DIFFERENT CHILDREN OF THE NEW SOUTH:

THE COMMUNITIES CREATED

IN CULLMAN COUNTY, 1872-1895

By Robert S. Davis

P. O. Box 687

Hanceville, AL 35077-0687

Office: (256) 352-8265

FAX: (256) 352-8228

E-mail: genws@hiwaay.net

An edited version of this paper is "The Old World in the New South: Entrepreneurial Ventures in the Agricultural History of Cullman, Alabama," ***Agricultural History*** 79 (Fall 2005): 439-61.

The story of the creation of Cullman County, Alabama, in 1877 includes measures of myth and reality but only the German families that gave the county its name have received special note. They did leave a distinct heritage has left complexities and in a broader context than just the vision of a single "colonizer" whose successes in settling the land has been exaggerated. It began in the years immediately after the Civil War when one third of available arable federal lands existed in the South and it became available after 1862 as free homestead grants to all citizens except members of Confederate families (until 1876). At that moment when land became a draw, new railroads opened areas like Cullman to immigrants who had heretofore arrived in the major cities and ports of the North. The Panic of 1873, an economic depression, encouraged migration by native and immigrant families to seek new beginnings while the recovery that began by 1878 unleashed previously pent up investment capital to finance wholesale community migration to the South.[1]

Alabama had a long experience with such native and ethnic settlement that includes the Creole settlement at Mon Louis Island (1710) and the "Olive and Vine" settlement of French Napoleonic refuges in Marengo County (1817) as well as commercial projects that created Anniston (1870s) and Florence (1818). What became Cullman County had a history of such projects. The area's first entrepreneurial settlement, the town of Baltimore, started in 1820 as a timber, cotton, coal, and keelboat building scheme. A shallow ford and, possibly, a bridge, made it a stop on a major route across north

Alabama to Decatur and the Tennessee River. It had churches, stores, a stockade for defense, and, reportedly, as many as 400 people. William Dunn, John Fowler, and Jonas Lyles, the town's proprietors, promoted its economic potential as the highest point of navigation on Alabama's central river system and, with it, water transportation to Mobile and the Gulf. William Jones made a keelboat trip from Baltimore to Tuscaloosa likely as a test in a vessel built by Elijah Cunningham in 1820 to bring down staves and return with salt. The rapids almost made the return trip impossible. Reportedly, two yellow fever epidemics and inadequate seasonal water levels end Baltimore within a few years, leaving little more to the present time than a cemetery.[2] Transportation northward then largely passed along the Bear Meat Cabin Road several miles to the east.

The rise and fall of this first settlement scheme provides examples of the kinds of myths that typically surround such schemes, in Cullman and elsewhere. Baltimore's settlers, for example, allegedly came from Baltimore, Maryland, and, after their town failed, the legend goes, they moved to Elyton, in nearby Jefferson County, where they later helped to found the city of Birmingham. Although little information survives on the inhabitants of the town, nothing beyond the name suggests any connection to Maryland. That the proprietors and adjoining land owner Manly Files filed for federal land from Blount and Jefferson counties suggests that they more likely came from the Elyton area, the then county seat of Jefferson County and just previously the seat of Blount County, rather than moved there. Their names do not appear in any histories of early Birmingham.[3]

The nearby town of L'Orient represented took a different course to the same end. Dr. Francis Louis Constantine had come to America from France as part of the previously mentioned Olive and Vine Colony. His father Dominique had been one of Napoleon's officers. A wealthy Greene County merchant and land speculator, Francis owned property in Blount County by 1867. Five years later, while one of the first residents of the new city of Birmingham, he founded L'Orient, named for his birthplace, as a town adjoining the hotel and eight sulphur springs of Blount Springs, some forty miles south of the future city of Cullman. Likely Constantine drew his inspiration from Dr. Herdon Beverly Robinson, formerly of Greene County and Birmingham, who opened a hospital at Blount Springs, what today would be termed as a rehabilitation center or a hospice. Like Baltimore, L'Orient hardly lasted, even as a name, beyond its sale of town lots although Constantine's heirs still owned land there as late as 1923. The adjoining Blount Springs town, however, prospered as a national resort with seven hotels, a spa, and Alabama's only legal casino that drew thousands of visitors each summer into the Twentieth Century. Now, long after the popularity of sulphur springs ended, Blount Springs exists now as hardly more than a name.[4]

Post-Civil War Alabama did need an infusion of people and money. It had suffered the years of Confederate impressments of property and a federal blockade that caused widespread devastation of the southern economy. More than one third of Alabama's men of military age in 1860 had died by 1865. Soil exhaustion from lack of access to fertilizers and the immediate post war drought reportedly caused even more men to leave the state for new opportunities in Texas in 1869 and 1873-1874 than died in the war.[5]

The prospects for immigration to north Alabama seemed particularly bright in the late 1870s, however. Military occupation and Reconstruction, with its violent social instability, had ended in Alabama. Construction of the South & North Alabama Railroad (S&N) began in 1859 and continued haphazardly during the war, neared completion by then. It promised, in 1872, to link the iron and steel center created as Birmingham to the Tennessee River Valley at Decatur, Alabama, and beyond through such lines as the Louisville & Nashville (L&N) Railroad. An amendment to the Illinois Central Grant of 1850 had given the S&N an almost unlimited claim to 2,747,479 acres (8.3% of Alabama) for a route to the Gulf of Mexico.[6] Critics, however, denounced this land as too barren to sustain even a crow, however. That year, John T. Milner, James W. Sloss, and others tied to the creation of Birmingham and to the S&N convinced German born Albert Fink, president of the L&N, and his board, after a meeting which all became heavily inebriated, to take over the debts of and to finish their railroad. This acquisition would eventually expand the L&N's tracks from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico but the board and officers of this railroad had intended to risk nothing more than to offer transportation between Louisville, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee. The L&N now inadvertently became the owner of vast acreage of reportedly unwanted federal lands in Alabama.[7]

The above John Turner Milner, civil engineer for Alabama, Florida, and Georgia railroads, would play a major role in the settlement of these railroad lands. This greatest of Alabama entrepreneurs and promoters laid out the route of the railroad from Montgomery to Decatur, through largely undeveloped lands to the west of the traditional and well settled Bear Meat Cabin Road that passed through Blountsville, Ditto's Landing, and Huntsville. In that process, he established the whistle stops of Gilmer, Milner, and Holmes Gap/Summit Depot, now respectively, Cullman County's municipalities of Hanceville, Cullman, and South Vinemont.[8]

Milner serves as an example of reality obscured by legends of larger than life characters. Born on September 29, 1826 in Pike County, Georgia, as a teenager he had managed gold mines in Dahlonega and the building of a railroad for his wealthy entrepreneur father. After three years as a student at the University of Georgia, John worked as a civil engineer on the Macon & Western Railroad and the Muscogee Railroad in Georgia, as well as later in the California gold fields. Beginning in the 1850s, he made promoting Alabama his life's work. In 1860, Milner compiled a complex statistical treatise that depicted his adopted home, due to slavery, as the seventh wealthiest state in the nation and more productive than all of the non-slave states except California, Illinois, and Iowa in farm production even though, he argued, most of Alabama still awaited development. It could benefit all new and old "white" (Milner's word) residents. During the Civil War, he opened iron and coal mining in Jones Valley, on the future site of Birmingham, his "Magic City" that became one of his post war goals.[9]

The settlement of north central Alabama, however, needed more than Milner's efforts. At that moment, Johann "John" Gottfried Cullmann stepped forward with a solution to the railroad's land sales dilemma. Born in Frankweiler, Canton Landau,

Rheinpfalz, Bavaria on July 2, 1823, to a family of schoolteachers, he owned an export business. Cullmann would claim to be a leader among the intellectuals in the famous Bavarian revolt against Prussia in 1848 and that he had held the rank of colonel for one day. Following a business failure in Denmark during the Prussian War of 1864, he left his wife and four children to escape debtor's prison. Cullmann arrived in America clandestinely in 1865. He worked in Philadelphia and New York before settling in Cincinnati, where he worked as a clerk in a bookstore and as a lawyer for two years.[10]

Cullmann's area of Europe had, for decades, worked at merging into what would become the German Empire. This manifestation came from more than Prussian conquests. Germanic peoples moved into and within the new and growing political entity as "colonists" set upon transforming areas of central European wilderness and waste lands into carefully crafted, economically viable and even aesthetically pleasing settlements.[11] After visiting various German colonies across the United States, he worked for two years at the possibilities of starting his own colony in Florence, Alabama. In 1871, he tried to start a land venture in Tuscumbia. Everywhere this German emigrant from Cincinnati went, however, he met opposition in post Confederate Alabama and nativist America.

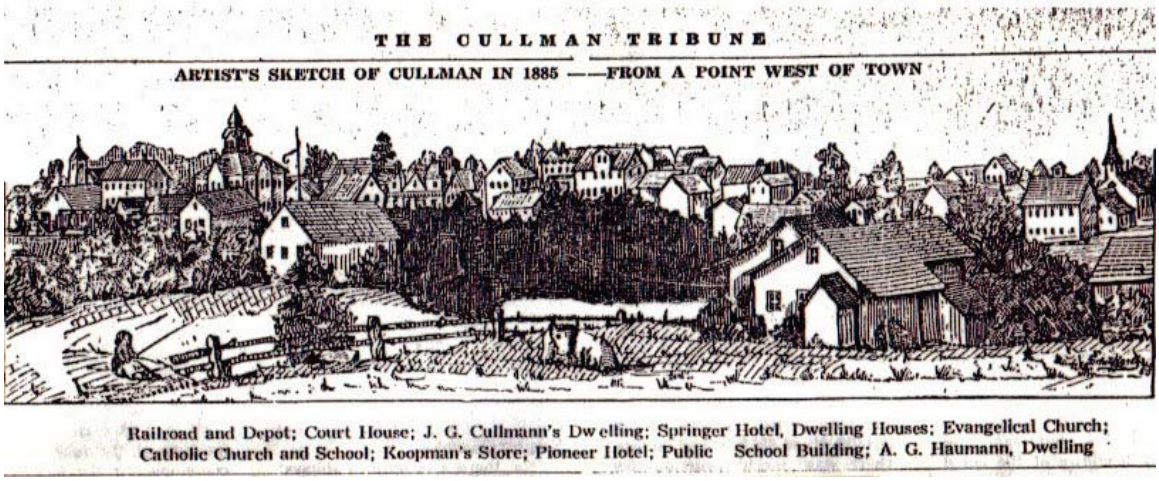
John Cullmann finally found success in north central Alabama. The wine at the L&N used to change votes on its board came from Cullmann. He and its president Fink visited Milner station at Brindlee Mountain, two miles north of the future site of the city of Cullman, in 1872. The S&N Railroad president Francis Meriwether Gilmer, Jr., through the railroad's land agent John Milner, gave Cullmann the right to act as the railroad's land agent. He continued in that position when the S&N lands formally passed to the L&N in 1874 and, on December 20, 1885, he organized the North Alabama Land Company with a capital of $2,500,000. Through his companies, he eventually controlled 160,000 acres and 1,000 town lots just in Cullman County alone. In 1886, however, the railroad lands passed to the North Alabama Land and Immigration Company, which Cullmann had established with an initial capital of $150,000, and to a New York and Montgomery (Ala.) land syndicate headed by Moses Brothers of Montgomery. The NALIC held 500,000 acres of the railroad's lands between Decatur and Montgomery before dissolving to pay its debts, just before Cullmann's death in 1895.[12] A large part of the company's assets eventually went to the partnership of Emanuel Lehman of Lehman Brothers, founded in Montgomery but by then removed to New York and Ignatius Pollak of Montgomery. The latter had been a major investor in the NALIC. A Hungarian Jew, he moved to the city of Cullman and built Borkenau, one of the most impressive mansions in Alabama. This half owner and sometimes president of the Cullman Property Company would spend more years involved in the development of Cullman County (1887 to his death in 1915) than did John G. Cullmann (1872 to his death in 1895).[13]

For settlers for these lands, John G. Cullmann originally applied to the German community in Cincinnati and in the northeastern cities. He went to Germany in 1886 to open offices for direct European immigration to his colony and issued printed promotional materials about his railroad lands in German and English. John G. Cullmann became active in the national Southern Immigration Committee and worked with

Governor George Smith Houston in a failed effort to win legislative approval of a statewide immigration program. By the end of 1873, he had already settled fourteen German families in a town that he laid out at the Milner station, an area with no population to object to an influx of Yankees and foreigner immigrants. It soon after became the town of Cullman (spelled with one less "n" than Cullmann spelled his surname and not to be confused with the Kullman family of Cullman, which later opened a hotel there.) In 1875, the year it incorporated, his new city already had more than 100 buildings, a vinegar plant, a furniture factory, and an opera house. During the fiscal year 1875-1876, the Cullman station already contributed $12,263 in annual earnings and 3,052 paid passages in business for the S&N/L&N. In 1877, with the help of John T. Milner's lobbying, this new city had the courthouse of the newly created county of Cullman, despite opponents in the legislature who still described its land as so worthless that the new county would need a poor house more than a courthouse. The new county seat had fifteen different manufactories in 1878 and, by 1880, a population of 426 in a county with 6,355 people. Those numbers each more than doubled by 1890. In 1883, the *Atlanta Constitution* reported that 106 new homes built in the city in just three months.[14] In Congress, an effort to move the federal land office from Huntsville to Cullman failed. Alabama geologist Henry McCalley, however, wrote approvingly of the town in 1886:

> But a few years ago, it [Cullman County] was of a wild desolate forest, with only here and there an occasional small clearing around a hut, whose occupants lived almost solely by means of the chase; but now it has churches and schoolhouses without number and several towns, or a population of nearly 10,000, with some 30,000 acres in cultivation, and many a home with all the comfort that go to make it attractive.[15]

Milner wrote about Alabama's bright prospects wherein he specifically cited the German colony as an example of what could be done everywhere in the state.[16]



The oldest view of Cullman is this 1885 engraving from one of Col. Cullmann's promotional materials. (Cullman Tribune)

The overwhelming majority of these settlers to John Cullmann's colony came directly or by way of the German community of Cincinnati, where he had lived for years. Many variations exist but the members of the Scheuing family well represent his typical "colonists." Christoph David Scheuing, born in Welsmeine, Germany in October 1846, married to Cincinnati native German Anna Barbara Link. In 1874, they became one of the first families to settle at Cullman and their son Christopher would be only the second child born there. Christoph would donate land for the first Cullman County courthouse; serve as the sheriff; and, later, become the county's coroner. His eldest child, Frederick, although born in Cincinnati, married in Cullman to Cincinnati born Frederica Herfurth. She also came from German stock, Union Civil War veteran Frederich Moritz "Marty" and Frederica Herfurth. Other children and grandchildren of Christoph and Anna Scheuing, however, married the Cullman County offspring of persons born in Alabama, France, Georgia, Illinois, Tennessee, and Texas.[17]

Cullmann's efforts also attracted unexpected newcomers. Naturalization records filed in Cullman County before 1906 show two hundred seventy-three German men applying for citizenship but also nineteen Swiss; eight Britons; five Canadians; two men each from Russia and Austria; and one new citizen each from Denmark, France, and Hungary. A Dutch community of three contiguous families settled on the west side of the town.[18] In 1890, a project began but failed to create an agricultural commune of twenty families and 3,000 acres. A visiting priest from St. Florien, Right Reverend Benedict Menges originally served the community's always relatively few Roman Catholic members. In 1892, he and monks of the Order of St. Benedict established the St. Bernard Abbey on the east side of the city of Cullman. They later opened a college that survives today as a preparatory school. Nuns worked in the town as teachers as early as 1878 but, in 1899, five Sisters of the Order of St. Benedict started what in 1902 became the Sacred Heart Convent. In 1899, Cullman County also briefly became the home to a college of the Altrurian Order of Mystics.[19]

Former federal soldiers who stationed at Bridgeport, Decatur, and Huntsville during the Civil War knew that neighboring Walker and Winston counties had been Alabama's hotbed for opposition to secession and the Civil War. Historian Royal Laney believed that local support for the Union provided for a sympathetic reception for John G. Cullmann in contrast to the hostility he had faced when he initially tried to found a settlement in pro-Confederate Florence. News of the Cullman settlement encouraged some of these northerners to return to Alabama to live among the former German and Alabama Union veterans. They came all the more so because their time in the military counted towards the five years of residence required to obtain a federal land grant under the Homestead Act. German born Charles Beckert, for example, had moved to Winston County before John Cullmann came to Alabama. He would become the first mayor of Cullman and the publisher of the town's first newspaper, *The Southern Immigrant*. Beckert and his comrades, from the North and the South, formed a Cullman lodge of the exclusively Union veteran Grand Army of the Republic.[20]

Such widely promoted success produced a particular geographic and political irony that illustrated the changing times. The new county included territory from Winston

County, an entity named for John Anthony Winston, the pre-Civil War governor from Alabama's Tennessee River Valley who earned notoriety fighting state support for the South & North Alabama and other railroads. Now part of that county went to Cullman, created in large part by the S&N and named for its progressive land agent. This event happened under Governor George Smith Houston from the same Tennessee River Valley and an advocate of white supremacy and railroads. He was a member of the board of the S&N. The state of Alabama would also honor Houston with an Alabama county named for him.[21]

Few people appreciated that irony more than the population of still another county. Most of newly created Cullman County came from Blount County. Despite its small size and decrepit courthouse, Blountsville, the county seat, stood at the major crossroads of north central Alabama and had long been a center for lodging and horse transportation that supported secondary industries of milling, tanning, wagon making, printing, pottery manufacture, and slave breeding. It lost the value of its one natural asset, its location, when Milner built the South & North Alabama Railroad twenty miles to the west. The people of Blountsville opposed the transfer of their county's western lands to form Cullman County although the new county would exist across deep rivers and high ridges from their town. With this change in boundaries, their community now stood on the western edge rather than at the center of Blount County, a threat to its future as the county seat, along with the related business of its merchants. The county seat would move to Oneonta, a town in the center of the reformed county that had a rail line and coal mines, in 1889. Blountsville went from boom to bust; it would struggle to find new means of economic survival and to avoid eventually joining Baltimore as a dead town. It began its recovery by converting its new courthouse building into a college.[22]

Blount County as a whole, however, did not suffer for losing forty percent of its territory to the creation of Cullman County in 1877. It had been one of the most sparsely settled areas in Alabama and had declined from 10,865 in 1860 to 9,945 people in 1870. Despite the creation of Cullman County, however, Blount's numbers grew to 15,369 in 1880, 21,927 in 1890, and 23,119 in 1900. It would thrive with new towns like Bangor and revitalized older communities such as Blount Springs.[23] This increase in population implies that the settlement of the whole area owed more to an unintended American rather than a planned European migration. Geographer Walter Kollmorgen studied the effects of the German immigration to Cullman County and came to believe that it never reached even 3,000 persons total, far from the 100,000 Germans of legend. The newcomers included Catholics, Lutherans, and even Jews of widely varying nativity from the Cincinnati's German population of some 75,000 by 1870. Cullmann had only attracted a relatively few random families to his venture. Even that immigration slowed to a trickle by 1890 and essentially stopped by 1900. Families left and the German community in Cullman County, despite new arrivals and births, by 1941 likely numbered less than 2,000 members.[24]

John G. Cullmann (bearded man on the left) and friends sitting on buggy seats and enjoying wine at a picnic. Notice the handbills for land sales. (The Author)

The reality of John G. Cullman's settlement points out other historical misunderstandings about him and his colony. Credit reporters for R. G. Dun & Company described him as a man of excellent character but not wealthy as all of the large sums he collected as a land agent chiefly went to the railroad. A house fire destroyed his personal papers and most of the other available information on him comes as part of promotional materials about his colonization project. Those sources describe him, at worst, as an entrepreneur whose ambitions sometimes fell victim to reality, a man whose dreams for his settlement meant more to him than any personal advancement.[25] An account of his life (likely written by Cullmann himself) told of how in 1874 a man opposed to the "vile practices," real or imagined, of the newcomers nearly succeeded in fatally tearing open Cullmann's skull and slashing his throat.

The would-be assassin represented the followers of Governor Winston and later of the Populists who feared anything perceived as a form of a corporation, even agricultural. In 1881, an Atlanta newspaper reported that a mob of the Georgia settlers assaulted members of the German community during a session of court. All of the men involved were reportedly so drunk that even the judge went to bed to sober up. In the resulting fusillade of fists, bricks, knives, and rocks, the Georgians were beaten, stripped naked, and driven back to their homes.[26] In 1886, during a ball and picnic to commemorate the founding of Cullman, John Cullmann toasted the recent discovery of coal, the exploration

for oil, and the pending arrival of an east-west railroad, along with the success of local ventures in wine, strawberry, and cotton production. He saw coal as so critical for the success of his venture that he reportedly slept with a piece of it under his pillow. The coal resources in Cullman became a success only long after his death on December 5, 1895; the new railroad failed to materialize; oil remains only a dream; and much of the business district of his new city burned down in 1894, however. Four persons died from dynamite set off by that fire and only a fortuitous rainstorm saved the city from complete destruction.[27]

Legend and propaganda, however, left a different story. An historical marker that stands today in front of the replica of Cullmann's house, for example, counters this list of disappointments with claims of Cullmann achieving a spectacular success of regional importance. It proclaims that the German settlers used a special knowledge of farming and disciplined avoidance of credit agriculture to turn a land previously regarded as a desert with trees into an agricultural paradise. As early as 1893, a visitor noted the effects of this promotion:

> A poor fellow, one of the natives, said to me on this mountain, "I was raised up here. At one time, I could have got forty acres of this land for an old cow or a rifle gun nobody cared anything for it, but now it is selling for from five to twenty dollars an acre. I have fooled about and neglected my opportunity and don't own a foot of land."
>
> The train never passes Cullman you hear the cry of the fruit boys with something to sell. In the Spring it is strawberries, later on it is grapes, peaches and apples. Travelers know of Cullman, and before you reach the place, they begin to discuss what they will buy from the boys.[28]

Mary Wigley, one of Alabama's first home demonstration agents, had never lived anywhere before but her beloved Sand Mountain, when she found the experience of living in this Cullman County in 1920 "broadening" and wrote approvingly:

> Even for a globetrotter it was a nonesuch town. This burgh of some 2,500 people were full of German traditions. The language was still spoken by some of the old-timers but World War I had blotted most of it out. The Germans were good loyal Americans. . . I was introduced to Catholics, nuns and priests, parochial schools and Lutherans for the first time. Many were still grieving over the recent legal national banishment of their beloved saloons, while I liked to brag that I had lived in dry counties and had never seen a barroom . . . about every other farmer I met was from Georgia and devoted to growing cotton. These men were like my father in that respect. The Germans were equally dedicated to truck farming. Diversified farming and a willingness to organize caused marketing associations for such produce as strawberries and sweet potatoes to flourish. One of the first jokes I heard was about a Georgia cotton-corn farmer telling a German trucker he could not make

> a living by cultivating twenty acres of Cullman land and the German replied, "Well, if I can't do it on twenty, I'll try it on ten!"[29]

By contrast, a settlement of South Carolinians at nearby Summit in Blount County, a community made nationally famous by its fictional description in O. Henry's story "The Ransom of Red Chief," disbanded and returned to Spartanburg in 1882 when the immigrants found the land poorly watered and the soil "not adopted [sic] to wheat, cotton or [even] clover."[30] Other accounts paint a similar picture of the realities of the Germans' agriculture in the desolate Alabama wilderness. Geographer Walter M. Kollmorgen, for example, wrote of John G. Cullmann:

> His vision had its focus on vineyards and wine cellars, and on the margin of his field of focus were fruit trees, stocks, truck crops, and diversified farming. It did not include cotton, sweet potatoes, strawberries—crops that saved the settlement from failure. Mr. Cullmann may have been a great colonist, but he was not a great agriculturalist. Nothing in his record abroad or in this country suggests he knew much about farming.[31]

Although the Germans did hold monthly meetings to discuss new crops and possibly, their first arrivals needed the help of the local native Alabamians to grow enough traditional crops to keep them from starving. Apples had already been a major crop of the area since at least 1820 when John Fowler, one of the proprietors of the Baltimore venture, had made them a commercial success.[32] Andrew Kessler may have brought the first strawberry plants to Cullman in 1880, however, farmers successfully introduced that crop to nearby Tennessee as early as 1862. It and other such highly perishable truck farming could hardly have reached a market in a timely manner before the arrival of the S&N railroad in 1872. Kollmorgan noted the almost self-sufficient truck farming of Cullman's German families but also how they had also quickly adopted terracing, fertilizing, and cotton growing from their Georgia born neighbors. By 1936, Cullman County ranked only behind Madison County in all of Alabama in ginning cotton, the great traditional southern crop.[33]

As John Cullmann's immigrants included many mechanics and manufacturers, rather than farmers, these families soon found work, as well as food, scarce. Even in 1943, thirty percent of Cullman's German work force made their living outside of agriculture. Kollmorgen learned that the German families who had the resources to do so abandoned Cullman County. They found the soil so poor that they starved. Persons who had remained told him, as local historian John Clinton Bright also discovered, that the German families who stayed on did so only because they lacked the means to leave. George H. Schmitt, a traveling German evangelist, settled in Cullman in 1882 and began an effort outside of Cullman County to raise funds for a church. He claimed that the people were so poor that they could not afford to build their own house of worship. Detectives arrested him in Nashville as a conman. By 1888, fifty of Cullman County's citizens, male and female, young and old, escaped their poverty by joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and moving to Utah. Only nine of their number could read and write.[34]

Even what Cullmann did accomplish loses its luster when placed in context. German settlements survived in the South that lacked the notoriety of his colony. For example, at the same time that Cullmann founded his settlement, D. H. J. Heuser, from Innsbruck in the Tyrol and founder of the Homestead Society of Cincinnati, settled German immigrants at St. Florien in Florence, Alabama. His Roman Catholic colony supposedly persuaded the Protestant John G. Cullman to create his colony elsewhere. Heuser recruited colonists from New York to Iowa.

Cullmann's contribution to the numbers of northerners resettling in the South, and even in Alabama, only appears significant in its time. By 1930 alone, for example, the L&N transported 3,000 members of farm families from the Great Plains to just the Mobile area. In 1880, the perhaps 1,000 "souls" who followed Cullmann to Alabama only appeared as the one bright spot in the state because it continued to lose white families to Texas and African-Americans to Mississippi and Louisiana. A Cullman writer in 1897 claimed that the migration into north Alabama, largely by Georgians, still failed to mitigate the effects of the exodus of native Alabamians going to Oklahoma and Texas.[35]

John G. Cullmann other settlements further highlights his real failures more than his legendary successes. The Colonization Aid Society of Chicago worked with him, starting in 1874, to settle immigrants in a community that it named Garden City, from the motto of the city of Chicago, on 60,000 acres donated by the L&N twenty miles south of the city of Cullman. In 1877, Cullmann and others also organized the Chicago Colonization and Agricultural Industry Company of North Alabama to promote and develop this new colony. By the following year, it had dispatched two groups to Alabama, the first of twenty-one families and the second of twenty-three, that included many survivors of Chicago's infamous fires. Critics sarcastically charged that these organizations tried to ease Chicago's perpetual strife between immigrants and native-born Americans by giving Germans "railroad passes and send[ing] them off rejoicing to the fertile lands of Alabama." Local historian Margaret Jean Jones, however, wrote of the Schlegels, one of the first families, as wiped out by disease and starvation. Garden City failed to achieve anything like the success of even the neighboring city of Hanceville. For a time, this community had notoriety chiefly for having a popular brothel and a government licensed still. Garden City still exists but its grid of numbered "streets," modeled after the system used in the city of Cullman are now hardly more than paths into the woods.[36]

Vinemont also left a great legend but not much else. John G. Cullmann's fledgling wine industry inspired a Chicago venture known as the Alabama Vineyard and Winery Company, a wine and fruit husbandry established at Summit Station on Holmes Gap, near Cullman in 1898. The company eventually acquired more than 20,000 acres. George S. Brown & Son, the principal investor, offered a house and five acres planted with vines and orchards for $200 to anyone seeking to join that colony. The company guaranteed a price for the wines produced in its community of Vinemont. Ads for this venture boasted of the community being only 598 rail miles from Chicago and as adjoining the all-white

population of the thriving city of Cullman. Vinemont eventually did develop into a summer home community for Chicagoans where, from its heights, the view of the vineyards, orchards, and the town of Cullman must have ideally made it seem like an American Tuscany. Today, however, it is the incorporated city of South Vinemont, the original town being now only a dead legal technicality and a memory.[37]

Hanceville, ten miles south of the city of Cullman, also argues for place, time, and inevitability over the individual but in a different way. While other Cullman County communities started as grand schemes and largely failed or even disappeared, Hanceville came into being and overcame various obstacles without being part of anyone's plan. Part of the reason for John G. Cullmann's failure at Garden City came from the success of this nearby whistle stop that first had the name of Gilmer, what curiously would represent still another odd naming situation for Alabama.[38] In 1872, when John Cullmann first saw the woods where the town later misnamed for him would grow, local native Phanando Horace Wesley Kinney rented a store at Gilmer.[39] P. H., as he usually appears in the records, had a post office established at his store in 1872 that he named "Hanceville," for his father Hanceford Kinney. (The Postal Service disallowed the name "Gilmer" as a duplication of an existing post office name in Alabama.) In 1879, again in P. H. Kinney's store, the people of Gilmer station incorporated as today's city of Hanceville.[40] He gave up or lost his postmaster's job by 1875, however, and seems to have left the town he officially helped to create by 1879. P. H. Kinney died in 1907 at the Cullman Hotel in Cullman. Even his lengthy obituary omitted any mention of his connection to Hanceville.[41]

The city of Hanceville's growth and development owes little even to P. H. Kinney beyond its name.[42] Families had settled in the area around Gilmer/Hanceville in significant numbers since the 1820s, with the first white and black arrivals there as early as 1802. Those original emigrants followed Indian paths along the nearby Mulberry and Sipsey rivers, along the way turning those trails into roads and the countryside into farms and ranches. They fed the workers, some of whom were slaves born on those same plantations, of the cotton plantations to the north in the Tennessee River Valley and to the south at Tuscaloosa. Abraham Stout obtained a state commission to create a toll road through the area that made Arkadelphia, near the later site of Hanceville, a major stage stop. The Confederate army operated a training camp on the grounds of a plantation on today's Wallace State Community College. Three post offices served that neighborhood when what would become Cullman existed only as a forest. Despite P. H. Kinney's participation on the committee that obtained the law that created Cullman County in 1877, the original county line went through the middle of Hanceville, allegedly because its larger population would likely have voted for it as the county seat instead of the then smaller town of Cullman; all of Hanceville returned to Blount County in 1879. Men like German born Adam Dreher, who opened a saw/grist mill, store, and cotton gin, contributed more to the town's prosperity than did Kinney.[43] Even the moving of the train station to the adjoining community of Steppville failed to hold Hanceville back, all of which became part of Cullman County in 1901 and which even absorbed Steppville in 1954. By 1907, Hanceville, without the help of anyone in particular, had its own newspaper, hotels, a hospital, a bank, churches of nine denominations (including Catholic

and Lutheran), and much more. Hanceville High School served as the only secondary school for Cullman County's students until 1908.[44] Even today, this town of more than 3,000 has a community college with a much respected local history program, The Shrine of the Most Blessed Sacrament of Our Lady of the Angels Monastery, and a cutting edge saw mill- waste wood processing plant, each of which draw visitors from around the world.

With Garden City's failure (despite Cullmann's help) and the achievements of neighboring Hanceville (without any one person's efforts), reasons for success of the settlement of Cullman County, but especially of the German community must be found somewhere other than with specific community leaders. More likely those families who stayed did so for no better reason than because the regional and national migratory forces that brought them to Cullman County in the 1870s and 1880s had largely been spent by 1890, the year that historian Fredrick Jackson Turner would later famously proclaim that the federal census had marked that the American frontier had closed.

The greatest growth in Cullman County's population, as with neighboring Blount, came from the neighboring state of Georgia. It had a tenuous connection, at best, to John G. Cullmann. Families from the northern half of that state had settled in what became Cullman County, even before the Civil War, as shown in the 1867 voter lists of Walker and Winston counties.[45] John G. Cullmann began promoting immigration by white Georgians in the Atlanta area in 1877, the year after a change in federal law allowed former Confederate families to apply for Homestead land grants, with stacks of advertising left at train stations.[46]

When Cullman County's so-called Georgia "Dutch" (from American slang for Germans) had their first Georgia Day reunion celebration in 1891, they chose to remember how "Father Abraham" initialized their great migration to the area. Wealthy Canadian merchant and Baptist minister Abraham Austin opened an extensive dry goods store in the [P. M.] Musgrove's addition, the first expansion of the city of Cullman, by 1883. The following year, in conjunction with Philip McCarty Musgrove, minister of the Cullman First Baptist Church, Austin acquired 515 acres of L&N Railroad land east of Cullman for a venture that he named Simcoe after his original home in Canada.[47]

Reverend Austin actually contributed little or nothing to the migration of Georgians to Cullman County and that they remembered him at all implies that they too had no memory of why their families had come to that area of Alabama. He died on July 6, 1886, before his settlement project had hardly begun. Most of the families who initially followed him from Georgia came from the central western part of the state, as reflected in the county of birth data on Georgia veterans in the 1907 state Confederate veteran's census of Cullman County.

No documentary information survives on why they came. Their misunderstanding about the role of Reverend Austin and the silence on the subject in their memoirs and family stories implies that even they really did not know. Logical reasons for their migration include friends and family who had settled in the area before the Civil War, the

progress of the railroad, and the war's anti-war local politics of 1861-1865. They began a major migration to Cullman County after 1876, at the end of the panic of 1873 and the lifting of the restriction on Confederate families receiving all but free land through the Homestead Act. Cullmann's land companies distributed brochures at railroad stations in places like Carroll County, Georgia. The similar influx of Georgians to neighboring Blount County came chiefly from Hall and Gilmer counties, however. The claims that Cullman County had no black population certainly encouraged immigration by poor whites finding themselves socially and economically challenged by former slaves. By 1889, thirty-two Georgia families settled in the southwestern part of Cullman within just a few months and, in 1891, Cullman County had some 7,000 new arrivals from Georgia and many more came. These white and allegedly white-mixed Cherokee Indian Georgians settled or resettled Arkadelphia, Battleground, Berlin, Bremen, Brooklyn, Baileyton, Fairview, Good Hope, Hanceville, Holly Pond, Jones Chapel, Trimble, Vinemont, Walter, Welti, and many other communities and towns in Cullman County. Ironically, almost all of these families had at least some colonial German ancestry.[48]

The area had simply received its share of a flood of new people moving into north Alabama from the east. These farm families had already been on the move across the South for generations, developing, exploiting, and exhausting lands as they steadily moved westward, as reflected in the wide differences in county of nativity as shown in the 1907 census. Place of birth of the older persons in this census points to frequent earlier south and west migration across the upcountry of the Carolinas.[49] They remembered their families as coming from Carroll County but records show that they had traveled a great deal, settling and resettling, in a more nebulous area of central Georgia and Alabama, centered on the Chattahoochee River, Carroll County, and Atlanta. Thomas Jefferson Yeager, for example, came into the world in Carroll County, Georgia in 1849 as a descendent of the colonial Germanna community of Virginia. Both of his parents, however, claimed birth in South Carolina and his grandparents had left their native Virginia. His father Elisha had settled his family in Carroll, Coweta, and Fayette counties in Georgia before moving the clan to Texas immediately after the Civil War and then returning them to Carroll County. They then settled in Cullman County although Thomas would eventually move on to Tennessee.

The Georgians brought some negatives to Cullman County. James (?) Pettit of Murray County, Israel Russell of Clayton County, Charley Willis of Carroll County, and other fleeing felons, for example, sought refuge among their relatives. Production of the Georgians' illegal untaxed corn whiskey soon outpaced the legal wine making of the Germans and made Cullman County a major center for moonshining. In 1889, a federal official found in Cullman County one the largest illegal distilleries in Alabama to that time. The often-bloody history of Cullman County's first several sheriffs reflects the dark side of first years of the Georgia immigration.[50]

The greatest example of the violent values that the Georgia society brought to the area illustrates the complexities of the area's settlement. Many of the people in the area that became Cullman County had no positive views or connections to slavery or slave owners. They openly and famously opposed secession, even to the point of creating and

serving in the First Alabama Cavalry Regiment, United States Army, during the Civil War. Monroe Evans, a native Alabamian, had been part of a company of local pro-Union guerillas during the Civil War that had formed a settlement on what would become the Cullman-Marshall county line. A. M. Nabors claimed to have served on a sheriff's posse years that had helped dispersed Evans' community of black and white bandits. Nabors remembered that Evans continued to live in the area, supposedly fathering children simultaneously by several women in his own particular interpretation of "Mormonism." Evans and his son John, according to Nabors, often suffered arrest for a variety of crimes but they always obtained release when witnesses came forward on their behalf. Another account, however, described Monroe as an old man who "stood well" in the county although he had an unruly son. Cullman County records contain no references to any charges against either Evans.

On August 16, 1891, however, two hundred "white caps," white disguised vigilantes almost unique to Georgians, took the Evanses from guarded custody in a store in the settlement of Baileyton, near Simcoe. Sensationalized and prejudiced newspaper accounts about a recent "justifiable" lynching in Wyoming of two homesteaders by cattle barons could have inspired the Baileyton mob. White caps dealt with perceived community threats outside of the reach of local law enforcement. They most often terrorized and destroyed the property of neighbors who reported moonshining to the federal government for bounties. The Evanses, at that time, were under suspicion of acting themselves as vigilantes by shooting at several of their neighbors. They were under arrest specifically for firing at Pierce Mooney the previous June. A mob hanged father and son with opposite ends of the same rope, across a tree branch, as the weight of each strangled the other.[51]

Whether the Evanses died as terrorists, because of Monroe's life style, informants on moonshining, because they had land/other property that their neighbors coveted, because of public tensions brought about by swift economic change, or simply from a bad reputation, their lynching received national publicity. Under pressure from the state government and from local people who feared the whitecaps, county officials indicted a dozen men for the murders in November 1895, including county commissioner L. M. Kellar. A jury, for want of evidence, acquitted them in early 1896.[52] The accused men apparently left the county before the 1900 census. They also failed to appear in the 1880 censuses of Cullman County and Marshall County but their names do appear in the 1889 tax list for Cullman County, especially in the Baileyton district. Their Anglo surnames imply that they belonged to the Georgia settlers who moved into the area after 1880. They likely brought at least some of their prejudices against the Evanses with them. Reportedly, some one hundred members of the original lynch mob had fled Cullman County before 1895.[53]

The Germans did share some beliefs with their otherwise very different neighbors, although who influenced whom, and to what degree, remains an unanswered question. In 1876, in the city of Cullman's first election, for example, 134 out of 152 voters chose the Democratic ticket, likely almost the same result if the electorate had all been Democrat white Georgians. In the years that followed, Cullman County's small farmers of all

backgrounds joined in a national rebellion against the established political parties, big agriculture, and industrial corporations. In addition to having both resident Democrat and Republican cliques, Cullman County thus became a center for the Farmers Alliance and the Populists. The latter had one of its largest and most important conventions in Cullman in 1892, wherein their membership all but merged with the members of the Farmers Alliance for the upcoming governor's race. Statewide, these separate, but in Cullman County single movements almost brought Alabama to civil war over the governorship in the 1890s. Edmund Morton Smith, a Cullman wine producer, led the "fusionists" among the Populists in later trying to bring together the white Republicans, African-Americans, and disgruntled Democrats into a coalition. Abandoning the Populists, he served as chair of the state Republican Party in 1894.[54]

Germans and Georgians also shared contempt for some of their neighbors. That even John G. Cullmann promoted his colony as free of African-Americans and Indians at first seems strange. He and most of his Germans came from the great abolitionist center of Cincinnati. Charles A. Beckert, his close associate and the first mayor of Cullman had been a captain in the 110th United States Colored Troops Regiment, a unit raised in North Alabama and which had fought Nathan Bedford Forrest's famed Confederates during the Civil War.[55]

The society of southern Ohio to which these Germans had been a part, however, had conflicted attitudes towards race, slavery, and servitude. The Methodists, which included many Germans condemned slavery on moral grounds but also opposed African-Americans, slave or free, competing with whites for federal lands. Popular attitudes in Cincinnati included contempt for all black Americans that came as an import from the nearby slave states. John G. Cullmann claimed that German opposition to slavery and to competing with slave labor became contempt for the freedmen and their tenant farming. He even publicly blamed what he perceived as the decline in Alabama agriculture on the incompetence of free black farmers. The Germans allegedly found people who submitted to servitude as repugnant although the Germans allowed their own daughters to work as popular choices as house servants and they frequently hired the children of their white Georgian neighbors to harvest strawberries. Kollmorgen saw no black workers hired in Cullman County's fields in 1941. He believed that the Germans shared little culturally with African-Americans and that the white Georgians refused to tolerate the competition for jobs and land.[56]

Cullman County's African-American community had a difficult history. It struggled to survive in the "white belt," the highland region of the South where local whites, whatever their origins, discouraged black residence. In 1889 Alabama, this zone consisted of the only significant level arable land, some 1, 500 square miles, where few, perhaps only fourteen African Americans lived. John T. Milner, as obsessed about race as he was with improving Alabama for whites, publicly stated that he hoped that successful white immigration projects like the German colony would drive black families from the state. National Guard troops from Birmingham had to rescue a black man accused of murder from lynch mobs threatening to storm the Cullman County jail in 1899. In 1904, white vigilantes fired into a black church during Christmas services at Stout's Mountain

near Arkadelphia. The minister died instantly and two members of the congregation received serious wounds. One vigilante died, apparently been accidentally shot by his comrades. Witnesses identified two members of the mob as miners and the attack likely originated from a competition for local jobs. The sheriff could find no one to testify against the attackers, however.[57] In 1918, the city of Cullman's one African-American resident, Charlie Bugg, died while he served as a soldier in France while fighting Germans, an irony he likely appreciated. Two years later, state officials arrested a band of forty-three "night riders" operating in Cullman and surrounding counties. By the early 1920s, visitors to Cullman County saw a sign threatening blacks in the city of Cullman with murder if they remained in the city past sundown, a common expression in the south and elsewhere by whites who do not want black competition for jobs. By then, a group of vigilantes had driven the city's one African-American family out of town for being black. Cullman County had a Ku Klux Klan in those years but even the county's small group of poor white Communist and Socialist sympathizers dissipated when their national party tried to unite black and white sharecroppers. The African-American community in Cullman County suffered other abuse although, until the 1960s, many of the churches in Cullman County, black and white, made segregated accommodations for both races in their services and black, as well as Jewish and other non-Catholic, students eventually could attend the Roman Catholic private schools in Cullman.[58]

Statistics of the black population of Cullman County reflect its treatment. It dropped from forty-three in 1880 to thirty-eight in 1890 to twenty-one in 1900. By contrast, Alabama's black population statewide increased by 100% between 1880 and 1900. Cullman County's African-Americans numbered five hundred thirty-three in 1910 but only because of a change in the county boundary that brought in a historically black community. One story claims that Cullman County originally did not include Hanceville was not to prevent a challenge to the town of Cullman as county seat but to keep the nearby The Colony out of the county.

As one of the few Reconstruction era African American communities to survive, former local slaves founded The Colony on lands originally granted to whites before the Civil War. Without the means for profitably transporting cotton, the Blount County area before the Civil War and the railroad had been a major supplier of livestock and slaves, products that could walk to market, to the markets in Decatur, Huntsville, Tuscaloosa, and even Mobile. The first free black families of The Colony, as recorded in the 1870 federal census, seldom-owned land although Ishim Byers, one of its founders, and others did receive, in later years, homestead land grants. George Wilson, another of the settlement's originators, and some of these other "colonists," apparently purchased their land or received it as gifts. Almost all of the original black residents, born after 1830, had Alabama for their place of birth while older relatives and neighbors usually had Virginia nativity. A few senior members claimed the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky as place of birth but Jack Graham, born ca. 1790, claimed, as a native son, Africa.[59] The Colony eventually acquired 8,000 acres and its own cotton gin, stores, churches, and schools. In 1941, visitors found that the farmers of The Colony, on average, had a lower rate of sharecropping than did the white Georgians and owned farms as large as the Germans,

including those of their immediate neighbors. They planted more acres than any other group in the county.[60]

Even the 1910 population figures that include The Colony inflate the county's African-American population by including four families who only lived in the city of Cullman to work on railroad construction but who, nonetheless, constituted the only real black community that the city has ever had. By 1920, the number of black residents in the county dropped to four hundred forty-three. Although new black families reportedly moved in from other parts of Alabama, its population, from 1920 to 1990, consistently averaged only some five hundred people. By means of comparison, the African-American population in neighboring Blount County dropped, from one thousand one hundred eighty-one in 1910 to six hundred six by 2000. In that latter year, seven hundred forty-three African-Americans lived in Cullman County but 934 other persons also lived there who considered themselves as something other than white. Although The Colony incorporated in 1981, it has a population today of less than 400 residents.[61]

That this community has survived at all owes much to still another Cullman County settlement. From 1903 to the 1920s, the goal of successfully mining coal from the Baltimore area of the county finally happened when a sidetrack from Hanceville extended to recently opened mines. The Stouts Mountain Coal & Coke Company created jobs for The Colony and for the white Alabamians. The latter founded a town, now extinct, on Stout's Mountain that also included entire mining families of Scotsmen and Englishmen recruited from Pennsylvania, including at least one miner who would be arrested on charges of having committed a murder as a member of the notorious Pennsylvania labor activists known as the "Mollie Maguires."[62]

Whatever the causes and the detours in its settlement, Cullman County thus came to exist as three distinctively different and sometimes conflicted cultures that first only coexisted but eventually began to merge to create a unique past and present. Walter Kollmorgen saw the distinctive communities of Germans, white Georgians, and African-Americans as largely separate as late as 1941. The German families planted diversified crops, including sweet potatoes, strawberries, and cotton, while avoiding credit farming. The Georgians largely followed the same credit and cotton growing agriculture that they had known in Georgia. By 1930, fifty percent of the Georgia farmers had become sharecroppers, in contrast to less than ten percent of Cullman's German households, while Alabama's rate of sharecroppers in 1930, statewide, reached 65 %.[63]

Kollmorgen, however, failed to notice that, even by 1941, the Germans and the white Georgians had begun to merge. The diversity of each group contributed to the cultures of the other while generating new products from sweet potatoes to pottery to live music to banking to livestock. The Georgians made the city of Cullman the mule capitol for agricultural Alabama. Children of the white Georgians and the Germans went to the same schools, used the same stores, and attended some of the same social functions. By the time Kollmorgen arrived in Cullman, for example, locally prominent Georgia born Joseph Yeager and Cullman born Wilhelmina Ruehl, the daughter of a Cincinnati German immigrant family, had married and started a family, as had other such "mixed"

couples. The 1900 federal census identified at least fifty households in Cullman County where one spouse descended from native Alabamians, Georgians, or Tennesseans and the other had an ancestry of Ohioans and Germans. By then, grandchildren of such unions lived in Cullman County and across the country.[64]

Cultural homogenizing had also begun. The Georgians and African-Americans, over a long period, replaced their dirt floor log cabins, "Georgia beds" (crude pole and straw beds built into corners of a cabin), and stone fire places with the painted wood frame homes and iron stoves that the Cullman Germans viewed as necessities. Anti-German prejudice during the World War I (1917-1918) compelled the Cullman Germans to give up their traditional folkways. They did continue to hold church services in German at least as late as 1941 and, that same year, the FBI investigated five false reports of anti-American activities in Cullman. Prohibition came in 1920 to end the wine and beer gardens although, in 1943, Tower and Wolf, in their study comparing the different farming methods of the people in Cullman County, found a vineyard on every German farm for producing wine, even illegally, for private consumption. Kollmorgen did note change in the German colony:

> Perhaps the greatest change has occurred in the social and esthetic side of the German's life. When he came he loved good music, beer, wine, Old World dances, and . . . all these things implied. . . .After several decades there was less singing, less dancing, less beer, and less camaraderie. During all this time the Georgia small farmers came in wave after wave and the Germans and their activities were more and more submerged. Today [1941] Germans are only a small minority in the social, economic, and agricultural life of the county. The older Germans especially feel a little lonely and perhaps a little out of place.[65]

If Kollmorgen had returned to Cullman County, he will not be able to distinguish the farm of an African-American, Georgian, or German family. Thousands of local people can proclaim themselves as both "Krautheads" (descendants of the Cincinnati Germans) and "Crackers" (descendants of the white Georgians). Some of those same Cullman Countians, in recent times, also, have African-American ancestors or descendants. In 2008, despite Cullman County's relatively small African-American population, Methodist minister and Vietnam veteran James Fields of The Colony became the county's first black member of the legislature and with just shy of a landslide victory. Local boosters point to the blend of heritages to explain why this one county has led Alabama in agriculture for many years and remains in the top three counties in the nation in poultry production. Cullman County, however, also leads the state in manufacturing for a non-metropolitan area with more than 130 manufacturing and distribution plants, including factories established by Australian, British, Canadian, German, and Japanese companies. Observers, past and present, credit the city's prosperity in mercantile and manufacturing, which seems to defy even state and national economic downturns, to the traditional values of Cullman's German founders, as reflected in the remarkably well landscaper city with its well-kept buildings that, even when modern, reflect the cultures that began the settlement of the county.

Certainly John G. Cullmann's colonists who introduced manufacturing, new crops, and one of the state's first technical schools could appreciate the modern family of Cullman County, black and white. As his Germans demonstrated, a farm family must diversify to survive. Today, a successful Cullman County farm family includes a household member with a job in manufacturing and another adult employed in education.[66]

In other ways, the present echoes the past. The Poor Clare Nuns of Perpetual Adoration have established the Shrine of the Most Blessed Sacrament of Our Lady of the Angels Monastery at Hanceville, another reminder to visitors of the county's special heritage with the Roman Catholic Faith. This one county simultaneously produced a governor, lieutenant governor (the son of a popular Cullman governor and later governor himself), and the speaker of the house, even with the governor and lieutenant governor from different political parties. The county has as an institution of higher learning, Wallace State Community College. The student body includes black, white, and other young people from nearby Hanceville High School, which serves Arkadelphia, Garden City, Hanceville, The Colony, and other communities. Hanceville High School, as well as West Point and Cullman [City], stand among the most consistently academically honored schools in the state.[67]

The question remains unanswered as to precisely how and how much, if at all, that a few specific individuals affected the events that led to the creation of Cullman County and how much past cultural diversity has influenced its present. Even without Milner, a railroad certainly would have eventually connected Birmingham to Decatur. The events and processes fell into place, without his help or John Cullmann's, by 1876 to guarantee a post-Civil War expansion in the area. The Georgians ceased having their annual picnics and reunions long ago and the county's famed strawberry festivals, begun in 1940, remain now only in fading memories.

Numerous historical, genealogical, and commemorative publications have studied, commemorated, celebrated, and reminded the people of Cullman County of its heritage, however. Monuments include the statue of John G. Cullmann and the replica of his house. Original buildings in Cullman, such as the Weiss Cottage, German Bank, Stiefelmeyer building, Borkenau, Ave Maria Grotto, and Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ Church, also tell today's 14,000 inhabitants of the city's past.[68] Each autumn, the local people have an Oktoberfest to celebrate Teutonic folkways. Due to the county's Georgia Protestant heritage, however, until recently this celebration went on without alcohol! The story of The Colony, as much as told in a decades old county history, has had commemoration in the national press and on Alabama Public Television. Wallace State Community College has the Family & Regional History Program, a research center for the study of the area's different peoples, including the first Native Americans, past and present, for use by students in their college studies and by the public. In it, the flags of Germany and Alabama stand side by side.

Endnotes

---

[1] Walter M. Kollmorgen, “Immigrant Settlements in Southern Agriculture: Commentary on the Significance of Cultural Islands in Agricultural History,” *Agricultural History* 19 (April 1945): 69-71.

[2] “Baltimore for Sale,” *Alabama Republican* (Huntsville), January 5, 1821; Anthony Finley, *Alabama* (map) (n.p., 1833); Mary Gordon Duffee, *Mary Gordon Duffee’s Sketches of Alabama* (University, Al., 1970), 19; Ethel Marie Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, Al., 1910), 53; Gaylon D. Johnson, *Before the German Settlement of 1873: The Land and People that Became Cullman County* (Cullman, Al., 1982), 57-59. Baltimore may have also failed because of the death of its founder, Blount County judge of the county court William Dunn, in 1822. Pauline Gandrud Jones, comp., *Marriage, Death and Legal Notices from Early Alabama Newspapers, 1819-1893* (Greenville, S. C., 1981), 433.

[3] Margaret Jean Jones, *Cullman County Across the Years* (Cullman, Al., 1975), 20-21; Marilyn D. Barfield, comp., *Old Huntsville Land Office Records & Military Warrants 1810-1854* (Greenville, SC, 1985), 4, 8, 55, 133-34; Bill and Sue Tubbs, comp., *Cullman County Alabama Ancestral Homesteads* (Jasper, Al., 1998), 53.

[4] Franklin Garrett Necrology, reel 9 frame 244 and roll 10 frames 386-88, Kenan Research Center, Atlanta History Center, Atlanta; L’Orient Papers, Department of Archives & Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham; James F. Sulzby, *Blount Springs: Alabama’s Foremost Watering Place of Yesteryear* (n. p., 1949), n.p.

[5] Wayne Flynt, *Alabama Baptists* (Tuscaloosa, Al., 1998), 142; Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 769; C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reconstruction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston, 1966), 53-54.

[6] Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of Public Land Policies* (New York, 1939), 244-45, 250-51; Robert S. Henry, “The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts,” in Vernon Carstensen, ed., *The Public Lands: Studies in the History of the Public Lands* (Madison, Wi., 1963), 129.

[7] Maury Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (New York, 1972), 135; W. David Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces and the Rise of the Birmingham District* (Tuscaloosa, Al., 1994), 27, 29, 35, 56-57; Joseph G. Kerr, "Historical Development of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad" (1928), p. 92, L&N Collection, University Archives and Records Center, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.; Otto H. Olsen, *Reconstruction and Redemption in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 58; James F. Doster, *Alabama's First Railroad Commission, 1881-1885* (University, Al., 1949), 8-9; Kincaid A. Herr, *The Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (Louisville, Ky., 1959), 91.

[8] Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces*, 14-15, 21-22.

[9] Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1921), 4: 1207; Robert S. Davis, "Jones Valley and the Origins of Birmingham," *Pioneer Trails* 38 (3) (September 1996): 8-15; autobiography of John T. Milner, Milner Family Papers, Collection 2420, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. For more on the life of John Turner Milner see Dorothea Orr Warren, *The Practical Dreamer: a Story of John T. Milner* (Birmingham, Al., 1959).

[10] John Clinton Bright, "Some Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Cullman County," in Carl Elliott, comp., *Annals of Northwest Alabama*, 5 vols. (Tuscaloosa, Al., 1965), 3: 12-17; Ohio, vol. 87, p. 173, R. G. Dun & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University. Despite his claims as a "'48er," John G. Cullmann does not appear in Clifford Neal Smith, *German Revolutionists of 1848: Among whom Many Immigrants to America* (McNeal, Az., 1985); Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952); A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950); and Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, 1992). For more on the inflated importance of the 1848 refugees see Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). A Cullmann family story has it

that J. G. Cullmann fled Bavaria because of his role in an attempt to assassinate German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck. Samuel A. Rumore, Jr., “Building Alabama’s Courthouses,” *The Alabama Lawyer* 51 (January 1990): 26.

[11] For the history of colonization within Bavaria and what became modern Germany see David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006).

[12] Bright, “Some Economic and Social Aspects,” 18; Walter M. Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama: An Agricultural Island in the Cotton Belt* (Washington, 1941), 7-8; *Memorial Record of Alabama*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wi., 1893), 1: 798-800; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 438; *Northern Alabama Historical and Biographical* (Birmingham, Al., 1888), 383-84; “Locals,” *Cullman Progress*, January 7, 1886; *Annual Report of the South & North Alabama R.R. for the Year Ending June 30, 1873* (n.p.), pp. 7-8, L&N Collection; “More Developments in the New South,” *Decatur* (Illinois) *Daily Review*, February 15, 1887. For prejudice against German immigrants see Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 2006), 1-32.

[13] Title trace, Township 12, Range 2W, Section 15, Cullman County file, Family & Regional History Program, Wallace State Community College, Hanceville, Al.; Sylvia B. Morris, “Ignatius Pollak (1846-1915): Alabama Entrepreneur,” *Alabama Review* 55 (2002): 185, 187-90.

[14] “Alabama’s German Colonies,” *Mobile Daily Tribune*, August 22, 1875; Morris, “Ignatius Pollak,” 185; Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 8; “The Cullman Colony,” *Shelby Sentinel* (Columbiana, Al.), August 28, 1877; “A Live Town,” *Daily Register* (Mobile), December 3, 1880; *Annual Report of the South & North Alabama R.R. for the Year Ending June 30, 1875* (n.p.), 12-13, L&N Collection; *Northern Alabama*, 381; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 438; George H. Parker, “A Bit of Cullman’s History,” *Cullman Tribune*, August 5, 1920; Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad*, 135; Kerr, “Historical Development of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad,” 93; William Warren Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896*

(Baton Rouge, 1970), 94; “Southern Intelligence,” *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), July 17, 1883.

[15] Journal of the House of Representatives, April 6, 1874, in *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation* at Internet site http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html; Henry McCalley, *Geological Survey of Alabama on the Warrior Coal Field* (Montgomery, 1886), 81.

[16] Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces*, 66.

[17] *Cullman 110 Years Booklet: A Compilation of Historical Facts, Family, Church and Business Histories, Pictures and Advertisements 1873-1983* (n.p., n.d.), 65; Cullman County Heritage Committee, *The Heritage of Cullman County, Alabama* (Clanton, Al., 1999), 68, 218, 440; Dewell C. and Dolores W. Lott, *1900 Cullman County Alabama Census* (Hartselle, Al., 1994), 36, 41.

[18] Kaye Marie Couch Leigeber, *German Colonization: Cullman County, Alabama* (Cullman, 1982), 29-37; Lott and Lott, *1900 Cullman County Alabama Census*, 28.

[19] “The Southern States,” *Galveston* (Texas) *Daily News*, November 28, 1890; “The Benedictine Abbey in Cullman,” *Iron Age Herald* (Birmingham, Al.), April 1, 1900; “In Honor of St. Benedict,” *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), March 21, 1895; *Cullman 110 Years Booklet*, 17, 76-77, 122; Bright, “Some Economic and Social Aspects,” 45-48.

[20] Ernest Klein, “Union Soldiers in Our Midst” and “Alabama Department of the Grand Army of the Republic,” *Alabama Family History and Genealogy News* 17(4) (October-December, 1996): 5-9 and 19 (January-March, 1998): 9. Both Cullman and Holly Pond, a Georgia settled town near Cullman, however, had chapters of the United Confederate Veterans. Cullman County members of the UCV appear in William E. Mickle, *Well Known Confederate Veterans and Their War Records* (New Orleans, 1907) and Robin Sterling, comp., Confederate Soldiers of Cullman County (Huntsville, Al., 2012).

[21] Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 848-49, 4: 1790; Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces*, 29, 51-52.

[22] *Northern Alabama*, 381; Blount County Historical Society, *Alabama Reunion Edition of the Heritage of Blount County* (n.p., n.d.), 26-27, 29, 37; Robert S. Davis, "Blountsville, Alabama: A Case Study in the Use of the R. G. Dun & Company Credit Reports, 1847-1880," *Alabama Review* 56 (2003): 127-28; Alabama Ninth Census Manufacture-1870 (Blount County), microfilm, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Blountsville, despite its small size, remains a center for equestrian activity in north Alabama. It has saddle clubs, horse farms, and a mounted police patrol.

[23] *Compendium of the Tenth Census 1880 Part I Population and Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 335; *Census Reports Volume I Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 54.

[24] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 10-11; Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati's German Heritage* (Bowie, Md., 1994), 46.

[25] See, for example, the statements made about him by the R. G. Dun credit reporter in Ohio, vol. 87 (Hamilton County), p. 173, and Alabama, vol. 4 (Cullman County), p. 178, R. G. Dun & Company Collection.

[26] Alabama, vol. 4 (Cullman County), p. 178, R. G. Dun & Company Collection; "Decatur, Nov. 7," *West Alabamian* (Carrollton, Al.), November 23, 1881; *Memorial Record of Alabama*, 1: 799-800; Tolzmann, *Cincinnati's German Heritage*, 46. John G. Cullmann's would-be assassin allegedly later hanged, as a horse thief, in Macon, Georgia.

[27] John Paul Myrick, "Early Business/Organization Incorporation in Cullman County, Alabama," *Alabama Family History and Genealogy News* 35 (3) (April-June 2004):41; "Locals," *Cullman Progress*, March 18, March 25, and April 22, 1886; "Telegraphic Notes," *Decatur* (Illinois) *Weekly Republican*, March 8, 1894. The fire of 1894, and subsequent fires, consumed many of the original buildings of the city, including the first house, Cullmann's home, the Methodist church, and the first courthouse.

[28] "A True Maxim," *Alabama Baptist*, September 14, 1893.

[29] Mary Wigley Harper, “The Wind is from the East,” unpublished manuscript, pp. 429-30, Collection 734, Special Collections, Auburn University Libraries.

[30] “Disappointed and Homesick Emigrants,” *Carolina Spartan* (Spartanburg, S. C.), August 8, 1883. The town of Summit, although now extinct, was a prosperous town in the 1870s. “A Visit to Blount County,” *The Advertiser* (Moulton, Al.), April 12, 1872; Davis, “Blountsville,” 133.

[31] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 10-11; Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage* (Bowie, Md., 1994), 46.

[32] “A Good Example,” *Atlanta* (Georgia) *Constitution*, March 26, 1895; Kollmorgen, “Immigrant Settlements,” 72; “Baltimore for Sale,” *Alabama Republican* (Huntsville), January 5, 1821; George Powell, *History of Blount County*, Catherine Sloan comp., (1855; rep. ed., n.d.), 19-20.

[33] “Cullman’s Birth—In a Pine Tree Wilderness Atop a Plateau,” *Cullman Democrat*, June 27, 1946; J. Allen Tower and Walter Wolf, “Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama,” *Geographical Review* 33 (April 1943): 277.

[34] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 11; Bright, “Some Economic and Social Aspects,” 22-23, 54; “A Pious Fraud Caged,” *St. Louis* (Missouri) *Daily Globe Democrat*, February 20, 1882; “Recruits for Mormondom,” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), November 26, 1888.

[35] “Another German Colony is to be Planted in the State Cleburne County Gets This One,” *Atlanta* (Georgia) *Constitution*, March 28, 1895; *The Heritage of Lauderdale County, Alabama* (Clanton, Al., 1999), 15; Kollmorgen, “Immigrant Settlements,” 73; “Alabama Census Frauds,” *Oshkosh* (Wisconsin) *Northwestern*, September 1, 1880; “Local Happenings,” *People’s Protest* (Cullman), December 31, 1897. Lauderdale County also had a Finnish mining community (1885-1912) but it “disintegrated.” *Ibid*. 10-11. For other German settlements in the post Civil War South see Hobart Schofield Cooper, “German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee” (Masters Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1925).

[36] Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad*, 135; Kerr, "Historical Development of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad," 94-95; "The Cullman Colony," *Shelby Sentinel* (Columbiana, Al.), August 28, 1877; Melba Price, ed., *The History of Garden City, 1850-1982* (Cullman, 1982), 3-8; Myrick, "Early Business/Organization," 40; Margaret Jean Jones, *Combing Cullman County* (Cullman, Al.,1972), 65.

[37] Jones, *Combing Cullman County*, 38-40; Alabama Vineyard and Winery Company brochure, Special Collections, Auburn University; Vinemont advertisement, *The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), March 28, 1899; Vinemont, Cullman County, *Post Office Department Reports of Site Locations, 1837-1950* (National Archives microfilm M1126, roll 5); "Vinemont Colony Expanding," *Labor Advocate* (Birmingham, Al.), August 12, 1899; "Vinemont History Captured in Early Newspapers," *Alabama Family History and Genealogy News* 23 (3) (July-September, 2002): 79-81.

[38] Blount County deed book Q (1874-1878), pp. 378-80, Blount County Archives, Oneonta, Al.; Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad*, map of "The L&N system in 1875." Gilmer station apparently took its name from Francis "Frank" Meriwether Gilmer, pioneer promoter of the development of the iron industry in Jefferson County and first president of the South & North Alabama Railroad. Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 656.

[39] Kinney had been born in Walker County, in what later became Breman community in Cullman County, on November 1, 1838. He had served in the Texas border wars before returning home and joining Joseph Wheeler's Confederate cavalry. Carolyn M. Rowe, comp., *1867 Voting Registration Loyalty Oaths Individual Pardon Applications Winston County, Alabama* (Pensacola, Fl., 1996), 36-37; "Mr. P. H. Kinney Passes Away," *Cullman Democrat*, March 14, 1907. His parents, Hanceford and Susan Moore Kinney, had likely intended to name him Fernando or Alexander. Bruce Myers, *Winston County, Alabama Formerly Named Hancock County, Alabama Census of 1850* (n. p.), 17, and *Winston County, Alabama 1860 Federal Census* (n.p.), 63.

[40] Probate minute book H (1878-1885), p. 71, Blount County Archives, Blount County Court House, Oneonta, Al. Hanceford

Kinney (born Davidson County, Tennessee March 7, 1805, died Cullman County, Alabama September 12, 1878) was a comparatively wealthy free labor farmer in Winston County before the war and part of an early migration of like farmers from Tennessee to north Alabama in the 1830s and earlier. Rowe, *1867 Voting Registration . . . Winston County, Alabama*, 37; Myers, *Winston County, Alabama 1860*, 63.

[41] Alabama, vol. 4 (Blount County), vol. 19 (Morgan County), n. p., R. G. Dun & Company Collection; "Mr. P. H. Kinney Passes Away," *Cullman Democrat*, March 14, 1907.

[42] After the Civil War, Kinney received a conviction on a felony and officials charged his brothers with stealing livestock from pro-Union women. His business ventures in Walker and Winston counties were, at the least, unsuccessful, before he moved to what he would name Hanceville in then Blount County and started his fortune. P. H. Kinney and his father did have considerable land speculations but in Range 4, the western part of Cullman County cut from Winston County, and especially in the area of P. H.'s native Bremen. Rowe, *1867 Voting Registration . . . Winston County, Alabama*, 36-37; Alabama, vol. 4 (Blount County), vol. 19 (Morgan County), n. p., and vol. 25 (Winston County), n. p., R. G. Dun & Company Collection. The city of Hanceville has honored P. H. Kinney with a public commemoration and a plaque.

[43] J. W. Wise, "Description of Old Stage Coach Road and Stout Road (Cullman County)," unpublished paper, Stout Mountain file, vertical files, Family & Regional History Program; Cullmann, *Der Nord Alabama Colonist*, 22; Bright, "Some Economic and Social Aspects," 44. For first hand descriptions of these people before the arrival of John Cullman and his German colonists see David Crockett Stuart, *A Sketch of the Life and Travels of David Crockett Stuart* (Seattle, Wa., 1950) and Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York, 1953), 380-94.

[44] Johnson, *Before the German Settlement*, 15-16, 36, 39, 114-15; Jones, *Combing Cullman County*, 59-65; Peggy Tuck Sinko, *Alabama: Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* (New York, 1996), 65-67; Emmie Alldredge Smith, "From Oxcarts to

Diesels: A History of Hanceville, Alabama" in Elliott, *Annals of Northwest Alabama*, 3: 140-41, 144.

[45] See Carolyn M. Rowe, comp., *1867 Voting Registration Loyalty Oaths Individual Pardon Applications Walker County, Alabama* (Pensacola, Fl., 1997) and *1867 Voting Registration Loyalty Oaths Individual Pardon Applications Winston County, Alabama* (Pensacola, Fl., 1996). North Alabama had settlement by white and black newcomers following the Indian removals of 1814-1838. The above 1867 voter lists also show that some of these families migrated to Alabama in the 1830s and later from central and east Tennessee. These families from north central Georgia had earlier lived in the Carolinas. County of birth before 1810 indicates that these families had migrated south from Virginia and North Carolina to the northwest counties of South Carolina. For related county of birth records on these same families see "Some Forgotten Alabama Union Soldiers," *Alabama Family History and Genealogy News* 17 (2) (April-June 1996): 12-19; Glenda M. Todd, *First Alabama Cavalry USA: Homage to Patriotism* (Bowie, Md., 1999).

[46] Parker, "A Bit of Cullman's History."

[47] "Locals," *Cullman Progress*, March 4, 1886; L&N Railroad to Abraham Austin, March 7, 1884, L&N Railroad deed book 3 (1881-1885), 103-4, Probate Court, Cullman County Court House; "Simcoe, Ala.," *Alabama Baptist*, May 31, 1884; "Some Cullman Area Baptist Ministers at the Turn of the Century," *Alabama Family History and Genealogy News* 24(5)(October-December 2003): 5; Bright, "Some Economic and Social Aspects," 25, 50. Abraham Austin came from a long tradition of pioneer/venture capitalists. Baltimore, Maryland came from his ancestor's estate in 1729. Solomon Austin, Abraham's grandfather, had been a settler in North Carolina before his support for the King's Cause forced him to begin a new life in Canada. Carole W. Troxler, "The Migration of Carolina and Georgia Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974), 238; Simcoe Baptist Church file, Canadian Baptist Archives, Ontario, Canada; Austin Family file, Cullman Public Library, Cullman, Al. Despite the high opinion of Musgrove held by Musgrove and others, Musgrove had left his Baptist church in Blountsville and his Masonic lodge on charges of adultery. Davis, "Blountsville," 131.

[48] Carole Kane to author, October 3, 2003; "Died," *Cullman Progress*, July 8, 1886; "Field Notes," *Alabama Baptist*, September 16, 1891; Carolina Klein Nigg, comp., *Cullman County Clippings Volume I The Alabama Tribune 1889* (Cullman, n.d.), 4; Jones, *Combing Cullman County*, 46-86; Woodward, *Reunion and Reconstruction*, 53-54; W. U. Anderson, *A History of Coweta County from 1825 to 1889* (n.p., 1889), 64-66; Kollmorgen, The German Settlement, 12-13. The 1907 census has been published as Cullman and Dale Counties, *Alabama 1907 Census of Confederate Soldiers* (Cullman, 1982).

[49] For this county of birth data see the sources cited in footnote forty-one.

[50] "The First of the Jet Set," unidentified newspaper clipping in the Yeager family folder, Family & Regional History Program; "Capturing a Still," *Milwaukee* (Wisconsin) *Daily Journal*, November 16, 1889; Rhea Cumming Otto, comp., *1850 Census of Georgia (Coweta County)* (Savannah, 1981), 75; "Pettit the Wife Murderer," *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), August 9, 1884; "In the Local Field," March 21, 1895, *ibid*.; "Charged With Seduction," September 13, 1892, *ibid*.; "Birmingham Budget," *ibid*., April 4, 1895; Jones, *Cullman County Across the Years*, 116-17.

[51] Folk history and documentary accounts of the Evans lynching appears in Benjamin S. Bradford, *Suspended Sentence: The Lynching* (n.p., n.d.) and *Suspended Sentence: The Sequel* (n.p., n.d.) For background on the whitecaps, see Wilbur R. Miller, *Revenuers and Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 175-78.

[52] "Two Men Lynched," *Newark* (Ohio) *Daily Advocate*, August 17, 1891; "Father and Son Lynched," *Decatur* (Illinois) *Morning Review*, August 19, 1891; "Prominent Lynchers Arrested," *Sandusky* (Ohio) *Register*, November 14, 1894; Jones, *Cullman County Across the Years*, 120-24.

[53] See Carolina Nigg, *Cullman County, Alabama Tax Assessment Ledger 1889* (Cullman, n.d.)

[54] Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion*, 227-28; John B. Clark, *Populism in Alabama* (Auburn, Al., 1927), 140-41; "News," *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), September 11, 1876; "Kolb for Senator," May 24, 1895, *ibid*.; "For the Third Party," August 12, 1892, *ibid*.; "The Wool Hat Boys," February 11, 1894, *ibid*.; Edmund Morton Smith request for appointment files, Box 114, Entry 760, Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, and Box 59, Entry 14, Records of the Department of the Interior, Record Group 48, national Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. For more on the history of "fusionism" see Samuel L. Webb, *Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South: Alabama's Hill Country, 1874-1920* (Tuscaloosa, 1997). A native of Baltimore, Maryland, Edmund M. Smith came to Cullman County by way of Chicago (where he had worked as a locomotive engineer) and Denver (where he had been a journalist), prior to marrying Marie Mohr, daughter of German born Paul Mohr, in Cullman in 1891. He had been active in national Republican politics since 1876. Smith's father-in-law had invested heavily in the Cullman venture and worked for Col. Cullmann as a geologist and property evaluator. He had been an internationally recognized geologist but later a major brewer in Cincinnati. Edmund M. Smith, with his wife and newborn daughter, left Cullman in 1894 and resettled in Los Angeles, California. Smith died in a train wreck in Denver, Colorado in September 1897 while working as a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*. His Cullman farm is today the site of the St. Bernard Monastery and the Ava Maria Grotto. *Tenth Census of the United States (1880)*, (National Archives microfilm T9, roll 185) Chicago, Cook County, p. 373d; *Twelfth Census of the United States (1900)* (National Archives microfilm T623, roll 88), 5th Ward, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, p. 7b: [no title], *People's Protest* (Cullman), December 24, 1897; *Northern Alabama Historical and Biographical* (Birmingham, 1888), 389; Helen Giffen biographical file, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

[55] Klein, "Union Soldiers," 9. As recently as 1959, Cullman County still advertised the small size of its "Negro" population. "Prospectus of Cullman, Alabama" (1959), unpublished paper, Cullman County file, Family & Regional History Program.

[56] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 1, 14-16; John Cullmann, *Der Nord Alabama Colonist*, trans. Margot Tanner (Cullman, 1997), 14, 23; "The Colored Race not Doomed," *Brooklyn* (New York) *Daily Eagle*, September 30, 1889; Tower and Wolf, "Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama," 282; Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York, 2001), 28, 32.

[57] Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces*, 33, 66; "An Alabama Negro," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, La.), July 27, 1899; "Facts of Interest," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), July 20, 1889; Dwain White, "A Review of Cullman County's Black History," August 14, 1978, unpublished paper in Colony file, and Philip G. Hartung, "The Founding of Cullman and Cullman County," unpublished paper in Cullman City file, Family & Regional History Program.

[58] Carl Cramer, *Stars Fell on Alabama*, ed. J. Wayne Flynt (rev. ed., Tuscaloosa, 1985), 58-59; "`Night Riders' are Arrested," *Decatur* (Illinois) *Daily Review*, October 27, 1920; Frank Sikora, *Until Justice Rolls Down: The Birmingham Church Bombing Case* (Tuscaloosa, 1991), 50-51; Bright, "Some Economic and Social Aspects," 26-27; Glenn Feldman, *Politics, Society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1915-1949* (Tuscaloosa, 1999), 199, 304, 324; D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, 1990), 7, 17-18, 38-39; interview with Carolina and Quintin Nigg, July 20, 2004, in the author's possession; Kenneth H. Wheeler and Jennifer Lee Cowart, "Who was the Real Gus Coggins?: Social Struggle and Criminal Mystery in Cherokee County, 1912-1927," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 97 (Winter, 2013): 425.

[59] Wilma A. Dunaway, "Put in Master's Pocket: Cotton Expansion and Interstate Slave Trading in the Mountain South" in John C. Inscoe, ed., *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington, Ky., 2001), 126; *Ninth Census of the United States (1870)* (National Archives Microfilm M593, roll 3), Blount County, pp. 394-419; Tubbs and Tubbs, *Cullman County Alabama Ancestral Homesteads*, 52. The 1867 voter lists of Walker and Winston counties provides county of birth for some fifty former slaves, some of whom, including Major Reid and Barney Elliott were associated with The Colony. (Such detailed returns do not exist for Blount County.) This

record shows twenty-two of thirty-one of the men born in 1830 or since as born in Alabama, usually in Walker or surrounding counties. Of the men born before 1830, seven were born in Alabama, four were born in Georgia, and five each were born in North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. See the Rowe works cited in footnote forty-one.

[60] Jones, *Combing Cullman County*, 69-70; Tower and Wolf, "Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama," 284-85.

[61] *Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910)* (National Archives Microfilm MT624, roll 10), Cullman County, ED 20, pp. 9B-10A, ED 22, pp. 59-62A; "Ex-slaves' Colony on the map now," *Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution*, February 1, 1995.

[62] *Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910)* (National Archives Microfilm MT624, roll 10), Cullman County, ED 22, pp. 57-58B, 61A-61B, 63A; C. H. Nesbitt, *Annual Report of Coal Mines State of Alabama 1912* (Birmingham, 1912), 121; "Confesses to Murder," *Fort Wayne* (Indiana) *Sentinel*, October 23, 1901. Reportedly, the Drennen family, later developers of the area's mining, lived at Baltimore, as did the ancestors of the former slaves who founded The Colony, an African-American town near Hanceville in southern Cullman County. Jones, *Cullman County Across the Years*, 21. For the history of an earlier but failed attempts to exploit coal in Cullman County and its Dutch connection see Chriss H. Doss, "Cullman Coal & Coke Company Railroad," *Alabama Review* 37 (1984): 243-56 and also *Coal Property of the Parker Coal Company Cullman, Alabama* (n.p., n.d.), copy in the library of the Geological Survey of Alabama, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

[63] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 17, 26; Bright, "Some Economic and Social Aspects," 45-47, 51, 55; Wolf, "Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama," 276-85. On sharecropping in Cullman County, see Benjamin S. Bradford, *Sharecropper and Others* (Hazel Park, Mi., 1998). Cullman County made sharecropping a national issue in 1906, when John W. Williams killed state senator R. L. Hipp and wounded a deputy during an eviction proceeding at Williams' home between Baileyton and Joppa. (Hipp also made enemies

when he helped move the Cullman County boundary, thus bringing the African American settlement of The Colony into the county in 1905.) By evicting Williams, Hipp would have made the old man homeless. A jury sentenced Williams to hang but petitions from thousands of people, most of them in Cullman County, along with various legal technicalities and maneuvers, eventually spared the condemned man and the county from any official execution. He served time on a life sentence until given a pardon in 1927. “Williams Must Hang,” *Coshocton* (Ohio) *Daily Age*, July 27, 1906; “State Senator Killed,” *Washington Post*, April 12, 1905; “Don’t Hang the Old Man is Prayer of Thousands,” *Atlanta* (Georgia) *Constitution*, July 23, 1906; Jones, *Cullman County Across the Years*, 125-26.

[64] The memoirs of Joseph and Wilhelmina Yeager have been published as Joseph T. Yeager, *Uncle Joe and Aunt Minnie* (n.p., n.d.)

[65] Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement*, 17, 26; Bright, “Some Economic and Social Aspects,” 45-47, 51, 55; Wolf, “Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama,” 276-85. For the pressure upon the Germans of Cullman to drop their language and customs, due to anti-Teutonic attitudes brought on by World War I, see Bright, “Some Economic and Social Aspects,” 42, 51. The Cincinnati and other German communities also had to abandon public ties to German culture. Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage*, 128-36; Richard Hooverson, “Anti-German Hysteria,” *Heritage Quest Magazine* 20 (April 2004): 13-17.

[66] Data provided by Dale Greer, assistant director, Cullman Economic Development Agency. For information on James Fields and race in 2008 Cullman County see Nicholas Dawidoff, “Race in the South in the Age of Obama,” *New York Times Magazine*, February 28, 2010, p. 30. Representative Fields lost his seat in 2010 to local voters voting straight Republican tickets in protest of President Obama.

[67] Information provided by Kristen Holmes, Public Relations, Wallace State Community College.

[68] For the architectural heritage of the city of Cullman see Dot Graf, *If Walls Could Talk: Whispers from Cullman Ala.* (Birmingham, 1977).