CONTENTS

Illustrations ................................................................. ix
Preface ................................................................. xiii
Acknowledgments ................................................... xv
1 Driving on in the Same Old Way .................. 1
2 Too Good a Home There to Leave ...................... 20
3 Good Judgment and Attention ......................... 40
4 Leaders of the Neighborhood ......................... 55
5 This Unholy War ........................................................ 71
6 A Reputation Not Surpassed by Any in the West .... 87
7 Considerable Knowledge and Mechanical Ingenuity .... 113
8 None but Sober and Industrious Men Need Come Here .... 145
9 The Last Time We'll Turn the Wheels ...................... 164
Epilogue: What Eventually Will Become of the Mill? .... 177
Appendix A Watkins Mill Chronology ............... 191
Appendix B Abbreviated Family Tree ............... 196
Appendix C Hierarchy of Watkins Mill Employees, 1870 .... 198
Bibliography ............................................................. 201
Index ................................................................. 209
ILLUSTRATIONS

John Handy ................................................................. 4
Jane Minter Watkins ..................................................... 5
Map of Clay County, 1877 ............................................. 8
Waltus L. Watkins, c. 1860 ........................................... 12
Mary Ann Holloway Watkins ........................................ 12
Illustration of Bethany home ......................................... 22
Homesite layout .......................................................... 25
Map of Missouri, 1877 ................................................... 41
Section map showing the Watkins holding ......................... 42
Grain mill ................................................................. 48
George Watkins .......................................................... 66
“To Arms” broadside ..................................................... 72
Kate Watkins ............................................................. 76
Workbench ................................................................. 90
Steam engine and boiler, Washington Foundry, St. Louis, Missouri ........................................ 90
Cloth production flow .................................................. 97
Newspaper ad, 7 May 1860 ........................................... 104
Partial business references in the 1877 Clay County atlas .... 104
Partial list of patrons for the 1877 Clay County atlas ........ 104
Atlas illustration of Watkins Mill .................................... 107
Atlas illustration of Liberty Mills ..................................... 107
Duster/willower, A. Jenks, Bridesburg [Pennsylvania], c. 1850 .................................................. 115
Main drive pulley, skein dyer, cloth dyer and washer, fulling hammer ...................................... 115
Picker, A. Jenks & Son, c. 1865 ....................................... 115
First breaker production card, A. Jenks & Son, c. 1865 .................................................. 118
Front view of condenser ................................................. 118
Overview of condenser .................................................. 118
Wood and iron creel feeding second breaker card ............................................. 118
Overview of cards ................................................................. 119
Card, A. Jenks & Son, c. 1865 .................................................. 119
Four jacks with tracks, jackspools, and spindles ................................. 122
Jacks; Jenks and Furbush & Gage .............................................. 122
Warping mill, reel, creel stand .................................................. 129
Alfred Jenks broadloom, c. 1850 ............................................. 131
Stafford loom, with R. W. Andrews patent pattern device, c. 1870 ........ 131
M. A. Furbush & Son broadloom with 1868 box motion, c. 1870 .......... 132
Furbush & Gage fancy loom head motion, c. 1863 ............................ 133
Weave room ................................................................. 133
Twister, Bridesburg Manufacturing Company, c. 1875 ...................... 134
Skeiner ................................................................. 134
Fulling mill, side view .......................................................... 137
Fulling mill, front view .......................................................... 137
Dye room ................................................................. 139
William Waers, dyemaker and bookkeeper ...................................... 139
Dye book ................................................................. 140
Rotary shear ................................................................. 142
Up and down teasel gig, c. 1870; cloth press; finishing room .............. 142
Three workers: Will Marley, M. D. Goodwin, Joe Marley .................. 153
Rules and regulations governing Watkins Mills, 1 May 1871 ............ 155
Gil Jackson and family .......................................................... 158
John Watkins ................................................................. 167
Mill store ................................................................. 169
Ready for the hunt ............................................................. 170
Watkins Mill, c. 1910 .......................................................... 174
Portions of a circular advertising the auction .................................... 180
Founders of the WMA: Forest Ingram, Lee Oberholtz, and George Reuland .. 181

COLOR INSERT:
1. Display of Bethany farm tools at the Visitor Center
2. WMA history display case at Watkins Mill Visitor Center
3. The crowd at the 1958 auction of Watkins Mill
4. Fruit drying shed with drying trays
5. Overlay of section map shows property owned by Waltus L. Watkins, 1877
6. Abundant gardens supported the Bethany farmstead
7. Sheep shearing in spring at the Bethany farm
8. Turkey at Bethany farmstead
9. Sheep grazing in one of many fenced pastures
10. The north side of the mill, c. 1920
11. Samples of woolens produced in the mill
12. Diagram of woolen mill departments and processes
13. The spinning jack produced uniformly spun yarn
14. The twister produced heavier multiple-ply yarn
15. Functional and artistic design of equipment at Watkins Mill
16. Business cards of Watkins family
17. Bridesburg Manufacturing Company catalog
18. Jenks jack detail, patented by John Goulding, 1826
19 and 20. Overview of skeiner and two ring-framed ply-twisters
21. Reel wrapped with threads from the creel stand in the warping mill
22. Carding machines
23. Pitted wall in weaving room
24. Hole in floor near second floor hanker
25. Brightly-dyed wool was made into yarn on the spinning jack.
26 and 27. Side and back view of warp yarn, reel, and heddles of Stafford loom
28. The fulling mill
29. The mill relied on natural lighting
30. Damage and age shown on church before rebuilding
31. Rebuilt Mount Vernon Missionary Baptist Church, c. 19681
32. Inside the restored church
33. Ciphering book, used between 1788 and 1793 by Waltus's father, Benjamin Watkins
34. Inside of Franklin Academy, 1981
35. Rebuilt octagonal Franklin Academy
36. Curving staircase to second floor at Bethany
37. Piano, period piece
38. Parlor in Waltus's and Mary Ann's Bethany home
39. Bethany house, front view
40. Smokehouse
41. Garden and outbuildings at back of Bethany home
42. Volunteers and visitors in the 1800s gardens at Watkins Mill Historic Site
43. The Watkins Mill Historic Site

Credits:
Jet Lowe ........ Historic American Engineering Record (HAER, MO–24, Laws)
DNR ......................... Missouri Department of Natural Resources
WMA ................................ Watkins Mill Association
WMSHS ....................... Watkins Mill State Historic Site, Lawson, Missouri

FIGURES:
Figure 2.1: Census data 1850–1870 on Watkins's production ................. 29
Figure 6.1: Comparative Factory Systems ........................................ 92
Figure 8.1: Fluctuations in purchasing power, 1861–1898 .................... 152
Figure 9.1: Trends in number of Missouri woolen mills, 1876–1896 .......... 165
Figure 9.2: Watkins Mill property value, products, and profits, 1870–1890 .... 173
On the western frontier of Missouri in 1839, an enterprising Kentucky emigrant named Waltus Watkins (1806–84) established a rude farm that would shortly evolve into a bustling community centered on his numerous commercial ventures. As wagon paths grew into a thoroughfare linking nearby county seats, Watkins’s farmstead in Clay County became a place where neighboring farmers came to pick up their mail; where a continuous stream of kin or acquaintances from Tennessee and Kentucky paid visits; where Friday night meetings of the local debate society featured the orations of the young males in the three-county community.

Over the next two decades, Watkins developed a variety of ventures aimed at processing the yield of his flourishing agricultural pursuits. Neighbors from perhaps as far away as fifteen miles hauled their corn, logs, and livestock to his mills and barns. In turn flour, cornmeal, and lumber went home in the farm wagons or were sent to market. Then, on the eve of the Civil War, Waltus’s most imposing and opportunistic enterprise—his woolen textile factory—was created. From farflung national networks of steamboats and railroads came dyestuffs, machinery, and tons of raw wool destined for Watkins Mill. Yarn, cloth, shawls, and blankets were dispatched to customers or consigned to storekeepers within a seventy-five-mile radius. Mill workers of all ages, genders, and skill levels were drawn from industrial centers in the eastern U.S. and Europe, as well as from nearby farms. Entire families were employed at the mill, extending Watkins’s impact and influence to multiple generations.

At Watkins Mill, the habits and values associated with the rural South mingled with more modern behaviors and attitudes linked with industrial society. Rather than viewing these contrasting folkways as the source of conflict, Watkins sought to make them complementary, to blend the dynamism of the factory with his more progressive agrarian pursuits. He wanted his factory to remain in a rural setting, as a pastoral experiment. Watkins Mill was to be, in historian John Kasson’s terms, “a middle distance, between city and wilderness.” There would be no intense focus on industrialism here; no city or even town arose from this community.1

Watkins’s Jeffersonian experiment flourished for a number of years, in spite of severe political and economic challenges. The combination of Watkins’s death in 1884 and the rapid decline in the woolen industry in the Midwest at about the same time led to the mill’s eventual failure. The woolen factory was for the most part silent for the last fifteen years of the century, and the community around it slowly dwindled. The farmstead itself remained vibrant, as the Watkins offspring who remained grew acres of oats and hay, tended herds of Shorthorn cattle and milk cows, and pruned extensive orchards, all (like their father) with an eye on the market.
The story of Watkins Mill is both archetypal—Waltus, his family, associates, and employees; his westward migration; his social values; and his entrepreneurial drive represent much of nineteenth-century America—and unusual—the extent of Watkins’s enterprises and his purposeful and successful combination of agriculture and industry. Similarly, it was both a societal upsurge of interest in historic preservation and a remarkable local political effort that saved the mill and homestead for posterity.

To tell the story, this book weaves together many threads: family correspondence, business documents, church archives, newspapers, census records, archaeological evidence, folklore, oral history, and perhaps most important of all, the buildings and machines remaining at the site. Since 1964, Watkins Mill has been a Missouri State Historic Site; it is also designated as a National Historic Landmark and a National Historic Mechanical Engineering Landmark. In the words of industrial chronicler Laurence Gross, it “contains the finest collection of nineteenth-century textile machinery in situ in North America and includes the most significant textile artifacts known to survive…. The machinery and building can provide modern viewers a great deal of information about the cloth-making process and about the history of machine-building, industrial development, and the working life of the men and women who worked there.” Although the factory might now be silent, the structure and the machines are not mute. Combined with the documentary records of the Watkinses’ agricultural and industrial endeavors, they offer testimony of how the Industrial Revolution came to rural Missouri in the mid nineteenth century.

NOTES FOR PREFACE

INDEX

italic locators = illustrations in text
italic locators = illustrations in color insert

Adams, W. Howard (author), 182
Adkins, James (woolen manufacturer), 105
agriculture
acumen of Waltus, 1
commercial farming, 44–47
food provision and processing, 27–31
medicinal plants, 31
sheep raising, 99
wedded with industrialism, 105–10
American Society of Mechanical Engineers, 185
Anderson, “Bloody” Bill (raider), 75, 77
Armstrong, E. P. (sales agent), 96
Ash, James (employee), 147–48
Atchison, Catherine Jane Watkins “Kate” (daughter of Waltus), 33
admirer of Quantrill, 85n8
church membership, 56, 57
on Civil War, 74, 77, 79
education, 80
Atchison, Mary Elizabeth “Lizzie” Watkins (daughter of Waltus), 32, 57
on Civil War, 77
domestic life, 108
on the James brothers, 83
Baptists, 34. See also New Hope Baptist Church
Barney, William (historian), 35
Barrett, William C. (minister), 56
eulogy for Waltus, 35, 168
Belt, Hiram (buyer/salesman), 102
Bender, Thomas (historian), 61, 159
Benton, Thomas Hart (senator), 71
Bethany farmstead, 21–26, 22, 25
as agricultural enterprise, 43, 44–50
the Big House, 22–24, 148, c-39
and Civil War, 78–81
fruit drying shed, c-4
gardens, c-6, c-41, c-42
interior, c-36–c-38
livestock, c-7–c-9
sawmill, 39
sheepshearing, 100, c-7
site plan, 25
smokehouse, c-40
tools, c-1
wartime opportunities, 81
Bethany post office, 63
Bigelow, John (pro-Unionist), 75, 85n13
Bigelow, Salmon G. (pro-Unionist), 75, 85n13
blacksmithing, 25–26
Blythe, A. D. (husband of Margaret “Meg”), as rebel, 79
Blythe, Margaret “Meg” Tolar Watkins
Byram (sister of Waltus), 4, 13, 16
and Civil War, 79
Bohling, Al (newspaper man), 184
Brammer, John (litigant), 30
brick-making, 22, 43–44, 93, 111n15, 174–75
Bruen, Joseph (manufacturer), 3
Bryant, Jesse (woolen manufacturer), 105
Buell, J. O. (woolen manufacturer), 105
Bushman, Richard (historian), 23, 24
Byram, Margaret (sister of Waltus). See Blythe, Margaret “Meg” Tolar Watkins
Byram
Cane, Charley (engineer), 173
capitalism
domestic-commercial continuum, 27, 47–50
market economy, and agriculture, 44–45, 47–50
monetary credit, 6, 14–17
Waltus’s move into, 47–50, 92–93
and Westward Migration, 6–7
Capps, Joe Jr. (mill purchaser), 182
Carter, Elizabeth Watkins (sister of Waltus), 13, 34, 37, 48
Carter, Isaac (brother-in-law of Waltus), 13
Carter, Susan Mary (niece of Waltus), 79
Carthage Mill, 105
Cavender, Bill (sawyer), 149, 157
Chase, Albert (schoolmaster), 68n2
children, as spinsters, 125
Civil War
aftermath, 81–84
broadsides, 72
effect on Watkinse, 73–81
Kansas-Missouri border war, 71–72
onset, 67–68, 72–73
Clay County, Missouri, 8
Civil War
“Clay Co. tragedy,” 83
factional strife, 77–78
violence, 73–77, 85n2
economic growth and development, 7–10, 45
ethos of, 18n20
hemp production, 45–46
industrialism in, 106–9
Kansas-Missouri border war, 71–72
postwar
cultural diversity, 84
ethos, 81–82
industrialism, 84
pro-Unionist, 73
Clay County Historical Society, 178
Clay Seminary, 32, 80
Coffman, Ray (mayor), 178
Cooper, Grace Rogers (archivist), 179, 182
Corbin, O. H. (mill owner), 103, 108
Cosby, Eliza F. Porter (wife of William Cosby), 26
Cosby, William H. (cousin of Waltus), 26
cotton factory (Liberty, Missouri), 11
Cousins, Peter H. (historian), 45
Crockett, Norman (historian), 91, 100, 127, 165, 172, 175
Crowther, Mr. (wool carder), 87
cultural diversity, postwar, 84
Cummins, Jim (horse thief), 75–76, 85n13
Dagley, Absolum (laborer), 51
Dagley, Charles (miller), 173
Dagley, Mandy (weaver), 130
Dagley, William (church member), 57, 68n7
Dale, Weekly (mill owner), 86n15, 87, 103
Dale Woolen Mill, 103
Donahue, Hannah (weaver), 148
Donahue, John (miller), 148, 167
Donahue/Donahoe family, 146
Doniphan, Alexander (political leader), 7, 72, 85n4
Doyle, Don (historian), 61
Dye, Lee (historian), 28
Dye, William (editor), 183
education
during Civil War, 80
of former slave, 82, 98
of Waltus, 1–2
Waltus’s view of, 32–33
educational institutions, 55–62
Franklin Academy, 57–58
Georgetown College (Kentucky), 32
Lewis Institute, 68n15
Liberty Female Institute, 32
William Jewell College, 59–60
Woodland Cottage, 13
Elgin, Robert L., evaluation of mill site, 183–84
Eliza (slave), 57
Elred, J. B. (school teacher), 58
entrepreneurship, 18n, 37, 87
Entrikin, Bertha Bell (author), 185
evangelicalism, 32, 36, 39n31. See also religion
and industrialism, 35–36
Everett, Howard (preacher), 34
Faragher, John Mack (historian), 55
farming. See agriculture
Feboe, James (carder), 123
Feller, Dan (historian), 52
Feliman, Michael (historian), 71, 73, 84
Felts, J. J. (pastor), 168
Ferhand, George (millwright), 48
Fitzgerald, James (carder), 123
food provision, processing, 27–31
Fort Leavenworth, 9
Franklin Academy, 57–58, c-33, c-35
Franklin Debate Society, 60–62, 82
Franklin Library Association, 60
Frass, Betty. See McDaniel, Betty
Frass, Henry Jr. (purchaser of Mill), 178
Frass Mason, Emella, 178
free enterprise. See capitalism;
entrepreneurship
Freeman, Thomas F. (friend of Waltus), 38n23
funerals, 31
genealogy, 33
Georgetown College (Kentucky), 32
Gill, Jane Watkins (sister of Waltus), and Civil War, 79
Gill, Philip (brother-in-law of Waltus), 77, 79
Gill, Philip (son of Philip and Jane), 79
Gill, Tabetha/Tabitha P. Watkins (sister of Waltus), 33, 39n31
INDEX

Gill family (cousins of Waltus), 26
Goodwin, M. D. (millhand), 153
Gordon, Robert (historian), 150
Greenville, Missouri, 64
Griffin, James, 148
Griffin family, 146
Grimes, Grundy (millwright), 48
gristmilling, as socioeconomic catalyst, 47–50
Gross, Lawrence (structural expert), 93, 123, 160, 175, 186
Gutman, Herbert (historian), 154

Handy, John G. (brother-in-law of Waltus), 4, 13, 14, 22–23
financial relationship with Waltus, 15, 16, 93
as mule trader, 46
on slavery, 82
Handy, Mary “Polley” Watkins (sister of Waltus), 13, 22
and Civil War, 74, 79
financial relationship with Waltus, 13
religion of, 33
Handy, Robert (historian), 34
Hardin, Caroline (sister of Waltus), 13, 37
Hardin, John R. (brother-in-law of Waltus), 39n42
Harper, Thomas (woolen manufacturer), 105
Harsell, Anthony, 10
health and safety, 150–51, c-22–c-24, c-28–c-29
Hoffman, Fred (spinster), 143
Holloway, Catherine Reed (mother-in-law of Waltus), 11
Holloway, Mary Ann. See Watkins, Mary Ann Holloway
Holloway, Spencer (father-in-law of Waltus), 11, 38n12, 45, 46
Holloway, William B. (brother-in-law of Waltus), 22
Holloway, William H. (nephew of Mary Ann Watkins), 31
Holman, Ben (carder), 123
honey production, 30
Horn, James M. (colleague of Waltus), 37, 39n42
Howe, Daniel Walker (historian), 27
Hulls, Bettie (weaver), 149
Hummel, Edward (historian), 185
Hurt, R. Douglas (historian), 43, 44
industrialism
and agriculture, 105–9
and evangelicalism, 35–36
postwar, 84, 87–91
socioeconomic effects, 47–50
and textile production, 110n6
Waltus’s move into, 87–88
and Westward Migration, 6–7
and woolen industry, 88–89
industrialization, 145–63
compensation, 151–54
labor force, 147–49
management, 154, 156
paternalism, 146
working conditions, 149–56
Ingram, Forest (cofounder of WMA), 18, 179, 181, 183
Jackson, Amelia Hudson (wife of Gil Jackson), 158
Jackson, Gil (fuller), 137, 148, 149, 158, 158
Jackson, Inez Waers (wife of John Jackson), 157, 158
Jackson, Isabella “Belle” (daughter of John and Inez), 158, 159
Jackson, J. B. (historian), 21
Jackson, John (employee), 157
Jackson, John (son of John and Inez), 158
Jackson, William Ernest (grandson of John and Inez), 159
Jackson, William (son of John and Inez), 158
Jackson County Historical Association, 182
Jackson family, 158
Jaeger, Joseph Jr. (parks director), 183, 188n14
James, Ab (carder), 123
James, Frank and Jesse (outlaws), 83
James, Robert (pastor), 34, 39n35, 59
father of Frank and Jesse, 83
and gold rush, 39n42
Jewell, William (Baptist leader), 59
John Watkins and Brothers. See Watkins Mill
Jones, L. H. (engineer), 156
Jones, Samuel (employee), 148–49
Jones, Thomas (engineer), 94
Kansas-Missouri border war, 71–72
Kimsey, Solomon (pastor), 34
labor force, 147–49
Lard, Moses E. (revivalist), 34
Larkin, Jack (historian), 26, 31
Lawrence, Kansas, Civil War violence, 72, 74
Lewis, Charles (mill owner), 3
Liberty, Missouri
Civil War strife, 77, 86n15
economic growth and development of, 9
Watkins’s time in, 10–11
woolen mills of, 103
Liberty Female Institute, 32
Liberty Flouring Mills, 108
Liberty Woolen Factory, 107
Licht, Walter (historian), 47
Lincoln, Abraham (president), on Civil War in Missouri, 74
livestock, 4
breeding, 46–47
habitat, 44
mules, 53n12
production, 28–30, 38n21
sheep/wool, 99–100, c-7, c-9
turkeys, c-8
Watkins vs. Bramer case, 30
Livy (servant), 82
looms. See also woolen industry of Benjamin Watkins, 4
development and use of, 130–36
Lowe, Jet (photographer), 186
Lucy (cook), 82, 98
Luke, John W. (pastor; stepnephew of Waltus), 36, 56, 57, 66, 83
Luke, Martha L. Watkins (sister of Waltus), 198
Malone, Patrick (historian), 150
manufacturing machinery
ballers, 118
blacksmith’s drill, 90
breaker card (Jenks), 118
Bridesburg catalog (1867), c-17
broadoom: (Furbush & Son), 132;
(Jenks), 131
carding machine, c-22
cards (Jenks), 119
cloth dyer and washer, 115
cloth press, 142
creel stand, 129, c-21
creel (wood and iron), 118
drive pulley, 115
duster/willower (Jenks), 115
fancy loom (Furbush & Gage), 133
feed drive, 115
fulling hammer, 115
fulling mills, 137, c-28
jacks: c-15; (Jenks), c-18; (Jenks, Furbush & Gage), 122
jackspools, 122, c-18
looms, c-26–c-27
loom (Stafford), 131
picker (Jenks), 115
reel, c-21
ring-frame ply-twisters, c-19–c-20
rotary shear, 142
skein dyer, 115
skeiner, 134
spindles, 122, pl.7
spinning jack, c-13, c-25
steam engine and boiler (Washington Foundry), 90
teasel gig, 142
twister (Bridesburg), 134, c-14
vise, 90
warping mill, 129
wood lathe, 90
manufacturing processes, 114–43, c-12
atmosphere, c-29
carding, 117, 119–24
cleaning, 114, 116
finishing, 136–41, 143
inspecting, 136
lighting, c-28–c-29
picking, 116–17
production flow, 97
sorting, 114
spinning, 124–27
weave room, 133
weaving, 127–30, 132, 134–36
market economy. See capitalism
Marley, Doctor F. (miller), 117, 148, 173
Marley, Joe (millhand), 153
Marley, Will (millhand), 153
Marley family, 146
Marx, Leo (historian), 106
Mason, Emellia Frass, 178
McCandless, Perry (historian), 90–91
McCord, James (botanic physician), 60, 62
McCoun, James (mill owner), 87, 103
McDaniel, Betty Frass (Watkins descendant), 187
McDaniel, Byron (Watkins descendant), 187n3
McGerty, Thomas (carder), 14, 123, 124
McIntire, William (carder), 123
McKnight, W. K. (carder), 123
McLane, Mr. (employee), 148
Means, Chad (Watkins descendant), 187n3
medicine/medical care, 31
Meinig, D. W. (geographer), 23
men
daily life of, 27
education of, 32
in labor force, 126–27, 149
Methodists, 34
Miller, Robert Hugh (newspaper editor), 9, 73
Minter, Anthony (uncle of Waltus), 10, 11
as traveling merchant, 50
Minter, James (uncle of Waltus), 2
Minter, Jeremiah (uncle of Waltus), 2
Missouri. See also Clay County, Missouri
censuses of 1830–50, 51–52
Civil War violence, 73–78, 85n2
gristmilling in, 48–50
labor strife, 160
landscape of, 43–44
manufacturing establishments, 110n8
1877 map, 41
mills of, 165
prairie, 53n7
"pukes" nickname, 38n22
Watkins Mill Historic Site, 185–86
Missouri Valley Fox Hunters Association, 170
monetary credit, 6, 14–17
Moss, Henry (family friend), 4–5
Moss, O. P. (political leader), 72
Mount Althea (Moss Hill) farmstead, 5, 17n3
Mount Vernon Missionary Baptist Church, 55–57, 68n6, 157, c-30–c-32
mule trading, 46–47
Murphy, Mike (spinster), 143
Nance, J. A. (farmer), 49
nepotism, 147–48
New Hope Baptist Church, 26, 33, 57, 68n2
North Liberty Baptist Association, 34, 56
Oberholtz, Lee (cofounder of WMA), 179, 181, 182, 183
Ogren, Paul (economist), 99, 101, 102, 153, 169, 186
Oliver, John Watkins, 179, 185
Osborn, Robin (schoolmaster), 80
paternalism, 68n4, 109, 146, 151
and social control, 156–59
Prairie View homestead, 38n12
Quantrill, William (raider), 74, 85n8
race relations, 81–82
railroads and towns, 64
Reed, William (miller), 49, 50, 149
Reeves, Esseks (servant), 149, 157
Reeves, Mary (servant), 157
Reid, Ann (weaver), 130
religion. See also evangelicalism
conversion
of Carrie, 57
of Waltus, 33
and cultural institutions, 55–62
and entrepreneurial spirit, 7
frontier development of, 33–36
and industrialism, 35–56
Reuland, George (cofounder of WMA), 181, 182, 183
Rhodus, James (mason/hand), 149
Riley, Ben (preacher), 34
Roney, Ruth (historian), 178
Rose, Anne C. (historian), 7
Rotary Club, 179
Royle, M. (sales agent), 96
Rucker, Booker (archaeologist), 166, 185
Ryle, John (accused of arson), 68n2
safety. See health and safety
Samuel, E. M. (banker), 75
Samuel, Zerelda (neighbor of Waltus), 83
Scranton, Philip (historian), 146
Scruggs, James (father-in-law of “Mattie”), 83
Scruggs, Martha Ann “Mattie” Watkins
(daughter of Waltus), 11, 14, 49, 80, 108
on servants, 82
Sharp, Jasper (generalist), 146
Sigon, William C. (friend of Waltus), 81
Simpson, Jack (promoter of WM), 185
Slater, Samuel, manufacturing system of, 91–92, 110n111
slaves/servants
as construction laborers, 94, 111n17
Eliza, 57
and hemp farming, 46
Livy, 82
Lucy (cook), 82
opinions about, 13, 82, 85n10
postwar race relations, 81–82
of Waltus, 21, 51
Sligar, Ann Matthews (site administrator), 186
Smith, Merrit Roe (analyst), 159
Smith, Rogers M. (analyst), 57
Society for the History of Technology, 185, 186
steam power
engine prototype, 3
for gristmilling, 49, 50, 94
and industrialism, 88
at Watkins Mill, 88
Stilley, George (purchaser of Watkins property), 181, 182
Sullenger, Lewis (accused of arson), 68n2
Taylor, Fletch (raider), 75
Taylor, William (buyer/salesman), 102
temperance movement, 36
textile manufacture. See also woollen industry
and Industrial Revolution, 88–91
wool quality, 99
Thelen, David (historian), 146
Thorp, Joseph (historian), 8, 9
Toler, Dorotheulie (weaver), 149
Toler, Elizabeth (weaver), 149
Toler family, 146
transportation revolution, 6, 14, 45
Truman Library (Harry S. Truman Presidential Library), 182
Turner, Eliza (spinster), 149
Turner, Lewis (accused of arson), 68n2
Turner, Sallie (weaver), 153–54

United States

census data, 51–52, 64–65, 84
Civil War (See Civil War)
financial panic (1837), 5, 169
industrialism and consumerism, 88, 89–90
land policies, 40–42, 52n2
Preemption Act (1841), 42
Reconstruction period, 83–84
Westward Migration (1830s), 5–7

Vermillion, Ben (carpenter), 128
Vermillion, Frances (weaver), 149, 153

W. L. Watkins and Son. See Watkins Mill
Waers, John (son of William), 158
Waers, Martha “Susan” Walker (wife of John), 158
Waers, William (dyer; bookkeeper), 94, 98, 139, 140, 149
dye formulas, 139–41
as landowner, 157–58
Waers family, 146
Walker, Daniel Howe (historian), 27
Walker, Jesse (engineer/machinist), 149
Walker, Mr. (superintendent), 149
Washington Temperance Society, 36
Wason and McFarland (sales agents), 96
Waters, William (finisher), 148
Watkins, Alfred (son of Waltus), 31
Watkins, Benjamin “Ben” (brother of Waltus), 4, 16
Watkins, Benjamin (father of Waltus), 1
ciphering book, c.34
death and estate of, 3–4, 14–15
on education, 32
life of, 17n3
Watkins, Caroline Emma “Carrie” (daughter of Waltus), 20, 56, 174
cookbook of, 28
domestic frustration, 82, 108
religious conversion, 57
sale of Watkins Mill, 178
80th birthday, 178
unmarried, 112n48
on Waltus’s decline, 165–66
Watkins, Caroline (sister of Waltus). See Hardin, Caroline
Watkins, Catherine Jane “Kate” (daughter of Waltus). See Atchison, Catherine Jane Watkins
opinions on Civil War, 76
as “Secesh,” 76, 77, 79
Watkins, Elizabeth (sister of Waltus), 14.
See Carter, Elizabeth Watkins
Watkins, George Spencer (son of Waltus), 13, 32, 51, 65, 66
coming of age of, 65–67
as sawmill supervisor, 67
as Union loyalist, 78
western migration, during Civil War, 75, 78
Watkins, James (brother of Waltus), 4, 34, 39n42
Prairie View homestead, 38n12
Watkins, Jane Minter (mother of Waltus), 1, 4, 5, 51
loan to Waltus, 93
move to Missouri, 12–13
Watkins, Jane (sister of Waltus). See Gill, Jane Watkins
Watkins, [Waltus] Jewell (son of Waltus), 33, 57, 148
church membership, 57
Watkins, Joe Berry (son of Waltus), 20, 31, 53n5, 56, 57, 82, 174
  domestic life, 108
  mill partner/supervisor, 98, 173–74
Watkins, John Handy (son of Waltus), 20, 22, 53n5, 68n12, 148, 167, 174
  as buyer/salesman, 102
  death, 1931, 31
  domestic life, 108
  final years of Watkins Mill, 172–73
  as founding father of Craig, Colorado, 38n29
  1923 interview, 178
  on labor force, 147
  as “landed gentry,” 170
  as mill partner, 98
  as mill supervisor, 100, 173–74
  as mule trader, 46
  as Union loyalist, 78
  waywardness of, 29, 33, 38n10
  western migration, during Civil War, 75, 78
Watkins, John Holloway (son of Waltus), 31
  as buyer/salesman, 100, 102
  domestic life, 108–9
  as mill partner, 98
Watkins, Margaret (sister of Waltus). See Blythe, Margaret “Meg” Tolar Watkins Byram
Watkins, Mary Ann Holloway (wife of Waltus), 11–12, 12, 37, 38n10, 148
  assets transferred to children, 166–67
  childbirth and travel, 13–14
  child rearing, 38n16
  church membership, 56
  domestic life, 108
  marriage, 11–12
Watkins, Mary Elizabeth “Lizzie” (daughter of Waltus). See Atchison, Mary Elizabeth “Lizzie” Watkins
Watkins, Mary “Polley” (sister of Waltus). See Handy, Mary “Polley”
Watkins, Rebecca (sister of Waltus). See Yates, Rebekah/Rebecca P. Watkins
Watkins, Tabitha (sister of Waltus). See Gill, Tabetha/Tabitha P. Watkins
Watkins, Walthall “Waltus” Lockett, 12, 148
  business relationship with Handy, 15, 93
  business ventures, 10–11, 17, 44–50, 81, 91–109
  character, 35–56, 69n23, 98, 109
  church membership, 56
  as civic and political leader, 55–65, 68n11, 71, 78–79, 83–84, 146
  Civil War danger to, 75–76
  conversion and baptism, 33, 35
  creditors of, 166–67
  death, 165–68
  domestic life, 27
  early life, 1–5
  estate of, 165–68
  eulogies and obituaries, 168
  financial relationship with family, 15, 16, 93, 166
  as Jacksonian Democrat, 3, 40, 63
  landholdings, 16–17, 40, 42, 42–44, 52–53n4, c-5
  marriage, 11
  naming of, 17n3
  as pastoralist, 106
  as paternalistic, 68n4, 109, 146, 157
  as pragmatic, 79–81
  as proslavery sponsor, 72
  reading habits, 38n11
  slaveholdings, 21, 51, 70n39, 82
  as temperance advocate, 36
  as Union loyalist, 78
  wartime opportunities, 81
Watkins vs. Brammer, 30
  westward migration, 5–7
  on women, 86
Watkins family
  attitudes toward slaves/servants, 82
  cemetery, 31
  census data on holdings, 29
  chain migration of, 12–14
  character, 18–19n35, 23–24
  and Civil War, 73–81, 79, 85n11
  daily life, 26–27
  demise of Watkins Mill, 172
  diverse endeavors, 103
  extensiveness, 20–21
  family tree, 196–97
  food provision, 27–31
  Huguenot heritage lore, 2, 167
  moral and intellectual legacy, 31–37, 59–60, 83–84
Watkins family, continued
products and holdings, 29t
relationship with mill employees, 159, 162n3
religious names of children, 35
self promotion, 167
settlement of estate, 15, 166–68
sickness and death, 31
strife over money, 16
and Washington Guards, 85n5
Welsh heritage lore, 2, 167
Watkins Mill, 107, 174. See also
manufacturing machinery;
manufacturing processes
building, c-10, c-43
business cards, c-16
chronology, 191–95
and Civil War, 78
company names, 98
compared with Rhode Island system, 92t, 110n11
competition, 103, 105
demise of, 168–74
development and growth of, 91–109
dyebook and misc. rules, 140
dye room, 139
dye room equipment, 139
employee hierarchy, 198–99
employee housing, 157
establishment of, 88
as “factory in the field,” 105–9, 111n42
gristmill, 47–50, 111n17
as historic site, 177–87
labor relations, 159–61
management, 154, 156
marketing, 103, 104, 105, c-16
mill store, 169
in Missouri, 11, 90–91
National Historic Mechanical
Engineering Landmark, 185
overview of, 87–89
products and services, 101–2, c-11
property values (1870–90), 173
raw materials, 99–100
rules and regulations, 140, 155
sale of, c-2–c-3
(1944), 178
(1954), 179
(1958), 179, 181ff.
auction circular, 180
wage fluctuations, 152
wages, 151–54
weavers, 129, 130, 135, 149, 153–54
safety concerns, c-23
Watkins Mill Association (WMA), 181–82, 187
Watkins Mill Historic Site
Registered National Historic Landmark, 185
visitor center, c-1–c-2
Westward Migration
and Clay County, Missouri, 7–10
of extended family, 12–14
and industrialism, 6–7
lure of, for Waltus, 5–7, 37
Wiebe, Robert (historian), 60
William Jewell College, 32, 59–60
Williams, Ellis (Greenville founder), 64
Withers, Ethel Massie (preservationist), 178
women
education, 32
fertility rate, 37n2
housework, 27
rise of feminism, 66
as spinsters, 124–25
Waltus’s view, 86n25
as weavers, 129, 130, 135, 147, 149, 153–54
Woodland Cottage, 13
wool, characteristics and properties of, 113
woolen industry. See also Watkins Mill
decline of, 164–65
fire danger, 116
manufacturing processes, 114–43
Woolfork, W. L. (sales agent), 96
wool yarn standards, 143n9
Wrigley, William (woolen manufacturer), 105
Yates, Rebekah/Rebecca P. Watkins (sister
of Waltus), 13, 20, 34, 39
loan to Waltus, 93