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OUR MEETING PLACE

Knowles Senior Center (Fifty Forward)
174 Rains Ave., Nashville
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Wedgewood Ave. into the State Fairgrounds.
Turn left inside the gate in the black fence.

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www.mtgs.org

Saturday, May 21st
1:00 p.m. Knowles Center
MTGS Regular Meeting

**My Name Was Elmwood:
Following Clues to Build a Family History
the Berry Connection to Multiple Middle
Tennessee Counties**
featuring Dr. Judith Morgan

The author of "My Name Was Elmwood"
will discuss her research into the Berry
family and its connections. She will also
present the award for the Best Journal
Article of 2015-16. Our annual honors and
awards ceremony will also be part of this
meeting.

Saturday, July 16th
1:00 p.m. Knowles Center
MTGS Regular Meeting

**Maximizing the Use of
Online Collaborative Family Trees
for your Personal Research**
featuring Taneya Koonce, *MLS, MPH*

Ms. Koonce will share strategies and tips for
how to get the most out of online,
collaborative family trees. Become familiar
with the different options available for
family tree building and research sharing.

Visit www.mtgs.org for more information.

Middle Tennessee Journal of Genealogy & History

Volume XXIX, Number 4, Spring 2016

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Peggie Sides

From the Editor. . .

Middle Tennessee history provides an inexhaustible supply of stories to interest and inform genealogists and historians. It is such a pleasure to be able to delve into some of them in each issue of this Journal, and to share them with our readers.

The story of Esther, the slave girl who was caught between the white orphan children who depended on her and their evil grandfather opens this issue. Arising out of a Wilson County court case, it provides a troubling glimpse into the realities of slavery, as well as genealogically valuable information about the Keglers, the Miles' and their associates.

A different kind of slavery is explored in Peggie Sides' article about coal miners in Tennessee in 1891. The tyranny of the company that 'owned' these miners and the convicts leased to them by the state makes for more disturbing reading, but again gives us names and information about family members trying to make a living underground.

On the brighter side, two other articles provide information about businessmen in Middle Tennessee. In one we take a look at the variety of tradesmen, artisans and businessmen who lived near the town square in Fayetteville in 1850. In another, records tucked away in a Boston library shed light on the businesses of Altamont, Tracy City, Beersheba Springs and Pelham in Grundy County.

Finally, the most valuable piece in each year's journal is the annual index. It's the best tool for discovering your ancestors who have been revealed in these pages. Many thanks to Mary Lawrence for completing this tedious work.

Chuck Sherrill
M.T.G.S Journal Editor

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The Tragedy of Esther, the Slave Girl

David Kegler v. Thomas Miles, Wilson County, 1826

Tennessee's Supreme Court case files are filled with history, law and genealogy. They are also sprinkled with great injustices and personal tragedies. The case known as *Kegler v. Miles* has often been cited by lawyers for the legal precedent it established in terms of property rights. It contains information about family members spread across Middle Tennessee and down to Natchez, Mississippi. It also chronicles the miserable situation of a young enslaved woman of color named Esther.

Although Esther was central to this family dispute, she has no voice in the legal record. We barely learn anything about her, but her fate hangs in the balance as the white people around her fight for money and control. The story opens in 1815 when Esther, a little girl only four or five years old, was a slave in the household of Hartwell Miles in Williamson County.



At the left side of this idealized plantation scene is young slave girl taking care of a white baby, as Esther did for the Kegler children.

(American Memory Collection – Library of Congress)

Nothing in this case file of some 40 close-written pages gives the reader any reason to think highly of Hartwell Miles. The first sentence of the Supreme Court's decision in this case says it baldly: "Hartwell Miles, in 1815, was very dissipated and had wasted most of his property, and was tending to insolvency." As this was published during Miles' lifetime, it was no secret. His neighbor William G. Boyd provided more painful detail in his testimony before the court, when he described the day in 1815 when Miles' wife and daughter brought him to Boyd's house and requested that Boyd write bills of sale transferring Hartwell Miles' slaves to his children. They gave as the reason for doing this that Miles:

"... had become very intemperate alas frequently incapacitated and had of late years neglected his business very much and his wife was very urgent that he should secure his property to his children to prevent it from being squandered. Hartwell Miles and his wife, as he understood, had for some time before that lived unhappily together, they frequently quarreled and Hartwell Miles had when drunk, as he understood, frequently whipped and abused his wife."

How Mrs. Miles and her teenage daughter managed to get her abusive husband to travel to Boyd's house and to sign these documents is not revealed. Was Hartwell experiencing a period of remorse? Was he drunk and being manipulated? One wonders whether these slaves may have come into the family by inheritance from Mrs. Miles' father, giving her some authority over their disposal. Such authority would not have been of a legal nature, as a wife's

dīs-sī-pā-tēd, *pa. par. & a.* [DISSIPATE.]
A. *As pa. par.:* (See the verb).
B. *As adjective:*
I. *Lit.:* Scattered, dispersed, caused to vanish or waste away.
II. *Figuratively:*
1. Given to dissipation, extravagance, or excess; dissolute, devoted to pleasure.
2. Spent in dissipation.
"Thus dissipated was his life, and thus casual his subsistence."—Johnson: Lives of the Poets; Savage.

property belonged to her husband. However, the unfairness of Hartwell squandering his wife's inheritance and the future financial security of his children would have been all too evident within the family.

Mrs. Hartwell Miles was born Mary Pillow; they were married in Davidson County in 1798.¹ The Pillow family were well-to-do early settlers of Middle Tennessee. Mary's nephew Gideon Pillow was just graduating from the University of Nashville at the time of this Supreme Court trial. Gideon would later become

a successful lawyer, politician, and general in the Mexican and Civil wars.² The Pillow connection is evident in this case as John Pillow served as security for David Kegler, the son-in-law of Mary Pillow Miles. John Pillow, probably Mary's brother, was aligned with the side of the suit opposed to Hartwell Miles, indicating further division in the family.

The transaction at William Boyd's house in 1815 was unusual. Mrs. Miles instructed Boyd to write a document transferring Esther to her daughter, Nancy, as a bill of sale. When Bennett suggested that a deed of gift would be a better way, Mrs. Miles told him that the 13-year-old Nancy had a dollar, and would give that dollar to her father in payment for the slave. Bennett wrote "for valuable consideration" on the document, feeling that a one-dollar sale price would weaken the legality of the transfer. In any event, this became an important legal issue.

Exhibit A

Know all men by these presents that I Hartwell Miles of the County of Williamson and State of Tennessee, hath for a valuable consideration to me paid by my daughter, Nancy Miles, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, doth bargain, sell and deliver to daughter Nancy Miles aforesaid a certain negro girl about four years old named Ester, and I Hartwell Miles for myself, my heirs & etc. doth release and relinquish all my right, title and claim and demand to the aforesaid negro girl to my daughter Nancy aforesaid, her heirs and assigns forever, and I, Hartwell Miles aforesaid, doth by these presents covenant with my said daughter Nancy aforesaid to forever warrant and defend the title of the within bargained negro to her . . . forever against the claims or manner of claim of any person or manner of person lawfully claiming the same, in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this first day of November 1815.

signed H. Miles {{seal}}

Witness: W.G. Boyd, Barna C. Kile

The bill of sale was produced in Williamson County Court and proven by William G. Boyd and Barna C. Kile, witnesses, in July 1816. For some reason it was not registered in the deed book until 14 Oct. 1825. This failure to register (perhaps because there were associated fees) also became a legal impediment.

In addition, Mrs. Miles insisted that Hartwell make a deed of gift conveying his other slaves to his sons John B., Lanson T. and Thomas W. At the same meeting, Boyd agreed to pay off all of Hartwell Miles' debts, if Miles would sign over his plantation to Boyd, the transfer to be effective upon Hartwell's death. This was done. After these

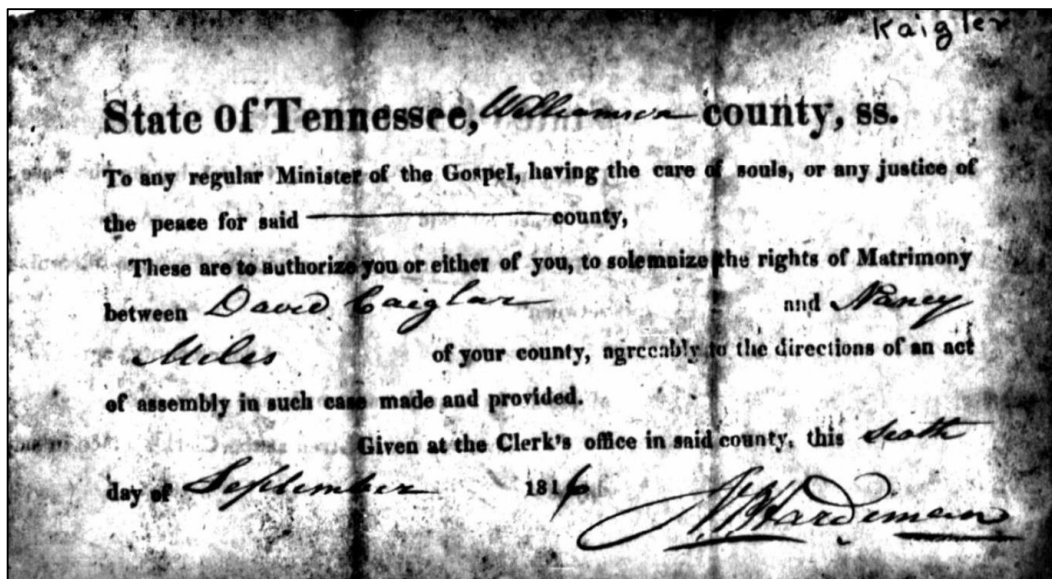
¹ Tenn. marriages by Sistler

² Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, Gideon Pillow entry.

transactions were complete, the unhappy Miles family returned home. There Nancy stayed until her marriage, with little Esther there performing whatever services were expected of a girl of five or six.

About a year after Esther's sale, on Sept. 6, 1816, a marriage license was issued for David Caiglar to wed Nancy Miles, and the ceremony was performed by Nicholas Scales on Sept. 8th.³

Although the marriage license uses the spelling Caiglar, the more correct spelling of David's name appears to be Kaigler. In the case file, the name is spelled Kiegler and Keglar. According to online sources, David was born in 1790 in South Carolina, and was the son of Revolutionary War veteran Andrew Kaigler.⁴



Marriage License for David "Caiglar" and Nancy Miles, 1816
(Williamson County document digitized on *Tennessee Marriages 1780-2002*, Ancestry.com)

David and Nancy lived in the same neighborhood as Hartwell Miles for about 18 months, and then moved "to the lower country," according to testimony in the file. A later reference identifies this place as Natchez, Mississippi. They had two children, Isabella and William. Esther went with Nancy to Mississippi and was undoubtedly present for the births of these children and helped to care for them, though she was only about ten years old herself.

In about 1820, David brought Nancy and her children, along with Esther, to visit Tennessee. They stayed at her father's home. David returned to Natchez, but Nancy stayed on for a longer visit of two or three months, with Esther to help her with the children. Nancy's little brother Lanson recalled that Esther was the nurse for his sister's infant child during the visit. Another brother, John B. Miles, testified that when Nancy returned to Mississippi she went with "Old Man Kegler," which may be a reference to David's father. They all returned to Natchez, but not long after their return Nancy died. One can only imagine the sad little family as they packed up and returned once more to Tennessee, this time without their wife and mother. Esther cared for the babies as they traveled.

The widower brought his children back to Hartwell Miles' home to stay. By this time Hartwell had moved to Davidson County, according to the testimony of John B. Miles. David must have decided he could not take care of two small children on his own in Mississippi, so he set about making provision for them. He stayed about a year, planting and

³ Tennessee State Marriages, 1780-2002, Ancestry Database. Marriage bond and license from Williamson County.

⁴ Findagrave entry for David Kaigler.

harvesting a crop to bring in money and supplies. He knew that ownership of Esther would be an important part of their inheritance from their mother, and asked Hartwell Miles to issue a new deed so the title would be clear. Miles refused, repeatedly. On March 7, 1822, David made out a deed of gift for Esther, described as being then between 11 and 12 years old, to his children Isabella A. and William W. Keigler. The document was witnessed by James Grizzard and Wilford H. Rains, and recorded in Davidson County. It appears in the case file as Exhibit B.

David had family in Mississippi, and one wonders why he would take his children to the home of their abusive grandfather. Perhaps Nancy had made him promise to do so before she died. And perhaps the answer lies in the strength of Mary Pillow Miles, their grandmother. Despite her unhappy marriage all indications are that she stayed with Hartwell until his death in 1839, and survived beyond that another 25 years, dying just short of her 90th birthday in 1867.⁵ Perhaps it was to this good woman that David Kaigler wanted to entrust his little children.

The witnesses in the trial who were on David's side emphasized his efforts to provide for the children. Their attorney asked Hartwell Miles if David had not bought a cow for them and even helped build a new house for Hartwell. The father-in-law said begrudgingly that this was true, but the cow was blind and soon died, and as far as making a crop and building the house went, David "done more harm than good." He said further that David was a gambler and "dissipated," which was Hartwell's reason for not deeding Esther to him.

David returned to Mississippi and evidently did quite well. By the time of the 1830 census he had brought Isabella and William back to live with him there. In the census, David was aged between 24 and 35 and living with him were a young girl aged 10 to 14, and a little boy aged 5 to 9. In addition to these three white people, there were by then 12 slaves in the family, presumably including Esther. This constituted a considerable estate even among the wealthy planters around Natchez.⁶ Tragically, David died in July of 1830 leaving his children bereft once again. His brother John became their guardian.⁷

But this is getting ahead of the story. After David left for Mississippi, Hartwell decided he wanted to sell Esther. Never mind his written promise to Nancy, made in 1816, to defend her title "to her heirs and assigns forever." His son Alanson Miles, then just 18 years old, was "compelled or ordered imperatively" by his father to accompany him on a selling trip. One can imagine that Lanson was torn, knowing his mother had purposely arranged for Esther to belong to Nancy and her children. If Mary Pillow Miles knew about this sales effort, she surely objected. Hartwell was said to have promised Lanson \$100 if he helped sell Esther, but even at 18 Lanson must have known his father's promises were empty. They took Esther away from little Isabella and William and began making the rounds of neighbors and relatives, offering her for sale at each stop.

George W. Bennett testified that he was present at the home of Thomas Miles when Hartwell and Lanson brought Esther there in February of 1824 and attempted to sell her. Hartwell claimed he wanted Thomas to buy the girl so that she did not "go out of the family." Thomas W. Miles was Hartwell's brother and well aware that Esther had belonged to his niece Nancy. He asked about David Kegler's claim; Hartwell told him Kegler had no right to the slave. Nancy Miles once had, Hartwell admitted, "some sham piece of writing" about Esther, but it had been destroyed long ago. Thomas' wife, Peggy, was favorably impressed with Esther and urged him to buy her.⁸ Thomas, however, was dubious and did not make the purchase.

⁵ Rootsweb "Mostly Mississippi Database Compiled by Shannon Gorman" <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=shannon50&id=i001228>

⁶ 1830 census David Kaigler Wilkinson County Miss., page 269 (written).

⁷ Findagrave for the death date and guardianship

⁸ Thomas Miles married Peggy Smith 25 Nov. 1808 in Williamson County. Tenn. State Marriages, 1780-2002, Ancestry.

George Bennett, who described this scene, was a nephew of Mrs. Thomas Miles. He was at the Miles place that day making a bridle for his uncle's stud horse, and to have his washing done. He was employed at Kilpatrick's, several miles away, in the saddlery business. By the time of the testimony he had moved to the "Western District," west of the Tennessee River in lands recently opened by treaty with the Chickasaw Indians.

Failing to make the sale to Thomas Miles, Hartwell and Lanson then took Esther on to Murfreesboro. One of the people they tried to interest in buying Esther was William G. Childress, who declined. They then went to see Peter N. Smith, a young man who was "reading the law" in preparation for the bar exam. Peter Smith was the brother of Mrs. Thomas Miles, and Lanson told Peter that Mrs. Miles had encouraged her husband to purchase Esther, believing her to be a "likely" girl at a good price. Meeting with Hartwell at Phineas Parker's grocery store in Murfreesboro, Smith decided to make the purchase. Esther, then about 13 years old, must have been horrified.

The purchase price was \$360, which witnesses in the case considered a bargain for a slave of Esther's age and training. Peter gave his note for \$60 to Hartwell as a down-payment. Court was in session in Murfreesboro that day; Hartwell went directly to the courthouse and registered the bill of sale. Peter Smith had no time for second thoughts. Because he did not have a place to keep Esther in Murfreesboro, he sent her back with Hartwell to be left at the home of his sister, Peggy, and her husband Thomas Miles.



**A young slave girl taking care of a white baby,
as Esther did for the Kegler children.**
(Valentine Richmond History Center)

Hartwell and Lanson stayed overnight in Murfreesboro or along the route. That must have been a miserable night for Esther, knowing she would not be returning to her home and the children she cared for. On their way home the next day, Hartwell could not wait to convert Peter Smith's \$60 note to cash. He stopped at several places and tried to sell the note at a discount. One person who refused him was his kinsman, Patterson Miles. Upon arriving at the home of his brother Thomas Miles, he persuaded Thomas to swap a horse for the \$60 note. He and Lanson left Esther with Thomas and Peggy, and returned to their home in Davidson County.

Down in Mississippi, David Kegler somehow learned that Esther had been sold away from his children. He contacted his mother-in-law's kinsman John Pillow and arranged to hire Murfreesboro attorney Samuel Anderson, a former member of the state legislature, to prosecute a case to recover the slave. At some point, Peter Smith sold Esther to Thomas Miles, so Kegler's suit was filed against Miles, not Smith. In reality, all of the parties were united as victims of Hartwell Miles' unscrupulous dealings.

On Aug. 14, 1824, Kegler was back in Tennessee. He took witnesses with him and went to Thomas Miles to demand Esther back. Miles refused, questioning Kegler's right to the slave. One of the witnesses was Wilson County Sheriff, Joseph L. Wilson, who promptly served a subpoena on Thomas Miles, advising him that he was being served on behalf of his late niece's minor children, Isabella and William Kegler. R.M. Burton and John Pillow were Kegler's securities for the prosecution bond, and were probably also present at this encounter.

Kegler's official complaint stated that Esther was between 13 and 15 years of age and worth \$500. His children had "casually lost the said negro girl out of their possession." She was purchased by Thomas Miles "well knowing" that Esther was their property and not Hartwell's to sell. Miles had refused to return Esther to them "although often requested to do so." A County Court jury was empaneled consisting of these Wilson County men:

Lawrence Sypret	William Petway	William Moore
Bennett Babb	Henry Hobson	Samuel Calhoun
Byrd Wall	William Prim[?]	Pettis Ragland
William New	James Marks	James Wright

Not all of the testimony from this trial appears in the Supreme Court record, but we do learn from the bill of costs that witnesses were paid for their time and travel to Lebanon, as follows:

Lansdon Miles, 5 days, 160 miles, 1 ferriage
Peter Leath, 4 days
William E. Leath, 4 days
William G. Boyd, 3 days, 80 miles
Phineas Parker, 4 days, 54 miles

Thomas Miles was represented in the trial by his attorney, Robert M. Burton.⁹ He plead not guilty, but the jury felt differently. On July 1, 1825, they decided in favor of the Kegler children and fined Miles \$500. Miles promptly filed an appeal with the Wilson County Circuit Court.

The Circuit Court trial was held at Lebanon beginning May 1, 1826. Circuit Court Judge William E. Kennedy presided, although he was from another district and just filling in. A record of the trial was kept by John Allcorn, Circuit Court Clerk. The jurors called by the Circuit Court that session were:

Thomas S. Green	Reuben Slaughter	George Smith
Alexander Aston	Peter Rodgers	Matthias Houk
Abner Alexander	Green B. Cook	George F. McWhirter
William L. Syper	John Johnson	Thomas Cook

One of the issues discussed at length in this trial was George Bennett's testimony about what Hartwell and Lanson said when trying to persuade Thomas Miles that the title to Esther was clear.

John S. Russworm, William Nolen and David R. Gooch testified they had all known Bennett since he was a little boy. William Martin did not "particularly" recall Bennett as a boy, but after Bennett left his father's home about 10 years ago they became acquainted. All of the men said they believed Bennett honest and trusted in his word. Thomas S. King said he had known Bennett since 1818, and knew his father, John Bennett, who moved to the Western District in 1823 and died there. George was John Bennett's executor, and had engaged King to help collect debts due the estate.

Miles' attorney questioned witness Ennis Maury in an effort to discredit John Pillow, who was helping Kegler in the case. Maury testified that he had sold a horse to David Kegler, and that \$200 was owed on the transaction. Kegler had told Maury that if he was not in Tennessee when the debt came due, Maury might be able to collect it from John Pillow. This would only be true if Kegler's case in the Circuit Court was successful. Miles' attorney asked whether Maury had heard the rumor that John Pillow had "bought the chance of that girl from David Kigler," implying that Kegler was already selling Esther away from his children even while the suit was in progress. Maury was obviously offended, retorting "I never heard such a thing hinted or stated in my life."

⁹ Burton's role in the case is confusing. R.M. signed as security for Kegler on the prosecution bond, but Robert M. Burton was the attorney for Thomas Miles. We assume these references are both to the same person, though they are contradictory.

Perry Underwood, Peter Leath and William Smith, all near neighbors of Thomas Miles, testified that they had frequently seen Esther at his house and believed her to be worth \$450.

Once again, the jurors decided in favor of Kegler and fined Miles \$509. Thomas Miles asked for a new trial, which was denied. He then filed a bill of exceptions and appealed to the state Supreme Court. His securities were William R.D. Phipps, George H. Bullard, and Jacob Woodrum.


Thomas Miles' appeal was considered by the Tennessee Supreme Court in Nashville. The legal arguments were complex, splitting hairs between legal remedy and legal right. Nancy Miles' right to the slave was weak, because her father's gift to her was made in the face of approaching insolvency. However, the fact that Kegler had possession of Esther for three years weighed heavily in his favor. And the suspicion that Thomas Miles knew when he bought her that Esther really belonged to the Keglers worked against Miles. In the end, the Supreme Court upheld the Circuit Court, which had upheld the County or Common Pleas Court, in favor of the Kegler children.¹⁰

Just where the families involved in this case lived is difficult to ascertain. Hartwell Miles and Mary Pillow married in Davidson County in 1798. Hartwell Miles and John Pillow are both listed in the Williamson County 1805 tax list.¹¹ The 1815 bill of sale for Esther refers to Hartwell Miles of Williamson County. In 1822, when David Kegler brought his children back to Tennessee, Hartwell Miles lived in Davidson County. The dispute was filed in the Circuit Court of Wilson County in 1824. That was probably where Thomas Miles lived and Esther was being held. It seems likely that all of these families lived in the area where Davidson, Rutherford and Williamson counties all come together, in the vicinity where Bell Road and Interstate 24 intersect today.

But what about Esther? The court decisions assess a fine against Thomas Miles but they do not mention returning the slave to David Kegler. Was this just assumed? Was Esther one of the twelve slaves with the Keglers in Mississippi in 1830? Did she get to stay with Isabella and William after their father died? These questions may be answered with further research. Regardless, the life of this little girl from the age of 4 into her teen years, as she was sold and traded about by members of the Miles family, is a sad one. Let us hope she saw Isabella and William raised into fine young adults, and lived to enjoy the freedom of Emancipation in her old age.

RUNAWAY NEGRO.
RUNAWAY from the subscriber, who resides near Nashville, a negro man named **BILLY**, aged about 35 years, of middle stature, and complexion somewhat yellow. He is the same negro that has attended on the Female Academy at Nashville for several years past, and would be easily recognized by any person who has been much in the habit of visiting there. A reward of *Fifty Dollars* will be given for his delivery to me, or \$25 for his delivery in any jail. If found in this county I will only expect to pay a reward of \$25 for his delivery.
October 11th, 1824 N. A. M'NAIRY.

Nashville Whig, 24 Oct. 1824

\$50 REWARD.

RUNAWAY from the subscriber on the night of the 10th Nov, 1834, my negro man **BRISTER**, about thirty years of age, five feet eight or ten inches high, heavy made, broad across the shoulders, a downy look, very white teeth, a large beard, bushy head of hair; he was brought from North Carolina to this State; he has once before runaway and attempted to get to the State of Illinois. It is quite probable that he has obtained a free pass from some white man and is again endeavoring to get to some free State. I will give the above reward for the apprehension and delivery of him to me if taken out of this State, \$25 if taken in this State, or \$10 if lodged in any Jail and information given to me at this place so that I obtain him.
DANIEL CHERRY.
Harrisburg, Haywood cty. Tenn,
Jan. 27—cpbw.

Nashville Republican, 3 Feb. 1835

¹⁰ Martin, John and George H. Yerger, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee* (Louisville: Fetter Law Book Co., 1903), p.426. Report of David Kegler v. Thomas Miles.

¹¹ Tax list by Sistler

Harvard University Houses Early Tennessee Business Records

Grundy County examples 1850-1880

The R.G. Dun Company, forerunner of today's financial giant Dun and Bradstreet, was established by Arthur Tappan in 1841. By 1850 the company began taking an interest in small-town businesses in Tennessee and throughout the country. Using a network of correspondents (often small-town lawyers) they compiled information on businesses in order to determine whether to extend credit to them.

The reports submitted by these correspondents were summarized in large bound volumes, written in small tight script and using many abbreviations. Though deciphering the records can be painstaking work, they do yield interesting information about people and businesses across the country.

In some cases, more than one correspondent would report about the same business, sometimes with conflicting or contradictory information. The dates of reports are erratic. Some businesses were reported on several times in a single year, while others may only appear once with no further information. Evidently the entire operation was disrupted during the Civil War, as no entries appear from 1862 through 1864. Then followed a major effort to collect data in 1871, as many businesses formed since the war were first recorded at that time.

The home office occasionally asked the agent to find out more about a particular business. See, for instance, the entry on A.J. Dyas of Beersheba Springs, where the agent responds "We don't have any knowledge of his means or his business." This must have been in response to some question the agent had been asked. Dyas was evidently one of the well-to-do men who spent summers at the cool mountain resort in Beersheba.

In reviewing all of the entries from Grundy and Cheatham counties recently, I noticed several trends. First, the number of businesses that opened and closed within a year or less was very high. It appears that many young men came into a little money, decided to open a store or saloon or workshop, and ran it into the ground in a short period of time. The businesses were almost entirely operated by white males, though there are a few very sparse entries for women-owned businesses.

One notable exception was Benjamin Goodrich of Cheatham County, a "colored" man, who opened a blacksmith shop before 1871. The correspondent noted that Goodrich was a "good, steady, hard-working man" and that he "just about makes a living." A follow-up entry in 1872 states that the business was doing well, and that Goodrich had built himself a residence that year. In 1873 he took a trip to Texas, as reported in January, and by August he was out of business in Tennessee, having moved to Texas.

In quite a few entries where businesses would fail or simply stop functioning, the correspondent noted that the owner had returned to farming. Some of these businesses undoubtedly failed because the challenges of keeping up a farm and providing for a family left very little time or capital to dedicate to other pursuits.



Rare Book Reading Room
Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston

The entire collection of R.G. Dun Company Credit Report Volumes fills 2,580 huge books. The material was donated to the Baker Library at Harvard Business School in Boston. The donor placed tight restrictions on the use of the material, and no copying or photography is permitted. The Baker Library, being a private institution, sets its own restrictions on who can use their collections. They do not allow genealogical researchers access to this or other collections. Historians and scholars who are working on a project related to these records are admitted on an individual basis and must apply in advance.

A source of similar information more readily accessible to genealogists are the Manufacturing Schedules, taken along with the U.S. census 1850 through 1880. The first half (alphabetically) of Tennessee's 1860 schedules are missing, so neither Grundy nor Cheatham County is available for that year. But records from the remaining years can be found online at *Heritage Quest*, which is free to Tennessee residents through the Tenn. Electronic Library (<http://tntel.tnsos.org>), or on microfilm at the Tennessee State Library & Archives and other repositories. While the Manufacturing Schedules provide more detail in some cases than the Dun's registers, they do not include the personal analysis found in Dun's, and were much narrower in the scope of businesses surveyed.

The following records show all of the businesses reported in Grundy County. Information from the original entry is provided, with notes added from subsequent entries where there was information of historical interest. This is a rough abstract, and is not verbatim unless indicated by quotation marks. Most entries gave additional data about the amount invested in the business and the indebtedness of the owners. That data was often in an obscure code not easily deciphered, and is omitted here as not of particular historical interest.

The original order of the entries was not chronological. Although there must have been some reason for the arrangement, it was not immediately evident. The entries here have been rearranged to group all of the businesses from a particular town together. Some entries pertaining to businesses in other towns was inadvertently listed in Grundy County. Those entries have been omitted.

R.G. Dun & Co. Credit Reports
Volume 12
containing
Giles to Grundy Counties, Tenn. 1849-1867¹

Firm Name	Partner Names	Place	Type	Date first entry
D. Cassinger Jr. [Coppinger]		Altamont	Saloon	Dec. 1870
Worth \$500. Small dealer. Good and prompt.				
D. Cossinger, Sr. [Coppinger]		Altamont	Saloon	Dec. 1871
Good and prompt. Worth about \$6,000. May 1873: out of business.				
Coppinger & Clay		Altamont	Grocers	April 1872
Clay aged 50, Coppinger 24. Of good character and habits. June 1873: general character average, tolerably prompt, worth nothing above exemption.				

¹ Tennessee, Vol. 12, pp. 276-288, R.G. Dun & Co. Credit Report Volumes. Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

W.A. Griswold		Altamont	Miller	April 1872
Notes: Worth \$2,000; good businessman of good character, and prompt to pay debts. Feb. 1880: Good reliable man, honest and attentive. Has real estate worth \$3,000. Married, age 49.				
H. Hampton		Altamont	General Store	Jan. 1869
Young man, has been in business here half a year. Was born and raised on a farm in the county. Has been three years in State Prison for stealing. Was elected Trustee, got "con" friends in his possession [convict, conservative, considerable?].and is doing business on the strength of that. Is a bad man, not worth a cent of his own and not worthy of any credit. Aug. 1869: Worthless and unreliable in any respect. Feb. 1870: cash on delivery Aug. 1871. No real estate and very limited means; his honesty not fully endorsed and would advise cash transactions.				
H.C. Higgins		Altamont	Miller	April 1872
Responsible and of good character. Dec. 1872: agent for some man in Ohio. June 1873: doubtful character, insolvent. June 1874: out of business.				
Adrian Northcutt & Son	Adrian Northcutt, John Northcutt	Altamont	General Store	Jan. 1857
Notes: Has been in business since 1849, recently took in his son as partner. Adrian is a good business man, member of the Legislature, worth \$40,000 apart from the store, and good for any amount. Oct. 1866: think this firm is dissolved. Adrian's credit is still good but his son may be dead.				
H.B. Northcutt & Co.		Altamont	Dry Goods	Oct. 1866
See Northcutt & Ritchie. Good for small amount, don't know the worth of the company.				
Northcutt & Richie		Altamont		Oct. 1860
Very good credit. By 1866 was known as H.B. Northcutt & Son.				
Robert Sanders		Altamont		Aug. 1871
Clerk and Master in Chancery Court worth \$3 or \$4,000. Hard drinker, seldom sober. Dec. 1872: prompt and honest. June 1873: Worth \$1,000, honest and prompt.				
Scruggs & Abernathy	J. Scruggs, Thomas C. Abernathy	Altamont	Grocery Store	Aug. 1875
Commenced business three months ago. Aged 30 and 35, married, character and habits good "except Scruggs takes a little spree at times." Nov. 1875: dissolved, carried on by J.N. Scruggs.				
Barsheba [sic] Springs				May 1860
I cannot determine who keeps the Springs. They are owned by a firm in New Orleans, they intend bringing a hotel keeper with them.				
Beersheba Springs Co.		Beersheba Springs		June 1874
Considered good.				

B.S. Cagle		Beersheba Springs	Tanner, Miller & etc.	Dec. 1871
Worth \$8 to \$10,000, good standing, pays as he goes. April 1872: perfectly good and responsible for anything he may buy, character good. Nov. 1875: considered good for about \$5,000. Aug. 1876: out of business and gone.				
C.C. Coffee		Beersheba Spr.		June 1860
Is extending his business from McMinnville. Is a man of fine habits and capacity, in every way responsible. Oct. 1866: not in business at this time.				
A.J. Dyas		Beersheba Springs		July 1875
"We don't have any knowledge of his means or business. He is boarding here with his wife, from the south."				
R.L. Graves		Beersheba	Planter	July 1860
Mr. G. is a man who handles a great deal of money and is said to be as good as anybody. We understand that he is worth over half a million and suppose it is true. His summer residence is at Beersheba.				
Thomas Rhoner		Beersheba Springs	Grocer	Feb. 1872
Age 40, married, no real estate, prospects poor.				
S.M. Scott & Co.		Beersheba Springs		June 1873
Came here from Nashville some 3 year ago. Character and habits good, business capacity first rate. Means in business about \$20,000, they all live in Nashville.				
Smedes & Martin		Beersheba Springs	Hotel	May 1879
Smedes formerly kept the St. James hotel in New Orleans, was always unsuccessful and slow to pay, said to have unsettled debts in New Orleans. Martin was formerly a clerk in a jewelry store here; is a clever young man and will pay if he can, but he is not thought to have any means. Smedes is a good hotel keeper and if they do well they may pay.				
Charles R. Smedes & Co.	M. Johnson, Charles R. Smedes.	Beersheba Springs	Hotel	Feb. 1880
Smedes came two years ago from Miss., is an old and experienced hand, leased the Beersheba Hotel "a summer resort of some note." Industrious and of fair character but has very little means. The enterprise was not doing well prior to the entry of Johnson, who is said to be a wealthy planter from Louisiana or Miss. He is said to have bought the hotel and several hundred acres for \$15,000 though it is valued at \$50,000.				
J.M. Baur		Gruetli	General Store	Dec. 1871
Don't know his worth, small dealer, generally prompt pay. April 1872: seems to stand fair, apparently pays debts. April 1873: Reliable man, worth \$3 or \$4,000. Will do to trust. Sept. 1874: circumstances good. Dec. 1874: was murdered on the 30 th Nov. last. He owned real estate and personal property and estate is good for debts.				

Carl Martz		Gruetli	Dry Goods	Aug. 1875
<p>Successor to J.M. Baur. Married, temperate and of good habits and character. Attentive to business. Strictly honorable.</p> <p>Nov. 1876: good character and habits, fair and honest, capital \$2,500, real estate \$3,000.</p> <p>Feb. 1880: has been involved for some time and unable to meet his obligations. Doing very little, has no tangible means. Has been cleared by the Sheriff several times. Married, age 45.</p>				
Christian Marugg		Gruetli	Saw Mill	Nov. 1876
<p>Good character and habits, worth about \$5,000 clear.</p> <p>Feb. 1880: doing very well. Industrious and sober. Looked upon as responsible.</p>				
Jacob Stoker		Gruetli	General Store	Dec. 1871
<p>Small dealer, generally prompt to pay.</p> <p>June 1873: honest, prompt and good, worth \$2,000.</p> <p>Nov. 1873: has been in business 4 or 5 years, keeps a store and mountain farm. Character, habits and capacity good.</p> <p>Aug. 1876: out of business.</p>				
L.R. VonRhor		Gruetli	Wagons	Aug. 1876
<p>Character and habits good, 200 acres real estate, doing small business.</p> <p>Nov. 1876: good character and habits, honest, about makes a living.</p> <p>Feb. 1880: is a hard-working, industrious man, doing well and is attentive to business. Married, age 36, a good workman, is regarded as reliable.</p>				
Kerger & Kells		Moffatt		
<p>Informed that the parties are perfectly good. [This entry is probably not supposed to be in Grundy Co. Moffatt was a post office in Marion Co. 1874-1881.]</p>				
Jno. Moffat		Moffatt Station		Aug. 1874
<p>Enquired for at Moffat Station, lives in Grundy County. We think he has \$2500 real estate, don't know about liabilities.</p>				
James M. Bell		Pelham	General Store	Jan. 1869
<p>Born and raised here, was farmer and blacksmith, owns real estate worth \$4 or \$5,000. Honest, industrious man but doing very small business.</p>				
Bell & Bell	J.M. Bell, Robert Bell	Pelham	General Store	Jan. 1875
<p>J.M. aged 45 and married, Robert 25 and single. Reasonably temperate, of good habits and fair character.</p> <p>Nov. 1875: good character and prospects.</p> <p>Aug. 1876: out of business.</p>				
J.M. Bell		Pelham	Merchant	Nov. 1876
<p>See Bell & Bell entry. Clear and capable, good character and habits, never failed.</p> <p>June 1879: retired.</p>				
A.C. Bradshaw & Co.		Pelham		Aug. 1873
<p>No such firm in Grundy Co.</p>				

H. Gilliam & Son	H. Gilliam, Martin Gilliam	Pelham	Dry Goods	Dec. 1860
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Notes: Own considerable real estate, prudent businessmen, consider safe.
Jan. 1861: This firm is unfortunately in the hands of a correspondent who is a very slow coach. We shall poke him again with a sharp stick.
May 1861: We understand the firm has quit business, but H. Gilliam will cover any debts.

A.S. Goodman		Pelham	Dry Goods	Dec. 1856
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Sober, industrious man, though not a very businesslike one. He has a good tract of land on which he is farming. He has the confidence of the community in which he resides and will doubtless make money in a slow sure way.
July 1857. Substantial citizen, close dealer, though not a very [good] business man yet a very cautious man. Stock in trade \$2,000. Has a good farm worth several thousand.
Feb. 1858. \$3,000 in real estate, \$1,000 in store. Ordinary business man, safe dealer, does but little.
July 1858. Perfectly safe.
Jan. 1859. A prudent, cautious dealer, never buy largely and pay promptly.
July 1859. Very reliable.
Oct. 1866. Don't know him, don't think he's in business at this time.

S.P. Goodman		Pelham	Flour Mill	Aug. 1876
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Character and habits good, capacity fair. Capital in business \$5,000, some mortgaged, doing small business. Honest and pays, good for small amounts.
Nov. 1876: probably worth \$3,000 above his debts.
June 1877: good character, habits and capacity.
Nov. 1878: dead.

Thomas Goodman		Pelham	General Store	June 1873
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Good for small amounts, honest and solvent.
April 1874: was wounded in the army and is a drinking man, cannot live 12 months without an accident. Is married and considered honorable, good for \$1,000.

Goodman & Bell	Thomas Goodman and James M. Bell	Pelham	General Store	Oct. 1874
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Both married men. Goodman is in bad health, reasonably temperate, fair character and habits and business capacity. Honorable men. Have about \$3,000 in business and \$2,000 in other means. Prospects of success good. Credit good for \$1,000 or more.

Hembree & Wilkinson	Jno. Hembree, Jas. Wilkinson	Pelham	Blacksmith and Machinist	Dec. 1879
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New business. Are very attentive to business and of good character, but have no means.
Feb. 1880: not doing well, scarcely making a living, are only ordinary mechanics and are addicted to liquor, have no responsibility.

Lowry & Gilliam	James Lowry, P. Gilliam	Pelham	General Store	Jan. 1869
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Lowry is 40 years old, is a farmer and was raised in the county. Gilliam has been reported at Cowan in Franklin County, worth about \$3,000. They have been in business three years, are very good men. The business is light here and they are obliged to "trust out" too much. Would not advise much credit.
Aug. 1871: good character and habits but can get no information on their means, which are not large.

Parks & Wilkenson		Pelham		Dec. 1871
Don't know their worth, small dealers, standing good.				
L.R. Parkes		Pelham	Dry Goods	Sept. 1871
Succeeds Parkes & Wilkinson. A young man with no visible means, it is said he is enterprising and energetic. Good ordinary business qualifications.				
O.F. Parks		Pelham	General Store	Sept. 1877
Just starting in business, was formerly clerk in a store here. Expects to receive a judgment worth \$1800. Considered a straightforward man who intends to do right. Oct. 1877: Ran away, said to have gone to Texas. Left several creditors in Nashville.				
E. Reynolds		Pelham		Jan. 1861
From all the information we can get he is very good.				
W.C. Shelton		Pelham	Mineral Doctor	May 1874
Age 30, married, from Alabama. Commenced business about 4 years ago. Fair character and habits, think attentive. No real estate.				
A. Vaughn		Pelham	Dry Goods	June 1878
Came from Nashville and commenced business a year ago. Character and habits good. Capital in business \$500. No real estate. Think he pays his debts. Nov. 1878: no change. June 1879: retired.				
J.S. Walker & Co.	E.H. McDonald, W.C. Wilkerson	Pelham	General Store	Nov. 1879
In business only a few months. Wilkerson came from Alabama, age 23, single. McDonald age 46, widowed, came from Tracy City. Character and habits good, honorable but have no means. Feb. 1880: Doing only a small business, no more than making a living. Walker is a physician with but limited means and not much force in his profession. Wilkerson is said to have failed in business in the past, and though having some experience is wanting in judgment. Not much capital, prudence is advised.				
J.A. Wilkeson [Wilkinson] & Bro.		Pelham	Dry Goods	Oct. 1875
Notes: Commenced business about a year ago. Good business capacity, character and habits. Think they will do well.				
W.C. Wilkerson & Son		Pelham	Farm and General Store	Oct. 1874
Commenced business about a year ago. Good character and habits, attentive to business, temperate. Strictly honorable. Worth about \$5,000. They are responsible and good for any amount, they will not go beyond their means.				
W.C. Wilkerson		Pelham	General Store	June 1879
Married man, 60 years of age. Good habits, attentive, strictly honorable. We understand he owns the store. Feb. 1880: Out of business, now with J.S. Walker.				

Wm. Brophy		Tracy City	Foundry	Aug. 1876
Character good, capacity fair, also has a foundry at McMinnville. Feb. 1876: his prospects are good, he is a very industrious man. Still in business June 1879.				
E.F. Colyar		Tracy City	Hotel	May 1873
I am told by the Sheriff that Mr. Colyar is not good for is debts, no vocation or property or house of business. Aug. 1876: not in business. Feb. 1880: running what is known as the Colyar House and apparently doing very well. Is of good character and habits. Owns the building, worth \$3,000. Age 50 and married. Is not thought to owe much.				
Charles Foster		Tracy City	Editor	June 1874
Not solvent. Aug. 1876: out of printing business, now has a sawmill on small scale. Little or no means, standing very poor.				
Harts & Roth		Tracy City	Millers	June 1873
Good and solvent. Doing small business, good for small amounts.				
H. Hossfeld		Tracy City	Bakery & etc.	May 1876
Doubtful, would not risk. He has no means. Aug. 1876: Worth about \$3,000 clear. German and a very small business; about makes a living. Mar. 1878: ran away, no account.				
Dr. D.P. Key		Tracy City	Drugs	Nov. 1877
E.O. Nathurst		Tracy City		Oct. 1871
Was clerk with "N.S. Sherrill," deceased, know nothing of his character, must be worth little.				
A.J. Roddy		Tracy City	General Store and Saloon	Dec. 1871
Good businessman, married, prospects pretty good. Nov. 1875: good in every particular for \$5,000. Aug. 1876: Now Roddy & Marquett, men of good character and means, fair businessmen. Roddy is son of A.J. Roddy, old man out of business. June 1879: Out [of business?].				
A.J. Roddy		Tracy City	Saloon	Feb. 1880
Opened recently and seems to be doing well. Roddy has about \$5,000 in real estate. Also in firm of Roddy & Son, dealers in general merchandise. Roddy is considered a pretty straightforward man of good character.				
A.J. Roddy & Son	Son is Thos. D.	Tracy City	General store	Aug. 1879
Good for any amount. Feb. 1880: Have been together some time and are doing very well. Both of good character and economical. A.J. is about 56 and is a shrewd and cautious man. The son is age 24, temperate, and was previously employed as a clerk.				

J.B. Roddy		Tracy City	Hotel	Aug. 1871
Not long in business, of good character and habits. Estimated worth \$1 to \$2,000. Hold to limited credit. June 1873: good and prompt.				
Russey & Rasboro		Tracy City		Jan. 1877
Of good character and honest, but don't know their means. June 1877: Quit and gone away.				
U.S. Sherrill		Tracy City		Oct. 1871
Conductor and bookkeeper for 5 years for the Tenn. Coal and Railroad Co., age 22, married, good character, sober, industrious, reliable. Wages \$50/month, pays promptly, considered good for all contracts.				
Mrs. S. Shook		Tracy City	Hotel	Nov. 1876
Character and habits good, don't know capital or real estate.				
Tenn. Coal & Rail Road Company		Tracy City		April 1861
<p>The original company broke up and this other has been formed, now the old and new are in litigation. Also see reports filed by Nashville agent.</p> <p>Aug. 1870: Incorporated 12 years, value of mines is \$500 to \$800,000.</p> <p>Aug. 1872. The old company after spending \$1 million opening the mine and building the railroad, failed, and the present stockholders bought it for \$400K. The principal stockholders are Tate & Ricks of Memphis and A.S. Colyar, lawyer in Tracy City and President of the company. Property is worth \$1 million, including 21 miles of railroad, four engines and 160 cars. Two years ago the mine produced only 800,000 bushels of coal, it is now double that. James C. Warner the Secretary and Supt. Is an active and enterprising businessman.</p> <p>1874: Company in much the same position. Warner still holds his stock but has resigned from his position.</p> <p>1881: Their possessions include 25,000 acres, including about the entire town (TC) and the coal mine, which is almost inexhaustible. The stockholders are Dr. Wm. Morrow, W.H. Cherry, Thos. O. Connor and A.M. Shook, of the firm Cherry, Conner, & Co., lessees of the Penitentiary & etc. and it is understood exclusive owners of the works.</p>				
James D. Wiley		Tracy City	Saloon	Feb. 1880
Opened recently, doing little business. Age 30, married, no means, said to be addicted to liquor.				



The Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Schedules of the 1880 Tennessee Census

Smith County (concluded)

*Abstracted by Gale Williams Bamman
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The DDD Schedules, as they are often called, were part of the non-population schedules supplementing the 1880 federal census, and were created to help the government decide on funding appropriations for institutions and health programs. On each of the following schedules of the DDDs, the census takers were instructed to give an account of the location and condition of persons who met these descriptions.

The following questions were asked on all seven of the DDD schedules

- Name
- County and district where enumerated in population schedule
- County of residence when at home

The remainder of the questions pertained to each particular class of persons.

Insane Inhabitants: form of disease; duration of current attack; age at first attack; if requires restraint; if ever institutionalized and for how long; if additional features, such as epileptic, suicidal, or homicidal. Distinction was to be made between persons with deterioration of mental power, such as dementia and those born defective; the latter were to be classified as Idiots.

Idiots: supposed cause; age of occurrence; size of person's head [at that time considered as significant]; if self-supporting or partly so; if ever in training school and for how long; and if additional illnesses present (insane, blind, deaf, paralyzed).

Deaf-Mutes: supposed cause; age of occurrence; if semi-or totally deaf and/or mute; if ever institutionalized; if also insane, idiotic, or blind. Enumerators were instructed to inquire about deaf-mutes and their residences from physicians in the area and/or schoolteachers.

Blind: if self-supporting; age at occurrence; form; supposed cause; if totally or semi-blind; if ever in an institution for the blind; length of time there; date of discharge; if also insane, idiotic, deaf-mute. Those who could see well enough to read were not to be included.

Homeless Children: whether father and/or mother were deceased; whether abandoned or surrendered; whether born in an institution, or year admitted; whether illegitimate; if separated from his/her mother; if ever arrested, and why; if origins were "respectable;" whether removed from criminal surroundings; if blind, deaf-mute or idiotic.

Inhabitants in Prisons: place of imprisonment; whether awaiting trial, serving a term, or serving out a fine; if awaiting execution, or transfer to higher prison, or if held as a witness; if imprisoned for debt, or for insanity; date incarcerated; alleged offense; fine; number of days in jail or workhouse, or years in penitentiary; whether at hard labor, and if so, whether contracted out. Enumerators were also to ask these questions of wardens or keepers of any prison, "station-house, or lock-up in their respective districts."

Paupers and Indigent: if supported wholly or partly at cost of city, county, or state; or at cost of institution; whether able-bodied; whether habitually intemperate; if epileptic; if ever convicted of a crime; if disabled; if born in the institution, or date of admission; whether others of the family were also in that establishment; if also blind, deaf and dumb, insane, idiotic. Paupers living in individual homes but supported partly or fully at county cost were referred to as "outdoor paupers" to distinguish them from paupers in institutions.

For a more-detailed discussion of the DDD Schedules and this abstracting project, please see Part I, in the Summer 2005 issue of this journal (Volume XIX, no. 1), pp. 32-40. The reply to "Residence when at home" is not abstracted unless it differs from the place enumerated. The additional data in these abstracts comes from the population schedules and do not appear on the DDD Schedules themselves. The interpretation of the records may contain deciphering errors. The reader is encouraged to view the originals on microfilm. If any mistakes are noted, please contact the compiler with that information.

Smith County (cont.)

Cutrell, Mary: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.121; see Pop.Sch.p.23,ln.38] **Pop.Sch.:** age 45, white, wife, in household of Philip Cutrell.

Blunt, James: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.120; see Pop.Sch.p.6,ln.13] **Pop.Sch.:** age 37, white, son, in household of Mary E. Blunt.

Petty, Ransom: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.120; see Pop.Sch.p.20,ln.37] **Pop.Sch.:** age 55, black male, servant, in household of Stephen Petty.

Apple, Mary: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.21,ln.5] **Pop.Sch.:** age 79, white, mother, in household on Jackson C. Apple.

Anderson, Emaline: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 3, supposed cause, convulsion fits; natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.9,ln.29]

Brinlee, William R.: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth; natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.26,ln.4]

Petty, Jessie: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.27,ln.23]

Leman, Elisa: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.7,ln.28]

Swift, Columbus: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.2,e.d.121; see Pop.Sch.p.30,ln.42]

Ray, Mary A.: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.26,ln.16]

Grisham, Nancy: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 60. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.22,ln.7] **Pop.Sch.:** age 78, white, mother-in-law, in household of Joseph Harris.

Leman, Adam: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 40; hereditary. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.11,ln.42] **Pop.Sch.:** Adam Loman, age 49, white, male, head of household

Brinlee, Asa: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 45; supposed cause, sore eyes from birth. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.31,ln.43] **Pop.Sch.:** age 61, white, male, head of household.

Smith, Delia: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.20,ln.3] **Pop.Sch.:** age 5, white, daughter, in household of Banister Smith.

Hunt, Nealy: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, supposed cause, fever; natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.118; see Pop.Sch.p.11,ln.21]

Driver, John: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at birth. [s.d.2,e.d.118; see Pop.Sch.p.17,ln.4]

Jones, Wm. Brown: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; afflicted at birth. [s.d.2,e.d.118; see Pop.Sch.p.20,ln.13]

Davis, Robert: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, supposed cause, epilepsy. [s.d.2,e.d.118; see Pop.Sch.p.33,ln.15]

Denney, John S.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting; supposed cause of blindness, sore eyes; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.119; see Pop.Sch.p.13,ln.11] **Pop.Sch.:** age 19, white, son, in household of Wm F. Denney.

Martin, Wm. E: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; form, epilepsy; confined day and night. [s.d.2,e.d.117; see Pop.Sch.p.7,ln.31] **Pop.Sch.:** age 15, white, male, in household of Moses Givin[?].

Brooks, Leonodus: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; age at first attack, 30; inmate in an institution, 2[not stated]. [s.d.2,e.d.117; see Pop.Sch.p.18,ln.20]. **Pop.Sch.:** Leon Brooks, age 41, white, male, head of household.

Gregory, James: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; mania, duration of present attack, 1 week, age at first attack, 22 [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.25,ln.11]

Pop.Sch.: age 23, white, son, in household of Jno. Gregory.

Wilburn, H. C.: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, small head. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.4,ln.38]

Shoulders, Andrew: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; afflicted at age 13. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.17,ln.11]

Russell, Millie E.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; afflicted at birth, supposed cause, scrofula; semi-blind. [s.d.2,e.d.117; see Pop.Sch.p.8,ln.32] **Pop.Sch.:** age 24, white, daughter, in household of Thomas J. Russell.

Goodall, Ruphus: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; afflicted at birth, totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.117; see Pop.Sch.p.11,ln.22] **Pop.Sch.:** age 36, white, male, head of household.

McCall, Ann: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.2,ln.30]

Richardson, Ira: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.15,ln.47] **Pop.Sch.:** age 58, white, male, head of household.

Richardson, A.C.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, totally blind, [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.15,ln.50] **Pop.Sch.:** age 16, white, daughter, in household of Ira Richardson.

Herndon, Harry: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; residence, Rutherford Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 6, totally blind; shot by arrow (one eye) ____ [several words illegible]; inmate, Tennessee School for the Blind, 11 years; discharged 1860. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.16,ln.17] **Pop.Sch.:** age 37, white, male, in household of Ben Shoulders.

Bowman, Rose: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, totally blind, never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.36,ln.12]

Pop.Sch.: age 87, black, mother, in household of David Bowman.

Aldridge, Susan: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting; afflicted at birth, totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.33,ln.29] **Pop.Sch.:** 3/12 (Febry), white,

daughter, in household of Henry Aldridge.

Merryman, Eliza: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.116; see Pop.Sch.p.9,ln.19] **Pop.Sch.:** age 50, white, sister-in-law, in household of Thomas Dies.

Dickens, Elizabeth B.: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; melancholia, duration of present attack, 3 [not further explained], number of attacks, 2; age at first attack, 35. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.7,ln.40] **Pop.Sch.:** age 68, white, wife, in household of Joseph C. Dickens.

Erps, Martha E.: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; mania, duration of present attack, 8 [not further explained], number of attacks, 1; age at first attack, 28; locked all the time. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.13,ln.11] **Pop.Sch.:** Martha E. Esps, age 29, white, daughter, in household of James Esps.

Read, Lucinda: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.30,ln.12] **Pop.Sch.:** age 31, white, wife, in household of Caleb Read.

Jenkins, Henry L.: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.24,ln.12]

Kerby, Isac: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at birth. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.29,ln.43]

Williams, Callie: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.4,ln.30]



Piper, Rhoda E.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 6, supposed cause, brain fever; totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.2,ln.5] **Pop.Sch.:** Rhodia E. Piper, age 10, white, daughter, in household of James Piper.

Smith, Abel: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 73, supposed cause, sickness; totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.29,ln.1]

Craighead, Cyrus: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.27,ln.49] **Pop.Sch.:** age 63, white, male, head of household.

Prittle[?], Nathan B.: Prisoners Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. Jail; residence, Shelby Co., Ky.; city [*sic*] prisoner, awaiting trial; date of incarceration, 26 May, __[illegible], alleged offence, illegal tippling. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.7,ln.30] **Pop.Sch.:** Nathan B. Tuttle, age 30, white, male, prisoner in county jail.

Jinkins, J. L.: Prisoners Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. Jail; state prisoner, awaiting trial, incarcerated 16 August 1879, alleged offense, larceny. [s.d.2,e.d.115; see Pop.Sch.p.7,ln.31] **Pop.Sch.:** age 23, white, male, prisoner in county jail.

Fisher, Thomas: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; duration of present attack, 3 years; number of attacks, 1; age at first attack, 58; not confined, not restrained, never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.4,ln.33] **Pop.Sch.:** age 61, white, husband, in household of Mary J. Fisher.

Turner, Sarah: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; hereditary, duration of present attack, 10 years, number of attacks, 1; age at first attack, 29; not confined, not restrained, never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.5,ln.14] **Pop.Sch.:** age 39, white, wife, in household of E. W. Turner.

Nicholls, M. A.: Insane Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; duration of present attack, 7 years, age at first attack, 27, not confined, not restrained, never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.8,ln.14] **Pop.Sch.:** age 34, white, wife, in household of J. H. Nicholls.

Gillespie, J. F.: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 6, kicked on the head by a mule; natural head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.8,ln.38].

Fisher, Ann: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth, natural head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.11,ln.7].

Morris, E.T.: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 16, supposed cause, fever; natural head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.11,ln.9].

Woods, James: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth; small head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.14,ln.10].

Holt, William: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth; small head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.15,ln.5].

Taylor, Martin: Idiots Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth, ; natural head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.16,ln.17]

Tucker, W. R.: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. **Also:** Blind Schedule; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 9, knocked out, not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.18,ln.15] **Pop.Sch.:** age 80, white, father-in-law, in household of James H. Smith.

Phillips, Julia: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at birth, natural head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.20,ln.29]

Monday, Claude: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 5, supposed cause, blow on head; natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.31,ln.17]

Morman, Alex: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth, small head. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.31,ln.17]

Reese, W. C.: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at birth, natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.32,ln.31]

Wright, John: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, natural head. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.33,ln.30]

Jones, John: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 60, supposed cause, cold in head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.19,ln.41]

Woodard, Loueasa: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 28, supposed cause, cold in head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.20,ln.39]

Kirby, Elizibeth: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 60, supposed cause, cold in head; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.31,ln.12]

McCormack, Pollie: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 67. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.34,ln.3]

Butler, Alfred: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 67. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.36,ln.25]

Pulley, William: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, supposed cause, Typhoid Fever; afflicted at age 45. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.40,ln.19]

Canada, Tabitha: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. not self-supporting, afflicted at age 50. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.42,ln.14]

Lankford, Sydney: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 35, supposed cause, cold. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.41,ln.33]

Reece, Josiah: Deaf-Mutes Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.22,ln.50]

Hall, Benjamin: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.42,ln.10] **Pop.Sch.:** age 81, black, male, head of household.



Cox, Eliza: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 1, supposed cause, scrofula, semi-blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.12,ln.31] **Pop.Sch.:** Elvira Cox, age 10, white, daughter, in household of Mat Cox.

Woods, Daniel: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 1, supposed cause, old age, semi-blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.14,ln.7] **Pop.Sch.:** age 77, mulatto, male, head of household.

McKee, James P.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 40, supposed cause, knocked out; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.2,ln.24] **Pop.Sch.:** age 65, white, male, head of household.

McKee, Wm. T.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 29, supposed neuralgia, not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.2,ln.29] **Pop.Sch.:** age 30, white, son, in household of James P.McKee.

Pettie, Josephine: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.15,ln.25] **Pop.Sch.:** Josaphine Pettie, age 3, white, daughter, in household of T. C. Pettie.

Morgan, W. E.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.18,ln.30] **Pop.Sch.:** age 50, mulatto, male, head of household.

Cox, A. B.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 60, supposed cause, neuralgia; not totally blind, never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.14; see Pop.Sch.p.18,ln.34] **Pop.Sch.:** age 66, white, mother-in-law, in household of John Glover.

Cardwell, Mary: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth, totally blind; inmate at Nashville, 2 years, discharged 1876. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.19,ln.49] **Pop.Sch.:** age 36, white, female, boarder, in household of Dick Smith.

Counce[?], L.A.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at birth; not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114 see Pop.Sch.p.22,ln.32] **Pop.Sch.:** age 5, white, daughter, in household of D. A. Counce[?].

Harness, James: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 45, knocked out, not totally blind, never an inmate of an institution.[s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.25,14] **Pop.Sch.:** age 62, white, male, head of household

Martin, John: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 64, knocked out, not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.26,ln.41] **Pop.Sch.:** age 69, white, male, head of household.

Craighead, Dillie: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; partly self-supporting, afflicted at age 50, supposed cause, old age, not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.27,ln.6] **Pop.Sch.:** age 66, white, wife, in household of Robert Craighead.

Nelstead, J. D.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at age 30, supposed cause, knocked out, not totally blind; never an inmate of an institution. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.36,ln.43] **Pop.Sch.:** age 34, white, male, head of household.

Clay, James: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; self-supporting, afflicted at birth, supposed cause, cataract, not totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.4,ln.12] **Pop.Sch.:** age 50, white, male, head of household.

Garrett, Sallie: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co.; not self-supporting, afflicted at age 62, supposed cause, neuralgia; totally blind. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.43,ln.6] **Pop.Sch.:** age 71, white, mother in household of A. E. Garrett.

Craighead, Cyrus: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.27,ln.49] **Pop.Sch.:** age 63, white, male, head of household.

Knight, M.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.28,ln.35] **Pop.Sch.:** age 50, white, male, head of household.

Robtson[?], S.: Blind Schedule; enumerated Smith Co. [s.d.2,e.d.114; see Pop.Sch.p.28,ln.42] **Pop.Sch.:** S. Robertson, age 59, white, male, head of household.

Smith County Concluded

The Plight of Tennessee Coal Miners

From the Inspector's Report of 1891

by Peggie Sides



Geological Map of the State of Tennessee (1855)
Historical Map Collection, Tenn. State Library and Archives

Tennessee families have made a living by mining since the late 1700 when iron ore was discovered in the east and middle parts of the state. In Middle Tennessee iron was most plentiful in the areas that would become Stewart, Houston, Hickman, Montgomery and Lewis counties. By 1840 the census reported iron production from forty-seven furnaces, bloomeries, forges and rolling mills in Middle Tennessee, with nearly twice as many in East Tennessee.

Coal mining in East Tennessee and copper mining in the southeast corner of the state both had a major influence on the state's economy in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Phosphate mining was developed later, and into the 1990s Tennessee was producing phosphate for export, principally from surface mines in Williamson, Hickman, Maury, and Giles counties.

Mining has always been grueling and dirty work, but coal mining is especially so. Concerns about employment practices and safety regulations in Tennessee coal mines became an issue in the 1880s. The state's Mine Inspector became an increasingly important political position, and in 1887 was directed to report to the governor only. At that time the office was held by Jo Conn Guild of Chattanooga, famous as the engineer who designed the incline railway

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Respectfully Yours
Geo W Ford

on Lookout Mountain.¹ He was succeeded by George W. Ford, appointed in 1891 by Governor Buchanan. Ford was a shoemaker by trade, and a Massachusetts native. Arriving in Knoxville in 1887 he was active in various labor movements and particularly interested in the working conditions of miners.² Inspector Ford provided the following report to the General Assembly in 1891.

The text which follows is abstracted from the *Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Inspector of Mines to his Excellency Gov. John P. Buchanan. Extra Session, August 31, 1891*. Included in this report are accounts which give information pertaining to people and places who lived there at the time. They also describe the conditions under which these people lived, worked, and sometimes died.

One example is the following account of how they were paid, and the hold which the company, and therefore the company store, held over them. These quotations come directly from the report.

If they worked a day, and were fortunate enough to be credited by the company's weighman, at the tippie, with four tons an ordinary day's work, this would entitle them to two (\$2.00) dollars; and if they then would receive such pay in lawful money, such as other mechanics or laborers are accustomed to receiving, they would feel more at ease; but when in need, and desiring to purchase the necessities of life, and applying to the company for their wages, at any other time than pay-day, they are tendered the brass chips or pieces, used by this company and the other companies who have mines worked in the vicinity, samples of which are in this office. The miner then goes to the company store to make his selection of such articles as he needs, and tenders the brass chops or pieces in payment, in nearly every article paying as high as 20 per cent. More than the same quality of articles could be bought for at other stores not controlled by the company he works for, or the other companies' stores, and in some cases paying double the price the same article could be furnished for in stores kept by individuals not connected with the company.

If the miner does not wish to pay the extortionate prices demanded at the company's stores, he can take his chips or pieces to the individual stores, and, buying what he needs at more favorable prices, tender them in payment

at a discount of 20 per cent., the dealer doing this to protect himself in the handling of the chips.

The brass chips can be transferred from one miner to another, as there is no way for the company to detect this act; but the Tennessee Company now comes in with a new system, and they issue, instead of the brass chips, a paper scrip, in the borders of which are placed amounts to be punched out as purchases are made, and it states on them "not transferable," and the name of the person getting this scrip from the company is written thereon, and a number given it. Thus they compel the miner, under this new system, to confine his trading to that company's store.

To show the evils of the use of scrip, while I was in a store kept by an individual not connected with any of the company's stores, a man entered and asked the price of cabbage. The reply was "3 cents per pound in scrip, 2 ½ per pound in cash." I asked the store-keeper why he made such a distinction. He replied: "If I sell my goods and accept scrip in payment therefore, I must take goods from the company's store on the scrip at prices about 25 per cent, over the outside-store prices, or hunt up some man who stands in with the company to get them cashed at 20 per cent. discount."

¹ "A message from Gov. William B. Bate to the Legislature." *Daily American* [Nashville] 12 Jan. 1887, p.2.

² "Commissioner of Labor." *Daily American* [Nashville] 29 Mar. 1891.

Outside of another private store a placard appears, announcing in large, distinct type: "Lard-oil, 50 cents; for scrip, 60 cents."

During the month of August, 1890, one of the clerks in the employ of the Tennessee Coal Mining Company called on Geo. Miller, a druggist in Briceville, and notified him not to take any more punch-outs or paper scrip issued by the company; but some of the miners, being sick and in need of medicine, prevailed on Miller to accept some punch-outs to the amount of about \$4.25 for said medicine. Miller had considerable difficulty in having them accepted at the company's store; but they refused to pay cash for the punch-outs, and would only give Miller a due-bill. This due-bill Miller proffered to a clerk in another company store in payment of goods selected for purchase, but it was refused, as the Tennessee Company had so worded it that it was not transferable; and Miller, after keeping it on hand for a long time, returned it to the Tennessee Company, buying beef therefore, and receiving a balance in Coal Creek Coal Company's scrip, or brass chips, and some white metal pieces of the Tennessee Company's issue.

The miner who is found to be running behind in his store account is soon reminded of it in various ways, both direct and indirect, but in most instances in an indirect manner, as the company's officials know there is a law protecting the miner from being intimidated or compelled to trade at the company's store; but the officials usually resort to some other underhand method to bring the miner up to the mark, such as placing him in a hard-working place in the mine, usually called "the strangers' home," and thus reducing his earnings to a bare living, or heaping indignities upon him about the mine, complaining that his coal is of a poor quality, that

his cars are short in their weight, or that he is using powder where it is not necessary, and various other ways to show their dislike to him, and, as the following

letter will show, calling his attention to the fact directly. The original letter from which this copy is taken is on file in this office:

Briceville, Tenn.,

July 21, 1890

Mr. J. N. Meeks:

"Dear Sir—I believe I have twice spoken to you, kindly advising you that it would be a good policy for you to come to this office when in need of scrip to buy goods from us, and not go elsewhere and buy it; and now I

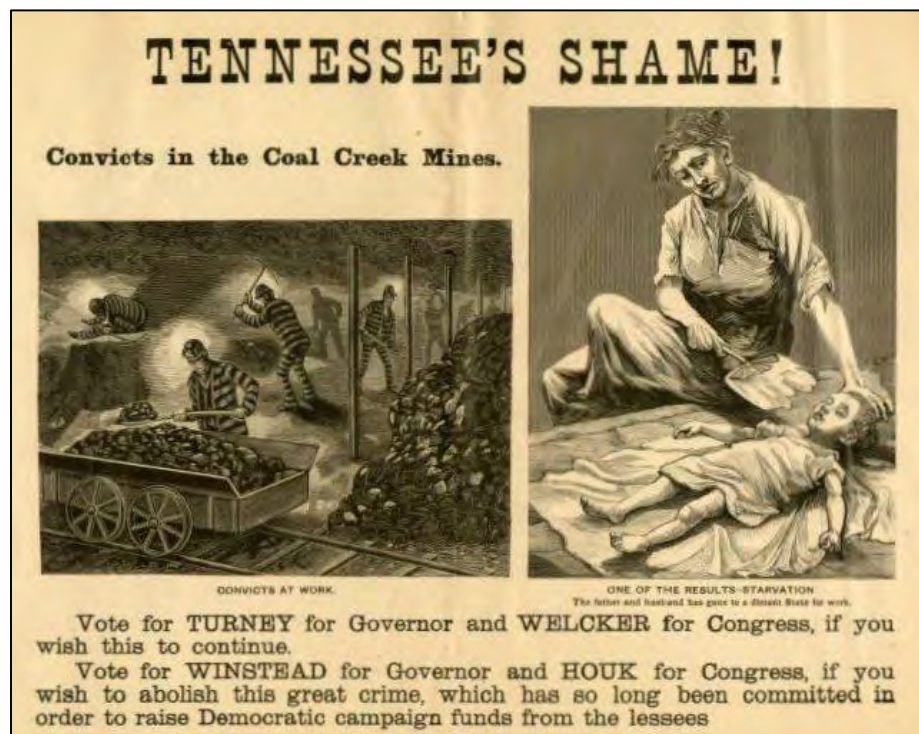
write this note to you, saying that hereafter if you don't wish to comply with this request, you can work out your six days' notice and come to this office and get your pay, and then you can work for the outside parties as well as to buy scrip from them, provided they have any thing for you to do, which you will find they have not. Yours truly, R. M. Chapman,
for Shamrock Coal Company.

On August 3, 1891, a resolution was adopted "that the Commission of Labor and Inspector of Mines be requested to inspect and report upon the condition of the Tennessee mine, located at Briceville, Anderson County, Tennessee. On August 4, the following report was given. At this time, convicts were being rented out by the state to work in these mines.

Present George W. Ford, Commissioner of Labor and Inspector of Mines; Representative Charles T. Alleman; Wm. Cammack, a minor of sixteen years' experience.



**Scrip coin or token from Coal Creek Mines
Workers were paid in scrip and could only shop at stores
operated by the mine owner.**



This 1892 broadside attacked the Republican administration of Gov. John P. Buchanan, which had instituted convict leasing to mine owners. Gov. Peter Turney was elected in 1893 and abolished the system.

Entered the mine about 1 o'clock P.M. with Mr. T. J. Davis, superintendent of the Tennessee mine.

Measurement of air was taken at main entry, showing 5,400 cubic feet of air per minute.

Working as trappers were found John W. Manis, aged nine years, and ——— Morrison aged eleven years.

Many of the doors through the mine are without an attendant; but it is a sad sight, upon first entering the mine, to find a poor, weak, little boy, only nine years old, pure and free from sin and corruption, compelled to stand in water and filth, such as is found in the passageway, and remain there day after day and witness the passing by of this convict gang in going to and returning from their daily work.

Proceeding up to the six right entry we find no attention has been given to the cutting of break-throughs—or dog-holes, as the miners term them—between rooms, and one is impressed with the fact that the work must have been carried on in a careless manner, and without

the least regard to a system usually found in mines where the superintendent would understand his business. To the credit of Mr. Davis, the present superintendent, it must be said that he, too, realized this fact to such an extent that it almost discouraged him to come into his position about three months ago and find this mine in such a deplorable condition.

In the seventh right entry, room 14, two white miners—free men—were trying to work under a dangerous top, liable to drop in on them at any minute. Within forty feet of these men, in plain view, were the convicts referred to above. Air is close and without any perceptible motion in this room, and also in the next room, where two other white miners —free men—were at work.

At this point proper supports were wanting, the coal between the two entries having been removed by orders of the former superintendent or mine boss, to save expenses for the company without regard to the safety of the men employed, or to a proper system of mining coal. Here was found a space twenty-seven (27) feet from wall to wall, the only support to this space being about eight feet in the center with very imperfect support, filled up between the props with gob or loose slate and rock, said gob, slate, and rock being placed there instead of the pillar of the coal that should have been allowed to remain as a proper support to the roof of both entries, and this vacancy existed for about one hundred feet of so.

Should a fall-in occur here, there would be no escape for the men employed beyond this point until the removal of what might fall in.

In seventh right entry, room 12, Church Wright, a white miner, free man, was employed January 14, 1891, and

while running a car into his room about five tons of rock and fire-clay fell in from the roof, and he was caught under part of it, crushing his right leg from the knee down, and breaking it in two places. He has been disabled since that time and unable to do any kind of work up to this present time.

In the statement of his case Mr. Wright says:

“James Kennedy, a day man, had notified Mr. W. Scoble (who was mine boss or superintendent at that time), two or three weeks previous to the accident, that there was danger at this point, and Church Wright had also notified Mr. Scobel, three or four days previous to the accident, that there was a dangerous roof at this point; but no attention was given to the roof.”

In several places about this part of the mine a sickening stench is met with, showing the air to be so contaminated that it is a wonder human beings can exist therein; and in passing through some of the entries a person has to pass through so much mud, slush, and stagnant water that any man with a proper regard for his cattle would hesitate to keep them in such filthy quarters.

In some places the water being so deep as to cover the track and ties, and through this mud and slush the

Before the leasing of convicts into the mines, miners were being paid 3 cents to 3 1/2 cents per bushel for digging coal. After they came, wages were reduced to 1 1/2 cents per bushel. Drivers, who were being paid from \$1 to \$1.50 per day, were compelled to work for 80 cents a day. After the convicts came, the depressed condition of the miners, the extortionate rates at the company store, and the low maintenance of the safety and conditions in the mines all added to the profits of the mine owners.

In addition, the introduction of convicts into the mines created unrest in the communities and economic distress to the miners, it was not surprising that the miners would resort to armed conflict, which they did. The Coal Creek War lasted about a year, and culminated when the free coal miners attacked and burned prison stockades and freed hundreds of black convicts.

Convict leasing ended in Tennessee on January 1, 1894.

convicts to walk in and out; and when they reach the stockade, after their day's work is over, tired, wet, and dirty, they are compelled, in some instances, to sleep on the floor without any change of clothing, sleeping in the same clothes that they have worked in during the day. Some of the convicts have not had a change of clothing since they arrived here. Upon some of the convicts being questioned on these points, they stated they were true, but begged that their names would not be mentioned for fear that they would be flogged for giving any information on this subject.

Henry Cotton, a colored convict, was injured this day by a shot blowing out on him, burning his face and hands. He was an inexperienced hand, and did not know just how to carry on this kind of work.

The following day, the mine inspector continued to inspect the mine with no better observations.

“In conclusion, this mine is found to be in worse condition than any one in the State that has been inspected, of which we can find any records; and it is shameful to think that any class of men, whether free or convicts, are compelled or allowed to work therein.”



Around the Town Square: a look at people in business.

Fayetteville (Lincoln County) in 1850

A trip to town was the highlight of a farming family's life during the 19th and early 20th centuries in Tennessee. The scene of buying and selling, of crime and punishment, drinking and carousing, courting and wooing, the town square was the center of public life. Census records from the mid-1800s are arranged so that it is difficult to identify the town residents, but a closer look at the 'occupation' column will often identify a cluster of business people.



Fayetteville, Tennessee, in 1850 was a flourishing little town with a population of about 600 free people. There may have been almost as many slaves in the district as white people. Although a railroad was being widely talked about, none had yet reached the town.¹² Most of Lincoln County's 23,500 residents at that time, as now, lived in rural areas. With a few exceptions, this was not the fabled southland with huge plantations, but rather a place of prosperous smaller farms; the 5,600 slaves who lived in Lincoln County at this time worked mostly on smaller farms. While various business enterprises operated in outlying communities most professional and trades people were listed in District 8, which includes the county seat at Fayetteville.

By studying these records, a genealogist or historian can learn much of interest about Fayetteville and the individuals who lived there. Only a few wealthy people are listed, owning more than \$10,000 in personal property and real estate. The wealthiest of all was Dr. William Bonner, a physician, whose property was estimated at \$100,00. Next was Dr. Moses Bonner, probably his brother or nephew, with \$30,000. Henry Kelso was the County Court Clerk, with property valued at \$20,000. Lawyer John Bright and merchant John McPhail complete the list at \$15,000 and \$10,000, respectively.

On the other end of the spectrum were a large number of businessmen with no real estate at all, including several merchants. The value of slaves, store goods, manufacturing equipment and other "personal" property was not recorded in 1850, but can be found in the 1860 census.

This does not include the many farmers and laborers, and people with no occupation, who were also living in the 8th District. It also does not list enslaved persons. There were, however, two free black people enumerated in the district. One was Peter Twing[?], an African-born house carpenter aged 50. He is not listed as having any family members, but since slaves are not enumerated he may well have had an enslaved wife and children living nearby.

It is strange that only two women with professions are listed. One was Margaret Wallace, a seamstress, and the other was Dicey Rhey, a baker. Both women were heads of their own households, and evidently widows. Surely other women in Fayetteville plied skills of this sort, but evidently the census taker dismissed that if they had husbands. For a county seat, Fayetteville was short on lawyers in 1850. Only three are listed, including the wealthy John Bright. Young Charles McKinney was probably just starting out at age 22 and had no property, but he was probably the son of Dr. Charles McKinney, in whose household he lived. Dr. McKinney is listed with \$5,000 in property. The third lawyer was also a young man without property: William B. Martin from Indiana.

¹ The free population schedules for District 8 show approximately 700 people, while the slave schedule for the same district lists about 640. Part of District 8 was rural and not in the town of Fayetteville. (Estimates based on page and line counts of the census data in *Heritage Quest*.)

The list of professionals and tradespeople in Fayetteville in 1850 shows what a surprisingly busy and prosperous town it was at the time and offers rich data for the genealogist and historian.

The data below has been extracted from digital census images posted on the *Heritage Quest* database, available free to all Tennessee residents through the Tennessee Electronic Library.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Given Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Value of Real Property</i>
<i>Baker</i>	Rhey	Dicey	36	TN	
<i>Barkeeper</i>	Hines	John	20	TN	
<i>Blacksmiths</i>	Beauland	Gibson	37	TN	\$1500
	Boyd	Cam	25	TN	
	Broadway	James	15	TN	
	Buchanan	T.W.	32	TN	\$1500
	Commons	Joel	58	NC	\$1500
	Jewel[?]	Wallace	28	TN	
	McWhorter	Moses	33	TN	
	Scott	William	54	NC	
	Scott	Andrew	20	NC	
	Wilson	Pleasant	19	TN	
	Formalt [Formwalt]	William	32	AL	
	Wilson	Union	57	TN	\$400
	Godbolt	Gasway	59	SC	
<i>Cabinet makers</i>	Hill	Robt.	27	GA	
	Mayers [Moyers?]	William	23	TN	
	Smith	Francis	63	VA	\$1000
	Smith	William	38	TN	
	Wilson	Jason	30	NC	
<i>Carpenters</i>	B---ers[?]	C.P.	23	TN	
	Buchanan	C.A.	21	TN	
	Fry	John	21	KY	
	Gray	Robert	27	TN	
	Moores	Charles	22	TN	
	Stewart	Wiley	25	TN	
	Chilcote	James	39	TN	\$1500
<i>Circuit Clerk</i>	Kelso	Henry	32	TN	\$20,000
<i>County Clerk</i>	Houghton[?]	S.W.	40	NY	
<i>Dentist</i>	Stout[?]	D.	25	TN	
<i>Deputy Clerk</i>	Dempsey	Stoney[?]	65	Ireland	
<i>Ditchers</i>	Dempsey	George	28	TN	
<i>Doctors</i>	Bonner	Wm.	50	NC	\$100,000
	Bonner	Moses	40	NC	\$30,000
	McElroy	Sanford	29	TN	\$1000
	McKinney	Robert	40	KY	\$4000
	McKinney	Charles	62	KY	\$5000
	McNulty[?]	William	31	TN	

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Given Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Value of Real Property</i>
<i>Druggist</i>	Crawford	Ezekiel	26	TN	
<i>Grocers</i>	Gant	George	32	NC	\$1500
	Hardin	B.W.P?	27	TN	
	Holman	J.J.	27	TN	
<i>Gunsmith</i>	Gordon	J.T.	30	Ohio	\$700
<i>Harness maker</i>	Cavanaugh	William	26	TN	
<i>House Carpenter</i>	Twing[?]	Peter (black)	50	Guinea	
<i>Lawyers</i>	Bright	John	33	TN	\$15,000
	Martin	Wm. B.	24	Indiana	
	McKinney	Charles	22	TN	
<i>Lieut. Navy</i>	Buchanan	James A.	25	TN	
<i>Machinist</i>	Oliver	William	33	VA	
<i>Manufacturer</i>	Dismukes	Marcus	50	VA	\$8000
<i>Medical students</i>	Hampton	Morgan	22	TN	
	Tucker	Daniel	33	TN	
<i>Merchants</i>	Bagley	R.H.C.	43	NC	\$5000
	Goodrich	John	42	Virginia?	\$3500
	Goodrich	Thomas	36	VA	\$1500
	Higgin	George	19	TN	
	Hodge	J.J.	21	TN	
	Isaacs	Samuel	31	TN	\$900
	McPhail	John	32	TN	\$10,000
	Moores	W.H.	32	TN	\$2500
	Nicks	A.T.	40	Unknown	\$4000
	Shapard	Robert	45	NC	\$5000
	Smith	George	24	TN	
	Southworth	A.M.	26	TN	\$800
	Tucker	Newton	29	TN	\$1000
<i>Millers</i>	Floyd	Hosey	46	SC	
	Vinson	Abraham	30	TN	
<i>Painters</i>	Bradley	James	25	TN	
	Hughes	Cornelius	35	TN	
<i>Peddler</i>	Winford	John	29	TN	
<i>Postmaster</i>	Holman	H.C.	27	TN	
<i>Preachers</i>	Dunlap	William	28	Unknown	
	Shapard	William	26	TN	
	Smith	William	23	TN	
<i>Printer</i>	Bulock	George	16	AL	
<i>Saddlers</i>	Akin	L.D.	34	KY	\$1900
	Boyd	Christopher	26	AL	
	Boyd	Robert	60	VA	
	Ranes?	Isaac	37	TN	
<i>Seamstress</i>	Wallace	Margaret	55	NC	
<i>Sheriff</i>	Hodge	Eli	33	TN	

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Given Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Value of Real Property</i>
<i>Shoemakers</i>	Hill	Hinton	28	NC	
	Womack	Lewis	45	NC	
<i>Silversmith</i>	Ringo	E.H.	52?	KY	\$4820
<i>Stone Cutter</i>	Short	Isaac	33	TN	\$1300
<i>Tailors</i>	Ables	Wm.	39	TN	
	Carter	Thos.	23	TN	
	Neeld	James	27	TN	\$600
	Neeld	William, Jr.	31	TN	\$300
	Neeld [Nuld?]	Wm., Sr.	63	KY	\$1500
	Neeld [Nuld?]	Augustine	36	TN	\$800
	Jenkins	John	22	TN	
<i>Tailor's Apprentice</i>					
<i>Tanners</i>	Cobb	James	45	SC	\$3600
	Stonebroker	George	58	PA	\$5000
<i>Tavern keeper</i>	Hines	Thomas	50	SC	
<i>Traders</i>	Gray	L.T.	33	AL	\$2000
	Woods	James	27	TN	
<i>Tutors</i>	Dickinson	F.A.	30	NY	\$600
	Graves	C.A.	31	TN	\$80
	McLin[?]	Archibald	23	Maryland	
	Wallace	N.O.	28	O[hio]	
<i>Wagon makers</i>	McSmith	John	21	TN	
	Sanders	George	21	TN	
	Sloan	Carson	45	KY	
<i>Wagoner</i>	Moyers	Isaac	40	TN	
<i>Wool carder</i>	Ramsey	Mial (male)	34	NC	\$500

Query

HOWARD, YOUNG, HOGG and AYERS

Seeking information on Ezekiel YOUNG (born 1812 Tennessee) and wife Mary HOWARD (born 1814 Tennessee). They married in Alabama in 1832 and are buried in Milam County, Texas.

Ezekiel's parents were John YOUNG (born in N.C.) and --?-- HOGG. Mary E. HOWARD was the daughter of James "Jim" HOWARD (born in S.C.) and Sallie AYERS (born in TN).

Where in Tennessee did these families live? If you have a clue to share, please contact Rebel "Dawn" Fendley by phone at 281-259-4016 or email rebelw@gmail.com.

Every-Name Index

MTGS Journal

Volume XXIX, 2015-2016

Indexed by Mary Lawrence

Introduction to the Index

We believe that every genealogical work requires a complete index, and to that end provide an every-name index in the fourth and final issue of each volume of the Journal. This index includes names, places and miscellaneous. Pagination of Volume XXVI began with page 1 in the Summer 2012 issue and continued through this issue. The following notes prepared during the indexing process will be helpful to the reader.

- Individuals identified in the text as *slaves/former slaves* are indexed with (slaves) entered before their name.
- If the maiden name of a female is known, she is listed under both her married and maiden names.

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