

The Industrial Transition

Chapter Preview

Terms:

transition, bright leaf tobacco, monopoly, graded school, normal school, furnishing merchant, Farmers' Alliance, farmer cooperative store, money supply, collateral, Populist Party, Fusionists, white supremacy

a-zGLOSSARY

People:

George H. White, Annie Lowrie Alexander, Stephen Slade, Richard J. Reynolds, Washington Duke, James Buchanan Duke, Leonidas L. Polk, Furnifold M. Simmons, Charles B. Aycock

Places:

Marion, Concord

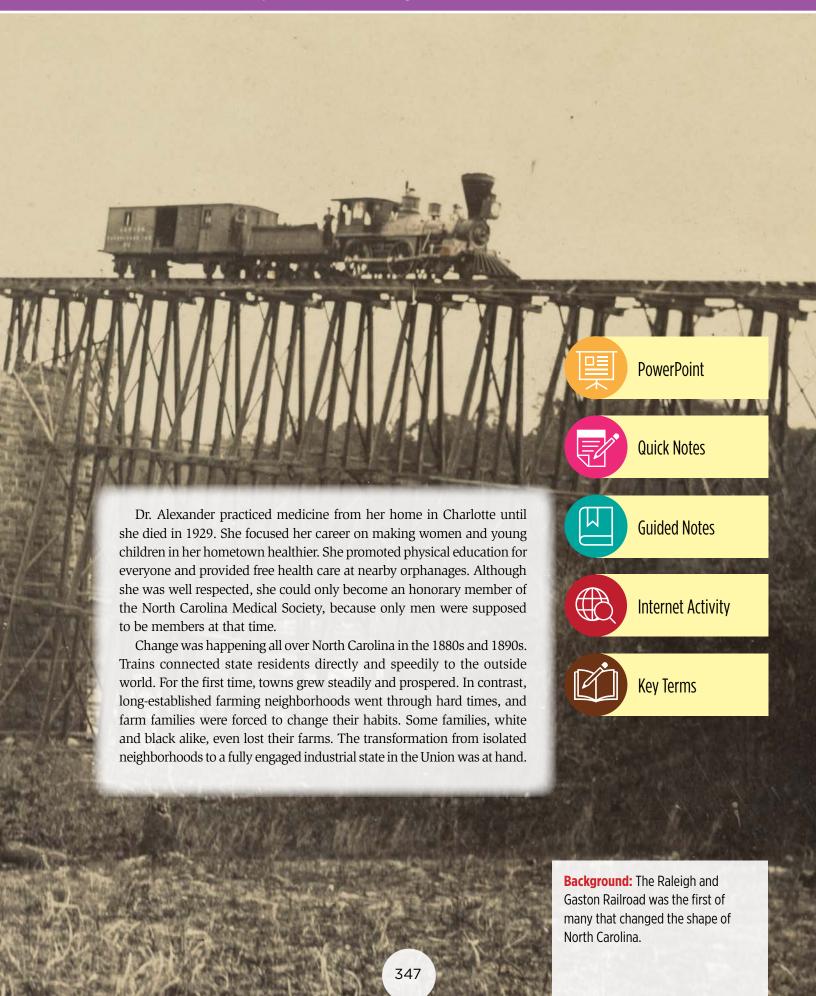
In the years after Reconstruction, many North Carolinians saw things happen they thought would never come true in their state. African American men, for example, continued to vote and have a voice in state government, despite white resentment. One black leader, George H. White of New Bern, served the state for twenty-five years. The Bladen County native graduated from Howard University in Washington, DC. After the Civil War, he became a school principal, then was one of the state's first African American lawyers. Three times White won election to represent North Carolinians in the United States Congress.

Just as startling to some traditional North Carolinians was the achievement of a woman. Annie Lowrie Alexander became the very first licensed female physician in the state. Miss Alexander, the great-granddaughter of educator David Caldwell, grew up in Mecklenburg County. She was homeschooled by her father and attended the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. She graduated in 1884 and, in 1885, took her medical examination

Right: Annie Lowrie Alexander, from Mecklenburg County, was the first licensed female physician in the southern United States.

with ninety-nine men. She earned

the highest grade.



Signs of the Times



U.S. Expansion

During this period, the western states of Colorado, North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah were added to the Union. In 1898, the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the U.S. by a joint resolution of Congress.

Population

The state grew by a half million people from 1870 to 1900. The biggest change was urbanization. For the first time, 10 percent of the people lived in towns.

Immigration

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 mandated a complete ten-year suspension of immigration into the U.S. by Chinese laborers. It also placed new requirements on Chinese who had already entered the country. In 1892, the act was extended by the Geary

Act, which regulated Chinese immigration until the 1920s.

Invention

Two of the biggest inventions of the period were the telephone in 1877 and the electric light bulb in 1879. Raleigh had the first telephones in the state by 1882, but the first electric lights did not come until the 1890s.

Sports

Wake Forest College won the first college football game played in North Carolina when it beat the University team, 6-4, in 1888. In 1895, an unnamed UNC player made sports history when he accidentally threw the first "forward pass" in football history, at a game in Atlanta.

Literature

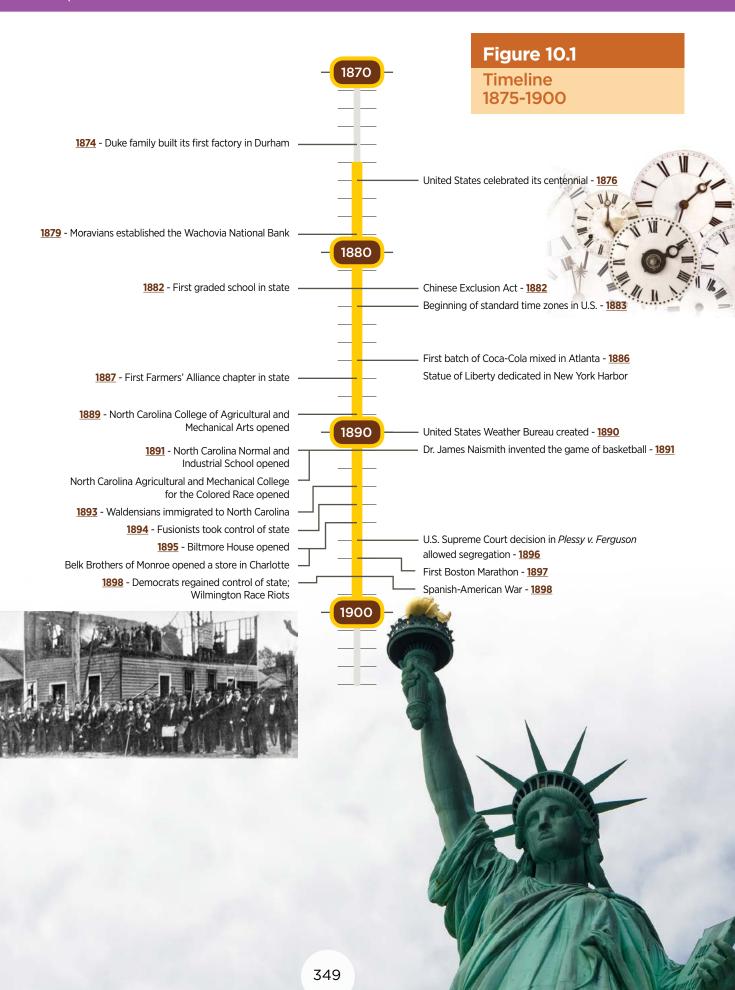
Most of the literature of the period was devoted to "local color," where the writer visited a place and described it and its people in detail. Charles W. Chesnutt, who grew up in Fayetteville, told stories about black families who lived in the Sandhills and Cape Fear.

Science

Professor Henry L. Smith, who taught at Davidson College's medical school, first used X-rays for the study of the body. Professor Francis P. Venable of the University in Chapel Hill helped develop the Bunsen burner, later to be used by just about every North Carolina student in high school science lab.

Food

"Soft drinks" became the fashion, because alcohol was dangerous for someone who worked around machines. The most famous soft drink was Coca-Cola in Atlanta. Caleb D. Bradham developed Pepsi Cola at his drug store in New Bern in 1898. Within ten years, it was being sold in twenty-four states.



Setting a





Below: Wilmington, shown here about the turn of the twentieth century, was the first North Carolina city to have a population above 10,000.

Section 1

Railroads Lead to Town Growth

As you read, look for

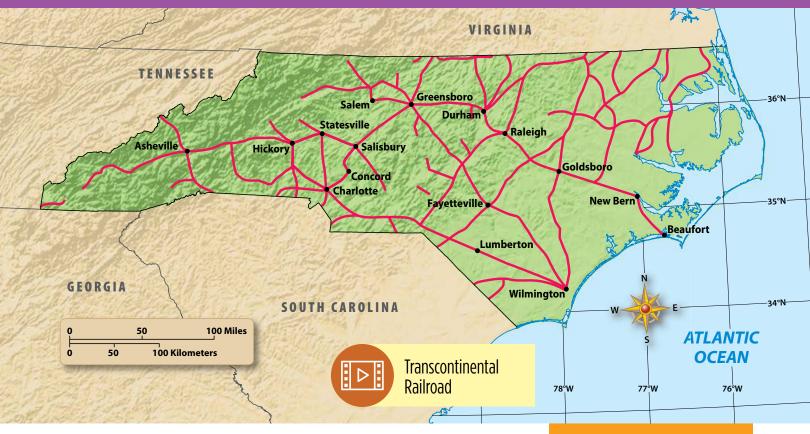
- how North Carolina began the transition into an industrial state;
- the growth of cities and towns;
- ▶ the start of North Carolina's furniture industry;
- term: transition.

Most of North Carolina's towns grew rapidly after Reconstruction. During the Civil War, only Wilmington had more than ten thousand people and seemed big enough to be a city. Forty years later, at the start of the twentieth century, a much bigger Wilmington—with twenty thousand people—remained the state's largest town and most important seaport. But it was no longer the only town in the process of becoming a city. Charlotte, Winston (soon to combine with nearby Salem), and Asheville all *rivaled* (compared with) Wilmington in size. The growth of these western towns was evidence that North Carolina was in a time of **transition** (the beginning of important and long-lasting change).

Reasons for the Transition

Why had this happened? There were two reasons. First, the railroads the Republicans restored during Reconstruction finally connected North Carolina with the outside world. For the first time in state history, North Carolinians could trade easily and cheaply with other states and nations. By the 1890s, railroads had been completed from the coast at Beaufort through the mountains all the way to Murphy, the state's westernmost town. In all, more than 3,600 miles of track had been laid or repaired since the war. By 1890, North Carolina was connected in every direction to railroads in the rest of the United States.





Because of the railroad, people all over the state began to grow or gather every type of product they could find that someone, somewhere in the world, would buy. For example, folks in the mountains picked tons of blackberries and dried them. Merchants in towns like Statesville and Marion shipped them to Montana for ranchers to eat. Down east, farmers near Wilmington grew strawberries. Each spring, trains took the berries, which sat in baskets on ice, to Philadelphia and New York within two days of their picking. This type of trade encouraged the growth of towns along the railroads, because it was not practical for the train to stop at every farm along the way.

Second, North Carolinians quickly learned after Reconstruction that, if they processed their raw materials into finished products (for example, tobacco into cigarettes and cotton into cloth), the price they received would increase. This idea encouraged the leading merchants to invest their store profits into factories, where hired workers turned raw materials into consumer goods. Most of the first factory workers were native North Carolinians who had moved off their farms and into town. This movement continued to swell the size of communities.

Thus, during the late 1880s, North Carolina went through what one schoolteacher of that day called "the industrial transition"—a time of change that was making it into a new type of state. By 1900, it was becoming the most industrial state in the South. Although it did not have nearly as many factories as most northern states, it increasingly depended upon manufacturing to provide jobs for its citizens.

Map 10.1

North Carolina Railroads, 1890

Map Skill: Which towns would you pass through on the most direct route from Beaufort to Durham?



the North Carolina
Transportation Museum in
Spencer, near Salisbury?
It is located on the site of
Spencer Shops, where the
Southern Railway Company's
locomotives were serviced
from 1896 to the late 1970s.
Today, visitors can see
an authentic train depot,
antique automobiles, and a
roundhouse with twenty-five
locomotives.



Concord, an Industrial Town

Concord was a case in point. At the time of the Civil War, Concord had fewer than one thousand people. Its one factory made everything from nails to cotton yarn to burlap bags, but it seldom made a profit. Concord shipped what it could by slow wagon to distant seaports. Once the North Carolina Railroad was restored after the Civil War, nearby farmers began to grow a lot of cotton, and the cotton factory was revived. By the 1890s, Concord had a half dozen cotton mills. Farmers came from more than fifty miles to sell their cotton, vegetables, and fruits. By 1900, more than four thousand people lived in Concord. Most of them were connected to the new industrial work.

Concord looked just like every other industrial town in the state. Its downtown was a cluster of brick buildings that housed stores, hotels, and churches. On the main streets that radiated out from downtown lived the richer families who owned the stores or served the churches and schools. Their houses were generally full of fancy furniture and other items brought from the North by train. On one end of town lived African Americans, in a separate neighborhood. On the other end of town was the mill village, another new form of

living in North Carolina, where factory workers lived in houses rented from the factory owners. In towns like Concord, black laborers and white mill hands had their own separate schools, churches, and stores.

Cabarrus County Textile Mills, 1880-1930

New Towns on the Railroads

North Carolinians even built new towns during this period. High Point had begun as a depot on the North Carolina Railroad in 1854. It became a key trading spot after the plank road from Salem to Fayetteville was completed. Soon merchants clustered their stores along the plank road. By the 1890s, leading families started furniture factories there to make use of the wood being brought in by farmers from the nearby Uwharries. Burlington started out as a sidetrack called Company Shops, where the North Carolina Railroad had its repair yards. Depots also drove the development of Gastonia, Durham, and Hickory. Each of these locations grew from a mere *hamlet* (small settlement) to a thriving industrial town within thirty years. Hickory, for example, had a depot, a tavern, five stores, a church, and a few houses in 1865. In 1900, the town contained a dozen churches, more than fifty stores, six hotels, and twenty factories.

The development of new towns hurt the growth of older towns that were not as well connected to the railroads. Burlington, for example, soon overshadowed nearby Graham. By 1900, Gastonia had stopped the growth of Dallas. The same was true when the railroad from Winston was laid on the other side of the Yadkin River from Wilkesboro; North Wilkesboro was the result.

Above: The prosperity of postwar cotton funded the building of a new Cabarrus County Courthouse in 1876. Today, it houses the local history museum.

The Rise of Charlotte

The largest shift in size in the western half of the state came in the comparative importance of Charlotte and Salisbury. At the start of the Civil War, the two towns were fairly equal in size and level of economic activity. After the war, however, Salisbury did not get as many railroads as Charlotte. Barely two thousand people lived in the Mecklenburg County seat in 1860. By 1900, Charlotte had become the intersection of railroads coming from six directions, and had grown to have eighteen thousand people. Salisbury, with six thousand people, was not much more than twice as large as it had been in 1860, when it had the same two railroads.

In every town that was growing, factories were as important as trains to the process of development. Soon after Company Shops, for example, got a coffin factory in 1884, it assumed its new name, Burlington. Some towns—like Durham, Winston, and Concord—got so many important factories that they became known as mill towns.

It's Your Turn

- 1. What was the state's largest city at the beginning of the twentieth century? What is the probable reason this city was the largest in the state at that time?
- 2. What effect did closeness to a railroad line have on a town's growth?
- 3. What was the origin of the town of Burlington? When did it change its name?



The owners of the mill villages often acted in a "paternalistic" manner toward their workers. One year, a mill owner gave each of his female employees a parasol for Christmas.

Below: The first building for the Bull Durham Tobacco Company was completed during the 1870s.



specialFeature

Growing Up...

In a Cotton Mill

The early cotton mills of North Carolina were always full of young people. The mills built before the Civil War hired mostly young women, because young men could easily make more money working on a farm. At Cedar Falls in Randolph County, as many as two-thirds of the workforce were young women in their teens or twenties. Occasionally a young boy was hired at the factory. If he worked hard, the owners might train him to be a boss. William H. Branson became an orphan at age twelve in the 1860s. This son of a blacksmith worked his way up at Cedar Falls. He then went to Durham and helped Julian S. Carr, the owner of Bull Durham Tobacco, start that city's first cotton mill. Today, there is a Branson Hall at Duke University named in his honor.

The decline of farming after Reconstruction left young men with fewer opportunities. Thousands of young men came with their families to the factories in towns like Concord and Gastonia. By the 1890s, the majority of the cotton mill workers in the state were male. Their average age was about twenty. Some were mere boys.





By 1900, child labor was used in just about every cotton mill in the state. For example, more than one hundred children went to work every day for twelve hours at a time in the Odell Mills in Concord. Boys as young as eight were doffers, who took the filled bobbins of yarn off their pipes and replaced them with empty bobbins. Young girls tended to be spinners. Their main task was to reach into the machines and twist together broken pieces of yarn. It was not physically demanding; as one worker remembered, it was "just drudgery."

To deal with the long hours, some young girls in the Odell Mills played games with one another when their boss was not watching. Minnie Scarboro, who was ten at the time, took old bags and cut out paper dolls with scissors used for trimming the yarn. She traded dolls with her friends at nearby machines. One day they were caught by their boss, a gruff old man. After the boss "cursed us," Minnie went home crying. When Mr. Odell learned what had happened, he threw the boss's tool kit out of the window of the mill and fired him.

Most of the children had to work, because the mill paid so little that only a "family wage" could pay the bills. Children were not even paid directly; the money they earned was given to their parents. Many child laborers only went to school for brief periods. In some families, it was assumed that schooling ended with the teenage years, and work began.

North Carolina passed laws to restrict the use of child labor in 1913. The state also passed compulsory education laws, to make children go to school. Yet, many mills ignored the laws, and there were very few state officials around to enforce them.











Curing brings out the flavor and aroma of tobacco. Before curing, a tobacco leaf contains 80-85 percent water.

Right: The flue-curing process dries tobacco leaves and turns them bright yellow without allowing smoke to change the flavor.

Section 2

Tobacco and Textiles Spur the Transition

As you read, look for

- a slave's discovery that improved tobacco;
- how the tobacco and textile industries developed in the state;
- the impact of steam power on manufacturing;
- terms: bright leaf tobacco, monopoly.

In the years after the Civil War, North Carolinians did their best to take advantage of the marketing made possible by the trains. They scoured their sheds and searched their fields and forests for items they could ship and sell outside of the state. The two products that sold the best were tobacco and cotton, which prompted some North Carolinians to build their own factories and sell their finished goods for a higher price.

Bright Leaf Tobacco

In 1852, Stephen Slade, a slave on a Caswell County plantation, discovered that controlled heat improved the curing of tobacco. The colorful result also had a fragrant smell and mild taste. Word of this discovery prompted tobacco farmers all along the Virginia border to "flue-cure" their tobacco. This procedure involved putting a stove just outside the tobacco barn and allowing heat into the barn through a metal pipe called a flue. The heat would dry the leaves without the smoke changing the flavor and would turn the leaves yellow. Eventually, people called this improved product **bright leaf tobacco**.



Bright leaf tobacco became as important to North Carolina in the 1800s as naval stores had been in the 1700s, because the railroad made it known worldwide. In 1865, the Union army chased the last Confederate army to the area around Durham Station. The Yankee soldiers helped themselves to bright leaf tobacco warehoused there. Some of them liked it so much that they began to write to the Durham stationmaster to have him send them more. This time they offered to pay for it, so John R. Green and William T. Blackwell went into business buying tobacco from nearby farmers, bagging it, and sending it out by rail. Soon after, Julian S. Carr became a partner, and they called their product Bull Durham Tobacco.



Bull Durham, ground-up bright leaf tobacco sold loose in cloth bags, became one of the first famous brand names in United States history. The partners grew richer than anyone else in the state.

Businessmen throughout western North Carolina competed with Bull Durham. Winston, for example, had more than fifty tobacco factories at one time or another, including one run by a young Virginian, Richard J. Reynolds. Back in Durham, Washington Duke started bagging his own tobacco at his kitchen table on his nearby farm. By 1874, Duke and Sons had started a factory next to the Bull Durham plant, just feet from the North Carolina Railroad.

HAVE YOU OVISITED...

the Duke Homestead? At this state historic site in Durham, visitors can tour the Duke family's restored home, an early factory, a curing barn, and a packing house. The Tobacco Museum traces the history of tobacco from Native American times to the present day.





At the time, inhaling was thought to be a healthy thing to do, because smokers felt the "lift" caused by the chemical nicotine. They did not yet know about its addictive effects.

Buck Duke's Monopoly

In the 1880s, James Buchanan Duke, the son of Washington Duke, decided to take the next logical step in manufacturing tobacco. The mildness of bright leaf had made Americans more likely to roll cigarettes than to

use the tobacco in a pipe. Where most pipe and cigar smoking involved only the mouth, cigarettes called for the smoke to be inhaled into the lungs. Cigarettes were particularly popular in northern cities where workers could keep them in their mouths and still work with both hands.

Some New York City businessmen were already hiring people to roll cigarettes for sale, paying them pennies for every dozen made. "Buck" Duke, as he was known, learned that there were machines that could make cigarettes faster and more efficiently. During the 1880s, Duke gained exclusive rights to use one of the best machines. It had been invented by James Bonsack of Virginia. The Bonsack Machine could make cigarettes forty times faster than any human roller. By 1890, Duke and Sons had made so many cigarettes so cheaply that they had put the New York companies out of business. The Dukes became so successful that they even bought up the Bull Durham Company and most of the other factories throughout western North Carolina.

Above: Bull Durham Tobacco Advertisement, August 1915. **Left:** James Buchanan Duke.



During the Civil War, Edwin Holt hid his cotton in the woods so that Union soldiers would not burn it.

Below: As a photographer for the National Child Labor Committee, Lewis Hine documented child labor to help the Committee end the practice. He photographed this young doffer boy as he replaced the filled bobbins with empty ones. Bottom: Another Lewis Hine photograph shows doffers and their superintendent at the Catawba Cotton Mill in Newton. Ten of the forty mill employees were boys and girls this size. (These pictures date to the early 1900s.)

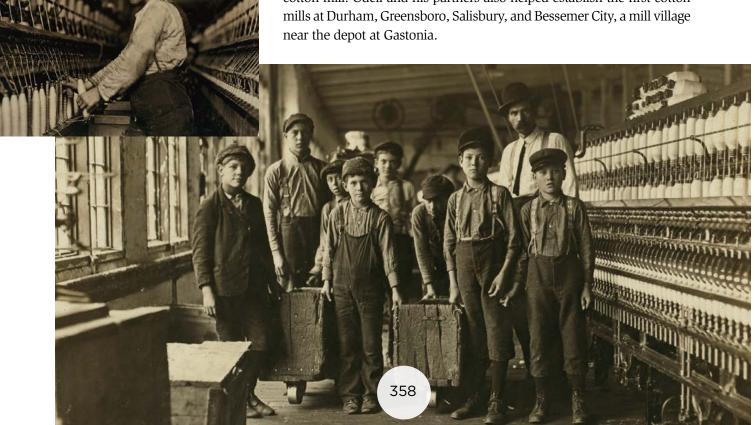
By the 1890s, Buck Duke was not only the richest North Carolinian, he was one of the richest Americans. He moved to New York City to run the American Tobacco Company, although most of his cigarettes continued to be made back in Durham. Duke became known throughout the nation for his tobacco **monopoly**. That is, he personally controlled most of the tobacco production in the country. R. J. Reynolds, for example, sold his plug tobacco (a tightly wound tobacco wad from which the user cut off pieces for chewing) through Duke's company.

Duke, Carr, and other tobacco manufacturers soon put some of their wealth into the other important industry in the state: cotton textiles. The tobacco industry needed bags for its product that could be manufactured out of the cotton grown in North Carolina fields.

Cotton Mills along the Railroads

North Carolinians had tried to build cotton mills even before they had railroads. The Whigs who took over the state after 1835 started cotton factories on the streams of the Uwharries before the Civil War. Many did not last long. The problem of shipping the cloth on poor roads undid many manufacturers. A Wilkesboro merchant, for example, refused to accept cloth from Randolph County because it was delayed on muddy roads and became mildewed.

After the Civil War, several manufacturers moved their mills to the towns along the newly rebuilt railroads. Edwin M. Holt took advantage of postwar prices to make profits in his old Alamance mill. By the 1880s, Holt's sons were operating mills around the new town of Burlington. John Milton Odell, who started out as a clerk at the Cedar Falls factory on the Deep River, opened stores in Greensboro, High Point, and Concord. Odell and a group of partners bought up an old Concord factory in 1877. When Odell doubled the size of his mill in 1890, it became the state's largest cotton mill. Odell and his partners also helped establish the first cotton mills at Durham, Greensboro, Salisbury, and Bessemer City, a mill village near the depot at Gastonia.



By the 1890s, cotton mills were being operated in just about every town along the North Carolina Railroad. One of the reasons Charlotte grew so big was its development of machine shops and warehouses to supply the parts for textile machines. The number of *looms* (the machines that weave yarn into fabric) more than doubled in the state just between 1893 and 1896.

Steam Power Aids Manufacturing

By the 1890s, just about every town in North Carolina had some sort of new factory. Most were run with steam engines, just like trains were, and no longer depended upon waterpower from nearby streams. Tarboro and Wilmington had plants that made fertilizer out of cottonseed. Winston and Salem, which were growing together during this time, had eight wagon shops. Factories in Charlotte made cotton mill equipment, brooms, wagon spokes, drainpipes, saddles, mattresses, and candy. Goldsboro had a factory that polished rice. The most unusual business of all was the botanic depot of the Wallace Brothers of Statesville. They bought "roots, barks, berries, and herbs" from merchants in the mountains and shipped them to drug companies in the North. They marketed more than two thousand different items that grew naturally in the mountains. The biggest seller was ginseng, which was sold in China as a tonic.

It's Your Turn

- 1. What curing process led to the growth of the tobacco industry in North Carolina?
- 2. Who was the richest North Carolinian at this time? With what industry was he associated?
- 3. Give a definition and an example of a monopoly.

Above: Fresh ginseng root.

Below: This postcard shows
the north side of the Odell
Manufacturing Company in Concord
and the many mill houses scattered
around the plant.



Audiobook Chapter 10-3



Below: After the Civil War, the railroad was essential to the growth of towns like Kinston. These cotton bales are waiting for shipment at the Kinston railroad station.

Section 3

Transition in the Towns

As you read, look for



- how the growth of towns led to the expansion of churches;
- the new schools and colleges established in the state;
- advancements in technology, banking, and journalism;
- terms: graded school, normal school.

Life in North Carolina began to take on a more urban character as towns grew after Reconstruction. Not only were there more stores, but towns all began to offer a greater variety of goods, services, and activities once the railroads ensured people new ways to make a living. By 1883, for example, Concord residents could eat wheat grown in Kansas and pork cured in Cincinnati. Many of the goods sold in Greensboro stores originated in wholesale warehouses in Baltimore, Maryland.

More and more people began to go to church as the towns grew. In many cases, older churches outgrew their sanctuaries and needed new buildings. By the 1890s, most downtowns were surrounded by a half dozen churches. These included the always-popular Baptist and Methodist churches for whites and the African Methodist Episcopal and A.M.E. Zion





Date	Rural	Urban	Percent Urban
1880	1,344,634	55,116	3.9
1890	1,502,190	115,759	7.2
1900	1,707,020	186,790	9.9

New Schools and Colleges

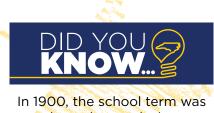
A new form of education—the graded school—was introduced in the towns. Graded schools required students to pass certain tests before proceeding on to the next step, or grade. Charlotte had the first graded school in the state in 1882. Winston had the same sort of school by 1884. In most cases, the start of a graded school for white children also resulted in the construction of a similar, but separate, school for black children. Black children went to one in Winston in 1887.

Higher education became part of town life. Most of the state's first colleges, like Wake Forest and Davidson, were located in their own little villages before the Civil War. After Reconstruction, this changed as new schools were established in the new towns. The state expanded its public education offerings. To provide industrial education, the state opened the North Carolina College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts in Raleigh in 1889. The school, today known as North Carolina State University, was originally for white men only. Each student received "technical training," and all students had military training. Because women were increasingly teaching in the new graded schools, the North Carolina Normal and Industrial School (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) was started in 1891. A **normal school** was a teacher-training institution. Churches also started colleges in town during the period: the Methodists moved Trinity College to Durham, the Lutherans started Lenoir (later hyphenating it with Rhyne) in Hickory, and the Baptist Female University (now Meredith College) opened in Raleigh.

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Figure 10.2

Population of Urban/ **Rural North Carolina**



only twelve weeks long.





Trinity College eventually became Duke University.

Left: These are students at a graded school in Cherryville. When asked by the photographer, about one-thrid said they had worked at some time in a cotton mill.

IN **OTHER** WORDS

Capacious means "large in capacity" or "able to hold a lot."

Below: This 1911 postcard depicts a street scene in a section of Charlotte called "Granite Row." This early business district included millinery shops, a bank, and a tearoom at street level with residences above. The crowd on the corner could be waiting for the streetcar.

African American colleges grew after Reconstruction as well, with state normal schools developed in Fayetteville, Elizabeth City, Franklinton, and Plymouth. In 1891, as "the higher grades of the industrial life" were spreading, the state established North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race (now North Carolina A&T University) in Greensboro. By the 1890s, Shaw University in Raleigh was "well-established" with "handsome and capacious buildings" that included medical, pharmaceutical, and law schools. Nearby was St. Augustine's Normal School. Other African American colleges of the day included Livingstone in Salisbury, Biddle in Charlotte, and Slater Industrial Institute in Winston. Slater would later be named Winston-Salem State University, and Biddle would be renamed Johnson C. Smith.

New Technologies and Ideas

North Carolinians not only learned about the new ways of industry in school, they also introduced new technologies in most of their towns. Not long after the telephone was invented, a store in Winston had one that connected it directly to the train depot. Both Charlotte and Winston got their first electric streetlights in 1887. Winston had an electric streetcar by 1890; Charlotte had its own three years later.



North Carolinians also adopted a new type of bank. During the Civil War, the United States Congress started a new national banking system to provide a better supply of currency. Charlotte interests started the Commercial National Bank (an ancestor of what became Bank of America) at the end of Reconstruction. In 1879, Moravian families started Wachovia National Bank in Winston.

Because so many new stores could advertise, daily newspapers became fixtures in the larger towns. *The Charlotte Observer* was first issued in 1869, went broke in the 1880s, then was revived in the 1890s. In 1880, two dailies in Raleigh were merged to create *The News and Observer*.

The daily newspapers, in particular, encouraged new industry. For example, they promoted "cotton mill campaigns" to get local investment for new ventures. The editors claimed that new factories meant more jobs for the increasing numbers of farmers who had left the land and moved to town. In fact, by the early 1890s, a crisis had developed out in the country: North Carolina farmers were as broke and disadvantaged as their ancestors had been back before the coming of the railroads.

It's Your Turn

- 1. What types of schools were established during the period? Explain their purpose.
- 2. List three signs of growth or progress in North Carolina towns and cities during this period.
- 3. Why did newspapers conduct "cotton mill campaigns"?



Above: The Commercial National Bank was founded in Charlotte at the end of Reconstruction. This building dates from the early twentieth century. Below: The Charlotte Observer had a shaky start in the late nineteenth century but has survived into the twenty-first century. After serving the newspaper for 45 years, this headquarters building was torn down in 2016 after The Charlotte Observer moved to the NASCAR Plaza office tower to compete in the digital age.









James W. Cannon of Concord went farm to farm in Stanly County, soliciting farmers to grow cotton for him. Cannon eventually started Cannon Manufacturing Company, which later became Fieldcrest Cannon.

Section 4

Transitions in the Countryside

As you read, look for



- problems faced by the state's farmers;
- the expansion of sharecropping;
- organizations founded to help the state's farmers;
- ▶ terms: furnishing merchant, Farmers' Alliance, farmer cooperative store, money supply, collateral, Populist Party.

While North Carolina's urban population grew after Reconstruction, the vast majority of the state's residents continued to live in the country. In fact, the farming communities were growing as fast as the towns. This created a crisis. By 1890, there were so many farm families that there was not enough "good land" that was fertile enough to raise good crops. As a result, many farm families lost money for years. Some farmers actually lost control of their finances and even their land and homes.

More Farms, Same Amount of Land

How North Carolina farming got so crowded can be understood by looking at the growth of Stanly County, located in the Uwharries. There were just over eight hundred farms there in 1850, when North Carolina was finally becoming prosperous. Because the state was no longer "Rip Van Winkle," very few of these families left the county and moved west. After the Civil War, when the children of these families grew up, they too stayed in the area and tried to farm. By 1890, Stanly had more than two thousand farms, and those farmers were plowing twice as much land as they had before. Much of this newly farmed soil was not very productive. Farmers just starting out had a harder time making things grow than had their fathers and grandfathers. To compensate, farmers went to town and borrowed money from **furnishing merchants**—storekeepers who let them buy fertilizer, seeds, tools, and other supplies to make a crop.

Background: The Uwharrie National Forest in North Carolina was once largely cleared for timber and farmland.

The furnishing merchants in town and at new country crossroads stores all over the state were happy to provide credit. The farmers who borrowed from the furnishing merchants had to pay interest on the money they borrowed, which made the merchants even more money. Plus, many merchants loaned money and materials to farmers only if the farmer sold his crop to that particular merchant. That put the farmer at a disadvantage, since he did not have the ability anymore to shop around for the best price.

Falling Crop Prices

Borrowing in town created a second problem for farmers. Because they had to borrow, they increased the size of their crops to help pay back the loans. This was particularly the case in the 1890s. Cotton production went from 336,000 to 460,000 pounds. More significantly, because of the appeal of cigarettes, tobacco production grew from 36,000 pounds to 128,000 pounds. One of the rules of the marketplace is that, if *demand* for a product does not rise, a larger *supply* of the commodity will lower its price. By the 1880s, North Carolina farmers were hurt in the pocketbook by the fact that so many of them were doing the same thing. The more they grew each year to pay off their loans to merchants in town, the less they got back for all their hard work.

Thousands of farmers throughout the state—both black and white—went broke during the 1890s. They often could not pay off the loans to the merchants when their harvest was sold. The merchants then "carried over" their debt to the next spring. This also hurt the farmers, because their debt kept getting bigger. The farmers then logically bought more seed, tools, and fertilizer to plant even bigger crops. When thousands continued to do the same thing, the price they received for cotton and tobacco continued to be too low to pay off their debts.

A Growing Number of Sharecroppers

While merchants in town continued to make profits that they put into factories, many white farmers fell into the same sharecropping arrangements that African Americans had been forced into during Reconstruction. Almost 93,000 farmers were sharecroppers in 1900, compared to 53,000 in 1880. Sharecropping, remember, was the arrangement between the landowner and the farmer to split the profits from the harvest. Because the landowner wanted the most for his investment, he typically required the farmer to plant one crop only—usually cotton or tobacco—which was sure to sell and be used in the state's factories. This hurt sharecroppers, for they usually had to borrow even more money to buy food and clothing for their families while they grew the crop. Thus, the debt increased again. In many areas where cotton and tobacco farming was booming, the majority of farmers were sharecroppers.





Below: The J. A. Johnson family of Statesville is representative of a sharecropping tradition that continued into the 1930s and beyond.

Thousands of families became so discouraged they moved to town to take industrial jobs. John Frye, for example, was one of those young men from Stanly County who tried to make a living off the land. Frye had been wounded at Gettysburg and was partially disabled. He inherited about eighty acres—barely enough for himself, let alone his four growing sons. Frye borrowed year after year for fifteen years, seldom making any money. In 1885, he lost his land and continued on as a sharecropper. In 1890, Frye finally packed up his family and moved to the Odell cotton mill in Concord. All four of his sons became weavers.

North Carolina's leaders were aware by the 1880s that most farmers had problems. One of the reasons North Carolina College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts was opened in 1889 was to help farmers learn more efficient agricultural methods. Most farmers, of course, could not afford to go to college, so they organized into groups of like-minded neighbors to help one another. By the 1890s, the state's farmers had become angry enough to turn their organization into political protest groups.

Farmers' Organizations

In the 1880s, one North Carolinian became the champion of farmers throughout the state. Leonidas L. Polk, an Anson County native, became the first commissioner of agriculture for the state. After serving in that post, Polk became editor of *The Progressive Farmer*. This Raleigh newspaper tried to advise farmers about planting and help them solve their problems. When the **Farmers' Alliance**, which had been started in Texas by troubled farmers, reached North Carolina in 1887, Polk headed it. By 1890, Polk had moved to Washington, DC, to become the national head of the organization, in effect, the nation's chief farm leader. Polk died soon after. Had he lived, he might have been a strong candidate for president of the United States in 1892, because so many farmers across the nation were experiencing the same problems that North Carolina faced.



The Alliance first tried to help farmers by opening **farmer cooperative stores**. These stores bought fertilizer and other supplies in bulk, which lowered the cost. Too many farmers, however, were already so far in debt that they could not take advantage of the offers. Most of the co-op stores did not survive.

Polk and other Alliance leaders believed there was not enough money to go around in the nation to give farmers their fair share. The nation was rapidly building cities and factories in the North, and the **money supply** (the amount of currency and coin available for each person) was actually going down each year. If there was more money to go around, farmers would be able to borrow it at a cheaper rate. Plus, if farmers had more money in their pockets, they could grow less, which would make farm prices go up.

The Alliance leadership asked Congress, and in particular Senator Zeb Vance, to pass laws that would allow the government to print new money and loan it to farmers. The farmers would use their crops as **collateral** (something pledged to guarantee the repayment of a loan). Vance did not like the idea, because crops can easily be lost to weather or mismanagement. After Polk's death, angry Alliance leaders decided that farmers needed to elect their own congressmen to pass the new laws. Many Alliance members joined a new political group, the **Populist Party** or People's Party, to accomplish this.

It's Your Turn

- 1. How did a furnishing merchant earn a profit?
- 2. What demand did landowners place on sharecroppers? How did this hurt the sharecroppers?
- 3. What was the purpose of the Farmers' Alliance? Which North Carolinian became its national leader?



Top Left: Siler City still commemorates the memory of the Farmers' Alliance with a mural in its downtown district. Above: Leonidas L. Polk, an Anson County native, became the head of the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina.

special Feature

Carolina People

Charlie Soong

North Carolina has long had a close connection to the vast Asian nation of China. For example, in 1847, Matthew T. Yates of Raleigh became the first Christian missionary to go into that country. He served for forty years, and hundreds of other state residents went there to do similar service.

The most famous connection was a Chinese native who came to North Carolina as a refugee. He used the lessons he learned and the connections he made in North Carolina to create the most powerful family in China in the first half of the twentieth century.

Soong Jiashu (pronounced "soon yal-shue") was one of the impoverished Chinese who came to the United States at the time of the American Civil War. Soong worked for an uncle in a shop in Boston selling silk and tea. When the uncle objected to Soong going to an American school, Soong stowed away on a ship. The ship captain took pity on him and brought him home to Wilmington. The people of Wilmington befriended him, and he joined the Fifth Avenue Methodist Church. It was at this time that he became "Charlie." The local newspaper announced in 1880 that he was "the first Celestial (the nickname for Chinese there) that has ever submitted to the ordinance of Christian baptism in North Carolina." Soong met Julian S. Carr, the owner of Bull Durham Tobacco. Carr all but adopted Soong and paid for him to take courses at Trinity College. Carr then paid for his education at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee.

In 1886, Soong returned to China as a Methodist missionary. When he encountered financial hardship, he combined preaching with business. Soong proved to be an ambitious entrepreneur. After working as a translator for westerners at the largest flour mill in China, he saw a need for Bibles written in Chinese. He printed them and sold them to other missionaries. Soong then began to print literature for the Chinese Nationalists, reformers who wanted to reorganize the old empire along western ways. Soong himself became an ardent Nationalist. He also began to import the cigarettes made in Durham, which made him a multimillionaire.

Soong died during World War I, but his children, all of whom were raised to be Methodists, continued to be some of the most important citizens of Nationalist China. His first daughter was married to the richest man in China, H. H. Kung, head of the national bank. His second daughter was married to the president of the republic, Sun Yat-sen. His third daughter was married to the most important military figure of the republic, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang later was the head of the Nationalist government that went into exile on the island of Taiwan after World War II. His sons all created great fortunes in the Chinese republic and later in San Francisco and New York.

Section 5

A Troubled End to the Century



As you read, look for

- ▶ the origin of the Fusion movement;
- the 1898 election and its results;
- North Carolina's involvement in the Spanish-American War;
- terms: Fusionists, white supremacy.

As the nineteenth century came to a close, both North Carolina and the nation were involved in conflicts. The short-lived success of the Populists and Republicans in restoring Governor Holden's reforms came to an end with the election of 1898, when Democrats were returned to power in the state. Violence broke out in Wilmington as a result of that election. Also in 1898, the United States entered into war against Spain. The Spanish-American War ended quickly, and no North Carolina regiments were sent into battle, but several North Carolinians, both black and white, were recognized for their accomplishments in that war.



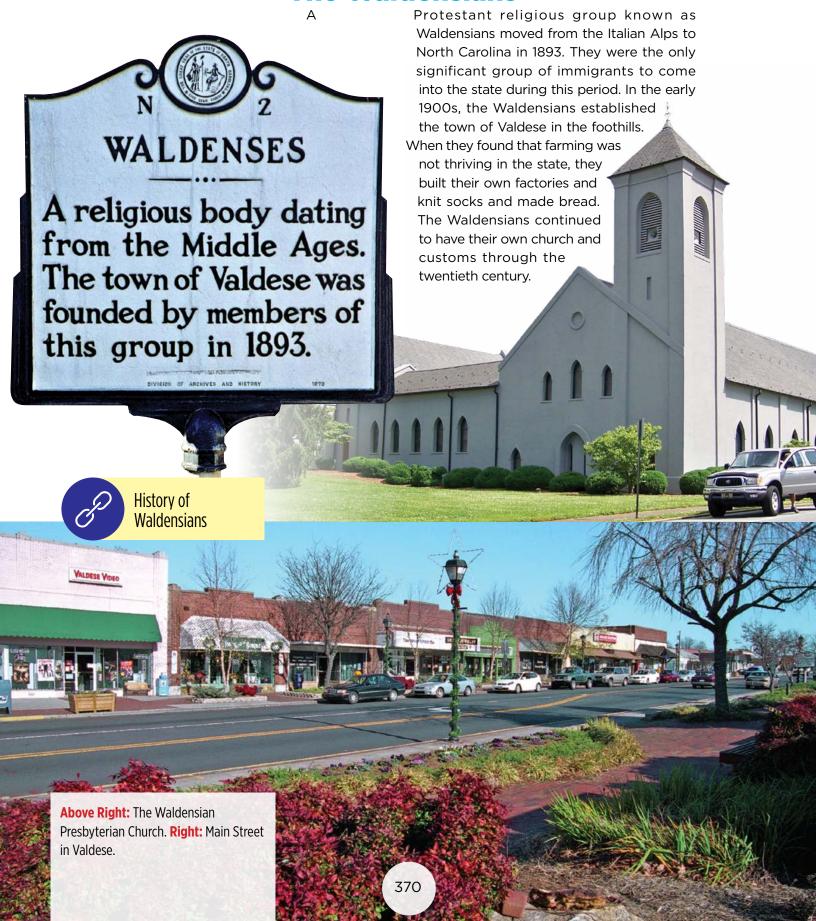
The Fusion Movement

The Populists in North Carolina ran candidates for the state legislature (which still chose U.S. senators) and for Congress throughout the 1890s. Most Populists had once voted for Democrats, the party that had canceled many of the reforms of Governor Holden. When the Populists did not win in 1892, the Republicans in North Carolina offered to help them win the 1894 election, in return for restoring some of the Holden reforms. The Republicans and the Populists nominated one set of candidates, with each party providing half of the contestants. Together, they swept the state.

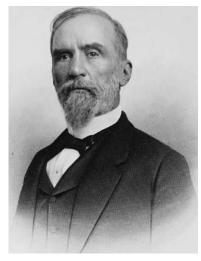
Above: This drawing, titled *El Pozo Centra*, Santiago, shows American soldiers engaged in battle in an open field during the Spanish-American War.

History by the Highway

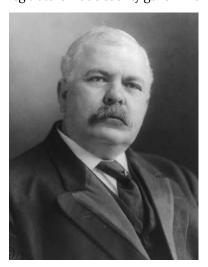
The Waldensians







The **Fusionists**, as they were called, controlled North Carolina from 1895 through 1898 and reintroduced many of the old Holden reforms. The legislature made county government elective again, allowing the people of



a county to choose their own justices of the peace. Fusionists also passed an election law calling for an election judge from each party to be present when votes were counted. All three political parties could now be sure that they were getting a fair count. The Fusionists wanted to improve schools in rural areas, but the farmers were not willing to pay more taxes.

Fusionist reforms clearly restored the fortunes of Republicans in the state. White voters in the Mountains had an easier time at the polling

place, as did black voters from the Coastal Plain. As a result, in the dozen counties where blacks were the majority, they elected African American of-

ficials. All thirty-two justices of the peace elected in Edgecombe County were black. Most of the city officials in Wilmington were black.

The reformers also attempted to help the poor of both races. They passed a law making it easier for people to pay back their debts without losing their land. The legislature even discussed taking tax money away from public universities and sharing it with private colleges, to give citizens more choices in education.



Top Left: Marion Butler, a leader of the 1890s Fusion movement in North Carolina, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1894. Top Right: John J. Mott was a key player in the creation of North Carolina's Fusion movement. Middle Left: Fusionist Jeter C. Pritchard was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1894 after the death of Zebulon B. Vance.

Below: George H. White served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives during the Fusion period.





The 1898 Election

All the Fusionist ideas alarmed the Democrats. If Republicans gained a new foothold, they feared the state would be plunged back into "Negro rule," and Democrats would lose their power. In particular, the leaders in the east saw they would no longer be able to control their own legislators and congressmen. Eastern Democrats, led by Furnifold M. Simmons of New Bern and Charles B. Aycock of Goldsboro, decided they would repeat the same type of racial slurs they had used during Reconstruction to recapture unhappy white voters. With their white supremacy campaign, the Democrats successfully took back control of North Carolina. White supremacy is the belief that the white race is superior to any other race.

The white supremacists organized clubs in every county in the state and, through sympathetic newspapers like *The Charlotte Observer* and *The News and Observer* of Raleigh, spread any stories they could about blacks making mistakes or committing crimes. They were helped when a white girl, Emma Hartsell of Cabarrus County, was murdered. A neigh-

borhood posse of whites and blacks immediately lynched two black men found with blood on their shirts. Emma's father had been a Populist; when he publicly regretted ever voting for Fusionists, the tide turned. As racial tensions worsened throughout the state, the Democrats won a narrow victory and took back the legislature from the Fusionists.

Just after election day, violence swept through Wilmington, as white mobs took vengeance on African Americans who had long run the city.

Republican officials were given hours to take a train out of town, black businesses were burned, and perhaps as many as sixty African American residents of Wilmington were murdered. Some of the bodies were thrown into the Cape Fear River. These episodes became known as the Wilmington Race Riots.

The Spanish-American War

North Carolinians had more on their minds than white supremacy in 1898. During the summer, the United States went to war with Spain over conditions in Cuba. During what came to be called the Spanish-American War, America won quick victories in Cuba and the Philippine Islands in the Pacific. The United States eventually *annexed* (took control of) the Philippines and helped Cuba become an independent nation.

North Carolina raised three regiments (large military units) for the war. Given the tensions of the times, the regiments were totally segregated. Two were made up of whites; the third was black volunteers. A white company from Hickory was even told it could not keep its black barber in camp, even though he was an official member of the unit. Despite the racial prejudices of the day, an African American, Charles Taylor of Charlotte, commanded the black regiment. Colonel Taylor became the highest-ranking black officer in the army during the war.

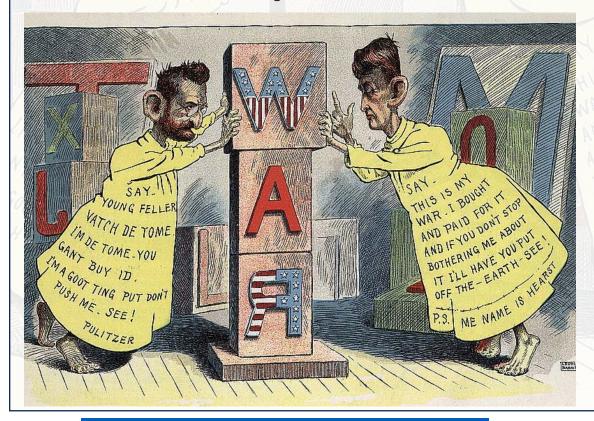
Above: In the Wilmington Race Riots, a mob of white men participated in an attack on the black newspaper, the *Daily Record*, burning down its building.

None of the North Carolina regiments came under fire in the war, but naval officer Worth Bagley, a Raleigh native, was one of the first Americans to be killed. State citizens soon erected a statue to honor his memory in the Capitol square. Several other state residents were later killed serving with the Philippine occupation forces in an unofficial war that lasted into the new century.



The Art of Politics

"Yellow journalism" is a term coined in the 1890s to refer to newspapers that relied on sensational reporting of crime and other stories to build up circulation. Sensationalist news reports following the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor is often given as one of the reasons for the Spanish-American War. In this cartoon, the two leading practitioners of yellow journalism, Joseph Pulitzer (left) and William Randolph Hearst (right) are shown pushing against a stack of children's blocks spelling "war," symbolically fighting over who deserved credit for starting the war.



It's Your Turn

- 1. Which two political parties formed the Fusion movement?
- 2. How did newspapers help to promote the white supremacy campaign?
- 3. In what ways did North Carolinians participate in the Spanish-American War?

special Feature

Carolina Places

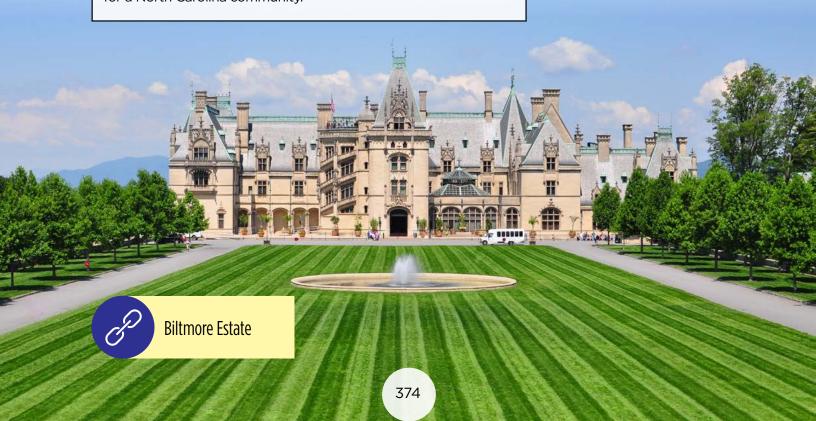
Biltmore House

One of the great ironies in the history of North Carolina is the fact that the state was so poor in the 1800s, yet one of the most expensive residences ever built was constructed here. The Biltmore House, originally a part-time home of the Vanderbilt family of New York City, was built just south of Asheville in the 1890s. It was then, and is today, the largest private residence in the United States.

Cornelius Vanderbilt made the family fortune as the owner of ships and, later, of railroads. Although the Vanderbilts owned mansions in New York City and Newport, Rhode Island, George Washington Vanderbilt (one of Cornelius's grandsons) wanted his own country house. During a trip to Asheville in the 1880s, Vanderbilt thought that the mountains were as lovely as those in Europe. He decided to build a manor here that would look like one in Europe. Vanderbilt proceeded to buy thousands of acres of forest south and west of Asheville. He had workers from across the nation come to build a town that looked like Switzerland. Biltmore Village, as it was called, served as the base for the construction of the Vanderbilt mansion. The village had a church, stores, a school, and a hospital. Its rental cottages had indoor plumbing and central heating, a first for a North Carolina community.















It took five years to complete the 250-room Biltmore House. All the limestone came from a quarry in Indiana and was brought by railroad through the mountains. The style closely matched a famous French *chateau* (great house) near Paris. The fireplace in the banquet hall was as large as any that had warmed a Renaissance king. Along the wall were hung five different French *tapestries* (cloth wall hangings that had pictures woven in) that were hundreds of years old. The Vanderbilts installed modern conveniences like a furnace, forty-three indoor bathrooms, a kitchen that could handle the meals for hundreds, an indoor swimming pool, and a bowling alley. Frederick Law Olmsted, who had laid out Central Park in New York City, designed the landscaped grounds. For example, the house is approached by two different driveways. Each is lined by exactly spaced tulip poplar trees.

Biltmore was more than just a house; it had a complete estate of farms and mills around it. Vanderbilt hired Gifford Pinchot, one of the first professionally trained foresters in the United States, to rehabilitate the thousands of acres that had been stripped of timber. Pinchot helped establish the country's first school of forestry in the Biltmore Forest. In addition, Vanderbilt started Biltmore Dairy, which produced milk from his own cows as well as cows from across the mountains. The dairy helped North Carolina become a leading dairy state in the early 1900s.

George W. Vanderbilt raised his family in the house. After Vanderbilt died in 1914, his widow reduced the family holdings, selling the village and the forest but keeping the dairy. A daughter opened the estate to the public in 1930, allowing tours. A grandson, William Cecil, began to renovate many of the most spectacular rooms in 1960. Members of the Cecil family have continued to restore the house and grounds. Over time, more and more of the estate came to be seen by the public. But even into the twenty-first century, Biltmore remains a home of the Vanderbilts' descendants. More than 1,500 people work there, and more than 900,000 people come to see the house, grounds, and forest each year.



Chapter Review



Chapter Summary

Section 1: Railroads Lead to Town Growth

- Industrial transition, the beginning of important and long-lasting change, happened all over North Carolina in the 1880s and 1890s.
- Trains connected North Carolina directly and speedily to the outside world. As a result, towns near railroads steadily prospered, while many rural neighborhoods went through hard times.
- Charlotte grew rapidly because it was at the intersection of railroads coming from six directions.
- In every growing town, factories were as important as trains in the town's development.

Section 2: Tobacco and Textiles Spur the Transition

- In the years after the Civil War, North Carolina's two major crops were tobacco and cotton.
- The Duke family of Durham became very successful in the tobacco industry and ran the American Tobacco Company.
- By the 1890s, almost every North Carolina town had some sort of factory. Most were cotton mills.

Section 3: Transition in the Towns

- Life in North Carolina took on a more urban character as towns and cities grew after Reconstruction.
- Graded schools, colleges, and universities became common in North Carolina in the late 1800s.
- Daily newspapers helped promote commerce through advertising as well as new industry through "cotton mill campaigns," which sought investment for new mills.

Section 4: Transitions in the Countryside

- By 1890, a transition also occurred in the countryside. Too little good land and falling farm prices caused problems for many farm families. These families often ended up either becoming sharecroppers or moving to towns to take industrial jobs.
- Many farmers joined the Farmers' Alliance in an effort to improve crop prices and conditions for farmers.
- Many Alliance members supported the Populist Party at the turn of the century.

Section 5: A Troubled End to the Century

- The Fusionists took control of North Carolina in 1894, but Democrats regained control in 1898 using a white supremacy campaign.
- North Carolina raised three segregated regiments for the Spanish-American War, but none came under fire.

Activities for Learning

Reviewing People, Places, and Things



Match the following with the correct description that follows.

monopoly	Fusionists	
Concord	Stephen Slade	
Farmers' Alliance	James B. Duke	
transition	bright leaf tobacco	

- 1. the beginning of important and long-lasting change
- 2. He discovered how to cure bright leaf tobacco.
- 3. This town was home to many factories, including Odell Mills.



- 4. This group acted like a union for its members, trying to improve conditions and wages.
- 5. when one person or business has complete control of an industry
- 6. Republicans and Populists formed this group in order to defeat Democrat candidates.
- 7. a popular good that became closely associated with North Carolina through the 20th century and beyond
- 8. He helped grow his family's tobacco empire in Durham.

Understanding the Facts



- 1. What were the two reasons North Carolina entered into a period of transition?
- 2. What type of state was North Carolina becoming by 1900?
- 3. What was one effect of the development of new towns?
- 4. What did almost every town along the North Carolina Railroad have in the 1890s?
- 5. What crisis did farming communities face by the early 1890s?
- 6. How did borrowing money from furnishing merchants affect farmers?
- 7. How did the supply of North Carolina farmers' crops affect their prices? How did this affect farmers in the 1890s?
- 8. What political party was formed in response to the farmers' problems?
- 9. What groups of people did Fusionist reforms benefit?
- 10. What party regained the legislature from the Fusionists?

Developing Critical Thinking



 What changes that led to North Carolina's industrial transition are still present in North Carolina business today?





 Explain the original name and the purpose and/ or the reason for establishment of the following North Carolina schools: North Carolina State University, UNC-Greensboro, Shaw University, and Winston-Salem State University.

Exploring Technology



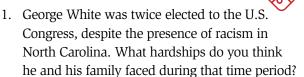
- Go to website www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/ nchist-antebellum/5343 and read more about Stephen Slade and his "discovery" of bright leaf tobacco. How do you think Stephen Slade should be remembered? How would you have felt if you were his master? Angry or grateful? Why?
- 2. Use a credible search engine to answer the following questions about the Wilmington Race Riots of 1898: (a) Why was Wilmington unique among southern cities? (b) How many African Americans were murdered on the streets during the riot? (c) When did the violence first begin?

Writing across the Curriculum



- Write a short report describing the sequence of events beginning with the discovery of bright leaf tobacco and ending with our modern understanding of the health risks caused by nicotine/cigarette smoking.
- Choose the Fusionist reform that you feel had the longest and greatest impact on the development of North Carolina and describe its importance.

Encountering Diversity



2. During the 1898 white supremacy campaign, one political party gained power by spreading stories about the other, causing fear and hatred. Using current events, research and provide an example of that kind of action occurring in society today (i.e., one group spreading fear and hatred towards another).