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TENNESSEE'S INVITATION TO CARPET-BAGGERS*

By W. B. HESSELTINE

The emphasis which has been placed upon the political history of the reconstruction of the South has tended to elevate the political "Carpet-Bagger" to a position of prominence. The less dramatic, but more abiding brother of the political adventurer who came to exploit the South, the economic "Carpet-Bagger," has been lost from sight. Moreover, with the recovery of conservative control in the southern states, the carpet-bagger, whether economic or political, has been made into a figure of ill repute. The more spectacular of the political adventurers doubtless deserved the odium which has been attached to the name, but even in the ranks of the political carpet-bagger there were many who do not deserve wholesale condemnation. The economic carpet-bagger, the man who came South, carpetbag in hand, after the war to exploit the natural resources of the land rather than the newly enfranchised freedman, deserves commendation rather than condemnation. In fact, the radical governments of the southern states, with the approval of the conservatives, attempted to encourage the immigration of Northerners and Europeans to their states. South Carolina and Tennessee established immigration boards to entice immigrants, and acts were passed to subsidize agencies which would send in immigrants.¹ In Tennessee, where many of the forces of reconstruction were more clear cut than in the other southern states, a considerable effort was made to attract immigrants.

Like most of the South, Tennessee had been shunned by immigrants before the Civil War. The presence of slavery, and the greater attractiveness of the western soils, combined to lead immigrants away from the South. More people left the slave states for the free states than came in from the North. In this situation, East Tennessee, which was not contaminated by the

*Read before the East Tennessee Historical Society at Knoxville, Oct. 2, 1931.

¹Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrants Guide* . . . , 129. For full title see n. 39.

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city at Knoxville, Oct. 2, 1931.
Immigrants Guide . . . , 129.

presence of the peculiar institution to an oppressive extent, suffered with the rest of the state. Despite the fact that an Englishman, residing in East Tennessee, published in London a brochure calling on dairy maids, Scotch shepherds with collie dogs, hatters, and textile workers to migrate to East Tennessee,² the section suffered from the general neglect which the immigrant accorded the South. East Tennesseans, as a result, adopted a defense mechanism and declared that they did not want immigrants among them. The raucous Parson Brownlow screamed to the Reverend Pryne: "Leave us in the peaceable possession of our slaves, and our Northern Neighbors may have all the paupers and convicts that pour in upon us from European prisons!"³ In 1850 only 178,174 out of a total free population of 763,285 in Tennessee had been born outside the state. Most of those had come from other southern states, and only 5,740 were Europeans.⁴

By 1860, Parson Brownlow, who always reserved the right to change his mind, began to feel that capital should be encouraged to migrate to East Tennessee to develop its mineral resources.⁵ The war left East Tennessee with a depleted population,⁶ and when Brownlow returned from exile, he began to advocate the immigration of loyal men into his section. "We call the attention of loyal men in other states to the wants of this portion of Tennessee, and especially Knoxville. We want . . ." tin shops, house carpenters, boot and shoe shops, tanneries, tailors, blacksmiths, saddlers, harness makers, carriage makers, and Union mechanics, "to take the place of a vile set of rebel lick-spitters who have had their day, and whose prospective course, and persecution of loyal men forbid that they should ever do business here again."⁷

Brownlow's interest in immigration was political and social rather than economic. In November, 1864, he deplored the fact that Union women walked the streets of Louisville begging, while

²H. Gray Smith, *A Brief Historical, Statistical and Descriptive Review of East Tennessee, United States of America: Developing its immense Agricultural, Mining and Manufacturing Advantages with Remarks to Emigrants* (London, 1842), 50.

³J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, I, 355. Cf. William G. Brownlow and Abraham Pryne, *Ought American Slavery be Perpetuated?* (Philadelphia, 1858).

⁴*Compendium of the U. S. Census for 1850*, 116-117.

⁵*Parson Brownlow's Book*, 213-214.

⁶T. W. Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee*, 302.

⁷*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, Jan. 16, 1864.

their husbands were in the Federal army. "Thanks to God," he exclaimed, "labor is everywhere remunerative, and when this war is over the scornful, proud, and bitter rebel woman will find herself upon a level with the poor Union woman, without a gang of negroes at her command. . . . We hope to see the day in East Tennessee when it will no longer be dishonorable for young ladies to learn to *sew* and work in the kitchen. Nay, we desire to see the day come when the honest and virtuous poor, who have been punished and persecuted by the hateful aristocracy, will be called upon, in mercy, to give their descendants employment."⁸ The abolition of slavery was, to Brownlow, a means of bringing about the millenium.

Colonel Nat G. Taylor, a leading Unionist, was also convinced that the end of slavery would save the state, and informed the Parson, just before he became governor, that the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment would cause an increase of three-quarters of a million in the population of the state, and with negroes free, the development of the great natural resources of the state would begin.⁹ In his inaugural address, Brownlow, elaborating on this theme, declared that slavery was a "nuisance" which had obstructed the development of the state. One of the signs of the times," he continued, "is that the natural features of the Southern States are now being expatiated upon, in order that enterprising emigrants may be led to come among us, and add to our capital and enterprise. Tennessee holds out inducements to wealthy and industrious emigrants that no other border state affords."¹⁰ But it is evident that Brownlow was more interested in the influx of capital than of labor, for, in his message to the legislature, he pointed out that there was reason to expect an increase of population after the war, and, enumerating the state debt, he suggested an increase of taxes.¹¹

The expected influx of capital to the South occurred. Cotton was high, and the southern planters were eager for capital. Desirous of selling their lands, the planters welcomed the northerner who came south with the idea that the negro would work for him out of gratitude. All over the Black Belt, cotton plan-

⁸*Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1864.

⁹Taylor to Brownlow, *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1865.

¹⁰*Whig and Ventilator*, April 12, 1865.

¹¹*Ibid.*, April 19, 1865.

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tations were sold or leased to ex-officers of the Union armies.¹² Newspapers in Tennessee urged their readers who had lands, mill or factory sites, or coal, copper, or lead mines, to advertise. The papers assured their readers that the notices would come to the attention of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers—"the very class of men . . . whose help is needed in developing the wealth of our great state."¹³ Companies were formed to develop the natural resources of the state. In 1865 the Tennessee Colonial, Agricultural, Mining, and Manufacturing Company, composed of one Tennessean and four New Yorkers, was chartered with a capital of \$200,000, and authorized to raise vineyards and engage in mining and manufacturing.¹⁴ The next year, the Tennessee Colonial and Immigration Company was formed.¹⁵ The companies were evidently intent on selling land to adventurous Yankees, but they do not seem to have accomplished much. In 1865 the state senate created a committee on immigration, which made no report.¹⁶ In the early part of 1867 the legislature incorporated, with a capital of five million dollars, the American Emigration Society, which was designed to sell land to northern and foreign immigrants.¹⁷

To some extent, these efforts to attract capital to Tennessee were successful. General J. T. Wilder, of Indiana, who had fought at Chattanooga and Knoxville, returned to Tennessee after the war, and began the manufacture of iron in Roane County.¹⁸ Iron foundries were opened by northern capital in Chattanooga,¹⁹ and the city directories of Chattanooga and Knoxville show a tremendous influx of northern business. In 1869 northern immigrants owned one-sixth of the property in Knoxville.²⁰

But if northern capital came to the South, northern labor did not. The conservative press was as eager as the radicals to obtain laborers. The Negroes were disorganized and were refusing to work, and the planters had hopes that northern and foreign labor would be steadier. "Immigration Societies,"

¹²W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 322-3.

¹³Nashville *Daily Press and Times*, Jan. 1, 1867.

¹⁴*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 34th General Assembly, 74.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 2nd session, 311.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 119-121.

¹⁸*Facts and Figures . . . Concerning East Tennessee*, 24.

¹⁹Chattanooga *News*, April 9, 1930.

²⁰Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig and Ventilator*, May 5, 1869.

mostly fraudulent, were formed to furnish labor to the planters,²¹ and in West Tennessee the planters perceived in immigration a means not only of restoring prosperity to agriculture, but of restoring the conservatives to power. The theory was advanced that Tennessee needed "a regular system of labor, and it can be obtained only by importation from abroad." Ignorant Germans and Irish, moreover, would vote as the planters directed. But the radical press pointed out that foreign immigrants who entered Missouri and the northwest "all vote the Republican ticket as faithfully as they hew wood and draw water."²²

The realization of the fact that the immigrants were supporters of the radical regime did not, in general, incline the conservatives to favor the newcomers. Despite the fact that the conservatives assured the immigrants that they were welcome, the radicals played up occasional outrages against them in order to keep them loyal to the Republican control. "Shoot and stab Union farmers, and burn down their sawmills," exhorted the radical press when a northerner's sawmill was burned; "It proves that rebels are anxious to encourage northern immigrants, and saves the trouble of proving one's loyalty by a test oath."²³ Such exhortations merely served to increase the resentment of the conservatives.

Whatever immigration of labor there was into Tennessee went into the eastern section. East Tennessee, loyalist and Republican, was the most orderly part of the state. The exodus of "a few men who made themselves obnoxious by their oppression of Union men during the war" and "sought more congenial society elsewhere" made room for "hundreds of families" of loyal men.²⁴ Of 367 immigrants who passed through Columbus, Ohio, in February 1867, 139 were going to Missouri and 35 to Tennessee. Since Missouri was also Republican, radicals in Tennessee, pointing out that Tennessee's immigration had increased since the passage of her radical laws, declared: "The people admire the radical policy."²⁵ West Tennessee received no immigrants because of its "ruffianism," while East Tennessee boasted of the arrival of from six to eight families a week.²⁶

²¹Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 318, 718.

²²Nashville *Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 13, 1867.

²³*Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1867.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1867.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1867.

²⁶*Ibid.*, March 19, 1867.

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"There is a large number of farmers in Tennessee," declared the radical organ in Nashville, "who are pressed for money, and would gladly sell a part of their lands, but no immigration comes to relieve them. Immigrants prefer lands of the strongly loyal portion of the state to the richest lands of this division, where there is a bitter opposition to the State Government. It is a remarkable fact that Missouri and East Tennessee are receiving more new settlers than all the rest of the South. Immigrants want peace, and they naturally seek that in loyal communities."²⁷

Possibly because of the unsettled condition of the state, most of the immigrants came in groups of several families, or even in colonies. In the summer of 1867 a colony of Pennsylvanians purchased some 40,000 acres of iron lands in Hickman County and proposed to manufacture iron. This colony was welcomed by the press of the state, and farmers with surplus lands were urged to offer small farms for sale to such immigrants. The colony was hailed as the "harbinger of better days" for the South.²⁸ At Sneedsville, a colony of thirty families of "thrifty and independent" Pennsylvanians was settled.²⁹ Lands in the South were selling at the time as cheap as five dollars an acre, and it was suggested that companies be organized in the north to buy up southern lands and settle them with German, Norwegian, or Dutch farmers. "No investment offers so sure and large a profit."³⁰

The desire for European immigrants even led the farmers of Maury County to contribute to the building of a Catholic church in Columbia, in hopes that Irish would be attracted to the community.³¹ The various German societies in Nashville called a meeting of all German citizens at Turner Hall "to take into consideration the best measures for promoting German immigration to this state." Simultaneous meetings were held in Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Memphis, and it was hoped that branch societies would be formed throughout the state. These societies would assist immigrants to find suitable locations, and help them get established.³² The "German Association of the City of Nashville" was established, and received a charter from

²⁷*Ibid.*, April 29, 1867.

²⁸*Ibid.*, April 22 and Sept. 11, 1867.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1868.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1868.

³¹*Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1867.

³²*Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1867.

the legislature. By the act of incorporation, the society was "authorized to procure laborers for parties applying to them; to act as agents for land owners desirous of selling their property, and for parties wishing to buy lands in the State of Tennessee."³³ The society held regular meetings for a time. At its first meeting, it suggested that the state establish a bureau of immigration.³⁴

When the legislators met in the fall of 1867, Governor Brownlow informed them that his "fond hope . . . that a tide of immigration would set in to this State from the Northern States and from Europe" had not been gratified. That the "mild and healthy climate, fertile soil, magnificent scenery, and pure and abundant water" of Tennessee had not enticed "men of capital and enterprise," he attributed to the "intolerant and proscriptive spirit" of the former Confederates. This spirit, said the governor, was the obvious result of the "insane" policy of President Johnson, "who constantly holds out . . . [to these pestilential disloyalists] . . . the prospect of being restored to power at an early day." But as the influence of Johnson was declining, Brownlow hoped for a better spirit in the state, and suggested that the legislature take steps to encourage immigration.³⁵ Both Senate and House appointed standing committees on immigration,³⁶ and in December, 1867, the State Board of Immigration of five members was established.

The State Board of Immigration was authorized to "do all and everything which may and will advance and encourage immigration." It might publish books and pamphlets, and advertise in northern newspapers. Agents were to be sent to northern and eastern states. One thousand dollars were appropriated to carry on this work, and the board was allowed to receive contributions from any who might be interested.³⁷ As commissioner under the board, Brownlow appointed the Reverend Hermann Bokum, formerly an agent of the Freedman's Bureau in East Tennessee, and described as a "ripe German scholar."

³³*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th General Assembly, 24.

³⁴*Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Aug. 21, 1867.

³⁵*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th General Assembly, Appendix, 15-16.

³⁶*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 35th Assembly, 303, 317.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 11-12 (December 4, 1867).

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During the war, Bokum had been in the immigration bureau of the Department of State in Washington.³⁸

Less than three months after his appointment, Bokum published a book setting forth the attractions of Tennessee. After a description of the state as a whole, Bokum dealt with the counties of each division. The thirty counties of East Tennessee were described in detail in forty-nine pages, whereas forty-two pages sufficed for the fifty-four counties of the other two divisions. In the general account of the state, East Tennessee was most frequently referred to, and generally to the disparagement of the other sections. West Tennessee received only fourteen pages, and most of them dealt with the city of Memphis where there were twelve thousand Germans.

The animus back of this preference for East Tennessee was obviously political. The war, declared Bokum, had swept away the institution of slavery, and afforded an opportunity for East Tennesseans and northerners to get acquainted. "And it gradually placed the people of East Tennessee, in consequence of their unbending loyalty, in a position of great influence in the direction of the affairs of the state." This position had been used to reestablish the state's finances, restore order, establish public schools, and develop the resources of the state. The agricultural resources were dealt with, but Bokum showed a greater enthusiasm in writing about the mineral resources and the industrial opportunities. The presence of slavery had hitherto prevented the working of the mineral resources, but Bokum anticipated a great stimulus in that field. As for manufactures, the people of East Tennessee were earnestly advocating their establishment. "They have come to the conclusion," he asserted, "that they are too poor to do without manufactories," and were realizing that an overemphasis on agriculture was

³⁸Knoxville *Daily Free Press*, Dec. 17, 1867; Bokum, *op. cit.*, 3-4, 126 note. The state comptroller in his report to the legislature believed that this state effort would bring results. "If cheap lands, a fertile soil, a most salubrious and invigorating atmosphere, a home market for all the products of the soil, are the considerations that influence immigrants in their choice of future homes, then surely Tennessee offers them all, with fewer drawbacks than does any other state in the Union. . . . Hitherto, the existence of slavery repelled from our state, that class of immigrants best calculated to develop our agricultural wealth. Now that this objection is removed, and that the large landed proprietors find it to their interest to cut up their estates, and sell, or lease, in such quantity as may be desired, we have every confidence that the tide of immigration will soon set Tennessee-ward". *Reports to the 35th General Assembly*, 55.

making them "poorer every day." The legislature had declared that, without industrial development, Tennessee would never be other than a pauper state.

As for agriculture, which received but little attention from the scholarly German, Bokum promised a renaissance when the growing of cotton, which had supported the slave system, and which had exhausted the soil, should give way before diversified crops. West Tennessee, thought Bokum, might in time rival Illinois as a cereal producing section, and the introduction of a farming population that had been accustomed to a better system of agriculture might be a help. "Still it ought to be borne in mind," said he, bearing in mind the minerals, "that they can only aid in the work which is to be accomplished."

Since Bokum was more interested in the migration of capital than of labor, he found himself forced to dispel the illusion that lawlessness prevailed in the state. He offered his own testimony that there was not a more law-abiding section of the country than East Tennessee, and declared that capitalists had invested heavily in the section and were extending their operations. Moreover, he argued, "the great mass of the citizens of Tennessee are favorable to immigration, and are likely to treat the immigrant with courtesy and kindness. In this respect differences of political opinion have but little weight. . . . I have found that gentlemen who hold political opinions diagonally opposite the one from the other are still ready to join with each other in building up the State by introducing into it capital and an industrious immigrant population."

In an address to the people, Bokum appealed for support for the State Board of Immigration and urged the legislature to send agents to northern cities and to Europe to set forth Tennessee's advantages. Farmers with lands for sale should unite in advertising them in newspapers and circulars, and he suggested that in each county there should be established associations which would co-operate with the state board in disseminating information. Several such associations were formed, and the legislature, in order to encourage the project, purchased two thousand dollars worth of Bokum's book for circulation.³⁹

³⁹Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrants Guide: Giving a Description of the State of Tennessee; Its Agricultural and Mineralogical Character; Its Waterpower, Timber, Soil, and Climate; Its Various Railroad Lines, Completed in Progress, and Projected; Its Adaptation for Stock Raising, Grape Culture, etc.*,

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⁴⁰Nashville Daily
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The publication of this book had considerable effect in creating interest within the state, and doubtless some were attracted by it from the outside. A bill was introduced into the legislature to invite capital and manufacturing to the state, and it was proposed to form an association to encourage industry. During 1868 a number of colonies were established in the state, possibly as a result of this official effort. A colony of one hundred from Pennsylvania and Indiana was established on a tract of land purchased for the purpose in Overton County; English grape growers established themselves in Grundy County. In Cumberland County, the efforts of W. W. Powell, the land agent, resulted in 119 immigrants coming in, and in Roane County, General Wilder's iron establishment was successful, and had a town of three hundred around it. An immigration company was planned in Memphis which would settle European colonies along the Mississippi and Tennessee railroads.⁴⁰ Brownlow received letters, even from Iowa, asking for more information about the state.⁴¹

Not all of these "plantations" were successful: a "Dutch" colony near Columbia failed, and the local press declared that the Germans were no better than negroes, who, at least, were able to speak English.⁴² Moreover, the report persisted that Tennesseans warred on strangers from the north. The Nashville organ of the radicals, in denying this, declared: "We would rejoice heartily to see a hundred thousand Northern business men settle in this state during the present year. Between this

etc., With Special Reference to the Subject of Immigration (Philadelphia, 1868). See especially pp. 6-7, 13, 54, 84, 95, 101-2, 105-6, 109, 132-35. A sample of some of the information which was thought to have an appeal for immigrants is the following letter from W. W. Powell of Cumberland County to Bokum: "My first knowledge of this country dates back to May, 1860, at which time I came here a confirmed invalid, made so by bronchitis, affection of the kidneys, chronic rheumatism, liver complaint, jaundice, and general debility. From all these difficulties I was in a few months entirely relieved, with the single exception of bronchitis from which I was so far relieved as to be entirely exempt, up to the present time, from suffering. My residence here during the entire summer of 1860 secured to me a degree of health and strength never before enjoyed, and which I have in no measure lost. I have now, at the age of sixty-two, the elasticity of boyhood, and the firm step and ruddy complexion of sound health. Under these circumstances you will not be surprised at my unqualified testimony in favor of this climate. I have carefully watched its influence upon the condition of others, as well as my own, and have often questioned what disease it, in connection with a free and persistent use of our chalybee waters, will not cure, or at least greatly alleviate" (p. 101).

⁴⁰Nashville Daily Press and Times, Feb. 21, March 2, April 6, Sept. 21, March 23, 1868.

⁴¹Whig and Ventilator, March 18, 1868.

⁴²Press and Times, April 1, 1868.

class of newcomers and old residents we make no distinction." However, the paper declared that the "riffraff" who came in for politics were not wanted.⁴³ An Ohioan at Greeneville wrote north that East Tennessee, at least, welcomed immigrants and that the "Southern Feeling" was gone from all but the minds of a few "fossils."

On the whole, immigrants seem to have been desired by all social and political classes. The annual report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1867 showed that immigration to the United States was on the increase, and estimated that every immigrant added one thousand dollars annually to the productive wealth of the country. Since this made the laborer as desirable as the capitalist, Bokum was exhorted to "take courage, and work with spirit, hope and renewed vigor."⁴⁴

Bokum did not need to be exhorted to work. In March, 1868, he reported that he had received detailed accounts of their resources from several counties, and that large numbers of northern people had entered the state. One speech before a farmers club in New York had resulted in fifty letters of inquiry, and many people were moving. Cumberland, Warren, Coffee, Franklin, Dickson, and Bradley counties had received accessions through his efforts.⁴⁵ In May he moved his headquarters to New York and had received fifty dollars in subscriptions to aid his work. One man offered to be one of one hundred to give one hundred dollars each, if the state would appropriate \$10,000 to encourage immigration.⁴⁶ Bokum spent much of his time writing letters to New York papers, assuring them of the law-abiding tendencies of East Tennessee, and pointing out the investment of northern capital in the copper mines at Ducktown, in the zinc mines of Mossy Creek, the iron foundries in Greene County, and the marble quarries in Hawkins as proof of the reign of law and order. The presence of a snow storm in May was used by Bokum to praise the climate of Tennessee; two months before, when New York was in the midst of such a storm, Bokum had stood on the top of Lookout Mountain, "intensely enjoying the invigorating and exhilarating air."⁴⁷ Speeches were also used

⁴³*Ibid.*, July 15, 1868.

⁴⁴*Whig and Ventilator*, March 18; *Press and Times*, March 9, 1868.

⁴⁵*Press and Times*, March 14, 1868.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, May 16, 1868.

⁴⁷Bokum to the *New York Tribune*, quoted in *Whig and Ventilator*, May 20, 1868.

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⁴⁸*Whig and Ventilator*, March 18, 1868.

⁴⁹See letter to Bokum, March 14, 1868.

⁵⁰*Whig and Ventilator*, March 14, 1868.

⁵¹*Acts of the General Assembly*, 1868, p. 100.

⁵²*Press and Times*, March 14, 1868.

⁵³*Whig and Ventilator*, May 20, 1868.

make no distinction." "Craff" who came in at Greeneville wrote of immigrants and in all but the minds

been desired by all part of the Secretary of Immigration to the United States that every immigrant be productive wealth as desirable as the average, and work with

work. In March, 1868, accounts of their respective numbers of north-south before a farmers' meeting of inquiry, and many in Coffee, Franklin, and other accessions through letters to New York to aid his work. He gave one hundred \$10,000 to encourage the time writing letters of law-abiding tendency at the investment of \$100,000 in the zinc mines in Greene County, Tennessee. Proof of the reign of terror in May was used; two months before, a storm, Bokum had been intensely enjoying the speeches were also used

March 9, 1868.

and Ventilator, May 20, 1868.

by Bokum to set forth Tennessee's attractions.⁴⁸ Moreover, Bokum traveled over Tennessee, inspecting colonies, new industries, and the resources of the counties.⁴⁹

Despite these activities, Brownlow was not satisfied. When the legislature met in the fall of 1868, the governor stated that his convictions on immigration had grown stronger, even though Tennessee was being avoided by immigrants. The many advantages of the state—climate, soils, forests, minerals, railroads, and scenery—which were so obvious to Brownlow, were not appreciated by the immigrant, and the governor decided that further steps should be taken. He suggested the incorporation of a state immigration society, and the appropriation of an annual sum to encourage immigration. Other southern states had adopted this method, and Brownlow believed that the future held out hopes for the South. This optimism was inspired by the recent election. "The election of Grant and Colfax means peace"; he asserted, "it means that carpetbaggers are not to be molested in Tennessee; that capital, coming to us from abroad, whether of brains or hands, or money, is not to be spurned, proscribed, persecuted, because it comes from north of a given line."⁵⁰ In his newspaper, Brownlow pointed out the need of Tennessee for factories for farm machinery, canneries, soap factories, and rolling mills. The state Senate, in reply to this message, established a standing committee of five to consider the question of immigration.⁵¹

In January, 1869, an immigration meeting, planned to form a state society, was held in the capitol. Secretary of State Fletcher, ex-officio member of the state board, presided over the meeting, and described the work of the board. The needs of the state for a diversified system of labor was dwelt upon. A speaker told of the aims of the already extinct German society, and Bokum held out hope by an account of his voluminous correspondence.⁵² But the proposed state society was not formed, for the legislature refused to appropriate the necessary subsidy.⁵³ The work of Bokum and the state board, however, con-

⁴⁸*Whig and Ventilator*, June 10 (speech at Pittsburgh).

⁴⁹See letters from Bokum in the *Press and Times*, Aug. 14 and 29, 1868.

⁵⁰*Whig and Ventilator*, Nov. 18, 1868.

⁵¹*Acts of Tennessee*, 2nd session, 35th General Assembly, 377.

⁵²*Press and Times*, Jan. 13, 1869.

⁵³*Whig and Ventilator*, March 3, 1869.

tinued,⁵⁴ while the presidents of southern railroads commended Bokum's work, and reduced the fare for immigrants to one cent a mile.⁵⁵

But if the legislature failed to make appropriations for immigration, local interest did not flag. The Knoxville Industrial Association published a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of East Tennessee, and especially Knoxville, to the immigrating laborer or capitalist. Although the association admitted that the soil of East Tennessee would not compare with that of the western states, it declared that "it quickly responds to kind treatment." But the greater part of the book dealt with the mineral resources and the industrial opportunities of the region. Most of the facts were supplied by Judge O. P. Temple and General J. T. Wilder. The section, said the association, abounded in minerals, and in regard to manufactures, "we offer all the advantages of choice and monopoly of a *New State*." Cotton mills, iron foundries, and marble quarries were needed. The association also set forth the advantage that came from cheap labor in Knoxville; unskilled labor was paid from \$0.75 to \$1.35 a day, while skilled labor was about the same as in the North. Moreover, the newcomer was assured that he would be welcomed by all classes. East Tennessee, unlike other parts of the state, and of the South, was quiet and peaceable; Ku Klux outrages were all in Middle and West Tennessee.⁵⁶

It is evident that East Tennessee was more interested in the development of its industrial and mineral resources than in encouraging the immigration of agricultural labor. But the rest of the state desired relief from agricultural disorder. One observer declared that the entire South was inviting immigrants "to help rebuild, on the ruins and ashes of war, the coveted temple of prosperity."⁵⁷ With this desire for immigrants, southern members of Congress supported a bill for subsidizing, by a contract for carrying mail, a steamship company which, supported by southern immigration societies, would bring European immigrants to the South.⁵⁸ In Memphis, planters

⁵⁴*Press and Times*, March 22, 1869.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Jan. 4 and 22, 1869.

⁵⁶*Facts and Figures concerning the Climate, Manufacturing Advantages and the Agricultural and Mineral Resources of East Tennessee* (Published under the direction of the Knoxville Industrial Association, Knoxville, 1869).

⁵⁷Goddard, *Where to Immigrate and Why* (Philadelphia, 1869), 335-36.

⁵⁸*Press and Times*, July 9, 1869.

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from West Tennessee assembled to consider the advantages of importing Chinese labor. These, said one Tye Kim Orr, a Chinese who addressed the meeting, could be contracted for in China at from ten to twelve dollars a month and transported to Memphis for less than one hundred and fifty dollars.⁵⁹ The planters agreed to raise a million dollars for the project, but even the radical press opposed the idea of supplanting Christian negroes by heathen Chinese who "despise your Bible, deride your God, and hate your religion."⁶⁰

By this time the state of Tennessee had passed into the control of the Democrats, but there is no indication that the conservatives were any less willing than the radicals to encourage immigration. Among the first acts of the Democratic legislature was the incorporation of the Mississippi Valley Immigration Company, which numbered among its promoters such ex-Confederates as General Gideon J. Pillow and Governor Isham G. Harris. However, it was provided that Chinese would not be imported by the company.⁶¹ This legislature also authorized counties to issue bonds in order to subscribe for stock in the Mediterranean and Oriental Steam Navigation Company which planned to bring immigrants from Europe direct to southern ports.⁶² A further step was taken when the legislature offered to pay this company twenty-five dollars for each immigrant imported to the state.⁶³ It was evident, however, that the conservatives were more interested in encouraging the introduction of European immigrants than of northern capital.

In the second session of the legislature, the act of 1867, creating the board of immigration, was repealed.⁶⁴ Seemingly, this was a sign of conservative disapproval of the radical program, but in reality, it was only a move to get rid of radical office holders. In the next session, the House of Representatives passed a resolution in favor of encouraging immigration,⁶⁵ and in December, 1871, the board was reestablished.⁶⁶ It continued its activities until it was merged with the Bureau of Agriculture, which still keeps up the effort to attract settlers to Tennessee.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, July 15, 1869.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, September 1, 1869.

⁶¹*Acts of Tennessee*, 1st session, 36th General Assembly, 188.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 324-5.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 326. Cf., *Nashville Union and American*, May 29, June 2 and 25, 1870.

⁶⁴*Acts of Tennessee*, 2nd session, 36th Assembly, 97.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 3rd session, 182.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 1st session, 37th General Assembly, 75-77.