

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

33

Upon the request of the Committee on Graduate Study the undersigned have examined a thesis entitled

A History of Railroad Enterprise in East Tennessee
1836 - 1860

presented by James Wendell Holland

candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

_____, and hereby certify that it is
worthy of acceptance.

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Examiners

Date June 5, 1930



1791—ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE—1829.

By SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE, 1829.

From the original portrait in possession of Mrs. William Alston Hayne, San Francisco, Cal.

Photostatic copy of the frontispiece of Theodore
D. Jervay's Robert Y. Hayne and His Times.

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A HISTORY OF RAILROAD
ENTERPRISE IN EAST TENNESSEE
1836 - 1860

A THESIS
Submitted to the Graduate Committee
of the
University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

JAMES WENDELL HOLLAND

June 1930

PREFACE

If this history of early railroad enterprise in East Tennessee is lacking in interest, the culpability should not be placed upon inherent dullness of subject-matter. Underneath a prosaic exterior of facts and statistical data there lies a story of the work, hopes, fears, successes and failures of the men responsible for those facts and statistical data -- a story as vibrant with life and contemporary interest as any novel.

Mercifully optimistic, largely because of ignorance of the extent of the difficulties which lay ahead, the promoters of early railroad enterprise in East Tennessee confidently set for themselves the well-nigh hopeless task of providing that section with the transportation facilities so urgently needed at the time. The innovative character of railroad construction, of course, pre-supposes inexperience in the conduct of such enterprise. Consequent upon this inexperience, were: (1) the inordinate optimism, before mentioned, (2) inefficient methods, (3) immoderate expenditures, and (4) distrust among the reactionaries. Some other notable

obstacles to the success of railroad projects in this section were: (1) the natural barriers, (2) the panics of 1837 and 1857, (3) the cholera epidemic in East Tennessee in 1854, (4) the complete lack of Federal aid, and (5) the difficulties in transportation of the necessary materials. When any group of men is given such a formidable array of obstacles to overcome, and is successful, a story is certain to be found in their actions. This story, furthermore, should be interesting for precisely the same reason that the tales of the labors of Hercules are interesting. Hayne, Van Dyke, and Cunningham, in some respects at least, resembled that mythological hero.

The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project has been almost exhaustively treated by Phillips, in A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt, and by Jervey, in Robert Y. Hayne and His Times. If the present writer has contributed anything to the history of this railroad, it is in the uncovering of a certain amount of new material, the advancement of a novel treatment of material, both old and new, and the pointing out of the degree of correlation existing between that unfortunate enterprise and the exclusively East Tennessee railroad projects, contemporary and later (until 1860). On the other hand, there are only

sketchy and contradictory accounts of the Hiwassee (East Tennessee and Georgia) Railroad. Of the East Tennessee and Virginia, Rogersville and Jefferson, and the numerous unsuccessful railroad companies, there is no secondary account whatever.

The term "East Tennessee" has been employed, throughout this study, to designate eastern Tennessee. It is hoped that the use of this erroneous term may be justified upon the ground of its widespread and long-continued popular usage.

Acknowledgment is due to Dr. P. M. Hamer under whose direction the work was started, and whose influence is largely responsible for whatever of merit may be found in the following pages. The thanks of the writer are also due to the librarians in charge of the C. M. McClung Historical Collection at the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, for their never-failing and courteous assistance.

Perhaps the most valuable sources for the purposes of this study proved to be: the Knoxville Register, the Kingston Gazetteer, Niles' Register, reports, in pamphlet form, of the presidents and directors of the various railroad companies, the printed acts of the Tennessee General Assembly, and the Senate Journal appendices.

The writer wishes especially to invite attention to the appendices (Appendix A and Appendix B) to this work. Appendix A comprises a comparative table of the charters of the various railroad companies which were, from 1836 to 1860, incorporated with the privilege of constructing railroads in the eastern portion of Tennessee. Appendix B represents an attempt to compile a list of the names of the men in any degree associated with East Tennessee railroad enterprise during this period, with the work done by each, and the date or dates of such activity. There are some 1,060 men named in this list, and its purpose is to serve as a means of facile reference to the work of any man in regard to railroad building in antebellum East Tennessee. The facts which make up this compilation have, without exception, been drawn from what are usually termed "source materials". Letters, the manuscript autobiography of J. G. M. Ramsey, the printed acts of the Tennessee General Assembly, newspapers of the time, and the reports of officials of the railroad companies comprise the bulk of such material.

J. W. H.

Maryville, Tenn.,
April 3, 1930.

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MAP #6
MISSING

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The railroad is not an American institution, in the sense that the plantation system and "sky-scraper" are American institutions. The railroad was not invented in the United States, nor was it early developed there. England developed the railroad; the railroad developed the United States. Among the first railroads built in this country were those built from the elder, established East to the young, frontier West. These served to disseminate the products of industry, thereby stimulating production and causing prices to tend toward a uniformity not before known.¹

Most American authorities are inclined to assign to the Quincy "Railroad", completed in 1827, the honor of being the first railroad in the United States. This "railroad" was built to convey granite from a quarry to the Neponset River -- some three miles distant. Its equipment consisted of a single track of five foot gauge. The rails were of pine, covered with oak which was overlaid with thin plates of wrought iron. Over these rails, one horse was able to pull a car, carrying a ten ton load,

1. The Controversy between John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne as to the Proper Route of a Railroad from South Carolina to the West, p. 3.

the distance of three miles in about one hour. Of²
this "railroad", Charles Francis Adams, an English³
student of railway economics, wrote the following:

"Properly speaking, however, this was never -- or at least, never until the year 1871, -- a railroad at all. It was nothing but a specimen of what had been almost from time immemorial in common use in England, under the name of 'tramways'. Indeed it is a curious illustration of the combined backwardness and poverty of America at that time, that so common and familiar appliance should only then have been introduced, and should have excited so much interest and astonishment."

More significant in the history of the early American railroad, was the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was begun in 1827. The steam engine had not as yet come into use as a motive power. Accordingly, the problem arose as to how the cars might most efficiently be drawn over the tracks. The task fell to the lot of man's already overworked friend, the horse. Horse traction was used, and the experiment of putting the horse on a treadmill on the car was tried, but with little success. At one time even sails were given a trial. Then came Peter Cooper's revolutionary invention of the locomotive engine and thereafter, its superiority

2. Mellen, A Book of the U. S., p. 369.

3. Adams, Railroads: Their Origin and Problems, p. 37/

having been clearly demonstrated, it came into universal use, supplanting the earlier and cruder methods.

The building and successful operation of the Baltimore and Ohio line gave an impetus to the construction of railroads which had been planned in other parts of the country.⁴ By 1837, Pennsylvania had 355½ miles of railroad in operation; South Carolina, 136 miles; Virginia, 250 miles; New Jersey, 108½ miles; Alabama, 46 miles; Kentucky, 29 miles; Delaware, 16 miles; Georgia, 12 miles; and Louisiana, 11 miles.⁵ The South, generally, seems to have been slow to construct railroads. Georgia and Louisiana had within their boundaries only very short lines; and Tennessee and North Carolina, none whatever. Virginia and South Carolina, second and third, respectively, among the states in railroad mileage, were highly sectional, and their state pride may have had much influence upon their early and rapid progress along this line. Then, too, both are coastal states, and consequently would require the best possible means for the transportation of goods from the ports to the inland trade. Charleston was at this time the railroad center of the South --

4. The Nashville Republican and State Gazette,
July 30, 183k.

5. Stevenson, Civil Engineering of North America,
Ch. IX.

a fact which seems to support both of these suppositions.

The South Carolina Railroad was completed October 2, 1833. It was 136 miles in length, and claimed the honor of being the longest railroad in the world at that time. Furthermore it was the first railroad in the United States to carry mail, and upon this road, the first locomotive to be built in this country was run. This locomotive, the "Best Friend" was built under the direction of E. L. Miller of Watersboro' at the West Point Foundry of Messrs. Kemble of New York. The engine had no tender, but carried its own wood and water. Its wheels were of wood, with spokes similar to those of a wagon wheel, and had wrought iron wheels. The engineer who operated this first locomotive to be used in the United States and built there, was N.K. Darrell. The "Best Friend", after a brief career, was demolished by an explosion, and from its wreck another engine was built by Mr. Petsch at Dotterer's machine shop. This engine was quite appropriately called the "Phoenix".⁶

The railroads were at the time, as most enter-

6. Reprinted from the Charleston Mercury, in Knoxville Register, September 3, 1857.

prises tend to be in their beginnings, crude. There were hardly two railroads in the United States made in exactly the same way, and few of them were constructed even throughout their own lengths on the same principles.⁷ The average American engine, with boilers filled, weighed from twelve to fifteen tons and cost about \$7,000. The fuel used in these early engines was wood, which, when burning, gave off sparks which made traveling in the open coaches very unpleasant, not to say dangerous.⁸ In 1838 there appeared, in a Knoxville newspaper, an advertisement for the Winchester and Potomac Railroad. The heading of this advertisement was "A Speedy and Secure Rail Road", but judging from the cut immediately below this heading, it must have been neither "speedy" nor "secure", and there might even be some doubt as to the propriety of calling it a "Rail Road". This cut pictured a railroad "train" composed of an engine and a coach. The engine may perhaps best be described, non-technically, as a flat car with an upright boiler attached. The operator was unprotected from the weather, as were also the passengers, riding as they were in an open coach.⁹

7. Stevenson, op. cit., Ch. IX.

8. Ibid.

9. Knoxville Register, July 4, 1838.

Such, then, was the better of the railway rolling stock of the time.

The opinion of the people differed as to the desirability of the railroads, but all seem to have been united in agreement as to the awe inspired by the speed of the locomotives, the fastest of which sometimes attained the speed of fifteen miles an¹⁰ hour.¹¹ Thus wrote a Charlestonian: "The dashing, running, steaming spirit of the age has turned men's heads and hardened their hearts." Some were concerned with the problem of whether or not the railroads should be operated on Sunday. A Cincinnati¹² newspaper is here quoted:

"Shall there be a Sabbath on these great thoroughfares? The South has set a good example in this respect. No car moves on the South Carolina Rail Road on that holy day. In Georgia, we understand, a like respect will probably be shown to this institution of heaven. . . . Shall we not profit by so good an example?"

If Tennessee was behind her sister states in the actual construction of railroads, she was not so in talking about railroads, or in the chartering of them. As early as 1829, Governor Carroll, in his

30 Stevenson, op. cit., Ch. IX.

11. Reprinted from the Charleston Mercury, in Knoxville Register, March 28, 1837.

12. Reprinted from the Cincinnati Journal, in Knoxville Register, March 14, 1837.

message to the General Assembly of Tennessee, said:¹³

"In many parts of our country the great work of internal improvement is advancing with astonishing rapidity. The New York Canal is in successful operation, conveying the products of a vast region of fertile country to a ready and certain market, and the Pennsylvania Canal, four hundred miles long, furnishing an inland water conveyance to that great state, is nearly finished. The Baltimore and Ohio rail road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the canal uniting the waters of Lake Erie with that of the river Ohio, and numerous other improvements of less magnitude but of great value to the internal trade of the country are in a state of vigorous progression, and will in a few years be entirely completed. With these bright examples before us, does it become Tennessee to be idle?"

The first railroad to receive a charter in the State of Tennessee was the Memphis Railroad, which¹⁴ was incorporated on December 17, 1831. Phelan, in his History of Tennessee; The Making of a State, stated that he was unable to find the act of incorporation of the Memphis Railroad Company among the acts of¹⁵ 1831. The charter of this railroad does not appear among the Public Acts; but it is to be found in the Private Acts, 1831. The Memphis Railroad was incorporated when there were only fifty miles of track¹⁶ in America. However, it was never constructed.

13. House Journal, Tennessee Legislature, 1829, pp. 126-127.

14. Private Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1831, pp. 185-193.

15. Phelan, History of Tennessee; The Making of a State, p. 284 (footnote).

16. King, Handbook of the U. S., p. 808.

The first real movement toward the arousing of public opinion, in Tennessee, to support of railroad construction began in 1835. In that year, Robert Y. Hayne, a distinguished South Carolina statesman, visited Nashville and there delivered a persuasive and powerful address, advocating the construction of a railroad from Memphis to Charleston, which was to pass through Knoxville. His plan was not then followed out, but his speech served to direct the attention of the people of Tennessee to railroad construction, and to cause them to align themselves either with the faction in favor of such construction or with those against it.¹⁷

The history of railroad enterprise in East Tennessee properly dates from the great Railroad Convention, held in Knoxville on July 4, 1836. This convention was called in connection with the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad project then in progress, and was dominated, to a great extent, by the brilliant South Carolinians who were sponsoring the visionary plan. Robert Y. Hayne again took a prominent part, being elected chairman of the convention.¹⁸ This convention will be

17. Killebrew and Safford, Intro. to the Resources of Tenn., p. 306.

18. Niles' Register, LI, p. 109.

considered more at length later in our study.

On October 10, 1836, another convention was held -- this time at Nashville. Sixteen counties sent representatives to discuss problems of internal improvement. At this convention a resolution was adopted advocating the construction of a "Central Rail Road", to run approximately through the center of the state from the Mississippi River to the Virginia line, which had been suggested by William Armour earlier in the same year. The subject was then presented to the General Assembly, which was then in session, and \$15,000 was appropriated for the surveying of a route for this proposed railroad.²⁰ Albert M. Lea was appointed chief engineer of the State, and instructed to supervise this work.

Prior to this, several steps had been taken toward the construction of railroads in East Tennessee, and in the State in general. On January 30, 1836 the Hiwassee Railroad Company had been chartered; on January 21, 1836 the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company (under the name Cincinnati and Charleston) had been chartered by the Tennessee General Assembly. On February 19, 1836,

19. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 341.

20. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1836 (Special Session), Ch. IV, sec. 3, p. 13.

the Legislature had passed an act providing that when two-thirds of the capital stock of any company, incorporated by the Legislature for the purpose of "constructing any work or works of Internal Improvement, by means of rail roads or M'Adamized turnpike roads" within the limits of the State, had been subscribed, the governor should be required to subscribe for the remaining one-third on behalf of the State. This subscription was to be paid in State bonds, bearing interest at the rate of $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per year, and maturing in twenty-five years.²¹ These acts all gave decided impetus to railroad construction in East Tennessee, and it is accordingly in the year 1836 that the projection of East Tennessee railroad enterprise had its beginning.

The State engineer, Albert M. Lea, in 1837, submitted a report of his findings in his survey of a route for the proposed "Central Rail Road", together with his estimate of the advantages to be derived from the construction and use of the road. This estimate is a summary of the arguments typical of those offered by the proponents of railroad construction in East Tennessee at this time, and as

21. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, ch. XXII, pp. 108-110.

such it is here quoted somewhat at length:

1. "The disbursement of so large a sum of money throughout the length of the State, would, of itself, create much wealth, and excite a degree of activity and industry at present unknown among us; and by procuring the funds abroad and making all the disbursements in specie or its equivalent, a sound currency may be established at home, and exchanges greatly promoted abroad.

2. "The development of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country would be very great . . . Coal is now an article unknown at Columbia and at Knoxville; by the rail road it may be taken from the sides of the Cumberland Mountain to either place, and sold profitably for 22 cents per bushel. Our imports may be made at corresponding rates; and in short, what we have to sell, will sell for greatly more, and what we have to buy can be bought for greatly less.

4. "Enhancement of value of land.

5. "Facility of personal travel . . . need not be illustrated, except by the single remark, that there is much time and money saved by travelling at the rate of 18 miles per hour, and at five or six cents per mile, over a rate of four miles per hour and eight or ten cents per mile.

"In brief, the resources of the State would be greatly multiplied, its population increased, taxes reduced, commercial and social intercourse promoted, and harmony between local divisions where now discord and contention reign."

East Tennessee in the 1830's was no barren and desolate section of land. It was however, inaccessible and, largely because it was so inaccessible, undeveloped. Were it to be developed it could easily be made accessible; roads, canals, and railroads could be

22. Report of the Chief Engineer of the State of Tenn., on the Surveys and Examinations for the Central Rail Road, and for the Central Turnpike, p. 46.

built from the proceeds from the rich mineral and agricultural resources of East Tennessee, if they could be marketed. However, there was no local market which could to any appreciable degree absorb all of the potential produce of this section. Furthermore, East Tennessee was effectually shut off, by natural barriers, from trade in the affluent markets of the Atlantic Coast and the Cotton South. And so this dilemma presented itself to the East Tennesseans: in order to make development of their natural resources profitable, it was necessary to have transportation facilities; in order to build transportation facilities, it was almost mandatory that they should be financed from the proceeds of the natural resources. It is with the efforts of the daring and persistent enterprisers who, with the limited resources at their command, attempted to gain for their section an outlet to the rich markets of the country, in order that the resources of that section might be developed to the fullest extent, that this study is concerned. No general who ever went to war with banners flying and the plaudits of the multitude of his fellow countrymen ringing in his ears, was ever more genuinely patriotic than were these men, who set

out to develop East Tennessee, meeting with disapproval, censure, and even ridicule from the very people whom their efforts, if successful, would most benefit.

The South Carolina commissioners of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad realized, to some extent, in 1836, the plight of East Tennessee. Where they erred in their judgment was in underestimating the difficulties to be encountered in the building of the railroad which they were then projecting.

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The following is an excerpt from their report:

"Whatever may have been the impression hitherto as to the character and condition of East Tennessee, there is, within that seemingly limited district of country, embosomed between the Alleghany and Cumberland Mountains, more concealed sources of wealth, agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing, than is to be found within a similar extent in any other portion of the United States. . . . It is their inaccessibility which has kept those vast resources in a still slumbering state. . . . But once open a highway, such as is now contemplated by the Charleston, Louisville and Cincinnati Rail Road . . . and such an animation would be given to the industry of the people, and such a development to its resources as to place it in a position competing with, if not rivaling, all other countries."

Conditions being in East Tennessee as have just been suggested, we would expect any initial impulse to railroad construction in that section to come from some outside source. That is what happened. Progressive

23. Report of the S. C. Commissioners to the Knoxville Convention on the Subject of the Proposed Rail Road from Cincinnati to Charleston, pp. 14-15.

South Carolina, already possessed of the longest continuous stretch of railroad in the world, furnished that impulse. The people of South Carolina, and especially certain of the Charlestonians, caught a vision of a railroad running from Charleston to the rapidly rising frontier city, Cincinnati. This railroad, as planned, was to run through East Tennessee, and the enthusiastic Charlestonians awakened East Tennessee to the importance of railroad construction. Accordingly we begin our study with a consideration of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston enterprise, which, itself a dismal failure, was responsible for almost all of the railroad projects in East Tennessee between the years 1836 to 1840, and which definitely shaped almost all East Tennessee railroad enterprise until 1860.

PART II

THE LOUISVILLE, CINCINNATI AND CHARLESTON:

A DREAM

CHAPTER I

The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston: A Dim Ideal

As early as 1828, Stephen Eliot pointed out, in the Southern Review, the facility with which the commerce of the West could be conveyed to Charleston by a railroad, by which "in six days, produce might be taken from the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi to this city Charleston, and in five days a cargo delivered at the same point." Why it should require one more day to make the southeastern trip than for a trip over the same rails from Charleston to the "same point" ("confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi") is uncertain.

About the same time, and apparently independent of Eliot's views upon the matter, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, of Knoxville, was advocating a similar connection. In 1828, on occasion of the arrival at Knoxville of a small steamboat, the Atlas, a celebration was held in the belief that the arrival of this boat portended a new era of trade for Knoxville and East Tennessee.

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- I. Proceedings of the Citizens of Charleston Embracing the Report of Committee and Address and Resolutions Adopted at a General Meeting in Reference to the Proposed Rail-Road from Cincinnati to Charleston, pp. 6-7.
(Referred to hereafter as Pro. of Cit. of Char.)

Dr. Ramsey spoke, advocating a land connection with the Atlantic sea-board. His address was published in a Knoxville newspaper, and elicited considerable attention.²

In 1828, Ramsey anonymously called a convention to meet at Dandridge, Tennessee, to consider this matter. Tigiman A. Howard, of Newport, was elected chairman of the convention, and Ramsey, secretary. Apparently this convention accomplished little other than to suggest that the secretary open correspondence for the purpose of having another convention at Asheville, North Carolina. In the same year, Ramsey went to Charleston, presumably to get the co-operation of that city. While there, he wrote letters for publication in the Charleston Mercury in advocacy of the railroad connection between Charleston and the West --³ especially Knoxville.

The Asheville Convention met in 1832, and was composed of delegates from North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee. Mitchell King was the chairman of the convention. The work of the convention consisted chiefly in the collection of information, intended to precede the attempt to put through a railroad down

2. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, pp. 18-19.

3. Ibid., p. 20.

the Tennessee Valley to Charleston.⁴ After this meeting, an appropriation was made of \$1,000 by the South Carolina Legislature to defray expenses of a survey within the limits of South Carolina.⁵

During the year before, and seemingly quite independent of the efforts of Dr. Ramsey (although he would not have liked to admit it) a convention had been held at Estilville, Virginia for the purpose of collecting the information necessary for the "striking out" of a new route to connect the trade of the Ohio River and the Valley of the Tennessee with the Southern States.⁶

In 1833, Elias Horry, president of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad, delivered an address, on the occasion of the completion of that road to Hamburg, in which he spoke of the extension of the lines of his company, and hinted at a great Western railroad to run to the Ohio River.⁷

In the year 1835, a railroad meeting was convened at Nashville in which there was much good oratory wasted on eulogies of a dim prospect of a

4. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 21; Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 7.

5. Pro. of Cit. of Char., pp. 7-8.

6. Ibid., p. 7,

7. Ibid.

8
railroad running from Charleston to Memphis. During the same year there was held a meeting in Cincinnati of the citizens of that city, which adopted resolutions that a railroad connection should be established between Cincinnati and Charleston.⁹ These resolutions were submitted to the citizens of Charleston for their approval, and it is with the consideration of them by that energetic and enterprising group of men that the dim ideal emerges into the dignity of a project.

Accordingly it is with a consideration of the deliberations of that group that we pass to our more particular study of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad -- a product of railroad mania.

8. Killebrew and Safford, Intro. to the Resources of Tenn., p. 306.

9. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 3.

CHAPTER II

THE Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston: A Project

Through the preceding outline of the movements toward railroad construction may easily be seen a persistent vision of a railroad connecting the rising manufacturing city of the West, Cincinnati, with the most prosperous port of the South Atlantic seaboard, Charleston. Stephen Eliot and J. G. M. Ramsey, in 1828, had mentioned such a road as a more or less facile, and certainly a desirable, possibility. The Estilville Convention went so far as to attempt to collect information pertinent to the construction of that road. The Asheville Convention of 1832 was more thorough in its attempt to gather information, and at that time the South Carolina Legislature even made an appropriation for the expense contingent upon making a survey. This latter move is significant indeed. Talk about railroads during this period was plentiful, but actual monetary aid was all too rare. In 1833, as has already been shown, Elias Horry advocated the extension of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad to establish a connection with the "Queen

City of the West."

Apparently uninfluenced by these earlier movements, was an idea tending in the same direction, fostered and developed in Cincinnati in 1835. Edward D. Mansfield, of Cincinnati, it seems, was a leader in this movement. Some twenty-two years later he wrote a letter to S. A. White, mayor of Knoxville, relative to the Southern Convention which was soon to be held in that city. This letter was printed in a Knoxville newspaper. An excerpt from it follows:

"I am one of the earliest who attempted to excite public attention to the great importance of connecting the South and the North West, through Knoxville, by a Railroad, from the Ohio, at Cincinnati, to the sea board, at Charleston. I proposed the first pamphlet issued on the subject, and it immediately took hold on the popular feeling."

Be that as it may, a meeting was held in Cincinnati on August 15, 1835, at which a railroad connecting that city with Charleston was considered. Resolutions were adopted, declaring the advantages of such a road. A printed copy of the proceedings was then sent to Charleston. A lively interest on the part of the Charlestonians immediately became manifest,

1. Knoxville Register, August 13, 1857.

2. Report of the S. C. Commissioners to the Knoxville Convention on the Subject of the Proposed Rail Road from Cincinnati to Charleston, p. 3. (Hereafter referred to as Rep. S. C. Comm.)

and their interest brought about the projection of the railroad.

A meeting of the citizens of Charleston was held on October 22, 1835 at the City Hall. This meeting was convened by the City Council, at the instance of the Chamber of Commerce. Edward W. North was called to the chair, and John Crawford was appointed secretary. Robert Young Hayne, the distinguished orator, who had been a soldier in the War of 1812, state legislator, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of South Carolina, attorney-general of South Carolina, United States senator from South Carolina, governor of that State, and who was ~~then~~ mayor of Charleston, opened the meeting. He brought to the consideration of the assembled citizens, the proceedings of the citizens of Cincinnati with reference to the construction of the railroad from Cincinnati to Charleston. Furthermore, he presented the following
3
resolutions:

"Resolved, That the citizens of Charleston have seen with deep interest, the proceedings of the citizens of Cincinnati, in reference to the extension of a Rail-Road from the Ohio River into the State of South Carolina, and being fully impressed with the great importance and immense value of such a work,

are disposed cordially to co-operate in all proper measures for its accomplishment.

"Resolved, That for the purpose of ascertaining what measures it will be proper to adopt on this subject, a Committee of Fifteen be appointed, to take into consideration the proceedings of the citizens of Ohio, and to report thereon to an adjourned meeting, to be held on Thursday next, at 12 o'clock."

These resolutions were supported by James G. Holmes and L. H. Kennedy, and were unanimously adopted. The "Committee of Fifteen" which was appointed consisted of Robert Y. Hayne, chairman, Gen. James Hamilton, James G. Holmes, Judge Colcock, John Robinson, S. P. Ripley, Ker Boyce, Alexander Black, Charles Edmonston, Mitchel King, H. W. Conner, John Stoney, Thomas⁴ Bennett, B. J. Howland, and J. N. Cardozo.

In accordance with the provisions of Hayne's resolutions, the citizens of Charleston reassembled on November 4, 1835, to hear the report of the committee. The report was to the effect that the members of the committee recommended that their fellow citizens should respond to the "appeal" which had been made to them by the citizens of Cincinnati. The reasons which they assigned for their favorable report⁵ were as follows:

4. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 4.

5. Ibid., p. 8.

"1st, That it is essential to the prosperity of the Southern and Western States, and the full development [sic] of their resources, that they should be connected together by a Rail-Road, extending from the Ohio River to the Atlantic.

"2d. That such a highway, would lay open an extensive region to the North and West, which is now cut off from all commercial intercourse with the South, and thereby open a door to a trade, the extent of which it is impossible for the most ardent imagination, even to conceive.

"3d. That such a work is practicable, and can probably be effected in a few years, and within the means of the States through which it must pass."

This railroad was greater in scope than any which had as yet been proposed. It seems to have caught instantly the popular imagination to a degree which had not before been experienced. South Carolina, and especially Charleston, was rife with excitement in contemplation of the project.

John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne, who were perhaps the two ablest men in the South at that time, came out heartily in favor of the proposed railroad to the West. Furthermore they actively identified themselves with the project in the capacity of promoters. This was eminently true of Hayne.

This instantaneous stimulation of interest seems not to have been confined to South Carolina, although there it was most pronounced. Senator

Craighead, speaking in the Senate of the Tennessee General Assembly in 1835, addressed the following⁷ flowery phrases to that body:

"The complete success that everywhere attends their [railroad's] trial, and their unparalleled progress and increase since their introduction into the United States, afford among others, the most flattering proofs that the time is not far distant, when the State of Tennessee will exhibit upon her bosom, one of the great chain of railroads that may connect the states together, from Maine to Louisiana."

In spite of the incoherence of the preceding statement, it shows, to some extent, the spirit of intense desire for railroad construction which was awakened by the Cincinnati and Charleston project.

In North Carolina, as well as in South Carolina and Tennessee, this spirit, amounting almost to frenzy, had been aroused. Col. Gadsden wrote⁸ in 1835:

"Old Buncombe [Buncombe County, North Carolina] is as much roused as she ever was in the days of the revolution, and well she may be for if this road is constructed, passing through the very centre of one of the healthiest though hitherto one of the most inaccessible regions of the south, it will work a revolution, morally, physically and politically, as important to this section of the country as that effected in 1776."

Was there ever any statement concerning railroad construction, before or since, comparable to this in sheer enthusiasm?

7. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36,
p. 117.

8. Niles Register, XLIX, p. 227 (December 5, 1835).

Somewhat of a summary of public opinion in the several states concerned in the enterprise is afforded by the following paragraph, which is also an excerpt from Col. Gadsden's report:⁹

"It gives me great pleasure to confirm the opinion previously communicated of the deep and general interest felt on this subject by all classes of citizens in Tennessee and Kentucky, as well as South Carolina and North Carolina -- an interest which thus far has been demonstrated by the kindest attentions to your commissioners -- individuals cheerfully imparting the most valuable information, and as willingly affording their personal services to assist us in their exploration."

The citizens of Charleston decided to apply to the Legislature of South Carolina for a charter and for an appropriation to carry forward the survey.¹⁰ The Legislature accordingly granted the charter, and in addition allowed the newly incorporated company \$10,000 for the purpose of survey work.¹¹ Robert Y. Hayne, Abraham Blanding, Patrick Noble, Thomas Smith, Thomas L. Jones, and Charles Edmonston¹² were appointed commissioners in South Carolina. A Board of Engineers was chosen, consisting of Col. James Gadsden, Col. A. H. Brisbane, and James G. Holmes. Agents were appointed to attend the legislatures of North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky for the purpose of obtaining from the legislatures

9. Niles' Register, XLIX, p. 227 (December 5, 1835).

10. Rep. S. C. Comm., p. 4.

11. Ibid., p. 6.

12. Ibid., p. 4.

of those states, charters which should be identical in their provisions.

The Legislature of North Carolina was the first to respond. It granted a charter which was identical to the charter granted by the South Carolina Legis-¹³lature.

Tennessee was the third state to incorporate this railroad company. The act of incorporation was¹⁴ passed by the General Assembly on January 21, 1836. The charter was changed in a few minor details from that granted by the South Carolina and North Carolina legislatures, but essentially no changes were made.

Kentucky was the last and most reluctant of the states to grant a charter to the company. Obviously the detriment to the standing of Louisville relative to that of Cincinnati, a rival city, would overbalance any positive benefit which the proposed road would be to the interior of the State. Therefore, the Legislature of Kentucky apparently was guilty of a considerable amount of vacillation on this issue. Finally, some time in February, 1836, the Kentucky Legislature voted to incorporate the railroad company, but with the provision that cer-

13. Rep. S. C. Comm., p. 4.

14. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXCI, sec. 26, p. 279.

tain branches be built in Kentucky, notably one to Louisville. The mere name of the company as given in the Kentucky charter of that company will perhaps serve as something of an index to the feeling in Kentucky in regard to the railroad and the rivalry between Louisville and Cincinnati. In the states of South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee, the great railroad to run from Charleston to the Ohio River had been given the legal style of "Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company"; in the Kentucky Legislature it became the "Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston." Under this name, the cities are listed in inverse order to their activity in the enterprise.

Under its new name, and with the provision that branches be built in Kentucky, the enterprise was chartered by the Kentucky Legislature, the vote in the Senate being 26 to 8 in favor of the granting¹⁵ of the revised charter. This action on the part of the Kentucky Legislature, unsatisfactory as it was in some respects, was nevertheless an occasion for rejoicing on the part of those who were interested

15. Niles' Register, L, p. 33 (March 19, 1836).

in the project, because it had before been doubtful whether or not Kentucky would allow the railroad to pass over her territory. The following bit, taken from a doctoral dissertation, shows how the news¹⁶ of this action was received in Cincinnati:

"A memorable event in early municipal [Cincinnati] history was a wonderful illumination of the city, amid falling snow, in February, 1836, in celebration of the grant of right of way to this road [Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston] by the Legislature of Kentucky."

North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky all failed to make any appropriation for survey expenses¹⁷ at the time of the granting of the charters. On an application made to the Secretary of War, that official assigned Captain W. G. Williams of the Topographical Engineers; Lieutenants Drayton, White, and Reed of the Army; and Mr. G. F. Featherstonehaugh of the Civil Engineers, to the service of the commissioners of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad in the making of the surveys.¹⁸ Incidentally, John C. Fremont, later a romantic figure in the opening up of the Far West, and still later

16. Hollander, "The Necessity of the Railway", in Founding of the Cincinnati Southern Railway, p. 7.

17. Rep. S. C. Comm., p. 4.

18. Ibid.

(1856) presidential candidate on the Republican ticket,¹⁹
was civilian assistant to Captain Williams.²⁰

Let us now consider how the project was being received in Tennessee. We have seen that the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company (under the name "Cincinnati and Charleston") was chartered by the Tennessee General Assembly on January 21, 1836. On December 8, 1835, Joseph Powell, state senator from the district composed of Carter, Sullivan and Washington counties, had presented a memorial of citizens of Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina, praying the granting of a charter to this contemplated railroad from Cincinnati to Charleston.²¹ On December 21, 1835, Robert Hynds, state senator, representing Cocke, Jefferson, Blount, and Sevier counties, presented a like memorial on behalf of "sundry citizens of Cocke County."²²

After the passage of the act of incorporation, Governor Newton Cannon, on January 25, 1836, addressed the general assembly on this subject. His message con-

19. Fish, Development of American Nationality, p.343.

20. Cleveland, Controversy Between John C. Calhoun and Robt. Y. Hayne As to the Proper Route of a Railroad from South Carolina to the West, p. 4. (Referred to hereafter as Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne).

21. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p.201.

22. Ibid., p. 232.

tained an able summary of the condition of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad and its prospects at that early date, and also gives a clear statement of his personal views anent the project. Therefore, it may not be amiss to quote somewhat at length from his speech:

"You have also been favored with a similar application [for a charter] on the part of the Cincinnati and Charleston rail road company, which has been granted, by the same feelings of liberality and encouragement which has distinguished the deliberations of the present session of the Legislature of Tennessee on all such subjects, and which I have no doubt is demanded by the public interest, in their successful accomplishment.

"The proceedings of the different meetings which have been held on this subject in Cincinnati, O.; Charleston, Columbia, Greenville, and other places in South Carolina, as well as the numerous meetings throughout the Eastern section of Tennessee, and in all the different parts of the other States through which this road must pass, together with their various proceedings and resolutions on the subject, adopted with such unexampled unanimity, most clearly demonstrate to us that the citizens, in all the various sections and States interested, are becoming fully sensible of the importance of this great improvement. Indeed, such has already been the development of public opinion in relation to it, and the deep interest manifested, as to leave but little grounds to doubt its final success, should the Legislature of Tennessee afford that encouragement required by our Constitution, and, at the same time, demanded by the great interests of our State.

"Nothing has thus far been seen to mar, in the slightest degree, the prospect, or impede the progress of this great work. Every circumstance seems to favor it, because it is of vast importance not only to the citizens of Charleston, Cincinnati, North and South Carolina, Kentucky and Ohio, as well as the other sections of the Union, which will be brought

into more close commercial connexion and intercourse; but it is also an object, the attainment of which is of the most vital importance to a large portion of the citizens of our own State. As this great communication between the North and the South, and in some degree also between the East and the West, must pass directly thro' the eastern part of Tennessee, a country that has thus far been locked up, and in a great degree deprived of commercial advantages, although abounding in fertility of soil, mineral treasures and water power sufficient for the most extensive manufacturing operations, with a climate equally salubrious and healthful to any perhaps in the known world. To such a country then, the accomplishment of this great improvement is almost everything, it seems to me, that its citizens could desire; and I doubt not, they are now waiting with deep anxiety for the time when they can be permitted to give more ample demonstration of their feelings, by subscriptions for the stock, and the application of their means, as well as every other aid in their power.

" I feel confident that now is the auspicious time for Tennessee to move forward in the great work of internal improvements, and to unite to the fullest extent our aid and co-operation with those of our sister States who are also so deeply interested in their accomplishment, which must confer incalculable benefits on a vast extent of country and shed a lustre upon the age, as well as on the character of those who may be instrumental in effecting such improvements. In relation to subjects of such high interest, I trust the acts of the Legislature will not fall behind the feelings and wishes of the people.

"In the prosecution of such system, it may not be the most sound or enlightened policy to be sparing in our expenditures towards objects so highly beneficial and important to the people amongst whom such expenditures are made. I am solicitous to see these great works progressing in our State, and would strain every nerve in their accomplishment."

In the foregoing passage from his speech, Governor Cannon reveals himself, not only as an enthusiastic advocate of the construction of the Louisville, Cin-

cinnati and Charleston Railroad, but also as a consummate tactician in working for its accomplishment. Notice that he said: " . . . and I doubt not, they are now waiting with deep anxiety for the time when they can be permitted to give more ample demonstration of their feelings, by subscriptions for the stock, and the application of their means, as well as every other aid in their power." Also: ". . . I trust that the acts of the Legislature will not fall behind the feelings and wishes of the people." Furthermore: ". . . it may not be the most sound or enlightened policy to be sparing in our expenditures towards objects so highly beneficial and important to the people amongst whom such expenditures are made." Truly Governor Cannon was a master at turning convincing phrases, and it is fortunate for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project in Tennessee that he chose to employ his gifts in its favor rather than against it. (The italics in the above quotations are mine.)

At this point, as we conclude our study of the first year of the history of the project, it may be well to explain why the project in question is here called the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston.

It has been designated by a number of various names. The earliest name for the project was the "Southern²⁰ and Western Rail Road". It was incorporated, in the same year that it was so called (1835), as the "Cincinnati and Charleston" by the legislatures of South Carolina and North Carolina, and on January²¹ 21, 1836 by the Tennessee Legislature. Also, in 1836, it was incorporated by the Kentucky Legislature under the name of the Louisville, Cincinnati and²² Charleston Railroad Company. The reason for its designation in this way by the Kentucky Legislature is obvious. John C. Calhoun, in a letter to Hayne in 1838, referred to it as the "Charleston and Cin-²³ cinnati Railroad Company." In 1836, Col. Gadsden, one of the South Carolina commissioners, had also spoken of it as the "Charleston and Cincinnati Rail²⁴ Road," and further along in the same report, it was called the "Charleston, Louisville and Cincinnati²⁵ Rail Road." James C. Jones, governor of Tennessee,

20. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 3.

21. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXCI, sec. 26, p. 279.

22. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 1, p. 16.

23. Ann. Rep. Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 411. Calhoun to Hayne, October 28, 1838.

24. Rep. S. C. Comm., p. 11.

25. Ibid., p. 15.

in a message to the General Assembly on October 4, 1842, referred to it as the "Charleston, Cincinnati and Louisville Rail Road."²⁶ Phelan, in his History of Tennessee, also made use of this name²⁷ to designate the railroad project in question. Considering the work done in each of the cities named in the title of the company, and giving each one proper precedence in the name of the company in accordance with the amount accomplished in the furtherance of the project, this name would stand as correct. However, the fact remains that in no state whatever was the legal style of the company the "Charleston, Cincinnati and Louisville". Ulrich B. Phillips successfully dodged the issue of assigning a name to the company by calling it "the²⁸ Charleston and Cincinnati project."

In this study, the name used throughout its extent has been, and will be, the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston. We have seen that the company was known by many names. Obviously an interchange of names would be awkward and con-

26. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1842 (Special session), p. 4.

27. Phelan, Hist. of Tenn.; The Making of a State, p. 285.

28. Phillips, A Hist. of Transportation in the E. Cotton Belt, p. 168.

fusing, so it remained for the writer to choose the one which seemed the best, and to adhere strictly to that one in all references by name to the company. We have seen that at one time the company was given the legal style in South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee of the "Cincinnati and Charleston", and, in Kentucky, of the "Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston". However, in 1837, the other three states adopted the name, by legislative act, at first assigned to the company by the Legislature of Kentucky (Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston) as the official and legal name of the company. Therefore the name used in this study is the only name by which the company was legally recognized in all of the states concerned. The basis for this choice is hereby quoted from the Acts of²⁹ the Tennessee Legislature:

"That the rail road company incorporated by the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, by the name of the Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company, and in the State of Kentucky, by the name Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company, shall be called and known as a body corporate, in all the States aforesaid, by the name of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company."

29. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. VI, p. 16.

There is little of importance in the history of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company in the year 1836, apart from the great Knoxville Convention from July 4 to July 8. Accordingly the Convention of 1836 is given a prominent place in this review of the history of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston. Although, as has been stated, the "Great Convention" met in Knoxville, Tennessee, it is not beyond reasonable supposition that the insistent efforts of Charlestonians were responsible for the calling of this meeting. It was quite probably the work of a committee of correspondence (not entirely unlike such committees of correspondence in pre-Revolutionary days) which had been appointed at the meeting of the citizens of Charleston in 1835. This committee of correspondence was composed of Robert Y. Hayne, James Hamilton, Charles Edmonston, Charles J. Colcock, Thomas Bennett, Ker Boyce, and Alexander Black, and was organized for the purpose of furthering interest in the proposed railroad project.³⁰

At any rate, during the four days from July 4 to July 8, there assembled at Knoxville, some four hundred delegates, representing the states of

South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, Indiana, Ohio, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Among the delegates from South Carolina were Robert Y. Hayne, B. F. Duncan, Charles Edmonston, Alexander Black, Joel R. Poinsett, Samuel P. Ripley, F. H. Elmore, William K. Clowney, Thomas F. Jones, Whitfield Brooks, and Wilson Nesbit. Among those from Georgia were William Dearing, James R. Butts, Robert Campbell, S. B. Parkman,³¹ and T. G. Casey. The outstanding Tennessee delegates seem to have been John Williams, Pryor Lea,³² and J. G. M. Ramsey.

On the opening day of the Convention, Robert Y. Hayne was elected permanent chairman; and Pryor Lea, of Tennessee, was elected secretary. The first matter to come before the consideration of the assembly was a report of the South Carolina commissioners, Robert Y. Hayne, Abraham Blanding, Patrick Noble, Thomas Smith, Thomas L. Jones, and Charles Edmonston, upon their survey of a route across the

31. Niles' Register, LI, p. 47.

32. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 21.

Appalachian Mountains. The Convention ordered that this report be printed in pamphlet form. Next a resolution was adopted requesting the chairman to appoint a committee of 45 to investigate the charters of the company and possible routes.

On the third day of the Convention (July 7), this committee presented its report to the assembled delegates. Regarding the estimate made by Captain Williams of the probable cost of the construction of the proposed railroad over the French Broad route, the committee was of the opinion that "if any error has entered into them . . . that it will be in placing the cost too high rather than too ³³ low". Following are the estimates which had previously been made by Captain Williams: ³⁴

33. Niles' Register, LI, p. 109 (October 15, 1836).

34. Ibid., p. 110.

"From Charleston to Branchville, 62 miles, where there is now a single track, the cost for a second will be \$4,500 per mile	\$279,000
From Branchville to Columbia at \$11,433 per mile, 62 miles.	711,946
From Columbia to the junction of Thickety with Broad River, 65 miles at \$12,000 per mile	780,000
Thence to the junction of Green and Broad Rivers at \$14,300 per mile, 52 miles . .	743,600
Thence to Asheville, 40 miles, for the first 10 miles through Blue Ridge, \$40,000 per mile, and the next 30 miles, at \$12,000 per mile	760,000
Thence down the French Broad to the mouth of the Nolachucky, 60 miles, at \$30,000 per mile	1,800,000
Thence to the junction of the Elk with the Clear Fork of the Elk, crossing the streams in East Tennessee, 90 miles, at \$30,000 per mile	2,700,000
Thence to Cincinnati, 190 miles, at \$12,162 per mile	2,310,720
The Branch to Louisville, assuming its cost to be equal to the cost of the road from Columbia to Charleston . .	990,000
The Branch to Maysville, 60 miles, at \$12,162 per mile	<u>729,720</u>

\$11,804,046

As the South Carolina Railroad and Canal Company will probably unite with us, deduct	<u>990,000</u>
--	----------------

Still to be provided \$10,814,046"

The above estimates are based upon a double track
along the entire length of the line, and show the
great magnitude of the task, toward the accomplish-
ment of which the optimistic and energetic Charles-
tonians so earnestly worked.

In addition to the little work already done by the Convention, resolutions were entered into, on the motion of Mr. Wickliffe, admitting the State of Georgia and its citizens "to become participants in the construction and benefits of said road." Since the French Broad route had been adopted, so far as Georgia was concerned "participation in construction" could mean only subscription for stock, and "benefits" meant, no doubt, the advantages to be gained by Georgia through a connection with the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston via the Western and Atlantic and the Hiwassee, both of which had been previously incorporated in their respective states of Georgia and Tennessee. Furthermore, in this resolution, other adjoining states were invited to partake in the work.³⁵

Of no consequence, perhaps, but still an interesting side-light of the Convention, was a dispute as to who was the originator of the idea of the construction of this railroad. The disputants were, according to Ramsey, "Mr. Cross or Dr. Drake and some one else of Cincinnati"—probably Edward D.

35. Niles' Register, LI, p. 110 (October 15, 1836).

Mansfield. Then, still according to Ramsey, the gallant Colonel Bogle of Blount County "spoke up out of the gallery" and volunteered the information that the originator of the idea was none other than³⁶ Dr. Ramsey. One is tempted to believe that this came as no surprise to the Doctor, and that he fully realized, even during the course of the dispute, that he was the true originator of the scheme. His autobiography leads one to believe that.

After the Convention had come to an end, the delegates were given a barbecue by the citizens of Knoxville, at which Hayne delivered a congratulatory address, concluding with the toast: "The South and the West. -- We have published the banns -- if any one know aught why these two should not be joined together, let him speak now, or forever hold his³⁷ peace."

"The main work of the Knoxville Convention³⁸ resulted in a fiasco", wrote Phillips. However that may be, it is certain that the Convention had a certain immediate result in the direction of increased interest in the project, and furthermore

36. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 21.

37. Phillips, Hist. of Transportation in the E. Cotton Belt, p. 183.

38. Ibid., p. 184.

the Convention was not soon forgotten. It certainly must have been worth its expense, as a social gathering if as nothing else. Three years afterward, a writer in the Knoxville Times wrote of "the celebrated railroad convention held on July 4, 1836";³⁹ and some twenty-one years after the Convention had been held, E. D. Mansfield, of Cincinnati, a delegate to the Convention, alluded to the good time he had had at the "great railroad convention".⁴⁰

The immediate results of the Convention seem to have been two-fold. First, there was much speculation brought about as to the proper route for the railroad. Prominent among these ideas were the conflicting opinions of Calhoun and Hayne.⁴¹ A subsequent chapter will be devoted to a discussion of this controversy.

Secondly, and more important perhaps, was the newly aroused tendency to invest money as well as words in the immense new project. The following passage, which needs no comment, is taken from⁴² The Tennessee Farmer:

39. Knoxville Times, May 21, 1839.

40. Knoxville Register, August 13, 1857.

41. Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne, p. 5.

42. Reprinted from the Columbia Telescope, in The Tennessee Farmer (Jonesboro'), I, p. 375 (November, 1836).

"We are glad to hear that throughout the State generally there is the prospect of very liberal subscriptions to this great work. In this district Columbia we have heard it estimated, by persons well qualified to judge, that 500,000 dollars worth of stock will be taken."

In the same issue of this paper appeared some poor advice on financial matters -- which advice The Tennessee Farmer had gleaned from the Cincinnati Evening Post, and then passed on to its own subscriber-victims:

"You who would be rich, save every dollar that you have, add every dollar that you can get, and when the books are opened in the third week in October for subscriptions to the Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road, plank up every dollar; that every hundred dollars paid will be worth a thousand in five years after the road is in operation, we firmly and conscientiously believe."

In October, 1836, Governor Cannon called a special session of the Tennessee General Assembly, principally to urge the appropriation of a fund to be used in the survey of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky had failed, at the time of the granting of the charter to this company, to make any appropriations for the necessary surveys. In his message to this special session of the General

43. Reprinted from the Cincinnati Evening Post, in The Tennessee Farmer (Jonesboro'), I, p. 375 (November, 1836).

Assembly, Gov. Cannon spoke as follows:

"An appropriation to defray, in part, the expense of making the necessary examinations and surveys, in order to ascertain the most eligible route through our State, for the contemplated 'Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road' is a subject again recommended to your favorable consideration. It is a measure which appeals strongly to our state pride, and in which I consider our character as somewhat involved."

Accordingly, on October 25, 1836, the General Assembly passed an act providing that a sum not exceeding \$5,000 be appropriated to pay the expense of a survey of this route through the State of Tennessee. John Williams, Alexander E. Smith, and William E. Cooke were appointed commissioners to receive this sum from the treasurer of the State, and to disburse the sum actually required. The commissioners were required to furnish bond to the
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governor.

The following year (1837) was devoted largely to the work of surveying of possible routes of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad project. On April 29, Harry, Adams, Campbell, and Mead, civil engineers of the company, left Knoxville

44. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1836,
(Special session), p. 5.

45. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1836, (Special
session), ch. IV, sec. 1-2, pp. 12-13.

for Jacksboro', from which place they were to survey⁴⁶ a route back to Knoxville. On May 10, Schenck, Chesbrough, and Wurts, also civil engineers in the employ of the company, set out to make a survey of⁴⁷ a route between Knoxville and Newport. A survey was also undertaken between Wheeler's Gap and Knoxville. On May 31, a report from Mr. Chesbrough was printed in the Knoxville Register. It was to the effect that the survey was going on rapidly from Wheeler's Gap to Knoxville, and also from Knoxville⁴⁸ to Newport.

It seems that much was made in Tennessee, at this time, of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project as a political issue. In the Knoxville⁴⁹ Register was printed the following:

"Now is the time for action -- we must awake; we must be up and doing. Our Legislature will meet next fall; it must be composed of such men as will come forward to the help of our Internal Improvement interest -- men must be elected who will aid in constructing the Cincinnati Railroad. Banking privileges must be obtained and every obstruction thrown out of the way of its advancement."

Apparently such men were elected, for in that

46. Knoxville Register, May 3, 1837,

47. Ibid., May 10, 1837.

48. Ibid., May 31, 1837.

49. Ibid., April 19, 1837.

session of the General Assembly acts were passed granting a charter to the Southwestern Railroad⁵⁰ Bank, and giving State aid to both the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad and the Hiwassee Railroad to the extent of \$650,000 each -- the subscription to be payable in State bonds bearing⁵¹ five per cent interest.

To the Southwestern Railroad Bank several peculiar privileges were given. The capital of the bank, the act provided, should not exceed six million dollars, until the railroad should have been extended to the State of Tennessee; should not exceed nine million dollars until the road had been built to the southern boundary of Kentucky; and should not be increased to twelve million until⁵² it had been extended to Lexington, Kentucky. This provision in the act had, it seems, a two-fold purpose. In the first place, it would serve to stimulate the construction of the railroad and to cause it to be built as far as Lexington, at least, with less delay than otherwise. Secondly, it would tend

50. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. VI,
sec. 1-34, pp. 16-26.

51. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. CVII, sec. 21-23, pp. 163-164.

52. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 7, p. 19.

to make the solvency of the bank more secure, because it would keep the capitalization of the bank somewhat in accord with the assets of the railroad company. This becomes a significant factor, considering that by another provision of the act, the railroad company was made responsible for the debts of the bank, although the bank was not to be responsible⁵³ for debts contracted by the railroad company.

Furthermore it was provided that the total amount of debts, exclusive of deposits, should not⁵⁴ exceed three times the amount of its capital stock. The principal bank (reasonably enough) was to be⁵⁵ located at Charleston, South Carolina. Later, a branch was established at Knoxville, with Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey as its president.⁵⁶

None but citizens of the United States were to have the right to vote at the meetings of the stockholders, although there is nothing in the act of incorporation of the banking company to indicate that aliens might not be allowed to buy stock in the company, if they desired to hold it without having

53. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 8, p. 19.

54. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 15, p. 21.

55. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 10, p. 20.

56. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 26.

any voice in its management. Many of the provisions in the act incorporating this bank indicate that the bank was one of the "pet" variety, but the following section of the act definitely and positively brands it as such:

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"The bank shall never issue any note, or draw a check which is payable to the order or bearer, of a less denomination than five dollars, until the road is completed, or less than ten dollars after the completion of the road: nor shall it ever put in circulation notes payable to order or bearer, to an amount exceeding double its capital; and in case it shall not redeem its notes in current coin of the United States, when demanded at the bank, or branch where such notes are payable, such notes shall thenceforth bear an interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. (Italics are mine.)

It was supposed that the unusually liberal privileges granted to this bank would put its shares at a premium, and would so increase the desirability and sale of the stock of the railroad. No one was allowed to buy more shares in the bank than he already held in the railroad, and all instalments which had been called for must have been paid on the railroad stock before the subscriber would be allowed to take any stock in the bank.

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The charter of the Southwestern Railroad Bank as granted by the Tennessee General Assembly on December 5, 1837, was substantially the same as that granted by the South Carolina Legislature about

57. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 34, p. 26.

58. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 11, p. 20.

59. Knoxville Register, August 8, 1838.

a year before (December 21, 1836)⁶⁰. This charter provided that the company should not be organized until after three of the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky had ratified the charter, or had passed favorably upon⁶¹ closely similar charters.

Soon afterward, North Carolina which state, it seems, was quick^{to} follow the lead of South Carolina in all measures relating to the enterprise,⁶² passed an act providing for a similar charter. On December 5, 1837, therefore, with the passage of the act for the incorporation of the bank by Tennessee, the third state, the banking company was authorized to be organized, under the terms of its charter.

By this time it had become clearly and painfully evident that Kentucky was not planning to co-operate to the fullest extent in the enterprise. She had hesitated in granting a charter to the company, and then had granted it only on condition that branches be built to Louisville and Maysville; she had failed to make any appropriation for surveys; she had neglected to charter the Southwestern

60. Phillips, A Hist. of Transportation in the E. Cotton Belt, pp. 189-190.

61. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. VI, sec. 1, p. 16.

62. Phillips, op. cit., p. 192.

Railroad Bank; and on every hand, she tended to block the enterprise, whether with her indifference or with her positive opposition. Accordingly, in 1837, the Tennessee General Assembly passed an act discharging the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company of all obligation to build any branches in the State of Kentucky or to extend the main line any further than to Lexington. It was further provided that if Kentucky should not agree to the provisions of this act, the railroad company was to be "discharged from all obligation to construct any road in the State of Kentucky."⁶³ This act, doubtless was of South Carolinian origin, as indeed were all of the others passed by the General Assembly of Tennessee relative to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad, with the exception only of the one which granted State aid to that railroad.

At a meeting, in 1837, of the directors of the company at Flat Rock, it was decided that the president (Hayne) should receive a salary of \$6,000 per year, but Hayne, because of the financial depression of the time, refused to take more than \$4,000 per year, and also

63. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. XII, p. 36.

refused any compensation for the preceding year. The treasurer's salary was set at \$2,000 per year. McNeill, chief engineer, was to be paid \$8,000 as a yearly salary plus \$2,000 for traveling expenses. Under him were to be four brigades of engineers, each composed of a chief, a surveyor, a draughtsman, and a leveler, "with necessary operatives". Mr. Chesbrough, head of the western brigade, was to receive \$3,000 yearly; Mr. Drayton, of the South Carolina brigade, \$2,500; and Mr. Colcock, chief assistant engineer, \$2,500.⁶⁴ The company was finding it necessary to eliminate as much expense as possible, as witness the following:⁶⁵

"Capt. Williams is to continue on duty until the end of the year, and to receive \$6,000 for his past and future services, and then to terminate his connection with the company, its finances not admitting of the continued and simultaneous employment of two such eminent engineers as maj. McNeill and himself."

There seems, in 1837, to have become a distinct tendency toward doubt as to the ultimate successful completion of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. This was due, doubtless, to the financial panic of that year. Robert Y. Mayne, in a message to the citizens of Charleston, printed in the

64. Niles' Register, LIII, p. 195 (November 25, 1837).

65. Ibid.

Charleston Mercury, announced his resignation as mayor of Charleston, and at the same time tried to dispel some of the doubt as to the final success of the great project:
66

"More than half of the difficulties under which the country now labors arise from a want of confidence in ourselves, and our resources, which leading to corresponding efforts, would be the most effectual remedy for existing evils. But, however this may be, I am not disposed to relax in any degree my efforts to advance the railroad from any apprehension of the difficulties which lie in the way."

Inspiring words, these, especially coming from a man who followed them to the letter! It takes a brave man, and an energetic one, to deliver a message like this under the conditions then current. However, he seems to have overlooked the real reason for the business depression of the time. It most certainly did not result from "a want of confidence in ourselves", but rather from the exact opposite -- overconfidence, speculation, and a tendency to invest heavily in projects which would not be paying dividends, if at all, until a long period of time had elapsed. These conditions, then, coupled with the uncertain currency, were

66. Reprinted in the Knoxville Register, May 31, 1837.

responsible for the panic then in progress. When the fiery and enthusiastic Charlestonians undertook the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project they did not stop to consider the insurmountable difficulties presented by the natural barriers along the proposed route nor their own financial limitations, but rushed headlong, with unbounded confidence in themselves but with an exceedingly limited amount of judgment, into the immense enterprise.

The year 1838 was uneventful as far as the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company was concerned save for the resignation, on October 28, of John C. Calhoun from his place in the directorate of the company,⁶⁷ to which place he had been elected in 1836; and the beginning of the operations of the Southwestern Railroad Bank in November, with Abraham Blanding as president. Both of these events tended to be beneficial to the company. Calhoun, able statesman though he was, was ill-adapted by his self-assertive nature to work in co-operation with the other directors of

67. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 411. John C. Calhoun to Robert Y. Hayne, October 28, 1838.

of the company or with Robert Y. Hayne, its president. With the passing of Calhoun from the directorate, the dispute as to the proper route also largely passed away, and unanimity seems to have been prevalent among the officers of the company.

The Southwestern Railroad Bank, soon after its organization, imported \$500,000 in specie from England, and this gave a temporary vigor to the company's prospects.⁶⁸ This bank was used as a lure, before its organization, to obtain subscriptions for the stock of the railroad company, and to induce those who had already subscribed to pay the instalments due on their stock. Perhaps no better idea can be given of the relation of the Southwestern Railroad Bank to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad than is to be gained from the following advertisement:⁶⁹

"SOUTH WESTERN RAIL ROAD BANK

CHARLESTON, July 12th 1838

THIS BANK, incorporated by the States of North and South Carolina and Tennessee, with a Capital not to exceed TWELVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, will be put in operation in NOVEMBER NEXT.

"For this purpose the Books will be opened in the States above mentioned, and also in the State

68. Phillips, A Hist. of Transportation in the E. Cotton Belt, p. 197.

69. Knoxville Register, August 8, 1838.

of Kentucky on the 2nd MONDAY IN OCTOBER, at all the places where Books were opened for the first subscription to the Rail Road Company and will CONTINUE OPEN FOR (30) THIRTY DAYS.

"None but Stockholders in the 'Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company' can subscribe for STOCK in the Bank, but all those who now hold stock in the Road or to whom the same shall be transferred, may take at their discretion any number of Shares in the Bank, not exceeding the whole number of Shares held by them in the Road.

"TWELVE DOLLARS and a HALF on each Share, subscribed for in the Bank must be paid at the time of subscribing. The Directors expect to make arrangements to furnish the Stockholders with the amount of SPECIE necessary to enable them, to pay their subscriptions; in exchange for which Bank Bills will be received at the current rates.

"A meeting of the Stockholders in the Bank in PERSON or by PROXY will be held at CHARLESTON on the 20th NOVEMBER next to elect a President and Directors, when the Mother Bank (which is to be located at Charleston) will be immediately put into operation, and BRANCHES will be established in North Carolina and Tennessee as soon thereafter as possible.

"No person who may forfeit his Shares in the Road, by failing to pay the 2ND INSTALMENT can take Stock in the Bank"

On August 27, 1838, a meeting of the directors of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad was held at Lexington, Kentucky. Those present were: Robert Y. Hayne, M. King, B. T. Elmore, R. O. Mills, and Dr. Dunovant of South Carolina; Robert Wickliffe, James Taylor, W. H. Richardson, and J. B. Carey of Kentucky; Dr. Boring and Charles Harding of North Carolina; and Judge Reese and T. W. Hume of Tennessee. At this meeting little was done, apparently, other than to summarize the accomplishments

of the company during the year, and to make this
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plea to recalcitrant Kentucky:

" . . . Until Kentucky does make an efficient move in this matter, your committee can neither flatter themselves nor the board with the expectation that any successful progress in it can be made within her limits. She must set an example to her citizens before they can be induced to engage in it with that zeal and determination which its great importance deserves."

Enthusiasm for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston seems to have declined greatly in Tennessee during the summer and fall of 1839, due possibly to the fact that the Hiwassee Railroad had already begun construction along a different route to the Georgia line, to connect with railroads which would effect a connection with Charleston. A writer in the Knoxville Times set forth this information as to the progress of that chain of rail-
71
roads:

"It is perhaps known to but few of your readers that every portion of the line of railroad from Knoxville to Charleston, by way of Georgia, is not only under contract, but actually in progress of construction. From Knoxville to Charleston by this route, is a distance of 475 miles, and the distance is divided among five rail roads viz: the Hiwassee Rail Road, Western and Atlantic Rail Road, Decatur and Crawfordsville Rail Road, Athens and Augusta Rail Road, and the South Carolina Rail Road."

70. Niles' Register, LV, p. 40 (September 15, 1838).

71. Knoxville Times, June 11, 1839.

Differing somewhat with the preceding account in statistical data, and even more forceful was another article which appeared in the same newspaper of a later date. An excerpt follows:

"Thus we see that of the whole distance from Knoxville to Charleston by way of the Hiwassee rail road, (510 miles), nearly one half is in use; while 426 miles are actually either laid with the rails, or ready graded to receive them. Is it not strange that any man can seriously advocate the Charleston and Cincinnati rail road in preference to the Hiwassee route to Charleston when more than four-fifths of the latter are ready for the rails, and workmen scattered over nearly the whole of the remaining fifth."

And also this echo from Louisville should be considered:

"We may soon hear of the formal and public abandonment of the project of pushing the Charleston rail road to the Ohio. In fact a writer in the Knoxville Times boldly announces, that 'the Tennessee stockholders will not pay their stock if the idea of prosecuting the road be persisted in' We have only to add that any editor, who pretends to think that there are actually to be two rail roads between Charleston and Knoxville, must either be a fool himself or feel anxious to make fools of his readers."

The very fact that these articles were written, of course, is an intimation that some interest in the project still persisted in Tennessee. The phrase " . . . strange that any man can seriously advocate the Charleston and Cincinnati rail road" implies that some men did advocate it. However, the writing of these letters indicates that the en-

72. Reprinted in Niles' Register, LVII, p. 67 (September 28, 1839).

73. Reprinted from the Louisville Journal, in Niles' Register, LVII, p. 67.

Enthusiasm for the project was on the wane, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the articles weakened it still more in Tennessee.

Even the courageous spirits of the Charlestonians were beginning to flag somewhat at this time. Not so the indomitable spirit of Hayne, however. His letter, written to be published in the Charleston Courier was a masterpiece in optimism.⁷⁴ In this letter, he first denied the rumor which was then abroad that the company had given up all intentions of carrying the road any further than Columbia. He went on to say that the company had bought and almost reconstructed, a road 136 miles in length, connecting the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad with "all the improvements going on in Georgia, Alabama, and the whole Southwest, on which two-thirds of the purchase money (amounting, with repairs, to near \$2,000,000) have already been paid". He further said that the road was laid out from Charleston to Columbia — a distance of 128 miles — and that progress was being made in grading this. Furthermore, according to

74. Niles' Register, LVI, p. 325.

Hayne, there had been surveyed several routes from Charleston to Lexington. He pointed out also that the profits of the Southwestern Railroad Bank, for the past six months, had been at the rate of 8 per cent per year. As a final bit of good news to the stockholders, he informed them that the next payment of five dollars on each share of stock would not be called for until October.

Three misfortunes occurring in 1839 served, together with the diminution of popular favor, definitely and finally to put an end to the visionary project. These three occurrences were: (1) the death of Blanding, (2) the extreme fall in cotton prices, and (3) the death of Robert Y. Hayne.

Under the presidency of Abraham Blanding, the Southwestern Railroad Bank, as had been pointed out by Hayne, was prospering. With his death, in 1839, the organization of the bank was definitely weakened, and with its weakening, of course, came the debilitation of the railroad with which it was intimately connected.

Of perhaps greater effect in the breaking up of the railroad company, was the sharp decline in the price of cotton for that year and the year

following. The average price of cotton dropped, during that period, in the New York market from 13.36 cents per pound to 8.92 cents per pound; and in the Liverpool market, from 7.19 pence to 5.42⁷⁵ pence. This sudden and radical drop in cotton prices could not but have a decided effect against the investment of money in railroad enterprise in the Cotton Belt.

The company might, however, have survived the death of Blanding and the depression in the cotton market, but it could not carry on after the death of its able, indefatigable and optimistic leader, Robert Y. Hayne. Hayne, on September 16, 1839, attended a railroad convention at Asheville. Eight days later, he died. His company was not destined⁷⁶ long to survive him. With Hayne, and his fighting spirit in control, the company might have overcome the difficulties which then seemed insurmountable. Without Hayne there was no hope.

In September, 1840, a meeting of the directors of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company was held at Asheville, but the number

75. Watkins, Production and Price of Cotton for One Hundred Years, U. S. Dep't of Agriculture, Division of Statistics, 1895, p. 10.

76. Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne, p. 3.

of directors who attended was not sufficient to constitute a quorum. They adjourned to meet in November at Charleston. In the interim, Tennessee had withdrawn from the project by mutual consent.⁷⁷ The company was now dissolved, and was succeeded by the South Carolina Company.

John C. Calhoun, embittered by his losing fight against Hayne in reference to a route for the road, wrote: "Thus ends the humbug, with a debt of several millions on the state, great loss to those concerned, and the loss of credit and mortification to the projectors. If I could triumph, when state and friends have suffered, what a triumph I would have!"⁷⁸ However, the project does not seem to have been a "humbug" in the usual meaning of the word. A great amount of "ballyhoo" was employed in favor of the railroad, it is true, but its promoters were men having a genuine interest and faith in the project, it seems, and there appears to have been no intent to defraud on their part. Indeed, for the most part, the promoters were themselves the heaviest stockholders.

77. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 464 John C. Calhoun to Andrew P. Calhoun, September 25, 1840.

78. Ibid.

Throughout the short history of the ill-advised project, the determination and indefatigable efforts of the promoters command our admiration, even if their lack of business acumen does not. On the whole, the project may well be called a gloriously inefficient effort to accomplish a hopeless, but self-assigned, task.

CHAPTER III

The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston: A Battle of Giants

Perhaps no other railroad company can boast of two such men, among its promoters, as were Robert Y. Hayne and John C. Calhoun. If they had worked co-operatively toward the good of the company, who knows what might have been accomplished? It is rare indeed that two men of their caliber are interested in the same business enterprise, but it was extremely unfortunate for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad project that, while each was interested, it seems, in the advancement of the interests of the company, they were continually at cross-purposes.

Robert Y. Hayne, whom the world remembers chiefly for his brilliant debate with Webster on Foote's Resolutions, should have even a stronger claim to honor because of his tireless and energetic efforts to effect a railroad connection between Cincinnati and Charleston. His actions in this enterprise more definitely mark him as a truly great man than do his words in the United States Senate. It is unfortunate

that his work as the chief promoter of the huge but hopeless railroad project, the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad, is not more generally known. From the meeting of the citizens of Charleston¹ to consider the proposal made, by Cincinnati, of a railroad connection between that city and Charleston, on October 22, 1835, until only eight days before his death on September 24, 1839,² Hayne was active in the affairs of the projected railroad. In 1835, he presented the first resolutions adopted by the citizens of Charleston in reference to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad;³ he served as chairman of the committee appointed to consider the concurrence with Cincinnati in the project;⁴ he was appointed chairman of the important Committee of Correspondence, apparently an executive body as well as one required to agitate in favor of the organization of the company;⁵ and he was appointed, under the act of incorporation by the South Carolina Legislature, to the position of commissioner of the company.⁶

1. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 3.

2. Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne, p. 3.

3. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 4.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 23-24.

6. Rep. of S. C. Comm., p. 4.

In 183⁷, he was elected to the presidency of the company, which position he held until his death; he entered a controversy with John C. Calhoun as⁸ to the route which the railroad should follow; he was elected permanent chairman of the great railroad convention at Knoxville;⁹ at the end of this convention he delivered an able address to the assembled citizens of the various states interested¹⁰ in the project; and, furthermore he was extremely active in raising the amount of subscription (\$4,000,000) required for the securing of the Charter.¹¹

In 1837, he traveled to Nashville, and secured a charter for the Southwestern Railroad Bank¹² from the Tennessee General Assembly. He did much also to carry the company through the crucial period of general financial depression in the year

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7. Phillips, A Hist. of Transportation in the E. Cotton Belt, p. 188.
8. Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne, p. 3.
9. Niles' Register, LI, p. 47.
10. Phillips, op. cit., p. 184.
11. Ibid., p. 186.
12. Ibid., p. 193.

¹³
1837.

In 1838, he seems to have been slightly less active in the interests of the company than he had previously been. However, he did all he could, during this year to win back public favor (which seems to have been decidedly on the wane) to the project.¹⁴

In 1839, he further sought to reassure the doubtful supporters of the company by writing a public letter remarkable for its optimism; and (showing his tendency to keep on working at all costs) he attended a railroad convention at Asheville only eight days before his death.¹⁵

John C. Calhoun, the great South Carolina statesman, was also interested in the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project. We have his word for it that he was "among the first to suggest and second" the idea of this railroad connection.¹⁶ In 1836, he was elected director of the company. In September, 1836, Calhoun, in company with Col. Gadsden, W. Sloan, and James McKinney, made an examination of about 84 miles of a route. The fact that this called for a rigorous

13. Knoxville Times, June 11, 1839.

14. Ibid.

15. Controversy between Calhoun and Hayne, p. 3.

16. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 411. John C. Calhoun to James E. Calhoun, September 2, 1836.

eight-day trip attests Calhoun's interest in the project. On this tour of inspection, Calhoun and his party explored a gap in the mountains which, it seems, was almost unknown and which Calhoun thought offered wonderful possibilities in the construction of the proposed railroad through the mountains. This gap he christened "Carolina Gap" to distinguish it from the Rabun or Georgia Gap, which lay some thirty-five miles to the southwest. Calhoun, after his return home, wrote an article for publication in the Pendleton Messenger,¹⁷ of which the following is an excerpt:

"General Hayne, whose devotion to the great undertaking is so well known, undertook to examine the gap, but unfortunately his guide was not sufficiently well acquainted with the section of the mountains, to which so many ridges converge, and which on that account is so intricate, as to conduct him through the proper route. I was not surprised, when I looked at the route through which, I was told he was ~~taken~~, that he should have condemned it as utterly impracticable."

In a letter, written September 2, 1836 to James Edward Calhoun, John C. Calhoun wrote:¹⁸

" . . . There is a good tone getting up here in

17. Reprinted in Niles' Register, LI, pp. 88-89,

18. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 411.

reference to the rail road. I cannot doubt of the vast superiority of the route by the Carolina Gap. You must make a movement at Abbeville. I wrote to Patrick Noble about it, but you know he wants energy. I also wrote to Francis Pickens to give the impulse at Edgefield. We have had a meeting at old Pendleton. It will be followed up by meetings at Pickens and Anderson. We must have able directors from this side. McDuffie must be one. You and our friends must insist on his subscribing the 50 shares to qualify himself for the place. With proper efforts the road may be taken this way; and if it should, I do not doubt that it will be the best stock in the State. I feel confident that \$6,000,000, by the Carolina gap will carry it from Charleston to the Ohio such is the great facility of the route."

Hayne strongly advocated the French Broad route. Roughly this route ran as follows: from Columbia, up the Broad River and the ridge between it and Thicketty Creek, then by Reedy Patch Gap to the table lands of Buncombe County, North Carolina, thence by the French Broad River to the mouth of the Nolachucky, by Knoxville and Wheeler's Gap, thence to the branching point of¹⁹ the Kentucky River.

Thus there was a clash between Calhoun and Hayne. Each apparently thought that his plan was the better adapted to the needs of the road. However, Calhoun seems to have had a selfish motive in the selection of his route, because by that route the railroad would be built through the Pendleton District where he lived. Calhoun, as we have seen, favored the Carolina Gap or

19. Niles' Register, LI, pp. 109-110 (October 15, 1836).

or Blue Ridge route. Hayne held out (and successfully) for the Wheeler's Gap or French Broad route. (For a comparison see maps on pages 73 and 74.)

Hayne and Calhoun were agreed in at least one thing besides "States' Rights". Both Believed that Charleston was blessed with a situation which would render trade with the West profitable and more or less easy to carry on. Thus Calhoun wrote: "I do verily believe, that Charleston has more advantages in her position for the Western trade, than any city on the Atlantic." ²⁰ This ambitious statement evidently included New York City, which city Charleston was, at this time endeavoring to surpass in trade, but with indifferent success.

Where Hayne and Calhoun differed, however, was in their respective ideas as to which region of the West should be connected with Charleston to give her the maximum of trade. Calhoun wrote that to develop the advantages possessed by Charleston with reference to accessibility to Western trade "we ought to look to the Tennessee instead of the Ohio, and much farther to the West than Cincinnati or Lexington." ²¹ Hayne held that the connection should be made between the growing market and industrial center, Cincinnati, and

20. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 411. John C. Calhoun to James E. Calhoun, September 2, 1836.

21. Ibid.

the largest and most prosperous port on the South Atlantic coast, Charleston. On the whole, Hayne's contention seems to have been the more reasonable.

Cincinnati was the shipping point on the Ohio River for the grains of the fertile Northwest. Furthermore, and of perhaps more significance, that city was rapidly becoming a meat packing center of consequence. There were in Cincinnati at this time nine slaughter houses, and one more was situated at Covington, Kentucky, across the Ohio River immediately opposite Cincinnati. These ten slaughter houses seem to have been all under the control of one man, a Mr. Coleman. The largest of the slaughter houses was 160 feet long and 60 feet wide. Each house employed from 36 to 40 men, each of whom was paid from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per day. Hogs were driven to these slaughter houses from the interior of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. In the winter and spring of 1835, Cincinnati exported about 60,000 barrels of pork and 100,000 kegs of lard. During the winter of 1836, some 80,000 hogs were butchered in the slaughter houses of Cincinnati. ²² These figures rank Cincinnati as a leading meat packing center of that

22. Niles' Register, LI, pp. 341-342.

time. Indeed a Cincinnati writer in 1836, claimed that there were then facilities in that city for "the dressing of 8,000 hogs in one day. No place²³ in the world except Cincinnati can this be done."

Not only was Cincinnati a desirable connection for Charleston to make, according to the Hayne faction, but (according to the same faction) Cincinnati would also benefit by such a connection. The distance to Charleston from Cincinnati, by the²⁴ French Broad route, was as follows:

"From Cincinnati to Lexington or Paris, about	80 miles
Thence to Cumberland Gap,	130 "
Thence to the junction of French Broad, &c. . .	52 "
Thence by the French Broad and Saluda to	
Columbia, (S.C.)	215 "
Thence to Charleston,	130* "
Total distance	607

The distance from Cincinnati to New-York	
by way of Lake	950 miles
Distance to Philadelphia by way of Pitts-	
burg,	850 "
Distance to Baltimore by the way of Wheel-	
ing,	650 "
Distance to Mobile by the valley of the	
Tennessee,	780 "

* Only 110 miles by the State Road."

By reference to the foregoing figures, it may be seen at a glance that, should the railroad be con-

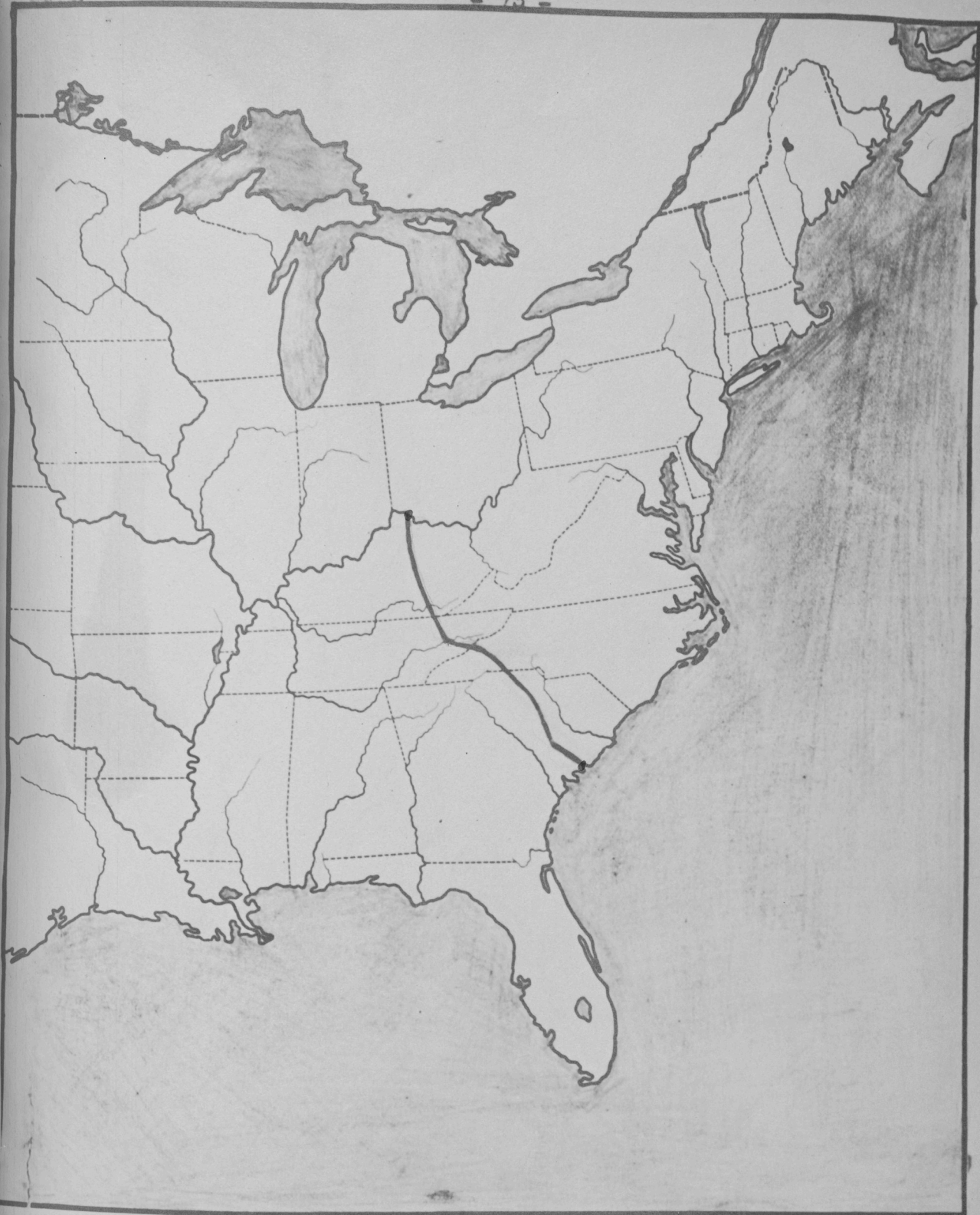
23. Niles' Register, LI, p. 342.

24. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 18.

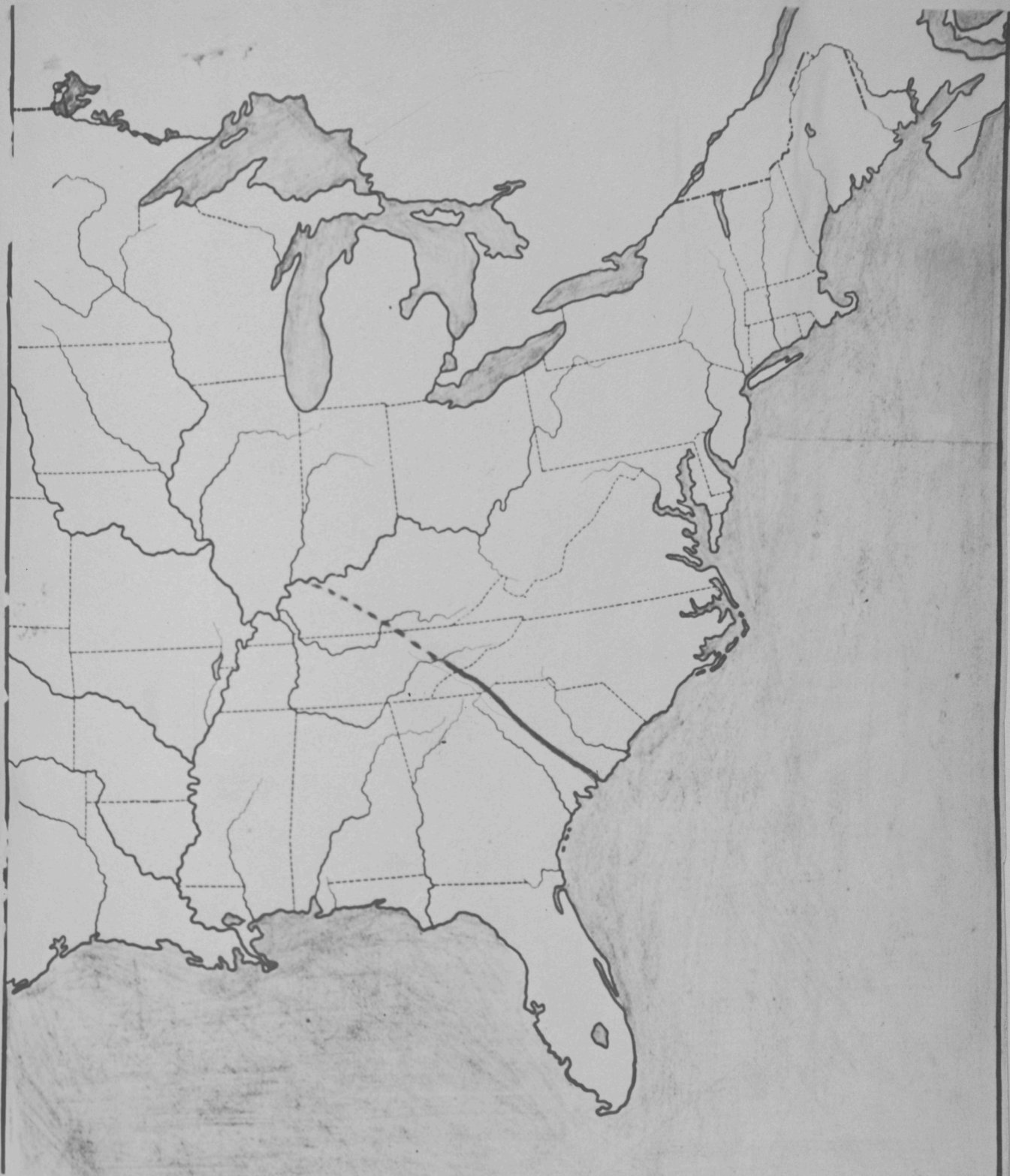
structed from Cincinnati to Charleston, it would give the grain dealers, millers, and meat packers of Cincinnati a shorter route to the Atlantic seaboard than any then in use. The route to Charleston would be 243 miles shorter than to Philadelphia; 43 miles shorter than to Baltimore; and 173 miles shorter than the route to Mobile. Any port which could monopolize the vast and growing trade being developed in Cincinnati was well assured of prosperity. Charleston was the seaport nearest Cincinnati. Thus it would be advantageous to Cincinnati to ship her goods to that place for reshipment. Any city would profit greatly by the rich trade with Cincinnati; therefore Charleston would profit. Thus a railroad between the two cities would be mutually profitable. This, in substance, was the tenet of²⁵ the Hayne faction.

Calhoun discredited the whole idea. His opinion, it seems, was somewhat variable but never at any time did he accept Hayne's French Broad route. As previously has been suggested, Calhoun favored the Carolina Gap route. At another time he had suggested a connection which was neither

25. Pro. of Cit. of Char., pp. 19-22.



HAYNE'S ROUTE OR THE FRENCH BROAD ROUTE (Approximately)
(From data taken from Niles' Weekly Register (Baltimore,
LI, p. 110.



CALHOUN'S ROUTE OR THE BLUE-RIDGE ROUTE (Approximately)
(From data taken from Calhoun's Letters in Ann. Rep., Am.
Hist. Assoc., 1899, II, pp. 364-366 and p. 411, and Niles'
Weekly Register Baltimore LI, p. 87.)
----- Calhoun rather indefinite.

the Carolina Gap or the French Broad route. He wrote, quoting himself as having said at some previous time that:

" . . . we must turn the Alleghany to the South West, as New York had to the North East, and the Tennessee river was to us, what the North river was to New York. With this in view, I proposed to aim at a point on that river above the Muscle Shoals and below the Suck."

Of course Hayne's idea and Calhoun's ideas were incompatible one with the other. They were advocated by clever and energetic men, but Hayne seems always to have been able to secure the majority in favor of his plans. Calhoun's many letters, meetings, and speeches for the purpose of changing the accepted route (French Broad) for the railroad were ineffective against Hayne's constant and zealous efforts in the other direction.

Consequently, Calhoun, on October 28, 1838, wrote a letter to Hayne in which he tendered his resignation as director of the company. It was accepted with little or no demur. By resigning, Calhoun tacitly admitted defeat in his controversy with Hayne, and he seems to have taken no more

26. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 413.

27. Ibid., II, p. 411. John C. Calhoun to Robert Y. Hayne, October 28, 1838.

interest in the progress of the company, other than to deride the futile efforts of its promoters. With the disbanding of the company in 1840, he wrote a letter to Andrew Pickens Calhoun, in which he appeared to be somewhat exultant over its dis-
28
solution.

Both Calhoun and Hayne seem to have had the interests of South Carolina, and especially Charleston at heart, but Hayne seems to have been the more sincere. Each worked for the carrying out of his idea of the proper route, but Hayne seems to have been the more tireless and energetic in the support of his plan. Each held (until October, 1838) a high position in the organization, but whereas Calhoun was a director, Hayne was the president of the company. Hayne, in his connection with the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad, amply demonstrated his intense state pride and his infinite capacity for carrying on constructive work, and also his ability to meet reverses with a smile.

It is unfortunate that historical works of a general nature make no mention of Hayne's work

28. Ann. Rep. of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for the Year 1899, II, p. 464. John C. Calhoun to Andrew Pickens Calhoun, September 25, 1840.

in connection with the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston enterprise. However, it is gratifying that Hayne's biographer, Jervey, has given it its²⁹ due emphasis.

29. Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne and His Times, passim.

CHAPTER IV

The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston: A Panacea

The almost complete absorption of the Cotton South in one industry (growing of cotton) led to the dependence of that region on other parts of the country, notably states to the east and to the north-west, for foodstuffs and manufactured products.¹ This condition easily led to the opposition in the South to a protective tariff. By 1824 the tariff question was assuming the aspects of a sectional controversy. Nowhere was the opposition to protective tariff more pronounced than in South Carolina. McDuffie, of that State,² in 1824 said:

"Whatever may be its effect upon the domestic manufactures, I speak advisedly when I say, it will operate as a tax upon the people, to the extent of at least four millions of dollars, and whether the proceeds of this tax shall go into the national treasury, or into the pockets of individuals, the thing about which there can be no doubt is, that the tax will be paid by the people."

Indicative of the growing displeasure in the South with the tariff, the same man said in 1828:³

"Individuals are always open to impressions of

1. Fish, The Development of American Nationality, p. 140.

2. Ibid., p. 143.

3. Ibid., p. 144.

generosity. But classes of the community, and sections of the country, when united and stimulated by the hope of gain, being destitute, like corporations, of individual responsibility, are, like them, destitute of hearts and souls to feel for the wrongs and sufferings they inflict on others."

These statements epitomize the feeling in the South, especially South Carolina, toward the tariff. The "Tariff of Abominations", passed in 1828, was, as its denomination would indicate, distasteful to the South. The Act of 1832 removed many of the "abominations" of the Act of 1828.⁴ Even this, however, did not satisfy South Carolina. Under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, a Nullification Ordinance was adopted which declared null and void both the acts (1828 and 1832).⁵ The compromise tariff of 1833 followed, but even this does not seem to have taken from the hearts of the South Carolinians the bitterness engendered by the former tariff laws, against the section of the country which was instrumental in passing them.⁶

Furthermore, the southeastern cotton region and the northwestern "granary of the world" were

4. Lippincott, Economic Development of the U.S., p. 211.

5. Ibid.

6. Pro. of Cit. of Char., pp. 13-14.

separated by the Appalachian Mountains, which formed a barrier, which, to say the least, was difficult to surmount. To get from Charleston to Cincinnati, even without goods, was a considerable feat. Under this condition there was little or no trade relationship between Cincinnati and Charleston.

Again, the South was faced at this time with the problem of the preservation of the institution of slavery. With the invention of the cotton gin, the cultivation of cotton received a decided impetus. Slave labor was peculiarly adaptable to the raising of cotton. There was no expensive machinery to be used; and, as Fish suggests, "the low cotton plants allowed the overseer to superintend a large gang of workers, in a manner impossible, for instance, in a corn field late in the year"⁷. Moreover, the Industrial Revolution in England had provided new and much more efficient machinery for spinning and weaving. Hence there was an increased demand for cotton, and naturally, this demand caused the price of cotton to rise. In 1799, cotton reached a high mark in the Liverpool market of 60 pence per pound, and sold

7. Fish, The Dev. of Am. Nationality, p. 140.

in the same year , in the United States, for 44⁸ cents per pound. The increased demand for cotton , then, and the adaptation of slave labor in its culture, led to a reaction, in the Cotton South, against the anti-slavery feeling which had been engendered in the South (perhaps more strongly than in any other section of the country) by the "natural rights" philosophy of the American Revolution. Because slavery was not profitable in the Northeast, that section opposed slavery, and the South was confronted with the problem of how to keep her newly profitably slaves in the face of opposition from the New England States, and still to preserve the Union.¹⁰

These, then, were the major problems confronting the South in 1835, and the construction of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad was advocated, by its enthusiastic backers, as the solution for all of them.

The meeting of the citizens of Charleston, convened on November 4, 1835, heard, and approved the report of a committee, headed by Robert Y. Hayne,

8. Watkins, Production and Price of Cotton for One Hundred Years, U.S. Dep't of Agriculture, Division of Statistics, 1895, p. 6.

9. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 17.

which had been appointed at a similar meeting held on October 22 of the same year.¹⁰ This report stated the reasons that the proposed railroad should be constructed. In substance they were as follows: (1) to effect a mutual exchange of products between the South and the West; (2) through this exchange, to establish manufactures in the West which would require no protection for their support, and for which the South would furnish raw materials; (3) to enable the citizens of Charleston, Cincinnati, Lexington, and Knoxville more easily to visit each other; (4) for the "strengthening the bonds of our political union"; and (5) to strengthen the institution of slavery and ¹¹ "thereby save the Union".

That the proposed railroad would, if constructed, be instrumental in bringing about a mutual exchange of products between the South and the West is, of course, incontrovertible. As has been pointed out, Cincinnati was developing, at this time, as a meat packing center, and furthermore was a shipping point on the Ohio River for great quantities of

10. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 3.

11. Ibid., pp. 13-17.

flour and grain. Charleston might well profit by a connection with Cincinnati, and Cincinnati, by a connection with the South Atlantic seaboard and the Cotton Belt, would profit no less.

Evidently the Charlestonians believed that, by means of this contemplated commercial intercourse, new manufactures would be established in the West. Why they thought that the westerners, if manufacturing were started in the West on a large scale, would object to a tariff, or at least not work toward the passage of protective tariff measures, is uncertain. Also one is led to wonder if they overlooked the fact that the West had sponsored Clay's "American System" in 1824. At that time the West had favored the protective tariff because it would afford security for the factories of the East, and thereby build up an eastern consuming population, which would afford a market for western produce.¹² However, the Charlestonians seemed to have forgotten this attitude, and evidently felt confident that if manufactures were started in the West, they would tend to do away with the

12. Paxson, Hist. of the Am. Frontier, p. 247.

tariff. Furthermore they definitely associated the building of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad with the establishment of such industry, on a large scale, in the West. Thus the railroad became, in their minds, the solution of another of the problems of the South, and they looked to it for the abolition of all protective tariff, or at least to render it ineffective by having a market in which it would not be effective.

Another effect which the people of Charleston claimed that the railroad would have, if constructed, was that there would be more visiting among the citizens living along the route of the railroad. This should undoubtedly have been true. What formerly had been a rigorous trip of some three weeks, should then have become a comparatively easy journey of as many days.

Another, and somewhat indefinite, claim for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad was that it would be instrumental in "strengthening the bonds of our political union", presumably by strengthening the bonds of economic interest. Possibly they meant that Charleston could reach out and dominate the political situation along the route of this rail-

road as she had already done, it seems, in South Carolina.

By far the most interesting justification of the construction of the railroad set forth by the citizens of Charleston was that the road would strengthen the institution of slavery, and would "thereby save the Union". In order that the precise attitude of the citizens of Charleston in this regard may here be set forth, it will be necessary to quote directly the resolution relevant to that attitude:
13

"In one point of view, these considerations assume an importance, to which too much weight cannot possibly be given, --- we allude to the effect which, such a connexion [The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad] must have upon the peculiar institutions of the South. Slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States, which we all feel and know to be essential to the prosperity and welfare, - nay - to the very existence of these States, is so little understood, in other portions of the Union, that it has lately been assailed, in a spirit, which threatens, - unless speedily arrested, - to lead eventually to the destruction of the Union, and all the evils which must attend so lamentable an occurrence, We believe, that the establishment of such an intercourse with the Western States, as is now proposed, would have a powerful tendency to avert this dire calamity. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, are slaveholding States, and we shall certainly be greatly strengthened, by being brought into close connexion with them, - nor can we doubt that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois (where the fanatical anti-slavery spirit is as yet almost unknown,) as well as the other New States, destined ere long to spring up in the Northwest, would not only become reconciled to our institutions, (by becoming better acquainted with them) but would also be interested in defending and maintaining them."

It is not surprising that the question of the security of the institution of slavery should be brought out as a possible result of the building of the railroad when we consider ~~the~~ the extremely pro-slavery position taken by the citizens of South Carolina generally, and furthermore, that two of the strongest pro-slavery men in the South, John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne, were closely concerned with the enterprise. Furthermore, Hayne was the chairman of the committee from whose report the preceding excerpt was taken.¹⁴ Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that the committee, seconded apparently by the assembled citizens of Charleston, believed that the proposed railroad connection would be effective in the strengthening of slavery by bringing about a closer relationship between the South and the Northwest, which relationship would so enhance the power of the states advocating slavery, and would so increase the number of people and the amount of resources of those states, that the pro-slavery element would be indisputably in power,. This unbalance of power, they further believed, it seems, would serve to avert any possible conflict which might otherwise arise between the slave states and the anti-slavery states.

14. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 5.

Apparently taking their cue from Samuel Adams' Committees of Correspondence, this assembly of Charlestonians appointed a Committee of Correspondence, composed of seven men -- Robert Y. Hayne, James Hamilton, Charles Edmonston, Charles J. Colcock, Thomas Bennett, Ker Boyce, and Alexander Black. Robert Y. Hayne, as usual, was appointed chairman.¹⁵ It was the duty of this committee to write to influential men in the states through which the proposed railroad was to pass and to enlist their support for the enterprise. Although no letters were available which the members of this committee wrote in the discharge of their duty, it is but reasonable to suppose that they wrote such letters. Moreover, it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that these letters sowed broadcast the ideas adopted by the meeting at which they were appointed.

In any case it is certain that some of the reasons, advanced at the Knoxville Railroad Convention, at which nine states were represented, show traces of Charlestonian origin. Following are recapitulations of the reasons for the construction of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad,

15. Pro. of Cit. of Char., pp. 23-24.

there set forth:

1. It would give an impulse to the industry of the West, improving the agriculture, adding value to the land, develop mineral resources, introduce new manufactures, increase population, increase demand for labor, and build up villages.
2. It would result in extension of production and consumption by people along the entire line.
3. It would supply the whole Atlantic Coast and foreign countries with productions from the West.
4. It would cause a vast amount of domestic manufactures of every description to spring up in the West, where labor was cheap, and water power, plentiful.
5. It would enlarge the South Atlantic cities by increasing the shipping.
6. It would bring about the speedy transportation of the mail. "Circulation of literary productions and information would be facilitated, thereby establishing an intellectual intercourse whereby the public mind would be enlarged, improved, and liberalized."

16. Niles' Register, LI, pp. 110-111, (October 15, 1836).

7. It would provide facilities for immigration.

8. It would be of very great advantage in time of war.

It is virtually impossible to summarize the following point in the argument, and still to retain anything of its spirit. It is, therefore,
17
quoted verbatim:

"Its controlling and permanent influence on the peace and perpetuity of the Union, by practically increasing the reciprocal dependence of the north and south, from Michigan to Florida - by establishing connexions in business, promoting friendships, abolishing prejudice, creating great uniformity in public opinion, and blending the feelings of distant portions of the country into a UNION OF HEART."

These reasons, it will be seen, are considerably toned down in comparison to the reasons assigned by Charleston's citizens. All through this period (1835-1836) of intense enthusiasm for the project, however, any person or body of people who undertook to give reasons why the railroad should be built was certain, it seems, to mention that, in one way or another, it would serve to preserve the Union.

The Charleston citizens held that it would serve that purpose by causing the Southern interests to become so strong as to be unassailable; the Knox-

17. Niles' Register, LI, p. 110, (October 15, 1836).

ville Convention set forth the idea that it would tend to preserve the Union by increasing the interdependence of the South and the North. Somewhat widely differing from the view of the Charleston meeting, and slightly also from the view adopted at the Knoxville Convention was the opinion of Senator Craighead, state senator in the Tennessee General Assembly. He said: "They [speaking of railroads in general, and of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad in particular] tend powerfully to dispel those sentimental prejudices which in times of local excitement but too often lend their aid to disunite the parts composing this happy Union."¹⁸

It is impossible, within the limits of this short discussion, to elaborate upon each of the evils which it was assumed by the promoters and supporters of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad that the railroad, when constructed (for they did not allow themselves to admit the possibility that it would not soon be constructed), would remedy. It is sufficient that it be concluded, on the basis of the reasons given for the construction of

18. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36,
p. 117.

the road, that there was hardly any economic, educational, social, or political grievance which the railroad (according to its promoters) was not destined to set right. The problems of tariff, slavery, labor, transportation, population, culture, agriculture, immigration, and future defense in time of war, were all to be brought to a desirable conclusion, according to the supporters of the project, through the operation of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad after its construction.

Certainly there was more than a grain of truth in these assertions. Certainly a great economic revolution must necessarily have followed the construction of this railroad of such immense and ambitious proportions. Certainly agriculture would have been encouraged, the ports of the South Atlantic seaboard would have gained in prosperity; and several other of the predicted results would have been effected. However, just as certainly, the railroad would not have had the effect of abolishing the tariff, or of joining the Northwest with the South, in what would be, in effect, a vast slave territory set in opposition against the remaining states of the

Union. Cool reason and fiery imagination both entered the minds of the plucky Charlestonians who initiated and supported the hopeless enterprise.

CHAPTER V

The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston: Again a Dim Ideal

The immediate causes of the dissolution of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company in 1840, we have seen, were (1) the death of Abraham Blanding, (2) the precipitate fall of prices in the cotton market, at home and abroad, and (3) the death of Robert Y. Hayne, assiduous and zealous president of the company.

However, there are several underlying causes which fundamentally are to be held accountable for the failure of the imposing enterprise. The first of these, for our consideration, is the inordinate length of the projected railroad. The road was planned to traverse four states, and was, in all, to be 607 miles in length.¹ This led, inevitably, to the planning of the road upon the most direct route, rather than by a more circuitous but more expedient route. Perhaps this statement should be explained. If a group of a few counties planned to construct a railroad, it would lay out the route along the

1. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 18.

path of least resistance, so to speak, so far as natural barriers were concerned. They would, furthermore, take pains to have their road, at one of its termini at least, connect with another railroad, thus extending the range of operations on the road. The long railroad project, however, was likely to be planned along the most direct possible route, instead of the easiest as was the case with the local projects.

The other reason that the length of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad operated as a handicap to that enterprise was the fact that local interests came into conflict with the plan of the railroad. We have already noted the jealousy of Kentucky, and her consequent blocking of the project. We have noted also that, in East Tennessee, some at least, were inclined to lend their aid to the Hiwassee Railroad - a local project - rather than to the immense South Carolina project.² Some of the states were not disposed to lend financial support to the enterprise. To this tendency, along with the mountainous route,³ Ramsey attributed the failure of the project. He wrote:

"Under these circumstances it became painfully

2. Reprinted from the Knoxville Times, in Niles' Register, LVII, p. 67, (September 28, 1839).

3. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 38.

evident that the great undertaking of constructing a rail road 600 miles across a Mountain country with the then available means of the states interested in it, must for the present be abandoned."

By 1842, the General Assembly of Tennessee had not annulled the Tennessee subscription to the stock of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. Accordingly the president of the Knoxville Branch of the Southwestern Railroad Bank demanded, of the Bank of Tennessee, payment of interest due on the bonds which had been issued by the State in payment of part of its subscription to the railroad company. The Bank of Tennessee declined to make the payment, and referred the matter to Governor James C. Jones, who soon thereafter called a special session of the General Assembly and laid the difficulty before that body.⁴

The General Assembly passed an act during that session (November 16, 1842) providing for the withdrawal of the state subscription and the cancellation of the State bonds issued to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company.⁵ This act officially marked the end of the company insofar as

4. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1842 (Special session), p. 4.

5. Ibid., 1842 (Special Session), ch. X, p. 27.

Tennessee was concerned.

As late as 1852, however, an act crept into the statute books which revived the charter of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company. Because this is not brought out in any work dealing with this railroad, and because it might be difficult to believe, the section of the act relevant to the recrudescence of this perennial
6
railroad company is quoted verbatim:

"SEC. 26. Be it enacted, That an act passed January 21st, 1836, incorporating the Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company, be, and the same is hereby revived and renewed, and that the persons mentioned therein as commissioners along or near the line of said road, or a majority of them, may open books of subscription at such times and places as they may see proper, and may organize and form a new company for the purpose of constructing said road, so as to connect with such roads, at the Tennessee line, as may be contemplated by the States of Kentucky, North and South Carolina."

The last twenty-four words of this act reveal it as a Tennessee enterprise rather than a great co-operative plan such as was the original company. However, if the books were ever opened under this act, it is apparently not a matter of record, and it is extremely doubtful whether there was ever a single share of stock subscribed.

6. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXCI, sec. 26, p. 279.

In a sense, the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad was a failure -- and a dismal failure even. Under its original charter, and along the route first adopted by the engineers of the company, it was never constructed. However, it served to inspire railroad enterprise in Tennessee and other states for many years after its disintegration. From the time of the failure of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad until fifteen years afterward, agitation was renewed in Cincinnati for the construction of a railroad to the South. "Financial encouragement was given to many unsuccessful companies."⁷ This parallels the situation in East Tennessee, and a considerable part of this study will be devoted to such enterprises.

A terse but accurate estimate of the influence of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad upon subsequent railroad construction and projection in Tennessee, and the other states concerned in the original enterprise, was written, in 1857,⁸ by M. B. Prichard. It follows:

7. Hollander, "The Necessity of the Railway", in Founding of the Cincinnati Southern Railway, p. 7.

8. Knoxville Register, April 9, 1857.

"The grand object has never been lost sight of,
but link by link, and step by step has progress
been made in Kentucky and in North and South Caro-
lina, and a system of railroad is now complete
from Knoxville not only to Charleston but to near-
ly every other Southern city." (Italics are mine.)

Truly, "the grand object" was never "lost sight of",
and it is chiefly with the struggles in East Tenn-
essee towards its attainment, that we will be con-
cerned in the remainder of this study.

PART III

THE HIWASSEE RAILROAD:

EAST TENNESSEE'S EXPERIMENT IN RAILROAD BUILDING

CHAPTER I

The Charter

The Hiwassee Railroad, unlike the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston, was strictly and exclusively an East Tennessee enterprise. True, the Hiwassee was planned (and as the East Tennessee and Georgia, constructed) as a link in a great chain of railroads extending from Charleston to the eastern cities. However, the Hiwassee (or East Tennessee and Georgia) alone, as merely a link in the system of railroads, was entirely the work of East Tennessee. Indeed, except for a certain amount of State aid, we shall find in our study of this railroad, that of the four factors of production (land, labor, capital, and entrepreneur), three -- land, capital, and entrepreneurs -- were supplied entirely by residents of the counties of Knox, Roane, McMinn, and Bradley. The greatest degree of activity toward the construction of this railroad was centered in McMinn County; and in that county, Athens, the county-seat, took the lead.

Furthermore, the Hiwassee Railroad differed from the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston as to route. The route over which the latter railroad was projected

was the French Broad route sponsored by Hayne. The Hiwassee was projected as a part of a line of railroads which, collectively, would establish a connection between Knoxville and Charleston, south not only of Hayne's French Broad route, but even south of Calhoun's Blue Ridge route. The Hiwassee was projected to pass through the valley between the Great Smoky Mountains and the Cumberland Mountains, over a route having a maximum grade of only thirty-seven feet to the mile.¹ The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston, on the other hand, was planned to run directly through the mountains.

The Goodspeed Publishing Company's History of Tennessee -- a monumental collection of errors, incidentally -- gives the impression that the Hiwassee Railroad grew out of dissatisfaction, on the part of the delegation from lower East Tennessee to the Knoxville Railroad Convention of July, 1836, with the French Broad route endorsed at that time by the Convention.² It is necessary, in order to prove the untenability of such a hypothesis, only to cite the fact that the Hiwassee Railroad Company was incorporated by the General Assembly of Tennessee on Jan-

1. Special Message of the Gov. of Tenn., to the Gen. Assembly, with the Rep. of the Comm. of Roads, 1856, p. 6.

2. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 342.

uary 30, 1836, and that, according to the terms of its charter, the commissioners were to open the books for subscription on July 4, 1836 -- the first day of the Convention at Knoxville. It is true that the Hiwassee Railroad was, in a sense, a competitor of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston throughout the short period of the existence of the latter. However, the formation of the Hiwassee Railroad Company was not contingent upon a misunderstanding at the "Great Knoxville Rail Road Convention", although there is wide-spread misapprehension upon this point.

As has already been stated, the General Assembly of Tennessee, on January 30, 1836, passed an act incorporating the Hiwassee Railroad Company -- the first strictly East Tennessee railroad project to receive a charter, and the first in the entire State upon which actual construction work was done. In the Senate there was only one vote against the granting of the charter; that one was cast by William Trousdale.

The Hiwassee Railroad, according to its charter, was to be constructed "from Knoxville, East Tennessee,

3. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p. 385.

4. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 6.

5. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p. 385.

through the Hiwassee District to a point on the Southern boundary of Tennessee, to be designated by the Commissioners hereinafter mentioned as the most practical route to intersect the contemplated Railroad⁶ from Augusta to Memphis".

James Hayes Reagan, state senator from McMinn County, had, on January 11, 1836, presented to the State Senate, a memorial of citizens of the Hiwassee District asking that a railroad be chartered from Knoxville "to join the Augusta and Athens Ga. Railroad⁷ in the State of Georgia." Reagan's efforts to obtain the charter for the Hiwassee Railroad Company, and his subsequent loan to the company of \$50,000 could not well have been disinterested, in view of the fact that he owned 1600 acres of land in McMinn County, through which the projected railroad was to⁸ pass.

The charter of the Hiwassee Railroad Company provided that the capital stock of the company was to be \$600,000, with the provision that the president and directors of the company might increase it to \$1,500,000. The shares were to have a par value

6. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 1.

7. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p. 287.

8. Hale and Merritt, A Hist. of Tenn. and Tennesseans, VIII, p. 2514.

of one hundred dollars each. If more than 6,000 shares were subscribed, the subscription should be reduced in such a manner that no subscription should be reduced while one remained larger. After thirty days notice in the Knoxville and Athens newspapers, the president and directors of the company might direct a payment of an instalment on shares subscribed, such instalments not to exceed one-fourth of the subscription in any one year. If the subscription of 4,000 shares were not obtained by January 1, 1838, the incorporation and all subscriptions made were to be declared null and void. On July 4, 1836, the commissioners were to cause the books to be opened for subscription in the towns of Knoxville, Tazewell, Rogersville, Jonesboro', Greeneville, Dandridge, Sevierville, Columbus, Philadelphia, Athens, Maryville, Madisonville, Calhoun, Dallas, Washington, Jasper, Pikeville, and Kingston. When 4,000 shares had been subscribed, and after thirty days notice in the

9. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 2.

10. Ibid., sec. 3.

11. Ibid., sec. 4.

12. Ibid., sec. 5.

newspapers, an election was to be held to elect nine directors, each share of stock having one vote. The directors were then to choose one of their own number for president. The president and directors were then to remain in office until "the first Monday of the January following". None but stockholders were to be eligible to the office of director nor, since the directors only were eligible to the office of president, for that office also.¹³ Should any vacancy occur on the board of directors, the vacancy was to be filled by that body.¹⁴ An annual report was to be made on the first Monday in January by the president and directors.¹⁵

When the capital stock of the company should be found to be insufficient for the purposes of the act of incorporation, it was declared lawful for the president and directors, from time to time, to increase the capital stock by any amount so that the capital stock should not exceed \$1,500,000.¹⁶ Every officer in the company was required, before entering upon the duties of his office, to take an oath or affirmation

13. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 6.

14. Ibid., sec. 7.

15. Ibid., sec. 8.

16. Ibid., sec. 12.

faithfully to perform his duties according to the act
17
of incorporation.

The right of way was limited to two hundred feet.
18
The company was given the right of eminent domain.
19
Furthermore, the State set ^{maximum} the rates. One passenger with
not over one hundred pounds of baggage was not to be
charged over six cents per mile. The rate for every
hundred pounds of commodities, goods, and wares was
not to exceed one-half cent per mile for "heavy goods",
and not to exceed ten cents per cubic foot for "articles
20
of measurement".

Another section of the charter provided that part
of the road should be contracted for before January 1,
1838, and completed before January 1, 1844. The penalty
for the infraction of this section was to be annulment
21
of the charter of the company.

The commissioners authorized under the Hiwassee
Railroad Company charter to take subscriptions for
stock were: in Knoxville, William Park, Solomon D. Jacobs,

17. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 9.

18. Ibid., sec. 13.

19. Ibid., sec. 14.

20. Ibid., sec. 26.

21. Ibid., sec. 23.

Ebenezer Alexander, William Baine Alexander Ramsey,
Drury Paine Armstrong; in Kingston, Henry Liggett,
William S. McEwen, _____ Hamilton, Joseph Byrd;
in Tazewell, Fidelio S. Hunt, Hugh Graham, James
Dickinson, Joseph Jones, William Houston; in Rogers-
ville, Nicholas Fain, Willie B. Mitchell, Clinton
Armstrong; in Greeneville, William Dickson, George
Jones, Valentine Sevier; in Jonesboro', John Blair,
Seth J. W. Lucky, John G. Eason; in Dandridge, Robert
Hynds, John Roper, William Moore, Joseph Hamilton,
Jr.; in Sevierville, Micajah C. Rogers, James P.H.
Porter, John Cannon; in Maryville, William Wallace,
John Sample, J. H. Gillespie, William A. Spencer; in
Madisonville, James A. Coffin, James Greenway, Sam-
uel Bicknell, William M. Stakely, Guilford Cannon;
in Philadelphia, Matthew Nelson, Jacob Pearson, Rob-
ert Cleveland, Hugh Smith, William Montgomery; in
Athens, Solomon S. Bogart, Onslow G. Murrell, John
W. M. Breazeale, John Crawford, Thomas Crutchfield;
in Calhoun, John L. McCarty, Archibald K. Turk,
Ezekiel Bates; in Columbus, John White, Hamilton Brad-
ford, Henry Bradford; in Washington, John Locke, Rich-
ard Waterhouse, Thomas McCallie, Robert N. Gillespie;
in Pikeville, Samuel L. Story, John Bridgman, Samuel

Robertson; in Dallas, Madison Rawlings, William G. Smith, Samuel Igone; in Jasper, John Kelley, James Francis, William Rice; and in Bradley County,²² William Grant, William McMillan, and Henry Price.

Through the appointment of these men as commissioners, the interest in railroad enterprise was fostered among men of widely varying occupations. Seth J. W. Lucky, Robert Hynds, and Ebenezer Alexander were judges. Valentine Sevier was a circuit court clerk. John Blair was a politician. William Park was a merchant in Knoxville, and William²³ B. A. Ramsey, then editor of the Knoxville Register, was later (1839) to become the first mayor of Knoxville to be elected by direct popular vote. He was elected by a majority of one vote, 97 votes being²⁴ cast. Joseph Byrd and William Moore were farmers on rather a small scale, as were also, no doubt, many others of the commissioners whose records are not to be found even in county history. Drury Paine Armstrong was a planter, merchant and director of the Union Bank at Knoxville. Solomon D. Jacobs was later to become more definitely connected with the enterprise, as he was, in 1837, elected president of

22. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 1.

23. Knoxville Register, March 15, 1837.

24. The Daily Times (Chattanooga), February 10, 1892.

the company.

These men, then, being interested, to some extent at least, in the construction of the Hiwassee Railroad would, in their daily contacts with their business and professional colleagues, friends and neighbors, influence them in some measure and tend to win them over to the idea of the construction of this railroad through East Tennessee. Thus the auspices seemed favorable for a successful beginning and a speedy completion of the Hiwassee Railroad.

CHAPTER II

Subscription and Organization 1836-1838

The beginning of the company was not an unqualified success. The pre-organization activities in McMinn County will here be mentioned, not as being typical, but as presenting by far the most favorable picture of the activities in the several counties.

The commissioners from McMinn County opened the books for the subscription to stock at the time required by the charter, evidently with confidence that the amount required by the charter (\$400,000 by January 1, 1838) would easily and quickly be subscribed. In this, however, they were in time disillusioned. Days grew into weeks; weeks passed into months; and the months' passage threatened to bring around the time when the charter was to be annulled in default of the subscription of \$400,000¹. Accordingly, to avoid the forfeiture of the charter, six men of McMinn County, General Nathaniel Smith, Onslow G. Mur-

1. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 5.

rell, Ashbury M. Coffey, James H. Tyffe, Alexander D. Keyes, and T. Nixon Van Dyke decided to subscribe each his pro rata share of the amount still to be subscribed in order to keep the charter. There was in all, from the counties other than McMinn, about \$120,000² subscribed. The six McMinn County railroad enthusiasts subscribed for the remainder, and agreed among themselves (for they held the controlling power) to permit no organization of the company until they could distribute their stock in such a manner that the holders of it might meet the calls for payment. Then ensued a period of persevering effort to dispose of the stock in a suitable manner, and in about a year all of this stock was satisfactorily distributed.³

On the surface it appears that these men assumed upon themselves a great amount of risk by subscribing for so much stock. Such was not the case, however. It was not necessary to make any payment upon stock subscribed at the time of subscription. They signed for the stock merely to protect the charter of the company, and at no risk to themselves.

2. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 342.

3. Killebrew and Safford, Intro. to the Resources of Tenn., p. 311.

Holding, as they did, the controlling interest in the company, it was for them to say when the company should be organized. Consequently, if they did not permit organization, there would be no president or board of directors. The president and board of directors alone were given the power, under the charter, to call for payment of instal-⁴ments on stock subscribed. Therefore there would have been no payment necessary on the stock, and the charter would remain in force, until January 1, 1844, by which date it was necessary to have completed a part of the road in order to keep the⁵ charter alive. It was a clever plan on the part of the McMinn County gentlemen -- a plan which (with some modifications) the promoters of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad later found it expedient to imitate.

However, as the McMinn railroad promoters had managed suitably to distribute the stock by 1837, the company was then organized. Solomon D. Jacobs was elected the first president of East Tennessee's

4. Hiwassee Railroad Company Charter, sec. 4.

5. Ibid., sec. 23.

first railroad. John C. Trautwine, of Philadelphia, was employed as chief engineer; Charles Sinickson, as chief assistant engineer; and Marlowe Hayes, William H. Hoffman, and James Barnard, as⁶ assistant engineers. Asbury M. Coffey, of McMinn⁷ County, was elected secretary and treasurer. East Tennessee's infant railroad was now ready to take its first tottering, experimental step.

The road was surveyed, located, and on June 4, 1837 was contracted to be graded from the Hiwassee River to Blair's Ferry (Loudon) -- a distance of $41\frac{1}{2}$ miles. As surveyed, the road bed nowhere on its length had a grade exceeding 33 feet to a mile. The crossing of the river hills near Blair's Ferry was to be effected by a cut of only⁸ thirty feet in depth. Late in the summer of 1837, in the Knoxville Register, there appeared, in support of the Hiwassee Railroad, an article which⁹ closed with these words: "The surveys throughout the whole line exhibit a short and excellent route, presenting fewer difficulties to the construction

6. Knoxville Register, October 18, 1837.

7. Killiebrew and Safford, Intro. to the Resources of Tenn., p. 311.

8. Knoxville Register, July 1, 1837.

9. Ibid., August 2, 1837.

of the road than the most sanguine of its friends had anticipated."

The road, as planned, was to pass through Knoxville, Philadelphia (Tenn.), Athens, and Calhoun, and within three-fourths of a mile of Cleveland (Tenn.). The entire length of the line was to be 98½ miles -- only six miles longer than the length of a straight line drawn between the termini. John C. Trautwine, chief engineer, estimated the cost of the road at \$11,500 per mile, and the entire cost (including bridges at Blair's Ferry and Calhoun) at \$1,250,000. The bridge at Blair's Ferry and the one at Calhoun were to be "double width to accomodate common travelling", which meant, of course, traveling on foot, on horseback, or in carriages, carts, wagons, or other vehicles. The superstructure was to consist of locust or red cedar, ten inches in diameter, flattened on their lower sides, and laid transverse to the road with intervals of three feet, six inches. Upon them were to be notched and wedged the longitudinal or rail timbers, used in those days, of sawed yellow pine or white

oak, five inches wide by nine inches deep, well water seasoned. Upon these longitudinal timbers were to be laid rails of the T type which were then beginning to come into general use. Such¹⁰ were the plans of the chief engineer.

Before October 18, 1837, the grading of the¹¹ road had been started two miles below Athens, being as Killebrew expressed it, "the first lick ever made in the State in the construction of a rail-¹²road". The work was being done by Irish laborers¹³ under the direction of Lonergan, the contractor.

We may well pause at this point in the history of the Hiwassee Railroad to consider the tenor of public opinion in regard to its construction. There were, it appears, two factions. One was a group which looked with favor upon the building of the railroad. This group, apparently, was rather small, but it was composed, for the most part, of men of influence and wealth. The other group, vastly larger, was composed of men who had no in-

10. Knoxville Register, October 18, 1837.

11. Ibid.

12. Killebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p.311.

13. Knoxville Register, October 18, 1837.

terest in the construction of the Hiwassee Railroad, and were apathetic or outspokenly hostile toward the project. This latter group, however, was composed, generally, of small tradesmen, small farmers and, in fact, of the small man in almost every occupation -- a class which, as a rule, tends toward conservatism.

The hostile part of the public, however, when the work of construction had actually been started, and when glowing reports were coming every three months from the chief engineer, began to relinquish some of its hostility. The general tendency now was for the apathetic of the group to come out definitely in support of the project; and for those who had before been hostile, to become apathetic in their attitude toward it.

In the following letter, published in the Knoxville Register, may be discerned the attitude of a man who at this time was on the border line between apathy and interest, and who, quite probably, had been only a short while before, inimical¹⁴ to the entire plan of railroad construction:

14. Knoxville Register, August 2, 1837.

"Col. Ramsey:

Dear Sir:

On enquiry I am informed that about 43 years since there was a flood in the Holston of 40 feet above the water, and that many now living can show where the waters raised to. Of this, those surveying the routes for the rail roads ought to be apprised, for they ought not to be constructed (if at all) below that level, and the fact can certainly be proved.

A. SUBSCRIBER"

(Italics are mine.)

The land promoters, in the towns through which the Hiwassee Railroad was projected, lost no time in using that fact as a sales argument. Also in the Knoxville Register, appeared the following advertisement:
15

"LOTS FOR SALE IN THE TOWN OF PHILADELPHIA, TENNESSEE

Whereas the Hiwassee Railroad is now definitely located through said town, and will in a few days be put under contract for construction. It is obvious therefore that the limits of the town, must be enlarged, so as to give ample scope to the rapid growth of industry and enterprise of the day and make room for the Capitalist, the Manufacturers, and the Mechanics of every branch of workmanship."

The advertisement proceeded to suggest that fifty or sixty lots had been laid out on both sides of the railroad, or rather of where the railroad would be, it was hoped, at some time in the future. These lots were offered to prospective buyers, apparently with

15. Knoxville Register, August 23, 1837.

the idea that they would eagerly be bought:

"Gentlemen, Capitalist, and Mechanics are invited to call and make an early selection of such situations as may best suit their respective business, and they shall be accommodated at private sale. — J. PEARSON"

Another question now presents itself. Why did the East Tennesseans choose to construct their first railroad to Georgia rather than to the North or to the East? One would suppose, and not without reason perhaps, that the first efforts of East Tennessee in railroad enterprise would be an endeavor to lay a track to the great eastern marts, to the South Atlantic Seaboard, or to the rapidly growing "Queen City of the West", Cincinnati. Not so, however. The Hiwassee Railroad, the first upon which construction work was done in Tennessee, was projected to run almost due south from Knoxville to the Georgia line. The choice of this route may be accounted for upon the basis of three determining conditions.

The first of these was the prohibitive expense certain to be attendant upon any effort to grade a railroad bed across the mountains of East

Tennessee and western North Carolina to the Piedmont and thence to the Atlantic coast, or across the mountains of upper East Tennessee and southwestern Kentucky to the "Blue Grass Region" of that State, and thence to Cincinnati. Either route would necessitate the erection of a number of trestles, the cutting through of many tunnels, and the construction of almost innumerable bridges, fills and embankments, which the limited financial resources and the lack of engineering skill of the time combined to make impossible. Only the ultra-enthusiastic Charlestonians dared, at this time, even to dream of such a project, and to them, as we have seen, the fulfillment of such a dream was largely left. Their failure may be accounted for largely upon the basis of the foregoing conditions -- conditions which must surely have made the plan impossible of accomplishment, however tireless its supporters might have been in attempting it.

The second condition was the one just now suggested, namely that the South Carolinians had undertaken the project. If the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston had been successful, rather

than the ill-fated enterprise which it proved to be, East Tennessee would have had connections by rail both with the South Atlantic seaboard and Cincinnati. It remained for the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad in 1856, to effect East Tennessee's part of a connection of that section with the East. The only possibilities, then, at this time for railroad construction which was likely to prove profitable were roughly, the route later built over by the East Tennessee and Virginia and the one actually adopted by the Hiwassee.

This leads us to consider the reason for an attempted connection at this time with the farther South rather than with the East. Georgia and the other states lying to the south of Tennessee were engaged almost exclusively in the growing of cotton, and consequently they were dependent upon other sections, to a great extent, to supply them with provisions. These states moreover, while they were producers of cotton, were not consumers of it. Thus they had a surplus of cotton which they marketed, usually at a good

17. Knoxville Register, May 13, 1858.

figure. In the year immediately preceding that in which the Hiwassee Railroad Company received its charter (1835) the Cotton Belt produced a crop of 1,254,328 bales of cotton; they consumed 236,733 bales, and exported 1,023,000 bales at an average price of 17.45 cents per pound.¹⁸ The average net weight of a bale was 367 pounds. Thus, the income of the Cotton Belt from exports of its staple crop was, in 1835, about \$65,514,454. It must be remembered that cotton was raised largely at the expense of the cultivation of foodstuffs, therefore the foodstuffs produced in the cotton section were far from adequate in amount. Hence it was necessary that it import food.¹⁹ East Tennessee, with a surplus of foodstuffs, especially grain, and with no satisfactory means of transportation, was naturally eager to establish a trade with the wealthy and ready markets of the farther South.²⁰ The only practicable means for establishing this trade between East Tennessee and the rich Cotton Belt lay in the construction of a railroad running along the same or a closely similar route to that

18. Watkins, Production and Price of Cotton for One Hundred Years, U. S. Dep't of Agriculture, Division of Statistics, 1895, p. 10.

19. Knoxville Register, October 18, 1837.

20. Knoxville Times, October 4, 1839.

adopted by the Hiwassee Railroad.

Furthermore, as immediate causes of the preference given to this connection over a connection with the East were the facts that at this time there was a state-built railroad in the course of construction in Georgia toward East Tennessee, and that the people of lower East Tennessee, especially in McMinn County, seemed to be more progressive in the matter of railroads -- more "railroad-minded" as we would say today -- than were the residents of the northern part of the section.

It is unfortunate that the Hiwassee Railroad was not rapidly pushed to completion soon after it was started. The twenty year delay in the construction of the Hiwassee Railroad caused East Tennessee to fall behind the more progressive states -- a condition from which she has not even yet (1929) completely recovered. This applies particularly to that section of East Tennessee which is known as the "Sweetwater Valley", and directly through which the Hiwassee Railroad was planned and later constructed.²¹
²²
This valley, fertile and fair, through its lack of transportation facilities, was easily outstripped

21. Lenoir, Hist. of the Sweetwater Valley, p. 219.

22. The Tennessee Farmer (Jonesboro'), I, p. 19.

by those sections which were more progressive in the matter of railroad construction, even though not so well favored by Nature.

CHAPTER III

A Decade of Uncertainty 1838-1848

After the first short flurry of enthusiasm for the Hiwassee Railroad in 1837 and the early part of 1838, there is a ten year page in the history of that railroad which is blank except for a few blots.

Very early in 1838, the General Assembly of Tennessee seems to have apprehended the situation, for an act was passed by that body, on January 27, 1838, permitting the Hiwassee Railroad Company to construct a turnpike, under its charter, rather than a railroad. This act is peculiar in that it is merely a suggestion of what might be done by the company, and does not attempt to dictate anything which must be done, nor does it even indicate what the General Assembly thinks should be done in the matter. The sections of the act which pertain to the Hiwassee Railroad Company are here¹ quoted in toto:

"SEC. 18. Be it enacted, That the Hiwassee Rail Road Company be and is hereby authorized and empowered, the owners of two thirds of the stock

1. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. CLXXVII, p. 258.

consenting thereto, to change the said road into a McAdamized turnpike, with all the rights and privileges now possessed by said company, as far as the same are applicable to a McAdamized road; and the company shall in all other things touching said road, have the same rights and be governed by the same rules as the Knoxville and Athens Turnpike Company, chartered at the present session of the General Assembly.

"SEC. 19. Be it enacted, That the president and directors of the said Hiwassee Rail Road, shall, if they think it for the interest of said company, call a meeting of the stockholders at such time and place as they may deem proper, for the purpose of deciding whether the said company will adopt the charter hereby granted, or continue the present rail road; Provided, that said president and directors shall give three months previous notice in the Athens Journal and Knoxville Register of the time and place of such meeting, and the purpose for which the same is called."

The president and directors chose not to call a meeting of the stockholders for this purpose, it seems, since no record can be found of such a meeting. At any rate, whether there was a meeting or not, the railroad project was not changed into a turnpike, and work on the railroad continued² throughout 1838 and the early part of 1839.

As late as December 19, 1838, Mr. Kennedy Lonergan, the contractor, inserted the following interesting advertisement in the Knoxville Register:³

2. Knoxville Register, February 27, 1839.

3. Ibid., December 19, 1838.

"WANTED 100 NEGROES

For one or two years, to work on the Hiwassee Rail Road, at 200Wdollars per year.

WANTED TO BUY 50 HORSES

16 hands high and stout in proportion.

ALSO

200 BARRELS OF WHISKEY,

For which the highest price will be given. To be delivered at Athens, - Calhoun, - Kelly's Ferry, - or Blairs Ferry.

KENNEDY LONERGAN"

Mr. Lonergan, considering his phrase:" wanted 100 negroes for one or two years", seems not to have anticipated the imminent suspension of the work on the railroad. However, in 1839 the work was
4
entirely suspended, and so remained until the re-
5
organization of the company on February 4, 1848.

The Hiwassee Railroad Company, during this period (1839-1848) was indeed in distress. It seems that in its more promising days, the company had issued scrip. The following somewhat whimsical estimate of the value of this scrip in 1844 was a terse but accurate index to the condition
6
of the Hiwassee Railroad at that time:

"TENNESSEE MONEY

Tennessee Bank Notes	par.
Morgan, Allison, & Co's Tickets	par.
All other Tennessee Tickets	uncurrent.
Hiwassee Railroad Scrip	bursteds."

4. Knoxville Times, October 4, 1839.

5. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, p. 401.

6. Chattanooga Gazette, May 18, 1844.

The "bursting" condition of the Hiwassee Railroad Company was largely brought about by the Panic of 1837 -- the same acute financial crisis which was largely instrumental in the dissolving of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company. In the background, however, there were two other contributory causes of the failure of the Hiwassee Company.

The first of these was too liberal State aid. According to the Constitution of Tennessee, ratified in 1835: "A well regulated system of internal improvement is calculated to develop the resources of the State, and promote the happiness and prosperity of her citizens; therefore, it ought to be encouraged by the General Assembly." In 1836, after there had been much talk of railroad construction in the State, several railroad conventions ^{had been} held, and not a few railroad companies incorporated, the General Assembly, in accordance with the Constitution, passed an act providing that the State should aid internal improvement. The act provided that when two-thirds of the capital stock of any company

7. "Constitution of the State of Tennessee", art. XI, sec. 9, in Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p. 15.

organized for the purpose of constructing any railroad or McAdamized turnpike within the limits of the State, had been subscribed, the governor, in behalf of the State, should subscribe for the remaining one-third. The State's subscription was to be payable in State bonds bearing $5\frac{1}{8}$ per cent interest. Thus the State of Tennessee made its first definite offer of aid to railroad building -- an offer which later was to cause the State to become involved in financial difficulties.

In 1838, the General Assembly passed a still more liberal act, which provided that the State should subscribe for one-half of the stock in all railroad and turnpike companies, provided that the total amount of stock taken by the State should not exceed \$4,000,000. This limit was apportioned among the three major divisions of the State as follows: \$1,400,000 was to be the limit for East Tennessee; \$1,600,000 for Middle Tennessee; and \$1,000,000 for "the Western District".⁹ Under these acts, the State issued bonds to various turnpike companies to the

8. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, ch. XXII, sec. 1, pp. 108-109.

9. Ibid., 1837-38, ch. CVII, pp. 163-164.

extent of nearly \$1,500,000; and to railroads, about
10
\$800,000.

The State was now becoming heavily involved in debt, and on January 25, 1840 an act was passed repealing all previous acts which authorized the governor to subscribe for stock in internal improvement companies in behalf of the State.¹¹ The mischief had already been done, however, and the State could hardly have given any further aid to railroads even had she so desired. There seems to have been little hostility or animosity on the part of the State toward internal improvement companies -- and none whatever toward internal improvement -- but the impossibility of further State aid at that time was patent.

In the four years, from the incorporation of the Hiwassee Railroad Company to the passage of the act of 1840, there had been issued to that company by the governor, as the representative of the State, bonds to the amount of \$260,000. From 1840 to 1845 additional State bonds, totalling \$97,000 in par value,¹² were issued. In 1847 the State issued to the Hiwassee Railroad Company, \$79,000 more in bonds, which

10. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 338.

11. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1839-40, ch. I, sec. 1, p. 1.

12. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1845-46, p. 406.

had been subscribed under these acts, making the total State aid, for the benefit of the Hiwassee Railroad Company, to that date, \$436,000.¹³ This amount, while it may appear very large, was nevertheless a poor capital for a company which was planning to undertake the construction of a ninety-eight mile railroad, especially under the conditions then current.

It was these conditions which constituted the other contributory factor in the suspension of operations in 1839. Railroad building was then (1836-1839) in its infancy. Inefficiency of methods, purchase of material at a high price, and poor management generally combined to use up a large part of the capital stock.¹⁴ The total expenditure in the grading of only sixty-six miles of road bed and the building of one bridge was \$936,329.23.¹⁵ This might be regarded as the natural result of inexperience in railroad construction.

Certain people did not choose so to regard it, however, and the officers of the company were

13. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, p. 406.

14. Ibid., p. 403.

15. Ibid., pp. 406-407.

brought under the cloud of suspicion of fraud. The attorney-general filed charges of fraud against the officers of the company. Solomon D. Jacobs immediately answered the charges. Ashbury M. Coffey, then residing in Missouri, without having received any court summons or any official notification of the charges, heard of them, and set out for Knoxville without delay for the purpose of clearing his name. When the time came for the hearing neither the attorney-general nor the bill could be found.¹⁶

When considering the charges of misappropriations against the officers of the company, it is well to remember that the State directors voted in all large deals. Furthermore, it should be considered that about \$80,000 was lost in premium given in the sale of the State bonds and that between \$60,000 and \$70,000 was paid to the State as interest, which sums should be deducted from the \$936,329.23 when computing the actual cost of the work done in the grading of the road bed.¹⁷ Although there is a possibility that there may have been some misuse of funds,

16. Knoxville Register, November 8, 1843.

17. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, pp. 406-407.

it is better, perhaps, in the light of the foregoing facts, to regard the charges of fraud as more or less unfounded rumors, and to attribute the extremely large expenditures to inexperience in railroad building, rather than to dishonesty on the part of the officers of the company.

The inexperience in railroad construction, then, tended to cause the expenditures to be wholly disproportionate to the work accomplished; this reckless and unguided spending of great sums of money without adequate results, together with the suspicion of fraud, served to turn the great mass of public opinion definitely and positively against the Hiwassee Railroad. The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad now became the darling of the masses. At this time the following sentence appeared in the Knoxville Times: "All are in raptures at the idea of effecting a railroad with the South, and yet many look coldly upon the Hiwassee Rail Road by which that communication is to be secured."

These adverse factors must surely have caused the Hiwassee Railroad to come to an early and an

18. Knoxville Times, June 21, 1839.

inglorious end had it not been for certain loyal friends who persisted in giving the project their whole-hearted support throughout the dark days of its history.

First we shall consider two state senators of the General Assembly of 1845-46, who were friends of the Hiwassee Railroad. These were Lenoir, of Roane County and McCampbell, of Knox County. In this session, McCampbell pointed out that in 1845, the Hiwassee Railroad Company made application to the governor for \$83,000 in State bonds, but in consequence of a bill in chancery filed by the attorney-general against the company, the commissioners of the State were prohibited from issuing the bonds. Furthermore, since the suit had been decided in favor of the Hiwassee Railroad Company, he proposed a resolution to the effect that the governor be authorized to pay the state subscription of \$83,000 to the Hiwassee Company,¹⁹ in State bonds, as before intended. This resolution was defeated by a vote of 16 to 8, both Lenoir and McCampbell, however, voting in the affirmative.²⁰ Lenoir then introduced a motion to read a resolution

19. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1845-46, p.300.

20. Ibid., 1845-46, pp. 486-487.

instructing the attorney-general to dismiss the suit against the Hiwassee Railroad Company. It was "laid on the table".²¹ In the same session, a resolution was introduced to appoint commissioners to investigate the condition and affairs of the Hiwassee Railroad Company. Lenoir and McCampbell helped to defeat this resolution. It was²² defeated by a vote of 15 to 10.

Lenoir and McCampbell, however, were far from being the most influential or active friends of the Hiwassee Railroad. Thomas A. R. Nelson materially aided Solomon D. Jacobs, first president of the road, in time of greatest stress. (See photostatic copy of the letter on the following page.) This time (1845) was when, after the company had been forced to execute a deed of trust, the State had filed a bill enjoining the trustees from acting under the deed and sought to annul the charter.²³ A suit was pending between the State and the Hiwassee Railroad Company, the case to be decided by the Supreme Court of

21. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1845-46, p. 487.

22. Ibid., 1845-46, pp. 497-498.

23. Killebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p. 312.

SOLOMON D. JACOBS TO THOMAS A. R. NELSON.

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Knoxville May 5th 1845

Thos. A. R. Nelson Esq.

Dear Sir,

Your very kind letter by the
Rev. S. W. Cunningham was received in due time. Immediately after its reception I applied to Geo White Esq. for a copy of the record referred to; but he has been so much engaged that he has not been able to make it out for me. Being desirous to send you the record I mentioned the subject to Messrs. Swan, my Attorney, who immediately went to the office and made out the statements, which I then with send you by Dr. Cunningham, and which he says he presumes is all you wish. If you prefer the entire Record write me immediately and it shall be sent to you as soon as it can be transcribed. I also send you herewith a copy of the Charter of the Tennessee Rail Road Co, which may be necessary for you to examine, as I am informed that the question involved is 'has the Company, under its charter, ^{power} to borrow money, and if not is either the Company or creditors liable for these debts.' Should you find in the investigation of the case that Chas. Kent & Mr. Yergin's opinions will be of any service to you I will send them immediately.

And now my, dear Sir, allow me to return you my most sincere and unfeigned thanks for the voluntary offer of your assistance in a case, which, if decided against me, must involve me in utter and irretrievable ruin.

Sincerely your friend

S. D. Jacobs

the State of Tennessee. Everything depended upon this decision; the very life of the company depended upon the judgment handed down. As Jacobs²⁴ wrote to Nelson: "And now my, Dear Sir, allow me to return you my most sincere and unfeigned thanks for the voluntary offer of your assistance in a case, which, if decided against me, must involve me in utter and irretrievable ruin." This extract from the letter tells the whole story.

The influence of the town of Athens, county seat of McMinn County, was likewise a potent factor in the preservation of the Hiwassee Railroad Company from total dissolution. Situated as it is, approximately half-way between Knoxville and the Georgia line, and being on the route of the road as surveyed, it occupied a strategic position. Accordingly it was selected as the headquarters of the Hiwassee Railroad, and maintained that position until after the completion of that railroad to Knoxville, when the offices were moved to the latter town.²⁵ Throughout the history of the

24. Solomon D. Jacobs to Thomas A. R. Nelson, Knoxville, Tenn., May 5, 1845.

25. Knoxville Register, September 27, 1855.

Hiwassee Railroad, Athens was the principal place
(and often the only place) from which the company
received encouragement.²⁶ The memorial asking the
charter for the company was sent from McMinn Coun-
ty and vicinity. James Hayes Reagan, the senator
who introduced the memorial in the Senate, repres-
ented McMinn County.²⁷ All except \$120,000 of the
original capital stock of the company was subscrib-
ed in Athens by residents of that town.²⁸ The first
meeting of the stockholders was held in Athens.
A. M. Coffey, of Athens, was elected the first sec-
retary and treasurer of the company.²⁹ The ground
was first broken, in the construction of the Hi-
wassee Railroad, only two miles from Athens.³⁰ At
a meeting of the directors, at Athens, the perma-
nent machine shops were located in that town.³¹ These
somewhat scattered data do not comprise a complete
account of the importance of Athens in the history
of the Hiwassee Railroad, but have been cited mere-
ly to show the very definite connection which the

26. Knoxville Times, June 21, 1839.

27. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1835-36, p.3.

28. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 342.

29. Killebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p.311.

30. Knoxville Register, October 18, 1837.

31. Athens Post, May 23, 1851.

town of Athens maintained with the Hiwassee Railroad Company, from the time of the memorial asking for a charter, down to the time of the completion of the road to Knoxville. During all this time, the town of Athens, almost as a unit, supported the almost hopeless railroad. With reference to the work of Athens in the promotion of the interests of the Hiwassee Railroad until 1839, we may with confidence, it seems, accept the following statement as true:³² "Without the strong aid of Athens, the Hiwassee Railroad would never have been commenced and that it has been she, and her influence alone, which has sustained it in its construction up to this very day."

Furthermore, certain unknown but zealous friends of the Hiwassee Railroad wrote anonymous letters for publication in the Knoxville newspapers, urging the completion of that road. Some of these letters appeared during the gloomiest period in the annals of the railroad, and certainly must have had the effect of rallying a certain amount of public

32. Knoxville Times, June 21, 1839.

opinion to the support of the Hiwassee Railroad.

The following is taken from a letter signed "Rail-
33
road":

"Ask any farmer along that portion of the Hiwassee R. R. which has already been graded, whether he considers his farm worth more or less than it was before the road was graded? You will probably not find three along the whole road, willing to sell for less than from 25 to 30 per cent. more than he would have been glad to sell for two years ago; many ask double, and some even more."

"Railroad" appealed to the farmers to look with favor upon the Hiwassee Railroad. The following excerpt from a letter signed "Publius" pointed out to the city-dwellers of Knoxville what advantages would accrue to them through railroad construction. Apparently it was calculated to win support both for the Hiwassee and for the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston. The excerpt follows:
34

"We venture to predict the following as some of the results of these enterprizes: Corn will not be worth less than 75 cts. per bush. after the arrival at Knoxville of the first rail-road car. Bacon will become a staple article of trade and thousands of hogs will be slaughtered at Knoxville and along the river above this point, for the Southern markets. Immense quantities of beef will be driven from Ohio, Illinois and Kentucky to Knoxville to be barrelled for transportation to the coast, thence to be shipped to foreign markets. We shall see among us in a

33. Knoxville Times, June 11, 1839.

34. Knoxville Register, January 2, 1839.

few years an entire new population, Yankees, Kentuckians, Buckeyes, Hoosiers, Irish and Germans: we hope no Mormons Is it too much to anticipate the day, when Knoxville shall be the point of union of all the great rail-roads of the whole United States?"

The correct answer to the query is, of course, an unqualified answer in the affirmative. A cursory examination of any good map of the United States should very likely have caused "Publius" to have left his question unframed. Also it is extremely improbable that "immense quantities of beef" would be driven from Ohio, especially in view of the fact that Cincinnati at that time claimed to be the premier meat-packing city of the world. Altogether, the letter by "Publius" was ill-advised, and it shows evidence of a profound ignorance, but it, along with the much more logical letter by "Railroad", is here cited to show that the East Tennessee railroad projects, and especially the Hiwassee, had certain pseudonymous friends who did not despair of their completion, and who endeavored to create and strengthen public opinion in their favor.

Another Knoxville writer in 1839 tried rather pointedly and boldly to discourage the swinging of

35. Niles' Register, LI, p. 342, (January 28, 1837):

of popular favor from the Hiwassee to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston -- a tendency³⁶ which was quite marked at the time. He wrote:

" Thus we see that of the whole distance from Knoxville to Charleston by way of the Hiwassee rail road, (510 miles), nearly one half is in use; while 426 miles are actually either laid with the rails, or ready to receive them. Is it not strange that any man can seriously advocate the Charleston and Cincinnati rail road in preference to the Hiwassee route to Charleston when more than four-fifths of the latter are ready for the rails, and workmen scattered over nearly the whole of the remaining fifth?"

Prominent among the men who helped to bolster up the Hiwassee Railroad in the days when that seemed a hopeless task was Samuel B. Cunningham, who later became the president of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. On May 27, 1847, a railroad convention was held at Rogersville. At this convention were delegated from a number of the counties of East Tennessee and western Virginia. Samuel Cunningham was sent by the convention to address a joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Tennessee General Assembly. Among the resolutions of the convention which were presented to the

36. Reprinted from the Knoxville Times, in Niles' Register, LVII, p. 67, (September 28, 1839).

General Assembly by Cunningham was the following:

"Resolved: That this convention deem it expedient that the Hiwassee Railroad be completed to Knoxville, and respectfully urge upon the Legislature of Tennessee the adoption of such measures as will secure its speedy completion to that point."

Two reasons given by Cunningham for the passing of this resolution by the convention were: (1) that other states having better transportation facilities were supplanting East Tennessee in her own natural markets, and (2) that many valuable citizens had, in the past few years, left East Tennessee, taking their wealth with them. Also, although Cunningham did not specifically mention it, the upper East Tennesseans had begun at this time to consider the desirability of constructing a railroad from Knoxville to the Virginia line, and obviously a connection at Knoxville such as the Hiwassee would afford would greatly enhance the desirability of such a railroad. As Cunningham said:

"If the Hiwassee Railroad be completed, it will be the connecting link with the great thoroughfares of the South and the West, and the first link in the chain of East Tennessee improvements, which we do so earnestly desire."

37. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-1848, p. 138.

39. Ibid., p. 141.

This renaissance of interest in the completion of the Hiwassee Railroad was not irrational and without cause. The reason for it was that the Supreme Court, at Knoxville, in September, 1846, had handed down a decree in favor of the Hiwassee Railroad Company in the case State vs. Hiwassee Railroad Company. In this decree it was assumed that the individual stockholders and the State had on the third day of October, 1842 paid, on account of their stock, the sum of \$357,000 respectively, making the whole of the capital stock paid in to that date, \$714,000. Since that date to November 13, 1847, individual stockholders had paid to the company the sum of \$101,275.28 in addition, and the State had paid in the further sum of \$92,000, which left yet to be paid by the State the sum of \$201,000 and by individual stockholders, \$191,724.72. Thus the total unpaid capital on November 13, 1847 was \$392,724.72.

39. Van Dyke, T. Nixon, "Memorial to the Tenn. General Assembly", in Senate Journal, Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, pp. 406-407. Unfortunately this cannot be found in the Tennessee Reports. However Van Dyke certainly must have been acquainted with the facts, and it is improbable that he would have misrepresented them to the Tenn. Genl Assembly, which could easily check his statement.

On January 1, 1847, the Hiwassee Railroad Company had been reorganized. Directors had been elected on that date, after a period of five years during which the stockholders had not troubled to elect directors. These directors elected, from their number, T. Nixon Van Dyke as president.⁴⁰ This was indeed a fortunate choice, as was afterward shown clearly by Van Dyke's shrewd and indefatigable work in the reorganization of the company and the restoration of public confidence in it.

Van Dyke well knew that, in order that the company might regain the confidence of the people, it must pay as much of the debt outstanding as possible and as quickly as possible. After investigation, it was found that the company was in debt to the extent of \$235,327.34, including interest. In 1847 the company was able to pay \$193,237.39 of the debt, leaving the comparatively small sum of \$42,053.95 still due to the creditors of the company. No inducements were held out to procure additional subscriptions, or further investment of money on the part of the stockholders and other

40. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature,
1847-48, p. 407.

citizens, more than was absolutely necessary to⁴¹
discharge a part of the company's debt.

Van Dyke's plan/ for the payment of the debts of the company reveals a financial insight of the first order. In 1846 the Hiwassee Railroad Company was indebted to institutions and individuals to the extent of considerably more than \$200,000. So desperate were the affairs of the company then thought to be, that the creditors of the company (and almost everybody else, it seems) expected any day to hear of the total bankruptcy of the company. Van Dyke, at this time, submitted a proposition to all of the creditors to the effect that the Hiwassee Railroad Company was ready and willing to discharge its debts by a transfer, to each creditor, of stock in the Hiwassee Railroad Company and bonds of the State of Tennessee. One-half of the amount due in each instance was to be paid in stock; the other half, in the bonds. Both ~~were~~ to be accepted by the creditor at par value in payment of the⁴² debt.

41. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature,
1847-48, p. 407.

42. Ibid., 1847-48, p. 84.

In view of the fact that Hiwassee stock, far from being valued at par, was almost worthless at the time the proposition seems to be so astonishingly audacious as to be ridiculous. However it was not so ridiculous as, superficially it would appear to be. Everything pointed toward the total bankruptcy of the company, and in case the break came, the creditors would receive nothing, in all probability, because the partially graded right of way which constituted the principal asset of the company could not easily be converted into cash for the liquidation of the debts. Furthermore there was a chance (at this time very slight, however) that the stock would appreciate. Then too, the State bonds commanded a price of 80 per cent of their par value in the New York market.⁴³ Thus Van Dyke, by February, 1847, succeeded in paying practically all of the debts of the company in this⁴⁴ strange manner.

Later in the same year (1847), the directors, under the leadership of T. Nixon Van Dyke, the president, prepared a memorial to ~~be~~

43. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 26.

44. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature,
1847-48, p. 84.

presented to the General Assembly. This memorial asked for a revision of the charter of the Hiwassee Railroad Company.⁴⁵

On February 4, 1848 the General Assembly of Tennessee, in accordance with the memorial, amended the charter. Among the changes made were provisions to the effect that the name of the company should be changed to the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company, and that the time for the completion of the road should be extended to 1860. The capital stock of the company was increased to \$2,000,000. Furthermore the act provided that the governor of the State should be authorized and required to endorse bonds of the company to an amount not exceeding \$350,000. These bonds were to bear interest at the rate of six per cent per year, and were to mature in thirty years. Also, the Hiwassee Railroad (newly named the East Tennessee and Georgia) was "authorized and empowered with the consent and authority of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, to connect with the Western and Atlantic Railroad of Georgia at Dalton." Furthermore it was provided that when work should be resumed it should

45. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, pp. 401-405.

should be started at Dalton.

Nominally, the Hiwassee Railroad Company was now no more, but the East Tennessee and Georgia was virtually the same railroad under a different name. The change of the name seems to have been a part of Van Dyke's plan for the restoration of public confidence in the enterprise, and did not indicate any material change in the personnel of the stockholders and directors. Five of the new directors; I. T. Lenoir, A. D. Keyes, William Grant, Campbell Wallace, and T. Nixon Van Dyke, had all long been active in the interests of the Hiwassee Railroad. The other directors at this time were: John Stanfield, W. F. Keith, R. C. Morris, and Thomas C. Lyon. Athens was retained as the headquarters of the company under its new name. Of course, the stretch of road bed was retained; and the plans of John C. Trautwine, based upon his survey in 1837, were followed out. Furthermore, the East Tennessee and Georgia was not incorporated. The Hiwassee was the railroad chartered, and then in 1848 an amendment to the charter of the Hiwassee Railroad

46. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CLXIX, sec. 3-9, pp. 272-274.

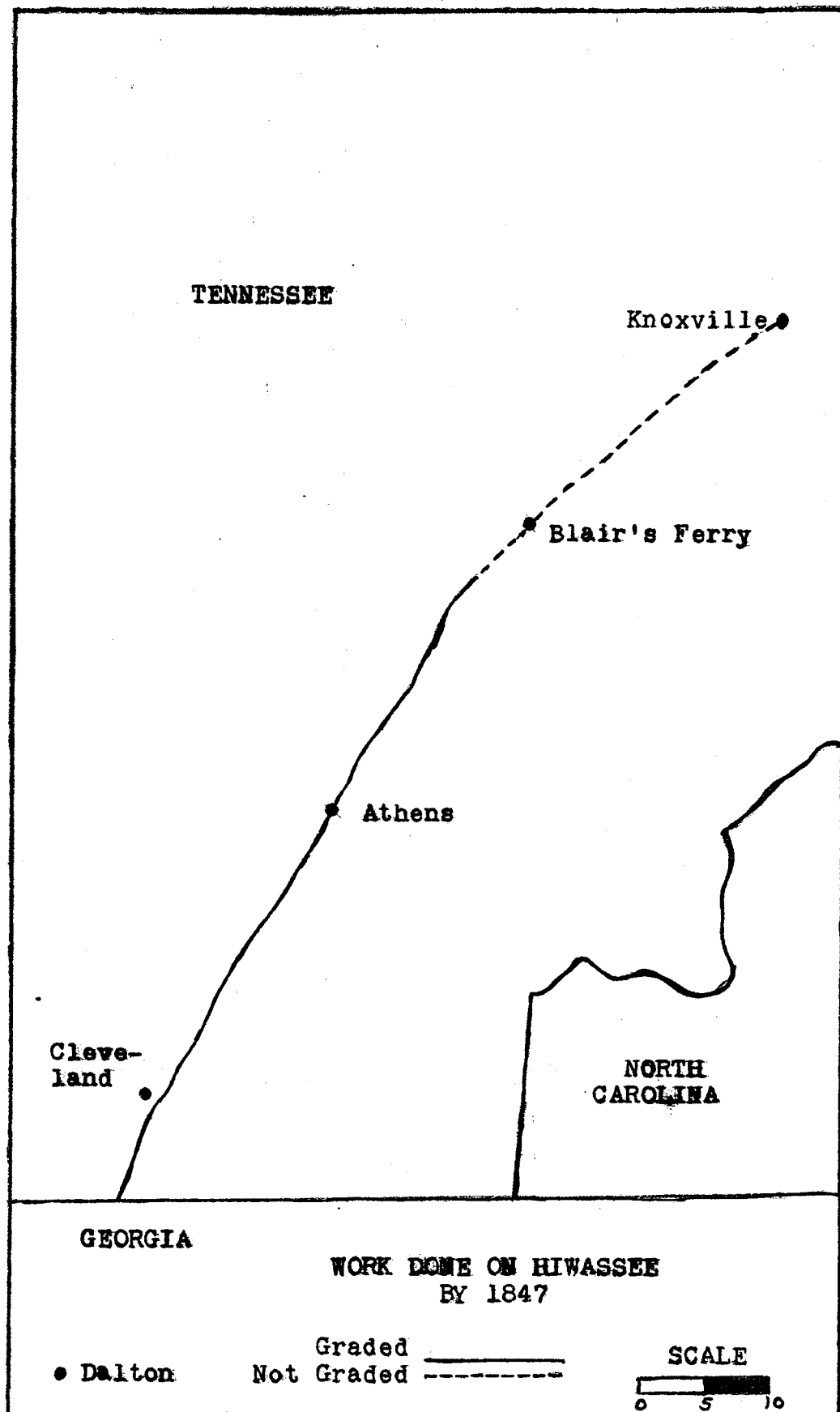
47. Athens Post, January 5, 1849.

48. Ibid., May 23, 1851.

49. Knoxville Register, June 28, 1855.

authorized the change of the name of that road to⁵⁰
the East Tennessee and Georgia. Accordingly,
in the further treatment of the East Tennessee
and Georgia Railroad, it will be considered as
the same railroad as the Hiwassee, but under a
different name, as indeed it was.

50. Acts of the Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48,
Ch. CLXIX, p. 272.



CHAPTER IV

The East Tennessee and Georgia: New Life Under a New Name 1848-1860

The next problem confronting the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company was the construction of the railroad. The length of the road as surveyed from Knoxville to the Georgia line, was 98.5 miles, of which, by 1847, 66 had been graded. Also a bridge had been built over the Hiwassee River, leaving still to be done the grading of some 32 miles of road bed, the laying of track along the entire length, and the building of a bridge over the Tennessee River at¹ Loudon.

On January 1, 1849, a contract was entered into with Duff Green for the completion of the² railroad from Dalton, Georgia, to Knoxville. Green, after he had done a considerable amount of work, failed. He surrendered his contract and brought suit against the company for \$100,000. This suit was not settled until after the Civil War, and then it was decided in favor of the

1. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature,
1847-48, p. 401.

2. Athens Post, January 5, 1849.

³
company.

By August 23, 1849, The East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company had succeeded in closing a deal with Bailey and Company of England for 8,000 tons of best quality Welsh iron improved pattern T rails, to weigh about 57 pounds per linear yard. Also arrangements had been made with other companies for the purchase of chairs and spikes, locomotives, passenger cars and other equipment necessary for furnishing the road and putting it in operation between the Hiwassee and ⁴Tennessee rivers.

About this time, Dr. J.G.M. Ramsey was made the agent for the State by Governor Trousdale, to take charge of the expenditure of the State's subscription of \$350,000 made at the time ⁵of the amending of the charter. The State bonds were not to be sold under par. This created a somewhat embarrassing situation. The company stood in dire need of the money to be derived from the sale of the bonds. The market price at

3. Killebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p. 312.

4. Athens Post, August 23, 1849.

5. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 21.

that time for Tennessee bonds was about 80 per cent of par, and some had just before sold for as low as 60 per cent.⁶ However the company was in a position where it was imperative that it secure cash for its State bonds, and if the bonds were sold they must be sold for par value or more. Accordingly Dr. Ramsey undertook to solve the dilemma by taking some of the bonds to New York. There he succeeded in disposing of a large block of them⁷ at 104½ and in establishing the value of the remainder at par so that it could be sold at that figure whenever occasion arose.⁷

The fact that Ramsey was appointed as an agent by the State to have complete charge of the expenditure of State money might conceivably⁸ be taken as an indication that the State was suspicious of the honesty and integrity of the officers and directors of the company. However, on that score, Dr. Ramsey wrote:⁸ "Some of the provisions of the new Act seemed to imply a distrust not certainly of

6. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography MS, p. 23 and p. 26.

7. Ibid., p. 28/

8. Ibid., p. 23.

the integrity but as certainly of the financial ability & skill of the Board."

After Duff Green's failure, the company, with characteristic persistence, entered into another contract for the completion of the road, this time with William Grant and Company. This firm completed the railroad from Dalton to Calhoun on the Hiwassee River.⁹

Another contract followed this, now with J. G. Dent and Company who, it seems, made rapid progress in the construction of the road.¹⁰

On February 21, 1851, the mayor and board of aldermen of Knoxville met and passed resolutions preliminary to the establishment of the depot of the East Tennessee and Georgia and the East Tennessee and Virginia railroads, both of which were then under construction.¹¹

On May 19, 1851, it was decided at a meeting of the directors of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad that permanent shops for the

9. Killebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p. 312.

10. Ibid.

11. Rule, Standard Hist. of Knoxville, Tenn., p. 99.

repairing of engines, were to be established at Athens.¹²

Before August 10, 1852, the president, directors, other stockholders, and the people of East Tennessee generally, had the satisfaction of knowing that now the erstwhile dreams of the Hiwassee Railroad enthusiasts had become a reality, for now one train was plying daily between Dalton and Blair's Ferry. The¹³ schedule, which may be of interest, follows:

1852	P.M.	1927
*Leave Dalton at	2:30	Comparison With the
Varnell's.....	2:57	Schedule of a "Local"
Red Clay	3:15	Train over the same
Blue Spring	3:42	Tracks (Southern)
Cleveland	3:54	 4:55
Charleston	4:30	 5:16
Riceville	4:51	 5:31
Athens	5:15	 5:45
Mouse Creek	5:35	
Sweetwater	5:57	 6:11
Philadelphia	6:15	 6:27
Arrive at Blair's Ferry ..	6:35	 6:39

By reference to this schedule it may be seen that the train in 1852 traveled the distance of 53.2 miles between Cleveland and Blair's Ferry (Louden) in two hours and forty-one minutes, making an average speed (not allowing for stops) of 19.82 miles per hour. A comparison of this schedule with a schedule of a Southern Railway System "local train"

12. Athens Post, May 23, 1851.

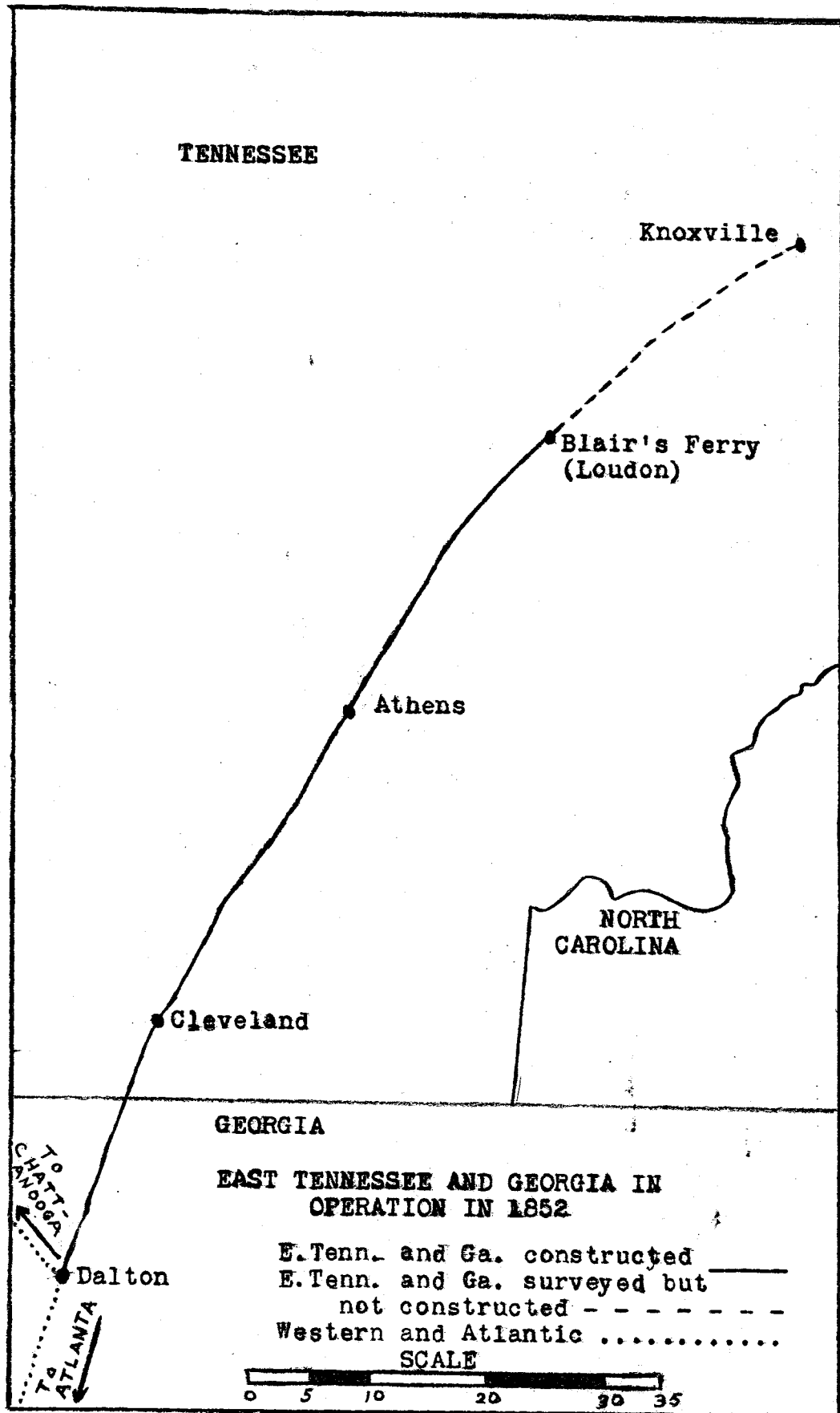
13. Ibid., August 10, 1852.

running over the same tracks in 1927 might prove of interest. This latter was scheduled to cover the distance between Cleveland and Loudon (Blair's Ferry) in one hour and forty-four minutes (again not allowing for stops) of 30.69 miles per hour, as against the average of 19.82 miles per hour for the train of 1852.

However, the early train on the East Tennessee and Georgia seems, from all accounts, to have been most modern, and furthermore the people of the section through which it passed seem to have considered ^{it} a wonderful railroad, which indeed it was for that time. Of more importance to the development of the road was the fact that it was not only admired but also it was used, both for shipping freight and for travel. The net profits for the road in 1852 were ¹⁵ \$22,004.72.

Dr. Ramsey, in his manuscript autobiography, intimates very strongly that the East Tennessee and Georgia had a "secret chapter" in its history. This secret, he wrote, was the fact that the "Proprietors" of Loudon did not want the road to be constructed to Knoxville -- or for that matter, north of Loudon to

15. Ann. Rep. of the Pres. and Dir. of the E. Tenn. and Ga. R.R.Co. to the Stockholders in Said Co., 1855, p. 4.



any distance whatever -- hoping thereby "that Knoxville¹⁶ would be drawn in and absorbed by it." If this was a secret at that time, it must certainly have been an open one, as there were two distinct acts of the Tennessee General Assembly designed solely to combat this plan of the leading citizens of Loudon.

The Tennessee General Assembly, in 1852, enacted a law that aid was to be allowed by the State (through the loan of State bonds) to railroad companies to the extent of \$8,000 for each mile of road constructed. However, this act was not to apply to the East Tennessee and Georgia unless that company should extend its road so as to form a junction with¹⁷ the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad at Knoxville.

Furthermore, on February 12, 1852, the General Assembly passed another act which vitally affected the interest of the Loudon plotters. It provided that the president of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, within two months after the passage of the act, should call a meeting of the stockholders of the company, having previously given thirty days notice in the usual newspapers. The question to be submitted to the assembled stockholders was whether or not they

16. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 29.

17. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CLI, sec. 10, p. 210.

chose to accept the condition mentioned in the preceding paragraph. If it were voted to accept this provision, the president of the railroad was required to inform the governor, and it would then become "imperative and obligatory" for the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company, to complete its railroad to Knoxville as if it had been made "absolute and imperative in the original charter" of the company. It was further provided that if the stockholders should decide against such acceptance, or if no decision were reported to the governor within the two months prescribed for such report, the books should be opened for the organization of a railroad company to be called the "Junction Railroad Company", organized for the purpose of completing the road to Knoxville. Commissioners were named in the act; the capital stock was set at \$250,000, with the provision that it might be increased to \$500,000 by the president and directors of the "Junction Railroad"; and, in short, a complete charter was contained in the act -- a charter which was to become effective only in event that the stockholders of the East Tennessee and Georgia decided against the building of their road to Knoxville.

18. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXIII, sec. 1-10, pp. 431-434.

Accordingly it was only natural that interest in the completion of the road to Knoxville should have been heightened and efforts in that direction, redoubled. The stockholders of the East Tennessee and Georgia decided to meet the condition 'that is, the extension of their road to Knoxville,, and the "Junction Railroad" died, so to speak, before it was born.

In order that the expense of this further construction might be met, it was necessary that the president make repeated calls upon the stockholders for instalments on their unpaid subscriptions. Accordingly, in a Knoxville paper for July 6, 1853, there appeared an advertisement signed by Thomas H. Calloway, president of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad at that time, calling upon the stockholders for a five dollar payment to be made on the following March 1. Also in the same advertisement, the stockholders were informed that they would be expected to pay instalments of a similar amount on April 1, May 2, June 1, and July 1. Payments were to be made to the treasurer of the company at the office at Athens, or to H. A. M. White,

¹⁹
of Knoxville.

The net earnings of the company in the year 1853 were \$51,613.22, or an increase over the net earnings in 1852 of \$29,608.50.²⁰

The total cost of the 82 miles of railroad which in 1854 were in operation was \$1,500,000. The Tennessee River bridge and approaches had cost \$143,981.02. \$244,891.14 had thus far been spent in grading between Loudon and Knoxville. The depots and water stations represented an investment of \$30,000; the engine house and machine shop at Athens, \$50,000. Other items ran the total cost, until 1854, up to \$2,358,872.16. In 1854 the rolling stock of the company consisted of two locomotives, thirty box cars, and one baggage car,²¹ which cost together, \$42,000.

The gross earnings in the following year (1854) amounted to \$125,028.37. The expenses for that year totaled \$45,726.53, leaving a net profit for the year of \$79,301.74 -- an increase of

19. The American Statesman (Knoxville), July 6, 1853.

20. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 4.

21. Ibid., 1855, p. 16.

\$57,297.02 over the net earnings of the road in 1852, and of \$27,688.52 over the net earnings of 1853.

The receipts were derived from three sources. \$81,006.60 was realized from the hauling of freight; the gross return from the passenger traffic was \$37,871.77; and for the service rendered in carrying the mails, the company received \$6,150.00 from the United States Government. The total gross receipts for 1854 were \$125,028.37.

The transportation costs amounted to \$29,208.11, and maintenance costs, to \$16,518.52. Thus the total expenditures for 1854 were \$45,726.
21
63.

The gross receipts showed an increase, in 1854, of \$31,093.24 over the gross receipts of 1853, whereas the excess in expense for that year was only \$3,404.72, leaving an increase in net profits of \$27,688.52. This represented an increase in net profits of 53.6 per cent, while the relative operating and maintenance expenses were reduced from 44.9 per cent of the gross receipts in 1853 to 36.5

21. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga.,
1855, p. 16.

per cent of the gross receipts in 1854.²² Thus it becomes apparent that the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company had, in the year 1854, cut its operating and maintenance costs to 81.7 per cent of what they had been in 1853. In other words, the stockholders, in 1854, received on each dollar collected by the company, 18.7 cents which, under the expense rate of 1853 should have gone for expenses.

This summary indicates, of course, that the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad was making rapid progress both in the direction of increasing of the volume of traffic and toward economy in operation. Furthermore, it should be noted that this splendid advance was made in spite of certain adverse conditions prevalent at the time. These conditions, President Wallace summarized as follows:²³

"Cholera at Loudon and Knoxville, Yellow Fever at Charleston, Augusta and Savannah, extreme and continued low water, short crops, scarcity of money, the general want of confidence and consequent stagnation in business throughout the country, have all had their influence to cut off travel, lessen the amount of tonnage and place our income

22. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 3.

23. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

below our wishes and anticipations."

Among the improvements instituted in 1854 was the building of depots at Riceville and Mouse Creek, in McMinn County; at Lenoir's, in Roane County; and at Concord, in Knox County. Brick freight houses were built at Cleveland and Knoxville.²⁴

Also in 1854 a survey and location had been made of the route for the Cleveland and Chattanooga Railroad. On February 7, 1859, the General Assembly of Tennessee had incorporated the Chattanooga, Harrison and Cleveland Railroad Company, and authorized it to construct a railroad to run from Chattanooga to intersect the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad at or near Cleveland.²⁵

By a later act, the name of this railroad was changed to the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston, and in the same act it was given the privilege of extending to a connection with the East Tennessee and Georgia at or above Charleston (Tenn.).²⁶

This railroad, should it be constructed, would

24. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, pp. 10-11.

25. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. CCXLVIII, pp. 477-478.

26. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXXVI, p. 341.

not be merely a "feeder" to the East Tennessee and Georgia, but, through lower East Tennessee, would be in active competition with it. The East Tennessee and Georgia directors, of course, did not relish the idea of a railroad running parallel to the southern end of their line and so close to it. Also, the commissioners of the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston would hardly care to enter ^p_A competition with as prosperous and popular a railroad as the East Tennessee and Georgia, since the granting of the charter of the Chattanooga, Harrison and Cleveland in 1850, had become.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in 1852, it was authorized by the General Assembly to amalgamate "with any other railroad which connects with it"²⁷ -- quite probably meaning especially the East Tennessee and Georgia, although the Western and Atlantic had before this time been extended to Chattanooga. It is still less surprising to find that the officers of the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston,

27. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, p. 491.

in 1854, voted that their charter should be added to the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company.²⁸

By virtue of this action, the latter was empowered to construct and own the Cleveland to Chattanooga railroad, and also became entitled to State aid of \$10,000 per mile. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company subscribed for stock in the East Tennessee and Georgia to an amount sufficient to cover two-fifths of the cost of grading from Chattanooga to Cleveland -- the subscription to be paid in Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company bonds. A contract was entered into with John D. Gray, for the entire grading and masonry of this thirty mile branch. In the contract it was stipulated that the contractor should be paid two-fifths of the contract price in the Nashville and Chattanooga bonds; one-fifth in stock of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company; and the remainder in cash, presumably to be obtained from the sale

28. "Engineer's Report", in Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 11.

of state-endorsed East Tennessee and Georgia
29
bonds.

Throughout the winter and early spring of 1855 the work on the section of the road between Loudon and Knoxville was steadily pushed forward. In May of that year, the citizens of Knoxville met at the court house to consider preparations for a "Railroad Jubilee and Fourth of July Celebration". This was to be a great dual celebration of the completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad to Knoxville and the anniversary of the American
30
Declaration of Independence. Also on that day it was planned that the work of tracklaying on the East Tennessee and Virginia should start at the union depot at Knoxville, and that the cornerstone should be laid for the abutments of the bridge over the Holston River for the use of the Knoxville and Charleston ("Rabun Gap") Railroad. William G. Brownlow, in his characteristically ex-
31
travagant style, wrote: "Upon the whole it will be a great day, and all the world, and the rest of man-

29. "Engineer's Report", in Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 11.

30. Knoxville Register, May 24, 1855.

31. Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, May 26, 1855.

kind will be here. Come one, come all, and see how we do up things in the Queen City of East Tennessee."

Six committees were appointed to have charge of invitation and reception, "arrangements", finance, "pyrotechnic display", and "procession, transparencies, &c." Among the more prominent men serving on one or another of these committees were: Ebenezer Alexander, J. H. Armstrong, J. A. Mabry, William M. Churchwell, W. B. Reese, Moses White, C. A. Mee, M. B. Prichard, and W. G. Swan. The chairman of the the meeting³² was W. C. Kain, and the secretary, Duff Lewis.

In June, 1855, the first train ever to run into Knoxville came puffing into that city over³³ the East Tennessee and Georgia rails. The rejoicing upon this occasion was tempered somewhat, no doubt, by the fact that this train carried the lifeless body of Charles Coffin, a prominent Knoxvilleian who had been actively interested in railroad construction. He had gone to visit relatives at Columbia, and had been enthusiastic

32. Knoxville Register, May 24, 1855.

33. Ibid., June 28, 1855.

over the imminent completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia, and, it appears, had intended³⁴ to return to Knoxville on the first train.

About the time of the completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia to Knoxville, railroad construction was being pushed with greater zeal, than at any other time in the previous history of that section. The completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia to Knoxville gave that town a direct connection by rail with Dalton, Georgia, there connecting with the Western and Atlantic and through it with Charleston, Augusta, Savannah and Montgomery. Laborers were at work upon the Knoxville and Charleston (Rabun³⁵ Gap) Railroad; within one month tracklaying was to start at Knoxville on the East Tennessee and³⁶ Virginia; and within two months work was to be commenced on the Knoxville and Kentucky Rail-³⁷road -- which road, it was hoped, would effect a connection between Knoxville and Cincinnati,

34. Knoxville Register, June 28, 1855.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

37. Ibid., June 28, 1855.

the former town then being in more or less direct connection with Charleston. Thus would the dream of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston enthusiasts be realized to some extent, albeit by a much more circuitous route than the one of which they dreamed. Furthermore this road was to be of great value in the transportation of coal from the rich deposits near the Kentucky line to Knoxville. Knoxville's future certainly appeared bright at this time. In fact, the following estimate of Knoxville seemed at that time³⁸ fully to be justified:

"As we stood, last week, and saw the swift passenger train dart up to our very city, and the omnibuses carry their loads of passengers to our sumptuous hotels, we vividly realized that a new era for Knoxville had arrived."

The long-planned "jubilee", held on July 4, 1855, was not an unqualified success. Even Fleming, editor of the Knoxville Register, who usually wrote enthusiastically of such celebrations, could not, it seems, bring himself to describe it in glowing terms, and the superlatives usually

38. Knoxville Register, June 28, 1855.

found in his descriptions were not in evidence in his account of this celebration. His account of it merely stated that the crowd was variously estimated at from five to ten thousand people; that several speakers, who had been expected, failed to appear; and that a rain which fell that evening set at naught the efforts of the committee on "Pyrotechnic³⁹ display". Personally, Fleming estimated the crowd at five thousand people or less, rather than double that number. Certainly the crowd present could not be called "all the world" not to mention "the rest of mankind", both of which large groups Brownlow had predicted would attend the celebration.

In 1855 there was a great increase in receipts from passengers, whereas the monthly average of revenue from the hauling of freight was barely sustained.⁴⁰ This may have been due to either or both of two reasons. First, that the people had seen the successful and safe (for there were no accidents on the road up to 1855)⁴¹ operation of the railroad and consequently had gained confidence in it as a medium

39. Knoxville Register, July 5, 1855.

40. Ibid., September 27, 1855.

41. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 7.

for travel; and secondly that the company made special efforts to attract passengers. In support of the latter reason is an advertisement in the Knoxville Register offering excursion rates between points on its line, the rates to be effective on the third, fourth, and fifth days of July. The⁴² following round trip rates were offered:

"Dalton to Knoxville	\$4.00
Cleveland to Knoxville	3.00
Charleston to Knoxville	2.50
Athens to Knoxville	2.00
Sweetwater to Knoxville	1.25
Philadelphia to Knoxville	1.25
Loudon to Knoxville	1.00
Lenoir's to Knoxville	.75

Two trains were now (1855) in operation daily between Knoxville and Dalton. One of these left Knoxville at 7 A. M. and arrived at Dalton at 2 P. M. of the same day. The other left Knoxville daily at 7 P. M. and arrived at Dalton the next day at 4 A. M. Two trains also left Dalton daily. One was scheduled to leave at 10 A. M. and to arrive at Knoxville at 5 P. M.; the other, to leave Dalton at 8 P.M. and arrive at the northern⁴³ terminus at 5 A.M. of the following day.

42. Knoxville Register, June 28, 1855.

43. Ibid., October 18, 1855.

By December 20, 1855 the schedule had been changed. Now day passenger trains left Knoxville and Dalton at 8 A. M. and were due to arrive at their respective destinations at 6 P³₄ M. Night passenger trains were scheduled to make the trip between Knoxville and Dalton, leaving Knoxville at 7 P. M. and arriving at Dalton at 2 A. M.; and from Dalton to Knoxville, leaving Dalton at 8:38 P. M. and arriving at Knoxville at 4 A. M. The fact that a train was scheduled to leave Dalton -- a terminus -- at 8:38 P. M. rather than at some more conveniently rounded time suggests the possibility that the train waited for an incoming train on the Western and Atlantic Railroad before departing to Knoxville. It is most difficult to determine wherein this schedule had any advantage over the earlier one. The running time for the day trip according to the older schedule was seven hours, and, for the night trip, nine hours. The new schedule provided for a running time of ten hours for the day trip, and, for the night trip, of seven hours for the south-bound train and of seven hours and twenty-two minutes for the north-bound train.

44. Knoxville Register, December 20, 1855.

Prior to 1855, the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad had been running only one train daily on its line, and received, under contract with the Post Office Department of the United States Government, \$6,150 annually for service in carrying the mail. With the institution of the double daily service, the East Tennessee and Georgia again contracted with the Post Office Department and under the new contract, increased the revenue from that source⁴⁵ to \$16,750 annually.

Also in 1855, the governor was directed by the General Assembly of Tennessee to endorse and guarantee, on behalf of the State, bonds of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company for a sum not to exceed \$150,000, to be used exclusively toward the construction of the Cleveland-Chattanooga division. To secure the State in this action, the governor was to be given a lien on the new⁴⁶ section of railroad and its fixtures. John D. Gray had been given the contract, and the work was soon started. The length of the road was to be 30.5 miles, and it was estimated that it would cost \$525,000, or \$375,000 in addition to the amount to be received

45. Knoxville Register, September 27, 1855.

46. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1855-56, ch. CXX, sec. 1, pp. 143-144.

from the State. The fare over this new route from Knoxville to Chattanooga, was to be four dollars.⁴⁷

On September 5, 1855 the annual meeting of the stockholders of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad convened at Knoxville, to which place the offices of the company had been moved from Athens. At this meeting the following directors were elected: Campbell Wallace, Drury Paine Armstrong, Thomas C. Lyon, Robert Sneed, Thomas H. Calloway, William Grant, Thomas J. Campbell, William S. Calloway, and William Stark. At this meeting, the company was declared to be in possession of the following rolling stock: 9 locomotives, 4 passenger cars, 2 baggage cars, 40 box cars, and 15 platform cars.⁴⁸ These figures are significant only as they show the rapid and steady growth of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. The remainder of the ante bellum history of the company is uneventful save for a well-deserved and continuing prosperity.

Again, in 1856, the East Tennessee and Georgia made a definite effort to increase passenger traffic. The presidential election of 1856 was the occasion for the holding of many mass meetings and rallies.

47. Knoxville Register, September 27, 1855.

48. Ibid.

The railroad company accordingly tendered an offer of half-fare tickets to all persons going to and returning from all "large mass meetings held by either political party during the election canvass". Ministers who were going to or returning from conferences, synods, or any church convention held at any of the towns along the line of the railroad were also given the half-fare rate.⁴⁹

Of the volume of the passenger traffic on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, the Knoxville Register⁵⁰ had this to say: "The travel on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad we learn is very heavy at the present time."

Perhaps most indicative of the prosperity of this railroad at this time ~~was~~ the willingness of the people to take stock in the company. In 1856, at a meeting of the friends of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, called by the president and directors of that road, John G. Whitson⁵¹ of Clinton, presented resolution:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, that the interests of the State, and of the E. T. & Ga. Railroad Company will be in the highest degree,

49. Knoxville Register, July 31, 1856.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., January 10, 1856.

promoted by a transfer of the State Stock in the E. T. & Ga. Company, to the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company, as, thereby, the construction of the Knoxville and Kentucky Road may be placed beyond contingency.*

Thomas C. Lyon, director of the East Tennessee and Georgia, was present at this meeting and expressed himself as favoring the exchange, if provisions could be made protecting the stockholders in his company from the possibility of having the control of the railroad pass into the hands of the Knoxville and Kentucky Company.

There followed a spirited editorial duel between Fleming, of the Knoxville Register, and Ivins, of the Athens Post, anent the proposed exchange. Fleming unconditionally advocated the transfer of the stock, and Ivins as unconditionally opposed it. The bill was defeated in the House in the early part of 1856. This proposal is significant in the history of the East Tennessee and Georgia only inasmuch as it shows the increased confidence in that company and the appreciation of its stock. The incident will be treated more at length in a subsequent division of this study.

52. Knoxville Register, January 24, 1856.

53. Ibid., January 17, 1856; January 31, 1856;
February 7, 1856; February 14, 1856.

Furthermore it seems that business men in general had acquired some measure of confidence in the stability of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. The following advertisement appearing in the Knoxville Register is a case⁵⁴ in point:

"EAST TENN. & GA RAIL ROAD STOCK.- I am proposing, and still take in exchange for unimproved town lots handsomely located for residences) the Stock of this Company, at a fair cash valuation.
R. M. McPHERSON"

This offer can mean but one thing. That is that this man evidently was confident that the appreciation of the stock would exceed the increment of his unimproved lots. If he had believed otherwise, obviously he should not have been willing to sell on the above terms.

Aside from the recognition in financial circles, the East Tennessee and Georgia seems to have acquired some rolling stock which was the pride of the section through which it passed. On the occasion of receiving the announcement of the famous "Memphis Jubilee" to celebrate the "marriage of the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi", the editor of the Knoxville Register suggested that

54. Knoxville Register, July 10, 1856.

East Tennessee take part in the celebration. He
55
wrote:

"The E. T. & Ga. Company have about the best engine that ever drew a train over Southern soil -- the HIWASSEE they have as elegant a passenger car as can be paraded in Memphis by any Southern Company and they would carry out as fine a cargo of 'fair women and brave men' as ever the eyes of Memphians looked upon."

In 1857 the East Tennessee and Georgia officials made an effort to attract more freight shipments by reducing freight rates. The following announcement of this reduction appeared
56
in a Knoxville newspaper:

"REDUCED RATES OF FREIGHT from Charleston and Savannah to Knoxville, and all the stations on the East Tennessee and Georgia Rail Road

FIRST CLASS

Piano Fortes, Books, Stationery, Boots, Shoes and Hats, Liquors, Oils, &c., (in bottles,) Camphene and Spirits Turpentine (in barrels,) Carpeting, China, Glass and Glassware, Cigars (in cases,) Clocks, Confectioneries, Cotton Cards, Cutlery (in cases,) Casks and Boxes, Dry Goods (in boxes and bales,) Drugs, Fruit, Fruit Trees and Shrubbery, Furs, Garden Seed, Looking Glasses and Looking Glass Plates (at owner's risk,) Oysters (in cans and jars,) Saddlery, Tin and Britannia Ware, Teas and Spices, Georgia and South Carolina Domestics, per 100 lbs., \$1.15.

SECOND CLASS

Hardware, except such as specified in first and third classes, Coffee Mills, Machinery, Foreign Liquors (in barrels and pipes,) Tobacco (in boxes,) Oils (in barrels and casks,) Crockery and Queensware (in crates and casks,) Rice, Whiting,

55. Knoxville Register, April 16, 1857.

56. Ibid., March 26, 1857.

Plaster, Sheet Brass and Copper, per 100 lbs., \$1.00.

THIRD CLASS

Axes, Shovels, Spades, Sad Irons, Zinc and Tin in pigs, Tin Plates, Anvils, Vices [sic], Casks of Chains and Hoes, Manila and Cotton Cordage, Coffee, Heavy Castings, Mill Gearings, Railroad Wheels and Axles, Chairs and Spikes, and Rosin (in barrels,) per 100 lbs., \$0.80.

SPECIAL RATES

Furniture and Carriages (boxed,) and other light articles not enumerated; also Carboys of Acids or other Chemicals, will be charged by actual weight but at double first class rates, per 100 lbs., \$2.30."

It will be seen that, in general, these rates were based upon the principle of charging "what the traffic will bear", although there were some departures from this principle in the above tariff. Coffee, for example, was placed in the "Third Class", whereas carpeting was carried at "First Class" rates. These rates were uniform on the South Carolina Railroad, the Georgia Railroad, the Central Railroad, the Western and Atlantic Railroad, and the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. Knoxville now carried on a lively trade with New Orleans and the "Western
57
Cities" as well as the Cotton South. However, as there was still a thirty-two mile gap left uncompleted in the East Tennessee and Virginia

Railroad, Knoxville carried on little or no⁵⁸
trade in the northeastern markets.

In 1858 the section of the road from
Cleveland to Chattanooga was completed. The
heaviest part of the grading and masonry had
been accomplished by November, 1857. The finan-
cial panic of that year seems not to have affect-
ed the operations in the construction of this
road to any appreciable extent. We find that
"instead of stopping work they have put on more⁵⁹
hands". By February, 1858, the first section of
ten miles from Cleveland had been made ready for⁶⁰
the superstructure, and in the following month,
tracklaying had started on the road.⁶¹ The com-
pletion of this branch put Knoxville in direct
connection with Chattanooga, then a point of re-
shipment of goods coming up the Tennessee River,
and destined later to become the rival of Knox-
ville for metropolitan honors in East Tennessee.

58. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature,
1857-58, p. 63.

59. Knoxville Register, November 19, 1857.

60. Reprinted from the Cleveland Banner, in Knox-
ville Register, February 25, 1858.

61. Knoxville Register, April 1, 1858.

It may be well to survey the affairs of the company in 1860, the final year, as regards this particular study. The figures have been taken from the report of H. F. Cummins, State Road Commissioner at that time. The cost of the railroad, including depots, equipment, and right of way was \$25,881.20 per mile. The statistics showing the condition of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company in 1860 may best be presented in tabular form:

Cost of the entire road	\$3,637,366.99
Amount of capital stock paid in	1,279,652.82
Funded debt	2,020,000.00
Floating debt	200,000.00
Receipts	318,718.06
from passengers	174,475.81
from freight	122,242.25
from all other sources	22,000.00
Expenditures	131,151.76
Net earnings	187,566.30
STATE AID GRANTED	
To roadways	\$1,062,000.00
For bridges	100,000.00
TOTAL LENGTH OF ROAD	
Total length of road	140 miles.
Total length of road in Tennessee	125 miles.
GENERAL STATISTICS	
Branches - no branches; both lines conducted as main stems.	
Aggregate length of sidings, 8 miles.	
Number of truss bridges, 2.	
Number of machine shops, 1.	
Number of wooden depots, 7.	
Number of brick depots, 7.	

62. Public Documents, Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60,
p. 414.

63. Ibid., pp. 414-416.

ACCIDENTS OF PAST YEAR

None.

EQUIPMENT OF THE ROAD

Number of locomotives, 12.
Number of passenger cars, 10.
Number of baggage and express cars, 6.
Number of freight cars, 95.
Number of gravel cars, 40.
Number of road cars, 10.
Number of platform cars, 20.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS

Campbell Wallace, president.
Hu. L. McClure, secretary and treasurer.
Robert C. Morris, chief engineer.
R. C. Jackson, superintendent.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE

Knoxville, Knox County, Tennessee.

This is the end of our study of the Hiwassee (East Tennessee and Georgia) Railroad. Chartered early, the first railroad upon which construction work was done in Tennessee, the entire first part of its history, a record of a grim fight for existence against great odds, it was an enterprise in every sense of the word. Such men as were the builders of the Hiwassee (East Tennessee and Georgia) Railroad despite the multifarious difficulties which they encountered, command our respect. Accordingly, it is with a measure of satisfaction that we read the following excerpt from a report made in 1860 by H. F. Cummins,
64
road commissioner:

64. Public Documents, Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60, p. 413.

"It [the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad] is the connecting link of a great funnel of roads concentrating at each end of it, giving to the people of East Tennessee an outlet in all directions, and developing the vast material resources of that portion of our State so long compelled to be dormant for the want of means of transportation to the sea coast; it is one of the links in the great central chain of roads connecting the North-east Atlantic States and cities with the agricultural regions of the Mississippi Valley and Gulf States, is rapidly becoming one of the great highways of the nation.

"It is one of the most permanently constructed and economically operated roads in the State, and its tabular statements are referred to with pleasure, as exhibiting sound judgment and skillful management on the part of its officers."

PART IV

THE EAST TENNESSEE AND VIRGINIA RAILROAD:

THE CONNECTING LINK

CHAPTER I

The East Tennessee and Virginia: Pre-organization Activities 1847-1849

It is eminently fitting that a consideration of the history of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad should immediately follow that of the Hbwassee (East Tennessee and Georgia). The East Tennessee and Virginia was a complement of the East Tennessee and Georgia, and, after the completion of the former, in 1858, increased the traffic and general usefulness of the East Tennessee and Georgia. These two railroads formed two indispensable links in a chain of railroads, which together constituted a direct air-line from Washington D.C. to Chattanooga, connecting at the latter city with railroads to Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, and Mobile; which railroads, in turn, connected at Atlanta with railroads to Pensacola, Augusta, Charleston, Montgomery, and Savannah; and at Memphis, with lines to New Orleans and Vicksburg. The two roads, East Tenn-

1. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, p. 191. (A map, based on Lloyd's map of 1860, of railroads in operation in 1860)

essee and Georgia and the East Tennessee and Virginia, formed a vitally important part of these connections, because there was no closely parallel road, the nearest being the Louisville and Nashville, which provided only a very circuitous route from the East to the Far South.

The pre-organization activities of the project date from a convention held in May, 1847, at Rogersville, Tennessee. At this convention a resolution was passed inviting all of the counties of East Tennessee to send delegates to a convention to be held at Greeneville on July 15 of the same year, and a committee of correspondence, similar to the committee of correspondence of the² Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project, was appointed to write letters of invitation to³ the citizens of the various counties.

On June 12, 1847, a convention was held in Jonesboro' and a committee appointed to collect commercial statistics of Washington County, to

2. Pro. of Cit. of Char., pp. 23-24.

3. First Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the East Tennessee and Virginia Rail Road Company, Jonesboro', 1850, p. 4 (Hereafter referred to as F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850)

report to another convention to be held at Jonesboro' on June 28. Accordingly, the convention met at Jonesboro' on June 28 and the report was read. Furthermore, delegates were appointed to attend the convention at Greenville to be held on July 15 of the same year, and a resolution was adopted to the effect that "this meeting adopt the plan of a Railroad as of all others best suited to our section of the State".⁴

The convention which met at Greeneville consisted of delegates from ten counties in East Tennessee and from three counties in Virginia.⁵ There were, it seems, two factions in this convention. One strongly advocated river improvements, especially of the Holston and the French Broad, and scouted the idea of a railroad as being impracticable and visionary. The other faction held that nothing short of a railroad could meet the needs of East Tennessee and western Virginia. This faction pointed out that attention had already

4. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 3.

5. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

been directed, in Virginia, to the project. Three days of discussion followed, but no decision was formed. Col. Floyd then drew up the following resolutions, and they were adopted unanimously by the convention:⁶

"Whereas, A Convention assembled in the County of Greene, in the town of Greeneville, on the 15th day of July, 1847, composed of delegates from all the upper counties in East Tennessee and a portion of Western Virginia; which Convention was the largest numbers ever met for similar purposes in that portion of the State; the object of said convention was to take into consideration the interests of East Tennessee and Western Virginia, upon the subject of Internal Improvements: said convention, after mature deliberation, unanimously adopted the following resolutions, which are in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention the interests of East Tennessee requires the improvement of the Holston River, from Knoxville to Kingsport, and the French Broad to the south of Nolichucky, with a view to Steamboat navigation, and that we recommend to the Legislature of Tennessee the appropriation of \$250,000 for that purpose.

"Resolved, That this convention do recommend to the very favorable and cordial consideration of Tennessee and Virginia, the construction of a Railroad from Knoxville, Tennessee, to Charlottesville, Virginia; or, to the State of Tennessee the construction of a McAdam road from Knoxville, Tennessee, graded suitably for a Railroad, to the Virginia road now in progress, to run through East Tennessee between the Holston and Nolichucky Rivers -- thus to unite Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee with Virginia and the North."

6. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, pp. 4-5.

The secretary of this convention furnished a copy of these resolutions to the Legislature, and they were introduced into the Senate by Major Britian, state senator from the counties⁷ of Greene and Hawkins.

The East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company was incorporated by the Tennessee General Assembly on January 27, 1848. In the charter, the purpose of the company was stated to be the establishment of a line of railroad communications between Knoxville and the State of Virginia, through East Tennessee, east of Bay's Mountain, between the Holston and Nolichucky rivers.⁸

The capital stock of the company was set at 60,000 shares of stock at \$25 per share. To take subscriptions for this stock, books were to be opened on the first Monday in April, 1848. They were to be kept open for six days between the hours of 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. Commissioners were appointed for this purpose in the towns of Blount-

7. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, p. .

8. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX,
sec. 1, p. 195.

ville, Elizabethton, Taylorsville, Jonesboro', Kingsport, Rogersville, Greeneville, Newport, Russellville, New Market, Dandridge, Sevierville, Maryville, Rutledge, Jacksboro', Clinton, and Knoxville.⁹ The sum of fifty cents, it was provided, should be paid on each share of stock at the time of subscription. On the first Monday in May, the board of commissioners was to meet in Jonesboro' to ascertain the total number of shares of stock subscribed. If 500 shares had been subscribed, the company would be considered as having been formed, under the control of the board of commissioners. This board was then empowered to survey the route and make estimates of the cost, but could establish no location which should be binding until the election of the first board of directors.¹⁰

When 25,000 shares of stock had been subscribed, the company might be organized, and a board of directors elected, provided the 25,000 shares be subscribed on or before January 1, 1850. After the route for the projected railroad "shall

9. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 2, pp. 195-196.

10. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 3-5, pp. 196-198.

have been accurately surveyed and adopted, and a plot thereof deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, it shall ~~be~~¹¹ not be lawful for any other rail road to be built, cut or constructed in any way or manner, or by any authority whatever, running laterally within twenty miles of the route so adopted . . ."

It was further provided that the board of directors might call for payments of instalments on the stock in sums "not exceeding two dollars in every forty days". Another provision was to the effect that the company was to be allowed, at any time, to increase its capital stock to "a sum sufficient to complete the said road". The requirements of eligibility to the office of president or director were : (1) to be a citizen of the United States, and (2) to be a bona fide stockholder in his own right of ¹² at least forty shares.

The following provision of the charter of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Com-

11. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 8-12, pp. 198-199.

12. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. CXX², sec. 14-18, pp. 199-202.

pany is interesting inasmuch as it provides
a basis for a conjecture that people were, at
this time, using the graded right-of-way of the
East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad as a toll-
free turnpike:

"And if any person shall intrude upon the
said road or any part thereof, or the rights
and privileges connected therewith, without
the permission or contrary to the will of said
company, they shall forthwith forfeit to the
said company, all the vehicles that may be so
intruded on said road, and the same may be re-
covered by suit at law; and the persons so in-
truding may also be indicted for misdemeanor,
and on conviction, fined and imprisoned by any
court of competent jurisdiction."

The company was expressly forbidden to
carry on any banking operations (a lesson
learned from the Panic of 1837, no doubt).

Because a difficulty later arose upon
that point, it perhaps will be well to quote
verbatim the provision of the charter which
related to amendments to the charter. It fol-
lows:

" . . . This charter, however, shall be amend-
able, from time to time, by the legislature,
whenever the president and directors shall un-
animously petition for amendments; and when such
amendments shall be adopted by the legislature,
and submitted to the directory, and be accepted
and adopted unanimously by the president and
directors, they shall be obligatory on the stock-
holders, and not otherwise."

13. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX,
p. 203.

14. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 26, p. 204.

15. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 28, pp. 204-205.

By another section of the act of incorporation, the company was given the right to own as many slaves as might be necessary for the building of the road and the keeping of it in
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repair.

It was further provided that the railroad should be started within five years after the passage of the act of incorporation, and should be completed five years thereafter. The penalty for the non-compliance with this requirement
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was to be annulment of the charter.

The first board of commissioners failed to open books for subscription of stock, and the books were not opened by the second board until after the passage of an act in February, 1849, by the Virginia Legislature, binding that State to a subscription of three-fifths of the stock required in the construction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad -- the railroad which The East Tennessee and Virginia was to meet at
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the Tennessee-Virginia line. This act of the

16. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 29, p. 205.

17. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 31, p. 205.

18. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 5.

Virginia Legislature seems to have roused the people of upper East Tennessee to action, and to have led them to attempt to save the charter of their railroad.

Although the first board of commissioners had neglected even to open the books for subscription, this was not interpreted as a sign that these men entertained any animosity for the project. It was reasoned that possibly some did not hear of their appointment. There was no provision in the charter for notification of appointment, and the published acts were not printed before June -- long after the day for the opening of books had passed. Thus the time for¹⁹ the opening of books slipped by.

Legal authorities were consulted and they advised that the General Assembly would hardly suspend the charter on such an immaterial irregularity as the tardy opening of books. Accordingly, a second board of commissioners was organized, as provided in section 4 of the charter but some eight months later, on January 3, 1849 at the court house in Jonesboro'. From

19. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 12.

eight to ten thousand dollars were subscribed on that day. Subscriptions also were taken in Greene, Carter, Jefferson, and Knox counties. It was extremely doubtful whether the amount required to secure the charter could be subscribed within the time limit prescribed. Therefore the commissioners waived the payment of the fifty cents per share upon subscriptions, until they could determine whether they were going to raise enough to comply with section 5 of the act of incorporation.²⁰

After diligent efforts to gain the necessary amount of subscriptions for stock, there was less than \$200,000 subscribed by the first of November. There was indication in the General Assembly that if the required amount of stock were not subscribed by January 1, 1850, ~~there~~²¹ would be no extension of time.

However, in the face of the unpromising attitude of the General Assembly, a memorial was sent to that body asking that the time for subscription of stock be extended. This was un-

20. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, pp. 5-6.

21. Ibid., p. 6.

22

successful.

At the rate which the subscriptions were progressing, it was evident that the required amount (²³\$625,000) would not be subscribed by January 1, and the charter consequently would be lost. Those interested in the project began to consider what it was best to do under the circumstances. Someone recalled the plan which the six McMinn County promoters of the Hiwassee project had employed in 1837 for the purpose of fulfilling the requirement of their charter as to accertain amount of subscriptions being made in a certain length of time, thereby saving the charter of the company. They recalled that the six men had together subscribed for some \$280,000 in stock of the company, in order that the charter might not be revoked.²⁴

Accordingly, the promoters of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company adopted a similar course of action. A joint stock company was formed on October 26, 1849 for the purpose of making subscriptions to the extent

22. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, p. .

23. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 8, p. 198.

24. Killiebrew and Safford, Resources of Tenn., p. 311.

required for the saving of the charter. This company was first known as the "Washington County Railroad Company", which name was afterwards changed to the "East Tennessee Rail Road Company".²⁵ It was popularly known as the "East Tennessee Stock Company", which, incidentally, seems to have been a much more appropriate name for this company. The company organized to save the East Tennessee and Virginia charter, was composed of the following men: Thomas A. R. Nelson, John Lyle, E. S. Mathes, G. W. Telford, R. A. Thompson, Samuel Rhea, J. J. James, Joseph Spurgin, Joseph S. Rhea, Thomas McAdams, A. E. Jackson, Ewing McClure, John B. Hamilton, W. W. Bovelie, Samuel B. Cunningham, R. L. Blair, W. K. Blair, William G. Gammon, John W. Simpson, Isaac McPherson, W. R. Bevier, J. C. Mitchell, S. D. Mitchell, John F. Deaderick, Robert P. Rhea, A. A. Broyles, William P. Reeves, Jacob Klepper, J. F. Broyles, James A. Scruggs, and John P. Snapp. These men elected A. E. Jackson to the presidency of their organization and, after

25. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 8.

signing a compact, appointed one of their number to subscribe for the remainder of the stock, to an amount not exceeding \$500,000.²⁶

The General Assembly, on November 6, 1849, passed an act extending the time to be allowed for the subscription of \$625,000 in stock, from January 1, 1850 to January 1, 1852.²⁷ By that time, however, the joint stock company had been organized, had subscribed for the necessary amount of stock, and now the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company was ready for the election of a board of directors. In the same act it was provided that the citizens of Hawkins, Grainger, and Claiborne counties who should thereafter make bona fide subscriptions to the capital stock of the company, to the amount of one-third of the sum required fully to establish the corporation should be entitled to benefits in common with the subscribers south of Bay's Mountain and the Holston River, both as to the survey of a route north of that boundary, and the "full and fair competition for final

26. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

27. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. XI, sec. 1, p. 19.

28
locations".

This leads to a mention of the controversy as to route which had been in progress prior to the passage of this act. The people north of Bay's Mountain were adherents of river improvement, and they advocated the construction of a railroad between the Holston and the French Broad rivers. The South Valley, however, could not be accommodated by a railroad running north of Bay's Mountain. The distance is so great and the roughness of the country is such that there could not be transported to the railroad such articles as iron, nails, castings, flour, and other heavy products which constituted the great staples of Greene,²⁹ Washington, Carter and Johnson counties. Thus there arose a dispute which the foregoing act was an attempt, at least partially, to adjudicate.

After the joint stock company had taken upon itself the subscription of the remaining stock of the amount necessary, the board of commissioners reported the fact that the whole amount of \$625,000 had been subscribed, to the Tennessee General

28. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. XI, sec. 2, p. 19.

29. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 7.

Assembly. The commissioners also announced that, on November 21, 1849, a meeting of the stockholders of the company would be held at Greeneville, for the purpose of electing a board of directors.³⁰

At this meeting, fifteen directors (ac-³¹cording to the provisions of the charter) were elected. These directors were: A. E. Jackson, Samuel B. Cunningham, J. F. Broyles, J. S. Rhea, J. B. Hamilton, J. J. James, James A. Scruggs, William P. Reeves, J. C. Mitchell, Jacob Klepper, G. W. Telford, William K. Blair, William G. Gammon,³² Samuel Rhea, and John Lyle. With the election of directors, the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company became relieved of the problem of organization and was initiated into the vastly more complex problems contingent upon the construction of a railroad through a section which, in the main, was antagonistic to such enterprise. It requires that one be only slightly familiar with the conditions of railroad construction at that time, in order that he might accurately predict some of the difficulties which lay before

30. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 8.

31. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 7, p. 198.

32. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

the East Tennessee and Virginia after its organization. Such a prophet would probably predict that there would be widespread and continued reluctance upon the part of the subscribers to pay instalments upon their stock. He would say that local jealousies would interfere in the location of the route. He would foretell that the sparsely populated section through which the railroad (adopting any of the proposed routes) must pass would militate against the success of the railroad -- especially since -- a large part of the thin population was hostile toward railroad construction. In short, it takes no prophet of any extraordinary capabilities to foretell a rough and troubled career for the new enterprise -- the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad.

CHAPTER II

The East Tennessee and Virginia: Organization and Its Problems 1849-50

The company had not long to wait after its organization, on November 21, 1849, before it encountered trouble. The first problem presented to the directors of the company came from within the ranks of its own individual stockholders. Certain of these stockholders strenuously objected to the control which the joint stock company had exercised in the election of the directors of the railroad company. They objected upon the ground that a by-law had been adopted which exempted the joint stock company from the payment of fifty cents upon each share of stock at the time of subscription. When we consider the fact that, of the fifteen directors of the company, all were members of the joint stock company, and, furthermore, that Samuel B. Cunningham, president; E. S. Mathes, treasurer; and William G. Gammon, secretary, were also members of that company, the complaint of the in-

dividual stockholders seems reasonable enough.¹

On the other hand, however, it seems that the ~~individual~~ stockholders could ill-afford to complain of the joint stock company's vote on the grounds of non-payment of the fifty cents initial payment on stock, in view of the fact that neither had the individual stockholders paid such instalment (the payment of it having been waived). It was accordingly suggested by some of the proponents of the joint stock company, that the company should ~~not~~ be allowed to vote until it had paid the fifty cents per share instalment on the stock held by that company, provided that the individual stockholders paid the fifty cents instalment on their stock. Accordingly, there was a meeting of the stockholders at Greeneville, in July, to pass upon the suggestion. In this meeting they "disclaimed any such right", or, in other words, they did not care to pay fifty cents per share of stock held for the privilege of debarring the joint stock company from voting.²

1. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

2. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va. 1850, p. 8.

One of the first acts of the board of directors was to ask the General Assembly to pass a law ratifying the proceedings of the commissioners (which had been somewhat irregular) and declaring the charter saved.³

In accordance with this request, the General Assembly, on February 8, 1850, passed an act,⁴ the provisions of which were as follows:

"SEC. 4. That as defects and irregularities may have happened in the proceedings of the different boards of commissioners, under the act incorporating the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, as well as in the time and manner of opening said books, as in other respects; yet, as it has been made appear from the certificate of the President and Secretary of the board of commissioners of said East Tennessee and Virginia railroad company, that the whole sum of six hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, required to be subscribed, has been subscribed, it is hereby declared to be a full compliance with the requirements of the charter, and a confirmation of the acts of said company in the execution thereof, Provided, that it shall be the duty of the President and Directors of the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad company, to locate the road on the best route within the limits of the charter of the company: Provided further, that the best route shall be decided by the Engineer or Engineers on the following grounds, viz:- The cheapest, shortest, and most practicable route compatible with the interest of the people and the profits of the road; the said Engineer or Engineers to act under oath."

The board of directors of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company met, on February 14, 1850, at Greeneville, without knowing of the act passed on February 8 by the General Assembly.

3. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

4. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. CCLVI, sec. 4, pp. 491-492.

At this meeting the following resolutions, which
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were later published, were adopted:

"WHEREAS, Misgivings exist in the minds of some that the location of the road now about to be surveyed will, if located by the present Board of Directors be done through motives of selfishness, prejudicial to the public interest and that of the Stockholders, Therefore [sic],

"Resolved, That after all the practicable routes from Knoxville to [sic] the Virginia [sic] line, shall have been surveyed by a competent Engineer and his reports made out, the same shall be printed and circulated amongst the Stockholders for examination; and that no person who wishes to take stock, may be deprived of his vote or votes; subscription papers shall be kept open for receiving subscriptions of stock during the whole time -- that they will fix upon and publish a day for a selection of a route by the Stockholders, at convenient places in each county on the route. Should there be two or more routes designated; said routes shall be mentioned in the Engineer's report; and the votes shall specify the number first voted for, as first choice; and the secondary or second choice by a corresponding number on the tickets, to be considered as his vote in the contingency of his first choice failing of election. The Directors pledge themselves to be governed by said election in the location of said road.

"Provided, that no subscription shall be entitled to a vote until the sum of fifty cents on each share be previously paid; and the receipt of each payment, presented by the subscribers at the time of offering to vote."

This resolution distinctly shows that the board of directors of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad was composed of thinking men. Under

this resolution they should certainly be absolved of all imputations as to selfishness in the location of the route, more subscriptions would be obtained, and, of more importance perhaps, payment of the fifty cent instalment would doubtless be paid on practically every share of stock, in order that its owner might have the right to vote upon the selection of a route.

When news was received of the act passed by the General Assembly on February 8, there was some confusion as to which method of choosing the route should be adhered to. The board of directors met on May 25, 1850 at Jonesboro' to determine whether the act of February 8 or the resolution of February 14 should be followed out in the location of the road. At this meeting it was decided that (1) if they neglected a law for the passage of which they had petitioned, it would weaken the company in the estimation of the Legislature; (2) that the "annexed proviso" of the act was the same, in effect, as the resolution; (3) that to refuse to accept it would bring suspicion of fraud

upon the company; (4) that if the law were neglected, it might prejudice the interests of the road "abroad"; and (5) that the stockholders would, in any case, be dependent upon the report of the engineer⁶ in the casting of their votes.

The directors, at this meeting, decided to call a meeting of the stockholders to meet at Greeneville on July 31, and to this meeting to submit both the resolution and the law, and let them vote on the method which they preferred to follow⁷ in the choice of a route.

Accordingly the stockholders met at Greeneville on the day set, and voted to adopt the law rather than the resolutions. This was done by the overwhelming vote of 1878 to 2.⁸

Captain Lloyd Tilghman was appointed chief engineer, with instructions to get his associates and instruments and to come to Jonesboro'. He and his assistants left New York on March 9, and arrived in Jonesboro' on March 26. Assuming that Captain Tilghman came directly to Jonesboro' with

6. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 10.

7. Ibid., p. 11.

8. Ibid., p. 12.

reasonable haste, the fact that it took him seventeen days to make the journey is an eloquent, though dumb, witness of the need for the railroad which he had come to construct, along with other railroads to be linked together to form a connection between New York and the South-⁹west.

From the time of his arrival at Jonesboro' until September 1, 1850, Captain Tilghman and his assistants made some 476 miles of experimental surveys. It is a striking commentary upon the gain of confidence in the directorate by the stockholders that the stockholders, in September, 1850, passed a resolution to the effect that it was their wish that the board of directors should "put any portion of the road under contract which in their judgment may be compatible with the interests of the Stockholders, and within the means they may be able to collect and command, after receiving the final report of the Chief Engineer, locating said road". The directors took advantage of this interest on the part of the stockholders in the immediate start

9. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va.,
1850, p. 11.

of operations by calling for an instalment of
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\$1.00 per share.

It was planned to start the work at McBee's Ferry rather than at either of the termini. This was to be conditional, however, upon the raising of enough money, in stock subscribed, by the counties "lying upon and contiguous to the line of the road", equal to the cost of grading that span. McBee's Ferry, an intermediate point, was selected as a point at which to begin the construction of the road. The reasons assigned for this procedure were: (1) that at ~~one~~ terminus (the northeastern) it would be necessary to wait for the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, and at the other (southwestern) to wait for the East Tennessee and Georgia, which had, at that time, no funds to bring their road further than Loudon; (2) the possibility of using every mile of the railroad ~~as~~ soon as it was constructed, due to the connection with the river; (3) that iron could be transported down the river; and (4) that the company had promised that the money should be expended, as far as practicable, where it was raised.

10. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va.,
1850, p. 12.

11. Ibid., p. 13; Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

The contract for the first section was taken by S. B. Fergusson. One-half of the contract price was to be paid in stock of the company, and the other half in cash,¹² although where the company expected to get the cash is problematical.

No State aid had as yet been offered to the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. It was thought, however, if the counties through which the railroad was planned to pass should grade the road and prepare it for the rails, that State aid would be forthcoming. As Cunningham¹³ said in 1850:

"Having graded the road out of our own private means, Tennessee will present a monstrous anomaly, when compared with any or all other sister States, should she persist in such miserable novercal policy - alike humbling to State pride, and in opposition to the interests of the State, should she refuse her help."

Doubtless, had the subscribers paid their subscriptions promptly when called for, the company should have had little difficulty in effecting the above plan of shaming the State into the offer of aid to the railroad. However, again¹⁴ quoting Cunningham:

12. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

13. F. Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 13.

14. Ibid., p. 15.

"The want of punctuality on the part of subscribers, is a grievous drawback which must ever be kept in view, and compel any Directory who expect to meet their engagements, to act slowly and with caution The want of punctuality may be traced to the loose manner of doing business in our country - always employing credit"

New subscribers were very few at this time. The stock, of course, could be bought for less than par from those who held it, and from the company, it must be bought at par.

The question might well be raised in the mind of one considering the affairs of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company at this juncture: "How can the project be financed"? Cunningham, the president and leading spirit of the company, was ready with an answer. The fact that reveals the whole financial policy of the company justifies its being quoted somewhat at length:

"We propose to build by sections. The first section, for example, will be 40 miles, at an average cost of \$6,000 per mile, will require \$240,000 to grade and do the masonry, etc. If one half can be paid in stock, then there will be required \$120,000 cash subscriptions to meet the other half. Let three years be allowed for the finishing the grading; then we must pay less than

15. F. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, p. 15.

16. Ibid., p. 16.

a third if we discount the drawback, annually, or say in round numbers \$38,000. Should the calls be semi-annually, then at every six months, we require \$19,000: but there are 8 or 10 counties which might divide this amount, if they would. We will however assume but six. Divide the \$19,000 by six and we have \$3,166 to each county to be paid semi-annually. Is not the county able to meet this? especially when it is to be expended not out of the country, but at home - among the people who raised it, to be speedily expended again for produce at greatly enhanced prices? A single successful mercantile establishment in any one county (I am credibly informed) will take in more money in the time, to be borne quite off out of circulation, and what must be the sum total withdrawn by all the merchants in all the counties? It surely would be safe to guess several hundred hundred thousand dollars per annum, and yet we boggle at \$40,000 for the road."

The second meeting of the stockholders met, on November 29, 1850, at Jonesboro'. The directors elected at this time were: Samuel B. Cunningham, W. P. Reeves, J. F. Broyles, O. Boaz, A. W. Taylor, J. P. Snapp, A. E. Jackson, G. W. Telford, Joseph Shannon, S. N. Fain, R. P. Rhea, B. Campbell, S. Rhea, R. H. Davis, and E. Davis. At this time "the bona fide subscription" - subscription exclusive of that of the "East Tennessee Stock Company" - amounted to only \$250,000. Of this amount very little had been paid in. Nevertheless, on March 30, 1851, the ground was first

17. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

broken, about one mile east of McBee's Ferry. Conditions seemed at this time to be so adverse that there was no hope held out for the enterprise. The beginning of work on the East Tennessee and Virginia seems to have attracted considerable attention, but to have engendered little expectation or hope, among the residents of upper East Tennessee, of its completion. Apropos of this, we are informed that the work was started "in the midst of doubting thousands", but whether this is literal or figurative is unknown to the writer. Certainly that expression might mean that thousands of people assembled near McBee's Ferry to witness the commencement of the work. Just as reasonably it could be, in a sense, figurative, meaning that the surrounding population was doubtful of the ultimate construction of the railroad. The writer rather inclines toward the latter interpretation. It is doubtful whether there was sufficient interest in the project to cause the "thousands" to take the trouble to travel to the scene of the beginning of work. Also,

the inadequate means of transportation at that time would militate against such an assemblage.

At any rate, the work was started. A. E. Jackson and Samuel Rhea were sent by the company as agents to the General Assembly of the State to solicit very urgently needed aid for the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad¹⁸. In this quest they were partially successful. The General Assembly, on January 15, 1852, passed an act authorizing the governor to issue to the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, coupon bonds of the State of Tennessee to an amount not exceeding \$300,000 to be used by the company for the construction of bridges. The bonds, when issued were automatically, without a deed from the company, to constitute a lien¹⁹ on all the stock of the company.

Furthermore there were certain "strings" attached to this offer of State aid, which were exceedingly unfavorable to the struggling company. For example, the act provided that before

18. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

19. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. LXXII, pp. 76-77.

\$100,000 of the **bonds** should be issued to the company, it would be necessary for the company to put forty miles of the road under contract; the work must be progressing, and there must be bona fide subscriptions to an amount necessary to grade and put the necessary culverts on that section. The other \$200,000 was to be issued in two instalments upon conditions similar to the prerequisites for the issuance of the first \$100,000.²⁰

There seems to be a contradiction in this act relative to the purpose for which the bonds might be used. The contradiction occurs in section 5 of the act. The first part of this section prescribes the use to which the bonds might be put,²¹ thus:

" . . . and that said bonds when issued shall not be used for any other purpose than procuring the means for the construction of said bridge or bridges, and it shall not be lawful for said bonds to be used for any other purpose." (The italics are mine.)

Further along in the same section of the same act, appears the following seeming contra-

20. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. LXXII, sec. 2, pp. 76-77.

21. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. LXXII, sec. 5, p. 78.

22

diction:

" . . . and the proceeds of said bonds shall be applied to the construction of bridges specified in the 5th section of this act, and the masonry on the line of said road, and the surplus, if any, to any other bridges on the line of said road, or other purpose necessary to prepare the said road for the iron rails." (The italics are mine.)

By the end of the year 1851, three miles of the road had been graded, and \$15,000 had been collected, apparently by a process closely analogous to the extraction of teeth, from the
23
subscribers on their stock.

The stockholders of the company had met, on November 27, 1851, and at this meeting the directorate was considerably revised as to membership. William Houston, Jacob Klepper, William A Moffitt, Joseph Henderson, J. C. Mitchell, John McGaughey, and Joseph Shannon replaced B. Campbell, G. W. Telford, Samuel Fain, John P. Snapp, E. Davis, and R. H. Davis in the directorate of the company. Samuel B. Cunningham was again re-elected president, and William G. Gammon
24
was re-elected secretary and treasurer.

22. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. LXXII, sec. 5, pp. 78-79.

23. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

24. Ibid.

In 1852, the General Assembly passed a general act for the aid of railroad companies to the extent of \$8,000 for each mile of road constructed. The bonds to be issued under this act were to mature in forty years, and the company was required to pay interest on the bonds²⁵ semi-annually.

It will be remembered that the General Assembly had provided that, before the aid allowed for the building of bridges could be drawn, the company, among other things, must have an amount subscribed sufficient to grade the several sections of the road, which sections were each forty miles in length. It was found that \$365,000 had been subscribed, and after deducting the doubtful subscriptions, \$308,000 of this amount was adjudged by the directors, to be collectible. The East Tennessee Stock Company was held responsible for the remaining \$542,000 required, according to the engineer's estimate, to prepare the road bed for the superstructure. A. E. Jackson was sent to Nashville to attempt to se-

25. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CLI.

cure the bonds. He was successful, and immediately proceeded to New York for the purpose of marketing the bonds. There he was eminently successful, disposing of one-half of the bonds at a premium of 8 per cent. The remaining one-half was later sold at the same rate. Furthermore, the citizens of Washington County, on August 14, 1852, voted a subscription of \$50,000 in the stock of the company. The financial affairs of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company were decidedly on the increase. Before the end of the year 1852, almost the entire road had been put under contract.²⁷

On November 25, 1852, the annual meeting of the stockholders was held in Greeneville. At this meeting the previous board of directors was retained intact, and again Samuel B. Cunningham was elected to the presidency of the company, and William G. Gammon, re-elected to the offices of secretary and treasurer. Cap-

26. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

27. Ibid.

tain Lloyd A. Tilghman resigned his position as chief engineer of the company. With the aid of William Brazleton, the president succeeded in employing Robert C. Morris, who took charge of the work on the western end of the road. On February 9, 1853, Montgomery Lynch was appointed chief engineer. Under his direction, the grade was reduced to a maximum of 68 feet to²⁸ the mile.

At this time the board of directors began to realize the desirability of having completed the grading between McBee's Ferry and Knoxville, before the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad should be completed to the latter point - its²⁹ northern terminus.

In the fall of 1854 a bar presented itself to this contemplated construction work in the form of what, in the legal phraseology applicable to common carriers, would be called an "act of God". This was the cholera epidemic in Knoxville. From the first to the fourth of September there

28. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

29. The American Statesman (Knoxville), July 6, 1853.

were, in Knoxville, some thirty deaths from this dread disease. Of this epidemic, the ³⁰ Kingston Gazetteer had the following to say:

"Knoxville is nearly abandoned, there being scarcely help enough to lay out and bury the dead -- public houses closed and Newspaper publication ceased except Extras publish'd by W. G. BROWNLOW who says if he dies it will be at his post."

For the entire period of the epidemic, sixty-six deaths were reported in Knoxville, ³¹ and more than one hundred in East Tennessee. Doctors were disagreed as to whether the epi- ³² demic in East Tennessee was cholera or not, but the workers on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, not being interested in the academic side of the question, did not linger to find out, but left their work for parts of the country which were reputed to be more healthful. This ³³ hegira caused a virtual suspension of building operations on the road.

Furthermore, the increased demand for labor, the general advance in prices, and the crop failure hindered the contractors in their work at this

30. Kingston Gazetteer, September 9, 1854.

31. Ibid., September 30, 1854.

32. Ibid., August 12, 1854.

33. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

time. The calls for payment of instalments on stock were "sparsely paid" in this year, and, on the whole, no year since the drawing of State bonds by the company had presented so many difficulties to the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company.³⁴ During this year, two directors, James F. Broyles and Joseph Shannon, resigned and were replaced by D. Kennedy³⁵ and R. H. Davis.

On November 30, 1854, the stockholders convened in their annual meeting -- this time at Jonesboro'. They re-elected the board of directors then in office. This board re-elected Samuel B. Cunningham and William G. Gammon to the positions of president, and secretary and treasurer, respectively. On January 2 John McGaughey resigned as director and was replaced by A. W. Taylor. On February 3, 1855, John McGaughey, with John Shields, was appointed³⁶ state director in the road.

One of the many difficulties which Pres-

34. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

ident Cunningham encountered was the depreciation of State bonds. The law did not allow that they be sold for less than par and, of course, they could not be sold at par when they were being offered for sale at under par in the stock markets. Thus Cunningham was placed in a position somewhat similar to that of Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey in 1849 in regard to the disposal of State bonds.³⁷ Cunningham succeeded in contracting for iron for the remainder of the road to be paid for in State bonds at par.³⁸ Probably this contract called for a price to be paid for the rails which would be enough in excess of the market price of rails at that time to allow for the discount on the State bonds, and on this advanced price the bonds would be accepted at par, thus complying with the letter, if not the spirit of the law forbidding the sale of State bonds at less than par.

On July 4, 1855, at the time of the Knoxville "Jubilee" to celebrate the completion of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, *the*

37. J.G.M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, pp. 26-28.

38. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

tracklaying was started, in Knoxville, on the
39
East Tennessee and Virginia. The work was started under contract with Maxwell and Company to lay the track along the entire line. By the close of the year 1855, the track had been laid from Knoxville to McBee's Ferry. During the year 1855, the company was indeed in sore straits. The winter of 1855 was an exceptionally severe one, and consequently little construction work could be done. Prices were at a high level, and the outlay for equipments went far beyond \$10,000 per mile. State bonds, still under par, could not be sold. Stockholders were so delinquent in the payment of installments that it was necessary for the board of directors to issue first mortgage bonds, after State liens, to the amount of \$100,000, and these could be sold at a large discount. The engineer's estimate had been made when prices were 40 per cent below what they then were. Interest lagged before July 4, because, at that time neither the

39. Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, May 26, 1855.

East Tennessee and Georgia nor the Virginia and Tennessee had been completed. The directors were forced to borrow on their individual responsibility.⁴⁰

Greeneville was the town selected for the annual meeting of the stockholders in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company in 1856. This meeting convened on November 17, 1856. At the meeting, the old board was re-elected with the exception of G. W. Telford, J. Klepper, and A. W. Taylor -- the latter having died during the preceding year. They were replaced in the directorate by A. G. Graham, B. F. McFarland, and William Moulden. The board re-elected Samuel B. Cunningham to the presidency and William G. Gammon as secretary and treasurer.⁴¹ In the fall of 1856, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad was completed to Bristol;⁴² and the East Tennessee and Georgia had been completed to Knoxville in June of the preceding year.⁴³ Thus was the East

40. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

41. Ibid.

42. Reprinted from the Lynchburg Virginian, in Knoxville Register, August 21, 1856.

43. Knoxville Register, June 28, 1855.

Tennessee and Virginia Railroad placed in a peculiar position, the discussion of which perhaps will warrant a separate chapter.

CHAPTER III

The East Tennessee and Virginia: "Let Us Through"

From the time of the completion of the Virginia and Tennessee until the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia in 1858, the latter railroad occupied a position somewhat analogous to that of a motorist who "kills" his engine in the midst of heavy traffic, thereby holding the procession. Naturally the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, under such circumstances, was the butt of many unpleasant remarks; the more rapid construction of the road was rather warmly urged on every hand; and, all in all, the company had a most miserable time of it between the years of 1856 and 1858. It is with the advance of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad during this period and the impatience of the surrounding population with the slow progress of the railroad, that this chapter is concerned.

On February 23, 1856, the first trip was made, on the East Tennessee and Virginia, from

Knoxville to New Market, 24 miles east of Knoxville. Fleming, editor of the Knoxville Register, wrote that upon the occasion of the running of the first train over this section of the railroad. "an immense assemblage of Old Jefferson's 'fair women and brave men'" were on hand to meet the train at New Market. John Netherland and Horace Maynard delivered addresses upon the occasion.¹ Furthermore, Fleming wrote: "Having tarried long enough for the denizens to examine the wonderful proportions of the 'Iron horse' and to note his 'flesh-marks', the train returned to Knoxville." Also he stated that two new passenger cars had been added to the rolling stock of the company, which were "equal in style and comfort to almost any upon our Southern roads, and being in charge of a gentlemanly conductor, Jo. Sevier,"¹

By July 17, 1856, the cars were running on the East Tennessee and Virginia, from Knoxville² to Russelville - a distance of about 50 miles. At Russelville, another celebration was held,³ of which Fleming wrote: "A Railroad Jubilee came

1. Knoxville Register, February 28, 1856.

2. Ibid., July 17, 1856.

3. Ibid., August 7, 1856.

off at Russelville on Friday last [August 1]. We understand the people were counted by the acre". It was planned that the tracklaying should end, for some time, at Russelville. A considerable amount of grading remained to be done above Russelville. It was planned that, when the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad should be completed to the state line at Bristol, that tracklaying should be resumed at that point,⁴ and proceed in the direction of Russelville. Thus the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad might⁵ be used to transport rails from the East.

The contention with regard to the more rapid construction of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad seems to have been started by a letter, signed "A Southerner", which was published in the Lynchburg Virginian. The writer claimed to have received his information relevant to the estimated time which would be necessary for the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia from an unnamed official of

4. Knoxville Register, July 17, 1856.

5. Reprinted from the Lynchburg Virginian, in Knoxville Register, August 21, 1856.

that railroad. An excerpt from the letter follows:
6

"Our road [Virginia and Tennessee] will be completed to Bristol in six weeks and as soon as that is done the other company [East Tennessee and Virginia] will commence the transportation over it of the iron for their road. Sixty miles running from here west, are now ready for the rails, and all the graduation is being rapidly pushed forward. It is estimated that in eighteen months, the E. Tenn. Road will be entirely finished, and that the great railway connection of which these two roads are important links will be completed." (Italics are mine.)

This letter drew the fire of another Virginian, presumably a resident of Petersburg, because his letter, in the Lynchburg Virginian, was signed "Petersburg". The following is an excerpt from this letter:
7

"People of Richmond, Petersburg and Lynchburg, have really burthened themselves with taxation to an almost insupportable extent for the establishment of a Railway connection with Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas; and now when all, or nearly all is done except to lay the rails on eighty miles of graded track, to be told that it will require eighteen months to do an amount of work, which is performed elsewhere, in one third of that time is indeed applying the wet blankets with a vevgence [sic]."

Even Tennesseans were prone to be mildly

6. Reprinted from the Lynchburg Virginian, in Knoxville Register, August 21, 1856.

7. Reprinted from the Lynchburg Virginian, in Knoxville Register, September 25, 1856.

reproachful at this time. "A. Tennessean", submitted a masterpiece of mild and patient reproach when he wrote: "Many of us are impatiently awaiting the consummation of the great work that we may visit the old homesteads and graves of many of our ancestors."

Very early in 1857, there was a gap of about seventy miles uncompleted in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. It was expected that by the first of November the road would be completed to Jonesboro'.⁹

The Panic of 1857 added to the difficulties to be encountered by the East Tennessee and Virginia. The Panic, coupled with crop failure, was exceptionally severe in that section. Judge Patterson and several lawyers went to Jacksboro' in that year for the purpose of holding court, but, as it was found to be impossible to get enough provender to feed their horses, the court adjourned without sitting. There was a great scarcity of grain. Cattle died by the thousand. In some sections, trees were cut down

8. Knoxville Register, September 25, 1856.

9. Ibid., February 12, 1857.

so that the cattle might eat the buds. Some people were forced to travel some forty or fifty miles to buy wheat or corn; and the poorer classes were unable to eat more than one meal a day. Such was the severity of the "hard times" in 1857.¹⁰

The year 1857 was marked by a number of resignations from the offices in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company. In May, Montgomery Lynch, chief engineer, resigned to accept a similar position with the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad.¹¹ William G. Gammon resigned his position as secretary and treasurer -- a position he had held since the organization of the company. Furthermore, A. E. Jackson and Joseph Henderson resigned their positions in the directorate of the company. Lynch was succeeded by C. A. Mee and J. A. Aiken;¹² Gammon, by John Keys; Jackson, by E. Davis. A. A. Broyles was elected director to replace Henderson, but he did not accept, and there remained a vacancy on the board of directors until the next meeting of the stockholders. General William Brazleton was appointed superintendent of the lower

10. Knoxville Register, May 7, 1857.

11. Ibid., April 23, 1857; Ibid., May 27, 1858.

12. Ibid., May 21, 1857.

end of the railroad.

At a special meeting of the stockholders, in the latter part of this year, at Greeneville, the board of directors was authorized to issue \$300,000 in second mortgage bonds, after State lien and first mortgage bonds formerly issued. These bonds were to be used as collateral security in raising \$100,000 to aid the completion of the grading.¹⁴ Among the banks holding the East Tennessee and Virginia bonds in 1857 were the Exchange Bank which held these bonds to the extent of \$44,000; the Bank of Jefferson, \$100,000; the Bank of Trenton, \$35,000; and the Bank of Dandridge,¹⁵ \$4,000.

In November, 1857, it was rumored in Nashville that the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company had failed to pay interest on the \$200,000 in bonds of the company which the State had endorsed. Three representatives in the General Assembly, James T. Carter, A. L. Gammon, and Jacob Hamilton, wrote to Governor Harris,

13. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

14. Ibid.

15. Reprinted from the Union and American (Nashville), in Knoxville Register, November 12, 1857.

requesting official information in regard to this rumored failure to pay interest. On the same day (December 7) Governor Harris replied, sending some correspondence which had been sent to him by the state directors of the company, John McGaughey and John Shields between them and the president and the stockholding directors of the company. The state directors had written, on November 25, to the president and directors of the company, asking for information on the point under consideration. Cunningham, at once, had replied, giving his reasons, and also, at the same time, wrote the following letter to the governor:

*BLOUNTVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 25, 1857.

His Excellency

ISHAM G. HARRIS, Governor of Tenn.:

On the 1st inst. the interest on \$200,000, endorsed Bonds of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company fell due. We had arranged to meet it as follows, viz: \$3,400 in cash, and Post Office draft. The latter was not paid because the power of Attorney to draw it and receipt it in my name, was not attested by a Notary Public. It was returned and amended and sent back again, and will undoubtedly be paid. We likewise purchased a draft on the Nassau Bank, New York, of the Dan-dridge Bank, for \$2,600 but it would not be taken, and we have written for it to be returned, which can readily be sold here, and the money will be made to meet Mr. Inman's Coupons, which is one half of the whole amount, leaving more than sufficient at New York for the balance.

16. Reprinted from the Nashville Patriot, in the Knoxville Register, December 17, 1857.

"Our Board has been in session for several days, and tomorrow is our annual election, or it would all have been met. But I wrote Inman the circumstances, and begged him to hold on for a short time, which I feel sure he will do until I get to see him. Very respectfully,

SAM'L B. CUNNINGHAM
President E. T. & Va. R. R. Co."

Let us now turn from the difficulties of the company to a consideration of the progress made in 1857 in the construction of the railroad. In the spring of 1857, an unjust arraignment of the officers of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad appeared in the Daily Gazette (Nashville). It shows that not only were the Virginians clamoring for the speedy completion of the railroad, but Middle Tennesseans demanded the same in no uncertain terms. As a matter of fact, the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia was at this time (1856-1858) a matter of much concern to residents of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and, in fact, the residents of almost the entire South. The tone of the following communication cannot be reproduced. Therefore it is necessary to quote an excerpt from it in order to present something of the rancor for which the non-completion of the

East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad was re-
17
sponsible. Quoting:

"What are the Stockholders and Directors about? They certainly must be asleep to be delaying the completion of their road. Why was not the iron long ago delivered and laid? They have had ample time in all reason. Do they not see and know that the East Tennessee and Virginia road is the only uncompleted link in the great chain from the South and Southwest to all the Eastern Cities? If there are no men in East Tennessee who will take hold of this road and have it built, no matter what the cost is, now that it is the only unfinished link in a great highway, why then let the fact be known, and there can be found the man, who will seize the helm and put it through in a short six months. Yes we mean what we say You cannot say that you have not money plenty. The magnificent State aid with your subscriptions are amply large to finish the road in six months."

After the foregoing rhetorical censure of the company, it will be appropriate that we now consider facts about the amount of construction being done on the East Tennessee and Virginia during the year 1857. About the middle of April, five hundred tons of rails, consigned to the East Tennessee and Virginia, arrived at City Point, and it was expected that one thousand tons more would
18
arrive soon thereafter. By June 11, trains were

17. Reprinted from The Daily Gazette (Nashville),
in Knoxville Register, April 30, 1857.

18. Knoxville Register, April 23, 1857.

running on the eastern end to a station on the west side of the Watauga River, 20 miles from Bristol. Cars began running on the western end, on June 8, as far as Bull's Gap, 58 miles from ¹⁹ Knoxville. Thus there were in June, 1857, seventy-eight miles of railroad in operation on the East Tennessee and Virginia.

The East Tennessee and Virginia was used chiefly for local traffic, but it was possible, at this time, to make a through trip from Knoxville to Bristol, using the East Tennessee and Virginia to its fullest extent. This was accomplished by transferring the passengers to a stage-coach (which seems to have travelled over the right-of-way of the railroad) to the point where the rails started again. At this point the passengers were again transferred -- this time back to the railroad. This arrangement, of course, was unsatisfactory. The last portion of the road to be completed was the Bull's Gap section, therefore it was a part of the staging until the railroad was completed. Of this section, John McGaughey ²⁰ said: " . . . and perhaps the traveller who was

19. Knoxville Register, June 11, 1857.

20. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

compelled to encounter the mud holes, in going from one point to the other will never forget Bull's Gap." Travelers from New Orleans and the Southwest to New York, wishing to avoid the staging, went by railroad to Vicksburg, and from there by steamer to Memphis, and then took the railroad from that point to New York, via Louisville and Cincinnati.²¹

On July 4, the cars began to run to Johnson's Depot, 6 miles east of Jonesboro', and on August 8, the line was extended as far as Jonesboro'. A pleasure excursion was given by the railroad in celebration of this progress.²² By October 1, cars were running to Clepper's Station, 10 miles southwest of Jonesboro', thus reducing the staging to 32 miles. Furthermore, arrangements had been made among the different railroad companies concerned, providing for close connections on the route the entire way from Knoxville to New York. Fleming wrote:²³ "From Knoxville to New York the time is now only 53½ hours. Think of that, ye old inhabitants!"²⁴

21. Knoxville Register, May 6, 1858.

22. Ibid., July 9, 1857.

23. Ibid., September 3, 1857.

24. Ibid., October 1, 1857.

The following is the schedule between Richmond, Virginia, and Dalton, Georgia, over the Virginia and Tennessee, East Tennessee and Virginia²⁵ and the East Tennessee and Georgia lines:

"Coming West. - Leaves Richmond 3.30 p.m.; Lynchburg 2.00 a.m.; Bristol 2.30 p.m.; Kleppers 5.00 p.m.; Bull's Gap 7 a.m.; Knoxville 11 a.m.; Arrives at Dalton, Ga. 5 p.m.

"Going East. - Leaves Dalton 7.25 a.m.; Knoxville 2.00 p.m.; Bull's Gap 5.45 p.m.; Klepper's 6.15 a.m.; Bristol 8.45 a.m.; Lynchburg 9.15 p.m.; Arrives at Richmond 5.30 a.m."

Some time in June or July, President Cunningham made a trip to New York in the interest of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and succeeded in making arrangements such as would insure the completion of the road to Greeneville in a month. This would leave a gap of only 16 or 18 miles.²⁶ About this time, apparently, there was a plot, in the process of development, to defeat Samuel B. Cunningham in the next election of officers. The writer is inclined to agree with the view of this matter taken by a correspondent of the Abingdon Virginian, who wrote:²⁷

"We regret to learn from the Knoxville Whig that a secret effort is being made to defeat the election of Dr. Cunningham at the next annual meeting of the Board - which, without disparage-

25. Knoxville Register, November 19, 1857.

26. Ibid.

27. Reprinted from the Abingdon Virginian, in Knoxville Register, November 19, 1857.

ment to his successor, whoever he might be, would not only be a misfortune, but an outrage. For seven long years has Dr. C. been made the scape-goat of the Company, and to him more than all others together, is East Tennessee indebted for the wonderful success which has attended his efforts, in the face of circumstances absolutely frightful. We hope to hear of his triumphant re-election, and a long enjoyment of the blessings that his intelligence and energy have secured to the people."

A summary of the gross receipts, expenses, and net receipts of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad for the period from January 1, 1857 to November 1, 1857, follows:

Gross Receipts

Eastern Section	\$14,955.37	
Western Section	56,608.86	
		<u>\$71,564.23</u>

Expenses

Eastern Section	\$ 8,956.16	
Western Section	22,510.48	
		<u>31,466.64</u>

Net Earnings \$40,097.59

The original estimate of the cost of the road was \$835,853.00. With this in mind, it is interesting to note what was the actual cost of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad to 1857. The

28. Knoxville Register, February 18, 1858.

whole cost of the road and equipment was \$2,153,748.47; of which \$1,054,390.28 was expended for the iron and equipments, and \$1,099,358.22 for the grading of the roadway. There was still a gap of thirty-two miles to be completed.²⁹

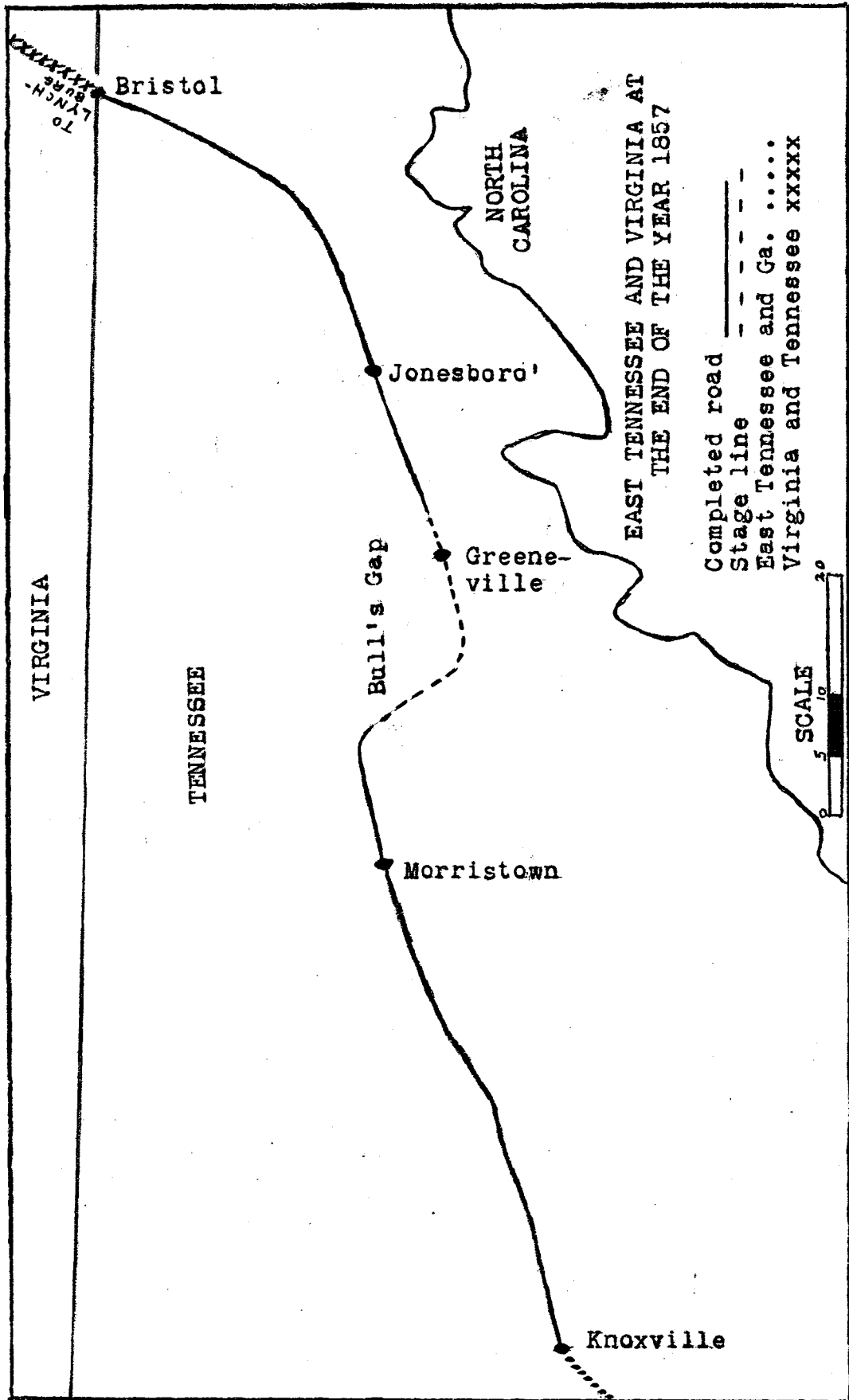
On November 26, 1857, the stockholders met at Blountville and re-elected the former board, adding John White to fill the vacancy caused by the non-acceptance of A. A. Broyles. Samuel B. Cunningham was "triumphantly re-elected" to the presidency of the company. Brazleton resigned as superintendent, and Joseph Sevier, who had until that time been a conductor on the railroad, was appointed in his place. C. A. Mee was elected chief engineer.³⁰

Throughout the winter, in mud and water, every effort was made to lay the track at the eastern end of the gap in the line, and to continue the grading at all ungraded points between Bull's Gap and Greeneville.³¹ On March 20, 1858, the cars started to run to Greeneville and it was

29. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58, p. 63.

30. Knoxville Register, December 10, 1857; Ibid., May 27, 1858.

31. Ibid., May 27, 1858.



expected that the road would be entirely completed
32
by May of that year.

32. Ibid., March 18, 1858.

CHAPTER IV

The East Tennessee and Virginia: Success

In March, 1858, the citizens of Greeneville held a meeting and, at this meeting, determined to inaugurate the completion of the railroad with a "Grand Railroad Celebration". They invited to attend "all who are desirous of mingling with us, in the contemplated Celebration, not only in the adjoining counties, but in the adjacent States, from one end of the great line to the other."¹

Fleming, of the Knoxville Register, proposed a "grand jubilee all along the route from Knoxville to Lynchburg".² The Lynchburg Virginian agreed, and called upon the press between the cities of Lynchburg and Knoxville to define its position on this subject.³ The editor of the Wytheville (Va.)⁴ Times also heartily assented to the plan.

The board of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company met at Jonesboro' on March 29,

1. Knoxville Register, March 18, 1858.

2. Ibid., March 25, 1858.

3. Reprinted from the Lynchburg Virginian, in Knoxville Register, April 1, 1858.

4. Reprinted from the Wytheville Times, in Ibid.

and passed^a resolution to the effect that their railroad would carry passengers to and from the celebration at half fare. They also offered the use of their road, free of charge, to the trains of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, and perhaps those of other railroads, used to bring passengers to⁵ the celebration.

While these preparations were in progress, the work on the road was being pushed steadily ahead. The track was being laid at both ends of the gap in the road, and George P. Gates, who had charge of the tracklaying, made the statement about the first of May, that the railroad would certainly⁶ be completed by May 15. On midnight of May 6, the last shovel full of dirt was thrown to complete⁷ the grading.

On May 14, 1858, two and one-half miles west of the Blue Springs, the last spike was driven by⁸ President Samuel B. Cunningham. Excursion trains left Knoxville and Bristol at 7 o'clock in the

5. Knoxville Register, April 15, 1858.

6. Ibid., May 6, 1858.

7. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

8. Ibid.; Ibid., May 13, 1858; The Sunday Times (Chattanooga), May 31, 1896.

morning, and passengers were carried to the scene of the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, at half fare. Evidently this event was considered something of a social affair. Fleming facetiously remarked: "Of course, it will be expected (though we have received no information to that effect) that every young man will be charged double fare unless he take a lady with him, or makes an honest effort to do so."

The last rail was laid with impressive ceremony, after which there was an address by John McGaughey. This address is interesting, quite apart from any connection with the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, for its intensely enthusiastic phraseology and the confusing number and variety of historical allusions in it. It will perhaps be interesting to consider the following passage from this speech:

" . . . and you, Mr. President, Company, Directors and Contractor's must feel that the Rubicon which took longer than the siege of Troy, is crossed. And our fellow citizens in upper East Tennessee after a bondage of 88 years, since the germ of a civil community was first planted upon the banks of the beautiful Watauga, have comparatively, speak-

9. Knoxville Register, May 13, 1858.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

ing, crossed the Jordan to till the land, that can now be made to flow with milk and honey."

June 3, 1858, had been set by Foute and Cunningham as the day for the "Grand Railroad Celebration" at Greeneville, and the other places along the route which had such celebrations.¹² Apparently the Greeneville Celebration received much advertising for a considerable period before it was to be held. In the Knoxville Register, appeared this line, set in capital letters: "REMEMBER THE THIRD OF JUNE", the purpose being, of course, to keep the coming celebration in the minds of the people, and to cause them to look forward to it with anticipation of having a good time.

The Greeneville Celebration, unlike the Knoxville "Jubilee" in 1855, was a success, it appears. An account of this Greeneville Celebration by Charles Rice, who attended the Celebration, affords some data in regard to it. He wrote that tables, about 850 yards in length combined, were set. The day was favorable, but somewhat hot and dusty, but the fact that ice cream and lemonade were at all time accessible must have mitigated

12. Knoxville Register, May 13, 1858.

13. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

these conditions to a great extent. The crowd was composed of about one-third women. The chief marshal was General Brazleton. A summary of the program follows:¹⁴

Rev. F. A. McCorkle led in prayer.

"Knoxville Military Brass Band".

McGaughey, of Greeneville, extended a welcome to the visitors.

General Milligan, on behalf of the citizens of Greeneville, presented the company with "a beautiful banner bearing the following inscription 'presented to the President and Directors of the E. T. & V. R. R. Co., as a tribute to their energy, faithfulness and perseverance'".

This presentation was acknowledged by President Samuel B. Cunningham in a short speech, "in a very graceful and happy manner".

Judge Paschal, of Texas, who had been a delegate to the "celebrated Railroad Convention at Knoxville, July 4th, 1836", spoke for one hour.

Colonel R. G. Payne, of Memphis, spoke about twenty minutes.

14. Knoxville Register, June 10, 1858.

Dinner was served.

Colonel Oliver P. Temple spoke about thirty minutes, "in his own peculiar style".

General Brazleton delivered a ten-minute humorous speech, and the meeting was adjourned.

With this resume of the proceedings at the Greeneville Celebration, we conclude our study of this 130 mile railroad which was built under more adverse conditions than any other early railroad in East Tennessee, and possibly under conditions as unfavorable as were encountered by any railroad which was ultimately constructed in the entire United States. Friends of the railroad, during the early days of the project, were told that "the acorns had yet to grow the trees to make the ties", and yet seven years and forty-five days after the breaking of the ground, the last rail was laid. The intervening time between the beginning and completion of the road was filled with discouragements, difficulties, and near-disasters, which ever threatened to bring the project to an abrupt and premature end. It was

15. Knoxville Register, May 27, 1858.

largely due to the perseverance and never-failing energy of Samuel B. Cunningham that the company was guided safely through these obstacles. Cunningham, in his general traits of character, closely resembled Hayne and, as a matter of fact, such a man was required by any early railroad company as its head if the railroad was to be successfully completed. Certainly the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad may be considered a triumph, and a well-deserved triumph, over countless difficulties which seemed at the time to be insuperable, and which seem, even in retrospect, to have been formidable indeed.

After the completion of the railroad, in 1858, it was hailed by Union-loving East Tennessee as the possible savior of the Union. The following
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appeared in a Knoxville newspaper:

"The completion of this route is not merely the union of Knoxville with Bristol, but the binding together of the North and the South with a bond indissoluble."

It may be remembered that our study of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad was concluded with a statistical summary of the condition of that company in 1860. It will perhaps be well to

16. Knoxville Register, May 20, 1858.

end the ante bellum history of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad in a like manner. Again these statistics will be presented in tabular form:

Total amount of capital stock subscribed . . .	\$593,950.00
Total amount of capital stock paid in . . .	556,654.39
Total amount of State aid granted . . .	1,602,000.00
Total amount of State aid received . . .	1,602,000.00
Funded debt due on State bonds . . .	1,602,000.00
Funded debt due to others than State (undorsed bonds) . . .	200,000.00
Funded debt due to others than State (first mortgage bonds) . . .	100,000.00
Total amount of funded debt . . .	1,902,000.00
Total amount of floating debt . . .	390,407.29
Cost of road and equipment . . .	2,466,397.29
Cost of equipment . . .	156,364.30
Receipts from Passengers . . .	171,491.82
Receipts from freight . . .	83,854.02
Receipts from all other sources . . .	37,459.87
Total receipts . . .	297,805.71

TOTAL LENGTH OF ROAD

Total length of road, 130.28 miles.
Total length of road in Tennessee, 130.28 miles.

GENERAL STATISTICS

Branches - no branches.
Maximum grade of 68 feet to the mile.
Number of truss bridges, 11.
Number of stone culverts, 203.
Number of arch bridges, 4.
Number of stringer bridges, 40.
Number of public roads crossed, 138.
Number of railroads crossed, none.
Number of wooden depots, 15.
Number of brick depots, 5.
Number of repair houses, 2.
Gauge of road, 5 feet.
Number of passengers carried (June 30, 1858 - June 30, 1859), 65,388.
Rate per mile for through passengers, 2. cents per mile.
Rate per mile for way passengers, 4 cents per mile.
Average rate, 3.48 cents per mile.
Number of tons of through freight, 6,873 tons, 580 lbs.

17. Public Documents, Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60, pp. 417-422.

Number of tons of way freight, 19,657 tons, 619 lbs.
Rate of speed of express trains in motion, 18 miles
per hour.

Total number of employees, 286.

ACCIDENTS OF PAST YEAR

None.

EQUIPMENT OF THE ROAD

Number of locomotives, 10.
Number of passenger cars, 10.
Number of baggage and express cars, 4.
Number of box freight cars, 64.
Number of platform cars, 35.
Number of gravel cars, 5.
Number of road cars, 20.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS

Samuel B. Cunningham, president.
John Keys, secretary and treasurer.
W. S. Temple, superintendent.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE

Jonesboro', Washington County, Tennessee.

Again (as ^{the}in case of the East Tennessee and
Georgia) reference will be made to the report of
H. F. Cummins, road commissioner, for a final
word about the railroad. An excerpt from this
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report follows:

"This road has been built under great difficulties and embarrassing circumstances, its line running through a sparsely populated country, where it was difficult to obtain the necessary capital for its construction, and hence its embarrassed condition through almost its entire existence . . . Its business is rapidly increasing, and being an extension of the great system of Roads between the South-Western and the North-Eastern Atlantic States and cities."

PART V

THE KNOXVILLE AND KENTUCKY RAILROAD:

A FAILURE

CHAPTER I

The Knoxville and Kentucky: The Beginning

Perhaps for no other railroad projected in East Tennessee prior to the Civil War could be advanced so many sound arguments for its construction as for the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad (originally incorporated as the "Lexington and Knoxville").

In the first place, this railroad, when constructed, was to be a link in a chain of railroads which would effect the desirable connection between Cincinnati and Charleston, which had been the unrealized dream of the promoters of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project. Railroads had been built in Kentucky from Louisville and from the Ohio River opposite Cincinnati, to Lexington. On February 18, 1852, the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad Company was incorporated by the Tennessee General Assembly. This railroad, the Tennessee River Railroad of North Carolina, the Blue Ridge Railroad of Georgia, and the Blue Ridge Railroad of South

1. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 57-61, pp. 401-402.

Carolina were to form the so-called "Rabun Gap Railroad" -- a direct route from Knoxville to Charleston.² Manifestly then, a railroad built from Knoxville to Lexington would complete the connection and bring about the fulfillment of the dreams of Hayne and his associates.

There was another reason advanced for the building of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad. The route of the railroad must necessarily pass³ through a rich coal field. The mere statement of this fact is perhaps enough to suggest almost unlimited possibilities of usefulness for the completed road. It was estimated that coal could be supplied to Knoxville for eight cents per bushel and, selling at this rate, would allow the railroad \$1.50 per ton for its transportation. It was estimated also that Knoxville was, at that time, consuming 10,000 tons of coal annually at an average price of thirty cents per bushel. Coal could also be shipped readily to Augusta, Macon, Atlanta,⁴ Dalton, Columbia (S.C.) and Bristol (Tenn.-Va.), by

2. Knoxville Register, December 18, 1856.

3. Ibid., January 10, 1856.

4. Ibid., April 9, 1857.

a transfer at Knoxville either to the East Tennessee and Georgia or to the East Tennessee and Virginia. Thus the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, in addition to its usefulness on its own account, would be a "feeder" to those railroads without being in active competition with either of them. Altogether it seemed to be a most reasonable enterprise, and it is not surprising to find among the stockholders, such men as: Horace Maynard, Thomas H. Calloway, Thomas W. Humes, Albert M. Lea, Campbell Wallace, Oliver P. Temple, and William M. Churchwell.

The Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad (under the name "Lexington and Knoxville") was incorporated in 1852, although little or nothing was done in preparation for its construction until late in 1856. The road was not offered to contractors until November, 1856.

The original charter provided that the company should be empowered to establish a railroad connection between Lexington, Kentucky, and Knox-

5. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Knoxville & Kentucky Railroad Co., 1860, pp. 21-24. (Referred to hereafter as Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders, K. and K. R. R., 1860)

6. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV.

7. Knoxville Register, November 13, 1856.

ville, Tennessee. Instead of building the road to Lexington, however, the company might construct the road to any other point in Kentucky nearer Knoxville than is Lexington, provided that such point had direct railroad connection with Lexington. All of the "rights, privileges, grants, powers, provisions, restrictions, rules, and regulations of every kind and description whatsoever" which had been given to or imposed upon the Nashville and Louisville Railroad in its charter, granted in 1850, were to belong also to the "Lexington and Knoxville Railroad".⁸

On December 22, 1853, the original charter was amended by the General Assembly. The name of the company was changed to the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company. The reason for this change is apparent in view of the following passage from the amendment:⁹

" . . . and may exercise all the powers and privileges necessary for the construction and use of a rail road from the city of Knoxville to the Kentucky line, in the direction of Cincinnati, Ohio; or Louisville, or Lexington, Kentucky, so as to form a continuous rail road connection between said cities."

8. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV, sec. 5, p. 386.

9. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCCXXIV, sec. 1, p. 762.

As regards this single company, the enterprise was, by the foregoing act, made strictly East Tennessee in scope, whereas under the provisions of the original charter it was to have been a company organized both in Tennessee and Kentucky and, of course, incorporated in both of those states. Furthermore, the capital stock was set at \$500,000, with the provision that it might be increased to \$1,500,000 if necessary. The subscribers were empowered to organize the company when \$100,000 of the capital stock had been sub-¹⁰scribed.

The Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad was accordingly organized, with John H. Crozier as president and M. B. Prichard as chief engineer.¹¹ However, little was done, it seems, even in the location of the route, and in October Crozier resigned. He was succeeded by William M. Church-¹²well.

Early in 1856, the president and directors of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad called a meeting of the friends of the company to be held

10. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXXIV, sec. 1, p. 762.

11. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders, K. and K. R. R., 1860, p. 19.

12. Kingston Gazetteer, October 28, 1854.

at the court house at Knoxville on January 4,
1856. At this meeting, President Churchwell gave
"a full and satisfactory statement of the condition
and prospects of the Road". Oliver P. Temple pro-
posed the following resolutions:

"Whereas, the completion of the Blue Ridge Railroad (which is now in a rapid state of progress, with ample means for its successful prosecution) will give us a direct communication with the Atlantic seaboard and Charleston; and whereas the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad is an important link in the extension of the great line of Railway, projected, and in part completed, stretching from Charleston through the heart of East Tennessee and Kentucky, to Cincinnati: and from thence, connecting with the teeming North-West and the lakes; and whereas the early completion of this line of railway is of the first importance to all our people in increasing the value of real estate and the marketable products of the country, and especially in developing the untold mineral resources of our country, by inviting capital to our midst, and securing at home the manufacture of all the implements of husbandry, and thereby effecting a proper distribution of labor among all the various branches of human industry, to the great advantage of all; therefore,

"Resolved, That, while we are in favor of all the leading roads in the State, yet in the opinion of this meeting, the construction of the Knoxville and Kentucky Road is the first and most important object that should engage the attention and command the capital of our city and county, and of all the counties interested in its speedy construction.

"Resolved, That we earnestly invite all our people, of every profession, with an enlightened and public spirit, to come forward at once, and aid in this most important work, which in its consequences will materially effect [sic] this end of the State, and will add greatly to the wealth of the whole State.

13. Knoxville Register, January 10, 1856.

14. Ibid.

"Resolved, That we call upon our Senator and Representatives in the Legislature, and earnestly ask the whole Legislature, to aid by every means in their power in pushing forward this great enterprise, so full of promised prosperity."

Temple was followed by John G. Whitson, of Clinton, who submitted the following resolution¹⁵ as an amendment:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, that the interests of the State, and of the E. T. & Ga. Railroad Company will be in the highest degree, promoted by a transfer of the State stock in the E. T. & Ga. Company, to the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company, as thereby, the construction of the Knoxville and Kentucky Road may be placed beyond contingency."

W. G. Swan, president of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad ("Rabun Gap"), was present at the meeting and spoke on the subject of Whitson's resolution.¹⁶ Thomas C. Lyon, one of the directors of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, was also present. The Knoxville Register said of him that he "expressed himself as being warmly and heartily in favor of the transfer of stock mentioned in the amendment, and indulged in some very¹⁷ judicious remarks touching the matter."

15. Knoxville Register, January 10, 1856.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

Lyon read the Knoxville Register version of his action in the matter and, either fearing that it would compromise him in the eyes of his associates on the board of directors of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, or feeling that he had been misrepresented, he wrote a letter to the editor. In this letter he gave a decidedly different impression as to the degree of his enthusiasm for the proposal than that which is to be gained from the report in the newspaper. In order that his precise attitude may be accurately set forth, this letter is quoted verbatim and
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in toto:

"KNOXVILLE, Jan. 15, 1856

JNO. M. FLEMING, ESQ. - Dear Sir -

In your report of the proceedings of the town meeting of the friends of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, published in the last issue of the Register, I am reported as having said that I was 'warmly and heartily in favor of the transfer of stock mentioned in the amendment'.

"To those who did not hear me on that occasion, this report would probably carry an erroneous impression, as to the position assumed by me. The 'amendment' referred to, advocates the unconditional transfer of the stock owned by the State in the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company to the Knoxville Railroad Company. I did say, I was heartily in favor of this transfer; but, it was coupled with the express condition, that the Stockholders of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company should be amply protected against the danger of being outvoted, and controlled in the management of their Road by any Company, or person voting upon this stock.

18. Knoxville Register, January 24, 1856.

"No one estimates more highly than I do, the vast importance to us of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad. Yet, as a Director in the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company, I could by no means consent to see the great power which this stock would give in the control of this Road, wielded by one Company or person, who would have no direct and permanent interest in its management. I further, took occasion to add, that, if this transfer was made, that so soon as the stock was bona fide distributed, and come to the hands of different bona fide holders, that my objections on this head would cease.

"You will oblige me by publishing this note in your next paper.

I am, very respectfully, &c.

THOS. C. LYON."

The transfer question was the occasion for a controversy between Fleming, editor of the Knoxville Register, and Ivins, editor of the Athens Post.¹⁹ This controversy took the form of a fierce editorial battle. Fleming held that the transfer of the stock could not harm the East Tennessee and Georgia because that road had been completed, and that the completion of the Knoxville and Kentucky would be beneficial to the East Tennessee and Georgia.²⁰ Ivins seems to have urged that the transfer of the stock would be deleterious to the interest of the State.²¹ The editorial contest was ended by the defeat of the measure in the House of Representatives of the Tennessee General Assem-

19. Knoxville Register, January 17, 1856; January 31, 1856; February 7, 1856; February 14, 1856.

20. Ibid., January 10, 1856.

21. Ibid., February 21, 1856.

bly early in 1856. Fleming then turned his guns against the General Assembly. Of that body, he wrote: "the present Legislature is the most inefficient body of the kind, that has assembled in the State within the memory of the present generation."

Up until this time, no work had been done in the construction of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad. This road seems to have had a most inauspicious beginning. Some four years had elapsed since the granting of the original charter and, with the exception of the organization and the meeting at Knoxville, nothing had been done in the furtherance of the project.

CHAPTER II

The Knoxville and Kentucky: The Beginning of Work

In March, 1856, Moses White was appointed agent of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company to canvass the counties of Knox, Anderson, and Campbell to solicit subscriptions for stock, and to him was assigned also the task of "arousing the people from the indifference, into which they have fallen to a considerable extent, towards the progress of the Road".¹

In the same month, a meeting of the stockholders was held. At this meeting the following directors were elected: William Churchwell, Thomas C. Lyon, A. L. Maxwell, and Oliver P. Temple, of Knox County; J. J. Jarnagin and R. M. Longmire, of Anderson County; and Richard D. Wheeler, of Campbell County.² During the following summer, William Churchwell resigned his office as president of the company. John J. Jarnagin was elected to succeed him.³

In October, the citizens of Knoxville voted, by a majority of nearly six to one, to issue to

1. Knoxville Register, March 20, 1856.

2. Ibid., March 27, 1856.

3. Ibid., July 17, 1856.

the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company, \$50,000 of bonds previously voted for the build-⁴ing of waterworks for the city of Knoxville. Knoxville, throughout the history of this enterprise, was very liberal toward it. Previously the citizens had authorized the issuance of \$50,000 of⁵ bonds to this company, and the County Court of Knox had subscribed \$100,000 in bonds for the bene-⁶fit of the company. However, when the city of Knoxville voted to forego the establishment of waterworks to be able further to aid the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, that seems to be acme of self-sacrifice for the benefit of a railroad company.

By August, a survey had been made of the entire line from Knoxville to the Kentucky line in Whitley County, and a location had been established of thirty-seven miles from Knoxville to Powell's Valley, but no further work had been done. It was estimated by Prichard, the chief engineer, that the cost for the grading of the

4. Knoxville Register, October 9, 1856.

5. Ibid., January 10, 1856.

6. Ibid.

first thirty miles would be \$510,000. To meet this cost, the following funds were available (theoretically, at least): Knoxville's subscription, \$50,000; Knox County's subscription, \$100,000; Anderson County's subscription, \$100,000; subscriptions by individuals, \$60,000; stock to be taken by contractors, \$50,000; and the bridge loan from the State, \$100,000,⁸ making a total of potential capital of \$460,000.

In November the work was offered for contractors to bid upon. The following notice appeared in the Knoxville Register:

"TO RAILROAD CONTRACTORS. -

Proposals will be received at the office of the Co., in Knoxville, Tenn., until Saturday, the 15th day of November, for the Grading and Masonry of the first division, extending from Knoxville to the Base of the Cumberland Mountains, a distance of thirty miles.

"This Division covers a large amount of very heavy work. It will include a Tunnel of about 1050 feet in length, 15,000 cubic yards of Masonry of all kinds, and nearly 1,500,000 cubic yards of earth and rock excavations

"The Company have good stock subscriptions, and loans from the State of Tennessee, amounting to nearly \$800,000 applicable to the construction of this Division.

"The country through which the Road passes, is rich and productive, and abundantly able to furnish the necessary supplies to contractors. The work will be divided into sections of one mile each.

7. Knoxville Register, August 12, 1856.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., November 13, 1856.

"The Company claim the right of reserving the light Sections at this time, unless included in the same contract with one or more heavy Sections, the object being to secure the completion of the entire work as nearly as practicable at the same time: the right is also reserved to reject any proposals that are not satisfactory.

"Bidders will be required to give security, or satisfactory evidence of their ability, for the due performance of any work that may be awarded them.

"Plans, Profiles and specifications may be seen and other information obtained at the office of the Chief Engineer in Knoxville.

M. B. PRICHARD, Chief Eng.,
Knoxville & Kentucky R. R.

* *

* Knoxville Standard please copy."

In accordance with this notice, sealed proposals were received by the company for the grading and masonry on the first division of the railroad. "The work was let," wrote Prichard, "on favorable terms to efficient and responsible contractors."¹⁰ No one contractor was awarded the contract for the grading of more than three miles.¹²

Little construction work was done from the time of the awarding of the contracts until the first of February, 1857. Of the work done in February,¹³ Fleming wrote:

"We are pleased to find that the work on this road is being pushed forward with unusual briskness. There are now about two hundred and fifty hands in active service upon the road, and all the work is progressing within contract time. No road, in this country, was ever let to better contractors, or watched over by more reliable, energetic and careful officers."

10. Knoxville Register, April 2, 1857.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., February 26, 1857.

To this latter statement, the writer is compelled to take exception. No early railroad project in East Tennessee was planned with a more logical purpose; none, in its beginning, had more popular support in the communities through which it was to pass; and, comparatively, the municipal, county, and state aid was munificent. Furthermore, the populace was beginning to appreciate the immense economic advantages of railroads in general. With a Hayne, a Van Dyke, or a Cunningham in charge of the company, it is safe to predict that the first division of the road, at least, should have been constructed speedily. Indeed there seems to be considerably more than a possibility of fraud in the use of State bonds by the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company. In 1869, a Senate Judiciary Committee reported to the effect that the State, up until that time, had advanced, to the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, the sum of \$2,398,992.00. The books of the company accounted

for the expenditure of \$1,160,000.00 in the construction of the road, leaving \$1,238,992.00 un-
¹⁴
accounted for. This deficiency becomes the more glaring in consideration of the fact that, although it was alleged by the company that \$1,160,000.00 had been used in the construction of the railroad, the road had not even then been con-
¹⁵
structed.

In 1857, the route from Knoxville to Powell's Valley had been definitely decided upon. The work of the survey was done by M. B. Prichard, chief engineer of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, assisted by Charles Storrow Williams, first assistant engineer of the East Tennessee and Georgia. Davis and Crosby were the other assistants, in the employ of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, who had assisted in the location of the
¹⁶
route.

According to the plans of the engineers, the road was to start at Knoxville, near the junction

14. Report of the Senate Judiciary Committee in Relation to the Sale of the Railroads in Tennessee, to the Adjourned Session of the Thirty-Fifth General Assembly of the State, 1869, p. 13.

15. First Annual Report of the Officers to the Stockholders of the E. Tenn., Va. & Gao. R. R. Co., 1870, p. 18.

16. Knoxville Register, April 9, 1857.

of the East Tennessee and Georgia, the East Tennessee and Virginia, and the Knoxville and Charleston railroads, thence following the valley of Second Creek through Well's Gap in Roseberry Ridge, thence crossing Black Oak Ridge at the Carmichael Gap, Copper Ridge at the Lucas Gap, Bull Run near the Island Ford road, Flint and Chestnut Ridges near Ingraham's, Pine Ridge at Yurnold's Mill Gap; it crossed the Clinch River near Clinton, 20 miles from Knoxville. It thence followed the valley of the Clinch River to Cane Creek to a valley leading toward Coal Creek. After crossing Coal Creek, the side of Walden's Ridge was followed to the Indian Grave Gap. Passing this Gap by a short tunnel, the side of the mountain was followed to Cove Creek, making a total distance from Knoxville of 37¹⁷ miles. This, somewhat in detail, was to be the route of the first division.

In April, 1857, Prichard resigned his position as chief engineer of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad to accept a similar position with the Iowa Central Railroad. He was succeeded by Charles Stor-

17. Knoxville Register, April 9, 1857.

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row Williams. His resignation probably was caused by an offer of a higher salary by the Iowa railroad company, as there seems to have been little doubt as to the stability of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company at this time. Both Fleming and Prichard himself, by implication, suggested that the time of stress was over for the Knoxville and Kentucky. Fleming gave the credit for this supposed prosperity of the company largely to Prichard; whereas Prichard modestly attributed it to the support given to the company by Knoxville. Fleming¹⁹ wrote:

" . . . But for his [Prichard's] management and watchfulness, giving all due credit to his able associates in office, the road in its days of adversity would have finally gone down."

20

Prichard wrote:

"Great credit is due to the citizens of Knoxville, for the liberal subscriptions made to the stock by them as individuals, and as a corporation. The project must have failed, but for the timely aid thus furnished."

From the fore-going passages, it will easily be seen that both of these men (and probably they represented a considerable number of people in this

18. Knoxville Register, April 23, 1857.

19. Ibid., April 9, 1857.

20. Ibid.

respect) considered the road already a success and consequently felt that congratulations were in order. Certainly it is true that the work at this time was progressing at a rate pleasing to the friends of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad. At a meeting of the stockholders in March, 1857, the following men were elected to the directorate: John Jarnagin and D. H. Cummings, of Anderson County; Richard D. Wheeler, of Campbell County; Oliver P. Temple, Thomas C. Lyon, J. M. Weloker and A. L. Maxwell, of Knox County. These directors met and re-elected, by a unanimous vote, all of the officers of the company. This, of course, is evidence per se that they were satisfied with the affairs of the company at that time. Indeed all conditions at this time (early in 1857) portended success and prosperity for the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad.

21. Knoxville Register, April 2, 1857.

22. Ibid., April 9, 1857.

CHAPTER III

The Knoxville and Kentucky: The Beginning of the End

The optimistic friends of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad had reckoned without taking into consideration such a bar to the construction of the road as was the Panic of 1857. The financial cataclysm of that year curtailed the construction work on this road and, on September 30, by a vote of the board of directors, work of all kind on the road was totally suspended.¹ Early in 1858. John Jarnagin resigned from the presidency of the railroad company and was succeeded by J. A. Mabry.²

Apparently there was absolutely no work done on the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad in 1858. In that year Mabry was re-elected to the presidency.³

In 1859 work was resumed upon the railroad, and it was confidently expected ^{by} ~~that~~ President Mabry that the road would be built, at least as far as Coal Creek. The sum of \$83,914.46 had been

1. Knoxville Register, October 1, 1857.

2. Ibid., April 15, 1858.

3. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders K. and K. R. R., 1860, p. 5.

spent for graduation and masonry, and \$38,289.21 had been spent for "contingent and necessary expenses". Incidentally, this appears to be rather a large sum to appear upon the books of the company as expended for such very indefinite purposes. In 1859, from the estimates of the engineers, it became apparent that the company needed some \$150,000 to \$200,000 additional money. At that time the board of directors "made an arrangement with a skillful financial agent". It seems that the "skillful financial agent" lacked sufficient skill to bring about the fulfillment of his indefinite plan,⁴ for he was unsuccessful.

President Mabry then went to New York to attempt to secure the required sum. New York capitalists suggested that if friends of the company would secure for them the privilege of buying a large amount of land in the Cumberland Mountains, which would, of course, increase greatly in value upon the completion of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, they would, in view of a profitable speculation in these lands, perhaps

4. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders K. and K. R.
R., 1860, p. 5.

advance the money needed.

The president immediately returned to Tennessee and started a movement to secure the land for the New York capitalists. At one time the company had between eighty and ninety thousand acres promised. At this time, however, one of the members of the board suggested that by a revision of the elevation and location of the grades and the utmost economy in all respects, the project might be brought within the resources of the company. To do this, C. A. Mee, who had been for two years engineer of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, was secured by the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad as chief engineer of that company. He reported that the plan was practicable.⁶

Accordingly, he set out to revise the route. His plan was to subdivide the first division into three parts of ten miles each. The first of these was to be from Knoxville to Copper Ridge; the second, from Copper Ridge to the Clinch River; and the third, from the Clinch

5. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders K. and K. R.
R., 1860, p. 5.

6. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

River to Coal Creek. The cost of these subdivisions⁷ was estimated as follows:

"Knoxville to Copper Ridge	\$41,600 00
Copper Ridge to Clinch River	114,800 00
Clinch River to Coal Creek	<u>74,500 00</u>
Total, exclusive of Clinch	
River Bridge	.\$230,900 00*

According to the estimate which had been made by Prichard, in 1857, for the grading and masonry between the same two points, the expense⁸ would be \$525,000. Thus, assuming that both estimates were representative of the true cost over their respective routes, Mee had indeed succeeded in laying out a much more feasible route.

In March, 1860, the annual meeting of the stockholders convened at Ramsey's Hall, in Knoxville. The directors elected at this time were: J. A. Mabry, D. H. Cummings, Oliver P. Temple, C. Powell, W. G. Swan, W. W. Walker, and John Whitson.⁹ Later, at a meeting of the directors, John Whitson declined the position as director, and Samuel C. Young, of Anderson County, was¹⁰ chosen in his stead. At the meeting of the

7. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders, K. and K. R.R., 1860, pp. 14-15.

8. Knoxville Register, April 9, 1857.

9. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders, K. and K. R.R., 1860, pp. 3-4.

10. Ibid., p. 4 (footnote).

stockholders, the president of the company predicted the completion of the railroad to Coal Creek within eighteen months.¹¹ However, in consideration of the financial statement of the company in 1860, there appeared to be no foundation¹² for his prediction. The statement follows:

*A Financial Account from Mar. 24, 1859 to Mar. 24, 1860

RECEIPTS.

On account of individual stock subscriptions .	\$120.44
Proceeds of sale of one City of Knoxville Bond for \$500	312.50
Proceeds of sale of seven Bonds of the County of Knoxville for \$500 each	2,625.00
Proceeds of Bills Payable	456.50
Proceeds of Collection of Bills Receivable . .	22.23
Balance of Cash from last year	678.37
	<u>4,215.04</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

For Grading and Culvert Masonry .	\$508.55
For Fixtures	500.00
For Interest and Exchange	35.14
On Land Account	1,019.00
On Engineering Account	793.95
On General Expense Account	1,102.69
Profit and Loss - being costs in suits for land damages . .	97.90
Ledger Debits - excess over Ledger Credits	<u>88.04</u>
	<u>4,145.27</u>
LEAVING IN THE TREASURY AT THIS DATE . . .	<u>\$69.77</u>

\$69.77 with which to build a section of railroad thirty miles in length! And yet President Mabry expressed himself as being confident that it would be done within eighteen months. Possibly he

11. Pro. of Ann. Meet. Stockholders, K. and K. R. R., 1860, p. 7.

12. Ibid., p. 9.

was depending upon the city and county bonds still in the possession of the company. However, experience must surely have taught him that he could hardly expect to sell those bonds at par. Indeed, the financial statement for 1859-1860, quoted above, shows that the company disposed of a \$500 City of Knoxville bond for \$312.50; and that Knox County bonds totalling \$3,500 in par value were sold for only \$2,625. The company was ever troubled by the discount which it was necessary to accept in the sale of the bonds which had been issued to it. Late in September, 1857, when it had become necessary totally to suspend work upon the road, the company had had in its possession a large block of county bonds, but because it was impossible to market them except at ruinous rates, the work¹³ could not be continued.

At the end of the period of our study (1860), then, the company was possessed of \$69.77 in cash and of an unbounded amount of hope and confidence for the future. Perhaps the

13. Knoxville Register, October 1, 1857.

officials of the company, like Dickens' "Mr. Micawber" expected something to "turn up". However, we can hardly be expected to share this groundless optimism, and we are compelled to pronounce this fragment from the dreams of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston promoters a most dismal failure.

The failure of this railroad was chiefly local in its influence. The contemporaneous failure of the "Rabun Gap Railroad" precluded the Knoxville and Kentucky from being a link in a great highway from Cincinnati and Louisville to Charleston. However the deleterious local effects of its non-construction were most pronounced. Knoxville was excessively handicapped in the development of her manufactures through a lack of coal and iron, although rich coal and iron deposits were situated a scant thirty miles from Knoxville. The coal and iron region suffered from a lack of exploitation and development which should not have been the case had the railroad been constructed. Furthermore the entire northwestern region of East Tennessee was hinder-

ed by a lack of transportation facilities to Kentucky and the Northwest. It was indeed unfortunate for East Tennessee, in general, that this rail|road was not earlier constructed.

PART IV

"THE RABUN GAP RAILROAD":
A CONFEDERATION

THE KNOXVILLE AND CHARLESTON RAILROAD

THE SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY RAILROAD

CHAPTER I

"The Rabun Gap": Its Location

The "Rabun Gap Railroad" was South Carolina's second great but ineffective attempt to establish a railroad connection between Charleston and the Northwest. Charleston, at that time, was the only Atlantic city, with the exception of Richmond, that did not have "an appropriate and peculiar¹ railway", extending to the Mississippi basin. The "Rabun Gap Railroad" was designed to meet this need.

Before we enter our consideration of this railroad project, it may be well briefly to discuss the name assigned to it. This railroad was peculiar in that it was a combination of railroad companies which were organized separately, but which were somewhat loosely joined under a central administration. The "Rabun Gap Railroad" was the popular name for the project.² Sometimes the railroad company was referred to as the "Blue Ridge Railroad", applying the name of the South Carolina

1. Reprinted from the American Railroad Journal, in Kingston Gazetteer, October 14, 1854.

2. Kingston Gazetteer, August 26, 1854; Knoxville Register, December 27, 1855.

and Georgia links in this projected railroad system, to the entire project. The "Rabun Gap Railroad" was composed of the Tennessee River Railroad Company, incorporated by North Carolina in 1851; the Blue Ridge Railroad Company, incorporated by Georgia in 1852; and the Blue Ridge Railroad Company, incorporated by South Carolina³ in 1852. As late as 1854 it was undecided, apparently, whether the Tennessee link in this series of railroads should be the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad, incorporated in 1852, or the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad, incorporated in 1854.⁴ Both of these roads were, of course, incorporated by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee.⁵ It was finally decided that the Knoxville and Charleston should be the railroad comprising the Tennessee portion of the "Rabun Gap Railroad".

Although each one of these railroads was a separate organization, with an individual president, board of directors, and other officers, the officers seem to have been subject to the orders of

3. Knoxville Register, December 18, 1856.

4. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 57-61, pp. 401-402.

5. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCCXXV, sec. 1-9, pp. 764-766.

the president of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company of South Carolina.

Thus it became apparent that a choice of a name by which to refer to this railroad presents some difficulties. The newspapers of the time, in their accounts of the railroad, used the names "Rabun Gap Railroad", Blue Ridge Railroad, and Knoxville and Charleston (or South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad) interchangeably. Manifestly this is unsatisfactory. In this study, the entire line will be called the "Rabun Gap Railroad", adopting the popular name because there was no legal name for the combination of the railroads. The single companies will be referred to by the respective names under which they were incorporated.

On February 18, 1852, the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad Company was chartered by the General Assembly of Tennessee. The company was empowered to lay either a single or double track from Knoxville in the direction of Charleston, South Carolina, so as to form a continuous line of railroad between the two cities. The capital stock of

6. Acts of Tennessee Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 57, p. 401.

the company was to be \$500,000, which might be increased to \$1,000,000, if necessary. The commissioners to take subscriptions for stock in Knox County were: J. G. M. Ramsey, Joseph L. King, John H. Crozier, James Williams, James H. Cowan, Campbell Wallace, Thomas C. Lyon, and Charles H. Coffin. When \$100,000 had been subscribed, the company might be organized. The following section of the act of incorporation gave to this company the right to enter the "Rabun Gap" railroad confederation:

"That it shall and may be lawful for the said company to negotiate with any other railroad company, chartered by the States of North Carolina or South Carolina, or either of them, who may desire to extend their road over any portion of the route herein designated, and to transfer to said last mentioned company or companies, all the powers, rights and privileges herein conferred on them, either in whole or in part, and thereupon such company or companies shall have the same powers, rights, privileges and immunities in making said road, on the route aforesaid, as are herein conferred on the company hereby incorporated, and be subject to the same limitations and restrictions."

After its incorporation, the company, having secured the requisite amount of subscription, was organized. However, little else seems to have been

7. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 60, p. 402.

8. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 57, p. 401.

9. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 61, p. 402.

10. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXLIX, sec. 59, p. 401.

done and, as late as 1854, there was apparently some doubt (in Kingston at least) whether the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad was actually a part of the "Rabun Gap Railroad".¹¹

On February 13, 1854, the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad was chartered.¹² It was designed as a rival to the Knoxville and Charleston for the privilege of forming a part of the "Rabun Gap Railroad". By way of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad, Kingston would not be on the route of the road; by way of the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad, Knoxville would not be on the line. Thus there was a great deal of rivalry between Knoxville and Kingston, at this time, relevant to which of the two projects should form a part of the "Rabun Gap Railroad". Knoxville seemed to be exceedingly confident that the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad would be the Tennessee part of this railroad system. Patterson,¹³ editor of the Kingston Gazetteer, wrote:

"We see that our friends of Knoxville seem quite confident that they have, beyond all question, secured the location of the Road; and we would infer

11. Kingston Gazetteer, April 11, 1854.

12. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXXV, sec. 1-9, pp. 764-766.

13. Kingston Gazetteer, April 11, 1854.

from the noise they make, that their ears, almost, realize a fore-taste of the shrill whistle of the Iron Horse, as he presses onward, shaking from his stubborn mane the dews of the far-famed mountain."

The points of superiority of the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad, over the Knoxville and Charleston, held out by the Kingstons sponsoring the former project, were chiefly¹⁴ the following:

1. A route to Danville, Kentucky, would be provided which would be from 17 to 25 miles shorter than via Knoxville.
2. The cost of constructing the road on this route would be from one to two millions of dollars less.
3. It would provide a connection with the same roads as on the Knoxville route and, in addition, at least one or two others (Nashville and Knoxville, and the Chattanooga and Central Kentucky). In this statement it was assumed that the Nashville and Knoxville would not be constructed except in conjunction with the "Rabun Gap Railroad".
4. Kingston was willing to guarantee a greater amount of local commerce that would be furnished at any other point between Cincinnati and Charleston. This ambitious statement was based, probably,

14. Kingston Gazetteer, December 23, 1854.

upon the fact that Kingston was at the head of steamboat navigation, in low water, on the Clinch River.

5. Kingston was prepared to insure \$100,000 more of solvent stock in the railroad company "than will or can be obtained on the route via Knoxville".

Certainly these are promises which must have had great influence upon any company projecting a railroad, but the promises were, in effect, too good to be true. Kingston was indeed extravagant in her promises.

On July 15, 1854, a meeting of the commissioners of the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad Company was held at Kingston for the purpose of opening books for subscription. "Several ¹⁵ thousand dollars" were subscribed on the first day. The subscription continued at a rapid rate, and on July 31, at a meeting in Kingston of the stockholders, it was found that over \$50,000 had been subscribed. The company might then, under the terms of its charter, proceed to organize. Accordingly, the company was organized, and the following men were elected to the directorate: B. B. Lenoir,

15. Kingston Gazetteer, July 18, 1854.

W. A. Lenoir, W. B. Hope, John W. Winton, Samuel M. Williams, R. K. Byrd, G. W. Yost, W. S. McEwen , G. L. Gillespie, John C. Gillespie, and N. A. Patterson, of Roane County; William Cross, of Anderson County; John G. Hardin and William Gallaher, of Knox County; and H. H. Stephens, of Monroe County.¹⁶ Of the fifteen directors, eleven were residents of Roane County. The South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad, notwithstanding its multi-state name, was essentially a Kingston project.

On August 14, 1854, the newly elected board of directors met at Kingston for the purpose of electing the officers of the company. At this meeting, B. B. Lenoir was elected president and N. A. Patterson, editor of the Kingston Gazetteer, was elected secretary and treasurer. Furthermore, a commission was appointed to have oversight of the survey and location of the road. This commission was composed of: W. S. McEwen, W. A. Lenoir, G. W. Yost, N. A. Patterson, R. K. Byrd, G. L. Gillespie and B. B. Lenoir. A call was made for a payment of one dollar on each share of stock which had

16: Kingston Gazetteer, August 5, 1854.

been subscribed.

Bangs and Company, contractors for the "Rabun Gap Railroad", had their attention directed to the Kingston route, and put their engineers on it to make a survey. Patterson¹⁸ wrote: "We are now prepared to say that the Road heretofore thought to be located via: Knoxville will pass through our own County."¹⁹

Again Patterson wrote:²⁰

"We are somewhat amused at the very serious and contemplative observations of our friends of the Knoxville Whig and Register in reference to our late movement concerning the location of the Rabun Gap Road through our State and in our County.

"The Ed. of the Whig seems long since to have anticipated the intentions of Messrs. Bangs & Co. to stab the good Counties of Knox and Blount. If so, he, as an organ on the watch-tower ought to have spoken out from 'Hard Scrabble' and warned the 'righteous' of their danger - ere it came upon them like a 'thousand of bricks', and also, to have reproved the evil and wicked doers of their intended iniquities.

"The Ed. of the Register seems, however, to have gotten hold of another hymn-book and to have selected a different metre - viz: a long one; entertaining quite a favorable opinion of the clever contractor of the Rabun Gap Road and ardently hoping that they may be able to both the Knoxville and Kingston roads as they are styled; but trembles a little when he contemplates their ability as he is induced to regard it; and piously suggests to us the propriety of employing a different company to build our road . . ."

17. Kingston Gazetteer, August 19, 1854.

18. Ibid., August 5, 1854.

19. Ibid., August 19, 1854.

20. Ibid., August 26, 1854.

An excerpt from another of Patterson's
21
editorials follows:

" . . . Knoxville for the past year or two has made more genuine noise (abstractly considered,) and less Rail Road than any place of its size and sound we have knowledge of . . ."

Patterson, as a director and secretary and treasurer of the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad, may perhaps be considered more or less the official spokesman of the company. If so, his above statements show that the company was extremely confident of being selected as the Tennessee portion of the "Rabun Gap Railroad", and held nothing but contempt for Knoxville's chances of gaining that advantage for the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad.

By the end of 1854, this self-confidence seems largely to have passed away, and Patterson
22
admonished his readers thus:

"We have concluded that 'Rome was not built in a day', neither would we connect the South-East with the North-West by means of Iron Bars in that length of time."

23
Also he wrote:

"To the minds of some, the affairs of the Rabun Gap Road have seemed to be mixed up and confused; and such, to some extent, has been the case: Yet, in truth, the plans of nature are too

21. Kingston Gazetteer, September 2, 1854.

22. Ibid., December 2, 1854.

23. Ibid., December 16, 1854.

well defined to be overlooked and utterly disregarded by men of judgment and sense."

24

At a later date, he wrote:

"As to the ultimate whereabouts of the Rabun Gap Road, let each one patiently await the final result. A large building is not made of chaff; neither is an extensive Road built with gas."

Now Patterson evidently was trying to reassure himself that the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad would be the one chosen by the head of the "Rabun Gap " railroad confederacy as a member of that organization. Now he was trying to prove that Kingston had a chance to accomplish this purpose; formerly he had endeavored to show that Knoxville had no chance to establish the Knoxville and Charleston as part of the "Rabun Gap Railroad". This change in attitude portended a failure for the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad. The failure occurred; the Knoxville and Charleston was the favored road; and the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky passed out of existence.

24. Kingston Gazetteer, January 20, 1855.

CHAPTER II

"The Rabun Gap": Its Failure

As a mere formality, in compliance with a term of the charter of the company, the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad Company, in January, 1855, let a contract to O'Hara and Laymon for the construction of one mile of the road, from the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad to the Holston River.¹ This is not significant apart from the fact that it shows the determination of the company to keep its charter and, presumably, to construct the road ultimately.

However, nothing further than the awarding of the contract for this one mile of road in January, 1855, was done until late in the fall. On September 21, Mr. Gourdin, retiring president of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company of South Carolina, and Judge Frost, who had been elected to succeed him, were in Knoxville, and addressed the citizens of Knoxville.² These men, it will be understood, were not only head of their South Carolina rail-

1. Knoxville Register, November 22, 1855.

2. Ibid., September 27, 1855.

road", of which the Knoxville and Charleston had definitely become a part recently.

By November, 1855, no work had been done on the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth divisions, including 74 miles in North Carolina and 34 miles in Tennessee. The tenth division comprised the last 20 miles, terminating at Knoxville. In Tennessee there were to have been 53 miles of the "Rabun Gap Railroad". Over this distance, it would be necessary to cross three small streams and the Holston River. It was estimated that the Holston River bridge would cost \$75,000.³

At a meeting of the directors of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad at Knoxville, on January 14, 1856, it was decided to memorialize the General Assembly to grant them twelve months longer time for the completion of the first 30 miles of the railroad. The motive of this request was said to be to place it beyond the power of the contractors to extort enormous prices

3. Knoxville Register, November 22, 1855.

for their work, on the plea of having only a⁴
short time in which to complete the road.

This request was more than complied with when
the General Assembly, on March 15, 1858, pass-
ed an act allowing the Knoxville and Charles-
ton Railroad the further time of eight years
to complete the grading of the first section⁵
of thirty miles.

In January, 1856, Judge Frost, president
of the "Rabun Gap Railroad", again made a trip
to Knoxville -- this time to make preparations
for the rapid completion of the first thirty⁶
miles of road from Knoxville.

The Knoxville and Charleston Railroad
project which, at first, seems to have been
supported very staunchly by the citizens of
Blount County, appears, by this time, to have
lost considerable ground in their estimation.
They applied to Chancellor Van Dyke⁷ for an in-
junction to restrain collection of the railroad
tax for the benefit of the Knoxville and Char-

4. Knoxville Register, January 17, 1856.

5. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58, ch.
CXXX, sec. 1, p. 326.

6. Knoxville Register, January 17, 1856.

7. T. Nixon Van Dyke, the leading spirit in the
reorganization of the Hiwassee Rail-
road.

leston Railroad. The injunction, however, was⁸ not granted. Likewise, the Blount County citizens endeavored to repudiate the county subscription to the railroad, but the measure was⁹ defeated in the Senate. Also, about the same time, Horace Maynard started a movement in the county court of Knox County to annul the issuance of county bonds to the Knoxville and Charleston. He estimated that between four-fifths and nine-tenths of the people of Knox County were opposed to giving any further aid to this railroad.¹⁰ Maynard called it "an unfinished, abandoned Railroad".¹¹ He was successful, and the county court made the decision that Knox County bonds should not be issued until the road should be placed under contract and the grading of the road bed started, and assurance given that the company had funds¹² sufficient to complete the railroad.

Apparently some of the stockholders in the company did not agree with Maynard that

8. Knoxville Register, February 28, 1856.

9. Ibid., March 13, 1856.

10. Ibid., July 24, 1856.

11. Ibid., August 21, 1856.

12. Ibid.

the Knoxville and Charleston was "an unfinished, abandoned Railroad", for on July 12, 1856, they met at Maryville and elected directors. The directors elected at that time were: William G. Swan, Samuel Pride, William Wallace, J. E. Toole, Edward George, James Porter, R. T. Wilson, John J. Craig, and William McTeer. William G. Swan was re-elected president at a salary of \$1,200 for the year. John E. Toole was elected secretary¹³ and treasurer.

In the summer of 1856, the Knoxville Whig, it seems, had printed a charge that the president of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad had appropriated \$10,000 in Knox County bonds, at 70 % , for the payment of his own salary. The editor of the Knoxville Register attempted to exonerate Swan, but his argument was singularly¹⁴ lacking in logic. An excerpt from it follows:

"We have been repeatedly told by the President of the Tennessee portion of the Road, that he never intended to claim any more of his salary than was necessary to refund his expenses, and satisfy him for his actual time and trouble devoted to the Road. So then, we suppose, the

13. Knoxville Register, July 17, 1856.

14. Ibid.

editor of the Whig is laboring under a mistake some how or other. And then again, it can not be that the President of the Road would rate Knox County bonds at 70 cents, when Washington and Jefferson County bonds are selling in Knoxville at 80 cents."

In July, 1855, Colonel Walter Gwynn, chief engineer of the Blue Ridge Railroad of South Carolina (and so, of course, also of the "Rabun Gap Railroad"), made a trip to Knoxville to receive bids for work on the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad, starting at Knoxville. It was advertised that thirty miles would be given out to contractors, but "owing to litigations pending in relation to the Blount County Bonds . . . contracts were given out for but sixteen miles, commencing at Knoxville"¹⁵. The successful bidders, and the work to be done by them were as follows: masonry of the Holston and Little River bridges to T. Fos-sink; grading of the second, third, fourth, and fifth sections to C. H. Locker and Company; grading of the eighth, ninth, tenth and fourteenth sections to Messers Offut; grading of the sixth section to J. S. Offut; grading of the fifteenth and sixteenth sections to W. R. Manly; grading of

15. Knoxville Register, July 24, 1856.

the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth sections to Siler and Monday; and masonry over "Knob", "Stock" and "Pistol" creeks to Reynolds and
16
Laymon.

With the placing of this portion of the road under contract, a call was made for the payment of two instalments from the private
17
stockholders. No report is available as to the response of the stockholders to this call. Knox County evidently felt that the placing of that part of the road under contract fulfilled the conditions under which Knox County bonds would be issued, for \$72,000 in such bonds were deposited "in Bank, at Knoxville", subject to the joint order of the presidents of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad Company and the Blue Ridge Railroad Company of South Carolina. The county court of Blount County ordered the issuance of \$120,000 in county bonds, but a bill filed by the citizens of that county to annul the subscription, apparently was construed as a sort of moral bar to the acceptance

16. Knoxville Register, July 24, 1856.

17. Ibid., December 18, 1856.

of these bonds by the company, although the question had previously been decided in favor¹⁸ of the company.

On July 18, 1857, the stockholders of the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad Company met, in their annual meeting, at Maryville. The directors elected were: J. G. M. Ramsey, William G. Swan, Joseph A. Mabry, Samuel Pride, R. T. Wilson, Edward George, William Wallace, James¹⁹ Porter, and John E. Toole. William Wallace was elected president to succeed William G. Swan,²⁰ who had resigned. John E. Toole was re-elected²¹ secretary and treasurer. Frost, president of the "Rabun Gap Railroad" was present upon this occasion. Apparently he made a most optimistic speech. The following will show how this speech affected an unnamed writer (probably the ed-²²itor) in the Maryville East Tennessean:

"We would, by way of application to the speech of the Hon. gentleman, urge our friends in East Tennessee, but more especially in the

18. Knoxville Register, December 18, 1856.

19. Ibid., July 30, 1857.

20. Ibid., Febraary 5, 1857.

21. Ibid., July 30, 1857.

22. Reprinted from the East Tennessean (Maryville), in Knoxville Register, July 30, 1857.

counties of Knox and Blount, to be of good cheer, for the time surely cometh when the iron horse laden with corn wine and oil, from this 'Switzerland of America', starting from the city of Knoxville, and passing up the beautiful valley of the Tennessee, and through the deep excavations of the Stump house mountain, with speed unabated, will pursue his fiery ~~666~~ until arrived at the lovely Palmetto City; he can gladden the hearts of her citizens, and quench his thirst in the waters of the Atlantic."

In view of the fact that, upon January 26, 1857, the work on the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad had been entirely suspended upon the order of Mr. Gwynn, chief engineer of the "Rabun Gap Railroad", and that it had remained so, the optimism of the foregoing passage from an article in the Maryville East Tennessean is exceeded in intensity only by its bombastic hyperbole.

The hopes and expectations of this enthusiastic writer, however, were never realized. The project languished through the year 1858, and on January 1, 1859 there appeared in Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, an article carrying the heading: "DEFEAT OF THE BLUE RIDGE RAILROAD". An excerpt
24
from this article follows:

"Thus as far as this Legislature is concerned, this great enterprise is consigned to ruin, and

23. Knoxville Register, January 29, 1857.

24. Reprinted from the Carolinian (Columbia, S.C.), in Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, January 1, 1859.

with it the immense amount of capital that has been invested in it . . . For upwards of twenty years, South Carolina has looked to a connection through those mountains as one that it was her destiny to accomplish - if she intended to keep time to the march of progress. Nearly within her grasp, it has thus unexpectedly been lost."

This lament was reprinted from the Carolinian (Columbia, S.C.), and was occasioned by the defeat, on December 20, by the South Carolina Legislature of the "Blue Ridge Bill" which proposed state aid for the project.

This marked the end of the "Rabun Gap" enterprise, and East Tennessee, and especially Knoxville, was thereafter forced to look to Richmond and Norfolk for the commercial intercourse which they had so long hoped for, planned toward, and expected, with Charleston.

Thus the second attempt to connect Cincinnati and Charleston by railroad - varying only slightly in route and organization from the magnificent Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project - was, like the earlier attempt, an abject failure.

25. Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, January 1, 1859.

PART VII

MINOR RAILROADS AND UNSUCCESSFUL PROJECTS

CHAPTER I

Branch Railroads

It was only natural, of course, that when a great through line of railroad had been constructed that the citizens of towns near to, but not on, the route should wish to connect their towns with the trunk line. These projects, even if successful, would be of little public consequence but would be of untold importance to the immediate communities thus connected with the larger commercial centers.

The third East Tennessee railroad to be incorporated was one of this character. It was incorporated on October 30, 1837 and given the name of the "Look Out Rail Road Company". According to its charter, the company was empowered to build a railroad from Ross' Landing (now Chattanooga) on the Tennessee River to the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee to connect there with the Western and Atlantic Railroad of Georgia.¹ Because this railroad connected at

1. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1837-38, ch. XVII, p. 41.

one of its termini with the Tennessee River it should have served (had it been constructed) a larger territory than the ordinary branch line. However, generically it belongs in this group more properly than any other that could reasonably be made. Nothing was done toward the construction of this railroad, and the Western and Atlantic extended their line to Chattanooga independently of it. The Tennessee General Assembly, in the session of 1855-56, revived the charter of the company. In the revival of the charter it was provided that two commissioners, Albert G. Welcker and Alfred D. Taylor, were to be appointed in place of Benjamin R. Montgomery and Samuel Martin who had died since the original incorporation of the company in 1837. Also, instead of uniting with the Tennessee River at its northern terminus, it was to unite with the Cleveland to Chattanooga branch of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, thus becoming a junctional railroad project instead of a branch project.²

Some three years after the granting of the original charter to the "Look Out Rail Road

2. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1855-56, ch. CCXVII, sec. 44, p. 446.

Company* the Vanville Railroad Company was incorporated. It, too, was authorized to build a line of railroad from the Tennessee River to the southern boundary of the State, there to connect with the Western and Atlantic, then being³ built by and in the State of Georgia. It was not a success.

On January 17, 1850, the Hamilton and Harrison Railroad Company was granted a charter for the purpose of building a railroad from Harrison, in Hamilton County, to intersect the "Georgia Southern Atlantic" at the point most practicable⁴ near Bridgeman's Mills. Nothing can be found as to the fate of this railroad other than the fact that it was not constructed.

Two years later, the Pikeville and Jasper Railroad Company received its charter. Under the terms of this charter, the company was given the privilege of building a railroad from Pikeville to Jasper, connecting with the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad "at such a point as⁵ the company may select". It was not constructed prior to the Civil War.

3. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1839-40, ch. LXI, sec. 1-21, pp. 137-143.

4. Ibid., 1849-50, ch. XLIV, sec. 19-20, pp. 144-145.

5. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CXXXII, pp. 186-188.

In the same year (February 28, 1852) the General Assembly incorporated the Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch Road for the purpose of establishing a connection between Dandridge and the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad at Mossy Creek. It was provided that the company should "have the privilege of constructing between said places, either a railroad for steam or horse power, McAdamized turnpike or plank road, as they deem most practicable".⁶ A railroad was not built under this charter during the period of our study.

On February 27, 1852, the Rogersville and Jefferson Railroad was incorporated, with a capitalization of \$250,000.⁷ The railroad was to be built from Rogersville to Bull's Gap, intersecting there the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. The Rogersville and Jefferson, being a typical branch road as well as the only such which, in East Tennessee before 1861, enjoyed any appreciable degree of success, will be treated more at length than were the foregoing rail-

6. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXCI? sec. 21-25, pp. 278-279.

7. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCLX, sec. 1-9, pp. 654-656.

roads of the branch type.

This railroad, whereas it was of immense importance to Rogersville, placing that town in connection, via the East Tennessee and Virginia and the East Tennessee and Georgia railroads, with the East and the southeastern seaboard - not to mention Knoxville and the other nearer cities - was nevertheless of almost negligible public importance. Being but fourteen miles in length, and having Rogersville - a small town - for a terminus at which it did not connect with any other railroad, it certainly may not be regarded as an important railroad. Furthermore, Rogersville was not a mining locality, nor was it endowed with any other unusual natural resource which might cause more populous towns to regard a connection with it eminently worth-while. It is apparent that, when constructed, the Rogersville and Jefferson Railroad would serve only Rogersville and the other points contiguous to its short length.

The General Assembly of 1853-54 passed an act allowing the Rogersville and Jefferson to

8. Knoxville Register, July 30, 1857; Ibid., February 28, 1856.

extend its line to the Virginia state line,
at or near Moccasin Gap.⁹ However, it is extremely doubtful whether the company had petitioned for the privilege or, for that matter, even desired it. This act was passed during the days when it seemed folly even to hope for the complete success of the East Tennessee and Virginia enterprise.

Reasonably enough, the promoters of the Rogersville and Jefferson seem to have waited to be assured of the imminent success of the East Tennessee and Virginia project before actively organizing their company.

The company began seriously to contemplate the construction of the railroad, it appears, in 1856. On February 20 of that year, the General Assembly voted to allow the Rogersville and Jefferson Railroad \$10,000 per mile. This subscription was to be in State bonds. The aid was conditional upon the securing by the company of subscriptions to an amount sufficient to grade the road. It was

9. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXI, sec. 7, p. 701.

further provided that when the first section had been put under contract, the president and directors should let a contract for the building of a bridge over the Holston River "for which they shall be entitled to the maximum amount allowed for the building of bridges across rivers".¹⁰ (Italics are mine.)

The General Assembly, evidently fearing that a misunderstanding might arise as to what constituted "the maximum amount allowed for the building of bridges across rivers", five days later passed another act, which was¹¹ worded as follows:

"That the word 'maximum' in the second section of an act entitled 'An act for the benefit of the Rogersville and Jefferson'. . . shall not be construed so as to authorize the issuance of State bonds on the bridges on said road, for a greater amount than one hundred thousand dollars."

Early in 1857, R. L. Owen, formerly civil engineer on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, was elected chief engineer of¹² the Rogersville and Jefferson. He immediately

10. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1855-56, ch. CCXXXIV, sec. 2, p. 476.

11. Ibid., 1855-56, ch. CXCI, sec. 21, p. 359.

12. Knoxville Register, March 5, 1857.

set about to survey and to locate the route. In the Knoxville Register for April 23, 1857, appeared a notice that R. L. Owen had died about the middle of April. However, this report¹³ was admittedly based upon rumor. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that by July of that year the chief engineer of the company was Edmund¹⁴ Winston, it is perhaps not unwise to place a certain amount of credence in the report.

Before July 30, 1857, Chief Engineer Winston had the road located, and the contract for grading had been given to Hasson and McKnight¹⁵ of Charlottesville, Virginia. The officers of the company at this time were: president, R. G. Fain; secretary and treasurer, Joseph R. Mitchell;¹⁶ and chief engineer, Edmund Winston.

The Rogersville and Jefferson Railroad may be pronounced a success - with qualifications. In 1860, it had not yet been completed, but work was being done on it, and seems to have been progressing at a satisfactory rate of speed. A

13. Knoxville Register, April 23, 1857.

14. Ibid., July 30, 1857; Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58, p. 68.

15. Knoxville Register, July 30, 1857.

16. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58, p. 68.

few statistical data may suffice to show the¹⁷
condition of the company in 1860:

Capital stock subscribed . .	\$82,000
Capital stock paid in . . .	\$12,920.58
Funded debt	\$23,000
Floating debt	\$22,000
State aid granted	
to roadway	\$140,000
to bridges	\$100,000
State aid received to Oct. 1	
1859	\$123,000

The above figures will show the great extent to which the Rogersville and Jefferson Railroad Company was dependent upon State aid in the meeting of the costs of the construction of its railroad. Individual subscribers had, by 1859, paid in only \$12,920.58, and had subscribed for only \$82,000 of the stock of the company, whereas the State had paid in (in bonds) \$123,000, and was pledged to issue bonds to an amount of an additional \$117,000. Rogersville was to benefit; the State was to pay the bill.

17. Cummins, "Tabular Statement of Railroads in Tennessee", in Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60. A large table bound in this volume, but without page number.

CHAPTER II

Junctional Railroads

Important not alone to the points along their routes but also to widely separated sections, were the junctional railroad projects. A junctional railroad, as the term is here used, means a road which connects at each of its termini with another railroad. These railroads may serve one or more of several valuable ends. They may begin at the terminus of one railroad and extend to the terminus of another, thus bridging a gap formerly existing between the railroads and thus double the efficiency or range of operations of each, by more than doubling the length of available continuous rail (assuming the connected railroads to be of equal, or nearly equal, length).

They may tap the main line of a railroad at any convenient point, and connect that railroad with a railroad center from which railroads radiate to widely separated sections.

The junctional railroads, as planned,

were usually short and could be constructed at a cost relatively low when compared to the benefits which their construction would usually effect. It is indeed unfortunate that, while some seven or eight railroads of this nature were incorporated to be built in East Tennessee, only one was constructed before 1861. That one was the Cleveland and Chattanooga section of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, which was built by an established and profitable railroad company, the East Tennessee and Georgia.

In 1849, the Western and Atlantic Railroad was completed to Chattanooga, and the work upon the East Tennessee northward from its southern terminus, Dalton, Georgia. Furthermore, the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad was nearing completion at this time. In order to establish a connection between the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad and the rising railroad center, Chattanooga, the Tennessee General Assembly on February 7, 1850, incorporated the Chattanooga, Harrison and Cleveland Railroad Company. This railroad was to be built

from Chattanooga, passing through Harrison or between that town and Academy Hill, and thence to an intersection of the East Tennessee and Georgia, at or near Cleveland.¹

Apparently nothing was done toward the organization of this company, and on February 26, 1852, the Chattanooga, Blue Spring and Cleveland Railroad was incorporated and was given practically the same privileges as to route which formerly had been given to the Chattanooga, Harrison and Cleveland Railroad.² In the same session of the General Assembly, the name of the latter company was changed to the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston Railroad Company, and it was given the privilege of extending to a connection with the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad at or above Charleston, Tennessee.³ Also, in the same session of the General Assembly, the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston Railroad was authorized to amalgamate with any other rail-

1. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. CCXLVIII, sec. 1, p. 477.

2. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXXIV, sec. 1-4, pp. 335-336.

3. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXXVI, p. 341.

road which was connected with it.⁴ We have already noted, in our consideration of the East Tennessee and Georgia (Hiwassee) Railroad, how the directors of this junctional railroad voted to add their⁵ charter to that of the East Tennessee and Georgia; how the offer was accepted; how the road was let⁶ out to John Gray, contractor; and finally, how⁷ the road was completed in 1858, almost simultaneously with the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad.

The next railroad of a junctional character was the Decatur and Philadelphia Railroad, which received its charter on February 18, 1852. It was to start on some point on the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston Railroad and to intersect the East Tennessee and Georgia, at or⁸ near Philadelphia (Tenn.). The project was unsuccessful. It was sponsored by citizens of Meigs County -²₁ county, incidentally, which has even now (1930) no railroad within its limits.

4. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, p. 491.

5. "Engineer's Report", in Ann. Rep. Pres. and Dir. E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855, p. 11.

6. Ibid.

7. Knoxville Register, April 1, 1858.

8. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV, sec. 62-65, pp. 402-403.

The same session of the General Assembly passed an act incorporating the most ambitious junctional railroad project of ante-bellum East Tennessee. This railroad (quoting the charter) ⁹ was:

" . . . authorized, for the purpose of constructing railroads connecting the East Tennessee and Georgia, and the East Tennessee and Virginia, and the Knoxville and Kentucky, and the Knoxville and North Carolina Railroads, commencing at some eligible point on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, not farther south of Blair's Ferry than eighteen miles on said railroad, passing on the most practicable route through Monroe, to or near Morgantown in Blount county, through Blount to or near Maryville, thence to Knoxville, forming a junction between the East Tennessee and Georgia and the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad, in forming the junction between Knoxville and North Carolina, commencing on said road at the most eligible point between Morganton and Maryville, passing up the little Tennessee river to the North Carolina line, which company shall consist of the stockholders, and when formed shall be a body corporate by the name and style of the East Tennessee and Georgia, and the East Tennessee and Virginia, and the Knoxville and Kentucky, and the Knoxville and North Carolina railroad company, and by such name shall have and enjoy, possess and exercise all the rights, powers, privileges and franchises, so far as the same are applicable, which the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad company have by the terms of an act passed on the 27th of January, 1848, entitled 'an act to incorporate the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad company', and be subject to the same liabilities and restrictions therein imposed."

9. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLIX, sec. 1, p. 652.

The fore-going passage is perhaps of interest, entirely apart from the fact that it should be a strong contender for the doubtful honor of being the longest sentence in the English language. It shows that an attempt was made to connect all of the railroads of East Tennessee which were then in the process of construction -- none of which was at that time completed, and only two of which (the East Tennessee and Georgia, and the East Tennessee and Virginia) were constructed prior to 1860. This charter was certainly premature, and it is not surprising that the project came to naught.

The Ringgold and Cleveland Railroad was incorporated at the 1853-54 session of the Tennessee General Assembly. This railroad was to be built from the Georgia-Tennessee line to intersect the Coosa and Chattooga River Railroad in the State of Georgia, and with "other company or road in the State of Alabama as may be found to the interest of all the companies concerned". Thence it was to be built to connect with the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad at Cleveland or some other point that the company might select

or to connect with the Chattanooga, Blue Spring¹⁰ and Cleveland Railroad. This charter is unique in that it provided that the subscribers might pay for their stock, except the first instalment of five dollars per share, "in railroad iron, materials for equipment or labor on said railroad for the remainder of his shares".¹¹

On January 5, 1854, the Tennessee Western and Charleston Railroad was incorporated. This road was to connect with the Blue Ridge Railroad (of the "Rabun Gap Railroad") at the line between North Carolina and Tennessee, on or near the Little Tennessee River, or with any railroad or railroads which might be constructed from that point to Knoxville. Knoxville was to be the southeastern terminus of the Tennessee Western and Charleston Railroad. At its western terminus it was to connect with the Chattanooga, Harrison, Georgetown and Charleston Railroad. The purpose of this railroad was to effect a through route from Chattanooga to the Blue Ridge Railroad, on¹² the Little Tennessee River. As the Blue Ridge Railroad was not constructed, neither was this proposed junctional railroad which had been

10. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXIX, sec. 1, p. 735.

11. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCCXIX, sec. 15, p. 740.

12. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCXVI, sec. 1-39, pp. 356-367.

designed to connect Chattanooga with it.

Another junctional railroad for our brief consideration was the Tennessee Valley, Georgia and Selma Railroad, incorporated by the General Assembly of Tennessee on January 25, 1858. This company was authorized to build a railroad to run from the Coosa and Chattooga River Railroad at or near Opelika, Georgia, thence to a point of the Cleveland and Chattanooga (East Tennessee and Georgia branch from Cleveland to Chattanooga) at or near House's Camp Ground in Hamilton County, Tennessee. Thence it was to run to Harrison on the Tennessee River, thence across the river to a connection with the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad.¹³ This railroad, not being incorporated until 1858, manifestly could not have been constructed within the period of our study.

In the same year the Greeneville and North Carolina Railroad - another junctional railroad - received its charter. It was planned as a connection between "some of the railroads being built in the States of North Carolina or South Carolina" and the East Tennessee and Virginia

13. Private Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58,
ch. XXXVI, sec. 1, pp. 48-49.

at Greeneville, Tennessee.

14. Private Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58,
ch. XLII, sec. 1, p. 68.

CHAPTER III

The "Grand Object" Railroads

"The grand object", wrote Prichard in 1857, with reference to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project of some twenty years before, "has never been lost sight of . . ."¹ Repeated efforts were made during this period to realize the dreams of the daring railroad projectors of the 1830's.

However, there was no great single company as before, organized for the purpose of building a through line from Cincinnati to Charleston. The closest approach to such was the "Rabun Gap Railroad" which we have, in an earlier division of this study, considered somewhat at length. Even this, however, was more properly a confederation of companies, and instead of constructing a line of railroad from Charleston to Cincinnati, the lines of the combined companies were planned to extend only from Charleston to Knoxville, although from that point, the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad - a company entirely independent of the

1. Knoxville Register, April 9, 1857.

"Rabun Gap" confederation - intended to build a railroad to Kentucky, there to connect with railroads to Cincinnati and Louisville.

Thus it must be apparent that the railroads which were planned to constitute central links in a line from Charleston to Cincinnati must, of necessity, have been junctional in nature. However, they are placed in a chapter apart from the other junctional railroads because their purpose, their more extensive lengths, and their definite relation to the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad enterprise, set them apart as a class distinct from the others of the junctional type railroads.

The ultimate purpose of each of these railroads was the same - a railroad connection between Cincinnati and Charleston by connecting its line with other railroads then constructed or planned. However, there are three distinct general routes, and the "grand object" railroads will be classified upon this basis.

First, some of these roads were projected as an attempt to connect Knoxville with Charleston over a more direct route than the one then

provided via the East Tennessee and Georgia, the Western and Atlantic, and the South Carolina railroads. The most outstanding example of this type was the Knoxville and Charleston Railroad which has been discussed previously.

Also such a railroad was the North Carolina and Tennessee which was incorporated by the General Assembly of Tennessee on February 26, 1852. It was empowered to build a railroad from the North Carolina line, down the Little Tennessee River, so as to intersect the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad between General Reagan's land in McMinn County and "London" (Loudon) on the Tennessee River.² It was unsuccessful.

Of the same type was the Tennessee and Charleston Railroad, incorporated on the same day that the North Carolina and Tennessee received its charter. The route of this railroad was to be from a point south of Athens (Tenn.) on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad to the North Carolina line, in the direction of Clayton, Georgia,

2. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXXVIII,
sec. 43-44, pp. 370-371.

and Anderson, South Carolina. This railroad, like its twin, was not constructed.

Another unsuccessful project of the same order was the Greeneville and French Broad Railroad, chartered on November 30, 1853.⁴

Secondly, others of the "grand object" railroads were concerned with an attempt to connect Knoxville with Cincinnati and Louisville, connecting at Knoxville either with the East Tennessee and Georgia route to Charleston, or with any proposed line of railroad from Knoxville to Charleston which might be more direct. Outstanding among the projects of this character was the ill-fated Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad, whose history we have already reviewed.

Another was the Knoxville, Cumberland Gap and Lexington, incorporated February 25, 1852. This railroad was to be constructed from Knoxville in the direction of Tazewell, Claiborne County, through Cumberland Gap to Lexington, Kentucky. It was provided that this company should have the privilege of running the railroad to any other

3. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, sec. 5-6, pp. 490-491.

4. Ibid., 1853-54, pp. 705-710.

town or point in Kentucky, nearer to Knoxville than is Lexington, which had a direct railroad connection with Lexington. It was further provided that the railroad might be built from any point on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad.⁵ This would afford the shortest practicable route between Knoxville and Lexington. However this railroad was not constructed before the Civil War.

The East Tennessee and Kentucky Central, another "grand object" railroad of this type, was incorporated on February 20, 1852. It was authorized to build its line from "some point on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad in Roane County", running in a northwesterly direction to Kingston, thence to the "most practicable point in Kentucky". The project was sponsored by residents of Roane, Anderson, and Morgan counties.⁶ It was unsuccessful.

Differing somewhat from the fore-going, but nevertheless a railroad of the same order, was the Chattanooga and Central Kentucky, which was incorporated by the Tennessee General Assembly on

5. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCIX, sec. 4-5, pp. 315-316.

6. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCXLII, pp. 380-381.

February 26, 1852. This railroad was to have been built from Chattanooga northward to a point on the Kentucky line in the direction of Danville, Kentucky. The capitalization of the company was set at \$2,500,000, in shares of \$100 each. The commissioners named in the act of incorporation were selected from among the residents of five states. These states were: Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note that the two commissioners named from the State of South Carolina were Henry W. Conner and Ker Boyce, both of whom, it will be remembered, were actively associated with Hayne in his attempt to build the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. Conner had been a member of the "committee of fifteen". Boyce had also been a member of that committee, and in addition had served upon the committee of correspondence in 1836. Now these men were again connected with a project which, if successful, would give Charleston her long-desired connection

7. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, pp. 489-490.

8. Pro. of Cit. of Char., p. 4.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 24.

with Cincinnati.

The General Assembly seems to have anticipated difficulties in the organization of this company and the construction of the railroad, for, after giving the company four years in which to begin work and ten years in which to complete it, this passage appears in the act of incorporation: " . . . nor shall it be a forfeiture of the charter if said road is not completed further than from Chattanooga to the Coal fields of White¹¹ creek in Rhea county". It was not constructed, even to that extent, before the end of the period of our study. The connection which the Chattanooga and Central Kentucky Railroad was projected to bring about was effected by the Cincinnati Southern, completed in 1879, over a route similar to the one planned for this road. However, the work was done, of course, by a different company, and considerably after the end of the Civil War. Therefore the Chattanooga and Central Kentucky, as regards our study, must be judged an unqualified failure.

11. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, sec. 4, p. 490.

Thirdly, and finally, there was a class of the "grand object" railroads which were planned to connect with new railroads of North Carolina or South Carolina at the southeastern terminus, and with similar railroads of Kentucky at the northwestern terminus, thereby to effect a connection between Cincinnati and Charleston. These railroads must necessarily have approximately double the length of the other two classes of the "grand object" railroads, and consequently they represent a more ambitious form of enterprise.

The Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio Railroad, incorporated on February 26, 1852, was an example of this type. It was authorized to issue capital stock to the amount of \$3,000,000. Its line of railroad was to be built from Charlotte, North Carolina, to a point on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad at or near Jonesboro', thence to Moccasin Gap of Clinch Mountain in Virginia, thence to the headwaters of the Big Sandy River, thence by "the most eligible route to the Ohio river"¹². The General Assembly, from the depths of

12. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXXVIII, pp. 356-362.

its great collective heart was moved to add the following very considerable passage: " . . . shall be required to build only so much of the road as the means of the company will permit".¹³ The project was not a success.

The second of this type of "grand object" railroad has already been the subject of our attention. It was the South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Railroad -- a Kingston project which was, for a short time, the rival of the Knoxville and Charleston for admission into the "Rabun Gap" confederation. It was incorporated on February 13, 1854, and was authorized to run from Citico, or any point on the Blue Ridge Railroad, then passing by or near the confluence of the Tennessee and the Clinch rivers, across the Cumberland Mountains at Emory Gap, thence down the northern declivity of the mountains to the southern boundary line of Kentucky, in the direction of Somerset, Danville or some other point connecting with the railroads of Kentucky.¹⁴ We have already noted the unhappy fate of this

13. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXXVIII, sec. 14.

14. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCCXXV, sec. 1-9, pp. 764-766.

enterprise.

By far the most important project of this nature was the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston Railroad, incorporated on November 18, 1853.¹⁵ The ultimate purpose of this railroad was to connect Cincinnati and Charleston by a route through Cumberland Gap and the Valley of the French Broad River, near Paint Rock. This was practically the same as the Hayne or French Broad route which had been adopted by the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad Company. The Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston Railroad Company was duly organized, and was a beneficiary of the "Omnibus Act" to the extent of \$10,000 per mile. On December 17, 1855, the General Assembly passed an act providing that, when the company succeeded in getting bona fide subscriptions to an amount sufficient to grade the road from Paint Rock to intersect the East Tennessee and Virginia at Morristown, or from Cumberland Gap to the East Tennessee and Virginia,

15. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCI, sec. 1-9, pp. 645-648; Knoxville Register, February 14, 1856.

the company should be entitled to State aid.¹⁶

Apparently there was some confidence, at this time, in the ultimate completion of the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston, for, on February 26, 1856, the Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Roack Railroad was incorporated as a junctional line running from Knoxville to some point connecting with the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston Railroad near Newport; or, in event that the latter was not constructed, it was empowered to build from Knoxville to Paint Rock.¹⁷

By the end of 1857, the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston Railroad Company had succeeded in placing a portion of its ~~eighty-~~ five mile railroad under contract, and some grading had been done along the line. Also, about \$10,000 had been spent on a bridge across the Holston River. Citizens of North Carolina at this time were attempting to get enough funds to build a railroad from Asheville to Paint Rock,

16. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1855-56, ch. XLIX, sec. 1, p. 55.

17. Ibid., 1855-56, ch. CCXVI, sec. 1-35, pp. 422-434; Knoxville Register, February 14, 1856.

the eastern terminus of the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston.¹⁸

Before or during 1859 work was suspended —¹⁹
on this railroad, and, on January 23, 1860,
the General Assembly passed an act to the effect that the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston might unite with the Union and Spartanburg, and the French Broad and Greeneville, the companies so consolidated to be known as the Carolina and Tennessee Railroad.²⁰ Thus, although the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston was a failure, individually, all hope of the Cincinnati-Charleston connection was not relinquished, and probably feeling that "in union there is strength", the project was later to be attempted by a consolidation of companies.

18. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1857-58, p. 37.

19. Cummins, "Tabular Statement of Railroads in Tenn. for 1859", in Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60.

20. Private Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60, ch. XL, sec. 1, p. 204.

CHAPTER IV

Specialized Railroads

The term "specialized railroad", as here used, means any railroad which had any prominent purpose in addition to that of transportation of the products of agriculture and manufacture, or of passengers.

The first of the "specialized railroads" to which we will give our brief attention are the mining company railroads. East Tennessee, before the Civil War, was rather delinquent in the building of branch lines of railroad from her mining localities - either active or potential. For example, the copper mines of Polk County were largely undeveloped because of a lack of a branch railroad to the East Tennessee and Georgia. Samuel F. Tracy, a New York mining expert, in 1855, furnished the data from which the following article was written:

"Had East Tennessee railroad facilities, she could mine and export next year 30,000 tons of copper, which, even yielding 12 per cent., would amount to \$2,000,000, if sold at the present prices in New York. Mr. Tracy calculates that if

1. Reprinted from the Union and American, in Knoxville Register, December 27, 1855.

East Tennessee had railroad facilities commensurate with her ability to supply, that such is the extensive and inexhaustible character of her copper fields, that she could produce one-eighth as much as the whole world."

A bill to charter the "Mineral Railroad" to be constructed from the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad to the Ducktown copper mines, with State aid, was defeated in the Senate of the Tennessee General Assembly in January, 1856,² by a vote of 3 to 19.

The first "specialized railroad" to receive a charter was the Poplar Creek, Black Diamond and Salt Manufacturing Railroad, which was incorporated on February 26, 1852. It was to run "from Howard Wiley's coal banks in Morgan County, to the most eligible point on Poplar Creek or³ on Big Emery River. Whether this company was organized is unknown, but it is extremely doubtful. Certainly the road was not built.

A similar railroad was incorporated by the General Assembly on November 8, 1855. This railroad was given the name of Nicojack Railroad and Mining Company. Its capitalization was only \$10,000 which might be increased to \$25,000.⁴

2. Knoxville Register, January 31, 1856.

3. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCCLV, sec. 1-2, pp. 646-647.

4. Ibid., 1855-56, ch. XXVI, sec. 1-2, pp. 28-29.

Another of the "specialized railroads" - one in a class by itself - was the Junction Railroad, incorporated on February 12, 1852.⁵ The name of the railroad might suggest that it should more properly be listed with the "junctional railroads". However, this company was incorporated with little or no intention, it seems, of later organization of the company, but was rather a threat to the East Tennessee and Georgia officials as to what would happen in event that the Loudon plotters persisted in the attempt to keep the northern terminus of the East Tennessee and Georgia at that town. This has perhaps more adequately been discussed on pages 157-159 of this study. The East Tennessee and Georgia complied with the wishes of the State, and the Junction Railroad Company was never organized, nor is it likely that it was ever intended to be.

The Nashville and Knoxville Railroad was a "specialized railroad" in the sense that, while it was designed to fill all of the ordinary purposes of railroads in general, it had yet another

5. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCLXIII, sec. 1-10, pp. 431-434.

function which, to some degree, transcended the orthodox functions of railroads. It was to be a good-will railroad. The charter of the Nashville and Knoxville Railroad was preceded by rather a lengthy preamble. In this preamble, the usual reasons set forth in the arguments for railroad construction were given, such as: development of agricultural and mineral resources, increasing of land values, enlarging of population, creation of new markets for goods, facilitating of travel, and the like. In addition, appeared the following phrase, which set the Nashville and Knoxville Railroad apart (from point of purpose in construction) from all other contemporary railroad projects in East Tennessee: " . . . and promoting harmony and good will between the various and conflicting sectional divisions which⁶ now exist in the State". This phrase marks the Nashville and Knoxville as a railroad with a mission - an individual and unique mission. It becomes then, in a sense, a "specialized railroad" and it is so considered in this study.

6. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXVIII, (Preamble), p. 720.

By a later act of the same session of the General Assembly (1853-54) which incorporated the Nashville and Knoxville Railroad, that company was given the right to receive lands situated in Tennessee in payment of stock subscriptions.⁷ Also, still another act of the same session, provided that, after the route of the Nashville and Knoxville Railroad had surveyed and adopted, and a plat deposited in the office of the secretary of state of the State of Tennessee, no other railroad should be allowed to build a parallel railroad within twenty miles of the route without the consent of the board of directors of the Nashville and Knoxville Railroad.⁸ Thus it appears that some unusual privileges were given to the "good will railroad", and for some time there seems to have been considerable interest in its construction. However, it was not constructed in the period of our study.

Another type of "specialized railroad" was specialized in that it was used only to transport passengers, and was located only in cities of

7. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1853-54, ch. CCCXII, sec. 4, p. 757.

8. Ibid., 1853-54, ch. CCCXIX, pp. 771-772.

considerable size. These were the street railroads or what we should now call "street car lines". None of these was incorporated in Tennessee before 1860, but , in that year, the cities of Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville all succeeded in having such lines incorporated by the General Assembly. The Memphis company was called the "People's Passenger Railroad Company"⁹. Two of these companies were, in 1860, incorporated by Nashville citizens under a charter granted by the General Assembly. They were called the "McGavock and Mt. Vernon Horse Railroad Company"¹⁰ and the "South Nashville Street Railroad Company".¹¹

In the same year the "Gay Street Railroad Company" was incorporated for the purpose of constructing a street railroad in Knoxville.¹¹
The act of incorporation is hereby quoted:

"The formation of a company is hereby authorized for the purpose of constructing a Railroad from the depot of the East Tennessee and Georgia, and East Tennessee and Virginia railroads, in the city of Knoxville, in and along the centre of Gay street, in said city, to its intersection with Main; thence along Main in a westwardly direction until it strikes second creek; and also along any other of the principal streets."

9. Private Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1859-60, XLIV, sec. 1-6, pp. 209-210.

10. Ibid., 1859-60, ch. CXXXVI, sec. 6-8, p. 442.

11. Ibid., 1859-60, ch. CXXXVI, sec. 1, p. 441.

Being chartered in the final year of this study, it is, of course, not to be expected that the horse-drawn cars of the Gay Street Railroad would be moving slowly along the streets of Knoxville before the end of the period covered. Its incorporation comes within the limits of this discussion; its construction does not.

PART VIII

THE RISE OF CHATTANOOGA

CHAPTER I

Chattanooga: Its Growth before 1860

About 1819 a band of Scotch immigrants settled in southeastern Tennessee, in what later was to be called the "Ocoee District". Some of these Scotchmen intermarried with the Cherokee Indians who were then in possession of that section of the state. Soon a settlement was established on the southern bank of the Tennessee River. This was given the name of Ross' Landing.¹

On March 22, 1837, a post office was established at Ross' Landing with John P. Long as the postmaster. On November 14 of the following year, the name of this post office was changed to Chattanooga.² During this same year E. A. Parham left Maryville, where he had been publishing and editing the Maryville Intelligencer, for Chattanooga, a which place he established the Chattanooga Gazette.³ Certainly this was rather an unusual situation. The Cherokees had just in 1838 been removed and Chattanooga was a wild country trading post,⁴ not even incorporated, but it could boast of a newspaper.

1. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn. (E. Tenn. Ed.), p. 933.

2. Ibid., p. 935.

3. Chattanooga Gazette, May 18, 1844.

4. Goodspeed Pub. Co., op. cit., p. 933.

On December 20, 1839, Chattanooga was incorporated⁵ as a town. Still, however, Chattanooga was nothing more than a shipping point on the Tennessee River.

In 1844, when the Bank of East Tennessee was incorporated, it was "authorized and empowered to establish an office of discount and deposite at the Town of Chattanooga, in the county of Hamilton".⁶ Chattanooga, about this time, seems to have had few stores. Apparently most of the trading was done at Nashville and Charleston. In the Chattanooga Gazette for May 18, 1844, there appear advertisements of fourteen Nashville merchants and of six Charleston merchants. This phrase is recurrent: "When you visit Nashville . . ." Although it is perhaps not relevant, it may be interesting to digress to the extent of examining the price list of commodities in the Chattanooga market.⁷ It follows:

*APPLES, green, none	bush.	40
" dried,	"	60
BRANDY, peach,	gal.	30
CIDER,	"	12
CASTINGS, plenty	lb.	3
CORN,	bush.	16
FLOUR,	bbl.	400
IRON, plenty	lb.	4
NAILS, by the keg	lb.	8
ONIONS, none	bush.	75
OIL, Linseed, by the bbl.	per gal.	90
by the single gallon		125
POTATOES, Irish	bush.	40

5. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1839-40, ch. XXXII, sec. 1-12, pp. 57-60.

6. Ibid., 1843-44, ch. LX, sec. 16, p. 72.

7. Chattanooga Gazette, May 18, 1844.

PORK, dull sale,	per cwt.	300
WHISKEY, by the barrel,	per gal.	25

There seems to have been a considerable trade in iron at this time. McCallie and Hooke offered for sale "10 tons of CARTER COUNTY IRON, very low for cash". They also advertised six tons of castings for sale. J. G. Glass offered "2500 lbs. ROLLED IRON". Alfred D. Taylor had for sale "4000 lbs of Bar Iron" and "2,5000 lbs. castings". Anderson and McMillin⁸ wished to dispose of five tons of castings.

Chattanooga was incorporated as a city on November 5, 1851.⁹ This, of course, marked a definite forward step in the history of that municipality. In the same session of the Tennessee General Assembly, the Chattanooga Wharf Company also was incorporated. The promoters of this enterprise were: Charles E. Greenville, Henry W. Massengale, James C. Avery, John S. Davidson, Joseph H. Mackie and Vernon K. Stevenson.¹⁰

The last ~~Thursday~~ in December, 1851, was the day on which Milo Smith was elected the new city's first mayor. The aldermen elected at the same time were: N. B. Parham, John P. Long, J. J. Bryan, Robert Cravens, William Crutchfield, D. C. McMillin, L. Hair,¹¹ and John Hooke.

8. Chattanooga Gazette, May 18, 1844.

9. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. XIII, sec. 1-16, pp. 15-20.

10. Ibid., 1851-52, ch. CCLXVII, sec. 15-19, pp. 452-454.

11. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn. (E.Tenn.Ed.), p. 934.

During the 50's Chattanooga experienced a remarkable growth. The value of town lots in Hamilton County, in 1853, was estimated at \$424,323; the value of those in Knoxville, at \$443,655. In no other of East Tennessee was the value of such lots more than half of the smaller of these amounts.¹²

By 1856 Chattanooga had become by far the chief commercial city of Hamilton County,¹³ but Harrison remained the county seat until 1870.¹⁴ In 1858 a law court was created with John C. Gaut as judge; and a chancery court, with T. Nixon Van Dyke as chancellor.¹⁵ Truly Chattanooga enjoyed a rapid, if not spectacular rise from 1850 to 1860. The reason for this increase in prosperity will be the subject of the chapter immediately following.

12. Senate Journal Appendix, Tenn. Legislature, 1853-
54, pp. 64-65.

13. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn. (E. Tenn. Ed.).
p. 933.

14. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1870-71, ch. LXIV, pre-
amble, p. 84.

15. Goodspeed Pub. Co., op. cit., 933.

CHAPTER II

Chattanooga: The Reason for Its Growth, 1850-1860

In the final analysis, all of Chattanooga's success may be accounted for upon the basis of one condition - location. Situated between two ranges of mountains which run almost parallel in a northeasterly direction, it is the gateway from the south to East Tennessee. It offers a means of ingress to the commerce of the South and Southwest, and of egress to that coming from the northeast. This fortunate situation was enough to have insured prosperity to any city during the railroad era. Furthermore, Chattanooga is situated on the Tennessee River and enjoyed a lively trans-shipment trade even before ~~she~~ a railroad had been built there.

Athens, as we have seen, was largely responsible for the successful construction of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. The construction of the East Tennessee and Virginia was due principally to the unstinted efforts of certain citizens of Jonesboro' and Greeneville. The ill-fated Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad was promoted by Knoxville. The Knoxville and Charleston Railroad, equally ill-fated, was given loyal support (for a while, at least) by Maryville.

The unsuccessful South Carolina, Tennessee and North Carolina was almost exclusively a Kingston enterprise.

Chattanooga can not lay claim to the domination of a single railroad enterprise, but nevertheless she was materially benefitted by every success and by almost every failure of railroad enterprise in East Tennessee. Chattanooga was better served by the construction of the East Tennessee and Georgia (after the branch line had been built) than was Athens which town had so long and valiantly fought for its construction. When Cunningham and his Greeneville and Jonesboro' associates were putting forth every effort against the greatest odds successfully to complete the East Tennessee and Virginia, they ^{unwittingly} were working more for the welfare of Chattanooga than for that of their own immediate section.

Similarly many failures in East Tennessee railroad projects tended to aid Chattanooga. It will be remembered that Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey had early insisted that East Tennessee was essentially an Atlantic country and that the trade of that section should be developed by reaching the Atlantic seaports with products, and through them, the foreign markets. ¹ Prior to the Civil

1. J. G. M. Ramsey, Autobiography, MS, p. 18.

War, every railroad project of consequence in East Tennessee, with the exception of the East Tennessee and Virginia, was set forth in an effort to reach the Atlantic seaboard. All attempted to cut through the mountains except the East Tennessee and Georgia, and by the same token, all except that railroad were unsuccessful. The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston; the "Rabun Gap"; the Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio; the North Carolina and Tennessee; the Tennessee Western and Charleston; the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap and Charleston; the Greeneville and French Broad; and the Greeneville and North Carolina; these all, as we have seen, failed. Also there were projected several auxiliary railroads designed as "feeders" and as links, to the north and west of Knoxville, of the railroads which were to attempt to effect a passage through the mountains. Foremost among these projects were the Nashville and Knoxville, the Knoxville and Kentucky, and the East Tennessee and Kentucky Central. These lines, like the greater ones which they were to supplement, failed of completion.

Thus, since the mountains still remained unpierced by a railroad, it was necessary to pass around them

in order to reach the markets of the South Atlantic and the ports there for shipment of goods abroad. A stream of goods, then, necessarily passed through Chattanooga. That city had no successes of her own to profit by as regards railroad construction; but, nevertheless she was benefitted more by the ante-bellum railroad construction than was any other city in East Tennessee. She not only benefitted by the successes of her sister cities of East Tennessee, but she derived a negative benefit from their failures as well.

Authorities seem to be agreed that Dr. James Overton was the first to appreciate the fact that Chattanooga was the natural gateway to the south and southwest and that, as such, it would undoubtedly become a railroad center.² In 1845 Overton received the democratic nomination for state senator from Davidson County. He seems to have been in doubt as to what should constitute his platform until Col. Harris, editor of the Nashville Union, called to his attention the possibility of his advocating the construction of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga. The editor let Dr. Overton borrow some volumes of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, which contained

2. The Sunday Times (Chattanooga), May 31, 1896; J. C. Guild, Old Times in Tenn., p. 314; C. A. McMurry, Chattanooga Its History and Geography, p. 136.

many statistics relevant to railroads. The doctor made a minute and lengthy study of these data, and used them in the preparation of his campaign speeches. He was defeated, but in his canvass he succeeded in directing much attention (for the most part adverse) to the project of a railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga. By his zeal for this connection, he earned the sobriquet "Old Chattanooga".

Chattanooga at this time was "merely a shipping station in a wild section hemmed in by rugged mountains, but lately abandoned by the Indians, and in every respect unpromising", wrote Killiebrew. However, Chattanooga had already (1843) begun to observe the beneficial results of railroad transportation, even though there was no railroad within her limits. At this time goods were being shipped down the Tennessee River to Tuscumbia, and there transferred to the Tuscumbia, Courtland and Decatur Railroad. Chattanooga, forced to watch the lucrative trade pass by her on its way to her rival, Tuscumbia, no doubt was thus impressed by a rather bitter object lesson regarding the

3. J. C. Guild, Old Times in Tenn., pp. 314-315.

4. The Sunday Times (Chattanooga), May 31, 1896.

5. Ibid.

6. The Post (Knoxville), March 21, 1843.

desirability of railroad facilities.

On January 4, 1840, the General Assembly had passed an act which provided that the state of Georgia could extend her Western and Atlantic Railroad to the Tennessee River at any point that she might select.⁷ This was, in effect, permission to extend the line to Chattanooga, because that town was by far the most eligible point. Accordingly, it was selected, and on October 18, 1847, the Tennessee General Assembly passed an act to the effect that:⁸

"... the further time of two years, from the first day of January next, be given to the State of Georgia to complete the Western and Atlantic Rail Road of that State to Chattanooga, on the Tennessee river."

Also, about this time, there was some talk of the extension of the Western and Atlantic to the Cumberland River. Of this project, Governor James C. Jones⁹ said:

"Of the advantages to be afforded to our citizens by this enterprise, I need not speak; it would open a communication between the West and our Southern Atlantic ports, the value and importance of which can scarcely be estimated. And if this improvement offers sufficient inducement for an investment of individual capital, I cannot doubt the propriety of authorising its construction, provided the State is not required to take any part of the stock."

7. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1839-40, ch. LXI, sec. 21, p. 143.

8. Ibid., 1847-48, ch. XIV, p. 43.

9. Senate Journal, Tenn. Legislature, 1845-56, p. 71.

On December 11, 1845, the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad Company was incorporated.¹⁰ The granting of a charter to this company was the first step in the accomplishment of Overton's "visionary" plan, and a happening of great moment to Chattanooga.

The year 1849 marks the beginning of the rapid rise of Chattanooga. In that year the Western and Atlantic Railroad was completed to that point.¹¹ Consequently a large volume of trade was diverted from Tusculum to Chattanooga. Furthermore, the Western and Atlantic was one of a series of railroads which put her in almost direct rail communication with Charleston.¹²

In 1851, the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad¹³ was completed, and Chattanooga was thus placed in direct connection by rail with Nashville.¹⁴ At this time Chattanooga was indeed far in advance of Knoxville as regards transportation facilities.

The Cleveland-Chattanooga branch of the East Tennessee and Georgia, completed in 1858, provided a connection with Knoxville and with the rich valley of

10. Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1845-46, ch. 1, pp. 2-27.

11. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn. (F.Tenn.Ed.), p. 933; McMurtry, Chattanooga Its Hist. and Geog., p. 135.

12. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, p. 191. (map based upon Lloyd's map of 1860)

13. Goodspeed Pub. Co., op. cit., p. 933.

14. Dodd, op. cit., p. 191.

15

East Tennessee. In 1856, the city was beginning to be recognized as a railroad center, although Nashville claimed, with Memphis, the probability of being the future railroad center of Tennessee and, indeed, of

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the entire South. In March, 1856, Vernon K. Stevenson, president of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, Campbell Wallace, president of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, and Major Cooper, superintendent of the Western and Atlantic Railroad held a conference in Chattanooga relevant to the connection of their roads in that city. It was decided that a large and expensive union depot should be erected there later in the spring. Colonel Winston, of Alabama, was also at that time in the city looking to the interests of the Will's

17

Valley Railroad.

In 1858, the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was completed. This road connected with the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad at Stevenson, Alabama, and its trains ran over the tracks of that railroad into Chattanooga. The completion of this railroad gave to Chattanooga a rail connection with Memphis, Mobile

19

and New Orleans.

15. Knoxville Register, April 1, 1858.

16. The Nashville Patriot, July 22, 1856.

17. Chattanooga Advertiser quoted in Knoxville Register, March 13, 1856.

18. Goodspeed Pub. Co., Hist. of Tenn., p. 933.

19. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, p. 191 (map)

The fact that Chattanooga was then clearly and indisputably conceded to be a great railroad center is attested by the fact that in April, 1858, a convention of southern railroad officials was held there. At this meeting were representatives of the following railroads: South-side, Orange and Alexandria, Richmond and Danville, Virginia and Tennessee, East Tennessee and Virginia, East Tennessee and Georgia, Nashville²⁰ and Chattanooga, and Memphis and Charleston.

The completion, in 1858, of the East Tennessee²¹ and Virginia put Chattanooga in an air-line connection with Bristol, Tenn-Va., Lynchburg, Va., Richmond, Va., and Washington, D. C. At the latter city connections²² could be made for Philadelphia and New York.

Thus, by 1860, Chattanooga was in direct railroad connection with Atlanta, Augusta, Charleston, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, Mobile, Knoxville, Lynchburg, Richmond, Washington, New York and Philadelphia. Indeed, she had the same facilities then as now, with the exception of the Cincinnati Southern, completed in 1879, which gave her a more direct connection with Cincinnati and thence with the net-work of railroads

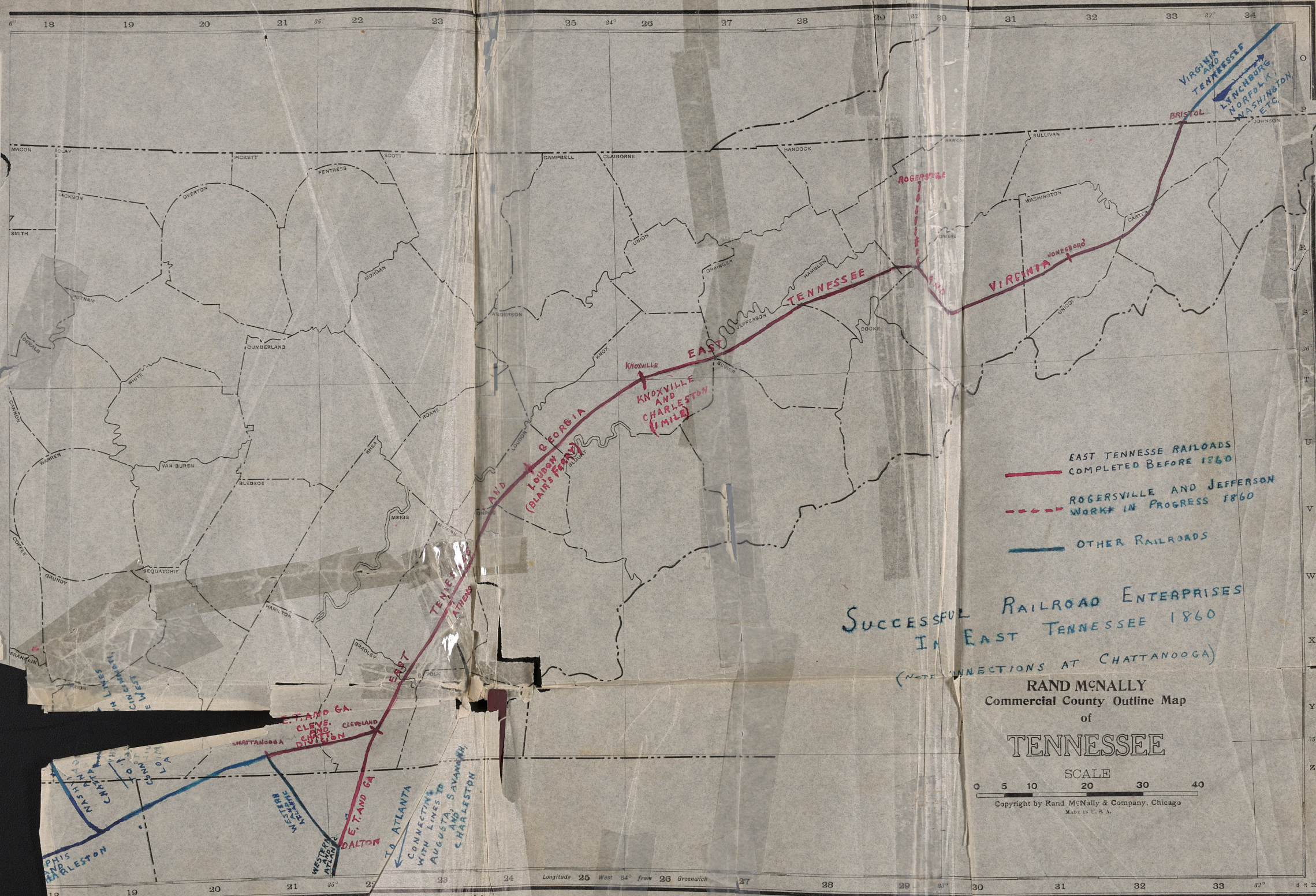
20. Knoxville Register, April 22, 1858.

21. Ibid., May 27, 1858.

22. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, p. 191.

of the Middle West. Before the construction of this railroad, Chattanooga had been able to reach Cincinnati only by a circuitous route, by way of Nashville.

All of these advantages in transportation came about, as has been pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, not because of the industry and resource of the citizens of Chattanooga and Hamilton County, but rather because of the enterprise of other sections which were endeavoring to find outlets for their goods. Chattanooga's strategic location made it inevitable that their railroads should terminate there, and thus Chattanooga profited also, of course, by the connections of these railroads at their other termini. Truly, as regards railroad facilities, Chattanooga reaped where she had not sowed.



— EAST TENNESSE RAILROADS
COMPLETED BEFORE 1860

- - - ROGERSVILLE AND JEFFERSON
WORK IN PROGRESS 1860

— OTHER RAILROADS

SUCCESSFUL RAILROAD ENTERPRISES
IN EAST TENNESSEE 1860
(NOTE CONNECTIONS AT CHATTANOOGA)

RAND McNALLY
Commercial County Outline Map
of
TENNESSEE

SCALE
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E: To accurately locate Cities, Towns, Railroads, etc., place this semi-transparent sheet on a detailed Rand McNally map of the same size and scale. Use the Rand McNally Indexed Pocket Map, Commercial Atlas or Map-Tack System Maps for this purpose.

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ORIGINAL CHARTERS OF EAST
TENNESSEE RAILROADS PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

Name of Co. Date Inc. Cap. Stock Par Val. Am't
each share required
for org.

1. Hiwassee (changed to E. Tenn. & Ga., Feb. 4, 1848	Jan. 30, 1836	\$600,000 changed to \$2,000 000.	\$100	\$400,000
E. Tenn. & Va.	Jan. 27, 1848	\$1,500,000	\$25	\$625,000
2. Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland	Feb. 7, 1850	\$500,000	\$100	\$200,000
3. Hamilton and Harrison	Jan. 17, 1850	\$100,000	\$25	\$2,500
4. Pikeville and Jasper	Jan. 27, 1852	\$700,000	\$50	\$250,000
5. Mossy Creek and Dandridge	Feb. 28, 1852	\$100,000	\$25	\$10,000
6. Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and	Feb. 25, 1852			
7. Lexington Chatt., Blue Spring and	Feb. 26, 1852	\$160,000	\$50	\$75,000
8. Cleveland Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio	Feb. 26, 1852	\$3,000,000	\$50	\$150,000
9. N. Carolina and	Feb. 26, 1852			
10. Tennessee	Feb. 30, 1852	\$100,000	\$25	\$2,500
11. E. Tenn. and Ky. Central	Feb. 30, 1852			

APPENDIX A

Name of Co.		Date Inc.	Cap. Stock	Par Val. each share	Am't required for org.
12.	Lexington and Knox. (later Knox. and Ky.)	Feb. 18, 1852	\$500,000 to be increased to \$1,500,000	\$100	\$100,000
13.	Desatur and Philadel-phia	Feb. 18, 1852	\$500,000	\$100	\$200,000
14.	Knoxville and Charleston	Feb. 18, 1852	\$500,000 to be increased to \$1,000,000	---	\$100,000
15.	Junction Railroad	Feb. 12, 1852	\$250,000 to be increased to \$500,000	---	1,000 shares
16.	Chatt. and Cent-ral Ky.	Feb. 26, 1852	\$2,500,000	\$100	\$800,000
17.	Tennessee and Charleston	Feb. 26, 1852	\$500,000	\$100	\$250,000
18.	Poplar Creek Black Diamond and Salt M'f'g R. R.	Feb. 26, 1852	\$20,000	\$20	\$2,000
19.	Lookout	Oct. 30, 1837	\$150,000 increased later to \$500,000	\$100	\$100,000
20.	Vanville	Jan. 4, 1840	\$100,000	\$50	\$50,000
21.	E. Tenn & Ga., E. Tenn & Va., Knox. & Ky., & Knox. & N.C.	Feb. 27, 1852	\$500,000	\$25	\$25,000
22.	Rogersville and Jefferson	Feb. 27, 1852	\$250,000	\$25	\$12,500

Name of Co.	Date of Inc.	Cap. Stock	Par Val. each share	Am't required for org.
23# Tennessee Western and Charleston	Jan. 5, 1854	\$1,500,000	\$50	\$50,000
24# Cincinnati, Cumb. Gap & Charleston	Nov. 18, 1853	\$500,000 to be increased to \$2,000,000	\$25	\$50,000
25# Junction, Jasper & Chattanooga	Feb. 23, 1854	\$800,000	\$25	\$25,000
26# Greeneville and Fr. Broad	Nov. 30, 1853	-----	\$50	\$200,000
27# Nashville and Knoxville	Dec. 22, 1853	\$2,500,000	\$25	\$1,500,000
28# Ringgold and Cleveland	Feb. 24, 1854	\$50,000	\$100	\$50,000
29# S.C., Tenn. and Kentucky	Feb. 13, 1854	\$500,000 to be in- creased to \$2,000,000	\$100	\$50,000
30# Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co.	Nov. 8, 1855	\$10,000 to be in- creased to \$25,000	\$25	\$2,500
31# Strawberry Plains, Dan- dridge and Newport	Feb. 27, 1856	\$200,000	\$25	\$15,000
32# Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock	Feb. 26, 1856	\$1,250,000	\$25	\$500,000
33# Tennessee Valley, Ga. and Selma	Jan. 25, 1858	\$300,000	\$100	\$50,000

Name of Co.	Date Inc.	Cap. Stock	Par Val. each share	Am't required for org.
Greenville and 34. N. Carolina	Jan. 29, 1858	-----	\$25	\$50,000
Virginia, Tennessee and 35. N. Carolina	Feb. 13, 1858	\$200,000	\$25	\$15,000
Cleveland and 36. Ducktown	Feb. 26, 1858	\$500,000	\$50	\$100,000
Gay Street Railroad 37. Company	Mar. 19, 1860	\$20,000	\$50	\$15,000
Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown 38. and Athens	Mar. 23, 1860	-----	---	-----

Am't to be paid on each share at time of subscription. Time road must be started Time road must be completed

1.	----- 50¢	Jan. 1, 1838	Jan 1, 1844 (changed to 1860, on Feb. 4, 1848)
2.	----- 50¢	Jan. 27, 1853	Jan. 27, 1858
3.	-----	-----	-----
4.	-----	-----	-----
5.	-----	-----	-----
6.	-----	-----	-----
7.	-----	-----	-----
8.	-----	-----	-----
9.	-----	-----	-----
10.	-----	-----	-----
11.	-----	-----	-----

Am't to be paid on each share at time of subscription. Time road must be started Time road must be completed

12.	\$1	-----	-----
13.	-----	Feb. 18, 1857	-----
14.	-----	-----	-----
15.	\$5	Feb. 12, 1853	entirely Feb. 12, 1855
16.	-----	Feb. 26, 1856	partially Feb. 26, 1862
17.	-----	-----	-----
18.	-----	-----	-----
19.	\$5	Jan. 1, 1840	partially Jan. 1, 1844 (changed to Jan. 24, 1854)
20.	\$5	Jan. 1, 1842	partially Jan. 1, 1846
21.	-----	-----	-----
22.	50¢	-----	-----

Am't to be paid on each share at time of subscription Time road must be started Time road must be completed

	50¢	Jan. 5, 1860	Jan. 5, 1869
23.	-----	-----	-----
24.	-----	-----	-----
25.	-----	-----	-----
	\$1	-----	-----
26.	-----	-----	-----
	50¢	-----	-----
27.	\$5 in a note, without inter- est, payable on demand.	-----	-----
28.	-----	-----	-----
29.	-----	-----	Feb. 13, 1864
30.	-----	-----	-----
31.	-----	-----	-----
	25¢	Feb. 26, 1858	Feb. 26, 1862
32.	-----	-----	-----
33.	-----	Jan. 25, 1860	-----

Am't to be paid on each share at time of subscript- ion	Time road must be started	Time road must be completed
--	------------------------------	--------------------------------

\$1	-----	-----
34.		
-----	-----	-----
35.		
-----	-----	-----
36.		
-----	-----	-----
37.		
-----	Mar. 23, 1866	-----
38.		

Place of first meeting of Stock- holders Number of directors President elected by board or stock- holders?

1. -----	9	board
2. Greeneville	15	board
3. Chattanooga	7	stockholders
4. Harrison	6	stockholders
5. -----	6	stockholders
6. -----	7	stockholders
7. -----	---	2-----
8. Cleveland (Tenn.)	7	stockholders
9. Jonesboro'	---	-----
10. -----	---	-----
11. Kingston	6	stockholders

Place of first meeting of Stock- holders Number of directors President elected by board or stock- holders?

12.	_____	10	directors
13.	_____	7	stockholders
14.	_____	---	-----
15.	Knoxville	not fewer than 3 nor more than 7	directors
16.	_____	---	-----
17.	Charleston (Tenn.)	7	stockholders
18.	Richard Oliver's home, in Anderson County	4	stockholders
19.	_____	7	directors
20.	_____	7	directors
21.	Maryville	7	stockholders
22.	_____	9	It is intimated, but not clearly stated in the Act that he was to be elected by dir.

	Place of first meeting of Stock- holders	Number of directors	President elected by board or stock- holders?
23.	Madisonville	15	directors
24.	-----	---	directors
25.	Jasper	7	directors
26.	-----	---	-----
27.	-----	15	directors
28.	-----	7	directors
29.	-----	---	directors
30.	Nicojack Depot, Marion County	4	stockholders
31.	Dandridge	7	stockholders
32.	Sevierville or Knoxville	---	-----
33.	-----	7	directors

Place of first meeting of Stockholders Number of directors President elected by board or stockholders?

34.	-----	8	stockholders
35.	Taylorsville	7	stockholders
36.	Benton	11	stockholders
37.	Knoxville	4	stockholders
38.	Georgetown	---	stockholders

Each share of stock
one vote or scaled?

Where may the charter
be found?

1.	one vote	<u>Charter of the East Tenn. & Geo. Railroad Co., with Amendments Thereto, ... Brownlow and Haws, Knoxville, 1869, pp. 3-12.</u>
2.	scaled	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1847-48, ch. CXX, sec. 1-32, pp. 195-206.</u>
3.	one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. CCXLVIII, sec. 1-3, pp. 477-478.</u>
4.	one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1849-50, ch. XLIV, sec. 19-20, pp. 144-145.</u>
5.	one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXXXII, pp. 186-188.</u>
6.	one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CXCI, sec. 21-25, pp. 278-279.</u>
7.	one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCIX, pp. 315-316.</u>
8.		<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXIV, sec. 1-4, pp. 335-336.</u>
9.		<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXXVIII, pp. 356-362.</u>
10.		<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXXXVI, sec. 43-44, pp. 370-371.</u>
11.		<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature, 1851-52, ch. CCXLII, pp. 380-381.</u>

Each share of stock Where may the charter be
one vote or scaled? found?

12. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV, sec. 1-5, pp. 385-386.
13. one vote -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV, sec. 62-65, pp. 402-403.
14. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCXLIV, sec. 57-61, pp. 401-402.
15. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCLXIII, sec. 1-10, pp. 431-434.
16. one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, sec. 1-4, pp. 489-490.
17. one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCLXXVIII, sec. 5-6, pp. 490-491.
18. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCCLV, sec. 1-2, pp. 646-647.
19. one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1837-38, ch. XVII, sec. 1-22, pp. 41-48.
20. one vote	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1839-40, ch. LXI, sec. 1- 21, pp. 137-143.
21. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCCLIX, sec. 1-4, pp. 652-653.
22. -----	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1851-52, ch. CCLX, sec. 1-9, pp. 654-656 .

Each share of stock Where may the charter be
one vote or scaled? found?

one vote -maximum number of votes, 23. 500	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCXVI, sec. 1-39, pp. 356-367.
scaled 24.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCCI, sec. 1-9, pp. 645-648.
----- 25.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCCXI, sec. 3-6, pp. 699-701.
scaled 26.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, pp. 705-710.
one vote 27.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCCXVIII, sec. 1-49, pp. 720-735.
----- 28.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCCXIX, sec. 1-17, pp. 735-741.
one vote 29. Y	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1853-54, ch. CCCXXV, sec. 1-9, pp. 764-766.
----- 30.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1855-56, ch. XXVI, sec. 1-2, pp. 28-29.
one vote 31.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1855-56, ch. CXXI, sec. 1- 5, pp. 147-149.
----- 32.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1855-56, ch. CCXVI, sec. 1-35, pp. 422-434.
one vote 33.	<u>Acts of Tenn. Legislature,</u> 1857-58, ch. XXXVI, sec. 1- 13, pp. 48-52.

Each share of stock Where may the charter be
one vote or scaled? found?

34.	scaled	<u>Private Acts of Tenn. Legis-</u> <u>lature, 1857-58, ch. LXII,</u> sec. 1-24, pp. 68-78.
35.	-----	<u>Private Acts of Tenn. Legis-</u> <u>lature, 1857-58, ch. LX, sec.</u> 1-6, pp. 126-128.
36.	one vote	<u>Private Acts of Tenn. Legis-</u> <u>lature, 1857-58, ch. LXXXVI,</u> sec. 1-3, pp. 197-199.
37.	one vote	<u>Private Acts of Tenn. Legis-</u> <u>lature, 1859-60, ch. CXXXVI,</u> sec. 1-5, p. 441.
v38.	-----	<u>Private Acts of Tenn. Legis-</u> <u>lature, 1859-60, ch. CXCII,</u> sec. 1-7, pp. 565-567.

APPENDIX B

A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF EAST TENNESSEE RAILROAD
PROMOTERS 1836-1860

This list, as the above title indicates, makes pretensions to comprehensiveness. Names have been included of men who certainly were not outstanding in their activities in railroad enterprise. Some, for example, were named commissioners of railroad companies, the books of which were never opened for subscription. However, they have been included to make the list as complete a catalog as possible of the men who were, in any manner or to any degree, involved in railroad enterprise in ante-bellum East Tennessee.

When the residence of the men is known it is indicated - by town, if known, or by county if the town is not known. All of the men were East Tennesseans with the exception of a few South Carolinians, who were connected with East Tennessee railroad enterprise by virtue of having been promoters of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston project. The residence of these men is indicated thus: (S.C.)

Names of well-known places only are abbreviated in the names of the railroads. For example, Cincinnati is abbreviated to Cin; whereas Strawberry Plains is not abbreviated.

It is hoped that this compendium may prove useful as a reference aid in the facile revelation of any man's activities in East Tennessee railroad enterprise, and the date of such activities.

- A -

ADAMS, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin., and Char., 1837.

ADAMS, WILLIAM L. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.

AIKEN, JOHN A. r Engineer in charge of unfinished work, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58.

ALDERSON? ISAAC- Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.

ALEXANDER, DIX - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rogersville.

- ALEXANDER, EBENEZER - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- ALEXANDER, HARVEY - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1854.
- ALEXANDER, ISON P. - Comm., Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- ALEXANDER, J. M. - Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- ALLEN, G. W. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- ALLEN, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- ALLEN, M. R. - Comm., Hamilton and Harrison, 1850.
- ALLISON, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Maryville.
- ANDERSON, ISAAC - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ANDERSON, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- ANDERSON, JOSIAH - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854; Marion County.
- ANDERSON, J. V. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Russellville.
- ANDERSON, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- ANDERSON, THOMAS M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Russellville.
- ANDERSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Blountville.
- ARMSTRONG, CLINTON - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Rogersville.
- ARMSTRONG, DRURY PAINE - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855; Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.

- ARMSTRONG, J. H. * Committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- ARNETT, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- ASHBURN, J. T. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ATKINSON, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.

- B -

- BAKER, ALLEN - Comm., Cin., Gumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BAKER, CALEB - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- BAKER, W. PARK - Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- BALDWIN, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- BAILLET, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- BARNARD, JAMES - Ass't engineer, Hiwassee, 1837.
- BARNES, HENRY W. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1856.
- BATES, EZEKIEL - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Calhoun.
- BATES, PATRICK - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- BAUGHMAN, ENOCH K. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Kingsport.
- BEAN, SAMUEL - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- BEARD, N. B. - Comm., Hamilton and Harrison, 1850.
- BEARDEN, M. J. - Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.

- BELL, DAVID H. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Chatt. Harrison, and Cleveland, 1850; Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- BELL, SAMUEL - Dir., S.W. R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1837; Knoxville.
- BENNETT, BURREL L. * Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- BENTLY, BENJAMIN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- BEWLY, JACOB H. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BIBLE, CHRISTIAN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BIBLE, JACOB - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BICKNELL, SAMUEL - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Madisonville.
- BIDLEMAN, VALENTINE - Comm., At; angie, Tenn. and O., 1852; Paperville.
- BIGGS, T. T. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- BIGGS, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Tenn., Western and Char., 1854; Tenn. and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Benton.
- BILLINGSBY, JOHN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- BIRDWELL, R. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- BLACK, ALEXANDER - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin., and Char., 1835; Committee of Correspondence, 1836; Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836; (S.C.)

- BLACKBURN, A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; New Market.
- BLACKNELL, F. G. - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga. and Selma, 1858; Hamilton County.
- BLACKWELL, J. E. S. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- BLAIR, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.
- BLAIR, R. L. - Comm., East Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- BLAIR, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- BLAIR, WILLIAM K. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50.
- BLANDING, ABRAHAM - Comm. in S. C. of the Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Pres., S. W. R. R. Bank, 1838; (S.C.)
- BOAZ, ABRAHAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-58; Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Russellville.
- BOGART, SOLOMON S. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Athens.
- BOGESS, ABIJAH - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- BOVELLE, W. W. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- BOWERS, D. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- BOWMAN, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- BOYCE, KER - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Committee of Correspondence, 1836; Board of comm., Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852; (S.C.)
- BOYD, ELLIOTT H. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

- BOYD, JAMES S. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville
- BOYD, SAMUEL B. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knoxville.
- BRABSON, B. D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Maryville.
- BRADFORD, HAMILTON - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Columbus
- BRADFORD, HENRY - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Columbus
- BRADFORD, JOSEPH - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- BRADFORD, THEODORE J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.
- BRADFORD, WILLIAM M. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge .
- BRADSON, F. C. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- BRADSON, REESE B. - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Chatt., Harrison, and Cleveland, 1850; Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852.
- BRANNER, JOHN R. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- BRANNER, WILLIAM A. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- BRATCHER, FERRELL H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Jacksboro'.
- BRAZLETON, JAMES R. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- BRAZLETON, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Dir., E. Tenn.

and Va., 1853-54; 1856-58; Superintendent, lower end of E. Tenn. and Va. - appointed May, 1857, resigned, November, 1857. Marshal, Greeneville Celebration, 1858; New Market.

BREAZEALE, JOHN W.M.-Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Athens.

BREWER, WILLIAM P. - Depot agent at Jonesboro', E. Tenn. and Va., Jonesboro', 1857-58.

BRIDGEMAN, B. F. -Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

BRIDGES, G. W. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; McMinn Co.

BRIDGES, JOHN L. - Comm., Gay St. R. R., 1860; Knoxville.

BRIDGMAN, JOHN M. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout, 1837; Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Pikeville.

BRISBANE, A. H. - Engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836.

BRITAIN, JAMES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.

BROOKS, WHITFIELD - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.

BROWN, JAMES - Comm., Va.Tenn. and N.C., 1858.

BROWN, J. A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Greeneville and N. C., 1858; Greeneville.

BROWN, JOHN G. - Comm., Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Bradley County.

BROWN, SAMUEL - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.

BROWN, THOMAS A. - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Kingston.

BROWN, W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.

BROWN, WILLIAM F. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Kingston.

- BROYLES, ADAM A. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., vice Henderson, resigned, 1857; Washington County.
- BROYLES, J. F. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-58; Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BRYANT, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Morgan County.
- BRYANT, WILLIAM M. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- BULLARD, JOHN - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Grainger County.
- BULLEN, LLOYD - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- BURK, JAMES - Comm., Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Hamilton County.
- BURNETT, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- BURTON, JAMES - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848 Russelville.
- BUTLER, F. A. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- BUTLER, R. R. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858
- BUTTS, JAMES R. * Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- BYRD, JOSEPH - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Kingston

BYRD, ROBERT K. - Comm., S.C., Tenn. and Ky.,
1854; Director, 1854; Com-
missioner for survey, 1854;
Roane County.

- C -

CALDWELL, JAMES A. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.

CALDWELL, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.

CALHOUN, JOHN C. - Dir., Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836-38; Resigned, 1838; (S.C.)

CALLOWAY, THOMAS H. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1852-57; Pres., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1852; Resigned, 1852; Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852, 1856; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.

CALLOWAY, WILLIAM S. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855-57; Athens.

CANERON, JACOB - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Elizabethton.

CAMPBELL, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1837.

CAMPBELL, ANDERSON - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.

CAMPBELL, BROOKINS - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51.

CAMPBELL, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.

CAMPBELL, JOSEPH - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.

- CAMPBELL, R. F. - E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dandridge.
- CAMPBELL, R. G. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- CAMPBELL, ROBERT - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- CAMPBELL, SENORE - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- CAMPBELL, THOMAS J. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852; Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855-57; Sec. and treas., 1858.
- CANE, HUGH - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hawkins County.
- CANNON, B. B. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Hamilton Co.
- CANNON, GUILFORD - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- CANNON, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Sevierville.
- CANNON, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- GARDEN, ANSON - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1854.
- GARDOZO, J. N. - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)
- GAREY, WILLIAM - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Campbell County.
- GARLOCK, J. C. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- GARMACK, WILLIAM - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- GARMICHAEL, JAMES T. - Comm., Cinn., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- GARMICHAEL, JOHN T. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- GARRUTH, G. W. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- GARSON, HARRY - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.

- CARTER, A. M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Elizabethton.
- CARTER, DAVID W. - Depot agent at Carter, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Carter.
- CASEY, T. G. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- CASWELL, WILLIAM R. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Russelville.
- CATE, ELISHA - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- CATE, GEORGE O. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- CATTELL, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- CHANDLER, B. M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- CHANDLER, BENJAMIN - Comm., Nashville and Chatt., 1846; re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Chattanooga.
- CHANDLER, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- CHESBROUGH, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1837.
- CHESTER, J. P. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.
- CHURCHWELL, WILLIAM H. - Pres., Knoxville and Ky., 1855-56; Resigned, July, 1856; Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1856; Largest individual stockholder, Knoxville and Ky. (50 shares), 1860; Knoxville.
- CLARK, JAMES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.

- CLARK, JOSEPH - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson
1854.
- CLARK, THOMAS N. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; S.C., Tenn. and Ky.,
1854; Kingston.
- CLARKSON, WILLIAM N. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and
Char., 1853; Hawkins County.
- CLEVELAND, ROBERT - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Phila.
- CLIFT, WILLIAM - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and
Cleveland, 1850.
- CLINGMAN, A. A. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown,
1858; Chatt., Harrison, George-
town and Athens, 1860; Bradley
County.
- CLOUD, GEORGE - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown,
1858; Polk County.
- CLOWNEY, WILLIAM K. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- COBB, DAVID A. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Athens.
- COCKE, DANIEL F. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852
- COCKE, JAMES R. - Committee on invitation and re-
ception, Knoxville Railroad
Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- COCKE, STEPHEN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char
1853; Hawkins County.
- COCKE, STEPHEN M. - Gen. committee on arrangements,
Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855;
Knoxville.
- COCKE, WILLIAM M. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and
Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb.
Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger
County.
- COFFEE, JAMES E. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper,
1852.

- COFFEY, ASHBURY N. - Sec. and treas., Hiwassee, 1837; McMinn County.
- COFFIN, CHARLES H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville and Char., 1852; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; central commission, Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville.
- COFFIN, JAMES A. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; N. C. and Tenn., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- COHORN, ROBERT - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- COLCOCK, CHARLES J. - Committee of Correspondence, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836; (S.C.)
- COMPTON, F. M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.
- CONGDON, SAMUEL - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Benton.
- CONNER, HENRY W. - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char.; Board of commissioners, Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852; (S.C.)
- CONNER, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Sevierville.
- COOK, H. C. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- COOKE, ROBERT F. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- COOKE, WILLIAM E. - One of three commissioners appointed to disburse the survey appropriation of Tenn. to the Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836.
- COSSON, JOHN E. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.

- COULSON, JABEZ - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Blount.
- COURTNEY, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin, Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- COWAN, A. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- COWAN, JAMES H. - Comm., Knoxville and Char., 1852; Junction R.R., 1852; Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- COWAN, WILLIAM W. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852.
- COWART, JOHN - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850.
- COX, A. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- COX, H. T. - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852, Blount.
- COX, LLOYD A. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rheatown.
- GRAIG, JOHN J. - Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1856; Comm., Gay St. R.R., 1860; Knoxville.
- GRAIG, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock; 1856; Knoxville.
- GRAIGNILES, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858 Bradley County.
- GRAVENS, ROBERT - Comm., Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852 Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- GRAVENS, SHERRILL - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Marion County.
- CRAWFORD, JOHN - Secretary of a meeting of the citizens of Charleston to consider the proposed railroad between that city and Cin., Oct. 22, 1835; (S.C.)

- GRAWFORD, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Athens.
- GRAWFORD, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Graysburg.
- CREWELL, B. M. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- GROSBY, _____ - Ass't engineer, Knoxville and Ky., 1855-58.
- CROSS, JESSE - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Middletown.
- CROSS, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn and Va., 1848; Clinton; Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852.
- CROUCH, THOMAS H. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Fall Branch.
- CROUCH, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Jonesboro'.
- CROZIER, JOHN H. - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838; Comm., Knoxville and Char., 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville.
- GRUTCHFIELD, THOMAS - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Tenn. and Char., 1856; Athens.
- CUNNINGHAM, MOSES - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- CUNNINGHAM, SAMUEL B. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Pres., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-60; Jonesboro'.
- CUNNINGHAM, W. B. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rutledge.

- CUMMINGS, D. H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1857-60;
Anderson County.
- CUMMINS, H. F. - State road commissioner, 1860.
- CURL, JOHN T. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Rutledge.
- CURTON, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Jefferson County.

- D -

- DAVENPORT, J. - Ass't marshal, Knoxville Rail-
road Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- DAVIS, _____ - Ass't engineer, Knoxville and
Ky., 1856-58.
- DAVIS, ELIAS - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Benton.
- DAVIS, EPHRAIM - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51;
1857-58; Greene County.
- DAVIS, HENRY B. - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and
Cleveland, 1852.
- DAVIS, LELAND - Comm., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Greene County.
- DAVIS, R. H. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51,
1853-58.
- DAVIS, ROBERT R. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Tenn. Western and Char., 1854;
Decatur.
- DAY, ISAAC - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Bradley County.
- DEADERICK, DAVID A. - Cashier, S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville
Branch, 1838; Comm., Lexington
and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville.

- DEADERICK, J. C. - Ass't marshal, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- DEADERICK, JOHN F. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Comm. Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Jonesboro'.
- DEADERICK, JOSEPH - Depot agent at Bristol, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857; Bristol.
- DEARING, G. W. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- DEARING, WILLIAM - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- DEARMOND, D. F. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- DEERY, J. A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- DEERY, W. B. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- DENT, J. G. - Contractor, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1850.
- DEVAULT, DAVID - Comm., Greeneville and N.C., 1858.
- DICK, H. T. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; New Market.
- DICKINSON, J.W.E. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hanceock County.
- DICKINSON, JAMES - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Tazewell.
- DICKINSON, PEREZ - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Committee on invitation and reception and committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- DICKSON, J. D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.

- DICKSON, P. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- DICKSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Greeneville.
- DIXON, JOHN L. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- DOBBINS, A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dandridge.*
- DOBSON, JOHN H. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Benton.
- DONAHOO, JAMES - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- DONALDSON, JAMES - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Blount County.
- DONNELLY, JAMES - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- DOUGHERTY, E. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- DOUGLASS, HIRSH - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- DRAYTON, LIEUT. ____ - Engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836.
- DUFF, DAVID - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- DUGGAN, LEMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- DUGGAN, WILSON - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- DUGGER, E. L. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Taylorsville.
- DULANEY, JOHN R. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Paperville.
- DULANEY, WILLIAM R. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Blountville.

- DUNCAN, B. F. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- DUNN, EZRA - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Tenn. and Char., 1854; Benton.
- DUNN, SAMUEL - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852.
- DYER, JAMES H. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- DYER, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Grainger County.

- E -

- EARNEST, JOSEPH - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rheatown.
- EARNEST, NICK - Depot agent at Rheatown, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Rheatown.
- EASON, JOHN G. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Jonesboro'.
- EASTERLY, JOSHUA - Comm., Junction, Jasper and Chatt, 1854.
- EASTERLY, MOSES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; ~~Marion County.~~
- EASLEY, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Claiborne County.
- ECKLE, GEORGE S. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- ECKLE, WILLIAM K. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- EDMONSTON, CHARLES - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Comm. in S.C., 1835; Committee of Correspondence, 1836; Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836; (S.C.)

- EDWARDS, P. J. R. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- ELDER, R. S. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- ELLIOTT, GEORGE W. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- ELLIOTT, W. S. - Committee on finance and committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- ELLIS, M. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- ELLIS, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- ELMORE, F. H. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- ESTABROOK, JOSEPH - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Poplar Creek, Black Diamond and Salt M'f'g R.R., 1852; Anderson County.
- ESTERBRACK, T. J. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- EVANS, THOMAS - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- EVANS, WALTER R. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- EVERETT, NEHEMIAH - Comm., Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Hamilton County.

- F -

- PAIN, HIRAH - Comm., E. Tenn., and Va., 1848; Rogersville.

- FAIN, JOHN - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- FAIN, NICHOLAS - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Rogersville.
- FAIN, RICHARD G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854; Pres., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1856-57; Rogersville.
- FAIN, SAMUEL N. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51; Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.
- FAIN, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- FARMER, THOMAS S. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- FARRIS, DR. _____ - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hawkins County.
- FATIO, N. - Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- FEATHERSTONEHAUGH, G. F. - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836.
- FERGUSON, S. B. - Contractor, E. Tenn. and Va., 1850, for grading section from McBee's Ferry to Bull's Gap.
- FINE, A. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- FINLEY, SAMUEL - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Hamilton Co.,
- FLETCHER, A. J. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- FLOURNOY, JOHN M. - Comm., Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co. 1855.

- FLOYD, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- FOLSOM, M. N. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Elizabethton.
- FOOTE, G. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greenville.
- FOSSICK, T. - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- FOUCHE, JOHN - Committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1856; Knoxville.
- FOUTE, GEORGE - Comm., Greenville and N.C., 1858; Chairman, central committee, Greenville Celebration, 1858; Greenville
- FOUTE, N. L. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- FRANCIS, JAMES - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Jasper.
- FRANKLIN, B. F. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- FRANKLIN, J. W. R. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- FRANKLIN, L. D. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.
- FRAZIER, THOMAS M. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Marion County.
- FREMONT, JOHN C. - Ass't engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836.
- FUGATE, JOEL - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.

- FULKERSON, FRANK - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853.
- FULKERSON, J. L. - Comm. E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- FULLER, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dandridge.

- G -

- GARDEN, JAMES - Board of engineers, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835. (S.C.)
- GAINES, JOHN S. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Sullivan County.
- GAINS, GEORGE W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Roane County.
- GAIBRETH, JAMES - Depot agent at Greeneville, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Greeneville.
- GALLAHER sic, W. - Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Knox County.
- GAMBLE, JAMES - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- GAMBLE, WILLIAM - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- GANNON, NATHAN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Depot agent at Knoxville, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Jonesboro' and Knoxville.
- GANNON, WILLIAM G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-52; Sec., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50; Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Sec. and treas., E. Tenn. and Va., 1851-57; Resigned, May, 1857; Jonesboro'.

- GARDENHIRE, GEORGE W. * Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- GARRATT, LEWIS A. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- GASS, JAMES F. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- GASS, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- GATES, GEORGE P. - In charge of track-laying at both ends of the gap in E. Tenn. and Va., 1858.
- GAUT, JOHN C. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852, 1856.
- GEAR, WILLIAM - Comm., Poplar Creek, Black Diamond and Salt Mf'g R.R., 1852.
- GEORGE, EDWARD - Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857
- GEORGE, FARNICK - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knox County.
- GERDING, GEORGE F. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Morgan County.
- GEROLD, ASA F. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Bradley County.
- GETTYS, JAMES - Contractor, Tenn. River Bridge, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1853.
- GHOENLEY, SAMUEL - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1858.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- GIFFORD, LAWSON, - Collecting agent, E. Tenn. and Va., 1854-58.

- GILBERT, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char 1853; Hancock County.
- GILLENWATERS, E. C. - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- GILLESPIE, GEORGE L. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Comm. of survey, 1854; Chairman, meeting of the stockholders, 1854; Roane County.
- GILLESPIE, J. H. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Maryville.
- GILLESPIE, JOHN C. - Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Roane County.
- GILLESPIE, JOSEPH S. - Comm., Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852.
- GILLESPIE, ROBERT N. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Look-out, 1837; Washington.
- GIRDNER, WILLIAM - Comm., Greeneville and French Broad, 1853; Greeneville and N. C., 1858.
- GLENN, S. S. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1864; Madisonville.
- GODDARD, THORNTON - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- GOFORTH, J. S. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Roadmaster, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; New Market.
- GOODMAN, JOHN - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- GORDON, ANDREW G. - Comm., Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co., 1855.
- GORDON, JAMES H. - Comm., Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co., 1855.

- GORDON, WILLIAM L. - Comm., Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co., 1855.
- GORDON, Z. H. - Comm., Nicojack R.R. and Mining Co., 1855.
- GORIE, SAMUEL J. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850.
- GORMAN, THOMAS S. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- GORRELL, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- GOSWELL, T. T. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.
- GRACE, JOSEPH - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858
- GRAHAM, A. G. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1856-58
Pres. pro tem, E. Tenn. and Va., Feb., 1856.
- GRAHAM, HUGH - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Tazewell.
- GRAHAM, JOHN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.
- GRANT, JOHN - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Roane County.
- GRANT, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Contractor, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1850; Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849, 1855-57; Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852; Tenn. and Char., 1852; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858.
- GRAVES, SIMEON - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Bradley County.

- GRAY, JOHN D. - Contractor, Cleveland and Chatt., 1857.
- GRAYSON, HENRY - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- GREEN, A. P. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- GREEN, DUFF - Contractor, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849.
- GREENWAY, JAMES - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Madisonville.
- GREER, W. L. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- GRIFFE, W. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Clinton.
- GRIFFITH, AMOS - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- GRIFFITH, E. E. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- GRIFFIN, J. J. - Comm., Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852.
- GRUBB, E. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Meigs Co.

- H -

- HAIL, DR. _____ - Comm., Hamilton and Harrison, 1850.
- HAIL, JAMES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- HALEY, JOHN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- HALL, C. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Kingsport.
- HALL, CASTELL - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- HALL, IGNATIUS - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Meigs County.
- HALL, JOHN - Supervisor, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855 .

- HAMBRIGHT, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854 Athens.
- HAMILTON, _____ - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Kingston.
- HAMILTON, HARVEY - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- HAMILTON, JAMES - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin and Char., 1835; Committee of Correspondence, 1836; (S.C.)
- HAMILTON, JOHN B. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50.
- HAMILTON, JOSEPH - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dandridge.
- HANNER, JOHN - Conductor, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58.
- HANNER, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn., and O., 1852; Paperville.
- HANEY, T. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- HANNER, JOHN F. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852.
- HARDIN, JOHN G. - Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Knox County.
- HARDIN, JOHN R. - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1852.
- HARRIS, HILLARD J. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Bradley County.
- HARRIS, JOHN F. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- HARRIS, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- HARRIS, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- HARRISON, CHARLES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- HARROL, JOHN W. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.

- HARROLD, J. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greenville.
- HARRY, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin., and Char., 1837.
- HART, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jacksboro'.
- HASKINS, D. C. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858
- HASSON, _____ - Contractor, Rogersville and Jefferson, 1857.
- HAYRON, JOHN M. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854; Marion County.
- HAWKINS, JAMES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- HAYES, MARLOWE - Ass't engineer, Hiwassee, 1837.
- HAYNE, ROBERT Y. - Chairman, "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Comm., in S.C., 1835; Chairman, Committee of Correspondence, 1836; Chairman, Knoxville Convention, 1836; President, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836-39; (S.C.)
- HAYNES, LONDON C. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Jonesboro'.
- HAYS, JOHN F. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- HEISKELL, DANIEL - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- HEISKELL, F. S. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- HEISKELL, JOSEPH - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rogersville.
- HENDERSON, JOSEPH - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1851-57; Resigned, 1857; Rheatown.

- HENDERSON, RICHARD - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850.
- HENDERSON, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevier-ville.
- HENRY, A. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- HENRY, L. E. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- HENSLEY, THOMAS - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- HERD, BRYAN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- HERRIFORD, JOHN - Comm., Nashville and Chatt., 1845; Jasper.
- HICKS, ISAAC - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- HILL, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- HIXON, JOSEPH - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- HODGE, AMBROSE W. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- HODGES, KENNETH - Comm., Cin., Camb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.
- HODSDEN, ROBERT H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- HOFFMAN, WILLIAM H. - Ass't engineer, Hiwassee, 1837.
- HOLMES, JAMES G. - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Board of engineers, 1835; (S.C.)
- HOODENPILE, A. J. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

- HOODENPYLE, PETER - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- HOOKE, ROBERT M. - Comm., Nashville and Chatt., 1845; comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Tenn. and Char., 1852; Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Chattanooga.
- HOPE, W. B. - Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Roane County.
- HORD, J. M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- HOSKINS, G. C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; New Market.
- HOSS, LONDON C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Depot agent at Bristol, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Jonesboro' and Bristol.
- HOUSTON, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1851-58; Tazewell.
- HOWARD, E. - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- HOWARD, JACOB - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greenville.
- HOWARD, SAMUEL - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- HOWARD, TIGLHAN A. - Chairman, Pandridge Convention, 1828 Newport.
- HOWARD, WALTER - Commissioner, N.C. and Tenn., 1852.
- HOWE, L. S. - Contractor, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857.
- HOWELL, W. S. - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838.
- HOWLAND, B. J. - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)

- HOYLE, JOHN B. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Benton.
- HUDDLESTON, JOHN F. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- HUDSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- HUFF, DANIEL - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Claiborne County.
- HUFF, STEPHEN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- HUFFACRE, WESLEY - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- HUFFACRE, WILLEY - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- HUGHES, JOHN K. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- HUGHES, W. J. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- HUME, T. W. - Dir., Louis., Cin. and Char., 1838.
- HUMPHREYS, JOHN J. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- HUNT, FIDELIO S. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Tazewell.
- HUNT, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.
- HUNTER, A. P. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- HUNTER, JOSHUA - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- HURST, ALLEN - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville; 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Grainger County.

~~ROBERT~~ ROBERT P. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852; Cin., Cumh. Gap and Char., 1853; Dandridge.

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IGONE, SAMUEL - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dallas.

IGOU IGOU, SAMUEL - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Look-out, 1837; Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Dallas.

INMAN, _____ - Holder of one-half of the State-
endorsed E. Tenn. and Va. bonds,
1857.

INMAN, CHARLES - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville
and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.

INMAN, S. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint
Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains,
Dandridge and Newport, 1856;
Dandridge.

INMAN, BENJAMIN R. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Hamilton
County.

- J -

JACK, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Athens.

JACK, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville
and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.

JACKSON, ALFRED E. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Pres., E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849;
Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Knoxville, Sevierville
and Paint Rock, 1856; Dir.,
E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-57; Re-
signed, 1857; Washington County.

- JACKSON, RICHARD G. - Sup't, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1852-60; Sec. and treas., 1854-57; Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- JACOBS, SOLOMON D. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Pres., Hiwassee, 1837; Knoxville.
- JAMES, GEORGE - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Fall Branch.
- JAMES, JESSE J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50; Blountville.
- JAMES, W. W. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Blountville.
- JARNAGIN, A. S. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- JARNAGIN, JOHN - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Pres., Knoxville and Kentucky, 1856-58; Clinton.
- JARVIS, LEWIS M. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.
- JOHNSON, JAMES - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rheatown.
- JOHNSON, JOEL - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- JOHNSON, JOHN - Comm., Hamilton and Harrison, 1850.
- JOHNSON, ROBERT - Comm., Greeneville and N.C., 1858.
- JOHNSON, SAMUEL M. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Monroe Co.
- JOHNSON, THOMAS J. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853.
- JOHNSTON, BENJAMIN - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1852.
- JOHNSTON, ELISHA - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.

- JOHNSTON, JAMES H. - Comm., Ringgold and Cleveland,
1854; Bradley County.
- JOHNSTON, JOSEPH - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Va., Tenn. and N.C.;
1858; Madisonville.
- JONES, GEORGE - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Greeneville
- JONES, HUGH - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville,
1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap
and Lexington, 1852; Claiborne
County.
- JONES, JAMES S. - Committee on procession, Knox-
ville Railroad Jubilee, 1855;
Knoxville.
- JONES, JOHN T. - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga., and
Selma, 1858; Hamilton County.
- JONES, JOSEPH - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Tazewell.
- JONES, THOMAS L. - Comm. in S.C. of the Louis.,
Cin. and Char., 1835; Del.,
Knoxville Convention, 1836; (S.C.)

- K -

- KAIN, W. C. - Chairman of a meeting of cit-
izens of Knoxville to hear re-
port on preparations for the
Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855;
Knoxville.
- KERLE, A. B. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.
1853; Hawkins County.
- KEENER, DAVID - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville
and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevier-
ville.
- KEITH, _____ - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky., Central
1852; Morgan County.
- KEITH, WILLIAM F. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852;
Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849;
McMinn County.

- KELLEY, JAMES B. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- KELLEY, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Jasper.
- KELLY, WILLIAM J. - Comm., Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- KELSO, JAMES W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- KENNEDY, A. - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Blount County.
- KENNEDY, D. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1853-54, 1856-58.
- KENNEDY, W. S. - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838; Knoxville.
- KENNER, DANIEL G. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- KENNEY, DANIEL - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Jonesboro'.
- KEYES, A. D. - Pres., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849-51; Athens.
- KEYS, JOHN - Sec. and treas., E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58.
- KIMBROUGH, JOHN - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- KINGAID, ALVIS - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Campbell County.
- KINGAID, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Jacksboro'.
- KINGAID, WILLIAM - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne Co.

- KING, ALFRED - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- KING, CHARLES L. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- KING, JOHN - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Paperville.
- KING, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- KING, JOSEPH L. - Comm., Knoxville and Char., 1852; Junction R.R., 1852; Knox County.
- KING, MITCHEL - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; Chairman, Asheville Convention, 1832; (S.C.)
- KING, ROBERT - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838; Knoxville.
- KING, S. K. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- KINGSTON, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Poplar Creek, Black Diamond and Salt M'f'g R.R., 1852; Anderson County.
- KIRKLEN, ELISHA - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Pikeville.
- KIRKLIN, ALLEN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- KLEPPER, JACOB - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50, 1851-56; Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Washington County.
- KLIPPER, JAMES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- KNOX, JAMES L. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- KROFT, B. H. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- KYLE, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hamilton County.

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- LACKEY, JAMES - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Kingston.
- LAMB, ADAM - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- LATIMORE, D. W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Charleston, 1854; Madisonville.
- LAYMAN, _____ - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- LAYMAN, G. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dandridge.
- LEA, ALBERT H. - Chief engineer, State of Tenn., for survey of Central R.R. under Act of Oct. 25, 1836; Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Chief marshal, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- LEA, CASWELL - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- LEA, HARMON G. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- LEA, PRIOR - Sec., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- LEA, WILLIAM F. - Chief engineer, Knoxville and Char., 1855; Committee on depot grounds, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855.
- LEE, DAVID VAN - Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855.
- LEGG, J. P. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- LENNIS, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- LENCIR, AVERY - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Roane Co.
- LENOIR, R. B. - Pres., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Comm. to survey and locate route, 1854; Kingston.

- LENOIR, ISAAC T. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849;
Comm., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854;
Roane County.
- LENOIR, WILLIAM A. - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Dir.,
S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Comm.
to survey and locate route, 1854;
Roane County.
- LETHBRILL, GEORGE - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleve-
land, 1850.
- LEWIS, COL. _____ - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Grainger County.
- LEWIS, DUFF - Sec., of meeting of citizens of
Knoxville to hear report on prepa-
rations for the Knoxville Rail-
road Jubilee, 1856; Knoxville.
- LEWIS, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga. and Selma,
1858; Hamilton County.
- LIGGETT, HENRY - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout,
1837; E. Tenn. and Ky. Central,
1852; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854;
Kingston.
- LILLARD, ABRAHAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Tenn. and Char., 1854;
Benton.
- LILLARD, JAMES - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Decatur
and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- LILLARD, JOHN W. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, George-
town and Athens, 1860; Meigs Co.
- LILLARD, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Decatur.
- LINCOLN, W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Greeneville.
- LINK, EPHRAIM - Comm., Greeneville and N.C., 1858.
- LOCKE, BENJAMIN F. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Decatur and
Phila., 1852; Meigs County.

- LOCKE, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Washington.
- LOCKE, NEWTON - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Meigs Co.
- LOCKER, C. H. - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- LOCKLAND, _____ - Engineer, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- LOGAN, C. R. - Ass't marshal, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- LONERGAN, KENNEDY - Contractor, Hiwassee, 1837-39.
- LONG, ARTHUR - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- LONG, JOHN P. - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Comm., Nashville and Chatt.; Ross' Landing (Chattanooga)
- LONGMIRE, E. M. - Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1856; Anderson County.
- LOWRY, DANIEL - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- LOWRY, JOHN D. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- LOWRY, WILLIAM M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Greenville and French Broad, 1853; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greenville and N.C., 1858; Greenville.
- LUCKY, SEIH J. W. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Jonesboro'.
- LUTTRELL, C. D. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- LYLE, GEORGE W. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.

- LYLE, JOHN - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir.,
E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50.
- LYLE, Z. A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
New Market.
- LYNCH, MONTGOMERY - Chief engineer, E. Tenn. and Va.,
1853-57; Resigned, 1857; Comm-
ittee on depot grounds, Knoxville
Railroad Jubilee, 1855.
- LYNN, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852;
Kingsport.
- LYON, THOMAS G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849, 1855-
57; Comm., Knoxville and Char.,
1852; Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; Dir., Knoxville and Ky.,
1857-58; Knoxville.
- LYONS, D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Knoxville.
- LYONS, JESSE M. - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson,
1854.
- LYONS, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Rogersville.

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- MEADAMS, THOMAS - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- McANDREWS, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and
Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- McCALLIE, THOMAS - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout,
1837; Chatt., Harrison and Cleve-
land, 1850; Washington.
- McCALLON, JOHN - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Meigs County.
- McCAMMON, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and
Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.

- McCAMPBELL, JAMES - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- McCAMY, ROBERT - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Clinton.
- McCARTY, JOHN L. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Calhoun.
- McCLARY, JACOB L. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Benton.
- McCLARY, R. W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Benton.
- McCLELLAND, ABRAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Middletown.
- McCLELLAND, DAVID - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Middletown.
- McCLOUD, LEVI - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville.
- McCLUNG, HUGH L. - Comm., Gay St. R.R., 1860; Knoxville.
- McCLURE, EWING - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- McCLURE, HUGH L. - Sec. and treas., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1859-60.
- McCLURE, S. F. - Depot agent at Limestone, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Limestone.
- McCLUTCHY, J. S. - Ass't engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., (western end), 1858.
- McCOLE, SAMUEL L. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850.
- McCOWN, G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- McCRONALDS, SAMUEL - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- McCROSKY, DAVID - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.,

- McDERMOTT, WILLIAM P.H. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- McDOWELL, JAMES P. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Greeneville and N.C., 1858; Greeneville.
- McELRATH, H. M. D. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852.
- McELWEE, THOMAS B. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- McEWEN, WILLIAM S. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout, 1837; E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Comm. to survey and locate route, 1854; Kingston.
- McFARLAND, B. F. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1856-58; In charge of grading Bull's Gap, 1857-58; Rutledge.
- McFARLAND, THOMAS G. - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846.
- McFARLAND, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853.
- McGAUGHEY, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1851-54; State dir., 1855-58; Comm. Greeneville and N.C., 1858; Speaker, celebration held at spot and time of laying the last rail, E. Tenn. and Va., 1858; Speaker, Greeneville Celebration, 1858; Greeneville.
- McGHEE, BARCLAY - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.

- McGHEE, CHARLES - N.C. and Tenn., 1852. (Comm.)
- McGUIRE, JOHN - Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- McKAHEY, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- McKAMY, JAMES - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Tenn. and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Benton.
- McKENZIE, GEORGE W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- McKENZIE, REUBEN - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- McKINNEY, J. R. - Committee on invitation and reception, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- McKISSIC, A. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Benton.
- McKNEIGHT, _____ - Contractor, Rogersville and Jefferson, 1857.
- McKORKLE, JOSEPH - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- McMAHAN, ALLEN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- McMAHAN, HORACE - Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Convention, 1855; Knoxville.
- McHILLAN, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1856; Bradley County
- McNEAL, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.
- McNUTT, JOHN S. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.

- McPHERSON, ISAAC - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- McPHERSON, JOHN - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Bradley County.
- McPHERSON, R. M. - Committee on invitation and reception, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- McQUEEN, ISAAC W. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858; Taylorsville.
- McQUEEN, SAMUEL E. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.
- McQUEEN, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- McRAE, R. C. - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga., and Selma, 1858; Hamilton County.
- McSTORCLE, JOSEPH - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Neigs County.
- McTEER, WILLIAM - Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1856; Maryville.

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- MABRY, JOSEPH A - Committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857; Pres., Knoxville and Ky., 1859-60; Knoxville.
- MAGILL, NATHANIEL - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- MALONE, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- MALONEY, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.
- MALONEY, WILLIAM C. - Comm., Greeneville and French Broad, 1853; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.

- MALOY, JOHN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- MANLY, W. R. - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856
- MAPLES, THOMAS - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- MARGRAVES, G. R. - Ass't engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., (eastern end), 1858.
- MARTIN, B. F. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; McMinn County.
- MARTIN, J. B. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Charleston, 1854; Athens.
- MARTIN, JAMES N. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- MARTIN, JESSE - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- MARTIN, ROBERT, - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- MARTIN, SAMUEL - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846.
- MARTIN, Z. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown, and Athens, 1860; Meigs County.
- MASSENGILL, MICHAEL - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Middletown.
- MATHES, E. S. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Treas., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50.
- MATHIS, THOMAS J. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- MATTHEWS, J. P. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; New Market.
- MAXWELL, _____ - Contractor, E. Tenn. and Va., 1855.
- MAXWELL, A. L. - Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1857-58; Knoxville.

- MAXWELL, JEREMIAH - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- MAYNARD, HORACE - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knoxville.
- MEAD, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1837.
- MEE, C. A. - Committee on depot grounds, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Chief engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Chief engineer, Knoxville and Kentucky, 1859-60.
- MEEK, A. K. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- MILLARD, ELKANAH - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Middletown.
- MILLER, ISAAC - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Claiborne County.
- MILLER, JACOB - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knox County.
- MILLER, L. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Clinton.
- MILLER, O. O. - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- MILLS, CHARLES H. - Comm., Ringgold and Cleveland, 1854; Bradley County.
- MITCHELL, JAMES C. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50, 1851-58.; Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.
- MITCHELL, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- MITCHELL, JOSEPH - Sec. and treas., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1856-57; Rogersville.

- MITCHELL, PLEASANT A. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- MITCHELL, SAMUEL - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Washington Co.
- MITCHELL, SOLOMON P. - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Dallas.
- MITCHELL, STOKELY D. - Comm., E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- MITCHELL, WILLIE B. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Rogersville
- MOFFITT, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1851-58; New Market.
- MONDAY, _____ - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- MONGER, P. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- MONTGOMERY, GEN. _____ - Comm., Gin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock Co.,
- MONTGOMERY, BENJAMIN R. - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850.
- MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Phila. ✓
- MOORE, CALEB - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- MOORE, CALVIN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Taylorsville.
- MOORE, GREEN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858; Taylorsville.
- MOORE, J. W. R. - Comm., Gin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.

- MOORE, SAMUEL - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- MOORE, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dandridge.
- MOORMAN, J. J. - Committee on invitation and reception, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- MORELOCK, NATHAN - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Graysburg.
- MORGAN, G. W. - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1852.
- MORRIS, DRURY - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- MORRIS, ROBERT C. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849; First ass't engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., 1852-53; Chief engineer, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1856-59; McMinn County.
- MORROW, ROBERT - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Campbell County.
- MOSES, JOHN L. - Sec. and treas., Knoxville and Ky., 1856-60; Knoxville.
- MOULDEN, WILLIAM - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1856-58; Knoxville.
- MOUNT, JOHN - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- MOUNTCASTLE, A.J. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- MULLENDORE, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- MURPHY, W. C. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- MURRAY, DAVID C. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1856.
- MURRELL, ONSLOW G. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Athens.

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- NAFF, D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dandridge.
- NAFF, JACOB - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rheatown.
- NEADHAM, SQUIRE - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- NEIL, PRIOR - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- NEILL, JAMES K. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- NEILSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Greene County.
- NELSON, DAVID - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Elizabethton.
- NELSON, MATTHEW - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Phila.
- NELSON, THOMAS A.R. - Attorney, Hiwassee, 1845; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Publicity committee, appointed by Greeneville Convention, 1849; Knoxville.
- NESBIT, WILSON - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- NETHERLAND, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Rogersville.
- NEWMAN, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- NEWMAN, SAMUEL J. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- NOAH, JOHN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- NOBLE, PATRICK - Comm. in S.C. of the Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)
- NORTH, EDWARD - Chairman, meeting of citizens of Charleston, Oct., 22, 1835; (S.C.)

NORWOOD, S. N. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

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ODELL, S. C. - Comm., Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.

OFFUT, J. S. - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.

OLIVER, RICHARD - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Poplar Creek, Black Diamond and Salt Mfg R.R., 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Clinton.

ORNES, JAMES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

OVERTON, TAYLOR - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.

OWEN, R. L. - Engineer, Rogersville and Jefferson, 1857.

OWENS, R. S.. - First ass't engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., 1852-53.

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PALMER, F. I. - Master mechanic, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1854-55.

PALMER, GREEN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.

PARHAM, JOHN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

PARK, JAMES - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1837; Knoxville.

PARK, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Knoxville.

PARKMAN, S. B. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.

PARKS, G. W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.

PARKS, SAMUEL - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.

- PARROTT, M. J. - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- PARROTT, MARK - Conductor, E. Tenn., and Va., 1857-58.
- PATTERSON, DAVID T-Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greenville and French Broad, 1853; Greenville and N.C., 1858; Greenville.
- PATTERSON, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Claiborne Co.,
- PATTERSON, N. A. - Sec., first meeting of stockholders, S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Dir., 1854; Sec. and treas., 1854; Comm. to survey and locate route, 1854; Kingston.
- PATTON, ROBERT - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Kingsport.
- PAYNE, R. G. - State railroad commissioner, 1858; Speaker, Greenville Celebration, 1858; Memphis.
- PEAK, JACOB - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- PEAK, LUKE - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- PEARSON, JACOB - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Phila.
- PECK, JACOB - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Jefferson County.
- PERRY, JAMES - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and Ohio, 1852; Graysburg.
- PETTIT, B. C. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- PEYTON, _____ - Proprietor, stage line in the gap in E. tenn. and Va., 1857.

- PHIPPS, JOSHUA - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854; Rogersville.
- PICKENS, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- PICKENS, WILLIAM K. Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Bradley County.
- PICKETT, _____ - Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838; Knoxville.
- PIERSON, HENRY L. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1856.
- PIPER, H. M. - Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Convention, 1855; Knoxville.
- POATS, LEWIS - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hawkins County.
- POINSETT, JOEL R. - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- POPE, T. A. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- POPE, THOMAS A. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- PORTER, JAMES - Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857.
- PORTER, JAMES P. H. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Sevierville.
- PORTER, L. D. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- PORTER, R. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Maryville.
- POWELL, COLUMBUS - Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1859; Knoxville.
- POWELL, GEORGE R. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- POWELL, JOSEPH - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Elizabethton.
- POWELL, ROBERT W. - Chairman, State Board of Internal Improvement, 1845-46.

- POWELL, THOMAS J. - Comm., of E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Elizabethton.
- PRICE, HENRY - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Bradley County.
- PRICE, HUGH - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Hamilton County.
- PRICHARD, M. B. - Engineer, E. Tenn. and Ga., 1854-55; Committee on depot grounds, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Chief engineer, Knoxville and Ky., 1856-57.
- PRIDE, SAMUEL - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857; Maryville.
- PRIGMORE, THOMAS - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; McMinn County.
- PRYOR, G. H. - Pikeville and Jasper, 1852 (Comm.)
- PRYOR, JACKSON - Comm., Nashville and Chatt., 1845; Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854; Jasper.
- PUCKETT, A. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Hamilton and Harrison 1850; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.

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- QUINN, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.

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- RADER, JAMES - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Paperville.

- RAGSDALE, WILLIAM - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- RAMSEY, J. C. - Ass't marshal, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- RAMSEY, J. G. M. - Sec., Dandridge Convention, 1828; Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836; Dir., Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836-40; Pres., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838; State dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849-50; Comm., Knoxville and Char., 1852; Junction R.R., 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857. Knoxville.
- RAMSEY, W. B. A. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Knoxville.
- RANKIN, DAVID - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854; Jasper.
- RANKIN, JAMES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856 Newport.
- RANKIN, WILLIAM - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852.
- RAWLINGS, A. M. - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Ross' Landing.
- RAWLINGS, ASAHUEL - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Dallas.
- RAWLINGS, D. R. - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Pikeville and Jasper, 1852; Nashville and Chatt., 1845; Jasper.
- RAWLINGS, M. W. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- RAWLINGS, MADISON - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dallas.

- RAWLINGS, NEWTON - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Hamilton County.
- RAWLINGS, R. S. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- RAYL, J. A. - Committee on finance, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville
- REANAU, M. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- REED, LIEUT. _____ - Engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835.
- REEDER, E. D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Blountville.
- REEDER, STEPHEN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- REESE, W. B. - Dir., Louis., Cin., and Char., 1838; Dir., S.W.R.R. Bank, Knoxville Branch, 1838-39; Knoxville.
- REESE, W. B. Jr. - Committee on procession, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1857; Knoxville.
- REEVES, WILLIAM P. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-58.
- REYNOLDS, _____ - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- REYNOLDS, WILLIAM B. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1854.
- RHEA, JAMES D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Blountville.
- RHEA, JOSEPH S. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50/
- RHEA, ROBERT P. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-58.

- RHEA, SAMUEL - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir.,
E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-58; Comm.,
Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852;
Blountville.
- RICE, ALEXANDER - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Tenn. Western and Char., 1854;
Decatur.
- RICE, C. W. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Athens.
- RICE, GEORGE W. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852;
Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- RICE, ORVILLE - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852
Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853;
Rogersville.
- RICE, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout,
1837; Jasper.
- RICHARDSON, DAVID - Committee on invitation and re-
ception, Knoxville Railroad Jub-
ilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- RIPLEY, SAMUEL P. - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis.,
Cin. and Char., 1835; Del.,
Knoxville Convention, 1836; (S.C.)
- ROADMAN, WILLIAM C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853;
Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint
Rock, 1856; Newport.
- ROBERSON, ISAAC - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ROBERSON, JESSE C. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ROBERSON, R. B. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ROBERSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Jefferson County.
- ROBERTSON, SAMUEL - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Pikeville
and Jasper, 1852; Pikeville.
- ROBINSON, JOHN - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis.,
Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)

- ROBINSON, W. H. - Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855.
- ROBINSON, WILLIAM- Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Newport.
- ROCKHOLD, WILLIAM- Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Elizabethton.
- RODGERS, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- ROGAN, GRIFFITH - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Kingsport.
- ROGAN, PERRY - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Kingsport.
- ROGERS, DAVID - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- ROGERS, JOHN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- ROGERS, JOHN H. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Bradley County.
- ROGERS, MICAHAH J.-Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Sevierville.
- ROGERS, SAMUEL R.- Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knox County.
- ROGERS, W. C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Sevierville.
- ROGERS, WILLIAM L.-Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- ROPER, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Mossy Creek and Dandridge Branch, 1852; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Dandridge.

- ROSE, WILLIAM S. - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Hancock County.
- ROSS, J. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Clinton.
- RUSSELL, ROBERT - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Madisonville.
- RUSSELL, WILLIAM - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Tenn. Western and Char., 1854;
Decatur.
- RYLAND, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Jonesboro'.
- RYLEY, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Hancock County.

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- SAMPLE, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Maryville.
- SANDERFER, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Hamilton County.
- SANDFORD, E. J. - Committee on procession, Knox-
ville Railroad Jubilee, 1855.
- SAWYERS, WILLIAM - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; Knoxville.
- SCHENCK, _____ - Civil engineer, Louis., Cin. and
Char., 1837.
- SCHOOLER, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central,
1852; Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; Morgan County.
- SCOTT, JAMES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- SCOTT, JULIAN F. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; Morgan County.
- SCRUGGS, JAMES A. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir.,
E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50.
- SEVIER, D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Greeneville.

- SEVIER, JOSEPH - Conductor, E. Tenn. and Va., 1856;
Sup't, E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58.
- SEVIER, VALENTINE- Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; State
Committee on Internal Improvement
Companies, 1845-46; Comm., E. Tenn.
and Va., 1848; Greeneville.
- SEVIER, WILLIAM R.-Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Jonesboro'.
- SHANNON, HARDIN P.-Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Grainger County.
- SHANNON, JOSEPH - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-58.
- SHARP, ELISHA - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Meigs County.
- SHARP, JACOB - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and
Lexington, 1852; Campbell Co.,
- SHARP, JOHN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Claiborne County.
- SHARPE, JAMES M. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and
Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- SHAVER, MATHIAS - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852;
Meigs County.
- SHELL, A. - Depot agent at Union, E. Tenn. and
Va., 1857-58.
- SHELTON, JAMES - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, George-
town and Athens, 1860; McMinn Co.
- SHELTON, RAPHAEL - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852;
Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- SHELTON, WILLIAM - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, George-
town and Athens, 1860; Bradley Co.
- SHEPHERD, LEWIS - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846.
- SHIELDS, JAMES - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Grainger County.

- SHIELDS, JOHN - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; State Mir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1855-58; Benton.
- SHIELDS, MILTON - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- SHIELDS, SAMUEL - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Grainger Co.
- SHIRLY, THOMAS - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Tenn. Valley, Ga., and Selma, 1858; Hamilton County.
- SILER, _____ - Contractor, Knoxville and Char., 1856.
- SIMPSON, JOHN W. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.
- SINGLETERFY, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Elizabethton.
- SINNICKSON, CHARLES - Chief ass't engineer, Hiwassee, 1837.
- SLOAN, JAMES - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Polk County.
- SMITH, A. D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858; Taylorville.
- SMITH, ALEXANDER E. - One of three commissioners appointed by Legis. of Tenn. to disburse survey appropriation to the Louis., Cin. and Char., 1836; Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Newport.
- SMITH, BRYANT W. - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- SMITH, HUGH - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Phila.
- SMITH, J. C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; New Market.

- SMITH, JAMES - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1852; Polk County.
- SMITH, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- SMITH, JOHN Y. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; S.C. Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Roane County.
- SMITH, S. A. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1852.
- SMITH, THOMAS - Comm. in S.C. of the Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)
- SMITH, THOMAS - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- SMITH, WILLIAM G. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Dallas.
- SNAPP, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51; Comm., Greeneville and N.C., 1858; Blountville.
- SNEED, ROBERT - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849-57.
- SNEED, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knox County.
- SNODDY, EDWARD - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- SNOW, WILLIAM - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga., and Selma, 1858; Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton Co.
- SPEARS, JAMES C. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- SPENCER, G. M. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greeneville.
- SPENCER, WILLIAM A. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Maryville.
- SPILLMAN, N. J. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- SPRINGFIELD, THOMAS - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- SPURGIN, JOSEPH - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849.

- STAKELEY, WILLIAM M. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; N.C., and Tenn., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- STANBERRY, J. F. - Comm., E. Tenn., and Va., 1848; Newport.
- STANFIELD, JOHN - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849; Monroe County.
- STANSBURY, COL. _____ - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Jefferson County.
- STAPLES, WILLIAM - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Morgan Co.
- STARK, WILLIAM H. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1855-57.
- STEPHENS, H. H. - Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Monroe County.
- STEPHENS, JAMES - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852
- STEPHENS, S. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Morgan County.
- STEVENSON, VERNON K. - Pres., Nashville and Chatt., 1848-60.
- STEWART, GEORGE - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852
- STEWART, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- STOKELY, J. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- STONE, RICHARD W. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- STONE, WILLIAM - Comm. Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.
- STONECYPHER, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Graysburg.
- STONEY, JOHN - "Committee of Fifteen", Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835; (S.C.)

- STORM, FREDERICK - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Blountville.
- STORY, SAMUEL L. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Lookout, 1837; Pikeville.
- STOVER, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Elizabethton.
- STRINGER, WILLIAM - Comm., Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- STRONG, B. B. - Committee on invitation and reception, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- STUART, JOHN - Comm., Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856.
- STUART, ROBERT S. - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858.
- SULLENBARGER, A. G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rutledge.
- SWAGGERTY, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Newport.
- SWAN, ISAAC N. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Benton.
- SWAN, W. G. - Attorney, Hiwassee, 1845; Comm., Junction R.R., 1852; Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Pres., Knoxville and Char., 1855-56; Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1859; Knoxville.
- SWANN, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- SWANN, ROBERT M. - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- SWEENEY, ROBERT - Comm., Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854.
- SWOFFORD, PETER J. - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

SWOFFORD, THOMAS - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

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- TAFF, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- TAFF, JOHN - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Meigs County.
- TARTER, HENRY - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- TATE, MILTON - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Anderson County.
- TATE, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Cumberland Gap, and Lexington, 1852; Anderson Co.
- TAYLOR, ALFRED W. - Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-51, 1852-53, 1855-56; Legal advisor to the board of directors, E. Tenn. and Va.
- TAYLOR, F. W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Russellville.
- TAYLOR, J. B. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Athens.
- TAYLOR, NATHANIEL G. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Elizabethton.
- TAYLOR, STEPHEN - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.
- TEDDER, JAMES - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Roane County.
- TELFORD, G. W. - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-56.
- TEMPLE, E. S. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Knoxville.
- TEMPLE, OLIVER P. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knoxville Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1856-60; Speaker, Greeneville Celebration, 1858; Knoxville.

- THOMAS, ISAAC - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Cin., Cumb. Gap. and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- THOMAS, JONATHAN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- THOMAS, WILLIAM - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Hancock County.
- THOMASON, ELISHA - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Grainger County.
- THOMPSON, G. B. - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852.
- THOMPSON, ROBERT A - E. Tenn. Stock Co., 1849; Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Graysburg.
- THORNBURG, MONTGOMERY - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Jefferson Co.
- THORNTON, B. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- TIBBS, WILLIAM H. - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and Cleveland, 1852; Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- TILGHEMAN, LLOYD - Engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., 1849-50; Chief engineer, E. Tenn. and Va., 1850-52; Resigned, 1852.
- TIPTON, ABRAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Blountville.
- TIPTON, ISAAC P.* Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Elizabethton.
- TIPTON, JOHN B. - Comm., N.C. and Tenn., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville
- TODD, GEORGE R. - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Meigs County.
- TOLLETT, JOHN - Comm., Pikeville and Jasper, 1852.

- TODLE, JOHN E. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Junction R.R.; Dir. and sec. and
treas., Knoxville and Char., 1857;
Maryville.
- TOOMEY, P. H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint
Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- TORBET, GRANVILLE - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Monroe Co.
- TRACY, SAMUEL F. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1856.
- TRAUTWINE, JOHN C. - Chief engineer, Hiwassee, 1837;
Philadelphia,
- TRENHITT, D. C. - Comm., Tenn. Valley, Ga. and Selma,
1858; Hamilton County.
- TRUNNELL, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Sevierville.
- TUCKER, JOHN - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and
Cleveland, 1852.
- TUCKER, JOSEPH - Comm., Chatt., Blue Spring and
Cleveland, 1852; Tenn. Western
and Char., 1854; Ringgold and
Cleveland, 1854; Bradley County.
- TUNNEL, NOBLE J. - Comm., Vanville, 1840; Hamilton Co.
- TUNNEL, W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Clinton.
- TUNNELL, JOHN - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville,
1853; Clinton.
- TURK, ARCHIBALD K. - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Calhoun.
- TURLEY, THOMAS W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853;
Rutledge.
- TURNER, STERLING T. - Comm., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854.
- TYLER, WILLIAM - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Washington County.

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UNDERWOOD, ENOCH - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and
Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.

& V -

VANCE, D. G. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Greeneville.

VANCE, JAMES H. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852;
Kingsport.

VAN DYKE, T. NIXON - Pres., Hiwassee, 1847; Pres.,
E. Tenn. and Ga., 1848-49; Comm.,
Tenn. and Char., 1852; Athens.

VANT, JOHN H. - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.

VENABLE, WILLIAM - Comm., Va., Tenn., and N.C., 1858.

VINCENT, JOHN - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Fall Branch.

VON ALDERHOFF, H.W. - Comm., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854.

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WADDLE, SOAM G. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Washington County.

WAGNER, JACOB - Comm., Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858.

WAGNER, M. M. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Va., Tenn. and N.C., 1858;
Taylorsville.

WALL, ARMISTEAD - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O.,
1852; Kingsport.

WALLACE, CAMPBELL - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1849;
Pres., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1853-60;
Comm., Knoxville and Char., 1852;
Junction R.R., 1852; Nashville
and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville.

- WALLACE, WILLIAM - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Junction R.R., 1852; Pres., Knoxville and Char., 1857; Maryville.
- WALKER, A. W. - Comm., Greeneville and French Broad, 1853.
- WALKER, HUGH - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Rogersville.
- WALKER, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevierville.
- WALKER, JOSEPH - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- WALKER, W. W. - Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1859-60.
- WALLER, JAMES - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Clinton.
- WARREN, R. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Bradley County.
- WATERHOUSE, DARIUS - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Washington.
- WATERHOUSE, EUCLID - Dir., E. Tenn. and Ga., 1858; Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown, 1858; Cleveland.
- WATERHOUSE, RICHARD - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Washington.
- WATKINS, SAMUEL - Comm., Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton Co.
- WEBB, JOHN - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Dandridge.
- WELCH, DANIEL - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Madisonville.
- WELCKER, A. G. - Comm., Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852.
- WELCKER, HENRY I. - Comm., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854.

- WELCKER, JAMES M. - Comm., Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1857-58; Knoxville.
- WELLS, JAMES A. - Comm., Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852; Fall Branch.
- WEST, W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Greenville.
- WETMORE, H. W. - Comm., Tenn. and Char., 1854.
- WHEELER, RICHARD D. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Lexington and Knoxville, 1852; Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1856-58; Jacksboro'.
- WHITE, LIEUT. _____ - Engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835.
- WHITE, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Dir., E. Tenn. and Va., 1857-58; Morgan County.
- WHITE, JOHN - Comm., Hiwassee, 1836; Columbus.
- WHITE, JOSEPH - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char., 1853; Claiborne County.
- WHITE, MOSES - Committee on invitation and reception, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- WHITE, SAMUEL A. - Gen. committee on arrangements, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Knoxville.
- WHITESIDE, JAMES A. - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Agent to Ga. Legis. to solicit right of way in Ga. for the Nashville and Chattanooga, 1848; Comm., Chatt., Harrison and Cleveland, 1850; Chatt. and Central Ky., 1852; Tenn. and Char., 1852, 1856.
- WHITMORE, HOWELL - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Decatur.

- WHITSON, JOHN - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Lexington and Knoxville, 1852;
Clinton.
- WHITTENBERRY, JACOB - Comm., Cin., Cumb. Gap and Char.,
1853; Greene County.
- WICKLIFFE, _____ - Del., Knoxville Convention, 1836.
- WIDNER, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and
Paint Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- WILDS, JOHN A. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852;
Jonesboro'.
- WILEY, HOWARD - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central,
1852; Poplar Creek, Black Dia-
mond and Salt M'f'g R.R., 1852;
Anderson County.
- WILLIAMS, ALEXANDER - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Atlantic, Tenn. and O., 1852;
Greenville.
- WILLIAMS, CHARLES S. - Prin. ass't engineer, E. Tenn.
and Ga., 1854; Prin. ass't eng-
ineer, Knoxville and Ky., 1856-57;
Chief engineer, 1857.
- WILLIAMS, GEORGE - Comm., Lookout, 1837; Ross' Landing .
- WILLIAMS, JAMES - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and
Lexington, 1852; Knoxville and
Char., 1852; Knox County.
- WILLIAMS, JOHN - One of three commissioners appoint-
ed by Legis. of Tenn. to disburse
the survey appropriation to Louis.,
Cin. and Char., 1836; Gen. com-
mittee on arrangements, Knoxville
Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Comm.,
Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint
Rock, 1856; Knoxville.
- WILLIAMS, L. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown,
1858; Polk County.

- WILLIAMS, M. W. - Committee on pyrotechnic display, Knoxville Railroad Jubilee, 1855; Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Knoxville.
- WILLIAMS, SAMUEL - Comm., re-charter, Lookout, 1846; Junction, Jasper and Chatt., 1854; Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Roane County.
- WILLIAMS, W. G. - Engineer, Louis., Cin. and Char., 1835.
- WILLIAMS, W. W. - Comm., Knoxville, Cumb. Gap and Lexington, 1852; Knox County.
- WILSON, JOHN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854, Madisonville.
- WILSON, LANDON C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848; Taylorsville.
- WILSON, R. T. - Dir., Knoxville and Char., 1857; Maryville.
- WILSON, WILLIAM - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville and Paint Rock, 1856; Strawberry Plains, Dandridge and Newport, 1856; Newport.
- WINN, WILLIAM - Comm., Rogersville and Jefferson, 1854.
- WINSTON, EDMUND - Chief engineer, Rogersville and Jefferson, 1857.
- WINTERS, MOSES - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central, 1852; Anderson County.
- WINTON, JOHN W. - Comm., Nashville and Knoxville, 1853; Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854; Roane County.
- WINTON, WESLEY - Comm., Junction R.R., 1852, Roane Co.
- WOOD, JONATHAN - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char., 1854; Chatt., Harrison, Georgetown and Athens, 1860; Hamilton County.
- WOOD, SAMUEL - Comm., Decatur and Phila., 1852; Neigs County.

- WRIGHT, JOSEPH J. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Madisonville.
- WRIGHT W. B. - Comm., Cleveland and Ducktown,
1858; Bradley County.
- WURTS, _____ - Civil engineer; Louis., Cin. and
Char., 1837.

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- YEARWOOD, H. B. - Comm., Tenn. Western and Char.,
1854; Madisonville.
- YOST, GEORGE W. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Ky. Central,
1852; S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854;
Dir., S.C., Tenn. and Ky., 1854;
Comm. for survey and location
of the road, 1854; Roane Co.
- YOUNG, S. C. - Comm., E. Tenn. and Va., 1848;
Dir., Knoxville and Ky., 1859-
60; Clinton.

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- ZETT, J. C. - Comm., Knoxville, Sevierville
and Paint Rock, 1856; Sevier-
ville.