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COVER

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

__X__ New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Properties of Clarke County, Alabama

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Historical Development of Clarke County, 1811-1947

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Susan M. Enzweiler/Historian (Alabama Historical Commission)

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city or town Montgomery state AL zip code 36130-0900

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (__ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official — Date: 12/4/97

Alabama Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office)
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Edson H. Beall — Date: 1/23/98

Signature of the Keeper

USDI/NPS NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form
Name of Multiple Property Listing __Historic and Architectural Properties of Clarke County, AL

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

INTRODUCTION

Clarke County is a rural county located in the piney woods of southwest Alabama. It was initially explored during the French colonial period and probably began to be settled by whites in the late 1700s. Its geography and location predicted that it would be a county of small to medium farms interspersed between vast forests of pine and hardwoods. Despite its location between the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, the county remained relatively isolated until the coming of the railroad in the late 1880s. Its isolation was further broken by the improvement of its roads and the development of a state highway system from the 1920s through the 1940s. With improved transportation networks, the county gradually became industrialized, but remains rural down to today. A significant change, however, is that much of the county's historic agricultural lands are now timber lands.

The multiple property nomination for Clarke County is based on one historic context: the historical development of Clarke County, 1811-1947. The beginning date was chosen because the Federal Road was opened that year. This event produced a flood of white settlement into southwest Alabama. The fork which branched off this road and led across Clarke County to St. Stephens was established sometime between 1811 and 1813 and it is known that American pioneers were in the Clarke County region by the 1810s, so the date of 1811 was chosen as the beginning of the period of significance. The ending date of 1947 simply corresponds to the fifty year cut-off date. Nevertheless, ending the period of significance in 1947 brings the history of Clarke County up through the Great Depression and the conclusion of World War II. The societal changes wrought by these events pulled the county into the modern era. In 1947, Clarke County stood poised to become less rural and more suburbanized, less agricultural and more industrialized, less isolated and more connected to the outside world (Southerland 1989:31, 48, 67).

This broad context was chosen so as to encompass the variety of extant resources that illustrate Clarke County's history. The survey of the county, while not comprehensive, was broad-based, and the resources included in it are broken down into four categories: residential, commercial, industrial and community landmarks. The residential resources are generally of wood frame construction and from one to one-and-one-half to two stories tall. They are found in both the small towns and rural areas of the county and date from the early nineteenth century up through 1947. The commercial resources encompass a variety of property types from wood frame country stores with front porches and front gable roofs to multi-story, brick buildings in the larger communities of Grove Hill, Jackson and Thomasville. The industrial resources include a variety of property types like cotton gins, warehouses, mill complexes and factories. The overwhelming majority of these identified resources are located in or near the towns, but future survey work may reveal rural, industrial properties like mill sites and sawmills. The community landmarks category includes those properties that are viewed as public or community resources and are often prominent visual landmarks in their communities. Such resources recorded in the Clarke County survey include governmental buildings, schools and churches.

GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Clarke County encompasses 1,230 square miles or 787,200 square acres. The county is roughly triangular in shape with its southern tip formed by the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers. These rivers flow together and form the Mobile River about 45 miles north of the city of Mobile. The Tombigbee is the western boundary of

Clarke County while the Alabama River comprises most of its eastern boundary. Furthermore, the county is bordered on the north by Marengo County, on the northeast by Wilcox County, on the east by Monroe County, on the south by Baldwin County, on the west by Washington County and on the northwest by Choctaw County (Chris Beverly interview & Rogers 1994:xvix).

Originally, Clarke County was part of Washington County which was established in 1800. Clarke County was formed in 1812 with the watershed as its eastern boundary. This watershed is described below. Sections of Monroe and Wilcox Counties were added to Clarke over the years until, in early 1831, the county essentially acquired its present configuration (Owen 1949:390-391).

The county is located in the Coastal Plain which is marked by low elevations. In the Coastal Plain, most of the land is below 500 feet above sea level with more than fifty percent of the land being below 100 feet above sea level. Furthermore, Clarke County lies within the longleaf pine belt, one of the largest land divisions in the South Atlantic states. Longleaf pine does not grow in swamps, prairies or alluvial soils. It thrives in orange, sandy soil. This soil type is not very fertile but responds well to fertilizers and is easy to cultivate. The bottom lands found along the rivers and the creeks of Clarke County are as fertile as any land in the cotton belt. Along the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers the bottoms average a mile wide and are subject to flooding (Hilliard 1984:6, 9; Hickman 1962:1; Taylor 1893:218 & Ball 1882:122).

The Memorial Record of Alabama . . . . reported that the southwest region of the state (where Clarke County is located) "is the best watered section of Alabama". The streams of Clarke County are generally fed by living springs and have banks of solid rock which form natural foundations for mills (Taylor 1893:220 & Ball 1882:122).

The county is divided by a water shed running north/south which is the dividing ridge between the waters of the Tombigbee and the Alabama. The watershed begins east of Hal's Lake at a point on the north bank of the Alabama River in Township 4 North, Range 2 East and proceeds north/northeast in an irregular line then bears northwest to Choctaw Corner near the northern boundary of the county. The watershed runs along the elevated land and crosses no body of water after it leaves the Fork. According to local tradition, it was the boundary between the Choctaw and Creek nations in this part of the country (Ball 1882:121).

The lands of Clarke County that lie on the east side of the water shed are comprised of lime hills, table lands and valleys. The central section of the county is one large table land. In the southeast corner of Clarke County a fertile table land is situated on the west bank of the Alabama River. It runs south from Gosport through Barlow Bend and Gainestown to Choctaw Bluff. The eastern section of the county is interspersed with a great number of creeks and even little rivers flowing to the Alabama. The topography of the land west of the water shed is similar but also different. Near Salt Creek, between Carney Bluff and Jackson, lies Salt Mountain. Historically, wooded elevations extended northwest from Salt Mountain for miles and were interspersed with creek bottoms. Table lands and some hills run north to Clarkesville. Craggy hills extend west from Clarkesville to Satilpa Creek. Lying north of Coffeeville is a great plateau divided by small creeks. The "Mountain" is located near Bashi. A range of lime hills runs from Bashi to Choctaw Corner. Another range of hills extends southeast from Bashi towards Grove Hill and also southwest to Clarkesville. From Tallahatta Creek (which roughly parallels Route 44 from Section 22 to west of Campbell) another range of hills heads east across the county (Ball 1882:121-122 & President's Page-Fall 1991:1).

From the Island of Nannahubba up to Hal's Lake the land is very low and level. This area from the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers north to Carney's Landing and Choctaw Bluff is known as the Fork. It is

punctuated by creeks, lakes and oxbow lakes. Historically, it was covered with dense swamp timber and a heavy thicket of canebrake. The canebrake in the Fork extended from the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers north to the northern limit of Township 4. It provided excellent pasturage for cattle but was also a haven for wild black bears (Ball 1882:120).

Canebrake thickets did not grow in the table lands but still covered large areas of the county. As late as 1818-1819, Clarke County had great growths of cane. Nineteenth century Clarke County historian T. H. Ball reported that the cane that lined the bridle path connecting Claiborne to Suggsville in 1808 was as "high on each side of the trail as a man on horseback could reach with an umbrella." Some of the individual cane was so wide in diameter that a joint of it would hold a pint. Travellers used this cane to carry water. Canebrake, when young and tender, provided fodder for deer, cattle and Indian ponies. When it was two or three years old, it could be used for fishing poles. By the late 1870s, canebrakes were found only in the river bottoms, particularly in the Fork area (Ball 1882:125, 174, 185).

Other indigenous flora in Clarke County historically included several varieties of pine trees and oak trees plus sweet gum, sour-wood, black gum, dogwood, chincapin, hickory, red bud, persimmon, green bay, cucumber, mulberry, magnolia, poplar, tulip, elm, sassafras, holly, red ash, black walnut, sweet bay, basswood, palmetto, red cedar and cypress. Beech trees extended from the northeast section of the county into Wilcox County. Chestnut trees once covered the lime hills around Bashi but these had practically died out by 1836 (Ball 1882:123-124, 186).

These dense forests of hardwoods and pine were inhabited by black bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats, deer, wild turkeys, raccoons, opossums, foxes, rabbits, squirrels and varieties of snakes and birds. Even as late as 1946, four black bears were spotted in Clarke County. The county's waterways were home to various kinds of fish, alligators, beavers, otters and mink (Ball 1882:126-130 & CCD 11/28/1946).

Clarke County has a mean temperature of 66 degrees Fahrenheit, a growing season of 300 days per year and receives an average annual rainfall of 50 inches.

POPULATION GROWTH IN CLARKE COUNTY

The following data charts Clarke County's population growth in the historic period under discussion. This information is essential in analyzing the county's development within the appropriate historic context. It is derived from the historian T. H. Ball and the United States censuses.

Population Chart for Clarke County

1810 (Washington County) (Ball, 1882:699-700)	2010 whites 910 blacks 2920
1820	3778 whites 2035 slaves 26 free blacks 5839

1830	3894 whites 3701 blacks 7595
1840	4228 whites 4412 slaves 8640
1850	4901 whites 4876 slaves 9 free blacks 9786
1855	4842 whites 5640 slaves 12 free blacks 10494
1860	7599 whites 7436 slaves 14 free blacks 15049
1870	7098 whites 7565 blacks 14663
1880	7718 whites 10086 blacks 2 others 17806
1890	9685 whites 12939 blacks 22624
1900	11952 whites 15829 blacks 27781
1910	13665 whites 17311 blacks 11 others 30987

1920	26409
1930	12390 whites 13625 blacks 1 others 26016
1940	13215 whites 14417 blacks 4 others 27636
1950	26548
1990	27240
1995	27993

No official archaeological explorations were undertaken as a component of this survey. For further information on this aspect of Clarke County's history, please consult with the archaeology staff at the Alabama Historical Commission.

HISTORY OF CLARKE COUNTY

In the southeastern region of the United States, much of the best land was divided up between five tribes so populous and powerful that they were known as nations. The area that became Clarke County was claimed by both the Creeks and the Choctaws, two of the largest southeast tribes. In the early 1800s, the Creeks claimed land west to the Tombigbee and Black Warrior Rivers while the Choctaws argued that their lands extended east to the Tombigbee-Cahaba water shed. Essentially, however, the water shed was the dividing line with the Choctaws in western Clarke County and the Creeks in the east (Swanton 1946:11, 79; Cotterill 1954:192 & Rogers 1994:10)

The Creeks were not one tribe of Indians, but a confederacy of various tribes of which the Muscogees were the dominant group. Their economy was based on agriculture and they raised corn. The towns of the Creeks were centrally located in their territory which stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the Tennessee River and from the Tombigbee River to the Savannah River in Georgia. The total population of the Creeks was estimated to be between 15,000 and 18,000 and they had fifty or sixty towns. When Europeans initially made contact with the Creeks, the Indians occupied the Coosa and Tallapoosa river valleys, the area around Augusta, Georgia and the Georgia coast. They may have also lived on the Flint River and the Tennessee River (Cotterill 1954:8-9 & Swanton 1946:11, 153).

It does not appear from the historical or archeological research that the Creeks established villages in Clarke County during the colonial period or after. Perhaps the most significant site associated with Creek history in the county would be Fort Sinquefield. It was the only Clarke County fort attacked by the Creeks during the Creek War.

With the Treaty of Fort Jackson in August 1814, the United States forced the Creeks to cede lands comprising almost half the state of Alabama. They retained only the eastern section of their territory. Additional Creek lands were surrendered through the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825 and the Treaty of Cusseta in 1832. Many of the Creeks were removed to Oklahoma after this latter treaty was signed (Rogers 1994:53, 90).

The Choctaws were a corn-raising, peace-loving tribe whose lands lay predominantly in Mississippi but also extended into southwest Alabama. As a tribe, they never went to war against the United States (Swanton 1946:11, 122).

The Choctaws were living on the Pearl, Chickasawhay and Pascagoula rivers in Mississippi when whites first came into contact with them. They claimed territory from the Mississippi to the Cahaba rivers, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Oktibbeha River. Bishop Calderon wrote in 1675 of "the great and extensive province of the Chacta which includes 107 villages." However, historian R. S. Cotterill estimated that the Choctaws had sixty or seventy towns with a total population of 20,000. In the early 1800s there was a Choctaw reservation near the west bend of the Tombigbee River in Clarke County called Turkey Town by the settlers. Other historical or archeological sites associated with the Choctaws probably exist in Clarke County because of the county's proximity to Ft. St. Stephens, which was the location of a government trading post for the tribe, established in early 1803. The locations of such sites, if they exist, are unknown at this time (Cotterill 1954:6-7, 140; Swanton 1946:121& Halbert & Ball 1895:113).

The Choctaws surrendered their homeland to the United States in the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27-28, 1830. Most members of the tribe removed to lands in southeast Oklahoma in 1831-1833. In the following years, other Choctaws who had not originally gone made the trek west (Swanton 1946:122).

Hernando de Soto may have been one of the first white men to explore Alabama. His entrada through the Southeast in search of gold probably brought him into the state but his exact route is still unknown. Alabama historians now concede that "so many different routes are proposed that the possible trail of de Soto looks like spaghetti spilled upon a map of the Southeast" (Rogers 1994:21). Nevertheless, historians know for certain that Soto saw many well-populated, Indian towns with stores of corn, beans, pumpkins and other foods. Soto visited the Indian town of Maubila in October 1540. Some historians contend that this Indian village was located on the west bank of the Alabama River in Clarke County but most modern researchers place it farther upriver (Ball 1882:28).

Maubila was situated on a plain beside a large river. It was comprised of eighty houses which all fronted on a large public square. Maubila was encircled by a palisade made of tree trunks set in the ground side by side and reinforced by cross timbers and interlacing large vines. This palisade was covered with a mud plaster and had portholes, towers spaced about 150 feet apart and two gates, one on the west wall and one on the east. The Indians of Maubila who attacked Soto in 1540 belonged to Chief Tascalusa's large Mississippian chiefdom. Archaeological remains of this town site have not been located to date (Ball 1882:29-30).

Colonization of the Southeast by Spain, France and England over the next couple centuries radically impacted the Native American societies in the Southeast, including the Creeks and Choctaws of Clarke County. The Europeans' technological superiority and hunger for wealth combined with the Indians' lack of immunity to Old World diseases virtually destroyed these Native American peoples and their cultures. The Spanish established Saint Augustine in 1565 and founded Pensacola in the Florida panhandle in 1698. The French developed a colony at Biloxi Bay in Mississippi in 1699. In 1702 the French established the town of Mobile on the Mobile River approximately twenty

seven miles upriver from Mobile Bay. This site was occupied until 1711 when the town was relocated to the bay. French colonists also established Fort Tombeckbee 250 miles above Mobile in 1736. British traders had penetrated Alabama to trade with the Indians prior to 1714 (Ball 1882:38-43 passim & NHL nomination for Old Mobile Site).

The French settled on Mobile Bay, the Mobile River and the Tensaw River. On the rivers, including the islands in these rivers, they developed plantations to grow rice, tobacco and indigo. The first island below the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers was the plantation of the Chevalier de Lucere. It is not known if any French colonists settled in Clarke County. The French crossed both the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers repeatedly and travelled across the land between these two rivers but it appears that they made no settlement or developed any farms here in the first half of the eighteenth century (Ball 1882: 43, 46).

The Peace of Paris in 1763 ended the French and Indian War (known as the Seven Years War in Europe) in the American colonies. In this confrontation, Great Britain and Prussia were allied against France, Spain and Austria. France suffered a major defeat. France gave Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Spain and ceded Canada and its lands east of the Mississippi to Great Britain. Great Britain then gave New Orleans to Spain in return for Florida (Rogers 1994: 31).

The future Clarke County was now included in the British province of West Florida. During the American Revolution, Spain entered the war against Great Britain, capturing Mobile and Pensacola. At the end of the war in 1783, the southern boundary for the United States was established at the thirty-first parallel. Spain, however, claimed territory to the line of 32 degrees 28' and founded Fort St. Stephens in 1789 on the west bank of the Tombigbee River (across the river from the future Clarke County). The thirty-first parallel was surveyed and marked in 1799. Consequently, the American government finally gained control of the lands and fortifications above this parallel (Ball 1882: 49-50 & Rogers 1994:36, 39, 41, 43).

The United States government organized the Mississippi Territory in 1798. The territory extended from the Chattahoochee River west to the Mississippi River. Its southern boundary was the thirty-first parallel and its northern boundary corresponded to the present northern boundaries of Alabama and Mississippi, although Georgia did not relinquish its claim to the northern half of the territory until 1802. Washington County (which included present day Clarke County) was carved out of this territory in 1800. Named after George Washington, the county extended eastward from the Pearl River to the Chattahoochee River. Its southern boundary was the thirty-first parallel and its northern boundary was parallel 32 degrees 28'. Sixteen counties in Mississippi and twenty-nine counties in Alabama have been carved in whole or in part from the 26,400 square mile Washington County. Clarke County was one of those counties, being formed in 1812 (Rogers 1994:42, 44; Ball 1882:70 & WCHS:n.p.).

Undoubtedly, there were white settlers in Clarke County long before it became part of the United States but there is little historical information about them. In the late 1700s not many white settlers were established in this isolated region of West Florida. Alabama historian Albert James Pickett contended that French farmers were living on the Tombigbee in 1792. British colonists may have migrated as far west as the Alabama River even before the American Revolution. During the Revolution, Tories from the Carolinas and Georgia relocated to West Florida. Some of them may have settled in future Clarke County. Clarke County historian T. H. Ball argued that a permanent American settlement was established in the county by 1777 but also added that American settlements were generally being founded around Clarke County rather than in it (Ball 1882:52-53, 56).

Overall, there does not seem to have been much white settlement in this region during the latter half of the

eighteenth century. The plantations that remained from the French colonial period, however, were productive. The exports flowing out of Mobile in 1772, according to Ball, included "indigo, raw-hides, corn, fine cattle, tallow, rice, pitch, bear's oil, tobacco, tar, squared timber, indigo seed, myrtle wax, cedar-posts and planks, salted wild beef, pecan nuts, cypress and pine-boards, plank of various woods, shingles, dried salt-fish, scantling, sassafras, canes, staves and heading hoops, oranges and peltry." Cotton was also being cultivated (Ball 1882:51).

By 1800 there were scattered settlements extending for over seventy miles along the west banks of the Mobile and Tombigbee Rivers and also along the east banks of the Mobile and Alabama for approximately seventy-five miles. The population of these settlements was estimated to be 500 whites and 250 blacks in 1801. There were 700 to 800 pioneers on the Tensaw and Alabama Rivers and in the Fork plus additional settlers on the west bank of the Tombigbee by 1805. American emigrants in Clarke County generally came from the Carolinas, Georgia, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Other Americans came from the west, from Fort St. Stephens and present day Mississippi, into Clarke County (Ball 1882:70-72, 79, 130 & Harvey Jackson ltr 1/21/1997).

In 1805 the Choctaws ceded five million acres to the United States including that portion of Clarke County which lies between the Tombigbee and the watershed. The Creeks, in addition, gave the Federal government permission to use a "horse path" through their land that same year. These events were to eventually open a floodgate of white migration into Clarke County. Between 1810 and 1820, the population of the future state of Alabama grew approximately 1,300% because of that "horse path" known as the Federal Road (Ball 1882:80-81 & Southerland 1990:117).

A census taken in August 1800 reported that the combined black and white population in Alabama was 1,250. In 1810, the population of Washington County (which included Clarke County) was 733 whites and 517 blacks. Baldwin County had 667 whites and 760 blacks. These early American settlements were quite isolated. To the south were the Spanish, to the east was the Creek nation, on the west were the Choctaws and to the north the Chickasaws and the Creeks (Southerland 1990:102 & Halbert & Ball 1895:32).

The Federal Road was opened in 1811. In the six month period between October 1811 and March 1812, 233 vehicles and 3,726 people passed Benjamin Hawkins' Indian agency near the Federal Road headed west. The road began at the Oconee River (in present-day Georgia) and headed west/southwest through Georgia and Alabama. South of the Alabama River, the Federal Road turned south following the watershed between the Alabama and the Conecuh-Escambia river systems to Mims ferry. At a point near Burnt Corn in Monroe County, a west fork branched off the Federal Road and led to a ferry crossing at Claiborne on the Alabama River. On the other side of the river, in Clarke County, the fork continued on to Fort St. Stephens (Southerland 1990:67-68, 102).

The opening of the Federal Road brought a stream of whites into southwest Alabama until about 1812 when it became obvious that the Creeks were growing violent over the invasion of their homeland. George S. Gaines, who was assistant factor of the government trading post at St. Stephens, noted that "Rumors of the rapidly increasing bad feeling of the Creek Indians rendered the settlers on the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers very uneasy during the year of 1812, checking emigration to a great extent". The Creek War of 1813-1814 would halt white migration into the region, but only temporarily. The war lasted from the summer of 1813 to August 1814 and was part of a larger conflict between the United States and Great Britain (Halbert & Ball 1895:31-32, 103).

Some of the Creeks, fearful of the Americans pouring into southwest Alabama and resentful of American efforts to "civilize" them, were ready to fight. They made their feelings known at a gathering in Tuckabatchee in the fall of

1807. This faction of Creeks known as the Red Sticks was inspired and encouraged in its resistance by Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief who combined Indian nationalism and mysticism into a political message aimed at uniting the southeastern tribes and driving out the whites. Tecumseh visited Tuckabatchee in 1811 and spurred on the Red Sticks in their struggle. Spain and England supported Tecumseh in his mission because it was in their best interests to weaken the fledgling United States. Alexander McGillivray, the only Creek chief who might have reined in the Red Sticks and maintained the peace, had died in 1792, leaving a significant void in Creek leadership (Jackson 1995:31-32 and Halbert & Ball 1895:35-39 passim).

The frontiersmen and their families were not certain they would be protected by government troops because they were squatters on public land. So, they began building forts along the lower Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. The construction of these forts was not part of any definite plan of defense but merely the erection of stockades. Usually, the stockade was constructed around the home of a locally prominent person. Except for Ft. Madison, each fort was named after the person on whose land it was built. These structures were viewed as temporary. In fact, after the war, most of the Alabama River forts were dismantled by the settlers through burning. Ft. Sinquefield, however, was not burned (Jackson 1995:33 & Olsen 1975:8-9, 13).

Nineteenth century historians H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball reported that there were at least twenty-two forts or stockades in southwest Alabama during the Creek War. Some, like Ft. St. Stephens and Ft. Stoddart, had been built years ago, but most were constructed in 1812 or 1813. The locations of these fort sites would indicate where concentrations of white settlers lived at this time. The known fortifications in Clarke County during the Creek War were Forts Madison and Glass, Sinquefield, White, Landrum's Fort, Mott's Fort, Easley, Turner's Fort, McGrew's Fort, Carney and Powell's Fort. The river forts listed by Halbert and Ball can be generally located. Additionally, by 1975, the sites of three of the forts---Mims, Madison and Sinquefield---had been verified by the University of South Alabama's archeological survey of southwest Alabama (Halbert & Ball 1895:106-115 passim & Olsen 1975:13).

Fort Madison was constructed in the northeast corner of Section 1, Township 6, Range 3 East on the water shed line. It is believed to have been built in August 1813. Fort Glass, built the month before, was located 225 yards south of Fort Madison. This stockade probably surrounded the home of Zachariah Glass. Glass was assisted by his neighbors and a friendly Creek named Nah-hee in its construction. These forts were at the nucleus of a large neighborhood. A store had been established about six miles east of Fort Madison on the Alabama River in 1812. One of the first grist mills in the county was built that same year about four miles north of the fort. A cotton gin had been constructed in the area in 1813 (Halbert & Ball 1895:108-111 passim).

Fort Madison somewhat typified the Creek War forts in its construction. Most of the forts were generally rectangular or square in shape. A three foot deep trench formed each stockade's perimeter. Fifteen foot logs with sharpened top ends were placed side by side in vertical positions in the trench so that they made a wall twelve feet high. Smaller logs, fastened near the tops of these pickets, braced the wall. Port holes were cut into the structure. Often, there was a catwalk or scaffolding of small logs along at least part of the interior wall of the stockade. Fort Madison was essentially constructed in this manner. The fort was square with each of its four sides being sixty yards long. It probably had the catwalk and the port holes but that is not clear from the description that has been passed down. However, the fort differed from the norm in that it had a blockhouse or bastion extending off each of its corners. This design improved the efficiency of the fort's fire power because it allowed a crossfire between any two blockhouses that faced each other. Therefore, Fort Madison was believed to be the most defensible of all the river forts. Usually the forts were lighted at night by pitch pine fires on scaffolds covered with dirt, but Fort Madison used a more advanced method of lighting (Olsen 1975:9 & Halbert & Ball 1895:109-110).

Fort Sinquefield was smaller than Fort Madison. It was located ten miles north of Fort Madison and five miles southeast of Grove Hill on the west side of Bassett's Creek in Section 13, Township 8, Range 3 East. This stockade was sited on a table land that extended north and south for a mile. Fort Sinquefield was the only fortification in Clarke County to be attacked during the Creek War. The Americans held the fort but members of two local families who remained at their homes were murdered (Halbert & Ball 1895:111 & Jackson 1995:36).

Fort White was a small fort situated a short distance northeast of Grove Hill. Landrum's Fort and Mott's Fort were both small structures located near each other. Landrum's Fort was eleven miles west of Fort Sinquefield in Section 18, Township 8, Range 2 East (Halbert & Ball 1895:112).

In western Clarke County, Fort Easley was sited at Wood's Bluff on the Tombigbee River in Section 10 or 11, Township 11, Range 1 West. Turner's Fort was approximately eight miles south and five miles west of Fort Easley in the west bend of the Tombigbee River near the residence of Abner Turner. This fort was "built of split pine logs doubled and contained two or three block-houses". McGrew's Fort is believed to have encompassed two acres. It was situated in the corner of Section 1, Township 7, Range 1 West. This fort was three miles north of Fort St. Stephens and five miles north and eighteen miles west of Fort Madison. Fort Carney was built by Josiah Carney and was located six miles south of Jackson. Powell's Fort was about three miles south of Fort Carney near Oven Bluff (Halbert & Ball 1895:112-114).

Generals Andrew Jackson and Ferdinand L. Claiborne ended the Creek War. Jackson came south out of Tennessee down the Coosa River. Claiborne crossed the Tombigbee at Fort St. Stephens and headed north along the Alabama River. Both generals traveled through the center of the Creek Confederacy destroying Indian villages. Claiborne secured the lower Alabama for American settlement. In August 1814, the defeated Creeks met with Jackson at Fort Jackson to negotiate a treaty. The Creeks gave up over fifty percent of their land including most of it west of the Coosa and south of the Alabama. Jackson then successfully claimed most of the land of his Indian allies as well. For Clarke County settlers, the war had essentially ended in September 1813. Clarke Countians had returned to their normal routine, anticipating that General Jackson would resolve the Indian problem (Jackson 1995:36-42 passim & Olsen 1975:13).

By the late 1810s, pioneers were again pouring into Alabama from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee. James Graham of Hillsborough, North Carolina wrote in the late 1810s that "the Alabama Fever rages here with great violence and has carried off vast numbers of our citizens . . . . some of our oldest and most wealthy men are offering their possessions for sale and are desirous of removing to this new country". St. Stephen's prominence as Alabama's territorial capital from 1817 to 1819 drew some of these fever struck migrants to Clarke County. Many of Clarke County's established, late nineteenth century families dated their residence in the county from 1818. By this time, millwrights, carpenters, physicians and ministers were coming into the county. Civil, social, educational and religious institutions were being founded at this early date. For example, the first store in Clarke County, according to Ball, was established by 1812 at the mouth of Cedar Creek. Another store in Suggsville and James Magoffin's store in the Grove Hill area were both founded in the 1810s. A "primitive hotel" known as the Mud Tavern was operating by c. 1816. It was located seven miles from Suggsville between Dale's Ferry and St. Stephens. At the end of this decade, according to the 1820 census, 1,820 Clarke Countians were engaged in farming, 84 in manufacturing and 29 in commerce (Ball 1882:172-175; Jackson 1995:44 & 1820 census).

As late as 1817 there were not many white families settled in what was to become Clarke County. A few pioneers lived along the Bashi and Tallahatta Creeks before the Creek War. The larger settlements were located on

Bassett's Creek; around Magoffin's store, south of Suggsville; near Pine Level on Jackson Creek; and at West Bend and Coffeeville. There was also the McGrew Settlement or McGrew Reserve on the east bank of the Tombigbee River and the north side of Jackson Creek. It was a small settlement in 1817 but grew quickly over the next two years. In the period 1818-1819 whites also began to settle along the streams in the northern part of Clarke County (Ball 1882:172, 174, 441).

The northern part of Clarke County and the southern part of Marengo County (roughly the land lying between the Fork settlements and the French colony of Demopolis) was sparsely settled by whites for several years after the Creek War. As late as 1824, the bottom lands of Bashi and Horse Creeks were choked with dense canebrake. On the other hand, approximately 400 American families lived south of latitude 32 between the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers. Plantations were located on or near the Alabama River between Gosport and Gainestown. A number of families were established around Suggsville. Three families lived in the Fork, having inhabited this region from an early date (Ball, 1882:183, 185).

Who were these American pioneers? The genealogies of four early Clarke County families give some insight into how people came into the county, what they brought with them and what they found.

David Cammack (1774-1850) and his family arrived in Clarke County at a very early date. Cammack was born in South Carolina but moved to Kentucky. There he met and married Mary George (1789-1874) in 1804. She was also a South Carolina native. Over the years, they had thirteen children. In 1810, David and Mary Cammack, their three children and two other men left Kentucky for Clarke County. They found the county with the help of a compass and an Indian guide. The Cammack family's possessions were carried on seventeen horses and it took the party forty days to reach Bassett's Creek. The Cammacks located on Bassett's Creek between Grove Hill and Suggsville where fifty families had already settled. The two men returned to Kentucky. David Cammack went back to Kentucky in 1811, returning to Clarke County with 120 hogs. He purchased his cattle from Indians in the county. Ball reported that Cammack also raised wheat "according to Kentucky custom." The Cammack family's sugar and coffee came from Pensacola (Ball 1882:503, 505).

Another early settler, Stephen Noble, first migrated from Virginia to Tennessee. He stayed in Tennessee for a few years and then came to Demopolis in 1817. Noble headed south to Clarke County in 1818 and settled with two of his sons on Big Satilpa Creek. The rest of the Noble family followed in 1818-1819, bringing with them 300 hogs and 75 sheep. Great numbers of cattle were already in Clarke County. A man named McGrew alone owned about 1000 head (Ball 1882:313-314).

Isham Kimbell was born in North Carolina in 1797. His father moved the family to the Mississippi Territory in the fall of 1811, reaching the west bank of the Tombigbee River in Washington County on December 24th. They must have been one of the earliest pioneer families to travel the Federal Road. In the fall of 1812, the Kimbells came to Clarke County, settling on the west side of Bassett's Creek, about six miles southeast from the future site of Grove Hill (CCD 7/8/1880).

Rev. Joshua Wilson, who was a Revolutionary War veteran and a Methodist minister, bought land in Clarke County at the St. Stephens' land office in 1815 and moved to the county two years later. Aged 57, he headed west on the Federal Road with his wife and children (some of whom were married adults) plus his slaves, livestock, wagons, carriages and other possessions. He settled at Gainestown about three miles from the Alabama River (Southerland 1990:116).

The majority of Clarke Countians lived in log cabins during this early period. Before the establishment of sawmills, puncheons or planks cut by whipsaws were used for flooring. Chimneys were simply made of sticks and clay. Lime derived from cave shells and rocks were also used in construction; cave shells were particularly used in the Lime Hills' settlement. In the central parts of Clarke County, rock was used in chimney construction but in the northern part of the county the rock was not suitable for chimneys. There were at least two frame houses in the 1810s in the county. Ball reports that someone named Eskridge built one of the first frame houses in Clarke County in 1815. The house had stone chimneys. General J. B. Chambers constructed a house on Peach Tree Road, about three miles northeast of Grove Hill, c. 1818. Of wood frame construction and 2 ½ stories tall, the house was 24 feet by 50 feet. By the late nineteenth century, neither house was extant (Ball 1882:172, 176, 186).

Clarke County in the mid 1820s had three distinct "neighborhoods". The northernmost one was called Loftin, the central was Magoffin and the southernmost one was called Fort Madison. The villages of Coffeeville, Jackson, Clarksville and Suggsville also existed. The 1830s was a period of prosperity in Clarke County up until the Crash of 1837. According to Ball, Clarke Countians led a "busy life" and had "varied forms of industry" and a "prospering planting community, . . . in the heart of the Alabama Pine Belt, along the streams and on the broad uplands and among the lime hills" (Ball 1882:187, 195, 201).

Clarke County was representative of what was happening throughout Alabama in the 1820s and 1830s as the State's plantation economy flourished. Settlers swarmed into the Gulf states after the War of 1812 to establish plantations and farms. By 1830, the region was producing over half of the nation's cotton crop. The settlement patterns of these early Alabamians greatly influenced the built environment, both rural and urban. Planters and farmers generally built their homes in the piney woods and away from the river. Owners of river plantations and farms did not erect their houses on the bluffs overlooking the river because these areas were thought to be fever-ridden. Instead they lived back in the piney woods which were believed to have clean air and fresh water. Another reason for not living near the rivers was that landowners wanted to be near the center of their plantations so they could oversee daily operations more easily. These planters generally had their own river landings and dealt directly with factors in Mobile. By doing so, they hindered the development of large towns on the rivers. River towns did develop and carry on commercial activity, but they remained small. Commercial activity was not concentrated in large urban areas as it might have otherwise been. This settlement pattern occurred along most, if not all, Alabama rivers (Jackson 1995:60-61, 64 & Ramsdell 1935:2).

A general depression hit the country in the late 1830s. Cotton fell to incredibly low levels by the early 1840s. This depression was probably one of the factors that triggered the emigration by Clarke Countians to lands farther west in Louisiana and Texas. At least thirty families left Clarke County for the west between 1837 and 1841. Some emigration continued through the next several years (Ramsdell 1935:5 & Ball, 1882:207, 220).

During the 1840s and 1850s the population of Clarke County continued to grow. As late as 1840 cane brake was growing in portions of the northeast corner of the county but in the following decade this fertile land was settled quickly. Rapid agricultural development occurred in Clarke during the 1840s. This agricultural expansion was due to two main factors. By this decade, the county's first generation of settlers had established a smoothly running community. Secondly, more people were migrating to Clarke County because of its fertile soil and sparse population. Cotton was the major crop, but enough grains and vegetables were grown to make Clarke Countians self-sufficient (Ball 1882:209 & Kaledin 1980:9).

The selling of land during this time was another indication of growth. Land was changing hands while, at the same

time, new lands were opened up. Furthermore, more slaves were being brought into the county. The 1850s were a boom period in Clarke County with a 55% increase in population. Obviously, people were moving into the county from other places (Ball 1882:219-220 & Kaledin 1980:10).

Clarke County had 456 farms and plantations in 1850. They encompassed 47,927 acres of improved land and 163,126 acres of unimproved land. The county's more progressive farmers were diversified by the mid-1850s. In addition to cotton, they grew a variety of grains, particularly Indian corn, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes, peas and beans. They produced 52,921 pounds of butter and cheese in 1850 along with 35 hogsheads of cane sugar, 2,000 gallons of molasses and 801 pounds of tobacco. Wool, beeswax and honey were also produced. That same year, the farmers' livestock included 2,653 horses, asses and mules, 16,823 "neat cattle", 5,961 sheep and 32,352 swine. The value of the animals slaughtered in 1850 in the county amounted to $66,391 (1850 Census & DSAkens 1956:5).

The center of Clarke County's prosperity was its plantation districts which bordered the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. Prosperity in the 1850s was grounded in agriculture, primarily cotton, and the nascent lumber industry. In the March 13, 1850 issue of the Grove Hill Herald, its editor wrote that Clarke County's

". . . resources are beginning to be seen, and are attracting the attention of men of capital, in other and more wealthy counties, some of whom are moving into it every year, bringing their money and Negroes with them. Some of them go to planting, some to making Turpentine, and some to getting timber. The lands produce cotton and corn, in abundance, and sugar cane has been tried, which grows finely, and as good sugar can be made here as in Louisiana; and we hope it will not be long before mills are erected for the purpose. The large, almost endless pine forests, . . . are yielding [sic] raw turpentine in large quantities, and hundreds of barrels are exported yearly. [The forests] furnish the best of timber, for almost every purpose; and a great many are engaged in getting it for market, which yields a handsome profit. It is not in the Mobile market alone that this timber finds sale, but in New Orleans, Cincinnati, and the Eastern ports; some of it is shipped to France, and even California comes in for a share." (JSH 1991:58 & Ball, 1882: 221-222).

By 1860, the county's farms comprised 99,429 improved acres and 446,169 unimproved acres. The cash value of the farms amounted to over three million dollars. Clarke's agricultural production had, of course, grown significantly. Its farmers had 2,115 horses, 1,940 asses and mules, 5,485 milch cows, 1,816 working oxen, 13,416 other kinds of cattle, 5,305 sheep and 37,966 swine. The value of slaughtered animals that year was $145,588. The farmers grew 516,355 bushels of Indian corn and 10,195 pounds of rice plus smaller amounts of other grains. Over sixteen thousand bales of ginned cotton were produced. Other farm products included peas and beans, potatoes, vegetables and fruits, 67,529 pounds of butter, cane molasses, beeswax and honey and 42 gallons of wine (1860 Census).

This hard won progress and prosperity was swept away in the Civil War. Although Clarke County was not really penetrated by Federal troops as were north Alabama counties, its people suffered deprivations both during and after the conflict. Initially, Clarke County enthusiastically supported succession. Its voters approved of Alabama's withdrawal from the Union by a four to one margin. Ten companies and parts of two others were formed in the county. Eleven hundred men from Clarke volunteered to serve in the Confederate army. In 1855, there were only 1,112 white men over the age of 21 in the county (Kaledin 1980:11& HMAkens 1956:1).

For the first year of the confrontation, war was not waged on Alabama soil. Union troops began raiding northern

Alabama in the Spring of 1862, continuing until the war's end. In 1864, the fighting spilled down into central Alabama. Federal forces also lay siege to Mobile and its bay defenses in August 1864 and entered the city the following April. It appears that Federal troops entered Clarke County only once. At some point during the war, Union soldiers crossed the Alabama River at Gosport and burned a house. However, they did not torch 200 bales of cotton that were stored nearby (Moore 1927:528, 530, 535, 538-539 & Ball, 1882:289).

The women of Clarke County, like women throughout the Confederacy, contributed greatly to the war effort. In August 1861, the Governor of Alabama issued the call for each woman in the state to knit at least one pair of wool socks for their soldiers. He also requested blankets. As the war dragged on, women also supplied badly needed linens for the hospitals. Clarke County's soldiers also needed clothing and their women responded by sending clothes and shoes (HMAkens 1956:20, 48, 50).

Clarke Countians also made contributions to the war effort through the manufacture of salt and the construction of gunboats. In 1862, the Commissioner's Court of Clarke County appropriated $1500.00 to manufacture salt at the county's salt works for indigent families. The State of Alabama operated the Clarke County salt works known as the "Upper Works" and the "Lower Works" during at least part of the Civil War for both military and civilian use. Thousands of men were employed in this endeavor. The salt was shipped to other parts of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia (HMAkens 1956:54; Moore 1927:550 & Ball 1882:647).

The construction of gunboats in Clarke County, because of delays and shortages of materials, was not as successful to the war effort as the salt works. Nevertheless, Confederate gunboats were built at Oven Bluff which was located in the Sunflower Bend on the Tombigbee River. This interior site was chosen following the Union capture of New Orleans in April 1862 because it was believed that the Union navy would attack Mobile next. According to local historian Sidney Henson Schell, the construction site was in an isolated area and was essentially "a cleared, sloping bank, ... All that was needed was an area above high water where the timber framing could be set up, planked, and launched." The Confederate navy yard at Oven Bluff was supported by the steam sawmill, steam gristmill and blacksmith shop at McIntosh Bluff. McIntosh Bluff was on the west bank of the Tombigbee River in Washington County and was the river landing for the town of McIntosh (Schell Sp96:6-7 & Jackson ltr 1/21/1997).

The first contract called for three ironclad ram gunboats to be completed in early 1863. Known as Bigbee boats, two of the gunboats were 160 feet in length and the third was 180 feet long. All three boats were partially constructed at Oven Bluff. The two smaller boats were sent to Mobile for completion in early February 1864 but were never finished due to a shortage of iron. The larger boat was also incomplete when it was set afire upon the evacuation of the Clarke County forts in April 1865 (Schell Sp96:6-7, 9-10).

The Clarke County forts were Ft. Stonewall at Choctaw Bluff on the Alabama River and Ft. Sidney Johnston at Oven Bluff on the Tombigbee. Both of these forts were large, earthwork structures and were constructed, under Confederate supervision, by slaves impressed from Marengo, Greene, Tuscaloosa, Sumter, Perry, Dallas, Clarke, Choctaw and Lowndes Counties. During their short history, according to Sidney Henson Schell, these forts "were built, rebuilt, dismantled, refurbished, and then blown up and abandoned in secrecy and obscurity" (HMAkens 1956:65 & Schell W95/96:5, 22).

Alabama seceded from the United States on January 11, 1861 without a defensive system in place. Confederate engineers began building the defenses for Mobile late that year. On April 25, 1862, Admiral Farrugut of the Union Navy captured New Orleans, the Confederates' largest seaport. This action stunned the people of Mobile and those

who lived along the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. Many Mobilians fled the city. Most military planners wrote off Mobile and concentrated on an interior defense plan. Guns were removed from the defenses around Mobile Bay and sent upriver. At this time, Oven and Choctaw Bluffs were chosen to be the first line of defense for the interior. At opposite sides of the county, these forts were connected by a line of defenses and a military road with the military camp near the center of this line (Schell W95/96:7-10 & Schell Sp96:23).

Construction of these forts took precedence over other important construction projects, such as the Selma to Meridian Railroad. By September 1862 the fortifications, though incomplete, were armed and manned. During at least part of the mid-war years, Oven Bluff and Choctaw Bluff were considered to be the main defenses for the Alabama interior against the Union navy (Schell W95/96:5, 11-12).

Obstructions in the rivers, in combination with the forts, were an important component of the defense system. The obstructions would either stop, slow down or, at the very least, maneuver upriver boats into a narrow, predetermined channel within the range of the guns at the forts. Without the guns, the Union navy could remove the obstructions and continue upriver. By March 1863 the obstruction at Oven Bluff was in place. The Alabama River at Choctaw Bluff could not be obstructed, so the fort there was made stronger than the one at Oven Bluff (Schell W95/96:16, 23).

In the summer of 1863 the commander of the forts was ordered to shut them down and return to Mobile. There were several reasons for this. The Federals were advancing from Jackson, Mississippi, well north of Clarke County. Secondly, the strong fortifications and obstructions nearing completion in Upper Mobile Bay would prevent the Union navy from proceeding upriver. Finally, the bluffs were considered to be an unhealthy site during hot weather. The Confederate army left the forts in early August 1863. The guns were removed from the batteries in the third quarter of 1864 and shipped to Mobile. Union gunboats captured the forts at the mouth of Mobile Bay in August 1864. The defenses were then re-established at Choctaw Bluff and Oven Bluff in early 1865. After the war, the Clarke County forts were destroyed and abandoned (Schell W95/96:28-29 & Schell Sp96:18, 21).

The devastation of the Civil War occurred unevenly throughout Alabama. North Alabama suffered the most severe damage while the Black Belt endured very little. Overall, however, the state sustained heavy losses. Historians may disagree over the exact numbers, but all concur that Alabama lost many men in the war. The state's industry lay in ruins. All but one of Alabama's blast furnaces had been put out of production. Selma's large Confederate arsenal was destroyed. In Montgomery, three steamboats, a rolling mill and a foundry were destroyed and 97,000 bales of cotton were set afire. Miles of the state's railroads were tom up. Farms had not been well tended for years and, in many cases, farmers could not obtain planting seed after the war. The number of livestock was so depleted that it still fell below 1860 levels in 1870. The state's economy was in shambles. Emotionally and physically worn out, Alabamians began to rebuild their society in the Reconstruction years (Rogers 1994:228-229 & Moore 1927:563).

Clarke County was not occupied during the war and suffered little physical damage. Nevertheless, in the period from 1840 to 1890, Clarke Countians watched their community initially flourish and then start to unravel in the aftermath of war. Their social, economic and political institutions had to be redefined. The county suffered a 7% decline in its white population in the 1860s. This was due to the deaths of young men both during the war and in the first few years after and to emigration from the county. Whites struggled with bankruptcy, the loss of so many men in their prime and the emancipation of their slaves. The county's pre-war levels of wealth and progress, based on agricultural productivity, were not seen again until after 1890. Twenty-five years after the Civil War, Clarke

County had still not regained the prosperity it had enjoyed in antebellum times (Hardy Jackson 7/30/1997 ltr & Kaledin 1980:9, 11).

At the end of the Civil War, Clarke's Court of County Commissioners noted "that there is great destitution and suffering among the poor of this county . . . ." and made plans to distribute supplies to the needy. On the other hand, however, Clarke County still retained a large middle class. Although times were tough, people adjusted to the conditions of the Reconstruction era as best they could. According to T. H. Ball, by the end of Reconstruction, the county's middle class "for the most part, . . . constituted the prominent, prospering, useful, influential families" of the period (Ball, 1882:300). These Clarke Countians may have been the ones that, according to the February 11, 1873 issue of The Clarke County Democrat, admitted they were having "hard times" but were going to "fight it out with the Radical devil" rather than migrate west. Other Clarke County families were moving to Texas and Louisiana throughout the Reconstruction period (Commissioners Court Book E 1867:204 & CCD 2/11/1873).

Throughout the late nineteenth century, the Clarke County Democrat editorialized against this westward migration. In 1887, its editor wrote:
"For years, . . . , we have diligently sought, . . . , to induce our people to remain where they are and be satisfied. We have asked them to improve their dilapidated premises by the erection of new buildings, fences and gates, and by the planting of trees and vines and grasses and flowers. . . . No place will be properly cared for while its owner or tenant is dissatisfied and expecting each year's occupancy to be his last. . . . . There is no better country than Alabama, and it would be well if our people could realize it and govern themselves accordingly. The tide of emigration to Texas has almost ceased to flow, and we would earnestly advise our people to let it cease entirely" (CCD 2/3/1887).

The experiences of Clarke County's freed slaves were as varied as those of its white families. For the first time, they could own houses and land, livestock and dogs. Blacks could own guns and hunt. The black population rose 1.8% in the 1860s. Generally, the black exodus from the South in the late nineteenth century traveled from rural areas to urban. But in Clarke County, where there were no large cities and no invading Federal armies carried off slaves, the blacks tended to remain (Ball 1882:624 & Kaledin 1980:11).

A number of blacks, though, left the county after the war and migrated to Louisiana to find work on the plantations. Most, however, stayed and became sharecroppers. Some blacks bought land and established themselves as farmers in the county. George Bush and his sons bought 800 acres of the Sun Flower Bend on the Tombigbee River. Oliver Fair, along with others, bought 250 acres in the same area and formed a little farming community. Charles Robinson owned land near the Moncrief schoolhouse. He hired blacks to work for him and also rented other portions of his land to black families. By the 1880s, he had established "a little neighborhood of colored families." Moses Cunnigan (also known as Cunningham or Calhoun) was a prominent, wealthy, black landowner. Upon his death in 1879, his estate passed to his son, Major Cunningham. Other blacks became teachers or preachers (Ball, 1882:620, 624-626).

Land patterns had evolved by 1880 where the blacks settled in the fertile bottom lands and the whites inhabited small farms in the uplands. The bottom lands were very cheap because it was believed they produced "malarial fevers" which made them unfit for white habitation but which did not affect blacks. When the soil of the uplands was initially farmed, it produced good yields of corn, cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, potatoes and peaches. By the end of the decade in Clarke County whites greatly outnumbered blacks in the hill country away from the rivers (CCD 9/23/1880 & 8/15/1889).

Local historians contend that blacks lived as slaves in the bottoms in the antebellum period because that's where they were farming. They stayed on after the war as tenants and sharecroppers. As sharecroppers, they probably continued to work for their former masters and, thus, the fertile lands they farmed gave them no great economic advantage. In other words, most blacks more or less lived as they always had in the same narrow plantation belt along the rivers of Clarke County (Hardy Jackson 7/30/1997 ltr & Louis Finlay 7/30/1997 ltr).

The county experienced steady growth, even in its most remote regions, in the 1880s. The population increased, mostly because of births and a significant decrease in the numbers of Clarke Countians heading west. Also, some people migrated to the county from southeast Alabama. By 1889, Clarke had 32 post offices. It had had only ten before the Civil War (CCD 8/15/1889).

During the 1890s, however, some migration from the county still occurred. In January 1890, some blacks residing in Wilcox County and the northeast corner of Clarke were preparing to leave for Louisiana. Six years later, the Clarke County Democrat reported that "the Texas fever is prevailing in and around Thomasville". The population continued to climb, though, until it peaked in 1910 at 30,976. The county's population remained fairly stable at around 26,000 to 28,000 throughout the rest of the period of significance. According to the 1930 census, Clarke County was one of the most sparsely settled counties in Alabama averaging 21.4 people per square mile. Only three counties had less population. Washington County had 15.1 people per square mile, Baldwin had 17.7 and Coosa County had 19 (CCD 1/9/1890; 1/9/1896 & 6/11/1931).

Alabama's society at the end of the nineteenth century was in flux. As various socioeconomic and political groups strove to find their place in post-Reconstruction society, tensions sometimes erupted into violence. Such violence occurred in Choctaw County, Bibb County and Mitcham's Beat, an isolated rural area of Clarke County. One significant reason for this state of flux was the rearrangement of the traditional white power base. It is generally believed that in the New South the planter class lost its control to the urban, commercial and professional classes in the postwar period. But in Clarke County, well-to-do farmers and planters joined with the commercial and professional classes to form a new power structure. This elite group was associated with the towns of the county through either residency or familial, social, political or commercial ties (JSH 1991:459-460 & HHJ,III 1988:8).

This emerging "sociopolitical system [was] based on white supremacy, economic exploitation, social stratification, and middle-class values." Its members were essentially white, male property owners. In the Clarke County of the 1880s, the elite sought to consolidate their power by controlling the Democratic Party and, through it, the county political system. They knew they were vulnerable until their power was firmly established. Thus, the slowing economy and the growth of the Farmers' Alliance in the early 1890s distressed them greatly. In the beginning, Clarke County's elite liked the Farmers' Alliance because its leaders were middle-class farmers who voted Democratic and espoused the same values as the group in power. But it became clear over time to less successful white Alliance members that because of cultural and socioeconomic differences, they would never be part of the county elite and they resented this deeply. For them, joining the Farmers Alliance expressed their rejection of the establishment. The Alliance's rapid rise, therefore, showed that the Democrats' hold on local politics in Clarke County and throughout the rural South in the early 1890s was tenuous (JSH 1991:456, 461-464, 476, 478).

The elections of 1892 from local to state clearly delineated the divisions within Clarke County society. In Clarke County, Alliance candidates ran for every office. They garnered a large number of votes in the rural precincts, but the towns and the former plantation precincts voted Democratic. Although the evidence is inconclusive, the Democrats may have stuffed the ballot boxes to gain their victory. They also succeeded in preventing a sweep of

black votes by the Alliance. The elite of Clarke County further tightened their control over the county by resorting to violence and murder to quash an uprising in Mitcham's Beat (JSH 1991:462-463).

Clarke County was but one example of a middle-class elite securing its power base in the rural South at the turn of the century. Through a variety of means ranging from voter disenfranchisement to intimidation to murder, this powerful group would rule local politics unchallenged until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s (JSH 1991:478).

As the twentieth century dawned, Clarke County was a poor, rural county in a poor, rural state. It was about to experience monumental changes wrought by technology, two world wars and a great depression.

Technological advances such as the automobile, the telephone and electricity profoundly impacted life in twentieth century Clarke County. The influence of the automobile is fully discussed in the context on transportation networks. The telephone was perhaps the earliest technological wonder to appear in the county in any great numbers. Telephone lines connected St. Stephens, Jackson and Grove Hill as early as April 1904. The telephone may have become commonplace fairly quickly, because little else is reported on it in the local newspapers (CCD 4/7/1904).

Electricity with all its potential, on the other hand, garnered plenty of publicity throughout the late 1920s and into the 1930s in Clarke County. During this time, the newly established Alabama Power Company was building its system of six hydroelectric dams and expanding its influence throughout the state. The company first entered Clarke County through its purchase of the Thomasville "light plant" in 1926. Prior to this, some communities like Thomasville and Jackson had their own small power plants and in others, like Grove Hill, people used individual generators. Alabama Power's entry into the county meant that, for the first time, Clarke had enough electricity for manufacturing purposes. The company bought the Jackson plant the following year, planning to replace it with hydro-electric power within eighteen months. This would greatly improve Jackson's ability to attract new industry. Electricity, via Alabama Power's transmission lines, came to Grove Hill in the fall of 1928. The local newspaper hailed it as "one of the major events in the history of the town" (Rogers 1994:447, 471 & CCD 6/3/1926; 1/20/1927 & 10/4/1928).

The rural areas of the county were electrified in the 1930s with New Deal money. The Rural Electrification Authority in Alabama announced that $30,000 would be spent on the construction of the first REA generating plant in the Deep South. Plans called for its location at Salitpa where it would serve 112 miles of rural transmission lines in Clarke and Washington Counties. This plant was one of a number of large electrical projects planned for south Alabama. In early July 1937, the electricity was turned on for Salitpa, Coffeeville, West Bend, Mathers Store, St. Stephens and Leroy. The next month the lines were activated for additional rural areas in the western and central parts of the county, including Allen and Suggsville. REA field representatives began giving demonstrations on the use of home appliances. But it was not until May 1938 that many of the farms and homes in southeast Clarke County even got electric lights, usually the first use made of electricity in residences (CCD 4/15/1937; 7/15/1937; 8/26/1937 & 5/19/1938).

Before World War I, the economy of Alabama was essentially isolated. It was characterized by high population growth, a fluctuating demand for cotton, isolated regional markets, backward technology and a scarcity of skilled managers and technicians. But during the war, Alabama made progress in promoting its resources and recruiting prospective industries. These efforts, combined with a period of rapid, national economic expansion, led to a greatly improved economy for Alabama between 1910 and 1929 (Rogers 1994:443).

The Great Depression, however, attacked the state's economy insidiously. Agriculture slid into a depression in the early 1920s and did not fully recover for two decades. Most Alabama industries peaked in the late 1920s, then declined, generally hitting bottom around 1933. Not all industries or regions of the state suffered equally. For example, the forest products industry was very hard hit while textiles took a much less severe punch. Birmingham was believed by some experts, to be the most depressed city in the country while Montgomery fared better. By 1929, Alabama's per capita income had fallen to 44th among the 48 states. To make matters worse, over half of the state's income was concentrated in the six urban counties of Calhoun, Etowah, Jefferson, Mobile, Montgomery and Tuscaloosa (Rogers 1994:456, 465).

Throughout the 1930s, things got worse. Employment rates fell for both races in Alabama. For whites, there was a 5.6% drop in employment and for blacks, 13.6%. Only three Southern states recorded an absolute decline in white employment during the decade and of these, Alabama led the way. Its nonfarm employment fell by 15% between 1930 and 1940, the highest rate of any southern state. One interesting reversal of an historic trend occurred in Alabama during the Depression. There was a brief return to the farm because nonfarm jobs were declining more quickly than farm jobs (Rogers 1994:465).

Clarke County noted a return to the farm in the early 1930s. The returning farmers scratched out a living off very small parcels of land. They concentrated on their "live at home" crops which meant they gardened, increased their food crops and expanded their dairy and poultry production (CCD 4/14/1932 & 4/23/1931).

As happened throughout the country, Federal programs came to the aid of people in Alabama. A cornucopia of programs tried to create employment for city workers, keep farmers on the land, employ youths to preserve natural resources and sustain the arts. Relief funds, for those without work, kept people housed, clothed and fed. A variety of "alphabet soup" agencies worked in Alabama throughout the Depression to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life. In Clarke County, these agencies seem to have been most active in modernizing the county's infrastructure.

Poor farmers could enroll in the Rural Rehabilitation Program of the Alabama Relief Administration. This agency helped farm families become self-supporting through loans and farm planning. Clarke County had more destitute farm families enrolled in the program than any other county in the state in 1934. Two years later, almost one thousand Clarke County farm families had participated in and been assisted by the program (CCD 6/28/1934; 5/7/1936 & 6/11/1936).

The Civil Works Administration began its program in Clarke County on November 21, 1933. Over 1900 people were put to work on various projects. These included building four new school buildings and refurbishing the buildings and grounds of six other schools. A school paint project led to the painting of 35 schools. A cafeteria was constructed at the Thomasville Grade School. The playground at Whatley was upgraded. Grove Hill and Suggsville received new community houses. Lumber was salvaged from old buildings to be used in the new projects. County road and drainage projects were undertaken, too. Jackson's streets were beautified through the planting of trees and flowers and the cleaning of sidewalks. Malaria control drainage ditches were dug at Coffeeville, Thomasville, Whatley and Gainestown. Toilets were built for blacks in Grove Hill. The town of Thomasville built a water works system and began constructing an airport (CCD 4/19/1934).

And this was just the beginning. Federal money came to Alabama and Clarke County throughout the Great Depression. For example, the WPA spent $18,428,379 in Alabama from June 1, 1935 to July 1, 1936. Of this total,

$12,827,358 was expended for labor and $5,601,021 for materials. Almost 90% of all the materials needed were ordered through Alabama companies which further stimulated the state's economy. During this time period, the WPA constructed 154 new public buildings in the state of which 71 were schools. New water reservoirs, sanitary and storm sewers and masonry drainage projects were either built or repaired in 34 communities. Sixty-eight miles of new ditches and eighteen miles of existing ditches were excavated. Fifty-two miles of streets were paved, 610 miles of new roads were built and 4,812 miles of old roads were graded, widened and improved. Another 400 miles of "three-way" roads were paved and 1,795 new bridges were constructed. In Clarke County during this time, the WPA (which included the National Youth Administration) spent $84,368 of which $53,813 went for payrolls and $30,554 for materials. Materials were purchased in the county whenever possible (CCD 8/20/1936 & 8/27/1936).

New schools, for both blacks and whites, continued to be constructed in Clarke County with the aid of Federal money throughout the late 1930s. For example, the county received $40,000 in funding from the WPA for a new high school building. Eighteen thousand dollars of this amount was in the form of a grant and $22,000 was a loan. Once the old high school was razed, the contractors Agee and Kimbrough of Pine Hill constructed a new building of "vari-colored brick [that] is floored throughout with hardwood". Classes began in this new building on Monday, February 1, 1937. The county won approval for a grant of $1,452 for the construction and repair of schools in 1936. With their construction augmented by county funds, new schools were planned for Cunningham, Winn and Salitpa. A new school building for blacks was built in Thomasville in 1938. The building's construction was funded by the PWA and the County School Commission. It was probably the first public school for blacks in the community. Upon this school's completion, Thomasville's private school, which had been operated for years by the town's churches, was closed down (CCD 8/1/1935; 8/20/1936; 9/3/1936; 9/10/1936; 2/4/1937 & 9/8/1938).

In May 1940, in the last years of the WPA, Clarke County held a week of observance of WPA projects. There was reason to celebrate. The WPA and a number of Federal agencies had invested in innumerable projects over the years that had directly benefited the people of Clarke County, like an improved infrastructure and various, new community buildings. The projects specifically cited during this celebration week included a school program of free lunches for undernourished children, the distribution of surplus commodities, the establishment of public libraries in Grove Hill and Jackson, the development of 11 adult education schools in the county and the archaeological exploration of Indian mounds located 6 ½ miles southwest of Coffeeville (CCD 5/23/1940).

World War II brought new challenges and new opportunities to the people of Clarke County. They sent their young people off to war or to the factories of Mobile. They produced cotton and timber products for the war effort. They bought war bonds and recycled their waste products. In short, Clarke Countians sacrificed along with their fellow Americans to win the war.

As a rural and still heavily forested county, Clarke had natural resources that were important to the war effort. Food crops, of course, were essential. Cotton of middling quality or better was also necessary in the manufacturing of cotton goods for the Army and the Navy. Farmers were encouraged to help the war effort (and their bank account) by making better cotton crops. On July 24, 1943, the cutting of pulpwood was declared an essential activity by the Federal Govemment because of a severe shortage of paper and paper products for military use. An advertisement that appeared in the September 30, 1943 issue of the Clarke County Democrat encouraged Clarke Countians to cut pulpwood for the war effort. It stated that "Uncle Sam needs more pulpwood. . . . . We are in the heart of the pulpwood area. This whole community is just like a big war plant and just as important to winning this war as any airplane, auto truck or munitions plant". Another ad two years later advertised that 225 men were needed in Clarke County to cut trees, drive trucks and work in the mills and yards. In other words, "to swing an ax against the Axis"

and produce the lumber and pulpwood needed to win the war (CCD 8/12/1943; 8/19/1943; 9/30/1943 & 3/8/1945).

Clarke Countians contributed to the war effort in other ways, too. Like other Americans, they collected waste paper, old rags, scrap metal and old rubber. They also enthusiastically bought war bonds. For example, Clarke County's quota for May 1942 was $27,600, but so many war bonds were purchased, that the county's June quota was raised to $43,400. The county again exceeded its war bond quota. Clarke County's quota was now higher than that of any other predominantly rural county in Alabama. It was even higher than that of other counties whose wealth and income exceeded Clarke's (CCD 4/16/1942; 6/4/1942 & 7/2/1942).

The end of World War II in May 1946 unleashed momentous changes in American society. Sweeping social, political and economic transformations altered the United States forever. In terms of the built environment, one of the great changes was the nationwide residential building boom. More new houses were under construction than at any time since the 1920 housing boom. Cities spread out into the countryside, a trend that continues down to today. Additional infrastructure was built to support these burgeoning subdivisions, including water and sewer systems, the extension of electrical lines and new roads (CCD 10/23/1947).

Clarke County was not immune to these changes. Its returning veterans came home and started families and businesses. Development was particularly underway in Grove Hill and Jackson. The histories of these communities give more information on their post-war booms. Clarke County also shared in Alabama's big, post-war road improvement program. Road construction had virtually ceased during the war. Paving projects and new road construction resumed almost immediately after the war. Rather belatedly, Clarke County also began its farm-to-market road paving program (CCD 3/7/1946 & ½/1947).

In summary, the history of Clarke County illustrates how rural counties in southwest Alabama developed and changed over time. Clarke was part of the Old Southwest that was settled by pioneers from the south Atlantic seaboard and its economy was founded on row crops, livestock and timber. Its people suffered through the Civil War and Reconstruction. Then Clarke County was swept up in the New South experience with the coming of the railroad and the growth of industry, particularly the lumber industry. Isolated and still very rural as the twentieth century dawned, the county underwent tremendous changes in this century wrought by technology, two world wars and the Great Depression. By the end of the period of significance (1811-1947), Clarke County had entered the modern age and stood poised for new opportunities and new challenges.

THE HISTORICAL COMMUNITIES OF CLARKE COUNTY

The communities under discussion in this nomination are the antebellum towns of Air Mount (also known as Atkeison and Finley's Crossing), Barlow Bend, Campbell, Choctaw Bluff, Choctaw Corner, Coffeeville, Gainestown, Grove Hill, Jackson, Rockville, Salitpa, Suggsville, Tallahatta Springs and West Bend and the postbellum towns of Allen, Dickinson, Fulton, Thomasville, Walker Springs and Whatley. Each community provided local farmers with access to markets and promoted economic activity. Perhaps even more importantly, each of these small towns was a social and cultural center for its surrounding countryside. Consequently, they carry greater significance than their population figures may suggest.

By the 1830s, the primary villages were Suggsville, Jackson, Coffeeville, Clarksville (though it was already in decline) and the newly founded and growing Grove Hill. Four decades later, according to historian T. H. Ball, the county's principal communities were Jackson, Suggsville and Gainestown in the south and Grove Hill, Choctaw

Corner and Coffeeville in the north. Ball described Bashi, Bedsole's Store, Clarke's Store, Dead Level and Air Mount as "little centers of village life" (Ball 1882:195, 362-363).

The towns and villages of Clarke County can be divided into several categories based on each one's location and/or reason for establishment. Those founded on the Tombigbee River include Woods Bluff, West Bend, Coffeeville and Jackson. The Alabama River communities are Barlow Bend, Gainestown and Choctaw Bluff. The villages established along early roads or near forts were scattered throughout the county and include Morvin, Campbell, Tattlersville, Salitpa, Winn, Bolen Town, Clarkesville, Grove Hill, Suggsville, Gosport and Walker Springs. Clarke County's late nineteenth century railroad towns are Thomasville, Fulton, Whatley, Allen, Walker Springs and Jackson. For the purposes of this overview, they are described below in alphabetical order.

AIR MOUNT (ATKEISON/FINLEY'S CROSSING): Air Mount was described by historian T. H. Ball in the late 1870s as a "small, county-line village" in the northeast corner of Clarke County. By that time, the community was home to several families (Ball 1882: 350).

ALLEN: Allen was established in the 1880s when the railroad was constructed through the Bassetts Creek Valley. The community developed at the point where the tracks crossed the road connecting Suggsville to Grove Hill. Located two miles west of the former town, Allen was initially called Suggsville Station because it was the railroad station for that community. In its early years, Allen consisted of a couple stores and a post office. The post office was named Allen, according to tradition, after an early settler in the area, Allen Coleman, and the town eventually acquired that name (Sketches 1977:17 & Graham 1923:201).

Allen reached its peak between 1900 and 1920 because large amounts of cotton and wood products were being shipped from its station. At this time, the community had about three or four stores, a sawmill, two cotton gins, a Methodist church and an elementary school. By the early 1920s, historian John S. Graham notes that the town had two or three businesses and a school and a church were nearby. Young people drifted away from Allen in the twentieth century because of the two World Wars and the decline of cotton after the invasion of the boll weevil (Sketches 1977:17-18 & Graham 1923:201).

BARLOW BEND: Barlow Bend is situated in the southern part of the county along the Alabama River. The river was an important means of transportation and trade since the beginnings of settlement. Consequently, this area claims some of the first American settlers to the eastern part of the county. After the Indian wars, settlement increased in the area. French's Chapel Cemetery and James Cemetery illustrate the early settlement. John French, a Methodist minister from Virginia, settled in this area, approximately five miles upriver from Gainestown, in 1811. In 1819 he built a church called French's Chapel on the public road in the area. Until the Civil War, the settlement near the church was also known as French's Chapel (Sketches 1977:47-48).

A post office was established between 1865 and 1870 on the property of Thaddeus Barlow, with W.M. Bryant as postmaster. This area then became known as Barlow Bend. According to Ball, the community was named after Bronson Barlow (AHC files & Ball 1882:482).

Early settlers in the Barlow Bend area were the families of James Strother Caller, Mr. Flinn, Dr. Bryant, the Brazier family, and Mr. Agee, to name a few. Barlow Bend's naturally convenient location on the river and its landings made it attractive to settlers. By 1900 it was one of the most prosperous farming towns in the county. The rich bottom lands suited row crops and livestock. Barlow Bend waned quickly because of World War I. Like many towns, there

was not much major industry besides farming, and population centers needed people to fill jobs (Sketches 1977:48).

CAMPBELL: The village of Campbell is situated in the northwest corner of Clarke County, about five miles east of the Tombigbee River. It lies between the Bashi and Tallahatta creeks, which join just west of the town and flow into the Tombigbee. The community was founded in the early 1800s by pioneers. Additional families moved into the area circa 1820. South Carolinians were prominent among these early pioneers. The town was even originally named Millersville after a Miller family who came here from South Carolina. At some later point, the name was changed to Campbell to honor a Dr. Campbell who lived in the area (Sketches 1977:70, 72).

The town was established at a point that later became the intersection of two early roads in the county. One of the roads connected Choctaw Comer to Woods Bluff and was built in 1828. The other was the stagecoach road from Mobile to Demopolis, an early U. S. mail route in western Alabama. Historically, the village was surrounded by farmland with cotton and corn as the main crops. Oil companies began leasing mineral rights on the land around Campbell in 1916 and by the late 1970s held leases on thousands of acres. Today, farms and plantations have been replaced by pasture and timber lands (Sketches 1977:70-71).

The late nineteenth century was a period of expansion for Campbell even though the railroad did not come through the town. Several stores, the Campbell Methodist Church, a school for white children and the post office were established at this time. The village's population peaked at around five hundred in 1900. The town was prospering in the early twentieth century. Campbell had five general stores and a cabinet shop which made and sold coffins in the surrounding region. It had an industrial base consisting of cotton gins, sawmills, a grist mill, a brick kiln and a blacksmith shop (Sketches 1977:72-73).

CHOCTAW BLUFF: Choctaw Bluff, a river landing located on the west bank of the Alabama River, may be one of the earliest settlements in Clarke County. It was settled by the James and Darrington families in 1789. From its beginning to c. 1900, the area of Choctaw Bluff was a farming, livestock and lumber region (Sketches 1977:49).

The bluff changed names several times during its history. Originally called Choctaw Bluff, the area was known as Peggy Bailey's Bluff during part of the nineteenth century. According to local historians, after the massacre at Fort Mims in 1813, the pioneers at Fort Pierce, which was two miles from Fort Mims, decided to cross to the west bank of the Alabama River for safety. They got to the river but had no means of crossing it. Peggy Bailey swam the alligator-infested river to the west bank, procured a boat and ferried her companions to safety. For her heroics, the Federal govemment granted Peggy Bailey a tract of land which included Choctaw Bluff. During the Civil War, the bluff was called Fort Stonewall. The fort was located close to Clarke County's salt works so it became well known. Consequently, after the war, many refugees settled in the area around the fort. The community eventually resumed its original name of Choctaw Bluff (Sketches 1977:49).

In the late 19th century, a man named Candee purchased the area of Choctaw Bluff. Shortly thereafter, people began moving out of the area. Legend has it that he was an unsavory sort who was eventually shot and killed. Legend also holds that the community knew who the killer probably was, but the coroner ruled that "he was killed by unknown hands." His body was buried disgracefully in his own front yard. Candee's nephew, named Colton, inherited the property. He had a much more upstanding reputation, but by that time most people had moved out of the area. By the early 1920s, there was nothing left of Choctaw Bluff but a post office and a store (Sketches 1977:49-50 & Graham 1923:201).

CHOCTAW CORNER: Choctaw Corner is reportedly one of the earliest settlements in Clarke County. It was a prosperous community during the antebellum period and for some time thereafter. When the railroad came through Clarke County in the 1880s, approximately 1 1/2 miles southeast of Choctaw Corner, the town began to die. A new town, eventually known as Thomasville, developed on the railroad. The people of Choctaw Corner, recognizing Thomasville's potential as a shipping point, were among the first to settle in this new community (Graham 1923: 201 & Sketches 1977:372).

COFFEEVILLE: Coffeeville was an early settlement and important steamboat landing on the east bank of the Tombigbee River. Furthermore, it was located on the stagecoach road that connected Mobile to Greensboro. Travelers on the road crossed the Tombigbee by ferry at Coffeeville. This was the only major road through Coffeeville for many years. From its earliest days, farming and timber production were important economic activities. Consistent with other areas of the county in the early 1800s, livestock was probably also significant in the economic life of Coffeeville. Steamboats plied the Tombigbee as early as 1817 and probably stopped at Coffeeville in this early period (Sketches 1977:109-110).

Reputedly established no later than 1808, the settlement prospered because of the river, fertile farm land and the forest. At this time, the community was called Murrell's Landing after William Murrell. Murrell was one of the first settlers here and also served as Clarke County's state representative in 1819-1820. Other early pioneers in this area included the Cassity, Figures, Malone, Deas and Thornton families. Merchants were conducting business in Coffeeville as early as 1816 and at least one store was established here by 1818 (Sketches 1977:104 & Ball 1882:315, 530).

At some point, the name of the town was changed to Coffeeville to honor Gen. John Coffee who fought in the Creek War of 1813-1814. A plat for the town of Coffeeville was recorded on November 6, 1819. The town was incorporated on November 22, 1819 (Sketches 1977:105).

Circa 1880, Coffeeville was one of the largest towns in the county with a population of 1,683. There were three stores in the community at this time. A better road system was also established in Coffeeville in the late nineteenth century. It consisted of two types of roads: public roads and settlement roads. The public roads connected Coffeeville to towns like Jackson and Grove Hill and also to some of the river landings. Few families lived along these public roads. Most lived on the settlement roads. Local people worked to keep the roads passable (Sketches 1977:106, 111-112 & Ball 1882:530).

Coffeeville continued to develop in the twentieth century, although its population remained very small. In 1940 its population was 250 and fell slightly to 211 in 1950. The community's first telephone system was installed sometime between 1910 and 1920. The town first received electricity in 1935 through the Rural Electric Association. The village's first paved roads were constructed in 1948 as "farm-to-market" roads. Coffeeville began its own water works system in 1964 (Sketches 1977:106-108, 112).

DICKINSON: Dickinson is a railroad town that was established in the 1880s as an agricultural shipping point. Located six miles northeast of Grove Hill, the town served the surrounding farms and the area of North Grove Hill. According to local legend, an early settlement in the Dickinson area was called Marianna. A post office established in the area on April 19, 1888 was first named Gayle but the name was changed to Dickinson on May 22nd. It is believed that the town was named for a Dickinson family who were early settlers in Clarke County. By the early 1920s, Dickinson was a thriving little community (Sketches 1977:155 and Graham 1923:202).

FULTON: Fulton was founded as a sawmill town on the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad in the 1880s. Originally, the town was called Wade's Station, presumably after John A. Wade who resided in the area prior to the coming of the lumber company (Sketches 1977:166, 168).

Marcus B. Behrman and Joseph Zimmern founded the Virgin Pine Lumber Company in 1888. The company's function was to "produce lumber and shingles, to operate turpentine stills, naval stores, and do general merchandising" at Wade's Station. A post office named Behrman was established in the community the following year and eventually the town acquired the name of Behrman (Sketches 1977:166).

The company changed hands several times until it was purchased by William Dwight Harrigan, Sr. and Fred Herrick in 1902. By the time of this purchase, the company was known as the Scotch Lumber Company and the town was called Fulton. The population of Fulton was mostly comprised of the families of lumber mill employees and the people who provided necessary services to them (Sketches 1977:166-168).

The town seems to have been a typical mill village. Historian John S. Graham described Fulton in the early 1920s as a sawmill town with a large mill, churches and a school. Unfortunately, he does not mention or describe the workers' housing. It is believed that Fulton's first church was constructed c. 1900 and used by Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians in turn for about fifty years. The first classes in Fulton were taught in the church but eventually a school house was built. Circa 1916, a larger building was constructed which housed both the elementary and the high school grades until the late 1940s (Graham 1923:202 & Sketches 1977:168).

GAINESTOWN: Gainestown was an early trading and business center on the Alabama River. It also served as a voting precinct first in Monroe County and then in Clarke County. The history of the town's establishment is somewhat obscure (Ball 1882:479).

Circa 1800, the Federal government passed a law requiring a Federal representative called a factor to be present when whites traded with Indians. In 1808 George Strother Gaines, a North Carolina native residing in Tennessee, was appointed factor for the St. Stephens District which included Clarke County. He established trading posts along the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers and set dates for conducting business at each one. Gaines' Trading Post was founded on the west bank of the Alabama near the present site of Gainestown. When the Creek Indians were defeated at Horse Shoe Bend in 1814, the trading post was abandoned. The extant landing at the trading post became known as Gainestown Landing in 1815. The village on the bluff above the landing was called Gainestown (Sketches 1977:46).

Arthur Sizemore is believed to be one of the first settlers of Gainestown. He operated Sizemore's Ferry at the Gainestown Landing. Under the Treaty of Ft. Jackson, Sizemore received Section 17, Township 5 North, Range 4 East from the United States government. People settled on the bluff west of the ferry landing and founded Gainestown. They named it in honor of George Strother Gaines who had established the trading post and was now their representative in the Alabama legislature (CCHSQ F91:1).

According to T. H. Ball, the Gainestown settlement was established by two men named Fisher. Samuel Fisher was married to an Indian woman, probably a Creek, and ran a barge on the river. Josiah Fisher was married to a Chickasaw woman. Both men went west with the Indian removals (Ball 1882:479).

Gainestown was a very prosperous community before the Civil War. Its economic activity continued, though at a

reduced level, well into the twentieth century. Edward Marshall operated a tannery in town circa 1880 and it was probably one of many thriving businesses there in the late nineteenth century. Gainestown was virtually destroyed by a tornado in March 1911. By the 1920s, however, the town had bounced back somewhat. Several stores were still extant but not especially prosperous (CCD 3/30/11; Graham 1923:201-202 & Ball 1882:479).

GROVE HILL: Grove Hill was established as the county seat of Clarke County in 1832. Although a few families had settled in the general area prior to this date, a village did not exist at this location until the early 1830s (Ball 1882:193).

James Magoffin came from Philadelphia, arriving in Fort St. Stephens in 1809. Circa 1815, he established a store in the center of a plantation area and a little north of the present day location of Grove Hill. It is believed that several families had settled in this general area prior to 1813. The Chapman and Pugh families, for example, had settled along the edge of the hilly range to the west of the table land. Ball described the store as "a place of considerable business in 1817" (Ball 1882:193, 448).

On April 21, 1820, a post office called Post Oak Level was established with James Magoffin as the first postmaster. The post office was probably located in his store. The post office was discontinued in 1824 and reopened in 1827. In April 1828 the name of the post office was changed to Grove Hill. It is believed that this name was chosen because of the fine groves of oaks on the table land where the post office was located (Sketches 1977:175-176).

In 1832 the county seat was moved from Clarkesville and established at Grove Hill, which was founded specifically as a county seat. There was initially some confusion as to the new town's name. It was known in its early history as Macon, Smithville and Grove Hill but by 1850 the latter name was generally accepted. The Clarke County historian John S. Graham reported that the town was originally named Macon to honor a Mr. Macon who lived two miles west of town. Perhaps the name of Grove Hill won out as the town's name because the Grove Hill post office was moved to the county seat (Ball 1882:217; Graham 1923:195 & Sketches 1977:176).

A frame courthouse and a log jail were constructed in Grove Hill circa 1832. In February 1837 the Commissioners Court of Clarke County accepted proposals for the construction of a brick county and circuit court clerk's office. The specifications required that the building be 25 feet long, 15 feet wide and 10 feet tall with a flagstone or brick floor and a slate or tin roof. The building was probably constructed in 1837 and was renovated and enlarged forty years later. A new brick courthouse, costing $13,500, was constructed in 1899 to replace the frame one. An addition was built onto this courthouse in 1911. The original jail was also eventually replaced. In 1870, prisoners who were trying to escape bumed the jail down. A new brick jail surrounded by an 18 foot wooden wall was constructed. New steel cells were installed in 1887. A major renovation in 1910 included a two story, concrete addition, the replacement of the old cells with new ones, the installation of bathrooms and the placing of "sanitary fixtures" in every room (Graham 1923:195, 197, 198 & Ball 1882:206).

Grove Hill, along with Suggsville, was one of the two major towns in Clarke County in 1850. Ball described Grove Hill as not only the county seat but "more thoroughly the intellectual center of the county" because it had a well-written newspaper with a wide circulation. There were several hotels in the little town because of the court business carried on there. Tom Brown, a free man of color, operated the first hotel in Grove Hill. Several shops were also established in Grove Hill during the antebellum period. S. S. Brittingham ran a carriage making shop here from about 1836 to 1852. W. J. Champion was a tailor in Grove Hill in 1847. David Dawson, a hat maker, arrived in Grove Hill in 1855 and manufactured hats during the Civil War. The town also had a cobbler named Mr. Andoe

(Ball 1882:226 & Sketches 1977:180-181).

The development of this little community suffered a severe blow in the fall of 1853 when a yellow fever epidemic struck the town. Yellow fever was not common in Clarke County. All businesses shut down. The mail carrier stopped delivering the mail in Grove Hill. The healthy residents of Grove Hill left town and camped by nearby springs to avoid infection. The yellow fever shattered the social and economic life of the community. Grove Hill remained a small town throughout the nineteenth century. Stands of oak trees still surrounded the village at least as late as c. 1880 (Ball 1882:193, 233-234, 236).

The last years of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century saw steady development in Grove Hill. The Clarke County Democrat reported in 1887 that "the hammer and the saw are heard oftener in Grove Hill than for several years". The town was booming and experiencing a great demand for housing. The newspaper editor insisted that this progress was not due to the railroad (which did not come through the town) but to a regular, constant growth that was permanent. Maybe he was right. The newspaper commented again in 1896 on all the new construction being undertaken in Grove Hill. In addition, older buildings were being renovated. Progress continued in the twentieth century. The newspaper reported in 1913 on the town's new construction as well as the remodeling of older residences. The editor attributed the growth to Grove Hill's healthy location and its good churches and schools (CCD 6/23/1887; 10/6/1887; 1/16/1896 & 3/13/1913).

By the early 1920s, the town had many businesses, both a Methodist and a Baptist church, two drug stores, a telephone system, a movie theater, a bank, an elementary school and a high school. The town school constructed in 1856 was torn down in 1909 and replaced by a new building based on a state school plan (Graham 1923:198, 200).

The Great Depression and World War II barely slowed Grove Hill's progress. The town received significant amounts of federal assistance during the depression and continued to grow. According to the local newspaper, a resident of Grove Hill proclaimed that "the depression has been a big help to this town." With the community's economy stimulated by various Federal projects, new commercial buildings and residences were being constructed. Other buildings were being remodeled. The population actually grew in the 1930s. In 1930, the town's population was 491 but six years later it had climbed to over 700. By 1940, Grove Hill's population was recorded as 727. However, this figure did not include the large numbers of people living just outside the incorporation limits, particularly to the north and east of town (CCD 10/22/1936 & 5/30/1940).

Most of the Federal assistance that Grove Hill received went to creating or improving the town's infrastructure. Water and sewer systems were installed. Sidewalks were built and streets were paved. Other Federal funds went to the construction of public institutional buildings.

In 1934, a combination of a grant and a loan totaling about $28,000 was awarded to the community by the Public Works Administration for the construction of a water works system. The project was estimated to take two months and employ fifty men. About a year later, in early September 1935, water service began in Grove Hill. The water tank and tower, the pump house and lift pump, the main connections and the service connections were all in place. The system also included fire plugs in the commercial district. The Clarke County Democrat reported that "the [water] tank is one of the prettiest to be found anywhere in the state". After the war, Grove Hill began extending its water mains to all sections of the town (CCD 8/23/1934; 8/1/1935; 8/29/1935 & 7/25/1946).

At least as early as 1935, Grove Hill attempted to get a loan from the WPA to install an adequate sewer system in the town. Work finally began on the sewer system three years later. The town received a Federal grant for 45% of the total cost and a Federal loan for the remaining 55% of the cost. The installation of the system was completed in April 1939 (CCD 8/1/1935; 10/6/1938 & 4/20/1939).

Sidewalks were another community improvement that was at least partially funded by Federal monies. In 1938, the WPA agreed to cover the labor costs and part of the cost for the cement if Grove Hill provided the rest of the cement, the lumber, the sand and the gravel and a cement mixer. The first sidewalks were installed in front of the school and from the auditorium out to the public sidewalk. This was because school officials were willing to absorb the costs of this work. Any property owners that comprised a full block or an unbroken stretch of several hundred yards could pay for the costs of installing a sidewalk in front of their properties. By May, one mile of walkway had been laid in Grove Hill and plans were underway for two more miles to be installed. Whether the project would be continued beyond that depended on public demand and public funding. The following year the sidewalk project for Grove Hill was stopped after being only partially completed (CCD 2/17/1938; 5/19/1938 & 4/20/1939).

Progress was also made in paving the streets. The street between Highway 5 and the courthouse, the courthouse grounds and the area in front of the post office were paved in the early 1940s. A drainage ditch was dug along the north side of the street leading east from the courthouse to prevent flooding in downtown Grove Hill before this street was paved. At least some of the paving was done by WPA-funded crews. The paving of streets resumed in Grove Hill after World War II. By the fall of 1947, almost every street in town had received two coats of paving material. The town would apply the finishing or seal coat as funding became available. The work was expected to be completed in about two or three years. It was being funded by a penny/gallon town tax on gasoline and was being done without incurring debt (CCD 3/14/1940; 6/20/1940; 5/29/1941 & 10/23/1947).

Federal funds also helped pay for a new Clarke County High School building, which cost $41,500, and a new fire station which was located on county property near the southwest comer of the jail. Both were completed in the mid-1930s. In the 1940s other public facilities were constructed, although these were not necessarily Federally funded projects. A new, two story county building clad in brick veneer was completed in 1942 and housed the County Agent, AAA, the Health Department, the Tax Assessor, the Tax Collector and the Superintendent of Education. In the late 1940s, after the war, Grove Hill built an airport and a hospital. Plans for the hospital described it as a one story building of "pressed cement brick, with asbestos roof and composition tile floor." It would have an X-ray, an operating room, fifteen rooms for white patients and five rooms for black patients (CCD 10/22/1936; 4/29/1937; 1/8/1942; 7/31/1947 & 12/11/1947).

These investments in Grove Hill by the public sector stimulated additional investments by the private sector. In 1940, the local newspaper reported that the town's building boom was essentially residential in character, but was also spreading to the commercial district. Both the Cunningham Hotel and the Belvedere Theatre were being razed to make way for new commercial, brick buildings. Another building boom followed the war. Extant commercial buildings received additions and new commercial buildings were constructed. During this time, corner lots in downtown Grove Hill sold for thousands of dollars. There was also a great need for housing in the county seat. New construction continued in Grove Hill through the end of the period of significance (CCD 8/1/1940; 1/17/1946 & 7/31/1947).

Several commercial buildings were constructed in the 1930s. Most were strictly utilitarian in design. One such structure was a two story, forty foot by sixty foot building with a brick facade and side elevations clad in corrugated

sheet iron. The first floor housed Hawkins True Value Hardware Store and the second floor had apartments. Other businesses that built new structures included a truck company and two gas stations. One of the gas stations was built at the intersection of the Grove Hill and Whatley Roads in 1936. It was "a wooden frame structure of the English type and will be operated as a combination store, filling station and lunch room". The Woco-Pep Oil Company also planned to build a gas station. The house that was already located on the Woco-Pep lot was to be moved back from the road and sited facing south (CCD 1/23/1936; 2/20/1936; 4/16/1936; 6/18/1936 & 2/18/1937).

Commercial construction in Grove Hill continued in the 1940s and was probably stimulated, at least in part, by road building programs. In 1941, a new Standard gas station opened and, unlike other stations in town, it had two double tourist cabins. They came with tiled shower baths, hardwood floors and butane gas heaters. The foundation for a third cabin was also in place. Four years later, the complex was known as the Standard Tourist Court and had a total of six cabins. After the war, at least another six cabins were added. Other commercial properties were also being developed through the end of the period of significance, including an ice plant in the southern section of Grove Hill (CCD 11/20/1941; 6/21/1945; 4/10/1947 & 11/20/1947).

Residential construction also occurred throughout the 1930s and the 1940s. There was a great need for housing in Grove Hill prior to the end of the war, but the returning veterans precipitated an "acute housing shortage" in the community. The areas of the greatest residential growth during this time period included the Wilson Subdivision, the Bradford Subdivision and the Burge and Hearn Subdivision. Despite the "acute housing shortage", these subdivisions were small, generally consisting of a few houses on a single street. The Wilson Subdivision lined Wilson Avenue which headed east off Highway 43 for two or three blocks. The people who bought or built homes here were professional people, local elites and old county families who were related to each other. The Bradford Subdivision was the largest one in town. It consisted of Second, Third and Fourth Avenues which crossed Oak Street. The Burge and Hearn Subdivision, located along old Highway 5 or the Grove Hill-Thomasville Road, was one acre deep with an eight acre frontage. The land was level, provided ideal housing sites and was located in "one of the fastest developing sections of the town". It consisted of about six houses, all built in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. In 1937, a rental house was built on the north side of town and three new houses were built on the south side of town. By 1940, several additional homes were either under construction or being planned, including three houses in Wilson Subdivision. As World War II was coming to a close in 1946, Gerald Bradford was planning to build "modern houses" in the Wilson Subdivision. Five houses were also being constructed in the Bradford Subdivision. This was the biggest single development underway in Grove Hill. Other houses were being built in Wilson Subdivision and throughout town (CCD 2/18/1937; 4/25/1940; 8/1/1940; 8/29/1940; 1/17/1946; 2/7/1946; 9/5/1946 & 3/20/1947 & Jackson ltr 1/21/1997).

The sweet gum industry, which was associated with the production of tobacco and pharmaceuticals, developed in Grove Hill at least as early as 1933. The town was well known for its production of sweet gum by 1942. Six years later, Clarke County was the largest producer in the country. Its total product was purchased by a firm in Richmond, Virginia. Prior to Clarke County's entry into the industry, most of the sweet gum used in the United States was imported from South America and Russia (MPR 7/18/1948).

Another lumber-related industry important to Grove Hill's economy in the mid-twentieth century was the manufacture of dogwood blocks for the shuttles of textile looms. The industry developed rapidly during World War II. By 1947, several plants existed in the county with the center of the industry being Grove Hill. One of the larger mills, Reginald Keen's at Grove Hill, employed three people and produced five hundred shuttle blocks per day, using about a cord and a quarter of dogwood logs (MPR 8/ 3/1947).

The logs were sawed into rough blocks, from twelve to twenty-seven inches long and four inches square. Each block was treated with paraffin to prevent splitting and then stacked to dry. The blocks were shipped through Mobile to the East Coast where they were made into shuttles and shipped worldwide. After World War II, England and Russia were the major buyers. Prior to the war, Germany and Italy had also purchased the dogwood textile shuttles (MPR 8/3/1947).

JACKSON: Among the first Americans to settle in Clarke County were some who established homesteads on the east side of the Tombigbee opposite St. Stephens and below around 1800. Frank Stringer was one of the earliest residents in this area and he operated a landing and a ferry. However, no specific dates for Stringer are known. A village first known as Republicville and then Pine Level evolved at this site. In November 1816, this community was incorporated as Jackson. The town was located 3/4 of a mile east of the Tombigbee and 225 feet above the river (Ball 1882:353, 355 & CCD 9/17/1896).

The land for Jackson was purchased in October 1815 from Josiah Carney and Thomas Strang, both residents of Baldwin County. A town was platted and its lots sold at public sale. A second public sale of lots took place on July 1-3, 1817, after the incorporation of the town. This second sale had been advertised for three months in the Mississippi Halcyon, the Mississippi Republican, the Georgia Journal and the Huntsville Gazette. Rev. William Cochran was asked to choose a lot for a Baptist church and P. F. Bayard selected one for the Methodist church. One square was marked for the Presbyterian church and another was set aside for the Masonic lodge (Ball 1882:704-705).

The main streets of Jackson were Carrol, Washington, Commerce, Broadway and Florida Avenues. By the 1870s, the northeast approach into town was along an avenue, about 1/4 mile in length, that was shaded by large trees. In the town itself were "long rows of large china trees . . . evidently past their prime" (Ball 1882:353, 361-362).

Jackson became a regional manufacturing and commercial center. People from one hundred miles around traded here. The community had a population of 1,000 to 1,500 in the years 1816 to 1818 and supported seven or eight large dry goods stores. The town began to decline in the 1830s, however. Some houses were even dismantled and their lumber shipped to Mobile. Eventually, the center of business for this area of the county changed and many people moved away from Jackson. John S. Graham, arriving in Jackson in 1875, "found . . . the remains of a once live, hustling, bustling town of about fifteen hundred people." According to Graham, by 1875, there were less than 150 people living in Jackson and there was only one store. Mr. Wing was the merchant. Seth P. Stringer ran the post office on the south side of Commerce Street and Calvin Walker had a blacksmith shop. There was a Methodist church and a Presbyterian church but no school. Two years later, two new stores were under construction, indicating that there was still some growth potential in the town. However, Jackson remained a fairly small community (Ball 1882:353, 355; Louis Finlay interview 7/10/96; Graham 1923:176, 178, 206 & CCD 5/9/1877; 6/19/1879 & 7/8/1880).

The construction of the railroad through Clarke County in 1886-1887 revitalized Jackson. The railroad crossed the Tombigbee River and ran ½ mile south of the town. The Clarke County Democrat declared that Jackson was undergoing a building boom in 1892. According to this same newspaper, in 1896 all the towns along the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad were developing rapidly because of the railroad. Thomasville had been leading the other communities in growth but it appeared that Jackson would overtake it as the premier city in south central Alabama. Construction plans for Jackson included a state agricultural school, two hardwood mills and a handle factory. The agricultural school was completed in time to begin its first session on September 28, 1896. The school building was

designed in the most modern style and had a large hallway and fifteen rooms. Its upper story had removable partitions which, when taken away, created a large auditorium that measured 100 feet by 40 feet. Furthermore, people from Illinois and Michigan were committed to founding a colony at Niel's Switch near Jackson. These one hundred families of "thrifty Northerners" planned to establish a hardwood furniture factory, a canning factory and farms. The following year, in 1897, Park Smith Lumber Company in Jackson announced that it would have electric lights and could supply the town with electricity from its dynamo (CCD 9/15/1892; 6/18/1896; 9/17/1896 & 4/15/1897).

A fire in 1915 destroyed five commercial buildings in downtown Jackson and another fire in 1924 destroyed the buildings from 205 to 221 Commerce Street. These tragedies barely slowed the town down. By the early 1920s, the community had approximately twenty businesses and a population of about two thousand. Located in Jackson were a bank, two schools, three churches, three sawmills, a veneer plant, a stave mill and several small industries. Its commercial enterprises included three barber shops, a shoe shop, several garages and repair shops and a bakery. Jackson's professional class was comprised of five medical doctors, a dentist and three Protestant ministers. Services available in the town included a telephone and telegraph service, electric lights and an ice plant. There were plans for the development of a water works (CCD 4/22/1915; Louis Finlay interview 9/22/1997 & Graham 1923:206-207).

Jackson experienced another building boom in the mid to late 1940s. The construction of commercial and residential buildings already underway in early 1946 was enhanced by the announcement of a $1 million construction program for Jackson. The projects included in this program ranged from small businesses like a beauty parlor or a laundry to an ice and quick-freezing plant to a large $100,000 extension of the Clarke mills (also known as the Vanity Fair Mill and built in 1939). Residences were also being constructed, either by individual home owners for themselves or by contractors on a speculative basis. The McCorquodale Brothers were building ten houses. The M. W. Smith Company was building two houses in town and twenty under-the-hill houses for blacks (CCD 2/28/1946).

The following year, the City of Jackson began to update its infrastructure. This project had been halted during World War II by material shortages. Municipal construction projects totaling $190,000 would be carried out to improve the fire protection and water and sewer service of Jackson. The planned work would give adequate fire protection and water service to the riverfront and depot areas where most of the town's major industries were located and also to most of the black residences. A 150,000 gallon water tank with tower would be integrated into the present system. A drilled well with a flow of 300 gallons per minute and a pumping station, the installation of 31,568 feet of water mains, 30 pumper type fire hydrants, 125 new water connections and changing over 50% of the present installations to new mains would complete the water system. The sewer system would be updated by the installation of 18,420 feet of sewer lines with 140 connections and a pumping station (CCD 10/30/1947).

ROCKVILLE: Rockville is a small town situated about eight miles south of Jackson. Historian John S. Graham pronounced the town dead in the early 1920s, declaring that all that remained of it were a school, a church and a post office building. However, he also noted that a three room schoolhouse was currently under construction in Rockville (Sketches 1977:308 & Graham 1923:200).

Nineteenth century settlers in the Rockville area and those who followed them made their living from farming, raising livestock, logging and turpentining. The Jackson Sawmill Company completed a dummy railroad line into the Rockville area in 1922. It was discontinued in 1927. The timber industry was probably the main reason for an influx

of newcomers into the community in the early twentieth century. At least two of the newcomers, the Pezent brothers from Yugoslavia, were engaged in stave making, an offshoot of the timber industry. Both the Central and Lower Salt Works are near Rockville and, historically, they probably provided employment for people in the area. Twenty-one families still resided in Rockville in the late 1970s (Sketches 1977:309-310).

SALITPA: This community was established in the early 1800s about three miles from its present location. At some point in the nineteenth century, this little village relocated to its present location where another town named River Hill was already established. The new community derived from these two merged towns took the name of Salitpa (Sketches 1977:312).

The town was originally named Satilpa after a small creek of that name located in the vicinity. Then the town applied for a post office c. 1880 and in the application form sent to Washington D.C. the name was misspelled as Salitpa. The post office was chartered as such and the town also adopted the name of Salitpa (Sketches 1977:313).

By the turn of the century, Salitpa was known for its good farming country and its mules. The town had several stores and some industry such as two sawmills, two grist mills and two cotton gins. There were also two churches and a school in the community (Sketches 1977:313 & Graham 1923:203).

SUGGSVILLE: William Suggs may have been one of the earliest settlers in this area, arriving around 1814. He started a small store in 1815 and a village called Suggs store grew up around it. Three years later, a post office was established here with William Suggs as the first postmaster. Robert G. Hayden was another early settler in this area. He ran one of the first tanneries in the county and also started a small shoe factory c. 1815 (Sketches 1977:355 & Ball 1882:481).

The little community was surveyed in 1819 and town lots were sold. The town straddled the county line between Clarke County and Monroe County with the larger, eastern portion of the town lying in the latter county. However, in 1821, this section of Suggsville was absorbed into Clarke County. The main street ran north and south and was called Line Street because it was a section of the Line Road (Sketches 1977:355-356 & Ball 1882:174).

By 1820, Suggsville was not only a trade center for its region but also a cultural center for the county. The town boasted a number of wealthy families as residents and also offered a variety of educational and religious opportunities. Both a school for girls and a school for boys were in operation by 1836. At least two or three doctors practiced in Suggsville in the early years. Over 300 town lots were offered for sale in Suggsville in 1836 (Ball 1882:173, 183-184 & Sketches 1977:358-359).

Suggsville prospered in the antebellum period. On the eve of the Civil War, the town had a variety of businesses including a tannery and the Eagle Factory, a buggy works. The proud, sophisticated community did not begin its long decline until after the war. The citizens of Suggsville strongly supported secession. The men of the town formed the Suggsville Greys and went off to fight (Sketches 1977:362-363).

The abandonment of Suggsville in the last half of the nineteenth century can be attributed to many factors. Some of the men who fought for the Confederacy did not return. A fire in Suggsville in early 1879 destroyed several buildings, including the Coale Hotel, Cobb's steam mill, an old tavern and Major Cleveland's store. Since the town was already in decline, most of these structures were probably not rebuilt. The construction of the railroad through the county in the late 1800s bypassed the town. Over time, families in the community either died out or moved away

(CCD 2/6/1879 & Sketches 1977:362-363).

Nevertheless, Suggsville must have remained a viable, though small, community during the rest of the period of significance. The Civil Works Administration built a community house in the town in 1934 (CCD 4/19/1934) and, except for a three week period in July 1867 when the post office shut down, Suggsville maintained such a facility until August 1959 (Sketches 1977:361, 363 & CCD 2/6/79:n.p.).

TALLAHATTA SPRINGS: This area was originally named Lowder Springs after George Lowder who first resided here. Colonel B. C. Foster acquired the property from Lowder around 1840 and opened a guest house so people could come and take the waters at the sulphur springs. It is believed there were about seventeen springs at the site. Eventually, a town was established and its population in 1880 was 560 (Sketches 1977:369).

A local historian reports that "in years past" Tallahatta Springs could boast of a cotton gin, a sawmill, a grist mill, and a water mill plus several general stores. Additionally, in 1923, Scotch Lumber Company established a lumber camp in the vicinity of the springs. The camp functioned for about eight years and included a store and a doctor's office. The town itself, however, was nonextant by the early 1920s. Only the springs remained (Sketches 1977:371 & Graham 1923:204).

THOMASVILLE: Thomasville was founded as a railroad town and, by the 1920s, had developed into one of the largest commercial centers between Selma and Mobile. It was an important agricultural shipping point for northern Clarke County with its major products being cotton and lumber. The growth of Thomasville ensured the demise of Choctaw Corner, only 1 ½ miles away, because the first people to relocate to the railroad town came from the latter community (Graham 1923:187 & TCS 1988:3).

In June 1887 the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad finalized its plans for its route through the north part of the county. Almost immediately, the construction of buildings began at the present site of Thomasville which was described as both a "low, swampy valley" and a "dense forest". Between August 1st and October 20th, 1887, approximately ten stores, two hotels, three steam mills, two or three blacksmith and wood shops, one painting business, one restaurant, one barber shop and one telegraph office were established. Two more hotels were under construction in late October of that year. Blacks and whites were both involved in the development of the town. Appropriately enough, among the earliest industries in the community were a sawmill and a brick yard. The first shops and business establishments were located on the north and south sides of W. Wilson Avenue and were of frame construction. The railroad track was supposed to reach Thomasville in late October. However, the town was not connected to Jackson by rail until about mid-November (Graham 1923:189; TCS 1988:2, 4 & CCD 10/20/1887 & 11/24/1887).

Various names for this new town were suggested but rejected until finally the name Thomasville was selected. The chosen name honored Samuel Thomas of Brice and Thomas (of New York), the financiers of the new railroad. Thomas gave the town up to $500 for the construction of a school. The Thomasville Institute was built but burned down before any classes were held there (Graham 1923:188).

Other tragedies struck the town early in its history. A form of typhus fever in the summer of 1889 practically depopulated the community for awhile. The fever killed many young adults but did not attack young children or the elderly. Ten years later, in November 1899, a devastating fire destroyed the business section of town leaving only a brick store east of the railroad. The commercial buildings were rebuilt in brick and stone. The fire of 1899 helped

pull the community together, however. Before the fire, the Baptists and the Methodists had each maintained separate, private academies but, after the fire, the townspeople came together to establish the Thomasville Public School. Another fire occurred in June 1902. It started in the wood shed behind the Lucius Hotel and spread to the two story hotel itself. The fire also burned D. R. Burgess's livery stable, the hotel barber shop, Fields' shoe and harness shop, the Henley photograph gallery and the Henley house (Graham 1923:192-193; TCS 1988:4 & Thomasville Echo 6/19/1902).

Thomasville enjoyed vigorous growth, based on cotton and the timber industry, despite these reverses. Construction of houses, stores and mills continued at a steady pace. The town had a newspaper by no later than May 4, 1888. A hall known as the Thomasville Opera House was constructed in the early years of the town to house worship services and other public events. Nevertheless, the Methodists built a church here in 1889 and the Baptists organized a congregation the following year. The Presbyterian church was constructed in 1900. Thomasville's first bank was established in 1894 (TCS 1988:4 & Graham 1923:189-191).

Growth and development continued into the early twentieth century. In late 1901 at least five brick stores and a new Masonic hall were nearing completion. George Nettles' new, brick, commercial building was finished in early 1902 as was D. B. Henley's photography gallery. By May of that year plans were underway for a twenty-four room, brick hotel to be constructed in Thomasville by November 1st. The fire in June 1902 barely slowed the pace of construction. Preparations began immediately to rebuild. Two years later, in 1904, construction began on a new building for the city market and Thomasville received its first telephone system (Thomasville Echo).

The boll weevil reduced Thomasville's significance as a shipping point for cotton but the town was still important to the lumber industry. By the early 1920s, in addition to other timber-related industries, the town had a number of stave mills. Commercial activity, including the automobile business, was well established (Graham 1923:191-192).

Development continued in the town up to the late 1940s, although probably not at as frantic a pace as previously. Nevertheless, the construction that occurred suggests that Thomasville maintained some economic stability during the Depression and World War II. The Baptist congregation built a new church which was connected to the old one in the late 1920s-early 1930s. At the time, it was considered to be one of the most up-to-date church buildings in the county. The town built a vocational agricultural and home economics building as an addition to its school complex in the late 1930s that cost approximately $12,000. Like other Clarke County towns, Thomasville got paved sidewalks during this period as part of a Federal aid project. After the war, a factory building was constructed on Highway 5 in the southern part of town at an estimated cost of $56,311. A newspaper editor writing about this proposed project estimated that the facility would employ 100 women. This suggests that the plant manufactured some type of textiles (CCD 2/22/1934; 9/1/1938; 7/20/1939 & 7/3/1947).

WALKER SPRINGS: William Walker settled south of Bassetts Creek in the early 1800s and established a mill in the area by 1811. Walker Springs beat was probably named after him. In late 1887, a village was planned in this beat. Lots for it were surveyed and sold. This village probably owed its birth to the coming of the railroad. At the time, the Walker Springs area was well settled and had good farming and timber lands. By the early 1920s, the village had several stores, a school, two churches and a few industries (Ball 1882:362; Graham 1923:202-203 & CCD 10/27/1887).

WEST BEND: This community derives its name from its location on a big, western bend in the Tombigbee River. The Abner Turner family came from St. Stephens and settled in this bend area in 1809. Other families eventually

located here (Ball 1882:517).

WHATLEY: White settlement occurred in the Bassett's Creek valley of Clarke County as early as 1809 and, by 1818, several families from South Carolina occupied the valley. It was with the coming of the railroad, however, that the town of Whatley was established (Whatley 1990:1).

The tracks were laid through Clarke County in 1887-1888. The line came through about six miles southeast of Grove Hill. At this point, three parcels of land were deeded to the railroad by Mr. and Mrs. William Hill and Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Benjamin Whatley. The railroad station was named after the latter couple. It was to be sited where the railroad crossed the Grove Hill-Claiborne road. On June 7, 1887 a post office was established here and called Horeb after a Baptist church in the area. The town that grew up around the station was known as Whatley. Finally, on August 20, 1890, the names were reconciled when the post office's name changed to Whatley. The town was incorporated in 1901 (Graham 1923:202 & Whatley 1990:1, 5).

Of course, the railroad birthed and nurtured the community of Whatley, as well as other Clarke County communities. One year after the completion of the line, it was reported that Thomasville, Behrman, Walker Springs and Whatley were booming. Areas along the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad, in general, were experiencing rapid development. Located near Grove Hill, Whatley became an important shipping point for the surrounding area. The town developed to the west of the railroad, spreading up the hill. Consequently, one section of town near the railroad was known as "under the hill" and the other section was "on the hill" (Graham 1923:202 & Whatley 1990:48, 51).

The Clarke County Democrat described Whatley in August 1888 as an "enterprising little town" that boasted two stores, one doctor's office/drug store, one blacksmith shop and one hotel. A gin house was under construction and the depot was expected to be completed shortly. Two years later, in 1890, Whatley was still experiencing substantial growth. Wing's storehouse was almost completed. Bettis and Dacy were also constructing a storehouse. Tolus Dickinson, a black man, was planning to build a store. By the turn of the century, there were at least four stores in Whatley. Whatley continued to prosper into the early 1920s. During this period, the lumber industry used the Whatley station as a shipping point. The town's economy was booming and at least one church and a school had been established (Whatley 1990:33, 46, 51 & Graham 1923:202).

Whatley's industry consisted of saw mills, cotton gins and grist mills. There was at least one, and perhaps two, saw mills running by the late 1880s. Grist mills were located throughout the surrounding area. John and Wash Hill built a steam powered cotton gin in Whatley in 1888. It is believed to have stayed in operation until at least the 1930s. The Clarke County Farm Bureau established a gin cooperative called the Clarke County Farm Bureau Gin Company (later known as the Clarke County Gin Company) in 1928. The company located its gin just north of Whatley's business district and it stayed in operation until at least the mid-1940s (Whatley 1990:24, 33 & Whatley 1991:n.p.).

TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS IN CLARKE COUNTY

The types of transportation networks that develop in a county and how they are interrelated profoundly impact development in that county. Rivers and trails were major routes for the Native Americans and the earliest pioneers of the Southeast. In the first half of the nineteenth century, some trails were upgraded to primitive roads and other routes like the Federal Road were created. Rivers grew in importance because of the invention of the steamboat. The railroad usurped the significance of the rivers as a transportation system in the late nineteenth century, but river traffic remained a common sight. The popularity of the automobile after the turn of the century guaranteed that streets and highways would be pivotal to the nation's transportation system.

The Tombigbee and the Alabama rivers defined the western and eastern boundaries of Clarke County. They were obviously significant components of the county's transportation network. Settlers used forty to fifty foot barges and flatboats to float their cotton to Mobile on these rivers before circa 1821. The barges were propelled by long poles with a spike at one end and a hook at the other. The barges could also be propelled upstream but it was very laborious. It took at least a week or more to go upriver from Mobile to Coffeeville. By the late 1820s, steamboats carried manufactured goods upstream and returned with cotton, hides, naval stores and other products. The commercial importance of Alabama's rivers peaked in the antebellum period, but tapered off in the last half of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the golden age of steamboating continued up to the turn of the century (Ball 1882:174, 315; Rogers 1994:xx & Jackson 1995:163).

The first steamboat company in Alabama was established at St. Stephens in 1818, but steamboats did not become a common sight on the rivers until somewhat later. In 1821, the boat *Harriet* traveled up the Alabama River to Montgomery. The *Cotton Plant* was also launched that year and is believed to have been one of the first steamboats to ply the Tombigbee (Ball 1882:177, 315 & Jackson 1995:54).

Because of the growth of the steamboat trade, the state's population concentrated along the navigable rivers and river towns sprang up. As more boats plied the rivers, planters built their own landings. Steamboats increased along the Alabama River in direct proportion to the amount of cotton grown along the river. When steamboating was at its peak in the late antebellum period, there were over 200 landings on the Alabama between Wetumpka and the Alabama-Tombigbee confluence. The landings served a variety of functions such as cotton shipping points, wood yards for refueling boats, places where river travelers waited for the next docking and social centers for the locals (Jackson 1995:60, 61, 77).

Most of the cotton grown along the rivers emptying into Mobile Bay was shipped to Mobile by boat. The business season for steamboats was very slow in the summer. It picked up rapidly in October when the cotton crop began to be harvested and shipped. During the months-long shipping season it was not unusual to see four or five boats per day on each river, carrying as much cotton as they could handle. Cotton growers on the lower rivers would load their bales on an upstream boat to ensure shipment. Otherwise, the steamboats might already be full on the downriver trip by the time they reached these planters (CCD 10/20/1880 & 8/3/1899).

The importance of shipping by river declined during the period of significance but steamboating continued on Alabama's rivers until the 1930s. For example, in the winter of 1886-1887 one boat ran per night, five nights a week on the Alabama River. This was more activity than had occurred on the river in a long time. On the Tombigbee River, in 1891, two steamboats made regular trips on Wednesdays and Sundays. In that same year, three weekly packets traveled the Alabama River between Mobile and Montgomery. One each left Mobile on Saturday night, Monday night and Tuesday night. At the turn of the century, a new boat was added to this route. But the days of the steamboat were numbered (Jackson 1995:171 & CCD 10/21/1886; 7/9/1891 & 8/3/1899).

River towns were significant agricultural transfer points because of the river, but they began to lose that function to the railroad. This shift in transportation started before the Civil War and continued throughout the rest of the century. Cotton was still shipped to Mobile on the river, but the steamboats were losing the passenger trade. The boats needed this trade to at least break even and its loss predicted the end of an era. There were other blows to the riverboat trade. During the 1920s, the boll weevil attacked the cotton crops almost every year. New Deal regulations further cut cotton production. Finally, cattle replaced row crops in the Black Belt and they were shipped by rail. Throughout the 1920s, only two packets operated out of Mobile. The last of these, the *Helen Burke*, sank

about fourteen miles above Mobile in 1932 while tied up to the bank. It was a sad and ignominious ending to an exciting chapter in Alabama's history (Jackson 1995:168-172).

The development of a statewide railroad system tied the various regions of Alabama together in a vast transportation network that encouraged the growth of agriculture and industry. From 1880 to 1900, railroad construction occurred throughout the country, including Alabama. In this state, the demand for railroads began in the 1870s. By 1880, there was a total of 1,843 miles of track. Construction was slowed by the panic of 1884, but quickly resumed again. There were 3,422 miles of track in Alabama in 1890 and by 1900 there was 4,226. Up to this time, most of the railroad construction took place north of Montgomery. Construction in the early twentieth century concentrated on connecting existing routes and expanding local feeders rather than the construction of new lines, although about six new lines were also built. By the late 1920s, thirty-three railroads in Alabama connected all parts of the state to each other and the nation (Moore 1927:772-773, 892-893).

Even in the early antebellum period, Clarke Countians were trying to acquire a railroad. In the late 1830s, less than twenty years after the advent of the steamboat, the citizens of Grove Hill could subscribe for capital stock in the Tennessee and Mobile Railroad. This was quite an ambitious project, following only three years after the railroad from Augusta, Georgia to Charleston had been opened. That road was 135 miles long, "the longest continuous line of railroad in the world" at the time. Unfortunately, a financial crash put an end to the T&M railroad (Ball 1882:204).

In the late antebellum period, there was much excitement over a railroad being constructed from Uniontown in Perry County to Jackson in Clarke County. Such a line would greatly expand the local market for grain and cotton. In October 1857, barbecue meetings were held for the public at Jackson and Choctaw Corner to promote and raise money for this railroad. It is not known how much money was raised, but three years later, funds were still being solicited. Forty thousand dollars was raised in Jackson and an almost equal sum was raised in Grove Hill in July 1860. However, the Civil War stopped the development of this railroad (CCD 4/16/1857 & 7/19/1860 & Ball 1882:244-245).

Clarke County finally got its railroad in the late 1880s. The railroad crossed the Tombigbee River around Jackson near the northern boundary of fractional Section 18, T6N, R2E and ran in a northeasterly direction through the Bassett Creek valley. It left the county north of Thomasville. Originally known as the Mobile & West Alabama Railroad, the line changed ownership and names until it was finally acquired by the Southern Railway system in 1899 (Graham 1923:10).

Construction of the railroad began in November 1886. Crews cleared a right of way and started grading for the track around Jackson and Walker Springs, near the Grove Hill and Claiborne Road and by the Calhoun Mill on the Grove Hill and Lower Peach Tree Road. Hundreds of laborers were engaged in this task. Another 100 workers were constructing the railroad bridge across the Tombigbee River near Jackson. In 1887, telegraph poles were put up along the railroad line in the county. All of Clarke County's railroad construction work was going well, as was the portion of the line between Jackson and Mobile (CCD 11/11, 18, 25/1886 & Whatley 1990:40).

Problems, however, soon plagued the bridge construction site of the railroad. The weather was very cold during the winter of 1886-1887 and high water in February forced a caisson out of place. Some necessary equipment was not on site soon enough in the project, causing delays. Most of the workers were from the north and the west and began leaving Clarke County in May 1887 to avoid the southern summer. But the greatest and most tragic deterrent to the bridge construction occurred on January 4, 1887. The side-wheel steamboat *Bradish Johnson*, which served

as a boardinghouse for the bridge builders, burned on that date, killing at least four men and destroying many tools. Eventually, the bridge was completed in late February 1888, 1½ years after it was begun (CCD 1/6, 20/1887; 5/26/1887 & 3/8/1888).

Aside from the bridge, the construction of the railroad proceeded more or less on schedule. It reached Thomasville in late 1887 and in January 1888 the track reached Airmount Station. The farmers and the merchants in the northeast corner of the county had waited for the railroad to ship their cotton because the public roads were in such poor condition. The first cotton shipments to be sent by rail in Clarke County left Thomasville for Jackson on Sunday, January 22, 1888. The cotton went by boat from Jackson to Mobile because the bridge was not completed. Passenger train service ran between Mobile and Jackson as early as February 1888. The first train from Birmingham to Mobile arrived in the latter city on July 1, 1888. Clarke County now bordered a railroad connection between two of the largest cities in Alabama (Graham 1923:188; CCD 1/19, 26/1888 & Whatley 1990:6).

Despite the success of the railroad in Clarke County, there were some initial difficulties. The railroad company was slow in constructing depots and storage facilities. For example, Whatley received a depot in late 1887 but as late as March 1888 lacked enough storage space to house all the freight it could have potentially handled (Whatley 1990:42, 45).

The people of Clarke County had plans for other railroads, but it does not seem like any of these came to fruition. In the 1880s, plans for the Pensacola and Memphis Railroad were underway and called for the line to come through Clarke County. At the turn of the century, there was also interest in a railroad to connect Grove Hill and Jackson. A timber line of standard gauge already stretched about nine or ten miles out of Jackson towards Grove Hill and the mill company that owned it planned to extend it to within two or three miles of the latter town. Promoters of the railroad believed that once the timber and turpentine interests moved on, there would be enough development along the railroad to sustain it (Riley 1888:188 & CCD 11/30/1899).

Clarke County's one railroad invigorated the established communities near which it passed like Jackson and Walker Springs and spawned new ones such as Whatley, Allen and Thomasville. With the possible exception of Grove Hill, the communities bypassed by the railroad slowly withered away.

Roads and trails, of course, made a significant contribution to Clarke County's transportation network throughout the county's history. As early as 1808, a narrow bridle path connected Claiborne to Suggsville (Ball 1882:174). As expected, many of the early roads connected Grove Hill, the county seat, to various sections of the county. According to tradition, a road from Choctaw Corner to Grove Hill opened in 1825 and another from Choctaw Corner to Wood's Bluff opened in 1828. The landing at Wood's Bluff had been established c. 1826. The latter road, according to historian T. H. Ball, is believed to have been just a path as late as 1834. Circa 1838, a road from Grove Hill to Tallahatta Springs was developed (Ball 1882:192, 207).

Other roads connected Clarke County with the rest of Alabama. A cut-off from the Federal Road crossed Clarke County to reach St. Stephens by the 1810s. Another road led from Sizemore's Ferry at Gainestown Landing to Blakely. About twelve miles outside Gainestown and four miles past the Little River, this road crossed the three notch road which continued on to Mississippi and Pensacola (Southerland 1990:41, 70 & Ball 1882:492-493).

In the antebellum period, the carriage roads of the county were well maintained, being repaired every spring and every fall or, as Ball put it, "worked so carefully". By war's end, they were in disrepair. Because of poor road

conditions, the family carriages that had been used before the war were replaced by plantation wagons pulled by oxen or mules and travel on horseback. Eventually, lighter horse wagons and buggies came into use (Ball 1882:301).

Ball described two types of county public roads in Clarke in the late nineteenth century. The first type were "posted" or "big roads". These roads were marked by mile posts and were regularly maintained. They connected Grove Hill to Jackson, Coffeeville, Gainestown, Suggsville and Choctaw Corner. They also led from each of these towns, either directly or via Grove Hill, to each other. Other posted roads led from these communities to river landings. The second type of public roads were "settlement roads", which were not as well maintained, but most Clarke Countians lived on these roads. Relatively few families lived on the posted roads. In addition to these public roads, there were also abandoned settlement roads, old trails and new trails. Ball maintained that "no part of the most dense wilds [in Clarke County] is absolutely pathless". However, many of the county's streams still did not have bridges and, after heavy rains, they could not be forded (Ball 1882:674, 702-703).

Clarke County suffered from a poor road system well into the twentieth century. In this respect, Clarke was a typical, poor, rural, southern county. In 1904, just over 4% or 31,780 miles of the region's 790,284 miles of public roads were classified as improved. Improved did not necessarily mean paved. It could also mean that roads were graded and covered with a thin layer of gravel or topsoil. Most of this mileage lay in urban counties rather than rural. Between 1904 and 1910 states outside of the South made great progress towards increasing their mileage of improved roads. By 1911, 24% of the public roads in Connecticut, about 37% of the roads in Indiana and almost 50% of the roads in Massachusetts were improved. In the southern states, on the other hand, less than 7% of the public roads were classified as improved by 1910 (Preston 1991:13, 37).

The movement for good roads in the South started as an attempt to improve rural life and retain the traditional values associated with farming. It was believed that good roads would relieve some of the severity and isolation of rural life by allowing farm families relatively easy access to cities. If farmers could enjoy some of the benefits of the city, the theory went, they would be more inclined to stay on the farm. The push was on for farm-to-market roads. So, before the automobile age, farmers stood to gain the most from improved roads. However, around 1908, the impetus of the good roads movement in the South began to evolve into an effort to build interstate tourist highways for economic development purposes. It was an attempt to build an urban-industrial South. The issue of good roads was adopted by southern business leaders, real estate developers and New South proponents. With this shift in emphasis, the good roads movement gained its greatest support. By 1912, reform-oriented good roads organizations had spread across the South. Two of the earliest, southern associations were the North Alabama Good Roads Association, established in 1898, and the Good Roads Association of Asheville and Buncombe County, North Carolina, established in 1899 (Preston 1991:13-14, 20, 38, 40).

Once this change occurred in the good roads movement, highway proponents could no longer interest farmers in the program but they continued to attract the South's growing, urban middle class which was interested in growth. Consequently, the good roads movement in the South was no longer reform but an economic development tool. Highways brought new jobs, new business opportunities and an infusion of cash into the South. Thus, in the South, the push for highways succeeded over the farm-to-market roads movement (Preston 1991:67-68).

However, by 1910, all levels of government had accomplished little in improving the poor Southern road system. The Federal government easily admitted that it was the worst in the entire nation. Neither the Federal government nor any Southern state legislature--except for Alabama and Virginia--provided money to local governments for road improvements (Preston 1991:36).

Local governments were responsible for the maintenance of local roads. And as late as 1917, only three southern states--Alabama, North Carolina and Texas--required that road improvements be conducted under skilled supervision. Most states in the northeast had such a law, but southerners believed that anyone could build and maintain a road. Plus they didn't want to have to pay local taxes for road construction (Preston 1991:21, 25).

In the South, ever since the colonial period, southerners had paid their local taxes by spending a day or two each year working on their communities' public roads. This custom continued until at least as late as 1912 in every southern state and was the most popular way of building and maintaining roads in the region. So, while most farmers wanted good roads, they were not willing to pay for them. A second common method of road maintenance and construction that was used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was convict labor. Such labor completed much of the road improvement work done in the South prior to 1910 but abuse was inherent in this system. With the growth of the good roads movement, southerners invented "Good Roads Days". These were days set aside for working on the public roads. All citizens were encouraged to put aside their regular duties and come out to work on the roads. The first such event was held in Alabama in 1912 and by the next year, the program had spread to Kansas, Missouri and North Carolina. Unfortunately, "Good Roads Days" did not provide very effective road maintenance (Preston 1991:20-24).

The Federal government made a financial commitment to improving public roads nationwide with the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1921. With this act, the government allocated more money to states for the improvement and maintenance of public roadways than ever before. Two drawbacks to the legislation, however, were that the Federal government wanted to pave interstate highways first and that the states had to match the Federal money (Preston 1991:14, 154).

At the beginning of the 1920s, southern states were still stymied in their road-building programs by the lack of tax revenues. By 1921, however, all of the highway departments in the region had developed state highway systems and had slowly begun to make long-overdue improvements. In most states, the nascent road networks radiated out from county seats. Although "a skeletal network of paved highways" existed in every state, hard-surfaced roads were still generally found around urban areas and as federal routes. During the 1920s, all southern states increased their number of improved roads. The total number of roads paved in the South between 1924 and 1933 was 16,503 miles. Texas and North Carolina led in the number of miles of paved roads between 1924 and 1933. Texas paved 3,741 miles and North Carolina 2,427. Between 1924 and 1930, Alabama's "good roads", which doesn't necessarily mean paved, increased from 128 to 775 miles. The Civilian Conservation Corps continued the work on the South's roadways during the Great Depression by building bridges and improving roads. Nevertheless, impassable roads plagued the region up through the late 1930s (Preston 1991:157-159, 161).

The lack of any great progress in the 1920s and 1930s in establishing improved roads led to an incredible public outcry for good roads. The demand was not based on progressive reform but was directly related to increased automobile ownership in the South. Between 1910 and 1920, touring by car had became a pastime of the middle class, not just the wealthy. These people wanted paved roads (Preston 1991:39, 162-163, 166).

A county-wide good roads association was organized in Clarke County on October 25, 1910. This association wanted to improve the roads and replace the county's old, wooden bridges and culverts. Within the next few years, good roads were completed from Salitpa to the Tombigbee River and from Fulton to the junction of Fulton and Choctaw Corner Roads. Work moved forward on the roads from Jackson to Grove Hill, Grove Hill to Whatley and Fulton to Thomasville. When the road to Thomasville was completed, the county would have a good road

connecting Thomasville to Jackson by way of Fulton, except for four miles from Grove Hill to the junction of Fulton and Choctaw Corner Roads. But by 1919, many of the county roads were in deplorable condition because there was no money to maintain them (CCD 10/27/1910; 10/16/1913 & 2/20/1919).

Modern highway construction began in Alabama in 1911. Five years later, the State and Federal governments began cooperating to establish a national system of highways. Nevertheless, it was very late in the period of significance before Clarke County had any sizable number of paved roads. This was because southwest Alabama was one of the last beneficiaries of the State's paving program. As late as the mid-1930s, people here believed their region had not received its fair share of hard surfaced roads (Moore 1927:894-895 & CCD 10/15/1936).

In 1923, the Clarke County Democrat reported that funds for road construction were limited in Alabama because the Federal government had not matched the money raised by the State. Furthermore, announced Alabama's Highway Commission, all the funds were allotted through 1926. Clarke County's only state roads consisted of one from Thomasville to the Wilcox County line on which work was just beginning and a road from Thomasville to Marengo County which had only been surveyed and approved). The first road was part of a State Highway Department project to build a highway from Selma to Mobile. In 1925, work was reportedly begun on a road to connect Grove Hill and Thomaston (CCD 8/23/1923; 9/13/1923 & 8/6/1925).

Road construction continued throughout the 1930s in Clarke County. The most important of the projects underway was the paving of US Highway 43 and State Highway 5. Highway 43 connected Mobile and Muscle Shoals then crossed the Tennessee state line just north of Green Hill. It was the first direct dirt road through southwest Alabama. State Highway 5 was one of Alabama's major unpaved trunk lines and linked Mobile and Birmingham. Both highways entered the county in its northeast corner (#43 heading south from Marengo county and #5 heading west from Wilcox County) and merged north of Thomasville. The highway then passed through that town, Grove Hill and Jackson and crossed the Tombigbee River into Washington County. The bridge across the river, known as the Raphael Semmes Bridge, was completed in 1930 and dedicated on Veterans' Day (CCD 11/6/1930; 2/7/1935; 10/15/1936 & 6/24/1937).

It took the rest of the decade for the paved highway to be completed in Clarke County. The Mobile Chamber of Commerce began lobbying to get Highway 43 paved in early 1935. Of the 361 miles of this highway that were in Alabama only about 96 miles were paved and none of them were in Clarke. Thousands of people were visiting Muscle Shoals to see the TVA project, but did not venture any further south into Alabama because there was no good, direct route. Highway 43 entered the State at Lauderdale County and headed south to Mobile through Colbert, Franklin, Marion, Fayette, Tuscaloosa, Greene, Marengo, Clarke, Washington and Mobile Counties. In Clarke County, survey crews began work on US Highway 43/State Highway 5 in the fall of 1936. Even though unpaved, the route already had a lot of traffic and local people had been urging paving of the road for some time. The State agreed to do so the following summer. Plans also called for certain portions of the road to be relocated, particularly the stretch of Highway 5 north of Thomasville which had many dangerous curves, and the right of way to be widened along the entire route. It took at least two years from that time to complete the grading and paving of the merged highways in Clarke County (CCD 2/7/1935; 3/21/1935; 10/15/1936; 6/24/1937 & 4/27/1939).

Other road development occurred in the county during this decade. In 1935, Alabama received $8 million in Federal road funds of which $13,200 was funneled through to Clarke for grading, draining and surfacing secondary roads. Secondly, in 1936, a state convict camp known as Camp Grove Hill was established about a mile or so southwest of the county seat. The convicts were to be used to construct the Grove Hill-Coffeeville Road. This road was

completed in late 1938 and, according to the local newspaper, its construction took so long because it was built by the State with convict labor, so there was no incentive to use road-building machinery. At least some locals believed this was the most important road to be built in the county because it connected the county seat with one of the best agricultural sections of the county. Another major road project completed around this time (except for the final coat of asphalt) was the Jackson-Grove Hill Road, which was a section of US Highway 43/State Highway 5. This was the first continuous stretch of paved road of any considerable length to be completed in the county, not counting a short, three mile stretch between Jackson and the river bridge. The grading of a third road between Grove Hill and Thomasville, which was another component of the merged highways, was expected to be completed before Christmas 1938. The asphalting of this road, however, was delayed until the hot weather of next spring or summer (CCD 7/18/1935; 8/6/1936; 10/15/1936; 10/20/1938; 10/27/1938 & CCD 4/27/1939).

When the United States entered World War II, the Alabama Highway Department became a participant in the wartime program. New State road construction was halted and Federal monies for regular road building projects dried up. Federal road monies and other Federal emergency funds could only be used for new construction that was of importance to the war effort. All new road work had to provide direct access to war industries or to army or navy facilities. Road construction that was in progress when war was declared was not completed unless of direct war importance. Improvements of both State and Federal roads also stopped (Swift 1943:59-60).

Road construction virtually ended in Clarke County during World War II, but projects quickly resumed after the war. For example, the county began its farm-to-market road paving program. Other plans called for paving or otherwise improving the roads that radiated out from Grove Hill. These included the Grove Hill-Monroeville Road, the Grove Hill-Coffeeville Road and a road from Grove Hill to Allen. Work also began on an 18.6 mile stretch of road between Grove Hill and the Alabama River in September 1946. An asphalt plant was built at Whatley for the project and about fifteen buildings were removed to clear the right of way. Grading was done on a stretch of road beginning at the Peerless Drug Store Corner in Grove Hill and following the old Grove Hill-Thomasville road north for about 1 1/4 miles. Other planned projects called for paving the Linden Road from Thomasville to the Marengo County line and the roads from Thomasville to Morvin, Jackson toward Salitpa and from Coffeeville toward Jackson (CCD 3/7/1946; 9/12/1946 & 10/23/1947).

Clarke County's transportation networks--rivers, railroads, roads and trails--greatly influenced growth and settlement patterns throughout the county. Clarke Countians realized the importance of these networks to their county's expansion and economic development. During the period of significance (1811-1947), they utilized both the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers as highways to Mobile and the state's interior and worked hard to get a railroad and acquire a good road system.

CLARKE COUNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF ALABAMA AGRICULTURE

The agricultural history of Clarke County is much more complex than one might first suppose for a rural county in the Deep South. Cotton may have reigned as king in this county but its hold on farmers was much more tenuous than in Alabama's Black Belt counties. A variety of crops was grown here and livestock was always a significant part of the farm economy.

This discussion of agriculture in Clarke County is divided into two main sections. The first discusses the general development of agriculture in the county, including the impact cotton had on Clarke's history. It would be difficult to overestimate the impact cotton had on the development of the Deep South. Its cultivation formed the foundation

of Southern society for generations. Cotton drove the expansion of Southern slavery before the Civil War and was the only means of credit for Southern farmers well into the twentieth century. Its influence on Clarke County, like the rest of Alabama, would be profound and long lasting. The second explores the cattle culture of the Old Southwest and its significance in Clarke County. The tending of livestock, particularly cattle and hogs, in the piney woods section of the Southeast greatly impacted settlement and development in the antebellum period. Livestock remained important to Clarke County's economy and, indeed, to the state's throughout the period of significance.

As noted in the geography section of this overview, Clarke County was located in the Lower Coastal Plain. Its "generally undulating" landscape was punctuated by hills, table lands and many creeks and streams. The bottom lands along the rivers and creeks were as rich as any land in the cotton belt. Clarke County also had sandy soil which was generally of poor quality but easy to cultivate and, if fertilized and tended appropriately, produced good yields (Taylor 1893:218, 220).

AGRICULTURE IN CLARKE COUNTY

In the Piney Woods region of the Deep South, of which Clarke County was a part, there was not any significant commercial cultivation of crops in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among antebellum, southern yeomen, hog and cattle raising took precedence over cultivating food crops (Hickman 1962:8 & Flynt 1989:62).

Farming in the antebellum period in the piney woods took place in the first and the second bottom lands near streams. Usually, the sandy ridges, table lands and hills were not fertile enough to support large scale farming. Farmers settling in the Southeast quickly observed that the types of trees growing in a forest indicated the fertility of the soil. If cotton was grown in longleaf pine areas, the yield shrank over 50% from the first year to the third. On land where shortleaf pine and longleaf both grew, cotton production was good for five to seven years. The soil that supported forests of oak and hickory could produce steady cotton crops for up to twelve years. Table lands with forests of blackjack, post oak and red oak were also fertile enough to cultivate. This is where upland settlements that prospered like Grove Hill were established (Hickman 1962:6 & Stauffer & Kyle 1993:8).

Cotton began to replace indigo as a major cash crop in some areas of the Deep South in 1791. After the Creek War of 1813-1814, settlers poured into the region and by 1830 were producing over half of the United States' cotton crop. Cotton dominated Southern agriculture by the mid nineteenth century. The total cotton exports from the United States prior to 1795 were 8,125 bales, which averaged 400 pounds each. By 1817-1818 cotton exports from Mobile alone (the main shipping point for Clarke County cotton) amounted to 7,000 bales. Mobile exported 25,000 bales in 1822 and 89,000 bales in 1827 (Ball 1882:87; Ramsdell 1935:2 & Taylor 1893:217).

Clarke County was not a part of Alabama's "cotton growing region" but cotton was grown here. St. Stephens, across the Tombigbee River from the county, was a cotton market by the late 1810s. Cotton plantations were established in the Suggsville area as early as the 1820s (Ball 1882:174, 184, 257).

Early agriculture in Clarke County was typical for the region but also included some experimentation. For example, in 1818 settlers along the Big Satilpa grew cotton, corn and sweet potatoes. This practice was probably characteristic of most Clarke County farmers and, indeed, most Alabama farmers. Wheat was also raised in the Jackson area at least as late as 1873. However, a Dr. Stewart from the Suggsville area, in addition to whatever else he may have grown, raised castor oil beans to produce castor oil. In 1825, he had about ten acres of these beans. Ten years later, a multitude of many-stemmed mulberry trees were being grown in the Suggsville area for

silk worms which produced silk. Colonel Robert D. James decided, during the bad cotton seasons of the 1840s, to grow tobacco. He imported seed from Cuba and also persuaded cigar manufacturers to settle around Mobile so they could make cigars from his crop. By late 1860, a sizable number of citizens were prospering from this endeavor. Strawberries were also being cultivated in the county by this time (Ball, 1882:184, 197, 315 & 355; Fuller Sp1993:34-35 & HMAkens 1956: 79).

During the 1830s the size of Clarke County plantations was growing and the number of slaves required to work them was increasing as well. This trend continued throughout the antebellum period, despite a nationwide depression in the late 1830s and incredibly low cotton prices in the 1840s. For example, the county population grew 12% from 8,640 to 9,786 between 1840 and 1850 but the white population expanded by only 300. Presumably, black slaves comprised the rest of the increase. Such a dramatic increase in the slave population indicated a boom in agriculture. By 1850 between 20% and 40% of the county was farm land. Between 60% and 80% of the county was farm land in 1860. Clarke County households averaged between ten and fifteen slaves. However, 60% to 70% of slaveholders owned fewer than ten slaves. Three percent to 6% of the Clarke County slaveholders owned at least fifty slaves (Ball, 1882:196; Kaledin 1980:9; Ramsdell 1935:5 & Hilliard 1984:36-39).

In 1850, Alabama farms averaged 289 acres each compared to the Southern average of 384 acres and the national average of 203 acres. Southerners did not intensely cultivate their farms. Crops were rarely planted on more than 1/3 of a farm's acreage. Herds of hogs and cattle usually roamed the rest of the land. Of the South's 171 million farm acres in 1850, only 52 million acres were being tilled. The percentage of improved farm acreage varied from 40% in Virginia to 37% in Alabama to 10% in Texas (McWhiney 1987:121).

Clarke County had 456 farms in 1850 with a total acreage of 211,000 acres of which 48,000 acres (or about 23%) were cultivated. The county was a thriving community. On average, each farm had 106 acres in crops, produced 1,090 bushels of various cereals and vegetables and almost 11 bales of cotton. Next to cotton, the two most important crops were corn and potatoes. Rye, oats, tobacco, rice, peas and beans were also grown but not in great quantities (Kaledin 1980:9-10).

Cotton prices rose substantially in the 1850s, ensuring cotton's preeminent position among Clarke County's farmers and planters. Farmers grew cotton for two predominant reasons. First of all, they had to have cotton in order to get credit from county merchants or in Mobile. Secondly, cotton was the only crop a farmer could rely on for cash. It was not perishable and once baled, the farmer had a rough idea of his cash resources (Ramsdell 1935:6 & Ball 1882:257).

An editorial in the November 1851 issue of the Grove Hill Herald supports the contention that cotton was the foundation of Clarke County's agricultural economy:

"What we wish to talk to our farming friends about, is the cultivation of cotton, in which all are more or less engaged. We want them to quit planting so much of it, and go to planting more corn, potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, wheat, rye, oats, rice, and sugar cane, and set about raising horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs . . . . The manner in which the farmers of this country [I. e., immediate region] farm, will wear out and render worthless the best land the sun ever shone upon . . . . Had the farmers of this country, ten years since, commenced raising and producing what they consumed, instead of depending upon Tennessee and Kentucky for it, they would be, at the present time, the most independent people in the United States" (Ball, 1882:248-249).

There were 901 farms and plantations in Clarke in 1860. They had doubled in number and tripled in size. Not only were they larger, but they contained more unimproved acres. The number of acres under cultivation per farm had remained stable but farming efficiency had improved. The total value of Clarke County farms had risen during the 1860s from $750,000 to $3,400,000 (Kaledin 1980:10).

After the Civil War, Southemers planned to rebuild their society based on agriculture, particularly cotton which was bringing high prices at the time. For a variety of reasons, this was a vain hope. The people were psychologically and emotionally devastated. Their tools, buildings and supplies were worn out. Both money and credit were difficult to obtain. Little acreage was planted in 1865 and the harvest was poor that year. It was not until 1878 that the cotton crop east of the Mississippi River equaled the crop of 1860. Unfortunately, however, cotton prices were low that year. But there was some good news. By the late 1870s, the exportation of American cotton was on the rise. It was predicted that the United States might someday become the principal supplier of cotton goods to the world (Ramsdell 1935:11-12 & CCD 1/4/77).

Alabama remained an agrarian society after the war with 95% of its population living in the countryside but the quality of farm families' lives deteriorated greatly. The state's farmers sank from a self-sufficiency where they fed themselves and about 70% of white farmers owned land into a colonial economy where they grew cotton almost exclusively and just half of them owned land (McWhiney 1987:109-110).

Tenancy came to dominate Alabama farms between 1860 and 1940. During the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, merchants and other professionals acquired rural lands when farmers defaulted and reaped large profits from their investments. Farmers who had once been landowners were forced into tenancy. This trend is reflected in the increase of farms from 1860 to 1880. There were 80,736 more farms in Alabama in 1880 than in 1860. However, during this twenty year period the average size and value of a farm fell from 347 acres worth $3,189 to 139 acres worth $581. In Clarke County, farm values fell from $3,400,000 in 1860 to $180,000 in 1870. By 1890, the farms were worth $1.7 million. However, there were 3,357 farms compared to the county's 901 farms in 1860. Clearly, Clarke had changed from a county where farmers and planters owned their own land to a tenancy system (Flynt 1987:382; McWhiney 1987:110 & Kaledin 1980:12-13).

As farmers lost their land and slid into sharecropping, they were discouraged from self-sufficiency. Alabama merchants were supplied by Yankee merchants with almost everything, including "unlimited credit". These merchants, in turn, encouraged the farmers who depended on them for credit to plant only cotton and to buy all their necessities, including meat and corn, at the store. Alabama remained an important cotton producer but a distinctive way of life was being destroyed by its concentrated cotton growing. By the late nineteenth century, people in Clarke County and throughout the entire South had to find a way to feed themselves. The editor of The Clarke County Democrat urged his fellow citizens in July 1873 to produce "something to live upon". He used his newspaper to encourage diversification, citing farmers who raised sugar cane to make molasses and others who grew rice. Later that year, he reported that the county's farmers wanted to abandon the "all-cotton system" because of the invasion of a caterpillar which ate cotton plants. They wanted to diversify by planting more foodstuffs and less cotton (McWhiney 1987:110, 126, 128 & CCD 7/29/1873; 11/4/1873 & 12/9/1873).

The county's farmers, in 1870, harvested only 1/3 as much cotton as they had in 1860, but this had nothing to do with agricultural diversification. Food crops were all below the 1850 levels. The county population remained fairly stable, however, from 1860 to 1870 and this led to food shortages. During this decade, 150 of Clarke County's 901 farms failed and 174,000 acres of farmland, both tilled and untilled, went unclaimed (Kaledin 1980:11-12).

Cotton continued to dominate Clarke County agriculture in the 1880s. Only moderate agricultural gains were made with other crops. The annual cultivated acreage in the county during this decade was 77,186 acres of which 33,477 were cotton, 28,220 were corn, 5,065 were oats and 1,256 were sweet potatoes. The rest of the acreage was divided between tobacco, sugar cane and rice. Despite the relatively large acreage that was planted in corn, farmers were not cultivating enough of it because of their dependence on cotton. The editor of the Clarke County Democrat chided his readers in the March 3, 1887 issue for their empty corn cribs. "Where is the hope of the country," he asked "when planters are out of corn by the 1st of March?". In 1891, the newspaper reported that "the oldest inhabitant" had never seen so little corn planted in the month of March as was planted that year (Kaledin 1980:13; Riley 1888:186; CCD 3/3/1887 & 4/16/1891:n.p.).

Despite these obstacles, agriculture was improving in the late nineteenth century because the use of scientific farming methods increased acreage and production. Because of successful agricultural extension work, scientific agriculture was established in Alabama by 1900. A number of agriculturalists had been trained and many farmers had improved their farming methods. Improved farm acreage grew by over one million acres between 1880 and 1890. Livestock was valued at $7 million more in 1890 than in 1880. The price of farm land and farm products was up. There were new developments in regard to the production of molasses, peanuts and vegetables (Moore 1927:754, 756).

Agriculture was also thriving in south Alabama because of the lumber industry and the railroad. The lumber industry clear cut forests leaving behind acres of cleared land. The railroad provided easy access to valuable urban markets in the North and the West. Various fruits and vegetables were shipped out of Alabama in their season. These included English peas, beans, squash, cucumbers, cabbage, tomatoes and Irish potatoes plus pears, peaches, watermelons, strawberries and grapes. Truck farming was well established in Baldwin and Mobile Counties. Farmers in Escambia and Conecuh Counties grew strawberries and peaches on a commercial scale. In addition, the Wiregrass counties were also diversifying. Furthermore, this construction of railroads, clearing of lands by the timber industry and expansion of agriculture created new communities and revitalized old ones in south Alabama in the early twentieth century (Moore 1927:759, 847-848 & Taylor 1893:218).

In Clarke County, circa 1880, there were still thousands of unimproved acres covered in forests or cane brake. This and the lack of a railroad prevented the development of truck farming in the county. Historian T. H. Ball, a contemporary of the time, remarked that once a railroad was built, Chicago would be an important market for Clarke County fruits and vegetables. He added that improved farming methods, once adopted by Clarke County farmers, would greatly increase the county's yields of ground peas, sweet potatoes, rice, sugar cane, corn and cotton. The railroad was finally completed through Clarke County in 1887 and opened to traffic the following year. Ball's predictions were a little optimistic, however. As late as 1927, Clarke County was still not actively involved in the trucking market. One main hindrance to the development of truck farming in the county was the lack of a canning factory. One was not constructed until 1946 but it was a community plant for locals to can their surplus produce (Ball 1882:656, 658, 660; Graham 1923:10, 188 & CCD 2/17/27; 3/3/27 & 3/21/46).

Despite these advancements, the overwhelming majority of Alabama farmers were still poor. The 1890s had not been good years because of a national depression and poor crop conditions. Although there were some prosperous farmers, many more lost their land. The majority of farmers were in debt, still growing cotton almost exclusively and tied to the crop lien system (Moore 1927:756, 761, 839-840).

More than 80% of Alabamians lived in rural areas but the wealth was not evenly distributed. Most farm houses were

generally constructed of logs or rough planks and had one to four rooms. Some houses had no window glass. Chimneys were often built of rough rock or even sticks and mud. Nevertheless, other farmers owned larger houses, some of which were painted (Moore 1927:778).

Alabama's agriculture continued to improve during the early twentieth century as it was put on a more scientific and technological basis. The decade from 1900 to 1910 saw greater improvements in agriculture than any previous decade. This advancement was based on a statewide business expansion, better access to markets, a rise in the price of cotton and other farm products, increased demand for agricultural staples and improved farming methods. The value of crops in Alabama almost doubled from 1900 to 1910. Likewise, the value of farm lands and farm property grew significantly. The statewide acreage in farm lands and in improved lands also increased enormously (Moore 1927:837, 846).

Clarke County's farmers and planters followed the statewide trend in diversification, producing a variety of crops, livestock and lumber. Fruits of all kinds were grown in the county and some truck farming occurred. The Clarke County Democrat reported that there were "many very attractive farms" in the county (CCD 5/13/1909).

Dramatic changes occurred in Alabama agriculture in the following years because of various factors. Cotton fell to 7 cents during the first year of World War I. In addition, cotton crops were ravaged for years by the boll weevil. Agricultural extension work in Alabama was expanded, increasing educational opportunities for farmers. Significant progress was made in diversifying crops. War demands for forage crops and foodstuffs had to be met. The expansion of rural credits through Federal legislation after 1916 also helped to improve agricultural productivity. Alabama farmers had been hindered by inadequate credit since 1860. In Alabama, these influences thrust at least twelve agricultural categories into commercial importance. Forage crops were increased to not only meet the market demand but also to feed the farmers' own cattle and hogs because livestock production was up. Corn, wheat and oats were raised. Dairying began to grow in significance. Fruit and truck farming increased. More peanuts, pecans, potatoes and melons were grown. More poultry and bees were raised (Moore 1927:850, 854, 858, 860, 861).

Clarke County farmers participated fully in agricultural diversification by the early 1920s, growing a large variety of crops. Spring crops consisted of cotton, corn, sugarcane, Irish potatoes and velvet beans. The summer crops included sweet potatoes, peas, peanuts, Sudan grass and sorghum. In the fall, all the cover crops were grown as well as clover, hairy vetch and alfalfa. The major truck crops were strawberries, cantaloupes, watermelons, Bermuda onions, snap beans, cucumbers, cabbage, collards, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, English peas and sweet corn. In addition, peaches, pears, apples, Satsuma oranges, grapefruit, Japanese persimmons, plums, apricots and pomegranates were cultivated. Clarke County's farmers may have been helped in their efforts by a Dr. Shaw of Whatley. He'd founded a nursery and by 1922 was the largest private nurseryman in the state. He specialized in pecan trees but also developed several varieties of fruit trees such as the blightless pear (Graham 1923:7 & CCD 6/15/1922).

Alabama also progressed in developing a bee industry. By 1929, the state was selling an annual average of 180,000 queen bees. It sold more queen bees and package bees than any other state at the time. Package bees were one to two pounds of bees and a queen that were encased in a box with food for shipment. The sale of bees brought $1,000 a day into the Alabama economy. Though not a great honey-producing state, Alabama averaged about two tons of honey per day from its bees. In 1931, farmers were expecting their best honey crop in five years, estimated to be 5.5 million pounds. Additionally, over 200,000 queen bees and 22,000 packages of bees were

shipped to northern states and Canada (CCD 9/5/1929 & 7/2/1931).

Clarke County seems to have held a significant position in Alabama's bee industry. The largest honey producer in the state by the late 1930s was J. F. McVay of Jackson. He had 800 hives located over southern Clarke County, particularly in the swamps of the Tombigbee River. Five to six men collected the honey during the honey season. McVay's biggest markets were New England and Canada. The honey producer was also interested in raising queen bees for sale (CCD 10/26/1939).

Despite the diversification in agriculture by the late 1920s, Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer, criticized Southern agriculture for its overemphasis on crop production at the expense of increasing livestock. Alabama had fallen in cattle, hog and sheep production from 1880 to 1920 compared to other states in the nation. Poe argued that more livestock on the farm would improve the land, provide a use for waste land, create a steady income for farmers, enabling them to avoid credit prices, and generally advance the basic economic structure of Southern agriculture (CCD 8/22/1929:n.p.).

Other problems facing Alabama agriculture in the twentieth century included the boll weevil, loss of international markets, bad weather and soil erosion. In addition, cotton was still the primary commercial crop. Many farmers grew it almost exclusively. While steady advances had been made in agricultural diversification by Alabamians, it was still not the norm. Furthermore, improvements in agriculture did not necessarily translate into improved standards of living for farmers. Most Alabama farmers and their families lived in poverty well into this century (Rogers 1994:453 & Moore 1927:850, 852, 863).

The poverty of Alabama's farmers was tied to tenancy. The state had the fifth highest tenancy rate in the South. Those farmers who managed to hold on to their land improved their lot in the early twentieth century. However, this type of farmer was being replaced by tenant farmers. In 1900, 38.8% of the state's white farmers were tenants. Twenty years later, tenants operated 58% of all Alabama's farms and by 1930 they comprised 65% of the state's farmers. The tenancy rate dropped to 58.8% by 1942, but a majority of Alabama farmers still did not work their own land (Ramsdell 1935:17; Flynt 1987:382; Rogers 1994:453 & CCD 3/26/1942).

During the 1930s and 1940s, great changes occurred in Southern agriculture. In 1935, more than two times as many men in the South worked in agriculture, forestry and animal industry as in manufacturing, mechanical industries and mining. However, the agricultural policies of the New Deal exerted a "push" effect on tenants and farm labor while war industries had a "pull" effect. Reforms such as a reduction in cotton acreage and a switch to alternative cash crops, mechanization combined with less dependence on cheap farm labor, consolidation, an increase in pasturage, livestock and poultry production and attention to soil conservation all occurred in Alabama (Parkins 1935:53 & Rogers 1994:519).

Because of all these factors, the state became more urbanized. Twenty-one of Alabama's rural counties lost population in the early 1940s. The shift of labor from rural to urban areas increased the demand for the farmers' products and brought higher prices (Farmer 1943:128-129).

Despite this overwhelming trend toward urbanization, some Southern farmers who had flocked to cities for high-paying industrial jobs, went back to the land when they lost those jobs. The Alabama Department of Agriculture noted a back-to-the-farm movement from Birmingham, Mobile and Montgomery during the Great Depression. Generally, these farmers cultivated very small tracts of land which barely gave them a living. However, they kept

their expenses down by planting "live at home" crops. They did more gardening, expanded their feed crops and increased their milk, egg and poultry production (CCD 4/23/1931& 4/14/1932).

Poor farmers who still had trouble making ends meet could enroll in the State's Rural Rehabilitation Program. This agency helped farm families become self-supporting through loans and farm planning. Farm planning divided the farmers' products into three categories: food crops, feed crops and cash crops. Clarke County had more destitute farm families enrolled in the program than any other county in the state in 1934. Two years later, almost one thousand Clarke County farm families had participated in and been assisted by the program (CCD 6/28/1934; 5/7/1936 & 6/11/1936).

Significant changes occurred in farming in Clarke County from 1940 to 1945. On the one hand, the number of farms increased by 6%. The average acreage of a county farm in the latter year was 95 acres compared to 77.5 acres in 1940. From January 1, 1940 to January 1, 1945 the number of cattle and calves on the farms increased by more than 82%. Hogs increased by 26%, milch cows by 10% and chickens by 35%. Clarke County was also one of the very few Alabama counties to increase its corn acreage from 1939 to 1944. Vegetable production increased 209% in the same period. Conversely, cotton acreage went down. Less than half the farmers who reported planting cotton in 1939, planted it in 1944. On the other hand, however, feed prices shot up 290% during this time. One hundred fifty-five farms, comprising over ten thousand acres, lay idle because the landowners were employed in defense work in the cities. Other farms were only partially operated and also contained a fair amount of idle acreage due to the lack of labor, machinery and so on (CCD 7/26/1945 & 9/12/1946).

Alabama farmers remained big cotton producers throughout the period of significance. In 1931, for example, Alabama was the fourth largest producer, surpassed only by Texas, Arkansas and Mississippi. But this was not necessarily good news. By the early 1930s, there was a huge surplus of cotton because of a worldwide depression and years of good crops. In 1929 the carry over of American cotton from the previous years was about 4,500,000 bales. By August 1932 the carry over amounted to 13 million bales and in that year another 13 million bales was produced. The following year started out with a surplus of 26 million bales and promised to produce another excellent crop. But there was no market for all this cotton (CCD 12/17/1931 & 6/29/1933).

The Federal government urged farmers to replace some of their cotton acreage with soil building crops. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 guaranteed Federal payments to farmers who agreed to acreage restrictions for specific crops. The major drawback of this legislation, however, was that only farmers who actually owned land were eligible. Landowners who received the Federal payments for reduced acreage removed their tenants from the land and consolidated the farms into larger parcels. Then through mechanization and heavy fertilization, they produced more crops on fewer acres. Plowing up cotton in Clarke County began in late July 1933. The program seems to have been a success despite its drawback. Between 1935 and 1945, cotton acreage in the county declined from 22,000 acres to 6,200 acres (Rogers 1994:486; CCD 7/27/1933 & 7/26/1945).

By the mid-1940s there had been a continuous, thirty year trend to diversify Alabama agriculture. Particularly after 1939, there was a significant shift away from cotton to other crops. Demands during World War II for more foodstuffs and other crops provided a great impetus for this trend. For example, Alabama farmers more than doubled their acreage in peanuts to meet war shortages in fats and oils. Others in the Black Belt gradually switched from cotton to beef cattle or dairying. Nevertheless, cotton was still an important crop for Alabama farmers. It was second only to steel as a vital war material. Though Alabama agriculture was diversified, cotton was essential to the war effort and seemed likely to remain "the biggest single source of income for Alabama farmers". After the war,

cotton remained Alabama's leading money crop with peanuts coming in second (Poole 1943:67-69 & CCD 11/13/1947).

In 1950, the number of farms in Alabama stood at 212,000. Their number had declined from 232,000 in 1940, but the average size of a farm had increased from 83 to 99 acres. The total farm acreage had increased from 19,143,000 acres in 1940 to 20,889,000 acres in 1950, the largest amount of acreage Alabama's farmers would ever farm. Clarke County's more progressive farmers by the mid-1950s were diversified and raised livestock in addition to growing various crops (Rogers 1994:519 & DSAkens 1956:5).

In conclusion, the cultivation of cotton and other row crops was an important theme throughout Clarke County's history during the period of significance. Agriculture not only provided the economic foundation for the county, but was also the basis for a way of life rooted in rural traditions. Clarke Countians cultivated not only their crops, but also their rural way of life well into the twentieth century.

CLARKE COUNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

Cattle herding in the United States began at an early date. Many of the earliest English colonists brought cattle with them to the New World. Cattle raising took place along the entire Anglo-American frontier to varying degrees. Anglo-American cattle herding consisted of very large herds that roamed freely over the open range, unrestricted by fences or natural barriers. Cattle and hogs often occupied the same range and were generally left to fend for themselves. There were seasonal movements of the livestock and also overland cattle drives to feeding stations or markets. Periodically, the livestock was gathered together at cowpens. Individuals who raised livestock generally owned very large herds. They cultivated some field and garden crops but their livelihood was based on cattle (Jordan 1981:25-26).

South Carolina, was a center of "large-scale Anglo-American cattle herding", retaining its position in this field until the last half of the eighteenth century. South Carolina was well suited for raising livestock because of its mild winters, piney woods, grassy meadows and canebrakes which gave year round forage for cattle (Jordan 1981:38-39, 42).

Open range cattle raising branched out from South Carolina along two main routes. The more important of these routes went south and west through Georgia and the piney woods of the Coastal Plain region that parallel the Gulf Coast shore all the way to east Texas. The landscape of the pine barrens was similar to that of South Carolina. Additionally, the land was not suitable for cash crops, so the herdsmen were generally not competing with farmers and planters. As this cattle culture spread through the Old Southwest, it picked up influences from the French, the African-Americans, the Hispanics and the Native Americans but South Carolina traditions continued to predominate. By the middle of the nineteenth century, South Carolinians could be found along the entire chain of coastal states. Historian Terry G. Jordan contends that the majority of them lived in the piney woods (Jordan 1981:43, 45, 49-50).

Southern herdsmen were usually the first whites to penetrate the Indian lands west of the Appalachian mountains. They provided a buffer between established white communities and the Native Americans. Their cattle and sheep fed on wild oats and wire grass in the spring and the summer and on reeds and cane in the winter. Their swine fed on hardwood and pine mast (nuts). These stock raisers also hunted. It could be said that grass and wild game formed the foundation of their economy (Guice 1977:171 & Hickman 1962:9).

John D. W. Guice, an historian of American cattle culture, contends that cattle raising was the "first really profitable and lasting agricultural industry" in Natchez and the Tombigbee and Chickasawhay River areas despite experiments with tobacco, indigo, rice and cotton. The largest concentrations of cattle were located in these regions. Herds reportedly ranged from 200 to 1000 head but these figures were probably on the conservative side. He adds that throughout the antebellum period "more free persons probably sustained themselves by herding than by any other commercial means". Cattle raising, according to Guice, was an important economic activity in which even planters participated for generations (Guice 1977:177, 183).

The evidence shows that livestock raising was established in southwest Alabama at an early date. A 1775 map of Mobile Bay and the Tombigbee River indicates that plantations in this area had cow pens. John McGrew, a Tory refugee, received a land grant from the Choctaws in 1782 located in the future Clarke County. By no later than 1818, McGrew owned 1000 head of cattle. As early as 1802, the Creek chief Mad Wolf complained about Americans allowing their cattle into the Fork which was a Creek hunting ground. The Mississippi territorial judge, Harry Toulman, witnessed a cattle round up along the Tombigbee north of Mobile in the 1810s. Seventy-six residents of the Fort Mims area (the east bank of the Alabama River near that river's confluence with the Tombigbee) petitioned Congress in 1816 for reparations for property destroyed or stolen by the Indians and, sometimes, US troops during the Creek War. Their losses totaled $121,020 and included all types of possessions. Cattle accounted for almost one-third (31.6%) of the cash value claimed, slaves accounted for about one-fifth (19.5%) and the cash value of cotton was negligible. It is likely that at least some of these cattle must have foraged across the Alabama River in Clarke County (Guice, 1977:174-175, 181-183; Owen 1921:270 & Ball, 1882:72, 174).

In the early 1800s, the major domestic markets for livestock were Natchez, New Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola. As the century progressed, shipping points of lesser significance were established along the Gulf Coast and the navigable rivers emptying into the gulf (Guice, 1977:177).

In the 1830s and 1840s, a region of the South extending from west Alabama through south Mississippi into east Louisiana raised a million head of cattle annually and sold them for $10 to $12 per head. Two-thirds of the country's hogs were also raised in the South. Hogs and other livestock from the region slaughtered in the late antebellum period were valued at $106 million which was $237,000 more than all the livestock butchered in the North. Not surprisingly, then, south Alabama and the Florida panhandle were major herding areas prior to 1850. Southern livestock, including hogs, was conservatively valued at more than half a billion dollars in 1860 which was more than twice the value of that year's cotton crop. The livestock was probably worth even more because Southerners generally reported less livestock than they actually owned to tax collectors and census takers (McWhiney 1987:112 & Jordan, 1981:40).

According to the 1840 census, 77,000 more beef cattle and 800,000 more hogs than people lived in Alabama. Both Washington and Baldwin Counties had at least three times as many cattle as people. There were 1,100,000 more hogs than people in Alabama in 1850 but people outnumbered cattle by 300,000. Ten years later, people still outnumbered cattle by 500,000 but there were 780,000 more hogs than humans. Usually, piney woods cattle herds were owned by absentee planters who lived in the cotton and sugar cane areas and hired or owned herders to tend their livestock. Black cowhands worked throughout the coastal, piney woods region (McWhiney 1987:118 & Jordan 1981:46, 50).

Clarke County was squarely located in the cattle culture region. In the early nineteenth century, Clarke County's abundant pasturage made it a first rate area for livestock. Cattle, hogs and sheep were brought to the county from

Kentucky and the Carolinas. Later on, in the 1840s, the expansion of the plantation system in Clarke County led to a boom in the importation of mules from Tennessee and Kentucky (Ball, 1882:174, 210-211).

Another indication of the prominence of livestock to the economy of the Southeast is the number of tanneries and other leather-related industries historically located in this region. These industries were established at a very early date. In 1812, the value of tanned leather produced in the Mississippi Territory was second only to cotton cloth among manufactured items (Guice, 1977:185).

Robert G. Hayden began one of the first tanneries and a little shoe factory in Clarke County, located about three miles south of Suggsville, c. 1815. A large tannery was established in Jackson during the antebellum period. Other shops there manufactured saddles, boots and shoes. Industries founded in the county before the Civil War that either used leather or sold harnesses and saddles included at least three wagon, carriage and buggy making shops in Grove Hill and Suggsville (Ball, 1882:173, 206, 242, 353-354).

The Civil War and Reconstruction devastated Alabama's cattle culture and its inherent way of life. From 1860 to 1870 the value of livestock fell from $43 million to $26 million. The worth of the animals butchered dropped from $10 million to $4 million. It seems, at first glance, that southern herdsmen would have profited from the war. Meat was in great demand and commanded a high price plus there was plenty of it available in 1861. Two years later plenty of animals were still available, but speculators had raised prices exorbitantly. By 1864, sellers resisted being paid in Confederate money. The Confederate army then began to impress animals and the invading Federal troops simply stole them. After the war, freedmen foraged voraciously and any livestock that had survived was in danger of being stolen or killed (McWhiney 1987:123-126).

Alabama's livestock industry, already devastated by the Civil War and its aftermath, was further crippled by the growth of tenancy and sharecropping. Landowners stopped raising their own livestock because so much of it was stolen and pressured their tenants not to raise anything edible. It was easier and more profitable for southern landowners and merchants to import meat from the North and sell it to the tenants on credit. Furthermore, they wanted the tenants to focus on the cultivation of cotton exclusively. In 1840, Alabamians had fed themselves and produced a surplus of 100,000 hogs. The state's farmers fell 1 ½ million hogs short of feeding Alabama's population forty years later (McWhiney 1987:124, 128).

Plant-growing landlords, supported by railroad and lumber interests, further reduced the number of livestock by getting fencing laws passed that prohibited the free ranging of animals. Such restrictions on the open range began as early as December 3, 1866. By the 1880s, dozens of counties had restricted the free grazing of livestock and the open range was effectively closed in many parts of Alabama (McWhiney 1987:130).

This does not appear to be true of Clarke County, however. By the late 1880s at least some counties adjacent to Clarke had passed laws prohibiting the free ranging of livestock. But Clarke County livestock owners were not held liable for any damage done by their stock that wandered into neighboring counties unless "lawful fences" were maintained between Clarke and the stock-free districts in other counties. By 1891, the General Assembly had authorized the commissioners courts of Choctaw and Clarke Counties to establish stock-free districts in their respective counties if petitioned by at least ten freeholders who resided in the proposed district. Such a law was probably needed in Clarke County which began to modernize in the late nineteenth century. For example, in December 1908 a train plowed into a herd of cattle that were on the tracks near Walker Springs. The train jumped the track and rolled down an embankment, killing the engineer and the brakeman. Nevertheless, the stock law must

not have been used much. R. L. Kennedy, perhaps unaware that such legislation already existed, wrote to the Clarke County Democrat in 1913 arguing against a stock law for Clarke. He believed that poor whites and blacks in Wilcox County had suffered unfairly under that county's stock law. People who owned stock and no land were forced to sell their animals because they could not afford to rent both farm and pasture land. Kennedy implied that such livestock was being forced into the piney woods and this did not make good pasture land. Furthermore, farmers had to maintain the "line fences" in the county plus keep up their own fences and pasture their livestock. The act of 1891 was repealed for Clarke County in 1915 and must not have been reinstated during the period of significance (Acts 1887:775; Acts 1891:927; Act 1915:68 & CCD 12/10/1908 & 10/23/1913).

As late as 1929, the city government of Grove Hill had to pass an ordinance declaring it unlawful after November 1st for hogs, goats, cattle, mules and horses to roam at large within the incorporation limits. That made it possible to beautify yards and public grounds. There was also a plan to install street lights in Grove Hill now that the animals were gone (CCD 8/22/1929 & 11/7/1929).

Historian T. H. Ball noted c. 1880 that Clarke County "was once a great stock region, and it is capable of becoming such again". Nevertheless, Clarke County was, at the end of the nineteenth century, holding its own in terms of livestock production. It ranked among the top four Alabama counties in number of working oxen (Monroe County ranked first). It was second in the number of milch cows with Marengo County ranking first. But Clarke County was first among all other Alabama counties in the number of other cattle. Sheep were also being raised (Ball 1882:657 & Taylor 1893:232).

The county was probably well positioned in terms of livestock production when, in the early twentieth century, Alabama farmers were encouraged to begin raising livestock as a form of agricultural diversification. Clarke County farmers in the 1910s, as part of diversification, began to improve their livestock and raise more of it. Clarke County historian, John Simpson Graham, reported in 1923 that Clarke was a good place for raising a variety of livestock which could feed on native grasses and easily grown velvet beans. He added that sheep raising could be profitable because the timber industry had left behind several hundred thousand acres of clear cut land which provided fine grazing for sheep (Moore 1927:847; CCD 7/24/1919 & Graham, 1923:6-7).

The railroad and refrigeration technology enabled the county's farmers to participate in Alabama's nascent dairy industry, beginning in the 1920s. The Selma Creamery and Ice Company notified Clarke County farmers that it wanted to establish cream buying stations along the railroad in the county. Farmers could bring their extra cream to the station and sell it. The cream was then shipped on the railroad to Selma. By March 1921, thirty-eight cows each from the Whatley and Thomasville areas had been signed up for the program and a merchant from each town had agreed to collect and test cream for the company and pay the farmer. At the Whatley cream station, farmers were paid 47 ½ cents per pound for butter fat which was 12 ½ cents more per pound than they got for their butter in Grove Hill. This was good money to farmers during the hard economic times of the 1920s. Within two weeks, a cream station was set up in Jackson and one was planned for Coffeeville (CCD 3/10, 24, 31/1921 & 4/14/1921).

Many Alabama farmers were involved in cream dairying by 1930. Dairying provided a steady, year-round income, created a market for feed crops grown on the farm, produced fresh milk and butter for the farm family and renewed the land through the use of manure as a fertilizer. The dairy industry expanded throughout Alabama and the other Southern states in the early 1930s. The South was excellent dairy country because of its climate, good markets, transportation facilities and the quick improvement of refrigeration systems. The total cash income from milk produced in Alabama in 1934, over $5 million, was greater than that of any other single farm product, except cotton

and cotton seed. Clarke County produced less than 50% of its needed milk supply in 1930 but farmers tried to improve their dairy herds. That same year the Clarke County Farm Bureau obtained seventeen grade Jersey cows and soon sold all but five to county farmers. It is not known if the last five cows were eventually sold. It was believed at the time, however, that the quick sale of twelve cows indicated that farmers wanted to diversify. More cows would have been sold if the economy had not been so (CCD 2/20/1930; 5/29/1930; 6/12/1930 & 10/10/1935).

After World War II, Alabama farmers were encouraged by officials to plan for a better dairy program. Milk and cream prices were good. Farmers were told that if they began to build their herds and grow feed crops, they would be well established in a few years. The number of Alabama farmers selling milk had risen steadily throughout the twentieth century until July 1945 and then began to decline slightly. Nevertheless, certain areas of the state were changing over almost completely to dairying and cattle raising (CCD 12/27/1945 & 11/13/1947).

There were approximately 18,000 cattle in Clarke County in 1935. Their numbers grew to about 28,000 in 1945. By 1943, farmers faced feed shortages for both their cattle and hogs. Kudzu, promoted as a hay and erosion control crop since at least the mid-1930s, was now declared the answer to feed shortages for livestock and a good way to cut feed costs. A local newspaper reported that kudzu "certainly should have a place on every livestock farm in Clarke County" (CCD 12/29/1938; 8/19/1943 & 7/26/1945).

There had been an ongoing, thirty year trend by the early 1940s to diversify agriculture in Alabama. Two significant developments in Clarke County around this time aided the livestock portion of diversification. The Clarke County stockyards, located in the south section of Grove Hill, opened for business in late 1939. These yards gave county farmers the chance to sell their livestock at the best market prices rather than merely accepting whatever price canvassing buyers offered. The stockyards were almost an immediate success. In January 1943, additional pens were being constructed and more help was hired for sale days. A cold storage plant opened for business in Grove Hill in late 1941. Customers could rent lockers to store their meat and other products. Plant personnel also cured meat for customers. The Grove Hill facility was one of three Rural Electrification Administration cooperative lockers and meat curing plants in the Southeast. After World War II, there were plans to double the sharp freezing (-15 degrees F) capacity of the plant provided that building material, mechanical equipment and a REA loan could be obtained. The proposed expansion would increase storage capacity by 100 lockers and bring the meat and egg processing facilities up-to-date. The frozen eggs would be sold in bulk to Mobile, Selma and Demopolis bakeries. The cold storage plant employed seven full-time and several part-time workers (Poole 1943:67 & CCD 8/3/1939; 1/8/1942; 1/21/1943 & 7/11/1946).

The demands imposed by World War II for more meat and other foodstuffs accelerated agricultural diversification in Alabama. For example, the 1943 war production goals set for Clarke County included 6,938 cattle and calves for farm slaughter and market, 11.2 million pounds of milk from 5,500 milch cows, 7,727 sows and gilts to farrow, 2,000 turkeys raised, 154,000 chickens raised and 567,000 dozen eggs produced. This represented about a 10% increase over 1942. Perhaps this wartime boost helped to revive the livestock industry in Alabama and throughout the South after World War II (Poole 1943:67; CCD 1/7/1943 & McWhiney 1987:131).

In any event, it is clear that livestock played an important role in Clarke County's growth and history throughout the period of significance. At least as much as cotton or any other row crop, livestock was vital to the county's economy. Perhaps even more importantly, the tending of livestock was a fundamental component of the rural traditions and life ways of Clarke County.

CLARKE COUNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF INDUSTRY

Alabama has always played a unique role in the southeast region in terms of industry. Blessed not only with fertile lands and vast forests, the state also had more mineral resources than perhaps any other southern state. Such abundance dramatically affected Alabama's history and development. Clarke County, though never heavily industrialized, participated in the state's industrial growth.

In the antebellum South, agriculture was the foundation of the region's economy. Some Southerners like William Gregg of South Carolina recognized how diversification of economic activities would strengthen the Southern economy. They believed that agriculture, industry and commerce should be undertaken simultaneously. The majority of Southerners, however, did not pursue either industry or commerce on a large-scale basis, but concentrated on agriculture. Although industry never significantly contributed to the antebellum Southern economy, it was undertaken on a modest scale to meet local demands (Mitchell 1935:81).

The early industrial activity in Clarke County probably typifies what was occurring in early nineteenth century Alabama. There was almost no industry in the frontier period. Settlers had to be self-sufficient. There were very few mills, cotton gins and workshops with great distances between those that did exist. Industries based on agriculture or timber were among the earliest industries to be developed. For example, around 1815, Robert G. Hayden founded one of the first tanneries and a shoe factory in Suggsville. S. S. Brittingham opened a carriage making shop in Grove Hill in 1836. Other wagon, carriage and buggy makers were operating in the county by the 1850s. On the eve of the Civil War, a Monsieur Sunblad was a boot and saddle manufacturer in Clarke County. The tannery near Suggsville was reopened in 1862. In 1853, a public meeting was called to discuss the feasibility of establishing a cotton and woolen factory in Clarke County. Although it is not known if this factory was ever constructed, such an industry would also have been agriculture-based (Ball 1882:171, 173, 206, 231, 242 & HMAkens 1956:84, 87).

Salt-making was an essential activity on the frontier, but it played a unique role throughout Clarke County's early history. There are three major salt springs located in the county near the Tombigbee River. The Lower Salt Works is north of Oven Bluff in Sections 21 and 28. The Central Works is near Salt Mountain. The Upper Salt Works is in Township 7, Range 1 East, Sections 16 and 17, near the section line. According to T. H. Ball, the springs were discovered by the Scotchman McFarland because of his association with the Indians. He opened the Lower Salt Works circa 1809. The works were leased in 1819 by Ball and Bayard of Boston for the manufacture of salt. At that time, people could exchange a load of corn for a load of salt at the salt works. It is not known how long Ball and Bayard manufactured salt at these works, but Ball contends that it was not a long time. Around 1835, a northern company began producing salt on a grand scale at the Lower Salt Works near Oven Bluff. The company closed down after a time, however, because it could not compete against imported salt (Ball 1882:171, 645-646 & CCD 6/19/1879).

Clarke County's salt works were of vital importance during the Civil War. The state of Alabama operated the Upper Works and the Lower Works during the war and private investors ran the central works. The State made salt for both military and civilian use, employing thousands of men. These were large industrial complexes for the time. Historian T. H. Ball wrote that they "seemed like manufacturing cities". At the Lower Works, twenty men each were employed at the twenty furnaces. They produced 400 bushels of salt per day which cost $5 to $40 a bushel. These works were in operation for 3 ½ years. The Upper Works employed 600 men and had 30 furnaces. Six hundred bushels of salt were produced per day and they cost $10 to $40 a bushel. These salt works operated for three

years. The preceding employment figures do not include supportive jobs like chopping wood. When these workers are considered, probably 2000 to 3000 laborers worked at the Upper Works alone. The salt was immediately sent to warehouses in Mobile, Demopolis, Selma, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa and Talladega. From these points, it was shipped into other parts of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia (Moore 1927:550; Ball 1882:646-647) & Pearson 1958: 5).

When Mobile fell to Federal troops in August 1864, the salt works were abandoned and all activity stopped. Parts of the fumaces and the pans were still extant, though, as late as 1879. In 1914, no one was utilizing the salt works which encompassed about 1200 acres. The land was still owned by the state, however, and the Governor wanted to sell the timber that was on it (CCD 6/19/1879 & CCD 2/26/1914).

The salt works may have been unproductive at the turn of the century, but the rest of Alabama was gearing up industrially. This phenomenon was occurring throughout the South. The development of transportation, the availability of money and labor and the desire of Southerners to develop their region's industrial potential spawned phenomenal growth in manufacturing between 1880 and 1900. The Clarke County Democrat reported in 1887 that the state had progressed significantly in recent years in industrial development. It went on to state rather self-importantly that "the Alabama industrial movement" had spread to east Mississippi and Louisiana and was generally benefiting the entire South. According to this newspaper, northern businessmen had purchased cheap lands in Alabama and planned to use them for timber, agriculture, horticulture or stock raising. The coal and iron industries were also being developed at this time in the state (Moore 1927:771-772 & CCD 3/3/1887).

At least some Clarke Countians believed that their county possessed the natural resources needed by industry. Of course, there were still the salt works. Undeveloped beds of coal lay under the hills of Clarke. The county also had marl, mill rock, limestone, sandstone, granite and petroleum (CCD 9/23/1880).

It was the county's ochre beds, however, that attracted great interest in the late nineteenth century. Ochre is an impure iron ore, usually red or yellow in color, that is used as a pigment. It was used by paint grinders, paper manufacturers, wholesale drug houses, wallpaper manufacturers and linoleum and oilcloth manufacturers (Graham 1923:14).

The Clarke County Democrat reported in late 1885 that an agent for New York businessmen had been exploring the ochre beds in the county to consider them for purchase. It does not report, though, whether the sell went through. Either way, others saw an opportunity. By 1892, an ochre mine was operating two miles from Jackson on the Jackson-Grove Hill Road. Captain M. L. Pritchett, who had managed an ochre mine in Georgia, had come to Clarke County the previous year to inspect the ochre beds and had purchased about 200 acres of land. He also sold his property in Georgia and moved his family to the county. Pritchett then acquired the machinery and buildings necessary for grinding ochre and formed a stock company. He was producing 1 ½ tons of ochre per day by May 1892 but was planning to set up a dryer so that his yield would be 5 to 10 tons a day. His mill had already ground up 40 tons of ochre and packed it in barrels at about 40 pounds to the barrel. One car load of the ochre had been shipped (CCD 10/8/1885 & 5/19/1892).

The ochre industry was a vital force in Jackson until at least the 1920s. The Sample-Williams Clay and Color Company, which may have been a successor to Pritchett's ochre mill, mined and shipped yellow ochre and china clays. The company also manufactured such clay objects as "clap turpentine cups, hollow building blocks, brick, drain tiles, flower pots, jugs and churns" (Graham 1923:13).

Sample-Williams' ochre plant consisted of a 30' by 30', two story machinery building, a boiler and engine room, four drying sheds, a store room and a warehouse and a cooperage for making barrels. The drying sheds had 35,000 square feet of shelf space for air-drying the ochre. The yellow ochre, which was under 60 acres of the company's land, was of exceptionally fine quality (Graham 1923:14).

The company's clay plant was comprised of a 30' by 30' machinery building, one engine room, a one story, 30' by 60' building with "racks and pallet boards for drying", a two story, 21' by 100' building with additional racks and pallets and, on its second story, a lattice floor and potter's wheel. The clay plant also had two 22' "down-draft 'Y' tunnel kilns" and one brick shed. The company employed between 40 and 50 men. It owned 93 acres and held mineral rights on an additional 64 acres. There was a bed of clay under every acre (Graham 1923:14-15).

Also in the early twentieth century, plans were underway in Jackson for a 150 ton fertilizer factory and a 60 ton cotton oil mill. The city donated a site on the river just north of the railroad crossing for these facilities. Such complexes were being planned because there were phosphate deposits near Jackson and cotton in Clarke County. Phosphate and cotton seed meal were the main ingredients in commercial fertilizer (CCD 5/13/1909).

In the late 1920s, the Portland Cement Company spent about a half million dollars to construct a cement plant. It planned to exploit the cement rock deposits around St. Stephens Bluff and Oven Bluff and would build extraction and crushing plants at these sites. The cement company also purchased several hundred acres that were about 70 miles above Mobile (CCD 2/17/1927).

Alongside these large extractive industries, Clarke Countians continued to carry on with small industrial activities that met local demands. For example, in 1887 W. S. Pugh and S. S. Pugh planned to construct a cotton gin and grist mill at the home of the latter man, which was about four miles west of Grove Hill. In the 1930s, there were also cotton gins at Grove Hill and Allen (CCD 2/3/1887; 8/6/1936 & 11/5/1936).

The South's industrial trend continued throughout the rest of the period of significance. In the 1930s, important Southern industries included textiles, timber, tobacco, iron and steel, cotton seed oil, chemicals and furniture. The ceramics, cement and paper industries were also gaining a foothold in the region. This industrial development, according to at least one historian, had spread southwest from the Atlantic seaboard states. This development, however, must be put into perspective in terms of what was going on in the rest of the nation. In the period from the 1910s to the 1930s, the entire South produced fewer manufactured goods (based on either "value added by manufacture" or "value of product") than the state of New York, approximately 25% more than Pennsylvania and 50% more than Illinois (Mitchell 1935:82 & Parkins 1935:53).

Textiles, of course, was predominant in Southern industry in the early twentieth century. From 1914 to 1930, the textile industry ranked first of all Alabama industries in total value of products. It was second only to iron and steel in the largest manufacturing units. In 1929, Alabama's 83 cotton mills consumed almost 10% of all the cotton used in the United States that year. Textile employment increased by 60% in the 1920s and by 1931 gave jobs to one-third of all the state's manufacturing workers. Textile mill workers were generally white, poor and female (Rogers 1994:445).

At least one textile mill was constructed in Clarke County during the period of significance. Clarke Mills (also known as Vanity Fair Mill) was described by the county newspaper as "the first major industry, aside from agriculture and timber, ever brought to Clarke county (sic)". This was somehow appropriate, considering the significance of textiles

to the state as a whole (CCD 6/29/1939).

The company broke ground for its silk stocking mill on March 13, 1939 in Jackson. The mill building was completed later that year and was, according to a local newspaper, a "modern type [of architectural style] and is made of steel, brick and glass block". It was estimated that the mill would employ 400 people and pay a minimum wage of 40 cents per hour. In 1941, the mill began making silk cloth for women's underwear in addition to its silk hosiery. Fifty new workers were hired to weave the cloth (CCD 2/2/1939; 6/15/1939 & 6/19/1941).

Within the context of Southern industry Alabama was doing quite well. By the mid-1920s, Alabama was easily the most diversified Southern industrial state with thirty different manufacturing categories. Furthermore, the state ranked thirteenth in the nation in the number of tons exported and seventeenth in the number of tons imported. It ranked only fourth in the South in the number of manufacturing jobs, however, behind North Carolina, Georgia and South Carolina. But in these states, manufacturing jobs were almost exclusively related to the textile industry. Alabama, therefore, was poised to take advantage of the industrial explosion ignited by World War II (Rogers 1994:443 & Moore 1927:897).

By the early 1940s, industry had been increasing in Alabama for fifty years, but the war years solidified Alabama's position as a southern industrial state. Governor Chauncey Sparks wrote in 1943 that "now Alabama is the outstanding industrial State of the Southeast. . . . Birmingham has become one of the most important war production centers of the Nation." Large munitions plants were located in Alabama with the most significant ones at Childersburg, Talladega and Huntsville. The iron and steel industry started to increase its capacity and production early in the war by adding new fumaces and mills and renovating old plants. The state's aluminum industry began during World War II. An aluminum plant that was completed just before the war was located in Mobile. Another such plant was completed in the early 1940s at Listerhill in the Muscle Shoals district. Other wartime industries in the state included shipbuilding in Mobile, chemical factories in Anniston, Muscle Shoals and Tuscaloosa and textile mills. There was also, according to the governor, a "great airplane modification plant" in the Birmingham area. This must have been the Bechtel-McCone Aircraft Modification Company which equipped and modified about 50% of the B-29 bombers used in World War II (Sparks 1943:1-2; McMillan 1943:77 & Rogers 1994:511).

It appeared in 1943 that World War II had expanded industrialization in Alabama and that, after the war, the state would be more balanced between agriculture and industry. The war also resulted immediately in quality improvements in the state's industrial infrastructure. Most factories were converted to produce arms and war materials. A few plants closed because of a lack of raw materials and labor. However, by early 1943, Alabama was utilizing small industrial complexes through sub-contracting. This tactic provided additional production and helped sustain the economies of the areas that were dependent on these small factories. These plants usually held their own and did not close down. The primary business casualties of the war were small lumber mills, gasoline stations and roadside stores (McMillan 1943:78-79, 81).

In general, the growing industrial labor force caused a decrease of workers in non-war-related manufacturing, farming, trade and service occupations. Great numbers of men and women were siphoned off from farming and trade into industry, particularly shipbuilding, munitions and aluminum plants. The majority of them came from "unproductive farm areas and from uneconomic or marginal work in trade and services" into positions where they learned new trades and skills. These new skills enabled these workers to more fully contribute to Alabama's industrialization and to improve their own economic status (McMillan 1943:78-79, 81).

After the war, Clarke County's industries continued to expand, particularly the textiles and timber industries. The Clarke Mills planned a plant expansion in 1947. The company expected to add an addition which would cost $70,000 and to install more machinery worth about $150,000. The mills already employed 350 to 400 people and it planned to add another 150. It was estimated that this expansion would add another $200,000 to an annual payroll that already amounted to $600,000 (CCD 12/11/1947).

The petroleum industry tried to gain a foothold in Clarke County during World War II. Drilling for oil in the period between the world wars had occurred, but only on a limited basis. Initially, this was because of World War I, the high costs of materials and the discovery of oil in Texas. Nevertheless, several thousand acres in Clarke County were leased by oil companies beginning in 1916. In 1923, the Mutual Oil Company drilled a well in S35, T8N, R1W or about 1 ½ miles west of the Salitpa post office. Oil drillings took place only sporadically in the county over the following years until the early 1930s when a short burst of activity occurred in the Salitpa and Jackson areas. These wells, however, came up dry (Graham 1923:11 & CCD 4/14/1932).

Oil exploration resumed in Clarke County in the mid-1940s. This activity was first triggered by the discovery of oil across the state line in Mississippi and in the Florida Everglades. Then oil was discovered in Choctaw County in early 1944. This was the first oil well ever to be brought in in Alabama and spurred on exploration in Clarke County. This time around, not only independent contractors but also established oil companies were gearing up to do extensive drilling in the county. The oilmen's interest centered around Salitpa, the area south of Jackson near the salt springs and the area north of Grove Hill. Leases were being purchased around the county, particularly near Salitpa where as high as $10.00 an acre was paid for leases. Numerous test wells were sunk. One such well was located three miles west of Grove Hill in the center of the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of S30, T9N, R3E. Drilling of this 6,000 foot test well began on December 7, 1944 (CCD 11/4/1943; 2/17, 24/1944; 11/23/1944 & 12/14/1944).

The California Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California, was the first established company to sink a test well in Clarke County. This test well, known as Scotch Lumber Company No. 1, was located a short distance above Coffeeville in the NE 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of S25, T10N, R1W and a road was built to it. However, by early August 1945, the company had abandoned this site and moved its equipment to a new site one mile west of Salitpa. Roads were also built to this site. Another established company, the Shell Oil Company, was also drilling test wells in Clarke County in the 1940s (CCD 5/24/1945; 8/2/1945 & 6/12/1947).

Dr. Walter B. Jones, the state geologist, predicted that six or seven counties in south Alabama would have oil production like that in south Mississippi, but it could take four or five years. By November 1945, Alabama's oil industry was about 21 months old and Choctaw County had at least 25 producing wells. But despite continued drilling in Clarke County throughout the period of significance, the petroleum industry never took hold here (CCD 7/19/1945 & 11/15/1945).

Throughout the period of significance, Clarke County's industry was based on agriculture and timber. Extractive industries such as salt making, ochre and petroleum also played a role in the county's industrial development. Though never heavily industrialized, Clarke County was a microcosm of how industry evolved in many Alabama counties.

CLARKE COUNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

The following context on Clarke County's lumber industry is divided into two sections. The first deals with the

general lumber industry and its impact on Clarke County. The second discusses the timber-related industries in the county.

GENERAL LUMBER INDUSTRY IN CLARKE COUNTY

Clarke County is part of Alabama's "old timber belt" along with Washington, Monroe, Conecuh, Butler, Crenshaw, Pike and Barbour Counties. The timber industry was not a major economic player in this region, however, until the late nineteenth century because it was overshadowed by agriculture. In fact, before 1880 in Alabama, more trees were cut to clear land for farming than for the manufacturing of lumber. During the 1880s, over one-third of the state of Alabama, or 20,630,963 acres, was forested. And these forests remained essentially untouched (Owen 1937:509; Taylor 1893:219; Massey 1960:18-19 & Riley 1888:173, 175).

Alabama's forests contained various species of trees but the most predominant, and perhaps most valuable, tree was pine. All Southern pine came to be marketed as "yellow pine" but this was actually a generic term for three distinct species: the longleaf pine, the shortleaf pine and the loblolly pine. Slash pine was a fourth southern species that was valuable to lumbermen. Slash and longleaf were among the most valuable pine trees in north America because they were hard, possessed great tensile strength and were resistant to decay. Their wood was also beautiful and had a high resin content. These particular pines were good for many projects including naval construction, framing, flooring, interior finishing, railway ties, spars, shingles, car sills, piling and telephone poles . Dr. Charles H. Mohr reported in 1901 that the longleaf pine, a significant source for both lumber and naval stores, was being greatly depleted through cutting, resin extraction, fire and damage from herds of domestic animals. However, according to Mohr, south Alabama was a most favorable region for the natural reproduction of longleaf pine (Massey 1960:19; Lou Hyman interview 1/24/1997; Hickman, 1962:2 & Stauffer & Kyle 1993:6).

Small sawmills were established on the coast by French, Spanish and English colonists. During the French colonial period in Alabama, the French cut down longleaf and slash pines for use as masts and spars on sailing vessels. Officials hoped to establish a timber industry that would supply other French colonies with a necessary product plus make Mobile self-supporting. Spain also developed a naval stores industry on the coast in the colonial period. It is not known if any of this activity extended into Clarke County but it is not improbable (Hickman, 1962:15-16).

The first sawmill in the English colonies was reportedly established at Jamestown, Virginia in 1625. Later sawmills were constructed near population centers along the Atlantic coast. The lumber industry moved west with the center of population. Initially, Maine led in the production of lumber. By 1840, when the annual, national production was 8 billion board feet, New York was the center of the lumber industry. Pennsylvania took the lead in 1851 but, ten years later, Michigan led the industry in lumber production. That state held this position until 1899 when the South came to dominate the lumber industry (Massey 1960:25-26).

In the early American period, local sawmills could be found throughout Alabama. The mills were generally portable machines brought by pioneers to the frontier to fill local demands for lumber. In the backcountry, these sawmills were often operated in conjunction with grist and rice mills and cotton gins. They were also used by the founders of new communities in the older settled areas. They generally had a daily capacity of 1,500 to 10,000 feet of sawed lumber (Taylor 1893:308 & Hickman, 1962:16).

Robert Caller had established a mill, a water gin and an iron screw for baling cotton in Clarke County by 1816. By that same year, Walker's mill was established on Bassett's Creek five miles east of Jackson and Jackson's mill was

located about six miles south of Suggsville on a small stream. In the 1820s, Nathan Lipscombe built the first mill on Bashi Creek just below Choctaw Corner. The research does not indicate what kinds of mills these were but they may have been saw mills. However, it is known that within two years after Lipscombe's mill was constructed, a saw mill was built on Bashi Creek (Ball, 1882:173, 185-186).

An expansion of markets and improved technology combined in the mid 1830s to launch the beginning of commercial lumbering in the Southeast. Markets in England and Western Europe already recognized the advantages of longleaf and slash pine lumber. Other markets included Cuba, Mexico and Texas. New Orleans, which expanded rapidly from 1830 to 1850, was a significant market, too. In antebellum Alabama, some planters established sawmills near Mobile where their slaves worked during the agricultural off-season (Hickman, 1962:17 & Flynt 1989:146).

By the late 1830s, the exportation of timber from Clarke County was a growing business. Ball reported that people who lived in the cedar "hammocks" made cedar rafts to float their cotton to Mobile, selling both the cotton and the cedar in the port city. This species of cedar was probably Atlantic White Cedar or may even have actually been cypress. G. D. Wilson of Suggsville was hiring men to cut down cedar for sale. J. R. Wilson was also involved in shipping cedar to Mobile and it was reported that he sent down $50,000 worth in a short period of time (Ball, 1882:204-205 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

Producing spar timber for the foreign market was a profitable business for some Clarke Countians in the 1850s. Each spar was to be from 82 ½ feet to 92 ½ feet long and 26 to 30 inches in diameter for 1/6 of its length narrowing down to 18 to 21 inches in diameter. A spar needed to be hewn into 8 equal sides for 1/6 of its length and 16 equal sides for 5/6 of its length. A crew of ten men averaged 1 spar per day, including delivery to the river. Twenty to 25 spars were lashed together into a raft and floated downriver to Mobile. The men hired to cut spars did not work in July and August and in December and January (Ball, 1882:250, 652-653).

During the antebellum period, at least $75,000 worth of timber was sent from Clarke and Monroe Counties to France and Spain. Jackson alone had three sawmills in operation during this time. The timber industry was well established in Alabama by the 1860s, with Mobile being a major exporter. In 1869, Alabama produced 97,192,000 board feet. The state ranked 25th in the United States in lumber products that year (Ball, 1882:355, 654; Flynt 1989:146 & Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17).

Lumbering was one of the first southern industries to reestablish itself after the Civil War and it grew steadily in the late nineteenth century. The industry developed most extensively in the pine belt that runs along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The pine forests in this region were the most commercially valuable and the easiest to harvest. The growth was based on a short-lived, intense, burst of construction in Mexico, improved mechanization that revolutionized the yellow pine industry and a postwar railroad construction boom which required great amounts of lumber. All of these factors coalesced to open up formerly inaccessible markets and also huge tracts of piney woods to exploitation (Massey 1960:5 & Hickman 1962:44-45).

The lumber industry in southern Alabama received a boost in the 1870s from several quarters. The repeal of the Southern Homestead Act in 1876 opened up huge tracts of public timber land to commercial consumption. Excellent timber lands that would yield 6,000 to 12,000 board feet per acre could now be bought from the Federal government for $1.25 an acre. This coincided with the depletion of the supply of white pine in the Great Lakes region, the foremost lumber producing area in the country. Northern lumbermen began to turn South. As late as

1875, the yellow pine of the South was almost unknown in northern markets. White pine from the North was better known and commonly used. However, in the early 1870s, railroad car manufacturing companies began experimenting with yellow pine in place of oak and white pine for car sills. They met with success. Yellow pine was not only strong enough for the job but was also cheaper. This discovery and a developing market for railroad car sills led to an expansion of the lumber industry in the Southeast. The pioneer buyers of yellow pine were the Lafayette Car Shops, the Indianapolis Car Foundry Company, the Ohio Falls Car Company and the Missouri Car Foundry Company (Massey 1960:26, 39-40 & Hickman 1962:57-58).

Yellow pine began to compete with white pine on a small scale in the northern markets by the late 1870s. However, only the better grades of lumber were acceptable to northern buyers. These markets developed slowly because yellow pine was unfamiliar to northern builders. Carpenters preferred white pine which was easier to work. Furthermore, it was believed by northerners that yellow pine would not take paint and would decay rapidly. It took years to overcome this prejudice. Eventually, though, southern pine was used out of necessity. It came to be recognized for its strength and strong resistance to wear. By the late 1880s, yellow pine was used extensively for beams, joists and flooring, especially in industrial buildings and warehouses in the North. By the time of the Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the prejudice against yellow pine was gone and huge amounts of it were used in the construction of the exposition buildings (Hickman, 1962:59-60; Massey 1960:28 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

Manufacturers of yellow pine were forced to keep their prices low in order to compete with white pine. They had to sell their product through commission men and thus had little control over the sales price of their lumber. Additionally, southern lumber was air dried and heavy, thereby increasing transportation costs. The introduction of the dry kiln to the southern lumber industry eventually led to greater access to northern markets. Kiln drying produced a superior grade of lumber and reduced the weight of a carload of lumber from 40,000 to 23,000 pounds (Hickman 1962:59).

The southeastern lumber industry, including Alabama's, continued to grow in the 1880s. The February 1, 1882 issue of the Southern Lumberman reported that "almost every train going South brings machinery for the erection and enlargement of saw mills [sic]. Never before, has the lumber business been so active". The expansion of this industry came about because of growing shortages of white pine at a time when American industry was booming, thus creating a demand for large supplies of lumber. Northern investors began to buy up huge tracts of timber land. In Alabama and Florida between 1880 and 1914, lumber companies readily acquired timberland. Prices for such lands were low, but rose gradually during this period from an average of $1.00 an acre to about $5.00 an acre (Hickman 1962:61-64 & Massey 1960:52-53, 174).

Newspapers and trade journals promoted the development of the southern lumber industry. The editor of Northwestern Lumberman predicted the South would become the most significant region for lumbering on the continent. He added that the greatest drawback to the expansion of this industry was a lack of capital for development. Despite this potential for profit, northern investors had to be strongly encouraged to expand into the region because they believed their lives and their property were unsafe in the Deep South. Nevertheless, great numbers of lumbermen from the old timber regions in the north and the east eventually came south to exploit the "last great body of virgin pine timber east of the Rocky Mountains". Many of the large mills built during this period were established by northern lumbermen who came primarily from the upper Midwest, particularly the states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota (Hickman 1962:61-62, 153 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

There were powerful incentives for exploiting the yellow pine timber of the South. Foremost was the proximity of the region to the areas of the highest lumber consumption. The forests of the Deep South were approximately two thousand miles closer than the Pacific Coast forests to consumers in the northern and eastern states. They were also closer to markets in western Europe, Africa and the east coast of South America. The millions of acres of inexpensive flat or gently rolling timberlands, almost devoid of undergrowth and trees of other species, were easily worked. Finally, sawmilling in the Deep South, unhampered by snow and ice, was a year-round activity (Hickman 1962:153-154).

Other species of trees beside pine were also exploited on a small scale basis during this time. Oak trees along the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers were cut into timbers and floated to Mobile to be manufactured into hoops and staves. Cypress, found in the very southernmost areas of the Timber Belt, was turned into lumber by cypress mills along the gulf coast, particularly in Mobile and at Stockton on the Tensaw River. With the depletion of Alabama's walnut trees in the late nineteenth century, sweet gum began to be used by cabinet makers and was proving popular. Clarke Countians realized by 1880 that their county would reap great wealth when lumbermen discovered its forests (Riley 1888:175-176 & CCD 9/23/1880).

Despite all this activity, the lumber industry was not of major commercial importance in Alabama prior to 1880. The 1880 census recorded that Alabama had 354 sawmills employing 1,657 hands. One-third of the mills were powered by water and two-thirds by steam. In fact, during the 1880s, over one-third of the state remained forested. However, between 1885 and 1890, large sawmill complexes were built along the state's railroads, particularly in the southern counties. Most of these mills had a daily capacity of 25,000 to 75,000 feet each but a few had a greater daily output of 100,000 to 200,000 feet each. In addition, some mills had extensive drying kilns and planing mills (Moore 1927:761; Taylor 1893:308-309 & Riley 1888:173, 175).

Consistent with the trend throughout most of Alabama, the "modern" timber industry had not yet come to Clarke County by the early 1880s. But large, modern mills were being established in surrounding counties during this decade. In Monroe County, there were several mills that cut 100,000 feet per day. The Seaboard Manufacturing Company of Fairford in Washington County was quite large by any industry standards of its day. Founded in 1888, the mill employed 1500 men by 1893. It owned extensive forest lands and operated thirty miles of railroad. Its sawmill had a capacity of 125,000 feet per day. At least 100,000 feet of lumber could be seasoned per day and 50,000 feet per day could be planing dressed. One hundred fifty thousand shingles were also produced each day at this mill complex. Finally, Seaboard maintained its own steamships in Mobile. Historian T. H. Ball, writing in the 1880s, believed the industry would surely expand into Clarke County where hundreds of thousands of piney woods acres could be had for $1.00 an acre. Clarke County was blessed with forests of pine, cedar, cypress and oak. Stave timber was already being cut from red and white oak and then shipped to Liverpool, England. Other lumber was being cut and sent to Mobile where it was shipped to England and the northern United States. Furthermore, the English company, Guy, Bevan and Company, of London and Mobile bought vast amounts of acreage in the piney woods of Clarke County during this period (Massey 1960:177 & Ball 1882:651, 654-655, 674).

The annual production of board feet in Alabama rose from 97,192,000 in 1880 to 251,851,000 in 1890. In the latter year, 53,000,000 board feet was shipped from Mobile to foreign countries and other areas of the United States. By the early 1890s, more lumber than cotton was being shipped from Mobile. This signaled a dramatic change in the economic development of south Alabama. From the late 1880s to c. 1930, the development of sawmill complexes flourished in the state with production peaking in 1925 (Moore 1927:761; Taylor 1893:308; Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997 & Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17).

The construction of railroads in the last decades of the nineteenth century invigorated Alabama's nascent timber industry. The Memorial Record of Alabama . . . reported in 1893 that the state's lumber industry had "recently developed into [a] great and profitable industry" and that these "large merchant mills . . . are of the recent past, and their advent marked a new era in the manufacture of lumber". In Clarke County, the railroad's freight revenues indicated the growing importance of the timber industry to the county's economy. Initially, the revenues were mostly derived from cotton and lumber. As the cultivation of cotton declined, pulpwood took its place (Moore 1927:761; Taylor 1893:217, 308 & Whatley 1990:6).

Several small sawmills sprang up in Clarke County in the late 1880s because of local demand and the construction of the railroad through the county. Garrett and Daffin got an engine for their new sawmill near Grove Hill in early January 1885 and by the end of the month had the mill up and running. Their competition was David Carter's mill. A local newspaper declared that the county had "no scarcity of lumber now". Two years later, the coming of the railroad opened up public lands and kicked off an expansion of sawmills in the county. One man, Louis Bradfield, applied in the Montgomery land office for 19,000 acres of timber land in Clarke County. Obviously, he was an agent for a large lumber company but the research does not indicate which one or whether it ever established a mill in the county. Small sawmills, however, proliferated. Daffin sold his sawmill to J. R. Nettles and Robert Dacy who moved it to Whatley near the railroad. Elisha Bettis and Lem Cammack were planning to erect a sawmill, also near the railroad and about five or six miles southeast of Grove Hill. Another mill and gin located about 4 ½ miles south of Grove Hill was bought by Giles McLeod. He replaced the sawmill's old sash saw with a newer circular saw. G. W. Cobb and Charley Hudson built a steam sawmill near the Moncrief School House in order to saw for the railroad. Finally, an 1889 advertisement in a local newspaper for Dr. J. H. McLean's Chills and Fever Cure also attests to the expansion of the timber industry in Clarke County. The ad reads in part, "the dank and decaying vegetation of regions newly cleared of timber, exposed to the rays of the sun, is sure to breed malaria. [Try Dr. McLean's Cure]" (CCD 1/1, 22/1885; 2/3/1887; 4/14/1887; 6/2, 23/1887; 7/7/1887 & 8/15/1889).

Clarke Countians continued to need Dr. J. H. McLean's Chills and Fever Cure in the 1890s as their timber industry grew. J. M. Crowder and Company of Birmingham purchased ten acres in Jackson in 1896 for the construction of a hardwood mill. The plant was estimated to cost $40,000 and was described by the Clarke County Democrat as "a big thing for Jackson". In 1897, the newspaper reported that the Bigbee River Lumber Company's sawmill near Jackson would soon be in operation (CCD 1/23/1896 & 3/18/1897).

There were large, medium and small, semi-portable ("peckerwood") mills operating around the turn of the century. The small ones required a capital outlay of only a few thousand dollars, but a medium sized mill required about $60,000 to get up and running. The sawmills of Alabama were classified into three categories. The first category consisted of neighborhood mills which simply met local demand. The output from the second class of mills was mostly shipped to the northern and western United States. The third type of sawmill shipped its products through Mobile and Pensacola coastwise or to foreign countries. There were at least four sizable sawmills established in Clarke County by 1893. These were the W. N. Nichols mill at Walker Springs (daily capacity of 25,000 board feet), the Hylart, Davis & Company mill at Rural with the same daily output, the Virgin Pine Lumber Company located at Wade's (20,000 feet per day) and the foremost Clarke County lumber company, the Scotch Lumber Company in Behrman (60,000 feet per day) (Massey 1960:178 & Taylor 1893:309, 311-313).

Industries related to the lumber industry also experienced substantial growth in the late nineteenth century. These included the shingle and cooperage businesses. Shingles, staves and headings were sold in both domestic and foreign markets. In fact, the Grove Hill newspaper reported in 1907 that some immigrants, "Germans,

Scandinavians or the like", had recently passed through the town on their way to the stave camps on Satilpa Creek. They had purchased a large quantity of white oak timber and planned to be in the county for awhile. Turpentine and naval stores were also important products but their economic significance was on the decline. Another occupation dependent on the forests was the gathering of Spanish moss. During this period, hundreds of workers were employed in gathering the moss which was used as stuffing for mattresses (CCD 1/17/1907; Moore 1927:761 & Riley 1888:176).

Dr. Charles H. Mohr examined the forests of Clarke County in the 1890s to assess their value. Much of the county's forests consisted of longleaf pine. He estimated that one acre of longleaf pine would yield at least 10,000 to 18,000 feet of saleable timber and that one acre of hardwoods would average 6,000 feet of timber. Mohr also noted that the flood plains of the Alabama and the Tombigbee Rivers and their larger tributaries were still heavily wooded. Cypress at least 100 to 120 feet tall could be found in the bottoms of the Mobile, Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers. These trees were estimated to be between 300 and 500 years old (Stauffer & Kyle 1993:5-6 & Lou Hyman interview 1/21/97).

The South was producing half the country's lumber in the early twentieth century. Lumber and timber products formed the largest southern industry both in terms of employment and of value added until the 1920s. The production of lumber peaked in the United States in 1909 with yellow pine comprising more of the total production than any other species (Flynt 1989:146 & Massey 1960:208).

The Southeast was well established as the major lumber producing region in the United States. Alabama was one of the largest producers in this region. By 1900, lumbering was a major state industry. It employed 9,273 people in 1,111 mills and was Alabama's second largest manufacturing industry behind iron and steel. The industry had produced lumber valued at $8.5 million, an increase of 51.2% over the preceding decade. By 1910, the industry employed 25,927 Alabamians or 31.1% of all those employed in manufacturing. Three years later, Alabama produced 1,523,936,000 board feet, ranking eighth in the nation in production (Moore 1927:887-888; Flynt 1989:150 & Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17).

The Clarke County Democrat reported in 1909 that pine was being cut in the county "yet there is a large per cent of it still left". There were several sawmills in the county at this time exploiting that large percentage of standing pine. Clarke County was home to one of the larger timber companies in Alabama, the Scotch Lumber Company. It employed over 300 hands and owned thousands of forested acres. Jackson had several wood processing facilities. The C. W. Zimmerman Lumber Company consisted of a sawmill, a planing mill, dry kilns, machine shops and lumber sheds. By the early 1920s and possibly before, "Negro houses" stood adjacent to this mill complex. Other sawmills included the McIntyre Lumber Company and the Mobile-Jackson Lumber Company. In addition, there were two veneer mills and one stave mill in Jackson (CCD 7/4/1907; 2/4/1909; 5/13/1909; 1/6/1910 & 3/23/1922 & AHC files).

As the longleaf pine of Clarke County was cut down during the twentieth century, loblolly pine grew back in its place because loblolly was faster growing and out competed the longleaf in open fields (Lou Hyman interview 1/21/97). Nevertheless, by the mid-1920s, Clarke Countians realized that their timber supply was diminishing. They began to recognize the value of their trees (CCD 3/11/1926).

Most of the lumber produced on or near the Alabama and west Florida coasts prior to 1914 was exported because of shipping costs. The mills in the central part of the state could ship lumber to the interior United States for less

than the south Alabama mills but were at a disadvantage when it came to exporting lumber. Lumber from the Mobile-Pensacola area, on the other hand, could be shipped easily to Latin America and could compete favorably for almost all other export business. Lumber from this region was used in the Mexican railroads, the 1883 exposition in Antwerp, Belgium and in the structural work of the gold mines in British South Africa (Massey 1960:88-89).

Competition in the southern lumber industry was stiff. There was no monopoly or concentrated control. Nevertheless, some of Alabama's mills were very large operations. By 1913, at least six were valued at one million to several million dollars. They were the Alger-Sullivan Lumber Company (Flomaton, Escambia County), the Jackson Lumber Company (Jackson, Clarke County), the Kaul Lumber Company (Shelby County), the T. R. Miller Mill Company (Brewton, Escambia County), the W. T. Smith Lumber Company (Chapman, Butler County) and the Vrendenburgh interests in north Monroe County. The largest mill in Alabama at this time was located in Lockhart in Covington County. It had a daily capacity of 275,000 feet of lumber. Four to five other mills in the area had a daily capacity of over 100,000 feet each and at least twenty others could each produce 50,000 feet per day (Massey 1960:17, 176 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

According to one Alabama historian, workers found the forest products industry to be "one of the hardest, most demeaning sources of employment in Alabama." The industry paid about the lowest wages of any in the state and also practiced peonage. Convicts worked in some of the turpentine camps and sawmills until at least the mid-1920s. Child labor was also a common practice. Eighteen hundred boys between the ages of ten and thirteen worked in the industry in 1920. The horrible working conditions were further exacerbated by the industry practice of hiring poor, rural labor, both black and white. A racially mixed work force often led to violence (Flynt 1989:146-147 & Rogers 1994:444-445).

Camps, where most of the workers lived, were often established near the work sites. The work animals were kept near the camps. The men generally lived in shacks or tents, but, occasionally, when the camps were somewhat permanent, they lived in substantial buildings. Lumber companies that had their own logging railroads housed their workers in dormitory cars. These were old box cars lined with bunk beds. The work train also had a kitchen car and two dining cars, one for the white laborers and one for the black. It was a hard life because most of the men were also part-time farmers who owned small farms and they only saw their families on Sunday (Massey 1960:59-60).

But there was money to be made and despite such horrible conditions, the lumber industry continued to be a major force in the state's economy during the 1920s. At the beginning of the decade, the industry employed 30,000 which comprised 28.7% of all Alabama's manufacturing workers. Work in the mills, however, fluctuated with the seasons and there was a high turnover of labor. The number of workers dropped in the early 1920s but rose again to 30,000 by 1929. The state's production peaked in 1925 with 2,235,738,000 board feet valued at around $60,000,000. Alabama ranked fifth in the nation that year in lumber production (Rogers 1994:444; Flynt 1989:150-151; Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17 & Moore 1927:888).

By 1929, Alabama had 1,141 operating mills and they comprised almost half of the state's 2,848 manufacturing plants. Most of them were small turpentine, planing or sawmills employing anywhere from ten to thirty workers. These mills had been busy, though. Over one billion feet of lumber had been harvested annually since 1900 and most of the old growth forest had been cut. Other wood-related industries active in the state during this period produced shingles, cooperage stock, naval stores, furniture, handles, box-shooks, veneers, carriages and farm implements (Flynt 1989:150; Rogers 1994:443 & Moore 1927:888).

Clarke County had a number of mills in the 1920s and 1930s. They were generally only reported on in the local press when they suffered fire damage but these reports make it apparent that the county had various types of wood processing facilities and that these facilities were scattered throughout Clarke. Sawmill complexes located in the county during these decades included one in Dickinson that was established by the W. P. Patton Lumber Company of Tuscaloosa and the Peevy Lumber Company and the Bell Lumber Company in Whatley. Specialty mills found in the county were the Alabama Stave Company in Thomasville, the E. M. Wheeler veneer and furniture mill in Allen and W. D. Dunn's dogwood mill in Grove Hill (CCD 7/13/1922; 7/22/1926; 3/5/1936; 4/16/1936; 11/14/1936 & 9/16/1937).

The timber industry was hard hit by the depression. Production decreased to a little over a half billion board feet in the early 1930s. Employment dropped from 30,000 in 1929 to 15,000 in 1931. The number of mills fell from 1,141 in 1929 to 274 in 1933. By 1935, there were at least 73 closed mills that had employed a total of 8,088 workers. Over 6,000 of the lay-offs occurred in southwest Alabama. Sawmills still operated on a small scale, however. Of the 2,350 primarily wood-using industries in the state in the late 1930s, 93% were sawmills, but generally small, portable ones. Only about 5% had a capacity of at least 20,000 board feet per ten-hour day . In a twelve county area in southwest Alabama there were 261 sawmills in 1936 of which 211 were described by the Clarke County Democrat as "the small transient type." There were also two pulp mills in operation and a third one under construction, nine veneer mills, ten cooperages, two wood-treating plants and "21 miscellaneous wood-using installations." The newspaper reported that over 50,000 full-time and part-time employees worked in the mills and the forests. Plus there were 110 gum stills and two naval stores plants (Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17; Flynt 1989:151; deJarnette c.1937:5 & CCD 9/22/1938).

In the late 1930s, the Federal government enacted a wage-hour law to protect workers. Some lumber mills chose to shut down rather than follow the law. Mills closed in Arkansas and Georgia and four small sawmills closed in Tuscaloosa. In Clarke County, the Scotch Lumber Company of Fulton shut down its sawmills in reaction to the new legislation. Scotch was the largest mill in the county and its decision threw hundreds of men out of work. Fortunately, this was only a temporary closing and Scotch soon reopened. Many of Clarke's larger mills continued to operate. Some did so by reducing their number of employees and by speeding up production. All of Jackson's larger mills--the M. W. Smith Lumber Company (also known as the White Smith Lumber Company), Hemphill, McGowin and Slayton and the Carlisle Veneer Company --carried on as usual (CCD 10/27/1938 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

Despite these setbacks, the timber industry remained a major employer in Clarke County. Again, most of the newspaper reports relating to the mills dealt with fires. However, the reports make it clear that sawmills continued to operate throughout the county in the 1940s. These mills included the A. L. Payne sawmill near Grove Hill (CCD 4/29/1943), the B. A. Cogle sawmill in Thomaston and the White Smith Lumber Company in Jackson, which was described as "Jackson's chief industry" (CCD 9/13/1945 & 1/29/1942).

Advancing technology and the invention of new products may have helped keep the industry going in the 1930s and the 1940s. New gluing technology allowed the manufacture of plywood from yellow pine veneer. In addition to naval stores, Alabama's forests provided cellulose which was used in the manufacturing of synthetic materials. Wood flour, sawdust, bark and tree fibers were also used to make a variety of products. New products manufactured from wood included rayon, newsprint and plastics (deJarnette c.1937:5-6).

Technology, new products and World War II created a huge demand for wood. Alabama, particularly the southwest

corner of the state, met the demand. Lumber production in Alabama rose to 2,189,000,000 board feet in 1943 and in 1945 stood at 1,594,000,000 board feet. In 1947, at the end of the period of significance, total lumber production in the state rebounded to 2,083,000,000 board feet. Clarke County sawmills produced 66.9 million board feet of pine lumber and 32.8 million board feet of hardwood lumber in 1947 (Stauffer & Kyle 1993:17 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

In the late 1930s, approximately 75% of the state's forests were comprised of pure pine or pines mixed with hardwoods. Of the remaining forests, 2/3 were upland hardwoods and 1/3 were bottomland hardwoods. The forest of this period consisted of 13% old growth, 84% second growth and 3% that was either clear cut or fire killed. A report issued in 1938 on the forest resources of twelve counties in southwest Alabama (the counties were not named but surely included Clarke County) noted that 71% of the land was classified as forest land. Nearly all of this land had been cut over at least once. However, over 90% of the cut over area was already restocked to second growth pines and hardwoods. The remainder was being restocked (deJarnette c.1937:4-5 & CCD 9/22/1938).

Clarke County's economy had included the cutting and manufacturing of timber since antebellum times. In 1947, the county still had 644,000 acres of forest land. Its people recognized the value of these forests and believed that they would continue to be an asset if they were protected, especially from fire (CCD 2/20/1947).

In addition to fire protection, the forests were being enlarged through a close partnership between agriculture and forestry in Alabama. Farmers planted trees on their unproductive acreage. The farms that participated in this program averaged thirty acres of trees per farm. The state's farm forests comprised about 8 million acres and accounted for about 42% of Alabama's total farm acreage. The products derived from these forests benefited over 164,000 farm families per year (deJarnette c.1937:6).

The farmers received training in how forestry could help them. In Clarke County, for example, a Soil Conservation Service agent held a demonstration on three acres of J. W. Calhoun's farm in 1943. The agent showed the farmers pine trees that were appropriate for a pulpwood cutting. He pointed out that there were thousands of acres in Clarke County that would be improved by removing the poorest trees for pulpwood. Thinning out these trees would increase the quality of the remaining trees, enhance their growth and provide present and future income to the farmers (CCD 6/17/1943).

Pulpwood was cut in Clarke County and them shipped by rail to pulpmills in Mobile. International Paper Company opened one of the first modern pulp and paper mills in Alabama in 1929. It was quickly followed by two smaller mills, the Mobile Paper Mill Company in 1930 and the National Gypsum Company in 1938. The Hollingsworth and Whitney Company opened a major pulp and paper mill in 1940 on a site adjacent to the International Paper mill on the Mobile River (Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

As a heavily forested region, Clarke County was important to the war effort during World War II. The cutting of pulpwood was declared an essential activity by the Federal government on July 24, 1943 because of a severe shortage of paper and paper products for military use. Advertisements in the Clarke County Democrat promoted the idea of cutting pulpwood. One such ad in the September 30, 1943 issue stated that "Uncle Sam needs more pulpwood. . . . . We are in the heart of the pulpwood area. This whole community is just like a big war plant and just as important to winning this war as any airplane, auto truck or munitions plant". Two years later, another ad called for 225 men in Clarke County "to swing an ax against the Axis." These men were needed to cut trees, drive trucks and work in the mills and the yards. Pulpwood production continued to grow after the war. In 1947, Clarke

County loggers shipped 21, 912 cords of pulpwood to the mills in Mobile (CCD 9/30/1943:3 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

In conclusion, the vast forests of pines and hardwoods that blanketed the county were most significant to the county's evolution from a predominantly agrarian county to one where agriculture was balanced with industry.

TIMBER-RELATED INDUSTRIES IN CLARKE COUNTY

The forests of Clarke County not only provided lumber, although this was their most important resource. Pine trees yielded resin for naval stores. Textile shuttles were crafted from dogwood. The sap of sweet gum trees was extracted and used in the production of tobacco and pharmaceuticals. These latter two industries were essentially developed in the 1930s and the 1940s when hard times forced Clarke Countians to be innovative in searching out new sources of income.

In the late, Anglo-American colonial period, North Carolina was the major supplier of naval stores to England. Naval stores were products derived from the resin of pine trees, including turpentine, tar and pitch. The market for these products collapsed with the American Revolution and remained in a depression for forty years. Its revival in the late 1830s was based on the invention of the copper still in 1834 and the development of new uses for naval stores. Because of the increased demand for naval stores, the industry expanded into South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and the Gulf states in the 1840s. The stills were being moved to the source of the raw material, the trees. Prior to this, more than half of the crude turpentine produced had been distilled in North Carolina (Hickman 1962:127 and Stauffer & Kyle 1993:15).

The beginning of the naval stores industry in Clarke County coincided with this westward movement. Colonel Robert D. James, the Clarke Countian who grew tobacco in the 1840s, also experimented with developing naval stores from pine tree resin at the same time. James is credited by local historians with the first shipment of naval stores from Mobile during the American period. The industry grew in the county during the 1850s as more "turpentine orchards" began to dot the landscape. In 1859-1860 there was a large turpentine distillery in the pine forests north of Coffeeville run by Dr. Alexander, Henry Hudson, Jesse Scruggs and J. Foscue (Fuller 1993:35 & Ball 1882:250, 654).

Very little is known about the naval stores industry in Alabama or Clarke County. It is known, however, that the Carolinas and Georgia had 623 distilleries in the 1890s and were the primary naval stores producing states. Mississippi had 24 distilleries but the other Gulf States had only a combined total of 23. Therefore, it can be assumed that up until at least the 1890s, the industry did not have a significant impact on the economy of Alabama or Clarke County. A shift occurred during this decade, though, as producers in the Atlantic states used up the supply of trees and migrated west to the longleaf pine belt. The production of turpentine expanded rapidly in the Gulf states between 1895 and 1906, precipitating a labor shortage in the industry. At least one turpentine operation was established in Clarke County during this period. In 1899, R. M. Williams from Georgia founded a turpentine business five or six miles below Grove Hill on the Jackson Road (Hickman 1962:131, 141 & CCD 11/9/1899).

Initially, the naval stores industry was associated with logging operations. Workers tapped the trees for turpentine before cutting them down. It was soon discovered, however, that this lowered the value of the tree's lumber, which was not made up by the sale of the turpentine. From that point on, the naval stores industry functioned separately from lumbering (Massey 1960:72-74).

The work was generally carried out by black laborers. They worked seasonally in the industry and farmed part-time. In 1900, Alabama had 3,716 turpentine and resin workers. The industry ranked ninth in the state in terms of the value of its products. A Clarke County newspaper declared Alabama a turpentine state in 1902 when its annual production was 400,000 barrels. By 1930, the labor force totaled 2,947 of whom 2,087 were black and 856 were native-born whites. The method of distilling the turpentine, however, was wasteful and depleted the pine forests. By 1938, in a twelve county area of southwest Alabama there were only two naval stores camps producing turpentine and resin. In 1947, total crude turpentine production in Alabama had fallen to 90,231 barrels. Clarke County contributed only 1,332 barrels of turpentine to the total production (Flynt 1989:150; CCD 2/20/1902 & 9/22/1938 & Lou Hyman ltr 1/31/1997).

The making of sweet gum, which was associated with the production of tobacco and pharmaceuticals, and the manufacturing of dogwood blocks for the shuttles of textile looms were two important industries in Clarke County in the 1930s and 1940s. Both were centered in the Grove Hill area. Like other Clarke County industries that have been discussed in this overview, these enterprises relied on the county's natural resources and were extractive in nature (MPR 7/18/1948 & MPR 8/3/1947).

C. W. Skipper of Whatley began the sweet gum industry in Clarke County in the early 1930s. Circa 1930, Skipper learned that sweet gum was being imported into the United States to make salves and ointments. He knew that sweet gum trees were prolific in Clarke County and taught himself how to extract their sap. After a long search, Skipper found a market for his sweet gum. Over the next few years, he and some others in Whatley collected small amounts of sweet gum, or "storax" as it was known commercially, for their buyers. Manufacturers in the eastern states discovered Skipper's product and began requesting more and more of it. Other Clarke Countians started collecting the sap off their own property or by leasing rights on others' property (CCD 7/4/1946).

Production increased dramatically and in 1940 sweet gum shipments out of Clarke County exceeded the imports that came into this country prior to 1930. Production in the county continued to increase steadily. The county was well known for its sweet gum by 1942. National manufacturers recognized Clarke County as the primary supplier of "storax" and the demand and the price for the product rose accordingly. By 1943, there were about 150 sweet gum workers in Clarke County who produced and shipped over 100,000 pounds of product that was valued at over $125,000.00. World War II slashed production to about 40,000 pounds annually in 1944 and 1945. Production was projected to be 75,000 pounds for 1946 and two years later Clarke County was the largest producer in the country. The national market for sweet gum was being met by Clarke and its surrounding counties. Locals believed that southwest Alabama was the "world's most important source of sweetgum [sic]." Prior to Clarke County's entry into the industry, most of the sweet gum used in the United States had been imported from South America and Russia (CCD 7/4/1946 & MPR 7/18/1948).

Another lumber-related industry important to the county's economy in the mid-twentieth century was the manufacture of dogwood blocks for the shuttles of textile looms. The industry developed rapidly during World War II. By 1947, several plants existed in the county with the center of the industry being Grove Hill. One of the larger mills, Reginald Keen's at Grove Hill, employed three people and produced five hundred shuttle blocks per day, using about a cord and a quarter of dogwood logs (MPR 8/3/1947).

The logs were sawed into rough blocks, from twelve to twenty-seven inches long and four inches square. Each block was treated with paraffin to prevent splitting and then stacked to dry. The blocks were shipped through Mobile to the East Coast where they were made into shuttles and shipped worldwide. After World War II, England and

Russia were the major buyers. Prior to the war, Germany and Italy had also purchased the dogwood textile shuttles. There was at least one dogwood mill in operation in Grove Hill until the late 1970s when plastic replaced the wood as shuttle material (MPR 8/3/1947 & Lou Hyman interview 1/29/1997).

These ancillary timber industries functioned alongside the sawmills and mill complexes in Clarke County. They contributed to the economy and industrialization of the county during the period of significance. As the twentieth century progressed, however, the vitality of these industries died out and other ancillary industries, like the manufacturing of pulpwood, spawned by new technology took their place.

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Section F---Property Type Analysis

The survey undertaken in Clarke County, while not completely comprehensive, was quite extensive in scope and identified 624 resources. These resources are about evenly divided between the rural and urban areas with 52% located in rural areas and 48% in incorporated towns. As expected, the largest concentrations of resources are located in the largest communities: Jackson, Thomasville and Grove Hill.

These resources were broken down into the property types described in Alabama's statewide comprehensive plan which are residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural, and community buildings. The community property type refers to those "buildings that serve the people. . . . . They are generally the larger buildings in the community and serve as landmarks." This property type includes churches, governmental buildings, depots, and schools. As is typical in most large surveys, the overwhelming majority of identified properties were residential (64%). Commercial properties accounted for 20%, industrial 1%, community buildings 10%, and other (various historic sites, cemeteries and a bridge) for 5%. Although Clarke County was and is predominantly rural, agricultural buildings were not individually recorded as a part of this survey. They were included on the survey form for the main house associated with the property. However, a windshield survey of agricultural buildings undertaken in the summer of 1997 supplements the original, in-depth survey and allows for an analysis of these resources as a property type.

Breaking down the resources into periods of construction clearly reveals the greatest era of Clarke County's prosperity and growth. Of all the identified historic properties, 60% were built between 1886 and 1930. Development during this 45-year period was kicked off by the construction of the railroad through the county, sustained by industrial growth and agricultural diversification and cut short by the Great Depression and World War II. An additional 8% of the total resources were built between 1931 and 1945. Seven percent are post-1945 resources. In the nineteenth century, 2% of the resources are pre-1826, 5% date from between 1826 and 1865, and 18% from 1866 to 1885.

1. RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

Description: Clarke County's historic residential buildings date primarily from the 1820s onward and reflect several stylistic influences and typologies. The earliest extant residence to be identified and documented so far is the French House in Barlow Bend which was constructed c. 1820. The latest historic residences illustrate the post-war housing boom that occurred in Clarke County, particularly in Grove Hill and Jackson.

Within Clarke County, several different vernacular domestic forms have been identified: the single pen, the double pen, spraddle-roof, Creole cottage and Carolina cottage, I house, and extended I house.

The **single pen** form is a small, rectangular or square-shaped unit or "pen" constructed with either hand hewn or peeled logs. The peeled logs were generally used in the later period or in the early, temporary, first shelters. The earliest examples identified in Alabama had side gabled roofs and rested on rock piers with an exterior end rock chimney.

The construction of single pen log structures continued well after the pioneer period in Clarke County. An example of a single pen log building constructed in the 1870s can be found on a farm complex in Chilton. A single pen log dwelling in New Prospect was erected in the 1880s using an old architectural form and construction methods. In the Failetown vicinity there is another single pen log dwelling constructed in the last decades of the nineteenth

century.

In fact, log dwellings and agricultural outbuildings were constructed in Clarke County as late as the first decades of the twentieth century. A single pen log structure located in Chance and one in the Morvin area were constructed c.1910. Many of the later log buildings in Clarke County were not constructed with hand hewn square logs and early notching systems but were often peeled, round logs with saddle notching. An example of round log construction is in the Walker Springs vicinity.

Because the length of the logs established the size of the building and the corner joints supported the load of the structure, log buildings were typically small in size and consisted of a single pen unit. As additional space was required, the early builders found it necessary to increase the size of their dwellings. Because of the difficulty of enlarging log construction, the early builders expanded their dwellings by adding another small log pen alongside the existing pen, thus some buildings that began as single pens eventually evolved into double pen form.

The **double pen** form is comprised of two self contained and self supporting single pens placed alongside each other with a common roof to create a larger two unit dwelling. The double pen form could have either been constructed during two distinctive building periods or at one time. The double pen form has three distinctive variations, each based on the relationship established between the units or pens.

The first and simplest variation consists of two independent log units butted together side by side, creating an elongated two cell dwelling. Each unit most often has its own exterior entrance and no interior circulation between the two units. There may be one or two exterior end chimneys. This form is usually called a double pen.

The second, and rarest variation, contains a self-contained, single log unit butted against the exterior end chimney side of another single log pen. This creates an elongated two cell log dwelling with a central chimney located between the two pens. This form is called a **saddle bag.**

The third and most prevalent variation in Clarke County is created when two independent log pens are placed approximately 10 to 12 feet apart and covered with a common roof, thus creating an open breezeway between the two log pens. This common double pen form is called a **dogtrot.**
The dogtrot is characterized by a pair of one story rooms, or pens, measuring approximately 18 to 20 foot square, flanking a wide, open-ended central hall or breezeway. The two rooms and central passage are covered by a side-gabled roof and flanked by exterior end chimneys. The first dogtrots were constructed out of hand-hewn logs with stone piers and either mud and stick or stone chimneys. Later on, if a sawmill was built and planed lumber became available, the dogtrot might be clad in weatherboard. It was not uncommon for existing log single pens to be enlarged by adding a new frame unit to create a combination log and frame dogtrot.

The dogtrot remained a popular folk housing form in Clarke County well into the early twentieth century. Most of the county's identified examples, however, were built during the last decades of the 19th century. These later dogtrots were more often frame construction than log. Numerous frame dogtrots were erected in Clarke County during this period.

Over time, the open breezeways of many dogtrots were enclosed with entrance doors to increase the size of the home. Thus, many of the earliest dogtrots in the county were altered and modernized during the period of significance, but the basic form still exists in the nucleus of the building.

Another prominent vernacular house form in Clarke County is the **spraddle roof form** which is characterized by its distinctive profile. It has a steeply pitched end gabled roof that breaks and flares out in a low pitch over the front and rear of the dwelling, creating deeply recessed porches and/or shed rooms. Generally, there are external end chimneys on one or both side elevations.

Early examples of the spraddle roof house in the United States date from the early to late 18th century and are found on the Atlantic sea coast. The earliest ones occur in the Chesapeake Bay/Albemarle Sound areas and in the Charleston area. This residential design migrated southwest rather than west and is common in the seaboard South. However, it can be seen as far west as Texas. Examples of the spraddle roof occur in the Chesapeake and Albemarle areas on the east coast as early as the late 18th century, but shed rooms on spraddle roof houses were most common in the early to mid 19th century (Robert Gamble interviews: 11/2/95, 3/4/97 & 8/26/97).

The earliest spraddle roof forms documented in Clarke County were often associated with log dogtrots. The flare of the side gable roof provided an excellent cover for the front and rear porches of these early residences. If shed rooms were later added to these log spraddle roof houses, they were often of frame construction, generally board and batten or clapboard. The dogtrot and the spraddle roof forms were very popular in rural Clarke County well into the late nineteenth century and there are numerous examples of these residences throughout the county. The form is usually associated with the small farmers who made up the larger part of the county's population. Most of the inventoried examples date from the 1870s through 1900. These include the Wilson House in Grove Hill, a spraddle roof house with two shed rooms in Center Point and other houses in Peacock and Fulton. Other spraddle roof houses can also be found in Morvin, Glover, West Bend, New Prospect, Winn and Grove Hill. Those in the latter community date from the mid-nineteenth century and are finely detailed and sophisticated articulations of the typology with handsome Greek Revival trim.

Many of the spraddle roof houses in Clarke County display a secondary characteristic often associated with the form. The integral front and rear porches were often partially enclosed to form a small room. These porch rooms or shed rooms could occur on the front porch, the rear porch or, very commonly, both porches. Often both ends of the porch were enclosed, creating two small rooms flanking a central open space. These shed rooms were a simple way to increase the size of the house. Most of these shed rooms were original to the houses, although some may have been later additions. The shed rooms were most often entered through an exterior door off the porch, with no interior access to the main house. Some examples did, however, have interior doorways accessing the main house. Numerous spraddle roof house forms in Clarke County have shed rooms.

Another design element frequently associated with the spraddle roof house was the so-called "Carolina" porch. In a Carolina porch the roof extends beyond the decking of the porch and is supported by freestanding posts that rest directly on the ground and in front of the porch itself. The porch and the porch railing are set back and separate from the freestanding posts. This arrangement better protects the porch from the sun and the rain. Such a porch arrangement is called the Carolina porch because it is believed to have been brought to Alabama by early settlers from the Carolinas.

Numerous floor plans are associated with the spraddle roof house. The one room plan typically has a single entrance door and one end chimney. A two room plan consists of two equal-sized adjoining rooms. Each room usually had a separate exterior entrance door from the front porch. This plan was often employed for tenant farm residences in the late nineteenth century. A variation of the two room plan often associated with the spraddle roof form is the dogtrot. Most often, spraddle roofed dogtrots have two exterior end chimneys.

Another plan associated with the spraddle roof house is the hall and parlor plan. This plan is characterized by two adjoining rooms of unequal size. The larger room is the main living space and is referred to as the hall. The smaller, more private room is the parlor. The single main entrance leads directly into the hall and an interior door leads into the parlor. This plan is traced back to 17th century medieval English folk housing.

A more formal plan commonly found in the spraddle roof house is the center hall plan. This plan consists of two equal-sized room separated by a central hall. The main entrance leads into the hall with interior doors leading into the side rooms. This symmetrical plan was brought to America from England during the 18th century.

A hybrid of the spraddle roof form seen in Clarke County is the **half spraddle roof**. Unlike the full-fledged form, the break and flair of the half spraddle roof occurs over the rear porch, but the integral front porch is under the straight sloped half of the roof. Not as popular as the basic form, the half spraddle roof form appears throughout the county in the late nineteenth century as a common house type for small farmers.

In Alabama, there are two distinct types of the side gabled house with recessed porch. The Creole cottage and Carolina cottage are similar vernacular forms that are readily identified by their distinctive profiles. Both forms have a high-pitched, side gabled roof that sweeps down the front and back of the house to the top of the first story, creating a half story attic. The roof extends over a full length, recessed front porch. The primary differences between these two building typologies are based on proportions and chimney placement. The Creole cottage tends to have a more steeply pitched roof and more compact proportions than does the Carolina cottage. Generally, the chimney of the Creole cottage is centered on the roof ridge. The Carolina cottage typically features end chimneys.

The **Creole cottage** form is probably descended from the French Colonial architecture of the early Gulf Coast. It is not uncommon for the front porch to have a shed room, also known as a cabinet. Some Creole cottages rest on a raised basement. The form's traditional floor plan consists of two side by side adjoining rooms with two separate entrance doors giving access to the front porch. There is often no access between the two interior rooms. In Alabama, however, many of the identified Creole cottages have a more sophisticated double pile, central hall plan which is generally associated with popular academic styles of the nineteenth century, such as Greek Revival. This more formal plan consists of a long central hall flanked on either side by two equally sized rooms.

This house form was built throughout the southernmost counties of the state and along the rich bottom lands of the Mobile and Tombigbee Rivers as far north as Clarke. It remained popular throughout the nineteenth century in Clarke County. A late illustration of the Creole Cottage form in the county is the 1890s house in the Thomasville vicinity. One of the best examples of the Creole Cottage with the traditional two room floor plan is the c.1835 Noble-Agee house. Originally built in Opine, it has since been moved to the Coffeeville vicinity.

Although the **Carolina cottage** is very similar to the Creole cottage in outward appearance, it is closer to the spraddle roof cottage in terms of how the form was introduced to Alabama. Early settlers who migrated to Alabama from the Carolinas, particularly the Piedmont region of South Carolina, brought this house type with them. It is most prevalent in the south central region of Alabama where large numbers of these pioneers settled. Many of the Clarke County examples were erected by Carolinians, like Frederick Blount who built his plantation home "Woodlands" in Gosport.

While the Carolina cottage has a distinctive profile similar to that of the Creole cottage, its roof pitch is often not as steep as that of the Creole cottage. The front porch of the Carolina cottage, which is sheltered under this main roof,

may feature porch or shed rooms. Often both ends of the porch were enclosed, thus flanking the narrow open portion. Most of these rooms were original to the house, but some may be later additions. Generally, access into these porch or shed rooms was from the porch only. However, some porch rooms had an interior doorway into the main house. Another characteristic frequently associated with both the spraddle roof and Carolina Cottage forms is the Carolina porch. Federick Blount's Woodlands in Gosport is one of the best examples of the form with a Carolina porch in Clarke County.

As with other vernacular forms, a variety of floor plans is associated with the Carolina Cottage. In Clarke County there are several examples of the distinctive Carolina Cottage roof on numerous open dogtrots. Dogtrots in the West Bend vicinity and Whatley vicinity both have the Carolina Cottage roof line.

Many of the Clarke County examples of this form, however, tended to have a more formal plan featuring a central hall flanked by two rooms on either side. This plan is often associated with the popular Greek Revival style. Two examples of the form displaying a central hall plan are Woodlands and a house in Salitpa.

The **I house** and its subtype, the extended I house (or I house with sheds), were the only two story vernacular forms identified in Clark County. The origins of the I house can be traced directly to English vernacular architecture and to colonial Tidewater Virginia. It was brought from the eastern coastal region to Alabama by settlers from Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. The form was one of the most popular housing types associated with wealthy planters and farmers in central and southern Alabama during the 19th century and was often enhanced with finely crafted high style details and trim.

The I house is one room deep, two rooms wide and two stories high, creating a distinctively tall and narrow profile. Its side gabled roof usually displays end chimneys. Three interior floor plans have been identified with the I house form. One plan features two rooms of roughly equal size side-by-side with two exterior entrance doors onto the front porch and no interior passageway. Other I houses have a hall and parlor plan. Another plan features a central hall.

Clarke County has one of the best examples of an I house in Alabama, the French House located in Barlow Bend. Its early construction date of c. 1820 and two room plan are rare for the state. It was erected by planter and Methodist minister John French. The French House also exhibits some of the finest Federal period architectural details in the county. This rare form features a two room plan with two exterior entrance doors leading from the front porch.

The more common I house form in Alabama is the **extended I house** or I house with sheds. This form incorporates full length, one story sheds, or lean-tos, on the front and rear elevations, creating a well balanced profile. Often small end chimneys serve the rear shed rooms. The form and purpose of the lean-tos may vary according to the builder's preference. Most commonly, however, the front lean-to incorporates an attached porch with a shed roof, while the rear lean-to houses secondary rooms. Another variation incorporates shed rooms on the front porch.

There are four known surviving examples of the extended I house in Clarke County. Three of these were built by wealthy owners who incorporated decorative vernacular interpretations of popular high style architectural elements into the overall designs of their houses. The Alston-Cobb House, constructed c.1850, in Grove Hill features a vernacular Greek Revival design. Its I house profile has been somewhat compromised by the historic addition of a full-width, two-tier gallery on the front facade. An extended I house in the Grove Hill vicinity is the Waite House, which was constructed c. 1865 with late Greek Revival and Victorian design elements. The Minard House in

Airmount or Atkeison displays a vernacular Federal style and may date from the 1840s. The extended I house continued to be popular in the state to the end of the nineteenth century. The Kimbrough House in Thomasville is a late example of an extended I house and dates from the late 1880s. There were at least three other extended I houses in the county but their second floors were removed at some point in the past. These are the Albert Wilson House in Suggsville, the Miel Ezell House in the Manila vicinity and a house at Woods Bluff.

The **shotgun** house is another common residential form. It was popular in Alabama from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. In its basic form, the house is a one story, frame dwelling with a linear plan. It is one room wide and contains at least two interconnected rooms but no hallway. The entrance is typically in the gable end. Sometimes two shotguns are encompassed under one roof to form a duplex. The building may have a full-width, front porch or each front entrance may be located in its own small porch. This building form is known as a **double shotgun**. The shotgun originated as an urban house form in the South and then diffused into the countryside where it became a basic residential form for tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Examples of the shotgun and the double shotgun were identified in Jackson and Thomasville.

The **T-cottage** is a vernacular housing form that was popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is one or two stories in height with a side gabled roof with rear and front gabled wings that give the house a T shape. Almost always there is a porch embellished with Victorian or Queen Anne trim in the ell created by the front wing.

The **L-cottage** is often confused with the T-cottage and it is necessary to view the rear of the house to differentiate between the two forms. It is one or two stories in height with a side gabled roof and a front gabled wing to one side of the front facade, creating an L shape. There is almost always a porch embellished with Victorian or Queen Anne trim in the ell created by the wing.

There were few manifestations of true academic styles in nineteenth century Clarke County residences. Generally, domestic building design followed the prevailing folk traditions brought from the South Atlantic or the Gulf regions and had local interpretations of high style elements grafted onto them. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule. Woodlands or the Frederick Blount Plantation in Gosport is a large Creole cottage with sophisticated Federal and Greek Revival style details. Mist Lady, also known as the Joshua Wilson House, in Gainestown is a good example of the Greek Revival style within the local context of Clarke County. The Lodge in Suggsville is an example of 1850s eclecticism with such design elements as octagonal columns and Italianate brackets. The Dickinson House in Grove Hill is the best articulation of the Italianate style in the county. Sometimes the national popularity of these styles coincided with periods of prosperity and growth in Clarke County, which accounts for their construction. Often, however, the styles lingered on in Clarke County long after their popularity had ended in most of the rest of the country.

While some of these housing forms and styles remained popular into the twentieth century, other forms and styles eventually replaced them. The new forms and styles were generally not as complex. More or less square massing superseded the asymmetrical massing of the late nineteenth century. Architectural elements became simpler and more streamlined in design. In some cases, residential architectural styles had only a minimum of detailing.

The **foursquare** became popular in the early twentieth century. It is a square massed house crowned by a low pitched, hip roof that is often punctuated by dormers. It is two stories tall, two rooms wide and two rooms deep. Usually there is no interior hall. Often, the foursquare has a one story, front porch and a one story, side porch.

Another popular folk form in the early twentieth century was the **pyramidal roof** house. Its nearly square plan is one story in height and crowned by a steeply pitched, equilateral, hip roof. The house usually has four main rooms and no hall.

The **bungalow** is perhaps the most ubiquitous house form of the early twentieth century. It is one to one-and-one-half stories in height with a low pitched, overhanging roof. The roof is generally either hip, gable or cross gabled. Almost always there is a front porch and often it is integral to the house. The design elements of most often associated with bungalows stem from the Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles. Bungalows are found throughout Clarke County in both the towns and the rural areas.

The **Colonial Revival form** was also common in the early part of this century. It is associated with the architectural style of the same name. The form is one-and-one-half to two stories in height with a central hall flanked by two rooms on each side and is two rooms deep. The symmetrical front facade is three or five bays wide. Generally, the central, front bay contains a portico. The form is most often crowned by a gable or low hip roof. Examples of this house type can be found in Jackson.

Another twentieth century house form constructed in Clarke County near the end of the period of significance is the **minimal traditional** form. It is a one story, frame or brick dwelling that features a symmetrical facade and has little architectural detailing. The house generally contains three to five rooms. It can be found in both the towns and the countryside.

The overwhelming majority of Clarke County's historic dwellings are frame buildings originally sided with weatherboard. The great majority of the historic brick and stone houses that do exist date from the 1930s and 1940s. Unfortunately, the application of artificial siding to historic residences has occurred. A significant number, though certainly not a majority, of the county's historic houses are presently sided with aluminum, vinyl or some other nonhistoric material.

Significance: The buildings that compose this property type may be significant under National Register Criterion A for illustrating the residential development of Clarke County during the period of significance, 1811-1947. Some of Clarke County's residences may also be significant under National Register Criterion B for their associations with persons of importance in the county's history. Some dwellings might also be significant under National Register Criterion C for their construction and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of construction.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, a residential property in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship, as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been constructed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the historic residential development of the county.

Of course, properties remaining on their original sites retain more integrity of association and location than those that have been moved. However, in certain special cases, moved properties may still retain enough integrity of association and location to be listed in the National Register. A building removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is primarily significant for architectural value or if it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. A moved property significant under Criteria A or B must

be the single surviving property that is most closely associated with an event or with an important aspect of a historic person's life. A moved property significant under Criterion C must retain enough historic features to convey its architectural values. However, if a building's design values or historical associations are directly dependent on its location, then any move will cause the property to lose its integrity of association and location.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic residential property and must not have been subject to significant design changes. Nonhistoric additions and alterations should be reviewed carefully to determine whether they have compromised historic integrity. Original materials should be intact to a considerable extent, and instances of local craftsmanship and significant workmanship should not be obscured. Properties primarily significant for their architectural characteristics may be held to a higher standard of integrity than those properties primarily significant for historic associations. Likewise, properties that are individually eligible may be held to a higher standard of integrity than contributing properties in a historic district. Contributing properties must meet the standards outlined above, but to a lesser degree. Through the integrity of their design, materials and workmanship, contributing properties must retain enough of their original exterior appearance to contribute to the historic character of the district. In all cases, however, properties must adequately he periods of time during which they achieved significance.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, a residential property in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of a residential property associated with the period of significance for Clarke County. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance.

2. COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

Description: The largest concentrations of Clarke County's historic, commercial buildings occur in the towns of Grove Hill, Jackson and Thomasville. However, the county also has significant numbers of country stores scattered throughout its rural areas and crossroads communities.

The commercial buildings in the towns are almost invariably the one and two story, brick buildings. Some of these buildings are actually constructed of concrete block with a brick veneer. Jackson, however, has a two story, commercial building constructed out of rock faced concrete block. Its original storefront is still intact. It consists of glass panes held in place by wood framing with cast iron pilasters. Grove Hill has two frame commercial buildings. One is a two story building crowned by a comice. The first floor of the front facade has been clad in brick and has a modern storefront of plate glass and aluminum sash. The front second story windows are covered in plywood. The second frame, commercial building is one story in height and retains its original storefront. The centrally located, double-leaf doors are recessed between angled display windows. Above this storefront, the front gabled roof is hidden behind a false front accented by a bracketed entablature. The roof has exposed rafter ends. Of the brick, commercial buildings, both freestanding structures and those with party walls were identified in the survey. They date from the late 1880s, when the railroad came to Clarke County, up through the period of significance. Two story buildings dominated commercial construction in the county's towns from 1886 to 1915 with fifteen being identified as opposed to four one story buildings. Through the late teens and 1920s, both types of buildings were constructed. However, by the 1930s and beyond, one story, brick buildings were most popular for commercial activities in Clarke County's larger communities. Almost all of these buildings have modernized

storefronts and several of the two story ones have their upper windows closed up. The buildings are generally quite simple in design with their design elements limited to brick corbelling and/or parapets. The second story windows of the two story, tum-of-the-century buildings may be arched. The majority have shed or flat roofs, but at least one hip and one gable front roof were also identified. Viewed as collections, the buildings represent the historic, commercial cores of their respective communities, thus illustrating how Clarke County's "downtowns" evolved. Specific information on each of these commercial cores is included in their district nominations.

A secondary set of significant commercial property types consists of the country stores. They were usually of frame construction with a gable front roof. Most often, the stores had either a front porch with a shed roof or an integral front porch. Some were probably built with no front porches; others have lost the ones they once had. The centrally located entrance may be either single- or double-leaf, but is always flanked by windows. The doors and windows typically had heavy wood shutters to protect against unwelcomed intruders. The long side of the rectangle was unbroken except for tiny clerestories just below the roof line which allow light into the dark interior. The interior typically featured a long narrow open plan; furnished with tall shelving on both side walls rising to just below the clearstory windows. Another feature often found on Alabama's country stores is a side shed that is attached to one of the long elevations. It was used for storage.

There were several mid-nineteenth century examples of the front gabled rural store documented in the Clarke County survey. Some of these have been lost since the completion of the survey but are included here because analysis of them helped establish the context for this property type. The Carleton store, located in Bashi, was erected in the 1850s and features a recessed porch under the gable front. The community of Morvin had the best collection of mid-nineteenth century, rural, commercial buildings in the county. It consisted of two gable front stores dating from the 1850s and 1860s and an 1860s front gabled coffin shop. The 1850s country store and the coffin shop were destroyed by fire. Campbell has two c.1870 examples of gable front stores.

The front gabled commercial form was the dominate rural store form in Clarke County and was built from at least the mid-nineteenth century well into the twentieth century. Along with a cotton gin, a small church, and a few residences, the rural store comprised the small crossroads villages in Clarke County. It not only served as a commercial establishment but as a local gathering and meeting place. Thus, despite their modest architecture, these small, frame stores were prominent landmarks in their communities.

There is an example of the front gabled rural store remaining in almost every crossroads community in Clarke County. However, most are abandoned and in deteriorated condition. Examples of the rural front gabled store were documented in all sections of the county, including: Bashi, Holtamville, Tallahatta Springs, Glover, West Bend, Fulton vicinity, Clarkesville vicinity Chance, Whatley, Allen, Suggesville, Gosport, Walker Springs, Barlow Bend, and Carlton.

Significance: The buildings that compose this property type may be significant under National Register Criterion A for representing the commercial development of Clarke County's towns and rural communities during the period of significance. The county's commercial buildings may also be significant under Criterion B for their associations with persons of importance in the county's or a local community's history. The commercial buildings of Clarke County may also derive significance under National Register Criterion C for their construction and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of construction.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, a commercial property in Clarke County should

retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship, as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been constructed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the commercial history of the county.

Of course, properties remaining on their original sites retain more integrity of association and location than those that have been moved. However, in certain special cases, moved properties may still retain enough integrity of association and location to be listed in the National Register. A building removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is primarily significant for architectural value or if it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. A moved property significant under Criteria A or B must be the single surviving property that is most closely associated with an event or with an important aspect of a historic person's life. A moved property significant under Criterion C must retain enough historic features to convey its architectural values. However, if a building's design values or historical associations are directly dependent on its location, then any move will cause the property to lose its integrity of association and location.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic commercial property and must not have been subject to significant design changes. Nonhistoric additions and alterations should be reviewed carefully to determine whether they have compromised historic integrity. Altered storefronts, however, which are very common on commercial buildings, would not necessarily disqualify a building from National Register listing. In other respects, the resource must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic commercial property. Original materials should be intact to a considerable extent, and instances of local craftsmanship and significant workmanship should not be obscured. Properties primarily significant for their architectural characteristics may be held to a higher standard of integrity than those properties primarily significant for historic associations. Likewise, properties that are individually eligible may be held to a higher standard of integrity than contributing properties in a historic district. Contributing properties must meet the standards outlined above, but to a lesser degree. Through the integrity of their design, materials and workmanship, contributing properties must retain enough of their original exterior appearance to contribute to the historic character of the district. In all cases, however, properties must adequately represent the periods of time during which they achieved significance.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, a commercial property in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of a commercial property from the period of significance. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance. With the possible exception of some of the country stores, commercial properties will usually be found in historic districts and must contribute to the historic character of those districts.

3. INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

Description: Clarke County contains several industrial buildings, complexes or sites which are generally either timber or agriculture based. Other industries, though, are extractive in nature. The three earliest industrial sites are the upper, central and lower salt works which were discovered by a Scotchman in the early 1800s. He opened the lower salt works in 1809. All three salt works saw their greatest activity during the Civil War period. Remains of some

of the ovens used at the works are still extant and there may also be archaeological remains. At Oven Bluff in the Sunflower Bend on the Tombigbee River a shipyard was set up during the Civil War. It was supported by the steam sawmill, steam gristmill and blacksmith shop across the river at McIntosh Bluff (Schell Sp96:6 & Sp96:7). The shipyard itself was a sloping, cleared bank with an open area above high water where the timber framing for ships could be constructed and launched. Archaeological remains of the shipyard may exist at Oven Bluff. The ochre beds that lie between Grove Hill and Jackson were an extractive industry. They were mined from around the late 1880s until at least the 1920s. Further field research may also reveal that these ochre beds are a potential archaeological site. Another extractive industry were the county's two limestone quarries, one at Gainestown and the other at Salt Creek near Rockville. With the coming of the railroad to Clarke County in the late 1880s, large timber mills moved into the county. An intact lumber mill complex dating from the early twentieth century remains at Jackson (Zimmerman Manufacturing Company). The Vanity Fair Mill is an historic textile mill, constructed in the late 1930s in Jackson, that is still in operation. Industrial development of various types continued throughout the rest of the period of significance and was concentrated around Jackson.

An industrial structure that must have been ubiquitous upon the Clarke County landscape throughout most of the period of significance was the cotton gin. Together with a country store, a church and a few residences, the cotton gin often formed a crossroads community. An extant cotton gin near Thomasville's downtown was constructed out of metal in the early twentieth century. It symbolizes cotton's continued importance to the county's economy even as agricultural diversification and industrialization occurred. Furthermore, the cotton gin is evidence of how local industrial needs (in this case, the ginning of cotton) existed and were met both in the period prior to heavy industrial development and during it.

Another significant group of industrial resources in Clarke County is its warehouses. Those identified in this survey are all located in Thomasville. All of the warehouses are one to one-and-one-half stories with gable roofs and of utilitarian design. Their wall treatments consist of either brick, corrugated metal or a combination of both. They date from the late 1880s up through the late 1940s. These construction dates and the warehouses' locations near the tracks show that the coming of the railroad produced the need for storage facilities in Thomasville, a major shipping point on the line.

Other industrial resources include the textile mill and the sawmill in Jackson. The textile mill, known as Vanity Fair Mill, is comprised of one brick building with several additions. It is designed in the Art Moderne style, probably the only example of the style in the county. The sawmill, known as the Zimmerman Manufacturing Company, is still in operation but its only extant historic resources are an early twentieth century lumber shed and a c. 1915 cone shaped, metal boiler. All of these resources illustrate the importance of agriculture and forests to the industrial development of Clarke County. The timber industry was probably the largest industry in the county. The Vanity Fair Mill was described by the county newspaper as a "major industry" in the county (CCD 6/29/1939).

Significance: Clarke County's extant historic industrial buildings, complexes or sites are significant under National Register Criterion A for historic associations with the industrial development of the county. The county's industrial properties may also be significant under Criterion B for their associations with persons of importance in the county's or a local community's history. They may also be significant under National Register Criterion C for construction and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of construction.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, an industrial property in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship, as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been constructed in Clarke County during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the industrial history of the county.

Of course, properties remaining on their original sites retain more integrity of association and location than those that have been moved. However, in certain special cases, moved properties may still retain enough integrity of association and location to be listed in the National Register. A building removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is primarily significant for architectural value or if it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. A moved property significant under Criteria A or B must be the single surviving property that is most closely associated with an event or with an important aspect of a historic person's life. A moved property significant under Criterion C must retain enough historic features to convey its architectural values. However, if a building's design values or historical associations are directly dependent on its location, then any move will cause the property to lose its integrity of association and location.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic industrial property. Nonhistoric additions and alterations should be reviewed carefully to determine whether they have compromised historic integrity. Original materials should be intact to a considerable extent, and instances of local craftsmanship and significant workmanship should not be obscured. Properties primarily significant for their architectural characteristics may be held to a higher standard of integrity than those properties primarily significant for historic associations. Likewise, properties that are individually eligible may be held to a higher standard of integrity than contributing properties in a historic district. Contributing properties must meet the standards outlined above, but to a lesser degree. Through the integrity of their design, materials and workmanship, contributing properties must retain enough of their original exterior appearance to contribute to the historic character of the district. In all cases, however, properties must adequately represent the periods of time during which they achieved significance.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, an industrial building in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of an industrial building associated with the development of the county. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance.

4. AGRICULTURAL BUILDINGS

Description: Most of the historic, agricultural resources identified in the windshield survey are primitive outbuildings of frame or log construction. The extant ones appear to have been smokehouses, corn cribs, servants' quarters, barns or sheds. Undoubtedly, there are others that served different functions. Generally, they are eight to ten feet in width, ten to twelve feet in depth and about eight feet tall, although the smokehouses may be smaller. They tend to have gable roofs clad in either wood shingles or tin. Very few barns were identified in the survey, despite the fact that livestock held a prominent role in the county's rural economy. Mild winters in Clarke County combined with the open range method of livestock raising gave little reason to build large barns.

Historically, such resources were found throughout the county, both in the rural areas and in the small villages. In the small villages, the distinctions between town life and country life became blurred. The residents had large yards which may have contained sheds. In the country, agricultural outbuildings along with their farmhouses formed the

nuclei of many small farm complexes.

Significance: The buildings that comprise this property type may be significant under National Register Criterion A for representing the agricultural development of Clarke County's countryside and rural communities. The county's agricultural buildings may also be significant under Criterion B for their associations with persons of importance in the county's or a local community's history. The agricultural buildings of Clarke County may also derive significance under National Register Criterion C for their construction and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of construction.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, an agricultural property in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship, as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been constructed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the agricultural history of the county.

Of course, properties remaining on their original sites retain more integrity of association and location than those that have been moved. However, in certain special cases, moved properties may still retain enough integrity of association and location to be listed in the National Register. A building removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is primarily significant for architectural value or if it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. A moved property significant under Criteria A or B must be the single surviving property that is most closely associated with an event or with an important aspect of a historic person's life. A moved property significant under Criterion C must retain enough historic features to convey its architectural values. However, if a building's design values or historical associations are directly dependent on its location, then any move will cause the property to lose its integrity of association and location.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic agricultural property and must not have been subject to significant design changes. Nonhistoric additions and alterations should be reviewed carefully to determine whether they have compromised historic integrity. In other respects, the resource must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic agricultural property. Original materials should be intact to a considerable extent, and instances of local craftsmanship and significant workmanship should not be obscured. Properties primarily significant for their architectural characteristics may be held to a higher standard of integrity than those properties primarily significant for historic associations. Likewise, properties that are individually eligible may be held to a higher standard of integrity than contributing properties in a historic district. Contributing properties must meet the standards outlined above, but to a lesser degree. Through the integrity of their design, materials and workmanship, contributing properties must retain enough of their original exterior appearance to contribute to the historic character of the district. In all cases, however, properties must adequately represent the periods of time during which they achieved significance.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, an agricultural property in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of an agricultural property from the period of significance. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance. If located in historic districts, the agricultural buildings must contribute to the historic character of those districts.

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5. COMMUNITY BUILDINGS

Description: Some of the historic properties in Clarke County do not fall into either residential, commercial or industrial categories and possess enough significance in the county's or a local community's history to be considered community buildings. These properties are usually prominent visual landmarks in the community and also reflect a "coming of age" for the towns in which they are located. This property type indicates that the citizens of a community have met basic needs like shelter and gone on to develop institutions that enhance the quality of life in their town. Community building subtypes include [a] governmental buildings, such as the county courthouse in Grove Hill and Salitpa's post office; [b] educational buildings like the schools that were identified in various communities throughout the county; [c] religious buildings like churches of which several typologies were identified; [d] civic buildings such as fraternal lodges; and [e] transportation buildings such as the hotel in Whatley.

There were almost no governmental buildings identified in the Clarke County survey because most are of modern construction and do not meet the age criteria. One notable exception is Salitpa's post office. It is located on Alabama Highway 69, the main route through this village which essentially lines the highway. This modest, gable front building with its hip roofed front porch is a landmark in Salitpa, easily visible to anyone driving through town, which befits its status as a governmental building subtype. The c. 1900 building illustrates how Salitpa and its surrounding area had grown enough in terms of population by the late nineteenth century to warrant a post office. The courthouse in Grove Hill delineates one edge of the courthouse square and is a visually prominent, though noncontributing, component of the Grove Hill Historic District. The central block of the courthouse was built in 1955, the south wing in 1941 (once known as the Activities Building) and the north wing in 1911 as an annex to the 1899 courthouse. Both the wings were renovated to match the 1955 courthouse (Chris Beverly ltr 8/28/1997).

Once a community in Clarke County had achieved some stability, a church was one of the first buildings it erected. The first church reportedly built in Clarke County was the Bassett's Creek Baptist Church near Walker Springs erected in 1810. Another early church building was French Chapel constructed in 1819 in the Barlow Bend vicinity. Both of these churches were gone long before the Clarke County survey was undertaken.

The church building often served not only as the spiritual center of a town, but also its social center. Most every community regardless of size had at least one church building. The community church would often house both Methodist and Baptist denominations until a second church could be constructed nearby. Typically, the enslaved African American population would attend the community church. Immediately after the Civil War, however, the African American community began to erect its own churches.

Church architecture followed a development pattern similar to residential architecture. The early church buildings were constructed in familiar vemacular folk forms that were repeated for generations. As time progressed, the basic rural church form may have been slightly modified or embellished with popular architectural elements depending on the tastes of the congregation. But the rural church in Clarke County typically remained conservative and simple throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The churches located in the larger communities, however, tended to be more ornate and designed in the most popular architectural styles. The survey has revealed several basic architectural forms associated with church architecture in Clarke County.

The most basic church form identified is a simple framed, one story, rectangular shaped building with a front gabled roof. The main front entrance door is either a single or double leafed door centrally located on the short end of the rectangle under the gabled roof. Both side elevations of the elongated building featured a row of slender sash

windows. The building is typically austere with only the most modest embellishments such as return cornice in the gable. The interior of the building was a large open assembly hall often with a second floor gallery. The building was simply furnished with two rows of pews separated by a central aisle, and a pulpit at the far end of the church. The interior furnishing often changed according to church doctrine and popular style.

The front gabled form was the most numerous church form documented in Clarke County and was popular from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. The oldest example of the form is probably the Airmont Presbyterian Church in Atkeison which was built prior to 1865. The Ulcanush Baptist Church in Coffeeville, constructed in 1855, is another antebellum example. But this simple church was extensively altered in the 1950s and again in the 1970s, almost beyond recognition. Another intact, mid-nineteenth century, front gabled church is the Union Methodist Church near Grove Hill. This church building has been moved twice in its history. Late nineteenth century examples of the form include the Bethel Methodist Church in the Whatley vicinity and the Giviland CME Church in Bashi. The form continued unchanged into the twentieth century but the pitch of the gable may be broader in the modern form than in the early examples.

A mid to late nineteenth century variation of the simple front gable form includes the introduction of a small steeple located on the ridge of the front gable flush with the front facade. The steeple could be purely decorative or contain a bell to call the congregation to service. Excellent examples of the steeple front form includes the c.1911 Gainestown Methodist Church and the Cane Creek Methodist Church in Chance. A slight variation of this form places the steeple not in the center of the gable but to one side on the slope of the roof. Examples of this form includes the Shady Grove Baptist Church in Atkeison and Wicks Chapel in the Campbell vicinity.

Another church form identified in Clarke County introduces a tower to the basic church form which was a popular design element associated with several architectural styles. A tall, square tower is added to the front facade of the basic front gabled form. Unlike a steeple which rises from the roof, a tower is a structure that rests on the ground and rises alongside the church. The tower could be located either in front of the gable front or project out from the corner of the main body of the church. The one example of the center tower in Clarke County is the elaborate 1887 Bashi Methodist Church. The front tower topped with a pyramidal roof and the fanlight above the front entrance are characteristics often associated with Classical Revival church architecture.
Examples with a side tower evoke images of the Gothic Revival style popular for church architecture from the mid-nineteenth century until the early twentieth century. A fine example of the side tower form was the First Presbyterian Church in Jackson which burned down in 1996. This church also had a side cross gable roof which is another form often associated with Gothic Revival church architecture. Another example of the side tower form with more restrained Gothic Revival elements is the Gosport Methodist Church. An unadorned example of the form is the Fellowship Baptist Church in Chance.

A variation of the front tower church form is a double tower form which places a tower on both front corners. The tower may be flat or topped with a steeple or bell tower. The twin tower form is invoked in several turn-of-the-century churches in Clarke County. Two fine examples of the form include the Salitpa Methodist Church and the almost identical Methodist Church in Campbell. The twin tower form is often associated with the design of many late nineteenth and early twentieth century African-American churches in Alabama; most notably the 1908 Brown Chapel in Selma and the 1911 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. The form is repeated in several African-American churches in Clarke County, including Mt. Gilead and Mt. Nebo Churches in Carlton.

A characteristic often associated with many of the rural African-American churches in Clarke County is an inset

loggia entrance porch. The front entrance of many church buildings, regardless of form, is deeply recessed into the main body of the church, creating a small protective porch. This inset porch is apparent in the Elam Church in Tallahatta Springs and the Mt. Nebo Church in Carlton.

The final church form identified in Clarke County is the temple front form which is associated with the early twentieth century Classical Revival style of architecture. The First Methodist Church in Jackson is the only identified example of the temple front form in Clarke County. The church features a raised first story so that a set of stairs ascends to a pedimented front gable with a recessed entrance porch supported by classical columns.

The evolution of school house architecture in the United States occurred in specific phases that are readily identifiable. The earliest schools were usually located in vernacular buildings that had often been built for other purposes. According to local tradition, this was the case with a school for black children that was held in the Buxtion Masonic Lodge in Morvin around the turn of the century. Otherwise, of the school buildings recorded by the Clarke County survey, none were identified as being schools for African-American children. Occasionally, buildings were constructed exclusively as school houses. In any case, all of these schools were the same as the log cabins and frame buildings of the time. Beginning in the early 1830s, nationally known educators like Horace Mann and Henry Bamard expounded on the advantages of well-planned schoolhouse architecture. Their ideas were disseminated nationwide through pattern books and other publications. Just before the Civil War and even more so after, several states became interested in good schoolhouse design. Additionally, for-profit publications and authors joined educators in publishing pattern books. New and better schoolhouse architecture was being built throughout the country in the late nineteenth century. From the early twentieth century up into the 1930s, state commissioned pattern books were generally used for both the rural, ungraded schools and the new consolidated, graded schools. As consolidation grew, the rural schoolhouse became obsolete along with schoolhouse pattern books. Local architects and engineers now designed school buildings (Slater 1987:15-16).

In Clarke County, once an area began to thrive economically, one of the first social amenities erected was a private academy to educate the local children. The Coffeeville Academy was established as early as 1832. By 1836 the community of Suggesville was promoted as a center of learning with both male and female academies. Gainestown had a private academy called the Lambard School as early as 1840. The West Bend Academy remained in operation from 1859 through the 1890s. Clarkesville had an academy in the 1850s that served the neighboring plantations. None of the private academies survive.

Education for the general public was not a high priority in Alabama until the end of the nineteenth century. Clarke County did not have the funds to provide public education until the 1880s. Then it was usually incumbent upon the community to provide a building to house the public school. Often the first public schools were located in local churches or lodges.

In the nineteenth century, the most common type of rural school was a utilitarian form similar to the churches and lodges being built at the time. The late nineteenth century school form is a small one story frame, rectangular-shaped building with a front gabled roof. There is a single entrance on the gabled front and a row of windows on each side elevation. The interior features a large open room that serves as the classroom. Some of the earliest documented public school buildings in Clarke County resemble these in form, but they have large gabled wings. The Gainestown School, for example, erected in 1919, is a T-shaped building.

Concurrently, other one story, frame schools were being constructed in the county that differed even more from the

national pattern for rural schools. Unfortunately, most of these are now gone. In Carlton, however, there is a hip roofed school that was constructed in 1919. It features an entry porch at either end of its front facade which is one of the long elevations. Between these front porches is a bank of windows.

The school building form drastically changed around 1920 to reflect the educational reforms of the Progressive era. Reforms in the general educational system at this time included the standardization of school designs. Schools were being designed in a T, H or rectilinear-shaped plan. Others were U-shaped. These designs allowed for more natural light in the classrooms, better traffic circulation between rooms and greater safety in case of fire because of multiple entrances. Progressive era reformers also had specific ideas on site orientation, classroom dimensions, construction materials, lighting, heating and ventilation, rest rooms, furniture arrangement, playgrounds, gymnasiums, laboratories and assembly rooms (Binkley:5-7).

The school building no longer resembled a utilitarian gabled front church but became elongated with a side gabled or low pitch hipped roof. The front facades of these Progressive era schools were often visually divided into three components: an elongated central pavilion with wings at each end set perpendicular to it. There are several examples of these "Progressive" schools in Clarke County. The West Bend School was constructed in the 1920s and features a small classical pedimented entrance porch and a "U" shaped plan. The Morvin School is a late example of the form erected in 1934. The school has an "H" shaped plan and features a simple gabled entrance porch. The Coffeeville High School and the Thomasville School are larger and more elaborate versions featuring a gabled front central block with low classroom wings extending to each side. The Coffeeville school features subtle classical details such as the centrally located pedimented arched loggia. The Jackson High School was similar in design to Coffeeville's, but burned c. 1980.

The subtype of civic buildings consists of four rural lodges. The lodges, all of frame construction, have no pretensions of style. The construction of these buildings indicated a certain "coming of age" for their respective communities.

The lodges are located in Morvin (constructed c. 1890), Winn (constructed c. 1920), Coffeeville (constructed 1905 & 1909) and Gosport (constructed between 1866-1885). They have no decorative trim or detail and are typically two stories with just one room on each floor. The upper room served the Masonic lodge and the lower room was for community use. The Buxtion Masonic Lodge in Morvin and the Coffeeville Masonic Lodge have gable roofs and the other lodges have hip roofs. The first two lodges are associated with Clarke County's African-American community. In Coffeeville, the first story was built in 1905 for use as a Baptist church and the second story was added in 1909 for the Masons. All of the lodges were built in small rural communities after the Civil War. They illustrate how people--whether black or white--came together to socialize and build a sense of community.

The final category of properties under community buildings relate to transportation. The hotel in Whatley articulates this theme in the county's history. Whatley was established as a railroad town, but with the loss of its depot, the Whatley Hotel is one of the few buildings left that demonstrates the railroad's importance to the town. It symbolizes how improved transportation networks opened up the county and contributed to Clarke's economic development. The hotel is a two story, frame building crowned by a hip roof. Its two-tier porch wraps around the front and one of the side elevations. The porch features balustrades and turned posts with corner brackets.

Significance: The properties that compose this property type are significant in a variety of ways, with each measure of significance being unique to that particular property. For example, these properties may signify landmark

developments (such as the establishment of the post office in Salitpa) or have associations with continuing historic themes (such as transportation, as exemplified by the hotel in Whatley). A property may be significant under National Register Criterion A for historic associations with the development of the county. The county's community landmarks may also be significant under Criterion B for their associations with persons of importance in the county's or a local community's history. They may also be significant under National Register Criterion C for construction and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of construction.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, a community building in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been constructed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the developmental history of Clarke County.

Of course, properties remaining on their original sites retain more integrity of association and location than those that have been moved. However, in certain special cases, moved properties may still retain enough integrity of association and location to be listed in the National Register. A building removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is primarily significant for architectural value or if it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. A moved property significant under Criteria A or B must be the single surviving property that is most closely associated with an event or with an important aspect of a historic person's life. A moved property significant under Criterion C must retain enough historic features to convey its architectural values. However, if a building's design values or historical associations are directly dependent on its location, then any move will cause the property to lose its integrity of association and location.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a community landmark building and must not have been subject to significant design changes. Nonhistoric additions and alterations should be reviewed carefully to determine whether they have compromised historic integrity. Original materials should be intact to a considerable extent, and instances of local craftsmanship and significant workmanship should not be obscured. Properties primarily significant for their architectural characteristics may be held to a higher standard of integrity than those properties primarily significant for historic associations. Likewise, properties that are individually eligible may be held to a higher standard of integrity than contributing properties in a historic district. Contributing properties must meet the standards outlined above, but to a lesser degree. Through the integrity of their design, materials and workmanship, contributing properties must retain enough of their original exterior appearance to contribute to the historic character of the district. In all cases, however, properties must adequately represent the periods of time during which they achieved significance.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, a community landmark building in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of a community landmark building associated with the developmental history of Clarke County. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance.

6. CEMETERIES/GRAVES

Description: Several cemeteries dating from the period of significance were identified in the Clarke County survey. In the future, additional field research may determine the specific locations and eligibility status of other cemeteries and individual graves. The majority of cemeteries identified are associated with churches. These include the Airmount Cemetery in Atkeison, the Spinks Cemetery in the Grove Hill vicinity, the Suggsville Methodist Church Cemetery and the Mount Gilead Church Cemetery and the Mount Nebo Church Cemetery, both located in Carlton. The latter two are African-American cemeteries. Three cemeteries are identified with Clarke County families. They are the Trotter Family Cemetery and the Turner Family Cemetery in West Bend and the Darrington-James Cemetery in Choctaw Bluff. The final cemetery is associated with Fort Madison. This fort was constructed during the Creek War and is no longer extant.

Of those that have been identified to date, none feature formal landscaping. All are informal in design and some are not well maintained. At least two, the Suggsville Methodist Church Cemetery and the Turner Family Cemetery are, however, surrounded by an iron fence. The most unusual grave markers can be found in the Mount Nebo Cemetery. Three of these markers are made of concrete and feature death masks, presumably of the individuals whose graves they mark. They are attributed to Ike Nettles, a local black man who created them between 1933 and 1946. He is believed to be buried in an unmarked grave in this cemetery. The markers have not weathered well and only one (the most ornate one which displays three masks) is in relatively good condition. The Airmount Cemetery has a brick grave shelter dating from 1853 that protects six graves instead of the usual one. The other cemeteries feature markers ranging from elaborate tombstones like those found in the Darrington-James Cemetery to a tall, marble obelisk in the Trotter Family Cemetery to simple stone markers. Many of these markers have been vandalized and broken over the years.

Significance: Clarke County's cemeteries are significant under National Register Criterion A for historic associations with the development of the county. For example, the Darrington-James Cemetery may be eligible under this criterion with the area of significance being exploration/settlement if it is all that remains of the plantations of the original settlers of Choctaw Bluff. Most of those settlers are buried in this cemetery. Cemeteries or, more likely, a single grave may also be significant under Criterion B for their association with an historical figure of outstanding importance. In this case, it cannot simply be the grave of a person significant in our past. It must be the grave of a person who was of outstanding importance in the history of the local area, state or nation. The grave of a person who was one of several people active in some aspect of the history of a community, a state or the nation would not be eligible. Additionally, when a geographical area that is strongly associated with a person of outstanding importance has lost all other properties directly associated with his or her formative years or productive life, a grave may be eligible. Cemeteries may also be significant under National Register Criterion C for their historic landscapes and design qualities that express characteristics of particular types and/or periods of cemetery design. Cemeteries may also be significant under National Register Criterion D if they have the potential to yield information that is important to the understanding of the county's history.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, a cemetery in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been developed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the historical development of the county.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic cemetery and must not have been subject to significant design changes.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather subjective but will generally be met if the more fundamental areas of integrity (design, materials, workmanship) are substantially intact. In order to qualify for National Register listing, a cemetery in Clarke County must be situated in such a manner as to convey the feeling of a cemetery associated with the historic development of the county. The setting must retain the most essential qualities of the historic period during which the property achieved significance.

7. FORT SITES

Description: Three fort sites were identified in the Clarke County survey. Forts Sinquefield and Madison are associated with the Creek War of 1813-1814 and Fort Stonewall with the Civil War. The site of Clarke County's second Civil War fort, Ft. Sidney Johnston at Oven Bluff on the Tombigbee, was not identified in this survey. Fort Sinquefield was listed on the National Register in 1974. The Creek War forts are archaeological sites and have no above ground remains. Fort Stonewall still has its earthen breastworks where the cannons were placed and hollowed out places in the earth which held the powder magazines. For historical descriptions of these and other Clarke County forts, refer to Section E. In the future, archaeological research may determine the specific locations and eligibility of additional fort sites. There may be at least twenty Creek War fort sites in Clarke County and earthworks also remain from Fort Sidney Johnston.

Significance: Clarke County's fort sites, if eligible for the National Register, would be nominated as historical archaeological sites. They may be significant under National Register Criterion A for their historic associations with the development of the county. They may be significant under National Register Criterion C if they meet at least one of the following requirements: they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction; they represent the work of a master; possess high artistic value; or, they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. The fort sites, if nominated under Criterion C, should be significant as representatives of the human expression of culture or technology. These sites may also be eligible under National Register Criterion D if they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information that is important to understanding Clarke County's history.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for National Register listing, a fort site in Clarke County should retain integrity of association, design, feeling, location, materials, setting and workmanship as defined below.

Association and Location: The property must have been developed in Clarke County at some time during the period of significance and have a demonstrated association with the historical development of the county. Historical archaeological sites and districts almost always have integrity of location. Integrity of location is closely linked to integrity of association.

Design, Materials and Workmanship: The property must retain the most essential components and details identifying it as a historic site and must not have been subject to significant design changes. For a historical archaeological site, integrity of design generally refers to the patterning of structures, buildings or discreet activity areas relative to one another. Recognizability of a property, or the ability of a property to convey its significance, depends largely upon the degree to which the design of the property is intact.

Feeling and Setting: These registration requirements are rather different for fort sites which are historical archaeological sites. A property has integrity of feeling if it features in combination with its setting a historic sense

of the property during its period of significance. Integrity of feeling enhances a property's ability to convey its significance under all of the criteria. Setting includes elements such as topographic features, open space, views, landscapes, vegetation, man-made features (e.g., paths, fences) and relationships between buildings and other features. Historical archaeological sites may be nominated under Criterion D without integrity of setting if they have important information potential. If, however, the site's historical setting is intact, then the ability of the site to convey its significance is enhanced. If the setting conveys a historical archaeological site's significance, then the site has integrity of setting under Criterion A. In order to convey significance, the setting must appear as it did during the site's period of significance and be integral to the importance of the site.

G. Geographical Data

The County of Clarke

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This multiple property nomination for Clarke County marks a continuation of efforts to identify, document and inform the public about historic resources in Clarke County. In May 1986, with grant funding from the Department of the Interior, the Clarke County Historical Society contracted with Robert Roseberry, a recent graduate of the Savannah College of Art and Design with a degree in Historic Preservation, to undertake a field survey of the county. This work was supplemented by Mary Lou Price, the AHC survey coordinator. Ms. Price is a graduate of Auburn University with a BA in American history and experience in recording and researching historic properties in Alabama. This initial survey was supplemented by a quick windshield survey of agricultural outbuildings undertaken in the summer of 1997 by Susan Enzweiler, AHC Historian, and Trina Binkley, NR Coordinator, because these resources were generally not recorded previously. In consultation with Robert Gamble, AHC's Architectural Historian, Susan Enzweiler developed a property type analysis of these resources.

By early 1988, every road in the county had been driven and 624 properties had been recorded. The methodology consisted of taking a black and white 35mm photograph of every property over fifty years of age (1936), marking it on a USGS map and recording minimal information about the date of construction, style and/or typology, number of stories, roof type and materials. The surveyors used some discretion in recording properties that dated from the early twentieth century, were less than fifty years of age or which had major alterations. Only large, well marked cemeteries or those associated with churches were recorded. Properties deemed potentially eligible for the National Register and properties that did not meet the NR criteria for age or integrity but which could lead to a fuller understanding of the county's built environment were recorded in more depth. Color slides were taken of potentially eligible properties and representative property types. The majority of the buildings, structures, sites and objects were recorded in an inventory rather than on survey forms. Robert Gamble provided perspectives on dating, typology and style, as well as information on early houses obscured by modern additions. He reviewed the inventory, as did Survey and Registration Division supervisor Ellen Mertins and Clarke County Historical Society members Louis Findlay and Barbara Hundley.

To make this information available to the public, copies of the inventory were produced for the historical society and for each of the libraries in the county. The AHC staff and historical society volunteers created an exhibit with an accompanying pamphlet and slide show which traced the county's history through buildings. The exhibit has been used in local schools and was recently refurbished.

In late 1992, the AHC survey coordinator Steven Kay began reviewing the survey in order to facilitate designation of eligible properties for the Alabama and National Registers. At that time, none of the state's consultants were very familiar with the new multiple property format and, in fact, the AHC staff had little experience with the multi-theme, area-wide format. Consequently, it was decided that the AHC staff would prepare a multiple property nomination for Clarke County as time permitted. The local historical society was charged with developing a list of properties eligible for the Alabama Register and assisting with providing sufficient information to list them. From this list, properties evaluated as National Register eligible by the AHC staff in the summer of 1997 will be documented to National Register levels, so that they could be listed under the multiple property format as owners wished. Forty-nine properties, including six historic districts, were identified by the Clarke County Historical Society as potentially eligible for the Alabama Register. The historical society placed a high value on getting historic districts in Jackson listed on the National Register. Several AHC staffers and interns have provided research and assistance in documenting the historic resources, including Alison Torode, Mary Kay Buwalda, and Becky Kermes.

The multiple property nomination was researched and prepared by Susan Enzweiler. She consulted with a variety of people, including Dr. Greg Waselkov, Dr. Harvey H. Jackson, III, L. Louis Hyman with the Alabama Forestry Commission and Louis Finlay, Chris Beverly and Barbara Hundley (members of the Clarke County Historical Society). She also relied on various written documentation, both primary and secondary sources. The most helpful of these included an excellent, late nineteenth century history of the county by T. H. Ball and the Clarke County Democrat, a newspaper published out of Grove Hill since the 1800s. Some additional historical research by Mary Lou Price, Steven Kay and Mary Kay Buwalda was also utilized.

Susan Enzweiler divided the historic context into three sections: a chronological history of Clarke County, short histories of the prominent communities in the county and themes in the county's history like transportation networks, agriculture and industry that had an especially significant impact on its development. The broadest historic context possible, the historical develpment of Clarke County, 1811-1947, was chosen so that all the eligible resources that were identified could be nominated under this multiple property nomination. Furthermore, if additional survey work is undertaken in the future and more eligible resources are identified, they can easily be nominated under this multiple property nomination. The period of significance is 1811-1947. The beginning date was chosen because the Federal Road was opened that year, sending a flood of pioneers into southwest Alabama. The ending date corresponds with the fifty year age criteria.

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