issued to correspond to the economic consideration of state policies and often, in the western movement, to facilitate the defense of English territory. This method of land acquisition was reserved for the few and was in sharp contrast to the colonial English town proprietorships who had no outside legislative interference (Livermore, 1968). The proprietary governments of Watauga and what Henderson acquired in Kentucky existed after 1750 were tempting because individuals could resell property at will. Henderson later set up a government in Kentucky and Watauga formed its own government. For both, the overriding intention was to retain full control over the sale of land (Livermore, 1968).

Next, we will look at a second generation of land speculators in East Tennessee and their political and economic dominance in the area.

The Great Land Grab

The next phase of land speculation in East Tennessee started during what has been called the "great land grab" of 1783. Three North Carolina brothers William, John, and Thomas Blount invested in land in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and other southern states. Thomas Blount had acquired 70,000 acres of land through Richard Henderson. The land grab act of 1783 was initiated by William Blount who persuaded North Carolina's legislature to cede her western lands of which East Tennessee was a part, to the Congress of the Confederacy in order to secure protection from the Indians. A land office was opened for seven months until North Carolina ceded the lands in 1784. During this seven months four million acres were purchased. When North Carolina ceded its land the independent State of Franklin came into existence. The land grab act threw open to purchase all unoccupied land in the state at 5 dollars per one hundred acres (Folmsbee, 1970).

North Carolina ceded its lands to Congress due to Blount's influence on east North Carolinians. He persuaded them that an Indian war would be expensive to North Carolina (Abernethy, 1932). The rise of the State of Franklin (1785-89) reflected land jobbers' desire to gain land. The Franklin population opposed the repeal of the North Carolina cession act in 1784. North Carolina gained control over the

counties that made up the State of Franklin in 1788. John Sevier had became the governor of the State of Franklin in 1787. He negotiated for the lands between the French Broad and the Little Tennessee Rivers with the Cherokees in 1787. Sevier used the State of Franklin for his and Blount's speculative purposes. North Carolina with its sea-to-sea charter opposed the independent government at Franklin. Sevier succeeded in adapting the North Carolina constitution in 1787 leaving him and Blount in control of the western land situation for far away North Carolina (Abernethy, 1932). In 1787 North Carolina appointed officials in the Franklin district. The Blount and Sevier faction had opposed the State of Franklin movement, joining it only to control and protect their land titles (Eaton, 1949).

A state land office was opened with Sevier negotiating two treaties with the Cherokees for lands lying between the French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers. The new counties were to be called Sevier and Blount. Sevier became Brigadier General of North Carolina in 1789. His policies as governor of the State of Franklin had been geared toward the protection of his and Blount's land speculations against western North Carolina radicals including Authur Campbell, Thomas Person, and Franklinites John Tipton and William Cocke (Abernethy, 1932). John Sevier and William Blount accumulated massive lands in East and Middle Tennessee.

In 1790 William Blount became governor of the Southwest Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs to further his cause. By Tennessee's statehood in 1796, he was taxed on 73,252 acres of land in Tennessee (Roosevelt, quoted in Thompson, 1930). He appointed the Sevier faction to head local governments including Landon Carter, John Smith, Gilbert Christian, and Stockley Donaldson. Blount reconstituted North Carolina's authority in East Tennessee. He along with other speculators like William Cobb reinstated control over the area. Blount made the capital of the Southwest Territory, Knoxville. He was closely associated with Colonel James White who through Blount obtained the title to much of present day Knoxville in the 1784 Land Grab Act. Others involved gained large plots of land including Francis Ramsey, George Farragut, and Andrew Jackson who owned land plots in the Nashville or Mero district (Masterson, 1951; Folmsbee, 1970).

Blount speculated in lands alone or with his firm using his name and the names of others on titles. He operated from North Carolina and East Tennessee linking public and private transactions along with other government officials (Masterson, 1951). He became involved in schemes to obtain North Carolina land grants in East and Middle Tennessee made to Revolutionary War Veterans. In 1790, he and Sevier gained control over certificates not issued in 1783 in a scheme that gained then 7 years interest on the certificates. With

money from John Grey Blount they bought them for a depreciated price at a handsome profit (Masterson, 1951). Sevier and Landon Carter in 1779 gained grants south of the French Broad for 30,000 acres. These unsurveyed lands were rich and looked on as a good investment. Blount made a treaty with the Cherokees in 1791 at Whites's fort that legalized the French Broad settlements.

Blount and Sevier were involved in various political actions to speculate in land and open it up for settlement. Blount flirted with Spain in hopes of securing the Tombigbee waterway at Muscle Shoals for colonalization. Spain worked to incorporate western settlements from the United States into her empire. In what became the Spanish Conspiracy, Blount plotted to open the Spanish controlled Mississippi and the route to Mobile connecting East and Middle Tennessee to the lower south's markets (Eaton, 1949). France, England, and the United States all had interest in controlling the Mississippi valley. Blount had plotted for control of a market outlet and was taken to trial in 1799 and found innocent.

Looking at the speculative nature of these men, we see the intentions of Tennessee's statesmen and their impact on the future settlement of the diverse valleys and mountain sectors in East Tennessee. Their goal as agrarian speculators was to control the most fertile regions to sell for profit. The lands of East Tennessee were bought under

the federal land system and were disposed using unsystematic methods under the North Carolina acts of 1777 and 1783. Blount and Sevier took advantage of lands on the frontier where they were the government representatives and the most informed advisors to a government 300 miles away (Abernethy, 1932). Others benefitted from North Carolina Land Grants[1]. Many were bought up in North Carolina, with the veterans never coming to Tennessee. These lands had been settled in part under the laws of Franklin. Many North Carolina grants were in unsettled regions in Middle Tennessee between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers (Ramsey, 1853). Land grant entries were consolidated and kept, until Indian treaties were made, making settlement legal. Most were in unsettled regions making immediate settlement impossible or were sold to speculators. In Cades Cove in present day Blount County grants were issued as early as 1794 from North Carolina but not claimed until 1821 and later. William Tipton, who never lived in Cades Cove held 1,280 acres in the best agricultural lands on the valley floor. Thirty-six grants were issued from 1821 to 1890 with most owned by speculators. These were sold off to settlers in small tracts coming from grants as large as

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[1]The North Carolina land grants were passed in 1792 for Revolutionary War Veterans allowing 640 acres for privates, 1,000 for noncommissioned officers, 2,500 for subalterns, 3,840 for captains, 4,800 for majors, 5,760 for lieutenant colonel, 7,200 for colonels and 12,000 for brigadier (Soltow, 1981).

5,000 acres (Shields, 1977). In the 1850's D.D. Foute advertised 15,000 acres for sale in Cades Cove. He also owned solely or in partnership 50,000 acres in the surrounding areas. (Shields, 1977).

Grants were issued in many East Tennessee counties, usually in one square mile lots or 640 acres. Many are hard to trace because they were sold many times to different speculators and because of the lack of records. Taxes were probably avoided in this manner.

These examples and others show us that the control of land was an important motivation for the political elite in early East Tennessee. Large land agents focused on obtaining the most fertile valley lands which were the key to profit in an agrarian economy. Land distribution in pre-Civil War East Tennessee can only be understood by looking at land as an important commodity leading to wealth and power.

Next, we will look at the distribution of land in early East Tennessee.

Landownership Patterns

The distribution of land is key to understanding the social and economic relations in newly settled frontier and antebellum East Tennessee. With land, labor, agricultural, and iron production the major commodities, land ownership

was essential. Capital was scarce with imports providing items not created locally. Land was traded, rented, or sold outright as a commodity. Landownership meant household stability. Tenants and wage laborers moved in search of employment and better lands or cleared fertile farmland for future buyers and then were forced to move on.

Landownership patterns varied within East Tennessee. The percentage of absentee owners ranged from 16 percent in Washington County for 1790 to 39 percent in Anderson County for 1802 (see Appendix A, Table 1). Washington County had been subdivided prior to 1790 into Greene County whose tax lists are unavailable. Washington County by 1814 had 35 percent absentee owners (see Appendix A, Table 1). Anderson County along with Grainger County had been part of the Transylvania Purchase in 1775. Grainger County had 31 percent absentee owners in 1799 and Jefferson County had 37 percent absentee ownership in 1801 (see Appendix A, Table 1). These figures show that absentee ownership was a factor in landownership in early East Tennessee. The counties that were part of the Transylvania Purchase had a higher percentage of absentee owners.

The percentage of landless households for the early period varied between counties. Washington County in 1790 had 33 percent of its households landless. By 1814 this number was 46 percent (see Appendix A, Table 2). The counties with the highest percentage of landless households

were Anderson in 1802 with 74 percent and Grainger in 17[illegible] with 67 percent (see Appendix A, Table 2). These figures show that large land speculation influenced the distribution of land for the counties involved. The Grainger County list is 24 years after the Transylvania purchase and the Anderson County list is 27. Both these counties exhibited large landless populations into the early antebellum period.

Carter County was the only mountainous county available and 48 percent of its households were landless in 1798 (see Appendix A, Table 2). This was higher than Sullivan, a hill/plateau county, that had 40 percent landless in 1797 (see Appendix A, Table 2).

The landless were dependent upon the landowners. While land was sold cheaply on the East Tennessee frontier, land offices were only open for a few months, making later settlers dependent on a few large buyers. Land prices reflected the demand and the land's production value. A large landless population remained the norm for East Tennessee Counties during the antebellum period. My sample indicates that 63 percent of the Carter County heads of households were landless in 1850 (see Table 4.1, below). Landless households increased by 15 percent from 1798. Sullivan County shows 46 percent of its heads of households landless in 1850, an increase of 6 percent from 1797. In Washington County 52 percent of its households' heads were landless in 1850, an increase of 6 percent since 1814.

Table 4.1 Landownership for Household heads for Carter, Johnson, Sullivan, and Washington Counties for 1850.

County	Percent Landed	Percent Landless	Total
Carter	37	63	100
Johnson	54	46	100
Sullivan	54	46	100
Washington	48	52	100

Source: United States Census Enumerator Manuscripts, Schedule I, Population.

By comparing counties for the two available periods, we see that landlessness increased in all counties for heads of households in 1850. The more isolated mountain county, Carter, had the largest increase with Johnson and Sullivan Counties the lowest. This evidence supports the hypothesis that East Tennessee exhibited a large landless population throughout the frontier and antebellum periods and became less egalitarian overtime when considering landownership.

Evidence on the early distribution of acres also supports the idea that early East Tennessee was not an egalitarian society but one that exhibited high levels of unequal land distribution. Of the four counties tabulated, the two not directly involved in the Transylvania Purchase, Sullivan, and Carter, exhibited the least amounts of absentee ownership of total acreage. Sullivan County had 40 percent of its total acreage owned by residents in 1000

acre lots and above in 1797. It had 37 percent of its acres owned by residents in lots of 5000 acres and above for the same year (see Appendix A, Table 3). Carter County was more equally distributed with 23 percent of its total acreage owned by residents in lots of 1000 acres and above in 1798 (see Appendix A, Table 4). The counties involved in the Transylvania Purchase, Grainger and Anderson, were influenced greatly by it regarding the distribution of acres. Grainger County in 1799 exhibited high concentrations of land distribution with 77 percent of its acres absentee owned. It had 69 percent of its acreage owned in lots of 1000 acres and above. 61 percent of its land was absentee owned in lots of 5000 acres and above for the same year (see Appendix A, Table 5). Grainger County also had 8 percent of its acreage owned by residents in lots of 1000 acres and above in 1799 (see Appendix A, Table 5). Anderson County exhibited similar results for 1801. 79 percent of its acres were absentee owned with 70 percent owned in lots of 1000 acres and above (see Appendix A, Table 6).

These findings show us that the same holds true for land distribution as for landownership in the counties involved in the Transylvania Purchase. Grainger and Anderson Counties had high levels of landlessness and exhibited high levels of unequal land distribution for the early period. Sullivan County had a relatively high

concentration of acreage owned by large resident owners during this same period but less absentee ownership. The mountainous Carter County exhibited a relatively equal distribution of land when compared to other counties but had the highest rate of increase in landlessness for the antebellum period in 1850. These results on landownership bring into question the idea that East Tennessee exhibited an equal distribution of land in the early period and that landownership was the norm for the antebellum period. My findings show that landlessness increases for the counties sampled with the supposedly more egalitarian mountainous Carter County exhibiting higher landlessness in 1850.

Next, we will look at the agricultural production of early East Tennessee.

Agricultural Production

Economic histories of East Tennessee provide a wealth of information on the various enterprises that evolved during the antebellum period including agriculture and iron. The agricultural history of East Tennessee during the antebellum period is dominated by literature on the mass quantities of Indian corn grown and hogs raised during this period (Gray, 1941; Hilliard, 1972; Owsley, 1945).

The economy of antebellum East Tennessee was predominately agrarian. The Appalachian region led the

nation in both corn and hog production until the opening of the northwestern states of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois in the 1860s and 70s. Per capita grain production in the upper south, i.e. Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, was above the southern average and supplied the lower south, which depended on exports to supplement local production (Lindstrom, 1970). In South Carolina, turnpikes were opened as early as 1800 to facilitate a large traffic in hogs supplying the cotton belt with the products of East Tennessee (Phillips, 1908). Tennessee led the nation in corn production and bushels per capita in 1840, producing 44,986,000 bushels with 54.3 bushels per person. It was fourth in production and fifth in bushels per capita in 1850 producing 52,276,000 bushels with 52.1 bushels per person (Hilliard, 1972:156). Corn and hog production were a prolific combination in the virgin soil of East Tennessee that had not yet experienced the soil erosion that plagued the Virginia region. Tennessee also led the nation in swine production and swine per capita in 1840 raising 2,927,000 swine with 3.10 per person. It was first in swine production in 1850 with 3,105,000 and third in swine per capital with 3.10 per person (Hilliard, 1972:94). These figures show a region producing large amounts of corn and hogs in the late antebellum period compared to other regions in the United States.

No census data are available previous to 1840 but the trade patterns that developed beginning in the frontier period expanded later making swine a major export from East Tennessee until 1880. Corn cultivation and hog raising went hand and hand in a region where the terrain was rugged and settlement patterns were best suited for open range livestock grazing. Swine were a major food source in the south for all classes including both elite and slaves. Tennessee did not pass enclosure laws until late in the nineteenth century (McDonald and McWhiney, 1975). Hogs grazed on hillsides and in the woods that had been cleaned during earlier periods by the Indians with fire. The terrain facilitated maize production which was derived form the Indians. Hogs were brought with the early settlers and proliferated on the canebrakes and wooded hillsides (Owsley, 1945). They fed on mast from the hardwood trees. This natural food source included acorns, chestnuts, walnuts, hickory nuts, and other undergrowth. Hogs grazed in much the same way the buffalo and deer did, making profit for land owners (Grey, 1941; Owsley, 1945; Clayton, 1980).

Southern breeds of swine were mixed and smaller than their parent European breeds due to the natural selection that evolved in the woods (Hilliard, 1972). Foraging hogs usually had thin heads and long legs and arched backs and were known as razorbacks. The largest were driven with some kept and fattened up for sale to drivers. Most southern

hogs were put in harvested gardens to fertilize and clear tubers and other vegetables (Hilliard, 1972). Hogs raised in the upper south states like Kentucky and Tennessee were heavier than those raised in the lower south.

The mass quantities of corn and hogs produced in East Tennessee leads us to question the idea that the region was characterized by an isolated population of subsistence-only producers.

In the next section, we examine the percentage of East Tennessee's production that was available for export.

East Tennessee's Surplus Production

East Tennessee's agricultural surpluses became part of a regional commodity chain sending pork to the lower south and east coast. The high volume of corn and swine produced provided marketable exports driven through mountain passes from a region surrounded by mountain barriers. Analysis of all East Tennessee Counties in 1840 shows that 25 of 26 counties produced agricultural surpluses available for external markets and 24 of 26 counties having 30 percent or higher of their total production available to be marketed to external markets (see Appendix A, Tables 7-9).

All East Tennessee counties for 1840 with the exception of Roane County produced agricultural surpluses and only Morgan County had less than 30 percent of its production

available for external markets. This data show that East Tennessee's surplus production was not required by local counties as a food supply and, consequently was available to be marketed in zones outside the area mainly in the lower south and east coast.

By breaking down East Tennessee into terrain types, we can see that terrain made little difference in the amount of surplus that was available after household consumption. All three types of terrain, mountainous, hill/plateau, and ridge/valley, had surplus available with the average for the three being 51.5 percent of production available for the market (see Appendix A, Table 10). The terrain types with the highest amount of surplus production available were mountainous and ridge/valley with both terrain types having 54.0 percent of their production available for external markets in 1840. The remaining terrain type, hill/plateau had 46.5 percent of its production available for external markets (see Appendix A, Table 10).

By comparing the terrain types we see that the isolated mountainous regions in East Tennessee produced the same amount of surplus as the ridge/valley regions and 5 percent more surplus than the hill/plateau regions. The mountainous counties also produced the largest amounts of tobacco and cotton in 1840 (see Appendix A, Table 10). These data show that East Tennessee's counties on average produced 50 percent more agricultural production (surplus) than was

required for subsistence in 1840. Within the upper east Tennessee counties that are the main focus of this study, all produced substantial surpluses but were below the regional average. It is striking that the two mountainous counties (Carter and Johnson) nearly match the surplus production percentages of the two hill/plateau counties (Sullivan and Washington).

In this section we will examine the destination of the agricultural surplus and it's role in the national economy.

East Tennessee's Export Economy

Pork from Tennessee and Kentucky was a link in the commodity chain of the deep south cotton production for the world market. Cheap prices allowed for high consumption by slaves and encouraged purchase over production. Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina all fed their slaves in part from hogs driven overland and floated on waterways from the upper south (Lindstrom, 1970; Grey, 1941). Pork was transported to northern Alabama both in barrels and on the hoof by way of the Tennessee River. Keel and flat boats carried agricultural products from East Tennessee to New Orleans as early as 1795. Many efforts were made to improve the water route during the antebellum period (Folmsbee, 1969). Kingsport was the main point of departure from upper east Tennessee. It was located on the Holston River and

sent boats loaded with goods and livestock to Knoxville. After 1816 the opening of the Tennessee River Valley led boats into Muscle Shoals and on into northern Alabama (Alldredge, 1937).

Hogs from East Tennessee were driven through the Cumberland Gap on the Wilderness Road to the Shenandoah or Virginia Valleys to Philadelphia and Baltimore. Large herds moved up the Ohio, Potomac, and James valleys connecting Tennessee and Kentucky to the national economy. By the Civil War, the land along these routes suffered from soil exhaustion due to grain produced and sold to drivers (Grey, 1941). Drives passing through Knoxville went to Georgia, Alabama, and into the main route through East Tennessee at the French Broad River. Tennessee was the half way point for Kentucky drivers with East Tennessee farmers providing corn for the passing drivers and adding hogs to the drives. East Tennessee produced twice as much corn as Virginia in 1850. East Tennessee's main exports were swine and corn fed to passing swine (Grey, 1941).

A livestock economy arose in East Tennessee with the counties around the French Broad area as important producers. Inns and stock stands facilitated the driving economy with a yearly ritual starting in November and ending in January (Burnett, 1946). Turnpike companies developed the routes along the rocky mountain passes from Cocke County to Warm Springs charging a penny a head for hogs to pass.

Between 140,000 and 160,000 hogs were driven through Asheville in 1849 with East Tennessee supplying herds from Greene, Jefferson, and Cocke Counties as well as other counties along the routes coming from Kentucky. (Blackmun, 1977). In North Carolina and East Tennessee inns and stock stands supplied food and rest for drivers and hogs who traveled about 8 to 10 miles a day (Burnett, 1946). These hog hotels operated much like those of Texas and other western cattle regions.

The main route from the French Broad on to North Carolina was traveled by 1795. William Blount advocated a road to the French Broad constructed by the two states in 1795. East Tennessee strived for a route to drive its products with the intentions of marketing their goods outside the region. The Buncombe Turnpike was incorporated in 1823 and completed in 1827, opening up for commercial traffic what had been called a fine new road by Francis Asbury in 1812 (Blackmun, 1977).

Asheville became a major hog town with the opening of the Saluda Gap connecting it to the markets of Augusta and Charleston. The Buncombe Turnpike was the major route with other western North Carolina highways linking households in the areas to commodity chains by providing surplus livestock to passing drives through their region. One innkeeper at Marshall fed ninety thousand hogs in a single month while lodging 50 men in a single night (Blackmun, 1977). Inns

provided food and shelter for drivers with pens and corn rations for the hogs. In Newport along the French Broad River several inns were built to facilitate traffic. Among them were the Story Inn in Parrottsville, The Wilson Inn, and the Old Inn (O'Dell, 1950). Cocke County was the gateway for a large traffic in hogs in the antebellum period. Herds entered the turnpikes from all directions. It took ten days after reaching the market to weight and sell the hogs. Farmers and paid drivers often were given credit by inns and stands along the way or paid with hogs. They picked up merchandise in South Carolina for tenants and themselves on their travels home (O'Dell, 1950; Burnett, 1946). The routes were maintained throughout the 19th century, declining only in the 1880's with the advent of the railroads. Merchants used these turnpikes hauling wagon loads of interior products over the mountains. East Tennessee became part of the world-economy by providing food for slave-based semi-peripheral economies in the lower south that produced cotton for the U.S. core regions and European economies. Although many livestock were dropped off along the way in areas like upper Georgia and throughout North Carolina, most were sent to the lower slave economies. In North Georgia at Auraria in 1831, goldmines attracted speculators and settlers with slaves looking for gold. Hogs were driven from East Tennessee and slaughtered to be distributed among the miners (Green, 1935).

The plantocracies were profitable enterprises that led to the rise of an aristrocratic civilization that used coerced low-wage slave labor (Chase-Dunn, 1980). East Tennessee's hog economy depended on the price of cotton in the deep south. Merchants and drivers purchased hogs in advance, gambling on returns at the end of the line. They paid the small farmers and tenants according to these estimates (Burnett, 1946; Smith, 1842).

The plantation economies were geared toward the production of cotton as a monocrop grown for export. Slaves and field hands in the lower south consumed massive amounts of hogs and corn in the antebellum and postbellum periods. These areas in Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia depended on the upper south for their food supply. Local economies were not geared toward growing sufficient agricultural products to meet the demands of slaveowners. The plantation system depleted the soil with little crop rotation (Geneovese, 1965). Slaves treated animals with little care and had to be supervised at all times. Hogs in the deep south were smaller than those in the upper south. Their treatment made the introduction of new breeds difficult due to the degeneration that occurred to the new strains.

Both corn and cotton required care at the same time with early planting required to beat the summer dehydration in the lower south. Corn was pushed on to poorer lands due

to cotton's importance. Cotton was worked over corn in order of importance for profit (Hilliard, 1972). Indifference in the production of foodstuff developed a diet for slaves that centered around the pork supplied from the upper south. Slaves were issued cornmeal to supplement the hog meat which consisted of all parts of the hog. Slaves were fed not only fatback or sowbelly, but also the backbone, ribs, feet, neck, and other parts (Hilliard, 1972). Beef was considered nutritionally poorer than pork in the antebellum period. East Tennessee's surplus production became part of a commodity chain by supplying a cheap food source for plantation capitalists growing cotton for the world market.

Next, we will look at the internal economy of early East Tennessee.

Internal Economy

The water and land route systems that developed in East Tennessee connected the local markets to major arteries linking them to the world-economy. In the frontier period protection from the Indians was vital and merchants were connected through trading posts. Trading was an important activity before settlement, supplying luxury items to the world-economy. With permanent settlement, merchandise was brought overland from the east coast to supply settlers with

essential domestic items and farm implements. In the early period commercial credit was lacking and transactions were difficult to manage. Land, slaves, iron, and agricultural products were all mediums of exchange, with bartering for pelts and cotton a common practice. In the frontier period, inland storekeepers were willing to extend only small amounts of credit (Alledredge, 1937). David Deaderick was one of the largest merchants during the frontier period in Jonesboro beginning in 1783. Early merchants were Evan Shelby and John Carter at Sapling Grove and Watagua as early as 1770. Shelby dealt with Indians as well as with white settlers and traders (Williams, 1944). Thomas Amis was engaged in merchandising in Rogersville in the same year. Local elites and land speculators who established colonies were often involved in supplying settlers with limited homesteading capital, with the expectations that they would buy or rent land from speculators and drive up the land's price. Two prominent figures who were merchants as well as statesmen and landspeculators were John Sevier and William Blount (Masterson, 1955).

Early antebellum East Tennessee increased its population and expanded its markets with the opening up of western territories. The internal economy developed marketing facilities in the form of grist and saw mills and, most importantly, the country stores which came from the trading posts. As the communities passed beyond the pioneer

stage after 1800, the need for localized centers for trade became important (Atherton, 1949). A circuit of capital developed in East Tennessee with increased trade to the outside areas. The bank of the State of Tennessee was established in Knoxville in 1811. Merchants collected crops from planters giving them bills of exchange for half of their crop value in New Orleans. The planters were charged interest by the merchants and the banks. For the first half of their money it was often 10 to 12 percent (Alldredge, 1937). The second half cost 1 to 2 percent. These charges were avoided by large planters who shipped products directly and waited for the money. The small holders and tenants paid numerous charges to merchants for selling locally. Alldredge explains the hierarchy of exporting:

> As a result of these restricted credit facilities farmers soon became stratified according to the sizes of their holdings. The few largest planters were able to accumulate enough money to finance themselves, ship products directly to the ports, and wait for their money; thus they avoided the heavy service charges of the merchants. Those with modest holdings shipped to merchants in the inland banking towns and paid numerous heavy charges. The small planter shipped to the local merchant, who shipped to the merchants at the inland banking towns, adding duplicate charges to the expensive facilities described. The "shoe-stringer" was compelled to sell his products outright to the merchant in the nearest town or to his neighbor for such income as they would bring him (Alldredge, 1937:53).

In East Tennessee storeowners became part of the hog driving business by trading for livestock and keeping them

until enough were collected for a drive, turning his merchandise into cash. Storekeepers became local elites who knew the extent of production in the community and were connected with the outside world. This made them the best informed link of the commodity chain by knowing prices on the other end (Atherton, 1949).

Most East Tennessee store accounts were paid once a year with goods sold at 100 percent advance with a 70 percent profit rate. Bartered items were resold for additional profit because of access to wholesale markets (Smith, 1942; Atherton, 1949). Merchant businessmen survived on high markups and were susceptible to changes in the world-economy. The Panic of 1819 and the panic and depression of 1837 saw merchants fail all over the south. Short term failures were common due to the extension of credit. Merchants could open the next season, however, selling retail to payoff wholesalers. Young merchants with starter capital acquired wealth fast, often getting out of the business as they got older and had capital to invest in other areas (Atherton, 1949).

The merchant class held monopoly status by their positions between small farmers and tenants and the world-economy. They knew merchants on the outside and how much produce was worth. This control of information allowed them to influence the rates of exchange between themselves and the small producers. In East Tennessee many small producers

became dependent upon local storeowners and merchants. They often sold out early in the season due to a poor crop or weather, finding themselves in debt (Smith, 1842; Dunaway, 1989). These bottlenecks became a primary feature of the frontier and antebellum incorporation of East Tennessee within the world-economy. Merchants adjusted to the world markets and altered the local patterns of production in whatever way they found profitable (Wallerstein, 1989).

Next, we will look at the extent of iron production in East Tennessee. Ironworks provided the tools for early agrarian society and business opportunities for early capitalist.

Iron Production

The rise of the iron industry in East Tennessee reflected the high price of imported iron, cheap labor, and the unlimited supply of iron in the Southern Appalachian area (Rollings, 1926). Geographically, hematite (red ore) exists in the East Tennessee Valley and the Cumberland Plateau. Hematite was considered the most important southern commercial iron ore (Dodd, 1928). Large surface deposits of hematite exist beginning in the western part of Virginia and running through East Tennessee and into the Cumberland plateau. The iron is found at the base of the lower eastern mountain ranges in East Tennessee (Dodd, 1928).

The production of domestic wares and farm implements was crucial for the growing frontier that was hundreds of miles from iron furnaces in the east. The major form of non-agrarian economic investment in East Tennessee from the 1790's to the 1870's was iron manufacturing. Beginning in the 1780's, an elite group of land and slave owners invested in ironworks as a profitable business that used unarable landholdings and supplied the area with iron mainly for farm implements. The early investors received large land grants resulting from internal improvements laws dating back to North Carolina in the 1780's. Many of the ironworks and land were passed through generations and the smaller ones were purchased and incorporated by the more powerful owners (Delfino, 1985; Nave, 1953). Capital was scarce; this elite group of capitalists speculated in land, slaves, and agriculture. Large landownership provided timber for charcoal that fueled furnaces and bloomeries. Extensive waterways through the area provided force to power machinery and routes to market iron products downstream (Fink, 1944).

The iron manufacturing industry played a role in the land and wealth inequality in upper east Tennessee throughout the frontier and Antebellum periods. Landgrants for ironworks became a monopoly for an elite group of capitalists. Beginning with the North Carolina laws, landgrants were issued to investors who could afford to start and produce at least 5000 pounds of iron (Nave, 1953).

3000 acres around the site could be issued and was exempt from taxation for 10 years. The first Tennessee law was passed in 1807 allowing for 3000 acres of land that was unfit for cultivation. Between 1808 and 1842, 13 laws were passed to encourage iron manufacturing in Tennessee (Delfino, 1985). In 1809 the Tennessee General Assembly adopted the North Carolina law adding tax exemption for 99 years providing the owner build and operate an iron industry within two years (Nave, 1953). State loans could be applied for by individuals to keep operations working. In Washington County, Elijah Embree received loans for three years starting in 1821 (Delfino, 1985). Landgrants and state loans were obtained by the elites within the individual communities. Grants had to be applied for on the county level with many iron manufactures being members of county administrations. Banking was precarious in antebellum East Tennessee. This led to capital shortages which facilitated the takeover of smaller works by larger ones.

East Tennessee's iron industry supplied mainly regional markets with limited connection to the deep south's markets opening on the frontier in Alabama and New Orleans. Localized production and use of mainly agrarian iron products began in the frontier period. Iron was shipped south to Natchez and New Orleans as early as 1791 (Williams, 1947). Regardless of the hazards of water traffic, East Tennessee's iron industry played a role in the frontier

incorporation of East Tennessee, northern Alabama, and New Orleans. Ironworks in East Tennessee supplied bullets for John Sevier's army at Kings Mountain in 1788, cannonballs for Andrew Jackson's army in the War of 1812, and later in the Civil War, munitions for the Confederacy (Fink, 1944; Wood, 1964).

Iron from upper east Tennessee was shipped downstream to Knoxville and then to the Tennessee River. Water traffic to the lower regions was unidirectional due to the difficulties of the trip upstream. At Knoxville, the Holston River is 70 miles from the Tennessee River while at Kingsport the Holston River is 142 miles from the Tennessee River (Alldredge, 1937). Warehouses were set up at key points along waterways in Kingsport and Knoxville to store iron until it could be transported. The shipment of iron from East Tennessee was a difficult task. The main waterways including the Holston, Watagua, Doe, and Nolichucky rivers, were only safely navigated in the spring when flooding occurred. The smaller tributaries of the rivers were not deep enough to support heavy iron shipments. Many natural obstructions hampered navigation including shoals, shallow channels and, early on, Indians. All ironworks were located on a stream due to the need of waterpower (Nave, 1953). Iron was shipped in keel and flatboats. These boats were then broken up and sold for lumber in New Orleans. The main point of departure was Long

Island (Boatyard) or present day Kingsport. Iron was carried overland, with difficulty, until improvements in the road system opened routes to areas as far as Pittsburg (Delfino, 1985).

Most of the ironworks were small and supplied raw iron for farm implements. The raw iron was in the form of cast, bar, and wrought iron. The items produced were often made at the ironworks themselves by blacksmiths. Horseshoes, nails, kettles, plows, wagonwheels, and dogirons were made. The same processes were used to produce the metallic iron products, bar and wrought iron from crude ore in East Tennessee during the period between 1790 to 1870. Primitive furnaces, bloomeries, and rolling mills were efficient because of the availability of charcoal and waterpower. The typical bloomery forge was called the Catalan Forge and consisted of a great hammer and anvil weighing 750 pounds. The typical furnace was called an open hearth and was built on a stone or brick base (Nave, 1953).

The iron itself was used as a medium of exchange usually in bar form. Currency was very unpredictable and iron was a tangible commodity that could be traded for essentials; sugar, coffee, and debts at local stores. This was especially true in the more isolated regions and where production was high (Holt, 1924).

The majority of all the iron produced in East Tennessee during this period was in the upper east Tennessee counties

of Carter, Johnson, Washington, and Sullivan. By the end of the antebellum period, all East Tennessee counties had ironworks (Rollings, 1927). The owners of ironworks worked to open up roads to markets in other areas starting in the early period. Turnpike and navigation companies arose in the antebellum period with support from ironmasters. Real progress was not made until the 1840s and 50s. Even with the obstructions iron production increased throughout the period with sizeable amounts exported prior to the coming of the railroads in the 1870's.

The first ironworks in East Tennessee was built by David Ross on the north fork of the Holston river near Hawkins county in 1789. He received a grant from North Carolina which passed an act in 1788 to promote iron manufacturing in the area to supply needed war munitions (Williams, 1947). Ross was a land speculator who in this year helped to form with Patrick Henry the Virginia Yazoo land company. This company bought much of what is present day Mississippi. Ross who came from Lynchburg Virginia, had initiated a large tobacco trade then moved to North Carolina setting up a ironworks there. Later he helped to develop a mercantile trade in both slaves and merchandise to Natchez (Williams,1947).

Other leaders of the Southwest Territory followed by investing in ironworks in East Tennessee. Among them were William Blount, John Sevier, Walter and James King and

Nathaniel and Landon Carter. Most investors became partners in the establishments selling and buying shares as they needed money for other investments. William Blount, the Governor of the Southwest Territory, invested with James King in the King Iron Works in Sullivan County in 1790. John Sevier in 1795, then a general in the militia, invested with his son and Walter King in the Pactolus ironworks in Sullivan county.

Many of the furnaces in East Tennessee were located in Carter county and later Johnson County which was carved out of Carter in 1836. For Carter County twelve ironworks were listed in the 1820 census (Nave, 1953). Four families maintained an elite economic status throughout the antebellum period. Intermarriage contributed to their fortunes providing both capital and resources. Included are the Carters from Elizabethton involved with Slimp's Forge and the Vaught's Creek Works. The family owned interest in many other works in Carter, Washington, and Sullivan Counties. The Taylors owned works in Happy Valley and at Roan Creek. The Carrigers had interest in the Roan Creek works and John Ward's forge in Johnson County. Finally, the Tiptons from Elizabethton had interest in Slimp's forge and other works in the area. Other large owners in Carter County included John and Gawin Patterson.

In Washington County the major ironworks plant was located in Bumpass Cove and was owned by Elijah Embree

starting around 1819. He joined other investors during his career often because of a lack of capital (Williams, 1947). In 1839, he was involved with the Washington Iron Manufacturing Company which owned over 30,000 acres of land. This became the Pleasent Valley Iron Works which became one of the largest producers in East Tennessee in 1854 (Fink, 1944). These works were owned by several investors who became partners as they needed investment opportunities and sold out as they needed capital.

The Embree family owned and ran ironworks in Carter County that developed larger estates and maintained capital easier than other works in the East Tennessee area. This phenomena occurred in many areas of the South and in the Northern core area during this period as well (Delfino, 1989). The lack of banking facilities made family investment the only alternative. The large land and slaveholdings of these families made them elites within the antebellum class structure. The Carters were large slaveowners throughout the antebellum period. Slave labor was used by all the large works but records are hard to find. Nave points out that in 1820 a Johnson County works employed 106 persons and only 74 by 1840. The company expanded greatly in the 20 years, leading us to conclude the use of slave labor made up the difference (Nave, 1953). In an effort to free ironworkers from military service in 1827, a group of owners petitioned the State legislature to allow their skilled

workers military exemption so they would not have to leave the foundries in the direction of negroes (Delfino, 1985). This and other evidence suggest that slave labor was used extensively in the ironworks. The ironworks provided seasonal jobs for wage laborers and tenants cutting wood and doing various other semi-skilled jobs. They could be hired and fired at the owners discretion and provided a cheap labor resource.

Next, we will look at the occupational structure found in early East Tennessee.

Occupational Structure

The breakdown of occupations for the four sampled counties in East Tennessee in 1850 reveals the agrarian nature of the period in question. It also shows a population of laborers and people who worked several types of jobs (labeled as mixed occupation). Households labeled agricultural dominated the economic sectors with percentages for the four counties varying from 69 percent of all occupations for Carter County to 61 percent for Sullivan County in 1850 (see Appendix A, Tables 11-14). The categories labeled laborer and mixed occupations refer to the population available for part-time labor and are considered semi-proletariat households. These figures ranged between 14 percent for Carter County and 18 percent

for Washington County in 1850 (see Appendix A, Tables 11-14). The laborer and mixed occupation categories are the largest after agriculture for all counties except for the skilled artisans in Sullivan County which was a county with several iron works.

The occupational structure shows that East Tennessee was centered around its agricultural exporting economy. The available laborers provided a labor force that was engaged in the seasonal agricultural schedule. These figures are deceptive because heads of households were reported as agricultural often when they worked in other occupations such as mining.

Now, we will look at the labor mechanisms used in early East Tennessee.

Labor Mechanisms

Many settlers in early East Tennessee were landless immigrants and indentured servants. These newly arrived families became semi-proletariat households, renting land, and working as tenant farmers and wage laborers. They increased land values for landlords by clearing land and paying rent. This phenomenon occurred throughout Southern Appalachia, opening land for permanent sale and settlement (Dunaway, 1989). The Watauga settlement was set up for this purpose. It was the object of land speculators to populate

lands to clear and sell them as fast as possible. Lands were available to immigrants on their arrival. Speculators were happy to let immigrants rent and clear lands to drive up the value. They often assisted the renters with farm implements and directions for cultivation. Often the tenants were forced to move in two or three years after increasing the value of the land up to thirty percent (Michaux, 1906:279-80). Tracing the early populations of East Tennessee is difficult. The first settlements in East Tennessee were made up in part by a group from North Carolina that included Scotch traders and others who were nicely dressed, considering themselves a superior class and a group of poor men who labored and were treated with disdain and excluded from society (Haywood, 1891).

The labor mechanisms used in frontier and antebellum East Tennessee's incorporation into the world-economy exhibited characteristics of a system of coerced wage-labor. The area's tenant farmers, wage laborers, and slaves produced surplus production that was sold in the world-market. Tenant farmers and wage laborers' households became integrated into an internal economy controlled by merchants, landlords, and speculator capitalists who were linked directly to the world-market. Tenant farmers, many of whom were or had been indentured servants, arrived in East Tennessee from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolian with little or no capital, then rented land from absentee

speculators or local landholding elites. Tenants usually paid a share of their crop in lieu of rent to the landowner (Dunaway, 1989). Rent was received at one-third of the crop for uplands and usually so many bushels on acres regardless of the crop on good bottom lands (Smith, 1974). Tenants usually rented uplands and areas of poor terrain which limited their production and made them dependent upon the owner for securing food supplies when forced to sell out early in the season. Often small tenants and landowners had to purchase on credit with an interest charge from fifty to one hundred percent (Smith, 1974).

During the frontier period in East Tennessee a poll tax was set up by 1779 by the North Carolina legislature to control tenant households and small farmers. Abernethy looks at its implications,

> "The final stroke of the legislature of 1779 was to modify the system of taxation to the extent of reviving the poll tax. The ad valorem property tax was retained, but unmarried men who owned less than four hundred dollars worth of property were to pay a poll tax equal to the property tax on that amount, and married men were to pay a capitation equal to the tax on one hundred dollars worth of property in case they owned less than that amount. This practically amounted to a tax on poverty." (Abernethy, 1932:39).

Land offices were only open for a few months and even if tenants could afford land it was closed to the public domain (Abernerty, 1932). The sexual division of labor within tenant households saw women and children raising a

non-commercial garden plot along with other paid domestic and farm labor adding to family survival and reducing the necessity of wages for the men. The men worked clearing land, raising the rent crops, and worked for the landlord. Contracts varied with many placing stipulations of the personal use of timber and the amount of timber and the livestock that could be produced. Renters often had contracts to buy their provisions through the landlord (Dunaway, 1989).

Tenant households became indebted due to the terrain they farmed and their contractual agreements. They became coerced wage laborers used by settlers who could afford land to acquire wealth. These households were hardly isolated from the outside world. They became a peripheral population who competed with slaves for work. Often slaves and tenants worked side by side. Slaves became a mechanism for controlling tenant farmers as they were available for any job at no cost to the landlord (Bailey, 1985; Dunaway, 1989).

Resident landlords were the norm in Southern Appalachia by 1830. Slavery was an important labor mechanism that developed along side of tenant farmers and other forms of free labor exploitation (Dunaway, 1989). Tennessee adapted the Constitution of North Carolina in 1796 with taxation on acres rather than land value. Hamer explains the ramifications,

> "Its provision for the taxation of land on the basis of its area rather than its value certainly imposed an unjust burden on the poor man.....The fertile acres of a wealthy planter could be taxed no more than an equal number of acres of rocky and unproductive hillside.....It is an appalling absurdity truly, that a hundred acres of land worth fifty cents an acre, should pay one dollar taxes, and that another hundred acres, worth fifty dollars an acre, should pay the same amount of tax" (Hamer, 1933:318).

The Tennessee residents who had tried to repeal this law starting in 1806 feared the privileges of the lords of the soil and the power of a small group of men who maintained this law until 1833 (Hamer, 1933).

The landless population in antebellum East Tennessee rented and worked rough mountain terrains that were taxed the same as fertile valleys. Dunaway estimates that the typical Southern Appalachian farm owner accumulated thirty-five times more household wealth than the tenants and croppers and that legal practices regulating laws were used allowing the land owner to hold a lien against the tenant's possessions and work time (1989). This system of labor influenced mobility for landless settlers and increased wealth for landowners.

Next, we will look at the extent of slavery in early East Tennessee.

Slavery in East Tennessee

Slavery in East Tennessee provided a form of property investment and a source of coerced labor. Beginning during the settler incorporation of the area up to the Civil War, slaves were an important commodity for slaveowners and the economy of the area (Vincent, 1977). East Tennessee was an area of peripheral capitalism which used low-wage labor in the form of slaves and tenant farmers. Slaves were an important component of the class system in East Tennessee. They were used side by side with tenant farmers as both skilled and unskilled laborers. Slaves became a mechanism for controlling tenant farmers, as they were available for any job at no cost to the landlord (Bailey, 1985).

Slavery was legal in the terrority of Tennessee before it became a state or was settled. Legally, Tennessee retained the regulations established by its parent state, North Carolina. Tennessee belonged to North Carolina from 1693 to 1790. The legal development of the negro in Tennessee changed from a common law status to a statutory basis which focused mainly on granting privileges and restrictions (Patterson, 1922).

The constitution that was drawn up in the short lived State of Franklin (1785 to 1788), contained no property qualifications for suffrage and the slave would have voted on the same basis as any other man. It was refused in 1788

by North Carolina. The territory of Tennessee became the Southwest Territory in 1790 and a state in 1796 (McCormack, 1977).

Slavery within the bounds of Tennessee began with the fur traders in the early 18th century. A smallpox epidemic killing thousands of Cherokees was blamed on slaves brought to South Carolina from Guinea in 1738. The Cherokees were becoming slave owners by 1755. The slaves on the Tennessee frontier came mostly from settlers who came from Virginia and the coast. The issue of slavery was not debated in the early settlements. The Watauga Association (1772-1776) contained no more than 10 percent slaveowners and no incidents of slave unrest were reported during the frontier period. It should be noted that somewhere over twelve negroes fought with the patriot army at the battle of King's Mountain in 1780 (McCormack, 1977).

Slavery in East Tennessee reflected the smaller farm sizes. Slaves were used for all types of labor by the owner and could legally be rented out only by the owner. Slave labor was used in the upper east Tennessee counties at various ironworks from the beginning of settlement to the end of the Civil War. The owners brought slaves with them before settlement and used them to build the ironworks. Slaves were often used as skilled laborers such as blacksmiths and bloomery operators. Other unskilled labor included woodcutting, mining ore, and common labor. The

ironworks owners were the largest slaveowners for their county. The list includes James King, Landon, William and Nathan Carter, Nathaniel Taylor, James Tipton, and also John Sevier and William Blount (Nave, 1953; Delfino, 1989).

A handful of absentee owners were reported in East Tennessee in 1830. They rented slaves for labor usually in the off season. Among them was James King in Sullivan county who rented 16 slaves and Polly Love in Washington county who rented 8 slaves for hire (Woodson, 1968).

East Tennessee became an important early slave trading center because of its position as a border state. Starting after the Revolutionary War, slave movement from Virginia into Tennessee and Kentucky was considerable. East Tennessee became a transition zone with settlers often moving with their slaves to the cotton belt as the lower territories opened up. Slaves were also transported from and through East Tennessee on their way to West Tennessee, northern Alabama, and the lower south. East Tennessee grew rapidly form 1790 to 1815. Slaves provided labor for a rapidly developing agrarian export economy. The Knoxville Gazette, starting in 1792, carried numerous advertisements for selling and finding runaway slaves (Clayton, 1980). The lower south became a major economic force after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. Slave prices jumped from 300 to 600 dollars in the ten years following (McCormack, 1977). The emigration westward was responsible

for the increases in the slave populations of Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee before 1815 (Collins, 1904). After 1808 all states passed laws prohibiting slaves coming from outside the United States. A hundred thousand slaves were brought from Africa in the United States between 1790 and 1808, in anticipation of the laws (Parish, 1989). After 1815 a more organized slave trade was established. The importation of slaves for trade was restricted in Tennessee in 1812. Owners could move into the state and register slaves with the county clerk. This law was not overturned until 1855, reinstating slavery as merchandise (Patterson, 1928).

An illegal slave trade developed due to the large demand for slaves and the importation laws. Slave traders took advantage of high sugar and cotton prices after 1815 with traders buying up negroes for markets and driving them for the coastal region and Virginia through East Tennessee. By the 1830's, there were two million slaves in the South. Following slave uprisings, Louisiana and Alabama passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves in the 1830s.

Slave buying and trading in East Tennessee depended upon the economy of other sections of the country, including the newly developed core region in the North. Traffic in slaves continued despite state codes. Following the economic boom period in 1812, slave prices in the United States doubled. They declined in the panic of 1819 only to

rise until the panic of 1837. Slave prices in East Tennessee reflected the greater national economy's prices because of its position as a border state. Tennessee is best called a transferring slave state. Slaves were bought and sold in Tennessee and then transported through to the lower South. People could sell or buy a slave to a passing dealer (Mooney, 1957). Slaves were sold for cash to passing speculators along the routes through East Tennessee. Banks would give credit to people with slaves to put down as collateral but not on future crops (Dunaway, 1989). In the period between 1832 and 1836 prices became very high. Slaves came not only from the east but also from the north. In the East Tennessee town of Maryville in 1836, 60,000 slaves passed through on their way to plantations in the West (Collins, 1904). Cotton prices fell after the panic of 1837 and the slave trade slowed. It rose again with the discovery of gold in California, the admission of Texas in 1845, and increased cotton production (Collins, 1904).

Free blacks in Tennessee were a sizeable percentage of the population early in the 19th century. In the first U.S. census for the Southwest Territory in 1790 and also in 1795, a sizeable number of people were written in as "all other free persons" for Hawkins county. These numbers (68 in 1790 and 147 in 1795) were shown later to be mostly Melungeons who were a dark skinned people of mixed race that had settled in East Tennessee (Bible, 1975). Free blacks made

up 14 percent of the population in 1830 and only 6 percent by 1860. Antislavery sentiment was strong in East Tennessee, especially prior to 1830. There were several manumission societies organized in East Tennessee by 1800. The first periodical devoted to freeing slaves in the United States, THE EMANCIPATOR, was published in Jonesboro in 1819 by Elijah Embree. In 1827, 25 of the 130 manumission societies in the U.S. were in Tennessee.

The Tennessee Manumission Society between 1816 and 1819 pushed to appropriate land for the colonization of free negroes. Free blacks could vote in Tennessee until 1834, when it became evident that the manumitted population was becoming a political threat. Records show free blacks owned slaves in many East Tennessee counties in 1830 (Woodson, 1924). In many cases they were buying their wives as slaves and their subsequent children as property (Woodson, 1924).

Manumission after 1831 in Tennessee was only legal providing the removal of the slave from the state. In 1854 this was changed to removal to Liberia. Only 287 blacks went to Liberia between 1820 to 1866. Only a small number of blacks were able to leave after 1831 (Patterson, 1922). Despite the anti-slavery attitude by many regional organizations in East Tennessee slavery, persisted. This was due in large part to the fact, that starting during frontier incorporation of the area large land speculators, agrarian elites, iron manufacturers, slave owning yeomen, and even

tenant farmers used slaves as commodities and as cheap labor.

Slavery helped to maintain the class structure in East Tennessee. Even non-slave owners felt that it was an important means of control over the black population after 1830. Tenant farmers supplied an efficient means of exploited labor for the export economy. Slaves were used to control the poor white population because they were in competition with them for employment. Slaves were often treated better than tenant farmers who were on contract and expendable (Dunaway, 1989).

The distribution of slaves is what would be expected from a non-plantation upper south region. Slaveownership for the early period for four counties tabulated ranged from 11 percent of the taxpayers owning slaves in Anderson County for 1802 to 21 percent in Sullivan County in 1797 (see Appendix A, Table 15). The number of slaves owned also matches the upper south's economic orientation, with the average number of slaves owned varying only from 1.38 in Grainger County for 1799 to 2.28 slaves owned for Sullivan County in 1797 (see Appendix A, Table 16). Slaveownership for Sullivan County shows the yeomen sized farms from 200 acres to 500 acres had the most slaves (see Appendix A, Table 17). Both Grainger County in 1799 and Anderson County in 1802 show a large landless population owning slaves (see Appendix A, Tables 18 and 19).

Existing slave narratives provide a more comprehensive look at the structure of slavelabor and the attitude of the region's population toward slavery. We have seen that East Tennessee had comparatively few slaves using them for all types of general labor. Many elites owned slaves as servants and small labor forces that helped them create economic and political independence. One Campbell County slave tells us, "Billy Cain worked me in de fields. An his wife Miss Nancy say she fraid somebody come steal me" (Rawick, 1972:55). Slaves were taken care of in East Tennessee because of the one-on-one relationship but also because of their value. A Knoxville slave said of her family's owner, "he was always good to his slaves an we worked for him..." and after they were freed "De master got very poor an' mean, my mammy used to take food to him an' care for him till he died" (Rawick, 1977:353-4).

Little evidence exists showing how often slaves were sold and separated from their families. The evidence that exists suggests that this had a lot to do with the financial situation of the slaveowner. One slave Pharaoh Jackson Chesney tells about his experience, "But the saddest day in all my life came to me when I was told that my beloved wife and children must be taken one way and I must go the other...Our four children were grown, and one of them married to a man by the name of Jones, who were both sold and taken to Lexington, Kentucky" (Webster, 1902:26).

Chesney was sold in 1841 for 421 dollars in Grainger County. Lexington was one of the slave distribution centers in the region. Others included Asheville and Nashville. (Dunaway, 1989). Other slaves were sold off in the region. Talbert Bragg, who was a slave on the Bill Tate plantation on Mossy Creek in Grainger County, worked there until he was sold on the auction block in Grainger County (Rawick, 1977:20). These examples tell us that slave selling occurred within the area and that auctions were held.

Slavery was not uncommon in East Tennessee despite the Union sympathies. We have seen that both slave and nonslave owners were afraid of freed slaves. The uses of slave labor revolved around which section of East Tennessee we examine. Owners in the mountainous areas in the upper east Tennessee counties used slaves in the iron mines and for general labor. Owners in the lower east Tennessee Counties used slavelabor on large farms and also for general labor. Slavery was a key component to the class structure in antebellum East Tennessee. Slaves replaced child labor for the wealthy families and freed owners and their wives from menial tasks which helped them to evolve distinctively different lifestyles and to create and expend surplus wealth.

Next, we will look at class in early East Tennessee.

Class in Frontier and Antebellum East Tennessee

The class structure of East Tennessee was centered around the terrain. Slaves and poor whites competed for jobs. Using a sample of the Civil War Veterans Questionnaires, Fred Bailey tells us that poor whites occupied crude log cabins that reflected no long-term interest in improvement because of their financial resources and situation (1985). It was also the fear of being forced off the land that made renter's conditions such a primitive state. Evidence from the questionnaires leads us to re-examine our beliefs about East Tennessee's class relations. Historians have either relied on the writings of the antebellum literate elite or on cultural humorists or local color writers to describe the conditions of the poor. Few poor whites were literate or educated enough to leave evidence of their existence (Bailey, 1985).

The landless population was conscious of its relation to the elites of the communities. Bailey found that of the veterans who were poor after the war, 69 percent of them had fathers who either rented land or hired out their labor (1985). One East Tennessee veteran recalled his father had hired out to a wealthy planter and that the, "....valey was full of porremen....and they was plenty of them....(Bayless, quoted in Bailey, 1983:263).

Class consciousness was also articulated by the poor whites reaction to slaveholding in the community. Poor whites' attitudes varied, with exposure to slavery being the overriding factor. Some communities had no slaveholders or only a few. In other counties, the lower class was in competition with slavery. One veteran from Rutledge said, "nonslaves (were) treated no better than slaves" and that "the slaveholders kept down the poor class of people" (Dyer and Moore, 1985:108). William Dickerson, a veteran from Greenville, reported, "good many white men had negroes to work for them" and that they, "felt biggety and above poor folk who did not have slaves" (Dyer and Moore, 1985:17). There is every reason to believe this statement. Slaveowners often hired out poor whites to supplement their labor force. A veteran who was a college educated lawyer from Knoxville said, "My father when not engaged in college work labored with me on the farm with one slave and several hired white hands. My mother superintended housekeeping, did mending, directing one woman slave" (Elliot and Moxley, 1985:698).

These examples support the notion of the existence of a coerced population in a far from egalitarian society. The recognition of class differences in the questionnaires for slave owners was mixed. Oakley Deaderick of Knoxville, owning 7 slaves and 60,000 acres, said, "some owners (were) snobs" (Elliot and Moxley, 1985:661). Thomas Alexander from

Chattanooga recognized, "no social differences" in his family, which owned 77 slaves, and other families (Elliot and Moxley, 1985:192).

Education in antebellum East Tennessee gives us a clue to the class distinctions. A virtual caste system existed that kept the son the same class as the father (Bailey, 1982). Tenants and poor farmers could not afford to send children to school. Only sons of parents who were able to do without their labor attended regularly. The yearly routine of the poor and yeomen revolved around farm activities (Bailey, 1982). These descriptions give us evidence that the social consensus believed to have existed in the south by Owsley and others did not enhance the life chances of a large population of agrarian producers and wage laborers (Bailey, 1985).

The first law enacted for a state tax supporting public schools was in 1854. Money set aside through common school funds by the legislature prior to this time were mismanaged. Few lands were available for public schools' use, with many lots that were set aside sold off (Hamer, 1933). In 1833 the legislature set up county school districts. Hamer tells us that only 25 percent of the population became enrolled in the districts. They had never experienced education due to the price of private academies. Public schools came to be "popularly" viewed as schools for the poor. (Hamer, 1933:355).

The poor and yeomen farmers in early East Tennessee experienced few educational opportunities. Their life chances remained the same as their uneducated parents, with many Civil War veterans acknowledging the differences between their lives and the lives of the regional elite.

Educational opportunities for the elite families differed from those of the lower classes. Slaveowners and landowners, who could afford to hire farm labor, could afford to send their young to private schools. Owning slaves meant less dependency on children's labor. Private academies in East Tennessee were in session from September until June and provided high quality educations. In regions that lacked private schools, the children of the elite went to public schools and also had subscription instruction (Bailey, 1982). The elite in frontier and antebellum East Tennessee benefitted through various enterprises including land speculation, storekeeping, slavedealing, and agrarian production. The elite socialized at inns and taverns with many balls, dances, and other festivities. Formal engagements included, "satins and brocades silk plush and velvet shimmered in the candlelight and even white wigs were worn by some of the gentry as well as by the important government officials." (Clayton, 1980:152). The coming of slaves and the emigrants that followed provided opportunities for local elites to make fortunes exploiting labor conditions. Clayton tells us that ship loads of

indentured servants coming to East Tennessee helped to maintain the European custom of apprenticing young orphan boys, "the lot of the indentured white servants were often worse than that of the black slave. Apprenticed orphan boys and girls at times were cruelly overworked" (Clayton, 1980:157).

Slaves worked on farms that resembled plantations in many flat valley regions in East Tennessee. Mayme Wood describing slavery in present day Jefferson City says, "It was a sad, sad day when slaves began to be ushered in....with farms of 1000 to 2000 acres (of) tillable soil and (for the) beginning of families some help to produce crops was most needed" (1964:99).

Slave labor was used for all activities, including architecture. The Strawberry Plains College, a Methodist Institution was built in 1848. It was three stories high and made of bricks made by slaves (Wood, 1964). Slavelabor was used in Newport by a Major William Wilson who owned thousands of acres of land and had forty slaves move an "Immense pile of rocks" that became a landmark called rock spring (O'Dell, 1950:74).

Evidence of large class differences lead us to question the myth of an egalitarian society in pre-Civil War East Tennessee.

In this chapter we have looked at the early rise of peripheral capitalism in East Tennessee. We have seen that

the region produced and exported mass quantities of swine to regions in the national economy and developed an internal economy geared toward the use of coerced labor. As this economy arose, a class society developed with a regional elite and a large landless population.

Chapter VI

THEORETICAL REPRISE

This thesis addresses fundamental questions about the nature of pre-Civil War East Tennessee. I have systematically demonstrated that this region produced mass quantities of hogs and corn with all but one county producing surplus available for export out of the region. I have demonstrated that the area was permeated with comprehensive land and water route systems created by settlers from existing Indian trails with a internal economy based on exporting surplus. I have also documented the concentration and distribution of land during the early period of settlement and in the antebellum period. Finally, I have looked at the labor mechanisms used in the region and class system that developed.

Current perspectives devised to explain the contemporary situation of Southern Appalachia all ignore the pre-Civil War period or rely on the folk society approach assuming that the region was an isolated subsistence producing area outside the national and world economies. Looking at early East Tennessee from the World-System's perspective provides new insight on its role in the national economy. By focusing on it's incorporation and participation in the world-economy our assumptions about the

region's development shift to a wider context which places emphasis on its involvement with the world-system.

East Tennessee is best described as a region that developed within a system of peripheral capitalism incorporated as frontier periphery into the national economy. In the case of East Tennessee from 1790 to 1850, frontier incorporation refers to the incorporation of a settlement population into the orbit of the world-economy. A large landless peripheral population was integrated into a national and international division of labor responding to its market conditions. Wallerstein uses these qualifications as the primary criteria for the incorporation of a region (Wallerstein, 1989). The existence of a high landless population in East Tennessee throughout this period shows the peripheralization that occurred through involvement in the world-economy. East Tennessee produced a large quantity of farm production for the slave economies in the south and east coast by developing routes and markets to facilitate its production. It experienced the effects of peripheral capitalism, developing a peripheral population that provided a cheap labor force for the local and regional economies.

By focusing on the early political economy of East Tennessee the reason for the conditions of Southern Appalachia at the turn of the century and up until today become clearer. The folk society approach, regional

development model, and the culture of poverty model all focus on the isolated mountain regions geographical isolation and cultural traits to explain the pathologies that plague Southern Appalachia.

This quiet backcounty's actual experiences reflected a desire by merchants, speculators, and local elites to connect Southern Appalachia to the world-economy through commodity production using cheap labor. This economic reality dates back to the Wataugans and then through to the late 1800's with a post-Civil War push for investments and immigrants into war-torn East Tennessee. When Campbell found a population of Southern Appalachians in the twenties, it was their economic history that had shaped their fate not their contemporary isolated existence or unusual culture. The economic exploitation of the region began prior to the Civil War with the incorporation of the area into the regional economy and the proletarianization that resulted. The merchant and elite classes were far from being isolated from the world and the landless producers and wage laborers provided a new production zone for other regions in the world-economy. Regardless of how isolated they seemed, renters were connected to the larger world-economy through merchants and landowners. The world view of the landless may have been localized but they were part of a larger system that covered much of the entire globe. The approach used in this thesis also contrasts with the internal

colonial model which looked at the exploitation of Southern Appalachia following the Civil War. This approach articulating that exploitation began with the industrialization of the region after the Civil War maintains the ideas of the isolated folk society approach. In reality by the time of the absentee coal and timber barons in the late 1800s, East Tennessee was experiencing the ramifications of soil erosion and reconstruction from the Civil War. Ronald Eller tells us that status rather than class was the most important social division in pre-industrial Southern Appalachia. To be respectable or non-respectable was more important than class in the egalitarian communities (Eller, 1982). For him the industrial age transformed the quiet backcountry. He tells us the coming of the railroads was, "almost as dramatic as the selling of the land itself" (Eller, 1982:65). These descriptions draw attention from the region's internal economy and the processes that developed from the initial contact with the national economy.

The purpose of this thesis has been to question assumptions about early East Tennessee's involvement in the world-economy. Our approach to the area's early political economy takes into account the larger regional and national forces involved in its development. Early East Tennessee history is best described as a process of territorial incorporation as a periphery within the capitalist world-

system. Future research must take into account the hypothesis that the larger Appalachian region was established as a peripheral area with the capitalist world-economy and that, consequently, it was characterized by the construction of an coerced labor force and on unequal distribution of land throughout the antebellum period. The invented tradition of an isolated, egalitarian society constructed on the base of a moral economy must not overshadow the complex nature of life on the margin of historical capitalism.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Percentages of Landholding Households for Resident and Absentee Owners for Selected Counties and Selected Years.

		Resident		Absentee		Total
County	Year	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Landowners
Sullivan	1797	282	76	87	24	369
Carter	1798	191	79	46	21	237
Washington	1790	418	84	78	16	496
Washington	1814	454	65	240	35	694
Grainger	1799	224	69	99	31	323
Jefferson	1801	285	63	170	37	455
Anderson	1802	127	61	81	39	208

Source: Creekmore, 1951, 1956; Curtis, 1964; McCown, 1964.

TABLE 2. Percentages of Polltax Payers by Household Type for Selected Counties and Selected Years.

		Households Owning Land		Landless Households		Total
County	Year	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Sullivan	1797	282	60	190	40	472
Carter	1798	191	52	175	48	366
Washington	1790	418	67	209	33	627
Washington	1814	454	54	389	46	843
Grainger	1799	224	33	448	67	672
Jefferson	1801	285	48	305	52	590
Anderson	1802	127	26	358	74	485

Source: Creekmore, 1951, 1956; Curtis, 1964; McCown, 1964.

TABLE 3. Numbers and Percentages of Acres Owned for Resident and Absentee Owners: Sullivan County, 1797.

Acreage Category	Resident Owners: Number of Acres Owned	Resident Owners: Percent of All Acres	Absentee Owners: Number of Acres Owned	Absentee Owners: Percent of All Acres	Totals: Number of Households	Totals: Number of Acres
1-99	2,341	1	238	.13	36	2,579
100-199	10,287	6	3,882	2	122	14,169
200-299	15,101	9	7,589	4	64	22,690
300-499	21,630	12	12,118	7	94	33,748
500-699	9,620	5	8,238	5	33	17,858
700-999	3,890	2	4,920	3	11	8,810
1000-4999	5,915	3	4,694	3	9	10,609
Above 5000	65,030	37	0	0	0	65,030
Total	133,868	76	41,679	24	369	175,547

Source: Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 4. Numbers and Percentages of Acres Owned for Resident and Absentee Owners: Carter County, 1798.

	Resident Owners		Absentee Owners		Totals	
Acreage Category	Number of Acres Owned	Percent of All Acres	Number of Acres Owned	Percent of All Acres	Number of Households	Number of Acres
1-99	2,282	3	408	1	38	2,690
100-199	10,951	16	1,794	3	108	12,745
200-299	5,541	8	3,046	5	38	8,587
300-499	10,217	15	2,328	3	32	12,545
500-699	4,771	7	2,115	3	13	6,886
700-999	6,995	10	0	0	3	6,995
1000-4999	4,674	7	1,200	2	4	5,874
Above 5000	10,600	16	0	0	1	10,600
Total	56,631	82	10,891	17	237	67,522

Source: Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 5. Numbers and Percentages of Acres Owned for Resident and Absentee Owners: Grainger County, 1799.

Acreage Category	Resident Owners: Number of Acres Owned	Resident Owners: Percent of All Acres	Absentee Owners: Number of Acres Owned	Absentee Owners: Percent of All Acres	Totals: Number of Households	Totals: Number of Acres
1-99	1,684	.5	316	.08	30	2,000
100-199	7,415	2	2,944	1	71	10,359
200-299	9,037	3	3,394	1	62	12,431
300-499	21,683	6	9,719	3	82	31,402
500-699	13,140	4	7,360	2	36	20,500
700-999	3,904	1	2,530	1	8	6,434
1000-4999	23,632	7	27,610	8	26	51,242
Above 5000	5,301	1	215,000	61	8	220,301
Total	85,796	24	268,873	77	323	354,669

Source: Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 6. Numbers and Percentages of Acres Owned for Resident and Absentee Owners: Anderson County, 1801.

Acreage Category	Resident Owners		Absentee Owners		Totals	
	Number of Acres Owned	Percent of All Acres	Number of Acres Owned	Percent of All Acres	Number of Households	Number of Acres
1-99	619	4	368	2	17	987
100-199	13,432	8	2,115	1	68	15,547
200-299	3,752	2	1,400	1	39	5,152
300-499	5,752	4	4,899	3	31	10,651
500-699	6,044	4	5,847	4	20	11,891
700-999	0	0	700	.43	1	700
1000-4999	4,040	3	88,950	56	30	92,990
Above 5000	0	0	21,958	14	2	21,958
Total	33,639	21	126,237	79	208	159,876

Source: Creekmore, 1951.

TABLE 7. Percentages of Agricultural Surplus (Corn Equivalencies) Available for External Markets for East Tennessee Mountainous Counties, 1840

	Corn Equivalencies		
County	Total Agricultural Production	Agricultural Surpluses For External Markets	Percent of Total Production Marketed To External Areas
Blount	891,544	493,661	55.4
Campbell	528,193	288,415	54.6
Carter	271,240	118,768	43.8
Cocke	392,278	179,359	45.7
Johnson	105,623	32,554	30.8
Marion	1,154,583	738,099	63.9
Monroe	535,873	255,360	47.7
Morgan	131,557	20,940	15.9
Polk	309,492	185,352	59.9
Sevier	531,274	305,336	57.5

Source: United States Enumerator Manuscripts, 1840: Schedule IV, Agriculture.

TABLE 8. Percentages of Agricultural Surplus (Corn Equivalencies) Available for External Markets for East Tennessee Ridge/Valley Counties, 1840

	Corn Equivalencies		
County	Total Agricultural Production	Agricultural Surpluses For External Markets	Percent of Total Production Marketed To External Areas
Anderson	486,723	279,421	57.4
Claiborne	832,783	488,248	58.6
Grainger	683,611	332,140	48.6
Hawkins	1,231,603	648,530	52.7

Source: United States Enumerator Manuscripts, 1840: Schedule IV, Agriculture.

TABLE 9. Percentages of Agricultural Surplus (Corn Equivalencies) Available for External Markets for East Tennessee Hill/Plateau Counties, 1840

	Corn Equivalencies		
County	Total Agricultural Production	Agricultural Surpluses For External Markets	Percent of Total Production Marketed To External Areas
Bradley	582,650	353,279	60.6
Greene	1,221,730	646,606	52.9
Hamilton	459,762	183,737	40.0
Jefferson	666,420	303,966	45.6
Knox	1,082,419	589,146	54.4
McMinn	1,023,619	583,197	57.0
Meigs	464,253	280,923	60.5
Rhea	373,710	225,358	60.3
Roane	414,904	33,620	-0.1
Sullivan	825,571	385,646	46.7
Washington	927,529	301,118	32.5

Source: United States Enumerator Manuscripts, 1840: Schedule IV, Agriculture.

TABLE 10. Percentages of Agricultural Surplus (Corn Equivalencies) Available for External Markets and Amounts of Staple Crops by County Terrain Types, 1840.

	Food Crops	Staple Crops	
Terrain Type	Percent Grains and Livestock to External Markets	Pounds of Tobacco	Pounds of Cotton
Mountainous	54.0	39,056	99,632
Hill/Plateau	46.5	106,693	91,586
Ridge/Valley	54.0	103,887	27,611
Totals	51.5	249,636	218,829

Source: United States Enumerator Manuscripts, 1840: Schedule IV, Agriculture.

TABLE 11. Percentage Distributions on Occupations by Economic Sector: Carter County, 1850.

Economic Sector	Number of Households	Percent of All Households
Agricultural	230	69
Commerce	3	1
Mining	4	1
Skilled Artisan	30	9
Manufacturing	2	1
Laborer	40	12
Professional	15	5
Mixed Occupation	8	2
Totals	332	100

Source: United States Census Enumerator Manuscripts, 1850: Schedule I, Population.

TABLE 12. Percentage Distributions on Occupations by Economic Sector: Sullivan County, 1850.

Economic Sector	Number of Households	Percent of All Households
Agricultural	184	61
Commerce	1	3
Mining	4	1
Skilled Artisan	52	17
Manufacturing	1	3
Laborer	10	3
Professional	10	3
Mixed Occupation	39	13
Totals	301	99

Source: United States Census Enumerator Manuscripts, 1850: Schedule I, Population.

TABLE 13. Percentage Distributions on Occupations by Economic Sector: Washington County, 1850.

Economic Sector	Number of Households	Percent of All Households
Agricultural	205	65
Commerce	5	2
Mining	1	3
Skilled Artisan	37	12
Manufacturing	0	0
Laborer	8	3
Professional	10	3
Mixed Occupation	47	15
Totals	313	100

Source: United States Census Enumerator Manuscripts, 1850: Schedule I, Population.

TABLE 14. Percentage Distributions on Occupations by Economic Sector: Johnson County, 1850.

Economic Sector	Number of Households	Percent of All Households
Agricultural	195	67
Commerce	1	3
Mining	5	2
Skilled Artisan	34	12
Manufacturing	6	2
Laborer	29	10
Professional	4	1
Mixed Occupation	17	6
Totals	291	100

Source: United States Census Enumerator Manuscripts, 1850: Schedule I, Population.

TABLE 15. Percentage Distributions on Slaveholding Status for Selected Counties and Selected Years.

		Resident Tax Payers				
		Slaveholders		Non Slaveholders		
County	Year	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total
Sullivan	1797	97	21	370	79	467
Grainger	1799	97	14	575	86	672
Jefferson	1801	95	16	495	84	590
Anderson	1802	55	11	430	89	485

Source: Creekmore, 1951, 1956; Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 16. Numbers of Slaveholders, Slaves, and Percentages on Slaves Per Household for Selected Counties and Selected Years.

County	Year	Number of Slaveholders	Number of Slaves	Average Number Slaves Per Household
Sullivan	1797	97	221	2.28
Grainger	1799	97	134	1.38
Jefferson	1801	95	208	2.19
Anderson	1802	55	96	1.75

Source: Creekmore, 1951, 1956; Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 17. Percentage Distributions of Slaveholders Among Resident and Absentee Owners by Size of Landholding (Acres): Sullivan County, 1797.

	Slaveholders				
	Residents		Absentees		Total
Size of Landholding in Acres	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number
0	6	6	2	2	8
1-99	2	2	0	0	2
100-199	20	20	0	0	20
200-299	14	14	2	2	16
300-499	24	24	1	1	25
500-699	15	15	0	0	15
700-999	5	5	0	0	5
1000-4999	7	7	0	0	7
5000-Over	1	1	0	0	1
Total	94	94	5	5	99

Source: Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 18. Percentage Distributions of Slaveholders Among Resident and Absentee Owners by Size of Landholding (Acres): Grainger County, 1799.

Size of Landholding in Acres	Slaveholders				
	Residents		Absentees		Total
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number
0	30	31	5	5	35
1-99	2	3	0	0	2
100-199	7	7	3	3	10
200-299	9	9	6	6	15
300-499	12	12	5	5	17
500-699	7	7	1	1	8
700-999	2	2	2	2	4
1000-4999	4	4	2	2	6
5000-Over	0	0	0	0	0
Total	73	75	24	24	97

Source: Curtis, 1964.

TABLE 19. Percentage Distributions of Slaveholders Among Resident and Absentee Owners by Size of Landholding (Acres): Jefferson County, 1801.

Size of Landholding in Acres	Slaveholders				
	Residents		Absentees		Total
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number
0	12	13	5	5	17
1-99	1	1	0	0	1
100-199	12	13	0	0	12
200-299	11	12	1	1	12
300-499	23	24	3	3	26
500-699	11	12	3	3	14
700-999	7	7	0	0	7
1000-4999	4	4	1	1	5
5000-Over	1	1	0	0	1
Total	82	87	13	13	95

Source: Creekmore, 1956.

VITA

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